ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF KOREA

Editor and compiler

Yang Hi Choe-Wall

Associate Editors

Michael J. Pettid
Mark C. Mueller
Raymond F. Wall
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EDITOR’S FOREWORD

The publication of the *Encyclopaedia of Korea* has resulted from almost seven years of continuous and intensive work by a small team, which I headed as project director-chief editor; assisted by one part-time editor and for one year only, two full-time writer-translators. The project was undertaken within the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies of The Australian National University, in Canberra. From its inception, the *Encyclopaedia* was conditioned to run on a very modest budget, with considerable reliance on the availability of outside funding. In its later stages the project was supported solely from Korean-sourced grants.

The idea for an *Encyclopaedia of Korea* in the English language was conceived from the many general and specific enquiries about Korea being made to the university, and which were increasingly being referred to me for answer. It was apparent that academics, broadcasters, journalists, politicians, students, teachers and the public in general needed to know more about Korea. In the absence of an encyclopaedic work on Korea in English, the search for information in a library where many references could be found only in Korean or in works which were too specialised for the general reader or those unacquainted with Korea, could be daunting. With the good fortune afforded me to transfer from a University teaching position to a research appointment, the *Encyclopaedia* concept seemed a natural choice for my research, and with the strong encouragement of a professor colleague, the project was launched, though - as is often the norm in universities today - with the above-mentioned financial stringency and concomitant dearth of staff support.

The *Encyclopaedia of Korea* is meant to be a balanced guide to the country and its people. Its limitations are fully acknowledged and in some respects it serves only as an introduction to a topic, while in others its entries offer a definitive statement. In some of its subjects, therefore, the *Encyclopaedia* is intended to have the first word and not the last, and must be regarded as such. Omissions are bound to happen in a book of this scope. The task was, of course, a presumptuous one, because the Korean heritage is so enormous, so varied and complex, that there is no single person who could possibly write with authority on the range of entries which are collated here. However, this may be the *Encyclopaedia's* strongest point, because in the absence of such a single authority, the search for and the engagement of contributors became a worldwide one. The interests of specialists on Korea were sought and from a trickle of articles at the beginning, at the end of the compilation thirteen hundred articles had been written and accepted for publication. The contributors are, therefore, drawn from multifarious fields of Korean studies, and while some have written a single major article, others have contributed more than one, or a number of minor articles. One or two have given their services willingly with material which needed translation and verification from Korean, Chinese, Japanese, or occidental language sources. Many dozens of the minor entries and some of medium length are from Korean sources. This has been a time-consuming task, and one which has been shouldered largely by the editorial staff. Two writer-translators were engaged from overseas and came to Canberra to work on the project for a period of one year. Mr Michael Pettid of the University of Hawaii assumed the task of writing medium-length entries for which a contributor could not be found elsewhere, as well as having specific responsibilities for translations from Korean for the writing of other entries, and the modification of major and medium-length entries to suit the *Encyclopaedia's* needs. Mr Mark Mueller, of Hallym University, South Korea, translated material and produced many of the short entries for the work.

For the articles contributed by the sixty specialists, the name of the author is given at the end of each entry. Where and when, for instance, an entry expresses a particular viewpoint, perhaps in a politically-sensitive field, it is the view of its author and not necessarily that of other contributors, or the editors. Except for normal editing requirements, the articles are presented
as their authors wrote them. Where, however, obvious changes have taken place in the subject matter of articles since they were written, the authors have been requested to cooperate by making such amendments necessary to bring their work up-to-date. In some instances, however, the author has been unavailable to do the revision and when this has occurred, project staff members have been committed to carrying out such research and composition so as to present the most topical entry possible. In a few instances, this has resulted in a virtual representation of the piece, and while the original author is still acknowledged, the entry is annotated with the source of the information used in the amended article.

Throughout the compilation of the *Encyclopaedia of Korea* the question of its comprehensiveness has been kept firmly in mind. It is an issue which every compiler concerned with an alphabetical or chronological production views with some misgiving. How do you balance, for instance, the just claims for inclusion of writers and philosophers against politicians, freedom fighters and ancient kings? The argument about who or what should be included and who or what should be left out required some rather arbitrary decision-making, and for justification of the apparent omissions the single plea that can be made is the one that limits most human activities today -- that of available time. With an encyclopaedic work, the time lag is perhaps doubly important as a balance has to be struck between many disciplines, such as economics, science and politics -- even ‘archaeology’ required some amendment during the compilation. Even though Korean dynasties have been long-lasting, with Chosŏn reaching the half millenium, the country has always had to contend with many kinds of change. Since the opening of Korea to the West and to Japan, in the late nineteenth century, changes have become more frequent and more dramatic. In the twentieth century alone, Korea experienced the persistence of over three decades of colonisation by Japan, a half-century of political and ideological division, the devastation of civil war, several military dictatorships and the promulgation of a democratic constitution, the sum of which eventually led to the emergence of the Republic of Korea as a modern industrial nation, and a respected and powerful economic force in world terms.

The troublesome question of an insufficiency of suitable material on North Korea (DPRK) was not resolved, and although there are several articles specific to the DPRK, many subjects are not included because the information required is simply not available, or is not capable of being substantiated.

Although I am now at the close of what has been a monumental and seemingly never-ending task, the compilation of the *Encyclopaedia of Korea* has broadened considerably my horizons on Korea, beyond my own field of Chosŏn literature. Similarly, I hope that through its pages, readers will find an interest in gaining a wider view and understanding of Korea and the Korean people.

Yang Hi Choe-Wall
Editor
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Encyclopaedia of Korea owes its existence to many people and several institutions.

The sixty contributors have given their time freely and enthusiastically in recognizing the need for an encyclopaedic work on Korea in English. Some have given valuable advice on particular matters of concern to the editorial staff, even while engaged in meeting deadlines with their own publishers or heavily committed elsewhere. The names of those who have contributed entries to the Encyclopaedia are recorded both in the List of Contributors and Translators and at the end of the entry itself.

In the initial stage of the Encyclopaedia's production, the late Professor Marshall Pihl, of the University of Hawaii at Manoa, was an inspiration, visiting Canberra to work with the project director on the content and the indexing. Professor Gavan McCormack, of the Division of Pacific and Asian History, The Australian National University, gave strong encouragement for the launch of the Encyclopaedia project and was instrumental in guiding its passage through the University's administrative processes. He has remained as its supporter and adviser throughout, and the project is indebted to him. Dr Kenneth Gardiner, a contributor of three major entries, also translated articles submitted in French. Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki, as Convenor of the Division of Pacific and Asian History, was always available to assist with problems and decisions. The Division's administrator, Dorothy Macintosh, ever helpful and considerate, met any financial difficulties head-on, or knew a way around them. Enid Gibson edited some of the shorter entries and Kim Hee Young researched material for the selection of photographs.

The Encyclopaedia project would have foundered early without the strong backing of its sponsors. These are: The Korea Research Foundation; The Australian National University; the Australia-Korea Foundation; the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the Institutional Links with Korea Program in the Department of Education, Employment and Training of the Australian Government. The project's profound gratitude is due to Mr Hong Sah Myung, former Director of the International Exchange Division, Korea Research Foundation for his continuing support.

The Academy of Korean Studies massive work, Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajôn, has been an extremely valuable point of reference throughout the Encyclopaedia's compilation, and the Academy's sanction in permitting the translation of material from its pages has been of immense help and greatly appreciated.

Although many of the entries list a short bibliography, the biographical and bibliographical entries themselves do not generally bear references. The following works, however, are those most frequently consulted in the preparation of the biographies and bibliographies included in the Encyclopaedia of Korea.

Lee Ki-baik, Han'guksa shillon. Wagner, Edward W. and Shultz, Edward J., tr., A New History of

The Academy of Korean Studies, Korea Press Centre and Ministry of Culture and Information (present Ministry of Culture and Tourism) are thanked also for providing the negatives on copyright loan of the photographs included in the Encyclopaedia. The local, regional and national maps of Korea were drawn by Kay Dancy of the Cartography Unit in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

Yang Hi Choe-Wall
Editor
## ABBREVIATIONS

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Professor Donald Baker  
University of British Columbia  
Canada

Dr. Gina Barnes  
University of Cambridge  
United Kingdom

Dr. John T Bennett  
Korea Economic Institute of America  
USA

Dr. Y H Choe-Wall  
The Australian National University  
Australia

Professor Donald N Clark  
Trinity University  
USA

Professor Vipan Chandra  
Wheaton College  
United States of America

Professor Choe Chongho  
Yonsei University  
Korea

Professor Choi Chang-sup (Ch'oe Changsop)  
Sogang University  
Korea

Professor Martina Deuchler,  
University of London,  
United Kingdom

Dr. Kenneth H Gardiner  
The Australian National University  
Australia

Enid Gibson  
The Australian National University Library  
Australia

Dr. James H Grayson  
University of Sheffield  
United Kingdom

Professor HaWoo-Bong (Ubong)  
University of Tokyo  
Japan

Mr. Alan C. Heyman  
Korea

James E Hoare
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
United Kingdom

Dr. Keith Howard
University of London
United Kingdom

Dr John Jorgensen
Griffith University
Australia

Professor Joo Nam Chull (Chu Namch'ol)
Korea University
Republic of Korea

Dr. Burglind Jungman
Heidelberg University
Germany

Professor Kim Chin
California Western School of Law
USA

Professor Kim Young-won (Yŏngwŏn)
Chŏnju National Museum
Korea

Dr. Stephen Kirby
University of Hull
England

Dr. Gary Klintworth
The Australian National University
Australia

Dr. Andrey Lankov
The Australian National University
Australia

Professor Sang Oak Lee (Yi Sangŏk)
Seoul National University
Korea

Rose E Lee
University of London
England

Professeur Li Ogg
Universite Paris 7
France

Professor Donald S. MacDonald
East Stroudsburg University of Pennsylvania
USA

Professor Susan A. MacManus
University of South Florida,
USA

Professor David R. McCann
Harvard University
USA

Professor Dennis L McNamara
Georgetown University
USA

Mark Mueller
The Australian National University
Australia

Mr Ron Munro
The Australian National University
Australia

David J Marcou
USA

Professor Andrew Chang-woo Nahm
Western Michigan University
United States of America

Dr. Sarah M. Nelson
University of Denver
United States of America

Professor James Palais
University of Washington
U.S.A.

Narendra Pankaj
University of Sydney
Australia

Professor Park Seong-Rae (Pak Sŏngnae)
Hankuk (Han’guk) University of Foreign Studies,
Korea

Professor Mark Peterson
Brigham Young University
USA

Michael Pettid
University of Hawaii
USA

Professor Marshal R Pihl (deceased)
University of Hawaii at Manoa
U.S.A.
Professor Robert C Provine
University of Durham
United Kingdom
LIST OF TRANSLATORS

Don Cameron  
The Australian National University  
Australia

Dr. Y H Choe-Wall  
The Australian National University  
Australia

Paul Cosgrove  
The Australian National University  
Australia

Dr. Kenneth H Gardiner  
The Australian National University  
Australia

Michael Pettid  
University of Hawaii  
USA
Mark Mueller
The Australian National University
Australia

Frank Tedesco
Sejong University
Korea

Narendra Pankaj
University of Sydney
Australia

Young-Oak Wells
Australia
ROMANIZATION

1. Korean words are spelled according to the McCune-Reischauer Romanization System, with some exceptions. The system does not transcribe the spelling of Korean words, letter by letter, into a Roman alphabet, but represents the pronunciation by taking full account of euphonic changes.

Examples: Several consonant letters in the Korean alphabet represent two or more different sounds according to their position in a word or phrase. A different letter is used in romanizing each sound: thus may be written r, l, or n and  as k, g, or ng, according to the value given to it in pronunciation.

The syllables of Sino-Korean words, and especially of proper names, are not separated by hyphens.

Examples: Song Shiyol is used instead of Song Shi-yol and Ch’a Ch’ollo instead of Ch’a Ch’on-ro.

Where a person’s or an institution’s romanized name is not spelled according to the McCune-Reischauer System, and yet that spelling is well established and familiar to the public, it is retained with the correctly romanized name in the bracket.

Examples: Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman), Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) Sun Kyun Kwan (Sŏnggyun’gwan) University, Sookmyung (Sungmyŏng) Women’s University

The diacritical mark over  (°) and  is used to distinguish from  and from  (\(\check{\sigma}\)).

The Korean alphabet  is romanized as ‘sh’ rather than as ‘s’.

Examples: Shilla is used instead of Silla and shirhak instead of sirhak.

An apostrophe is used for the strongly aspirated word as well as to separate n and g when they do not form the single sound ng (\(\check{o}\)).

Examples: Ch’angdŏk Palace

The romanization systems used for Chinese and Japanese are the Hanyu Pinyin Romanization System and Hepburn System respectively.

2 All Korean words have been italicized except for proper nouns.

3 The hyphen usually reserved for geographical and architectural suffixes within words, such as kang or -gang (river), san (mountain), to or -do (island or province), sa (temple), kung or -gung (palace), tang or -dang (hall), etc. is not used, and instead the English equivalents of suffixes are included as a separate word.

Examples: Tŏksu Palace is used instead of Tŏksu-gung and Haein Temple instead of Haein-sa.
The repetition of information in English and Korean is also eliminated for hyphenated suffixes.

Examples: Han-gang is referred to as Han River or River Han and not as Han-gang River, and Kyŏngbok Palace not Kyŏngbok-kung Palace

This has created some difficulty in romanizing proper nouns with mono-syllable words such as Hong-do being referred to as Hong Island (which sounds as if a part of name is missing) or Nam-san as Nam Mountain, but it was necessary to achieve uniformity. Where a suffix is retained for unavoidable reasons, its translation is given in brackets.
HOW TO USE THE INDEX

1. Entries in bold type indicate that they are independent entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Korea*, for example:

   History of Korea
   Literature
   Musical instruments, etc.,

   while entries in plain type are used for:

   Topics discussed within articles.
   Sub-entries (e.g., under the heading of History of Korea there are many sub-headings with articles of their own. These sub-headings are indented under main entries, thus, History of Korea
   Chosŏn
   Koryŏ
   Three Kingdoms, etc.

   Cross-references which direct the reader to the form used in the Index. (e.g., Pak Chŏnghŭi see Park Chung Hee).

2. All bibliographical entries including titles of books, newspapers and magazines are italicized. (e.g., *Samguk yusa*, *Dong-A (Tonga) ilbo*, Sonyŏn, etc.)

3. The entries in the Index are in alphabetical order of letter-by-letter, and not word-by-word. The apostrophes within words are ignored in the alphabetical sequence.

   Example:
   Ch’ae Manshik
   Cho Chun
   Ch’oe Ch’ung

4. In order to clarify the romanized Korean and Chinese words used in the *Encyclopaedia of Korea*, the *han’gŭl* and Chinese characters are given in the Index with the English translation of the words in brackets in the Index.
# ILLUSTRATIONS
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<td>48</td>
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<td>Anbang (the main living room; the women's quarters)</td>
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<td>Sarangbang (a living room reserved for entertaining male guests)</td>
<td>Housing: Choson</td>
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<td>Ch’oga (Straw-thatched house)</td>
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<td><em>Paduk</em> (Korean draughts)</td>
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<td><em>Yut</em> (four-stick game)</td>
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<td><em>Hwat’u</em> (flower cards)</td>
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<td><em>Hŏnhwa ka</em> (flower presentation song)</td>
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<td><em>Aak</em> (Confucian ritual music)</td>
<td>Music: Court music and music of upper classes</td>
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AKS: Academy of Korean Studies  
KPC: Korea Press Centre  
MCI: Ministry of Culture and Tourism (former Ministry of Culture and Information)
Map 1  South Korea

Provinces and Special City
1. Kyŏnggi Province
2. Seoul Special City
3. Kangwŏn Province
4. North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province
5. South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province
6. North Kyŏngsang Province
7. South Kyŏngsang Province
8. North Ch'ŏlla Province
9. South Ch'ŏlla Province
10. Cheju Province

Metropolitan Cities
11. Taegu Metropolitan City
12. Taejŏn Metropolitan City
13. Pusan Metropolitan City
14. Inch'ŏn Metropolitan City
15. Kwangju Metropolitan City
16. Ulsan Metropolitan City

Bays
22. Asan Bay
23. Posŏng Bay
24. Kwangyang Bay
25. Chinhae Bay
26. Ulsan Bay
27. Yŏngil Bay

Mountains
28. Mt. Ch'iaek
29. Mt. Chiri
30. Mt. Chuwang
31. Mt. Halla
32. Mt. Kaya
33. Mt. Kyeryong
34. Mt. Naejang
35. Mt. Odae
36. Mt. Pukhan
37. Mt. Sobaek
38. Mt. Songni
39. Mt. Sŏrak
40. Mt. Tŏgyu
41. Mt. Wŏrak
Islands

42. Ullŏng Island

Other

43. De-militarized zone (DMZ)

Other cities

44. Sokch’o
45. Kangnŭng
46. Ch’unch’ŏn
47. T’aebaek
48. Wŏnju
49. Ch’ungju
50. Chŏnju
51. Mokp’o
52. Andong
53. Kyŏngju
54. Chinju
56. Cheju
57. Sŏgwip’o
58. N/A
59. Former border of Kyŏnggi Province

Map 2 North Korea

Provinces and Cities

1. North P’yŏngan Province
2. Chagang Province
3. Yanggang Province
4. North Hamgyŏng Province
5. South P’yŏngan Province
6. South Hamgyŏng Province
7. Namp’o
8. P’yŏngyang
9. South Hwanghae Province
10. North Hwanghae Province
11. Kangwŏn Province
12. Kaesŏng
13. Shinŭiju
14. Kusŏng
15. Kanggye
16. Manp’o
17. Hŭich’ŏn
18. Hyesan
19. Haeju
20. Ch’ŏngjin
21. Najin
22. Sariwŏn
23. Kimch’aek
24. Tanch’ŏn
25. Hamhung
26. Wŏnsan
27. Kaech'ŏn
28. P'yŏngsŏng

Bays

29. Haeju Bay
30. Hamhŭng Bay
31. Kanghwa Bay
32. Sŏhan Bay
33. Yŏnghŭng Bay

Mountains

35. Mt. Ch'ilbo
40. Mt. Kŏmdŏk
41. Mt. Kŭmgang
43. Mt. Myohyang
51. Mt. Paektu
52. Mt. Puk P'ot'ae
57. Mt. Kuwŏl

Rivers

58. Yalu River
59. Tumen River
61. Chu'ul Hot Spring

Other information

60. De-militarized zone (DMZ)
61. Russia
62. China
63. East Sea (Sea of Japan)
64. Yellow Sea

Islands

65. Ka Island
66. Mayang Island

Buddhist Temples

68. Pohyon Temple
70. Sŏgwang Temple

Map 3 Seoul Special City

Wards

1. Chongno Ward
2. Chung Ward
3. Chungnang Ward
4. Kangdong Ward
5. Kangnam Ward
6. Kangbuk Ward
7. Kangsŏ Ward
8. Kūmch’ŏn Ward
9. Kuro Ward
10. Kwanak Ward
11. Kwangjin Ward
12. Map’o Ward
13. Nowŏn Ward
14. Sŏch’o Ward
15. Sŏdaemun Ward
16. Sŏngbuk Ward
17. Songp’a Ward
18. Sŏngdong Ward
19. Tobong Ward
20. Tongdaemun Ward
21. Tongjak Ward
22. Ŭnp’yŏng Ward
23. Yangch’ŏn Ward
24. Yŏngdŭngp’o Ward
25. Yongsan Ward

Rivers
26. Han River

Mountains
27. Mt. Kwanak
28. Mt. Nam
29. Mt. Namhan
30. Mt. Pukhan
31. Mt. Tobong
32. Mt. Inwang

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40. Seoul National University
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45. Korea University
46. Sogang University
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49. Dankook University
50. Myong Ji University
51. Kon-kuk University
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54. Tobong Temple
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1. Ansan
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3. Anyang
4. Hanam
5. Hwasŏng County
6. Ich’ŏn
7. N/A
8. Kap’yŏng County
9. Kimp’o County
10. Koyang
11. Kunp’o
12. Kuri
13. Kwach’ŏn
14. Kwangju County
15. Kwangmyŏng
16. Nam Yangju
17. N/A
18. Osan
19. P’aju
20. P’och’ŏn County
21. Puch’ŏn
22. P’yŏngt’aek
23. Shihŭng
24. Sŏngnam
25. Suwon
26. Tongduch’ŏn
27. Úijŏngbu
28. Úiwang
29. Yangju County
30. Yangp’yŏng County
31. Yŏju County
32. Yŏnch’ŏn County
33. Yongin

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38. Mt. Hwaak
39. Mt. Mani
40. Mt. Myŏngji
41. Mt. Myŏngsong
42. Mt. Puram
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52. Pongsŏn Temple
53. Shillük Temple
54. Yongju Temple

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2. Ch'ŏrwŏn County
3. Ch'unch'o'n
4. Hoengsong County
5. Hongch'ŏn County
6. Hwach'ŏn County
7. Inje County
8. Kangnung
9. Kosŏng County
10. P'yŏngch'ang County
11. T'aebaek
12. Tonghae
13. Samch'ŏk
14. Sokch'o
15. Wŏnju
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18. Yŏngwŏl County

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22. Mt. Ch'iaek
23. Mt. Hwaak
24. Mt. Hwangbyŏng
25. Mt. Kariwang
26. Mt. Kyebang
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28. Mt. Pangdae
29. Mt. Samak
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1. Chech’ŏn
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3. Ch’ŏngju
4. Ch’ŏngwŏn County
5. Ch’ungju
6. Koesan County
7. Okch’ŏn County
8. Poŭn County
9. Tányang County
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12. N/A
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15. Mt. Wŏrak

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35. Mt. Sobaek

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2. Ch’ŏnan
3. Ch’ŏngyang County
4. Hümông County
5. Kongju
6. Kumsan County
7. Nonsan
8. Poryông
9. Puyó County
10. Soch'ŏn County
11. Sŏsan
12. T'aean County
13. Tangjin County
14. Yesan County
15. Yöng'gi County

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16. Mt. Kyeryŏng

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20. Sudŏk Temple

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3. Ch'ŏngdo County
4. Ch'ŏngsong County
5. Kimch'ŏn
6. Koryŏng County
7. Kumi
8. Kunwi County
9. Kyŏngsan
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11. Mun'gyŏng
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13. Ponghwa County
14. Sangju
15. Sŏngju County
16. Talsŏng County
17. Úisŏng County
18. Ulchin County
19. Ullung County
20. Yecheon County
21. Yongch'on
22. Yeongdok County
23. Yongju
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32. Mt. Nam
33. Mt. Palgong
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35. Mt. Sobaek
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45. Sökkuram Grotto
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4. Chinju
5. Hadong County
6. Haman County
7. Hamyang County
8. Hapch'on County
9. Kijang County
10. Kimhae
11. Koch’ang County
12. Koje
13. Kosong County
14. Masan
15. Miryang
16. Namhae County
17. Sach’ön
18. Sanch’ông County
19. T’ongyông
20. Üiryông County
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22. Yangsan

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26. Mt. Chiri
27. Mt. Kaya
28. Mt. Kohyon
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30. Mt. Togyu

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2. Chinan County
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4. Chŏnju
5. Iksan
6. Imshil County
7. Kimje
8. Koch’ang County
9. Kunsan
10. Muju County  
11. Namwon  
12. Puan County  
13. Sunch'ang County  
14. Wanju County  

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20. Mt. Mai  
21. Mt. Togyu  

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6. Hwasun County  
7. Kangjin County  
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10. Kurye County  
11. Kwangyang  
12. Mokp'o  
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16. Shinan County  
17. Sunch'ŏn  
18. Tamyang County  
19. Wando County  
20. Yŏch'ŏn  
21. Yŏch'ŏn County  
22. Yonggwang County  
23. Yongam County  
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29. Mt. Chogye
30. Mt. Mudung
31. Mt. Munsu
32. Mt. Wŏlch’ul

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34. N/A
35. Chi Island
36. Chin Island
37. Ch’ŏngsan Island
38. N/A
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40. Kŏgm Island
41. Kŭmdang Island
42. Kŏmun Island
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44. Mo Island
45. Naro Island
46. Odong Island
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49. Wan Island

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13. Cheju National University
14. N/A

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15. Kwanum Temple

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2. Kanghwa County
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Hwasŏng county
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Kimch'ŏn
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kkoktu kakshi

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ritual songs
shaman kut songs
Shimch'ông ka
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Stories: Myths, Legends, Folktales (see also Mythology)

Tan'gun, the Founder of Old Chosón

Post-Division, Post-War Korean Literature

Beside a Chrysanthemum (Kukhwa yŏp'esŏ)
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Creation & Criticism (Ch'angjak kwa pip'yŏng)
Dawn of Labour (Nodong ui saebyŏk)
Great Springtime
Hwang Tonggyu
Kim Chiha
Kim Suyŏng
Ko Ŭn
National Literature Movement, 1980
Pak Nohae
Shin Kyŏng-nim
Sŏ Chŏngju
Yi Iusoo

Twentieth century Korean poetry

Korean poetry to 1945
Azaleas (Chindallae Kkot)
Ch'oe Nam-sŏn
Chu Yohan
Ferryboat and Traveller (Narupae wa haengin)
From the Sea to Children (Hae egesŏ sonyŏn ege)
Han Yongun (Manhae)
Kim Chŏngshik (Sowŏl)
Kim Ŭk
Kŏwl (Mirror)
Ogando (Crow's Eye View)
Silence of Love, The (Nim ŭi ch'immuk)
Yi Sang
Youth (Sonyŏn)

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Lunar New Year (sŏllal)

Lyuh Woon Hyung (see Yŏ Unhyŏng)
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Maech'ŏn yarok

Maeil shinbo (see Seoul shinmun)

Maeil shinmun 每日新聞

Maengbu Mountain 猛扶山

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Munye
Munye shidae
Ōrini
P'yehŏ
Paechho
Pulgun chogŏri
Sasanggye
Shin ch'ŏnji
Sonyŏn
Sonyŏn hanbando
Yŏwŏn
Yushim

Magok Temple 麻谷寺

Mai Mountain 馬耳山

Malttugi 留록이 [Literature]

Man'gi yoram 萬機要覽

Man'gyŏng River 高陽江

Manchurian Invasions, 1627, 1637 [History of Korea]

Manhae (see Hang Yongun) 萬海

Mani Mountain 摩尼山

March First Movement (Samil wudong) [History of Korea]

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Masan 馬山市

Mayang Island 馬養島 [United Kingdom and Korea]

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Hyangyak chipsŏng pang

Tongū pogam

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Western (see also Health care system)

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Medicine after liberation

Pak Chiwon, 1737-1805

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Sŏngho saesŏl (Insignificant Explanations)

Universities, training

Yi Ik, 1682-1764

Yŏrha ilgi (Jehol Diary)

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Metalwork

Chosŏn period and modern era

Koguryŏ

Koryŏ

Paekche

Prehistoric period

Shilla

Miam ilgi

Mich'ŏn, King

Min. Queen (see Myŏngsŏng, Queen)

Min Ch'ungjŏnggong yugo

Min Jok Sa

Min Kyŏmho

Min Yŏnghwan

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Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Energy

Ministry of Construction and Transportation

Ministry of Culture and Tourism

Ministry of Education

Ministry of Environment

Ministry of Finance and Economy

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs

Ministry of Health and Welfare

Ministry of Information and Communication

Ministry of Justice

Ministry of Labour

Ministry of Legislation

Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries
Ministry of National Defence
Ministry of National Unification
Ministry of Patriots' and Veterans' Affairs
Ministry of Science and Technology

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Mollendorff, Paul George

*Mongsan hwasang pŏbŏ yangrok ŏnhae* 蒙山和尚法語略錄譯解

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- Ch'onma-san
- Changsu-san
- Chiri-san
- Chogye-san
- Choryong-san
- Chuhul-san
- Chuwang-san
- Halla-san
- Haram-san
- Hwaak-san
- Hwangbyong-san
- Ibarum-san
- Inwang-san
- Kanbeak-san
- Kariwang-san
- Kaya-san
- Kohun-san
- Komdok-san
- Kungang-san
- Kumo-san
- Kuwol-san
- Kwanak-san
- Kyebang-san
- Kyeryong-san
- Maengbu-san
- Mai-san
- Mani-san
- Mudong-san
- Munsu-san
- Myohyang-san
- Myongji-san
Myŏngjidŏk-san
Myŏngsŏng-san
Myŏrank sân
Nam-san
Namhan-san
Namp'o'ae-san
Nangnim-san
Odae-san
Onjin-san
Palgong-san
Pangdae-san
Paegam-san
Paek-san
Paektu-san
Pohyŏn-san
Pukhan-san
Pukp'o'ae-san
Puram-san
Pyŏngp'ung-san
Saemak-san
Shinbl-san
Sobaek-san
Songni-san
Sŏrak-san
Suyang-san
Taebaek-san
Taegwallyŏng
Tobong-san
Tŏgyu-san
Tongbaengnyŏn-san
Turyu-san
Tut'a-san
Wŏlch'ul-san
Wŏrank-san
Yongmun-san

Muan County

Much'ŏn
舞天
[Agricultural rites; Dance]

Mudang
巫堂
[Shamanism]

Mudŏng Mountain
無等山

Muhak (see Chach'o)

Muju County

Mun'gwa
文科
[Mun'gwa]

Mun'gyŏng
開慶市

Mun, King
文王

Munmyo
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Munsŏng, King
文聖王

Munsu Mountain
文殊山

Munwha Broadcasting Corporation (MBC)
[Broadcasting companies]
Munhwajae pohop

Munye

Munye shidae

Museums

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Children's songs

Tongyo

Composers

An Ilk'a
Ch'ong Sain
Hong Yonghu (Hong Namp'a)
Hyön Chemyong
Kang Sökhui
Kim Inshik
Kim Sunnam
Kim Wôn'gyun
Paik Byung-dong (Paek Pyôngdong)
Yun Isang

Court music and music of upper classes

Ritual and banquet music of the Chosôn dynasty

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Hyangak
Tangak

Folk song (see also Literature)

P'ansori

Ch'unhyang ka
Ch'okpyôk ka
Hôngbu ka
Shimch'ông chôn
Sugung ka

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Hyônak Yongsan hoesang
Instrumental music
Kagok
Kasa (see also Literature)
Kwanak Yongsan hoesang
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Shiljo (see also Literature)

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Buddhist
Christian

Ch'ansongga

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Ch'wita
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Kyônggi minyo
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Nongak
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Western (yangak)

World War II and after
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Koryô Kyohyang Aktan (Korea Symphony Orchestra)
Kungnip Kyohyang Aktan (National Symphony Orchestra)
kyŏngŭmak
ppongtchak
Sŏul Kyohyang Aktan (Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra)
1920-1940
kagok
tongyo
yuhaengga

**Musical instruments**

**Aerophones**
- chi, yuk, chŏk
- hodŭgi
- hun
- nabal, nagak
- p'iri, ch'o'jŏk
- saenghwang (or saeng)
- so
- t'aep'yŏngso
- taeŭn, chungŭm, sogŭm, tangjŏk
- tanso, t'ungsŏ

**Chordophones**
- ajaeng,
- ang pip'a, hyang pip'a, wŏlgŭm
- haegŭm
- kayagŭm
- kŏmun'go

**Idiophones**
- ch'uks, o, pu
- kkwaenggari, ching
- p'yŏngjon, p'yŏngyŏng, t'ŭkchong, t'ŭkkyŏng
- pak
- panhyang
- ulla

**Introduction**

**Membranophones**
- changgo, kalgo
- chin'go
- chŏlgo
- chunggo
- chwago
- court drum
- kŏng'go
- kyobanggo
- nodo
- noedo
- noego
- nogo
- puk
- sakko
- sogo
- yŏngdo
- yŏnggo

**System of classification**

**Mutual Assistance Association** (see Kye)

**Myoch'ŏng** 妙清

**Myohyang Mountain** 妙香山

**Myong Ji (Myŏngji) University**
| **Myŏngch'ŏng County** | 明川郡 |
| **Myŏngji Mountain** | 明智山 |
| **Myŏngjiddŏk Mountain** | 明地德山 |
| **Myŏngjong, King** | 明宗 |
| **Myŏngnuang** | 明朗 |
| **Myŏngsŏng, Queen (Min, Queen)** | 明成王后 |
| **Myŏngsŏng Mountain** | 鴉聲山 |
| **Myŏrkak Mountain** | 淊运送山 |

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- Chumong, the founder of Koguryŏ
- First three inhabitants of Cheju Island
- Hogyŏng, the founder of Koryŏ
- Kūnhwa
- Kyŏngmun, King
- Pak Hyŏkkŏse, the founder of Shilla
- Susŏng (see Ch'adae, King)
- Tan'gun, the founder of Chosŏn

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| <strong>Nach'ol</strong> | 羅 咒 [New religions] |
| <strong>Naeam sŏnsaeng munjip</strong> | 萊耄先生文集 |
| <strong>Nagan Village</strong> | 樂安民俗村 [Architecture] |
| <strong>Najin</strong> | 龍津市 |
| <strong>Naju</strong> | 龍州市 |
| <strong>Naksan Temple</strong> | 洛山寺 [Architecture] |
| <strong>Naktong River</strong> | 洛東江 |
| <strong>Nam Cheju County</strong> | 南濟州郡 |
| <strong>Nam Mountain</strong> | 南山 |
| <strong>Nam River</strong> | 南江 |
| <strong>Nam Yangju</strong> | 南陽州市 |
| <strong>Namdae Stream (Ch'ŏrwŏn County)</strong> | 南大川 |
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Zhaoxian Ceili
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Kwŏn Kŭn
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Samgang haengshil to
sarye
New Community Movement, The 새마을운동

New Democratic Republican Party [Politics]

New History of Korea, A

New Korea Association (Shin'gunhoe) 新幹會 [Japan and Korea]

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Chŏngyŏk
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Hankook ilbo
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Haurant sunbo,
Joong-ang ilbo
Korea Herald
Kyunghyang shinmun
Soul shinmun (Maeil shinbo)
Tongnip Shinmun (The Independent)

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1988 Olympics in Seoul (XXIVth Olympiad) [History of Korea]

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No Paengnin 虞伯麟

No Sashin 虞思慎

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Pongsŏng Temple
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Fortune telling (see Fortune telling)
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Population
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Poryŏng
Posŏn

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Ponghwa County 奉化郡
Ponggŏng Temple 凤停寺
Pongsŏn Temple 奉先寺
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Pon'uri 本処寺
Pŏpsang sect 法相宗
Popsŏng (Haedong) sect 法性宗(海東宗)

Popular (folk) belief
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Fortune telling (see Fortune telling)
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History

Chosön
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Kabin cha
Kyemi cha
Kyöng cha

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Hansǒng Toseō Chushihoesa
Hollym Publishing Co
Ichogak Publishers
Imundang
Kaebayōka
Jungetumsa
Kyemongsa
Kyobo Publishers Incorporated
Min Jok Sa
Minjung Sōgwan
Minumsa
Pangmann Sōgwan
Pulchisa
Puril Ch'ulp'ansa
Samseong Publishing Co
Shinmun'gwan
Si-sa-yong-o-sa
Yōngch'ang Sōgwan

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Research Centre of Technology and Industrial Manpower

Research Institute of Industrial Science & Technology

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- Architectural Institute of Korea
- Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (ETRI)
- Korea Academy of Industrial Technology (KAITECH)
- Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)
- Korea Aerospace Research Institute
- Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute (KAERI)
- Korea Basic Science Institute
- Korea Development Institute (KDI)
- Korea Educational Development Institute (KEDI)
- Korea Electrotechnology Research Institute (KERI)
- Korea Food Research Institute (KFRI)
- Korea Ginseng and Tobacco Research Institute (KGTRI)
- Korea Information Society Development Institute (KISDI)
- Korea Institute for Economics and Technology (KJET)
- Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA)
- Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)
- Korea Institute of Construction Technology (KICT)
- Korea Institute of Criminology (KIC)
- Korea Institute of Geology, Mining and Minerals (KIGAM)
- Korea Institute of Industry and Technology Information (KINITI)
- Korea Institute of Machinery and Metals (KIMM)
- Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety (KINS)
- Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA)
- Korea Institute of Registered Architects (KIRA)
- Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST)
- Korea Railroad Research Institute (KRRI)
- Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS)
- Korea Research Institute of Bioscience and Biotechnology (KRIBB)
- Korea Research Institute of Standards and Science (KRISS)
- Korea Rural Economics Institute (KREI)
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- Korean Insurance Development Institute (KIDI)
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National History Compilation Committee (NHCC)
National Institute of Agricultural Science and Technology (NIAST)
National Institute of Health and Social Affairs (NIHASA)
Research Centre of Technology and Industrial Manpower (RCTIM)
Research Centre for Ocean Industrial Development (RCOID)
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Society for Research in Korean Language

**Reunification Democratic Party (New Korea Democratic Party)**

統一民主黨

[Roxey} Syngman (Yi Sŏngman), Dr

李承晩

[Rhu Kwan-soon (see Yu Kwansun)]

[Righteous Armies ( útilyoŋ)]

[Rivers]

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Anmok kang
Ansŏng ch'ŏn
Chae ryŏng kang
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Taehan maeil shinbo (Korean Daily News)  大韓每日新報

Taehan munjŏn  大韓文典

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Traditional

Ch'angguk  唱劇

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Ch'oyong-mu  虚容舞
Hahoe pyŏlsin-kuri  河回別神圣
Kiak  伎樂
Pongsan T'alch'um  屬山蓆춤
Sandae Togam  塗大夫
Suyŏng yau  柝庸遊
Tongyŏng ogwangdae  通域遊方大隊
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Kkot'ŭkk akshi  (Puppet play)
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Tŏksu Palace (Kyŏngun Palace)  德壽宮  [Architecture]

Tong Paengnyŏn Mountain  東百年山
Tonga ilbo (see Newspapers)  東亞日報
Tonga kyŏsŏpsa ūi yŏng'gu  東亞交涉史論書

Tonghang munhwa kyoryusa non'ga  東方文化交流史論敘

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Tongdong (Tongdong Refrain)  動動  [Akhak koebŏm]

Tongduch'ŏn  東豆川市

Tonggak chapki  東閣雜記
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In this image, the extracted content includes various places and terms, each of which is accompanied by an approximately equivalent transliteration or translation in Korean. The document appears to be an index or list of important terms, possibly related to historical, geographical, or cultural significance. Each term is followed by either the relevant category (Politics, Economy, Buddhism, etc.) or a specific reference such as literature or architecture.
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Yŏnp'yŏng Island
Yŏnsan, Prince
Yŏnsei (Yŏnse) University
Yŏrha ilgi
Yŏsū

燕岩小説研究
濼川郡
演燈會
靈巖郡
龍飛御天歌
永昌書館
英親王
永川市
龍潭遺詞
盈德郡
永同郡
迎鼓
靈光郡
龍興江
龍仁市
龍齊叢話
英祖
榮州市
龍珠寺
龍門山
嶽南驛苦狀
龍蛇日記
榮山江
寧越郡
寧陽郡
龍遊島
延坪島
燕山君
熱河日記
麗水市
Yǒwŏn (see Magazines)

Yu Chŏng

Yu Hyŏngwŏn

Yu Kilchun

Yu Kwansun

Yu Mongin

Yu Sŏngnyong

Yu Tŭkkong

Yu du

Yu gong

Yu haengga

Yu hyŏng üi ttang (Land of Exile)

Yu jŏng

Yuk Yŏngsu

Yukka chabyŏng

Yulgok chŏnsŏ

Yullyŏng

Yun Ch’iho

Yun Ponggil

Yun Posŏn

Yun Sŏndŏ

Yun Tusŏ

Yushim

Yushin Constitution

Yushin system

Zappe, E.

Zhou Wenmu
Academy of Korean Studies

Located in Sŏngnam in Kyŏnggi Province, the Academy of Korean Studies (Han'guk Chŏngshin Munhwa Yŏn'guwon) was established by the government in 1978 to undertake studies in the heritage of the Korean people. The Academy sponsors research projects in the fields of history, philosophy, education, society, literature, arts and other attributes of traditional Korean life and culture. Graduate courses commenced in 1980, with master and doctorate programs now well established in most fields of Korean studies. Unlike normal graduate schools in Korea, the academy is not affiliated with an undergraduate program. Graduate students are exempted from tuition and accommodation fees, and they live on campus, thus encouraging their complete devotion to their studies. An allowance is granted to students who maintain outstanding grades. To promote the study of Korean culture overseas, enrolment opportunities are offered to overseas students interested in Korean studies. Foreign students receive similar privileges and the same level of instruction as Korean students.

Adoption

Characteristics

Traditional methods of adoption (yangja) in Korea were radically different from what is connoted by the accepted English meaning. The primary focus of the adoption was not the child, but the parent. Traditional adoption meant the selection of a relative of the next lower generation, to serve as the heir for a man, and to provide rituals for him after he died. Many adoptions, in fact, did not take place until after the father had died; and in most cases, the 'child' was a full-grown adult.

In traditional Korea, society was based on the principles of patrilineage, that is to say, a lineage resting on patrilineal inheritance and organisation. The patrilineage was patrilineal in its inheritance practices, patriarchal in its authority structure, and patrilocal in its marriage practices. In other words, inheritance was from the father to his male heirs, political and social authority was completely in the hands of males, and upon marriage the newly-weds settled in the home of the groom's father. The patrilineage can be described as 'men, related to men, through men.'

In such a society, when a man did not have an heir (meaning he had no children or had only daughters), he would have to adopt. The adopted heir would have rights to the adopter's property, and would be obligated to watch after him if still alive, and perform ancestor ceremonies for him after he died. In ideal practice, the adopted heir was the son of one's brother. If the brother did not have more than one son, then a near cousin's, or if necessary, a distant cousin's son would be a candidate for adoption. An elder brother, or the heir to the main line of the lineage (or sublineage), that is, the eldest son of the eldest son for several generations, would have claim on the older son of a younger brother or cousin. However, a younger brother (or cousin) could only ask for the younger son of his older brother or cousin.

Adoption in the Koryŏ Kingdom

From early Koryŏ times, households with no natal male child were legally empowered to adopt an heir from the husband's close relatives. When this was not possible, however, it
was permissible by law to adopt from the close kin of the wife. Yet, as the patriarchal system became firmly entrenched in late Koryŏ, in practice the adopted child was chosen only from the husband's close kin. Since an illegitimate son did not have the right to continue the lineage, a family without a male heir had no recourse but to adopt a male child from their relatives to carry on the lineage. The distinction within the family between legitimate and illegitimate children, which can be said to have had its origins in Koryŏ, developed into full-blown discrimination and existed throughout and even beyond Chosŏn (1392-1910).

Adoption during Chosŏn

The adoption laws of Chosŏn were mostly decreed during King Sejong's reign (r. 1418-1450) and they emphasised the importance of the continuation of the patrilineage. They may be summarised thus:

1) When the eldest son did not have an heir, he was to adopt the child of a younger brother if such a nephew existed. As a last resort, where there were no sons or nephews, it was permissible to adopt an illegitimate male child, either of the eldest son's own procreation, or that of his brother. While adoption from the wife's kin was acceptable, the person adopted was not given the full legal rights of succession.

2) The eldest son of a given family could not be adopted, even in the case of being an orphan, without special dispensation from the government.

3) When a son was born after the adoption of an heir, the adopted, not the natal son, held full legal rights as the heir to the lineage.

4) When an adopted child's natural family lost its eldest son, the adoptee was to be encouraged to return to his natal household to serve as heir and continue the lineage.

5) The adopter household was required to report the adoption to the Yejo (Board of Rites), which recorded the adoption and issued the necessary validating document.

Although strict regulations existed, in practice these were not observed to the letter of the law and ways were devised to circumvent them. These included paekkol yangja (white bone adoption), su yangja (foster adoption) or shi yangja (orphan adoption). Paekkol yangja involved taking the name of a deceased relative of the second generation in order to adopt a grandchild. By this method, the generation of the one adopted did not need to be changed. Su yangja was the adoption of a child under three years of age from a different lineage, with the adoptee being granted the equivalent rights of a natal child; while Shi yangja used the adoption of a foundling (also under three years old), ostensibly for the welfare of the child, but in practice mainly for the purpose of providing additional labour for the adopting family.

As Chosŏn society became more thoroughly indoctrinated in neo-Confucian ideology, the importance of perpetuating one's family line became increasingly important. Moreover, the most important tenet of neo-Confucian society was that of filial piety and while this was achieved by various means, producing a male heir to carry on one's lineage was paramount. Hence, when one was not able to procreate an heir, adoption was a necessity. It is, therefore, not surprising to discover, based on both governmental documents and private genealogies, that less than one per cent of the population was involved in an adoption in the fifteenth century, but by the eighteenth century, over fifteen per cent of the men were adopted to be heirs to their uncles.

Modern Adoption Practices
In modern Korea inheritance laws have been re-written to grant heir status to daughters once again, but old customs die hard and many families still prize sons highly and arrange an adoption if deemed necessary. With the current trend towards smaller families, many families will not have a male heir; yet how the situation will be resolved, and whether adoption will continue to be practised as it was in the past, remains to be seen. Moreover, the growth of the women’s movement in Korea has caused a revaluation of those practices that systematically discriminated against females, and the resultant new societal mores indicate that future generations will be less inclined to feel compelled to perpetuate a society based on patrilineal inheritance principles.

As for the adoption of Korean children by overseas families, during the chaos of the Korean War and thereafter, foreigners began to adopt Korean orphans. Throughout many western countries Korean-born babies have grown up with western names in western families and are culturally completely westernised. Many adoptees, who are now adults, serve in government, business, education, and other occupations. However, the practice of handing-over infants to people from foreign countries came to be criticised by North Koreans and by some South Koreans too. Consequently, the South Korean government has instituted laws restricting overseas adoptions, and has resolved to prevent them altogether.

In the meantime, within Korea, the number of people who are practising western style adoption, that is, the rearing of an infant or child with whom there is no blood relationship, is increasing. In some cases, when a couple cannot have children, with the help of one of the three authorised agencies, they arrange to adopt an infant before the child is born. Sometimes, the adoptive mother goes through a charade of padding her clothes and then going off to stay with a relative until the child is born, then returning with the child and the illusion that she was the birth mother. Thereby, the family avoids any stigma that might befall the child from some traditional segment of society that would criticise the rearing of a child who is of a different bloodline.

Bibliography


Agricultural Cooperative Associations

Advancement Society (Ilchin Hoe) [Communism, Korea]

Aerophones [Musical instruments]

Agency for National Security Planning (Kukka Anjong Kihoek Pu) [History of Korea]

Agricultural cooperatives are organizations designed to assist farmers independently in diverse matters, such as increasing production, and providing economic and social advancement. In August 1961, the Agricultural Cooperative Law (Nongŏp hyŏptong chohap pŏp) was enacted and forms the basis for the agricultural cooperatives in Korea today. These cooperatives manage the economic activities of firms in a partnership with the farmers themselves. There are two basic types of cooperatives. The first is the specialized cooperative that focuses on one particular activity such as stockbreeding, sericulture, or fruit production. The other is the general cooperative that covers many diverse activities. The latter type is most common in Korea.

Korea has a long history of agriculture-based community organizations. Chief among
these are rural community agreements (hyangyak) and the mutual assistance groups known as kye. There are records of a kabae kye organized in Shilla during the reign of King Yuri (r. 24-57 CE) that provided resources for holding a harvest festival. In the early Choson period there were many types of kye such as hak kye which were established to provide funds for education and honsang kye which funded wedding and funeral expenses. Many kinds of kye exist today, to provide funds for a broad range of items. The hyangyak began in the Chinese Song Dynasty and entered Korea by the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544). The hyangyak agreements provided funds for items such as community rice warehouses and famine relief. In traditional times in Korea, the structures of kye and hyangyak provided relief and assistance to Korean farmers in times of need and were based upon the principle of mutual cooperation.

The first modern cooperative was established in 1907 in Kwangju under the provisions of the Regional Financial Union Regulations (Chibang kümyung chohap kyuch’ik). The cooperatives organized under these regulations provided funds to farmers. After liberation, the financial aspect of cooperatives fell chiefly under the control of the agricultural banks (nongóp ūnhaeng) and were codified by the Agricultural Bank Law (nongóp ūnhaeng póp: 1957). The cash flow problems of some farmers stem from the fact that they receive the bulk of their income once a year, and if this proves insufficient on occasions to meet both living and production expenses, they then must find a financial source to help with their next crop. The financial institutions under the umbrella of the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NACF: Nongóp Hyóptong Chohap Chúnganghoe) serve to relay funds from the parent organization to the members of the various agricultural cooperatives who are in financial need. The NACF member institutions provide about ninety-five per cent of the total credit needs for farmers.

The superstructure of the agricultural system under the NACF consists of the parent organization with provincial branch offices located under it and then either specialized cooperatives or general cooperatives. Farmers become members of their local cooperatives by buying shares in them, which then enables them to use the various services the cooperatives offer. Some of the services include credit extension facilities; purchasing of fertilizers, pesticides and farming implements, which are in turn resold to their members; buying grains and vegetables from the farmers; aid to member families; and processing services for the grains that the farmers grow. Since the NACF can purchase from wholesalers in bulk, it can offer fertilizers and pesticides to its members at lower cost than they would get elsewhere. Likewise, the credit services that are extended to members are at lower interest rates than small farmers could reasonably hope to secure individually.

Other services that are performed by various levels of cooperatives include the storage of agricultural goods and transportation of these products to markets, both of which are generally handled by the county-level cooperatives. Cooperatives also provide information to farmers, including technical advice for the implementation of new enterprises, and market research which assists farmers to cultivate crops that are in demand. In addition to their primary function of providing agricultural assistance and management advice, the cooperatives, along with government programs such as the Saemálil undong (New Village Movement), have also supplied funds for improvements to the rural communities. The NACF, through its local organizations, has sponsored the building of many community halls where members can hold meetings, farmer education classes, weddings and so on, and it also provides funds that permit the operation of local health clinics, barber shops and public baths.

Bibliography

Agricultural rites

Agricultural ceremonies tend to have shamanistic origins, but also were heavily influenced by introduced belief systems such as Buddhism and Confucianism. The origin of agricultural rituals extends to the oldest historical records in Korea which are in the form of foundation myths. One such example is the *Tan'gun Myth* which shows the subjugation of the hunting people of North-east Asia to an entity that controls the forces of agriculture; specifically, the wind, rain and clouds. Another is the *Sŏk't'alaeha Myth* which reveals a deep relationship with the Sŏk clan farming ceremonies. The Sŏk clan was originally from a fishing area, but moved inland to the Kyŏngju region. Also, the myth surrounding the birth of the founder of Koryŏ, T'aejo, was expressed in *Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ)* as if it was deeply related to the planting of millet. All of these myths, albeit in an indirect manner, disclose concepts of farming deities and grain spirits, and they indicate the processes of the early agricultural rituals.

In addition to the allusions to agrarian rituals in the foundation myths of Korea, there are many references to these myths in other ancient records of, and concerning, Korea. The records of large festivals held in the spring and autumn, such as Yŏnggo, Tongmaeng, Much'on and Chech'on, were recorded in Chinese historical accounts such as *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and *Beishi* (The History of the Northern Dynasties), and are all thought to be representative of ancient farming rituals. In *Beishi* there is a mention of the people of Koguryŏ building special shrines at every house and holding sacrificial rituals. Moreover, in the winter Koryŏ people held a rite to yŏngsŏng (the star spirit) and the sajik (the gods of the earth and grains). These actions can be directly linked to the seasonal farming rites of the present day. From the records in the *Samguk sagi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms) we know that there were many periodic ceremonies held in Shilla including New Year's Day, Kabae, Tano, Yudu and Hunong, and that while these may not have been exclusively agricultural ceremonies at their core, they all had the purpose of praying for an abundant harvest or offering thanksgiving for a successful harvest innate. In Koryŏ, there were many rites that held import as farming ceremonies. Chief among these were the P'algwahnhoe and Yŏndŭnghoe, large national festivals in the autumn and spring that had many attributes as links to agricultural rituals. The hallmark of these farming rituals from ancient days is that they are large-scale in nature, in contrast to the smaller-scale ceremonies of more recent times.

Chosŏn agricultural ceremonies are notable for their dual nature. On the level of the common people of farming communities, the rituals continued, much as they had for centuries past. The major change was the inclusion of Confucian elements into the belief systems of the people. The rituals that heretofore had been offered to various shamanistic deities now incorporated a Confucian flavour and in some manner emulated the sacrificial rituals performed by the upper classes to their ancestors. The agricultural rituals conducted by the monarch, presented the ruling classes with a conundrum since the official belief system of the state, Confucianism, did not allow for adherence to shamanistic rituals. Nonetheless, the king performed sacrificial rituals at Sajik Altar to the shamanistic gods of the earth and of the grains to entreat them to deliver a bountiful harvest to the nation. This reveals the importance of the harvest to the welfare of the kingdom.

In general, agricultural ceremonies can be divided into four categories: prayer ceremonies, planting ceremonies, cultivation ceremonies, and harvest ceremonies, in accord to the processes of farming work. The prayer ceremonies act to either pray for an abundant harvest or to divine the result of a pending harvest. There are a number of different prayer ceremonies, such as the nae nongjak or the ka nongjak, both based on the belief that an abundant harvest would follow their performance. The first record of such ceremonies being performed is in the thirtieth volume of *Sejo Shillok* (The Veritable Records of King Sejo) which states that shrines were erected in the homes of commoners on the fifteenth
day of the first lunar month to pray for an abundant harvest, and that in 1464 this was even
done in the palace. Another type of prayer ceremony is the ritual of chisan papki (treading
down the earth spirits). This consists of a masked dance performed by young people who
go about the village disguised as various spirits and perform incantatory dances at each
house. The villagers offer gifts, which are then offered in proxy by the dancers to the
spirits of farming.

Other prayer ceremonies are represented by ritual games such as tug-of-war, stone and
torch-fighting games which all serve as divination methods to predict the outcome of the
coming harvest. These folk games are recorded in the Tongguk seshigi (Annual Customs
of Korea). Tug-of-war contests were waged by two teams, East and West. The West team
represented the female powers of reproduction and if it won, it foretold of an abundant
harvest. The joining of the East (male) and West (female) ropes and the actions of pulling
back and forth represented fertility rites. By holding this contest in the rice fields, the
farmers sought to bring fertility to their land.

Prayer ceremonies also had a purpose of divining the outcome of the crop. Some of the
methods used were very passive, such as the custom of Chomsaengi pogi (Observing
the Pleiades - six visible stars in the constellation Taurus) which was done on the sixth day of
the second lunar month. It was believed that if the Pleiades appeared close to the moon it
foretold of a plentiful harvest. However, if the constellation was too distant from the moon
it was a bad omen. Other divination methods involve the use of grains, ashes and the
moon’s shadow, to predict the harvest of the coming year. Most of these rituals were
performed on the first full moon of the first lunar month.

Planting ceremonies were performed in the appropriate season to pray for an abundant
crop. These ceremonies were not common in Korea but, nevertheless, may be the origin of
traditional holidays. For instance, the making of flower-cakes (hwajon) took place on the
third day of the third lunar month, which would have been shortly before planting
commenced. Another custom, one that imitates the actions of planting is Moshimkki
norim. However, this ceremony is observed during the first full moon of the new year
which is well before the planting season. Nonetheless, it serves to entreat the mountain god
(sanshin), the guardian deity of the village, to ensure a good crop. To perform this ritual,
one villager plays the role of the sanshin and rides on the back of a cow to the place where
the other villagers are pretending to plant rice.

Cultivating ceremonies are rituals that pray for the abundance of crops during the growing
period. Some examples include the Tano Festival, the shamanistic P’ut kut ritual and rain
ceremonies. The Tano festival has origins in China but it incorporated many indigenous
Korean customs, such as the folk games with their emphasis on combat, and mask dances
too. These acts have their purpose in petitioning the spirits for an abundant harvest. The
P’ut kut is a shamanist ceremony generally held after the second or third sowing of the
fields. It, too, implores the spirits to ensure a bountiful harvest.

Representative agricultural rituals of the harvest season include the Yudu ch’önshin held in
the middle of the summer, the Ch’usök ch’önshin held in mid-autumn, and Kosa
ch’önshin in early winter. Their purpose is to express gratitude to various deities for the
harvest. The Kosa ch’önshin is considered as one of the most fundamental harvest
ceremonies in Korea. It is a household ritual performed by women to various guardian
deities, including the tutelary deity of the household. This ceremony is still common to the
present day.

Agricultural ceremonies are seasonal rituals in which the various deities of farming are
petitioned for an abundant crop. Another reason is to assuage the anxiety a farmer may
have in regards to his crops, in addition to entreating the supernatural forces that govern
farming, for a copious return. Many present-day customs and holidays have their origins
in these rituals. Some examples include the Tano Festival, *Ch’usok*, and many folk games. The preponderance of the number of agricultural rituals in traditional Korea indicates the great importance attached to a successful harvest, which would determine the ability of the farmers to survive for another year.

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Agriculture

Early Periods

The earliest period of agricultural activity in Korea was the Early Ch’ühlmun which dates from 6000-3500 B.C.E., and is denoted by the subsistence gathering of various fruits, tubers and grasses. The Middle Ch’ühlmun period (3500-2000 B.C.E.) is characterized by primitive farming activities and the intermittent cultivation of millet. Man began to use simple tools such as grinding stones and various digging implements, and the development of such tools marked a step forward in primitive farming methods. The size of vessels increased which points to the possible use of pottery as a means to store grain. By Late Ch’ühlmun (2000-100 B.C.E.), grains such as rice, barley, and buckwheat were being cultivated.

The tools used in these early stages were very basic. The grinding tools would have been used to either shell or grind foods such as acorns, chestnuts and seeds, and these implements have been found at many archaeological sites throughout Korea. The digging tools were simply short hoes that evolved into the metal *homi*, still used today to gather wild greens and tubers. This hoe was later modified with a long handle that enabled it to be used in planting and in turning the soil.

In China during the early part of the Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.E.) bronze implements began to be used in farming. Bronze ploughs were crafted and these were used for the cultivation of grains and beans, including rice. By the Warring States Period (5th c. - 3rd c. B.C.E.) iron-tool farming had begun in China. It is thought that this culture spread to Korea and around this time metal tools came into use on the Korean peninsula. The first such implements used in farming were iron ploughs, hoes, and a weeder known as a *ttabi*. It is recorded in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) that these items were being used by the time of King Yuri (r. 24-57 B.C.E.) of Shilla. In addition, there have been archaeological finds of pottery decorated with depictions of men using farming implements such as hoes and *ttabi*.

By the advent of the Three Kingdoms, agriculture had become more established on the Korean peninsula. In this period, the production of iron became prevalent. It is thought that since this technology entered Korea from China, the use of iron farming implements became widespread during Koguryö. The region surrounding the Yalu River in northern Korea has been the site of many archaeological finds of ancient farming implements. From that location iron technology spread south. One region in which agrarian culture became most pronounced was the Han River basin. This area had been inhabited by man since the early Neolithic period and it became the site of many agricultural advances in Korea. Using tempered-iron farming tools, the inhabitants were able to exploit the fertile alluvial plain of the Han River. Archaeological discoveries of settlements such as Amsa-dong and P’ungnap-dong denote them as among the oldest in Korea and reveal that the cultivation of crops was common there. The *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) records that in the time of King Taru (r. 28-77 C.E.) rice farming had begun, and that in King Kiru’s
reign (r. 77-128) the Han River flooded causing much damage to the surrounding rice fields. To combat this problem, a reservoir was constructed, together with the reinforcement of the river banks. It is noted in both the Nihon shoki (Kor. Ilbon sōgi) and Kojiki (Kor. Kosagi) that details of these flood-control and irrigation measures were transmitted to Japan via the Paekche Kingdom.

In the Samguk sagi it is recorded that by the fourth or fifth century the cultivation of barley had begun in Shilla. After this came rice cultivation and at that time irrigation and river control were being undertaken in earnest. The farming culture of Greater Shilla reached a high level, evidenced in the fact that much of this and the farming technology of Shilla has been passed down the ages. For example, holidays with origins in this period such as New Year, the first full moon of the New Year, the Tano Festival, Ch’ilso, and the Han’gawi Harvest Festival are all still observed today in Korea.

Koryŏ Period

From Greater Shilla and Later Paekche, Koryŏ adopted much of its land and farm system, and then reformed, taxed and regulated this with vigour. On the other hand, various tax reforms, farm implements, cattle and the like were periodically provided to the populace to soothe grievances. However, with an increasing population, public poverty worsened and the Koryŏ government saw the expansion of farming lands as a way to alleviate this problem. Accordingly, the plains to the north were the target of reclamation projects. The northern frontier was a dangerous area and the presence of a depleted Koryŏ military force gave scant security to the farming population. Moreover, the effort of land reclamation required a large amount of farming labour and technical skill, and drew heavily on the stocks of farming implements, as well as on water resources. Eventually, by King Sŏngjong’s reign, (r. 981-997), every military foundry in both province and county was given a quota for farming implements. It is noted in Koryŏ togyŏng (Illustrated Account of Koryŏ) that the farming techniques of Koryŏ were generally quite similar to those of Sung China, and that further improvement seemed possible.

A policy of encouraging agriculture was adopted during the long reign of King Munjong (r. 1046-1083), and in each area an official was charged with this task. This policy was further reinforced under King Myŏngjong (r. 1170-1197), and by the time of King Ch’unghyeol (r. 1274-1308) a central government office for the purpose of encouraging agriculture, Nongmu togam, had been established. At its peak, the Koryŏ state-financed central farming policy was quite successful. The Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ) records that the people were so self-sufficient, that rice in the huge storehouses was left to mould. The Koryŏ togyŏng notes that every warehouse was chock-full of rice, as security against war, flood, and drought.

Chosŏn Period

Early Chosŏn farming policy centred around autocratic reform. The land-tenure system of the first king, T’aejo (r. 1392-1398), revised and strengthened the tax system. Also, in several regions agricultural encouragement policies along with irrigation works were established. During the reign of T’aejong (r. 1400-1418) farm surveys were again carried out by the government and various documents concerning agriculture and sericulture were published. In the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) a rain gauge was invented; copies of Nonsa chiksŏl (Straight Talk on Farming) were distributed; almanacs were published; and the overall level of farming technology was raised. In King Munjong’s short reign (r. 1450-1452) plans were made for irrigation works, river embankments and reservoirs. In the reign of King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455) horse farms were established, and silkworm distribution (for raising) escalated. King Sejo’s reign (r. 1455-1468), saw dams for irrigation purposes built, books on farming published, and several stock-breeding and sericulture farms established. The quarter-century during which Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494)
was king brought a stepping-up of the manufacture of various farming implements, and in the official encouragement of farming. As indicated earlier, the farming policies of early Chosŏn were quite successful. However, with the misgovernment that occurred during the reign of King Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) the country suffered greatly and farming went into decline. Yŏnsan’s reign was a blot on the fortunes of early Chosŏn and caused many hardships among the populace. The subsequent reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) saw the revival of enlightened farming policies. A principal accomplishment was the promulgation of the Village Code (hyangyak).

Early Chosŏn was marked by the shift in dry-field to wet-field cultivation. Irrigated areas increased considerably and allowed farmers with newly-acquired or increased water resources to produce crops that were less affected by fluctuations in rainfall. As well as irrigation, improved methods of field fertilization were developed. This was an important step forward, encouraging farmers to better nourish their crops, without having to let the fields lie fallow for a year or more. The use of improved fertilising techniques brought economic gain from increased crop yields.

When compared with early Koryŏ, productivity per kyŏl (a traditional unit of measurement for agricultural land) increased from six to eleven sŏk (one sŏk equals about five bushels) to a range of twenty or thirty to fifty or sixty sŏk, which represents a massive increase. The greatest portion of this increase can be attributed to the shift to wet-field farming and more efficient fertilisation, but there were also significant advances in farming technology and medical knowledge which contributed to this increase, directly and indirectly. The advances in medical knowledge brought better health and longer life, which increased the population over time and provided more labour for agriculture. Technical advancement included the publication and wide distribution of books on farming techniques, and also the increased utilisation of dykes, water wheels and other irrigation methods.

In mid-Chosŏn, government policy in regard to agriculture was that of first relieving the country’s famine conditions. Some of the measures taken by the government included the reduction by half of the rice and cloth tax; a cut in the amount of rice allocated to the military; the curtailment of the presentation of local products to the king; the abrogation of the law requiring government approval before land contiguous to rivers was reclaimed for agricultural use; prohibition on the cultivation of tobacco and the brewing of liquor; and there were other urgent adaptations to the difficult circumstances of the time. From mid-Chosŏn, the government was cognizant of the need to increase public welfare through an enlightened farm policy, and it maintained its critical view of farming methods, with an eye to their improvement.

After the Japanese Invasion of 1592, Korea began to cultivate crops that were introduced through both China and Japan. Also, from the Americas, red pepper, squash and tobacco were introduced through these countries during the reigns of King Sonjo (r. 1567-1608) and King Kwanghae (1608-1623). Soon these crops were grown throughout the country. Squash and red pepper proved to be vegetables well-suited to the Korean palate and were relatively easy to cultivate. In particular, red peppers created a major change in the recipes and dishes of Korea. Tobacco was cultivated to meet a growing demand.

The lives of mid-Chosŏn farmers were regulated by the twenty-four divisions of the calendar that detailed which farming tasks should be done at certain times of the year, such as winter field preparation, weeding, and harvesting tasks. In addition, farming technology was also improved with the publication of Nongga chipsŏng (Compilation for Farmers). This work provided an insight into the most efficient way to plough a field, which crops to plant in certain soil conditions, how best to harvest crops, and much other advice for farmers.

Late Chosŏn saw the establishment of many government offices to supervise and
administer the farms of the nation. During the reign of Yongjo (r. 1724-1776), the Office of Embankment Works (Cheǒnsa) was established, and with it many dykes were repaired, water wheels manufactured and installed, and the irrigation policy was strongly implemented. The Equalized Tax Law (Kyunyŏk pŏp; 1750) was declared and its provisions lessened the heavy tax burden of the commoners. To replace revenue so lost, taxes were collected on fisheries, salters, and boats, in addition to a tax on the so-called ‘hidden fields’. Other laws saw the growing of tobacco again prohibited since it was said to deplete the soil, and after a cattle epidemic devastated the country’s herds to such an extent that the farmers had no recourse but to plough with human labour, a ban on the slaughter of cattle was enforced.

In the 1600s, the shirhak (Practical Learning) movement swept through Korea and this was reflected in the agricultural policies of the time. In the 1700s, Nongp’ō mundap (Dialogue of Nongp’o) by Chŏng Sanggi was published and shortly thereafter Pan’gye surok (Pan’gye’s Treatises) by Yu Hyŏng’wŏn appeared. These works served as the dominant writings for the next one-hundred years. The shirhak scholars took the actual conditions of Chosŏn as their point of departure and then advocated reforms in such areas as the land system, the administrative system, and the military organization, with the goal of creating an agricultural economy based upon the independent, self-employed farmer.

Natural disasters often struck, causing poor crops and famine, and as a consequence other crops were introduced. New crops included sweet potato, potato and corn. Of these, corn had the greatest impact. In 1736 seed sweet potatoes were introduced and after considerable experimentation they too became a well-established crop. About sixty years after sweet potatoes were introduced, seed potatoes were brought to North Hamgyŏng Province, and within ten years they were being grown throughout the country. During this period many varieties of corn were introduced, as were peanuts in 1778.

Problems that occurred in late Chosŏn resulted from poor water and crop management. The use of the water wheel and extensive irrigation projects became so widespread that water resources were considerably depleted. Cotton was a prominent crop, but as a result the sericulture industry declined to the extent that it became nothing more than a part-time occupation for women and consequently the yield of silk declined every year. As crop farming declined, the cultivation of ginseng and cotton increased. Amidst the overall fall in farming productivity, these two crops showed remarkable resilience with high crop yields and a ready market for the product. This was due, in large part, to the technical knowledge which had developed in regard to the cultivation of these crops.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Western culture was flowing steadily into Korea. As in many other parts of Asia, this also had a major influence on farming technology. In 1884, an experimental crop production area and a cattle breeding facility were established, along with an enterprise to cultivate silkworms and mulberry trees. Also in this period, American farming implements were introduced. New writings on farming appeared, such as Nongjŏng shim’yŏn (New Approaches to Farm Management) by An Chongsu, and Chamsang ch’waryo (Essentials of Sericulture) by Yi Ugyu in 1884, which were followed by Nongjŏng ch’waryo (Essentials of Farm Management) by Chŏng Pyŏngha in 1886. These works incorporated the new ideas and technologies brought into Korea during this period of enlightenment.

At this time, the Japanese, who were entering Korea in large numbers, saw a retarded farming system. Dry-fields were being planted only with a single crop, and the rice varieties were a mixture of with both hardy and weak strains. Rivers and waterways were not being fully utilized and there was an insufficient number of reservoirs. In addition, the farming implements used were very crude and inefficient. The yield of the rice crop for the entire country was extremely low at nine to twelve million sŏk per year. One salvation, however, was the ginseng industry, with excellent cultivation techniques and a superior
product of both red and white ginseng. Another successful export was the market for Korean cattle, with most (upwards of 13,000) going to Japan and Russia in the late 1880s.

Japanese Colonial Period

During the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910, against a strong backdrop of Japanese capital, the Japanese agricultural industry profited greatly from Korean grown rice, cotton, fruit, tobacco and ginseng. Particularly with an eye to solving the food problems in their own country, in 1920 Japan introduced the Plan for Increasing Rice Production (Sanmi chūngsan kyehoeok) in Korea.

The Japanese colonial occupation of Korea resulted in a transformation of Korean agriculture, and this change was most notable in rice yields. In 1910, the year that Japan officially colonized Korea, there were 1.32 million chōngbo (one chōngbo = 0.992 hectare) under rice cultivation, with an annual yield of 12.4 million sōk of rice. By 1941, there were 1.64 million chōngbo under cultivation which produced a harvest of 24.88 million sōk. Together with the improved rice yield came the introduction of improved varieties of other crops, irrigation facilities were augmented, and the amount of chemical fertilizer applied to crops was markedly increased. However, Japan was the principal recipient of Korea’s agricultural endeavours. The following table demonstrates the degree to which Korea was exploited by Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Exported*</th>
<th>Utilization</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Per Capita Consumption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(&lt;--------million metric tons--------------&gt;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(million)</td>
<td>(kilograms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-30</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-35</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*All exported rice is to Japan.

This decline in rice consumption in Korea points directly to economic pressure, whereby an incomplete substitution of inferior cereal grains for rice, occurred and where food shortage intensified. There were also other areas in which Korea was exploited, but perhaps the most dramatic view of this is visible through the manipulation of the rice harvest.

Another very visible factor at the conclusion of the colonial period was the exploitation of Korean farmers. Although in 1945 about seventy-five per cent of Koreans earned their living from the land, this is not reflected in figures concerning land ownership. Eighty-one per cent of all Korean farm households only accounted for ten per cent of total land ownership. The high concentration of land in the hands of the few was the product of two factors. One is the colonial land policy of the Japanese, and the other is the economic exploitation of tenant farmers by landlords.

Korean Agriculture After Liberation

After liberation, agriculture was so disrupted that production markedly declined. The American Military Government’s land reforms improved the situation somewhat, and in 1948 the newly-founded Korean government quickly declared its own land reforms, with the Farm Land Reform Act (Nongji kaehyōkpǒp; 1949). In addition, there were various agriculturally-related master plans such as a three-year agricultural policy and a nine-year stock-breeding policy. However, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 brought all
of these plans to an abrupt halt.

When peace came to Korea, farming modernisation activities resumed. The 1953 and successive harvests brought a respite from food shortages and at this time foreign aid was received in large quantities. The existing five-year plan for agricultural development was modified to provide additional farmland development programs; irrigation project improvements; farmer education programs; along with other policies designed to both stimulate and modernize Korean agriculture. As a result, the harvest in 1959 reaped 27 million sŏk of grains and the 1960 harvest was of similar capacity.

From 1962 the First Economic Development Plan under President Park Chung Hee commenced, and farming policy within this was aimed at the modernisation of Korean agriculture and the securement of increased income for farming households. The manifestations of these policies saw an increase in the number of experimental farms and a focus on the realignment and extension of farming lands. Agricultural production policies concentrated on developing and improving fertilizers, pesticides and farming implements, and on diffusing this technology to the farmers. The Second and Third Economic Development Plans also had the modernisation of agriculture as the cornerstone of their agrarian policies.

The trend of modernisation and use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides continued at a pace throughout the 1970s. By 1977, there were seven chemical fertilizer plants with an annual production of three-million tonnes for domestic use and another half-million tonnes for export. With the modernisation of farming methods, came an accompanying increase in harvests. By 1975, Korea had achieved self-sufficiency in rice and barley, her two staple grains. Rice harvests continued to rise throughout the 1980s. However, more than half of the country’s demand for corn, wheat and beans was still met by imports.

By 1988, Korea was producing 6 054 000 tonnes of rice; 565 000 tonnes of barley and wheat; 302 000 tonnes of soybean; and about 260 000 tonnes of potato annually. The harvest of fruits such as apples, peaches and pears totalled 1 714 000 tonnes. Vegetables such as Chinese cabbage; radish; red pepper; garlic; and onion were grown extensively and found ready markets. As a result of the various mechanization programs, farm machinery made the planting, cultivation and harvesting of these crops less burdensome for farmers. In addition, the widespread use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides increased the per acre yields. Meat production averaged 724 000 tonnes of beef, pork and chicken annually.

With the opening of the Korean agricultural market in the 1990s, as a result of free-trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), government agricultural policies turned towards a fine-tuning of the agricultural sector. The basic thrust of the policies now aimed at supporting the special requirements of selected sectors of agriculture in order to prepare for the advent of market liberalization. In addition, policies sought an improvement in quality levels and reductions in production costs. In agricultural areas, these changes were seen in an improvement in the labour structure, realignment of farmland and technical reform. In 1995, the Korean rice harvest was 4.7 million tonnes, and the barley harvest added another 282 000 tonnes. Overall, grain self-sufficiency was 54.3 per cent, which was an increase of 1.5 per cent from 1994, but still decisively lower than the 1988 yield. Vegetable production in 1995 was 10.59 million tonnes, up by 15.0 per cent from the previous year. The consumption of meat continued to rise in the 1990s with a total of 1 231 000 tonnes in 1995.

The lifestyle of Korean farmers continues to improve as do the methods they use to cultivate their crops. The total income of farming families has almost doubled in the period 1990 to 1995. Despite increases in farming costs and an overall rise in the cost of living, the average farming family saw its available income, after expenses, rise from about 2.5
million wŏn in 1990 to over 6.3 million wŏn in 1995. The modernisation of Korean agriculture has given farmers a livelihood which now equates roughly to the standard of living that Korean city-dwellers enjoy.

Farmland

Land and Climate

Korea consists of a 1 000 km-long peninsula, together with 3 900 islands. The peninsula lies between 124° 11'00" and 131° 52'42" East longitude, and between 33° 06'40" and 43° 00'39" North latitude. To the north lie China and Russia, with the Chinese mainland directly to the west and the Japanese islands to the east. At its closest point, the Shantung Peninsula of China is 190 kms. from the west coast of Korea, and from the southern port of Pusan to the Japanese island of Honshu is 180 kms. The total land area of Korea is 221 764 sq.kms., and the peninsula is divided politically into two parts: the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). The Republic of Korea occupies about forty-five per cent of the peninsula with a total area of 99 793 sq. kms.

The peninsula is very mountainous with about seventy per cent of its land so covered. As a result, only about twenty-one per cent of the land-mass is arable land. The plains that have developed along the rivers are the major rice producing areas in Korea. However, the wider plains near the river mouths abruptly change to narrow flood plains a short distance upstream. Moreover, the alluvial soils are relatively thin and fragile, making them easily subject to damage from erosion.

Korea is considered to have a monsoon climate, with a dry winter and a wet summer. Average rainfall is about 1 300 mm. which should provide sufficient water for most crops. However, the bulk of the rain falls in the summer. Upland crops very often suffer from dry spells caused by uneven rainfall patterns. Because of the rainfall variance, many fields have to be irrigated -- seventy-two per cent of all rice fields are dependent upon man-activated watering. There are many large-scale multi-purpose dams throughout Korea providing water for irrigation, flood control and the generation of electricity.

Temperatures on the Korean peninsula are influenced both by the Asian continental land-mass and the oceans that touch its shores. The seasonal climatic change is distinct, and marked by short spring and autumn seasons. Summer is hot with a record high temperature of 40° C recorded in Taegu in 1942. Temperature variations between the north and the south regions of the peninsula are not extreme in summer, but in winter there is a large difference between the two regions. Winter is cold with a dry climate that is mainly influenced by the Siberian weather system and lasts for about four months in the central and southern regions of Korea. In the peninsula's north most rivers are frozen over for several months. The lowest temperature on record is -43.6° C. in Chunggangjin, in 1933. Winter temperatures have an important bearing on agriculture, in that only those regions where the weather is less severe can double cropping, usually rice and barley, be grown.

Traditionally, Korea was divided into six regions that shared similar geographic features. The Kiho regions encompasses much of the area of today’s Kyŏnggi Province. This area is known for its production of fruits and vegetables. Since it is close to Seoul, the major population centre of Korea, the production of high-demand products is achieved year round through the use of greenhouses (largely of plastic sheet construction). The proximity to Seoul makes for the easy transport of perishable goods to the markets there. The area also is known for stockbreeding, particularly cattle.

The Kwandong area encompasses much of Kangwŏn Province and North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. This area is mountainous which is not conducive to rice growing. However, it
does have many dry-fields and its produce includes potato, sweet-corn and other vegetables. It is also a major centre of cattle breeding.

The Honam region includes North and South Cholla Provinces and South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. This is the major rice and barley producing area in Korea, and accounts for sixty per cent of the annual total for these grains. Of all the cultivated land in this area, sixty-five per cent is rice paddy. The relatively mild winters in this region also allow for double cropping which is the season when barley is planted. Other major products of the region include fibres, such as cotton, hemp and ramie.

Cheju Island is also sometimes included in the Honam region, but in actuality it is a very distinct region. Originally, Cheju farmers cultivated dry-field crops such as sweet potato, barley and rape, but from the 1960s the focus shifted to fruits and vegetables. The island has a mild climate that permits the cultivation of fruits for which the climate elsewhere in Korea is too harsh. Of all the cultivated land on the island, thirty per cent is dedicated to orange groves, with mandarin as the main crop. Stockbreeding also plays an important role in the Cheju economy.

The Yongnam region is composed of North and South Kyongsan Provinces. Next to the Honam region, this area is the second largest producer of rice with about sixty per cent of its cultivated land being paddy. The mild winters allow for double-cropping with barley. The region is also well known for the apples grown in Taegu, and the pears grown in Kimhae and Kup’o. Other products of the region include the cultivation of medicinal herbs and a thriving sericulture industry. The mulberry groves serving the sericulture farms in this region account for about forty-five per cent of the country’s total.

The Kwanso region consists of North and South P’yongan Provinces and Hwanghae Province. Before liberation in 1945, the cultivated land here was seventy-five to eighty per cent dry-fields. The region receives only about 1,000 mm. of rainfall a year, so rice cultivation is difficult. However, this is adequate for crops such as wheat, barley, millet and Indian millet (sorghum). Under the Japanese, the region was the largest producer of these grains.

The Kwanbuk region includes North and South Hamgyong Provinces. This is the driest (600 mm rainfall per year) and coldest region in Korea. Only dry-field farming is possible, with potato, oat and millet as the common crops.

Land Ownership

During Chosŏn, tenant farming was common as much of the land was owned by the ruling class. In the Japanese colonial period, this land-tenure system allowed for the systematic exploitation of the tenant farmers, and it became more formal and codified. In the early years of the colonial period, from 1913-1917, landowners who worked their own farms accounted for 21.8 per cent, part-owners 38.8 per cent, and tenants 39.4 per cent of total farms. A comparison with 1938 statistics shows that 19.0 per cent were owners, 25.3 per cent were part-owners, and 55.7 per cent were tenants -- a marked increase in the numbers of tenants and part-owners. Over eighty per cent of Korean farmers at the close of the colonial period did not fully own the land which they worked.

After liberation in 1945, the lands that the Japanese had owned did not pose a problem for redistribution to Koreans. However, over eighty per cent of leased land was owned by Korean landlords. The U.S. Military Government did not have a unified land reform policy but was able to repartition some 240,000 hectares of former Japanese-controlled land, mostly to the tenant cultivators of the land. The formation of the Republic of Korea in 1948 brought about more sweeping land reforms with the enactment of the Land Reform Act of June 1949. Under its provisions, the government had purchased and distributed about 330
000 hectares of farmland by 1952. In addition, the sale by landlords to tenants of over 500,000 hectares of land was concluded. The result of these sweeping reforms was that the number of owner-cultivators in 1964 was almost 72.0 per cent, up from a low of 13.8 per cent in 1945. Tenant farmers accounted for just 5.2 per cent of the total in 1964. The end result of the land reforms in Korea was that the vast majority of farmers either fully or partly owned the land they worked.

The size of individual farms in South Korea remained small after the land reforms. The government established a 3 chǒngbo (roughly 3 hectare) limit on the size of landholdings, excluding land reclaimed by the farmer. In traditional times, a farm of over 3 chǒngbo would rely upon hired labour to do much of the work, but those under this size could be worked by a single family. This limit seems to have effectively eliminated the landlord class. However, holdings of less than 0.5 hectare, which accounted for 45 per cent of the total in 1953, proved too small to provide sustenance for a family. As a result, the number of these farms declined to 32.4 per cent of the total in 1973. The average landholding in 1986 was 1.12 hectares.

Farm Income

During the early stages of industrialization, the income level of those in rural areas and those in urban areas was similar. For example, in 1963 the average rural income of 83,000 won per year was 103 per cent of the total of those residing in the cities. This parity of rural and urban income was the result of indifferent harvests in the early 1960s, which escalated farm produce prices, and to the fact that industrialization was then in its infancy. However, by the late 1960s the difference in urban and rural incomes was substantial. In 1967, rural incomes were only 56 per cent of those in the cities. Korean agriculture contributed little to the great economic growth of the late 1960s to the 1980s, except in the supply of its surplus labour to industry. Industrialization, however, brought about modernisation of the agricultural sector. This helped to increase productivity of the farms and also released additional labour from the agricultural sector for work in the industrial sphere. Nonetheless, standards of living and income of those engaged in agriculture remained below those in the urban areas.

The 1970s brought the Saemaul undong (New Village Movement) to the rural areas in an effort led by the government to modernize the rural sector. This movement can be described in simple terms as a self-help program for the rural areas aimed at improving productivity and living standards. The Saemaul undong has been in existence for several decades and its benefits to the countryside have included road and bridge construction; the beautification of rural villages; the replacement of thatched roofs with cement or slate tiles; and various farmer-education programs. From the late 1970s farm income came to approach the levels of urban workers, and the overall standard of rural living improved markedly. Programs focusing on improved rural medical services and education also brought about better living standards for the rural communities. (The Saemaul undong is referred to again below under Modernisation Programs.)

The outcome of farming-directed government programs was a steady increase in the income and living standards of Korean farmers. The size of farming households has declined gradually from 6.29 persons in 1965; to 5.63 in 1975; to 3.77 in 1990; and to 3.32 in 1995. This steady shrinkage of farm households has been counterbalanced by an increase in the amount of mechanisation available to farmers, and farm productivity has actually increased. Farm household income still remains lower than urban households, but the gap has narrowed and in 1995 the average income of a Korean farming household was 21.8 million won, which represents almost twice that of the 1990 figure of just over 11.0 million.
Farming Techniques

Rice

Of all the crops grown in Korea it can be said that rice holds the most importance as both a staple grain and as a symbol for Korean agriculture. Rice was introduced into Korea during the Neolithic Period in the second or third millennium B.C.E., and its cultivation was improved upon and expanded during the Three Kingdoms. In Chosón, rice became the staple food, and (as noted above) the government policies on agriculture centred on flood control and irrigation projects, which had the result of steadily increasing the rice yields. The advent of the colonial period brought about a great increase in the size of the rice harvest due to the increased use of chemical fertilizers and land reclamation projects. However, this increase was not realized by Koreans who saw their actual per capita consumption of rice reduced by almost fifty per cent (see Table above). After the end of the Korean War in 1953, rice yields began to climb and reached three million tonnes in 1960. Rice production doubled from 1955 to 1986, and in part at least this can be attributed to the development of hybrid rice varieties, notably the 't'ongil, as well as to improved rice cultivation techniques.

In the growing of rice, water is by far the most important element. Wet-fields are superior to dry-fields in their respective yields. Moreover, wet-fields are more efficient in regard to labour used and fertilization needs. Another distinctive feature of wet-field cultivation is that regardless of the original fertility of a given piece of land, after several years of continuous cultivation, through the process of podzilisation, the fertility of the land is not diminished. This is another positive feature of wet-field farming which allows soil fertility to be maintained for many years. For planting rice, seed beds are used for the initial propagation. This is done since it is quite wasteful to sow seeds directly to the field, and the use of seed beds also permits more economical use of water and fertilizers. Today, seed beds are first prepared with either a tiller or tractor and then fertilized with chemical fertilisers. Transplantation of the seedlings from the seed bed to the field takes place when the seedlings have reached a height of twenty to twenty-five centimetres, which usually takes from one to two months, depending on the variety of the rice. Transplanting encourages higher yields by strengthening the root system of the plant. By planting the seedlings in neat rows, weed and pest control are greatly facilitated. The seedlings are then fertilized, traditionally this was done with manure and compost, but today with commercial nitrate and phosphate fertilizers. Weeding is also important to the yield as it rids the fields of overpowering weeds that not only deprive the rice plants of water and nutrients, but which also harbour pests and diseases. Today, chemical pesticides and herbicides are often used as control agents.

Once the rice is fully ripened, there are several steps in getting the grain to the white rice stage. The first step after harvesting is the threshing of the plants in which the husk of the rice is stripped and discarded. The grain produced from the threshing is known as brown rice. This is then polished in a mill until it reaches the desired quality and becomes the white rice favoured by Koreans. However, polishing the rice removes many of the nutrients. Brown rice has about ten per cent protein, while white rice contains seven per cent. Traditionally, the rice-milling process was done in many kinds of mill, such as water mills, treadmills and those mills powered by either oxen or horses. Today, the threshing and milling of rice is as mechanized as that used to process other cereals.

Grains, Vegetables and Fruits

Although rice is the most important crop, other grains and legumes play a role in the diets of present-day Koreans. Barley is the second major crop after rice. Corn, millet (including sorghum), rye, soy and other kinds of beans, and wheat, are grown throughout Korea and play a major role in agriculture. Barley is widely grown as a double-crop during winter.
Upland or dry-field crops are of great importance in those areas where rainfall is insufficient or suspect for the cultivation of rice. North and South P'yongan Provinces and Hwanghae Province receive only about 1,000 mm of rain annually, so the main crops of these areas are barley, millet and wheat. Even less rain falls in the northern-most regions of South and North Hamgyong Provinces, with millet, oats and potato as the main crops. During the early months of growth (for a spring crop this would be in May and June), the country often experiences a lack of rain which, however, does not set-back these crops to any great extent. The monsoons reach the peninsula in July and August, when dry-field crops require most water, but by harvest time the rains have again subsided.

In general terms, there are two kinds of dry-field. Some 'short-term' fields grow crops that are harvested, for the most part, every year. In the south-central area, yearly double-crops are planted -- barley or wheat followed by a crop such as (several varieties of) bean, cotton, sweet potato, or foxtail millet. In the central mountainous regions, potato or some other vegetable is followed by the planting of beans of various kinds. In the northwest, the pattern is to plant three crops every two years, and this might consist of a planting of wheat followed by bean and then foxtail millet to complete the cycle. The crops are adjusted for the particular conditions of each region and economic considerations.

The other type of field is one devoted to long-term crops. These are generally in the form of orchard fruits or dedicated mulberry tree plantings. Such undertakings require a relatively long investment of time and a strong input of capital before a harvest can be reaped. Tea plantations are also in this category. Tree and vine production includes apple, pear, peach, grape and mandarin orange. North and South Kyongsang Provinces are well known for their fruits and the bountiful harvest of mandarin on Cheju Island give the farmers there one of the largest per capita agricultural outputs in Korea.

As Korea has increased her self-sufficiency in staple grains such as rice and barley, the demand for vegetables for the table has also increased. The largest vegetable producing region in Korea is Kyonggi Province which surrounds the city of Seoul. The proximity to the capital enables farmers to get their produce to market quickly. The vegetables produced in the greatest quantity are Chinese cabbage, onion, potato and radish. In 1995, the harvest of Chinese cabbage exceeded 2.8 million tonnes. In addition to these dry-field vegetables, many other types are cultivated in forced conditions under 'greenhouses' largely of framed, plastic-clad construction. This type of farming (more appropriately -- market gardening) has extended the growing season considerably, with some crops now being harvested on a 'year-round' basis. The trend during the past two decades or so has been towards an abundance of dry-field vegetable farms located in close proximity to the major urban areas.

Stock Breeding

Stock breeding and growing consists mostly of beef and dairy cattle, pigs and poultry. The largest landholdings are those concerned with cattle-raising, even though almost twice as much pork is consumed as beef annually. The consumption of beef climbed steadily throughout the 1990s, with domestic beef accounting for about fifty-one per cent of the market in 1995. The self-sufficiency rate of beef production, however, declined in the 1990s, with the opening of the Korean beef market to overseas producers.

The development of pasture land in Korea has its origin in the colonial period. Following liberation, the Korean government established a stockbreeding farm in South Ch'ungch'ong Province. This was followed in 1962 by the establishment of a 1.2 million p'yông national stockbreeding facility in Taegu under the supervision of the Rural Development Administration (Nongch'on chinhunghch'ong). The development of pasture land did not, however, begin in earnest until the 1960s. The expansion of and scientific research into improved methods of animal husbandry was stimulated by the need to increase beast quality on improved pastures. There were cattle farms before the 1960s,
which relied primarily on native, largely unimproved, pasture. With increased research and experimentation came an increase in the number of cattle which could be maintained per acre and also in the meat yield per carcass. The amount of pasture land was increased and by 1984 had reached 113,030 hectares, with much of this land being sown with varieties of grasses best suited to cattle grazing. Nevertheless, most of the cattle are owned by small farmers, who keep them as an adjunct to their main farming activities. Statistics show that the average stock farmer in Korea had only four head of cattle, in 1992.

Modernisation

Mechanisation

The first modern farming implements and equipment came to Korea through Japan at the end of the nineteenth century. They consisted mainly of ploughs; grain blowers; water wheels; wooden rice-hulling machines; and sieves. However, the large-scale mechanisation of Korean farming did not begin in earnest until after liberation, and (like much of Asia) it came in three basic stages (but with some overlap between them): (a) the mechanisation of grain processing; (b) the substitution of power equipment for human labour; (c) the introduction of small and large tractors.

The first stage of mechanisation began from the Japanese occupation, with the introduction of improved wooden rice-hulling machines. By the late 1950s, this stage was almost complete and resulted in a great amount of labour being freed to perform other tasks, either on or off the farm. In traditional times, the processing of grains was very time-consuming, but the introduction of machines both simplified and expedited the irksome tasks involved. The number of grain processing machines in Korea increased markedly during the thirty years after liberation. In 1951 there were just over 40,000, but by 1975, the figure had almost tripled, to 110,000.

The second stage of farm mechanisation was the greater substitution of machine power for human labour. For example, the transfer of water from river, dam or reservoir to irrigate crops is a grossly inefficient task when done by hand with water scoops, or even by animal or hand-powered water wheels. A motorised water pump does the job in a fraction of the time, with little use of human resources. The number of water pumps increased from below 7,500 in 1956 to over 286,000 by 1985. With the introduction of threshing machines, essential labour became available at times of peak demand, since the planting of a second crop usually follows closely on the heels of the threshing of the first crop. This release of labour enables the farmer to concentrate on the essential activity of planting his second crop. The extent of the industrialisation of farms can be seen by a comparison of the 1951 figure, when there were exactly 93 threshing machines in Korea, to a 1985 figure in excess of 300,000. The second stage of mechanisation was well underway by the early 1970s, and was virtually complete by the early 1990s.

The third stage of farming mechanisation is the use of small and large tractors for specific and general farm tasks. This process began in earnest in the early 1970s, with small tractors, or tillers. Their use became widespread in Korea over a short period of time, and even farmers who did not have such a machine themselves, might borrow a neighbour’s or a friend’s tiller/tractor. Today, almost every farming household owns at least one power tractor/tiller. In 1964 there were less than 1,000 of these small machines in use on farms, but this had increased to almost 600,000 by 1985. The number of standard and large size, multi-use (power take-off) tractors has also dramatically increased: from almost a zero figure in the early 1960s, to over 12,000 in 1985.

Other machine-driven farm equipment is also in large-scale use throughout the ROK, with or without the use of tractors as the primary source of power. Rice transplanters, binders, combines, dessicators and sowing machines are all part of the modern process of planting,
tilling and harvesting. Since the average size of a farming household has continued to decline, the necessity for machinery to replace, or at least assist, human labour is evident. The present-day high levels of production would not be possible without the use of modern farm machinery.

Modernisation Programs

Notwithstanding the number of programs directed at the development of the countryside since the founding of the Republic of Korea in 1948, it was not until 1962 that the government made a determined effort to promote increases in agricultural productivity and farm income. However, even these early efforts were rather limited, with most of the nation’s resources and attention being directed towards development in the industrial sector. The first government office to operate with the furtherance of rural community values as its brief, was the Office of Rural Development (ORD) established in 1962, and which gradually expanded its sphere of activities. The ORD undertook many and varied projects in the rural areas to increase productivity on the farms and thus pave the way for increased farm income. It also looked at the utilisation of idle land; the training and education of country people who could become leaders in the agricultural sphere; the dissemination of technical information; general improvements to the standards of rural living; and strengthening the cooperation among various institutions such as the ORD, agricultural colleges and agricultural high schools. The present-day operative arms of this organization are the Rural Guidance Offices (RGO), which are located in every county. The RGO’s are in touch constantly with the rural communities and are aware of trends and problems among the farmers. They in turn contact the ORD, where the central planning and decision-making process is conducted.

A major turning-point for rural Korea came with the launching of the 1971 Saemaul undong (The New Village Movement) by President Park Chung Hee. This rural development movement was promulgated in order to combat several major problem areas, such as: (a) a low rate of increase in agricultural productivity and a stagnant rural economy that could not keep pace with the growing food demands of the urban population, thereby calling for large amounts of foreign exchange being used for grain imports; (b) the exodus of the rural population to the cities, which added to the administrative burdens of the cities and the consequent potential for social discord; (c) the growing economic inequities between the rural and urban populations; and (d) the results of the 1971 presidential election which revealed that President Park had lost much of his following in the predominantly rural areas of south-west Korea.

The Saemaul undong has proved an overwhelming success in raising the living standards of those in rural Korea. Its key is that it is a pro-active, self-help program in which the rural residents play a direct role in the improvement of their own communities. Major accomplishments in the program included the building of about 65,000 bridges in the rural areas in the four-year period of 1971 to 1975, which enabled almost all villages and farms to be accessed by motor vehicles. Also, through the program, high-yield rice seed was distributed to the farms, which resulted in the average rice yield per hectare increasing from 3.5 tonnes in 1971 to 4.9 tonnes in 1977. Since the movement emphasised cooperation, many projects were undertaken by entire communities and this resulted in better living conditions for everyone. The Saemaul undong has now moved beyond its original scope and has extended to urban communities where it is trying to create the same type of cooperation and spirit of self-help.

Bibliography

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**Agye yugo** (Posthumous Works of Agye)

*Agye yugo* is a collection of poems and writings by Yi Sanhae (1539-1609) who held the position of Chief State Councillor (*yŏngŭijŏng*) before and after the 1592 Japanese Invasion. The original work, published in 1659, consisting of six volumes was woodblock-printed. The Agye yugo was included in the 1981 *Hansan munhŏn ch'ŏngsŏ* (Hansan Literary Library).

Although *Agye yugo* is composed mostly of poetry with themes drawn from various stages of Yi’s life, there are discrete entries such as funeral odes and discourses that seem to have been added by his descendants when compiling the collection. Some pieces were written by Yi while in exile, and there are also his petitions to the crown offering his resignation, which points to his distress with the turmoil surrounding Chosŏn at that critical time. Yi’s work is praised both for its literary quality and historical value.

**Ahn Eak-tay** (An Ikt’ae, 1906-1965)

Composer and conductor An Ikt’ae was born in P’yŏngyang. He began studying music at the age of six, and was given tuition in violin by a missionary, and later the trumpet and cello as well. In 1919, An was expelled from P’yŏngyang missionary school for his youthful involvement in the March First Movement, a large-scale protest against Japanese colonial rule. But with the help of his school principal, Dr. E. M. Mowry, he was able to enrol in the Seisoku Middle School in Japan in 1921, with music again his chosen field. He went on to major in cello at the Kunitachi Music School in Japan, where he continued his education in music with other Korean musicians, like Kim Wŏnbong and Hong Sŏngyū. During his summer vacations, An returned to Korea and gave performances around the country. It was during this time that he was absorbed with the national interest in Western music. In P’yŏngyang, he got to know Yi Sangje, Cho Manshik, and other political advocates of Korean independence, who re-kindled his interest in the nationalist movement. In 1931, An graduated from Kunitachi School and was invited to give recitals at concerts in Tokyo and Seoul.

After further study at the Curtis School of Music in Philadelphia, An went on to major in cello and composition at the Cincinnati Conservatory. While there, he joined the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra’s cello section, then (in 1934) travelled to Germany, where he was engaged both as composer and conductor. Spending some time in Austria, he became a pupil of composer Richard Strauss in Vienna. In Berlin, in 1936, An composed the stirring Korean national anthem, based on the words of Korean activist An Ch’angho and a sermon he had heard in a San Francisco Korean church, setting his words to a haunting melody which is said to have come to him in a dream. From Germany, he travelled to Hungary and joined the Budapest National School of Music. At the outbreak of World War II, An was a guest-conductor in Germany and Austria, and by then had conducted the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the Rome Symphony Orchestra and the Budapest Symphony Orchestra.

As WW II drew to a close, An moved to Spain, where in Barcelona he continued work on his compositions. At a reception given in his honour, he met Lolita Taravera, the daughter
of a Spanish count. They married and settled on the island of Majorca, in the Balearic Islands, where their three daughters were born. An helped to establish the eighty-member Majorca Symphony Orchestra, actively enlisting financial and popular support for the orchestra; eventually becoming its assistant director of music and permanent conductor. In the late 1950s, he visited London as a guest conductor, conducting among other works, his Korean Fantasy for orchestra and choir, based on themes from his national anthem composition. Despite his resounding success in Europe, his prior association with Richard Strauss prevented him from obtaining a visa to travel to America until well after the end of World War II. (Strauss elected to stay in Germany during the Nazi period, though his attitude to the regime remained ambivalent).

An returned to Korea in 1959 to conduct the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) Symphony Orchestra and the Seoul Symphony Orchestra in performances of his compositions - Kangch'ŏn sŏngak (Sacred music descending from Heaven) and the Korean Fantasy. In 1962 he returned, to conduct the opening of the first annual Seoul Music Festival, with which he held a closed association for the following three years. In 1964, however, he was the subject of much controversy when he was invited to return to Japan to conduct the NHK Symphony Orchestra in an international broadcast premier performance of his symphonic poem Non'gae. An wrote the piece in honour of the historic martyrdom of the sixteenth-c. kisaeng Non'gae, who in order to stem an attack by the Japanese, leapt to her death from a cliff above the South River, pulling the enemy general with her. An's invitation to conduct the NHKSO was eventually approved by the Korean government and his performance was successful enough to warrant a standing invitation to return and conduct the same piece each year.

In the Royal Albert Hall in London on 4 July 1965, An was guest-conductor with the New York Philharmonia Orchestra in a performance of what were to be his last compositions, Ae (Sorrow) and Non'gae. He was already seriously ill with beriberi and died in hospital in Barcelona on 17 September 1965. During his lifetime, An Ikt'ae had conducted well over three hundreds of the world major orchestras, and was awarded Korean presidential medals in recognition of his accomplishments. A world-respected figure in music as a conductor of post-romantic works, An enjoyed most of all conducting the music of Beethoven, Brahms, Dvorak, Sibelius and the works of his mentor Richard Strauss. But, to Koreans, he is best remembered for the timeless refrain from the national anthem,

'Land of the Rose of Sharon,  
thousand miles of fairest land;  
guarded by her people,  
may Korea ever stand.'

Herbert Mahelona

Ajou University

Ajou University (Aju Taehakkyo) is a private university located in Suwŏn in Kyŏnggi Province. Founded by Pak Ch'angwŏn as Aju Kongŏp Ch'o'gūp Taehak (Ajou Industrial Junior College) in December 1972, it opened in March 1973. When the college became a four-year college of engineering in 1974, it changed its name to the Ajou Institute of Technology. In March 1981, the college attained university status and its colleges then included those of Engineering; Business Administration; and Liberal Arts and Sciences. In the same year, the University started its master's degree program. A doctoral program commenced in 1993.

Today, the university consists of six colleges with thirty-three academic departments.
Twenty-eight of these offer degrees at master's level and eighteen offer doctorates. In the mid-1990s, the university liberalised its undergraduate curriculum, allowing students to take subjects other than their declared major and also to pursue majors outside their main field of study. Other changes which greatly widened the scope of undergraduate courses were also introduced.

In 1995, the university graduate school commenced courses given in English to eighteen graduate students from Romania. The Graduate School of International Studies was launched in 1996, together with three other graduate schools (International Studies; Public Affairs; and Education) entrusted with meeting the challenges of globalisation and regional decentralisation.

Akchang kasa (Text of music composition) [Literature]

Akhak kwoebŏm (Guide to the Study of Music)

In 1493, a team of scholars headed by Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504) received a royal decree to compile every type of music that had been composed in past times, into a guide to the study of music. Akhak kwoebŏm (which was the outcome of the decree) is an illustrated treatise on ceremonial music, Chinese music, and native songs, which deals painstakingly with all aspects of the three, from musical notation to the staging of the actual performances. It consists of nine volumes in three fascicles

Notable among the contents of this work are the various forms of palace music that display distinctive rhythms and the explanations of their use. The work also contains a few folk songs including Tongdong (Tongdong Refrain) and Ch’ŏnyŏng ka (Song of Ch’ŏnyŏng). The explanations aid the understanding of early Chosŏn music and that of late Koryŏ. Moreover, the data in this work can be used for studies of the changes that occurred in Chosŏn musical styles after the reign of King Sŏngjong (1469-1494). As such, it is highly valued by votaries of Chosŏn music. The original edition was destroyed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, and the oldest extant version is the 1610 T’aebaeksan-pon edition, now in the keeping of the Seoul National University Library. Akhak kwoebŏm was reissued in 1979 by Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe under the title of Kugyŏk Akhak kwoebŏm.

Allen, Horace Newton [USA and Korea]

American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) [Broadcasting companies]

Amnok River (Yalu River)

The Yalu flows from east to west along the border between North Korea and China. About 790 kms. in length, the Yalu is the longest river in Korea. As the crow flies, it is about 400 kms. from the river’s source to its mouth, but in fact it flows almost twice that distance because of the many sharp turns and winding course. The Yalu begins near the peak of Mt. Paektu from whence it flows west past Hyesan, Changgangjin, Manp’o and Shinŭiju before entering the Yellow Sea. During Koguryŏ the river was known as Ch’ŏngha (Blue River).

Prehistoric relics have generally been found on the Yalu’s tributaries rather than close to the river itself. Palaeolithic relics have yet to be found, but there are a number of Neolithic relics such as the remnants of dwellings, as well as earthenware, stone tools and bone implements. A number of Bronze Age implements, such as earthenware, spindles, semilunar knives, stone axes, swords and arrowheads, have also been excavated from around the river, and Bronze Age stone tombs have been found at P’ungnyong-dong and Konggwi-dong in Kanggye. Early Iron Age artefacts, including coins, have been found
During the Three Kingdoms, the river was part of Koguryō’s territory. As a result, there are many Koguryō relics from before the fourth c., when the kingdom had its capital in the area. After the fall of Koguryō, most of the riverain became part of the Parhae (Chin. Pohai) Kingdom, while a section of the lower reaches was annexed by China’s Tang Dynasty. After the fall of Parhae, some of the kingdom’s nomads set up a small state on the middle section of the river while the Jurchen people resided in the lower section. In the late tenth c., however, the Khitan people took control of both the middle and lower sections. Around this time, the Koryŏ kingdom managed to gain control over the Kanggye and Úiju (modern-day Shin'ūju) areas. The remainder became Koryŏ territory when the Mongols moved the Tungning Commandery from Sŏgyŏng (modern-day P’yŏngyang) to Manchuria in 1290.

During Chosŏn, continuous efforts were made to establish the Yalu River as the kingdom’s northern boundary. To this end, Chosŏn followed a policy of resisting Jurchen invasions, while establishing its military forts and fortifications. However, denoting the river as border was problematic at times due to the large number of deltas and islands which were formed by floods and erosion. Even in modern times, there have been occasional signs of friction between China and North Korea concerning ownership of this alluvial land. In September 1963, however, the two countries established their international border as the deepest point of the Yalu River bed, instead of the geographic centre of the river. China and North Korea now hold an annual conference where they discuss boundary problems, such as changes in the river’s course.

In modern times, the Yalu has served as an important source of generated electricity. Since the 1920s, large hydro-electric dams have been set up on the river and its tributaries. When the Pujŏn River Power Plant was built in 1929, it was the largest in northeast Asia. More hydro-electric plants were constructed nearby. The electricity from these plants is now used by Sŏngjin, Ch’ŏngjin and Hŭngnam’s nitrogen fertiliser factory. On the nearby Changjin River, a hydro-electric power plant was constructed in 1931. Before 1945, power from this plant reached places as distant as Seoul and P’yŏngyang, but since the division of the country, it has been used for Hŭngnam and the region generally. Dams were built on the Ungi River and Hwangsuwon River in 1941. Water contained by the dams is piped through the Pujŏnnyŏng Mountain Range from which it drives the turbines of power plants located on Tanch’ŏn’s Namdae Stream.

Between 1937 and 1944, the famous Sup’ung hydro-electric plant was created in Sakch'u County in North P’yŏngan Province. Although the dam’s effective head is only one-hundred metres, the 345-sq.km. Sup’ung Lake that the dam creates ensures a sufficient flow of water. The dam is the source of 640 000 kilowatts output of electricity that is shared with China. On the Korean side, this electricity is used by Shin’ūju and P’yŏngyang, and also to power factories in the riverain. Other hydro-electric plants on the river include the Unbong Power Station (completed post-1945) in Chasŏng County and the Tongno River Power Station in Changjin County.

The Yalu River is also used to transport timber. Before the Manp’o and Hyesan railways were built, logs were transported all the way to Shin’ūju by boat. Nowadays, however, they are sent to Kilchu, Sŏngin, and other places via the Hyesan railway or to P’yŏngyang, etc. via the Manp’o railway. As well as its commercial uses, the river serves as an important habitat for numerous wildlife species. Fish varieties in the river include catfish, eel, carp, snakehead mullet, chaugasari (Liobagrus mediadiposalis), pŏdlŭch’i (Moroco oxycephalus), saemi (Ladislavia taczanowskii) and yolmogŏ (Brachymystax lenok). Because of the Yalu river’s sparse population, fishing is not a major source of employment.

An Ch'angho (Tosan, 1878-1938)
An Ch’angho was an independence fighter during the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910-1945). An’s achievements note him as one of the most prominent activists for national independence and as an educator with a vision for his country that included not only independence but modernization; a patriot who played an important role in his country’s struggle for freedom. With the pen-name Tosan, An was born to a farmer’s family in Kangsŏ in South Pyŏngnan Province, now in North Korea, in 1878.

When China and Japan fought a war in 1894-95 to wrest control of Korea, An, although only sixteen, decided to play his part in the enlightenment of the Korean people. In 1897, he joined the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏph’oe), which had as its main thrust the preservation of Korea’s independence and freedom from foreign power servitude. He went to the United States in 1902 and while there organized a group of Koreans living in the San Francisco area, to improve their living standards and to promote support for their homeland.

Promulgation of the Protectorate Treaty (Ŭlsa poho choyak ) between Korea and Japan came in 1905, and two years later An returned home to participate in the independence movement. He was the linchpin in the clandestine New People’s Association (Shinmin Hoe), in co-operation with a number of journalists, businessmen and military leaders, to combat Japanese control of Korea.

In 1911, the year following Korea's subjugation to Japan, An's subversive activities came to light and he had to flee the country to avoid the close attention of the security police. Again he went to the United States and to San Francisco, where he founded the Society for the Promotion of Activities for National Independence (Taehanin Kongnip Hyŏphoe). This organization played a leading role in the United States in the movement for a free and independent Korea. In 1919 patriots in Shanghai had established the Korean provisional government, which An joined in 1926, soon becoming a key member.

In 1932, the police net closed and An was arrested in Shanghai, after Yun Ponggil (a member of the Aeguktan (Patriotic Association) had assassinated several visiting Japanese army commanders in a bomb explosion. Taken to Seoul An was imprisoned for almost three years. He died in 1938 at the age of fifty-nine, while serving a further prison sentence for his nationalistic principles.

An had argued that Korea must meet two prerequisites to gain independence. One was through education to raise the level of knowledge and awareness and the moral standard of the Korean people. In this respect, he had founded Hŭngsadan (Society for Fostering Leaders) in the U.S. in 1913, underlining his philosophy of sincerity and diligence, for straight-dealing with his contemporaries. The other was to achieve economic strength through industrial development. While his primary emphasis was aimed at informing and educating the people of Korea, he worked towards creating a base for independence movements overseas. His ideas on national strength and independence are expounded in his writings, which include, 'The Collected Works of Tosan' (An Tosan chŏnjip ).

Bibliography

An Chŏngbok

An Chunggŭn (1879 - 1910)

A name known well to Koreans and most always preceded by the word patriot, An is not remembered for his dynamic oratory or historic compositions and the like, but for his prowess as an independence fighter. His distinguished role in the anti-Japanese struggle was the assassination of Japanese statesman Itō Hirobumi in 1909. This singular act eventually cost him his life, but was an inspiration to Koreans everywhere in the ensuing independence movement and throughout the Japanese occupation of Korea.

Little record exists of An's early life. He was born during the period of Korea's opening to foreigners and grew up as Japan was systematically moving to control the peninsula. His birthplace is said to be Haeju, in Hwanghae Province, where he spent much of his youth in the mountains nearby. In 1905, he moved to Chinnamp'o and founded a school where he taught for a few years.

An had become an admirer of a famous namesake, An Ch'angho, and was very taken with his thoughts on Korean independence. In 1907, or thereabouts, he travelled to Manchuria where he helped organise other Koreans in the Korean Volunteer Army, which aimed to disrupt Japanese operations in the region. While in Manchuria, he heard of the pending visit of Itō Hirobumi to Harbin and laid plans to assassinate him.

Itō had been named the first Resident-General of Korea in 1905 after the Japanese defeated the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The Treaty of Portsmouth, which negotiated the end of the war, gave Japan virtual control over Manchuria and all of Korea's foreign relations. Japan moved quickly to control its new possessions by installing commissioners in Seoul and in every province. After Itō arrived in Seoul all foreign legations were soon withdrawn. Following the abdication of King Kojong (r.1864-1907) in 1907, Itō helped conclude an agreement that even further strengthened Japan's control of Korea. On the same day of the agreement a press law was instituted which banned all nationalistic books and restricted or closed some newspapers. Within a week, the Korean Anny was also disbanded and the Japanese assumed control of the police and judicial systems. For these and other reasons Itō is often labelled as the engineer of Japan's takeover of Korea. He had become a symbol of colonialism on which Koreans could focus their hatred. Itō later became the chairman of a group that advised the Japanese emperor on territorial expansion. As part of his duties, he planned to travel to Harbin to meet with the Russian Minister of Finance and inspect northern Manchuria in October of 1909. He left on the inspection tour and arrived in Harbin at about nine o'clock in the morning of 26 October.

By passing himself off as a Japanese press reporter, An was able to obtain access very close to the arriving dignitaries. Itō's first act on his arrival at the railway station was to inspect a contingent of Russian Army troops, which had been turned out for the occasion. At that moment, An burst from the crowd, aimed his pistol and shot Itō three times, in the chest, stomach and shoulder. Further shots missed their mark, but some hit other Japanese dignitaries travelling with the party. An was quickly arrested by the Russian military police and later taken to a prison in Manchuria.

Throughout his captivity, An insisted he should not be treated as a common criminal but as a prisoner of war. He argued that he was leading Korean troops against the Japanese at the time and killed Itō as an act of war. The Japanese, of course, did not agree. An was sentenced and later executed on 26 March 1910 in Lushin Prison in China. Less than five months later, Japan officially annexed Korea.
Still venerated today, An is one of the most celebrated of Korea's independence fighters. A museum dedicated to him is located in the park on Namsan mountain in the centre of Seoul. A large statue and outdoor memorial are also to be found there. Further recognition, in the form of displays and a statue are located at the Independence Hall in Ch'ŏnan. A few photographs and other memorabilia of An's can be seen at the Chŏltusan Shrine, in Map'o, in western Seoul.

An Hyang (1243-1306)

An Hyang's original name was Yu and his birthplace was Hŭngju (Present P'unggi, Yongju County, N.Kyŏngsang Province). His father, Pu, was qualified as a medical doctor, but served as a local clerk in the government administration. Later in life, however, Pu was appointed deputy commissioner of the Security Council. An was studious and as a very young man he passed the civil service examination. In 1275, the second year of King Ch'ungyŏl's reign (r.1274-1308), he was appointed area administrator in Sangju and it was there that he confronted shamanism head-on. An would have none of the shaman disturbances of the peasant community: he abhorred the shamanistic perpetuation of superstition and resolved to rid his district of shaman activity.

An is traditionally accredited with the introduction of Neo-Confucianism to Korea. His initial exposure to Neo-Confucian ideas came from his study of Chu Xi quan-shu (Complete Works of Zhu Xi), read during his stay in the Yuan capital, while he was a member of a Koryŏ embassy there. Impressed by the idea of Zhu Xi (1130-1200), An made a copy of the Complete Works and brought it back to Koryŏ. He was a determined disciple of Zhu Xi's work, and his contribution to Neo-Confucianism is principally not from his own speculative thought, but from his promotion of Confucian education and the propagation of Zhu Xi's ideals. An does, however, make his own major contribution to Confucian theory, as in citing social ethics in his discussion of Confucius's legacy, he is introducing a major recurring theme of fourteenth c. Korean Neo-Confucianism.

In 1318, twelve years after An's death, King Ch'ungsuk (r.1313-30) ordered a Yuan artist to paint a portrait of An, in recognition of the great scholar's achievements. That portrait can be seen today in the academy dedicated to An, the Sosu Sŏwŏn near Andong in N. Kyŏngsang Province. The Sosu Sŏwŏn, the oldest private Confucian academy in Korea founded in 1542 by Chu Sebong, still hosts ceremonies to An Hyang.

An is also known by the name An Yu. His given name had to be changed two centuries later, because Hyang was also the given name of King Munjong (r.1450-52), and thus out of respect to the sovereign, it had to be avoided by others. An is considered to be the founder of the Sunhŭng An lineage, which includes most persons with the surname An in present-day Korea. An Hyang was the third person to be inducted into the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy.

Within a century of its introduction by An, Neo-Confucianism flourished, with a major focus of the curriculum in the highest academic institution. It became the prevailing ideology of Chosŏn (1392-1910), and one which was firmly supported throughout by the Chosŏn court's commitment to Neo-Confucianism.

An Ikt'ae (see Ahn Eak-tay)

An Kyŏn (?)

An Kyŏn is a representative painter of early Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Chigok, his courtesy name was Kado and his pen names were Hyŏndongja and Chuhyŏng. The majority of his works are from the time of King Sejong’s reign (1418-
An is undoubtedly the most highly-praised painter of early Choson. He synthesised the techniques of the great masters to produce famous landscapes such as *Mong yu towôn to* (Dream of Strolling in a Peach Garden), which is still acclaimed as a masterpiece. This work is said to be an artistic representation of a dream that Prince Anpy’ông, the son of Sejong, had. An is counted as one of the three great masters of the five-hundred year-long Choson period, along with Kim Hongdo (1745-?) and Kim Chônhhüi (1786-1856). It is unfortunate that many of An’s paintings have not survived and that their only record is in literary documents. However, paintings such as *Sashi p’algyôn to* (Eight Scenes of the Four Seasons) and the aforementioned *Mong yu towôn to* attest to the artistic brilliance of An, as does the influence he had on future generations of Choson artists.

**Anam**

**Andong**

Located in North Kyongsang Province, Andong (pop. 200,000) comprises the town of P’ungsan and the townships of Namsôn, Namhu, Nokchôn, Tosan, Pukhu, Sôhu, Waryong, Ilichik, Imdong, Imha, Yean and P’ungch’ôn. Surrounded by high mountains, the city itself is built among hills. The Naktong River flows through the city and provides water to the region. In 1976, the Andong Dam was built to the northeast, creating Andong Lake.

With afforestation covering nearly three quarters of the city and its environs, arable land is necessarily limited. Even so, fertile soil combined with relatively modern agricultural methods have led to fairly high crop yields. In the fertile areas of the P’ungsan plain in the northeast, rice is cultivated, while elsewhere, other grains along with dry-field crops such as red pepper, onion, potato and tomato are common. Andong soju, (a distilled liquor), is a celebrated local speciality. A number of stock-breeding farms exist and there are mining operations in the region also. The city’s industrial sector is limited to several small textile factories.

Tourists look to the area’s numerous cultural sites. Pongjông Temple, located in Sôhu Township, contains the oldest extant buildings throughout Korea. Here, one finds Kûngnakchôn (Paradise Hall, National Treasure No. 15), Taeungjon (Main Buddha Hall, Treasure No. 55), Hwaôm Kangdang (Avatamsaka Lecture Hall, Treasure No. 448) and Kogumdang (Old and New Hall, Treasure No. 449). Built during early Choson, the temple’s Main Buddha Hall is acknowledged as a fine example of multiple bracket roof construction.

There are numerous ancient pagodas in the city, including a seven-storey brick pagoda (National Treasure No. 16) in Shinse-dong. Built during Greater Shilla, this 17-metre high pagoda is the oldest and largest brick pagoda in Korea. As for Buddha sculptures, there is a seated Buddha statue at Anjông Temple (North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 44), a Buddha carved in relief at the Oksan Temple site, a seated Buddha statue (Treasure No. 58) from Greater Shilla in An’gi-dong, a statue of the ‘benevolent king’ at the Sôak Temple site and a large Buddha figure (Treasure No. 115) commonly known as the ‘Chebiwon Maitreya’ in Ich’ôn-dong. The Chebiwon figure’s body was carved from a large rock face, while the head was sculpted from a separate stone and then placed on the torso. Standing 12.38 metres high, this majestic figure is believed to have been carved in the twelfth century.
Andong is famous also as an area which has preserved its Confucian heritage. As a result, there is a fairly large number of Confucian artefacts and buildings. Located in Tosan Township’s T’oegye Village, Tosan Sôwôn is one of the most important Confucian sites in the area. The school was founded in 1574 by the disciples of Yi Hwang (1501-1570, styled T’oegye), one of Korea’s foremost Confucian philosophers. It was one of the forty-seven sôwôn (private academy) that survived the reforms of Taewôn’gun (Yi Haêng, 1820-1898) at the end of Chosôn. The school’s buildings now serve as a small museum. Other Confucian schools in the area include Pyôngsan Sôwôn, Hogyê Sôwôn, Andong Hyanggyo (founded during Chosôn and rebuilt in 1986) and Imch’ôn Sôwôn which was founded in 1607 in honour of the scholar-official Kim Sôngil (1538-1593).

When Andong Dam was constructed in 1976, a large number of traditional houses were threatened by the rising water level. In order to preserve these historical buildings, Andong Folk Village was built on safe ground near the dam. Many of the old buildings here now serve as restaurants offering traditional Korean meals.

Hahoe Village, one of Korea’s most authentic folk villages, is located on the Naktong River in P’ungch’ôn Township. Unlike many ‘folk villages’ in Korea, this is an actual settlement with a history going back hundreds of years. During Chosôn, Hahoe was home to many famous Confucian scholars and government officials. In addition to its Confucian heritage, the village maintains several Shamanist traditions. The Pyôlsin kut performed here is a Shaman ritual performed exclusively on the east coast of Korea. During part of the complex ceremony, performers don masks depicting various stereotyped roles. Villagers also produce handcrafted masks for sale to the public. In order to encourage these traditions, the city held the first International Mask-Dance Festival in October 1997. With financial support from the government, the residents have maintained about 130 traditional houses in the area. In recent years, the electricity supply lines running through the village have been placed underground in an attempt to maintain the site’s atmosphere. As an accurate picture of a Chosôn community, the village has also become a popular location for the filming of historical scenes.

There are several schools of higher education in Andong. In 1979, Andong National College was established in Songch’ôn-dong, and Sangji Junior College is located to the east of the central business district.

Andong National University

Located in Andong in North Kyôngsang Province, Andong National University was originally built as Andong Normal School (Andong Sabôm Hakkyo) in 1947. In March 1962, it became Andong Junior College of Agriculture (Andong Nongôp Ch’ogûp Taehak) and from 1965, the Andong Junior College of Education (Andong Kyoyuk Taehak).

In 1979, a presidential decree established the school as the four-year Andong National College (Andong Taehak), with Kim Haksu as its first dean. The college initially consisted of the Departments of Sino-Korean Literature; History; Folklore; Business Administration; International Trade; Home Economics; Music; and Fine Arts. In 1980, the Departments of English Education and Mathematics Education were added, followed by the Departments of Korean Language & Literature and Public Administration, in 1981. Throughout the 1980s, the college continued to expand, with the opening in 1988 of the Graduate School containing the Departments of Sino-Korean Literature; Folklore; Business Administration; and Chemistry.

In March 1991, the college was raised to the status of a university with Dr. Nam Gyu-chang as president. Today, Andong National University consists of the Colleges of Arts & Physical Fitness; Education; Engineering; Humanities; Life Science; Natural Science; and Social Science; as well as the Graduate School. Institutes within Andong University include
the Agricultural Development Centre and the Language Centre (both established in 1996). The latter is also used as a centre for the training of elementary school teachers.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902

[History of Korea]

Animals

The Korean peninsula is a part of the Palaearctic zoogeographical zone, and its geographical history, topography and climate divide the peninsula into highlands and lowlands. Areas included as being part of the highlands are the T'aebaek and Myohyang mountain ranges, and the Kaema Plateau, which have high altitudes and similar climatic conditions to the Amur-Ussuri river region of northern Manchuria. The flora of this region is characterised by dense boreal forests, and many of the highest mountains were covered with glaciers in the Pleistocene era. Accordingly, the animals found in this region are quite similar to those found in the boreal zones of Manchuria, China, Siberia, Sakhalin and Hokkaido. The lowlands form the majority of the peninsula and are distinguished by a more temperate climate. The fauna here are similar to those found in southern Manchuria, central China and Japan.

Species

There are six orders, seventeen families, forty-eight genera and seventy-eight species of mammals indigenous to Korea. Of the six orders, the most numerous is the Chiroptera (bat), with some twenty-eight subspecies followed by the Rodentia (rodent), with eighteen and the Carnivora (carnivore), with sixteen subspecies. There are also eleven subspecies of the Insectivore (shrew) order, seven subspecies in the Artiodactyla (ungulate mammals) order and two subspecies of the Lagomorpha (rabbit) order. Of the species found in Korea, some twenty-eight are reported to be endemic to Korea and include the *Hydropotes inermis argyopus* (a small deer; *korani*); *Meles meles melanogenys* (a badger; *osori*); *Nyctereutes procyonoides* (a raccoon; *noguri*); *Erinaceus europaeus koreensis* (a hedgehog; *kosumdoch'i*); and *Talpa wogura coreana* (a mole; *tudoji*). Korea also has large animals, such as tiger; leopard; lynx; bear; wolf; wild boar; roe deer; and Amur goral (*naemorhedus goral raddeanus*). These larger mammals, however, are increasingly difficult to find in the wild and are thought to exist only in the more remote areas of the peninsula. There are also two endemic species of dog in Korea, the *Chindo-kae* and the *P'ungsan-kyon*.

There are eighteen orders, sixty-seven families, 189 genera and 191 subspecies of birds in Korea, with the largest portion of these being migratory. Some twenty-four genera or subspecies of birds have been designated as natural monuments by the Korean government, and include the White-bellied Black Woodpecker (*Dryocopus javensis richardsi*; *k'unak sae*); Japanese Crested Ibis (*Nipponia nippon*; *taogi*); Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*; *komdok suri*); Whooper Swan (*Cygnus cygnus*; *k'un koni*); Manchurian Crane (*Grus japonensis*; *paek turumi*); Mandarin Duck (*Aix galericulata*; *wönang'i*); Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus*; *pada mae*); and the Great Bustard (*Otis tarda dybowskii*; *nushi*). Other, frequently-seen birds include the Marsh Tit (*Parus palustris*; *soe paksae*); Siberian Ground Thrush (*Zoothera sibiricus sibiricus*; *hwin nunsŏpchi ppagwi*); Black-naped Oriole (*Oriolus chinesis*; *kkekk'ori*); Magpie (*Pica pica*; *kkach'i*); Carrion Crow (*Corvus corone*; *kamagwi*); House Swallow (*Hirundo rustica*; *chebi*) and the Tree Sparrow (*Passer montanus*; *ch'amsae*).

There are two orders of reptiles in Korea: Testudinata (turtles) and Squamata (snakes). The turtles of Korea can be divided, for the most part, into sea turtles such as the Leatherback Turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*; *changsu kóbuk*); the Sea Turtle (*Chelonia japonica*; *pada kóbuk*), and the freshwater or land turtles such as the Japanese Terrapin (*Geoclemys reevesii*; *namsaengi*) and the Snapping Turtle (*Amyda japonica*; *chara*). Poisonous snakes can be divided into three families and nine subspecies while non-venomous snakes account...
for an additional three families and fifteen subspecies. Some representative snakes include the Yellow-spotted Serpent \textit{(Dinodon rufozonatum; nung kurongi)}, Pit Viper \textit{(Agristodon halys; salmu sa)} and the Thread Snake \textit{(Zamensis spinalis; shil paem)}.

Amphibians in Korea are separated into two orders, the Urodela (salamander) and Salientia (frog). There are three subspecies of salamander, including the Giant Salamander \textit{(Hynobius nebulosus; toryongnyong)} and the Four-Toed Newt \textit{(Salamandrella keyserlingii; nebal karak toryongnyong)}. The frog order is represented in Korea with eleven subspecies such as the Red-Bellied Frog \textit{(Bombina orientalis; mudang kaeguri)}; Green Tree Frog \textit{(Hyla arborea japonica; ch'ong kaeguri)}; Golden Frog \textit{(Rana nigromaculata chosenica; kum kaeguri)} and the Toad \textit{(Bufo vulgaris; tukkobi)}.

Salt and freshwater fish in the waters on and around the Korean peninsula are divided into the Cyclostomata (bryozoans), composed of two orders, two families and five subspecies; Chondrichthyes (cartilaginous fish), which are composed of three orders, twenty-one families and fifty-nine subspecies; and Osteichthyes (true-bone skeleton fishes); which are divided into twenty-three orders, one-hundred and seventy-three families and eight-hundred and eighty subspecies. Of these fish, about one-hundred and fifty are freshwater species. Commercially-popular fish are mostly saltwater varieties and include Mackerel \textit{(Sawara niphonia; samch'i)}; Yellow Corvenia \textit{(Pseudosciaena manchurica; ch'am chogi)}; Yellow-fin Tuna \textit{(Elagatis bipinnulatus; ch'amch'i)}; and Anchovy \textit{(Engraulis japonica: myolch'i)}. Korean waters are also rich in shellfish, and cephalopods such as octopus and squid. A large number of species are endemic and significant among these are some twenty-eight subspecies of carp \textit{(Cyprinus carpio; ingo)} and five subspecies of herring \textit{(Clupea pallasii; ch'dongdo)}.

Arthropods compose the greatest number of creatures in Korea, there being three-hundred and sixty subspecies, or thereabouts, of Anachnoidea (spiders), five-hundred and thirty subspecies of Crustacea (marine or freshwater arthropods), and about five-thousand subspecies of the Insecta (insect) order. Among the insects, the Lepidoptera (butterfly) order is the largest with about one-thousand, four hundred subspecies; and this is followed by Coleoptera (beetles) with about one-thousand, one hundred and fifty subspecies; Hymenoptera (bees) with nine-hundred and twenty subspecies, Hemiptera (locust) with eight-hundred and eighty subspecies; and Diptera (flies) with four-hundred and forty subspecies. The Long-horned Beetle \textit{(Callipogon relictus; changsu hantul so)} is counted among the natural monuments of Korean fauna.

Utilisation of Fauna

Fauna has long been important to the survival of the Korean people. From earliest times, humans have looked upon fish, animals and birds as a form of subsistence, which is evidenced by the presence of bones and shells in excavations of ancient sites. Large animals, such as mammoths, further supplied the early Koreans with bones, from which crude tools were made, and skins that protected them from the elements. Early man occupied those regions in Korea along waterways or the coastline, which provided a steady source of food. Excavations of coastal and riverside sites often reveal stone sinkers that were attached to the fishing nets. Rudimentary stone and bone arrowheads, and spear-tips reveal that ancient man had developed the skills necessary for hunting larger mammals including deer, wild boar and bear.

As ancient Korean societies emerged from the hunting and gathering communities in the late Neolithic period, agrarian skills were developed which made for more permanent settlement. The use of animals for food, however, remained an essential aspect of these early Korean states, with both fishing and hunting skills being further refined. It is also during this period and the early Bronze Age, that man began to domesticate oxen, horses and dogs. The horse was valued not only for transportation, but also as a means to increase
the ability to wage war, and by the advent of the Iron Age, implements made for the use of horses in battle had substantially increased. Therefore, as the ancient Korean states began to form confederations by either alliances or force, the horse became essential to aggressive acts and the defence of territory. The use of domesticated animals for agrarian purposes, however, was not accomplished until much later. Records in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) show that oxen were used in farming by at least the sixth century, CE, but it is thought that in reality they had been domesticated and utilised earlier than this. Certainly, by the early Three Kingdoms, domesticated animals such as oxen played a major role in Korean agriculture. As society developed to higher levels, animals continued to be important to the survival and welfare of the people; but with hunting still a substantial factor in providing meat for their table and hides for their clothing.

Animals still play a major role in modern Korean society, although they are no longer used for transportation purposes, having given way to a variety of machines. Nevertheless, cattle, pig, poultry and dairy farms are all represented in Korea today, and each of these agricultural divisions has become a highly technical, scientific and economic enterprise. Likewise, marine products are being harvested through a variety of means, including deep-sea fishing and coastal shellfish beds. Additionally, animals serve an important role in the psyche of today’s Korean in that pets such as dogs and cats provide companionship and a means to alleviate stress. Further, fauna in the wild is greatly appreciated by many Koreans, as witnessed in the growing popularity of ornithology. While in past times the fauna of Korea was at risk through senseless slaughter or environmental pollution, today the national consciousness has grown in regard to the importance of preserving the natural environment and in maintaining natural habitats for fauna. This provides a new horizon for the protection and preservation of the diverse fauna of Korea.

Animism

Animism, the doctrine of anima mundi, is the attribution of living soul to plants, inanimate objects and natural phenomena. It is the behavioural system founded in the veneration of natural objects and the endowment of these objects with supernatural powers. Often, the worship of natural objects discloses a hierarchy in which, for example, a sky or heaven god is given a higher status than an earth or mountain god. The objects held sacred by the ancients reveal four basic groups: celestial bodies, geographic items, physical objects and animals. Celestial bodies included the heavens, with the sun, moon, stars; and the traits of nature (such as thunder and lightning), cloud formations and rain. Geographic items might include mountains, rivers, seas, and the earth itself. Of the physical objects, caves, grains, rocks, trees and small bodies of water were included; while animals held sacred included the bear, crow, dragon, (certain types of) fish, tiger, magpie, and snake.

Ancient Korean man held animistic beliefs, in combination with shaman convictions. Many natural objects were seen as being possessed of supernatural qualities, or the presence of a ‘soul’ that denoted immortality. Early men and women believed in the human soul and this belief is seen in the development of burial customs and rites. These sought to protect the corpse from evil spirits by covering it with stones, and also to provide the dead with the tools and hunting articles needed in the life to come. The ‘souls’ of natural objects were thus venerated by ancient man as the means of invoking their supernatural powers to act for the good of man. From these beliefs, rudimentary incantatory rituals developed among ancient communities, and these in turn evolved into the state rituals practised in the ancient
Korean kingdoms of Puyŏ, Koguryŏ and Ye.

Animistic Rituals

One ancient ritual that gives fragmentary glimpses of the animistic beliefs of ancient Koreans is the Much’ŏn of the Ye Kingdom. Accounts of this ritual are found in Chinese sources, like the Sangou zhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the Houhan shu (History of the Later Han). They relate that in the tenth lunar month the people of Ye gathered to perform a ritual to the heavens, and this included song, dance, food and drink. The Ye people held the tiger in great esteem and rituals were performed to supplicate it for the benefit of the kingdom. The Yonggo ritual held by the Puyŏ people was similar in many aspects to the Much’ŏn, and the underlying rationale for holding this ceremony was to offer thanksgiving for a successful harvest. Like the Ye ritual, the Yonggo was offered to the celestial forces that governed agriculture. Its importance in Puyŏ society can be seen in the fact that the king acted as the chief officiant of the ceremony and that the entire population participated in the ritual activities. Therefore, from these and other records we can ascertain the importance given to various animistic deities by early Koreans.

Animistic-based ritual continued to exist in Korea even after religions such as Buddhism entered Korea. Animism, with its close cousin shamanism, is deeply imbedded in Korean folk practices, many of which are still in existence. An examination of the belief system that surrounds the cult of Sanshin shinang (beliefs in mountain gods) shows that animistic practices are still prominent in many aspects of Korean folk religion. Ritual offerings, prayers or other supplications have long been offered to the deity of a particular mountain in the desire to receive supernatural assistance in one form or another. Sacrifices are commonly offered to sanshin, either by individuals or communities, to bring about an abundant harvest, to usher in a fortuitous year or in the case of many women, to allow them to give birth to a male child. Hence, the practice of making pilgrimages to certain mountains, or offering sacrifices to the deity of a mountain, remain common manifestations of animistic beliefs.

There are other practices in recent times and some present-day folk customs which also represent the continuation of animistic beliefs, although due to the syncretic nature of folk religions in Korea, it is sometimes difficult to clearly differentiate between animistic and shamanistic belief systems. Many villages in former times (and today, too), have spirit trees (shin namu) at which offerings are made to tutelary deities on behalf of the village or an individual. These trees are believed to be growing where the guardian deity of the village resides, and so invocations are made directly to the tree. Sottae (spirit poles) and changsŭng (guardian posts) represent respectively, the presence of a tutelary deity and the protective powers of a guardian deity. These materialisations of supernatural powers are often used in conjunction with one another, and thus serve to protect the village from baleful forces. A further example of animism in contemporary Korean folk beliefs is evidenced in sushin shinang (belief in water deities), which is particularly strong in coastal villages. Rituals are offered to the sushin to protect seafarers and also to ensure an abundant catch. The sushin is often represented by the Dragon King (yongwang), a deity that has many rituals offered to it in order to secure its blessing.

Animistic Deities

Foremost among animistic deities are the gods of the heavens, sun, moon and constellations such as the Ch’ilsŏng (Big Dipper and Ursa Major). Belief in sky or heaven gods usually focused on explaining the origins of the universe, its structure and its dynamics. The god of the heavens is often based in a masculine ideology, which can be contrasted with the earth goddesses that are predominantly female. The gods of the sun and moon are both deities which are believed to be protectors of man. Specifically, they illuminate the world and protect mankind from the evil forces which control darkness. The
seven deities of Ch’ilsŏng have been ascribed various powers depending upon period and region, including rainfall regulation; functioning as protectors of young children; and being capable of influencing the fortunes and longevity of humans. The deities of the celestial bodies are considered to be in the upper echelon of animistic deities.

Along with the aforementioned mountain and water deities, the most numerous of the animistic gods are those embodied by animals. Perhaps due to the agility, strength, beauty or sheer size of animals, ancient man held these creatures in awe and thus sought to invoke the superior qualities of the animals on his behalf. Moreover, the fear that ancient man held for larger animals such as tigers and bears may also have been the psychological basis for the veneration of certain animals. Some creatures were thought to be capable of defining the future - magpies, spiders and ants were included here - such as the song of a magpie being an auspicious omen foretelling a visit. On the other hand, the sighting of a spider in the evening was thought to be a bad omen. Tigers and dragons are perhaps the most prominent subjects of animal veneration. The tiger, almost always closely associated with the sanshin, was honoured as the supreme deity of the mountains and rituals offered to it were thought to prevent disaster. The dragon, although an imaginary beast, was closely aligned with water, and so supplications were often offered to the Dragon King to prevent or end droughts. Other animals such as snakes and foxes were also highly venerated in ancient animistic practices.

Animistic Beliefs in Literature

The prevalence of animistic beliefs among early Koreans is strongly evidenced by the presence of animistic themes in literature of the times. The themes are especially strong in the foundation myths of the ancient kingdoms and in family origin legends. Representative of the manifestation of animistic beliefs in foundation myths are found in legends like the Tan’gun shinhwae (The Myth of Tan’gun) and Tongmyŏng shinhwae (The Saga of King Tongmyŏng). In the Tan’gun shinhwae the bear is deified and by virtue of its patience, is transformed into a human. The bear-women then becomes the mother of the king of Ko Chosŏn, Tan’gun, as a result of her union with the heavenly being, Hwanung. In the Tongmyŏng shinhwae, not only is the founder of Koguryŏ, Chumong, born from an egg carried from heaven by a winged-horse, he is also the recipient of supernatural aid from animals. Therefore, Tongmyŏng shinhwae shows clearly the desire of humans to control the forces of nature, and in particular, the animal kingdom. Other foundation myths of the early Korean states reveal similar beliefs based in the worship of animals and the desire to possess their powers. Family origin myths often incorporate similar themes as those in the foundation myths. The origins of the founders of the Pak, Sok and Kim clans of Shilla are all tied to animals and reveal the aspiration of these early clans to elevate their status through the vinculum of animals and their supernatural powers.

Animistic beliefs are also manifested in folk culture through the medium of folk beliefs and folktales. Thus, tales in which animals provide assistance to humans such as the turtle that rescues the father of the protagonist in Sukhyang chŏn (The Tale of Sukhyang); the magpie that shelters the abandoned princess in Pari kongju (The Abandoned Princess); and the swallow that repays the kindness of the principal in Hŭngbu chŏn (The Tale of Hŭngbu), all demonstrate animistic elements. Particularly strong in Korean folklore are those themes that exhibit animals as either benefactors of humans or as maintaining reciprocal relations with humans. Other folk beliefs founded in animistic beliefs display convictions of gaining the benefit of supernatural forces present in water, mountains, stones, trees or celestial bodies, through prayer and ritual offerings. Thus, rituals offered to a mountain deity in the hope of bearing a son, or for the prosperity of one’s family are also deeply influenced by animistic beliefs. On examining the myths, legends and folk customs of Korea, it is clear that animistic concepts are quite common and have had a crucial impact on the evolution of Korean folk culture.
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Ansan

Ansan is in Kyŏnggi Province, and is located in a coastal area south of Shihŭng and Taebu Island. Except for Mt. Ma (246m) in the northeast, the city's terrain is flat. The Hwajŏng and Ansan streams flow through the city centre into Kyŏnggi Bay.

As a satellite city of Seoul, Ansan is connected with the capital and to Suwŏn and Inch'ŏn by an extensive network of highways and railways. Many of the city's residents either work in Seoul, or in local factories which produce fabricated metal, chemicals, textiles and foodstuffs. Taking advantage of the area's paper mills, many printing works and shops have also opened here. Fishing and fish-farming also contribute to the local economy.

The city's tourist industry is centred around sports fishing along the coast and in Hwarang Farm Reservoir. Wild orchid and reed grow around the reservoir, which is frequented by flocks of skylark, wagtail, water fowl and sparrow. On weekends, large numbers of tourists from Seoul come to the markets here to buy fresh seafood.

As for historical relics, prehistoric artefacts including dolmens, stone tools and pottery shards have been found in the area. In addition, the original site of the grave of Queen Hyŏndŏk (King Munjong's wife and King Tanjong's mother) is located in Mongnae-dong. Legend has it that after King Sejo deposed the child King Tanjong and had him murdered, the queen appeared to him in a dream, threatening revenge. In an attempt to get rid of the vengeful spirit of the queen, King Sejo had her coffin removed and thrown into the sea. However, a farmer who later saw it floating by secretly buried it in an auspicious spot in a pleasant sunny area.

Ansŏng County

As part of Kyŏnggi Province, Ansŏng County is comprised of the town of Ansŏng and the townships of Kosam, Kongdo, Kŭmgwang, Taedŏk, Miyang, Pogae, Samjuk, Sŏun, Yangsŏng, Chuksan, Ilchuk and Wŏn'gŏk. Mt. Mai (472m), Mt. Tŏksŏng (521m), Mt. Ch'irhyŏn (516m), Mt. Sŏun (547m) and other peaks of the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range run along the county's southeastern border, while Mt. Ssangnyong (491m) and Mt. Talgi (415m) rise in the north. Streams from these mountains flow into the Kosam, Kŭmgwang and Midun reservoirs.

Apart from its mountainous terrain, much of the county consists of flat terrain conducive to rice cultivation. Fruits and dry-field vegetable crops are also grown here, and Ansŏng grapes are especially famous for their delicious flavour. Speciality crops include ginseng, which is grown in the Pogae and Yangsŏng townships, and tobacco, which is grown in the Ilchuk and Ijuk townships. Beef and dairy cattle, deer and chicken are also raised, chiefly as a secondary source of farming income. The county's mines excavate tungsten and coal, while local factories produce textiles, chemicals, machinery, paper and brassware. Ansŏng brassware is one of the area's traditional products. Yet the area's industrial sector is relatively underdeveloped compared with other areas in Kyŏnggi Province. As a result, Ansŏng has been able to avoid many of the pollution problems that plague much of Korea today.
The county’s clean environment and its scenic beauty have made it a haven for artists. A large community of artists centres around Omma Ranch in Ansong. This ‘ranch’ contains both recreational and lodging facilities, as well as places where artists can gather to exchange ideas. Every May, the ranch hosts the Norigul Festival which exhibits installation art, ballet, folk rituals and art exhibitions.

Tourists from Seoul visit the area to picnic and fish by the reservoirs and streams, and to see the various historical sites scattered around the county. Since Shilla times, the area has had close connections with Buddhism. National Master Hyeguk, Grand Master Ön’gi (1581-1644) and Grand Master Pyŏngŭng all came from this area, and there are several ancient Buddhist temples, including Ch’ilchŏng Temple at Mt. Ch’iłchang, and the Sŏngnam and Ch’ŏngnyong temples near Mt. Sŏn. As for Confucian schools, there is the Tŏkpong Sŏwŏn in Yangsŏng Township, the Ansong Hyanggyo (founded in 1533), the Ch'uksan Hyanggyo in Ijuk Township and the Yangsŏng Hyanggyo which was built during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720).

**Ansŏng Stream**

The origin of Ansŏng Stream is in Ansŏng County, Kyŏnggi Province, in the townships of Kosam and Pogae. It flows through P’yŏng’t’aek before entering Asan Bay. This 76 km-long stream was first known as Ansŏngnam Stream. Where the minor stream of Chinwi, Ipchang, Han, Ch’ŏngnyong, Osan, Todae and Hwangguji converge with Ansŏng Stream, there is the alluvial Ansŏng Plain. Made up of rich sedimentary deposits, this fertile plain, along with Kimp’o Plain, has traditionally been the main rice-producing region in Kyŏnggi Province. Until Asan Dyke was built on the stream’s lower reaches, tidal waters reached Shinho Village in P’yŏng’t’aek, but the construction of the dyke led to the reclamation of a large area of level land which was eminently suitable for farming. On the upper reaches of the stream, Kŭmgwàng Reservoir was built in 1956 and Kosam Reservoir in 1958. Originally constructed for irrigation, these reservoirs have become popular fishing places.

**Anyang**

Anyang is located southwest of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. Mt. Samsŏng (456m) is to the north of the city, while Suam Peak (395m) and Mt. Suri are in the south. Streams from these mountains flow into Anyang Stream which runs through the centre of the city.

As a satellite city of Seoul, Anyang has had rapid industrial development. Although the amount of cultivated land has continued to decline as a result of the area’s urban spread, rice is still cultivated in the level area south of Hagŭi Stream. There are also stock-breeding and poultry farms. Excellent transportation networks link the city to Seoul and Inch’ŏn, and numerous large and medium-sized industries have been established, producing textiles, chemicals, machinery and foodstuffs.

The city’s tourist industry attracts visitors from Seoul and elsewhere who come to visit Anyang Resort and the city’s Buddhist temples. Historically, the most important monastery is Sammak Temple on Mt. Samsŏng. Believed to have been founded by Wŏnhyo during the reign of Shilla’s King Munmu (r. 661-681), this ancient temple contains a large number of artefacts including a relief carving of a Buddha and attendant Bodhisattvas, a bronze bell, a three-storey stone pagoda and a stele commemorating events at the temple (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 94, 95, 112 and 125 respectively). The Main Buddha Hall and Myŏngbu (Lord of Death) Hall have also been designated as historical objects.

At the old site of Chungch’o Temple in Sŏksu-dong, there is a pair of stone bannerpole supports (Treasure No. 4) that were erected in 827 along with a three-storey pagoda
thought to date from the mid-Koryŏ period. In Sŏksu-dong, there is Manan Bridge, which was built in 1795.

Aphae Island

Aphae Island is located about two kms. northwest of Mokp’o in the Yellow Sea. Administratively, the island is part of Aphae Township in South Cholla Province’s Shinan County. The island has a total area of 47.47 sq. kms and coastline of 79 kms. Mt. Inmae (125m) is in the north of the island and Mt. Songgong (231m) in the west. Chiefly because of its remote location, Aphae island served as a place of exile during Chosŏn. Sites of historical interest include dolmens in Kwangnip Village, remains of Songgong Fortress in Songgong Village and Kumsan Temple in Karyong Village.

Aphae Island has an annual rainfall averaging 1 125mm annually, but its snowfall is usually light. Over half of the island is arable land and of this about 9.0 sq. kms grows rice. Dry-field crops grown include barley, legumes, sweet potato, garlic, hot pepper and sesame. Most of the island’s workforce engages both in farming and fishing. Fishing vessels bring in catches of yellow corbina, grey mullet and octopus. On the southwest coast, there are oyster and laver farms as well as salt flats.

April Nineteen Revolution, The [History of Korea]

Archaeology

Japanese colonial archaeology

The discipline of archaeology was introduced into the Korean peninsula by Japanese researchers in the late 1800s and developed there under the aegis of the Japanese colonial government between 1910 and 1945. Some of the major projects involved excavation of the Luolang commandery headquarters at T’osŏng-ni and nearby tombs (e.g. Tomb of the Painted Basket, Tomb of Wang Kuang); many Koguryŏ tombs in both Jian (modern China) and around P’yŏngyang; several Shilla tombs in Kyŏngju (e.g. the Golden Bell tomb, Gold Crown tomb); mountain fortresses, temples and dolmen sites, etc. The site reports appear in several series, mainly published by the Governor General of Chosŏn (Chosen Sotokufu). These are still indispensable to archaeological research today.

The Japanese government maintained a museum in the Chosŏn capital of Kaesŏng, but a new purpose-built museum was opened in P’yŏngyang in October 1933 to house the artifacts from the Luolang commandery, tombs, and excavations in P’yŏngyang. These materials now reside in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul.

Modern North Korean archaeology

Excavations by North Korean archaeologists began immediately in the post-war period, with To Yuho considered ‘a pioneer’ in archaeological research. By 1950, the Sŏp’ohangdong and Kungsan shellmiddens and the Anak tombs 1, 2 and 3, and the Ch’odŏ sites had been investigated. Reports of these excavations were published through the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Academy of Science; in the late 1960s; this Institute was divided into separate institutes housed in the Academy of Social Sciences. In the mid-1960s, unusual cooperative work was carried out with Chinese colleagues, such as at the Gangshang and Loushang tombs in Liaodong in 1963-65 and at the Kwanggaeto stele in 1966. Currently, the Institute of Archaeology conducts most excavations, with additional work done through Kim Il Sung University or local museums such as Shinjūju Museum, Kaesŏng Museum and Chosŏn Museum of History. The ‘pooling of minds’ is also a noted feature of North Korean cooperative research, where interpretations are arrived at by consensus.
The laws governing site and artifact preservation were promulgated early: the Regulation of the Preservation of National Relics and the Natural Environment was passed in 1946 and the Principles of Preservation of Material Culture in 1948. In 1972 a new constitution was enacted, under which the Juch’-e (self-reliance) philosophy of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) became the official ideology governing the interpretation of archaeological remains. In essence, it requires the demonstration of autochthonous development without outside influence. Whereas South Korean scholars readily derive the source of the Korean Bronze Age from Siberia and Manchuria, and openly acknowledge the presence of a Chinese Han Dynasty commandery on the peninsula, North Korean scholars are constrained to view the Bronze Age remains and those of the Luolang commandery as local developments - assigning the latter to the proto-historical Mahan group. Under this philosophy also, the centralized societies of Choson (2nd c. BCE) and Koguryo (1-668 CE) are judged to have been consolidated states whose rule extended well into the Manchurian Basin. Thus, the North Korean view of early Korean society differs from South Korea in four basic ways: 1) outside influence is rejected; 2) Koreanness is projected over a much greater region of Northeast Asia (especially modern-day northeast China but even to Japan); 3) a Marxist framework provides for materialist interpretations (Old Choson is described as a slave society and the Three Kingdoms as a feudal society); and 4) periods such as the Neolithic, Bronze Age and the early Choson state are assumed to extend farther back in time than in the South.

Most archaeological work has been published through the Institute of Archaeology (and Ethnology), but several journals and monograph series receive provincial reports for publication: Munhwa yumul (1949-50), Munhwa yusan (1957-1963), Kogo minsok (1963-67), Kogo minsok nonmunjip (1969-1984), Kogohak charyojip (1958-), Choson kogo yŏn'gu (1986). Syntheses of peninsular archaeology published in the north include the pre-juch’-e work of To Yuho, Choson wŏnshi kogohak (1961), followed by the heavily juch’-e-influenced works edited through the Institute of Archaeology, Choson kogohak kaeyo (also in English, 1977) and Choson chŏnsa (33 vols., 1979). As apparent in these titles, much of the emphasis of North Korean research concentrates on the large proto-historic states in the north: Old Choson (dated by them to the 1st millennium BCE); what the Northern researchers consider Choson’s direct descendent, Koguryo (which they date to 4-3rd c. BCE-CE 7th c.) and Koguryo’s successor, Parhae (713-926). Among the Koguryo sites to have been excavated are the Taesŏng and Changsu fortresses, Anhak Palace, King Tongmyong’s tomb, Chŏngnungsa Temple, and the Yŏkp’o district of P’yŏngyang. Because of direct access to material remains, North Korean researchers have excelled in reconstructing their brand of social history for the Koguryo, while South Korean scholars are allegedly limited to analysis of documents for study of political systems and international relations.

**Modern South Korean archaeology**

Government control of and policy relating to Korea's cultural properties, including archaeological activities intended to discover cultural relics, is exercised through the Cultural Property management Office.

Archaeology is organised through three different types of organisations in South Korea: the universities (and their affiliated museums, which host the archaeological teams, publish the reports and house the artifactual results); the national museum system (headed by the National Museum of Korea in Seoul with at least nine branches in the major cities of Kyŏngju, Kōngju, Kwangju, Chŏngju, Ch’ŏngju, Chinju, Puyo, Ch’unch’ŏn, and Taegu); and the Research Institute of Cultural Properties Preservation in Seoul, which maintains teams at outlying excavation sites. The last also incorporates a Conservation Science Department which can process special finds, such as metal objects, from excavations throughout the country.
Unlike other countries, there is currently no clear division between academic and public archaeology domains. Most of the rescue work is demanded by governmental activity in building dams, transportation networks, etc. Teams from both museums and universities, as quasi-governmental bodies, are commandeered to work on the rescue sites.

The largest projects have been investigations of proposed dam sites, requiring surface survey to identify sites and then archaeological excavation of the most sensitive. The work is usually extended over several years, and the research is carried out by several institutions, often with special teams (chosadan) created for the project. The teams are advised by members of national bodies such as the Central Cultural Properties Office (Chungan Munhwajae Úiwôn), the Central National Museum (Chungan Kungnip Pangmulgwan), and local Cultural Properties Offices. An example is the Hapch’ön Dam project begun in 1984 when the dam site in South Kyōngsang province was found to contain Kaya period mounded tombs and kiln sites from the late Three Kingdoms to early Greater Shilla periods. Excavation started in 1986, with the Donga University Museum responsible for the Pan’gye-ri Tomb Cluster and the Chinju National Museum responsible for the Chuhchung-ni Temple Remains. The excavation team, headed by the Director of the Chinju National Museum, was comprised of individuals from the National Museums in Chinju, Kongju, Ch'ŏnju, Kwangju, Seoul and Kyŏngju; from various schools such as Pukdae Hakkyo, Taejŏn Kaebang Taehak, S. Kyŏngsang Hagye Yŏn’gugwan and Kyŏngbuk University; and other bodies such as Hoam Art Museum and Shilla Folk Village. The reports for such projects are published by the institution of the project director. In the case of the Pan’gyeje excavations, work at three locations was carried out between October 1986 and April 1987, and by December 1987, the report on two of the locations had been submitted for publication. Such reports are circulated among institutions and are not available for sale, though individuals can obtain copies if requested. This kind of cooperative organisation is unusual in the rescue archaeology world. Many countries either have local government teams in charge of excavations in a specified administrative area, or work is put out to tender with specialised contract companies who bid for the job. The latter kind of contract archaeology is unknown in Korea, and the system there is reminiscent of Japan’s cultural properties organisation before museums and universities began refusing to do governmental excavations in the early 1970s, forcing the Japanese prefectural Boards of Education to install their own teams of government archaeologists.

In addition to reports compiled for rescue projects by the special chosadan teams, national museums and university museums have their own series for excavation reports. These are available on an exchange basis. The major society journal is the Han’guk Kogo hakbo (whose antecedent was Kogohak), published by the Han’guk Kogohakhoe (Korean Archaeological Society), currently based at Hanyang University. Both this society and the Central National Museum produce monthly newletters of archaeological activities and discoveries.

Many universities in South Korea teach archaeology at the undergraduate level, but graduate students traditionally travelled abroad for Ph.D. degrees, beginning with archaeology doyen Kim Wonyong at New York University in the late 1950s. This trend has resulted in a far greater number of degree-holders in archaeology than in neighbouring Japan, for example, where Ph.D. degrees are not required even for university teaching positions. With the institution of local degree programs in archaeology in the late 1980s, e.g., at Seoul National University and Hanyang University, more home-trained students are now filling university posts.

Korean cultural history
The succession of periods in Korea’s prehistory and protohistory resembles the Western scheme: a Palaeolithic of uncertain beginnings (perhaps as early as 400,000 BCE) lasting to the end of the Pleistocene period around 10,000 BCE; the Chûlmun period (6,000-2,000/1,500 BCE), often described as ‘neolithic’, with textured pottery but without agriculture; the Mumun period (2,000-700 BCE) of plain pottery and beginning agriculture (both rice and millet); the Bronze Age (700 BCE-CE 0), heralded by the advent of an unusually shaped bronze sword from the Manchurian region; the Iron Age, beginning in the north around 400 BCE and in the south at CE 0. Because of its differential start, this period is usually split into two segments, the Early Iron Age (400 BCE-CE 0) and Late Iron Age (CE 0-300), the latter of which is often called the Proto-Three Kingdoms period because of the founding of complex societies during this period or also the Luolang period because of the Han Dynasty occupation of the northern peninsula under the Luolang commandery. The beginning of the Three Kingdoms period (CE 300-669) is marked archaeologically by the advent of monumental tombs and signified in the literature by the destruction of Luolang by Koguryô in 313. The three major kingdoms (Paekche, Shilla and Koguryô) plus the southern confederacy of Kaya polities vied over territory, with Shilla eventually uniting the peninsula south of P’yôngyang, while much former Koguryô territory became the Parhae state. The Greater Shilla period (669-935) is marked by capital and temple building during the formalisation of the state’s administrative structure along the lines of Tang dynasty China.

With an extensive governmental programme to reconstruct archaeological sites for public consumption, the visitor to South Korea is able to see and experience architectural forms from almost every prehistoric period. For the neolithic Chûlmun period, Amsadong site near Seoul has several reconstructed pit-houses and a site museum. Bronze Age dolmens can be seen near Seoul and Kwangju cities, while the Masan shellmound site near Pusan can be climbed to reach a small site museum. Restored tombs are most prolific: the Pan‘gidoong and Sokch‘on-dong tombs in Seoul and King Muryông’s tomb in Kongju represent the Paekche Kingdom, while Kyôngju’s Tumulus Park preserves the Shilla Kingdom royal cemetery—with one tomb, The Flying Horse tomb, open inside as a site museum. Walled fortresses of the Three Kingdoms period are excellently represented by Mongch‘ôn T‘osông, now constituting the Olympic Park in Seoul.

Chronology of Korean Prehistory to be inserted.

Bibliographies


Architectural Institute of Korea

Located in Sadang-dong in Seoul, (Taehan Könh’uk Hakhoe) had its origin (September 1945) as the Choson Architectural Technique Organisation (Chosön Könh’uk Kisul Tan). Its name was changed to the Choson Architectural Technique Association (Chosön Könh’uk Kisul Hyophoe) in 1954 and it acquired its present name when new Articles of Association were adopted. The Institute meets formally in the spring and autumn and publishes monthly, Architecture, and Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea. July 1995 statistics show that the AIK had 3 976 members.

Architecture

Traditional Korean Architecture

Traditional architecture in Korea is classified into three categories which basically accord to the materials used in the construction: wooden structures, stone structures and brick structures. Most buildings used as residences or in which people worked or studied were made of wood, including houses, palaces, government offices, kaeksa (official guest house), munmyo (Confucian shrine), hyanggyo (Confucian academy), and so on. Stone structures included buildings such as pagodas, bridges, and fortresses, while those made of brick also included pagodas and tombs.

Wooden architecture comprises 'columnar architecture', which can be classified as either, 'mindori structures' or 'kongp'o structures.' Mindori consists of joined columns, beams, cross beams, and roof trusses, whereas kongp'o is a type of 'eave-support structure'. Kongp'o is composed of capitals and brackets, and supports the roof beams at the top of the columns with a horizontal member, which can be seen between the columns.

Residential architecture mainly used the mindori structure which developed from the dugout hut constructions of the Neolithic period. Kongp'o structures, which already existed during the Koguryó Kingdom (B.C.E. 37- C.E. 668), were used in the construction of authoritative architecture, such as palaces, government offices, temples, and the like. During the Choson Kingdom (1392-1910) the principal architectural designs used wooden columnar structure. However, by the end of the 19th century, Korea's political situation had changed and Western countries, as well as Japan, strongly pressured Korea into opening its ports. Eventually, as a result of the Kanghwa Treaty in 1876, Korea opened the port of Pusan to foreign ships. With this treaty the number of foreign residences increased, and foreign delegations and many business enterprises were founded. As a result, Korea was introduced to many new types of buildings.

It is not known for certain exactly where the first Western-style building was located, but there is reason to think that it was built by the late 1870s. In 1880, the Japanese construction company Daikuragumi built a two-storey, western-type consulate building. The first commercial building was a telephone exchange office which had three single level brick buildings and a high chimney. The British legation was built in Chŏng-dong (1890), followed shortly by the legations of Russia, France and Belgium. All of these brick buildings were designed in a quasi-Renaissance style. During this same period there were also buildings of various religious organizations constructed in Seoul such as the Paejae Academy (1886), the Myŏng-dong Bishop's Residence (1890), and the gothic-style Myŏng-dong Cathedral (1892-98).

From 1910 Korea was under the colonial rule of Japan. The Governor-General designed and constructed the main administration building of the Japanese government together with a considerable number of government offices and public schools, among other buildings. The head office of the Chosŏn Bank, Kyŏngsong Metropolitan Prefecture Post Office and Kyŏngsong Metropolitan Prefecture Railroad Station are representative of the buildings in


In this era. In the 1930's, rationalistic and modern architectural style buildings were constructed, such as Hwashin Department Store (1931) and the Choson Newspaper Building (Choson Ilbosa, 1935).

Conversely, from the 1930's Korean architects graduating from specialized educational institutions, designed many buildings and subsequently handed down their values to the next generation, and to the post-independence generation. Two prominent architects of this period were Pak Killyong and Pak Tongjin. After liberation, Yi Chonsong and Kim Hujun influenced the architectural trends of the period, particularly during the Korean War. Perhaps born of the necessities of the times, their styles leaned towards functionalism.

**Buddhist Temple Architecture**

Korean Buddhist architecture commenced with the building of the Cho'mun and Ibullan Temples. There are three basic designs that resulted from this period. First, is a design that has a pagoda located in the centre of the complex and is surrounded by three main halls which are located to both sides and to the north. The second design features a temple with a pagoda located in front of the main hall. The third design has a pair of pagodas for each of the main halls. The first and second designs were established during the Three Kingdoms Period (B.C.E. 1st–C.E. 7th century), but the third belongs to the Greater Shilla Period (618-935 C.E.).

Another factor that influenced the design of temples during the period of Greater Shilla was the relocation of temple sites. Owing to both geomantic concerns, and the prevalence of esoteric Buddhism and the Zen Buddhist sect (Kor. sŏn), Buddhist temples, which had been built on level sites and centred around the capital, moved to sites deep in the mountains. The remote location of Buddhist temples became a distinctive feature and factor influencing their design throughout Korea.

The site of Chŏngnŭng Temple shows a distinctive layout, with the two main halls housing an octagonal pagoda at their centre, that differs from the three general temple sites listed above. The sites of Kŭmgang Temple at Chongam Village of the Koguryŏ Kingdom, Kunsu Village Temple at Puyŏ of the Paekche Kingdom, Hwangyŏng Temple at Kyŏngju of the Shilla Kingdom, and the site of Manbok Temple at Namwŏn of the Koryŏ period are all classified as being of the first design above. The second general temple design mentioned above can be seen at the site of Chŏngnim Temple, and Kŭmgang Temple in Puyŏ, which was the capital of the Paekche Kingdom. Hüngnyun Temple in Kyŏngju is an example of a Greater Shilla period temple that is described in the third classification above.

Most Korean temples, including such well-known temples as Pulguk, Pŏmö, and Hwaŏm, are located in mountainous regions so it was necessary to adapt the temple sites to the terrain. It is notable that the central axis of each building does not lie in a straight line, but at an angle. Therefore, the symmetrical balance of the whole of each building as it rises is gradually imposed. By using alternating open and closed breaks, a hierarchy of space is formed. All of these factors together, result in traditional Korean temple architecture that brings out the dynamic spatial characteristics of the temples very expressively.

**Chogye Temple**

Chogye Temple is located at 44 Susong-dong, Chongno-gu, in Seoul. This temple houses the headquarters of the Korean Buddhist Chogye sect, the largest of the eighteen Buddhist sects in Korea. This temple is ideally suited for the headquarters with its location in Seoul. Notable structures include Taeung Hall which was built in 1910, the Buddhist-Assembly Hall, the Buddhist Purification Memory Hall, the Bell Pavilion, the Temple Bell,
seven-storey stone stupa, and the Sari Pagoda among others.

Chŏndŭng Temple

Chŏndŭng Temple is located on Kanghwa Island on the estuary of the Han River north of the Port of Inch'ŏn. The temple was built by the Buddhist priest Ado in 381 C.E., in the eleventh year of King Sosurim (r. 371-384) and initially named Chinjong Temple. It was later renamed Chŏndŭng Temple, which means the temple of the transmitted lamp, after Princess Chonghwa, the first wife of King Ch'ungyŏl (r. 1274-1308), presented a jade lamp to the temple in 1282.

The main hall (Taeungbo) and Yaksa Hall have been designated as National Treasures along with a nine-hundred year old temple bell (of Chinese origin). Also within the compound are the sites of a repository for historical records and a library, Sŏnwŏnbo, where the genealogical records of the royal family of the Chosŏn Kingdom were kept.

Haein Temple

Haein Temple, located at the foot of the majestic Kaya mountains in Hapch'ŏn County, South Kyŏngsang Province, is famous for being the place in which the Tripitaka Koreana (P'alman taejanggyŏng), an over 80,000 wood-block set of Buddhist scriptures which were carved in the Koryŏ period to protect the nation, is stored. With the presence of the Tripitaka Koreana, Haein Temple is considered one of the Three Jewels of Buddhism in Korea, and represents the dharma (natural laws). Haein Temple was founded by two Shilla priests, Sunung and Ijong in 802 C.E. The temple is comprised of numerous buildings and halls, including Taejakkwang Hall, Myangbu Hall, and Samsŏng Pavilion. It also boasts many National Treasures, especially Changgyŏngp'an Repository (Tripitika Hall) which is designated National Treasure No. 52, and where the wooden blocks of the Tripitaka Koreana, Second Edition, (National Treasure No. 32) are stored.

Hungguk Temple

Hungguk Temple is located in Yŏch'ŏn City, on Yŏngch'wi Mountain in South Cholla Province, and is recorded to have been founded by the National Master Chinul in 1195 during the reign of King Myŏngjong (r. 1170-1197). It has been rebuilt and repaired many times, with the last major renovation being done by the monk Kyet'ŭk in 1624.

The temple is rich in valuable relics such as Taeung Hall (Treasure No. 396), ten other wooden structures including P'alsang Hall and Pulcho Hall, an altar painting (Treasure No. 578) located behind the Buddha in Taeung Hall, wood blocks for printing scriptures, and an arched bridge (Treasure No. 563).

Hwaŏm Temple

Hwaŏm Temple is located at the foot of the Chiri Mountains in Kurye County, South Cholla Province and is recorded to have been founded by the Buddhist priest Yongi in 544 C.E., during the reign of King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576) of Shilla. It was one of ten temples used by the priest Ŭisang to propagate Hua-yen (Kor. Hwaŏm) Buddhism, one of the five major doctrinal sects of Buddhism during the Shilla period. The National Master Tosŏn, whose teachings combined Buddhism with geomancy and Taoist elements, expanded the influence of Buddhism through his teachings here.

In Hwaŏm Temple, such artefacts as Kakhwang Hall (National Treasure No. 67), Taeung
Hall which houses a statue of Buddha (Treasure No. 299), a 6.36 metre high stone lantern (National Treasure No. 12), a stone pagoda supported by four lions (National Treasure No. 35), can be found among many others.

Kūmsan Temple

Kūmsan Temple is located in Kimje County ten kilometres southwest of Chŏnju, the capital of North Chōlla Province. It is recorded that Kūmsan was built in 599 C.E. during the reign of King Popp (r. 599-600) of Paekche. It was rebuilt by the Ascetic Chinp'yo from 762 to 766, during the reign of King Hyegong (r. 756-780) of Shilla. The temple was again destroyed during the 1592 Japanese invasion. It was reconstructed under the supervision of the priest Sumun and others in 1635 during the reign of Injo (r. 1623-49) of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

There are more than ten notable structures and artefacts at Kūmsan Temple including Miruk Hall (National Treasure No. 62), the Noju Stupa (Treasure No. 22), a five-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 25), a stone lotus stand (Treasure No. 23), a stele honoring the Royal Preceptor Hyedŏk (Treasure No. 24) and the three-storey pagoda in the courtyard of the Shimwŏn Hermitage (Treasure No. 29) among others.

Naksan Temple

Naksan Temple is located on a low hill along the east coast, in Chŏnjin Village, Yangyang County halfway between Sokcho and Yangyang. Naksan Temple was first built by the priest Uisang in 676 C.E. during the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681) of Shilla. Legend has it that Uisang was inspired to build the temple by Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Kor. Kwanum posal) who appeared to him while he was praying in a seashore cave that was believed to be frequented by the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva is said to have given him crystal prayer beads and instructed him to build the temple.

In the courtyard of the hall is a seven-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 499) and a bronze bell (Treasure No. 479). The traditional adobe walls, especially the walls around Wŏnt'ŏngbo Hall reveal an exquisite il-wŏl damjang (sun and moon-patterned wall).

Pŏpchu Temple

Pŏpchu Temple is located at the foot of Songni Mountain in Poŭn County, North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. The temple was built by the priest Ŭishin in 553 C.E.. It was repaired by Chinp'yo in 776, but razed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. The present structure dates from 1624 when the temple was rebuilt by the priest Pyŏgam during the second year of King Injo (r. 1623-1649) of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

A number of National Treasures are found at this temple. These include a stone lantern supported by twin lions (National Treasure No. 5); P'alsang Hall (National Treasure No. 55) which is the only five-storey wooden pagoda in Korea, a lotus-shaped basin (National Treasure No. 64), the Four Deva Kings Stone Lantern (Treasure No. 15), and a Buddhist statue carved in relief on a huge rock (Treasure No. 216).

Pongjŏng Temple

Pongjŏng Temple is located in T'aejang Village in Andong, North Kyŏngsang Province. The temple is recorded to have been founded by the Buddhist priest Uisang. He is said to have chosen this site for the temple when a paper phoenix kite he was flying at nearby Pusŏk Temple landed at the foot of the Chŏn'ŭng Mountains. The temple has been repaired many times with the last restoration recorded in 1363, during the reign of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) of Koryŏ, making Küngnak Hall (National Treasure No. 15)
Korea's oldest surviving example of wooden architecture. Taeung Hall (Treasure No. 55), Hwaŏm Hall (Treasure No. 448), Kogŭm Hall (Treasure No. 449) were all constructed during the early Chosŏn period.

Pulguksa Temple

Pulguksa Temple is located at the base of T'oham Mountain in Kyŏngju City, North Kyongsang Province. The construction of this temple was begun by Prime Minister Kim Taesŏng in 751 C.E. and completed in 774. At the time of its completion, it was one of the largest Buddhist temples in Korea with more than eighty wooden buildings. The entire temple complex was reduced to ashes by Japanese invaders in 1592.

Although the main hall and a few principal buildings were rebuilt, it was not until 1969-73 that the temple was completely restored after the completion of thorough research and excavations of the ancient temple site. During this work of restoring the Temple, important cultural relics dating from the Greater Shilla period were unearthed, including the two-stone pagodas, Tabo Pagoda (National Treasure No. 20) and Sŏkka Pagoda (National Treasure No. 21). Also, there are such bridges as Yŏnhwa Bridge and Ch'ilbo Bridge (National Treasure No. 22) that lead to Kŭngnak Hall, and the Ch'ŏngun Bridge and Paegun Bridge (National Treasure No 23), which are both actually staircases to Chaha Gate. All of these artefacts are representative of Shilla period stone work. The seated bronze gilt, Vairocana statue (National Treasure No. 26) in Piro Hall, the seated bronze gilt Amitabha statue of Kŭngnak Hall (National Treasure No. 27), and other Buddhist relics attest to the flowering of Buddhist art and culture during the Shilla Kingdom. Pulguksa Temple was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in December 1995 in recognition of its great historical and cultural importance.

Pusŏk Temple

Pusŏk Temple is located on the slopes of Ponghwang Mountain in Yŏngp'ung County, North Kyongsang Province. After a royal decree in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681), the temple was built under the supervision of the priest Ŭisang in 676. Pusŏk Temple is the leading temple of the Hwaŏm Sect that was founded by Ŭisang. Pusŏk, the Temple of the Floating Stone, is so named because of a large rock in the western part of the main hall which appears to float without attachment to the ground beneath it. According to legend, when Ŭisang came to this place to establish the temple, there were a large number of heathens who opposed the establishment of a temple and tried to thwart its construction. Ŭisang sought help from Buddha who sent a huge rock from heaven which frightened the heathens who then converted to Buddhism. This is the same rock that now appears to float in the main hall.

The second oldest extant piece of wooden architecture in Korea, Muryangsu Hall which is designated as National Treasure No. 18, is located at the temple. There are also other National Treasures located here including a stone lantern (National Treasure No. 17) in front of Muryangsu Hall which dates from the Shilla period, Chosa Shrine (National Treasure No. 19), a seated clay statue of Amitabha (National Treasure No. 45), a mural in Chosa Shrine (National Treasure No. 46) which was painted towards the end of the Koryŏ period, a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 249) and flagpole supports (Treasure No. 255) among others.

The Site of Sach'ŏnwang Temple

The site of Sach'ŏnwang Temple is located at Paeban-dong, Kyŏngju City in North Kyongsang Province and has been designated as Historic Site No. 8. The temple was built in 679 C.E. on the advice of the Buddhist priest, Myŏngnang. The original design of the temple was in the configuration of a main hall with two pagodas. However, because of a
railway constructed by the Japanese colonial government, all that is extant today are two wooden pagodas and the flagpole supports.

Sudŏk Temple

Sudŏk Temple is located in Sachŏn Village of Yesan County, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. One legend concerning the establishment of this Temple states that it was built by the priest Chimyŏng in 599 C.E. Some of the extant buildings and structures include Ilchu Gate, Taeung Hall, and a three-storey stone pagoda among others. Large-scale renewal took place in the mid-1980s but some of this work departs from the original design. Taeung Hall (National Treasure No. 49) is a variant of the chushimp'o-style building (a type of eave support that uses a wooden bracket attached to the top of the columns), and is acknowledged as one of the most beautiful structures of Korean traditional architecture.

Shillūk Temple

Shillūk Temple is located in Chŏnson Village in Yŏju County, Kyŏnggi Province. The temple was constructed during the Shilla period, but was largely rebuilt in 1379 by the priests Kakshin and Kakchu. The priest Naong is said to have led a contemplative life of virtue within the temple and the rebuilders of the temple erected a stupa to honor his righteousness.

Considerable restoration of the temple took place in 1440. The compound was expanded and in 1473 it was renamed Poŭn Temple. The complex is richly endowed with many Treasures, including Chosa Shrine (Treasure No. 180), a multi-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 225), a multi-storey brick pagoda (Treasure No. 226), a bell-shaped stupa dedicated to the venerable Poje (Treasure No. 228) with an attached stele (Treasure No. 229), a stone monument commemorating the Tripitaka Scriptures (Treasure No. 230), and a stone lantern (Treasure No. 231).

Sŏkkuram Grotto

The Sŏkkuram Grotto, located in Kyŏngju City, North Kyŏngsang Province, is one of Korea's best known and most frequented temples. The grotto has been designated as National Treasure No. 24. It is a man-made grotto high up on Mt. T'o-ham, constructed on the order of prime minister Kim Taesŏng (? c. 750). The grotto is composed of a square ante-chamber, a passageway (also square) leading to a large rotunda. In its layout and in a practical sense it resembles a complete temple. Eight guardian demons, two Vajradharas and four Devas are engraved in relief on granite slabs lining the walls of the ante-chamber and the passageway that lead to the rotunda. In the rotunda, a relief statue of the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy (Kor. Kwanŭm) is engraved directly behind the statue of the majestic Buddha. The walls to the left and right each have an engraved relief figure of a standing Deva and a Bodhisattva along with relief statues of the Ten Disciples of Buddha. The domed ceiling has ten niches in which are the seated statues of various Bodhisattvas. In the centre of the rotunda the seated Buddha, measuring 3.48 metres high, is enshrined. The rotunda was constructed to enable a beam of early morning sunlight to enter through an aperture in the rear wall above the Goddess of Mercy and briefly fall on the face of the Buddha. To witness this is a special moment for devout Buddhists and leads many to come to the grotto at daybreak. The statues in the ante-chamber, passageway and rotunda are designed in such a way so as to give the effect of constantly watching the worshipper, whether he might be entering the grotto, walking around it or leaving it.

Songgwang Temple

Songgwang Temple is located Shinpyŏng Village, Sŏngju County, South Chŏlla Province. It was constructed by the priest Haerin towards the end of the Shilla Kingdom.
This temple is one of the Three Jewels of Korean Buddhism along with Haein and T'ongdo Temples, and represents the sangha, or Buddhist order. In this temple sixteen priests, together with the National Master Chinul appeared in sequence. Their portraits are enshrined in the Kuksa Hall.

Of the existing relics and structures of this temple, there is a wooden Buddhist triptych (National Treasure No. 42), and buildings such as Kuksa Hall (Treasure No. 56), Hasa Hall (Treasure No. 263), Yaksa Hall (Treasure No. 302), and Yōngsan Hall (Treasure No. 303) among others.

Taehūng Temple

Taehūng Temple is located in Kurim Village, Haenam County, South Cholla Province. After the priest Ado constructed this temple in 544, it was rebuilt and renovated many times up through the Chosŏn period. The largest renovations were made by the monk Chajang in 617 and the National Master Tosŏn in 875. This temple's original name was Taedun Temple. Many disciples of the priest Sŏsan, who raised a large volunteer army of monks to resist the aggressors during the 1592 Japanese invasions, are on display in the temple's museum.

The extant relics and structures of the temple include a stone seated Buddha (Treasure No. 48), a bronze-bell now at Tabsan Temple (Treasure No. 88), three-storey stone pagoda in front of Pungmirŭk Grotto (Treasure No. 301), a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 320) in front of Ŭngjin Hall, two smaller halls (one for the thousand Buddhas and one for the disciples of the Buddha) among other items.

T'ongdo Temple

T'ongdo Temple is located in Chisan Village of Yangsan, South Kyongsang Province and was constructed by the priest Chajang in 646. This temple is in particular considered a Buddhist National Treasure since the sarira of Sakyamuni are enshrined here. This temple is considered to be one of the Three Jewels of Korean Buddhism along with Haein and Songgwang Temples, and it represents the Buddha in this trinity. Since the sarira of Buddha are enshrined at this site, there is not a statue of Buddha in the Main Hall. The Main Hall (Treasure No. 144), a stupa (Treasure No. 471), a three-storey stone pagoda (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Property No. 18) and a stone lantern (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Property No. 70) are among the extant relics and structures.

Wolchong Temple

Wolchong Temple is located in Tungsan Village, P'yŏngchang County, Kangwŏn Province. It was built in 646 C.E. by the Vinaya Master Chajang who, believing Odae Mountain to be a sacred place frequently visited by Buddha, built a hermitage here to await the advent of Manjusri Bodhisattva (Kor. Munsu), the Bodhisattva of wisdom. He also built a prayer hall, Chŏngmyŏl pogung, and enshrined Buddha's sarira in it. Other relics at this temple include an octagonal nine-storey stone pagoda (National Treasure No. 48) and a seated Bodhisattva among others. This temple is considered as one of the twenty-five Head Temples of the Chogye sect.

Kwanŭm Temple

Kwanŭm Temple is located in Kaesŏng City, North Korea. This temple was constructed first in 970 C.E. under the supervision of the National Master Pŏbin and expanded to a larger scale in 1393. Originally there were five buildings, but now only a Main Hall, a nunnery, a seven-storey stone pagoda and the Kwanŭm Cave remain. The Main Hall is a three by three kan structure (one kan = 2.2 square metres) with a hipped and gabled roof.
To the west of the Main Hall, is a seven-storey stone pagoda that measures 4.5 metres high that dates from the Koryŏ Kingdom.

Pohyon Temple

Pohyon Temple is located at Hyangam Village, Yongbyŏn County of North P'yŏngan Province in North Korea. This temple was constructed in 1042 and underwent major repairs in 1765. During the Korean War the temple was burnt down. However, the main hall was rebuilt in 1976 and various other buildings in 1979. These are the only structures that still exist.

Songbul Temple

Songbul Temple is located in the Chŏngbang Mountains, Hwangju County of Hwanghae Province in North Korea. This temple was constructed during the Greater Shilla Kingdom in 898 and was repaired several times after that. Today there are several buildings and structures remaining, including Kūnngnak Hall, Ungjin Hall and a five-storey pagoda. Of these buildings, Ungjin Hall, which was built in 1327, is notable in that it features a gabled roof design with bracketed eaves projecting to both the inside and the outside.

Shimwŏn Temple

Shimwŏn Temple is located at the foot of Chabi Mountain, in Hwangju County, Hwanghae Province in North Korea. The temple is said to have been founded by the National Master Tosan at the end of the Shilla period, but by the end of the subsequent Koryŏ period it had fallen into disrepair. The exact date of its construction is not known, but according to historical sources it was repaired in 1374.

Extant structures include Pogwang Hall, Ungjin Hall, Hyangno pavilion, Chŏngpung pavilion and Chilsŏng pavilion among others. Pogwang Hall is a three by three kan structure with three tiers of brackets projecting to both the outside and inside of the structure above columns using entasis. These eaves, which are bracketed in a tapo (multi cluster style), are the oldest extant in Korea. This is an important building since it is one of the oldest temples still remaining that is built in the style of the Chinese Yuan Dynasty.

Sŏgwang Temple

Sŏgwang Temple is at the foot of Sŏlbong Mountain, in Anbyŏn County, South Hamgyŏng Province of North Korea. This temple was constructed towards the end of the Koryŏ Kingdom and originally consisted of fifty-eight buildings, but it burnt down during the Korean War. Now only Puri and Chogae Gates, along with a few structures including Sŏlsŏngdong and Yongbi pavilions remain. Of the buildings destroyed during the Korean War, Ungjin Hall, which was constructed in 1368, was historically very important as it was a place that Yi Sŏnggye (the founder of the Chosŏn Kingdom) frequented.

Pagodas

Pagodas and temples in Korea were built concurrently with the introduction of Buddhism from China. Pagodas are generally classified into three types: wood, stone and brick, based on their construction materials. The remains of the wooden pagodas, that were the first built, can be seen at the site of Kūmgang Temple that dates from the Koguryŏ period. In addition, there are remains at Kunsu Village and Kūmgang Temples of the Paekche Kingdom. The pagoda at Mirŭk Temple is an early type of stone pagoda and indicative of the period that saw the change in construction materials from wood to stone. By the time of the construction of the stone pagoda at Chŏngnim Temple of the Paekche Kingdom, the form of the stone pagodas was fixed. Brick pagodas are mainly seen in Manchuria which
once was the territory of the Koguryŏ Kingdom. Similar in style to the brick pagodas is the Mojŏnsŏk Pagoda, which is a pseudo-brick pagoda built with brick-shaped andesite blocks at Punhwang Temple.

Stone Pagoda at Mirūk Temple

Mirūk Temple was built during the reign of King Mu (r. 600-641 C.E.) of the Paekche Kingdom. The pagoda is on the west end of the temple site, which is located in Kiyang Village of Iksan County, North Choll'a Province, and has been designated as National Treasure No.11. It is the one of the oldest stone pagodas in Korea, dating from the early years of King Mu's reign. Its height is 14.24 metres and originally may have consisted of nine storeys, but today only six remain. It is commonly acknowledged as the prototype for Korean stone pagodas, and illustrates the transformation from the stage of wooden pagodas to that of stone.

Five-storey Stone Pagoda at the Site of Chŏngnim Temple

This five-storey stone pagoda, which has been designated as National Treasure No. 9, is located at the site of Chŏngnim Temple in Tongnam Village of Puyŏ County, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. It was built during the Paekche Kingdom and rises five storeys to a height of 8.33 metres. The structure and shape of this pagoda, which is typical of stone pagodas in Korea, along with the stone pagoda of Mirūk Temple marks the change in the chief construction material of pagodas in Korea from wood to stone. When compared to the stone pagoda of Mirūk Temple it presents a more simplified structure.

The foundation of this pagoda is representative of stone pagoda structures and from it rise the five storeys of the pagoda. The foundation's style is quite similar to that of wooden pagodas. The first storey is higher than that of the other four storeys. Each storey features corner pillars on each side and the body of the pagoda is composed of stone slabs. The stone eaves of each roof gracefully turn upwards and rest upon beams placed atop the corner pillars.

Stone Pagoda at the Site of Punhwang Temple

This stone pagoda is located in Kyŏngju City, North Kyŏngsang Province and is designated as National Treasure No. 30. It is thought that this 9.3 metre high pagoda was built in 634 during the Shilla Kingdom. Although the construction material is andesite the pagoda was constructed in a manner to resemble a brick pagoda. The base of the pagoda is thirteen metres on each side and over one metre high. On each corner of the base is a seated lion, two of these are male and two are female. On each side of the body of the pagoda there is an entrance to the interior, and to each side of these entrances there are relief statues of a guardian diety. In the interior of the pagoda there is a statue of Buddha enshrined, but this is not what was originally inside the pagoda. Presently, only three storeys of this pagoda remain.

Ten-storey Marble Pagoda of Kyŏngjŏn Temple

This ten-storey marble pagoda is presently located on the grounds of Kyŏngbuk Palace in Seoul but was originally constructed at Kyŏngjŏn Temple which is in the Puso Mountain Fortress in Kyŏnggi Province. It has been designated as National Treasure No. 86. During the Japanese colonial period, the pagoda was taken to Japan, but after Korea was liberated in 1945 it was eventually returned and re-erected in 1960. The pagoda is decorated with engravings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, along with floral designs on the pedestals of each of its levels.

Ten-storey Stone Pagoda at Wŏngak Temple
This ten-storey pagoda from the early Chosŏn period is twelve metres high and represents one of the few marble pagodas in Korea. It has been designated as National Treasure No. 2 and is now located in Pagoda Park in Seoul. The pedestal and the first three storeys are shaped like a plus sign (+) when viewed from above. From the fourth storey up, the storeys are all square-shaped. In the corners of the body of the pagoda are round sculptered pillars. The pedestal itself is three-tiered.

The pagoda features ornate carvings of dragons, lions, peony and lotus flowers on the lowest tier, human figures, birds, animals, flowers and trees on the middle tier, and on the top tier are the Disciples of Buddha and the Buddhist Saints. The style of this pagoda is similar to that of the ten-storey Kyŏngjŏn Temple pagoda.

**Confucian Architecture**

*Munmyo* (Confucian Shrine)

*Munmyo* are shrines dedicated to the memory of Confucius and are located at the Confucian academies (*hyanggyo*) throughout the country. During the Chosŏn period a *munmyo* was always included whenever a Confucian academy was built. The main *munmyo* is located at the National Confucian Academy (*Sŏnggyun'gwan*) in Seoul and was constructed in 1398. The chief building of the *munmyo* at the National Confucian Academy is Taesŏng Hall in which the memorial tablets for Confucius, Mencius and other exemplary Confucian scholars are enshrined. To the east and west of Taesŏng Hall are the *Tongmu* and the *Sŏmu*, where other memorial tablets to various other Confucian scholars were kept, including eighteen Korean Confucianists. During the height of Confucianism in Korea, there were 132 tablets housed in the three buildings, but later all but thirty-eight tablets were removed. Today the remaining tablets are enshrined in the main hall and *Tongmu* and *Sŏmu* stand empty. Memorial services are still held at the *munmyo* biannually in the second and eighth lunar months.

*Sŏnggyun'gwan* (National Confucian Academy)

The *Sŏnggyun'gwan* was the highest national educational institution during the Chosŏn period and its function was to train Confucian scholars. It is located in Seoul and is to the north of the Confucian shrine, *munmyo*. Myŏngyun Hall is the main building of *Sŏnggyun'gwan*, and all the other buildings were planned around it. Construction on the main buildings began in 1395. *Dongjae* and *Sŏjae*, which served as dormitories for the students, were located in front of the main hall to the east and west.

At present, the extant buildings include Myŏngnyun Hall, Chongyŏng, which served as the library, *Tongmu* and *Sŏmu*, and the Kyojik-sa service quarters. Today the old *Sŏnggyun'gwan* is located on the campus of a modern university that bears the same name. *Sŏnggyun'gwan* still hosts biannual sacrificial rites in the second and eighth lunar months to honour past Confucian scholars such as Confucius.

*Hyanggyo* (Confucian Academy)

*Hyanggyo* were government established institutes which functioned as local Confucian schools during both the Koryŏ (918-1392) and Chosŏn (1392-1910) periods. These schools were built in each county along with a *munmyo* (Confucian shrine). *Hyanggyo* served to both give the students in the provinces a Confucian education and also to strengthen the central government's ruling apparatus in the provinces. The first *hyanggyo* were established in the Koryŏ period and their numbers grew throughout the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. The schools were supported by grants from the government in the form of fields and slaves. This provided both an income and the labour needed to guarantee the
upkeep of the schools.

*Hyanggyo* were generally arranged with a Confucian shrine in the front of the compound and the facilities for the students to the rear. The shrine at the *hyanggyo* housed the ancestral tablet of a meritorious vassal to whom Confucian rituals were offered. The lecture hall generally was to the back of this and behind it the other facilities needed for the upkeep of the school were located. To the east and west of the lecture hall were the dormitories for the students. The entire compound was most commonly surrounded by a wall that served to segregate it from the world outside.

There are many extant *hyanggyo* scattered throughout Korea such as the Naju *hyanggyo* in South Cholla Province, the Kangnung *hyanggyo* in Kangwon Province and the Milyang *hyanggyo* in South Kyongsang Province.

*Sōwŏn* (Private Confucian School)

*Sōwŏn* were private Confucian schools of the Chosŏn period that featured a shrine that was dedicated to a specific Confucian scholar. Moreover, like *sŏdang* (village schools) they were privately-operated schools which is in contrast to the *hyanggyo* and the *Sŏnggyun'gwan* which were established by the government. The first *sōwŏn* was the Paeg'undong *sōwŏn* which was established in 1543 by Chu Sebun to honour the Confucian scholar An Hyang. In 1550, the school was given the name of *Sosu sōwŏn* by King Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567) and along with this supplied with books and servants by the government. This was tantamount to official recognition from the government.

During their zenith, there were many *sōwŏn* such as Tosan *sōwŏn*, Todong *sōwŏn* and P'iram *sōwŏn* among many others. By 1741 *sōwŏn* and similar institutions numbered near one-thousand. However, by the late nineteenth c. this was reduced to a mere forty-seven by royal edict.

The *Sōwŏn* buildings generally consisted of a main lecture hall, a shrine dedicated to a specific scholar and other structures associated with the upkeep of the facilities and the preparation of food. The premises were usually isolated from the outside by a series of gates.

**Royal Palaces**

The construction of royal palaces in Korea began during the Three Kingdoms period. In the Koguryŏ Kingdom, the first royal palace was built in 37 B.C.E., and in 32 B.C.E. Kŭmsŏng Palace was built by King Hyŏkkose of the Shilla Kingdom. After these, many other royal palaces were built during the Three Kingdoms period. Other palaces of note from the Koguryŏ Kingdom include Kugaesŏng and Changansŏng, and from the Shilla Kingdom Wolsŏng, all three of which are fortress palaces.

The first royal palace in the Koryŏ Kingdom was Manwŏldae which was built in the capital of Kaesŏng by King T'aejo in 919. The design of the palace took full advantage of the terrain. The foundation follows the contour of the land closely and the layout is very asymmetrical. The laws of geomancy were followed closely in both the design and construction of the palace. Manwŏldae served as the main palace of the Koryŏ Kingdom until 1361 when it was destroyed by an invasion from the north.

The first of the royal palaces of the Chosŏn Kingdom was built in 1394, the year when its first ruler, King T'aejo, relocated the capital from Kaesŏng to Hanyang (present day Seoul). T'aejo ordered the construction of Kyŏngbok Palace to serve as the main royal palace. Subsequently, King T'aegong (r. 1400-1418) commanded the building of Ch'angdŏk Palace, and then Ch'anggyŏng, Kyŏnghŭi and Kyŏng'un Palaces were built.
These five palaces are often referred to as the five royal palaces of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

Kyŏngbok Palace

Kyŏngbok Palace was the main royal palace and the most magnificent palace of the Chosŏn Kingdom. It was completely destroyed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion and remained in ruins until King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) ordered its reconstruction in 1865. However, after the advent of the Japanese colonial period many of the structures within the palace were destroyed or altered. The Japanese Government-General Building was built directly in front of the palace and obstructed views of it. Moreover, some of the buildings were demolished and their timbers used in construction projects.

Originally the palace was constructed with three general spheres. The first was that of chijo and is the area of the palace affairs of this kingdom. The second sphere was the woejo where the state ministers looked after political affairs. The third area was the yŏnjo where the royal family lived.

Two of the more notable buildings in Kyŏngbok Palace are Kŭnjŏng Hall which was where the king held court, and the pond-surrounded two-storey Kyŏnghoe Pavilion that was used for entertaining diplomatic envoys and banquets. Kŭnjŏng Hall uses tapo style brackets, which are highly decorated and are arranged in clusters, for support of the roof beams. There are three tiers of brackets on the outside and four tiers on the inside. The building has a hipped and gabled roof, and therefore the ceiling hides the roof members. Directly above the throne, clouds and a pair of dragons have been carved into a recess in the ceiling. A passage behind the throne led to the king’s bedchamber.

Kyŏnghoe pavilion is accessed by a stone bridge from the east, or if by boat there was a staircase on the west side that served as a boat ramp. The upper storey of the pavilion is supported by forty-eight stone pillars. The entire structure is elaborately decorated with stone and wood carvings. The roof is hipped and gabled, and the eaves are decorated with carvings of dragons and other figures.

In recent years there has been much reconstruction of the various palace buildings and renovations designed to return the palace to its former splendour. In addition, the Japanese Government-General building was demolished in 1996 and thereby the view of the palace is once again unobstructed.

Ch’angdŏk Palace

Ch’angdŏk Palace was built in 1405 by King T’aejong (r. 1400-1418), as a detached palace or a royal villa. During the 1592 Japanese Invasion the palace was destroyed by fire. Reconstruction work began in 1607 and was completed in 1610. There was another large fire in 1803 that destroyed some of the major structures, most notably Injong-jŏn, but these were subsequently rebuilt.

After Kyŏngbok Palace was destroyed by the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Ch’angdŏk Palace served as the main palace of the Chosŏn Kingdom for a period of about three-hundred years. Of the five royal palaces of Chosŏn, Ch’angdŏk is often cited as the one that was built in the greatest harmony with the natural terrain of the palace grounds. Many of the original structures are extant, including the main hall (Injong Hall and several gates such as Tonhwam and Injong. In addition, to the rear of the palace grounds is the extensive Piwŏn Garden which was a place for the royal family to relax.

Ch’anggyŏng Palace
Ch'anggyŏng Palace was built in 1419 by King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) for his father, King T'aejong (r. 1400-1418) who had abdicated the throne to his son to ensure a peaceful transition of the monarchy. When first built, this palace was called Sugang Palace, but later during the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) it was rebuilt as a detached palace and renamed as Ch'anggyŏng Palace. The palace was destroyed by fire during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, but was rebuilt in 1616 during the reign of King Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623).

In 1909, the Japanese Governor-General ordered a zoo and botanical gardens built within the palace grounds. In addition, in 1911, the ordered the construction of a museum and had the palace renamed Ch'anggyŏng Garden, which served to denote the status of the former royal palace. However, in 1983 reconstruction work was started and the name of Ch'anggyŏng Palace was restored. During the reconstruction, buildings such as Munjong Hall which had been destroyed during the Japanese colonial period were rebuilt. Today the palace has been restored to much of its original splendour and buildings such as Myŏngjong Hall and gates like Myŏngjong and Honghwa can be seen.

Kyŏng'un Palace (Tŏksu Palace)

Kyŏng'un Palace differs from the other four of the Chosŏn royal palaces in that it was not originally built as a palace, but as a private villa for the royal family. Originally King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) built the palace as a villa for his elder brother, Grand Prince Wŏlsan. However, a century later when all of the royal palaces had been destroyed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) returned to Seoul and took up temporary residence at the palace. With the rebuilding of Ch'angdŏk Palace in 1611, the residence of the king moved from Kyŏng'un Palace. The name of the palace was changed to Tŏksu Palace by Emperor Sunjong (r. 1907-1910) in 1907.

Tŏksu Palace, which is located in the centre of Seoul, has many notable buildings including the main hall of Chunghwa. In 1909 the first Western-style building to be erected on the palace grounds, Sŏkcho Hall, was constructed. The location of the palace across the street from City Hall provides for a peaceful retreat from the bustle of the city.

Kyŏnghŭi Palace

The construction of Kyŏnghŭi Palace began in 1617 when King Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) wanted to have another palace to replace Ch'angdŏk Palace which he felt was ill-omened. The construction of this palace lasted until 1620 and it was originally named Kyŏngdŏk Palace. After the reign of Kwanghae, the palace was used mainly as the residence for the crown prince. It underwent major repairs in 1693, but in 1829 a major fire destroyed most of the palace. Repairs began slowly, but by 1830 one building had been rebuilt, and by 1860 a major portion of the palace had been restored. Finally, in 190, other parts of the palace were rebuilt.

Even prior to the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese began to assert their influence on Korea. In 1907, the Japanese Government General designated the west side of the palace as a middle school. In 1910, after the loss of Korean sovereignty to Japan, the palace became the property of the Japanese government. In 1915 the Kyŏngsŏng Middle School was established on the site of the palace. During this process of the Japanese takeover, the entire palace was again destroyed, except for relics which were transferred to other sites. After liberation, the site was used for the Seoul Middle and High School until 1974 when these schools moved to other sites. In 1986 a public park opened on this site, which is designated as Historical Site No. 271.

Gardens
Gardens of traditional Korea reflected both the mountainous landscape of the country and the aesthetic qualities that the people believed to be beautiful and propitious. The respect that the Korean people held for nature is evidenced in the fact that they did not attempt to unnecessarily alter the natural topography by damming streams or levelling hills. Moreover, they did not attempt to change the innate beauty of nature by artificial alterations such as extensive pruning and shaping of trees and plants. Generally, Koreans would build their homes on sites that were deemed to be geomantically auspicious. Such a site would require a hill with ridges running up from where the house would be located, and preferably a stream that flowed down from the west ridge. The house would face to the south and the back garden would utilize the hilly terrain, and the front the stream.

Often the back of the house would be left to nature's design. The sought-after effect was not a functional garden that one could stroll through, insomuch as a visually satisfying garden. A key aspect of the garden's function was to provide respite from the worries of the world, albeit for a brief moment. The garden, with its trees, flowing water and stones would allow the inhabitants of the house a moment to enter this utopian world.

The fundamental concept of Korean gardens is based upon the principle of inch'a, which is a way to preserve the natural topography of the garden and then utilize these features in the design without trying to impose artificial structures upon nature. In addition, the structures that are built for the house should blend well with the landscape and provide suitable locales for viewing the garden. This concept is a central tenet of gardens throughout East Asia. There are differences in the gardens of Korea, China and Japan despite the countries sharing a common guiding philosophy. In China gardens sought to recreate nature in miniature. Mountains, falls, valleys and the like were recreated in small scale in the gardens. In Japan there are many rules and restrictions for creating a garden and therefore, the result is an imitation of nature that is too contrived. In Korea, however, gardens reflect the materials that the gardener is presented with. If there is a hill, the gardener will utilize it in his garden. If there are large stones, they too will become a part of the garden. The fundamental aspect of a Korean garden is its harmonisation with nature.

Soswaewŏn Garden

Soswaewŏn Garden is located in Chigok Village of Tamyang County, South Chŏlla Province. It was designed by the middle Chosŏn period literati, Yang Sanbo, and is renowned for its natural beauty and the large number of pavilions that overlook its many scenic spots. The garden is located in a valley and is over 1800 m² in area. A number of streams wend their way through, creating several small ponds on their journey. The entrance to the garden is via a narrow path through a stand of bamboo and skirting two small ponds. A stone wall surrounding the garden has two large inlets enabling the mountain streams to trickle through. The garden has long been a source of inspiration for poets and painters, and has been designated as Historical Site No. 304.

Piwŏn Garden (Secret Garden)

The garden behind Ch'angdŏk Palace is popularly known as Piwŏn, or Secret Garden, but this term is relatively new having been coined during the Japanese colonial period. Originally, the garden was called Kŭmwŏn (Forbidden Garden) during the Chosŏn period. In addition, since it is located to the north of the palace compound, it was commonly called Pukwŏn (North Garden), and being located to the rear of the palace, it was also called Hwuwŏn (Back Garden). The garden is composed of low hills, valleys, and flat areas, and is widely acknowledged as the most beautiful of the palace gardens.

Piwŏn Garden dates from early Chosŏn and had pavilions and other structures added to it throughout the Chosŏn period. It occupies about 103 000 p'yŏng (one p'yŏng equals 3.3
Traditional Housing

The origin of man-made houses in Korea can be found in dugout huts, or *umjip*. These were built from the Neolithic Era of about 5000 B.C.E. to around 300 B.C.E. These structures could be either round or square in design, and as the name implies were dug into the ground. The floor of the hut would be dug about one metre in the ground from which poles would be erected. The poles were then covered with a thatch of straw, twigs and branches that was designed to keep both the wind and rain out of the interior of the hut. In the centre of the hut a fireplace was located that was designed to both provide warmth and serve as a place to cook the food for the inhabitants. Since living on a dirt floor was not comfortable, the people soon developed walls that went up from the floor to the roof and provided more comfort and warmth to the inhabitants.

From these early dugout huts evolved the later stage of traditional frame houses of Korea. The method used to bind together the columns, rafters and purlins in a building further developed in the houses of the next stage and this is known as a *mindori* structure. This structure used beams, with or without brackets, to hold up the roof of the structure. Moreover, the spaces between the beams were filled with square wood strips. It is thought that the abundance of trees such as pines in Korea led to the wood frame being the main structural member in traditional housing.

The interior of the traditional house was composed of spaces heated by an underfloor system of flues known as *ondol*. *Ondol* is a unique heating system that is designed to heat enclosed rooms in extremely cold climates. The prototype of the *ondol* heating system is known as *kudül* and has been found in excavations of homes from the Iron Age (3rd century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E.) in the Suwon area. The *ondol* system of heating houses was spread throughout Korea, but most widely used in the colder northern and central regions of the peninsula.

In order to combat the heat and humidity of the summer, traditional houses in Korea also employed rooms known as *maru*. These rooms had wooden floors and were open with no walls between the pillars that supported the roof. The size and number of *maru* rooms varied depending on the region, but often there would not only be a *maru* room, but also a *maru* verandah that extended along the exterior of the house.

The combination of *ondol* and *maru* rooms provided a balance between the seasons and the size of each would vary depending upon the region in which a house was located. Colder climates would have a lesser amount of *maru* rooms and greater amount of *ondol* rooms, whereas homes in warmer climates would be constructed in an opposite manner. The *ondol* and *maru* rooms also provided a contrast between open space and closed space that is characteristic of traditional Korean homes.

Common rooms within the traditional Korean home include dirt-floored rooms such as the kitchen, storeroom and shed, and rooms designed for the men and women of the house. The courtyard or garden of the home generally also included a well, and a terrace on which crock of soy sauce, red pepper paste, bean paste and other condiments were kept.

The main room of the women's quarters was the *anbang*. This room is located in the centre of the house and all other rooms are built around it. It served as a sleeping chamber at night, but in the day it was the room from which the lady of the house managed her household. The decor of the *anbang* would be luxurious and echo the status of the mistress of the house. The *anbang* in larger homes often was connected to a loft above the
kitchen known as a *tarak*. The *tarak* was used to store the valuables of a household and the only access to it was through the *anbang*. Thus, the financial control of a household was in the hands of the mistress of the *anbang*.

For the man of the house the *sarangbang* was the area in which most activities were carried out. This room was generally detached from the main house and served as a room where the master of the house could entertain his male guests and conduct his studies. The decor of the *sarangbang* generally featured stationery and writing materials along with the books of its occupant. The *sarangbang* was only found in the aristocratic homes, as a poor family could not afford to maintain such a room. The inclusion of separate rooms for the males and females of each household reveals the strict Confucian mores that restricted the socialization of males and females.

The size and shape of one’s house was determined by his wealth and social status. The simplest style was a line of rooms under a single roof beam. A house such as this most commonly was the dwelling of either slaves or peasants. The next step up was a double line of rooms under a single roof beam, which commonly served as the dwelling for a poor farmer. Larger farm houses could either be constructed in a U or L shape. The house of an aristocrat commonly was constructed in a double-L style which was enclosed by a compound wall. However depending on the region, housing styles varied throughout Korea.

The size of houses ranged from the meagre to the grandiose limit of 99 *kan* for the largest houses (one *kan* equals about 2.2 sq. m.). In the early Chosón Kingdom, houses for commoners were limited to 10 *kan*, while a house for a prince was limited to 60 *kan*. However, the interpretation of a *kan* proved to be so flexible that these guidelines were difficult to enforce and other restrictions were adopted that governed the height of columns, the length of purlins and so on.

In the location and construction of a house, close attention was given to matters concerning the geomantic qualities of an area. Houses would invariably face to the south and be located on sites that were deemed to be auspicious. Despite the official adherence to Confucianism, areas within the housing compound also paid homage to a host of shamanistic deities such as the *sōngju* which was the guardian god of the home. These ceremonies were generally conducted by the womenfolk of the house.

**Traditional Villages**

**Yangdong Village of Wŏlsŏng**

Yangdong Village is located in Kyŏngju County of North Kyŏngsang Province and has been designated as Important Folklore Material No. 189. For generations, this village, which consists of about 150 large and small traditional houses, has been home for two of Wŏlsŏng County’s most prominent clans: the Son clan which originated here, and the Yi clan which originated in Yŏgang. According to historical records, Son So (1433-1484) first settled here and from that time this village was the home of the Wŏlsŏng Son clan.

The village represents a typical *yangban* (ruling class) village. In addition, Yangdong is recorded as the birthplace of five of Korea’s most famous scholars, including Son So’s second son Son Chungdon (1463-1529) whose pen name was Ujae, and a grandson Yi ānjok (1491-1553), a Confucian scholar whose pen name was Hoejae. The slopes of the mountains surrounding the village have several ravines flowing down their sides creating crevices that provide perfect seclusion for the landlord’s house and the surrounding servants’ quarters which can barely be seen from the village. The head house of the Wŏlsŏng Son clan is located here.
The village area includes many traditional houses and structures such as Much’om-dang (Treasure No. 41), Hyangdan (Treasure No. 412), Kwanga-jong (Treasure No. 442), Wolsông Son house (Important Folklore Material No. 23), the Naksön-dang (Important Folklore Material No. 73), and the Yi Wŏnbong house (Important Folklore Material No. 74.) among many others.

Hahoe Village

Hahoe Village is located in Andong County of North Kyŏngsang Province and has been named Important Folklore Material No. 122. This village is a yangban village of the Chosŏn period, and is said to have been built upon a site known for its auspiciousness. The Pungsan Yu clan has lived here for many generations, and the founder of the village was Yu Chŏnghye. In later generations, Yu Songnyong (1542-1607) and his brother Yu Unnyong (1539-1601) who were both noted Confucian scholars were born here.

This village is divided into south and north sections and has distinctive houses in each. In the north section, many of the houses surrounding the Yangjin Shrine are representative of the north and those around Ch’unch’ŏng Shrine represent the southern region. There are many traditional structures and the southern section of the village has been designated as Important Folklore Material No. 90, and the north as Important Folklore Material No. 84. The houses in the southern section are characterised by an open method of construction, whereas those in the north feature a closed, square construction style. The area is a popular destination for tourists and provides a glimpse back into the traditional modes of living in Korea.

Sŏngüp Folk Village

Sŏngüp Folk Village is located in South Cheju County on Cheju Island and has been designated as Important Folklore Material No. 188. It is located on rise about 125 metres above sea level, and was built in 1423 when the former Chŏngūi County Office was moved to this location. This fortress town remained the county seat for almost five centuries until 1914.

The fortress and accompanying town are typical of the Chosŏn period. The fortress itself is constructed in a square shape, but with rounded corners. Inside the fortress are various private homes, government offices and a hyanggyo (Confucian academy). There are also various shrines set up to pay homage to various tutelary deities within the fortress walls. In 1984 in order to preserve the village and its traditional way of life, it was declared an Important Folk Material.

Fortress Architectural Types

Fortress architectural design in Korea is classified into three groups. The first category is that of do or capital fortress. Next is the san or mountain fortress and the last category is that of üp which are the fortresses built around the towns where the regional government offices were located.

In all the kingdoms of Korea, fortresses fringed the capital cities and were designed to protect the ruling powers from hostile bands. In the Three Kingdoms Period there were capital fortresses built in all of the Kingdoms such as Kugnae and Chang'an in the Koguryŏ Kingdom, Hansan, Kongsan, and Puyŏ in the Paekche Kingdom, and Kumsŏng and Wŏlsŏng in the Shilla Kingdom. In the Koryŏ Kingdom, at Manwŏldae located to the south of Sŏngak, Kaesŏng the capital was built (ca. 919), but an outer fortress wall was not constructed until 1029. During the Chosŏn Kingdom, a government office to supervise the construction of the capital fortress was established in 1395, and the following year saw the building of the Hanyang Fortress (present day Seoul).
Mountain fortresses were designed to protect the country from invasions by securing key passages within the mountains. The safety of these fortresses also served to protect the people who would locate their homes close-by. There are many historically important mountain fortresses including Anshi and Hwando of Koguryo, and Samnyönsan of Shilla, from the Three Kingdoms Period. Mountain fortresses also played a key role in the Koryo Kingdom during the Mongol invasions, and in the Chosön Kingdom the Namhansan and Pukhansan mountain fortresses that surrounded the capital were also a key to its defence.

The town fortresses were designed to protect the government offices that were located at some distance from the capital. These fortresses also provided the people who lived in the area some protection in times of invasion. It is not clear when town fortresses first appeared in Korea, but they are thought to have been in use by the time of the Samhan Commandaries. Town fortresses were scattered throughout Korea and many are extant.

Nagan Village Fortress

Nagan Village Fortress is located in Sungju County, South Cholla Province and has been designated as Historical Site No. 302. Due to frequent raids by Japanese pirates that had been occurring since the end of the Koryo period, in 1397 Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Kim Pin'gil, constructed this fortress of mud. In 1424 a project to rebuild the fortress in stone was commenced, and this work reached a stage of practical completion by about 1450.

The fortress has a circumference of 1385 metres. Originally, there were plans to construct twelve look-outs, but only four were ever built. Access to the interior of the fortress was through three gates, east, west and south. The interior of the fortress features several government office buildings and civilian houses, along with two wells and two ponds. The moat that was to encircle the exterior of the fortress was never constructed.

Nagan Village Fortress provides one of the finest examples of a Chosön period fortress, and has many extant traditional structures.

Sungnye Gate

Sungnye Gate, commonly known as Namdaemun (Great South Gate) served as the southern gate of the capital fortress, Hanyang (present day Seoul), and has been designated as National Treasure No. 1. Sungnye underwent major repairs in 1448 and again in 1479 and then, five hundred years later, a major renovation (1961-62).

The gate is constructed using a large arch which is in the centre of a platform built of stone blocks. The gate building itself is two-storey and is covered by a four-storied sloping roof. The style of the eaves construction is known as tapo, which results in the two sets of brackets that support the eaves projecting to both the inside and outside of the lowest-placed roof. The uppermost roof has three sets of brackets projecting outwards and two sets to the interior.

Today, the gate is surrounded by one of the main thoroughfares in Seoul that leads to the main sections of the city such as Myöngdong and Kyöngbok Palace. Floodlights illuminate the gate at night and it remains as one of Seoul's principal tourist attractions.

Hüngin Gate

Hüngin Gate, commonly known as Tongdaemun (Great East Gate) was built as the east gate to the fortress of Hanyang (present day Seoul) in 1397 and has been designated as Treasure No.1. It was rebuilt in 1452 and then burnt down during the 1592 Japanese
invasion. In 1869 the gate was again rebuilt.

Húngin has an outer baffle wall that differs from that of Sungnye Gate. However, on this is a platform atop of which is a two-storey gate house and a tiered roof that is quite similar to that of Sungnye Gate. This gate also utilizes tapo-style eaves construction and the lower level of the roof has two bracket sets, one that supports the eaves projecting outwards and the other the eaves to the interior. The upper roof has three bracket sets projecting both inward and outward. Since the gate was rebuilt at the end of the Choson period, its style is very distinctive of late Choson.

Like Sungnye Gate, Húngin Gate is one of the best known landmarks of Seoul. It is located on a main thoroughfare and there is a large market nearby. It also has had lights added to illuminate the gate at night.

**Royal Shrines (Myo) and Altars (Tan)**

*Chongmyo* (Royal Ancestral Shrine)

Chongmyo is located in Chongno-gu of Seoul and houses the ancestral tablets of the kings and queens of the Choson Kingdom. It has been designated Historical Site No. 125. The main building of Chongmyo is Chong-jon Hall. Originally Chong-jon Hall was called T'aemyo since it is where the ancestral tablet of King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398), the founder of the Choson Kingdom, is located. After four generations the ancestral tablets in Chong-jon Hall were customarily transferred to a secondary shrine, Yongnyong Hall, where they were enshrined. Also kept in Chong-jon Hall were the tablets of those kings who had rendered special service to the nation.

Chongmyo was constructed in 1395 and rebuilt in 1608 after it was reduced to ashes in the 1592 Japanese invasion. Chongmyo is modelled after the Chinese royal ancestral shrines and is located on the left edge of the palace grounds. Chongmyo is where the royal family regularly performed ancestral rites during the Choson period. Chong-jon Hall now houses the ancestral tablets of nineteen Choson kings and their queens, and Yongnyong Hall holds the tablets of sixteen kings and their queens. Chong-jon Hall has been designated as National National Treasure No. 821.

*Ch'ilgung*

The Ch'ilgung is a shrine for honouring the natural mothers of the kings during the Choson period. It is located in Chongno-gu, Seoul. The first ancestral tablet was placed here for the mother of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776), Lady Sukpin Ch'oe, in 1725 and the shrine was then called Sukpin myo. In 1753 the name was changed to Yuksang myo. In 1908 five other shrines of Lady Chogyong, Lady Taebin, Lady Yong, Lady Sonhui, and Lady Kyongu, were transferred here. In 1929 the shrine of Lady Togan was also moved to Ch'ilgung bringing the total to seven. At this time the name was changed to Ch'ilgung, or the seven shrines.

*Tan* (Altar)

There are many types of tan, or altars, which served as places to perform sacrificial rituals to various guardian deities throughout Korea. One of the most prominent of these altars during the Choson period was the Sajik Altar which is located in Chongno-gu of Seoul. The Sajik Altar has been designated as Historical Site No. 121. At this altar the king would perform a sacrificial ritual on behalf of the people to the gods of the earth and of grains asking for an abundant harvest. The altar built to the god of the earth was located to the east, and the altar to the god of grains was on the west side. The belief in these deities and the practice of offering sacrifices to them dates from antiquity, as the Samguk sagi (History
of the Three Kingdoms) records this practice during the Three Kingdoms Period.

Construction on the Sajik Altar compound was begun in 1395 with the outer altar constructed in 1414 and Sajik Altar being completed in 1432. The entire complex was burnt down during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, but was subsequently rebuilt shortly thereafter.

**Bridges**

P'yongyang Chudae Bridge, built in 413 C.E., is the first bridge recorded to have been constructed in Korea while Pulguk Temple's Ch'ong'un and Paeg'un Bridges, built under the supervision of Kim Taesŏng in 750 C.E., are the oldest extant bridges in Korea. These two bridges are both designed of stone and are arch-type bridges, and in actuality are staircases leading to the main hall of the temple. In addition to these two bridges, the foundation stones of Wŏljŏng Bridges from the Greater Shilla period are still in existence. As for the bridges of the Koryŏ Kingdom, there are Sŏnjuk Bridge, located in Kaesŏng and Komak Bridge, also called Tok-dari Bridge, built by the monk Komak in 1274. There are many extant bridges of the Chosŏn period including the longest bridge of the period, Chŏn'got Bridge, which was built over a period of seventy-three years from 1420 to 1493, and stretches across the Han River. Another representative bridge of the Chosŏn period is the Sup'yo Bridge which crosses Ch'onggye Stream in Seoul. This bridge has two functions, one a bridge, and the other to serve as an indicator of the water level.

The bridges of the Chosŏn period can be classified into two types according the materials used for construction. One category of bridges are those built of wood, and the other are those made from stone. Furthermore, bridges also can be classified accordingly to their structure; the Chosŏn period features both girder bridges and arch bridges.

There are also many types of bridges built in Korea in traditional times that were not constructed by the government or designed for aesthetic purposes. The bridges that spanned the many streams and rivers of Korea and that were built by commoners for the main purpose of crossing a body of water have many forms. Some of the forms are extremely simple such as the placement of stepping-stones across a relatively shallow part of a body of water. There are also bridges that simply use the trunk of a tree balanced on stones on either side of the water to provide passage from one side to the other. Other bridges required more of a communal effort and spanned larger or deeper bodies of water. One of these, the so-called sallea-dari (shaking-bridge), is composed of a branch and thatched roadway balanced upon sturdy tree limbs. The name is derived from the effect of walking across this bridge as it sways to and fro. Finally, Koreans also constructed simple stone bridges over streams and rivers. These were generally located at more heavily travelled locales and were simply constructed of stacks of stone blocks of equal heights covered by a roadway of stone planks. Many of these simple forms of bridges can still be found in rural settings at the present time.

The bridges built in the last century in Korea have also been of many types. In 1900 a truss bridge, the Han'gang ch'ol Bridge, was built over the Han River and is considered to be the first modern bridge constructed in Korea. Another bridge using this technology, Che 1 han'gang Bridge, was erected in 1917. This bridge had a width of 18.4 metres and an overall length of 840.9 metres. Both of the above bridges were designed by Westerners. The first modern bridge designed and constructed entirely by Koreans was Che 2 han'gang Bridge which was built in 1960. Since the construction of these bridges there have been many others built throughout Korea using such advanced designs as the Langer girder and the Nielson arch. Moreover, bridges such as the Olympic Bridge that spans the Han River have come to represent the modern image of Seoul.

Ch'ongun and Paegun Bridges
Ch'ŏngun and Paegun are two bridges located over the front of a large platform leading to the main hall of Pulguk Temple, in Kyŏngju City, North Kyŏngsang Province. They are the oldest extant stone-arched bridges in Korea, having been built in 750 C.E. These two bridges do not actually cross a body of water, but instead are more like two staircases that lead up to the main hall of the temple. The bridges symbolically allow people to cross from the secular world to the sacred world of Buddha inside the temple. These two bridges have been designated as National Treasure No. 23.

Yŏngje Bridge

Yŏngje Bridge crosses the forbidden stream of Kyŏngbok Palace located in Seoul. This is an arch bridge which has one arch composed of stone. The shape of the handrail is hexagonal, and the support posts are sculpted to appear as one upright and one upside down lotus blossom. The front and the rear of the bridge are protected by four auspicious stone statues of animals. Some of these animals are crawling in the water, while others are crawling out of the water. This bridge dates from the Chosŏn period.

Chŏn'got Bridge

Chŏn'got Bridge was the first bridge to be built across the Han River in Seoul. Construction began on this bridge on the order of T'aejong (r. 1400-1418) in 1420 and continued for seventy-three years until 1493. The bridge is seventy-eight metres long and six metres wide, which made it the longest bridge constructed during the Chosŏn period. It is also known as the Salkkochi Bridge. Its construction used stone pillars topped by a flat stone roadway. It has been designated as Historical Site No. 160.

Architecture of the 20th century

With the opening of Korean ports after the Treaty of Kanghwa Island in 1876, many new architectural styles came into the port cities of Pusan, Wŏnsan, Inchi'ŏn and even Seoul. The main force behind the new building styles were the Japanese, but also the sudden advent of foreign consulates in Korea created many new buildings. The building of the Russian, British, French, Belgium and German legations around the end of the nineteenth century, all of which were two-storey, quasi-Renaissance style buildings that marked a major change in Seoul. In addition, the opening of Korea led to a surge of missionaries and with them churches and schools. The Paejae Academy (1886), Chŏngdong Church (1898), Yakhyŏn Cathedral (1892) and Myŏngdong Cathedral (1892-1898) were all Gothic style buildings.

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and the resulting treaty, the major influence in Korea was Japan, which now had begun taking steps to colonise Korea. However, buildings such as the State Council Building (1907) and the Korean Empire National Assembly Building (1908) were built for the new Korean government. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese also constructed many buildings in Korea, with the most notable example being the quasi-renaissance style Government General Building built in front of Kyŏngbuk Palace.

After liberation in 1945, activity in architecture was sluggish due to the economic condition of the country and became further slowed with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. But while the South Korean Army was in refuge in Pusan, a tower commemorating the faithful spirit of the army was designed. After the armistice agreement that halted the hostilities was signed, activity in architecture gradually increased.

The primary buildings of the 1950s, include the main building of Dongguk University (Song Mingu, 1956), Myŏngbo Theatre (Kim Chungŏp, 1957), the main building of Pusan
In the 1960s, after the May 16 Revolution in 1961, architectural activity became active along with the rapid industrial development that swept Korea. In this period, important buildings include the Seoul Civic Assembly Hall (Yi Chōnsōng, 1961), the French Embassy (Kim Chungōp, 1962), the various buildings Walker hill Hotel (Kim Hūich'un and others, 1962), Myōngdong Holy Mother Hospital (Kim Chōngsu, 1963), Hanyang Country Club (Yi Kwangno, 1964), Liberal centre (Kim Sugūn, 1964), Assembly Hall of the Arts (Kang Myōnggu, 1964), Kyōnggi Provincial Office (Kim Hūich'un, 1967) and the Church of the Martyrs (Yi Hūit'ae, 1967). These buildings all revealed a tendency towards an international style and moreover, the buildings manifested the architects' interpretation of how the buildings should express themselves to the public in a characteristic manner.

The distinctive features of the architectural activities of the 1970s were large sized buildings of the major corporations, construction of massive apartment blocks, and a rapid increase in the amount of monumental type architecture. Major projects of this period include the National Theatre (Yi Hūit'ae, 1973), National Assembly Building (Kim Chōngsu, 1975) and the Sejong Cultural centre (Ōm Tōgmun, 1978). These buildings reflected both the influences of modernism and Korean influences in their designs. Major buildings of the corporate sector in this period include the Tongbang Life Building (Pak Ch'unmyōng, 1976) and the Daewoo centre (1976). The business buildings reveal a tendency towards both a rational and modern design. The many apartment buildings that were constructed during this period reflect both a rational and functional approach in their design that marked a systematic change in their appearance.

The 1980s were characterised by the work of young architects, who had been educated in Korean universities, designing outstanding works. In addition there were other exemplary architects who had studied in America and Europe, now returning to Korea and making their presence known by the design of many buildings. Particularly prior to the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, there were many design competitions held and many new buildings that were constructed for this monumental event. Images of such grandiose projects such as the main Olympic Stadium were broadcast around the world. Other major projects of the 1980s include the 63 Korea Life Building that reaches sixty-three storeys into the Korean skyline and numerous other major buildings that reflected the new status of Korea as an economic force in Asia. The buildings of this period reflect various styles that range from attempts to blend modernism with the legacy of Korean traditional forms, and such new theories of design as neo-rationalism, deconstructivism and advanced technology.

In the 1990s, the government created massive apartment housing in satellite cities located in the suburbs of Seoul and the other major Korean cities, in an effort to build 2 million new homes. Moreover, with the selection of Taejón as the site for the 1994 World Expo, massive construction projects for this international event were carried out. Many public institutions were also constructed during this period, with most holding design competitions to select the model that best suited the project aesthetically and functionally. Other major projects now underway in Korea include the construction of the new international airport on Yongjong Island and the National Museum of Korea. These projects should further enhance the image of architecture in Korea.

Bibliography

Neolithic man, who is characterised by the use of polished stone tools and pottery, probably appeared on the Korean peninsula about 4000 BCE. A thousand or so years later, his pottery began to display geometric designs, often referred to as 'comb pattern pottery' (pitsal muni t'ogi), and is considered to be a feature of the Neolithic period. This comb-patterned pottery has a 'V'-shaped base and the exterior is marked with parallel lines that suggest the use of a toothed tool. The widely-scattered areas in which this pottery is found, stretching from South P'yongan province to the present-day Seoul area, reveal that Neolithic man occupied a great deal of the Korean peninsula. Also, pottery with identical designs has been found in many regions, including eastern Siberia, the basins of the Amur and Sungari rivers in Manchuria, and in parts of Mongolia. This indicates the wide geographical distribution of the people who made this pottery, as well as their probable southern and eastern migrations.

Art of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in Korea leaned towards function, but came under the strong influence of the shamanistic religion that dominated the lives of the people. Crude figurines, made of clay, stone, or bone, are thought to have been manifestations of tutelary deities that early Korean man believed would be talismanic against injurious forces. By the advent of the Bronze Age, art had developed considerably from its earliest stages, as witnessed by extant bronze daggers and ornamented bronze mirrors. As in the Neolithic period, geometric patterns continued to be the dominant form of ornamentation, and this is common to many regions of Siberia, Manchuria and Mongolia, thereby indicating a shared cultural background. While this abstract tendency in early Korean art was later dominated by a naturalistic style entering the historical period, it remained the underlying current of Korean art until the end of Chosŏn. Opinion is that the abstract trend in Korean art is a product of the northern origins of the Korean people, while the naturalist tendencies are thought to be a by-product of the influence of Chinese culture on Korea and the change of a
Bronze Age art continued to be marked by its close relationship with shamanism. And so the artifacts that have been recovered from this period seem to be largely ceremonial in their use. Elaborately ornamented dagger hilts, bell-clusters, bronze mirrors and a wide array of objects engraved with representations of horses, tigers, deer and other animals reveal the range that early Korean man fashioned from bronze. Given the amount of time needed to make such articles, it is thought that the owners would most likely have used them for ritual purposes and that they were manifestations of the ability to control supernatural forces. Also extant from this period are rock drawings and carvings, which depict either hunting and fishing scenes or geometric designs, which indicate the desire of ancient man to record important events in his life.

The Three Kingdoms

With the advent of the third century CE, the Koreans had extended their art forms to painting, sculpture and architecture. The introduction of Buddhism to the peninsula in the fourth c. also had a major effect on the development of Korean art. From then, the naturalistic tendencies in art began to appear, revealing the beginning of the influence of Chinese culture on Korean civilisations.

Koguryo, by virtue of being the northern-most of the Korean kingdoms, was heavily influenced by Chinese civilisation almost from its inception. Koguryo art, however, retained a distinctive style throughout its existence, and this became even more pronounced in the later periods. Hence, Koguryo art does not have the decorative and graphic qualities of Chinese art, but instead exhibits sharp and angular lines, with dynamic and forceful lines of animal drawings displayed in both bronze and stonework. Particularly of note is the difference manifested in Koguryo and northern Chinese Buddhist images. However, the Koguryo images reveal softer and more rotund faces, with less decorative drapery folds than do their northern Chinese counterparts. Accordingly, we can see the trends of softness in lines and modelling, which lend to the emotions of serenity and harmony, as the essential characteristics of Koguryo art.

Paekche, located in the southwestern region of the Korean peninsula, had the greatest diversity in its contacts with foreign countries, which ranged from Japan to the southern regions of China. The influence of southern Chinese art on Paekche Buddhist art is quite evident as the sculptures and drawings in the Korean kingdom reveal the same smooth and sensuous qualities found in the Chinese models. Perhaps the most famous piece of Paekche art is the gilt-bronze seated Maitreya, which has a serene, round face with just the trace of a smile; elegant feminine fingers that lightly touch the check; beautifully formed arms; and an unbroken line of body that together reveal a level of artistic achievement that heretofore had not been even closely approached. There are also extant examples of Paekche art in Japan which display similar qualities. Therefore, Paekche art is denoted by its understanding of the human form, and the elegance and natural manner in which it is represented.

The early art of Shilla reflects the relative isolation of the formative period of the state. Thus, characteristics of simplicity in form and colour, along with a harmony of functional and non-functional implements can said to be manifested in much of the early Shilla art. The desire of Shilla artisans to create objects reflecting the qualities present in nature is best seen in the pottery of the early period. Here, the natural approach is seen in the imperfections present in the pottery and the lack of attention to detail. These imperfect vessels, some not symmetrical and others with ill-fitting lids, were not viewed as being inadequate, but instead as mirroring the conditions found in natural objects, which is exactly what the Shilla artisans desired to capture in their art.

The art of the Korean Three Kingdoms, when compared with that in China, can be said to
have a greater emphasis on natural appearance and human warmth, rather than on precise
detail. While the art of this period may not have the depth of detail as Chinese art does, it
cannot be labelled as inferior in terms of qualities such as sophistication and skill. The
fundamental characteristic in the Korean art of this period was, however, not in detail but
instead in reflecting the beauty of nature.

Greater Shilla and Paekche

The art of Greater Shilla is notable in that it represented the northward expansion of the
Shilla art-style along with an eventual blending of this style with those of the former
Paekche and Koguryo kingdoms. Moreover, during this period the cultural influence of the
Chinese Tang dynasty had a major effect on the art of the Korean peninsula.

There is room for support of the argument that the zenith of Shilla art is to be found in
Buddhist temples such as Pulguk Temple and the Sökkuram grotto, both of which date
from the mid-eighth c. While only the stonework remains from these structures, it reveals
the high level of artistic achievement of the Shilla artisans. The art of this period was more
refined than in former times, and while the styles used are uniquely Korean, they do show
the strong influence of Tang. The sculptures and relief carvings at Sökkuram demonstrate a
great interest in human anatomy and physical beauty, but unlike Chinese or Indian
sculptures, do not display eroticism. Shilla sculpture reflects more than mere physical
beauty; it imparts a sense of spiritual beauty to the viewer. The stone pagodas at many
temples and temple sites provide a linear harmony not present in either China or Japan. As
well, the use of stone in Korea shows marked differences with China and Japan, which
predominantly used bricks and timber respectively.

While there are few remains of art from Paekche, those that have survived, along with
historical records, reveal that the chief influence was from Koguryo, whose refugees
founded this northern kingdom. Many artifacts of Paekche indicate close ties to the art of
Koguryo, such as Buddhist statues and the lotus blossom motif with which certain roof
designs were decorated. Along with the Koguryo influences, however, there were many
aspects of Tang artistry incorporated into the structures of Paekche, thus creating a more
refined art than that found in Koguryo. Unfortunately, the few remains from Paekche do not
allow a thorough analysis of the artistic qualities of this kingdom.

Together with the disintegration of Shilla in the ninth c., was a proportional breakdown of
sculptural techniques. This change is most notable in the faces of Buddhist images which
lacked emotion and no longer displayed spiritual depth. While this was generally a period
of decline, one distinguishing feature was the popularity of memorial stupas, which were
often erected in honour of monks.

The artistic qualities of these monuments are worthy of note, with their display of dramatic
lines and vigorous swirl-design motifs, which well reflect the tumultuous period in which
they were created.

Koryö

Koryö was not only a period of change in politics, but also one of great movement in art.
With the transfer of the capital from Kyöngju to the northern city of Kaesöng, a new
vitality was injected into the art of the people. Buddhism remained the central force in art,
but it is the Koryö celadon that best exemplifies the artistic achievements. The upper classes
led luxury-filled lives and this is exemplified not least in the pottery of Koryö.

Koryö celadon is claimed, both by the Koreans and the Chinese, to represent the perfection
of Sung dynasty pottery. While it may have been created by the upper classes of Koryö in
an attempt to emulate the Chinese, the artisans of Cholla Province developed it far beyond
the Chinese exemplar. This excellence is seen first in the beautiful colour of the pottery.
Although some Koryó celadon may be yellow-green or yellow-brown in hue, it is the jade green pieces that are most highly prized. Then, the unique and varied designs of Koryó celadon took many different forms which expressed the emotions of the artisans; as shown in the exquisitely-shaped incense burners and water-droppers crafted in the shape of lotus flowers; rabbits; turtles; parrots; dragons; lions; tigers; and many other diverse objects. A further feature of Koryó celadon is the intricacy and beauty of the engraved or inlaid designs. Included among the many images found on the pottery are cranes; deer; chrysanthemums; willow; bamboo; grapes; and stylised gourds. Koryó celadon also continued the tradition of mimicking nature in that there were no uniform or standardised qualities to the pottery, but each piece was individually crafted, likening it to nature, which itself does not create exact copies.

Other noteworthy Koryó art includes Buddhist sculpture, primarily between the tenth and twelfth centuries, which revised some of the skills of Shilla. Particularly, the images created were given the warm countenances that graced the Shilla statues, although the figures tended to be more rotund than their predecessors. The advent of the period in which Koryó was dominated by the military forces led to a decided decline in artistic traditions and skill, and as a result, the door was opened for new trends in art to emerge during the subsequent Chosón dynasty.

Chosón

With the coming of neo-Confucian philosophy as the guiding ideology of Chosón, Buddhism was subjected to severe suppression by the government and accordingly, lost its position as patron of the fine arts. The yangban ruling class had neither the financial ability nor the interest in acting as patron of the arts, and their artistic inclinations leaned to painting and calligraphy. This is not to say that there was a complete neglect of the arts during Chosón, as artisans were unrestricted, resulting in perhaps a more dramatic expression of emotion in art than in former times. Nonetheless, the principles of Confucianism must be to the fore when discussing Chosón art.

The combination of the traditional naturalism manifested in Korean art with the Confucian influence clearly created a special type of decoration in Chosón art. This is evident in paintings; ceramics; architecture; and even in garden landscapes. Therefore, in architecture, simple buildings that harmonised with the surrounding landscape are the standard, and this is easily seen in structures such as Kyongbuk Palace. Gardens were developed using the natural terrain to its full advantage and these were without the artificial features that dominate Japanese landscapes. Even the furnishings of Chosón homes reflected this same simple naturalism. Wood-crafted pieces are functional and this enhances the aesthetic qualities of furniture, while the strong lines emphasise the utilitarian features.

Ceramics also hold an important position in the discussion of Chosón art. Initially, pieces of a soft blue-green were preferred, but by the end of Chosón, the most common colour was white. The lines of Chosón pottery were simpler than those of Koryó, and the bases of pieces were larger, thereby creating a more practical vessel, which gave a sense of both functionality and sturdiness. As well, the ornamentation was (in keeping with the spirit of Chosón) quite simple when compared to that of Koryó. In all, the ceramics of Chosón well reflect the changes from Koryó that were manifested in art as a whole.

As the end of Chosón drew closer, ideological changes such as the shirhak (practical learning) movement had their impact on the art world. Realism came into vogue in painting as artists sought to capture the natural surroundings of the countryside, as they saw them. Genre painting, too, became fashionable as artists such as Kim Hong do (1745-?) and Shin Yunbok (1758-?) sought to capture scenes from everyday life in their works. The rise of genre painting is thought by some scholars to be a backlash against the oppressive Confucian ideology, which diminished the importance of human life. Likewise, during late
Chosŏn, ceramics underwent substantial change as the technique for making blue pigment became widely known. Consequently, blue on white porcelain gained widespread popularity, and although these ceramics were more elaborate than those of early Chosŏn, they still emanated the fundamental Korean characteristic of naturalism.

By the close of Chosŏn, many new types of artistic expression had found their way to Korea. Western art, particularly, had the most substantial impact on Korea for the first half of the twentieth c., as Koreans discovered the many artistic avenues of the West. Accordingly, the first half of the twentieth c. was a period of artistic experimentation and discovery. Korean artists did, however, preserve many of the fundamental elements that had long been present in Korean art, creating a synthesis of Western and Korean art. Therefore, when examining representative artwork of this period the influences of both Western and Korean traditions are distinctly evident to the discerning eye.

Bibliography


Art galleries (see under each art gallery)

Asan

Situated in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Asan consists of the town of Yŏnch’i, and the townships of Togo, T’um’o, Paebang, Sŏnjang, Songak, Shinch’ang, Yŏngin, Ŭmbong, Inju and T’angjŏng. Combining the areas formerly known as Onyang City and Asan County, the city covers an area of 509.75 square kilometres. Mt. Kwangdŏk (699m), Mt. Manggyŏng (600m) and other peaks of the Ch’aryong Mountain Range run along the city’s southern border, but most of the city area is low hills and flat land. Numerous reservoirs are found scattered throughout the city, and to the northwest, Asan Bay links the area with the Yellow Sea.

With relatively level land and ample water for irrigation, the city is well-suited for rice growing. In the northern hilly areas there are orchards and cattle farms. Dry-field crops grown in the city include barley, Chinese cabbage, turnip, leek, garlic, cabbage, red pepper, carrot, corn and watermelon. Fruit crops include apple, pear, peach and grape. In addition, speciality crops such as cotton and tobacco are cultivated. Fishing and sea-salt extraction were formerly common in Asan Bay, but the marine products industry went into decline after the creation of the Asan and Sapkyo Stream sea-walls. However, several eel farms are to be found in the area. Factories in the city produce textiles, pulp and other wood products, foodstuffs, ceramics, electronics, dressed stone and chemical products.

Asan’s tourism is centred around its famous hot springs. During Chosŏn, or perhaps before, kings came here to bathe, and the Onyang Hot Spring is acknowledged as one of Korea’s oldest and most popular hot spring resorts. The spring has a high sulphur content and its temperature can reach 50c. In Togo’s Kigok Village, is the Togo Hot Spring. This has a somewhat lower water temperature than Onyang, but as the bathing can be combined with a number of recreational facilities, including horse riding and golf, it is equally popular with visitors.

Tourists also come to see the various historical sites scattered around the city. Important Buddhist artefacts in the area include a stone pagoda and Buddha statue at Kwanŭm Temple just west of Highway 39, a multi-storey pagoda at nearby Shinshim Temple, an interesting Maitreya statue with features carved in intaglio in Yŏngin’s Shinhyŏn Village, a five-storey pagoda in Yŏngin’s Asan Village and a stupa and a child-like Buddha figure in Onch’ŏn-
As for active temples, Ponggok Temple (founded in 887) lies at the foot of Mt. T’aehwa in Songak.

One of the most famous historical sites in the city is Hyŏnch’’ungsa, an old ancestral shrine situated at the foot of Mt. Panghwa in Paegam Village. Founded in 1706 in honour of the famous admiral Yi Sunshin (1545-1598), the shrine was rebuilt in 1932. Within the main shrine building is a memorial portrait of Yi, painted by Chang Usong in 1953. In the shrine complex one can also see the old house where Yi grew up. Next to the house, there are two gingko trees that are said to be over 500 years old and a range where Yi practiced archery and martial arts.

The city also contains a number of Confucian schools, including Asan Hyanggyo (founded in 1575) just west of Highway 39 in Yŏngin, Shinch’’ang Hyanggyo (restored in 1872) just north of Highway 21 in Sŏnjang, Insan Sŏwŏn (founded in 1610), Chŏng’’oe Sŏwŏn (founded in 1634) and Onyang Hyanggyo (founded in 1871) in Ùmnæ-dong just west of Highway 39. Asan has three universities -- Hoseo Paebang Township, Soon Chun Hyang in Shinch’’ang Township and Sun Moon in T’angjŏng Township.

Asia Broadcasting Company (ABC)
Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
Aston, W.G.
Astronomy (see Science and Technology)

Australia and Korea

In October 1889, prior to the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia, missionaries from Victoria arrived in Korea as a vanguard of what was to become a distinctly Australian presence, a presence that was to continue till expelled by the Japanese in 1941. The first missionaries were the Rev. J. H. Davies and his sister Mary who after staying in Seoul for five months set out for Pusan with the intention of establishing a mission. Before reaching Pusan, however, the Rev Davies contracted smallpox and pneumonia and died on 5 April 1890. Following his death his sister returned home. It was not until October 1891 that replacements arrived in Pusan. The party consisted of Mr and Mrs Mackay with Misses Menzies, Fawcett and Perry of the newly formed Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union. Due to poor living conditions Mrs MacKay died within three moths of arrival and Mr Mackay fell ill. Although never as large in numbers, nor as wealthy as other “national” missions, the Australians developed a reputation not only for their religious work but also for their grass roots practical activities and common sense approach, establishing schools, a leprosarium, an orphanage, clinics, hospitals, trade and farm institutes and social work.

Under their direction the Ill Shin School (Pusan), the Myoora Orphanage (Pusan), and schools in Chinnu (Kwang-nim and Si-wun), Masan (D.M. Lyall, Eui-sin (Ŭishin) and Chang-sin(Ch’angshin)) and Tongnae (J.B.Harper Middle School), were established. On the medical front dispensaries and later hospitals were established at Pusan, Chinnu, Masan, T’ongyŏng while the doctors, additional to their own responsibilities, gave of their time to assist at Severance Hospital for short periods each year. By 1939 all mission schools closed as a result of the education registration policy of the colonial government. For the entire period, till they were forced to leave, the Presbyterians who continued to come largely from Victoria were centred in the south, particularly in South Kyŏngsang Province where they eventually undertook responsibility for the whole province. In addition to their responsibility for the province, Australians were also seconded to the staff of the Union Christian College in Pyongyang, the Severance Union Medical College in
Seoul., Australian s were also to serve on the board of managers of the Severance Hospital. Interestingly a majority of Australian missionaries were single women. The fact that there was a distinct Australian presence allowed them to act in a mediating role within The Comity of Missions, particularly among the “competing” American factions, and in co-operative efforts with Australian members of the Salvation Army in social work, eg girls lured into prostitution in Japan were often stopped in Pusan and sent to Seoul to be cared for by the Salvation Army.

Just prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War the majority of Australian missionaries had fortuitously left for Australia on leave. All remaining missionaries were interned in 1941, sent to Japan in June 1942, returning home in November of the same year. The expulsion of the missionaries brought to a close over 50 years of Australian contact with Korea.

With the end of the Second World War not only did missionary interest in Korea revive but the Australian government itself took an interest in Korea. As part of an expanded foreign policy that was the direct result of its desire to participate in the peace negotiations with the allies as a party principal and a belief that Australia had a right, due to its contribution in the Pacific War, to be fully involved in any final Pacific settlement Australia assumed a more independent and aggressive foreign policy, with a subtle shift away from the UK toward the US. Australia wanted a harsh peace treaty and was willing to push its claim by adopting a higher international profile both at the Peace Conference and at the newly emerging United Nations. To establish its international profile but in line with the internationalist outlook of its foreign minister, later first president of the UN Dr H.V. Evatt, Australia pushed for inclusion in the Moscow Conference. Although not granted a seat at the Conference, Australia was able to have the UK advise the other parties that if the Korean Trusteeship was established Australia would replace Britain as a member. With the transfer of the deadlock on Korea to the United Nations, Australia took a very active role. Australia accepted membership on the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) and its members were participants in the team that were to monitor the first elections.

The United States hoped the elections would allow for the establishment of a Korean government that would be acceptable to the West. It was believed that it would be dominated by the southern sector as the majority of Koreans were living in that half of the peninsula. When it became obvious that the USSR might thwart this possibility the US pushed for elections to be held only in the south, a position at variance with Australia which feared any move that might formalise what was meant to be a temporary division. Even after the elections, the Australians restricted the US sponsored UN resolution aimed at declaring the elections in the south as forming the only legitimate government for the whole Korea. Australia was able to modify the resolution to state that the government, to be formed from the election, was the only legitimate government in that area in which it had been possible to monitor elections. The resolution accepted by the General Assembly on 12 December 1948 not only established a legitimate government but also called for a new commission, The United Nations Commission on Korea, to continue the work of UNTCOK.

Just as Australia had established a high profile on UNTCOK so it dominated UNCOK from the outset with the arrival of Shaw and Jamieson in February 1949. By 15th August 1949, Australia extended diplomatic recognition to the ROK government, it having seen the UN resolution and recognition as separate questions. On November 22nd 1949, Australia in the Political Committee requested the Security Council consider the ROK for UN membership. By May 1950 Australia was the only country to have responded to requests for military observers and it was the Peach/Rankin report delivered to UNCOK on 24th June 1950 that greatly assisted in UN deliberations, the report clearly indicating that the attack came from the north. Although evacuated to Fukuoka on 27th June Jamieson, Peach and Rankin were instrumental in having UNCOK return to Korea on 30th June and
remaining throughout the war.

The Korean War was also to mark the period of greatest direct Australian involvement in Korea. On the 28th June 1950 HMAS's Shoalhaven and Bataan were put at the disposal of General Macarthur, two days later 77 Squadron was committed and on 26th July the acting Prime Minister A.W. Fadden committed the 3rd Royal Australian Regiment. Australia’s commitment was to continue at roughly this level until the armistice, the last Australian troops finally leaving in 1957. Although involved in many battles the Australian troops are perhaps most remembered for the battle of Kap'yŏng on 24th April 1951. Throughout the Korean War Australia’s casualties were 275 killed, 1034 injured and 37 missing in action.

Between the end of the Korean War and the establishment of an Australian embassy in Seoul in 1962, Australia maintained its presence on the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Reconstruction of Korea (the successor to UNCOK) even though the role of the commission was restricted by its terms of reference and the position of the ROK government. This membership on UNCURK was a quasi diplomatic presence that allowed for Australian-ROK contacts. With the Australian diplomatic presence formalised and the activities of UNCURK scaled down direct bilateral exchanges were very limited for the next decade. In April 1967 H. Holt was the first Australian Prime Minister to visit the ROK with President Park Chung Hee visiting Australia the following year. 1968 also saw the arrival of the first official Korean migrants to Australia, Choi Yung Kil his wife and daughter. The main area that saw any real growth was in trade, which increased twelve fold between 1961/2 and 1971/2. As trade increased Australia and Korea entered into several agreements. In 1965 the first Australia-Korea trade agreement was signed followed three years later with Australia's first ever agreement, with any country, on annual trade talks at the ministerial level. In an attempt to broaden the relationship a Cultural Agreement came into force in June 1971. Although UNCURK was to continue till 1973, with Australian participation on all commissions, it had outlived its usefulness signalling, however, a formal end at UN attempts to unify Korea and thus Australia’s participation.

The relationship had grown largely as a result of trade and despite minor trade friction was a friendly, though somewhat detached, until 1973 when the Australian move to recognise the Democratic People's Republic of Korea strained the relationship. The Whitlam Labor government’s intention to extend recognition to the DPRK incensed the ROK as did the ROK’s kidnapping of Kim Dae-jung strain the relationship from the Australian viewpoint. Although the bizarre departure of the DPRK from Canberra in 1974 ended the concerns from the Korean end, human rights were to remain a strain on the relationship for the next fifteen years.

By 1975 it was necessary to renegotiate the bilateral trade agreement and four years later there was agreement on nuclear co-operation and the transfer of materials. Regular meeting were also commenced on raw materials and their processing. These were followed by agreements on shipping(1979), fishing(1979;1983;1984;1985;1986; 1987), taxation(1982),extradition(1990),civil aviation(1992;1993), assistance in criminal matters(1993).

That the expansion of the relationship from the mid 60’s to the mid 80’s was almost entirely economically driven is clearly illustrated by reference to the trade figures for the period. From 1962 till. 1983 Australian-ROK trade grew from A$3.6million to over A$1.3billion

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Aus exports to ROK A$million</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Aus imports from ROK A$million</th>
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<td>37.8</td>
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<td>1974-75</td>
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By 1990 Korea had overtaken New Zealand as Australia's third most important export market and by 1996 it had become the second most valuable export destination.

Main Items of Trade

Australia

The major items of Australian exports to Korea still remain bulk raw materials but there has been and is a concerted effort to diversify into more processed and semi-processed goods.

Iron Ore
As the Korean economy developed in the 1970's so too did the demand for iron ore, a demand Australia was only too keen to fill. By 1990 Australia was the largest supplier of iron ore (A$267 million) to POSCO.

Coal
In line with the demand for iron ore so there has been a similar growth in the supply of coal. By 1990 Australia was the largest supplier of coking coal (A$325 million) and the second largest supplier of steaming coal (A$247 million).

Beef
The Korean beef market was opened, to a limited extent, in 1988. By 1990 Australia was the largest supplier of beef to the Korean market (A$142 million).

Aluminium
Exports of aluminium only started in 1980 and were at a very low level. Within ten years, however, Australia was able to capture approximately 50% of the Korean market (A$255 million).

Other Raw Materials
By 1989-90 Australia had obtained significant market shares in Korea for the following items:

- Raw Sugar: 43%
- Wheat: 12%
- Cotton: 8%
- Wool: 80%
- Gold: 99%
- Zinc ore: 56%

It was not till the mid 1980's that there was a broadening of the base of Australian exports away from raw materials. Since that time there has been a steady growth in items such as motor vehicle parts, computer related equipment, office equipment, and photographic film. Apart from visible trade growth, receipts from invisibles also began to increase in importance from this time. Australia was increasingly seen by Koreans as an educational destination. Just as there was a blossoming of educational services so was there an explosion in the number of tourists visiting Australia. In 1986, 4,800 Koreans visited Australia, increasing to 23,000 in 1991 and 168,000 in 1995 representing 5% of all visitors. The growth in the numbers being the direct result of the liberalisation on travel by the Korean government and the establishment and expansion of direct flights by QANTAS and Korea Air and more lately the addition of flights by Ansett Australia and Asiana.

Republic of Korea

Virtually all Korean exports to Australia consist of manufactured or semi manufactured goods. Although there has been a steady growth in the value of Korean exports to Australia
the growth has not been as rapid as the growth in Australian exports but it has meant a continuing lessening of the trade imbalance from over 5:1 in the 1960's to 1.7:1 in 1990. The major items have included passenger vehicles, footwear, iron and steel products, rubber tyres and cases, textile yarn, musical instruments, man made fabrics, ships and boats., computers, VCRs and other electronic goods.

In addition to the merchandise items, Korea because of its strength in shipping was able to have a favourable balance on invisibles till the mid 1980's but with the influx of tourists to Australia and the sale of Australian educational services the balance has generally moved in Australia’s favour.

Not only was there a broadening of the Australian export base in the mid 1980's but there was a more general realisation that the whole relationship itself needed to be broadened and more formal mechanisms were needed to deal with the developing trade frictions. In general Australia’s complaints related to a perceived tardiness on the part of Seoul with regard to trade liberalisation, particularly in the area of farm products and processed foods while Seoul was concerned with the continuing, though declining, trade imbalance.

Koreans in Australia.

Although it can not be substantiated it is believed that the first Korean resident may have come to Australia in the 1920’s. The White Australia policy ensured that no Koreans were permitted to reside in Australia, although there were a few exceptions such as the Korean wives of an American veteran and an Australian diplomat who served in the Australian Embassy in Seoul. The abolition of the policy in 1966 did not see any initial increase in Korean migration and the first of those who did settle were generally those who had worked overseas for Korean companies. Because of a lack of English and a general lack of formal educational qualifications this first wave of immigrants generally had a difficult time in adjusting to Australian society. Toward the end of the 1980’s a second wave, of younger, more upwardly mobile Koreans with English language skills moved to Australia in search of a better quality of life. This trend has been accelerated through tourists returning to Korea. The newer arrivals also tend to have entrepreneurial and managerial skills. In 1981 there were 4,515 Koreans living in Australia, 9,248 in 1986 and by 1991 there were 20,901 Koreans in Australia with approximately two thirds living in Sydney.

Increased Co-operation

The results of the desire to broaden the relationship has resulted in increased co-operation between the two countries, not only on a bi-lateral level but there has been joint co-operation in regional matters. The most obvious example of this is Australia’s and Korea’s efforts in relation to Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The initiative was announced by Prime Minister Hawke of Australia in Seoul in January 1989, attracted support from Seoul and both countries have continued to play an active role in the development of the concept.

The visit by President Roh Tae Woo (only the second Korean leader to visit Australia to that time) in 1988 resulted in the establishment of a joint Cultural Commission and an Australia - Korea Forum. The Forum met in Canberra in 1989 and in Seoul in 1991. The result of the meetings was the establishment of a series joint organisations to promote understanding and exchange. The Australia-Korea Foundation was to encourage greater co-operation in education, culture and the media. As a recognition of Korea’s ability to adapt research and Australia’s strengths in basic research a Korea-Australia Science and Industry programme has been established to utilise this complementarity. Another result of the Forums was the development of co-operation between educational institutions, student exchanges and the promotion of Korean studies, including language, in Australia and the introduction of Australian studies to Korean universities. Greater dialogue between the two countries on security and political matters also resulted, eg Korean OECD membership,
drift netting by the ROK, concerns regarding Antarctica.

The realisation of the importance of the relationship has been expressed by an increase in the frequency and duration of visits and the leaders of both countries are at pains to maintain a personal relationship that can be used to solve potential problems. Given the desire by both parties the relationship should continue to grow and strengthen, however given the uncertainty surrounding the DPRK and the various scenarios surrounding possible reunification one can only speculate at the direction and form that relationship might take.

Relations with the Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea

Australia’s relations with the DPRK have always been very limited and of little practical importance. After the Second World War the Australian government had viewed Korea as one entity and adopted policies it hoped would ensure unification. Australia was not successful in its’ efforts, despite continued attempts by UNTCOK and UNCOCK to engage north Korea in a dialogue. The 1950 invasion of south Korea by the DPRK was to set the tone of the Australian outlook on the DPRK which was maintained by consecutive governments until the Whitlam Labor government came to power and in 1973 setout to quickly recognise the northern state. Contacts up till the change in government had consisted almost solely of a limited trade involvement. The move to recognise Pyongyang deeply worried the ROK who warned of possible consequences to the growing relations between it and Australia, a threat treated lightly by Australia. The change in the political complexion of the government from Liberal/Country Party to Labor was the underlying reason for the change in an established policy wherer the Labor party indicated that it wanted a more even handed approach to the Korean question and the left wing of the party had serious doubts as to human rights issues in the ROK. The DPRK established an embassy in Canberra on 30 December 1974, but, ostensibly in response to Australia’s voting in the UN, suddenly withdrew all its staff on 30th October the next year, expelling the Australians from Pyongyang on 8th November allegedly for misconduct. Although there have been recent attempts by the DPRK to revive the relations, which at the present are classified as interrupted, Australia has given a cool response, citing an unsatisfactory explanation for the departure from Canberra, money owed by the DPRK to Australian exporters, DPRK international behaviour and more recently the nuclear issue. The nuclear issue has proved a serious stumbling block due to Australia’s interest in the restriction of nuclear weapons and adherence to the IAEA conventions. At present there would appear little likelihood of the situation changing until there is a change in the DPRK position as any trade with the DPRK would be insignificant in comparison with trade with the ROK.

R Munro

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Australia-Korea Forum

[Australia and Korea]
Australia-Korea Foundation [Australia and Korea]
Bank of Korea [Banks]
Bank of Seoul [Banks]
Banks (see Financial Institutions; Economy)
Basic Glossary of Korean Studies

Basic Glossary of Korean Studies was compiled by Ki Joong Song (Song Kijung) of The Academy of Korean Studies to provide students of Korean studies and scholars with standardised terminology for historical and contemporary Korean words and names. The glossary was published in 1993 by the Korea Foundation and consists of 338 pages. The first of its kind in Korean studies, the glossary gives each term in Korean and Sino-Korean characters, if applicable, and then gives the English translation of the term. Categories include archaeology; art; education; language; literature; music; dance; philosophy; political science; public administration; and religion. Additionally, the work incorporates many terms for Korean history found in A New History of Korea, written by Ki-Baik Lee (Yi Kibaek) and translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz. The Basic Glossary of Korean Studies also includes the names and dates of many personages from Korean history.

Basic Glossary of Korean Studies includes a list of explanatory notes and abbreviations; the list of entries arranged by Korean alphabetical order; and appendices listing the names of government and private institutions in South Korea; frequently occurring post-positional mono-syllabic terms; and the dynastic lineages of the Korean kingdoms. It is an extremely useful work for establishing standard terminology for Korean studies. It does, however, have a few faults including some errors in both spelling and dates, and moreover, does not include any of the terminology related to Korean folklore studies because of the difficulty in establishing English language equivalents. Nonetheless, it is valuable for the contribution it makes to the standardisation of terminology in Korean studies.

Bethell, Ernest [United Kingdom and Korea]

Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources

The Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources is a work of five-hundred and eighty pages by Tai-Jin Kim (as author and editor), published by the Asiatic Research Centre of Korea University in 1976. Kim provides bibliographical notes on some one-hundred and forty-eight Korean sources from Shilla through Choson. He includes a brief description of the authors, content, and the circumstances surrounding these important literary and historical documents. Much of the information contained in Kim’s work was hitherto unavailable to those not competent in Korean.

The Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources provides many useful comments on the authors of the various works, and at times gives short biographical sketches on notable people. The work, however, is not error-free, particularly in regard to dates given and in some of its historical information. Nonetheless, for non-specialists particularly, it has opened a door to much useful bibliographical information.

Bibliography

Most European languages have a technical term that has its origin in the term bibliographia. In English usage (c. 1814), ‘bibliography’ has historically been used to designate a description of books. In today’s usage, however, it holds the meaning of a list of books or other literature on or relating to a particular subject, and the theory behind these compilations. Moreover, ‘bibliography’ can often vary to a degree, and may include such aspects as the investigation of particulars of the authorship, publication, and printing of a certain work. In the nineteenth c., the term ‘bibliography’ also included the science of the book and the organisation of libraries. This is commonly referred to as ‘historical bibliography’ in contemporary English language scholarship.
In the Korean language, the term *sojihak* is used in the same manner as the English ‘bibliography’. *Sojihak* literally means the ‘study of the records of books,’ which reveals that the aims of this academic discipline in Korea are essentially the same as they are in Western scholarship.

**Original Text Bibliographies**

The start of bibliography in Korean history can be found during the Three Kingdoms. In this era, books of many kinds were brought from China, and in the process of propagation, these were re-copied. As an integral part of the copying process, any mistaken or confused characters were adjusted, along with the correction of poorly written or erroneous sentences in the original text. In particular, any inconsistencies in the original would be rectified, and in the case of Buddhist texts, discrepancies would be compared with translations of the original in classical Chinese and even with other versions, in order to ascertain the correct word or phrase. With the advent of printing technologies, the need to ensure accuracy of the text became all the more important. An examination of the *Dharani Sutra* (*muguchonggwangdæ tarani kyong*), which is dated 751 C.E. (denoting it as the world’s oldest known printed material), reveals the care in which it was edited. Likewise, the *Pohyöbin tarani kyong*, which was printed in 1007 at Ch’öngjii Temple, is significant in that it corrected many of the errors present in the version transmitted from China.

The importance of the individuals who undertook the editing and engraving of woodblocks for the printing of Buddhist scriptures can be seen in both the establishment of the Kyojang Togam (Directorate for Buddhist Scriptures) and also at the end of the works, where the name of the monk who had ensured the accuracy of the work is clearly indicated. Therefore, an examination of an ancient Buddhist text will show the name of the monk, or monks, charged with the proof-reading and editing of the work. The meticulous care given to the correction of mistaken characters, sentences and inconsistencies in the various Buddhist texts is seen in the completion of the *P’alman taejanggyöng* (*Tripitaka Koreana*), which was compiled both from earlier efforts and Chinese sources. There is a thirty-volume record of the many corrections, entitled *Koryöguk shinjo taejang kyojong pyölllok* (Record of the Corrections of the New Carving of the Tripitaka of Koryö), written by the monk Sugi. The thoroughness of Sugi is attested in that the *P’alman taejanggyöng* carved during Koryö is accepted as the most accurate in the world, being almost flawless insofar as omitted characters and erroneous sentences are concerned.

During Chosön, procedures for editing and ensuring the accuracy of works before printing were taken to an even higher level than those practised in Koryö. Works edited at government offices were assigned to government officials, who completed the corrections. When a book was printed, regardless of whether it was with metal type or woodblocks, the errors in the original were corrected and then noted with a ‘corrected’ (*kojujang*) stamp. In the case of a book which was to be printed with metal type, a special official at the Office of Compilation and Corrections (Kamgyugwan) was given the task of correcting the work. The ultra-serious attitude in the compilation of books is seen in the legal code of the *Taejön husongnok* (National Code supplement), which prescribed harsh sanctions for errors in a printed work. The government official responsible at the Office of Compilation and Corrections, or any other governmental institution that had participated in the editorial and revision process would be punished by flogging, removal from his post, or by a reduction of pay. Quite clearly, therefore, accuracy in the compilation of books was very important. Consequently, the works printed with metal type during Chosön are distinguished by their accuracy and their fine quality.

After Korea’s liberation from the Japanese in 1945, the main thrust of activity in bibliography was expressed in Ch’oe Namsön’s revision of the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and in the Society for the Advancement of National Culture (Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujin Hoe), which also published revisions of the *Samguk*
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and the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms). Also, at this time, Cho Pyŏngsun compiled Ch'ungsu poju samguk sagi (Supplemented and Enlarged History of the Three Kingdoms). A thesis published on the subject of bibliography is 'Saero palgyŏn’ŏn kop’an pon samguk sagi' ( Newly Discovered Ancient Editions of the History of the Three Kingdoms) by Ch’ŏn Hyebong. There are other other works by Korean scholars which seek to analyse the origins and contents of Korea’s ancient works.

Bibliography Systems

The importance of bibliographical techniques in the compilation of books in Korea was traditionally greater than in China, and this was due to the Korean desire to create accurate woodblock-print works. Today, the oldest extant bibliographical examinations are the three volumes of Shinp’yŏn chejong kyojang ch’ongnok (New Catalogue of Buddhist Sectarian Writings) written by Ŭich’ŏn when he was editing the P’alman taejanggyŏng, and Taejanggyŏng mongnok (Catalogue of the Tripitaka Koreana), which is also in three volumes. In compiling Shinp’yŏn che chon’g kyojang ch’ongnok, Ŭich’ŏn consulted scriptures, laws, commentaries and other Buddhist writings from Koryŏ, Song China, and Japan, et al, in order to prepare an accurate version of the Buddhist scriptures. Ŭich’ŏn’s work is notable in that it represents the first such work in East Asia and therefore, remains a valuable bibliographical resource to the present-day. The Taejanggyŏng mongnok, which is now kept at Haein Temple, is highly regarded for the study of the compilation process of the later compilation of the P’alman taejanggyŏng in that it deleted the supplements contained by the Shinp’yŏn chejong kyojang ch’ongnok and replaced the original omissions. And so, it provides an accurate record of the editorial process in the compilation of the P’alman taejanggyŏng.

During Chosŏn, with the intent to republish documents printed before the 1592 Japanese Invasion, materials were gathered from every comer of Korea for the Kosa ch’waryo. Serving a similar purpose for works printed after the invasion is Koch’aek’an sojae ko (Treatise on the Whereabouts of Ancient Printing Blocks); which is a catalogue of works up until the mid-nineteenth c. Falling between these two works is Sŏ Yugu’s 1796 catalogue, Nup’an ko (Treatise of Printing Plates), which is considered the principal authority on bibliography throughout Chosŏn. Other bibliographical catalogues of Chosŏn include, Koso mongnok chipsong (Catalogue of Ancient Books) and Han’guk ch’aekp’an mongnok ch’ongnam (Catalogue of Korean Printing Blocks).

With regard to those bibliographic works that introduce various aspects of Korean scholarly works, Kim Hyu’s Haedong munhŏn ch’ongnok (Bibliography of Historical Documents) catalogues various literary records dating from Shilla to mid-Chosŏn. This work, compiled during the reign of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), contains records of some 670 documents. Other works include, Naryŏ yemun chi (Literary Records of Shilla and Koryŏ) and Naryŏ munjŏk chi (Catalogue of Shilla and Koryŏ Documents), which both focus on the early periods in Korea. Other bibliographies from late Chosŏn include those written by foreigners such as the Bibliographie Coréenne (Bibliography of Korea) compiled by M. Courant in four volumes, and Kosen satsufu (Record of Ancient Korean Books) compiled by Maema Kyŏsaku in three volumes. A number of contemporary works have been widely acclaimed for their discussion of bibliographical explanation, such as the eight-volume Han’guk chŏnjŏk chonghap mongnok (Complete Catalogue of Korean Works) published by the Society for the Preservation of National Literary Materials (Kukhak Charyo Pojon Hoe) from 1974 to 1980, and which contains a catalogue of private libraries.

Present State of Bibliographic Studies

Today, bibliographical studies in Korea encompass many facets of the discipline. Some of the aspects covered include the development of commentary concerning books, their origin and title changes. The shape and form of the book is also under scrutiny, with
bibliographers looking at the changes in binding types, in printing technology and printing methodology, among other aspects. Their research is highly specialised, with many bibliographers focusing on a particular era or genre of book, thereby making significant contributions to academic research.

Vast areas of scholarship still remain to be thoroughly examined in Korean bibliographical studies, such as an understanding of which particular qualities in Korean literature are uniquely Korean; and which elements of the Korean lifestyle are represented in literature and Korean consciousness, value systems and ideological beliefs. Today, academic enquiry in the field of bibliographical study seeks to find answers to these and other questions, through a deep understanding of Korean literature and its developments over the past 1500 years.

Bibliography


Bird-Bishop, Isabella Lucy (1831-1904)

Isabella Lucy Bird-Bishop was a world traveller of the late nineteenth c. Born in England to a wealthy family she began travelling with her parents at an early age. Her independent adventures began with a trip to the Hawaiian Islands in the late 1860s, and it was in Hawaii that she discovered both her passion for exploring foreign cultures and for horsemanship. As a result of her time in Hawaii, she wrote The Hawaiian Archipelago (1886), which established her reputation as both a world traveller and as a writer. On the return journey from Hawaii in 1872, Bird-Bishop stopped in Colorado and became so enamoured with the Rocky Mountains that she stayed there for a period and operated a cattle ranch. In 1881, she married Dr. J.F. Bishop, an eminent Edinburgh physician, but he died a short three years thereafter. After this, she resumed her travels and journeyed to central Asia, China, Japan and Korea, as well as other countries. During this time, she met with the monarchs of many countries, and her writings served to introduce these lands and peoples to many Western readers. Some of her notable accounts include The Golden Chersonese; The Malayan Travels of a Victorian Lady (1883); Korea and Her Neighbours (1898) and The Yangtze Valley and Beyond (1899).

Bird-Bishop visited Korea a total of four times between January 1894 and March 1897, with the intention of studying the ‘Mongolian races’. She pens her first thoughts on Korea as, ‘My first journey produced the impression that Korea is the most uninteresting country I ever travelled in, but during and since the war, its political perturbations, rapid changes, and possible destinies, have given me interest in it; while Korean character and industry, as I saw both under Russian rule in Siberia, have enlightened me as to the better possibilities which may await the nation in its future.’ Her two-volume account of Korea provides the author’s insight to many aspects of the situation that prevailed in Chosŏn in the late nineteenth c. Also notable are the personal contacts she had with King Kojong (r. 1863-1907); the Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898); and Queen Min (1851-1895). Thus, she provides her readers with first-hand knowledge of these major figures in the declining years of Chosŏn. Bird-Bishop was not a scholar nor fluent in the language of any of the Asian countries she travelled in, being dependent on interpreters and accounts given to her by others. Her works, therefore, contain many inaccuracies and misleading statements. But they do provide valuable, albeit small, glimpses of Korea and the other Asian countries she visited.

Blake, George [United Kingdom and Korea]

Bone-rank system (see kŏl’um che) [Society]
Brandt, M.A.S., von

Broadcasting

History of Korean broadcasting

Radio

Broadcasting under Japanese occupation forces (1910-1945)

Korea's first taste of the new technology of radio came relatively early for such a poor and under-developed country. In 1915, engineers at the Ministry of Communications conducted an experiment in which the Japanese anthem was transmitted via wireless telephone over a distance of 800 metres. In 1924, a radio laboratory was established on an experimental basis. Programs were initially broadcast in Japanese, but with burgeoning public interest, Koreans were invited to participate in limited broadcasts. On 30 November 1926, Kyŏngsŏng Broadcasting Station transmitted its first radio program. The main source of revenue was from listening fees, fixed at two won a month. Rigorous censorship by the Ministry of Information meant that broadcasts in Korean were restricted to entertainment programs, even though programming was increased to sixteen hours a day. The Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and the Pacific War in 1941, suppressed Korean programs to a point where they became a propaganda tool for Japan's expansionist ambitions. Radio soon had as its main purpose the purveyance of bulletins prepared by the Japanese Government-General and Korean broadcasting became little more than an appellation.

Broadcasting under U.S. Military Government (1945-1948)

Following Korea's liberation on 15 August 1945, the Kyŏngsŏng Broadcasting Station was placed under the supervision of the United States Military Government in Korea. One reason for this was to fend off the political left's pressure for control of broadcasting.

Broadcasting had to change to integrate with the transformation of Korea into a modern society. Initially, Kyŏngsŏng concentrated on programs aimed at restoring and developing a national culture, hitherto shrouded under Japanese rule. It then focused on the novel idea of democracy and on furthering public welfare through educational programs.

Concomitant with relative freedom of news coverage came restrictions on its distribution. The military government dealt harshly with critics of military policy and coerced the closing down of local newspapers as a censorship measure. Nationwide censorship resulted when an article in Haebang Ilbo blatantly criticized the military rule; set aside only when new ordinances circumscribed press activities and a special committee convened to arbitrate conflicts of interest. Significantly, American broadcasting practices predominated in the ensuing reorganization of the KBS and new program formats. In January 1946, Voice of America first broadcast under the name, San Francisco Broadcast. Under strong U.S. influence, the domestic radio station, nominally public, was actually commercial in content and programming.

Broadcasting under the New Government (1948-1953)

Although the military government initially returned the radio station to the Chosŏn Broadcasting Committee (later, Taehan Broadcasting Committee) in June 1948, a reshuffling of government jurisdictions placed Kyŏngsŏng under Ministry of Information
control. The station was quickly nationalized, its employees becoming public servants, signifying the beginning of the state-run Korean Broadcasting Station (KBS). Program reorganization brought diversity in news reporting, with programs such as 'Local News' and 'News Parade'.

During the Korean War, KBS came under control of the Ministry of Defence and its broadcasting functions were drastically reduced, partly because of financial stringencies. The American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) was established at this time to serve the needs of its military force. KBS gradually materialized into a public broadcasting station and with its headquarters in Pusan, the temporary war capital, established branch stations in major locales. Strict censorship of newscasts made it increasingly difficult to remain unbiased and pro-government reporting predominated.

Rise of private, commercial broadcasting (1954-1960)

Following the armistice (27 July 1953) all government institutions were located in Seoul. After restoration of damaged plant and some expansion of broadcasting equipment, there was (from 1957) a striking improvement in the general quality of radio programming. Airtime was doubled and the introduction of a transcription reporting system added vitality to radio programs. In addition, telegraph soon permitted the direct reception of foreign news. Thus, despite the emergence of television, the 1950s were still predominantly radio-oriented.

Pusan MBC (Munwha Broadcasting Company), the first commercial radio network in Korea, and the Christian Broadcasting System, were established, relying on advertising to finance operations. Their reporting activities enlightened the public on the merits of co-existence, for competition warranted greater reporting accuracy. Relay broadcasting of international sporting events, production of educational and informational programs of quality focusing on a developing civic consciousness, and the introduction of serial dramas characterized the major improvements of the decade.

The other side of the coin, however, was that the news reporting aspect of broadcasting was severely restricted by political instability and consecutive dictatorships of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee. The two regimes decreed press policies aimed at circumscribing the activities of KBS, whereby fairness and objectivity always played a secondary role to the propagation of government policy.

Commercial broadcasting and the television era (1961-1979)

The 16 May 1961 coup d'état made effective use of broadcasting facilities, especially those of state-run KBS, which was restructured to allow for two extra channels, one for international transmissions and another for AM/FM broadcasting. Park Chung-Hee's administration legislated to permit private ownership of radio and TV stations. The industry underwent significant changes during this period as commercial broadcasting became more conventional, radio and television duelled through intense competition, and communication satellites diffused the innovative idea of relay broadcasting.

Commercial broadcasting, being intrinsically profit-oriented, held a propensity for entertainment programming and cheap imitations of foreign shows. Serial dramas were the most popular. As television's appeal grew, radio's appeal declined. In time, commercial broadcasters challenged official opinion in the public forum. The 1970s brought about social changes which had a direct effect on the industry, significantly Yushin Honpō (revitalizing) reform designed to combat domestic and international instability. Yushin imposed severe censorship on the commercial-orientation of television.
The inauguration of the Korean Broadcasting Corporation and MBC-TV's incorporation of all affiliated broadcasting stations under the Munwha Broadcasting network, were major events. MBC also assimilated the Kyunghyang Daily, thereby combining its broadcasting and newspaper functions. When Yushin ended, broadcasting had deteriorated into stereotyped programs of low appeal and law amendments (1973) strictly regulated all material deemed damaging to public morals.

Era of public broadcasting (1980-1990)

Structural change saw a complete shift from commercial to public broadcasting in 1980, leaving in its wake only the two stations KBS and MBC. TBC TV and Radio were integrated into the KBS, as KBS 2 and KBS Radio 3. Dong-A Broadcasting Station (DBS) became KBS 4 (Radio Seoul). In addition, MBC gradually acquired a controlling share interest of twenty-one local stations. The Education Broadcasting System (EBS) which managed to gain independence from KBS 3, came under the bailiwick of the Ministry of Education (and still uses transmitting facilities provided for by KBS.)

Radio - popularity and decline

The first relay station went into operation in Pusan in September 1934, followed by an expansion of district networks as regional stations emerged. The Korean Broadcasting System was reorganized to consolidate control over these stations and with the birth of the Republic the existing network came under direct government control.

KBS introduced Voice of Free Korea radio to its network on 1 December 1955, to contribute to information and cultural exchange within the international community and to convey the message of reunification to North Korea. Short-wave broadcasting across Asia was in Korean, English, French, Chinese, Japanese and Russian. Foreigners in Korea could listen to a daily English broadcast on medium-wave.

The 1960s was a period during which the various radio stations, RSB, (Radio Seoul, later to be known as TBC), KBS, CBS, MBC and DBS, could compete with each other free from the magnet of television. MBC soon expanded into a nationwide network, while DBS, affiliated with Tonga Ilbo, had to endure lack of support and facilities and limit its goals to the Seoul audience. RSB experienced steady growth and rising popularity.

Commercial radio and its ratings competition saw the survival of stations tied to advertising revenue. A significant development was the establishment of Munwha Broadcasting Corporation in Pusan in 1959, which also attracted a wide audience in Seoul. As a private corporation totally dependent on local advertising, MBC pioneered a solid-base advertising industry for Korean products. Its entertainment-oriented programs acquired the highest ratings.

Radio's displacement by television can be seen when the number of TV receivers reached half a million in 1973, only ten years after TV was introduced, while the number of radios remained less than one million some fifty years after its introduction. Radio then had to find program genres which accentuated its traits as a medium, such as convenience and flexibility, while conceding entertainment functions to TV. It turned to spot news, popular music and information segments. In the 1980s, KBS Radio modernized and expanded, concentrating on wide-scope informational programs. Local radio networks also implanted a new image of themselves as instruments of regional development by disseminating local topics to the rest of Korea. This helped to reduce rural alienation, as well as acquainting city dwellers with traditional lifestyles and values. Today, KBS, MBC and SBS attempt to achieve a certain level of specialization and differentiation.
Broadcasting stations - Radio and Television

National and regional stations

* American Forces Network (AFKN)
* Buddhist Broadcasting System (BBS)
* Christian Broadcasting System (CBS)
* Educational Broadcasting System (EBS)
  Far East Broadcasting Station
  Korean Broadcasting Station (KBS)
  Munwha Broadcasting Corporation (MBC)
  Pyungwha Broadcasting Corporation (PBC)
  Seoul Broadcasting Station (SBS)
  TBC
  Traffic Broadcasting System (TBS)

* See text below

American Forces Korea Network (AFKN)

AFKN began operations in 1950 as a mobile radio station, and broadcast its first TV program in 1957. It has expanded to cover the ROK through a sophisticated cable and microwave system, with twenty-two transmitters.

Primarily for American service personnel and their families, AFKN is also popular with young Koreans. To students wanting to improve their language skills, AFKN-TV offers idiomatic, colloquial English and provides uncensored domestic news, reports from ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN. But critics have denounced AFKN's programming, claiming that the youth of Korea is being inundated with material of a sexual and violent nature. AFKN broadcasts twenty hours a day during the week, twenty-four at weekends. It is advertisement free, but includes community-type announcements.

Christian Broadcasting System (CBS)

The Christian Broadcasting Station (CBS) commenced in 1954 to introduce Christianity to Koreans. However, except for a few religious programs, it did not differ widely from the commercial stations. In 1962, CBS obtained a commercial broadcasting licence, which allowed it to rely, in part, on advertising revenue. It was well-received and a desire to extend its coverage soon became apparent. To achieve this goal it gained the support of the U.S. Audiovisual Committee (one of its biggest financial supporters) to establish local, affiliated stations throughout Korea.

Guidelines regulating CBS news coverage served to emphasize the significance of unbiased reporting. This came through strongly during the 1960 student uprising, when CBS, unlike KBS, fulfilled its public responsibilities through prompt, objective reporting. It also kept Koreans informed on the volatile domestic situation by transmitting 'Voice of America' reports, and editorials printed by major U.S. newspapers.

Educational Broadcasting System (EBS)

EBS offers countrywide FM radio and UHF/VHF television coverage. Programming is based on EBS's founding principles - to improve the quality of school education, to expand educational opportunities, to satisfy educational demands and to strengthen democratic ideals.
International exchanges (e.g. BBC, NHK) have fostered new audience interest in the EBS and improved ratings attest to its success. EBS aims to solidify a special channel identity with programs aimed at broadening international perspectives and by nurturing scientific and modernized thought forms to motivate social development.

Television

Inauguration and development

Television broadcasting in Korea came in 1956 with the inauguration of HLKZ-TV (Korean RCA Distribution) a commercial TV station. Leaning heavily on the practices of American commercial TV and RCA assistance, HLKZ-TV began regular broadcasting for two hours on alternate days. Financially dependent on commercial advertising (at a time when most people could not afford television sets), its distribution plans were increasingly frustrated as entrepreneurs were unwilling to invest in advertising. Despite its attempts to give better service, the station was soon to be taken over by Hankook Ilbo under the name Daehan Broadcasting Corporation (DBC). In turn, following a disastrous fire, DBC-TV was gradually absorbed into the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) which began operations in 1961.

U.S. influence over the emerging local industry was strongly evident, especially evident in AFKN-TV. RCA, which initially introduced television to Korea, had basically tapped a very lucrative market for its radio and television receivers. Despite Korea's internal difficulties it became the fourth country in Asia to launch television broadcasting, relying heavily on a longstanding technological relationship with the US.

In 1981, KBS launched a third television channel, KBS 3, justified under the pretext of furthering public interest. Control and manipulation of broadcasters by the government were prevalent phenomena, yet also made possible were large-scale features more attuned to audience tastes. The introduction of colour TV resulted in a marked growth in the number of viewers and CTV sales. The information needs of Koreans became more diverse and expenditures for production and management underwent notable changes.

The end of the 1980s brought stronger realism to TV programming, with investigative reports and live variety shows emerging as stalwarts of prime-time. Table 1 summarizes the distribution of program types by the four television networks.

When the Seoul Broadcasting Station (SBS) made its debut (December 1991), the three established networks were faced with a serious challenge. A full-scale competition war characterized by an incredible preoccupation with ratings was launched. SBS introduced cluster-programming to prime-time by grouping similar types of programs together, a strategy geared towards maintaining audience flow. The four networks now offer four hours of daytime programming beginning at 0600 and from 1800 until midnight. No programs are aired in the afternoons on weekdays, but all have an additional five hours (1300-1800) at weekends.

Although KBS 1, KBS 2 and SBS put some effort into achieving channel differentiation, the norm is to place similar programs in the same time slot. Broadcasting cheap facsimilieas of American and Japanese shows, as well as modifying popular formats used by a competitor, is commonplace.

Table 1. Program Distribution Among the Four Korean Networks
Commercial television (1990-)

The KBS monopoly of television broadcasting was challenged and with new broadcasting laws, came pressure for a commercial broadcasting station. Thus, the Commission on Broadcasting Institutions was formed in 1989, and with it the decision to establish a commercial station, the Seoul Broadcasting Station. SBS began operations on AM radio, but within a year established a TV station. This signalled an end to longstanding KBS-MBC exclusiveness. However, SBS is a local broadcasting station covering only Seoul and its vicinities, but is expected to widen its horizon. With SBS as an example, the government plans to establish private television networks in major cities.

Informational and educational programs

Under the Broadcasting Law, Korean TV networks are required to show programs which hold affinity to diverse cultural or educational pursuits. Such programs focus on promoting a sense of national identity or the teaching of specific skills, languages or crafts. Traditionally, such programs go to air in the morning session.

The fact that fixed, regular programs are obviously quite meagre in quantity and inconspicuous in quality, reflects the lack of investment and motivation in television's information purveying role. The weight placed on a certain program can be quite accurately determined by its time slot. Prime time in Korea is comprised mostly of entertainment shows with an extensive newscast in between, with informational/cultural programs usually deferred to the post-2200 hours slot.

SBS is often cited as the mover behind this trend, for at its outset, many had wondered as
to its survival tactic in the face of relative giants like KBS. Not surprisingly, SBS went all-out in the direction of 'commercial-type' entertainment (foreign imports dubbed in Korean or superficial domestic shows). MBC and KBS are routinely criticized for following suit.

Regulation of the media

Censorship influence

The program content of the media, what it is and what it should be, dominates current dialogue across the broadcasting spectrum. News, current affairs and cultural value programs are only one part of broadcasting; programs with violence, sex and nudity make up the rest. This division justifies censorship influence over media space and time, and thus government is given a plausible reason to interfere.

Broadcasting history has reflected public concern every time a new medium appeared. Government responsibility is to monitor those forces which threaten valued cultural norms, controlling and regulating broadcasting through the statute book and self-regulation through codes of ethics. Also, extra-legal controls operate through pressure groups or lobbying parties. Over its sixty years, Korean broadcasting has experienced tremendous governmental restrictions, first by the Japanese and then by successive Korean governments and the bureaucracy.

Following independence, a public system was favoured over private, thereby ruling out the need for encompassing broadcasting-related laws. The only quasi-legal regulations which existed were concerned more with the administrative aspect of broadcasting, but with the appearance of commercial stations, improving public welfare and cultural standards were cited as broadcasting's primary goals. 'General Broadcasting Standards' were drafted and disseminated to the various stations and served as indices to guide the quality of programs.

Legal protection of broadcasting

When commercial broadcasting burgeoned, the need for legal protection of broadcasting activities was recognized. The 'Broadcasting Law' was thus enacted (16 December 1963), providing for freedom of the press, the establishment of the Korea Ethics Commission on Broadcast (KECB) to safeguard the public interest, and various regulatory measures. Also, the need to diffuse the TV service to the provincial areas resulted in the 'Cable Operations Law' which sought to ensure rapid, accurate delivery of government policy and to promote cultural improvement of rural workers' lives. However, the law which provoked the most controversy and dissent was the 'Basic Law' (31 December 1980); an unconstitutional document and a ramification of the Fifth Republic's dictatorial ways. It stifled the media under the pretext of preventing monopoly and greed for almost a decade before repeal.

Cable television

An experimental CATV broadcasting system covered 8,000 households in two densely populated areas of Seoul. CATV is considered to be a separate medium and accordingly outside the scope of the Broadcasting Act. The regulatory agency is the 'CATV Broadcasting Commission' which operates under the umbrella of the Ministry of Information. There are restrictions on the ownership of CATV stations by anyone who owns or controls the licence of a television broadcasting station, a daily newspaper or other means of communication. Religious and political organizations are debarred from CATV ownership.

Licences for providing video programming are controlled by the Cable Television Broadcasting Commission, which limits foreign input to 30 per cent, and enforces strict requirements for the duration and content of advertising. The Commission also has the role
of 'maintaining public responsibility, ethics, and qualitative improvement of the general content of cable television broadcasting.' It has broad censorship powers, but as a regulatory agency, it acknowledges Government control of what is actually shown on CATV.

Socio-cultural contribution

Broadcasting has permeated everyday life to the extent that it is now regarded as the public spokesman. Its valued social roles are to promote public welfare and maintain the national identity and Korean media have produced cultural programs to uniquely serve these functions. A prime example is EBS, which strives to lead the audience down the specific avenues of social, educational and cultural development.

Documentaries on foreign culture and history, or those concentrating on politics, the economy or environmental protection offer Koreans a world formerly unknown. National identity is enhanced by objective comparison with a uniquely different culture, while educational programs help disseminate the dominating ideology of a society. Culture transmission and identity constitution through broadcasting implies that such media are naturally more conservative, and serve to reinforce existing values rather than change them. But the average Korean switches on TV or radio more for quiet relaxation and stress release than for enlightenment. With many programs targeting families as opposed to a specific demographic group, it is not surprising that television's effect on social/sexual roles is a key issue of contention among sociologists today..

TV has also brought about considerable changes in people's perceptions of the older generation. No longer are senior citizens the symbols of patriarchy - venerated beings under Confucianism - especially on contemporary television where their views are neither welcomed or respected. Elementary school students spend most of their leisure watching TV, to which a certain amount of their socialization is attributable. Adolescents, however, watch less TV, due to study workload, but are more vulnerable than adults and succumb more easily to television stimuli. Korean teenagers are also inclined to transfer ideas through television directly into action.

Financial structure

As a state-run broadcasting system, KBS initially relied entirely on government funding. The government used postal-service employees to collect fees, and despite the inefficiencies involved, revenue in 1951 totalled 166 million won. The financial strains of the Korean War severely curtailed network development, but despite funding limitation to KBS, the government appropriated 20 million won for special broadcasting equipment. Until 1966, KBS-TV remained dependent upon government funding. Then, the total revenue from reception fees jumped to 138 million won as the number of registered TVs increased (to 690 000 in 1967). Criticism arose against the financing structure of KBS which, although a state-run broadcasting company, received funding from both reception fees and through selling advertising time. Responding to public pressure, KBS discontinued its advertising function (5 May 1969). TBC- TV was inaugurated in 1964 and displayed fifty-six 'commercials' in its first broadcast. As the only private TV station in the television advertising market it made every effort to attract a large number of clients by providing quality service. As TBC also operated a radio station, it often marketed joint television & radio advertising packages for big events.

Shortly after KBS discontinued advertising, MBC TV was launched, creating fierce rivalry between it and TBC. As TBC had a five year head start, it held the dominant market share, but could not retain this prominence. TBC then restructured and the quantity of advertisements led to strengthening of the corresponding regulatory framework. The
government first controlled only the number and amount of advertisements with its 1963 broadcasting laws, but by amendments went on to control content (placing this within the ambit of the Broadcasting Ethics Committee).

Today, media advertising is a mammoth industry and the broadcasting sector captures a big share of the market, even though it lags behind that of the newspapers. Table 2 gives the media advertising turnover for 1993 (Source: Cheil Communications Inc./ Korea Annual 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1993 Turnover by Media</th>
<th>(Unit : million won %)</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Outlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>896 813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>137 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Technological development

The 'Universal and Intelligent Communication Network'

The primary goal of the communications industry in the 21st c. is the implementation of the 'Universal & Intelligent Communication Network'. Broadcasting's version is the 'Integrated Services Digital Broadcasting' which when installed, will allow higher quality programming of wider diversity.

The technology which serves as a foundation for such quality and diversity is comprised of micro-electronics, digital technology, fibre-optic cable, and satellites, which combined with broadcasting, communication and computer technology will lead to the digitalization, systemization and broadening of TV coverage. In order to keep pace with these developments, KBS, MBC, and SBS have formulated medium to long-term plans.

The task of improving production and transmission facilities has been ardently pursued by all stations. In 1992 CBS extended its facilities to a sweeping complex. KBS plans two branch stations in Pohang and Sokch'o to alleviate its space problems. MBC opened its Namwon FM radio and TV stations in 1992. SBS which had initially targeted only Seoul prepares to expand coverage and build two large studios in the new city of Ilsan.

Technology has become a dominant factor in broadcasting, as cable television and satellite broadcasting increasingly rival established networks. Korea has implemented steps to cope with the increased demands of information exchange, including satellite communications, cable broadcasting, and its planned 'Information Highway'.

Satellite broadcasting

Korea's 1995 broadcasting/communication satellite is named Mugungwha, but from January 1992, in order to create a base market for satellite services, and to familiarize itself with satellite administration, Korea Tele Communications began accessing the Inteset Satellite #5a. Mugungwha is a 650 kg satellite in which 300 billion won is invested and is a product of the General Electric Company.

Cable Broadcasting
Cable television planning targets areas where topographical barriers make normal reception difficult. An expansion of the pilot scheme now operating in Seoul is currently being planned, and it is expected that up to 130 cable broadcasting and 28 production organizations will be approved by 1996.

**The Information Highway**

The government has an ambitious plan to build a national 'Information Super Highway' system. In its simplest terms this is a network of fibre-optic cables and microwave stations linking every home, business and institution in the Republic. By 2015, a total of US $55 billion will be expended, aimed at upgrading Korea's multi-media information industry to a world-class level.

Plans are in hand to develop 100 public databases every year and distribute 10 million terminals for information distribution. Government finance will flow to the project through sales of Korea Telecom stock, income from communications services, and from the general budget. Following finalization of the masterplan, construction of a pilot project information network will begin, connecting Seoul and Taedok Science Town (approx. 140 km) with fibre-optic cables having a capacity of 2.5 Gbps (at 1 Gbps 4000 pages of newsprint can be transmitted per second).

The masterplan for State and Public information networks is in three phases: Phase 1 (1994-97) divides Korea into five areas of optical cable networks providing basic transmission facilities to inter-connect even small cities. Construction of the Public information network will start in densely populated areas (including large commercial buildings). Phase 2 (1998-2002) will provide an ATM exchange system, enabling voice, data, and video images to be transmitted and received, interconnecting the five areas, expanding the optical cable network and supplying additional services. The Public information network will be extended to small to medium size companies and densely populated areas. Optical transmission devices operating at 10 Gbps, will be in use. Phase 3 (2003-15) allows for data transmission services between super computers, and will become possible by enhancing the speed of the State network to tens of Gbps. The Public information network will become accessible to households via optical cables and microwave networks to provide multimedia services and image information services of high definition TV quality.

**High Definition Television**

HDTV, having twice as many lines as conventional television, is much talked about but is still not yet a commercial reality. Japan and the U.S. are both readying themselves for the overhaul of the television industry, but first of all, the HDTV sets themselves must be widely available. The second barrier to commercial HDTV broadcasts is that because of increased resolution there is also a huge increase in the requirements of the transmitting system, as the amount of information which must be transmitted increases drastically. Thus, Korea's 'Information Super Highway' is crucial to the operation of its HDTV broadcasting system.

**Video Dial Tone Service**

**Broadcasting companies**

American Forces Korea Network (AFKN)
Asia Broadcasting Company (ABC)
Buddhist Broadcasting System (BBS)

D J Marcou
Broughton, Captain William

**Buddha Land Company Ltd.**

Located in Changch'ung-dong in Seoul's Chung Ward, the Buddha Land Company Ltd, was founded on 28 August 1992. With Kim Hyŏnggyun as editor, the company specialises in works related to Buddhism, Eastern philosophy and the liberal arts.

**Buddhism in Korea**

1. Introduction of Buddhism to Korea (4th to 5th c. CE)

Korea played an active part in a general East Asian civilisation. Moreover, the geographical spread of the Korean cultural area included vast territories beyond the Korean peninsula, and so though ethnically and linguistically very different from the Chinese, after the 3rd c. Koreans were not simply passive receivers of Chinese traditions, but were active participants in the building up of a common East Asian cultural sphere in which Buddhism was an important component. Koreans were thus significant contributors in the transmission, development and preservation of the traditions of Buddhism.

Geo-political events taking place in continental East Asia had significant political and cultural effects on Korea. The cultural and political influence China exercised on Korea was due not simply to geographical contiguity, but also to the fact that some of the tribal confederations and early kingdoms ancestral to the present Korean state occupied vast territories in southern Manchuria. Unlike the Korean peninsula, these continental territories are not secluded from the East Asian heartlands by high mountains and deep rivers, but are a continuation of the broad plains of northern China and Central Asia. Consequently, many of the ancestors of the Korean people were intimately involved with most of the major political and cultural developments which took place between the fall of the Han Dynasty (221BCE-220CE) and the rise of the Tang Dynasty (618-926).

The year 372, when a Buddhist monk was first officially received by a Korean king, is often cited as the date when Buddhism was first brought to Korea. However, tomb murals and a letter from the southern Chinese monk Chihtun (314-366) addressed to a Koguryŏ monk which date before 372, clearly indicate that there was already a Buddhist presence in Koguryŏ (?-670). Buddhism's arrival in Koguryŏ before 372 probably resulted from the breakup of the Jin empire (265-302) and the subsequent rise of numerous 'barbarian' empires. The political disintegration of Jin spread Buddhism into southern China and probably into the former northern marches of the empire as well.

The year 372 is significant, however, as it is when the monk Sundo was sent by Emperor Jian (r. 357-85) of Former Qin (351-394) to King Sosurim (r. 371-383) of Koguryŏ as part of a cultural exchange which was intended to cement political relations. This year then is important as the date when Buddhism was formally sanctioned by the King of Koguryŏ. The Emperor Fu Jian recommended Buddhism to King Sosurim for reasons of statecraft -
it offered spiritual protection to the state. Sundo was followed shortly to Koguryo by two
other monks, Ado and T’an-shih. Ado was said to have been the son of a Koguryo mother
by an official of Northern Wei (386-534).

Some time after the advent of Buddhism in Koguryo, Buddhism spread to the south-
western kingdom of Paekche. It is said that an Indian monk called Mflalflananda while
resident in the southern Chinese state of Eastern Jin (316-420) encountered a diplomat from
Paekche and decided to go to Paekche when the diplomat returned in 384. The king
reportedly met the retinue at the gate of the capital and the monk was regally entertained
before he began propagating Buddhism. A temple was built for the monk, and ten men
were ordained.

The transmission of Buddhism to Koguryo and Paekche was intimately connected with
diplomatic events and was part of the diffusion of Chinese culture. At this stage,
Buddhism was largely confined to the members of the group immediately surrounding the
throne. It was not yet the religion of the aristocracy or the elite members of society, much
less a popular practice.

Despite a paucity of records for the development of Buddhism after the end of the 4th c.
when it was sanctioned officially by the rulers of Paekche and Koguryo, there are two
indications that Buddhism continued to grow throughout the succeeding century: the
presence of scholarly monks from Koguryo in China, and the transmission of Buddhism to
the kingdom of Shilla. Typical of monks who went to China was Súngnang (Ch.
Senglang) who is said, probably incorrectly, to have been a student of the great Serindian
translator Kumći;araji\'va. Kumći;araji\'va was instrumental in the introduction of
Madhyamika theories into Northern Wei. Buddhism began to spread to the southeastern
part of the peninsula during the 5th c. In the reign of King Nulchi (r.417-457) of Shilla,
the Haedong kos§ung-j§on tells us that two monks came from Koguryo on two separate
occasions to spread Buddhism in Shilla. The second monk was called Hükhoja (Black
Barbarian), a possible indication of his Indian or Serindian origin. Hükhoja was called to
the court of King Nulchi to cure his daughter, which the monk did by burning incense,
reciting a sutra and making a vow to one of the Bodhisattvas. The successful cure of the
princess led to the practice of Buddhism within the court circle.

There is no archaeological or reliable documentary evidence to indicate that there was any
kind of Buddhist presence in the area of the Kaya states before their annexation by Shilla in
the middle of the 6th c.

During the first stage of Buddhist history in Korea, Buddhism was accepted by the elite of
the three ancient kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche and Shilla for geo-political and
thaumaturgic reasons, and was practiced as a cult within the court circle.

2. Later Three Kingdoms Period (6th to 7th c.)

During the 6th and 7th centuries Buddhism in Koguryo and Paekche achieved maturity,
and Buddhism in Shilla began to flourish. Five trends characterise this period: the sending
of scholar-monks to China for further study of the Buddhist scriptures; the propagation
of Buddhism in Japan by Korean monks; the establishment of Buddhism in Shilla; the
pilgrimage of Korean monks to the Buddhist holy land in northern India, and the
development of Korean Buddhist traditions which were congruent with the autochthonous
religion of Korea.

a) Intellectual Trends

Events in Koguryo during this period illustrate these five trends. Monks of scholarly note
emerged who were adept not only in the tenets of Buddhism, but who had also studied

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Confucianism and a form of metaphysical Daoism called Xuanxue or Dark Learning. The *Haedong kosung-jon* tells us that amongst these monks was Úiyón who was sent to the state of Northern Qi (550-577) by the prime minister of Koguryó to speak with the Buddhist master Fashang on aspects of Buddhism which had puzzled him. The cognizance by the prime minister of significant intellectual trends and important monks of China shows the degree to which Koguryó participated in the cultural life of East Asia. Although Mahayana Buddhism in particular Sanlun and incipient Tiantai dominated the Buddhist scene in Koguryó in this era, records indicate that some monks were aware of certain Hinayana traditions.

The 6th c. displayed greater intellectual and religious ferment in Paekche than in Koguryó where Daoism was gaining ground. Monks travelled abroad to study, and scriptural studies were conducted. Two prominent monks of this period, Palchong and Hyŏnggwang studied in China. The former is said to have been a student of the *Avatamsakasutra* while Hyŏnggwang was a student of the doctrines of the Tiantai School and helped to establish the traditions of that school in Paekche. The *Nirvanasutra* was brought to Paekche by an emissary of King Sŏng (r.523-554), who was responsible for much of the development of Buddhism within his kingdom.

b) The Transmission of Buddhism to Japan.

The importance of the early Korean kingdoms in the transmission of Buddhism to Japan was not as a passive conduit through which Buddhism passed unchanged from China to Japan. Rather, the early Korean kingdoms were responsible for over 150 years of Buddhist missionary work in Japan. The first monks sent to Japan came from Koguryó. The most important were Hyepp'yŏn (Jap., Keibin) and Hyech'a (Jap., Keiji). Hyepp'yŏn was responsible for the conversion of important female members of the aristocracy in Japan, while Hyech'a was the tutor of the crown prince, Shotoku Taishi (573-621) who was responsible for many innovative political changes in early 7th c. Japan. During the reign of King Sŏng, in 538, 545, and 552, the king sent official embassies to convince the Japanese ruler to adopt Buddhism. This promotion of Buddhist evangelisation in Japan was continued by King Sŏng's successor, King Widŏk (r.554-598) who sent Buddhist religious materials, teaching monks, and temple artisans. These gifts and emissaries continued throughout his reign and must have had an important impact on the development of a Buddhist culture in Japan.

c) Establishment of Buddhism in Shilla

From the middle of the 5th c., Buddhism had been practised by members of the royal court of Shilla but it had not yet been sanctioned as the state religion. Until the early 6th c. there was considerable conflict between Buddhism and traditional religious practices. The *Haedong kosung-jon* relates that King Pŏphŭng (r.514-539) wishing to declare Buddhism the state religion, made a pact with one of his courtiers, Ich'adon. Because of his Buddhist fervour, Ich'adon was martyred, ostensibly for attempting to usurp the king's authority. Before he was executed Ich'adon predicted two miracles - that his spilt blood would be white as milk and that his severed head would fly to the top of a hill. These two miracles supposedly led to a dramatic conversion of the leaders and the populace to Buddhism. Certainly, King Pŏphŭng and his successor Chinhŭng (r.539-576) vigorously promoted Buddhism and themselves retired to take up the monastic life. Also, Ich'adon's martyrdom was apparently celebrated as a religious festival from a very early period.

During the 6th c., Buddhism grew rapidly in Shilla, possibly indicating that there was already considerable Buddhist strength in Shilla before it became a state-supported religion. Throughout the century many monasteries were built. During the reign of King Chinp'yŏng (r.579-631), Shilla, like Koguryó and Paekche, became involved in Buddhist missions in Japan and sent several scholar-monks to China for further study, the greatest of
Whom was Won'gwang.

Won'gwang went to China in 589, returning at the request of the king to Shilla ten years later. He was a student of both the Nirvāṇa-sūtra and the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, but is best remembered for organizing the Hwarang Troop. This was a group of aristocratic youth who were trained in the martial arts. Won'gwang created a disciplined body with its own code of conduct, the Hwarang-do (Way of the Hwarang). This code consisted of five precepts: loyalty to the sovereign; filial piety; loyalty to one's friends; no retreat in battle; and killing only when necessary. Three of these precepts are Confucian; the remainder the commonsense view of a valiant warrior. None of these precepts are particularly Buddhist; two of them contradict the Buddhist concept of reverence for life. The Hwarang-do is thus one indication of the extent of Shilla's cultural syncretism. Won'gwang was also noted for his promotion of the special scriptural expository ceremonies called the Paekchwa-hoe, or Assembly of the Hundred Seats.

7th c. Shilla saw the emergence of important Buddhist leaders, including Chajang, Wŏnhyo, and Úisang. Chajang was a member of the royal house who had been dedicated to the monastic life at an early age. In later life Chajang resisted the call to take part in government service. He travelled to China in 636 with ten of his disciples and stayed for an extended period at Wutai shan where he apparently had a mystic experience of the Bodhisattva Mañjusrī. He also must have studied carefully the monastic regulations in China for on his return he was responsible for the regularization of the ordination and conduct of monks, their dress, and the regular examination of members of the monastic community on their knowledge of Buddhism. Probably he was also a promoter of some of the esoteric cults focussed on Mañjusrī which were later displaced by those of Maitreya (Miruk), the future Buddha who was assimilated with the native Shilla "dragon" gods or miru, a protective deity.

Wŏnhyo (617-686), often said to be the greatest of the early Shilla monks, was a scholar and original thinker, and a great propagandist of Buddhism among the ordinary people. He was responsible for the popularity of Pure Land Buddhism amongst the masses because he went into the countryside singing Buddhist songs, and frequented wineshops to proselytize the commoners. Although Wŏnhyo was one of the most important Buddhist thinkers of the Shilla period, his Buddhist thought derived as much from his own experience as from scriptural study. When he and his friend Úisang were on their way to study in China they took refuge from the rain at night in an earthen sanctuary. During the night Wŏnhyo drank water from what he thought was a broken cup on the sanctuary floor. In the morning the two monks discovered that the 'sanctuary' was a desecrated tomb and that the 'cup' was actually a skull. After his initial revulsion, Wŏnhyo had a moment of enlightenment when he realized that things have no ultimate reality but are only what we think they are. Possessing this insight, Wŏnhyo felt that there was no need to go to China to study. Nonetheless, he became a formidable scholar composing many major Buddhist treatises.

Úisang (625-702) eventually completed the journey to China where he studied the Huayan doctrines under the monk Zhiyan at the same time as Fazang (643-712) who became the third patriarch of the Huayan School. Úisang abruptly returned to Shilla upon learning about the possibility of a Tang invasion of Shilla. He then went into a six-year period of seclusion in a cave on the east coast of Korea. He emerged to propagate the Huayan doctrines, establishing many temples and acquiring numerous disciples.

d) Buddhist Pilgrimages to India

Pilgrimages to the Buddhist historic sites of northern India began in the 6th c., flourished throughout the 7th and finally tailed off in the 8th c. This remarkable tradition of pilgrimages to India began with the Paekche monk Kyŏmik who went to China and then
on to India in 526. He studied in North India, and returned to Paekche five years or so later bringing with him copies of the *Abhidharma-pitaka*. Upon his return, King Song placed Kyōmik in charge of a group of twenty-eight monks who were responsible for the translation of the Buddhist scriptures. This 'translation bureau' is one indication of the sophistication of Paekche Buddhism in that Paekche had the only group of translators anywhere in East Asia outside of China.

The 7th c. was the great era for Buddhist pilgrims to India. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and recorder Yijing (635-713) in his *Da Tang xiyou qiyu gaoseng zhuang c* (Biographies of Eminent Monks of T'ang Who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions) wrote down biographical information about East Asian monks who made the arduous journey to India. Of those whose names were recorded, one-sixth were Korean, by this time mostly from Shilla. Only one monk from Koguryo is recorded, and there is no mention of any monk from Japan. Most of these pilgrim monks went to India via Central Asia coming into the subcontinent near Jàlandhara where they studied the languages of India. They would then press on to the holy land of Buddhism, visit the historic sites and often study at one of the famous Buddhist academic institutions, especially the famed Nàlandà 'university'. Perhaps the most eminent of these monks was Hyŏnjo who probably spent ten years on a study/pilgrimage in India before returning to China. He was then sent back to India by the Chinese emperor as his personal emissary. Following the completion of this duty, Hyŏnjo stayed on in India and is said to have died at the great south Indian Buddhist centre of Amśaravatī.

3. Buddhism in the Greater Shilla Period (670-936)

The peninsular wars of the 660s and 670s involving all three Korean states and Tang China, had ended with Shilla's conquest of Paekche and the peninsular part of Koguryo with the remaining area of Koguryo passing into the hands of Tang before it again became an independent state called Parhae. Before the peninsular wars there were practising monastic communities and renowned scholar-monks: from the end of the 7th c. true schools of Buddhist thought appeared in Shilla.

a) The O-gyo

Buddhism in Korea has been conventionally classified under the rubric of O'gyo ( five doctrinal teachings ) and Yang-jong ( two lineages of Sŏn 'sects') which supposedly dated to Shilla times. Recent research however, has shown this classification derives from the attempt by King Taejong to restrict Buddhism in 1406, and that the reality was far different.

Up until around 800 the 'schools' were primarily theoretical doctrines without the lineages of teachers and pupils, monastic headquarters or founders necessary to form an 'order'. Wŏnhyo's summary of the essential tenets of the schools (chong'yo) provided the theoretical basis for the foundation of these academic schools in Shilla. Of these many schools, most had nominal existence, few could be termed orders, and fewer still had lasting influence.

Three large 'orders' survived from late Shilla into early Koryŏ: the Sŏn (Chogye-jong), Hwa'ŏm-jong and Yu'ga-jong. A fourth order, the Ch'ŏnt'ae-jong (Ch. Tantai ), also known as Pŏpsŏng-jong in Korea, was founded as an order when a monastic headquarters was established in 1097 and was confirmed as such through the activities of Uich'on (1055-1101). Previously it was a scholastic school or philosophical tendency.

Korean Buddhism then is best thought of as divided into tendencies rather than in terms of the anachronistic Ogyo Yang-jong classification. The Yul-jong in fact was neither an academic school or an order, but specialised in the regulations of monastic life as contained in the *Sifen lu*, a Chinese version of the Dharmaguptika vinaya, which prescribes 250 rules
for monks and 348 rules for nuns. The discipline was vigorously promoted by Chajang to counter a perceived laxity in practice. The Yul-jong was first given a monastery by the founder of the Koryo.

The Hwa'om-jong (Ch. Huayan) or Wönyung-jong, was introduced by Uisang, but it remained an academic school until the early Koryo when it became an order following the extensive scholastic works and poetry written by Kyunyo (923-973). It taught that all phenomena and principle interpenetrate, so that an understanding of any one phenomena is the understanding of the part and the whole of the corpus of the Buddha. The Haejong-jong, a name that only appears in the early Koryo period, was supposedly promoted by Wonhyo. It probably taught a synthesis of Hwa'om, Ch'ont'ae and Yuga theories. While Uisang insisted on the exclusive use of the Huayan jng (Avatamsaka sutra), Wönyo considered it only as the greatest of sutras and encouraged the study of other scriptures.

The Yuga-jong or Pöpsang (Ch. Faxiang, Skt. Dharmalaksana), also known as the Ch'ont'ae-jong in later times, was a significant force in Koryo times, but its doctrines are not well known. It corresponds to the study of the 'representation only' epistemological theory, according to which mind orders the percepts and marks of the dharmas (pöpsang) following its storehouse of consciousness instincts and memories such that its representation of reality is called 'consciousness only'. Some scholars suggest that the beginnings of the order came about because Chip'yo in the 750s gave the theory a practical basis in the performance of repentance. The order virtually disappeared by the 1450s, possibly because it had similar beliefs to the other orders.

Finally, the Yorban-jong (Nirvana School), if it ever existed other than as a scholastic tendency, was probably later incorporated into the Ch'ont'ae-jong. Based on the Mahaparinirvana sutra, it would have taught that all beings have a Buddha-nature (the potential to become Buddha). Ch'ont'ae-jong was the Korean branch of the Chinese Tiantai Order. T'ien-t'ai arose in the 6th c. to resolve the question as to how there could be so many Buddhist scriptures teaching seemingly contradictory doctrines. The founder of the school, Zhiyi (538-597), taught that the historic Buddha preached a doctrine which had developed through several different periods of his life as his hearers gained a deeper knowledge of his teaching, and that the Buddha had taught a different doctrine to more advanced students. Thus Zhiyi divided the entire Buddhist canon into groups of sutras according to an historical chronology and a doctrinal classification. Among the Buddhist scriptures, Zhiyi stressed the centrality of the Lotus Sutra (Saddharma pundarika sutra).

There were also esoteric tendencies during this period. In the early 7th c. Chajang's nephew Myŏngnang went to China to study the esoteric doctrines. After his return to Shilla, Myŏngnang was asked by the king to defend the nation from an impending Tang invasion. This request eventually resulted in the erection of the first temple devoted to esoteric practices, the Sach'ŏnwang-sa or Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings. These celestial figures were important guardian spirits in the esoteric cults of Buddhism. Another monk, Hyet'ong, brought back the teachings of the Zhenyan School (True Word School) from China and supposedly established its counterpart the Chinṣon School. In the 8th c., Chip'yo went to China where he had a mystical experience of the bodhisattvas Ksitigarbha and Maitreya. It is said that Maitreya gave Chip'yo a special set of secret commandments, a copy of a book of divination, and 189 divination sticks. Other practitioners of esoteric Buddhism had considerable followings.

Another important figure in esoteric Buddhism was Hyech'o, who went to China to study under the two great Indian masters, Vajrabodhi (d. 732) and his disciple Amoghavajra (704-774). They sent Hyech'o to India for further study. He went by sea and returned to western China by 727. While he was in India he apparently travelled very widely and left us a record of his travels, the Wang och'ŏnch'ukkuk-chŏn which is still partly extant. He apparently never returned to Shilla but spent the remainder of his days in China.
Among the last practitioners of esoteric Buddhism in this period were Tosôn (827-898) and Wŏnp’yo (9th c.). Although he was learned in many aspects of Buddhist philosophy, the Sŏn lineage monk Tosôn is best known for his writings on geomancy, fortune-telling, and prognostication. He is regarded by Korean fortune-tellers as the patriarch of their tradition in Korea, for his theories influenced the location of Buddhist monasteries and the positioning of the capital by Wang Kŏn, the Koryŏ founder. Tosôn’s ideas probably inspired in part the nativist rebellion of the monk Myoch’ong in the 1130s. Wŏnp’yo went to China shortly before the Daoist persecutions of Buddhism under the Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846). Like many of his predecessors he had a mystic experience, in this case of the Buddha Vairocana, the central figure in esoteric Buddhism. It is said that because he had to leave China during the persecutions he went on to India, which would make him the last known Korean monk of the ancient period to make the journey.

Esoteric or mantrayāna Buddhism only ever had a tenuous, fitful or nominal existence in Korea, as an order. It had several names, including Shin’in-jong. Its influence however, was felt in popular practices, ritual, prognostication, art, and some of its ideas were incorporated into Sŏn.

b) The Ch’an Tradition in Shilla

In the 9th c., the Shilla state began to decline politically and eventually disintegrated. Perhaps in response to increasing political and social instability, people took a greater interest in meditative Buddhism which drew them away from the hurly-burly of contemporary society. Consequently the importance of the doctrinal schools began to be surpassed by meditative Buddhism Sŏn (Chinese Chan, Japanese Zen). By the end of the Greater Shilla period, there were a number of groups of monastics practising a form of Chan which it was believed had been brought to China by Bodhidharma (?-c. 530). In mid-Koryŏ these lineages were collectively called the Kusan or Nine Mountains, the number nine derived from Yijing numerology, the mountains from where the principal monasteries were located. Very little distinguished the lineages in either form or practice. Broadly speaking there were two or three traditions of Sŏn Buddhism, one group questionably claiming roots in a Chinese tradition prior to the split into the northern and southern lineages, one group claiming descent from the tradition of the northern lineage but mixing with the southern tradition and the remaining groups claiming their roots in the southern tradition, largely from origins in the teachings of one of the disciples of Ma-tsu. These strands of Korean Sŏn were closely linked, therefore, with the Hongzhou lineage of Chan which in time developed into the Linjhi School. A conflict arose between the scholastic schools and the Sŏn schools which carried over into the next dynastic period, the Koryŏ, in the 10th c. Sŏn Buddhism became the predominant form of Korean Buddhism by the end of the 9th c., a position ostensibly true for the past thousand years.

The influence of Korean Sŏn masters was not limited to the peninsula alone. Many Korean monks of the Sŏn tradition played an important role within the Chan tradition of China, among whom the most important would be Musang (694?-762) who was the patriarch of the Baotang School in Sichuan. He was also the first teacher of Chan techniques known to the Tibetans.

c) The Question of Buddhism in Parhae

For a generation following the destruction of Koguryŏ in 670, the area of that kingdom was nominally under the authority of Tang. However, many places in southern Manchuria never submitted to Chinese rule. Then in 696, a rebellion against Chinese authority in the northeastern regions began which led to the establishment of the state of Parhae (699-926). This state always claimed to be the successor to Koguryŏ both politically and culturally. Unfortunately, very few records regarding this state remain, and not enough archaeological
But Buddhism remained a significant religious force in Parhae. Excavations conducted in the 1930s of the capital Tonggyŏng-sŏng in central Manchuria revealed the presence of four Buddhist temples. Artefacts from these temples clearly demonstrated the continuity of Buddhist artistic traditions from the Koguryŏ period. There are two mentions in the diary of Ennin (794-864), a Japanese monk who travelled to Tang in the 840s, which support the contention that Buddhism in Parhae continued to flourish. On one occasion, Ennin visited a temple in China where there is a poignant lament for the deceased eminent Japanese monk Reisen written by one of his disciples, a Parhae monk called Chŏngso. On another occasion, Ennin mentions encountering a Parhae prince who visited the temple in which Ennin was then living. The prince hosted a lavish maigre feast which Ennin attended. Although slim evidence, it does indicate that Buddhism continued to flourish in the area of the former kingdom of Koguryŏ, and to command the support of the royal family and the elite.

4. Buddhism in the Koryŏ Period (918-1392)

From the end of the 9th c. through to the first quarter of the 10th c., Greater Shilla was torn apart by civil strife, and other dynasties emerged claiming the right to rule the country. With the victory of Koryŏ over its rivals, and with the simultaneous collapse of Parhae, a new state emerged which was confined largely to the Korean peninsula. This state was founded firmly on Buddhism. The first king of Koryŏ, T'aejo (Wang Kŏn r.918-943), issued deathbed instructions to his descendants known as the Hunyo sipjo (Ten Injunctions). These injunctions reflected both the monarch's Buddhist piety and his shrewd evaluation of the problems which could be created by a rich, self-satisfied Buddhist church. His first injunction commanded his descendants to protect Buddhism and to maintain the Buddhist places of worship as Buddhism was vital to the life of the nation. The second injunction, however, advises his descendants not to build any more temples, whilst the sixth injunction enjoins against the addition to or subtraction from the current number of approved Buddhist ceremonies.

The close relation between Buddhism and the state is indicated by the extent to which succeeding monarchs attempted to enhance the social prestige of Buddhism. In the middle of the 10th c. a set of clerical examinations was instituted which paralleled the Confucian civil service examinations. These were graded into six levels and there were two separate sets of examinations, one for the doctrinal schools and the other for Sŏn. In addition, the king could make two special appointments to a super-grade, the wangsa (Teacher to the King) and kuksa (Teacher to the Nation). The latter was an accolade for monks of distinction. The former was an important political post as the monk so designated could lecture the king on certain matters.

During the Koryŏ period, Buddhism and Confucianism existed in a state of complementarity and compatibilty. The Confucian scholar Ch'oe Sŭngno (927-989) expressed this feeling well when he said that Buddhism was for spiritual cultivation and that Confucianism was for the practice of government. Therefore, there was no conflict between the two traditions as they dealt with two different spheres of life.

Koryŏ Buddhism, influenced continental East Asian Buddhism, most notably at the beginning of the Koryŏ dynasty through the Ch'ŏnt'ae School. In the 10th c., this academic school achieved the apogee of its prestige. Because an important text had been lost in China during the tumultous mid-10th c., a delegation of fifty Chinese monks was sent to Korea to ascertain if the text survived there. It did and Ch'egwan (?-970) was commanded in 960 by the king to go to China with specified Buddhist texts. Ch'egwan spent the remaining years of his life in China and composed an important text on the Tiantai doctrines, the Tiantai sijiao yi (Kor. Ch'ŏnt'ae sago-yüi), Four Doctrines of the
T’ien-t’ai School).

Úit’ong (927-988) was a brilliant scholar-monk who was sent to Song China at an early age and spent the remainder of his life there. A proponent of the Tiantai doctrines, he was elected as the thirteenth (or sixteenth according to another reckoning) patriarch of the school. The work of these two monks in reviving Tiantai in China illustrates the strength of this school in Koryó which led to it being made an order in the time of Úich’son.

Koryó Buddhism was dominated by the various attempts to unify the different strands of Buddhism. The first attempt was made by King Kwangjong (r.949-975) who unsuccessfully attempted to unify the doctrinal and meditative schools through the Ch’ont’ae-jong. The second unsuccessful attempt to unify these two traditions was made in the 11th c. by the monk Úich’on (1055-1101), the fourth son of King Munjong (r.1046-1083).

Úich’on, a scholarly monk, passed the highest level of the doctrinal examinations at an early age. He then studied in Song China returning to Koryó in 1086 when he was made director of the Húngwang Monastery. He amassed a library of 4740 volumes, a collection of Buddhist materials from Song, Liao, and Japan. Úich’on printed many of these books, and had them distributed widely. But his greatest role, perhaps, was in the attempt he made to unify Buddhism through the Ch’ont’ae-jong. The appeal of this school was its balanced method of scriptural study and meditative practice which would have seemed the ideal solution for drawing together the two major strands of Koryó Buddhism. As head of a revitalized Ch’ont’ae-jong, Úich’on was initially successful in gathering together many monks from both the Sôn and the doctrinal schools, especially from the Hwaöm-jong. Unfortunately this very success brought about sectarian rivalry which resulted in the union of the Sôn lineages who remained separate from the doctrinal schools and Ch’ont’ae-jong.

In the 12th c., Chinul (1158-1210), perhaps the greatest monk of the Koryó era, attempted to bring together the various strands of Koryó Buddhism. Chinul’s unique vision of merging the doctrinal and meditative sects resulted in the creation of a uniquely Korean school of Sôn, known as the Chogye-jong (named after the toponym of the sixth patriarch of Chan and ‘founder’ of the Southern Lineage, Huo-nang), which has been the predominant form of monastic Buddhism in Korea since that time.

The son of a Confucian scholar who dedicated his son’s life to the Buddha, Chinul took monastic orders at the age of fifteen. He passed the Buddhist examinations at the age of twenty four, but became disturbed by the state of Buddhism. He and a few like-minded friends made a compact to form a new religious society in which it would be possible to pursue a truly religious life. Between 1182 and 1197, Chinul had three significant religious experiences which confirmed him in his course of action. He became fully convinced that he was right in his quest for a purer spiritual community, that there was an ultimate similarity between the aims of the doctrinal and meditative schools, and of a method for sudden enlightenment called hwadu (Ch. huatou). In 1200, Chinul and his friends established the new religious community at the monastery now known as Songgwang-sa where he spent the last ten years of his life building a community which he hoped would both unify and revitalize Buddhism in Koryó.

Chinul made two major contributions to Korean Buddhism; the unification of the various Buddhist traditions, and the introduction of a new form of Buddhist praxis. Chinul’s approach to the unification of Buddhism was different from those attempts made by King Kwangjong and Úich’on who tried to create unity through a doctrinal union using the Ch’ont’ae-jong. Chinul’s approach to union was not through the scholastic schools, but through the commonality of Sôn practice. Eventually successful, this has created a unique tradition of East Asian Buddhism in which, whilst Sôn practices predominate, scholastic studies form an important of the monastic life.
Chinul's contribution to Buddhist praxis lay in his teaching about the investigation of the 'critical phase' of meditation called hwadu. (Ch. huatou). This practice was brought together with concepts of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation which had been taught by the Chinese master Zongmi (780-841). These teachings were then combined with the Huayan teachings of Li Tongxuian (635-730). Thus, Chinul created a significant synthesis of Buddhist thought and practice. At least seven works of instruction on monastic practice by Chinul still survive. Chinul's disciple Hyeshim (1178-1234) worked to secure the continued acceptance of the Song dynasty Linji School hwadu technique as the characteristic method of Korean Buddhism.

The most important event of the thirteenth century was the publication of a second edition of wood-block printing blocks for the Buddhist canon. An earlier wood-block edition of the canon, known as the Ch'oj o taejanggyōng (First Carving of the Tripitaka), had been created during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-1031). This was supplemented by Óich'on in 1090 with the Sok changgyōng (Supplement to the Canon). Both the first edition and Óich'on's supplement were destroyed during the Mongol invasion of 1232. King Kojong (r. 1213-1259) vowed to create a new compilation of Buddhist scriptures in order to ensure spiritual protection against the invading Mongols.

Work on the second edition began in 1236 under the monk Sugi and was completed in 1251. The compilers based their edition on the earlier Ch'ojo taejanggyong, but also compared the Khitan canon and the Song canon (known as the Shuben) along with several Tripitaka catalogues in order to correct the mistakes and lacunae of the first edition. After the best text was chosen and edited, it was carved onto both sides of the wooden printing blocks. The second edition of the Koryŏ canon consisted of 6 802 volumes carved on 81 258 wooden blocks. This canon, one of the great monuments of east-Asian Buddhism, survives in its entirety in a specially designed repository in Haein Monastery. It was one of the sources for the Taisho Tripitaka created by the Japanese in the 1920s and 1930s.

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During the final phase of Koryŏ Buddhism, three monks were outstanding in their contribution to Buddhist life; Taego (1301-1382), Na'ong (1320-1376), and Muhak (1327-1405). Taego who had studied in Yfuan and received transmission into the Linji School of Chan Buddhism, upon his return to Koryŏ made attempts to merge the remaining Sŏn lineages into the dominant Chogye-jong. The latter two monks were students of...
Dhyānabhadra (usually called Zhigong in Chinese, Kor. Chigong), a 'Chan' monk from India who exercised a considerable influence on Buddhist life in Yüuan (Mongol) China. Dhyānabhadra had gone to China in the early 14th c., paying a visit to Koryǒ in 1328. He was much sought after by students in China and Korean monks went to China to seek him out. The Indian monk was held in such high esteem that following his death in 1363, King Kongmin had some of his relics brought to Koryǒ which are now kept in Silsang Monastery. All three of these great Koryǒ monks were granted the title wangsa which gave them an extraordinary ability to influence the king.

Throughout the Koryǒ period, numerous Buddhist seasonal festivals were celebrated. Among these were Wo<n-il on the first day of the first lunar month, the Yŏndŭng-hoe or Lantern Festival held on the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch’op’a-il or Buddha’s Birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month, and the Palgwan-hoe which had a variable date of performance and was celebrated as a rite for the dead. There were other festive dates as well which created a rich ceremonial life throughout the year. Buddhism reached the apogee of its social development and influence during the Koryǒ period. The monasteries and temples were amply endowed. Buddhism added richness and colour to the general life of the society. Unfortunately, the Buddhist 'Church' had become so wealthy and corrupt that it was brought into conflict with the Confucian literati.

5. Buddhism in the Chosŏn Period (to 1876)

The rise of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1392 saw not only the emergence of a new state but a change in the relationship between the state and Buddhism which created a situation from which Korean Buddhism has not recovered to this day. Scholars of the Neo-Confucian school of Zhu Xi (1130-1200) in late Koryǒ times associated Buddhism with corruption within the court circle and with the Mongol ascendancy which had damaged the economic fabric of the nation. Whereas in the early Koryǒ period Buddhism and Confucianism were seen to be complementary, by the end of the Koryǒ dynasty, the relationship had changed to one of hostility. The new government of Chosŏn adopted Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology and attempted to control and later suppress the practice of Buddhism. None-the-less, these far-ranging and long lasting changes did not happen all at once. During the first century of the new dynasty the monarchs might officially attempt to control Buddhism for reasons of state, but quite often personally were pious Buddhists.

The assault on Buddhism began with the Confucian scholar Chŏng Tojŏn (1337-1398) who wrote a diatribe against Buddhism called the Pulssi chappyŏn which attacks the philosophical and ethical positions of Buddhism and compares them very unfavourably with Confucianism. His arguments became the basis for the suppression of Buddhism which was to typify the attitude of the Chosŏn government throughout most of its history. Although the first king of Chosŏn, T’aejo (r.1392-1398) was a pious Buddhist, he instituted the toch’op-che, which was a system for the registering of the names and addresses of monks. The control of Buddhism intensified under T’aejong (r.1400-1418) who abolished the titles of wangsa and kuksa, and closed all but 242 monasteries. Under his son, the great 'sage monarch' Sejong (r.1418-1450), the suppression was at its greatest. The various schools of Buddhism were merged into two orders, the kyo or doctrinal school, and the Sŏn or meditative school. All but 36 monasteries were permitted to remain open; each of the schools given 18 monasteries.

The official suppression of Buddhism was in great contrast to the personal piety of the royal family. The founding monarch, whilst controlling Buddhism, sought advice from the monk Muhak on such matters as the location of the capital of the new dynasty and granted him the title of wangsa. Within the precincts of the royal palace he also erected a Buddhist shrine, causing an uproar among the Confucian literati class. Similarly King Sejong who is regarded as the exemplary Confucian sage ruler, could find no solace in the metaphysics of an abstruse Confucian philosophy at the end of his life, and turned instead to the personal
practice of Buddhism. Like his grandfather Taejo, he built a court chapel. He, who had ordered the creation of the Korean alphabetic script (Han'gul), used it to transcribe Buddhist scriptures and works on Buddhism into the Korean language. He these these books printed and widely disseminated. Sejong's son King Sejo (r.1455-1468) was the last monarch until the 18th c. to hold to Buddhist teachings. He had worked with his father on the project of the dissemination of Buddhist materials in Han'gul. However, when he became a leper later in his reign and it is believed that the erection of the Won'gak temple - in contravention of the rule forbidding temple construction in the capital - was to atone for his act of regicide.

The attenuated patronage of the royal family disappeared completely under the reign of King Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506), who abolished the Buddhist examination system altogether, and lowered the social status of monks to the very bottom of society, along with butchers, prostitutes and slaves. Although Buddhism briefly gained royal patronage under the regency of Queen Munjŏng (r.1546-1553), it was withdrawn upon the ascendency of her son to the throne. One indication of this great decline in the position of Buddhism was the reputed lack of any significant scholars or practitioners amongst the monastic community. From the time of Muhak in the early 15th c. to the late-16th c. only two monks stand out, Hyujong Sŏsan Taesa (1520-1604) and Yujong Samyŏng Taesa (1544-1610). Author of a book on Sŏn practice, the Sŏn'ga kugam (Guide to the Sŏn School), Hyujong attempted to reconcile Buddhism with Taoism and Confucianism by stressing the essential similarity of the teachings of the three schools. This position was an implicit recognition of the precarious social position in which Buddhism existed in Chosŏn Korea. Hyujong’s disciple Yujong was involved with the military actions of a band of warrior monks during the Japanese invasions of Korea in the 1590s. Such actions, however patriotic, contradict one of the essential teachings of Buddhism about the reverence for life and are a further indication of the ways in which Buddhism had to gain favour with the Confucian establishment simply for the survival of the Buddhist community. Thus a ‘righteous monk army’ also fought the Manchu invaders in 1627 and 1636.

The Confucian persecution of Buddhism continued throughout the remainder of the dynasty. Possibly the most severe attempt to eradicate Buddhism was the decree of 1659 which forbade anyone from taking monastic orders, an attempt to eliminate Buddhism within a generation. Shortly after this decree monks were forbidden to enter the capital and throughout the 1660s attempts were made to destroy monasteries or to convert them to use as Confucian academies. The single bright period during the late Chosŏn dynasty was during the reign of King Chŏngjo (r.1776-1800) who became the first monarch since the late-15th c. to publicly display his Buddhist piety. On behalf of the distressed spirit of his father, the king erected a Buddhist mortuary shrine near his tomb.

Buddhism, however, continued to be practised on the popular level. The popular practices of the time were partly drawn from the Pure Land tradition and a mixture of Buddhism with local cults such as the worship of the Sansin, the god of the mountains. Within Sŏn vigorous scholastic debates were initiated Paekp'a Hwansŏn (1767-1852) over the various sorts of Sŏn and their relation to the different capabilities of people. Even eminent scholars such as Kim Ch'usa (1786-1856) were drawn into the polemics. Buddhism also exercised an influence on literature and had an attraction for those who had come to question or indeed reject Confucian orthodoxy. Perhaps the best known of these Buddhist-influenced authors is Kim Manjung whose Ku'un-mong (The Cloud Dream of the Nine) is rich in Buddhist imagery, and is an indication of the human spirit’s search for knowledge beyond that which can be found in Confucian philosophy.

6. Buddhism in the Modern Period (1876 - )
The decline of the fortunes of Korean Buddhism has been reversed rather remarkably during the last century for three principal reasons. Firstly, when Chosón Korea signed Western-style diplomatic treaties with the Western powers and Japan, it was no longer possible for the Confucian establishment to maintain a policy of religious suppression. Secondly, the dramatic growth of the Protestant churches in Korea acted as both a model for the revival of Buddhism's fortunes and as a competitive stimulus to growth. Thirdly, because of the sudden development of Christianity in Korea, the Japanese Government-General which ruled Korea from 1910 to 1945 saw in this growth and in the Church's associations with Korean nationalists a threat to their imperial rule of Korea. The Government-General had a deliberate policy of supporting Buddhism, ostensibly for the purpose of reform, but in actuality for the purpose of control of the religion itself and to produce a religious counterforce to Christianity.

The modern history of Korean Buddhism may be said to have begun in 1895 when the regulation forbidding the entrance of Buddhist clerics into the capital was lifted, probably as a result of pressure from Japanese Buddhist groups active in Korea. Since the signing in 1876 of the Kanghwa Treaty between Chosón and Japan, Buddhist groups from Japan had been operating in Korea to minister to Japanese there. Their activities spread from the resident Japanese community to the Korean population. Therefore, these Japanese Buddhists wanted to see restrictions against religious propagation lifted. Christian missionaries in Korea would have been an added pressure for the lifting of such restrictions on religious propagation.

There is a tangled relationship between Korean and Japanese Buddhism during the early part of the 20th c. because Japan represented both a developed progressive nation and an occupying imperial power. Various attempts were made to unify the several Buddhist groups; in 1889, again in 1902, in 1906, 1907, and 1908. The 1908 meeting finally created a unified Buddhist order called the Wŏn-jong. The Supreme Patriarch of this sect then tried to merge his group with the Japanese Zen order, the Ssŏt'os'o. The result was a split amongst those who wished to merge and those who saw merger as conniving with the imperial power. The Japanese Government-General tried to resolve this problem by creating a unified order in 1911, which again resulted in the creation of a counter-group in 1912. Feuding between the pro-Japanese community and the anti-Japanese group continued throughout the colonial period.

The great growth of the Buddhist church in the 20th c. has been the result of two movements; the movement to purify monastic practice, and movements incorporating the laity. One of the most remarkable features of contemporary Korean Buddhism is the extent to which the laity have come to play an active role in the revival of Buddhism's fortunes. This can be traced back to the 1920s with the emergence of various youth and lay groups which were patterned on and were a reaction to the YMCA. These organizations had their inspiration in the work of the radical monk Manhae, Han Yong'un (1879-1944). The principal source of support for these lay movements, Manhae wrote voluminously, explaining the nature of Buddhism and was responsible for the creation of several Buddhist magazines, which were a way of reaching out to the general Korean populace. Among these latter publications were Yusin, and Hŭkp'ŭng (Black Wind). Manhae's work of proselytization was aided by his ardent nationalism. A signer of the Declaration of Independence from Japan in 1919, he was imprisoned in the 1930s and 1940s for his nationalistic activities.

Although the lay movements developed throughout the Japanese period, the monastic community was weakened by the Japanese Government-General's attempts to control them and alter their traditions. One example was the law promulgated in 1926 permitting monks to marry and to eat meat. Although the proposal for the marriage of monks had been made by Manhae to modernize Korean Buddhism, this law was seen as subversive of traditional Buddhist values. The final restructuring of Buddhism in the colonial period came in 1941.
with the creation of the Chogye-iong. Under the authority of a traditionalist monk, the order lasted until liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. In a free Korea, the order was once again re-organized but still suffered from the internal conflicts of the colonial era. A final major re-organization took place in 1954 under the aegis of the Christian president of the Republic of Korea, Syngman Rhee (1875-1965). He was appalled by the presence of married priests and called a conference of Buddhist clergy. This conference resulted in a split of Korean Buddhism into two major groups, the Chogye-jong which practised clerical celibacy, and the Taego-jong, which permitted the clergy to marry.

During the past hundred years, four Buddhist clerics have been responsible for the revitalization and growth of Korean Buddhism; Manhae, Kyŏnghŏ, Song Tong’uk (1849-1912), Hyobong (1888-1966), and Kusan (1909-1983). Manhae represented the modernizing trend, the attempt by certain Buddhist clerics to harmonize Buddhist forms and practices with contemporary society and culture. One radical means Manhae and his followers used to modernize Buddhism was the development of strong lay movements based on the example of Protestant organizations. This strengthened the role of the ordinary believer. Another means adopted by the modernizers was the use of modern media, newspapers and magazines. Modernization also applied to issues of clerical practice, such as marriage.

Against these trends were figures such as Kyŏnghŏ who worked strenuously during the late 19th and early 20th centuries to purify monastic practice. He lectured widely to the clergy and laity, and helped to initiate lay study groups dedicated to the examination of Buddhist scriptures and to the practice of meditation. Kyŏnghŏ was much influenced in his attitudes by the Tang Chan master the Sixth Patriarch Huineng (638-713), and by Chinul and Taego. Hyobong, another traditionalist, had been a judge during the colonial era, but had become so upset by having to sentence Koreans for performing patriotic acts that he resigned and became an itinerant pedlar. At the age of thirty-nine he entered the monastic life and was noted for the austerity of his meditative practices. Latterly he became the Supreme Patriarch of the Chogye-jong.

If Kyŏnghŏ and Hyobong represent the revival of traditional monastic practice, Kusan represents the re-emergence of a missionary tradition in Korean Buddhism. Kusan was a disciple of Hyobong. The son of a rich farmer, he had married and had had a family. At the age of 29, Kusan left his family to search for truth. He finally became a disciple of Hyobong and underwent a strenuous period of meditation at Haein-sa. Although Kusan was noted for his austere meditative practices, and held various positions of authority in Buddhist circles, his major contribution to modern Korean Buddhism has been the creation of the International Meditation Centre situated in his home temple of Songgwang-sa. Kusan vigorously propagated Buddhism in the West and in parts of Asia, bringing his students back to Songgwang-sa to study. As a result of his efforts, Buddhist centres have been set up in many of the countries of Asia, Europe and North America.

The fortunes of Buddhism have greatly revived over the past century. One hundred years ago, Buddhism would not have been considered an important or even a worthy component of the Korean religious scene. The opposite is true today. Orthodox monastic Buddhism in South Korea is perhaps the most vibrant form of monastic Buddhism in East Asia. The lay movements of Buddhism are strong. Buddhism is numerically stronger than the total Christian population of Korea. The future will continue to be bright for Buddhism if it can continue to adjust to the challenges of the new urban, industrial state which South Korea has become.

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**Buddhist Canon, Korean (Koryŏ Tripitaka; Tripitaka Koreana)**

**The Buddhist Canon**

The first Buddhist canons are believed to have been orally preserved and codified, shortly after the death of Buddha. These were later written down in Pali, Sanskrit and some other languages. Soon after the introduction of Buddhism to China, the Chinese compiled their own translations of the Buddhist canons and these were gradually introduced into the Korean peninsula, from around the fourth c. C.E. With the development of xylographic printing techniques, a wood-block canon was developed in China during the tenth c.

**First Koryŏ Edition of the Tripitaka**

A similar project was undertaken in Korea between 1011 and 1087. Taking more than seventy years to complete, this canon was known as the *Ch’ojo taejanggyŏng* (First Carve of the Tripitaka) or the *Ch’op’an kobon taejanggyŏng* (First Publication of the Old Edition of the Tripitaka). In 1090, Ûich’on led a team in the carving of the extensive *Sok changgyŏng* (Supplement to the Canon). Both the *Ch’ojo taejanggyŏng* and the *Sok changgyŏng* were stored in Puin Temple in Taegu, but were largely lost by fire during the Mongol invasion of 1232. All that remains of the *Ch’ojo taejanggyŏng* canon are 1,715 volumes in Kyoto’s Nanrei Temple, Japan, while a few miscellaneous texts from the *Sok changgyŏng* are distributed between Songgwang Temple in South Cholla Province; Korea University library in Seoul; and at two locations in Japan - at Tōjō Temple in Nara and Shinfuku Temple in Nagoya.

**Background of the Second Edition**

Between 1236 and 1251, a second wood-block edition of the canon was carved, but this time without Ûich’on’s supplement. This huge project began on Kanghwa Island, where the Korean court had taken refuge from the Mongol invaders. The project served several purposes. First, it was important for the systemisation of the vast corpus of Buddhist scriptural material. Secondly, it was believed by King Kojong (r. 1213-1259) and others that the successful completion of the project would enlist the spiritual force of Buddhism to bring peace to the country.

**Production of the Second Edition**
The new edition, often referred to as the Tripitaka Koreana, consisted of 6,802 volumes on 81,258 wood-blocks, carved on both sides with mirror-images of Chinese characters, (which would, of course, appear normal when printed). The timber for the blocks, carefully cured and treated, was imported from China. After carving, the blocks were coated with lacquer. Each block contained two pages of text, generally with twenty-three lines to each page and fourteen characters per line. This edition is often referred to as the P'alman taejanggyông (Eighty-thousand [block] Tripitaka). Although the editors of the Tripitaka Koreana based their work on the Ch'ojo taejanggyông, they also compared the Song and Khitan editions of the Tripitaka along with several Tripitaka catalogues in order to correct any mistakes and lacunae of the earlier edition. Since the second Koryô edition was based on the first edition, it is also referred to as the Chaejo taejanggyông (Reproduced Tripitaka).

The Second Edition During Chosôn

The second edition was initially kept in its own repository on Kanghwa Island, but was later moved to Kanghwa's Sônwôn Temple. In 1398, the wood-blocks were temporarily stored at Seoul's Chích'n Temple before being moved to Haein Temple in North Kyôngsang Province, where they are today. For centuries after they were carved, the blocks were used on many occasions to print editions of the canon for Korean monasteries, and for export to Japan. During King Sejong's reign (1418-1450), the Korean court even considered giving the Tripitaka Koreana to the Japanese as a royal gift.

Modern Significance

The second edition of the Korean Buddhist canon is famous both for its beautiful calligraphy and its accuracy. As one of Korea's most-prized cultural artefacts, the wooden printing blocks have been designated National Treasure No. 32, while the buildings which contain them are National Treasure No. 52 Haeinsa Changgyông P'an'go. Complete sets of prints from the wood blocks are kept at Haein Temple, Tongdo Temple and Kûmsan Temple. In December 1995, the wood-blocks for the second edition were designated as a World Heritage treasure by UNESCO. In order to make the content of the edition more accessible, the Samsung Foundation of Culture has sponsored a project to translate the edition into English.

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Buddhist sculpture (see Sculpture, Buddhist)

Busan National University

Busan National University (Pusan Taehakkyo) is situated in Changjôn-dong in Pusan. Founded as Kungnip Pusan Taehak (Pusan National College) in May 1946, the new school incorporated Pusan Susan Chônmun Taehak (Pusan Fisheries Junior College); however, the latter was again separated in the following year, becoming Pusan Susan Taehak (Pusan Fisheries College). In September 1953, Pusan National College became a university consisting of the Colleges of Liberal Arts and Science, Commerce, Industry, Law,
Medicine and Pharmacology and in the following year, a master's degree program was initiated.

In February 1956, the school was moved to its present location in Kumjong District. In the same year, the College of Pharmacology was incorporated into the Medical College and the university became affiliated with a hospital in Ami-dong. In the years that followed, the university continued its expansion.

At present, the PNU consists of twelve colleges and seventy-seven departments with over 8,000 students and over 800 professors. The university also has seven post-graduate schools: i.e., the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Education, Environment, Industry, International Studies, Management and Public Administration. University publications include Pudae shinmun (PNU Newspaper) in Korean and The Budae Times in English.
Calligraphy

Until modern times, classical Chinese, much like Latin in Europe, has been the preferred language of scholarly discourse throughout north-east Asia. In Korea, Chinese writing has been in use since the Three Kingdoms Period. Although Korean and Chinese are distinctly different languages from different language families, Korean scholars throughout history have attained great mastery of classical Chinese. However, in traditional Korea, it was not enough merely to be familiar with the language and ideas of the Chinese classics: a true gentleman also had to be adept at the art of calligraphy.

Calligraphy has been a highly prized art from early times in Korea. Even today, originals and prints of calligraphy can be seen hanging in frames in both homes and businesses throughout the country. Although some Korean calligraphers copy long passages (such as from Buddhist sutras), most examples consist of terse phrases from Confucian or Buddhist texts.

Korean calligraphy is traditionally done with a brush, the brush size depending on the width of the writing required. Ink is made on the spot using an ink stone, and the ink is applied to traditional Korean paper or (more rarely) to silk. Unlike painting, characters are written spontaneously, without any retouching. Great attention is paid to the spacing between the strokes of each character. Indeed, calligraphy primers often show the exact proportions that should exist between each of the character’s elements. As with composition in Western painting, the strokes of each character must be balanced. The art form allows for a great deal of freedom of artistic expression, and a great number of distinct styles have developed.

Three Kingdoms and Greater Shilla Period

Due to frequent wars and invasions, very few examples of early Korean calligraphy on paper have survived to the present. Knowledge of early writing styles has come from examining steles and memorial tablets, such as the Stele (located in Tonggou, Manchuria) of King Kwanggaet’o (r. 391-413), the Paekche stele in Puyó and the Stele of Inspection by King Chinhung (540-576) on Mt. Pukhan.

With its proximity to China, Koguryo was the earliest of Korea’s Three Kingdoms to adopt Chinese writing. Relatively few examples of Koguryo calligraphy are extant, but the existing steles show the influence of China’s Northern Dynasties. A great variety of styles have been found, including the simplified square style (yesō), square printed style (haengsō) and the cursive style (haesō). The Koguryo steles show a writing style that is both vibrant and forceful.

Paekche had access to China via the Yellow Sea, and was therefore initially influenced by the elegant calligraphy styles of China’s Southern Dynasties. Later writings, however, show influence from both the Southern and Northern Dynasties. As with the Koguryo Kingdom, scholars must rely on steles and monuments for information about Paekche calligraphy.

Shilla was the last of the Three Kingdoms to accept Chinese cultural influences, thus Buddhism and Chinese writing did not take root until some time around the early sixth century C.E. After Shilla unified the three kingdoms, there was a major effort to import Chinese culture. Large numbers of scholars and Buddhist monks went to China to study and witness the glorious period of Tang Chinese art. It was during this period that the cursive style (haesō) of calligraphy became firmly established in Korea.

Early Koryŏ Period

In the Koryŏ Period, King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) established a civil service examination
Unlike the Shilla examinations, which had tested on knowledge of the classics, the Koryŏ examinations also tested on composition. In addition, there were specialist examination subjects (chapkwa) that included a calligraphy test. Inclusion of calligraphy as a subject in the civil service exams helped to spark interest in the art. Calligraphy was also important to those students taking the composition examination, since an elegant writing style tended to enhance the evaluation of a composition. In fact, composition was the most valued of the three examination subjects, an indication of how composition, and the related art of calligraphy, were highly esteemed by the Koryŏ upper class. The calligraphy of early Koryŏ, like that of the Shilla Period, is mostly in the style of the famous Chinese calligrapher Ou Yangxun. However, during the mid-Koryŏ Period, the monk T’anyŏn, breaking with the Ou Yangxun tradition, started an innovative style based on the Chinese calligrapher Wang Xizhi (307-365).

Late Koryŏ Period

Calligraphy went into a period of stagnation during the early twelfth c. In the late Koryŏ Period, the calligraphic style of the Chinese Zhao Mengfu began to assert an influence on Korean calligraphers such as Yi Kunhae and Yi Chehyŏn (1287-1367). In fact, Zhao’s influence continued through the first two-hundred years of the Chosŏn Period. As a result, a compilation of Zhao’s calligraphy became a favorite primer during this time. Koryŏ’s Yi Kunhae, in particular, mastered Zhao’s ‘pine-snow’ (songsŏl) style. During the Chosŏn Period, the talented painter and calligrapher Yi Yong also developed an original interpretation of this style.

Early Chosŏn Period

In spite of these new movements, the Chosŏn Period was characterized by a general decline in calligraphy in both China and Korea. By the mid-Chosŏn Period, the ‘pine-snow’ style had definitely lost vitality. A new impetus was clearly needed. At the time, neo-Confucian literati were calling for a return to classics. Attempting to keep in tune with the spirit of the times, writers searched for examples of the oldest extant writing styles. The calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, the famous calligrapher from Eastern Jin, was thus chosen as the preferred style. Scholars began studying calligraphy collections showing Wang’s writing style. However, these collections were either forgeries showing inferior work, or were from printing blocks that had been copied so many times that they were no longer accurate.

Han Ho (1543-1604), styled Sŏkpong, developed a style based on one of these forgeries. His calligraphy, known as the Sŏkpong style, was studied as the new standard. Highly skilled in the different calligraphy forms, Han Ho’s spread as far as China. However, many felt that in spite of its technical excellence, this new style lacked vitality.

Late Chosŏn Period

During the late eighteenth century, Confucian scholars took a more critical attitude towards the classics in order to ascertain the original meanings of terms. In a similar fashion, scholars discovered earlier Chinese examples of the cursive style (haeso) or square printed style (haengsŏ). During this period, Kim Chŏnhŭi (1786-1856), the greatest calligrapher of the Chosŏn Period, shocked the calligraphy world with his original style. Kim was a member of the Shirhak (Practical Learning) movement. Kim felt that calligraphy should be based on the simplified square style (yesŏ) of China’s Former Han dynasty. Despite initial reservations, the world of Korean calligraphy gradually embraced this daring new style, known as the ch’usa style.

Modern Period

In the late nineteenth c., Korean schools began to adopt Western education. This resulted in
less emphasis on the classics, which had been written in classical Chinese, and it also led to the use of pens or pencils instead of brushes. With these changes, many scholars no longer possessed the classical background required for traditional calligraphy; hence, there arose a need for professional calligraphers. As a result, the fields of scholarship and calligraphy were distinctly separated for the first time in Korean history.

During the Japanese occupation, Korean schools were forced to teach in the Japanese language, and a number of Korean scholars studied in Japan. As a result, Korean calligraphy was heavily influenced by Japanese calligraphy during this period. On the other hand, numerous Korean educators, voicing nationalist sentiments, began to promote the extensive use of the Korean phonetic script (han'gül) because of its uniquely Korean origins.

After liberation, educators searched for examples of writing to be used as the basis for han'gül calligraphy. Han'gül, traditionally looked down on by scholars, had been used by ladies in the ruling class. As a result, the new movement in han'gül calligraphy was based on letters written by ladies of the court. This ‘palace style’ (kungch'e) was elegant but neat, had clear lines and was often cursive or semi-cursive. However, early han'gül calligraphy lacked stylistic diversity. From the 1950s, Korean calligraphers have therefore coined many new styles in order to allow for greater freedom of artistic expression.

Bibliography

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**Case of the One Hundred Five (paegoin sagŏn) [History of Korea]**

**Catholic University of Taegu-Hyosung**

Situated in Kyŏngsan in North Kyŏngsang Province, the Catholic University of Taegu-Hyosung (Taegu Hyoṣŏng Kat’ollik Taehakkyo) was founded in December 1994, when the Juridical Foundation of the Taegu District Church and the Sun Mok Educational Foundation agreed to a merger of Hyoṣŏng Women’s University (Hyoṣŏng Yŏja Taehakkyo) and Taegu Catholic University (Taegu Kat’ollik Taehakkyo).

Of these two universities, Hyoṣŏng Women’s University (Hyoṣŏng Yŏja Taehakkyo) has a longer history having been founded in April 1952 as the two-year Hyoṣŏng Women’s Junior College (Hyoṣŏng Yŏja Ch’ogŭp Taehak), with Reverend Cheon Suk Jae (Chŏn Sŏkchae) as its first chancellor. In February 1953, The college was upgraded to a four-year college and in 1956, it was moved from Taegu’s Taemyŏng-dong to a newly-built campus in Pongdŏk-dong. In January 1972, the Graduate School was established, and a doctoral program began in December 1979. The college became a university in 1980, with six colleges and thirty-five departments. The Reverend Chen Suk Jae served as the university’s first president. In 1984, four of the university’s colleges were transferred to the Hayang Campus and by 1987, the university had been completely relocated to the new site. The Graduate School of Education opened in 1989.

Taegu Catholic College was founded as Sun Kok Theological College in December 1981 with Reverend Lee Jong Heung as its first head. In October 1984, it was renamed Taegu Catholic College. In 1990, a pre-medicine school opened, followed by a medical department in 1992. The college gained university status in 1993, with Kim Young Hwan as its first president.
In 1994, Hyosung Women’s University and Taegu Catholic University were merged to become the Catholic University of Taegu-Hyosung, with Reverend Kim Kyung Hwan as president. In 1995, the university signed an agreement of cooperation with Samsung Commercial Motors and in the same year the Graduate Schools of Business Administration and Health and Environmental Science were established.

Today, the university has three separate locations. At the Hayang campus in Kyongsang, are twelve colleges (the Colleges of Economics and Commerce; Education; Engineering; Fine Arts; Foreign Studies; Home Economics; Humanities; Law and Politics; Music; Natural Sciences; Pharmacology; and Social Sciences), and five graduate schools (the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Design; Health Environment; Small Business Administration; and Social Welfare). At the Namsan-dong campus in Taegu are the Graduate School and the College of Theology, and at the Taemyong-dong campus in Taegu, the Graduate School and the School of Medicine are located. Research institutes at the university include the Catholic Education Institute (Kat’ollik Kyoyuk Yon’guso); Korean Women’s Problem Institute (Han’guk Yosong Munje Yon’guso); and the Modern Thought Institute (Hyondae Sasang Yon’guso).

Central Bank  [Banks]
Central Cultural Properties Office  [Archaeology]

Central National Library

Located in Seoul, the Central National Library (Kungnip Chungang Tosogwan) was founded by the Japanese in November 1923 as the Choson Ch’ongdokpu Tosogwan (The Chosen Government-General Library). It operated exclusively for the Japanese. In addition to Korean books, the library’s collection included numerous works on Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia, such material being a ready aid to Japanese military expansion in northeast Asia.

With Korea’s liberation in 1945, the library was renamed Kungnip Tosogwan, and Yi Chaeuk was appointed as chief librarian. However, the early administration and development of the library was hindered by post-liberation political turmoil, followed by the Korean War.

In 1963, the library acquired its present name and in the following decade its collection expanded as the number of users increased. In order to meet space demands, the library was moved from Sogong-dong (the present site of the Lotte Hotel) to its current location in Sôch’o-dong. In May 1988, it opened in a newly-built facility at the Sôch’o-dong site. Today, the collection contains over 1.3 million volumes. As part of its modernisation program, the Central National Library maintains a comprehensive internet site with general information on its collection, as well as abstracts from theses and journals.

Central National Museum (see National Museum of Korea)

Centre for Korean Women and Politics  [Politics]

Ceramics  (see also Science and Technology)

Prehistoric Era

In Korea, the manufacture of bowls from clay dates back to the neolithic era (6000 - 1000 B.C.) Comb-pattern (ch’al’mun) pottery dating from around 5000 B.C. has been excavated from sites in Seoul’s Amsa-dong, Pusan’s Tongsam-dong, etc. After this early period,
pottery was often made without the use of designs. Further developments in kilns and calcination techniques led to the manufacture of stoneware around the third century B.C. The high firing temperatures (around 1300 degrees centigrade), made these pieces extremely hard while creating an ash-blue or dark grey finish.

Along these early styles, which continued to be produced up through the Greater Shilla Period, stamped pattern pottery (*inhoa-mun*) and other simple decorative styles were also manufactured. In addition, the high bottoms of the early vessels gave way to various new pottery shapes.

**Greater Shilla Period**

Prior to the Greater Shilla Period, ceramics were not used by the common people. Archeological finds at Kyōngju’s Anap Pond and the Mirūk Temple site indicate that commoners used only earthen or metal bowls. Ceramics were reserved for royalty, aristocrats and Buddhist monasteries.

During the Greater Shilla Period, a number of pottery and glaze techniques were in use. In addition to the high-temperature glazes such as grey glaze and feldspathic glaze, there was ware utilizing a low-temperature lead glaze. Around the end of the Greater Shilla Period, increased trade with China led to the introduction of advanced ceramic manufacturing techniques from China and the manufacture of celadon and white porcelain in Korea.

**Koryŏ Period**

During the Koryŏ Period, exquisite metal work and ceramic ware were treasured by the royal family and monasteries. In early Koryŏ, various reforms were instated in order to strengthen the power of the monarchy. The resultant political and social stability set the stage for an increase in both the output and quality of celadon (*ch’ongja*).

**Manufacturing Sites**

As mentioned above, celadon manufacture in Korea began around the end of the Greater Shilla and the beginning of the Koryŏ Period. From this time, celadon was primarily manufactured in the south-western coastal areas.

During the Koryŏ Period, special administrative districts were established for the manufacture of pottery. Kangjin in South Chŏlla Province and Puan in North Chŏlla Province were representative of this new trend. Large concentrations of celadon kilns existed in both of these areas. The exquisitely formed celadon crafted in this area is covered with a beautiful jade-green glaze. In terms of artistic style, this celadon shows Chinese influence. It was used by the royalty and aristocrats living around the capital.

In Inch’ŏn’s Kyŏngsŏ-dong or in Haenam in South Chŏlla province, on the other hand, coarser celadon was manufactured with green-brown or green glazes. This “green celadon” is thought to have been used by regional officials and aristocrats. As before, the common people mostly used clay and bronze ware.

**Celadon (*Ch’ongja*)**

**Types of Celadon**

There are many types of celadon, i.e. inlaid celadon, celadon in relief, incised celadon, celadon with openwork decorations, and celadon with white slip designs. Iron or copper glazes are also used for either the background or designs on some celadon.
Early celadon was usually plain, in relief, incised or with openwork. There were also pieces with white slip designs or with iron glaze. After the advent of inlaid celadon, this inlaid style became the most common along with the occasional copper-glaze celadon.

Jade-green Celadon and Representational Celadon

In China, jade-coloured celadon had been created in imitation of jade bowls. Koryŏ craftsmen took the craft one step further, producing celadon with an even subtler and deeper jade hue. This jade-green celadon, as representative of the plain style, is typical of early Koryŏ, while inlaid celadon, popular from the twelfth century on, is the characteristic style of the late Koryŏ Period.

The jade colour of jade-green celadon comes from the 1 - 3% iron content in the glaze. When celadon is fired, ferric oxide transforms into ferrous oxide. As the ferric oxide deoxidises, the piece takes on a jade hue. Archaeological finds suggest exquisite jade-green celadon was produced in Korea from around the eleventh century.

As Korean craftsmen developed elegant jade-green pottery, they started to make a large number of representational pieces in the shape of humans (i.e. bodhisattvas, monks, Taoist hermits, and acolytes) and plants (i.e. gourds, bamboo, lotus flowers, melons, peaches, ducks, lions, dragons, tortoises, fish, phoenixes, and other mythical beasts). In addition, there were incense burners, pitchers, vases and kundikas (water droppers used in Buddhist rituals), along with implements for everyday use such as bowls, plates, and jars.

Korean celadon had, by this point, developed a style distinctive for its use of soft lines. Jade-coloured celadon reached its apex around the twelfth century, but then began to disappear as inlaid celadon, with its thin, clear glaze, grew in popularity.

Popularity of Inlaid Celadon Ware

Inlaid celadon was made by hollowing out a design and then filling it in with red ochre containing white clay (to make white inlay) or iron (to make black inlay). Initially, inlaid celadon was made with black inlay designs over a limited area. The design motifs chiefly consisted of clouds and cranes, lotuses, peonies, willows, reeds, and ducks. The inlay process had originally been used on lacquerware and metal crafts. Koryŏ craftsmen were the first in the world to apply this process to celadon.

Archeological finds suggest that inlaid celadon originated around the tenth century. It is believed that after inlaid celadon's jade colour was standardized (from the eleventh century onward), the form became more and more refined. The move from plain celadon to inlaid celadon was probably driven by changes in the tastes of the royal house and aristocracy. King Uijong (r. 1146-1170), in particular, is said to have had much more extravagant tastes than the more austere King Injong who proceeded him; hence, he naturally preferred the decorative inlaid celadon.

As inlaid celadon gained in popularity, the content and structure of the designs changed. The line separating the main motif from the secondary decorations was clearly demarcated. Moreover, the main design and the external decorations were clearly differentiated in terms of content. Unlike the standardized motifs popular in the contemporary Northern Sung Dynasty of China, the Koryŏ inlaid celadon was decorated with pictorial scenes reminiscent of oriental brush paintings. This is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Koryŏ inlaid celadon. Archeological relics suggest that inlaid celadon reached its highest degree of refinement during the reign of King Uijong.

Decline of Celadon
The Mongol invasion of 1231 led to the decline of inlaid celadon as the designs no longer resembled leisurely pastoral scenes, but were instead reduced to standardized motifs. Especially during the last half of the thirteenth century, there was a great increase in the number of bowls and plates with inlay or white slip inscriptions of calendaric signs. In addition, patterns were increasingly imprinted on the ware in a repetitive and mechanical manner by means of a stamp. On bowls, the soft, delicate lines became rigid and blunt, as the walls became thicker and seemed to lack vitality. The glaze became dull and turbid becoming greenish-grey or even brown as pottery skills declined.

At this time, Korean ceramics were also influenced by those cultures at the western end of the Mongol empire. As a result, flattened vases, foreign arabesques and phoenix motifs began to appear. In addition, a new type of gilded celadon was produced.

Celadon's most drastic decline occurred in the late fourteenth century. During King Kongmin's reign (1351-1374), factional disputes led to a weakening of the monarchy. Coastal raids by Japanese marauders further exacerbated the problem. The celadon from this era, with its half-finished designs, uneven surfaces and poor glaze work, reflects the troubled times. During this period, Korean ceramic ware lost its flowing lines, while the spouts on the pitchers became more exaggerated like those of China. Although inlaid celadon declined as an art, it served as the stepping stone to the punch'ŏng of the Chosŏn Period.

White Porcelain (Paekcha)

Koryŏ's white porcelain style first appeared around the ninth century, during the Greater Shilla Period. White porcelain was produced in the plain style, in relief, incised or inlaid with iron-rich red ochre.

White porcelain kilns existed at Idong Township in Yongin County of Kyŏnggi Province (the Sŏ Village kilns), and in Poan Township in Puan County of Northern Cholla Province (the Yuch'ŏn Village kilns). Unlike the Yuch'ŏn Village kilns, which only produced a small amount of white porcelain, the Sŏ Village kilns produced white porcelain exclusively.

Iron-brown Underglaze, Iron Glaze and Marble Pattern Porcelain

In addition to celadon, which was the main ceramic style of the Koryŏ Period, white porcelain, iron glaze and marble pattern porcelain were also manufactured. Iron glaze ware gets its name from the heavy iron content of its glaze. On this style of ware, the glaze itself turns dark brown or black. For this reason, it is also known as ash glaze or ash-brown glaze.

Around the thirteenth century, Korea became influenced (via the Mongols) by the pottery styles of northern China. In particular, Koryŏ artists learned to make porcelain painted in iron-brown underglaze or ash glaze. In addition to these two new glaze styles, the Koryŏ Period saw the introduction of marble pattern porcelain. To create the marble-like appearance, white clay, celadon clay and red clay were mixed and shaped, and clear celadon-glaze was applied. The marble pattern style was chiefly used to make glasses. Very few examples are extant.

Porcelain Craftsmen

During the Koryŏ Period, craftsmen attached to central or government departments or specially designated zones were in charge of pottery manufacture. These craftsmen were of the slave, lowborn or freeborn classes. However, the management of these craft centers proved difficult. From the twelfth century to the early Chosŏn Period (fifteenth century),
there was an exodus of commoners from the special manufacturing zones. As a result, fewer skilled potters were available to work the kilns.

**Chosón Period**

During the Chosón Period, the Koryŏ tradition of simple and inlaid celadon was continued. In addition, the poorly-made celadon ware of the late Koryŏ developed into stamped and inlaid *punch'ŏng*. White porcelain was also actively produced becoming the diverse and innovative style of the new dynasty.

**Proliferation of Pottery Workshops Further Inland**

At the end of the Koryŏ Period, frequent coastal raids by Japanese pirates disrupted pottery manufacture. In addition, a weakening central authority made it possible for many commoners to desert the special craft zones. At the start of the Chosón Period, the formation of a new dynasty led to an increase in the consumption of pottery for both ritual and everyday use. For these reasons, during the Chosón Period, many new pottery centers for *punch'ŏng* and white porcelain were established further inland. These new manufacturing centers were especially concentrated in the Cholla, Kyŏngsang and Ch'ungch'ŏng Provinces.

**Celadon**

The transitional period between the late Koryŏ and early Chosón Periods was characterized by the coexistence of conservative and creative trends. On the one hand, Koryŏ celadon continued into the new dynasty. On the other hand, craftsmen were experimenting with a new style that came to be known as "*punch'ŏng*.

Archeological evidence of pure and inlaid celadon during the Chosón Period indicates that these older styles continued to exist along with the newer *punch'ŏng* style. Chosón celadon belongs to three categories: plain celadon, inlaid celadon, and celadon and white porcelain hybrid styles. As with Koryŏ pottery, pure celadon was made in a plain style (without designs), with incised patterns, etc.

**Punch'ŏng Porcelain**

*Punch'ŏng* marks the transition from the poor quality inlaid celadon of the late Koryŏ period to the distinctive ceramics styles of the Chosón Period. "*Punch'ŏng*” (powder-blue) is an abbreviation of “*punjang hoech'ŏng sagi*” (powder-decorated grey-blue porcelain).

**Types of Punch'ŏng**

*Punch'ŏng* is make with an extra process by which a layer of white slip is applied between the clay vessel and the glaze. There are many design techniques used with *punch'ŏng* such as: inlay, stamped pattern, *chohwa-mun*, *pakchi-mun*, iron pigment, brushmark and slip-covered. In addition to these, a unique style called grey-blue ware has also been discovered. Unlike typical *punch'ŏng*, grey-blue ware is not painted with white slip. It is thought to have been manufactured in the early fifteenth century.

As the successor to Koryŏ celadon inlay, *punch'ŏng* inlay initially consisted of lines of inlay portraying lotuses, willows, fish, etc. Eventually, advances in technique allowed for fluid depictions made up of inlay covering the entire surface of the design. During the late Koryŏ Period, a pottery tool resembling a seal had been used on some celadon. The Chosón Period saw the development of a *punch'ŏng* style by which the entire surface of a piece was covered with stamped designs.
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Chohwa-mun and pakchi-mun, on the other hand, allowed for more freedom in terms of form and composition. Chohwa-mun pieces were covered with white slip. The design was etched in lines. On pakchi-mun pieces, an additional process was added whereby the slip in the background area outside of the design was scraped off. On these pieces, a clear grey-green glaze was used to bring out the contrast between the background and the design. Iron pigment punch'ŏng, on the other hand, was made by applying iron pigment on top of white slip. The process was ideally suited for both simple abstract designs and realistic designs. In addition, there were slip-covered punch'ŏng with the entire surface covered with white slip, and brushmark punch'ŏng made by leaving distinct brushmarks on the surface of the slip.

Chohwa-mun, pakchi-mun, iron pigment, brushmark and slip-covered punch'ŏng allowed for a great deal of artistic freedom and abstraction in contrast with stamp pattern punch'ŏng's relatively fixed form.

Origin and Development: Early Fifteenth Century

Archaeological artifacts for late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn indicate that there were two distinct styles of punch'ŏng: lotus pond inlay style and stamped chrysanthemum style. Both of these styles were based on the inferior celadon of the late Koryŏ. From the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, pieces of these styles tended to be disorganized in terms of composition and the glaze-work was crude; however, both styles underwent refinement during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). As mentioned before, grey-green ceramic ware was also made until the beginning of the Chosŏn Period, but with the advent of punch'ŏng, this transitional style disappeared.

Unlike inlaid punch'ŏng, stamped punch'ŏng, with its standard patterns, was often used in the palace or in government offices. As a result, this style of punch'ŏng was often stamped with seals bearing an office title. During Sejong's reign, the name of the craftsman was also written on the bottom of ceramic ware -- an innovation aimed at improving the quality of Chosŏn ceramics.

Refinement: Mid-fifteenth Century

Based on refinements during Sejong's reign, punch'ŏng reached its highest development during the reign of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468). Stamped punch'ŏng, in particular, underwent a great deal of refinement. On both the stamped celadon of the late Koryŏ Period and the stamped chrysanthemum punch'ŏng of the early Chosŏn, the patterns had been spaced widely apart; however, in King Sejo's reign, the patterns were stamped closely together, at times overlapping so as to obscure one another.

In the 1470s, the Chosŏn royalty became fascinated by the blue and white ceramic style transmitted from China. As interest in punch'ŏng waned, the government set up official kilns devoted to blue and white ware and white porcelain. Lacking royal support, punch'ŏng went into sharp decline.

Potter Seals

Potter seals were more frequently used on punch'ŏng than on celadon or white porcelain. The content of the seals can be classified as follows:

1. name of craftsman
2. name of government department
3. region of manufacture
4. date of manufacture
5. place of use, quality rating, etc.

The name of the government department was stamped on pieces to guard against theft of
official property. Inscriptions bearing the name of the craftsman were an innovation of King Sejong's, although such inscriptions are in fact more common on pieces from the subsequent reign of King Sejo. Seals showing the region of manufacture are most common on pieces from Kyŏngsang Province. These were often combined with the name of the affiliated government department.

Establishment of *Punwŏn*: Decline of *Punch'ŏng* and Popularity of White Porcelain

Around 1467 and 1468, official kilns were established in Kwangju in Kyŏnggi Province. Overseen by the *Saongwŏn* (the government office in charge of tribute and meals for the royalty), these kilns, called *punwŏn*, were exclusively charged with the production of white porcelain for the royalty. Kwangju was selected for several reasons. First of all, it was near the capital (present Seoul) and thus in close proximity to the royal palaces. In addition, the site was already famous for the production of high quality white porcelain. Moreover, the site had an abundant supply of fuel woods as well as high quality clay.

Regional kilns around the nation continued to make *punch'ŏng*, but the quality was declining. An interesting innovation at this time was the iron pigment *punch'ŏng*. This style used a crude glaze and clay with a rough finish. In order to conceal the rough surface of the clay, a thick layer of slip was applied. The craftwork was so rough, marks from the sand firing supports were sometimes visible on the bottom of the pieces. Since many kilns at the base of Kyeryong Mountain manufactured iron pigment *punch'ŏng*, the style is also known as "Kyeryong Mountain punch'ŏng."  

From the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, brushmark and slip-covered *punch'ŏng* came into vogue; however, from the mid-sixteenth century, these styles disappeared entirely. Regional kilns also existed, providing the common people with white porcelain for everyday use, but the quality of the work tended to be poor.

White Porcelain

Types of White Porcelain

Chosŏn's craftsmen, influenced by the hard white porcelain being produced in China's Jiang-xi Province around the end of the Koryŏ and the beginning of the Chosŏn Period, began making their own white porcelain. During the Koryŏ Period, white porcelain was usually an ivory-coloured, soft ceramic ware. In the Chosŏn Period, on the other hand, the high quality pieces were made of white clay covered with a bluish, clear glaze. However, depending on the era and place of manufacture, the glaze could also be greyish white, snow-white, bluish-white, etc.

During the Chosŏn Period, pure white celadon was produced in relief, incised, using openwork or plain (without designs). In addition, Koryŏ design styles such as inlay, iron pigment, copper glaze or in rare cases, stamped pattern were also utilized on white porcelain. In addition, craftsmen, influenced by the Mongols and the Ming, began to make blue and white porcelain using blue cobalt pigment. Potters also used red ochre to produce iron pigment designs or under-glaze brown designs, by which part or all of the surface was covered. Iron pigment glazes were also used to create iron glazes that turned dark brown or reddish-brown.

White Porcelain Styles During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The Koryŏ style of white procelain was manufactured until the fifteenth century. Chosŏn style white porcelain begins with a crudely-crafted sarira container made for Yi Songgye in 1391. However, the general Ming style white porcelain characteristic of the Chosŏn style probably was not produced until the reign of Sejong.
During the reign of King Sejo, the increased use of white, and blue and white porcelain throughout the palace necessitated increased production of these pottery styles for both ritual and everyday use. Eventually, white porcelain came into use by even the common people.

Although some of the Chosŏn blue and white ware utilized the standard arabesque of Ming China, most pieces were decorated with imaginative scenes and designs unique to Korea. From the reign of King Songjong, production of exquisite white porcelain and blue and white ware continued to increase, driven by the tremendous demand for luxury goods by all sectors of society. From the sixteenth century, amidst a weak monarchy and frequent power struggles, Chosŏn's policies and laws dealing with pottery production and restrictions on consumption were in complete disarray. As a result, white porcelain production increased in quantity from the late fifteenth or sixteenth century; nevertheless, it stagnated as an art form.

White Porcelain Styles From Seventeenth to Mid-eighteenth Centuries

In the devastating Hideyoshi invasions beginning in 1592, many kilns throughout the country were damaged or destroyed. Craftsmen found it impossible to make quality pottery during the chaotic period. Records from the era indicate a dramatic drop in both quantity and quality of ceramic ware.

During the seventeenth century, the cobalt used in blue and white ware was unavailable due to destruction of kilns and the general climate of disorder. As a result, kilns produced a large amount of white porcelain using iron pigment, which was more readily acquired. The iron pigment pieces from this era often have crude decorations depicting comic dragons with bodies that fade into the background, or clearly defined, abstract floral patterns. Beginning with the late seventeenth century, faint blue pigment was used to depict orchids on pieces of blue and white ware. In the eighteenth century, on the other hand, there was an increase in white porcelain decorated with copper pigment. On these pieces, the abstract red designs, painted over the white background, produced a striking effect. During the mid-Chosŏn Period, there was an increase in pottery kilns through Korea. These kilns mass-produced white porcelain for everyday use by the common people. Needless to say, these articles show cruder craftsmanship.

White Porcelain Styles From Mid-Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

In 1752, the official kilns were moved to Punwŏn Village in Kwangju. These kilns, representative of the late Chosŏn Period, produced white porcelain in the Kŭmsa Village tradition. As time went by, the quality of this ware declined. From the mid-nineteenth century, the site produced crude, ill-formed white porcelain. In 1884, with the privatization of the site, official kilns could no longer serve as the guiding force behind Chosŏn ceramics.

During the late Chosŏn Period, a great number of pottery techniques were employed. At the same time, the shapes of pots and vessels became more diverse. Both square bottles and round, flattened bottles were produced. Porcelain was made using iron glaze, or with blue cobalt (sometimes combined with copper pigment). In addition, a great number of innovative designs came into use. Yet, the majority of pieces were much like those commonly used today.

In addition, water droppers (used with ink stones) were crafted in the shape of numerous animals and plants, i.e. frogs, toads, turtles, rabbits, mythological beasts, peaches and so on. Pen and paper holders, along with various ritual vessels were also common. Pieces were also decorated with motifs from folk art, such as the magpie and tiger. In addition, pieces decorated with red ochre came into everyday use at this time.
Judging from geographical names of the Kwangju kilns, the sites seem to have straddled the Han River. The early Chosŏn kilns produced mostly hard white porcelain, but they also seem to have produced some of the softer variety. According to excavations, inlaid and pure white porcelain were produced along with smaller quantities of blue and white ware, celadon, etc. Bowls, bottles and vases were made, and the characters for, “heaven,” “earth,” “purple,” and “yellow” were inscribed by scraping the glaze on the bottom of white porcelain bowls and plates. At sites such as the sixteenth century Kwanŭm Village or Chŏngji Village kilns, shards of white porcelain decorated with iron pigment have been discovered. Characters such as “left” or “right” (denoting rank) are incised on the bottom of some of these pieces.

Designs on the blue and white ware from the Kwangju kilns can generally be divided into Korean and Chinese styles. The former employs many forest motifs such as pine and bamboo, or twisted branches with the moon and stars. On pieces of the latter style, the surface was filled with detailed dragon motifs or fairly crude arabesques. Glaze work on the former was elegantly done compared to the latter pieces. The latter style works show that Korean craftsmen were in the process of mastering the Chinese blue and white ware style, but had not yet fully transformed it into an indigenous art form.

During the seventeenth century, the Sŏndong Village kilns produced white porcelain with a greyish or light-blue hue. In addition to plain white porcelain, the kilns also made pieces decorated with iron pigment or blue cobalt. Some of this blue and white ware had the character “ceremony” inscribed on the inside, and the pieces were decorated with dragons, bamboo, orchids, grapes, plum flowers, etc.

The Kŭmsa Village kilns, on the other hand, manufactured the snow-white porcelain typical of the mid-Chosŏn Period. High bottoms on the ritual vessels are the characteristic feature of pottery from this site. The official kilns were eventually moved from Kŭmsa Village to Punwŏn Village. White porcelain from Punwŏn Village tends to be of poor quality. The character such as “ceremony,” “longevity,” or “good fortune” appear on the inside of the ritual vessels, along with special characters used as designs.

Porcelain Craftsmen

In the early Chosŏn Period, craftsmen were generally of the lowborn class, but from the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494), there was a gradual increase in freeborn craftsmen. Some of these were government craftsmen working under the jurisdiction of public offices, while others were privately employed. From the reign of King Sŏngjong, government craftsmen gradually started to desert their posts. By the reign of Yŏnsan, there were not enough government craftsmen for even the manufacture of pottery for the royal house; hence, private craftsmen had to be employed. There were a number of reasons for this exodus of official craftsmen, i.e. a lack of government funds, the weakening of the monarchy under King Sŏngjong and government neglect. Moreover, pottery manufacture had become a large-scale operation no longer manageable by the current government structure.

As a result, even the remaining government craftsmen took private orders in order to supplement their meagre incomes -- a practice that was tacitly accepted by the government. By the late Chosŏn Period, the exodus of government craftsmen had become such a common occurrence that the official kilns were no longer under de facto control of the Saongwŏn, but were instead managed by merchants on a profit basis. Finally in 1884, with the official privatization of the kilns, Chosŏn pottery entered a state of decline.
Social Class of Consumers

The history of Korean ceramics is characterized by a gradual increase in the availability of pottery to people of lower social standing. Celadon had been available to only the privileged classes during the Koryo Period. During the reign of Choson’s King T’aejo (r. 1392) and T’aejong (r. 1400-1418), ceramics were primarily utilized by the royalty and officials of the central government. During Sejong and Sejo’s reign, white porcelain, white and blue ware, as well as the top quality punch’ông were used by the king, the aristocrats affiliated with the royal house, and throughout the palace complex. Thus, punch’ông was already in use by everyone from the king to the common people during the early Choson Period.

After the establishment of the official kilns in Kwangju, these kilns concentrated on the mass production of high-quality white porcelain. Legally, the white ware from these kilns was solely for use by the royal house, but frequent proclamations to this effect during the reigns of King Sejo and Sŏngjong suggest that a significant portion of this ware made it into other hands. In support of this supposition, archeological finds show that the official kilns also produced crude white porcelain that was intended for use by central government officials or private citizens. Moreover, there is evidence that even officials and even commoners were illegally using white porcelain and blue and white ware during the reigns of King Sejo and Sejong --- an indication that royal statutes were being ignored and government control of official kilns was already weakening. This turn of events also shows how a preference for white porcelain was evident throughout Choson society from early on.

Bibliography


Ch’a Ch’ŏllo (1556-1615)

Ch’a Ch’ŏllo was a scholar official of mid Choson. His family’s ancestral home is in Yŏna, his courtesy name was Pogwŏn and his pen names include Osan, Kyoilshil and Ch’ŏngmyo kosa. Ch’a was born in Songdo and was the disciple of Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1489-1546). In 1577 he passed the military section of the Royal Visitation Examination (Alsŏng shi) and was appointed as Education Officer (kyo-su) of Kaesŏng. In 1583 he was successful in the civil service examination, but in 1586 while serving as a regulator for the civil service examinations he was exiled to Myŏngch’ŏn as a result of improprieties concerning the examination of an acquaintance from his hometown. He was reinstated in 1588 and in the following year was dispatched on an embassy to Japan along with Hwang Yun’gil (1536-?). During his time in Japan, and to the delight of Japanese literary men, Ch’a composed some four to five thousand pieces of poetry. His literary fame even reached to Ming China where he was honoured with the title of ‘Literary Man of the Eastern Country’ (tongbang munsa). Ch’a continued to serve Chosŏn in various official positions and during the reign of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) he served in the Office of Sacrificial Rites (Pongsangsai).

Ch’a is highly praised for his fine skills in poetry and is counted among the premier literary men of his age. His kasa and other writings have been transmitted to the present day in his literary collections Osan chip (Collected Works of Osan) and Osan sŏllim (Literary
Ch’adae, King

[Mythology]

Ch’ae Manshik (1902-1950)

Born in Okku, North Ch’olla Province; Attended Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan; Worked as a reporter for Dong-a Ilbo (Tonga Daily), Chosun Ilbo (Chos’On Daily), and Kaebiyok Publisher.

Ch’ae Manshik (styled Paengnung) made his literary debut by publishing a short story, "Toward the Three Paths~" in 1924. But it was after the publication of the two superb stories, "An Intellectual and a Flat Rice Cake" and "A Ready-made Life" that he attracted critical attention and became famous. Ch’ae was by no means a prolific writer, but nearly all of his fiction is marked by a satirical vein.

In "A Ready-made Life," for instance, Ch’ae relentlessly portrays the defeat and despair of an alienated intellectual in a colonial society, who could not find the meaning of his own existence. But "A Ready-made Life" is not a simply gloomy story, but a hilarious one saturated with black humor and satire. The protagonist of "A Ready-made Life" is a surplus man situated in the margin of a colonial society. Once an ambitious intellectual, he is now reduced to a helpless lumpen proletariat, a failure not being able to get a job. It is an account of a social misfit who agonises in frustration and despair, victimised by hostile environment. It is a sad story, to be sure, and yet, it invites cheerful laughter, though nihilistic to a certain extent. Ch’ae’s novel, The Muddy Current, delineates various types of people in a seaport as well as in urban ghettos in the 1930’s. The novel, dealing with Japanese exploitation of Korean agriculture, is a powerful indictment of the Korean society during that period based on gross injustice and corruption. The Muddy Current is certainly a representative novel of Ch’ae but it was Peaceful Reign that helped Chae establish himself as a prominent novelist. Peaceful Reign is a family Saga a chronology of the Yun family. This novel dealing with four generations of the Yun family explores the conflict between the generations and traces the social history of Korea from the 1900’s to the 1930’s.

Yun Yonggyu who belongs to the first generation is a man who manages to make himself a millionaire somehow during the chaotic era in late Choson Dynasty. Although he succeeds in making his family ascend to a higher social class he is killed by a bandit during the process - another outcome of the chaotic period. The second generation is represented by Yun Chikgwon who aspires to have not only fortune but also fame. He abhors the chaotic period that has caused the death of his father completely forgetting the fact that the very chaos has enabled his family to be rich and desires stability and serenity. That’s why he is so pleased to live under the Japanese occupation which he calls the "peaceful reign." Thus social change is the last thing he wants. In order to maintain the stability for his family, he even wants his grandsons to become either a mayor or a police commissioner. Meanwhile he buys out the "Yangban" (aristocracy) title so that he can marry off his children to Yangban class.

Yun Changshik who represents the third generation is a prodigal indulged in dissipation and degradation—a typically spoiled son who has rich father. Ann Chong-su too who belongs to the fourth generation squanders his family’s fortune. However Yun Chonghak who also belongs to the fourth generation participates in the socialist movement and as a result is arrested. At last the Yun family disintegrate. Portraying the rise and fall of the four generations of the Yun Family Ch’ae Manshik explores the social political and historical changes and landscapes of Korea in the early twentieth century.
Around the Liberation Ch'ae published such stories as "A Story of Rice Field" "Mr. Pang" "Officer Maeng" and "A Sinner before His People." "A Story of Rice Field" deal with the history of land in Korea which immediately intertwined with the lives of the Korean people. It was in "Mr. Pang" and "Officer Maeng" that Ch'ae's brilliant sense of satire and parody luminates. "Mr. Pang" is an account of an ignorant country man named Pang Sambok who happens to learn English a little and thus becomes an interpreter for the U.S. military government in Korea right after the Liberation. As the pro-Japanese recede, the pro-American gain the power now. Pang savers the power and audaciously tries to grab all the opportunities to make the money it entails. Making an unexpected mistake, however, he falls down and eventually loses everything. Reading this story, the reader chuckles at the author's poignant satire and admires Ch'ae's profound insight into and powerful criticism of the chaotic change in Korean society occurred immediately after the Liberation. "Officer Maeng," too, satirises the chaotic period in Korea right after the Liberation. His works include The Muddy Current (T'angnyu), 1986; The Complete Works of Ch'ae Manshik, 1989.

**Ch'ae P'aengnyun (1669-1731)**

Ch'ae P'aengnyun was a late Chosön scholar-official. His family's ancestral home is in P'yönggang, his courtesy name was Chunggi and his pen names were Húiam and Únwa. His father Ch'ae Shisang was a magistrate (small county, hyön'gam). In 1687 Ch'ae P'aengnyun became a literary licentiate (chinsa) and in 1689 was successful in the Augmented Examination (chungwang shi). He was then appointed as Third Diarist (kómyööl) in the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun'gwan). At this time, Ch'ae received an order from King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) to compose five and seven syllable regulated verse form (yulshi) poems, which brought him fame for his compositional abilities. In 1691 he was appointed to the Crown Prince Tutorial Office (Seja Shigangwon) and in 1694 served as Fourth Censor (chöngón). After this time, Ch'ae retired from official life and concentrated on lecturing his disciples. However, in 1724 when Yôngjo (r. 1724-1776) became king, Ch'ae returned to officialdom and served as Royal Secretary (sùngji), in addition to holding other offices. By 1730, he held the concurrent appointments of Second Minister (ch'amp'án) of the Board of War (Pyöñjo), Third Magistrate (tongjisa) of the State Tribunal (Üigümбу) and First Counsellor (pujehak) of the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmn'gwan). Ch'ae's literary collection Húiam chip (Collected Works of Húiam) is extant, and contains many examples of his poetic skills, as well as other pieces.

**Ch'angdök Palace**  
[Architecture]

**Ch'angjak kwa pip'yöng**  
[Literature]

**Ch'angjo**  
[Magazines]

**Ch'angnyöng County**

Situated in the northern part of South Kyöngsang Province, Ch'angnyöng county includes the towns of Namji and Ch'angnyöng, and the townships of Kilgok, Kyesöng, Koam, Toch'ón, Taegi, Taehap, Pugok, Sönsan, Yongsan, Yuö and Ibang. The county covers a total area of 532 sq. kms., and 1989 statistics show that its population was 89,653. Mt. Subong (593m), Mt. Chöñwang (619), Mt. Kwannyöng (740m) and other peaks of the Pistül Mountain Range rise up in the northeast, while the Naktong River runs along the county's western and southern borders.

In former times, the county's western plains frequently suffered flood damage. In 1925, however, an extensive project was undertaken to repair the area's waterways. This was
followed by another project in 1976 during which marshland and flood plains were reclaimed for agricultural use. The success of these projects increased the county’s arable land to 30 per cent. Of this, about 98 sq. kms. grows rice and about 64 sq. kms. is used for dry-field crops.

With a long stretch of the Naktong River as well as numerous mountains and reservoirs, the county offers a large number of scenic attractions. The Pugok Hot Springs, in Pugok Township just south of Mt. Togam, are one of the county’s top tourist destinations. With water temperatures from 58c to 78c, these springs are among the hottest in Korea. Discovered by Shin Hyōnt’aek in 1973, these sulphurous springs release 6 000 tons of water daily. In addition to sulphur, the springs contain chlorine, calcium and iron. The water is said to cure both respiratory ailments and skin diseases. Situated in a picturesque natural setting, the springs have been developed extensively as a tourist attraction. Located here is ‘Pugok Hawaii’, an extensive complex containing indoor and outdoor swimming pools, a huge bath house, a theatre, a botanical garden, a zoo and golf links.

In nearby Yŏngsan Township near Mt. Hambak, is the Yŏngsan Mineral Spring. The water here is said to be efficacious in treating such diverse ailments as chronic stomach disease and ringworm. Records show that the spring was discovered by a woodcutter during the reign of Shilla King Kyŏngdŏk (742-765).

As well as its scenic attractions, the county contains a number of ancient sites and relics. Historically, the most important temples are Kwannyong Temple at the foot of Mt. Kwanggyong in Ch’angnyŏng, and Kwanum Temple between Highway 5 and the Kuma Expressway in Toch’ŏn Township. Confucian schools in the area include Ch’angnyŏng Hyanggyo (county public school) in Ch’angnyŏng’s Kyo Village, Yŏngsan Hyanggyo in Yŏngsan Township, Kwansan Sŏwŏn (private school) and Sogok Sŏwŏn in Koam Township, Kwangsan Sŏwŏn west of Mt. Sŏngji (200m) in Yuŏ Township, and Tŏkpong Sŏwŏn east of the Pugok Hot Springs. In Yuŏ Township’s Migu Village, is P’alakchŏng (Eight Pleasures Pavilion), which was originally built as a lecture hall in 1580 by Chŏng Ku, a famous scholar of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. In 1852, the dilapidated structure was repaired to become the building seen today. The pavilion gets its name from ‘eight scenic wonders’ found in nearby locations.

In order to promote and preserve the area’s traditional culture, a number of festivals and rites are held here every year. On 1 March (Independence Movement Day), the Yŏngsan Cultural Festival takes place. The festival commemorates the active role that local people played in the 1919 movement for independence from Japanese colonial rule. During the festival, visitors can witness a number of traditional folk events and ceremonies as well as traditional games. Many cultural and art performances, competitions and exhibitions are also held at this time.

**Ch’angwŏn**

Situated in the southern part of South Kyŏngsang Province between Masan and Kimhae, Ch’angwŏn is a planned city, which was modelled after Canberra, Australia’s capital. As part of the city’s development, 15 sq. kms. have been set aside for the creation of parks and there is an continuing effort to plant trees throughout the city. Unlike most Korean cities, Ch’angwŏn has wide roads and its lanes and alleyways are not clogged with street vendors. Ch’angwŏn-daero, a 50-metre wide road running through the city centre, has a 12.5 km. straight stretch, denoting it as one of the longest in Korea.

Ch’angwŏn was created in the 1970s as part of a government plan to promote the development of heavy industry, including chemical and defence. The site for the city was chosen because of its proximity to the industrial cities of Masan and Pusan. It was also felt
that since the city was situated in a basin surrounded by mountains, the area would be relatively safe from a North Korean attack.

South of Ch'angwŏn-daero road lies the Ch'angwŏn Industrial Complex, which houses 330 companies. Factories here produce a wide variety of machines for various industries as well as machine parts and spares. Conglomerates located here include Korea Heavy Industry, Samsung Heavy Industries, Daewoo Heavy Industries, Hyosung Heavy Industries, Lucky-Goldstar and Hyundai. On the southern side of the Chungang-dong rotary lies the Industrial Complex Management Corporation. Established in 1974, this provides general management for the plants within the complex. During the 1980s, Ch'angwŏn’s population burgeoned as people came to work in the city’s numerous factories. With numerous employment opportunities, Ch'angwŏn has attracted many young workers, so that today almost half of the population is aged between twenty and thirty years.

In addition to its factories, the city is home to a number of research centres and schools. Within the Ch'angwŏn Industrial Complex, is the Korea Institute of Metal and Machinery, the Korea Electricity Research Institute, the Korea-Belgium Vocational Institute and Ch'angwon Mechanical High School. In 1976, the Korea Electrotechnology Research Institute (KERI) was also established here. This R and D centre helps manufacturers upgrade productivity of heavy electronic appliances. In addition to research, the institute performs quality assurance tests of electronic apparatus as a government authorised inspection centre. Colleges in the city include Ch'angwon Industrial Masters College, Ch'angwon College, Ch'angwon Junior College and Ch'angwon National University in Sarim-dong. Ch'angwŏn has also benefited from the influx of government agencies. In 1983, the South Kyongsang provincial government was moved to Sarim-dong, and in the years since, over fifty provincial organisations have moved into the city.

There are a number of important historical sites in the area. Ancient tombs and dolmens have been found to the south of Yongsan Reservoir. Buddhist artefacts in the area include a three-storey pagoda (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 26) on the grounds of Chigwi Primary School in Chigwi-dong, a stone Vairocana statue (Treasure No. 436) in Taebang-dong, Ichumun (one-pillar gate) at Pulgok Temple, Sŏngju Temple’s three-storey pagoda and Main Buddha Hall (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 25 and 134), a Shilla-era carving in relief of a seated Buddha (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 98) at Samjŏngja-dong and a Koryŏ-era seated Buddha figure near Yonggang Tunnel. Old Confucian schools in the area include Ch'angwŏn Hyanggyo, which was moved to its present location east of Yongsan Reservoir in 1749, Sahwa-dong’s Unam Sŏwŏn founded in 1702 and Tobong Sŏwŏn to the west of Yongsan Reservoir.

The Mt. Magŭm Hot Spring is just south of the Naktong River in Shinch’ŏn Village.

Ch'ansongga

Ch'egwan (971)

Ch’egwan (also pronounced Chegwan) was a Koryŏ monk best known for his study of Ch’ont’ae (Ch. Tiantai, Jap. Tendai), an influential school of Buddhist thought founded by the Chinese monk Zhiyi (538-597). Prior to Ch’egwan, originals of the early Tiantai teachings had disappeared from China as a result of the Anlu and Shisi Rebellion (755-761), the Huichang Persecution (845-847) and waning royal support. As a result, King Zhongyi of Wuyueh invited Ch’egwan to China to reintroduce the Tiantai scriptures. While in China, Ch’egwan wrote the Ch’ont’ae sagyŏ ǔi (Chin. Tiantai siqiao yi, Outline of the Tiantai Fourfold Teachings). In this terse work, Ch’egwan provides a systematic summary of the Tiantai teachings. The work is structured on Ch’egwan’s system of sutra
classification by which he divides the various Buddhist teachings into the Five Periods and Eight Teachings, a classification based on that of Zhanran (711-782), the Sixth Patriarch of Tiantai.

Although this work was not disseminated during Ch’egwan’s lifetime, it later went on to have a tremendous influence throughout East Asia. In particular, it had a major impact on developments within the Japanese Tendai Sect. From the time of Ennin (792-862), the development of esoteric transmissions of Tendai beliefs in Japan had made it increasingly difficult to ascertain the fundamental teachings of the school. As a result, Japanese came to rely on Ch’egwan’s text as an authoritative summary of Tendai beliefs. As evidence of its continuous influence over the years, more than two-hundred commentaries and sub-commentaries have been written on the text and the entire work has been translated into English.

Ch’ilbo Mountain

Mt. Ch’ilbo (906 metres) is situated in North Hamgyŏng Province, east of Kilchu. Where the mountain meets the East Sea, waves pound against cliffs several hundred metres high. According to legend, seven mountains once stood together here, like seven gems (ch’ilbo), but six of the mountains sunk down into the sea leaving only Mt. Ch’ilbo behind. With spectacular pinnacles of rock, numerous caves and crystal clear streams, the mountain is considered one of the eight wonders of North Hamgyŏng Province. In particular, the valleys and peaks around Kaeshim Temple are renowned for their spectacular beauty.

Ch’ilch’ul (seven grounds for expulsion of a wife) [Society]

Ch’ilgŏ chi ak [Women]

Ch’ilgok County

Situated northwest of Taegu in North Kyŏngsang Province, Ch’ilgok County has the town of Waegwan and the townships of Kasan, Kisan, Tongmyŏng, Puksam, Sŏchŏk, Yangmok and Chich’ŏn. Mt. Ka (902m), Mt. Todŏk (660m), Mt. Paegun (713m) and Mt. Yuhak (839m) rise in the eastern half of the county, while Mt. Yŏngam (782m), Mt. Piryong (576m) and Mt. Ponghwa (468m) stand near the western border. The Naktong River flows through the county’s western sector.

Rice is cultivated in the fertile lowlands along the Naktong River. In addition, green vegetable, apples, and garden plants are grown for sale in the Taegu and Kumi markets. Stock breeding and sericulture are other commercial activities. In recent times, small factories have been established to do subcontracting work for the textile and electronics factories in Taegu and Kumi.

The county’s tourist industry is primarily centred around the area’s scenic mountains, the Naktong River and the historical sites. Located in Tongmyŏng Township’s Kudŏk Village, Songnim Temple is one of the county’s top tourist attractions. This ancient monastery is believed to have been founded during the reign of Shilla’s King Naemul (r. 356-402). The five-storey pagoda found here, unlike most ancient pagodas, is in excellent condition with even the finial portion intact. Sarira and reliquaries have been discovered inside the pagoda. Other ancient monasteries include Yonghwa Temple in Yangmok Township and Hŏngguk Temple in Waegwan.

There are a number of Confucian schools in the area, including Sayang Sŏwŏn in Chich’ŏn Township; Soam Sŏwŏn in Kisan Township; and Pongyang Sŏwŏn in Sŏchŏk Township. In Yangmok Township’s Namgye Village is Sungmusa. Built in December,
1980, this shrine commemorates General Shinyu who lived during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720).

The county’s location northwest of Taegu and on the Naktong River, has made it the hub of the many important battles fought during both Choson and in modern times. In Kasan Township on the rugged Mt. Ch’onsaeng, there is a fortress where Kwak Chaeu and a group of guerrilla fighters successfully repelled Hideyoshi’s forces in a pitched battle. In Mt. Ka Provincial Park, there is another stone fortress that was built after the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). The area is also famous for battles fought during the Korean War. In Kasan Township’s Tabu Village, there is a monument commemorating a southern victory in a decisive battle against invading North Korean forces.

Ch’ilgung Shrine

Ch’ilsŏ onhae

Ch’ilsŏ onhae is a han’gŭl rendering of the Three Classics and Four Books of Confucianism, which was ordered by King Sonjo (r. 1567-1608). This work was begun in 1586 and completed in 1588. The Four Books of Confucianism represented are Taehak onhae (Great Learning-Korean Annotation) which is one volume and one fascicle, Chungyong onhae (Doctrine of the Mean-Korean Annotation) which is also one volume and one fascicle, Nono onhae (Analects-Korean Annotation) which is four volumes and four fascicles, and Maengja (Mencius-Korean Annotation) of fourteen volumes and seven fascicles. The Three Classics are the Chuyok onhae (Book of Changes-Korean Annotation) composed of nine volumes and five fascicles, Shigyong onhae (Book of Songs-Korean Annotation) of twenty volumes and ten fascicles, and Sojon onhae (Book of Documents Annotated Version-Korean Annotation) of five volumes and five fascicles.

The original version of this wood-block print work was destroyed in the Japanese Invasion of 1592 and is not extant. However, after the Invasion, Sonjo again ordered the work to be published, in 1601. Subsequently, it was republished under King Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) in 1611 and in 1631 a wood block edition was published. There were also many other printings of this work throughout Choson. Ch’ilsŏ onhae now serves as a valuable source for examining the changes in the Korean language throughout the last half of the Choson Kingdom.

Ch’ima

Ch’odong (Woodcutters )

Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (857-?),

Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (styled Koun) a scholar of the late Shilla period, was from the Saryang district of Kyŏngju, the Shilla capital. He is said to have shown an early aptitude for learning, and at the age of twelve (868) he was sent to study in China. His father is reported to have said to him, "If you cannot pass the examination in ten years, you are not a worthy son of mine. Go and study hard!" It seems clear that he was an apt and diligent student, as he succeeded in passing the Tang dynasty civil service examinations at the early age of seventeen.

In the same year (874) Ch’oe was appointed Chief of Personnel (or Comptroller) in Piao Shui District, Xuan Zhou County. Five years later he was made Secretary and Censor in the same district and received "a purple pouch with a golden fish tally". At that time the Huang Chao rebellion broke out and Kao Pien (d.887) was made Circuit Field Commander and dispatched to quell the uprising. Kao appointed Ch’oe as his secretary, and the
memorials, letters and Manifesto that Ch'oe wrote at that time are still extant. His writings in Chinese were well-known, and reference is made in the New History of the Tang Dynasty to a collection of twenty of his literary works entitled Kyewŏn Pilgyŏng chip.

At the age of twenty-eight Ch'oe made known his wish to return home. On hearing of this, Emperor Hui Zong (873-888) sent him to Korea as his envoy with an imperial edict in 885. He was then appointed Royal Lecturer, Hallim Academician and Deputy Minister of Military Affairs in the Shilla court. Ch'oe had profited greatly from his studies and experience in China and, upon returning to Korea, was anxious to put his knowledge into practice. He and two other influential scholars, Ch'oe Sungu and Ch'oe Shinji, were active in the reform movement during this period, and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn had some specific ideas as to how to correct problems in the bureaucracy. In particular, he wished to see the old Bone Rank System (kolp'um chedo), which rewarded bloodline rather than merit, changed to enable men of ability to prosper. He wrote a letter to Queen Chinsŏng entitled "Ten Issues of the Day" describing what he considered the most important matters for the government to address.

However, his suggestions were not taken seriously, possibly due to the fact that he was regarded with suspicion and envy in the court, and also because of the general decline and turmoil of the Shilla dynasty in the late ninth century. By 887, during the reign of Queen Chinsŏng, rebellion had broken out in several areas due to the ineffectiveness of the government in dealing with problems in the countryside. These uprisings led to the formation of the Later Paekche Kingdom in the southwest and the Later Koguryŏ Kingdom in the north central region, and were said to have been either started or supported by prominent men returning from training in China. Ch'oe was regarded as one of this group, but unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not take part in violent revolution in order to bring about change. He became magistrate of Taesan county (present T'aein, North Cholla Province) for a time, but eventually left the government service and retired to Haein Temple northwest of the Shilla capital of Kyŏngju. In retirement he taught a growing number of disciples who became the well-trained nucleus of government service in the new Koryŏ court. It is believed that Wang Kôn, the founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, corresponded with Ch'oe, who refused to serve the court himself, but many of whose students brought Confucian ideas into the new administration. The last part of Ch'oe's life is shrouded in mystery and it is not known when, where or how he died. He was the second man to be enshrined in the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy, and is also considered the founder of the Kyŏngju Ch'oe lineage, which includes almost everyone named Ch'oe in Korea today.

Ch'oe Ch'ung (984-1068)

Ch'oe Ch'ung (styled Munhŏn kong) was a Confucian scholar and administrator during the Koryŏ Dynasty. A descendant of the Haeju lineage of the Ch'oe family, he was responsible for the establishment of a new system of private education.

Achieving first ranking in the civil service examination of 1005, he commenced service as a government official, and among his first duties was the recompilation of books which had been destroyed during war with the Khitans. These works included the Ch'ildae Shillok (Annals of the Seven Kings) and the Hyŏnjong Shillok (Annals of King Hyŏnjong). As Chief Minister of State Affairs, he established a new criminal law system. Serving in numerous government posts, he also made contributions to the defence of the country (and in particular, the north-east border area) as head of the Supreme Council of Defence Matters.

However, his most important contribution lay in his establishment of a private education system. During this period, the introduction of the civil service examination had made it
necessary for those seeking positions as government officials to possess a sound knowledge of Confucianism and Chinese history and literature. However, a stable national education system was not yet in place, and Ch'oe, as the grand preceptor and secretary-general of the Royal Secretariat, sought to partially rectify this problem through the opening of his own private school in the capital city, Kaesong. The school quickly gained popularity, and Ch'oe himself came to be called Haedong Kongja (the 'Confucius of Korea'), his enthusiasm for expanding the education system being likened to that displayed earlier by Confucius in China.

Divided into nine academies, his school was known as *Kujae Haktang* (Nine Academy School). In preparation for the civil service examinations, students were educated in literature and in the the nine Confucian classics and the three histories, *Shiji* (Records of Grand Historian), *Han shu* (History of the Former Han) and *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han). The institution played a significant role in the development of Chinese classical studies in the Koryo Dynasty. Due to his reputation and influence, Ch'oe was able to invite certain prominent scholars and high-ranking officials to come and teach his students, and competitions were even arranged between the visiting teachers and the students. His students were able to pass the civil service examination and gain government posts with relative ease, and they retained their distinct identity as *Munhōn Kongdo* (Lord Chancellor Ch'oe's Disciples) even after moving on to public life.

The success of the Nine Academy School led to the establishment of a private education system, and eleven other distinguished Confucian scholars founded their own schools following Ch'oe's model, the twelve schools coming to be known as the *Sahak Shibido* (Twelve Assemblies).

**Ch'oe Ch'ung-hōn (1149-1219)**

Ch'oe Ch'ung-hōn was a prominent general during the Koryo Dynasty. Ch'oe established military rule under the Ch'oe House and consolidated his power through the suppression of peasant and slave revolts, notably those led by Man'gi (1170) and Manjōk (1198). During his life, Ch'oe was responsible for the dethroning of three kings (Myōngjong, Shinjong and Hūijjong) and the enthroning of four others. (Shinjong, Hūijjong, Kangjong and Kojong).

The 1170 coup, masterminded by Ch'ong Chungbu, brought about a radical change in the Koryo power structure, and military officers gained control of government from civilian officials. However, disputes among generals led to a deterioration in political and social conditions, and it was in this atmosphere that Ch'oe revolted and established a new order through which he dominated the kingdom. The Ch'oe family's domination of Koryo government continued with his son U, grandson Hang and great-grandson U, ending with the latter's death in 1258.

Shortly after gaining power, Ch'oe presented a document known as the Ten Injunctions to King Myōnjong(r.1170-1197). This document contained a series of recommendations aimed at eliminating corruption among government officials and reducing the power of Buddhist monks. Ch'oe also called for the return of unrightfully seized land to its rightful owners and the fair collection of land rent, however he later used the traditional land system to gain revenue to pay his personnel and thereby increase his authority. In effect, the Ten Injunctions encapsulated Ch'oe's broader goal of creating a revitalized dynasty centered on the Ch'oe House's authority.

The following year, Ch'oe imprisoned the king for his failure to implement the reforms contained in the Ten Injunctions, and further consolidated his power. However, he had to deal with a dispute within his own family which seriously threatened his power base. This dispute originated from the attempt by his younger brother Ch'ungsu to have his daughter
marry the crown prince, a plan strongly opposed by the elder brother. The older Ch'oe argued that Ch'ungsu's plans would break up the crown prince's existing marriage and that such a marriage would not be suitable, given the original humble lineage of the Ch'oe family. Although initially convinced by his elder brother's argument, the younger Ch'oe later changed his mind once again, and this dispute eventually led to a fight between forces led by the two brothers. As all of the generals had sided with the elder Ch'oe, Ch'ungsu had little chance of victory, and he was finally pursued and killed by the former's troops.

Ch'oe's power structure was centered on two private organizations which effectively overshadowed the authority of the existing Koryo court. These were the Kyojong Togam (Directorate General of Policy Formation) and the Chongbang (Personnel Authority). The former body was concerned with the coordination of the enactment of decrees for the Ch'oe house, while the latter body, which included numerous scholars who had passed the civil service examination, was concerned with civil personnel matters. The core of Ch'oe's military organization was the Tobang (Personal Security Force), a corps which had been originally established by another strongman, Kyong Taesung, and which was further strengthened by Ch'oe. This corps effectively acted as Ch'oe's bodyguard, however he also built up a large private army, further expanded by son U, which later replaced the regular dynastic force.

**Ch'oe Chaeso (1908-1964)**

Ch'oe Chaeso (Choe Jaisou) was an outstanding literary critic and English literature scholar. He was born in Haeju of Hwanghae Province and his pen name was Sökk'yöng. Ch'oe received his undergraduate and graduate degrees with high honours from Keijö (Seoul) Imperial University, acquiring the graduate degree in 1933. He served as lecturer at Keijö Imperial University, Posong College and Pophak College, until Korea's liberation in 1945. He was then appointed professor at Yonsei (Yonse) University, a post he held from 1949 to 1960. Ch'oe was Dean of the Graduate School of Dongguk (Tongguk) University in 1960 and 1961, and following that, professor at Hanyang University.

During his academic life, and until his death in 1964, Ch'oe added a multi-faceted and voluminous amount to the literature of his day. Whatever doubts contemporary Korean readers are left with about his loyalty to his county, there is no denying the important pioneer role that he played in the development of modern Korean literary criticism. His critical mind and perfectionism helped to launch the first school of systematic literary criticism in the modern period. In this he was greatly influenced by the modernist movements in both Europe and America.

Ch'oe started his career in literary criticism with his article, ‘Misukhan munhak’ (Immature literature) in which he introduced Gog Magog by A.C. Bradley, in the fifth issue of the magazine Shinhung (New Arising). He followed this with many works including ‘Kumi hyöndae munhak kaegwan: Yön’guk p’yön’ (An Outline of Modern European and American Literature: England; Yön’guk hyöndae sosöl üi tonghyang’ (The Trend of Modern English Novels); Hyöndae chujjuii munhak iron üi könsöll (The Founding of Intellectualism as a Mode of Literary Theory); and ‘Pip’yöng kwa kwahak’ (Criticism and Science) all of which were published in editions of the Choson ilbo newspaper in 1933-34.

Through these expositions he introduced modernism as a literary mode based on the works of writers such as T.E. Hulme; T.S. Eliot; Herbert Read; and I.A. Richards, in which he established an informed, essentially anti-Romantic, ‘analytical criticism.’ that focused attention on the work of art itself. From its origin in 1914 through to 1965, modernism developed and became predominant as a literary mode. Disparate as many of the writers and movements of the period were, in hindsight, they seem to have shared most of the fundamental assumptions about art, humanity, and life itself that are embraced in the term ‘Modern’.
Of particular note is the literary journal that Ch’oe founded in 1939, *Immun p’yŏngnon* (Criticism of Culture). This journal served to introduce diverse literary critics to Korea. Ch’oe also presided over the establishment of the literary magazine, *Kungmin munhak* (National Literature) which was founded in 1941.

As well as his literary criticism, Ch’oe wrote extensively on themes designed to introduce English literature to Korea. His linguistic ability enabled him also to produce some very high quality translations. He was a profound student of English literature and particularly in his later years maintained a keen interest in William Shakespeare’s works. *Chuhong kulssi* (The Scarlet Letter, 1953); *Haemlit* (Hamlet, 1954); *Yŏngmunhak sa* (History of English Literature, 1959); and *A.E. P’ou tanp’yŏnjip* (Prose Tales of Edgar Allan Poe, 1961); are only a few of the many English works Ch’oe translated into Korean. Shakespeare’s *Art as Order of Life* was published in the United States in 1965, a year after Choe died. His works also include *Munhak kwa chisŏng* (Intellectualism in Literature, 1938), *Chŏnhwan’gi ū chosŏn munhak* (The Turning Point of Korean Literature, 1943), *Munhak wolllon* (Literary Theory, 1960) and *Ch’oe Chaeso p’yŏngnon chip* (Literary Criticism Collection of Ch’oe Chaeso, 1961). Ch’oe’s contribution to the field of literary criticism and its development in Korea is highly acclaimed by modern scholars.

**Ch’oe Cheu** (1824-1864)

Ch’oe Cheu (styled Suun) was the founder of the movement called *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning), in 1860. This emerged as the largest indigenous religion in late Chosŏn Korea and was succeeded by Ch’ŏndogyo. (see *Indigenous Religion*)

Ch’oe carried the social stigma of being the son of a concubine, although his ancestor of some six generations, Ch’oe Chillip had been the Minister of War, and his line could be traced through many centuries to the famous Shilla scholar, Ch’oe Chi’wŏn (857-?). Ch’oe Cheu was married at the age of thirteen to a girl of the Pak family from Ulsan, and following his father’s death four years later, he began to rove around the countryside, interesting himself in the medical arts, divination and witchcraft.

In his early thirties and suffering a shaman's sickness, Ch’oe began to implore the supernatural and was eventually, so it is said, spoken to by an immortal and given a mandate from Heaven. He was offered a numinous talisman and after a revelation from *Sangje* (Emperor on High) on 5 April 1860, *Tonghak* was born. He called his teaching *Heavenly Way* (*ch’ŏndo*) or *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) to contrast with Christianity (Western Learning) and its spiritual message contains many of the fundamentals of the Ch’ŏndogyo religion which was to succeed it. Previously devoting time to the study of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity, Ch’oe borrowed from their dogma to rationalize his experience.

Ch’oe was acutely aware that Korea’s domestic and international situation had become very precarious. The Arrow War (1856-58), a trade-related conflict involving Britain, France and China, had revealed the weakness of the Asian nations, as demonstrated by the Treaty of Tientsin which China was forced by Britain and France to sign. Ch’oe committed himself to following his ‘Heavenly Way’ and his broad-brush principles were to free the rural people from poverty and the country from political and social instability. In 1861, Ch’oe’s doctrine gained a following among country-dwellers, but not without the criticism of Confucian scholars. The withdrawal of foreign powers from the region went some way to meeting the Tonghak ideal for realistic national stability and security. But it was now time for the Chosŏn government to suppress Tonghak and by the end of the year Ch’oe was forced into hiding.

However, *Tonghak* continued to grow and by 1863 there were over 3 000 followers of
Ch'oe's doctrines and thirteen established gathering places. Ch'oe knew that the government wanted to detain him, so in July 1853 he met Ch'oe Shihyông his disciple and passed all his knowledge to him. Ch'oe and thirty followers were apprehended on 20 November 1863 and he was charged with heresy. He was executed in March 1864 in his forty-first year.

While in isolation towards the end of 1861, Ch'oe wrote his treatise on Tonghak. His beliefs were expressed partly in Chinese prose, like the 'Bible of Tonghak Doctrine' (Tonggyông taejôn), and also in Korean kasa verse such as 'Hymns from Dragon Pool' (Yongdam yusa). It was around these writings that his followers shaped their religion.

The popularity of Tonghak resulted from a mixture of traditional Eastern philosophies with some Western precepts (Catholicism) and native religious beliefs and deities. Ch'oe believed in the unity of man and God - that the spirit of man was a replica of God, so that by serving man one was also serving God. But Tonghak was more than a religious movement, for it also stressed heavily the need for social improvement. It was this millenarian aspect of Tonghak that caused the government alarm and Ch'oe his death. Many of the tenets that Ch'oe stressed can be found today in Ch'ŏndogyo, the modern successor to Tonghak.

Bibliography


Ch'oe Han'gi (1803-1879)

Ch'oe Han'gi (styled Hyegang) was a scholar of Shirhak (Practical Learning) during the late Chosŏn Dynasty. Ch'oe passed the civil service examination in 1825, and his eldest son Pyongdae also entered the government through success in the examination. However, little is known of the former's official career, except that he held a low government position for a while.

Throughout his entire life, Ch'oe devoted himself to writing books which aimed to introduce Western scientific knowledge to Korea. He seems not to have maintained strong relations with other Shirhak scholars, and his only friend among this group was Kim Chŏngho. However, another prominent Korean Shirhak scholar, Yi Kyugyông records Ch'oe as being a great scholar and prolific writer. During his life, Ch'oe wrote approximately one thousand treatises on a variety of subjects, including astronomy, geography, agriculture, medical science and mathematics, however only eighty now remain. These were collected and published (photo-reproduction) under the title of Myŏngnamnu ch'ongsŏ (The Collected works of Ch'oe Han'gi) in 5 volumes in 1971.

Ch'oe's ideology is considered to be unique among Shirhak scholars in that, while recognizing the importance of certain Confucian concepts such as ki (material force) and li (principle), it explores them from a novel perspective. The neo-Confucian Zhu Xi, a Chinese scholar who had greatly influenced Shirhak philosophy, had argued that these two forces should be regarded as separate entities. However, in common with his predecessor Yu Hyŏngwŏn, Ch'oe diverged from Zhu Xi's philosophy in proposing that principle be regarded simply as the pattern of material force. Although holding respect for Confucius and his teachings, Ch'oe's personal philosophy was based on an extremely rigorous experiential approach termed 'evidential learning', and he even argued that Mencius' four virtues (humanity, integrity, propriety and wisdom) were not innate properties of human beings, but could only be obtained through prior sensory experience. He proposed that all knowledge is gained through experience, and that such experience is only possible through
the sensory organs which connect experience itself with its subject, the human mind.

Ch'oe further proposed that all living things contain the same *ki* (material force) and that they contain different *shin'gi* (vital force), but that it is the fundamentally common nature of this spiritual force which allows people to communicate with each other. Arguing that such convergences of *shin'gi* are also possible between man and nature, he proposed that it is the sensory organs which allow the transfer of *shin'gi* from one person to another. He also claimed that one's *shin'gi* becomes increasingly clearly defined as one accumulates experiences using the sensory organs. In such cases, the greater number of sensory experiences by which knowledge is gained, the more certain that knowledge will become.

Ch'oe argued that people broaden their range of thinking using the memories built up through experience, and further proposed that knowledge can be expanded by inference from past experiences. Ch'oe's methods of inductive and deductive reasoning can be divided into the following categories:

(i) estimation of *ki*
(ii) inference of individual nature from emotion
(iii) inference of the nature of fixed states by observing movement
(iv) making inferences about others based on examination of oneself
(v) estimation of the nature of objects using water

It is not yet clear to what extent Ch'oe's experientalist methodology was influenced by Western thought, however he strongly supported the introduction of Western scientific technology to Korea. In addition, the works in which he explained his academic methodology, *Ch'uch'ungnon* (Record of Inferential Thinking) and *Shin'git'ong* (Operations of Vital Force) include numerous examples from Western science.

Ch'oe developed a progressive view of history and an active reformist philosophy, and was confident that mankind would enjoy a better life in an enlightened world. He was critical of the present situation, and advocated structural reform. His practical philosophy is reflected in the voluminous work completed near the end of his career, *Injong* (Government). This book dealt with four sectors of professional life, 'assessing people', 'educating people', 'selecting people' and 'employing people', and emphasized his philosophy of inferential reasoning based on experience. He further argued against the influence of class in the Korean social system despite his own origins in the gentry class and the fact that the national examination which he had passed tended to favor this class, insisting that good government could be achieved through the recruitment of officials from various social backgrounds (gentry, peasants, artisans and merchants) without discrimination.

He also insisted on the establishment of active social relationships with Westerners, with the proviso that such relationships be based on equality. His 1857 publication, "World Almanac", urged Korea to abandon its policy of isolation, a policy which had been maintained throughout the Choson Dynasty and continued to be enforced by the present-day government.

Although many of his books were translations or revisions of books published in China, Ch'oe was responsible for the introduction of much Western knowledge to Korea. The above-mentioned 1857 publication presented detailed information about the history, culture, people, science and industries of Western nations, and also included the theory of Copernicus. His later (1866) work introduced Western medical science, including anatomical concepts, and astronomy was explained in his 1867 book.

Although Ch'oe was relatively isolated among his Shirhak contemporaries, his ideas hold a distinct place among the group's works, and were inherited by proponents of the Kaehwa (enlightenment) movement during the late nineteenth century.

Ch'oe House

[History of Korea]
Ch'oe Hyŏnbae (1894-1970)

Ch'oe Hyŏnbae (styled Woesol) was a scholar who developed the modern Korean language system. After receiving an education in the Chinese classics at a sŏdang (elementary school), Ch'oe moved to a monotheist school in his native Ulsan, where he was taught according to the new education system introduced by the Japanese colonial government. Graduating from Hansŏng High School in Seoul, he crossed to Japan in 1915, where he enrolled at Hiroshima Teachers' College. He later majored in Education at Kyŏto Imperial University, graduating in 1926. Ch'oe returned to Korea that year, and commenced duties among the academic staff at Yŏnhŭi College (later Yŏnsei University). During his period at the college, he participated in the development of the Korean Language Society, which was established for the purpose of promoting the Korean language in response to threats posed by Japanese language policies. He continued working at the college until the time of his dismissal in 1938 in relation to the Hŭngŏp Club incident. Reinstated at the same college in the position of librarian worker in April 1941, he was again dismissed in October of the same year, this time in relation to the Chosŏn Hakhoe (Korean Research Society). He subsequently spent four years in prison until Liberation in 1945. Ch'oe was invited by the US Army military government to assist in the development of Korean language education, and served twice (1945-48, 1951-54) as chief of the Pyŏnsu Kuk (Textbook Compilation Bureau) in the Ministry of Education. In 1954, he took up duties as professor at Yŏnhŭi University, serving as Dean of the School of Humanities and as Vice-President of the University. Upon his retirement in 1961, he became an Emeritus Professor of Yŏnhŭi University, and was a professor at Dong'a University in Pusan for two years from March 1964.

Ch'oe was engaged in the study of the Korean language and in developing Korean language policy throughout his life, and served as chairman of the Hangŭl Hakhoe (Korean Language Society) for twenty years from 1949. His passion for his native tongue may be ascribed to the influence of Chu Shigyŏng, a pioneering scholar of the Korean language who gave periodic lectures on this subject in 1910. Ch'oe's two most significant works were Urimalbon (Our Grammar, 1937) and Hangŭlgal (The Study of the Korean Language, 1941). The former was a vast study of Korean grammar studied from the time of Chu Shigyŏng. The latter was divided into two parts, the first relating to the history of the Korean writing system in the fifteenth century and the second including a glossary of Korean words which had fallen into disuse since that time.

Throughout the process of establishing Korean language policy, Ch'oe insisted on using only native Korean letters, as opposed to a system using a combination of these and Chinese characters. His efforts resulted in the introduction of textbooks with horizontal text using exclusively Korean script, and this policy remains controversial to this day. Aimed at purifying the language from the strong influence of the Japanese language and Chinese characters, his initiative was based on his nationalist spirit. From the period of Japanese occupation, he urged fellow Koreans to develop their own national identity in opposition to Japanese rule, and he was responsible for a series of nationalist works, Chosŏn minjok kaengsaeng ūi to (Path to the Revival of the Korean People, 1930), Nara sarang ūi kil (The Way to Patriotism, 1958) and Nara kŏnji nŭn kyoju (Education as the Foundation of Nation-Building, 1963).

Ch'oe Ikhyŏn

Ch'oe Inho (1945-?)

Ch’oe Inho is a novelist, born in Seoul and with a bachelors degree in English from Yonsei (Yônse) University He has received numerous awards, including the Sasanggye Prize for New Writers in 1967, the Hyundai Munhak New Writer’s Prize in 1972, and the Yi Sang...
Literary Award in 1982. His literary debut was in 1967 with the short work Kyŏnsŭp hwanja (The Apprentice Patient) that was published in the Chosŏn ilbo newspaper.

Ch’oe has been an extremely prolific writer from the late 1960s, and his work, always of high quality, enjoys widespread popularity among Korean readers. Much of it has a serious thread in which Ch’oe broaches issues of the social problems that have been resulted from Korea’s industrialisation. Works such as Sul kkun (The Boozer) and Mobŏm tong hwa (The Tale of the Model Children) features child protagonists who have discovered the chaos and apostasy of society and thus can look only to an abject future. In particular, in Sul kkun, Ch’oe reveals the plight of a child with no family, who has been roughly shoved aside by an uncaring society, and whose solace is found only in alcohol. This work exposes the uncaring face of a Korean society concerned only with personal fulfilment. Other works by Ch’oe such as Kyŏnsŭp hwanjae and T’ain ŭi pang (The Other’s Room) have pitiable themes that centre on alienation in an industrial society.

There are other works by Ch’oe, however, that have lighter and more humorous themes. Noteworthy in this regard is his novel Pabo tŏl ŭi haengjin (March of the Fools) that revolves around the problems of two college students who have to contend with various societal issues during their adolescence. The author’s approach in this novel is quite light-hearted, although he still manages to present a serious side. Thus, Ch’oe’s works cover a wide range of subject matter and themes, and this undoubtedly accounts for his lasting popularity among his readers.

Ch’oe Inhun (1936-?)

Ch’oe Inhun is a writer of the contemporary period, born in Hoeryŏng of North Hamgyŏng Province, who was once a student at the Law School of Seoul National University. Ch’oe has received numerous literary awards for his work, including the Dongin Literary Award in 1966, the Korea Cinema Art Award in 1977, and the 1979 Seoul City Cultural Award. His works include novels, dramas, short stories, and critical essays.

Ch’oe’s often employs literary devices such as dreams and fantasies to reveal the inner world of intellectuals. Many of his works, such as Ch’ongdok ŭi sori (Messages of the Governor-General), utilise surrealism to portray the innermost desires of the protagonists. Ch’oe uses literary techniques such as dreams to expand his fictional world, and his thorough exploration of the intrinsic nature of his characters. Moreover, his works often use allegory and metaphor to address issues in Korean history. Notable among his publications are Kwangjang (The Square) and Sosŏl ka Kupossi ŭi iril (A Day in the Life of the Novelist Mr. Po). In particular, Kwangjang addresses topics surrounding the partition of the Korean peninsula.

Ch’oe’s works can be largely categorised by three major features. First, he rejects techniques of traditional realism and instead opts to use ‘fantastic realism’ in his writing. Thus, the combination of dream-like sequences and life itself are often incorporated in his novels to create a rational understanding of Korean society. A second feature of his works is the protagonist’s sense of alienation that is often manifested. Third, Ch’oe uses past traditions of Korea to criticise the empty acceptance of foreign customs in contemporary Korean society. He shows that modern Korean culture is striving to set its course in a transitional period, and in the process creating turmoil in the ideals and goals of the Korean people.

Ch’oe Kinam (1586-?)

Ch’oe Kinam (styled Kugok) was a poet of the middle Chosŏn Dynasty. He was the palace slave, and during periods spent under the tutelage of Shin Iksŏng, his poetic talents were noted by Shin’s father, Shin
Hüm. Word of his talent spread among the gentry, and in 1648, he followed Yun Sunji to Japan, where he achieved literary fame. Possessing an honest character, he lived a modest life, seeking neither fame nor fortune. He was also an avid reader of the sutras, using copies he had directly transcribed himself.

Little is known of his official career, however he assisted in the compilation of *Hyonjong Shillok* (Annals of King Hyonjong) when he was around seventy years old. In 1660, at the age of 75, he edited *Yukka chabyön* (Miscellaneous Songs of Six Poets), which include works by several of his *wihang* (Literature of the townspeople) poet contemporaries. He commanded great respect among the members of this school of poetry, and was responsible for teaching many of them. His verse is often compared to that of Tang poet Tu Fu.

Ch'oe's sons, Sùngdae and Sùngju, were also renowned poets, and Ch'oe's influence in the development of *wihang* literature during the latter part of the Choson Dynasty was considerable. His published works include the two-volume *Kugok chip* (Collected Works of Kugok), which contains the only example of his prose in one semi-autobiographical chapter and 440 of his poems in the remainder of the work.

**Ch'oe Kyôngch'ang** (1539-1583)

Ch'oe Kyôngch'ang was a mid-Choson poet. His family’s ancestral home is in Haeju, his courtesy name was Kaun and his pen name Kojuk. He was born in Yŏnam of Chŏlla Province; he was the student of Pak Sun, and also studied under Yang Ungjong along with Paek Kwanghun (1537-1582) and Yi Hubaek (1520-1578). There is a story told about Ch'oe that during a Japanese pirate raid (*Ulmyo waeb'yŏn*) in 1555 he encountered a group of Japanese marauders and played such a melancholy tune on his flute that the pirates became overwhelmingly homesick, stopped their plundering and sailed away.

In 1568, Ch'oe passed the literary portion of the Augmented Examination (*chunggwang shi*) and was appointed to an official position. Subsequently, he held positions on the Board of Rites (Yejo) and the Board of War (Pyŏŋjo), before promotion to the post of Fourth Censor (*ch'ŏngŏn*) at the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwŏn) in 1575. In 1576 Ch'oe was appointed to an office in Yŏnggwang County of Chŏlla Province, but the pangs of living away from the capital were too much for him and he resigned from official life. However, the hardships of leading a life with no means of support were even more heartrending, and in the following year he returned to officialdom. At the age of fifty-three, in 1582, he was about to take a post as Magistrate (*pusa*) of Chongsong, but because of unfounded charges laid against him, there were problems with his appointment. Instead, he became a lecturer (*Chikkang*) at the National Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan).

Ch’oe was highly praised for his compositional ability. He is perhaps best known as one of the ‘Three Tang Talents of Korea’, along with Yi Tal and Paek Kwanghun. This was indeed attribute to his skill in composing the Tang-style poetry that was popular among literati during early and mid-Choson. Moreover, he was a skilled prose writer, and along with Yi I (1536-1584) and Song Ilp’’il (1534-1599), was known as one of the eight best prose writers of the time. Ch’oe’s literary collection, *Kojuk yugo* (Posthumous Collection of Kojuk), is extant.

**Ch’oe Kyuha** (see Choi Kyu-hah)

**Ch’oe Myŏnggil** (1586-1647)

Ch’oe Myŏnggil was a mid-Choson scholar-official. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his courtesy name was Chagyŏm and his pen names Chich’ŏn and Ch’angnang. His father, Ch’oe Kinam, was the Magistrate (*pusa*) of Yŏnhŭng and his mother was the
daughter of the Second Minister (ch’amp’an) Yu Yongnip. From an early age, Ch’oe studied under the tutelage of Yi Hangbok along with others such as Yi Shibaek and Chang Yu. In 1605 he passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwon shi) with the highest mark and in the same year successfully sat for the literary portion of the Augmented Examination (ch’unggwang shi). Ch’oe then commenced his career in officialdom, serving as Librarian (ch’omjok) at the National Academy (Songgyun’gwan), as well as in some other positions. In 1614, he became Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) at the Board of War (Pyongjo), but his work was criticised, arising from particular circumstances in the relations between Ming China and Choson, and he was removed from office and exiled. The period of his exile was a tumultuous one in national affairs, with the deposition of the mother of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) and then, in 1623, the monarch himself. However, with the ascension of King Injo (r. 1623-1649) the personal political fortunes of Ch’oe were restored.

As Ch’oe had assisted with Injo’s accession, he was rewarded by the sovereign with a special appointment. He re-entered government service, concurrently holding the position of Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of Personnel (Ijo) and as a member of the Border Defence Council (Pibyonsa). Ch’oe held other official positions until the 1627 Manchu Invasion (chongmyo horan), when he was removed from office because of controversy over the defences of Kanghwa Island and the transfer of the royal family to the island. However, he was reinstated and by 1632 became Minister (p’anso) of the Board of Personnel, and concurrently Director (taejehak) of both the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan) and the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan).

The period surrounding the fall of Ming and the rise of the Qing dynasty not only created turmoil in China, but also in Choson. Choson officialdom was largely divided into two camps: one faction supported the Ming and felt that Choson should heed her requests for military assistance against the barbarous Qing, and the other realised that the power base in China had moved and that Choson should now submit to Qing or face another invasion. The prevailing force in Choson of the mid-1630s, however, supported Ming, and thus, as a consequence, the second Manchu Invasion (pyongja horan) occurred, in 1636. Ch’oe had consistently advocated the commencement of peace negotiations with the Qing, but his plea was initially ignored by King Injo. The royal family was sent to Kanghwa Island for sanctuary, but when Injo went to join them his passage was blocked by the Manchu army. Hence, the royal party retreated to Namhansan Fortress, to the south of Seoul. Meanwhile, the invaders had captured the royal family members who had sought refuge on Kanghwa Island, thereby forcing Injo to surrender to the Qing army. The terms of surrender were harsh, requiring that Crown Prince Sohyon and his younger brother, the future King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659), be held hostage in China, that the Choson army support the Qing in its war against Ming and most distasteful of all, that Choson pay homage to Qing as the suzerain power.

Ch’oe had foreseen the rise of Qing and thus understood the implications of resisting this militarily-superior power. However, the common sentiment among those in the ruling hierarchy of Choson was one of disdain for the Qing, who they felt were no more than northern barbarians. The result of the defeat and forced submission to the Qing created a great deal of hatred among the Choson people and this in turn gave rise to plans for an attack, in concert with the remaining Ming forces, against the Qing. Notable among these plans was that of General Im Kyongop (1594-1646), which had the widespread support of many segments of Choson society.

After the invasion, Ch’oe served in various capacities, including that of Chief State Counsellor (yonguijong) and as envoy to Qing. However, when the Qing became aware of the plot of Im Kyongop to join the Ming against them, Ch’oe and another high-ranking Choson official, Kim Sanghun (1570-1652) were held hostage to ensure Choson’s compliance. Upon Ch’oe’s return to Choson in 1645, he continued to serve as an advisor to
Injo until his death in 1647. There are two extant collections of Ch'oe's writings, the nineteen-volumes of Chich'ён chip (Collected Works of Chich'ён) and Chich'ён chuch'a (Official Papers of Chich'ён).

**Ch'oe Namsŏn** (1890-1957)

Ch'oe Namsŏn (styled Yuktang) was a renowned poet, historian, and cultural nationalist. He was born in Seoul, the second son of a prototypical chungin, Hyon'gyu. After a spell at gyŏngsŏng School, in October 1904 he was in a group chosen by King Kojong (r.1864-1907) to study in Japan. There, Ch'oe entered the Second Tokyo Prefectural Middle School. However, he returned to Korea within four months. In March 1906 he again went to Japan, this time financing himself. He studied at Waseda University in the department of geography and history of the high school education division (Kŏŏ Shihang-bu). In June 1906 he joined a group of Korean students who gave up their studies and returned to Korea in protest because of the argument they had listened to in a mock legislature of the annexation of Korea. The following year at the age of seventeen he established a publishing company called Shinmun'gwan, whose aim was the enlightenment and education of the Korean people. In 1908 Ch'oe published the magazine Sonyŏn (Youth) projected at the mobilisation of Korean youth, whom he believed had the task of revitalising the nation. Appearing in the magazine was his famous poem, 'Hae egesŏ sonyŏn ege' ('From the sea to the youth'), which is generally held as the first modern poem in Korean literary history. The other event for which Ch'oe is most remembered is his composition of the proclamation of independence read out on 1 March 1919, from which a full-scale independence movement was launched. Ch'oe was imprisoned and even after his release subjected to constant surveillance and pressure to collaborate with the Japanese authorities. In a complete change of political direction, he became associated with the pro-Japanese Korean history group, the 'Korean History Compilation Committee', and held a teaching post at the Manchuria National Foundation University. Towards the end of the Second World War he gave speeches in support of the Japanese war campaign. After liberation he was imprisoned for his crimes of collaboration. He died in Seoul in 1957.

Apart from his participation in the Independence Movement, Ch'oe is well-known for his literary and scholarly activities. He published many magazines in addition to Sonyŏn. At first he concentrated on poetry. Previously only Yi Kwangsu had written a so-called new-style poem but Ch'oe soon surpassed him in both quantity and quality. He is credited with a major role in the reform of the written language to correspond with spoken speech. Finally, as a historian, geographer, and folklorist, Ch'oe was at the vanguard of the cultural nationalist movement and its attempts to rediscover Korean tradition and identity. Through various organizations he was instrumental in republishing traditional Korean works. Later he undertook the compilation of a Korean language dictionary, which was later completed through his collaboration with the linguist Pak Sungbin. On the geographical side he researched not only the peninsula itself, but the Korean people's roots in Manchuria and Mongolia. Although he began his literary career writing new-style poetry he later turned to shijo, believing it to be at the heart of a native Korean tradition. He started a shijo revival movement, publishing collections and theoretical writings. His research on Korean folklore focused on the mythic founder Tan'gun, understanding him as a religious figure in the East Asian shamanistic tradition, rather than a mere ancestor.

In 1975 his collected works were published, comprising an exhaustive fifteen volumes. They are a tribute to his monumental achievements in the study of Korean culture.

J Poole

**Ch’oe Rin** (1878-?)

Ch’oe Rin was an independence activist and one of the thirty-three national representatives that planned the March First 1919 Independence Movement. His pen names were Kou and
Toho, and he was born in Hamhung of Hamgyong Province. He was the son of Ch’oe Togon, a Privy Councillor (uigwan) of the Privy Council (Chungch’ubu) of the Great Han Empire (1897-1910), which represented the final years of the Choson dynasty. Ch’oe learned the Chinese classics as a boy and at the age of eighteen travelled to Seoul. Shortly thereafter, he converted to Buddhism, going to Changan Temple in the Kūnggang Mountains where he studied. As a result of his conversion to Buddhist beliefs, he could no longer return to his home. By 1902, Ch’oe had journeyed to Japan where he entered military school and at this time he joined the Ilishin Hoe, a Korean organisation that sought to bring about reform to the Korean government. However, Ch’oe was forced to leave Japan and return to Korea where he served as a clerk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oebu). In 1904, Ch’oe again travelled to Japan as a student and this time he organised and led a Korean students’ association. By 1906, he had entered the Law Department of Meiji University and on graduating, returned to Korea in 1909. Upon his return, Ch’oe converted to the Ch’ondogyo Religion, under the influence of Son Pyonghui (1861-1921), and at that time was appointed director of Posŏng Normal High School.

Ch’oe now became more deeply involved in Korean political issues. At the urging of An Ch’angho (1878-1938) he joined a clandestine political organisation, the New People’s Organisation (Shinmin Hoe), thereby becoming part of the anti-Japanese movement. In 1918, the conclusion of World War One saw many European colonised states gain their independence, following the proclamation of President Woodrow Wilson’s tenet on the right of nations for democratic self-determination. This fuelled the desire of Korean patriots for their own independence. The members of the Ch’ondogyo religion, led by Son Pyonghui, saw the Paris Peace Conference as a chance to establish the Korean case for independence. Accordingly, in February 1919, Ch’oe Rin and others, such as Song Chinu (1889-1945), Hyŏn Sangyun (1893-?) and Ch’oe Namsŏn (1890-1957), met at the Chungang School and planned activities for an independence movement. These leaders realised the need for unity among the various religions in Korea and with Son Pyonghui at the head of the Ch’ondogyo group, Yi Sung hun (1864-1930) representing the Christian contingent and the Buddhists led by Han Yongun (1879-1944), achieved their aims. Ch’oe Rin, along with Ch’oe Namsŏn, Song Chinu and Hyŏn Sangyun played important roles in strengthening this unity among the religious organisations and in securing their aid in the independence movement.

The leaders of the independence movement, Ch’oe among them, decided upon a plan of action that called for non-violent demonstration, a declaration of independence, and petitions to Tokyo and the American President. The declaration itself was drafted by Ch’oe Namsŏn and was signed by twenty-nine of the thirty-three national representatives who had gathered at a restaurant in central Seoul for that purpose. A copy of the declaration was sent to the Japanese Governor-General and the police were notified of the forthcoming demonstration in Pagoda Park. From these actions, the March First Independence Movement unfurled with more than one million Koreans throughout the peninsula taking part in this appeal for independence.

Ch’oe was arrested shortly afterwards, along with other signatories of the declaration, and was sent to prison for three years. However, on his release he maintained his links with Ch’ondogyo. He also travelled to the United States and Europe, visiting some thirty countries in 1927. In 1934, in a complete about-face, he betrayed his commitment to the independence of Korea and joined the Central Council (Chungch’uwn) of the Japanese Governor-General as a minister. In 1937, he was appointed president of the Governor-General’s propaganda mouthpiece, the Maeil shinbo newspaper, and continued his pro-Japanese activities until Korea’s liberation in 1945. Thus, the former patriot and supporter of Korean independence became a traitor to his country through his collaboration with the Japanese authorities. Ch’oe is known to have been kidnapped by the North Korean Army during the Korean War and it may be presumed he was later executed for his ties with the Japanese and his disloyalty to Korea during the colonial period.
Ch'oe Rip (1539-1612)

Ch'oe Rip (Kani) was a literati official of the middle Chosón Dynasty. Born into a poor household, he nevertheless demonstrated academic potential from an early age, passing the civil service examination (the licentiae level) at his first attempt at the age of seventeen and achieving first ranking in the triennial examination. After serving in several provincial government posts, he travelled to Ming China in 1577 as a member of the Embassy of Occasional Reports. In 1581, as magistrate of Chaeryŏng county, he was awarded a royal gift after helping to alleviate starvation, and in the same year again traveled to Ming China in a diplomatic role. Further trips to Ming China as a diplomat were made in 1592 and 1594. Later becoming a judge, he rose to the position of hyŏngjoch'amp'an (Second Minister of the Board of Punishments), from which he retired to Pyŏngyang.

Ch'oe Rip's skills in composition were widely recognized, and he was responsible for the wording of many diplomatic documents related to Sino-Korean relations. While visiting China, he met Wang Shi-zhen, the most prominent figure in the Chinese literary world of that time, with whom he discussed matters relating to composition. Ch'oe also received praise from Chinese scholars for his composition skills. He produced a work of prose based on the theme of forty types of grass, wood, flowers and stone, and two volumes on divination, including Chuwŏkbonŭi Kugyŏlbusŏl (Additional Commentary on the Original Meaning of the Book of Changes). His writing, together with the poetry of Ch'a Ch'ŏlo and the prose of Han Ho, were collectively known as the Songdo samjŏl (Three Greatest in Songdo). His compositions leaned towards the style of the Wang Shi-zhen school in being both elegant and concise, and his work was highly praised as being appropriate for legal purposes. However, as he was highly skilled in neo-Classical writing which imitated the Han style in poetry and that of Chin in prose, his compositions were far from simple, and he was criticized for it.

Also an accomplished calligrapher, Ch'oe established a school of calligraphy in the songsŏlch'e (sung-hsueh) style originated by Chao Meng-fu. Among Ch'oe's publications are the book of writings Kan'i chip (Collected Works of Kan'i) and the poetic works Shipka künk'eshi (Modern-style Verses of Ten Poets) and Hansa yoljŏn ch'o (Extracts from Lie zhuan in Han shu [Biographies, the History of the Former Han]).

Ch'oe Shihyŏng (1827-1898)

Ch'oe Shihyŏng (Haewŏl) was successor to the leadership of the Tonghak religious movement founded in 1860 by Ch'oe Cheu. Ch'oe was responsible for the creation of a formal organization and its ethical code and scriptures, and the systematization of the religion's doctrines. With Chŏn Pongjun, he led peasant uprisings against the government and foreigners.

Born to a poor family in Kyŏngju, both of Ch'oe's parents died during his childhood. After working at a paper mill, he spent several years farming. In 1861, he converted to Tonghak, and learnt its doctrine directly from its founder, Ch'oe Cheu. Following several years spent training and propagating Tonghak beliefs, he became second-in-charge of the movement. The execution of leader Ch'oe Cheu in 1864 meant that the movement could not operate in the open for some time, and Ch'oe went into hiding and continued the propagation of his group's philosophy in Kyŏngsang province.

The two volumes, Tonggyŏng Taejŏn" (Tonghak Scriptures) and Yongdam Yusa (Anthology of Ch'oe Cheu's Hymns) were compiled under his leadership, and he organized his followers more efficiently as government suppression weakened in the aftermath of the Kapshin political disturbance of 1884. Commencing in 1892, he launched a campaign to clear the name of executed Tonghak founder, Ch'oe Cheu, and several
thousand members gathered at Samnye station in Chŏnju, Cholla Province to demand to the
governors of the province and of neighboring Ch'ungch'ŏng Province that he be
posthumously exonerated, and that the suppression of the movement be ended.

The following year, Ch'oe launched his second campaign in the capital. As the government
subsequently moved again to suppress the movement, the third campaign was organized at
Po'n in Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Members erected barricades, hoisted banners and called
for a "crusade to punish venal officials in the government and expel the Japanese and
Westerners". The Tonghak crowds were later dispersed when the government dismissed
corrupt officials. At this stage, Ch'oe opposed the calls for insurrection among his
colleagues, as he believed that the time was not yet ripe. When Chŏn Pongjun instigated
armed struggle in Kobu, Cholla Province, Ch'oe persuaded him to abandon the policy of
using armed force.

However, as the situation worsened, he came to agree with Chŏn's plan, and ordered
general insurrection, his 100 000 soldiers uniting with Chŏn's army at Nonsan in
Ch'ungch'ŏng Province in 1894. Despite early successes, the Tonghak forces were
eventually defeated in a series of battles in Kongju and Changsug against government forces
and the Japanese army. After this military failure, Ch'oe continued to propagate Tonghak
ideology underground. In 1897, Son Pyŏnghŭi succeeded Ch'oe as leader of the
movement. The following year, Ch'oe was arrested in Wŏnju, Kangwŏn Province, and
was brought to Seoul to be hanged. In 1907, he was posthumously exonerated by a special
royal order.

Ch'oe Such'ŏl (1958-?)

Ch'oe Such'ŏl is a contemporary novelist. He was born in Ch'ungh'ŏn of Kangwŏn
Province and graduated from Seoul National University with his B.A. in 1981 and his
M.A. in 1984, both in French literature. He was awarded the Yun Tongju Literary Award
in 1989 and the Yi Sang Literary Award in 1993.

The works of Ch'oe focus upon experimentalism and thereby make common things appear
strange. He projects his unrealistic views through disclosing the inner side of reality by
deliberately lengthening and extending reality before dissecting it and reassembling it in his
own vision. A notable work in the use of this technique is the 1985 Paegwang kwa
yun'gwak (Background and Outline), which tells the story of a novelist while dissolving the
boundary between fiction and non-fiction. Ch'oe achieves this effect by projecting the
narrator of the novel as being the writer of the novel; thus the author creates a new
relationship between the characters in a work, the reader and the writer. Innovative
techniques such as this have resulted in widespread critical acclaim for Ch'oe's works.
Other works of Ch'oe include Malch'ŏrŏm t'winŭn mal (Words Galloping Like a Horse,
1990) and Pyŏkhwa kŭrinŭn namja (A Man Painting a Mural, 1992).

Ch'oe Sŭngno (927-989)

Ch'oe Sŭngno was a Confucian scholar, literati official and reformist during the early
Koryŏ Dynasty. The son of a Shilla aristocrat, Ch'oe moved to the Koryŏ court with his
father upon the accession to the throne of King Taejo. Ch'oe so impressed the king with
his knowledge of the Analects of Confucius at the age of twelve that he was given an
academic appointment, and rose to become one of the kingdom's most prominent statesmen
by the time of King Sŏngjong's reign (r.981-997). It was during the latter part of this
king's reign that Ch'oe consolidated his status as an active reformist, his goal being the
creation of an aristocratic society with a centralized power structure. In 982, King
Sŏngjong ordered all of his officials above the fifth ranking to submit discussion papers
relating to government administration. Ch'oe's memorial was most prominent among
these. It consisted of a chronology of the first five reigns of the Koryŏ Dynasty and a
twenty-eight point reform package. The chronology praises the achievements of King T'aejo, however contains various criticisms of his four successors. Ch'oe argues that King Sŏngjong should grasp the opportunity for dynastic restoration through learning from the mistakes of the past and strengthening central government. His reform package includes both a discussion of the contemporary abuses of power to which Ch'oe urged the new monarch to give special attention and a critique of Buddhism. A committed Confucianist, Ch'oe recommended adherence to Confucian norms of frugality and social responsibility, the maintenance of a strict social hierarchy, and further emphasized the central role of Confucianism as state ideology. He also suggested restricting the role of superstitions and limiting the practice of shamanism, and included a proposal for a defence strategy against China.

Following the submission of his memorial, Ch'oe was selected as a counselor to King Sŏngjong, and his suggestions formed the basis of widespread reforms in the fields of administration, defence, education and finance. In 988, he was promoted to a high-ranking position in the Chancellery for State Affairs, and the following year was accorded the title of Lord of Ch'ongha, overseeing a seven-hundred household property. Following his death in 989, he was posthumously conferred the title of t'aesa (Grand Tutor), and enshrined in the same shrine as King Sŏngjong.

Ch'oe U (? -1249)

Ch'oe U was a military strongman of Koryŏ. His family's ancestral home is in Ubong and he was also known by the name of Ch'oe I. His father was Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn (1149-1219), the soldier hero who had helped to put down the rebel Cho Wi-ch'ong and who then eliminated all competitors in his successful bid for personal military rule of Koryo. Ch'oe U followed in his father's footsteps and even more strongly consolidated the structuring of military rule of the Ch'oe house over Koryo.

When his father died in 1219, Ch'oe took the headship of the Directorate of Decree Enactment (Kyojong Togam), the ruling apparatus of the Ch'oe military dictatorship. He moved to consolidate his somewhat tenuous position by presenting gifts of precious metals and jewels to King Kojong (r.1213-1259), returning to farmers lands that his father had plundered, and by appointing impoverished scholars to official posts. In 1221, after consolidating his domestic power, Ch'oe took appropriate measures against a possible invasion by the Mongols from the north. He provisioned his forces, erected fortresses on the northern border, repaired Nasŏng Castle in Kaesŏng, mobilised his personal army and even built a thirteen-storey pagoda at Hŭngwang Temple to invoke Buddha's protection. Ch'oe also improved the military units that his father had relied upon for his personal power. These units, which amounted to a private army, were known as the Three Elite Patrols (sambyŏlch'o), and though they were originally created to protect Ch'oe, they eventually replaced the Koryŏ regular army and functioned both as police and combat forces. The Three Elite Patrols were maintained with public funds, yet served as the private army of Ch'oe.

The Ch'oe regime also controlled matters relating to civil appointments and the accompanying bureaucratic structure. For this purpose, the Personnel Authority (Chŏngbang) was created by Ch'oe in 1225 to handle such matters. Moreover, in 1227 he further established the Household Secretariat (Sŏbang), formed of scholars who acted as the personal retainers of Ch'oe. Thus, Ch'oe had not only surrounded himself with the military power of the Three Elite Patrols, but also with two bodies to control administrative functions. From this, it is clear that the Ch'oe family was more than just a military dictatorship, but also a motive force behind civil matters. Consequently the Ch'oe house can be viewed as having strong control of both military and civil affairs in thirteenth c. Koryo.
Relations with the Mongols to the north had been poor since the early part of the thirteenth c. The Mongols considered themselves as the benefactors of the Koryŏ State since 1219, when they had helped Koryŏ defeat a Khitan army near P'yŏngyang, and demanded a yearly tribute. This tribute, however, proved difficult for Koryŏ to meet and was often neglected, angering the Mongols. In 1225, when their envoy was killed on his return to Mongolia, the Mongols used the incident as a pretext to invade Koryŏ in 1231. Ch'oe had no intention of surrendering to the Mongol invaders and instead moved his capital from Kaesŏng to Kanghwa Island, in which he hoped he would be secure, because of the Mongol aversion to crossing stretches of sea. Therefore, while the Mongols pillaged the Koryŏ mainland, the ruling elite continued to lead lives untouched by the ravages of war, on Kanghwa Island -- separated from their Mongolian foes by only a few hundred metres of shallow sea.

Ch'oe continued his defiance in staying on Kanghwa Island until his death in 1249. Even after his death, his kinsmen continued to resist the Mongols until they were overthrown in 1258. At this time, Koryŏ sued for peace, and after a few brief attempts by new military strongmen to take over the power structure that the Ch'oe family had built, completely abandoned the struggle in 1270. Ch'oe is a good example of the contempt that the military men of Koryŏ had for the Mongols and their desire to maintain a state independent of Mongol domination. This determination for independence, however, completely disregarded the plight of the common people.

**Ch'oe Yong** (1316 - 1389)

One of the many famous generals of the Koryŏ Dynasty, Ch'oe Yong was a talented leader and respected by the Korean people. He engineered and led military expeditions into China to help quell rebellion, while at home he controlled piratical attacks around the country's seaboard. Through his efforts many northern territories were returned to Korean control. His fierce loyalty to the declining Koryŏ Dynasty would ultimately cost him his head when the Chosŏn Dynasty, under the leadership of his former subordinate, Yi Sŏnggye, displaced the Koryŏ Dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century.

Ch'oe hailed from Ch'ŏrwŏn in Kangwŏn Province. His beginnings were humble and his lifestyle can be best described as spartan. Of exceptional physical strength, strong willed, honourable and untainted, he gave little heed to his own clothes and meals and eschewed fine garments or other comforts, even when he became famous and could have easily enjoyed them. He disliked men who relished expensive articles and he viewed simplicity as a virtue. Such a man was well-endowed for a commander's role and Ch'oe quickly gained the confidence of his men and the accolade of his king during numerous skirmishes with Japanese pirates who began seriously raiding the Korean coast around 1350.

At thirty-six years old he became a national hero when he successfully put down a rebellion by Cho Ilshin who had surrounded the palace, killed many officials, and proclaimed himself premier. Just a few years later, in 1355, a rebellion erupted in Yuan Dynasty China (1279-1368), which was already experiencing great internal turmoil itself. Ch'oe was sent to help the Mongols quell that rebellion and his success in twenty-seven battles helped him win even more favour and fame at home. Upon returning to Korea, he dutifully reported the internal problems of the dying Yuan Dynasty which gave Koryŏ King Kongmin (r.1351-74) the notion that the time was right to recover some of the northern territories previously lost to the Mongols. Again, Ch'oe fought to recover various towns west of the Yalu River to the delight of the king. For the next few years, Ch'oe turned his attention again to the marauding Japanese pirates against whom he fought unceasingly. He served a brief stint as the Mayor of P'yŏngyang where his efforts at increasing crop production and decreasing hunger won him even more attention as a national hero. He was made chief secretary of the Supreme Council (*Ch'ansŏnsa*), and was in that office when in 1363, a high ranking government official named Kim Yong tried to take control of the government.
Ch'oe was forced to battle a Mongol force of 10,000 which attacked Koryo in conjunction with the rebellion. Just a year after he defeated the Mongol force, fate took a strange turn for Ch'oe, which almost completely ruined his life.

King Kongmin had a terrible dream, one night in 1365, that someone would try to stab him and a Buddhist monk would intervene to save his life. The king awoke relieved but could not forget the face of the monk. Astonishingly, some time later he met a monk named Shin Ton, who closely resembled the monk in his dream. The king promoted the monk to high position and allowed him considerable influence. Shin Ton was ruthless and corrupt, however, and Ch'oe, who relentlessly exposed corruption in the kingdom, became at odds with him. Shin Ton engineered accusations of misconduct against Ch'oe that brought the great general uncomfortably close to the death penalty and secured him a punishment of six years in exile. When Shin Ton died, Ch'oe was restored to his former position of Ch'ansonsa and commanded to prepare a fleet to fight the Japanese pirates and eliminate the remaining Mongol forces on Cheju Island. He first engaged the Mongols, who fought tenaciously, but his forces eventually freed the island. Ch'oe continued to fight the Japanese pirates who would unfortunately remain a menace, long after Ch'oe's death, to the end of the century. In 1375, King Kongmin died and was succeeded by King U (r. 1374-88) who many believe was actually a son of the monk Shin Ton. In that year, Ch'oe was appointed Minister of Finance (Pan Samsa sa).

Another great general, Yi Sŏng-gye, was rising through the ranks during this period. Like Ch'oe, Yi's relentless warring with the Japanese pirates, especially during the late 1370's and early 1380's, also brought him great fame and favour. Ch'oe remained the senior officer throughout both their careers but he and Yi were in frequent disagreement over the direction of national policy and the use of military force. Their disagreements finally came to a head over how to deal with Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) China's move into Koryo's northern territories.

Ming China had risen out of the old Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). The Mongols were basically down but not out, and for some time Koryo vacillated between the two forces taking advantage where they could. When the Ming encroached on Koryo's northern territories however, King U ordered an expedition in 1388, to drive them out. At seventy-two years of age Ch'oe was made commander-in-chief, but the younger Yi Sŏnggye was put in command of the actual force. Yi argued against the plan claiming it was suicidal to attack the much stronger Ming forces and to attempt it in the worst season for military operations. The king would tolerate no disagreement, however, and Yi initially set out with his force but, after encountering heavy rains, made the daring decision to turn around and take control of his own country instead of warring with the Chinese. When Yi returned Ch'oe put up a gallant fight at the palace but was overwhelmed. Subsequent events are unclear. Ch'oe was arrested by Yi Sŏnggye, exiled to Kobong County (present Koyang) but later was imprisoned in Kaesŏng and finally beheaded.

Ch'ogo, King (?–214)

King Ch'ogo was the fifth king of Paekche and ruled from 166 to 214. He was also known by the titles of King Sogo and King Sokko, and was the eldest son of King Kaeru (r. 128-166). At the end of Kaeru's reign several retainers in Shilla planned a revolt, but were discovered and fled to Paekche. As a result, the relations between the two states became strained over the question of returning these men to Shilla for punishment. Thus, by the time of Ch'ogo's accession, there were on-going struggles between Shilla and Paekche. In 188, Paekche troops attacked Shilla's Mosan Fortress, but in the following year the Paekche army was defeated by Shilla troops in battle at Kuyang (present day Okch'ŏn in North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province). Again, in 190, Paekche attacked Wŏnsanhyang (present Yonggung Township of North Kyŏngsang Province) on the southern border of Shilla and this was followed closely by a series of bloody battles. Thus,

R Saccone
Ch'ogo’s reign is marked by the continuing warfare between the two kingdoms, that raged along the Sobaek mountain range dividing the Honam and Yongnam regions. As a consequence of these struggles, Paekche reinforced her defences to the north along the Han River to prevent invasions by the Shilla cavalry.

**Ch’olchong, King (r.1849-1863)**

Ch’olchong (1831-1863) was the twenty-fifth king of Chosŏn. His personal name was Pyŏn, courtesy name Tosŏng and pen name Taeyongjae. His grandfather, Prince Unŏn, was the younger brother of King Chongjo (r. 1776-1800). When King Honjong (r. 1834-1849) died without an heir, Ch’olchong was acclaimed king at the age of nineteen. Because of his youth, Dowager Queen Sunwŏn acted as regent at the commencement of his reign. Ch’olchong represented the last of a series of kings dominated by their royal in-laws (sedo chŏngch’i), which had begun with the reign of King Sunjo (r.1800-1834). Like Sunjo, Ch’olchong’s queen was from the Andong Kim clan and thus his reign marked a return to power for this clan. Ch’olchong began to take his own decisions in 1852 and soon instituted a series of reforms to the Three Administrations (samjong) which controlled land allocation, military service and the grain loan system. However, local official corruption and the unchecked greed of the royal in-laws made these reforms ineffective. What followed was a tide of dynastic decay that Chosŏn could not stem.

As the economic burden on the peasantry increased, so did the frequency of peasant uprisings. During the reign of Ch’olchong the most severe was the Chinju Uprising of 1862, which was led by Yu Kyech’un in reaction to the excesses of the local military commander. Important to this period, as the number of peasant insurrections increased, was the rise of Ch’oe Cheu (1824-1864) and the Tonghak religion. Many were drawn to this millenarian movement, which advocated betterment of social and economic conditions. Ch’oe’s activities resulted in his arrest and eventual execution. Hence, the reign of Ch’olchong was one of political and social turbulence that typifies the twilight years of Chosŏn. After a fourteen year rule, Ch’olchong died at the age of thirty-three, leaving Chosŏn in a state of disarray, similar to the situation when he became king in 1849.

**Ch’ollima Campaign**

[History of Korea]

**Ch’ŏn Kaesomun (see Yŏn Kaesomun)**

**Ch’ŏn**

Situated in the northeast corner of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Ch’ŏn consists of the towns of Sŏnggŏ and Sŏnghwan, and the townships of Kwangdŏk, Tong, Mokch’ŏn, Puk, Pyŏngchŏn, Sŏngnam, Sushin, Ipch’ang, Kwangdŏk, Chiksan and P’ungse. Recently expanded to include the areas formerly known as Ch’ŏn County, the city now covers an area of 636.68 square kilometres. Mt. Kwangdŏk (699m) and Mt. Manggyŏng (600m) in the southwest are the area’s highest peaks, followed by Mt. Sŏnggŏ (579m) near the centre of the city.

Almost 20,000 hectares of the city area are arable, of which about three-fifths grow rice and the remainder dry-field crops. In addition to being the leading producer of red pepper in the province, the city accounts for forty per cent of South Ch’ungch’ŏng’s tobacco farm acreage. Various fruit crops are grown, including apple, pear, melon and grape. In Kwangdŏk, walnuts are produced on a commercial scale. Taking advantage of Ch’ŏn’s proximity to Ch’ŏngju and Seoul, numerous dairy farms have developed, especially in the hilly areas of Sŏnghwan. Gold is mined in the area, and Chiksan, in particular, was famous for its alluvial gold. However, its deposits are now almost exhausted. Factories in the city produce textiles, chemical products, ceramics, farm machinery, dairy products,
electronics, fabricated metal, aluminium and paper.

Ch'ŏn'an’s tourism is centred around its historical sites and monuments. Buddhist sites include the old site of Ch'ŏn'hung Temple in Sŏnggŏ, nearby Manil Temple just west of Mt. Sŏnggŏ and Kwangdŏk Temple east of Mt. Kwangdŏk. The latter was founded by Chajang during the reign of Shilla’s Queen Chindŏk (r. 647-654). In addition to the artefacts found at these sites, there is a rock carving of a Buddha in P'ungse’s Samt'ae Village and a standing Buddha figure at Yonghwa Temple in Mokch’ŏn’s Tong Village.

Confucian schools include Chiksan Hyanggyo in Chiksan’s Kunso Village, Mokch’ŏn Hyanggyo in Mokch’ŏn’s Kyoch’on Village and Ch’ŏnan Hyanggyo in Yuryang-dong just east of the downtown area. The former was founded in 1398 and was moved to its present location in 1588. Both Chiksan and Mokch’ŏn Hyanggyo were reconstructed after being destroyed during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). Modern educational institutions in Ch’ŏnan include Chonan University in Anso-dong, Korea University of Technology and Education in Pyŏngch’ŏn and Nazarene University in Ssangyong-dong.

Every year, a ritual is held on the twelfth day of the tenth lunar month to commemorate the death of Yu Kwansun (1904-1920). A native of Ch’ŏnan, Yu took an active role in the 1 March Movement (1919) against the Japanese occupation. Arrested as one of the leading ‘conspirators’ in the local protest, she died in prison, becoming a martyr in Korea’s independence movement. The house where she was born can still be seen in Pyŏngch’ŏn’s Pyŏngch’ŏn Village. Other important monuments in the area include Independence Hall in Mokch’ŏn’s Hamhwa Village and Manghyang Tower in Songgo’s Yobang Village.

Ch’ŏndogyo  (see New religions)

Ch’ŏndogyo kyŏngjŏn (Scriptures of the Ch’ŏndogyo)

Ch’ŏndogyo kyŏngjŏn is a collection of the scriptures, hymns and doctrines of the Ch’ŏndogyo religion and is chiefly composed of the two mid-nineteenth c. works Tonggyŏng taejŏn (Bible of the Tonghak Doctrine) and Yongdam yusa (Hymns from the Dragon Pool). In 1952 Paek Semyŏng first combined these two works and published the collection under the name of Ch’ŏndogyo kyŏngjŏn, and likewise the Ch’ŏndogyo Church also combined the two works with various hymns used in Ch’ŏndogyo services and published this in 1956. Enlarged and supplemented in 1961, by 1984 it had been further expanded to its present form. This work is notable in that both of its two main components, i.e., Tonggyŏng taejŏn and Yongdam yusa, were written by the founder of the Tonghak Religion, Ch’oe Cheu (1824-1864), which is the antecedent to the Ch’ŏndogyo Religion.

Ch’ong Wa Dae (Ch’ongwadae)

Ch’ong Wa Dae is the office and residential complex of the President of the Republic of Korea. It is popularly called ‘Ch’ong Wa Dae’ or ‘The Blue House’ because the main building has a blue-tile roof. The location of Ch’ong Wa Dae was first used as the site of a royal villa in what was then Namgyŏng (the southern capital). It was built by King Sukchong (r. 1095-1105) of Koryŏ in 1104, the ninth year of his reign. In addition to the capital city of Kaesŏng, Koryŏ maintained a western capital, Sŏgyŏng, in P’yŏngyang; an eastern capital, Tonggyŏng, in Kyŏngju; and the southern capital, Namgyŏng, in Hanyang, which is now Seoul.

After Chosŏn moved its capital to Hanyang, Kyŏngbok Palace was built in 1395, the fourth year of the reign of King Taejo (r. 1392-98) as the main palace, and the land on which the royal villa stood became the back garden of the palace.
Following Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese colonialists used the Kyōngbok Palace grounds for the government-general building. In 1939, Japan built an official residence-office for the governor-general on the site of Ch’ong Wa Dae. Rhee Syngman, the inaugural president of the Republic of Korea, in 1948, called the building ‘Kyōngmudae’, which was the name of one of the few old buildings there. He used it as his office and residence. President Yun Po’sŏn of the Second republic changed the name to Ch’ong Wa Dae in 1960. Presidents Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏngch’u), Choi Kyu-hah (Ch’oe Kyuha) and Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tuhwān) occupied Chong Wa Dae both as their office and official residence. While Roh Tae Woo (No T’ae’u) was president, a new official residence and office building, as well as a press centre, called Ch’unch’gwān, were built.

In 1993, President Kim Young Sam’s (Kim Yŏngsam) government ordered the demolition of the Japanese governor-general’s residence and office in the Ch’ong Wa Dae compound, so as to remove a major symbol of the Japanese colonial occupation. Geomancers have long considered the area in which Ch’ong Wa Dae is located as fortuitous, a view supported by an inscription on a stone wall found behind the official presidential residence during the construction of a new building in 1989, which reads, ‘The Most Blessed Place on Earth’.

To the north of Ch’ong Wa Dae is Mt. Pugak, flanked by two mountains, Nak-san, symbolizing the Blue Dragon, on the left and Inwang-san, symbolizing the White Tiger, on the right. To the south is Nam-san the protective mountain of the capital and in front flows the Ch’onggye stream and the Han river. Today, Ch’ong Wa Dae consists of the official presidential residence, the Yŏngbin’gwān or guest house, the main office building, the Ch’unch’ugwān press hall, and the secretariat buildings. The land area of the complex is twenty-two and three-quarter hectares (fifty six acres).

**Ch’ōngbunshil sŏmok (Catalogue of Books at Ch’ōngbunshil)**

*Ch’ōngbunshil sŏmok* marks the first attempt to evaluate and catalogue the old books in various parts of the Kyōngsang provinces. Yi Inyŏng undertook this monumental work which lasted from 1937 until 1944. The original publication consisted of nine fascicles in one volume and was published in 1944. The sources evaluated date from 1222 until the beginning of the twentieth century, and in all total some 3 097 fascicles and 1 444 volumes. Since Yi evaluated each book’s historical value, *Ch’ōngbunshil sŏmok* is of great value to scholars in traditional Korean studies for assessing the worth of historical documents. The work was reissued in 1968 by Poryŏn’gak as a 543-page single volume.

**Ch’ōngdo County**

Situated in the southern part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Ch’ōngdo County comprises the towns of Ch’ōngdo and Hwayang and the townships of Kangnam; Kaḵp’uk; Kŭmch’on; Maejŏn; Unmun; Isŏ and P’unggak. The county is enclosed by mountains, with Mt. Munbok (1 014m), Mt. Kaji (1 240m), and Mt. Unmun (1 188m) rising on the eastern border; Mt. Pisŭl (1 084m) to the west, Mt. Sŏnmŭi (756m) and Mt. Sangwŏn (670m) to the north and Mt. Ch’ŏlma (630m) to the south.

Only about seventeen per cent of the county can be farmed, because of the rugged terrain. Rice cultivation is generally limited to the low-lying land around Tongch’ang Stream and Ch’ōngdo Stream. Apples and pears are grown, and Ch’ōngdo persimmons are the area’s speciality crop.

With spectacular mountain scenery and numerous historical sites, the county offers a number of tourist attractions. As the most southerly peak of the T’aebaek Mountain Range, Mt. Unmun is a popular hiking destination. In addition to the mountain’s temples and
hermitages, there is the picturesque Unmun Valley through which flows Tongch'ang Stream. The region is also famous for its waterfalls and mineral springs. On Mt. Hwaak, there is the 36-metre long Yaksu Waterfall, which is also a popular source of mineral water (yaksu), and on Mt. Kaji, one finds the 40-metre long Haksodae Waterfall.

Historically, the county’s most important monastery is Unmun Temple, located in Unmun Township. Originally founded in 557, the temple houses a stone lamp (Treasure No. 193), a three-storey pagoda, a stone pillar engraved with the images of the Four Heavenly Kings (Treasure No. 318) and a stele commemorating National Master Wŏn’ŏng (Treasure No. 316). At nearby Naewŏn Hermitage, there is a famous mineral spring.

In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a number of Confucian schools, including Ch’ŏngdo Hyanggyo founded in 1568 in Hwayang, Chagyŏ Sŏwŏn in Isŏ Township, Sŏnam Sŏwŏn in Kŭmch’ŏn Township, Kŭmho Sŏwŏn in Kŭmch’ŏn Village, Namgang Sŏwŏn in Kakpuk Township, Hwanggang Sŏwŏn in Kŭmch’ŏn Township, Pongyang Sŏwŏn in P’unggak Township and Ch’asŏn Sŏwŏn in Ch’asŏn Village.

Several old houses in the region have been preserved, among them the Un’gang residence, located in Kŭmch’ŏn Township’s Shinji Village. This was built in 1726 by Pak Suk. It was expanded by Pak’s great-great-grandson Un’gang in 1824 and brought to a standard of good repair in 1905. In Hwayang’s Tongch’on Village, there is a stone ice-storage cellar (Treasure No. 323). Built in 1713, the building is 14.75 metres long, 5 metres wide and has substantial stone arches to block-out the sun’s warmth. The cellar (up to the arches) was covered with earth after its construction. The sloping floor runs off water from the melting ice.

**Ch’ŏnggang chip** (Collected Works of Ch’ŏnggang)

*Ch’ŏnggang chip* is an anthology of Chosŏn scholar-official Yi Cheshin (1536-1584). It is composed of six volumes and two fascicles, and is a woodblock-printed work. Yi’s son Myŏngjun published it posthumously in 1610. The title of the work is taken from Yi’s pen name, Ch’ŏnggang. The first four volumes of this work contain many different style poems written by the author and the last two volumes contain writings of others that pertain to Yi.

This work contains valuable historical data in that its contents serve as a record of the mid-Chosŏn period, from the view of the author who was a government official. Notable in the work are the accounts of how troops under the command of Yi managed to repel the armies of Nit’anggae who was attacking Chosŏn from the north.

**Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn** (Enduring Poetry of Korea)

*Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn* is a shiijo collection that was compiled by Kim Ch’ŏnt’aek in 1728. It is a calligraphed work that consists of one volume and one fascicle. This work along with Haedong kayo (Songs of Korea) and Kagok wollyu (Sourcebook of Songs) are considered as the most important song collections of Korea. In the title of this collection ‘ch’ŏnggu’ refers to Korea, ‘yŏng’ means everlasting and ‘ŏn’ denotes words. Since this is a transcribed work, many different versions of it have come into being through the processes of adding and subtracting from the original. At present there are six different versions, and among these it is the ‘Chin-pon’ (original version) edition of 1728 that is oldest.

The work is arranged as follows: In the beginning there is a preface written by Chŏng Yun’gyŏng and this is followed by the original text that is divided into thirteen sections. The first section lists various musical styles and provides an example of each category. The second, which is entitled ‘Yŏmal’ contains six works from the end of the Koryŏ
period. The third, ‘Ponjo’ contains 203 works that were composed by forty-one different writers. ‘Yolsôngje’, the fourth section, contains five songs that were composed by three kings. The fifth section, ‘Yōhang yūgín’ is composed of sixty-five works by six composers, while the sixth, ‘Kyususamin’, has just five works by three writers. ‘Yŏndae kyŏlgo’, the seventh section has three compositions by three writers, and the eighth, ‘Mumyŏngssi’ has a total of 104 works included in it. The ninth section, ‘Samsaktaeyŏp’, has fifty-five works, the tenth, ‘Nak shijo’, ten works and the eleventh, ‘Chanjinju’, has but one work in it. ‘Maengsanggum ka’, the twelfth section also has one work only and the thirteenth section, ‘Manhwoeng ch’ŏngnyu’, has a total of 116 works.

Of the various versions of this work the ‘Hongssi-pon’ displays highly skilled calligraphy and contains 310 works in its seventy-four pages. Its contents are divided into those works by known and unknown authors. The ‘Karam-pon I’ edition is quite similar to the ‘Chin-pon’ edition except that it has no preface or epilogue and that it has an additional section entitled ‘P’ayang’ that holds nine works. ‘Karam-pon II’ is also very close to the ‘Chin-pon’ edition. The ‘Yuktang-pon’ is titled Haedong kayo rok (Record of the Songs of Korea) and contains 999 shijo and 17 kasa. This edition has many composers and works that are not included in the other editions. However, there are also a considerable number of errors by the compiler. The ‘Yŏnsi-pon’ contains 257 works and at the end the kasa, Sok ēbusa (Songs of the Fishermen Continued), is recorded. This edition also is marred by many errors.

Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn is valued as a tremendous collection of shijo that displays some of the most beautiful verse and melodies of Korean literati, kings and even kisaeng (female entertainers). It is highly valued as both a historical record of the thoughts and emotions of the writers contained in it, as well as for its aesthetic qualities.

Ch’ŏngja ware

[Ceramics]

Ch’ŏngjin

Located in the northwest region of North Hamgyŏng Province, the city of Ch’ŏngjin covers a total area of 275 sq. kms. Ch’ŏldan Peak (571m) is the highest point on the city’s northeast border and Mt. Samjŏl (410m) is its counterpart in the southwest. Ch’ŏngjin has a maritime climate, with an average January temperature of -5.3c., and an average August temperature of 14.9c.

Throughout the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese used the city’s port to transport soldiers and military supplies and in 1908, Ch’ŏngjin was recognised as an international trading port. During the Japanese occupation of Korea, the Hamgyŏng and Ch’ŏnghoe railways were built, linking the city with points to the north. Once the improved transport and communication facilities were in place, Ch’ŏngjin’s port was used to import and export goods to and from the Qiandao region in Manchuria. To meet the city’s burgeoning commercial needs, the port facilities were modernised, beginning in 1921. In the 1930s, Ch’ŏngjin was transformed into an industrial city, with the construction of manufacturing, canning, and fish-oil plants, as well as three steel mills. In this period, the port facilities were again expanded to include special docks for the local fishing fleet and the steel industry. By 1943, Ch’ŏngjin had become one of the four largest cities in Korea.

Several historical artefacts of importance have been found in the area. In 1956, archaeological excavations revealed a shell mound dating from prehistoric times. Within the mound, researchers discovered animal bones as well as tools carved of bone. In Nong’o-dong and Sammae village, stone-built graves dating from the Bronze Age have been discovered.

Ch’ŏngju
Ch'ongju is located in the western part of North Ch'ungch'ong Province. The city covers a total area of 153.62 sq. kms. and as of 1990 had a population of 463,944. Sangbong Ridge (404m) rises in the east of the city and Miho Stream runs along the northwestern border. As an inland region, the area’s climate is denoted by sharp fluctuations in temperature. Ch'ongju has an average temperature of 11.4 deg. C. and receives 1,171 mm of rainfall annually, about sixty per cent of which falls in summer.

About thirty-seven per cent of the city area is arable land. Of this, some twenty-seven sq. kms. is used for rice cultivation and about seventeen sq. kms. for fruit growing and a variety of vegetables. Beef and dairy farming are major undertakings here which, together with poultry and pig farming, are important income producers for the city. Ch'ongju's manufacturing sector is in the Songjông-dong and Poktae-dong.

Famous as an educational and cultural haven, Ch'ongju attracts tourists throughout the year. One of the most popular local sites is the picturesque Myôngam Reservoir in Myôngam-dong. Built in 1921, the reservoir has recently been reduced in size, in order to build apartment complexes in Kümch'ón-dong and Yongam-dong. Ch'ongju’s best known dish is olgaeangi (a kind of marsh snail) soup, a piquant dish seasoned with soy bean paste, hot peppers and garlic.

The city abounds in Buddhist sites. At Posal Temple in Yongam-dong, is a five-storey pagoda; a pair of Buddha statues; a scroll painting of a Buddha; and a stele with an account of the temple’s reconstruction. In Uam-dong, is Yongam Temple, a monastery belonging to the T'ae'go Sect. Although the temple’s history is clouded, it is thought to date from Greater Shilla. At the temple there is a seated Vairocana figure (North Ch'ungch'ong Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 23) which was carved during the ninth century. The seated Buddha in the Main Buddha Hall was brought to the temple from Pópchu Temple in 1952. It was carved during Chosôn from a single block of granite.

In Unch'ón-dong can be seen the old site of Hûngdôk Temple, where the Chikchishim kyông (Directly Pointing to the Mind Sutra) was made. Printed in 1377, this Buddhist text is the world’s oldest work printed with metal type. The original copy is held in a museum in France, but a copy can be seen at the Ch'ongju Early Printing Museum. This museum also safe-keeps the Muju chonggwang taedarani kyông. Printed in 751, this Buddhist scripture is the world’s oldest book printed with woodblocks. There are also displays of mannequins re-enacting the carving of the Tripitika Koreana, and in the museum’s Chosôn hall, mannequins demonstrate how wooden printing blocks and metal type were made.

Confucian schools found in the city include Ch'ongju Hyanggyo established in the Chosôn in Taesôn-dong; Ch'ongan Hyanggyo, Shinhang Sôwôn (founded in 1570) in Yongjông-dong; Songgye Sôwôn at the juncture of the Chungbu Expressway and the Ch'ungbuk rail line; and Kugye Sôwôn just east of Highway 17. Near Kugye Sôwôn in Moch'ung-dong is Moch'ungsa, a shrine commemorating over seventy officers and enlisted men who died while trying to suppress the Tonghak Rebellion. Modern educational institutions include Chung Buk National University in Hûngdôk District; Chongju University in Sangdang District; Seowon University in Hûngdôk District; and Chongju National University of Education in Hûngdôk District.

Ch'ongju National Museum

Ch'ongju National Museum (Kungnip Ch'ongju Pangmulgwan) is located in Ch'ongju in North Ch'ungch'ong Province. Construction, which began in 1982, took five years and the museum opened its doors in October 1987. Since the Ch'ongju area comprised the strategic border region of the Koguryó, Paekche and Shilla kingdoms during the Three Kingdoms era, the museum’s collection contains numerous artefacts from each of these
domains. The museum also exhibits prehistoric artefacts, Koryŏ printing and Chosŏn handicrafts. In addition to managing its exhibitions, the museum conducts research on items in its collection.

Ch'ŏngsan Island

Located twenty kms. S.E. of Wan Island, Ch'ŏngsan Island is part of Ch'ŏngsan Township in South Cholla Province's Wando County. The island covers an area of 33.28 sq. kms. and has a 42-km.-long coastline. Mt. Taebong (379m) rises in the north of the island and Maebong Peak (385m) stands in the southeast. The island has a tolerable winter climate, with an average January temperature of 1.0c., and a hot summer, with August temperatures averaging 27c. Ch'ŏngsan has an average annual rainfall of 1 322mm.

About one-quarter of the island is tillable, with about 3.7 sq. kms. used for rice and about 4.5 sq. kms. for dry-field crops such as barley, sweet potato, bean, garlic and sesame. Local marine products include Spanish mackerel, anchovy, bream, croaker, hairtail, filefish, eel, octopus, oyster, clam and laver. Most of the villages are situated in the relatively flat central and western areas.

There are four primary schools and two junior high schools on the island. There is a passenger ferry service to both Wan Island and Mokp'o. With its picturesque scenery, Ch'ŏngsan attracts large numbers of tourists. In order to protect the area's natural resources, the island has been included in Tadohae National Marine Park.

Ch'ŏngsan pyŏlgok (Song of the green hills) [Literature]

Ch'ŏngsong County

Situated in the eastern part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Ch'ŏngsong County includes the town of Ch'ŏngsong and the townships of Punam, Pudong, Andŏk, Chinbo, P'ach'ŏn, Hyŏndong and Hyaŏng. The Sando Mountain Range, an offshoot of the Pohyon Mountain Range, runs through the centre of the county. With only 940mm of rainfall annually, the county is relatively dry, but it has sharp fluctuations between summer and winter temperatures.

Approximately 83 per cent of the county is forest and under 12 per cent is arable land. Due to the area's rugged terrain, most farms cultivate dry-field crops including grain, tobacco, red pepper, garlic and a variety of herbs. Red-pepper production, centred in Chinbo Township, is the highest in the province. Some land is sat aside for cattle raising. During Chosŏn, white porcelain for everyday use was produced in Ch'ŏngsong, but the tradition has not survived. The county's industrial sector is mainly limited to traditional cottage industries producing silk, hemp, rice-paper and pottery, although there is some mining and quarrying in the area, for fluorspar and clay.

Ch'ŏngsong County's tourism is centred around Mt. Chuwang National Park in the northeast (See Chuwang Mountain), Talgi Valley's spa attracts many, as does the Ch'ŏngsong Cultural Festival held every year in October. Located east of central Ch'ŏngsong, the Talgi spring is famous for its bubbly water that is both odourless and colourless. When sugar is added to the water, it becomes almost like a proprietary soft drink, and when it is used to cook rice, the rice takes on a bluish hue due to the water's high iron content. The spa water is said to cure anaemia, stomach ailments, rheumatism, nervous disorders, heart disease and female disorders.

Most of the area's historical sites are concentrated in the area around the town of Ch'ŏngsong. There are several temples, including Pogwang Temple in Ch'ŏngsong, Taejŏn Temple in Pudong Township and Sujŏng Temple in P'ach'ŏn Township. In Chinbo
Township's Ich'on Village, there is a five-storey pagoda. Confucian sites in the county include several pavilions -- Ch'an'gyongnu in Ch'ongsong, Manseru in Tōk Village and Panghojong in Andok Township. In Chinbo Township's Kwangdok Village is Chinbo Hyanggyo (county public school), which has been designated North Kyōngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 201.

Ch'ongwadae (see Ch'ong Wa Dae)

Ch'ongwŏn County

Located in North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Ch'ongwŏn County consists of the townships of Kadŏk, Kangnae, Kangoe, Nami, Namil, Namsŏng, Munŭi, Puyong, Pugi, Pugil, Och'ang, Oksan and Hyŏndŏ. The county covers a total area of 817 sq. kms. and as of 1990, had a population of 116 779. Mt. Midong (558m), Mt. Sŏndo (527m) and other peaks of the Sobaek Mountain Range rise in the eastern part of the county, Miho Stream run through the east and Taech'ŏng Lake lies in the south. The Chungbu Expressway links Ch'ŏngju in the centre of the county with Taejŏn to the south. As an inland area, the county's climate is characterised by sharp fluctuations with an average yearly temperature of 11.5 deg. c. and an average yearly rainfall of 1 246mm.

Approximately 245 sq. kms. of the county area are tilled, both for rice (144 sq. kms.) and dry-field crops (101 sq. kms.) such as barley, bean, potato, ginseng, mint and tobacco. The rice crop, which is grown mainly in the plains along Miho stream, accounts for twenty-five per cent of the province's total production. Stock breeding and sericulture also contribute to the local economy. Mineral resources exist, with fluospar from Pugil and zircon from Och'ang. Naturally-carbonated water (used in soft drink manufacture) is found in both Pugil and Puyong.

On Kuryong Mountain in Munŭi's Kuryong Village lies Yong (Dragon) Cave. About two kms. from the entrance, the cave branches off into a maze of passageways and beyond this point, there is a cavern. A tunnel has been excavated, connecting this cavern with the surface. Speleologists have also located a water-filled cave which feeds a large pond, at a depth of about one hundred and fifty metres. Stalactites can be seen here and there around the cave. Residents of the Kamul area come to the cave to perform kiuje (ritual of praying for rain).

The area offers some historical sites of importance. In Hyŏndŏ's Hasŏk Village near Taech'ŏng Dam is Hyŏnam Temple, founded by Grand Master Sugyŏng during the reign of Shilla's Queen Sŏndŏk (r. 632-647) In Nami's Sadong Village is Anshim Temple, founded by Vinaya Master Chinp'yo in 775. The Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 664) of Anshim has remained in good repair since its overhaul in 1672. Within the hall are several altar paintings that date from the late nineteenth c. and a hanging scroll painting from 1652. Other artefacts include a seated Buddha from Shilla, a stupa from late Chosŏn which purportedly contains the sarira of the Buddha, and a stele which gives an account of the stupa.

Confucian schools in the area include Munŭi Hyanggyo founded by Yi Ŭn'gi in 1683 in Munŭi's Mich'ŏn Village; Tôkch'ŏn Sŏwŏn in Kadŏk's Nodong Village; Ch'ehwa Sŏwŏn in Namil's Kasan Village; Chukkye Sŏwŏn founded in 1738 in Pugi's Yonggye Village; Kŏmam Sŏwŏn founded during the reign of King Sukchong (r.1674-1720) in Kadŏk's Pyŏngam Village; Songch'ŏn Sŏwŏn in Oksan's Yangji Village; nearby Kiam Sŏwŏn just west of the Chungbu Expressway; Sŏgye Sŏwŏn founded in 1717 in Miwŏn's Okhwa Village; Kukkye Sŏwŏn founded in 1701 in Pugi's Kuktong Village; Kŭmdan Sŏwŏn next to the Kŭm River in Puyong; Nobong Sŏwŏn west of Taech'ŏng Dam, and the recently reconstructed Ponggye Sŏwŏn founded in 1760 in Oksan's Hwanhŭi Village. In Kadŏk's Inch'a Village lies Kubong Yöngdang, a shrine built in honour of Shin Sukchu, a
famous government minister during the reign of King Sejo (r.1455-1468). The shrine houses a memorial portrait of Shin, made around the time the shrine was built. Rites are performed at the shrine every spring and autumn by the Koryõng Shin clan. Modern educational institutions include Han’guk Kyoyuk Taehakkkyo (Han’guk University of Education) just east of Miho stream in Kangnae.

Ch’ongyang County

Located in the central area of South Ch’ungch’'ong Province, Ch’ongyang County consists of the town of Ch’ongyang, and the townships of Taech’i, Mok, Pibong, Un’gok, Changp’yông, Chŏngsan, Ch’ongna and Hwasŏng. The county covers a total area of 469.35 square kilometres and as shown by 1989 statistics, a population of 53 999. Mt. Ch’ilgap (561m) and other mountains of the Ch’aryong Mountain Range run through the centre of the county, while the Kûm River flows along the southeastern border. As an inland mountainous area, the county’s climate is characterised by sharp fluctuations in temperature with an average yearly temperature of 12.0c. and an annual rainfall of 1 196mm.

Almost three quarters of the population is employed in agriculture. Of the county area, 11 780 hectares comprise arable land, with about 7 700 hectares devoted to rice and over 4 000 hectares to dry-field crops, such as barley and tobacco. Mineral resources are limited to small amounts of tungsten, silica and talc. Gold was also found here, but the economically-viable reserves are now extinguished, with the celebrated Kubong Gold Mine closing down in 1971.

Local tourism is centred around the picturesque Mt. Ch’ilgap Provincial Park. Several hiking trails ascend the mountain to its peak and to nearby Samhyŏngje (Three Brothers) peak. At the western foot of the mountain lies Changgok Temple, one of the county’s most important Buddhist sites. Founded by Song Master Pojo during the reign of King Munsŏng (r. 839-857), the temple houses two seated Bhaisajyaguru figures, one made of iron (National Treasure No. 58) and one made of gilt-bronze (Treasure No. 337), as well as a number of old buildings.

Confucian sites found in the area include Ch’ongyang Hyanggyo (county public school) in Ch’ongyang’s Kyowol Village and Chŏngsan Hyanggyo in Chŏngsan’s Sŏjong Village. Both of these schools are said to have been founded during early Chosŏn. Shrines include P’yŏchŏlsa in Un’gok’s Mogok Village, built in honour of four military leaders who died trying to retake Seoul during the first Hideyoshi Invasion (1592), and Modŏksa in Mok Township’s Songam Village, built in honour of the scholar and patriot Ch’oe Ikhyŏn (1833-1906).

Each year on 13 April, the Myŏnam Ch’unch’u Tae’ui Festival is held at Modoks to commemorate Ch’oe Ikhyŏn, who was styled Myŏnam. Ch’oe raised a guerilla army to protest the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Ulsa poho choyak) which Japan forced upon Korea. The ritual is accompanied by various events, including a procession of men dressed in the style of Ch’oe’s guerilla band and a writing contest. Another popular event is the Ch’ilgap Cultural Festival, which was started in 1984 by local residents. Held each year in October, the festival includes a sanshinje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountain) as well as traditional games and sports.

On the night of the fourteenth day of the first lunar month in Chŏngsan’s Songhak Village, a tonghwaje (village fire ritual) is held. During the ritual, a piece of firewood is brought from each of the participant’s houses and put in a bundle on a platform to burn. It is said that the direction that the burned-out bundle falls foretells which villagers will have good fortune. The ritual is believed to ensure the village’s peace as well as an abundant harvest for the coming year.
Ch’önin

In former times, the Korean population was composed largely of the ch’önin (low-born) class and the yangin class (free-born commoners). Collectively, they are sometimes referred to as the yangch’ön, and the formation of these social divisions emerged with the consolidation of a strong central governing authority and the formation of a privileged ruling class.

Slaves formed the largest component of the ch’önin, which had existed in Korean society since the earliest state, Ko Chosôn. The first historical record of the ch’önin is found in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), which recounts the command of King Munmu (r. 661-681), to the effect that the families of insurgents were to be reduced to members of the ch’önin class as slaves. Nevertheless, it is highly speculative that there existed clear distinctions between the yangin and ch’önin classes at this point in Korean history. Most likely, the strict kolp’um chedo (bone-rank system) that dominated Shilla society drew one clear social boundary, which demarcated the ruling, hereditary aristocratic classes and the low classes, all of which were grouped together.

By Koryô, the class distinctions in society had become much clearer. Early legislation clearly delineated the yangin and ch’önin classes, and various laws, including those concerning marriage prohibitions among members of these groups appeared. Largely, the peasant population of Koryô was designated as the paekchông, which was composed of those who were not eligible to enter Koryô officialdom. Below the paekchông were the ch’önin, constituted mostly of slaves. There were further different rights and duties attributed to the ch’önin and yangin and these differences were substantial. With the ch’önin slaves were those peasants attached to special administrative districts such as hyang, pugok, so, yŏk, chin, and kwan. The hyang and pugok were farming communities comprised of lowborn people assigned to farm labour; the so were concentrations of labourers directed to mining operations, or the making of silk, paper, or pottery; while the chin (ferry) and yŏk (post stations) were the transportation facilities established on various routes throughout the country. The kwan were inns, with those who were allocated to these facilities having a very low social standing indeed.

Below the lowborn were the slaves who served in the special administrative districts, and these were largely divided into privately-owned and government slaves. The latter performed various duties at official offices and facilities, as well as being assigned to civilian and military officials. Private slaves belonged to members of the royal family, the ruling class and the temples, and they carried out many different functions for their masters.

The status of all slaves was hereditary, and they could be bought or sold at their master’s will. There were also ‘out-resident’ slaves, who worked their owner’s lands, retaining a portion of the harvest as reward for their labour. In some respects these slaves resembled freeborn tenant farmers, and in mid to late Koryô many of them amassed large personal fortunes and were able to buy their freedom, thereby joining the yangin class. A further component of the ch’önin were the social outcasts, such as butchers, wicker-workers and travelling entertainers. Although the individuals in these occupations were freeborn, they were scorned by society because of their occupations and thereby, were afforded the same treatment as slaves.

The one avenue that did offer some ch’önin a chance to elevate their social standing was military service. Early in Koryô, paekchông and ch’önin men filled the ranks of the army. The end result of ch’önin service, however, was a decline in the social status of the military. While the paekchông were technically eligible to sit for the government service examinations during Koryô, the ch’önin were denied this right, one also denied the offspring of apostate monks. Hence, it is clear that the status of the ch’önin was hereditary
and as such not easy to divest.

The situation of the ch’ŏnin did not change a great deal in Chosŏn. The majority remained as slaves, divided largely into government and private slaves, as was the case during Koryŏ. Government slaves were further distinguished between those who performed labour services and those who paid a tax in lieu of service. Private slaves were also, by and large, classified along these same lines, with household slaves performing duties in the master’s house or on his adjacent lands, and out-resident slaves who paid an annual fee to their masters. A person’s status was determined by that of his mother, and thus any children born to a slave woman became the property of her master. While few household slaves formed their own households, out-resident slaves did, and led lives that were comparable to those of freeborn tenant farmers.

The social outcasts of the ch’ŏnin during Chosŏn included the previously-mentioned butchers, wicker-workers and travelling entertainers, plus tanners, shamans, kisaeng (female entertainers), and monks. The individuals engaged in these largely hereditary occupations, lived in isolated villages and were in general despised by society. In an attempt to assimilate the members of these occupations into mainstream Chosŏn society, King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) granted them land and they were taught how to work it, with the aim of converting them to the lifestyle of peasant farmers. Therefore, from early Chosŏn, this class became known as the paekchŏng, a term heretofore reserved for the freeborn peasantry. However, despite the attempts of King Sejong to eliminate these lowborn occupations by turning them into farmers, they continued their hereditary occupations on the fringes of Chosŏn society as ch’ŏnin.

The position of the ch’ŏnin during Chosŏn, while still depressed, was an improvement over the previous Koryŏ era. Slaves had better economic opportunities in Chosŏn and in 1801 the government freed all of its slaves, thus making them members of the yangin class. Those engaged in lowborn occupations, while still disdained by society, had at least been legally defined as commoners, and the special administrative districts of Koryŏ were abolished during Chosŏn. While these processes were carried out over hundreds of years, and real change was therefore extremely gradual, the situation in Chosŏn does represent a marked improvement over that prevailing during Koryŏ.

Bibliography


Ch’ŏnma Mountain

Mt. Ch’ŏnma is situated in Kyŏnggi Province in the northern area of Kaesŏng. Its highest peak (762 metres) is called Manggyŏngdae. The mountain is closely associated with the founding of the Koryŏ Dynasty. In fact, the Taehŭng Fortress, built during the Koryŏ Period, still stands. The ancient Buddhist monasteries on the mountain, such as Kwanŭm, Kaesŏng, Unhŭng and Taehŭng Temple, are also imbued with historical significance. In addition to its ancient sites, the mountain, in spite of its small size, is full of spectacular scenery. Due to its rock formations, the area has also been called ‘the Diamond Mountains of Kaesŏng’ or ‘the Lesser Diamond Mountains’ (Sogumgang). Numerous tourists visit the mountain to see the beautiful Pagyŏn Waterfall, or Kudam and Yongdam Lake.

Ch’ŏnt’ae Sect  [Buddhism]

Ch’op’a-il  [Buddhism]

Ch’ŏrwŏn County
Situated in northwest Kangwon Province, Ch’ŏrwŏn County is comprised of the towns of Kalmal, Kimhwa, Tongsong and Ch’ŏrwŏn and the townships of Kinnam and So. The area has been known as Ch’ŏrwŏn County since the reign of King Kyŏngdok (742-765). The DMZ runs across the centre of this mountainous county, and the Hant’an River flows down to the west of Kimhwa. A lava plateau, about 200 to 500 metres in elevation, stretches across the northwest portion of the county. As an inland mountainous region, the area’s weather is characterised by sharp differences in summer and winter temperatures and heavy rainfall.

Agriculture plays a leading role in the county’s economy. Rice is cultivated on the relatively flat lava plateau in the northwest, and several dry field crops, such as corn, beans and leafy vegetables are also grown here. Mining also contributes to the local economy. Diatomite and feldspar are excavated in Kalmal, while silica is mined in Kimhwa.

Ch’ŏrwŏn County boasts great natural beauty. In particular, the granite cliffs that line the Hant’an River gorge are known for their majestic splendour. Other sites include the picturesque Sambungen Waterfall near Kalmal’s Shinch’ŏl Village and a pond built by Kim Kwanju during the reign of King Yongjo (1724-1776) in Kunt’an Village. Kim, who cured his sickness by eating the Water Shieled (Brasenia schreberi) that grew here, named the site ‘Sundam’ (Water Shieled Pond).

In addition to its natural beauty, a number of important historical relics and sites are scattered around the western half of the county. Excavated relics from both the Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age indicate that humans have inhabited this area since prehistoric times. Dolmens have been found in Kalmal, Shinch’ŏrwŏn Village, Chip’o Village and Munye Village.

In addition to these prehistoric sites, there are a number of important Buddhist relics in the area. At Top’ian Temple in Tongsong, there is a seated Buddha figure made of iron (National Treasure No. 63) and a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 223). South of the Hak Reservoir in Tongsong Village, there is a Buddha figure carved in relief. Extant temples in the area include the Top’ian, Anyang, Pokhye, Shimwŏn, Changan, Puyŏn, Ilgwang and Poyŏn temples.

In spite of its natural beauty and numerous sites of historical interest, the county’s tourist industry is relatively underdeveloped, due to its inaccessible location. In addition, since the county is situated in close proximity to the demilitarised zone, some areas are off limits to civilians. Many of the small towns in the area cater to the needs of the military personnel and their dependants.

Ch’ŏnyong

Ch’ŏnyong is a legendary figure from the reign of the Shilla king Hŏng’gang (r. 875-886) who appears in ‘Ch’ŏnyong ka’ (Song of Ch’ŏnyong) recorded in the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). As well the record in the Samguk yusa, there is an account of Ch’ŏnyong in the Koryosa (History of Koryŏ). The legend regarding Ch’ŏnyong provided in the Samguk yusa is as follows.

King Hŏnggang was returning home from Kaeunp’o (present day Ulsan) when he became lost in heavy fog created by a dragon. At the suggestion of his adviser, he commanded that a temple be erected in honour of the dragon, and soon afterwards the fog dissipated. The dragon of the East Sea then appeared, accompanied by his seven sons, playing music and dancing. The dragon was pleased with the offering of the king and in his pleasure presented one of his sons, Ch’ŏnyong, to the king as adviser. The king was well-satisfied with the service of Ch’ŏnyong and gave him a beautiful wife, as well as a high government position.
However, the God of Pestilence coveted Ch’oyong’s wife and transformed his image so that he could spend the night with her in Ch’oyong’s house. When the master of the house returned he was shocked to see two people in his bed. Quickly, he left the room singing ‘Ch’oyong ka’ (Song of Ch’oyong) and dancing. This in turn caused the God of Pestilence to reveal his identity, whereupon he prostrated himself in front of Ch’oyong and begged forgiveness. The spirit pledged to never enter a home that bore the likeness of Ch’oyong, since he was greatly impressed by the husband’s unruffled demeanor. As a result of this confrontation, the people are said to have drawn the likeness of Ch’oyong and placed it on their doors. By so doing they were able to drive away misfortune.

Although there are various theories on Ch’oyong and his role in the Shilla Kingdom, the one most prevalent is that he was a shaman who was naturally well-versed in shaman song and dance. Since one of the duties of Ch’oyong was to assist the king in controlling rain, it is thought also that Ch’oyong may have been a shaman who donned a dragon costume while performing incantatory rain rituals. However Ch’oyong ka’ is not a rain dance, but one imbued with properties to expel the baneful presence of the God of Pestilence. Moreover, the fact that the image of Ch’oyong was used as a talisman reveals that he was believed to be a supernaturally forceful, capable of repelling injurious spirits. The belief in Ch’oyong’s power of good was reinforced with the expansion of the lyrics of ‘Ch’oyong ka’ during Koryo and a ritual dance performance that was held in the women’s quarters of the palace at the end of the first lunar month. This ceremony ceased with the coming of Chosŏn.

The myth surrounding Ch’oyong and the protective powers that he possessed did not, however, disappear after Koryŏ. Instead, these beliefs moved to the sphere of the shamanistic religion of the common people. Although records of the religious practices among the commoners are scant until the twentieth c., there are accounts of ‘Ch’oyong ka’ recorded in Chosŏn historical documents such as Sejong shillok (Veritable Records of King Sejong). Also, in surveys of Korean shamanism conducted in the early years of the twentieth c., there are manifestations of legends surrounding Ch’oyong. Perhaps the most notable of these accounts is of Ōbi taewang that recounts the history of a founding deity of shamanism in Korea. This record reveals that the name of Ch’oyong was also pronounced ‘Ōbi’ or ‘Ebi’ in regional dialects, and that the people would call out his name in the belief that their cries would drive away baleful spirits. The wife of Ch’oyong, who had slept with the God of Pestilence, was also a shamanistic deity, Pari kongju (Princess Pari), who had the power to transverse the realms of the sacred and profane. Thus, these two deities were seen as the founders of Korean shamanism, since Ch’oyong was skilled in incantatory dance and song, and Princess Pari was vested with the powers of the gods. Accordingly, the legend surrounding Ch’oyong is closely linked to the narrative shaman song (muga) Pari kongju, and continues to play an important role in Korean shamanistic practices to the present day.

Bibliography


Ch’unch’ŏn

Situated in the western part of Kangwŏn Province, Ch’unch’ŏn is comprised of the town of Shinbuk, and the townships of Nam, Namsan, Tongnae, Tong, Tongsan, Puksan, Sabuk, Sŏ and Shindong. The area is famous for the large reservoirs which have been created by three dams. Ch’unch’ŏn Dam is situated to the north of the city on the north fork of the Han
River. Soyang Dam is located to the east of Ch’unch’ón on the Soyang River. The north fork of the Han River and Soyang River meet and flow past the city. The Üiam Dam, situated to the southwest of the city, blocks the expanded north fork of the Han, creating Üiam Lake. With three large dams, Ch’unch’ón has the highest output of hydro-electric power in the nation.

In addition to its lakes, the city is surrounded by numerous mountains such Mt. Odae, Mt. Taeryǒng, Mt. Samak and Mt. Kubong. Mt. Pongtui (302 metres) rises prominently near the downtown area, across from Mt. Hyangno (315 metres) on the city’s southwest end. Due to the surrounding mountains and large bodies of water, the city has a distinct climate, characterised by sharp fluctuations in temperature, heavy fog and frequent rain. Its yearly average temperature is 10.5°C.

Ch’unch’ón has a long history of human habitation. Archaeological finds on Mt. Pongtui indicate that human beings have lived in the area since Neolithic times. Prior to the Three Kingdoms’ period, the area is believed to have been occupied by the Maek people. In the fifth century, the area became part of Koguryǒ territory before falling into Shilla’s hands during the early seventh century. In 637, Queen Sŏndok called the area Usu-ju or Udu-ju (both meaning ‘Ox-head State’) and assigned a military overlord to the area. After Shilla unified the Three Kingdoms, the name was changed several more times. In 940, the area was called Ch’un-ju. In 1413, after the rise of the Chosŏn Kingdom, the area was known as Ch’unch’ón County. Ch’unch’ón County and the municipal area were combined to become the present Ch’unch’ón City in 1995.

Many of the area’s artefacts were destroyed during the Korean War, but, a few remain intact. Dolmen dating from the Bronze Age have been discovered in Sŏksa-dong, Chungdong-dong and other areas. As for Buddhist relics, there is a seven-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 77) on Soyang Street, and a pair of banner-pole support pillars (Treasure No. 76) in Kŭnhwa-dong. There are also a number of Buddhist monasteries in the area, including the Pongtui, Ch’ŏnut, Yŏngch’ón, Myŏngbul, Soyang, Taewŏn and Pongdŏk temples. In addition, Ch’unch’ón Hyanggyo (Confucian academy) in Kyo-dong has been designated Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 98. On Soyang Street, there is the Soyang Pavilion (Kangwŏn Province Cultural Property No. 1), and in Ûdo-dong, there is Choyang Pavilion.

With one of the highest ratios of students to population in Korea, Ch’unch’ón is an important educational centre. Kangwon National University, Hallym University and Chunchon National University of Education are all located in the city, along with several smaller junior colleges. In addition to its role as an educational hub, the city draws large numbers of weekend visitors from Seoul. These visitors come by train or car to hike on nearby Mt. Odae or Mt. Samak, or to see the picturesque Kugok Waterfall. Special fishing docks have also been set up on many of Ch’unch’ón’s reservoirs. In order to meet the demands of tourists and students, Ch’unch’ón has a large number of restaurants. The area’s culinary specialty is makkuxsu (buckwheat noodles) and takkalbi (chopped chicken fried in hot sauce).

Since the Han River, which flows through Ch’unch’ón, is a major source of Seoul’s water supply, there has been little industrial development in the area in order to protect the water from pollutants. On the outskirts of the city, rice and dry field crops are cultivated. There are also a number of livestock farms which raise pigs, dairy cattle and chicken. However, agricultural land has been reduced recently as the city has expanded.

Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, North

Overview
Province located in the south-central part of the Korean Peninsula, bounded to the east by
Kangwŏn and North Kyŏngsang Provinces, to the west by South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and Taegŏn Special City, to the south by North Chôlla Province, and to the north by Kangwŏn and Kyŏnggi Provinces. North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province is the only landlocked province on the Korean Peninsula, and ranks second-smallest in area after Cheju. Occupying a strategic location near major transportation routes, this territory changed hands between several times during the Three Kingdoms Period, coming under the administration of Koguryŏ and then Shilla monarchies before being assimilated into the Koryŏ Kingdom in the tenth century.

**Geography and Climate**

With the exception of the extreme western section of the province, North Ch'ungch'ŏng contains relatively few lowlying areas, although numerous basins are found throughout upland regions in the east. The Sobaek Range in the southeast and the Ch'aryŏng Range in the northwest of the province form natural barriers with neighboring provinces, while terrain characterized by alternating plains and low hills in the west of the province facilitates transportation links with South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. The former range contains several peaks with elevations greater than 1,000 meters, including the highest in the province, Mount Sobaek (1,440m), which straddles the boundary with North Kyŏngsang Province in the far northeast. A spur of the Sobaek Range in the center of the province divides the catchment areas of the River Kŭm to the southwest and the Han River to the north, forming a geographic boundary between the two principal economic regions of the province centered on Ch'ŏngju and Ch'ungju respectively. Forests account for approximately half of the province's total land area, and are home to a variety of unique species of flora and fauna. North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province experiences a typical continental climate, characterized by long, cold, dry winters and hot, humid, wet summers, while average temperatures exhibit seasonal variations of thirty degrees. Southern districts generally experience higher average temperatures and higher precipitation than northern districts, and suffer occasional flood damage due to the fact that over half of precipitation is concentrated during the summer months.

**Agriculture and Industry**

Although much of the province is mountainous, and cultivated land accounts for only one-fifth of the total land area, agriculture has traditionally played a dominant role in the local economy, however secondary and tertiary sectors have undergone significant growth during the past two decades. Approximately equal proportions of the total cultivated land area are devoted respectively to the cultivation of rice and grains, and rice is the dominant crop in lowland areas of the province. Principal grains and cereals include barley, wheat, millet, corn and buckwheat, while nut cultivation is concentrated around Ch'ŏngwŏn, Chewŏn and Tanyang. Improvements in transportation and growth in urban markets have led to the rapid development of horticultural activities, and the province is a major producer of apples and pears, in addition to garlic, ginseng, peppers and yellow tobacco. Recent years have also witnessed significant developments in livestock raising and dairy farming in certain parts of the province. As North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province is landlocked, fishing plays a comparatively minor role in the local economy, and activity is restricted to freshwater fishing in the province's rivers and lakes. Gold, iron ore, tungsten, molybdenum, talc, fluorite, limestone and coal are the most common minerals; limestone production is centered on Tanyang, while iron ore production is centered on Ch'ungju. Industrial development is concentrated on the Ch'ungju region in the north of the province and the Ch'ŏngju region in the south. The former is characterized by heavy industries producing fertilizers, talc, cement, carbide, lime and nitroilme, while the latter is home to a variety of light industrial enterprises producing textiles, machinery, electronic goods, leather, clothing, pharmaceuticals, alcohol, tobacco, foodstuffs and plastics.

**Tourism**

North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province has a complex cultural legacy, having been administered by several rulers during its history, and is host to a wide variety of cultural events, of which
the annual North Ch'ungch'ŏng Arts Festival is the most prominent. Further tourist attractions include Mount Sobaek, Mount Wŏl'ak and Mount Songni National Parks (the latter including historic Pŏbchu Temple), the Eight Scenic Wonders of Tanyang and Suanbo Hot Springs.

General Information
Area: 7,438 square kilometers; population: 1,372,000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Ch'ŏngju. Other major centers include Ch'ungju and Chech'ŏn.

Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, South

Overview
Province located in the central west part of the Korean Peninsula, bounded to the east by North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and Taejŏn Special City, to the west by the Yellow Sea, to the south by North Chŏlla Province and to the north by Kyŏnggi Province. Part of Mahan territory in ancient times, this region later became the cradle of the Paekche Kingdom (18BC-660AD), its capital located at Puyŏ and briefly at Ungjin (present-day Kongju). Following the fall of Paekche, this territory was annexed by the Shilla Kingdom, and came under the administration of the Later Paekche and Later Koguryŏ monarchies before being annexed by the Koryŏ Kingdom in 931AD.

Geography and Climate
South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province is comprised of three lowland regions aligned in a northeast-southwest direction, separated from each other by three upland regions in the south-east, center and west. The central part of the province is dominated by the Ch'aryŏng Range, which rises to 699m at Mount Kwangdŏk, however the higher elevations are found in the southeastern corner at the province, notably at Mount Taedun (878m), which straddles the border with North Chŏlla Province. Much of the province's population is concentrated on the plains between the central and southeastern highlands in the catchment area of the River Kŭm and around the major transport junctions of Ch'onan and Onyang in the north. The coastline is highly indented, particularly in the case of the expansive T'aean Peninsula in the far west, and marked tidal variations are experienced. The province also includes 155 islands. South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province experiences a generally warm climate, although continental influences on weather patterns are strong. There are few natural barriers to block the northwesterly winds prevalent in winter, and consequently temperatures during this season tend to be lower than those on the East Sea coast, while northern coastal areas generally experience high snowfall. Coastal areas tend to experience milder winters and cooler summers than mountainous inland regions, and most regions receive average annual precipitation of between 1,150 and 1,350mm. Occasional flooding occurs during the late summer typhoon season.

Agriculture and Industry
Although the past two decades have witnessed a growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the local economy, industrial development has been relatively slow. Agriculture continues to play a dominant role in the province, although there has been a gradual decline in the farming population in recent decades. Although rice is the principal crop, cultivation of grains, fruit and vegetables is also widespread; other agricultural activities include cultivation of tobacco, cotton, flax and sesame, and livestock raising. The province is comparatively well-endowed with forests, and forestry products include timber (mainly processed in Taejŏn), firewood, charcoal, compost material, medicinal herbs and p'yogŏ mushrooms. The province has a 993-kilometer coastline and contains 258 islands, and adjoining waters offer favorable conditions for a variety of fishing activities, however operations are curtailed during the winter months due to the effects of prevailing northwesterly winds during this season. Common fish varieties include croaker, pike, hair-tail and cod, and fish farming is relatively well-developed. The province's waters are also
home to oysters, clams and other shellfish, while seaweed production and salt manufacturing constitute other important elements of the coastal economy. South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province contains deposits of coal, tungsten, limestone, talc, silica and asbestos, and boasts the nation's largest gold mine at Ch'ŏngyang. Industrial development in the province is concentrated in the districts adjoining Taejŏn Special City and in the centers of Kongju, Nonsan, Ch'on' an, Sh'int'anjin, Changhang and Yŏngi, and major products include ferrous and non-ferrous metal goods, heavy equipment textiles, chemical products, tires, fertilizer, ceramics, clothing, leather, foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco.

Tourism
South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province contains numerous historical sites connected to the ancient Paekche Kingdom, concentrated in the vicinities of its former capitals at Puyŏ and Kongju. Other tourist attractions include Mount Kyeryong National Park, Taean Peninsula Maritime National Park, Mount Taedun and Mount Sudŏk Provincial Parks, Taech'on Beach, hot springs at Puyŏ, Togo, Yusŏng and Onyang, the mountain fortress at Kongju, Independence Hall at Ch'on'an, Onyang Folk Musŭm, and numerous temples.

General Information
Area: 8368 square kilometers; population: 1847000; provincial headquarters: Taejŏn. Important cities include Ch'on' an, Kongju and Onyang.

Ch'ungju
Situated in North Ch'ungju Province, Ch'ungju consists of the town of Chudŏk, and the townships of Kagŏn, Kŭmg'a, No'n, Tongnyang, Sanch'ŏk, Salmi, Sangmo, Sot'ae, Shinni, Yangsŏng, Ōmjŏng and Iryu. Recently expanded to include the area formerly known as Chungwŏn County, the city now covers an area of almost 997 sq.kms. Ch'ungju lies in a basin which is surrounded by the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range in the northwest and the Sobaek Mountain Range in the southeast. The extensive Ch'ungju Lake lies in the southeast and the Namhan River extends from the lake to the northwest border with Kangwŏn Province.

Nearly half of the city area's arable land is used for rice cultivation. Rice growing is common in the areas along Yodo Stream and Tal Stream. Other crops grown include barley, beans, sesame and red pepper. In addition, the city is one of South Korea's leading producers of apples and tobacco. Minerals, including iron, talcum, gold, copper, tungsten, lime and fluorspar are mined and quarried commercially here. Talc from Salmi accounts for over eighty per cent of Korea's total output. With its location along the Namhan River, the Ch'ungju area was historically a key commercial centre, but its importance waned after Korea acquired a modern transport system.

One of the most popular scenic areas is Choryŏng Valley, often called the Alps of North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Near the valley in Sangmo's Onch'on Village lie the Suanbo Hot Springs. This popular resort offers a number of recreational facilities, including a golf course and ski slopes. Other famous scenic attractions include nearby Songgye Valley, Mansu Valley and Suok Waterfall. In Sanch'ŏk's Myŏngsŏ Village, there is the Samt'an Resort, an area renowned for spectacular rock formations and the picturesque Chup'o Stream.

In 557, the Ch'ungju area became one of Shilla's sogyŏng (secondary capital). Shilla Buddhism flourished from this time and the area continued to be a Buddhist mecca during Koryŏ, as can be seen from the countless Buddhist artefacts throughout the city. In Sangmo's Mririk Village are the remains of a temple in a stone grotto. The temple, which was the subject of excavations in 1977, 1978 and 1982, dates from early Koryŏ. Outside the grotto are a number of artefacts, including a Koryŏ three-storey pagoda, a five-storey pagoda, a standing Buddha figure and a stone turtle which served as support for a stele. In
SoCae’s Oryang Village lies Ch’ŏngnyong Temple, a monastery of the Ch’ont’ae Sect. Legend has it that the temple was founded during Koryŏ. Upon the death of National Master Pogak in this location in 1392, King T’aejo ordered a massive reconstruction of the monastery. The present temple stands to the north of the old temple site. Artefacts at the old site include a pagoda (National Treasure No. 197), a stele (Treasure No. 658) and a stone lantern with a lion motif (Treasure No. 656) commemorating National Master Pogak. In Chik-dong, lies Ch’ungju Fortress. This stone fortification was the scene of a successful battle against the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth c.

Chosŏn sites include Nuam Sŏwŏn (private school) founded in 1695 in Kagŭm’s Ch’angdong Village, Hagang Sŏwŏn built in 1786 in Kŭmg’a’s Hadam village and Ch’unghunsas in Kŭmg’a’s Osŏk village. The latter is a shrine commemorating Yi Ŭn, a scholar-official from the time of King Injo (r. 1623-1649). In Chudŏk’s Tŏngnyŏn village stands the picturesque Samnyŏnjŏng, a pavilion built around 1930 in honour of the Chosŏn scholar Yi Yŏnūn.

Ch’unhyang chŏn
Ch’unhyang ka
Ch’usŏk
Ch’wibari
Ch’wit’a

Chach’o (1327-1405)

Chach’o (styled Muhak) was an eminent fourteenth c. monk. Born into the Pak clan in Samgi (presently Samga Township in South Kyŏngsang Province’s Hapch’ŏn County), Chach’o entered the Buddhist monastic order in 1344 under the auspices of Soji. Residing at Pudo Hermitage, he studied Buddhism under National Master Hyemyong. In 1346, he had an awakening experience while reading the Suramgama sutra (Kor. Nungi om kyŏng).

In 1353, Chach’o travelled to Yuan China. There he met the Indian monk, Dhyanabhadra (Chigong, ?-1363), who recognised his spiritual attainment. In the following year, Chach’o went to Faquan Temple where he met the famous Korean monk Naong (1320-1376), who was also in China at that time. Naong also recognised Chach’o as someone with great spiritual capacity. Chach’o later spent several years studying under Naong, who subsequently acknowledged Chacho’s awakening.

In 1356, Chach’o returned to Korea, as did Naong two years later. When they met in 1359, Naong gave Chach’o a staff as a symbolic endorsement of his former pupil as a spiritual heir. In 1371, Naong reconfirmed this recognition by bestowing upon Chach’o a robe and alms bowl. Five years later, Naong offered Chach’o the position of head monk at Hwaam Temple, but Chach’o was unyielding in his refusal, preferring to maintain the lifestyle of a recluse. Likewise, he refused attempts by King Kongyang (r. 1389-1392) to appoint him as royal preceptor (wangs’ae).

In 1392, Chach’o finally buckled under the pressure and accepted an appointment as royal preceptor to King T’aegyo (1392-1398). Attempting to ward off the deepening ideological rift which threatened society, Chach’o stressed agreement between Confucianism and Buddhism. In his instructions to the king, he taught T’aegyo that ren (Kor. in; benevolence), Confucianism’s basic virtue, and compassion, the Buddhist principle, are actually identical.
when seen in terms of function (yong). He also advised the king to watch over his subjects as a father watches over his children. As a practical measure, Chach’o successfully persuaded the king to grant a general amnesty, giving those who were incarcerated an opportunity to start a new life. In the following decade, Chach’o (as one of the most respected monks of his time) presided over the country’s key Buddhist functions. In his last years, he resided at the Yongmun and Hwaam Temples and Chinbul Hermitage before his death at Kumgang Hermitage in 1405.

To a large extent, Chach’o’s renown stems from his close relationship to Yi Sŏnggye (King T’aejo), the founder of Chosŏn. Chach’o is said to have interpreted a dream presaging Yi’s accession, and he was also influential in persuading the king to move the capital to Hanyang (present Seoul). Writings attributed to Chach’o include Pulcho chongp’a chi do, Muhak pigyŏl, In’gongi1m and Muhak taesa ḏrok. The first two works are extant, but the Muhak pigyŏl is believed by some to be an apocryphal text. Chach’o’s most illustrious disciple was Kihwa (1376-1433), an important Buddhist thinker who also advocated reconciliation between Confucianism and Buddhism.

Chaebŏl

Chaejo taejanggyŏng (see Buddhist Canon, Korean)

Chaeryŏng River

Beginning around Mt. Chinam (623m) in Hwanghae Province, the 129-km.-long Chaeryŏng River flows through the Chaeryŏng Plain before merging with the Taedong River. With Ünp’a Stream, Sŏhung River and Sŏ River as tributaries, the river is able to maintain high water levels throughout the year. This water is utilised for irrigation on the Chaeryŏng Plain, the largest plain in Korea. Crops grown on the plain include wheat, bean, cotton and tobacco. According to historical record, rice from this fertile region was traditionally used as a local tribute to the king. About 38.0 kms. of the river is navigable, allowing vessels of up to 300 tons to transport ore from the Chaeryŏng Mine.

Chamsang

Chang, Dr John M. (see Chang Myŏn)

Chajang (590?-658)

Chajang, surnamed Kim, was an influential Buddhist monk of the Shilla dynasty. He was a native of Chinhan, and was the son of Murim, an official classified as Rank 3 of the True Bone class, who had held many positions in government service. At his birth Chajang was named Sŏnjongnang, and in his early years his father encouraged him to study and practise Buddhism. As a young man, he renounced his wife and family, donated his property to a monastery, and withdrew to a mountain retreat to live an ascetic life. Although repeatedly summoned to take office at court, he refused, and was eventually permitted to be ordained as a monk.

He then retired deep into the forests for a time, later returning to preach in villages and towns. In 636 he received royal permission to travel with ten of his disciples to Tang China. After arriving in China he is believed to have received a vision of Manjusri in Chingliang Mountain. He spent three years at Yunji Monastery on Zhongnan Mountain and then returned to the Tang capital where he received imperial favours. In 643 Queen Sŏndŏk requested Chajang’s repatriation. The emperor Taizong gave his consent and Chajang returned to Shilla bearing gifts. He was sent to Punhwang Monastery where he
was generously provided for. He continued to teach and earned the respect of both the court and the people as a spiritual leader. By royal order Chajang was appointed Great National Overseer (*taeguk't'ong*), with the responsibility of regulating the practices of all monks and nuns, and he used this opportunity to propagate Buddhism in the capital and beyond. He was also influential in having the Chinese calendar and Chinese dress adopted by the Shilla court.

In his later years, he moved to Kangnung prefecture and founded the Suda Monastery, where he lived, and during his lifetime he established monasteries and stupas at ten different sites. He had many followers who willingly worked on these buildings, the most notable of which was the nine-storey stupa at Hwangnyong Monastery, which was believed to have supernatural powers in repelling enemies of the state. Chajang contributed significantly to the institutional development of Buddhism and the consolidation of Buddhist thought in the Shilla period. He also systematised the belief that Shilla was the land of the Buddha, a land supposedly chosen and blessed by former Buddhas.

**Chang Myōn (1899-1966)**

Educator turned politician, Chang Myōn (Dr John M. Chang) was Prime Minister in the Second Republic (1960-61) after the overthrow of President Rhee (1960) and up until his removal from office in the coup d'etat of then general Park Chung-hee (1961).

Chang Myōn was born in the port city of Inch'on, and graduated from high school in 1917 in Suwon, south of Seoul. He then spent two years studying English in Seoul, until 1919, when he travelled to the U.S. and attended Manhattan College in New York, graduating in 1925. Back in Korea he lived in P'yŏngyang and became involved in the Catholic church there. He returned to Seoul in 1931, as principal of a boys’ school and remained there until the Liberation in 1945.

After the war, the U.S. military government in Korea was looking for capable people to serve in government. In 1946, Chang was appointed to the Interim Legislative Assembly established by the U.S. military authorities to start the self-governing process in Korea. This body was composed of forty-five elected and forty-five appointed members. Chang was selected as a man who had been educated in America and who could make a positive contribution to the political process. The expectations were realised and he soon became a prominent member of the Assembly. This was emphasised when he was appointed to head the three man committee that appeared before the United Nations general assembly to address the problem of Korea. As a result, the United Nations later formed a temporary commission to observe and facilitate elections in Korea, which were held on 10 May 1948. The National Assembly which resulted and in which Chang was an elected member wrote the Constitution and made Rhee Syng-man the first president of the new Republic.

Rhee's administration saw Chang appointed to one of the most important positions, that of Ambassador to the United States. He served his country well and also received his Ph.D. from Fordham University during his tenure in Washington D.C. Shortly after the Korean War began (June 1950), Chang returned to Korea and by November 1951, was appointed Prime Minister by President Rhee, joining the displaced government in Pusan during the war years. However, Chang resigned in April 1952 when he perceived a real chance to be nominated as a presidential candidate in the forthcoming elections. Although not nominated in 1952 he did appear as an opposition party vice-presidential candidate against President Rhee and his candidate for vice-president, Yi Ki-bung. Rhee won the presidential election but Chang beat Yi in the vice presidential race. Rhee, feeling betrayed by Chang’s decision to challenge his former sponsor, moved to limit Chang’s power. The ill-feeling materialised publicly a few years later when, on 28 September 1956, a Rhee supporter tried to assassinate Chang, but succeeded only in superficially wounding
him. Chang was defeated by a Rhee and Yi ticket in 1960, after some very suspect election results. Soon afterwards, countrywide student demonstrations against the elections forced Rhee from office, and an interim government was formed. Yun Posôn became president of the Second Republic from 15 August 1960 and Chang was elected Prime Minister. In this new government the power of the president had been reduced almost to ceremonial terms and the Prime Minister held most of the power and responsibility. Chang’s administration was plagued by factionalism between New Democrats (Chang) and Old Democrats (Rhee), indecision and weak leadership, in stark contrast to the twelve years of Rhee’s autocratic rule. Between September 1960 and May 1961 Chang modified his cabinet three times still without significant gains in effectiveness or popularity. He held his last Cabinet meeting on 18 May 1961, formally resigning to hand over government to Lt. General Chang Toyông, the head of the Military Revolution Committee (Kunsâ Hyôngmyông Wîwônhoe), and acknowledging his moral and political responsibility for the situation which had led to the military revolution. Chang was detained and banned from all political activity, spending most of the remainder of his life in seclusion in his home.

Chang’s health deteriorated from a chronic liver complaint and he died in June 1966, at his home in Myôngnyun-dong, Seoul. He was buried at a Catholic cemetery in P’och’ôn-gun, some fifty kilometres north of Seoul after a large funeral service at Seoul Stadium followed by a procession through the streets of the capital, attended by thousands of mourners.

Chang Myôn left a legacy of integrity in politics. He was respected for his contribution to democracy and his service to Korea. Under his counsel plans were initiated for the investigation and prosecution of illicitly accumulated wealth of the previous regime, as well as long-term economic development plans. But it was the military regime which had ejected Chang that implemented these two measures.

Chang Pogo (?-846)

Adventurer and trade baron, Chang Pogo (Kungp’a) was the prominent force in Korean maritime dominance in East Asian commerce from his combination garrison and trading base on Ch’onghæ, now Wan Island (on the extreme south-west of the peninsula), to Chinese and Japanese ports. The son of a Wan Island fisherman, Chang went to Tang in his youth, and there acquired military skills. His prowess advanced him to the rank of captain during his military service in Xuzhou in the lower Huai River region.

During this period, many Koreans living along the East coast of China were conducting trade with regions as far-flung as the Middle-East and Japan. The trade routes across the Yellow Sea were bedevilled with pirates, compounding the hard economic times in both Tang and Shilla. Pirates not only kidnapped the Shilla coastal people to sell as slaves in China, but also targeted the trade vessels crossing the Yellow Sea.

In 828, Chang returned to Shilla and appealed to King Hûngdôk (r.826-36) to place Ch’ônghæ under arms in order to control the Chinese pirates. This was sanctioned and the Ch’ônghæ-jin (garrison and trading base) was established there. The king bestowed on Chang the special title, Ambassador of Ch’ônghæ-jin, which goes to confirm that Chang ran his independent unit of 10 000 men more like a personal force than a national one. The western seaboard (Yellow Sea) was now free of pirate raids and Chang’s force kept open the sea lanes.

The trading ships were under the direct control of Chang and he soon established himself as the conduit for international trade between Tang, Shilla and Japan. Not satisfied with economic power per se Chang tried to move into the political arena by sending delegations to both Tang and Japan. His name and power were celebrated, for the eminent Japanese monk Ennin asked him to safeguard his return journey to his homeland. Chang built several temples and supported the monks who worshipped in them. Furthermore, he
marketed a large quantity of rice, grown on his extensive lands.

Since his power was to a degree independent of the Shilla government in Kwangju (South Cholla Province), Chang held a unique role in court politics of the time. When Kim Ujing, King Shinmu (r.839), was displaced in a power struggle for the throne, he fled to Chang on Wan Island. A short while later, with Chang’s backing, Kim was able to attack Kwangju and recover the throne. From this, Chang continued his bid for power in the Shilla court, an extraordinary feat for someone born a commoner. When he tried to marry his daughter to Shinmu’s son, King Munsong (r. 839-857), he caught the wrath of the Shilla aristocracy. The marriage alliance had probably been cast during the king’s exile, and on his untimely death in 839, Chang aimed to force King Munsong himself to honour the bargain made with his father. This proved to be Chang’s downfall and he is said to have died by the hand of an assassin in 846, although there is thought that his death may have occurred a few years earlier.

In 851, Ch’ŏnghae-jin was shut down, thus ending the maritime ‘kingdom’ of Chang Pogo, and with it Shilla’s brief dominanence of the East Asia sea lanes. The following is the brief obitual record of Chang in the Samguk Sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms): ‘Chang Pogo (or Kungbok or Kung’p’a) was a man of Shilla whose clan site and ancestors were unknown. He fought a good battle. He went to Tang, where he became Wu Ning-chun hsiao-chang, and he was peerless in horsemanship and wielding a spear.’

Chang Tŏksu (1895-1947)

Chang Tŏksu was an independence activist and a politician of colonial Korea. His pen name was Sŏlsan and he was born in Chaeryŏng of Hwanghae Province. His close associates included Kim Sŏngsu (1891-1955) and Song Chiu (1889-1945). Chang was born into a poor farming family and when he was ten his father died so he lived with his mother and struggled to obtain an education. However, Chang was persistent and eventually travelled to Japan where he graduated from Waseda College with a degree in political economy. Although his teacher advised him to take a position in the bureaucracy of the Japanese colonial government, Chang rejected this, holding that he did not struggle to acquire an education merely to serve a foreign master. Thus he fled to Shanghai and became an integral part of the movement which aimed at regaining Korea’s lost independence.

Around the time of the March First Independence movement in 1919, Chang returned to Korea but was apprehended by the Japanese and sent to live on Haŭi Island of the coast of Cholla Province. After this in 1920 he founded the Tonga ilbo newspaper and additionally served as the first editor-in-chief of the paper. In 1923 Chang travelled to the United States where he attended Columbia University and subsequently graduated with a doctorate in economics. He returned to Korea where he assumed a position as instructor at Posŏng College. In 1936 he returned to the Tonga ilbo as a vice-president, and when the Japanese closed the paper he quietly waited until liberation.

After liberation he, along with Song Chiu and Kim Pyŏngno (1887-1964) founded the Korean Democratic Party (Han’guk Minju Tang) and he served in various capacities of this standard bearer for the conservative faction in post-liberation Korea. However, in 1947 he was assassinated for his political views.

Chang Yu (1587-1638)

Chang Yu was a scholar-official of mid Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Tŏksu, his courtesy name was Chiguk and his pen names included Kyegok and Mukso. His father, Chang Unik was a minister (p’ansŏ) in the Chosŏn government, and his daughter became the queen of King Hyojong (1649-1659).
After passing the civil service examination, Chang entered Chosón officialdom. However, in 1612 he was implicated in slanderous charge against Kim Chikchae and dismissed from his post. After the dethronement of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) and King Injo's (r. 1623-1649) accession he was reinstated and held various posts on the Board of Rites (Yejo), Board of Personnel (Ijo) and in the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). In 1624 when the Yi Kwal (1587-1624) Rebellion broke out he personally attended to the King and princess and thus was enfeoffed as Duke of Shinp’ung in the following year. He also served as Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of Personnel and as Inspector General (taesahŏn) among other positions. In 1627 with the outbreak of the Manchu Invasion he accompanied the king to Kanghwa Island. The years after the first Manchu Invasion and the second (1636) proved to be turbulent not only for the nation but also in court politics. Chang was demoted in 1629 to Magistrate (moksa) of Naju, but in the next year was reinstated and held several high offices simultaneously including Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of Personnel and the Board of Rites, and also Inspector General. By 1636 Chang had been appointed as Third State Councillor (uuijong), but his mother died shortly thereafter and he left office to handle funeral matters. In only a matter of months he himself succumbed to illness and died in 1638.

Early in his life Chang came in contact with the so-called yang-ming scholarship, based on the teachings of the Ming scholar Wang Yangming, that moved away from the narrow confines of neo-Confucian ideology. The yang-ming ideology criticised neo-Confucianism as being burdened with a fall into moral obligations without a true heart, and thus drawing one into the pursuit of false teachings. Conversely, yang-ming ideology centred on the unity of knowledge and action. By advocating this philosophy, Chang was not always at the centre of Chosón scholarship, but nonetheless was respected as a moral and astute scholar. He is known as one of the Four Great Men (sadaega) in Chosón ideology along with Yi Ik (1681-1763), Yi Chonggu (1564-1635) and Shin Hum (1566-1628). There are additionally extant literary works of Chang including Kyegok manp’il (Jottings of Kyegok) and Kyegok chip (Collected Works of Kyegok).

Changhŏn, Crown Prince (Crown Prince Sado)

Changhŭng County

Situated in South Chŏlla Province, Changhŭng County is comprised of the towns of Kwansan, Taedŏk and Changhŭng, and the townships of Pusan, Annyang, Yongsan, Yuch’i, Changdong, Changp’yŏng and Hoejin. The county covers an area of 613.99 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 77,745. Mt. Cheam (807m) and Mt. Saja (666m) rise in the eastern part of the county; Kuksa Peak (613m) and Mt. Puyong (609m) are to the west; Mt. Ch’ŏn’gwan (723m) is in the south; Mt. Pongmi (506m) is in the north and Mt. Yongdu (551m) stands in the centre.

The county is surrounded by Yongam County and Hwasun County to the north; Kangjin County to the west; Posŏng County to the east and a seaboard to the south. Due to the warm coastal currents, the weather is mild, with an average yearly temperature of 0.11°C and an annual rainfall of 1,552 mm. In a severe monsoon season, however, the annual rainfall can exceed 2,000 mm, often causing considerable damage to the area’s crops.

Changhŭng County provides 14,909 hectares of arable land, of which about two-thirds is used for rice cultivation and one-third for dry-field crops. Rice is grown mainly in the fertile plains along the county’s rivers and streams, and on reclaimed land along the coast. Speciality crops include tobacco, mushrooms, ginseng, cotton and rape. Along the coast are shellfish farms laver (kim) is gathered off-shore. Changhŭng laver is particularly well-known for its delicious flavour. Commercial fishing boats bring in catches of anchovy, gizzard shad and grey mullet.
With numerous mountains and a picturesque coastline, the county offers visitors many scenic attractions. Sunumpo Beach in Annyang is a popular vacation spot in the summer, and is easily accessible via Highway 18. For those who prefer mountains, Mt. Ch’ŏn’wan (723 m) in the south offers a number of hiking holidays. One popular trail begins in Kwansan and leads past the small village of Tangdong to the summit. On the way down, the trail goes past Ch’ŏn’gwan Temple to Yongjo Village. Hikers allow about four hours to complete the 11.8-kilometre walk.

Ch’ŏn’gwan Temple, initially built by the monk Yongt’ong, is one of the most famous monasteries in the area. On the temple grounds, one finds an old three-storey pagoda, a five-storey pagoda and a stone lantern. At the other end of the county to the southwest of Mt. Kaji (510m) stands Porim Temple. Artefacts found here include a three-storey pagoda, a stone lamp, a seated Vairocana figure, a pair of stupas, a pagoda and stele commemorating Sŏn Master Pojo and a number of old buildings.

In addition to Buddhist sites, there are some Confucian schools in the county. Changhŭng Hyanggyo, established in 1398, was the first educational institution in the region. Along the road from Changhŭng Hyanggyo is Yeyang Sŏwŏn, which was built in honour of Shin Cham in 1610. In Changhŭng’s Wŏndo Village is Yŏn’gok Sŏwŏn. Established in 1698 in honour of the brothers Min Chŏngjung and Min Yujung, the complex houses a piece of calligraphy and wooden printing blocks that Min Chŏngjung received as a gift while in China in 1669. In Yuch’i Township’s Wŏlch’ŏn Village can be seen Kangsŏng Sŏwŏn, which was founded in 1643 in memory of Mun Ikchŏn. Rites are performed at the school every year on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month.

The county’s cultural heritage is being preserved by a number of festivals and celebrations held on a regular basis. One of the most important local events is the Porim Cultural Festival, which takes place on 9 May each year. The festival includes a lantern parade, fireworks, a traditional poetry exhibition, a kugak (traditional music) contest and various traditional contests.

Changot [Clothing]
Changsŏgak [Libraries]

Changsŏng County

Situated in the northern part of South Cholla Province, Changsŏng County includes the town of Changsŏng and the townships of Nam, Tonghwa, Pugi, Pugil, Pukha, Samgye, Samsŏ, Sŏsam, Chinwŏn and Hwangnyong. The county covers a total area of 513.55 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 71,169. High mountains rise up on the county’s western, northern and eastern borders. In the northern part of the county lies Changsŏng Lake, an artificial reservoir created by the 36-metre-high and 603-metre-long Changsŏng Dam.

Most of the county’s residents are employed in agriculture. With numerous rivers and streams as well as several large reservoirs, the area has an ample supply of water for irrigation. Of the county’s 14 hectares of thereabouts of cultivated land, about 10 are used for rice cultivation and about 4 for dry field crops. Strawberries and cut-flowers are also grown commercially. The region is famous for its dried persimmon. With numerous sericulture operations in the mountainous areas, Changsŏng County enjoys the distinction of being South Cholla Province’s leading producer of silk. Approximately 90 per cent of local silk is exported. With an abundance of mulberry trees and clean water, the area has been a longstanding manufacturer of hanji, and this traditional paper is still produced in small cottage industries in the area. Also, there are several quarries in the area. In
particular, limestone is excavated by the Kusan Mine in Yongch'on Village, the Uto'ang Mine in Uto'ang Village and the Tōkchin Mine in Tōkchin Village. The limestone found here is locally-processed to make cement. As well as processed silk, the area produces processed silk, gelatine and alcohol.

The county's tourism is centred around Mt. Naejang National Park in the north. Here stands Mt. Paegam (730m), which is famous for its spectacular views and its numerous hiking trails. At the southern base of the mountain lies Paegyang Temple, founded by Yōhwan in 632 (See Paegyang Temple). Mt. Paegam is also home to the Kukki Festival. During the festival, a rite is performed to the spirits residing in nature in order to ensure the peace and prosperity of the nation and people. Since the festival was revived in 1983, it has been held each year on 1 November.

There are several Confucian schools in the area, including Changsōng Hyanggyo just east of the Honam Expressway in Changsōng, Pongam Sōwon just west of the Honam Expressway in Changsōng, P'iram Sōwon in Hwangnyong, Chungnim Sōwon and Songgye Sōwon in Pugi. First constructed in 1590, P'iram Sōwon houses the memorial tablets of Kim Inhu (1510-1560), an official of the Office of Special Counsellors. A collection of various old manuscripts (Treasure No. 587), more than 60 books and some wooden blocks for printing are housed in Changp'an'gak, an old building just outside the northeast gate.

**Changsu County**

Situated in the eastern part of North Cholla Province, Changsu County consists of the town of Changsu and the townships of Kyenam, Changgye, Kyebuk, Pōnam, Sansō and Ch'onch'on. The county is surrounded by Muju County to the north, Hamyang and Köch'ang to the east, Chinan and Imshil to the west and northwest and Namwon to the south. Covering a total area of 530.56 square kilometres, the county’s population was 37,123 in 1989. With the Sobaek Mountain Range running through the eastern part and the Noryōng Mountain Range in the west, the county is made up of rugged terrain. The area has mild summers and an annual rainfall of 1300mm. With its high elevation, the county receives heavy snow falls during the winter months.

Most of the region consists of steep slopes and dense forests. As a result, only 16 per cent is arable land. Although some rice is grown, most of the local agriculture is devoted to barley, tobacco, mushrooms, medicinal herbs, ginseng, alpine vegetables and persimmon. As for industry, Changsu is famous for its stone cookware made of pagodite.

The area has a number of scenic attractions. Mt. Changan (1237m), located near the county’s eastern border, is frequented by tourists throughout the year who come to see its interesting rock formations, lush forests, waterfalls and clear streams. Here one finds the picturesque Tōksan Valley and Yongso (Dragon Pond), a deep pool of water along the stream that winds through the valley. In order to preserve the area's natural beauty, the mountain was designated a regional park in 1986. Other scenic areas in the county include T'ook-dong Valley in Mt. Tōgyu National Park; Piak Waterfall in Changsu’s Nogok village, and Ponghwadae (Phoenix Heights), in Ch'onch'on’s Yŏnpyŏng village. Ponghwadae is a series of spectacular cliffs that run along Chŏn Stream.

In addition to natural scenery, the area contains a number of important historical sites. Confucian schools found here include Changgye Sōwon established in 1789 in Changsu’s Sŏnch'ang village, Apkye Sōwon in Sansó’s Haksŏn village and Changsu Hyanggyo which was founded in 1407 and moved to its present location in 1686.

The area's traditions are upheld by festivals and rituals held throughout the year. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the Non'gae Festival takes place in commemoration of
Non'gae, a female entertainer who was born in this county and who jumped to her death from a cliff-top into a river, with her arms locked around a Japanese admiral. Since the establishment of Úiam Temple in 1954, local residents have also conducted a large-scale memorial service on 7 July, the day Non'gae died.

**Changsu Mountain**

Situated in Chaeryŏng County of Hwanghae Province, Mt. Changsu forms part of the Myŏrak Mountain Range. Pojŏk Peak, at 747 metres the mountain's highest point, is connected with the subsidiary Pojang and Kwan Peak. With interesting rock formations, deep gorges and picturesque waterfalls, the mountain is sometimes referred to as 'the Diamond Mountains of Hwanghae Province.' In particular, the gorge on the mountain's west side is famous for its spectacular scenery. Consisting of twelve bends, this granite gorge is lined with numerous, oddly-shaped boulders and pinnacles of rock. At the entrance to the gorge, steps have been carved out of the granite leading up to Hyŏn (Suspended) Hermitage, which was founded by Master īam. To the west of the hermitage lie Shimp'ok and Yaksu (Medicinal Water) Waterfall. Made up of spring water from the Yaksu Cave, water from the 10-metre high Yaksu Waterfall is famous for its restorative powers. In addition to Hyŏn Hermitage, the famous Myŏn Temple is located on the mountain. The temple, destroyed during the Tonghak Uprising (1894), has since been rebuilt. Due to the large number of pheasant that lived in the area, the mountain used to be called Mt. Chiak (Pheasant Peak). During the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), many refugees survived by fleeing to the area; hence, the mountain's name was changed to Mt. Changsu (Long Life).

**Chapchŏ  kisŏlyu kisa saegein**

(Index to Categories of Miscellaneous Writings, memoirs and Collected Essays)

*Chapchŏ  kisŏlyu kisa saegein* is an index of nearly six-thousand sets of collected works compiled by Yun Namhan and published by the Academy of Korean Studies in 1982.

The work's two-thousand four hundred and eighteen pages contain about one million items classified by author, title of work, period and subject, thus making it indispensable for research in the category of *munjip* (collected works) in Korean literature.

**Chaŭn Island**

Situated 41.3 kilometres northwest of Mokp'o, Chaŭn Island is part of Chaŭn Township in South Chŏlla Province’s Shinan County. The island has an area of 52.02 sq.kms. and as shown by 1985 statistics, had a population of 7 123. Chaŭn has a relatively mild climate, due to its southern location, with January temperatures averaging 0.8c. and August 26c; an annual rainfall of 1 320mm and only a light snowfall. As a partially submerged ridge of the Noryŏng Mountain Range, the island consists of hilly terrain with plains in the south, where the shallow tidal flats have been reclaimed.

About 34.0 per cent of the island area is arable land. Of this, about 9.0sq. kms. grows rice and an equal amount for the cultivation of dry-field crops such as barley, garlic, bean and peanut. Local marine products include eel, shrimp, octopus, oyster, clam, seaweed and sea-salt. In addition, high quality silica is quarried.

There are four primary schools and one junior high school on Chaŭn Island. Two passenger ferries run daily between the island and Mokp'o.

During Koryŏ the island was used as a naval base. Remnants of stone fortifications can be
seen on Mt. Tubong (364m). During the Japanese occupation it served as a naval base.

Cultural sites include Pongnyong and Tomyŏng temples, both located at the foot of Mt. Tubong.

Che Chŏnsa

Chech’ŏn

Located in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Chech’ŏn city incorporates the town of Pongyang, and the townships of Kūmsŏng, Tŏksan, Paegun, Songhak, Susan, Ch’ŏngp’ung, and Hansu. With its boundaries recently extended to include the area formerly known as Chewŏn County, the city now covers an area of 867 sq. kms. The terrain of Chech’ŏn is hilly to mountainous, with Munsu Peak (1,162m) rising in the southeast, Mt. Kūmsu (1,016m) in the east and Mt. Paegun (1,087m) in the northwest. The extensive Ch’ungju Lake is in the city’s central area.

Of the city’s arable land, about one-third is used for rice cultivation and the remainder for dry-field crops such as bean, barley, millet, hot pepper and garlic. Tobacco and medicinal herbs are also cultivated. Mineral resources include tin, gold, silver, copper, lead, lime, silica and molybdenum and fluorspar. Cement and silk production also make significant contributions to the local economy.

With part of Mt. Wŏrak National Park in the south (See Wŏrak Mountain) and the scenic Ch’ungju Lake, the city offers a large number of scenic attractions. In Susan’s Sangch’ŏn Village is Paegun Valley’s Yongdam Waterfall, with its thirty-metre-high, triple cascade of water. Other popular attractions include the winding Nŭng River Valley on the southern slopes of Mt. Kūmsu in Susan, the Tohwa Village area in Ch’ŏngp’ung, and Chŏnmal Cave in Songhak’s P’ojŏn Village. Just north of the city centre lies Üirim Pond. In picturesque scenery, the man-made pond is said to have been built during the reign of Shilla’s King Chinhyŏng (r. 540-576). Two pavilions, Yonghojong (built 1807) and Kyŏnghoru (built 1948), stand next to the pond.

When the Ch’ungju Dam and Ch’ungju Lake was formed, many artefacts were moved to the safety of the Ch’ŏngp’ung Cultural Assets Area or to local museums. There are a number of old Buddhist temples in the city, such as Muam Temple southwest of Mt. Chaksŏng (820m) in Kūmsŏng; Paengnyŏn Temple on Mt. Kamak (886m) in Pongyang; and Tŏkchu Temple and Shinnŏk Temple in Mt. Wŏrak National Park. Confucian sites in the area include Ch’ŏngp’ung Hyanggyo (county public school) and Chech’ŏn Hyanggyo. The former was established during the reign of King Ch’ungsuk (r. 1313-1330, 1332-1339) and was moved to its present location east of Ch’ŏngp’ung’s Mt. Pibong (531m) in 1779. The latter was built by Kim Sujŏn is 1389 and was moved to its present location in Kyodong in 1590.

Modern educational institutions include Semyŏng Taehakkyo in Shinwŏl-dong.

Cheju

Situated on the northern coast of Cheju Island, Cheju City serves as the main port of entry for most of the island’s visitors. Numerous streams run down from Mt. Halla (1,950 metres), which marks the city’s southern boundary, through the city into the sea. The area is characterised by mild weather and frequent rainfall.
According to legend, in ancient times three demigods named Ko Ùlla, Yang Ùllu and Pu Ùlla sprang out of three holes in the ground at the site of present-day Cheju City. They then met three princesses from the kingdom of Pyongnang who gave them cows, horses and seeds and taught them how to farm. The demigods and women got married and their descendants became the Ko, Yang and Pu clans. The three holes (Historical Site No. 134) associated with the legend can be seen in Ido-dong. Early prehistoric artefacts discovered between Cheju City and Hallim indicate that this area is indeed one of the earliest sites of human habitation on the island.

Agriculture, tourism and fishing are mainstays of the local economy. The area grows a number of crops, including sweet potatoes, barley and mandarin oranges. In order to protect the island’s abundant natural resources, strict limits have been put on industrial development. Even so, there are some factories producing such items as textiles, leather goods, wood products and local products for sale in the island’s booming tourism industry.

There are a number of tourist sites in the city. Approximately 2.5 kilometres from the central city area lies Moksuk Garden. Here, strangely-formed driftwood and weathered basalt stand in unique arrangements. Yongdu (Dragon Head) Rock is located on the coast in Yongam-dong. This ten-metre high rock formation resembles a dragon emerging from the sea. Women divers (haenyọ) can often be seen working in this area.

There are also several centres for the study of Cheju history. In particular, Cheju Folklore and Natural History Museum, opened in 1984, consists of a Natural History room, two Folk History rooms, a special exhibition hall and an outdoor exhibition ground. Items on display demonstrate the unique customs and religion of the island.

During the Choson period, there were a number of educational institutions in the area. The Cheju Hyanggyo (Confucian school) was founded in 1392 in modern-day Yongdam-dong. The Kyullim Sówon (private school), founded by Ch’oe Chinnam in 1665, was another well-known school. In 1534, the magistrate Shim Yônwön founded the Hyang Haktang (school) along with several other schools. Two centuries later in 1736, Kim Chông founded a number of sŏdang, including the Samch’ŏn Sŏdang. As the first modern schools on the island, the Cheju Public Common School and Ûishin School were founded as an elementary and middle school respectively. In modern times, Cheju National University in Ara-dong and Cheju National University of Education in Hwabok-dong serve the needs of higher education for people living on or near the island.

**Cheju Folklore and Natural History Museum**

Located in Cheju City, the Cheju Folklore and Natural History Museum (Chejudo Minsok Chayŏnsa Pangmulgwan) preserves, exhibits and studies the cultural heritage and folklore of Cheju Island. Opened in 1984, the museum covers over 39 000 sq. metres. The inner display area (2205 sq. m.) consists of a natural history room, two folk art rooms and a special exhibition hall. There is also an outdoor exhibition area. Items on display demonstrate the unique folk customs, religious practices and the natural wonders of Cheju Island.

**Cheju Folk Museum**

The Cheju Folk Museum (Cheju Minsok Pangmulgwan) is situated in the city of Cheju on Cheju Island. Founded in June 1964, the museum displays over 3 000 pieces, including clothing, articles related to food and liquor, agricultural, fishing, woodwork and stonework implements, weapons, toys, musical instruments and various ritual articles used in wedding ceremonies and Buddhist and Confucian rites. A research institute known as the Cheju Minsok Yŏn’gusŏ has been established in connection with the museum.
Cheju National University

Cheju National University (Cheju Taehakkyo) is located in the city of Cheju on Cheju Island. Its beginnings are found in the Cheju Taehagwon, an institute established in 1951 with the lecture hall of Cheju Hyanggyo (county public school) as its classroom. Within a year, it became Cheju Provincial Junior College (Cheju Ch’ogüp Taehak) with four departments: Korean Language and Literature, English Language and Literature, Law and Animal Science.

In 1955, the college was upgraded to a four-year college, and in March 1962 it became Cheju National College with two divisions: Law and Science and Agriculture. The latter division was transferred to Sŏgwip’o in 1964. In 1971, the Division of Fisheries was added. In order to allow for the school’s expanding academic program, construction of a new campus began in 1977. The Graduate School and the Graduate School of Education opened in 1979.

In 1982, the college became Cheju National University, with five colleges, thirty-nine departments, and two graduate schools. Dr. Pyong-Hyo Hyun was its first president. Three years later, the College of Science and Technology opened for enrolments. In March 1988, the College of Social Sciences was reformed as the College of Law and Political Science and the College of Economics and Commerce. This was followed by reorganisation of the College of Science and Technology into the College of Natural Sciences and College of Engineering.

In the 1990s, the university continued its expansion, and academic exchange programs were commenced with a number of foreign universities -- Purdue; Nebraska-Lincoln; Ryukyus; Bonn and Tubingen. As of 1996, Cheju University consisted of eight colleges, four graduate schools and sixteen research institutes, including the Tamla Culture Research Institute.

University publications include the Chedae shinmun (newspaper) in Korean and The Islander in English.

Cheju pangŏn yŏn’gu (A Study of the Cheju Dialect)

Cheju pangŏn yŏn’gu is a collection of fifteen studies by Hyŏn P’yŏnghyo on the dialect of Cheju Island. The work includes six articles on morphology, three on vocabulary, four on phonology, and a general introduction of the distinctive dialect of Cheju Island. It was published by both T’aehaksa and Iu Ch’ulp’ansa in 1985.

Cheju Province

Overview

Southernmost province in Korea, consisting of the main island of Cheju-do and approximately fifty small islands (including U-do, Sangch’uja-do and Hach’uja-do) located in the East China Sea approximately 75 kilometers south of the mainland. Cheju is the nation’s smallest and least populous province. Settled since prehistoric times and until 1211 AD known as Tamna, this territory served as a vassal state to the Paekche and Shilla Kingdoms before becoming incorporated into the Koryŏ Kingdom during the twelfth century. Conquered by the Mongols in the late thirteenth century, the island also experienced periods of rule by the Chinese Yuan administration, and its tradition of horse-breeding and characteristic stone walls date from this period. The island formed part of South Cholla Province between 1864 and liberation from Japanese colonial rule at the end of the Second World War, formally achieving provincial status in its own right in 1946.

Geography and Climate
Cheju Island was formed in five stages by volcanic activity during the late third and fourth Pleistocene Eras, and its landscape is dominated by the cone of the dormant Mount Halla (1,950m) at the center of the island, the highest peak in South Korea. Basalt rock dating from its last eruption in 1007 AD covers 90% of the island's surface, which contains numerous caves formed from cracks in solidifying lava. Most of the island's population is concentrated in coastal districts, largely due to the relatively plentiful supply of artesian water in these areas and the absence of significant water sources in the hinterland.

Coastal districts of Cheju Island enjoy the mildest climate of any region in Korea, however the shielding effect of Mount Halla creates notable differences in seasonal temperature and precipitation levels between northern and southern parts of the island, and conditions also vary markedly according to altitude. Average winter and summer temperatures (6C, 26.9C) are approximately 1C higher and annual average precipitation (1,688mm) is approximately 250mm higher at Sogwip'o on the southern coast than at Cheju City in the north, and the former center lies within the warmest and wettest region of Korea.

Climatic conditions on the island are highly favourable for the cultivation of a variety of crops, and land use patterns are relatively clearly delineated according to altitude. While cereal growing is predominant on the relatively flat lower slopes (below 200m), the upper slopes (200-600m) are largely devoted to pastureland. Forested areas are found at higher elevations (600-1,700m), while the steeply-sloping zone around the peak of Mount Halla is largely devoid of vegetation, except for occasional shrubs.

Agriculture and Industry

The provincial economy has traditionally been largely dependent upon agriculture, however tourism development during the past three decades has led to rapid growth in the tertiary sector. A decline in the cereal and livestock farming has paralleled steady growth in the cultivation of cash crops, especially mandarin oranges, due to favorable climatic conditions, government subsidies and improvements in facilities, farming techniques and transportation links. Extensive livestock farming is practiced on the mid-level slopes of Mount Halla, although the traditional Korean beef cattle and Cheju horses have been replaced by beef and dairy cattle, pigs and chickens. Forested areas account for approximately half of the total land area of the island, and forest products include p'yogo mushrooms, timber, manure and wild edible greens. A branch of the warm Kuroshio Current divides into the weak Yellow Sea Current and the stronger East Korean Current just south of Cheju Island, and the effects of these currents and the existence of a relatively high continental shelf combine to create bountiful fishing grounds in adjacent waters. Common varieties include hairtail, red snapper and mackerel, while seaweed production also plays an important part in the local marine economy. Its land formations dating from the relatively recent late third and fourth Pleistocene Eras, Cheju Island contains no local mining industry. General industrial development is severely limited by regulations protecting its scenic environment, although food processing plants are found in coastal centers.

Tourism

Cheju Island is one of Korea's most famous tourist destinations, and has enjoyed particular popularity among honeymooners during the postwar era. The central part of the island is occupied by Mount Halla National Park, which includes several hiking trails to the edge of the volcanic crater at the summit containing Paengnoktam Lake. Other attractions include the annual Halla Cultural Festival, the Sunrise Peak at Sŏngsan, Sŏngap Folk Village, diverse flora and medieval ruins on the island of Ko-do, the female divers (for shellfish, seaweeds, pearls, etc) known as haenyo, Chŏngbang and Ch'ŏnjiyon Falls at Sogwip'o, Manjang Caves (measuring almost seven kilometers and the longest of their kind in the world) and Chungmun beach resort.

General Information

Area: 1,827 square kilometers; population: 519,000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters:
Cheju. The only other major center is Sŏgwip’o.

Chemulp’o Choyak (see Shufeldt Treaty)

Chesa [Confucianism]

Chesŭng pangryak

The Chesŭng pangryak, authored by Kim Chongsŏ (1390-1453) in the early Chosŏn dynasty, is a compilation of the strategies used by the dynasty to defend itself against the Nüchen Tartars living along its boundaries.

The most important national policy of the Chosŏn dynasty was the reclamation of the remote northern regions. By subjugating the Nüchen Tartars, the kingdom intended to expand its borders, and to achieve this it established the Yukchin (Six Garrisons).

Some villages of the Nüchen Tartars living in Manchuria established diplomatic relations with Korea, but others encroached upon the northern parts of the kingdom and plundered Korean villages. It was for the campaigns against these incursions that the dynasty, in its early years, compiled the original book of military strategies.

Later, in the reign of King Sŏnjo in 1588, the book was properly edited and supplemented by Yi Il (1538-1601), the military commander in North Hamgyŏng province. It came out as a two-volume work in one fascicle. The supplement is the Yŏlchin pangŏ and is larger than the original Chesŭng pangryak itself. In the Yŏlchin pangŏ each garrison is described in detail as to geographical position, signal torches, defences, ambushes, scouts, etc. Also described are the villages of the Nüchen Tartars who surrendered, their chiefs and the number of houses. In the last half of the work tactics and plans are described. These strategies and operational plans were prepared by Yi Il and given to each unit.

The work was later published by Yi Son, a descendant of King Sejong and a devoted student of Song Shiyŏl, in 1670. Yi Son was a military officer in Hamgyŏng Province. He had been banished to North Hamgyŏng Province because of an error he made in compiling a history book, but was later called back to the Office of Historical Compilation. The preface of the reproduced edition describes how the work was compiled and how the reproduction was carried out.

Only two copies of the Chesŭng pangryak are extant. They are in the Central Library of Seoul National University as part of the Kyujanggak collection. In 1936 the work was photographed and published by the Compilation Committee for Korean History as No.12 of the Series of Korean Historical Materials.

Chewang un’gi (Rhymed Record of Emperors and Kings)

This two-volume work by Yi Sŏnghyu (1224-1300), a well-known scholar of the Koryŏ dynasty, is written in poetic forms of the type first used in China in the Tang dynasty. The first volume which relates to Chinese history is written in the form of seven character poems, and the second on Korean history is in five and seven character poems. These poems were designed to be chanted, and due to the brevity of the style, many explanatory footnotes were added. Much detailed historical information can be derived from these footnotes.

The second volume deals with Korean history from earliest times up to the reign of King Ch’ungyŏl of the Koryŏ dynasty, and is notable for the system of chronology which it applies to Korean history. It begins with the geographic position of Korea in relation to China, followed by sections on Chon-Chosŏn, or Former Korea, Hu-Chosŏn, or Later
Korea, Wiman Chosŏn (Wei Man's State), Hansa-gun (Four Chinese Commanderies),
the Three Han States, Shilla, Koguryŏ, Hu-Koguryŏ, Paekche, Hu-Paekche (Later Paekche), Parhae-guk, and Koryŏ up to King Ch'ungyŏl.

The Chewang un'gi provides some interesting comparisons with other works as, for example, in the story of Tan'gun, which shows some variation from the version given in the Samguk yusa. The second part of the second volume contains what is regarded as a distorted account of the ancestry of the Koryŏ imperial household by relating imperial descent to King Su Zong of the Tang dynasty and General Shen Gu. This account was based on earlier works now regarded as fabrications.

The first edition of the Chewang un'gi was published by royal order in 1295-1296, the second by An Kūgin, governor of Kyŏngsang province, and the third was issued in 1417. A photographic reproduction of this third edition was produced in 1939 by the Kosŏ Kanhaenhoe, together with the anthology of the author, under the title Tongan kŏsa munjip. A second edition of the Tongan kŏsa munjip was also published in 1939. This work is valued as one of the few poetic anthologies of the Koryŏ period to have survived.

Chi Ch’ŏngch’ŏn (1888-1959)

Chi Ch’ŏngch’ŏn was an independence activist and politician of colonial and modern Korea. His pen name was Paeksan and Taehyŏng was his given name. He was born in Seoul and was educated in Korea and Japan. On graduation from Tōkyō Rikugung Yōnen Gakkō (Tokyo Military Preparatory School) Chi was commissioned first lieutenant. However, six years later (in 1919) he deserted to Manchuria and began to lead the anti-Japanese activities among the Korean refugees there. He also oversaw the training of the Independence Army in Manchuria, and later became the executive member of the Manchurian Military Government, within the Provisional Korean Government. The Korean forces carried on an unceasing struggle against the Japanese in Manchuria and in 1920 Chi, along with Sŏ Il and Kim Chwajin, organised the Korean Independence Army Corps (Taehan Tongnip Kundan) in which he took personal command of a battalion. At this time he began using the name Chi Ch’ŏngch’ŏn. In June 1921 the Korean Independence Army Corps clashed with the Soviet Red Army (Hŏkha sabyon) and Chi was taken prisoner. He escaped from his captivity in northern Manchuria and then organised the Koryŏ Revolutionary Army (Koryŏ Hyŏngmyŏng Kun). Chi continued his guerrilla activities against the Japanese in Manchuria until liberation in 1945 and was involved in the constant merging and reshaping of the Korean forces in this region.

After liberation in 1945, Chi returned to Korea and established the Taedong Youth Party (Taedong Ch’ŏngnyŏn Tan), serving as head of this group. He was also a member of the National Assembly of the new Republic of Korea. Chi is well-remembered for his unceasing commitment to regaining Korean independence from Japan, and in 1962 was honoured by the government of the Republic of Korea with the Order of Merit for National Foundation.

Chi Island

Chi Island is situated about 4 kms. north of the bridge connecting Kōje Island with the mainland. Administratively, the island is part Yongnam Township in South Kyŏngsang Province’s T’ongyŏng City. The island covers a total area of 1.43 sq. kms. and has a coastline of 5.5-km. The entire island is comprised of a crescent-shaped hill with an apex of 139 metres. Its southern location and the warm currents of the southern sea guarantee Chi a temperate climate, with an average January temperature of 2.3c. and an average August temperature of 26 deg. c. The average annual rainfall is 1 500mm and the island receives only a light snowfall.
Almost half of the island is arable land. Of this, 0.194 sq. kms. grow rice and 0.439 sq. kms. dry-field crops such as barley, garlic, red pepper, sesame and semi-tropical plants. Commercial fishing vessels operating off the island’s coast bring in catches of anchovy, pollack and other fish. Oyster farming also makes a significant contribution to island income.

There is one elementary school on Chi Island. A daily ferry service connects to the mainland.

Chi Sŏgyŏng (1855 - 1935)

Scholar, medical doctor, and philanthropist, Chi was a man dedicated to improving the health and welfare of Korean people through his knowledge of medicine and his belief in the value of education. He was most famous for his efforts to eradicate smallpox in Korea.

Born in Nagwŏn-dong, in central Seoul, little is written about his youth, growing up in the capital. He was influenced by an educated man, Pak Yŏngsŏn, who became Chi's teacher and mentor. Pak was the translator to Kim Kisu, who led an official Korean mission to Japan in 1876 to learn as much as possible about Japan's modernisation. Pak's stories of Japan, especially their advances in Western medicine, must have interested young Chi as he decided to travel to Pusan and study medicine at the Japanese Naval Hospital in 1879. There he learned the benefits of vaccination to the overall health of people and prevention of disease.

In December of 1879, Chi returned to his wife's hometown of Tŏksan-myŏn, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏn Province, to provide vaccinations and medical treatment to local villagers. In 1880, he expanded his services to include Seoul and continued to apply Japanese knowledge, of how to manufacture and administer vaccinations, to the medical problems in Korea.

The spread of Japanese influence in Korea, in the late 1800s, was troubling for many citizens and by 1882, a military revolt erupted, known as Imo Kullan (the Soldiers' Riot of 1882), which ultimately resulted in the Taewŏn'gun (Prince Regent Yi Haŭng) taking power. The Taewŏn'gun took advantage of the revolt to encourage a wave of anti-Japanese agitation which resulted in the persecution of many pro-Japanese thinkers including Chi. Because of this environment, and the threat of arrest, Chi fled south to the countryside. By September of 1882, the governor of Chŏlla Province requested Chi help initiate vaccination programmes in Chŏnju and other cities. Chi set up a vaccination bureau in Chŏlla Province and was active in teaching vaccination theory and instructing methods of administering vaccinations to the needy. The following year he set up a similar programme in Kongju, South Ch'ungchŏng Province.

In 1883, Chi passed the government civil service examinations and continued his work and research in medicine. Two years later, he finished his book, Udu shinsŏl (New Theories About Vaccination, 1885), and was well on his way to becoming recognized for his extensive work in this field. Tragedy struck his career, however, when in 1887 he was identified with a pro-Japanese, anti-government political party and exiled to Shinjido, an island in Chŏlla Province. He remained there until his release in 1891. In that year, he returned to Seoul and established a small school, teaching about vaccination. Because of his talent and reputation, and the fact that he had previously passed the civil service examinations, he was eligible for government service. He received an appointment as magistrate of Tongnae Magistracy (Tongnae pusa) near the port city of Pusan on the south-east coast of Korea.

In 1899, Chi returned to Seoul and became the Foundation Dean of the Medical School (Ŭi Hakkyo) for some ten years. From this post he became interested in the spread of literacy...
and was a proponent of using the Korean alphabet (han'gul) over Chinese characters. Chi believed in a wider use of han'gul in official documents that had traditionally been prepared in Chinese characters. He went on to establish a han'gul institute, Kungmun Yŏng'guiso, in Seoul, in 1908, for study of the Korean language. Within a year, he wrote the Chajon Sŏgyo, which is a dictionary of the Korean language, much needed at that time. Chi continued his work until his death in 1935.

He is remembered as a man who gave much of himself in devotion to others. His tireless dedication to the health and education of needy Koreans improved the lives of many fortunate individuals and made him one of the most well-known figures in modern Korean history.

R Saccone

Chibong chip (Collected Works of Chibong)

Chibong chip is the anthology of the Chosŏn scholar-official Yi Sugwang (1563-1628). The work, which takes its title from the pen name of Yi, is composed of thirty-one volumes and a supplement of three volumes. It is a wood-block printed work and was published posthumously by Yi’s sons, Sŏnggu and Min’gu in 1634. The content of the work is as follows:

The first seven volumes of this collection contain the poetry of Yi, which was widely acclaimed among the critics of the day for its subtle description and appropriate usage of words. The eighth volume is entitled ‘Annam sasih ch’anghwa rok’ and relates the conversations that Yi had with an envoy of the Annam Kingdom (present day Vietnam) in Beijing during his trip as an envoy of Chosŏn in 1598. The ninth volume contains similar conversations with the envoys of the Ryukyu Kingdom whom Yi also met in Beijing as part of an official mission in 1611. The tenth volume describes Yi’s journey to and from Ming China in 1598, the eleventh contains verse he wrote while travelling to greet a Chinese envoy in Uiju in 1602, and the twelfth and thirteenth volumes contain prose he wrote while serving as magistrate in Anpyŏn and Hongju. The fourteenth to twentieth volumes of this collection contain verse that Yi wrote. The twenty-first to twenty-third volumes are filled with miscellaneous writings such as royal messages, memorials to the throne, epitaphs and private letters. The twenty-fourth to thirty-first volume cover various aspects of Neo-Confucian philosophy such as the theories of the ancient sages and Confucians of the Sung and Ming Dynasties, and Yi’s own thoughts on the principles of heaven and the cosmic forces. The three supplemental volumes contain the author’s biography, memorial compositions to the author and poetry composed to mark the passing of Yi.

This work, along with Yi’s Chibong yusŏl (Topical Discourses of Chibong), is valued in the history of Korean literature since it served as a forerunner to the later shirhak (practical learning) writings that helped change the fundamental way of scholarship in the Chosŏn Kingdom. Moreover, this work serves as a record of the turbulent period in which Yi lived and provides insight into the workings of the Chosŏn government during this age of invasions, factional politics and the deposing of King Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623). In 1964 this work was republished by the Taedong Munhwa Yŏn’guwon of Sŏnggyun’gwan University with a preface written by Kim Sanggi.

Chibong yusŏl (Topical Discourses of Chibong)

Chibong yusŏl is an encyclopaedic collection of literary works compiled by the scholar-official Yi Sugwang (1563-1628). It is composed of twenty volumes and is a wood-block printed book. The work was published after Yi’s death in 1634 by his sons Sŏnggu and Min’gu. At the beginning of the first volume there is a funeral ode written by Kim.
Hyŏnsŏng for Yi, and Yi's own preface to the work. The final volume contains an epilogue written by Yi Shik. There had been other literary collections before Chibong yusŏl that contained writings on various topics such as science, government and literature, but none were as extensive as this work. The contents of each volume are as follows:

Volume one contains information regarding astronomy, the seasons and calendar, and natural disasters. Volume two details the geography of Chosŏn and of other countries. The third volume discusses the kingship, and military organisation and strategy. Volume four is devoted to descriptions and duties of various government positions. The fifth to seventh volumes deliberate the qualities of Confucianism, the Chinese classics and Chinese characters. Volumes eight to fourteen are devoted to various literary writings. Volume fifteen discusses various personages, upright moral behaviour and physical appearance. The sixteenth volume is devoted to language, and the seventeenth to human and miscellaneous affairs. In volume eighteen the arts and moral affairs are presented, and in volume nineteen palaces, dress customs and food are discussed. The twentieth and final volume relays information concerning plants, animals and insects.

The work contains a total of 3,435 articles divided into twenty-five main categories and further sub-divided into 182 headings. As outlined above, the works covers a broad number of topics that heretofore had not been accomplished in a single work. Moreover, Chibong yusŏl marks a trend in Chosŏn academics towards practical study as opposed to empty theoretical works that dominated this time. The structure of this work served as the foundation for later works that continued the practical approach to scholarship such as Sŏngho sasŏl (Insignificant Explanations) written by Yi Ik (1682-1764), Sunoji of Hong Manjong (1643-1725), Kogŭn sŏngnim (Past and Present Glossaries) by Yi Ûibong (1733-1801) and Mulmyŏng yugo (Categorical Explanations of Names and Things) written by Yu Hŭi (1773-1837).

Chikchi Temple

Situated on Mt. Hwangak in North Kyŏngsang Province, Chikchi Temple, a monastery of the Chogye sect, was originally founded in 418 by Ado. 'Chikchi' means 'directly pointing.' There are several theories on how the temple acquired this name. According to one legend, the monk Ado pointed directly at Mt. Hwangak and declared that it was a suitable site to build a large monastery. Another legend states that when the monk Núngyŏ reconstructed the temple at the beginning of the Koryŏ Period, he did not use any measuring devises, but instead directly pointed out where the buildings were to be constructed. Others claim that the name comes from the popular motto describing Zen as the teaching that, 'does not establish words or letters, but directly points to man's mind so that one sees one's nature and achieves Buddhahood.'

In 645, the temple was reconstructed by Chajang, and in 930, repairs were made by Ch'ŏnmuk. Six years later, Núngyŏ, with support from King T'aejo (r. 918-943) made a major restoration. Further construction and repairs were undertaken in 1399 and 1488. In 1596, Hideyoshi's armies set fire to the temple, destroying most of the buildings as well as a large, five-storey wooden pagoda. During the 17th century, the temple was slowly rebuilt. However, in the 19th century, the temple suffered from neglect that continued until 1966 when a fifteen year restoration project was undertaken.

The temple houses several important artefacts. There is a seated Medicine Buddha figure carved in relief. Designated Treasure No. 319, the 161-cm. high figure is shown in the 'touching the earth' mudra. In front of the Main Buddha Hall, there is a pair of three-storey, stone pagodas which have been designated Treasure No. 606. In front of the Piro (Vairocana) Hall, there is a similar three-storey pagoda (Treasure no. 607). The nearby Unsu and Paengnyŏn Hermitage are affiliated with the temple.
Chin Island

Chin Island is situated in the southwest corner of the Korean peninsula. Administratively, the island is part of Chindo County in South Cholla Province (See Chindo County). With an area of 319 square kilometres, it is Korea’s third largest island after Cheju and Kôje. A bridge crosses a narrow strait to connect the island with Haenam County on the mainland. As part of the Hwawôn Mountain Range, a branch of the Sobaek Range, the area contains a number of peaks, including Mt. Ch’omch’al (485m) in the east, Mt. Yôgwi (457m) in the south, Mt. Chiryok in the west and the rocky Mt. Kûmgol in the north. Most of the area’s residents are employed in either farming or the fishing industry. Due to the area’s rugged terrain, most of the area’s agriculture is devoted to dry field crops.

The island is famous for the Chindo dog, a breed native to Korea. The dog has a strong hunting instinct and is known for its good behaviour and intelligence. Also famous for its unswerving loyalty to its owner, the dog makes an excellent pet. Chindo dogs are classified according to the colour of their coats, which can be white, ash, ochre yellow, or black and grey with spots. A purebred has a triangular face, sharp slanting eyes and ears that are slightly pointed forward. Adult males are approximately 50 to 55 centimetres tall and weigh between 20 and 32 kilograms. In 1982, the International Kennel Club officially recognised the Chindo as an authentic purebred.

China and Korea

Introduction

Throughout recorded history, China has influenced Korea on many levels. As Korea’s closest neighbour and erstwhile protector and patron, China has been the source of much of Korea’s higher culture and has provided patterns for many of Korea’s systems and institutions. The two countries have always had a steady, if sometimes troubled, relationship, but for the most part it has served the interests of both sides.

The institution that best embodies the spirit of the Sino-Korean relationship over time is the tributary relationship, whereby Korean kings paid tribute to the Chinese emperor in exchange for protection, non-interference, and material gifts. The tributary relationship required Korea to assume an inferior position vis à vis China, but having done that, the Koreans then were essentially autonomous within their own territory. Their pledge to China, in return, was to enter into no alliances with China’s enemies, real or potential, and to refuse relations with other large states.

Korea’s acceptance of Chinese suzerainty, a tradition known as sadae juûi (‘serving the greater’) in Korean, was not particularly shameful in the context of the Confucian world order, where it was assumed that there was a hierarchy of states, and that China was the centre of civilization and qualified to serve as patron and protector of lesser states, whose loyalty it commanded and deserved. The system required Korea to submit anew to new Chinese dynasties as they rose to power and to seek their recognition in return. The system created obligations on the Chinese side to defend Korea from invaders, as in the war with Japan in the 1590s. It also required the Koreans to refuse overtures from outsiders such as the nineteenth-century European and American traders who sought trading opportunities. The international isolation created by these arrangements prompted Westerners to call Korea a ‘Hermit Kingdom’ before the country was finally ‘opened’ in the 1870s.

When China lost the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and acknowledged its loss of suzerainty over Korea, Japan was quick to assert its hegemony over the Korean peninsula,
culminating in the annexation of Korea as an outright colony in 1910. Although many Chinese continued to reside in Korea and Koreans migrated and travelled into China, Japan's colonial domination eclipsed the old Sino-Korean relationship. After Korea's liberation in 1945, the Cold War division of Korea put the northern zone in close proximity to the emerging People's Republic of China. The division and the ensuing civil war, however, created two dramatically different zones of Chinese influence in Korea. North Korea, many of whose leaders had served with Chinese Communist armies during World War II and which received direct military aid from China during and after the Korean War, remained "as close as lips and teeth" to China (in Kim Il Sung's memorable phrase), while South Korea's isolation from the mainland was nearly total. South Korea, however, shared anti-communist ideology with the exiled Guomindang regime on Taiwan and maintained close ties. In 1992, when diplomatic relations were established between Seoul and Beijing, these relationships were revised somewhat. In the 1990s, however, South Korea has become a major player in the economic development of the mainland even while the Communist regime in P'yongyang continues to rely on the People's Republic of China for essential economic and diplomatic support.

Sino-Korean Relations: The Early Phase

Since early times, China has influenced Korea through travellers and migrants, beginning with the Chinese nobleman Jizi (Kor. Kija) who came to Korea in the year 1122 B.C.E. and founded a state called Ko-Choson with its capital at P'yongyang. Elements of the Kija story are no doubt apocryphal, but historians agree that it signifies at least a major wave of Chinese migration and influence during the Bronze Age. Later, during the Han dynasty in China, a Han commandery was established at P'yongyang and a colony established that was named Luolang (Kor. Nangnang), and through this colony there was another wave of Chinese cultural influence. Remnants of Ko Choson include Kija’s tomb, near P'yongyang, and art work and artifacts from tombs of the Lolang colony, which lasted until 313 C.E. The early Chinese colonies in Korea and the steady migration of Chinese over the centuries, have been the main conduits of Chinese influence in Korean life, and to this day many Koreans trace their ancestries back to China.

A second arena for early Sino–Korean contact was border relations. The Korean state of Puyo in Manchuria, sent embassies to the Han capital in the first century C.E. Friction in Manchuria between ancestors of the Korean people and frontier elements of the Chinese empire is a constant theme. Yet the Hou Han shu, or 'History of the Later Han Dynasty', assesses the Koreans as better and more civilized than other, wilder neighbours. The establishment of the Luolang colony, in essence, was the integration of the northern part of the Korean peninsula into the Han imperial system despite resistance by local peoples. It signifies a phase of Sino-Korean relations during which the Chinese actually tried to integrate the Koreans into their civilization.

The Korean state of Koguryo, in territory both north and south of the Yalu River, was shaped by the constant need to defend against Chinese pressure. The tributary system that eventually defined Korea's relationship with China was shaped in the frontier conflicts of this period, as Koguryo sought to protect itself from Chinese dominance and China sought to maintain hegemony in the Liaotung region of southern Manchuria and northern Korea. China lost control of this area during the Period of Division (trad. 220–581 C.E.); but with the reunification under the Sui, it tried to reclaim it. At that point it encountered a much more highly developed Korean civilization which was capable of much more effective resistance.

In the mid-seventh c., however, the course of Sino–Korean relations was continually plagued by warfare. The Chinese continued to claim Liaodong and the emperor Daicong continued to dream of a hegemonic empire that would include non-Chinese around the borders. To help him defeat Koguryo, he made alliances with Paekche and Shilla and
period the ideals of good government were Confucian ideals, and Confucian officials formed a powerful reform element in the government. Numerous academies were founded for the study of the classics and preparation for the examinations. Song-style woodblock printing spread the use of printed literature in Korea and extended the influence of reform ideas. A National Academy promoted Confucian scholarship. Confucian scholars, disgusted by the inordinate influence of Buddhism at court, promoted Confucian thought as an alternative state philosophy. Confucian writers of history sought moral lessons in the chronicles of the past. Confucian scholars travelled to China to study at the source. The Mongol invasions of the thirteenth c. slowed the momentum for change, but the gradual Confucianization of Korea continued nevertheless.

The rise of the Mongols in East Asia was a disaster for the Koreans just as it was for so many others. The first Mongol invasion of Koryŏ took place in 1231; and although the Koreans put up a determined resistance during which the royal court retreated to Kanghwa Island in the Han-Imjin estuary where the Mongol cavalry was unable to follow, Mongol cruelties on the peninsula eventually broke the people’s resistance. A second invasion in 1254 led to Korea’s complete subjugation to Mongol rule. There followed a century during which the state of Koryŏ served as a vassal to the Mongol Yuan empire in China and suffered a major loss of the autonomy that was normal under the Chinese tributary system. The Mongols forced Korea to join in their ill-starred invasions of Japan by using the forests of Cheju Island for wood to build ships and turning the island into pastureland for cavalry horses. They reduced the Koryŏ monarchy in several ways: by investing Korean kings with submissive titles; by maintaining a collateral lineage of the Koryŏ royal family in Manchuria as a threat, in case it became necessary to punish a Koryŏ king by making a substitution; and by marrying Mongol princesses to Korean kings. Raising Koryŏ princes at the Mongol court instead of in Korea meant that new kings ascended the Koryŏ throne as Mongol agents, the Beijing-raised grandsons of Yuan emperors. Mongol forces established a field headquarters in Korea, ostensibly to oversee the invasions of Japan but afterward to oversee the subjugation of Koryŏ. The Yuan court looted the Korean economy through levies for tribute items including gold, silver, cloth, grain, and other commodities, and most degrading of all, for virgins and eunuchs.

Despite this intimidation, when the Yuan state began to falter in China, Mongol control also began unravelling in Korea. In the 1350s, King Kongmin ordered an end to the wearing of Yuan-style costumes and hair styles at court, abandoned use of the Yuan calendar, and set out to recapture Korean territory near the Yalu River which the Mongols had allowed to fall to Jurchen control. When the Mongols were expelled from China in 1368, however, they retreated into Manchuria, maintaining sufficient strength to punish Koryŏ if it should attempt to open relations with the newly-established Ming court in China. The Ming court demanded submission, however, and for a time Koryŏ attempted to keep up good relations with both. The emperor Taizu, founder of Ming, demanded single-minded loyalty, however, and applied irresistible pressure to force the Koreans to submit to the Ming and break all ties with the Mongols. When Ming garrisons were established on the Korean border and it appeared that the Chinese might be planning to reassert control south of the Yalu, the Koryŏ court ordered its armies to attack Ming forces in Liaodong. The commanding general of the Koryŏ army, General Yi Sŏnggye, mutinied while enroute to engage the Ming forces, turned his army around, and took control of the Korean capital. For four years he ruled through puppet kings and then, in 1392, took the throne for himself and founded the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910).

Sino-Korean relations were only one element of the political situation that led to Yi Sŏnggye's usurpation of the throne in 1392. Indeed, the usurpation itself proved to be a problem when the Ming emperor refused to invest General Yi as king and thereby undermined his claim to the throne. Ming-Korean relations were only stabilized through the investiture of the third Chosŏn dynasty king, T'aegjong, by the Yung-lo emperor in 1403. Even then there remained a difficult security issue to solve: the Koreans' need to maintain
attempted to create a unified military command under Chinese generals. Tang armies fought Koguryo repeatedly during the 640s. During these engagements, Paekche took the opportunity to threaten Shilla, driving Shilla into an ever-closer alliance with the Chinese. This alliance ultimately proved decisive on the Korean peninsula. It enabled a combined Tang-Shilla force to destroy Paekche in 660 and then to destroy Koguryo in 668, creating a united Korean state of Shilla centred, not in the north in P'yŏngyang or on the Yalu River, but in the southeast, on the Shilla royal capital of Kyŏngju.

Although China intended to use the Tang-Shilla alliance to reassert control over the Korean peninsula, Shilla managed to escape Chinese domination by deft combinations of diplomacy and non-cooperation. A short-lived Tang outpost in P'yŏngyang was withdrawn to Liaodong, leaving Korea under Shilla control. The rise of a new Korean kingdom, Parhae, further complicated the situation in Manchuria and frustrated Tang designs on the region. Though it also thwarted the possibility of northward expansion by Shilla, the region south of P'yŏngyang in Korea was successfully defended from further Tang attempts at control and the Chinese settled for accepting Shilla as a tributary state. The pattern of Korean tribute missions to China but autonomy within its own borders was firmly established by the end of the eighth c. China meanwhile invested the ruler of Parhae and maintained tributary relations with it for the remainder of the Tang period.

Many Koreans from the kingdom of Shilla visited Tang China, trading and returning with information. Korean monks studied Buddhism at Tang monasteries and planted Korean branches of Chinese Buddhist sects in their homeland, among them the Pure Land and Huayen (Kor. Hwaom) sects. Confucian classical learning also became popular in Shilla, along with other kinds of Chinese literature. A lively maritime trade grew up between southwestern Korea and the Shantung Peninsula, notably under the Korean merchant Chang Pogo from his combination garrison and trading base on Wan Island.

Development of Tributary Relations

While Korea and China were communicating across the Yellow Sea, the Liaotung region saw the rise of a new power, the Khitan, in the tenth c. The Khitan succeeded in conquering Parhae in 926, just as Shilla was succumbing to the emerging Koryŏ kingdom in Korea. Koryŏ, based in west-central Korea at Kaegyŏng (modern Kaesŏng), immediately came into conflict with the Khitan state in southern Manchuria, which demanded tribute. Armed conflict included Khitan invasions in 993 and again in 1018, when the Koreans won a decisive victory. Koryŏ then built a wall across the Korean peninsula running from the mouth of the Yalu River south-east to the vicinity of modern Hamhŭng on the east coast. The wall was meant as a defence against the Khitan and a new enemy, the Jurchen tribes, who rose in place of Parhae to harry north-eastern Korea from their homeland in eastern Manchuria. Like the Khitan, the Jurchen preceded their thrust into China by putting pressure on Korea: and as they were founding the Chin state in north China, forcing the Šung empire to retreat southward, they forced Koryŏ into tributary relations. Koryŏ then had to walk a tightrope between pleasing the Southern Šung court and mollifying the Chin emperor in north China. Political relations were strained. However, merchants continued to trade across the Yellow Sea, and it was during this period that Koreans developed the beautiful celadon pottery that was inspired by Šung craftsmen but for which Koryŏ potters are so well known.

Celadon pottery was just one of the Chinese cultural imports during the Koryŏ period. Confucianism, which spread when Shilla reformers used it as a weapon against the hereditary social caste system, achieved an institutional foothold in Koryŏ when King Kwangjong adopted the civil service examination system in the year 958. Šang and Šong government institutions were used as models for the central government offices and ministries of the Koryŏ state. Bureaucratic recruitment by examination started slowly and took many years to overcome the tradition of hereditary aristocracy; but by the late Koryŏ
contact with the Jurchen tribes of Manchuria who were potential invaders of the Korean northeast. The Ming court adamantly demanded that the Koreans cease contact with the Jurchen, and their refusal to do so was a calculated effort to maintain their own border security. Concern over the Jurchen was well founded, for it was the Jurchen, ultimately, who rose to invade Korea and shortly thereafter to overthrow the Ming in the seventeenth c.

The fact that Ming concern over possible Korean disloyalty was misplaced may be seen from the policies adopted by the early Choson kings in pressing the Confucian transformation of Korea that had begun before the Mongol invasions. In addition to promoting the examination system and the emphasis on Confucian classical learning, the state of Choson adopted the Ming legal code, Ming-style administrative and judicial procedures, dynastic history writing (the Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ), and the publication of handbooks of correct family behaviour and proper official conduct. Princes in the palace were tutored in Confucian principles and kings sponsored Confucian studies in special institutes such as King Sejong's Chiphyŏnjŏn (Hall of Worthies), whose pragmatic studies in the Korean language led to the invention of the Korean alphabet han'gul in 1446.

In the fifteenth c., under the Choson dynasty, Sino-Korean tributary relations assumed their most complete form. In a typical year, Korea would send three tribute main missions to Beijing: on New Year's Day, on the emperor's birthday, and on the birthday of the heir-apparent. These were congratulatory missions, but there were others as well, to offer thanks, condolences, special gifts, and to present special communications to the emperor. Some of the embassies went only as far as Liaoyang, to deal with border matters. All conveyed gifts, and the types of tribute desired by the Ming were specified in the Ming code, the Da Ming huidian: (Collected Statutes of the Ming) gold, silver, woven mats, animal skins, various kinds of cloth, decorative objects, paper, calligraphy brushes, ginseng, and horses. Early in the Ming period the Chinese continued the practice of requisitioning young women and men for the court that had been so resented by the Koreans under the Yuan, a practice that was abandoned by 1450.

Korean embassies were comprised of high officials as envoys and retinues which sometimes numbered several scores of individuals including junior officials, secretaries, guards, and porters. Often they carried privately-owned commodities for to trade along the way or in the Beijing market. The opportunities for enrichment helped compensate for the rigours of the trip, which often took several months. The land route went through Pyŏngyang and across the Yalu to Liaoyang and Shenyang and then turned south towards Beijing through Shanhaikuan. An alternate route employed a sea crossing from Ch'olsan, near the Yalu, via the island of Kado across the Yellow Sea to Tengchou and then by land to Beijing. In Beijing the Koreans stayed at hostleries maintained for visiting tribute envoys, and all their expenses were covered by the Chinese side. They were subjected to training in how to behave during an imperial audience, and on the appointed day they prostrated themselves before the dragon throne in the ritual kowtow in the tribute-presentation ceremony itself.

In return, the Ming emperor gifted the Korean envoys with gifts for their king: luxury items, for the most part, including court costumes and jewelry, musical instruments, jade ornaments, and fine brocade. Korean embassies normally returned with books also, and medicines from the Beijing market. The gifts for the king went to the court. The entourage kept some of the trade items. Apart

from the general benefits of Chinese suzerainty over Korea as a whole, very little benefit from the tribute trade ever trickled back to the actual providers of the goods that were sent to Beijing.

Between 1392 and 1450 there were 95 Ming embassies to Korea, far fewer than the 391 Korean embassies that journeyed to the Ming court during the same period, reflecting the
fact that the most important business in the relationship was transacted in Beijing. The visit of a Ming ambassador was a great occasion in Korea, necessitating special communications, an elaborate greeting at the 'Welcoming Grace Gate' outside the city, feasts and ceremonies, and often considerable dread, since Chinese envoys sometimes came on unpleasant errands, such as the early ambassadors who came to recruit the young women who were to be offered as potential concubines to the emperor or young men to be offered as eunuchs.

The iron test of the Ming-Korean tributary relationship came in the 1590s with the Japanese invasions that were launched by Toyotomi Hideyoshi against the mainland via Korea, after Hideyoshi's unification of Japan. The Japanese objective was China, and the Koreans were aghast at Hideyoshi's audacity in thinking of an attack on the centre of civilization. In the fifth month of 1592, a Japanese force of 150,000 men invaded Korea at a point near Pusan and advanced northward along three routes toward Seoul, overcoming the best defences the Koreans could muster and forcing King Sonjo (r.1567-1608) to abandon his palace for the safety of the Chinese border. Bad weather, strained supply lines, inadequate communications, and rearguard actions by Korean militia and naval forces then combined to halt the Japanese advance at P'yŏngyang, while King Sonjo's court appealed to the Ming for intervention.

The Ming-Korean resistance to the Japanese invasion was an awkward effort hampered by Chinese attitudes toward the Koreans, whom they accused of incompetence, and egregious mistakes on the part of both the Chinese and Koreans on the land. The Chinese were mauled in their first encounter with the Japanese near P'yŏngyang in the eighth month of 1592. Thereafter, the Chinese launched a counter-attack with a much larger force under Li Ju-sung, which was effective in forcing the retreat of the main Japanese commander, Konishi Yukinaga. By the summer of 1593 the Japanese had pulled back to the southeast corner of the peninsula and King Sonjo had returned to his capital. There followed many months of fruitless negotiations between Ming representatives and Japanese commanders. In the meantime, disaffected Korean peasants and Korean local militia constantly skirmished with the Japanese, bringing terrible reprisals. In one of the bloodiest episodes of the war, the Japanese capture of the city of Chinju on the south coast, 60,000 Korean soldiers and townspeople reportedly lost their lives.

In 1597, Hideyoshi launched a second invasion of Korea with an army slightly smaller than the first. This assault made little progress up the peninsula but it secured control of many counties, ports, and inlets across the southern provinces and created a presence that was very difficult to dislodge. Bitter fighting under Ming command finally forced a final Japanese evacuation from the southern coast in the face of superior Ming Korean naval forces, notably the kôbûkson (metal-clad 'turtle ships') of the great Korean admiral Yi Sunshin. The most important naval engagement took place when Konishi tried to rescue his troops at Sunch'ŏn with the protection of his Pusan-based Japanese fleet. Allied ships under the Ming Admiral Chen Lin met the Japanese ships in the Battle of Noryang Straits, during which Chen's vessels became trapped. Admiral Yi, seeing Chen's predicament, sailed in to effect a successful rescue but was killed by a Japanese arrow. Though he gave his life in the battle and his men went on to inflict devastating losses on the retreating Japanese the episode created bitterness in the Ming-Korean relationship because Chen Lin took credit for the victory.

Hideyoshi died in 1598 and all Japanese forces were withdrawn, defeated, by the following year. The Ming–Korean victory, however, came at a terrible cost. The war drained the Ming treasury which was already depleted by the Wan-li emperor's palace and tomb constructions. It also diverted Ming forces assigned to control the Jurchen in Manchuria, creating an opportunity for the Jurchen chieftain Nurhachi to organize his forces and preparations for the conquest of China which was to follow in the 1640s.
The costs to Korea were of a different kind. The war humiliated King Sŏnjo and the Korean government and brought about the loss of much of Korea's priceless heritage of people and property. A significant part of Korea's intellectual heritage was also lost in the form of skilled craftsmen and artists who were taken to Japan. The nation's economic system suffered simultaneous disruptions of farming, trade, and the tax and land tenure systems. Koreans lost their families and homes. And in terms of their relations with China, Koreans endured a war in which it was sometimes difficult to tell the difference between their Chinese allies and their Japanese enemies. Both armies conscripted Koreans, killed them with abandon, and looted their property. Ultimately the only winners were non-participants who rose to power in the aftermath: Nurhachi in Manchuria and Tokugawa Ieyasu in Japan, whose political position was strengthened by the weakening of the daimyō of western Japan who bore the brunt of Hideyoshi's Korean campaign.

The debt created by Korea's need for Ming defence against Hideyoshi obliged Korea to assist the Ming in an ill-conceived attempt to reassert hegemony on China's frontier with the Manchus in Manchuria. To eliminate Korea as a threat on their southern flank, the Manchus answered by invading Korea twice, in 1627 and 1636, reducing it to vassal status. When the Manchus ousted the Ming and occupied China later in the seventeenth c., they demanded and got Korean tribute on the old pattern, notwithstanding Korean shame at serving usurpers whom they considered barbarians. Koreans resisted in small symbolic ways, such as perpetuating use of the Ming calendar and wearing Ming-style clothing long after the fall of the Ming. In fact, however, they were obliged to maintain the tributary relationship with the Manchus in China for reasons of realpolitik and also because, by doing so, they protected themselves from Manchu interference.

Sino-Korean Relations in Modern Times

Toward the end of the nineteenth c., Korea's ancient relationship with China underwent a revolutionary change. With the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty with Japan in 1876, there began a period of competition between Japan and China for influence in Korea. China stationed resident advisors in Korea in an effort to keep the Korean court on the traditional path. Japanese military power and direct political interference, however, swayed the court and Korean reformers with ties to Japan further undermined Chinese policy. In 1894–95, the Sino-Japanese War ended China's suzerainty over Korea and Japan eclipsed China, not as suzerain but as hegemony.

During the Japanese colonial period, 1910–1945, Chinese political influence in Korea was non-existent except in the way China hosted exiled Koreans and gave them shelter in Shanghai and later, in Zhongjing. Koreans migrated by the hundreds of thousands to Manchuria to settle and farm. Korean leftists developed a major following in this Manchurian Korean community and joined the Chinese Communists in their struggle against Japan and the Guomindang. Further south, Chinese Nationalists helped organize the Korean Kwangbok (Independence) Army in hopes of using it to fight the common enemy. On a cultural level, there was considerable travel and communication between Korea and China, and modern Chinese literature influenced Korean writers during the Japanese occupation. There was also conflict between Koreans and Chinese. For example, when Chinese farmers at Wanpaoshan in Manchuria attacked Koreans for diverting scarce water resources in 1931, Chinese residents in Korea were subjected to violent reprisals. The Japanese were using Koreans to extend their control in Manchuria at the time, and the Wanpaoshan affair turned out to be a way for them to diminish an unwanted Chinese minority in Korea as well.

China remained preoccupied with its own civil war after Japan's surrender and Korea's occupation by the allied powers. The anti- Communist regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea briefly flirted with the idea of an alliance with the defeated Guomindang in exile on Taiwan in 1950. However, the outbreak of armed hostilities between North and South
Korea in June 1950 and the intervention of the United Nations on South Korea's behalf opened a significant new chapter in the relationship between Korea and China. First, in the days following the North Korean invasion of the South, United States naval forces moved into the Taiwan Strait to block the Chinese Communists from moving on Taiwan as they had been expected to do, interrupting what many thought was a natural process of final victory for the regime of Mao Zedong. Second, in the winter of 1950, with United Nations forces approaching the Manchurian border, the Chinese Communists entered the war on North Korea's side, fighting until the armistice more than two years later. The sacrifices endured by Chinese forces in Korea (including the death of one of Mao Zedong's sons) created a Chinese stake in the survival of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea no less important than the stakes created for the West by the sacrifices of United Nations troops in defence of the South. Chinese representatives were a party to the 1953 armistice, along with the U.N. (represented by the United States) and the North Koreans. Though Chinese forces withdrew from North Korea by 1958, their support of the Kim Il Sung regime from positions just over the border has always been an important factor in North Korean defence.

South Korea, for its part, maintained close relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan for decades. By the early 1980s, however, a clandestine trade had sprung up between South Korea and the PRC. By the end of the decade, South Korean industrialists were openly arranging trade deals with firms in mainland China, pursuing a de facto two-China policy. As relations between Seoul and Beijing warmed, Kim Il Sung sought Chinese reassurance. However, in 1991 China dropped its opposition to the admission of South Korea (and then North Korea as well, as a separate state) to the United Nations. South Korea and the PRC opened diplomatic relations in 1992, causing the rupture of relations between Seoul and Taipei but forcing North Korea to accept China's two-Korea policy. At the same time China announced that it would no longer accept barter as payment for exports to North Korea, further stressing a North Korean economy already hard-pressed by the loss of economic support from the former socialist bloc in Europe.

As China emerges as a major world power, Korea will have to make accommodations. No doubt relations between China and Korea, whether united or still divided, will grow closer but not necessarily warmer. The history of Korean submission to China will not repeat. More likely is a strong Korean defence based on a strong modern economy and an economic and cultural relationship based on modern international practice.

Bibliography


Situated in the northeast area of North Cholla Province, Chinan County consists of the town of Chinan and the townships of Tonghyang, Maryong, Pugwi, Paegun, Sangjön, Sôngsu, Anch’on, Yongdam, Chôngch’on and Chuch’on. The county covers a total area of 788.78 sq. kms. and in 1989, had a population of 50 680. In the northeast lies the Chinan Plateau with an elevation greater than 300 metres. Mt. Unjang (1 126m), Mt. Mandok (762m), Mt. Kubong (919m) and other peaks of the Noryong Mountain Range rise in the northwest, while Mt. P’algong stands in the southeast corner of the county. Chinan receives 1 300 to 1 400mm of rain annually and has an average temperature of 12 to 13C. The county’s mountainous areas receive heavy snowfalls during the winter.

Due to the rugged terrain and thick forests, only 15 per cent of the county’s land is arable. Of this, 56 per cent is used for rice cultivation. Tobacco is grown in the townships of Tonghyang, Sôngsu and Anch’on and alpine vegetables and mushrooms are cultivated in Maryong, Paegun and Yongdam. In Pugwi and Chinan, land is used for a number of stock breeding operations. Ginseng is grown in the northern part of the county.

The county’s key tourist attraction is Mt. Mai (See Mai Mountain), which consists of two solid mounds of granite that resemble a horse’s ears (mai). Next to the mountain is the fascinating T’ap Temple with its numerous cairns. Mt. Unjang in the northwestern part of the county, is another popular tourist destination. This 1 126 metre peak is the highest of the Noryong Mountain Range in the Cholla area. Here can be seen the picturesque Taebulch’on Valley. Several hiking trails traverse the area, one of the most popular being that at Kallyong Village in Chôngch’on, which passes through Ch’onhwang Temple Valley via the Ch’onhwang Peak and on to Mt. Kubong.

As well as its natural attraction, the area has a number of important historical sites and relics. During Greater Shilla, scores of Buddhist monasteries were built here. Chônghwang Temple in Chôngch’on Township and Kumdang Temple in Maryong Township are two of the most famous Shilla-era temples in the area. In addition to the artefacts at these temples, there is a three-storey pagoda at Chinan’s Unsan Village, another stone pagoda at Sangjön Township’s Chup’yông Village and a five-storey pagoda at Maryong Township’s Kangjông Village (North Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 10, 72 and 73 respectively).

Confucian schools found here include the picturesque Yongdam Hyanggyo which was established in Yongdam’s Okkó village in 1391; Chinan Hyanggyo established in 1414 in Chinan’s Kunsang village and Yonggye Sŏwŏn founded in Maryong’s Kangjông village in 1649. Near Yonggye Sŏwŏn lies Susŏnnu, a pavilion built during the reign of King Sukchong (1674-1720) by Song Chinyu and his three brothers for their father and his friends.
A number of celebrations and rituals are held on a regular basis, which assist in preserving the county’s cultural heritage. Since 1984, the Mai Festival has been held in Chinan every year on 12 October. The date is significant as the day that King T’aejong (r. 1400-1418) visited the mountain in 1413. On the eve of the festival’s main ritual, a sanje (mountain ritual) is held on Mt. Mai, to pray for peace and an abundant harvest. The main ceremony is conducted the next day, followed by the Miss Ginseng Pageant; a ‘farmer’s music’ (nongak) competition; sporting events, and a performance of the Mong kumi’ch’ongmu, a dance peculiar to this region and which is said to have originated from a dream of King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398). In the dream, the king received a golden ruler (kumch’ok) from an old man on a horse-ear (mai) shaped mountain.

Chinch’ŏn County

Located in the northwestern part of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Chinch’ŏn County consists of the town of Chinch’ŏn, and the townships of Tŏksan, Mansŭng, Munbaek, Paekkol, Iwŏl and Ch’op’yŏng. The county area is 406 sq. kms. and as shown by 1989 statistics, had a population of 52 324. The Charyŏng Mountain Range traverses the western part of the county and Mt. Tut’a (598m) rises on the eastern border. The county has an average temperature of 10.9c. and an annual rainfall of 900 to 1 300mm.

Of the county’s 12 000 hectares of arable land, two-thirds grow rice and one-third dry-field crops, such as barley, bean, tobacco and ginseng. The most common orchard crops are apple, persimmon and pear. Stock breeding and sericulture are other sources of income. In Ch’op’yŏng’s Kŭmgok Village, stone is quarried to make the area’s famous ink-stones and small amounts of gold and silver are excavated from Chinch’ŏn Mine in Munbaek. Industrial estates have been established in Chinch’ŏn and Mansŭng.

The county’s scenic attractions include the picturesque Ch’op’yŏng Reservoir in the southeast and Chinch’ŏn Reservoir near Mt. Sang. These are popular holiday resorts and fishing spots. Another well-liked tourist destination is the 10km.-long Yŏng’ok Valley that begins in Chinch’ŏn’s Sasŏk Village and winds its way to Mt. Mannoe (612m). Here are two historic sites – Kyeyang Village, the birthplace of the famous Shilla general Kim Yushin (595-673) and Ch’imadae (Dashing Horse Heights) where Kim is said to have ridden his horse. Remnants of an old stone fortification can also be seen in the locality.

Buddhist artefacts in the area include a three-storey pagoda; a stele (Treasure No. 404) and a Vairocana figure in Chinch’ŏn’s Yŏng’ok Village; a Koryŏ-era rock carving of a seated Buddha and a three-storey pagoda in Munbaek’s Oksŏng Village; a weathered rock carving of a standing Buddha in Chinch’ŏn’s Sagok Village; a seated Buddha statue and a stone carving of a standing Buddha in Ch’op’yŏng’s Yongjŏng Village; a wooden Avalokitesvara figure in Chinch’ŏn’s Yongju Hermitage, and a standing Buddha figure (North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 138) at Yonghwa Temple.

Confucian sites include Kilsangsa (a shrine commemorating Kim Yushin) in Chinch’ŏn’s Pyŏgam Village, and Chinch’ŏn Hyanggyo (county public school) in Chinch’ŏn’s Kyŏsŏng Village. Near the Hyanggyo stands the picturesque Sungnyŏlsa, a shrine built in 1972 to commemorate Yi Sangsŏl (1871-1917). In 1907, Yi went as King Kojong’s envoy to the Hague convention to express Korea’s opposition to the Japanese occupation.

Chindallae kkot

Chindo County

Situated in the southwest corner of South Chŏlla Province, Chindo County is comprised of
the town of Chindo, and the townships of Kogun, Kunnae, Ùishin, Imhoe and Chisan. The county, which consists of 42 occupied and 184 unoccupied islands, covers an area of 414.03 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 70,582. The warm sea currents temper local weather conditions, but even so, the county has slightly colder winters than neighbouring Wan Island since it is exposed to northwesterly winds. The average yearly temperature is 13.8°C and the county receives an average yearly rainfall of 1350mm. In the spring, the region is often subject to heavy fog.

Since over 70 per cent of the county is mountainous, there is relatively little arable land. However, cultivated land has steadily expanded as land has been reclaimed along the county’s shallow coastal waters. Irrigation water is provided by the Tunjön and Sach’ön reservoirs. About half of the cultivated land grows rice, the other being used for a variety of dry-field crops. The county is also well-known as a leading producer of kugija (Lycium chinense), the fruit of which is used in a traditional tea drink known as kugijach’ʌ. Fishing is another important source of local income. Boats operating out of the area bring in catches of yellow corbina, hairtail, croaker and anchovy. Most of the catch is sold through the port of Mokp’o. In addition, laver, brown seaweed, crab, oyster and salt are marketed. There are also several mining operations here which excavate limestone, pagodite, clay and alumite. The area’s industry is generally limited to hulling, milling and brewing operations centred around the town of Chindo.

The county boasts a large number of tourist attractions. Southwest of Chin Island lie Hajo Island and a number of smaller islands which are known for their picturesque scenery. In order to preserve the area’s natural environment, these islands along with the southern tip of Chin Island have been included in the Tadohae National Marine Park. Tourists come to see the island’s interesting historical sites. In Kunnae’s Yongjang Village, one finds Yongjang Fortress, which was used by the Three Elite Patrols (Sambyolch’o) in their struggle against the Mongols. The Three Elite Patrols held out against the Mongol invaders for some time, but were eventually overcome by a combined Koryo-Mongol assault in mid-1271. Most of the central figures who resisted the Mongols were killed at this time. Those who survived fled to Cheju Island, which fell to the Mongols two years later.

Historically, the area’s most important Buddhist site is Ssanggye Temple on the western slopes of Mt. Ch’omch’al (485m). The temple houses several ancient stupas and the Main Buddha Hall has been designated South Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 121. Other Buddhist relics in the area include the five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 529) in Kunnae’s Tunjön Village and a seated stone Maitreya figure with attendants (South Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 17) at Yongjang Temple in Kunnae’s Yongjang Village. See also Chin Island and Mo Island.
**Chingbi rok** (Record of a Timely Warning)

*Chingbi rok* is a record of the Japanese Invasion of 1592 that was written by Yu Sŏngnyong (1542-1607). It consists of sixteen volumes and seven fascicles, and this wood-block print work has been designated as National Treasure No. 132. *Chingbi rok* was published in 1647 by the Yu's grandson Cho Suik. The work is divided into the first two volumes that comprise the main text of ‘Chingbi rok’, the third to fifth volumes which are ‘Kŭnp’o chip’, the sixth to fourteenth volumes which are known as ‘Chinsa rok’ and the final two volumes which are entitled ‘Kummun tŭngnok’.

The first two sections of this work detail the 1592 Japanese Invasion and thereby provide excellent data for the study of the actual circumstances in Korea during this event. In ‘Kŭnp’o chip’ there are various memorials to King Sonjo (r. 1567-1608), and in ‘Chinsa rok’ the conditions of the people are recorded for the years 1592-1594. The final section of this work holds royal decrees and official letters. This work is valuable in the study of the actual conditions of the country and the people during the tumultuous years of the Japanese Invasion and also in that it records the author’s own experiences during this time. This work has been republished in recent times first as a part of Yi Minsu’s Hyondae munhak (Modern Korean Literature) in the late 1950s, and then a translated version by Yi Tonghwan was published under its original name of *Chingbi rok* in 1975.

Chindŏk, Queen

Chinhae

Chinhae is a coastal city situated in the southern part of South Kyŏngsang Province. The city covers a total of 110.53 square kilometres and as of 1989 its population stood at 122,102. Mt. Yong (703m), Mt. Pulmo (802m) and Mt. Kuram (662m) rise on the city’s northern border. Rainwater run-off from these peaks forms the Taejang, Sosa and Tŏng streams. The relatively flat central area consists of reclaimed land.

Kŏje Island, located off the city’s coast, calms incoming waves, thus creating Chinhae Bay’s placid waters. In addition to being well-protected, the bay is deep and it provides Korea’s largest naval base. As part of the southern coastal region, the city’s weather is characterised by warm temperatures and high precipitation. Chinhae’s forests consist of both deciduous trees and pines. In particular, there is a large number of cherry trees here, which were planted in 1930 when the central city was built.

Because of the rugged terrain, Chinhae’s agricultural sector is relatively underdeveloped. The area’s fishing industry, on the other hand, makes an important contribution to the local economy. Anchovy, flatfish, cod and other fish are caught in the warm currents off the coast. However, the fishing industry has been adversely affected by pollution from the city’s large chemical factories and by the over-fishing of the coastal waters. Further industrial development in Chinhae is inhibited by the government’s plan to turn the city into a major tourist destination. The large naval presence involves an estimated seventy per cent of the workforce, either in public service operations or in service industries catering to the military forces.

In addition to Such’i Beach and other scenic spots along the coast, Chinhae offers many more scenic attractions. At the end of Ch’angbok Tunnel which connects Masan and Chinhae lies Mt. Changbok Park. From here, there is a panoramic view of central Chinhae and the placid Chinhae Bay. The park was established in 1979 as part of a restoration project after a landslide occurred in the area. The Taewang and Chinhŭng temples are situated near the park and thick pine tree forests and more than 10,000 cherry trees surround the area. Within the park, one finds Chinhae Park Land, an amusement park and Citizens'
Mt. Chehwang Park, next to city hall, is another popular destination. From the top of Mt. Chehwang, there is a panoramic view of the southern coast, the surrounding mountains and the city centre. The mountain is particularly popular with spectators who come to see the city’s colourful festivals. Yongch’u Waterfall in Mach’on-dong is another famous tourist attraction in the area.

The Kunhangje Festival (Naval Base festival) is held here in April each year to honour Admiral Yi Sunshin. At this time tourists flock to the area to see the city’s famous cherry blossoms. Other cultural traditions that can be seen here include a mock navy parade of the Chosön Dynasty, the Sungsönmu (Dance of Victory) and the Kômimu (Sword Dance). In addition, more than fifty folk activities, such as the Cherry-blossom Princess Pageant, fireworks, Lantern Parade and Kanggangsuwollae (a country circle dance) can be seen at the Cherry-blossom Carnival, which is held at night. Tourists also come to Chinhae to listen to the local nongak (farmer’s music).

The most famous rituals held here are the sŏnghwangje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the soil) of Chedŏk village and the tangsanje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountains) of Sudo village. At Chedok village, services for the local spirits are held every lunar New Year’s Eve. The host and hostess of the service are chosen from among the village’s model couples, and the selected couple must be celibate and remain so for three months after the service.

Many of the area’s historical sites are associated with the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). In Nammun-dong is the Ung Stream Japanese Fortress and the Ung Stream An’gol Village Fortress, both built by the Japanese. This area is known as the site of a famous naval battle in which Yi Sunshin’s forces routed the Japanese armada.

Chinhiing, King (r. 540-576)

King Chinhiing (534-576) was the twenty-fourth monarch of Shilla and reigned from 540 to 576. He was of the Kim family and his names included Sammaekchong and Shimmækpu. He was the grandson of King Chijiing (r. 500-514) and the son of the younger brother of King Pophŭng (r. 540-576). His mother was the daughter of King Pophŭng and his queen was Lady Sado of the Pak family. When he was only seven years old he ascended to the throne with the Dowager Queen Kim acting as his regent. Chinhiing is remembered as the king who greatly expanded the territory of Shilla.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Chinhiing ended the period of his regency and began to rule independently. At this time he established a new name for his reign and began to pursue his policies of increasing the territorial size of Shilla. In 551 Shilla attacked the Koguryŏ stronghold in the Han River basin in concert with King Sŏng (r. 523-554) of the Paekche Kingdom. Shortly afterwards the large area of land in the upper Han River basin came into Shilla’s possession, and soon thereafter the Paekche forces were driven from the lower Han River basin, thus securing the entire area for Shilla. The Paekche monarch King Sŏng then launched an assault on Shilla but was killed in battle at Kwansan Fortress (present day Okch’ŏn) and this event marked the end of the 120-year long Shilla-Paekche alliance. The possession of the Han River basin provided Shilla with much needed human and material resources in addition to providing a passageway through which to conduct communications with China to the west. Chinhiing continued his expansionist activities and in 562 defeated Greater Kaya (Tae-Kaya; the modern day Koryŏng area), thus taking the whole of the Naktong River basin for Shilla. He also expanded Shilla’s territory to the northeast, taking much of the Hamhŭng plain of present day North Korea. To commemorate the territorial expansion of Shilla, Chinhiing personally toured the newly conquered areas, and to mark the new boundaries of
Shilla, monument stones were erected. A stele at Ch’angnyōn (Koryǒng area) marked the southern expansion against Paekche and Greater Kaya, a marker at Pukhan Mountain (present day Seoul) designated the western augmentation, and the monuments at Hwangch’o and Maun passes indicated the Shilla expansion into the present day Hamhung area of northern Korea.

King Chinhung is not only known for his territorial ambitions and his conquests, but also for his domestic political activities that assisted the consolidation of the political and governing apparatus of Shilla. First of all he ordered Köch’ilbu to compile the Kuksa (National History) in 545, which provided a record of the events of Shilla. Chinhung also accelerated the advance of the Confucian governing ideology in Shilla and safeguarded the position of Buddhism that had been formally adopted by Shilla during the reign of King Pophung. Buddhism greatly expanded during the reign of Chinhung with the construction of temples and the importation of Buddhist scriptures. Perhaps one of the most important domestic activities of Chinhung was the founding of the Hwarang (Flower of Youth) that is thought to have occurred at an early point in his reign. The Hwarang, aristocratic youths trained in the military arts, became an important element in the eventual unification of the Three Kingdoms by Shilla.

Bibliography

Chinju

Situated in the southwestern part of South Kyōngsang Province, Chinju is comprised of the town of Munsan and the townships of Kūmgok, Kūmsan, Nadong, Taegok, Taep’yōng, Myǒngsŏk, Mich’ŏn, Sabong, Sugok, Ilbansŏng, Ilbansŏng, Chŏngch’ŏn, Chisu, Chinsŏng and Chiphyŏn. The present city was formed when Chinju expanded to include those areas previously known as Chinyang County. Geographically, the city consists of low hills, with the Nam River flowing east to west through it. To the west of Chinju stands Namgang Dam. Built in the 1960s, the dam has created Chinyang Lake, a popular resort. As for transportation, the Namhae Expressway and Kyongjon railway line link Chinju to other cities in the region, and an expressway connecting Chinju with Taejon is presently under construction. In addition, there is an airport with flights to Seoul and Cheju Island.

Historically, Chinju has had a productive agricultural sector. Although rice is cultivated in the level areas adjacent to the Nam River, most of the area’s farming is devoted to dry field crops. Orchards here grow persimmons, pears, peaches and chestnuts, and green houses are used to produce melons and pineapples. In the Nam River Basin, there are numerous bamboo thickets. Traditionally, local residents produced bamboo handicrafts as a means of supplementing their income from farming. In the city centre, there is a large industrial park. Here Taedong Industries, Korea’s largest producer of farming machinery, produces tractors, engines and mechanised ploughs.

Tourism is an important part of the local economy. With numerous reservoirs, the city attracts sports fishermen and tourists from the nearby area. Chinju’s culinary speciality is a raw fish dish made from Kkŏch’ōgi (Coreoperca kawamebari), a fresh-water fish of the perch family. Anglers catch the fish in the clear water of the Tŏch’ŏn River. The city is also famous for Chinju pibim pap, a dish of rice mixed with fresh vegetable greens, shredded and grilled beef etc.

Chinju boasts a large number of historical sites. At the beginning of the Three Kingdoms period, the Chinju area was part of Kaya, a tribal federation that was eventually annexed by the Shilla kingdom. Near the CBD, a number of large tombs have been discovered, indicating that this area was politically powerful during the Three Kingdoms period.
Judging from rare Kaya artefacts excavated from the Okpong-dong tombs, scholars believe that this area belonged to Koryōng Kaya.

In Kumsan Township’s Yonga Village, one finds Kumhoji, a small man-made lake built during the Shilla period. Southeast of the temple lies a picturesque valley that cuts through a dense forest. At the top of the valley stands Changgok Temple, an ancient monastery founded by Tosŏn during the Shilla period. Here one finds a three-storey stone pagoda, a bronze incense holder created in 1397 and a holder for the large scroll paintings that were hung outside Korean temples during ceremonies. The temple’s Main Buddha Hall, rebuilt in 1612, has been designated South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 51.

In Ibansŏng Township’s Yongam Village one finds the old site of Yongam Temple. Artefacts at the site include a Koryŏ-era stupa (Treasure No. 372), a stone Buddha figure (South Kyōngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 4) and a stele commemorating Hongja, who served as National Overseer of Monks (kukt’ong). At Kosan Hermitage in Sugok Township, there is an exquisitely carved Buddha statue from the Koryŏ period. Unlike most statues from this period, the stone backdrop, depicting the Buddha’s aura, is still extant. At Samsŏn Hermitage in Sangbong-dong, there is a large bronze bell which has been designated South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 55.

Chinju also contains numerous relics and shrines associated with the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598) In Namsŏng-dong, one can see the remains of Chinju Fortress. The walled fortification that once stood here is believed to have been originally built during the Koryŏ period, but was partially destroyed during the first Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1593). It is believed that approximately 70 000 Korean soldiers and civilians lost their lives in the battles fought here at that time. In 1605, the provincial commander-in-chief Yi Suil rebuilt the fortress. Chinju Fortress underwent further restoration in 1970. Within the fortress walls, one finds Chinju National Museum, which houses a good collection of Kaya artefacts.

Overlooking the Nam River stands Ch’oksŏngnu, a pavilion originally built in 1368. Known as one of the three great pavilions of Korea, the structure, burnt down during the Korean War, has recently been rebuilt. Below the pavilion on the river bank lies Ui (Righteousness) Rock. The site is associated with Non’gae, a kisaeng (female entertainer) famous for her patriotism during the Hideyoshi Invasions. When Japanese troops attacked the area, they fought a particularly bloody battle over Chinju Fortress. After their victory, Non’gae lured the Japanese commander to the bank of the Kum River. With her arms around the commander’s neck, Non’gae is said to have jumped into the water, drowning both herself and the general. Upriver from the rock stands Ch’unγnyŏlsa, a shrine commemorating the Korean soldiers who gave their lives in the battle for Chinju Fortress.

In addition to historical sites, there are a number of Confucian schools in the area including Namak Sŏwŏn on the north slopes of Mt. Pongdae (409m), Yonggang Sŏwŏn in Chisu Township and Chinju Hyanggyo in Okpong-dong. There are also numerous modern schools in the area, such as Gyeong Sang National University in Kajwa-dong, Gyeong Sang Medical College in Ch’iram-dong, Chinju National University of Education in Shinan-dong, Chinju Nursing College and Chinju Technical College.

**Chinju National Museum**

Chinju National Museum (Kungnip Chinju Pangmulgwan) is located in Namsŏng-dong in Chinju. Opened in November 1984, the museum is home to Kaya artefacts recovered from the lower and middle reaches of the Nakdong River. Items in the collection include earthenware, jade jewellery, metalware, carved bone, weapons, lacquerware, woven goods, calligraphy and paintings. Most of the Neolithic and Bronze Age items in the collection are from the southern part of South Kyongsang Province. In addition to
managing exhibitions, the museum participates in archaeological excavations in the local area.

**Chinjung ilgi** (Front Line Diary)

*Chinjung ilgi* is a late Chosŏn work that records the suppression of the 1811 Honggyŏngnae Rebellion. It is composed of two volumes and two fascicles and is a calligraphed work. The author of this work is not known.

The Honggyŏngnae Rebellion started when Hong Kyŏngnae, a yangban who had failed the civil service examination and could not begin an official career, conspired with others in the region against the government. They wanted to ensure that the discrimination that plagued those from P'yŏngan Province would end and gathered discontented farmers, merchants and others from the area and rose up against the government forces. They soon controlled the entire area north of the Ch'ongch'ŏn River, but were subsequently defeated by government forces that crushed the rebellion. Hong was eventually killed in a battle for control of Ch'ŏngju City.

Of the historical records of the Honggyŏngnae Rebellion, *Chinjung ilgi* is widely acclaimed as providing the most extensive and thorough account of the struggle. In recent years the work has been included in various collections of historical records including the 1986 *Han'guk minjung undongsa charyo chip* (Historical Records of the Korean People's Movement) published by Yŏgang Ch'ulp'ansa. The *Chinjung ilgi* provides a valuable record of both the turmoil that occurred in the waning days of the Chosŏn Kingdom and also of the social discrimination that those in the northern provinces of Korea faced in this period.

**Chinnanp'o (Namp'o)**

Commonly known as Namp'o in North Korea, and as Chinnanp'o in South Korea, this seaport is located in the southwest corner of South P'yŏngan Province.

Originally a small fishing village, Chinnanp'o held strategic importance during the Sino-Japanese War (1894), with the Japanese navy making full use of the port. After the war, the Japanese called for the opening of the port to foreign merchants, but their diplomatic initiatives were blocked for a while by Karl Waebber, the Minister of the Russian Legation in Seoul. The port was first opened to foreign traders in October 1897. From this time, Japanese and Chinese merchants competed for influence in the area. When the Russo-Japanese War commenced, Namp'o became a major supply base for Japanese naval operations.

Chinnanp'o was given city status in 1945, and later changes to the administrative boundaries resulted in an expansion to eventually include the former counties of Kangsŏ and Yonggang. The city is administered by the central government. Covering an area of 1,000 sq.kms., Chinnanp'o has a population of about 750,000.

The area consists mostly of low hills with a great deal of level land. It is ideally suited to rice growing and slightly less than half of the total arable land is used for this purpose. The remainder grows dry-field crops including corn; varieties of bean; wheat; sorghum; Chinese cabbage; turnips; eggplant; garlic; and red pepper. Apples, peaches, pears and grapes are also grown here. Local fish catches include yellow corbina; hairtail; flatfish. Clam and brown seaweed (*miyŏk*) are harvested. The city's main industries are glass making; machinery and machine parts manufacture; and shipbuilding.

The city's climatic range is from an average low of minus 6.8 deg.C. in January, to an
average high of 25.1 deg.C in August. Annual average rainfall is 702 mm.

Chinŏn Sect  [Buddhism]

Chinsa  [Confucianism; Education]

Chinsŏng, Queen (r. 887-897)

Queen Chinsŏng (? –897), the fifty-first monarch of Shilla, ruled from 887 to 897 and was the last of the three female rulers of the kingdom. Her family name was Kim and given name Man. Chinsŏng’s father was King Kyŏngmun (r. 861-875), and her brothers were King Hŏn’gang (r. 875-886) and King Chŏnggang (r. 886-887).

Directly after her accession, Chinsŏng gave her subjects tax exemptions for a period of one year, as well as decreeing other measures designed to gain popular support. In 888, however, after her husband and chief retainer Kim Wihong (? –888) died, the political situation quickly deteriorated. Coupled with the political problems then prevalent, the loss of other key men in the government, (such as Wang Kŏin, arrested for alleged anti-government writings), and the lack of tax revenues which put undue pressure on the treasury, the situation became critical. The Shilla government sought to overcome its financial problems by the forced collection of taxes in 889, but this resulted in even greater unrest and uprisings by the peasants. (The peasant class was saddled with double taxes since they already had to pay their dues to the local gentry families that controlled the countryside.) At this time, the government was unable to subdue an uprising in Sabŏl (present Sangju), and seizing the opportunity, brigand bands roved unchecked and pillaged at will. Many rebellions took place across the country, one (in 891), led by Yanggil erupted at Pugwŏn (present Wŏnju), who then sent his lieutenant Kungye (? –918) to sack Myŏngju (present Kangnung). After this, Kyŏnhwŏn (? –936) led an insurgency in present Chŏlju that resulted in him forming the Later Paekche Kingdom. Further, as well as the rebellions which swept Shilla’s diminishing territory, in 896 the so-called ‘Red Trousered Banditti (chŏkkjojŏk), a large and powerful force of brigands, took control of the area southwest of the capital.

Into this turbulent situation, Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (b. 857) returned from Tang China and presented his proposals to Queen Chinsŏng for reforms of government that would help to quell the uprisings. His reforms for strengthening the monarchy, however, were not accepted by the chingol aristocracy-dominated court, and Ch’oe therefore retired from public service. In the sixth month of 897, as Queen Chinsŏng saw the situation further deteriorate, she abdicated her throne to the son of her brother, King Hŏn’gang, thus ending her reign. Shilla’s demise, at this point, was inevitable as the Later Paekche and Later Koguryŏ kingdoms gained strength. However, Queen Chinsŏng did not see the fall of Shilla as she died at the end of 897.

Chinul (1158-1210)

Chinul styled Moguja, was born in Sŏhung in Hwanghae Province. As a young boy, Chinul had a weak constitution and was continually ill. His father prayed to the Buddha that if his son were cured, he would send him to a Buddhist temple. When the young Chinul suddenly recovered, the parents had him ordained. Thus, Chinul took the monastic precepts under Master Chonghwi of the Sagul branch of Sŏn.

At the age of twenty-five, Chinul called on his peers to join in the creation of the Samadhi and Prajna Community (Chŏnghye Kyŏlsa), a group that would reject fame and gain in order to focus on spiritual cultivation involving textual studies, worship and manual labour. Chinul was disillusioned with the ceremonial Buddhism of his day. He sought to create a
reform movement emphasising the basic message of Buddhism. In spite of a positive initial response, the community was not formed immediately.

Deciding to leave the secular concerns of the capital behind, Chinul went to southern Cholla Province where he spent the next three years focusing on his own cultivation. His first religious breakthrough occurred while reading the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch. Chinul became ecstatic when he read the passage, 'The Self-nature of Suchness gives rise to thought. Although the six organs see, hear, perceive and know, [you are] not stained by the myriad images and the True Nature is always free.' Notably, Chinul’s sudden-enlightenment did not occur as a result of meeting a living Son master. The catalyst for the experience was a text. Perhaps for this reason, the positive role of the written teachings came to be a characteristic feature of Chinul’s subsequent thought.

In 1185, Chinul continued his self-cultivation in Kyongsang Province. At this time, he became concerned with the conflict between Sŏn (Meditation) and Kyo (Doctrine). Chinul perused the vast body of Buddhist literature looking for a solution. While reading the Avatamsaka Sutra, Chinul had his second illumination as he realised that there was a basic unity underlying the teachings of Sŏn and Hwaŏm (Chin. Huayan). Yet, Chinul still had questions about the ‘initial gate of entrance in faith’ discussed in the Hwaŏm teachings. These doubts were answered, however, when Chinul read Huayan thinker Li Tongxuan’s interpretation of faith. According to Li, one realised Buddhahood at the very beginning of one’s cultivation, with the arousal of faith.

After this realisation, Chinul devoted his energies once more to the establishment of the Samadhi and Prajna Community. The community was initially based at Kŏjo Hermitage, but as it grew, the burgeoning movement was moved to Mt. Songgwang. On his way to the new site, Chinul stopped at Sangmuju Hermitage on Mt. Chiri to do a retreat. At this time, Chinul had his final religious breakthrough while reading the writings of Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163), a Chinese Chan (Zen) master of the Linji lineage. Chinul was particularly impressed with Zonggao’s kanhwaj method of meditation.

As a theoretic basis for the unity of the Sŏn and Kyo schools, Chinul advocated sudden-enlightenment gradual-cultivation (tono-chŏmsu). This approach was primarily derived from the Sŏn thought of Zongmi (780-841) and the Huayan thought of Li Tongxuan. Chinul felt that sudden-enlightenment ensured that the practitioner perceived the underlying unity of Buddhas and sentient beings at the beginning of practice. However, even after sudden-enlightenment, the practitioner had to undergo a gradual course of training aimed at eliminating the habit-energies (sŭpti) - latent defilements that still obscured consciousness.

Chinul’s vision of the natural correspondence between Sŏn and Kyo (the practical and theoretical orientations to practice, respectively) has had a pervasive influence on virtually all subsequent Korean Buddhist thinkers. He trained hundreds of disciples, including Ch’ŏnjin, Hwagyŏn, Suu, Inmin, Kahye and Hyeshim. In addition, Chinul wrote: Sushimgyol (Secrets on Cultivating the Mind), Wŏndon sŏngbul non (The Complete and Sudden Attainment of Buddhahood), Kanhwa kyŏrūi non (Resolving Doubts About Observing the Hwadu), Chinsim chikŏl (Straight Talk on the True Mind), Pŏpchip pyŏrhaeng nok chŏryo pyŏngip sagi (Special Practice Record with Personal Notes) and Hwaŏm non chŏryo (Excerpts from the Exposition of the Avatamsaka Sutra). Chinul was posthumously named National Master Puril Pojo.

Bibliography

Chiri Mountain

Mt. Chiri is actually the name for an extensive, mountainous area situated on the border of North Cholla, South Cholla and South Kyongsang Province. Designated Chiri-san National Park, this area is the largest park in Korea covering approximately 450 square kilometres. Ch'onwang Peak, the mountains highest point, rises 1,915 metres above sea-level, giving Mt. Chiri the added distinction of being the highest mountain on the South Korean mainland. To the west of Ch'onwang Peak, there is Ch'ilsson Peak (1,576 metres), Tökp'yöng Peak (1,522 metres), Myöngsön Peak (1,586 metres), T'okki Peak (1,534 metres), Panya Peak (1,732 metres) and Nogodan (1,507 metres). To the east lie Chung Peak (1,875 metres), Ha Peak (1,781 metres) and Ssöri Peak (1,640 metres). The main ridge is almost vertical to the Kaji Ridge. Both ridges are between 700 to 1,300 metres high, providing excellent views to visitors who hike up the mountain's numerous trails. The main ridge splits Mt. Chiri into two sectors: the area south of the ridge being known as Outer Chiri and the area to the north as Inner Chiri. The source waters of the Naktong and Sômjin River flow down from Mt. Chiri, carving out deep valleys.

Abundant plant life is found in the park, with variations depending on elevation. Up to 500 metres, there are Japanese oaks (Quercus serrata), hornbeams (Carpinus laxiflora) and chestnut trees. The forests from 500 to 1000 metres are characterised by dogwoods (Cornus controversa), pines, Japanese oaks and hornbeams. From 1000 to 1,400 metres, one finds silver firs (Picea jezoensis), Korean firs (Abies koreana), Mongolian oaks (Quercus mongolica) and rhododendrons (Rhododendron Schlippenbachii), whereas the area from 1,400 to 1,900 metres contains Sasûre Trees (Eurya japonica) and birches (Betula Ermanii). Mt. Chiri is also a haven for wildlife with 165 bird species and 41 mammal species. In fact, the rare Korean bear is believed to inhabit this area.

The mountain has been known by a number of names. Most of these are ultimately derived from the pure-Korean word 'turae,' which simply means 'mountain.' According to the Shiji (Historical Records), there were three sacred mountains to the east of the Yellow Sea: Mt. P'eng-lai, Mt. Ying-chou and Mt. Fang-chang. These three mountains are thought to be Mt. Kümgang, Mt. Halla and Mt. Chiri, respectively. Sometimes, Mt. Myohtang was added to this list, which thus became the four sacred mountains, or Mt. Kuwoll was added, bringing the number to five.

Traditionally thought of as a holy place, Mt. Chiri contains a large number of religious sites. The artifacts of Inner Chiri tend to be associated with Shamanism or Taoism, while those of Outer Chiri are usually connected with Buddhism. In Kurye County lies Hwaöm Temple, the area's most famous Buddhist site. The original temple was built in 544 by the monk Yön'gi. The temple houses a great number of national treasures. Over ten other temples are found at the foot of the mountain, many containing important historical artifacts.

The mountain is also important for its natural resources. Kaolin, silica, gold, silver, nickel and molybdenum are mined in this area. In addition, this area contains about one-fifth of South Korea's total forest cover. Mt. Chiri's mineral wealth, combined with its rich historical and religious heritage, make it one of Korea's most important park areas.

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Cho Ch'ongnae (1943-)

Cho Ch'ongnae is a novelist. He was born in Seoul and attended Dongguk University with a major in Korean literature, graduating in 1966. Cho worked as a high school teacher from 1970 to 1972 and then on the editorial staff of the magazine Wolgan munhak (Monthly Literature) for the next three years. Subsequently he served as chief editor of Han'guk munhak (Korean Literature) from 1984 to 1989. Cho has received numerous literary awards including the Hyundai Munhak Literary Prize in 1982, the Korean Literature Prize in 1982, and the Best Novel Award in 1984.

Cho's works have largely dealt with themes surrounding the partition of Korea and the Korean War and describe the social and ideological conflicts that have resulted from the breakdown of the traditional class and social systems. Perhaps his two best known novels are Yuhyông ūi ttang (The Land of Exiles) and T'aebaek sanmaek (T'aebaek Mountains), which were both written in the 1980s.

Yuhyông ūi ttang is set during the Korean War and depicts the tragedy of people enmeshed in the social agitation caused by the War, which is presented by Cho as a synthesis of inhumane barbarity, false political ideologies, social discord and historical inconsistencies. The death of the protagonist of this work is the result of class prejudice and poverty that were magnified by the War.

T'aebaek sanmaek is considered to be the most representative work of Cho. This ten-volume work centres on Korean history and ideological conflicts. Although the novel is set in the period from liberation in 1945 until the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, Cho retreats to the end of the Choson period and wends his way through the colonial period, in order to explain the historical precedents that led to the Communist Yŏsu Rebellion (Yŏsu pallan) of 1948. This work is thoroughly researched and thus enables the author to recreate the activities of the partisan refugees who sought sanctuary in the Chiri Mountains from government forces. In addition, Cho describes the ideological confrontations that eventually led to the partition of Korea.

Cho is widely acclaimed as one of the finest modern Korean novelists for his vivid descriptions and the development of his characters. A further multi-volume work - Arirang - is under way.

Cho Chun (1346-1405)

Cho Chun was a civil official of the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods. His family's ancestral home is in P'yŏngyang, his courtesy name was Myŏngjun and his pen names included Ujae and Songdang. His father, Cho Tŏkyu, was a high-ranking official in the Koryŏ government. His son, Cho Taerim, married Princess Kyŏngjong, the second daughter of King T'aejong (r. 1400-1418), thus revealing the close position that Cho enjoyed with the royal family of Chosŏn.

Since none of Cho's five brothers passed the civil service examination his mother was greatly saddened. As a result, Cho studied diligently from an early age and in 1374 he passed the higher civil service examination (kwagŏ shi) and was appointed Third Deputy Commander (hogun) in the Division of the Left and Right (Chwauwi) in addition to other official duties. Subsequently he was appointed as Naval Deputy Commander (allyŏmsa) of the Kangnung area and his leadership qualities were recognised by both the people and his superiors in the Koryŏ officialdom. He continued his rise in the Koryŏ government but
retired from government life in 1388. It was at this time that he became acquainted with Hồ Küm, Chông Chi and others of that ilk.

The final years of Koryŏ proved to be increasingly filled with turmoil and political infighting as those around the throne fought for a share of power. King U (r. 1374-1388) was able to take the throne due to the backing of General Yi Inim (? -1388). However, Yi was the true power in Koryŏ and abandoned the pro-Ming policy of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374), in its stead adopting a pro-Yüan foreign policy. Many in the Koryŏ government opposed this including Yi Sŏnggye (King T'aejo, r. 1392-1398) and Chông Mongju (1337-1392). Cho was among this faction that contested the pro-Yüan policies. The situation was not resolved and in 1388 the Ming announced their intention to establish a commandery in the southern part of Hamgyŏng Province, which would have been tantamount to annexing the whole of northeastern Korea. It was at this time that the Yi Inim faction was driven from power and Yi Sŏnggye and Ch'oe Yŏng (1316-1388) seized power. Ch'oe was determined to attack the Ming and gained the approval of King U. An army was raised and an expedition was launched to the north. Yi Sŏnggye, however, had other plans and marched his army back from Wihwa Island on the Yalu River and attacked Ch'oe and King U, thus seizing power for himself.

Cho was a major supporter of Yi Sŏnggye and helped the new power behind the Koryŏ throne consolidate his political base. Cho and Chông Tojon (1342-1398) assisted in the process of deposing King Ch'ang (r. 1388-1389) and installing King Kongyang (r. 1389-1392) on the throne. Cho was instrumental in carrying out sweeping land reforms in 1389 and was accordingly promoted to higher positions. In 1391 he travelled to Ming China on an embassy marking the emperor's birthday. However, in the following year he, along with Chông Tojon, was the object of denunciation by the Chông Mongju faction and was arrested. Yet shortly after this in 1392, Chông was driven from power by Yi Sŏnggye and Cho was appointed to a position in the Council of State (Ch'omûibû) and the Finance Office (Samsa).

After the founding of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1392, the true political power centred on Chông Tojon, with whom Cho had differences of opinion. In matters surrounding the nomination of the crown prince, Chông favoured Yi Pangsŏk, the youngest son of King T'aejo, while Cho supported Yi Pangwŏn (King T'aejong, r. 1400-1418) who had contributed mightily to the founding of Chosŏn. Yi Pangwŏn proved to be superior to his brothers in contesting for the throne as he had Pangsŏk assassinated and held true power even after his brother Yi Panggwa (King Chongjong, r. 1398-1400) ascended to the throne. Two years later Pangwŏn took the throne and the political fortunes of Cho likewise escalated. Cho was appointed as Second State Councillor (chwauijông) and then as Chief State Councillor (yŏnggūjjong), in addition to his position as the royal in-law.

Cho was important in the establishment of the governmental structures of the fledgling Chosŏn State. In collaboration with Chông Tojon he compiled Kyŏngje yukchŏn (Six Codes of Governance) the administrative code that would guide the early years of Chosŏn and serve as the basis for the subsequent Kyŏngguk taejŏn (National Code) promulgated in 1471. Another accomplishment of Cho was his role in the establishment of the Rank Land Law (kwajŏn pŏp) which helped to secure a financial basis for the official class that would come to dominate the government. The Rank Land Law provided the foundation that would enable the neo-Confucian literati to come to the forefront of Chosŏn society, and thus pave the way for the many changes that this period brought about. Cho was also known for his literary talents, which are revealed in his collected works, Songdang chip (Collected Works of Songdang). He is further remembered as one of the meritorious elite that were instrumental in helping T'aejo found Chosŏn, and additionally in stabilising the dynastic succession after his death.

Cho Hŏn (1544-1592)
Cho Hŏn was a middle Chosŏn period scholar, Confucianist and leader of volunteer forces in the 1592 Japanese Invasion. His family’s ancestral home is in Paech’ŏn, his courtesy name was Yŏshik and his pen names included Chungbong, Towŏn and Huyul. Cho was born in Kimp’o of Kyŏnggi Province and was the son of Cho Ungji. He was also the disciple of Yi I (1536-1584) and Sŏng Hon (1535-1598).

Cho’s family was quite poor and thus he was plagued with hardship while growing up, but still managed both to serve his parents and pursue his studies. In 1565 he entered the National Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) and two years later passed the military section of the Triennial Examination (Shingnyŏn shi). The following year he entered Chosŏn officialdom and by 1572 had been elevated to a position at the Office of Editorial Review (Kyosŏgwan). Cho continued his climb in the Chosŏn bureaucracy, although at times he was beset with problems stemming from his opposition to certain policies. He was appointed to an embassy to Ming China to mark the emperor’s birthday (sŏngjolsa) and from 1575 served as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo) and the Board of Rites (Yejo), and as Librarian (chŏnjŏk) of the National Academy. However, while he was serving as Magistrate (small county, hyŏngam) of T’ongjin in Kyŏnggi Province he was censured for not properly controlling the slave population and suffered exile to Pup’yŏng for three years. When he returned to government service he served as Assistant Section Chief of the Board of Works (Kongjo) and as Inspector (tosa) of Cholla Province among other positions. Cho continued to have a somewhat chequered career as a government official; he was recognised as an excellent official and was appointed to various positions; however, he was also exiled several times for diverse offences and for political reasons. Nonetheless, Cho did play an important role in the negotiations with Japan and Ming China before the outbreak of the 1592 Japanese Invasion.

In the fourth month of 1592 after the Japanese forces had invaded Chosŏn, Cho and fellow- yangban Yi U, Kim Kyŏngbaek and Chŏn Sŏngŏp gathered a volunteer force of about 1,600 men in Okch’ŏn of Ch’ungh’ŏng Province. In the eighth month of the same year Cho combined his volunteer forces with those of Yong Kyu and routed the Japanese forces at Ch’ŏngju Fortress. However, due to interference from the military officials in Ch’ungh’ŏng Province the volunteer forces were dispersed and primarily as a result of his weakened force, Cho was killed when his troops launched an assault on the Japanese at Kumsan. Cho was posthumously honoured by the Chosŏn government several times for his loyal and courageous leadership of volunteer forces during the crisis resultant from the Japanese invasion. In 1734 he was posthumously awarded the title of Chief State Councillor (yŏnguijong) and memorial services were held to commemorate him at various sŏwŏn (private Confucian academies) including the Ujŏ Academy in Kimp’o and the Songgok Academy in Kumsan.

**Cho Island**

The area formerly known as Cho Island has now been connected, through land reclamation projects, to Mijo Township in South Kyŏngsang Province’s Namhae County. The island covered a total area of 0.32 square kilometres and as of 1985, had a population of 231. It was mountainous with a maximum elevation of 96 metres and had a rugged coastline. Due to its southern location, the area’s climate is mild, with an average January temperature of 1.2 deg. c. and an average August temperature of 25.8 deg. c. The area annually receives an average of 1,100mm of rainfall and 20mm of snowfall. Most of this area’s farming land is used to grow sweet potatoes, beans and garlic. Local marine products include eel, crab and seaweed.

**Cho Kwangjo (1482-1519)**
Cho Kwangjo was an early Chosŏn scholar official. His family's ancestral home is in Hanyang, his courtesy name was Hyojik and his pen name Chŏngam. He was born in Hansŏng, the capital of Chosŏn, which is now present-day Seoul. He was a fifth-generation descendent of Cho On, who was one of the meritorious subjects that assisted in the founding of Chosŏn, and the son of Cho Wŏnggang a Bailiff (kamch'al) of the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). With the Purge of 1498 (muo sahwa) Cho's father was exiled to Hŭich'ŏn, and while domiciled there Cho studied under the eminent neo-Confucian scholar, Kim Koeng'il (1454-1504). Cho studied the neo-Confucian doctrines with vigour, and eventually succeeded Kim, (who had carried on the teachings of Kim Chŏngjik (1431-1492)), in assuming leadership of the Sarim Faction. Cho passed the Literary Licentiate Examination in 1510 and then entered the National Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan).

With the accession of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544), the situation of the neo-Confucian literati improved considerably. The new monarch, unlike his deposed half-brother Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506), was receptive to the input of the literati in the administration of the state and so the literati came to play a major role during his reign. Cho was particularly favoured by the king and rose rapidly through the hierarchy of Chosŏn officialdom. He held the political aim of establishing a government guided by strong moral ethics, and was especially imbued with Confucian ethics and social mores. His major contribution to the administration of the Chosŏn governing apparatus was the implementation of the Village Code (hyangyak), which established a type of self-government in the villages, supplemented with a commitment to justice and mutual assistance in times of need. Moreover, Cho advocated the translation into han'gŭl and publication of the basic Confucian doctrines, in order to spread the ethical content of these works among the common people, and as a way of eliminating the injurious effects of the shamanistic and Buddhist beliefs that prevailed outside the sphere of the literati. Another change Cho made to the Chosŏn administration was in advocating the so-called 'examination for the learned and virtuous' (hyŏllankkwa), which allowed the recruitment of capable men into the bureaucracy by means of a simplified examination. Thus, increasing numbers of neo-Confucian literati were able to enter the Chosŏn government and of course, this greatly increased their power.

As the standing of the faction led by Cho increased, so he concentrated his efforts on eliminating the influence of those who had helped Chungjong assume power, and in particular sought to reduce the rewards they were then enjoying. He was successful in removing seventy-six of the recipients, which represented almost three-quarters of the list of merit subjects compiled thirteen years earlier. This, however, was Cho's downfall, as the wrathful merit subjects now convinced Chungjong that his own position was jeopardised and induced him to purge Cho and his faction. Consequently, Cho was executed in the ensuing Purge of 1519 (kimyo sahwa) and this brought about a temporary abatement of the growing power of the neo-Confucian literati.

Cho received a series of posthumous accolades, including titles bestowed by the king and the establishment of sŏwŏn (private academies). Cho represents an important link in the establishment of the neo-Confucian tradition that stemmed from late Koryŏ literati Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) and Kil Chae (1353-1419). His writings are preserved in Chŏngam chip (Collected Works of Chŏngam).

Cho Manshik (1882-1950)

Cho Manshik was an independence activist and politician of the colonial period. His family’s ancestral home is in Ch’angnyŏn, his pen name was Kodang and he was born in Kangsŏ of South P’yŏngan Province. When Cho was young he learned the Chinese classics from his father and by the age of fifteen had begun to work, and thus his childhood
Passed quickly. At the age of twenty-three he entered Sungshil Middle School in P'yongyang and at the same time embraced Christianity. In 1908 he travelled to Japan for study and learned English, among other subjects. In 1910 he entered the Law Department of Meiji University and while attending he founded the combined Presbyterian and Methodist Chosón People's Church (Chosónin Kyohoe) together with Paek Namhun and Kim Chongshik. Cho also formed a nationalist movement that was modelled after the principles of non-resistance that were advocated by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). In 1913 he returned to Korea after graduation and began work at Osan School, which had been founded by a former classmate Yi Sunghun. After two years he was appointed as principal of the school, but in 1919 resigned from his position to join the March First Movement. Shortly thereafter he was arrested by the Japanese police and incarcerated for one year.

On being released from prison, Cho resumed his duties as principal at Osan School, but due to harassment from Japanese officials soon resigned. He then returned to P'yongyang where he held a position as director of general affairs for the P'yongyang Christian Youth Association (P'yongyang Kidokkyo Ch'ongnyon Hoe) and concurrently served as an elder of the Sanjonggihyon Church. At about this same time Cho and his lifelong acquaintances Shim U and O Yunsön, founded the Korean Products Promotion Campaign (Chosón Mulsan Changnyo Hoe). It was through this organisation that Cho carried out a nationwide promotion of buying Korean products in collaboration with Yi Kwangsu (1892-?), Yǒn T'aegjin, et al. This nationwide movement for buying Korean products formed an unusual coalition of businessmen, students, journalists and independence activists, and thus was important in the independence movement. Others who played notable roles in this movement include Kim Songsu (1891-1955) the publisher of the Donga ilbo newspaper and Kim Tongwo'n who owned a textile company.

Cho was also active in other aspects of the independence movement such as the one promulgated to form a Korean college. This, however, was a failed attempt due to its oppression by the Japanese. He continued his educational activities and served as principal of the Sungin Middle School, as well as forming other educational groups. In 1927 Cho participated in the activities of the New Korea Society (Shin'gan Hoe), a nationalist organisation that sought to present a united front of both communists and nationalists, but this group failed too, due to Japanese persecution. By 1932 Cho was serving as vice-president of the Chosón ilbo newspaper and through this organ carried out his nationalist activities. Throughout the colonial period Cho carried on pro-Korean activities in the P'yongan region based upon the Ghandian ideology of peaceful resistance and this resulted in his both gaining respect from his countrymen and suspicion from the Japanese.

After liberation in 1945 Cho remained active in the politics of the northern part of Korea, which was now dominated by the Soviet Union. Cho advocated a middle line in his approach to the political turmoil that surrounded the post-liberation period. The Soviets soon made it clear that they intended the Communist Party to be the predominant political organisation, but since the organisation was so weak in Korea they were forced to cooperate with the nationalists. In particular, no Korean communist could command the popularity and respect that Cho had with the people of the region. The Soviets recognised Cho's popular appeal and asked him to support their plans for Korea. Cho even gave an introductory speech to present Kim II Sung (Kim Ilsong) to the Koreans after he returned from the Soviet Union. However, Cho was not a communist. He would not accept Soviet demands for Korea and thus was seen as a threat by Kim II Sung and the Soviets. Shortly after Kim II Sung delivered a speech attacking the past works of Cho, Cho disappeared from public view. Although it is not certain when or how he met his end, there are rumours that he was killed by the Communist authorities just before or during the Korean War.

Cho is widely praised for his peaceful resistance to the Japanese colonial occupation and his attempts to form a united front of all political ideologies in the struggle against the
Japanese. He is highly acclaimed as the ‘Korean Ghandi’ for his support of the ideologies of non-violence and peaceful resistance. He is further remembered as a devout Christian who sought to help post-liberation Korea find a middle path that was free of foreign intervention.

Cho Manyŏng

Cho Pongam (1898-1959)

Cho Pongam was a politician and independence activist of this century. His family’s ancestral home is in Ch’angnyŏng, his pen name was Chuksan and he was born in Kanghwa of Kyŏnggi Province to a poor farming family. Cho was a student at the YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association) at the time of the March First 1919 Independence movement, but he left school to join the movement. As a result of his participation therein, the Japanese imprisoned him for one year. After being released, Cho travelled to Japan where he enrolled in the political and economic department of Chūō University. While in Japan, Cho organised a Korean students’ association in Tokyo for socialists, anarchists, and the like and carried out activities with this group. Eventually he left school in Japan and returned to Korea where he joined the labor movement. During this time he became closely involved in the formation of the Korean Communist Party and by 1925 was selected as a deputy delegate to travel to Moscow and ask the Comintern for official recognition of the Korean communist groups. The Soviets conferred approval on the Korean groups, thus officially sanctioning the Koreans. Moreover, Cho was charged with the responsibility of arranging a Korean student-training program in Moscow, which had heretofore not been conducted in a systematic manner. Cho additionally helped organise communist groups such as the Chosŏn Kongsandang (Chosŏn Communist Party), and was also active in Manchuria and China.

The communist movement in colonial Korea can be characterised by the manifold factions that emerged, but with the late 1920s policy of the Comintern of ‘one nation, one party’, this was to some extent changed. At this time Cho joined the Chinese Communist Party and carried out anti-Japanese activities with this organisation. By 1932 Cho had been apprehended by the Japanese consular police in Shanghai, following which he was convicted and sentenced to seven years gaol. After being released from prison, Cho returned to his hometown where he married Kim Choi. The couple moved to Inch’ŏn where Cho went into seclusion. Since he was on the Japanese police’s surveillance list, it was difficult and dangerous for him to conduct political activities. Nonetheless he did, and as a result was arrested by the Japanese military police in February 1945, and again imprisoned for his anti-Japanese activities. Cho remained in prison until the liberation of Korea in August 1945.

After liberation Cho once again became involved in political activities, and in particular with the communist parties in the southern half of Korea. At this time the United States-Soviet Joint Commission was established to bring about a Korean unification and the various political elements, left, right and moderate all struggled for supremacy. The leader of the communist movement in the south at this time was Pak Hŏnyŏng, and he was the target of Cho’s anger at being excluded from the decision making circles due to his denunciation of communism while in prison. Thus, Cho wrote a lengthy letter to Pak that voiced his complaints. This letter, however, was obtained by the Donga ilbo newspaper and published in May 1946, much to the chagrin of the communists. In it, Cho asserted that the tactics of the Korean communists were turning the popular masses of the south against them and that this was due to Pak’s mismanagement of the Party. Additionally, he warned against accepting the leadership of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) or Mu Chŏng of the north Korean communist groups. Finally, he accused Pak of splitting the nation by pursuing destructive factionalist policies. This letter marked the end of Cho’s association with the communist groups.
Cho’s political career did not end at this point, as he became a leading figure in the South after the partition of the Korean peninsula. He now entered the politics of the ‘right’ and was elected to the National Assembly in 1948. After this, President Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) appointed him as Minister of Agriculture and in 1950 he was re-elected to the National Assembly and served as Speaker of the legislative body. In 1952 he ran against Rhee for the presidency but was defeated soundly by the incumbent. In the subsequent 1956 election, however, Cho fared considerably better as he garnered more than thirty percent of the vote and ran second to Rhee. The results in 1956 were most likely aided by the sudden death of the major opposition candidate, Shin Ikhi, shortly before the election. Later in the same year Cho began organising the Progressive Party (Chinbo Tang), which advocated as one of its main policies peaceful reunification with the North. Subsequently, Cho and a number of his associates were charged with violation of the National Security Law and of conspiring with the communists. Cho was convicted of the charges and executed on July 31, 1959.

Cho Pyongok (1894-1960)

Cho Pyongok was an independence activist and politician. His given name was Pyonggap, his pen name Yusok and he was born in Mokch'on (present-day Ch'ønan) of South Ch'ungh'øng Province. He graduated from Sungshil Middle School in 1909 and in 1914 graduated from Yonhui College. In 1918 Cho graduated from Wyoming University and in 1925 received his doctorate in economics from Columbia University. He then returned to Korea and began teaching at Yonhui, while at the same time becoming deeply involved with the nationalist organisation -- the New Korea Society (Shin'gan Hoe). Because of his involvement with the New Korea Society; the Kwangju Student’s Uprising of 1926 (Kwangju Haksaeng Undong) and other anti-Japanese organisations, he was imprisoned for five years. Upon his release in 1931 he took a position with the Choson ilbo newspaper as managing director. From this time until liberation in 1945, Cho led a much quieter life.

In 1948 with the formation of the Republic of Korea, Cho served as a special envoy for the nation and visited friendly nations in rapid succession. With the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, Cho distinguished himself in the defence activities around the Taegu perimeter. After the War, Cho pleaded with the increasingly dictatorial President Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) for reforms that would lead to a true democracy being founded in the South. As a result of opposing the release of the anti-Communist prisoners of war by the south in 1953, Cho was subjected to hardships and a prison sentence by the Rhee government. Nonetheless, after his release he was elected to the Third National Assembly, and in 1955 he organised the Democratic Party (Minju Tang) and was appointed its leader. In 1958 Cho led the struggle of the Democratic Party against the corrupt political machine of Rhee, but saw the incumbent elected to his third term as President. In 1960 Cho was nominated as the presidential candidate for the Democratic Party to oppose Rhee in his bid for a fourth term. However, one month prior to the election, Cho died following a heart attack.

Cho is remembered and praised for his righteous attitude in politics. He strongly opposed the dictatorship of Rhee Syngman and sought to establish a true democracy in Korea. His writings Minju juui wa na (Democracy and Me) and Na üi hoegorok (My Reminiscences) reveal the upright character of Cho. He was honoured by the government of the Republic of Korea in 1962 with the Order of Merit for National Foundation.

Cho Sehui (1942-)

Cho Sehui is a novelist of the contemporary period. He was born in Kap'yong of Kyonggi Province and graduated from the Korean Literature Department of Kyonghui University. Cho is counted as one of the foremost protest writers of the 1970s who portrayed the
injustice resultant from a rapidly industrialising Korea.

Cho is best known for his 1978 collection of short stories entitled *Nanjangiga ssoa ollin chagün kong* (A Small Ball Tossed By A Dwarf). This work centres on the short story by the same title that features the struggles of a dwarf and his family that live on the periphery of Korean society. The Korea depicted in this work is one of tremendous contradictions between those who are in the mainstream of society and those who are struggling to eke out an existence on the dregs left for them. *Nanjangiga ssoa ollin chagün kong* had an immense impact on Koreans of the late 1970s as it revealed the small and marginalized people that had been excluded from the advancement of Korean society. Moreover, in a period of military dictatorships it was a strong protest against the injustices and malignancies of a government that seemingly did not care about the lives it destroyed in its attempt to create a ‘modern’ state. The impact of *Nanjangiga ssoa ollin chagün kong* is heightened by the cohesion of the stories in the collection with characters reappearing in subsequent stories, thereby revealing the hopelessness of an entire community of societal misfits.

Cho subsequently published a novel *Shigan yôhaeng* (Time Travel) in 1983 that featured a fantasy-like escape from poverty and hardships via space travel. This work, while displaying the creativity of the author, had nothing of the impact of Cho’s previous work. However, Cho’s *Nanjangiga ssoa ollin chagün kong* continues to provide a graphic view of the lives of those who built modern Korea with their labour in the process of industrialisation.

**Cho Sôk**

[Painting]

**Cho-heung (Chohûng) Bank**

[Banks]

**Cho Wi (1454-1503)**

Cho Wi was a scholar-official of the early Chosôn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Ch’angnyông, his courtesy name was T’aehô and his pen name was Maegye. His father, Cho Kyemun, was the Magistrate (hyollyông) of Uljin County. In 1472 Cho Wi passed both the Literary Licentiate Examination (chinsa shi) and the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwôn shi) and in 1474 after success in the Triennial Examination (shingnyôn shi) he held official positions as Second Copyist (chongja) at the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sîngmun’gwan) and Third Diarist (komyol) at the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan). When King Sôngjong (r. 1469-1494) reconstituted the Sagadoksô, an institution for the development of talented young scholars, Cho was the first appointed. From then on Cho continued his rise in Chosôn officialdom and served as Fourth Counsellor (ûnggyo) in the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan); Third Tutor (munhak) in the Crown Prince’s Tutorial Office (Seja Sigang’won) and as Fourth Inspector (chip’yông) at the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahônbu). However, to support and care for his aged mother he then accepted a position outside of the central government as Magistrate (large county, kunsu) of Hamyang. Later, Cho returned to the central government and served in a succession of positions including, Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo) and as Governor (kwanch’alsa) of Ch’ungch’ông Province.

In 1498 Cho was appointed to an embassy to Ming China to mark the emperor’s birthday (sôngjôlsa). At this time, however, the purge of 1498 (muo sahwa) occurred, when Kim Ilson (1464-1498) included an essay (written by his teacher Kim Chongjik (1431-1492)) in the official records of King Sôngjong, which was deemed to be critical of King Sejo’s (r. 1455-1468) usurpation of the throne, Thus, Prince Yônsan (r. 1496-1506) was incited by his retainers to punish the literati of Chosôn officialdom. Although Cho’s life was
spared, he was sent into exile where he eventually died.

Cho was quite close to Kim Chongjik and is also considered to be a representative member of the early neo-Confucian literati whose rise to power enabled the early Chosŏn period to prosper. While Cho served as Magistrate of Hamyang, he prepared the Hamyang chido chi (Geography of Hamyang) which is extant. Moreover, while in exile he compiled Maegye chip (Collected Works of Maegye) which is also extant.

**Cho Yŏngsŏk** (1686-1761)

Cho Yŏngsŏk was a scholar-official and painter of late Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Haman, his courtesy name was Chongbo and his pen names were Kwanajae and Sŏkkye sanin. He was the disciple of Yi Hŭijo. In 1713 he passed the Literary Licentiate Examination (*chinsa shi*) and entered into officialdom holding various positions such as Second Minister (*ch’amp’an*) of the Board of Personnel (*Ijo*). In 1742 he revised Ọgye chip (Collected Works of Ọgye), the literary collection of Cho Rya (1420-1489) one of the so-called ‘six loyal subjects’ (*saeng yukshin*). Cho also has left behind his literary work, *Kwanajae ko* (Treatise of Kwanajae).

Cho was recognised by his contemporaries as a painter of unusual talent who dedicated himself to not only the pursuit of artistic excellence, but also to literary theory. Cho was talented in both the painting of landscapes and in the portrayal of people in their everyday activities. Among his extant paintings, *Kangsang choŏ to* (Angling on the River) -- a work hung in the National Central Museum, reveals his artistic excellence and ability to capture the essence of his subject.

**Cho-heung (Chohŭng) Bank**

[**Banks**]

**Chobo**

[**Newspapers**]

**Choe Jaisou** (see **Ch’oe Chaesŏ**)

[**Clothing**]

**Chŏgori**

**Chogye Mountain**

Mt. Chogye (884 metres), originally called Mt. Songgwang, is situated in Sŭngju County of South Cholla Province, next to the famous Songgwang Temple. The name Chogye comes from Mt. Cao-qi in China. As the famous mountain where Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch of the Chinese Chan (Kor. Sŏn, Jap. Zen) tradition resided, Mt. Cao-qi was associated with the orthodox Chan transmission from earliest times. Just as Cao-qi became a byword for Hui-neng - China’s leading Chan master, Mt. Chogye has been associated with Chinul (National Master Pojo, 1158-1210) - the leading thinker of the Korean Sŏn tradition. Even Korea’s largest Buddhist order has adopted the name Chogye.

As one of the biggest monasteries in Korea, Songgwang Temple has been home to sixteen National Masters. Even today, the temple serves as an important training centre for young monks. There are numerous affiliated hermitages up the mountain from the temple, including Kwangwŏn, Kampo and Ch’ŏnja Hermitage. On the eastern base of the mountain lies the picturesque Sŏnam Temple. The gentle trail between Sŏnam and Songgwang Temple is popular with hikers and Buddhist devotees who visit the area. In order to preserve the area’s important religious sites and natural environment, the mountain was designated Chogye-san Provincial Park in 1979.
North Cholla Province, North

Overview
Province located in the southwest of the Korean Peninsula, bounded to the west by the Yellow Sea and separated from South Kyongsang Province to the east by the Sobaek Range, from South Ch'ungch'ong Province to the north by the Kum River, and from South Cholla Province to the south by the Noryong Range. The province formed the heartland of the ancient Paekche Kingdom (18BC-660AD), which was incorporated into the Unified Shilla Kingdom in the seventh century and the Koryo Kingdom in the tenth century.

Geography and Climate
The province can be broadly divided into two geographical regions, the coastal plain in the west centered on the lower reaches of the Mangyong and Tongjin Rivers, where most of the province's population is concentrated, and the relatively sparsely-populated mountainous area in the east including parts of the Noryong and Sobaek Ranges. Apart from the relatively hilly Pyongsan Peninsula in the far west, the former region is largely low-lying, while the latter region contains numerous peaks of elevations greater than 1,000m interspersed with basins and tablelands. Coastal districts experience tidal variations of up to six meters, and numerous land reclamation projects have been undertaken, while the construction of a dam on the upper reaches of the Somjin River has improved irrigation throughout the western plain.

North Cholla Province experiences a relatively warm climate with high precipitation, although there are marked differences in conditions within each of the two major geographical regions noted above, and mountainous eastern districts experience greater seasonal temperature variations and higher annual precipitation than the coastal plain. Approximately two-thirds of annual precipitation in both regions is recorded during the four months from June to September inclusive.

Agriculture and Industry
Economic development in North Cholla Province has tended to be concentrated along the axis formed by Kunsan, Iri and Ch'ongju, and these three centers together are home to almost half of the province's population. Although the industrial sector has developed significantly since the 1960s, the pace of growth has been much slower than in other regions of the country, and agriculture continues to form the mainstay of the local economy. Rice cultivation is dominant throughout the coastal plain, while cereals predominate in hilly eastern districts. Fishing operations are concentrated on the ports of Kunsan and Ch'ulp'o, however the fishing population is relatively small. Coastal waters are home to hair-tail, shrimp and numerous other varieties of fish and shellfish, and cultivation of clams and other shellfish is found on the islands of Wi-do and Kogunsan yoltto, however environmental factors such as shallow water, extreme tidal variation, and a high accumulation of sandy sediment present numerous obstacles to further development of this sector of the economy. North Cholla Province contains numerous mineral deposits, although limestone and silica dominate local production, and the majority of mines are
concentrated in mountainous northern and eastern districts. The province's industrial sector is largely dominated by small and medium-scale operations, including production of foodstuffs, beverages, tobacco, textiles and clothing, however the development of a coastal industrial zone centered on Kunsan and the nearby port of Changhang (in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province) should lead to a further diversification of the local economy.

Tourism
North Chŏlla province is home to a wide variety of cultural events, of which the Chŏlla Arts Festival, Chŏnju Folk Festival and Ch'unhyang Festival (in the southern town of Namwŏn) are particularly popular. The province's tourist attractions include Mount Naejang, Mount Tŏkkyu, Mount Chiri and Pyŏnsan Peninsula National Parks, the uniquely-shaped peaks of Mount Mai Provincial Park, and numerous historical sites connected to the Paekche Kingdom.

General Information
Area: 8 042 square kilometers; population: 1 884 000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Chŏnju. Other major centers include Iri and Kunsan.

Chŏlla Province, South

Overview
Province located in the southwestern corner of the Korean Peninsula, separated from South Kyŏngsang Province to the east by the Sŏmjin River and the Sobaek Range, from North Chŏlla Province to the north by the Noryŏng Range, and bounded to the south and west respectively by the East China and Yellow Seas. The province also completely surrounds Kwangju Special City, location of the provincial headquarters. Originally part of the Paekche Kingdom, this region was incorporated into the Unified Shilla Kingdom in the seventh century, becoming part of the Koryŏ Kingdom in the early tenth century following the brief rule of the Latter Paekche monarchy.

Geography and Climate
While western districts are relatively low-lying, northern and eastern parts of the province are dominated by spurs of the Noryŏng and Sobaek Ranges respectively, the latter including the western slopes of Mount Chiri (1 1915m), the highest mountain in mainland South Korea. Submerged coastal ranges account for the province's highly-indented coastline and numerous islands, the largest of which is Chindo. Due to its complex topography, the province contains only two major waterways, the Yŏngsan and Sŏmjin Rivers, and the catchment area of the former is particularly prone to drought and flooding, a problem which has been partially alleviated in recent years by the construction of numerous dams and embankments. Coastal districts along the Yellow Sea experience marked tidal variation, and land reclamation projects have been undertaken in several areas.

Summer conditions in South Chŏlla Province are largely influenced by its proximity to the ocean, while continental high pressure systems dominate winter weather patterns. Although average annual precipitation throughout the province is high, the relatively mild climate of western and southern coastal districts contrasts with the marked seasonal temperature variations found in inland mountainous areas. Southern coastal regions experience typhoons up to five times per year between July and September, and suffer severe damage every three or four years.

Agriculture and Industry
Agriculture has traditionally played a dominant role in the provincial economy, however the industrial sector has experienced rapid growth during the past two decades. Although initiatives such as the Yŏngsan River Development Project have led to improvements in
farming conditions in recent years, agricultural activities in the province continue to be hindered by a relatively rugged terrain, frequent flooding and droughts and a rapid decline in the farming population. Principal agricultural products include rice, beans, grains and cereals, although there is a tendency towards a decline in cultivation of these traditional crops and an increase in production of horticultural products such as fruit and vegetables, and in livestock raising. Measuring 6,379 kilometers, South Cholla Province's coastline represents 36.9% of the national total, and the province contains approximately two thousand islands, or almost two-thirds of the national total. Home to anchovies, hair-tail, mackerel and numerous other varieties of marine life, the waters of the Yellow and East China Seas provide ideal conditions for various kinds of fishing operations. Oysters and other shellfish are plentiful on the wide tidal flats which characterise coastal districts, and farming operations have also been developed in many areas, while the province accounts for approximately 80% of the nation's laver production. South Cholla Province contains deposits of gold, silver, kaoline and feldspar, and its deposits of non-ferrous metals (including agalmatolite and silica) account for half of the national total. Although the province has traditionally suffered from an imbalance between the agricultural and industrial sectors in favor of the former, the development of an industrial zone in Kwangju in 1969 marked the beginning of a period of rapid growth, during which additional complexes were established in regional centers such as Mokp'o, Yŏch'on and Sunch'on.

Tourism
South Cholla Province is renowned as one of the most picturesque districts of Korea, and its mountains and scenic coastline offer numerous attractions to tourists. Popular destinations include Mount Chiri, Mount Wŏlch'ul and Mount Naejang National Parks, the Hallyŏ and Tadohae (Sea of Many Islands) Maritime National Parks (notably the remote islands of Hong-do and Hŭksan-do), and the Wan-do land-bridge, and numerous relics and sites connected to the Japanese invasions of the sixteenth century can be found in the town of Yŏsu and in other coastal districts.

General Information
Area: 11,858 square kilometers; population: 2,189,000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Kwangju.
Major centers include Mokp'o, Yŏsu and Yŏch'on.

Chŏmp'īljae chip (Collected Works of Chŏmp'īljae)

Chŏmp'īljae chip (Collected Works of Chŏmp'īljae) is the collected works of the early Chosŏn scholar Kim Chongjik (1431-1492), and is composed of twenty-five volumes in seven fascicles. The work was compiled a year after Kim's death by his disciple Cho Wi (1454-1503) under orders from King Sŏngjong (1469-1494), but with the monarch's death it was subsequently not permitted to be published due to political circumstances arising during the reign of Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506). Kim was posthumously blamed for the inclusion of an inflammatory piece by another of his disciples Kim Ilson (1464-1498) in the official records of Sŏngjong that was interpreted as being critical of the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) and his subsequent execution of his nephew, the boy King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455). This event brought on the Purge of 1498 (muo sahwa), which not only resulted in Kim's writing being banned but also the death of many of the literati. The work was preserved in manuscript form and eventually published by a thirteenth generation descendent of Kim, Kim Shik, in 1869, and the balance was then compiled and published in 1892 by a fourteenth generation descendent of the author.

Chŏmp'īljae chip contains some 1,200 poems of Kim and many other writings such as memorials to the throne, letters and compositions honouring previous kings and queens. Additionally, the work is supplemented with other writings that describe the author's life and the political circumstances that resulted in the purge of 1498 (muo sahwa) and then the purge of 1504 (kapcha sahwa). Thus, the work is highly valued not only for its literary
content, but also for its historical value as a record of the turbulent times surrounding the reign of Prince Yŏnsan.

**Chŏn Pongjun (1855-1895)**

Chŏn Pongjun was a late- Chosŏn leader of the Tonghak Uprising. His family’s ancestral home is in Ch’ŏn’an, his courtesy names were Ch’omyŏng and Myŏngsuk, and his pen name Haemong. Of diminutive stature, he was also called Noktu (mung bean), and in his later life, General Noktu. His father was a minor government official who was put to death by flogging, for voicing his opposition to the corrupt and tyrannical Cho Pyŏnggap, the Magistrate (kunsu) of Kobu County. This event in itself was to have a major influence on Chŏn’s vision for social reform. The family became impoverished, and Chŏn began to sell medicine to maintain the household. At this time he learned various Daoist arts. Eventually, he moved to Tonggok Village and farmed a small area of land. In his spare time, he taught the village children to read and write.

In 1890, Chŏn entered the Tonghak (Eastern Learning) faith and became closely linked to Ch’oe Shihyŏng (1827-1898) who was the second leader of the Tonghak Movement. Chŏn was appointed as District Head (chŏpchu) of the Kobu area by Ch’oe. Chŏn was faithful to Tonghak principles and spread the faith to many others. The social reforms of the Movement were closely linked to the desires of the peasant farmers of this period and thus the interests of each were easily combined. The source of much of the hardship that plagued farmers in Kobu County was none other than Cho Pyŏnggap, who had executed Chŏn’s father. This corrupt magistrate was notorious for his exploitation of the peasants and extorted heavy taxes from them for a variety of purposes outside the law, such as erecting a cover for his father’s grave. Perhaps his worst impost was that of charging farmers for water drawn from the Mansŏkpo Reservoir, which had been built with peasant labour. This proved too much for the farmers and they rose up against Cho, under the leadership of Chŏn, in the twelfth month of 1893. At first, the peasants petitioned Cho to remove the taxation injustices, but their pleas were ignored. So, in the first month of 1894, over one thousand peasants occupied the county office, seized weapons, distributed the illegally collected rice and breached the Mansŏkpo Reservoir. When the news of this incident reached the central government a special inspector was dispatched to investigate. This, however, further enraged the peasants as the inspector held the Tonghak members responsible and had a number of them arrested and executed. He provoked further animosity by burning a number of peasant dwellings. Denied even simple justice, the peasants rallied around Tonghak leaders such as Chŏn, Kim Kaenam (? -1894) and Son Hwajung (? -1896) and began a full-scale uprising.

The Tonghak issued a proclamation of their demands and pushed northwards as far as Paeksan, where regrouping took place. The ranks of the Tonghak were now greatly swelled, and it was at this point that Chŏn took overall command. His army was led by a banner with the motto: ‘Sustain the nation and provide for the people’ (poguk anmin) and this became the battle cry of the Tonghak. The Tonghak army, now with over ten thousand troops, soon overwhelmed the numerically inferior government force sent to confront it. Soon the Tonghak had taken control of the country as far north as Chŏnju. The Tonghak army’s success, however, was to bring dire consequences, as Chinese and Japanese troops were now despatched to Korea to quell the uprising. But the Chosŏn government wanted to resolve this matter without outside help, and thus sought to negotiate with Chŏn. The Tonghak leader saw this as a way to achieve his aims without further bloodshed and agreed to negotiate with government officials. Essentially, Chŏn demanded that government misrule be halted and that the yangban cease their exploitation of the peasants. If these conditions were met, hostilities would also end.

After reaching a settlement with the Chosŏn government, the Tonghak army withdrew from Chŏnju and its soldiers returned to their homes. Local Tonghak offices charged with
correcting the abuses of government were established throughout the Cholla and Ch'ungch'ong regions, and a headquarters was established in Chonju, with Chon in command. The Tonghak offices sought to rectify the oppressive treatment of the peasantry and also demanded an end to the discriminatory treatment based on social status and punishment for those who had abetted the Japanese in their encroachments in Choson. The Tonghak program was well received and supported by the peasantry in increasing numbers. Offices were established throughout the nation as reforms were planned.

The cessation of hostilities had, however, allowed the government forces to regroup and this soon led to fighting between Chinese and Japanese forces then in Korea. Thus, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 was a direct consequence of the Tonghak Rebellion, and Japan’s victory in this struggle gave her a virtual monopoly over all domestic security matters in Choson. By late 1894, the Tonghak had again taken up arms and begun their march to the north with the intent of expelling the unwholesome Japanese presence. However, by this time the government troops, supported by a Japanese contingent, crushed the Tonghak army at T’aein. This loss resulted in the capture and execution of many Tonghak leaders including Chon, and thus greatly weakened the Tonghak Movement.

In essence, The Tonghak Movement was a mass revolutionary movement of the peasantry against the oppressive yangban dominated Choson society. The movement sought to overturn the many injustices systematically imposed upon the peasantry by the corrupt upper classes. It was centred on the Tonghak faith, although the armed struggle led by Chon was against the wishes of Ch’oe Shihyöng, the Tonghak leader who advocated non-violence. A further goal of the Tonghak was the elimination of the Japanese presence in Choson, which it saw as exploitative. The Tonghak movement, however, was not equipped to handle the modern weaponry of the Choson government and Japanese forces and thus was doomed to failure in battle. Moreover, the uprising itself brought additional Japanese and Chinese troops on Choson soil, and thereby hastened the loss of Korean sovereignty.

Chon Tuhwan (see Chun Doo Hwan)

Chon’gol

[Food and Eating]

Chon’guk Kyöngjein Yönhap Hoe (see The Federation of Korean Industries)

[Economy]

Chonbuk National University

Situated in Chonju in South Cholla Province, Chonbuk National University (Chonbuk Taehakkyo) evolved in October 1947 from the provincial college, Iri Nonggwa Taehak. In 1951, the college became Chonbuk National University with five colleges and sixteen departments. Kim Tuhon was the school’s first president. In November 1952, a graduate school was opened and a doctoral program was established in 1958.

Today, the university is made up of a separate Graduate School, together with Graduate Schools of Agricultural Development; Business Administration; Education; Environmental Studies; Public Administration; Industrial Technology; Information Science; and Occupational Health; and thirteen colleges (Agriculture; Arts; Commerce; Dentistry; Education; Engineering; Home Economics; Humanities; Law; Natural Sciences; Social Sciences; Medicine; and Veterinary Medicine). In all, there are ninety-four departments staffed by about 750 academics. Student enrolment exceeds 20 000.

The university has a total of twenty-nine research institutes, thirteen of which are government sanctioned. The school’s Institute of Semiconductor Physics (Pandoch’e Yön’guso) has been recognised for its degree of excellence by the Korea Science and Engineering Foundation (KOSEF). The SPRI works to promote semiconductor physics
research by forming links between facilities and personnel. At the Institute of Bio-Safety Studies, researchers look for ways to avoid the harmful effects of industrialisation. The institute’s work is divided between six departments: General Toxicology; Special Toxicology; Environmental Contamination; Soil and Water Contamination; Pathogenic Organism Infection; and Laboratory-Animal Control.

The university also administers a hospital and a museum. Situated in Kűmam-dong in Chŏnju, the Chonbuk University Hospital was established in 1951 and was officially attached to the university’s College of Medicine in February 1975. The university’s museum specialises in folk-art objects of late Chosŏn. University publications include the weekly Chŏnbuktae Shinmun in Korean and The Chonbuk University Herald in English.

Chŏng Ch’ŏl (1536-1593)

Chŏng Ch’ŏl was a middle Chosŏn period civil-official and literary man. His family’s ancestral home is in Yŏnil, his courtesy name was Kyeham, his pen name Songgang, and he was born in Seoul. When he was young, due to his eldest sister being a concubine of King Injong (r. 1544-1545) and another elder sister becoming the wife of Yu, the Duke of Kyerim, he frequented the palace and became friendly with Prince Kyŏngwon, the future King Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567). When Chŏng was ten in 1545, the Duke of Kyeiim was involved in the Purge of 1545 (ŭlsa sahwa), and as a result of Chŏng’s family being related to the Duke, his elder brother was flogged to death and his father was exiled. Therefore, Chŏng followed his father to his places of banishment. In 1551, his father was reinstated and they moved an area below Tangji Mountain in Cholla Province. Here Chŏng remained for ten years until he successfully passed the civil service examination in 1561.

While living around Tangji Mountain, Chŏng learned poetry from Im Ŭkyŏng, studied under Kim Inhu, Song Sun and Ki Taesŏng, and he further developed close relationships with Confucianists such as Yi I (1536-1584), Sŏng Hon (1535-1598) and Song Ikp’il (1534-1599). When he reached seventeen years of age, he married the daughter of Yu Kanghang and had four sons and two daughters with her. In 1561 when he was twenty-six, he passed the Literary Licentiate Examination (chinsa shi) with the highest score and in the next year he also placed first in the literary section of the Special Examination (pyolshi). Chŏng then entered into Chosŏn officialdom as a Fourth Inspector (chip’yang) in the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahonbu) and subsequently served in a variety of other positions. Chŏng continued his rise in the bureaucracy of Chosŏn serving in such positions as Secret Inspector (amhaeng’osa) of Hamgyŏng Province. When Chŏng reached thirty-two years he began studies with Yi I, while continuously holding various official positions. In 1575 he retired from officialdom and returned to his hometown, but three years later he was appointed to the Bureau of Music (Changag’won) and returned to government service. After this Chŏng continued to rise in the Chosŏn government, but due to a bribery incident concerning Yi Su, who was Magistrate (kunsu) of Chindo County, he was impeached by the rival Easterners (Tongin) faction and again returned to his hometown. By 1580 he had been reinstated and was appointed Governor (kwanch’alsa) of Kangwŏn Province and at this time displayed his literary talent in both shijo and kasa literature with the composition of sixteen pieces including Kwandong pyŏlgok (Song of Kwandong) and Hunmin ka (Song of Instructing the People). After this time, Chŏng also served as Governor of Cholla Province and then of Hamgyŏng Province, Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of Rites (Yejo) and in a variety of other positions. By 1583 he was promoted to the position of Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of Rites and in the next year he was appointed as Inspector-General (taesahŏn). However, he was again impeached by the Easterner faction and thus returned to his hometown where he remained for four years.

After returning to his hometown in exile, Chŏng composed many kasa such as Samiin kok (Mindful of my Seemly Lord), Sokmiin kok (Again Mindful of my Seemly Lord) and Sŏngsan pyŏlgok (Little Odes on Mount Star), which are counted among the finest
examples of this literary form of the Choson period. In 1589 in the aftermath of the Chóng Yŏrip (1589) insurrection, he was appointed as Second State Councilor (chwauijong) and as the leader of the Westerner (Sŏn) faction he extracted some revenge on members of the Easterner faction, expelling many from their official positions. In the following year he was promoted to Chief State Councilor (yonguijong). In 1591 there arose a question of whom to nominate as the Crown Prince, and Chóng along with the head of the rival Easterner faction, The Chief State Councilor Yi Sanhae, planned to put forth Prince Kwanghae. However, Yi reneged on this plan at the last minute leaving Chóng to alone propose Kwanghae. King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608), who favored Prince Sŏnsŏng for the position, was greatly angered at Chóng and stated: "Since he gives himself up to wine and women as a minister, it is only natural that he should spoil national affairs," and then dismissed Chóng from his post. However with the 1592 Japanese Invasion he was reinstated, met the King in P'yŏngyang and escorted the King to Uiju. While the Japanese enemy occupied the areas below P'yŏngyang, he served as commander of the forces in Kyŏnggi, Cholla and Ch'ungch'ong provinces and in the following year he traveled to Ming China as an envoy to express gratitude for their help. However, he once again was force to resign due to a slanderous plot of the Easterner faction and temporarily stayed in Songjŏng Village on Kanghwa-do Island where he died at the age of fifty-eight.

As far as Chóng's literary works are concerned, there are the four kasa of Kwandong pyŏlgok, Samin kok, Sokmiin kok and Sŏngsan pyŏlgok, and 107 shijo poems transmitted to the present time. Of his shijo, the three pieces of Chumundap, sixteen of Hunmin ka, thirty-two of Tan'gajap p'yŏn and others are recorded in the second volume of Songgang pyŏl'ip ch'urok yusa (Collected Works of Songgang with Addendum). Although there are many works that overlap, there are also quite a few shijo that were written for another work, Songgang kasa (Kasa of Songgang). Other writings of Chóng's are found in Songgang chip (Collected Works of Songgang). Along with Yun Sŏndo (1587-1671) and Pak Illo (1561-1642), Chóng is considered as one of the three great composers of shiga (poem-songs) of the Choson period.

Chóng Chisang (? -1135)

Chóng Chisang was a Koryŏ scholar-official. He was born in Sŏgyŏng (the Western Capital, present day P'yŏngyang), his childhood name was Chiwŏn and his pen name Namho. In 1114, he passed the government service examination. He was appointed to a position in the Chancellery for State Affairs (Munhasŏng) in 1127 and is credited with assisting Ch'ŏk Chun'gyong (? -1144) in the removal of Yi Chagyŏm (? -1126), who had sought to usurp the Koryŏ throne. However, Chóng soon fell out of favour and was exiled. He held a deep interest in both politics and the Daoistic Yi-Yang and Fire Elements theories. He, along with the monk Myoch'ŏng (? -1135) and Paek Suhan (? -1135) were known as the 'three sages' of Koryŏ.

Since Chóng's birthplace was Sŏgyŏng, he faced discrimination in the ruling circles of Kaesŏng. In particular, he had a confrontational relationship with Kim Pushik (1074-1151) and the Confucian-centred, China-orientated faction that revolved around him. Thus, Chóng sought to overcome this bias against him in Kaesŏng by convincing King Injong (r. 1122-1146) to move the capital to Sŏgyŏng. In particular, Chóng, Myoch'ŏng and Paek tried to convince Injong that the auspicious geomantic qualities of Kaesŏng had been depleted and the only way to restore the lustre and vigour of the kingdom was to relocate the capital to Sŏgyŏng, where the geomantic energies were abundant. However, the three conspirators truly sought to move the capital to Sŏgyŏng where they would be able to assume power. Following the lead of Myoch'ŏng, the trio convinced Injong to build a palace in Sŏgyŏng and further tried to persuade him to take the title of emperor, thus asserting the equality of Koryŏ with the Sung and Chin Chinese states. However, the king balked at this and Myoch'ŏng and his followers then declared their own kingdom in Sŏgyŏng. This move was answered by an attack from government forces led by Kim
Pushik, who crushed the rebellion, killing the three co-conspirators.

Chŏng is also remembered for his literary accomplishments, particularly his poetry. His works also reflect his belief in Buddhism as well as his interest in the I Ching (Book of Changes). One of his best known poems is 'Taedong kang' ('Taedong River') that is composed of quatrains of seven characters. Other works of Chŏng that have been transmitted to the present include 'Shinso'ol' ('New Snow') in Tongmunson (Anthology of Korean Literature) and 'Western Pavilion' contained in Tonggyŏng chapki (Eastern Capital Miscellany).

Chŏng Chungbu (1106-1179)

Chŏng Chungbu was a military commander of Koryŏ and a leader of the successful military insurrection in 1170 that wrested power from the monarch and civil officials. Chŏng's family's ancestral home was in Haeju.

The reign of King Ŭijong (1146-1170) was a period in which official disdain for the military reached its zenith. Ŭijong was far more concerned with his pursuit of aesthetic pleasures and enjoying a sumptuous lifestyle than governing the kingdom. The civil officials who administered the kingdom seldom missed an opportunity to slight the military. One such incident occurred when Kim Tonjung, the son of Kim Pushik (1074-1151), set Chŏng's beard afire. The situation was becoming untenable for the military and it was only a matter of time before they would revolt.

In 1170, King Ŭijong was travelling to Pohyŏn Temple, when Chŏng, Yi Úibang (? -1174) and Yi Ko (? -1171), the commanders assigned to escort the royal retinue rebelled. Other officers and soldiers accompanying the party united around these leaders and with astonishing speed and took control of the kingdom. Ŭijong was deposed and replaced with his younger brother Myŏngjong (1170-1197). The military then carried out a bloody purge of those civil officials who had wronged them. Kim Tonjung, of course, was singled out by Chŏng and met his fate in this massacre, along with many other literati. Subsequently, the civil official Kim Podang (? -1173) attempted to restore Ŭijong to the throne, but this attempt ended in failure and as a result set off another round of executions of civil officials.

Political power among the military was initially shared by the trio that had instigated the uprising, and they ruled through a Council of Generals (Chungbang). These military leaders, however, were too hungry for personal power and began to struggle among themselves for complete control of the state. Before long, Yi Úibang had assassinated Yi Ko, and attempted to consolidate his power base by marrying his daughter to the crown prince. Yi was then killed by Chŏng who took complete power for himself in 1174. Chŏng's rule became increasingly tyrannical and in 1179 he also was assassinated, by a young military officer, Kyŏng Taesŏng (1154-1183). This means of increasing personal power among the military leaders continued until 1196, when the brothers Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn (1149-1219) and Ch'oe Ch'ungsar (? -1197) seized power and thus established the long period of rule of the house of Ch'oe.

Chŏng Chuyŏng (see Chung Ju-yung)

Chŏng Hyŏnjong (1939-)

Chŏng Hyŏnjong is a contemporary poet, born in Seoul He holds a degree in philosophy from Yonsei university (Yŏnse) University (1965). Chŏng has received many literary awards, including the 1978 Literature Award for Korean Writers; the 1990 Yonam Literary Award; and the 1992 Isan Literature Prize. He worked as a journalist for the Seoul shinmun and Chosŏn ilbo newspapers, and has held a professorship at Yonsei. He made his literary
debut in 1964, writing in the magazine *Hyŏndaemunhak* (Modern Literature).

Chŏng’s poetry can be divided into two main periods: one that continued through the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Korea was embroiled in rapid industrial and economic growth and repressive political regimes; and the other being the years that followed, up to the present-day. In reading his early anthologies, such as *Samul'ui kkum* (Dreams of Inanimate Objects), 1972, and *Nanun pyŏl ajŏssi* (I am Mr. Star), 1978, it is apparent that Chŏng is exploring some difficult concepts. He is considered, along with Hwang Tonggye and others, as a 'metaphorical dissenter' and his early work can be allied with that of the 'protest poets' Ko Un, Kim Chiha et al.

Chŏng’s first period poetry is particularly etched with a philosophical slant, possibly by attachment to his studies at Yonsei. However, in his later works, such as *Ttŏrŏjjyŏdo t'winūn kong ch'ŏrŏm* (Like a Bouncing Ball), 1984, he uses simpler, direct language to express his feelings, and so his work is much easier to comprehend and enjoy. His poems reveal a maturity of outlook on life and a positive attitude towards the relationship existent between all beings. More recent works include, *Saram tūls saie sŏmi itta* (There is an Island Between People), 1991, and *Han kkossongi* (A Single Flower), 1992.

**Chŏng Inbo** (1892-?)

Chŏng Inbo was a scholar and educator. His family’s ancestral home is in Tongnae, his childhood name was Kyŏngshi, his courtesy name Kyŏngŏp and his pen names include Tamwŏn, Miso-sanin and Widang. Chŏng was born in Seoul and was from a long lineage of Chosŏn civil officials. At a very young age his father instructed him in the Chinese classics and when he became thirteen he studied under Yi Konbang. In 1910, with the Japanese annexation of Korea, Chŏng went to Shanghai, where he became acutely aware of the international situation. After visiting Korea and returning to Shanghai in 1912, he helped to organise the Mutual Assistance Society (Tongjesa) along with Shin Ch’ae-ho (1830-1936), Pak Unshik (1859-1926), Kim Kyushik (1881-1950) and others. This society worked towards providing educational enlightenment for the Koreans living in China, in such spheres as politics and culture. However, Chŏng’s wife died suddenly and so he was compelled to return to Korea to care for his aged mother.

After returning to Korea, Chŏng witnessed the unfolding of the independence movement and was among those arrested by the Japanese police. After his release, he worked as an instructor of history and the Chinese classics in various schools in the Seoul area. He strove to provide his students with the best possible education, albeit with a nationalistic flavour, and he also contributed articles to the *Tonga ilbo* and *Shidae ilbo* newspapers that sought to awake in Koreans the spirit of nationalism. Chŏng served as an instructor at various educational institutions, such as Ehwa Women’s College throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and did not let-up on his writing. He published on topics that sought to preserve the traditions and history of Korea, and thereby to infuse the people with a sense of Korean pride and import. His noteworthy contributions are, ‘Chosŏn kojŏn haeje’ (Annotated Bibliography of Korean Classics), 1935), and ‘Yangmyŏnghak yŏllon’ (The Teachings of Wang Yangmin, 1933), both of which appeared in the *Tonga ilbo*. With the outbreak of the Second World War and the then totally-oppressive assimilation policies of the Japanese, Chŏng was prohibited from teaching subjects which expounded even a slight degree of national pride. He went into retirement and lived in Chunggi Village in North Chŏlla Province.

With liberation in 1945, Chŏng returned to Seoul and resumed his teaching duties, with a renewed vigour for propagating Korean culture. In 1946, he published *Chosŏnsea yŏng’gu* (Research of Korean History). This work is particularly notable in that it presents Korean history from a nationalistic perspective and was dedicated to preserving Korea’s unique cultural heritage. In this aspect, it resembles the works of Chŏng’s old associate, Shin
Ch’ae ho. In 1947, Ch’ong was appointed as dean of Kukhak College and there he sought to resurrect Korean studies that had been driven underground by the Japanese colonial policies of assimilation and cultural obliteration. With the foundation of the Republic of Korea in 1948, Ch’ong was appointed to the government of President Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman, 1875-1965). However, he found himself at odds with government policy and resigned in the following year, returning to his studies. After the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and the battles for Seoul, Ch’ong was kidnapped by the communist forces and taken to North Korea, where it is presumed he died.

Ch’ong is praised as a scholar who sought to assert the Korean national identity during the Japanese colonisation of his country. His works such as Chosôn kojon yôn’gu cast the history of Korea in a new and nationalistic light that invited the considerable interest of scholars of the post-liberation generation.

Ch’ong Inji (1396-1478)

Ch’ong Inji was an early Chosôn scholar-official. His family’s ancestral home is in Hadong, his courtesy name was Paekch’o and his pen name Hagyokchae. In 1411 he passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwon shi) and after three years he was successful in the Triennial Examination (shingnyôn shi), passing with the highest marks. He then entered the Chosôn government bureaucracy. In the early years, his official positions included, Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of Rites (Yejo) and of the Board of War (Pyôngio). Ch’ong continued his rise in the Chosôn bureaucracy and by the time of King Sejong’s accession (r. 1418-1450) he was Section Chief (chôngnang) of the Board of Rites and the Board of Personnel (Ijo). In 1424, King Sejong appointed him to the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyonjon) where he was again promoted. By 1427, after he had passed the literary portion of the Special Erudite Examination (mun’gwa chungshi) with the highest score, he was further promoted to the position of Second Deputy Director (chikchehak).

Among Ch’ong’s duties at the Hall of Worthies was the development of the new han’gul alphabet that he contributed to, along with fellow scholars Sŏng Sammun (1418-1456) and Shin Sukchu (1417-1475), under orders from Sejong. The first publication of a work in han’gul was in 1443, and was entitled Hunmin chongum (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People). Ch’ong wrote the preface for this work. He also contributed to the first poetical work written in the han’gul script, Yongbi och’ôn ka (Songs of Flying Dragons), which was published in 1447. Further, together with Kim Chongsŏ (1390-1453) Ch’ong compiled the one hundred and thirty-seven volume Koryo’sa (History of Koryô), the dynasty replaced by Chosôn. From these works, it is apparent that Ch’ong and other scholars of the Hall of Worthies had gained considerable prestige during the reign of King Sejong.

Ch’ong continued his rise in Chosôn government and even after the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) held important positions. The meritorious elite holding political power at that time included, Ch’ong, Ch’oe Hang (1409-1474), Shin Sukchu and Sŏ Kŏjŏng (1420-1488). These scholar-officials had loyally served their rulers and they themselves had now come into high office, possessed large landholdings and held considerable personal power. Therefore, much of the successful policy and innovation of early Chosôn must be attributed to the contributions of these men. Ch’ong is noteworthy among them, for his part in the development of han’gul and for his acclaimed work on Koryô. The afore-mentioned works of Ch’ong are extant, as are his collected works, Hagyŏkchæ chip (Collected Works of Hagyŏkchae).

Ch’ong Monju (1337-1392)

A prominent member of the literati, statesman and Neo-Confucian scholar of late Koryô,
Chŏng Monju (styled P’oûn) is considered as the first great Neo-Confucian metaphysician. There is scant record of his early life, but at the age of twenty-three he passed the civil service examination. He served in the Ministry of Rites as a bureau chief and concurrently held appointment as professor in the Songgyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy) from the sixteenth year of King Kongmin (r. 1351-74).

Chŏng was acclaimed by the sages for his deep knowledge and interpretative skills of the only classics to have reached Korea at that time - the Collected Commentaries of Zhu Xi and Hu Pin-wen’s (1250-1333) Ssu-shu t’ung (Encyclopaedia of Four Classics). The famous scholar Yi Saek (1328-1396) extolled Chŏng’s prowess and exalted him as the founder of Neo-Confucianism in Korea. He was instrumental, along with Yi Saek and other scholars, in establishing Chinese classics and the core curriculum, placing an emphasis on the work of Zhu Xi. It was to be expected that his scholarship would bring him to the notice of the court, but it also won him its respect, too.

The Neo-Confucian ideas inspired both scholars and government officials of late Koryŏ with reforming zeal. They could see the violation of Confucian principles on every hand and were concerned that the king was being mesmerised by Buddhism, which ran contrary to Confucian ideals. At this time immense problems assailed the dynasty. Internally, the economy was weak and bankruptcy was clearly seen on the horizon. From the sea, incursions by Japanese pirates became increasingly menacing. On land, to Koryŏ’s west, the Mongol Yuan dynasty in China had been overthrown, but the Mongols still maintained forces strong enough to attempt a return to power. This caused a division in the Koryŏ court between the pro-Ming and the pro-Mongol factions. On the death of King Kongmin (r.1351-74), the new king, U (r.1374-88) was not immediately recognized by Ming China, but the Mongols were quick to do so, in the hopes of strengthening their own cause by enlisting Koryŏ assistance. It followed that anti-Ming forces within the Koryŏ government quickly gained force, while pro-Ming officials such as Chŏng Mongju were removed from office.

With this anti-Ming backlash in Koryŏ increasing, and the added complication of the murder of a Ming emissary on his way back to China, diplomatic relations were strained to the limit. Eventually, Chŏng was recruited to head a delegation and this time the attempt at reconciliation succeeded. It was, however, the most troubled of times, with Koryŏ being called upon by the Ming to render assistance as a countermeasure to the mobilization of Mongol forces in the north. The commitment of a Koryŏ force in 1376 depleted the internal defences and the Japanese pirates became bolder, advancing inland to capture the city of Kongju.

Again, it was Chŏng who was called upon, this time travelling to Japan to appeal to the Shogun for help in eliminating the pirates. He succeeded where no one else could, making a favourable impression on the Japanese, and receiving a promise of assistance. Unfortunately, the support given to Koryŏ was not very effective and it fell to two famous Koryŏ generals, Ch’oe Yŏng and Yi Sŏnggye to rid their country of the invaders.

In 1386, after further overtures by Chŏng on behalf of Koryŏ, the Ming Emperor formally recognized King U. This was a short-lived peace, however, for in 1388 the Ming moved to acquire some northern Koryŏ territories. King U ordered a military expedition against the Ming, but the commanding general, Yi Sŏnggae, en route to the north, decided to turn his forces around and use them to oust the Koryŏ government. Chŏng did not convert his loyalties to the new regime, his allegiance remaining strongly with the displaced dynasty. Seen by Yi Sŏnggye as a hindrance to progress, in 1392 Chŏng was attacked and killed by five men on the Sŏnjkukyo Bridge in Kaesŏng, following a party held in his honour by Yi Sŏnggye. This bridge has become a memorial to Chŏng, and legend has it that a brown stain on one of the stones which pave the bridge turns blood-red when it rains.
Thus ended the life of a great personage in late Koryo, unfailing in his support of the
dynasty to its demise. Chong was not only recognized as the foremost Neo-Confucian
scholar of his day; he was a statesman and an accomplished mediator - one whose fidelity
to the Koryo rulers never wavered.

Chong Pyonguk (1922-1982)

Chong Pyonguk was a scholar of Korean classical literature. His pen name was Paegyŏng
and he was born in Namhae of South Kyŏngsang Province. He graduated from the
Department of Liberal Arts of Yŏnhŭi College and then from the department of Korean
Language and Literature of Seoul National University. He received his doctorate in Korean
literature from Seoul National University and then held professorships at Pusan and
Yonsei (Yŏnse) universities. Following these appointments, he served for twenty-seven
years in the Korean Classical Literature section of the Department of Korean Language and
Literature, Seoul National University. His works cover a wide range of Korean classical
literature, including ancient poetry and novels, p’ansori, and Sino-Korean literature.

Chong’s many works include, Han’guk kojŏn shiga ron (Theories of Classical Korean
Poetry), 1976, Han’guk kojŏn ü chaeinshik (Re-appraisal of Korean Classics), 1979 and
Han’guk ü p’ansori (The P’ansori of Korea), 1981. In addition, he compiled some 2,376
shiJo poems, with annotations, which were published in ShiJo munhak sajŏn (Encyclopaedia of ShiJo Literature), 1966. He wrote an annotated version of Kuunmong
(Nine Cloud Dream), and a combined annotated edition of Paebijang chŏn - Onggojip chŏn
(The Story of the Attendant Pae - Story of the Stubborn, 1974). As well classical novels and
poetry, Chong published a translated and annotated version of the travel record P’yohae rok
(A Record of Drifting Across the Sea), in 1979.

His impressive scholarship brought him high acclaim, including invitations from
universities such as Harvard, and an invitation to write the Korean literature section for the
Encyclopaedia Britannica. He was instrumental in promoting Korean literature in the United
States, France, Japan, and other countries.

Chong received many literary awards, including the Writer’s Award (Chŏjak Sang) in 1967
and the Samil Culture Award (Samil Munhwa Sang) in 1980. He is praised and well­
remembered for his contribution to the development of studies in Korean classical literature.

Chong Sain (1881-1958)

Chong Sain was a musician and composer. He was born in Seoul and in 1902 became the
first Korean to join a Western-style military orchestra. Chong received his training from the
German composer, Franz Echert (1852-1916), who had arrived in 1901
to direct a court band modelled on German-Japanese practice, and who trained a number of
early composers, including Chong, to whom he also taught the flute. One of Chong’s
compositions is Nae kohyang (My Hometown), and he wrote a great number of other
songs, both before and after liberation. He was also a talented singer.

Chong was the wind instrument instructor at Songdo Normal High School from 1916 until
1930. His musical style was greatly influenced by Eckert, and he in turn played a role in the
modernisation of Korean music and in trying to popularise Western music.

Chong Tojon (1337-1398)

Chong Tojon was a statesman and scholar of late Koryo and early Chosŏn. His family’s
ancestral home is in Ponghwa, his courtesy name was Chongji and his pen name Sambong.
Chong came from a family with a history of excellence in government service. Some of his
contemporaries include Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392), Pak Sangch’ung (1332-1375), and Yi Sungin (1349-1392). In 1360 Chŏng passed the examination for the National Academy (sŏnggyun shi) and after two years was also successful in the Literary Licentiate Examination (chinsa shi). He then entered government service and in 1370 was appointed Reference Consultant (paksa) at the National Academy. There, he continued his Confucian studies with Chŏng Mongju and others. In 1375, he joined a group led by the powerful courtier Yi Inim (? -1388), to oppose the pro-Yuan, anti-Ming policy of Koryŏ, a move which resulted in his exile. In 1377, he was able to return to his home, where he served as a teacher. In 1383, he met Yi Sŏnggye, the future King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398); a fortuitous meeting which decided his destiny. In the following year, he served as an envoy to Ming, along with Chŏng Mongju, and held a variety of official positions. After this, through the good offices of Yi Sŏnggye, he was appointed headmaster (taesasŏng) of the National Academy.

The end of Koryŏ featured the struggles of different factions vying for power over the crumbling kingdom. Chŏng was closely allied with Yi Sŏnggye and provided support for the future founder of Chosŏn in his attempts to consolidate his power base. In 1389, Yi, together with Chŏng Tojon, Chŏng Mongju, Shim Tŏkpu, Sŏl Changsu and others overthrew King U (r. 1375-1388) and seized power, placing King Kongyang (r. 1389-1392) on the throne. At this time, the literati of Koryŏ, led by Chŏng Tojon, carried out the sweeping reforms they had long advocated. Land reform was crucial to their plans in order to remove the power base of the powerful families and Buddhist temples, and this, of course, did much to assist the rise of the new literati class that would come to dominate Chosŏn. However, the rise to power of Yi Sŏnggye was not without its difficulties, not least because of the longing of other groups for power. In 1391, with Yi temporarily disabled from injuries received in a hunting accident, Chŏng Mongju and his supporters attempted to eliminate the Yi faction and as a result Chŏng Tojon was gaoled for conspiracy. This situation was short-lived though, as Yi Pangwŏn (King T’aejong; r. 1400-1418) assassinated Chŏng Mongju, thus striking down the last adversary to the Yi Sŏnggye faction. Yi then forced Kongyang to abdicate and thus the Chosŏn dynasty was founded.

After the founding of the new dynasty, Yi Sŏnggye moved the capital to the location of present-day Seoul and named his new state Chosŏn. This was sanctioned by the Ming and the new state embarked on a series of reforms led by the neo-Confucian literati, of which Chŏng was in the vanguard. The state was now immersed in neo-Confucian ideology, and Chŏng and many others completely rejected Buddhism as being destructive to the foundations of the nation. Thus, the roots of Chosŏn policy suppressing Buddhism and supporting Confucianism can be found in this period, and in particular in Chŏng’s work, Pulssi chappyŏn (Miscellany of Mister Buddha) that criticised Buddhist doctrines from a Confucian perspective. Chŏng established a nascent legal code with his compilation of Chosŏn kyŏngguk chŏn (Administrative Code of Chosŏn). This work formed the basis for the subsequent legal code of Chosŏn.

Another feature of early Chosŏn was the establishment of the Privy Council (Top’yo’ngwisasa), a deliberative body that held the political power of the new state. The Privy Council was primarily composed of the so-called ‘Dynamic Foundation Merit Subjects’ (kaeguk kongshin) comprised mostly of the literati that had assisted Yi Sŏnggye in his rise to power. Chŏng was among the leaders of this group and thus had a strong influence in establishing the course Chosŏn would take. This arrangement proved satisfactory to the founding king, but with his death in 1398 and the struggle among his sons for the throne, the Privy Council exerted an undesirable influence. In particular, Chŏng supported Prince Panggŏk, the youngest son of T’aeso, who had been designated by his father as his successor, as the next king of Chosŏn. This, however, did not please Yi Pangwŏn, T’aeso’s fifth son, who sought the crown for himself. Accordingly, he assassinated his younger brother and Chŏng too. He then placed his elder brother, Yi
Chŏng Tojon (King Chŏngjong; r. 1398-1400), on the throne pro trempore, prior to his own accession.

Chŏng Tojon is remembered as being one of Yi Sŏnggye’s most loyal supporters and also as one of the literati that helped build the foundations of Chosŏn policy. His scholarship is unquestionable, as the compilation of Koryŏ kuksa (National History of Koryŏ) shows. This was the groundwork for his Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ). Chŏng was also an accomplished poet and his lyrical poem (akchang) Shindo ka (Song of the New Capital) represented a link in the establishment of new literary traditions in Chosŏn. Chŏng’s collected works are preserved in Sambong chip (Collected Works of Sambong).

Chŏng Yagyong (1762-1836)

Chŏng Yagyong was a late Chosŏn period scholar-official and shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His name as a child was Soja, his courtesy name was Miyong and his numerous pen names included Saam, T’agong, T’aesu and Tasan. He was born in Kwangju of Kyŏnggi Province and his father was Magistrate (moksa) of Chinju. Chŏng married at the age of fifteen and had a total of nine children with his wife. His life can largely be divided into three broad divisions: first his life in Chosŏn officialdom, second his long years in exile, and finally his life of leisure while in retirement. Chŏng began his studies as a child learning not only the Confucian classics but additionally Chinese literature and history. Moreover, he also read and became enamoured with the works of Yi Ik (1681-1763) who served to institutionalise the shirhak ideology. Chŏng had a great interest in Western learning and institutions and thus sought out books on Christianity, astronomy, mathematics, maps and Western ideology. He became well versed in various Western customs also. As he acquired this Western knowledge he became acutely aware that the neo-Confucian ideology that had dominated Chosŏn since its inception was inadequate for the actual management of the state and of people’s lives. Thus, he desired to bring about major changes in the ideological approach of Chosŏn. Chŏng applied his knowledge constructively such as in the design a floating bridge over the Han River in 1789 and fashioning a crane-like apparatus that he employed in the building of Suwŏn Castle in 1793.

Chŏng’s talents were recognised by King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) and he served in a variety of official positions. He served with righteousness and would not tolerate the abuse of power among his fellow officials. This trait resulted in him becoming very much respected by the people, but conversely created a great number of enemies for Chŏng within the Chosŏn bureaucratic hierarchy. As a result he soon was relegated to posts in the provinces where he was far from the ruling powers of the day. One such posts was as Town Magistrate (pusa) of Koksan in Hamgyŏng Province where he served for two years. Despite the conscientious service that Chŏng provided to the government he soon fell into deep trouble. Chŏng, who had converted to Catholicism as a young man, was a target of the Catholic Persecution of 1801, which resulted to him being sent into exile for a period of nearly two decades.

During his long exile, Chŏng devoted his full efforts to the development of the shirhak ideology. Particularly during this period Chŏng wrote many works that expounded on his interpretation of shirhak doctrines. In Kyŏngse yup’ yo (Design for Good Government) he detailed his views on government structure, Mongmin shinsŏ (Admonitions on Governing the People) is concerned with local government reform, and in Hŭnhŭm shinsŏ (Towards a New Jurisprudence) Chŏng applies his views to reform of the penal administration. Other works by Chŏng deal with his further proposals for reforming the government and social systems of his day. A primary consideration of Chŏng’s was the reform of the land and cultivation systems of Chosŏn. He advocated a system of land use that would grant each farmer a portion of the total harvest based upon the actual labour that they contributed to the
production of the crops. This would in effect create an ideal society of independent farmers who worked their own lands. Of course this idealistic view was in tremendous contrast from the actualities of Chosŏn, and moreover greatly opposed to the interests of the ruling class.

Chŏng further contributed other writings to the development of shirhak scientific thought in Chosŏn society. His Makwa hoet'ong (Comprehensive Treatise on Smallpox) approaches the control of smallpox from a scientific viewpoint and analyses numerous Chinese writings on the subject in an attempt to thoroughly understand this disease and its symptoms. He also compiled Kangyŏk ko, which was a historical geography of Korea. In addition to his works that introduced Western scientific thought to Korea, Chŏng also re-examined the Confucian classics such as those works by Confucius and Mencius in a new and innovative manner. Thus his writings during his exile and subsequent retirement helped create a remarkable body of scholarship for subsequent shirhak scholars such as Yi Kyugyŏng (1788-1856) and Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1856).

After being released from his lengthy exile, Chŏng returned to his hometown of Kwangju and led a life of scholarly leisure. He refused all government positions offered to him and instead remained in retirement. The tremendous breadth of the scholarship of Chŏng can be realized in his immense collected works, Tasan chonjip (Complete Works of Tasan) that was originally composed of some 250 volumes and covered a vast array of topics. Chŏng is praised as bringing the shirhak movement to its maturity in Korea and creating the foundation for reforms. The shirhak movement, however, never realized its potential due to the onslaught of Western culture at the close of the nineteenth century.

**Chŏng Yŏch’ang (1450-1504)**

Chŏng Yŏch’ang was an early- Chosŏn scholar official. His family’s ancestral home is in Hadong, his courtesy name was Paeguk and his pen name Ildu. His father, a government official, died when Chŏng was young, so for a time he had to conduct his own studies. Then, with Kim Koengp’il (1454-1504), he studied under Kim Chongjik (1431-1492), thereby becoming a link in the neo-Confucian tradition of early Chosŏn. Chŏng did not have a particularly distinguished civil career, concentrating instead on his studies of neo-Confucianism. He did however, serve in positions such as magistrate (small county, hyŏngam) of Anin county, where he was known for his benevolence.

In 1498, an incident occurred regarding the compilation of the Sŏngjong shillok (Veritable Records of Sŏngjong) in which Kim Ilson (1464-1498), also a disciple of Kim Chongjik, included a passage by his mentor that was perceived by some to be critical of King Sejo’s (r. 1455-1468) usurpation of the throne, in the records of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494). This disturbed the meritorious elite, who were already at odds with the neo-Confucian literati, to the extent that they provoked Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) to carry out a major purge of the literati. This event, known as the Purge of 1498 (muo sahwa), resulted in a great number of the literati being executed and others exiled. Chŏng was among the more fortunate as he kept his life, but was banished to Kyŏngsang Province. However, a second purge, the Purge of 1504 (kapcha sahwa), resulted in an even greater number of literati being executed or banished. Chŏng did not escape the carnage and was executed. Chŏng was pardoned posthumously and given the title of Third State Councillor (uuijong) during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1504-1544). In addition, several sowŏn (private academies), including Tosan Sŏwŏn and Nam’gye Sŏwŏn, offered rites to Chŏng. His literary collection, Ildu yujip (Posthumous Collection of Ildu) is extant.

**Chŏngak**

Chŏngdok Library
Chōngdok Library (Sŏul Shirip Chōngdok Tosŏgwan) is situated in Sogyŏk-dong in Seoul’s Chongno Ward. Easily accessible by bus or via the An’guk subway stop, the library is popular with students and researchers. For these, the library maintains nine study halls with over 1 700 seats. In October 1996, a multi-media facility was opened, offering on-line access as well information on computers and the internet. In addition, there is a room devoted to works on Korean genealogy, which has 5 000 volumes. One room is dedicated to children’s books and magazines. The library also runs reading programs for adults and special reading groups for fourth to sixth-grade primary school children. It also conducts classes on a wide range of subjects, including calligraphy and English.

Chōngjo, King (r. 1776-1800)

King Chōngjo (1752-1800) was the twenty-second king of Chosŏn and ruled from 1776 to 1800. His given name was San, courtesy name Hyŏngun and pen name Hongjae. His father was the second son of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776), Crown Prince Changhon, his mother was Lady Hong of Hyegyŏng Palace, and his queen, Hyoŭi, was the daughter of Kim Shimok. In 1759, he was named heir to the crown prince, and with the combined tragedies of his father’s death in 1762 and the untimely death of Yongjo’s other son, he became next in line for the throne. With the death of Yongjo in 1776, Chōngjo became king at the age of twenty-five.

Soon after his accession, Chōngjo commenced national reform, and inter alia established the Kyujanggak Library at the palace, which served not only as a library, but as a research institute also. Chōngjo’s reign marks the zenith of shirhak (practical learning) scholarship, whereby the influx of Western knowledge had a substantial impact on Chosŏn society. The popularity of shirhak is seen an extension of the reign of Yongjo, when a great number of works influenced by this philosophy were published. In the hundred years or so which spanned the reigns of these two kings, major works such as Sok oryeŭi (Supplement to the Five Rites), Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo (Reference to the Old Books, Enlarged with Supplements), Taejŏn t’ongp’yŏn (Comprehensive National Code), Munwŏn pobul (Exemplar of Documents and Letters of State), Tongmun hwigo (Documents on Foreign Relations), and Oryun haengshil to (Illustrations of Stories Exemplifying the Five Confucian Virtues) were all published. These works, and many others, helped in the revision of previous legal codes and rituals, and moreover, established new fields of scholarship in their day.

Along with the shirhak ideology that entered the peninsula via China, came Catholicism which was to create many problems for Chosŏn society. Catholicism initially found its support in Chosŏn mostly among the disaffected scholars who were long out of political power, such as members of the Namin (Southerner) Faction. The religion offered an alternative to those who were oppressed by the rigid Chosŏn society, which was dominated by a handful of powerful lineages, and thus it attracted support from not only out of power yangban, but also from members of the lower classes. Chōngjo realised the danger of the Catholic ideology and had it branded as heresy, proscribing it in 1785, by banning the importation of books from China relating to Western religion. Chōngjo was, however, moderate in his persecution of Catholicism, since his court had members of the Namin Faction that supported the religion, such as Ch’ae Chegong. After the king’s death, persecution of Catholics commenced in earnest and there were several bloody purges during the reign of his son, King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834).

Chōngjo also continued his grandfather’s policy of impartiality (t’angp’yŏng ch’aeak) in regard to the appointment of officials without regard to their faction, and this policy allowed the political scene during his reign to remain relatively stable. Hence, during the reigns of Chōngjo and Yongjo, the power of the monarchy increased and was largely able to rise above the factional politics that had previously dominated the Chosŏn court. Further, Chōngjo helped to create a more equal society by appointing men of talent from illegitimate
lineages to positions in the Kyunjanggak Library, and this was to have a continuing impact on Chosŏn society, in not only introducing talented men to the state bureaucracy, but also in helping to breakdown the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate lines of descent. Consequently, it is not surprising to find men of illegitimate descent at the fore of the shirhak movement and the Catholic faith, since these ideologies both stressed ability over lineage. The disintegration of distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate lineages did, however, led to increasing social turmoil in the nineteenth c., as the rise of heretofo lower-class men in the Chosŏn government resulted in the entrenched yangban class becoming increasingly conservative and defensive in their philosophy of government.

Chŏngjo is praised as an enlightened monarch whose patronage of the scholars at the Kyujanggak Library allowed many changes in Chosŏn society. His adoption of Yongjo’s policy of impartiality also allowed for continuation of an era of stable politics, and thus one of relative prosperity. Upon his death at the age of forty-nine in 1800, and the accession to the throne by his ten-year old son Sunjo, Chosŏn entered a period dominated by factional politics and governance by powerful in-law families, all of which hastened the decline of the kingdom.

Chŏnggamnok

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Ch’ôngjŏn (Equity Land System) [Economy]

Chongjŏng yŏnp’yo

Chongjŏng yŏnp’yo is a chronology of Ō Yunjung, a statesman of the late Chosŏn period, and covers twenty-six years of his life in Chosŏn officialdom. In 1930 a kinsman of Ō’s, Ō Ikson, provided an original manuscript to the Chosŏnsa P’yŏnsuhoe (Korean History Compilation Committee) where it was reproduced. The work has also been more recently published as a part of a collection in 1958, and under its own title in 1971.

The content of this work covers Ō’s life during the turbulent final years of Chosŏn. Specifically, it covers the period from the seventh month of 1868 to the third month of 1893. Ō entered government service after passing the civil service examination in 1869. He served in both Japan and China and his career mainly revolved around his efforts to conclude trade agreements with China in an attempt to help Chosŏn modernise. Chongjŏng yŏnp’yo contains records of historically important events such as the Military Mutiny of 1882 (lmo kulan) and the Coup d’État of 1884 (Kapshin chŏngbyŏn) along with other records that provide many details of Ō’s service as Sŏbuk Kyŏngnyaksa (Diplomatic Commissioner of the Northwest Region). Therefore, this work is considered as a valuable source of firsthand information for many of the major events that surrounded the end of Chosŏn.

Chongju University

Chongju University (Ch’ôngju Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Ch’ôngju in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. The college was initially established as Ch’ôngju SanggwWa Taehak in November 1946 by two brothers Kim Wŏn’gŭn and Kim Yŏng’gŭn. Kim
Hyŏndae served as the college’s first president. In 1951, the name was changed to Ch’ŏngju Taehak (Chongju College). A graduate school was added in 1954 and three years later, the college was moved to its present location in Naedŏk-dong.

In October 1980, Chongju College became a university, with six colleges and a graduate school offering both master’s and doctoral programs. Kim Myŏnghŭi served as the university’s first president. Today, Chongju consists of seven colleges: the Colleges of Arts; Education; Humanities; Law; Social Studies; Science; and Engineering. Post-graduate students are enrolled in the Graduate School, as well as in the Graduate Schools of Education; Industrial Engineering; Business and Public Administration. University publications include the Ch’ŏngdae Shinmun in Korean and the Chong Dae Times in English.

Chongmyo Shrine

Chŏngnim Temple Site

Situated in Puyŏ County in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Chŏngnim Temple was a Paekche monastery. Nearly all remnants of the ancient temple have disappeared; however, a tile with an inscription bearing the temple’s name has been discovered. At present, a five-storey pagoda (National Treasure No. 9) stands at the site. Archaeological excavations have also turned up fragments of statues.

Chongno Library

Located at the foot of Mt. Inwang in Seoul’s Chongno District, Chongno Library is accessible via Sajik Road or the Kyŏngbuk Palace subway stop. The library has a varied general collection. There are five reading rooms and a theatre where both domestic and foreign films are shown.

Chŏngshindae

Chŏngsŏn County

Situated in southeast Kangwŏn Province, Chŏngsŏn County includes the towns of Chŏngsŏn, Kohan, Sabuk and Shindo, and the townships of Imgye, Nam, Puk, Pukp’yŏng and Tong. Approximately 100 000 people live in this area which is surrounded by the high peaks of the Taebaek Mountain Range. Mt. Noch’u (1 322m) rises in the north, Kojŏkt’ae (1 254m) in the northeast, Mt. Hambaek (1 573m) in the southeast and Mt. Kariwang (1 561m) in the northwest. Due to the area’s high elevation, the winters tend to be long and the crop-growing season short.

Only about twenty per cent of the county is arable land. Due to the rugged terrain and cool climate, mostly dry-field crops such as alpine vegetables and medicinal herbs are grown here. Sericulture, cattle breeding and bee-keeping are important sources of local income. Sabuk and Kohan contain some of Korea’s largest mines. Kohan’s Samch’ŏk Mining Company produces one and a half million tonnes of coal annually and Sabuk’s Tongwŏn Mining Company two million. In addition, lime is mined in Shindong and Nam Township, gold and silver in Imgye Township, iron in Nam Township, zinc in Shindong, and clay is quarried in both Shindong and Chŏngsŏn. Although a railway line links the county with Chech’ŏn and Taebaek, no major roads traverse this remote area.

Because of the county’s relative isolation and lack of industrial development, the area’s natural sites have been well-preserved. Much of the local tourism is centred around the four-kilometre long valley connecting the Hwaam and Murŭn villages. Here, just east of
Mt. Kunui, is the Hwaam mineral spring. Discovered in 1910, the spring is said to be
good for gastroenteric ailments as well as eye and skin diseases. Hwaam Cave, located just
north of the spring, is one of the county’s top tourist attractions. Discovered by coal
miners in 1934, the cave has a 2800-square metre chamber, making it the largest limestone
cave chamber in Korea. Fascinating stalagmite and stalactite formations are to be seen here,
including a giant eight-metre high stalagmite. The cave is believed to be 400 to 500 million
years old, and artefacts found here show that it was occupied by human beings during the
stone age. Other scenic spots in the area include Kwangdae Valley and Sŏmi Waterfall.

In addition to its picturesque scenery, the area boasts a number of important historical
artefacts and sites. Ch'ŏngam Temple, located in Kohan, is one of the most important
Buddhist sites in the area. Founded by Vinaya Master Chajang during the Shilla period, the
temple houses the beautiful Sumano Pagoda (Treasure No. 410). This nine-metre high
structure with an intact finial was built during the Koryŏ period. Confucian sites in the area
include Chŏngsŏn Hyanggyo (county public school) which was founded in 1110 and
Kumijŏng, a pavilion built on the bank of Imgye stream by Yi Cha during Chosŏn.

The county is also famous for the Chŏngsŏn Arirang, a famous folk song that is said to
have originated in Puk Township. Legend has it that a maiden from Yŏyang Village fell in
love with a man from Auraji across the river. Saying that she was going out to pick
camellia flowers, the maiden secretly slipped-away one However, there was a flood that
prevented the ferry from cross the river. The maiden expresses her longing for her lover in
a song which has become known as Chŏngsŏn Arirang. Since 1976, the Chŏngsŏn
Arirang Festival has been held for three days each autumn in commemoration of the legend.

Chŏngūp

Situated in the southwestern part of North Cholla Province, Chŏngūp comprises the town
of Shint'aein and the townships of Kamgok, Kobu, Tŏkch'ŏn, Puk, Sannae, Sanoe,
Sosŏng, Yangwŏn, Ongdong, Ip'yon, Ibam, Ch'ŏngu, Ch'ilbo and T'aein. Chŏngūp
covers a total area of 692 square kilometres and in 1989 its population was 155,920. Kuksa
Peak (655m), Yongdu Peak (552m), Changgun Peak (780m) and other peaks of the
Noryŏng Mountain Range rise in the southeastern part of the city while Mt. Sangdu
(575m) and Kuksa Peak (543m) run along the northeastern border. The rest of the city
consists of relatively flat terrain. The Tongjin River traverses the city, and the level areas
adjacent to the river form part of the Honam Plain, one of Korea’s key rice producing
regions.

With fertile plains and ample water supply, the city grows large quantities of rice. Other
crops, such as barley, bean, sweet potato, radish and Chinese cabbage, are also cultivated
here. In the hilly areas, orchards produce apples, peaches and persimmons. Although
thought of as a secondary means of income, there is a sericulture industry, especially in the
Ibam and Sosŏng townships. Ibam has most of the city’s factories, while the city’s
electricity generating plant is located in Ch'ilbo In Ongdong, sukchihwang, an important
medicinal herb, is grown.

The city offers the visitor a number of attractions. On Mt. Yongdu, in Sanoe Township’s
Chŏngnyang Village, is Yonggul (Dragon Cave). This limestone cave got its name from the
legend that a dragon once lived in Yongsŏ (Dragon Pond) at the far end of the cave.
Previously, the cave’s entrance was blocked by a 4-metre-high boulder, which hindered
entrance to the cave, was removed in 1973. The cave has some interesting stalactite
formations and the constantly dripping water has created lines on the walls. Unfortunately,
over the years, the cave has suffered significant damage.

In addition to lovely scenery, there are a number of important historical sites in the city.
Buddhist temples found here include the Porim, Tusŭng, Yonghwa, Chŏngt'o, Okch'ŏn
and Sŏkt''an temples, and there are standing Buddha figures in Kobu Township's Yonghŭng Village (North Chŏlla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 97) and Sosŏng Township's Pohwa Village (Treasure No. 914). Old Confucian schools in the area include Kobu Hyanggyo (moved to its present site in Kobu Township's Kobu Village in 1597), T'aein Hyanggyo (established in T'aein Township's Taesŏng Village in 1421), Namgo Sŏwŏn (established in Puk Township's Porim Village in 1577 in honour of Yi Hang and Kim Ch'ŏn'il), Togyŏ Sŏwŏn (established in Tŏkch'ŏn Township's Togyŏ Village in 1673) and Musŏng Sŏwŏn in Ch'ilbo Township's Musŏng Village. This latter school was one of the 47 sŏwŏn to survive Taewŏn'gun's reforms of 1871.

In 1894, the Chŏngŭp area, then known as Kobu County, became the focal point of the famous Tonghak Uprising. At this time, local peasants were outraged by the tyrannical actions of Cho Pyŏnggap, the county magistrate. After appeals to the government failed to resolve the issue, the peasants took up weapons under the leadership of Chŏn Pongjun, head of the county's Tonghak parish. After a number of daring victories against government forces, the Chosŏn government, with backing from Chinese military forces that had been sent in to help, managed to defuse the crisis through negotiations.

To commemorate the area's leading role in the rebellion, the Kabo Tonghak Festival is held in Tŏkch'ŏn Township's Shinwŏl Village each year on 28 March. Begun in 1968, the festival features a marathon for the General Noktu (Nickname of Chŏn Pongjun) championship flag, visits to the Hwangt'ohyon Monument, a folk music festival, an archery championship, and an essay contest.

Chŏngyŏk

Chŏnju

Situated in the centre of North Chŏlla Province, Chŏnju is surrounded by Wanju County, Kimje and Iksan. The city covers a total area of 187.08 square kilometres, and as of 1989, it had a population of 514,000. Mt. Moak (794m) rises in the south. This provides a catchment for Chŏnju Stream which flows through the centre of the city. Soyang Stream is on the northeast border and joins Kosan Stream which then, along with Chŏnju Stream, flow into the Man'gyŏng River.

With flat terrain and irrigation water from the Paeksŏk and Ajung reservoirs, the area is well-suited for rice growing. About 18 per cent of the city's land is used for housing and only 3 per cent for industry. Unlike most Korean cities, Chŏnju's industry was slow to develop, and as a result, the city did not experience the population boom of many other Korean cities. The area's factories produce foodstuffs, cigarettes, timber and furniture products, and there are processing plants for non-metallic minerals. In the late 1960s, Chŏnju Industrial Park was set up in P'albok-dong. More than 10,000 people are employed in this 58-acre complex, in about one hundred and twenty factories, producing paper, textiles, machinery and foodstuffs. Hansol Paper Company, one of the first companies to move into the complex, has become a major industry that accounts for 60 per cent of the domestic market. Chosun Brewery is another large company located in the city.

As for traditional handicrafts, the city is famous for its hanji (Korean paper), hwasŏnjji (paper used in calligraphy), sedge products, kayagŭm (Kaya zither) and stoneware. The area is famous for its hand-held fans, which were formerly sent in tribute to the royal palace and were included in gifts sent to China. Along Highway 17, there is a folk-craft village where traditional handicrafts are made and sold.

Chŏnju boasts a number of tourist attractions. In Tŏkch'in Ward is the scenic Tŏkch'in Park. In addition to a large lotus pond, Chŏnju Zoo and various recreational facilities, the park contains the tomb of Yi Han, the progenitor of the Chŏnju Yi clan. Yi Han was the
Chonju cuisine is renowned because of the generous number of side dishes that are served with each meal. The most well-known food here is *pibim pap* (mixed rice and vegetables served with an egg) and *k'ongnamul kuk* (bean-sprout soup) served with rice. The city is a haven for artists, especially musicians. Chonju Taesasup, a performing arts festival started in 1784, is still held around October every year. Many famous *p'ansori* singers have made their debut at this festival. The Provincial Classical Music Institute in Tokchin Ward also actively promotes traditional Korean music. The institute also offers classes in traditional music.

Most of the city's historical sites are located near the city centre. Buddhist temples include Hakso Hermitage (founded by Kwanghye in 1786) and Tonggo Temple. In the southern part of the city just west of Highway 17 lies the old site of Namgo Temple which was established by the monk Myŏngdŏk in 668.

Since Koryŏ times, Chonju has been famous for its tile-roof houses. The Kyo-dong area, which has many of these, is designated as a protected zone. In Chungang-dong can be seen the Chonju *Kaeksa* (guest house, Treasure No. 583). Built during Chosŏn, the building was used in times of official mourning and celebration, and for services in honour of reigning monarchs on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month. It was also used by local administrators to host important visitors.

Old Confucian schools in the area include Chonju *Hyanggyo* (founded during the Koryŏ period and moved to its present location in Kyo-dong in 1603), Hwanggang *Sŏwŏn* in Hyoja-dong, Pan'gok *Sŏwŏn* in Tongsohak-dong, Ch'ŏngha *Sŏwŏn* in Chungin-dong, Hwasan *Sŏwŏn* (founded in 1658), Yŏbong *Sŏwŏn* (founded in 1649), Han'gye *Sŏwŏn* (founded in 1695) and Sŏsan *Sŏwŏn* (founded in 1586). Modern educational institutions found here include Chonbuk National University in Tokchin Ward, Chonju National University of Education in Wansan District and Jeonju University in Wansan District.

**Chonju Municipal Museum**

Located in P’ungnam-dong in Chonju, the Chonju Municipal Museum (Chonju Shirip Pangmulgwan) opened in October 1963. The museum primarily houses Paekche artefacts from the Chonju area. Important items in the collection include twenty-six Chinese-style bronze swords (excavated from Sangnim Village in Wanju), a stone dagger and various items excavated from tombs in the region. In addition to managing exhibitions, the museum conducts archaeological surveys and publishes research data.

**Chonnam National University**

Chonnam National University (Chŏnnam Taehakkyo) is located in Yongbong-dong in Kwangju. The university was founded in January 1952 as the amalgamation of four colleges: Torip Kwangju Uiwa Taehak (Kwangju Provincial Medical College); Torip Kwangju Nonggwa Taehak (Kwangju Provincial Agricultural College); Torip Mok’o Sanggwa Taehak (Mok’o Provincial Commercial College) and Taesŏng Taehak (Taesŏng College). Ch’oe Sangjae was the first president. At first the university consisted of six colleges: agriculture; commerce; industry; liberal arts and science; medicine; and he
graduate school. It has expanded into fourteen colleges with ninety-two departments and over seventeen-thousand full-time students. University publications include Chŏndae shinmun (The CNU Newspaper) in Korean and The Chonnam Tribune in English.

Chordophones [Musical instruments]

Choryŏng Mountain

Situated west of Mun’gyŏng on the border of North Ch’ungch’ŏng and North Kyŏngsang Province, Mt. Choryŏng (1 017 metres) is connected with the Sobaek Mountain Range. The mountain is characterised by rugged terrain. In order to take advantage of the area’s rocky landscape, a long stone fortress was built on the mountain in 1708; however, only 200 metres of the wall now remain. Many tourists are attracted to the mountain because of its historical sites and its close proximity with the Suanbo hot springs and Wŏрак-san National Park.

Chŏsen tosho kaidai (Annotated Bibliography of Korean Books)

Chŏsen tosho kaidai (Kor. Chosŏn tosŏh haeje, Annotated Bibliography of Korean Books) is a 578-page work compiled by the Japanese Government General in 1932. It is an annotated bibliography of the Korean books that were in the possession of the Japanese Government General and is classified according to the traditional Chinese system of Confucian Classics (kyŏng), histories (sa), writings of various authors (cha) and collected works (chip). There are also biographical notes provided on the authors in this collection.

Chosŏn (see History of Korea)

Chosŏn ch’ogi sahoe kujo yŏn’gu (A Study of the Social Structure in Early Chosŏn)

Chosŏn ch’ogi kujo yŏn’gu is a collection of studies on the official posts, military duties and the land system in early Chosŏn. This work was written by Yi Chaeil and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1984. It is 288 pages in length.

Chosŏn ch’ogi sahoe kujo yŏn’gu (Social Structure in the Early Chosŏn Period)

Chosŏn ch’ogi sahoe kujo yŏn’gu (Social Structure in the Early Chosŏn Period) is a 288-page work written by Yi Chaeil and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1984. This work is a collection of studies on the structure of the governing aparar, military system and land systems of early Chosŏn.

Chosŏn cho’gi yangban yŏn’gu (Research of the Yangban Class in Early Chosŏn)

Chosŏn cho’gi yangban yŏn’gu is a 424 page book written by Yi Sŏngmu. This work examines the status of the yangban class during early Chosŏn in connection with their official positions, military duties and the land allocation policies that affected them. Ilchogak Publishers published this work in 1980.

Chosŏn chŏn’gi kiho sarimp’a yŏngu (A Study of the Kiho School of Literati in Early Chosŏn)

Chosŏn chŏn’gi kiho sarimp’a yŏngu is a work that investigates the members and characteristics of the literati of the Kiho School in early Chosŏn. In particular, this work
places an emphasis on the reform policies that these literati advocated for the civil service examination system. This 302-page book was written by Yi Pyōnghyo and published in 1984 by Ilchogak Publishers.

**Chosŏn hanmunhaksas** (History of Sino-Korean Literature)

*Chosŏn hanmunhaksas* is the first comprehensive study of Sino-Korean literary activities in Korea, and was written by Kim T'aejun. The foundation of this work was taken from the graduation thesis of the author from Keijō Imperial University, and an enlarged version was first published by the Korean Language and Literature Society (Chosŏn Ōmunhak Hoe) in 1931. The work is largely divided into three major divisions of the Three Kingdoms, Koryŏ and Chosŏn, and each period discusses the influence of Chinese literature, renowned writers, and literary styles, among other topics. It covers each of the various forms of Sino-Korean literature used in Korea, such as poetry, composition and novels, and is acclaimed for bringing about the formal study of this important aspect of Korean literary history.

**Chosŏn hugi nonghaksas yŏn'gu** (A Study of the History of Agriculture Studies in the Late Chosŏn Period)

*Chosŏn hugi nonghaksas yŏn'gu* is an examination of the studies of agriculture in late Chosŏn. This 472-page work was written by Kim Yongsŏp and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1988.

**Chosŏn hugi sahoe pyŏndong yŏn'gu** (A Study of Social Changes in the Late Chosŏn Period)

*Chosŏn hugi sahoe pyŏndong yŏn'gu* is a study on the social changes in the latter half of Chosŏn, written by Ch'ŏng Sŏkch'ong. The data in this work is based upon investigation of the trial records in criminal proceedings, the spread of belief in the Maitreya Buddha among the common people, the Purge of 1694, the social status of the middle class (chun'gın) and merchants, slave records and other documents from this period. This work is in 342 pages and was published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1983.

**Chosŏn hugi sang'op chabon ŭi paltal** (The Development of Commercial Capital during Late Chosŏn)

*Chosŏn hugi sang'op chabon ŭi paltal* is a 220 page work written by Kang Man'gil and published by Korea University Press in 1973. This work analyses the economic situation in Korea immediately before the country was opened to foreigners. The author focuses on the activities of those merchants who dominated production activities, the processing problems of the Kaesŏng merchants, and the commercial activities of the Kyŏnggang merchants who controlled trade on the Han River.

**Chosŏn ilbo**

The *Chosŏn ilbo* (Korea Daily) is a widely-circulated newspaper printed in Seoul and has the earliest established date of newspapers currently published in the ROK. The first issue was dated 5 March 1920 and consisted of only four pages. The second issue, which was a special edition commemorating the foundation of the paper, was eight pages. Its first president was Cho Chint'ae, and he relied on financial support from the Taishō Industrial Friendship Society (Taishō Jitsugyō Shinbokukai). Other members of staff included Ch'oe Kang, who served as chief editor; Sŏ Mansun; Ch'oe Wŏnshik; Ch'oe Nam; Pang Hanmin; and Ch'oe Kukhyŏn. The *Chosŏn ilbo* was initially launched with the self-proclaimed goal of 'advancing new culture.'
The early years of the newspaper were marked by restrictive publication measures enforced by the Japanese, but nonetheless, it still sought to establish itself as a mouthpiece of the Korean people. From its earliest days, the *Choson ilbo* was closed for varying periods by the Japanese Government General for publishing material perceived as anti-Japanese. Regardless of such setbacks, the staff of the newspaper continued to fulfil their stated mission by keeping the content of the newspaper both frank and educational.

The management and publication of the newspaper underwent various changes, with Namgung Hun, Yi Sangjae, An Chaehong and Yi Sanghyop serving in various management capacities in the early and mid-1920s. In the 1930s, An Chaehong, Yu Chint'ae and Cho Manshik were among those who served as its president, thus bringing the greatest talent available to the newspaper. However, shutdowns of the newspaper's production continued by the Japanese authorities, some lasting for up to one year, and this, *inter alia*, led to serious financial difficulties. The *Choson ilbo* did regain it standing, however, when Cho Manshik handed the presidency to Pang Ungmo. Under Pang the *Choson ilbo* was transformed to a modern-style newspaper, aided by the construction of a new building and the purchase of modern equipment, such as a high-speed rotary press and communication apparatus. Despite unceasing oppression by the Japanese, the *Choson ilbo* still managed to let the voice of the Korean people be heard.

The *Choson ilbo* continued to undergo changes from the liberation of Korea in 1945, with repeated modernisation of its facilities and production techniques. It journalists have covered a myriad of major events of the past fifty or so years, including the Korean War; the April 1960 students' rebellion that brought down Syngman Rhee (Yi Siingman); the 16 May 1961 coup d'état of Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghui); Park's assassination in October 1979; and more recently, the presidential elections of Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsam) and Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung). The outlook of the newspaper has changed from the anti-Japanese and nationalistic ideology of the colonial period to the more conservative and mainstream newspaper that is published today. The *Choson ilbo* remains a strong manifestation of the power of the freedom of the press in the ROK, and is highly respected for its journalistic integrity.

*Choson kajok chedo yon'gu* (A Study of Choson Family Structure)

*A Study of Choson Family Structure* explores the structure of families during Choson, and was written by Kim Tuhon and published by Eul Yoo Publishing Company in 1949. This work is considered the starting point for Korean research into the organisation of the family. The first publication consisted of 772 pages in nine chapters. It was published also by Seoul National University Press in 1970 using modern typeface and horizontal printing techniques, thus ensuring that a new generation of scholars would be able to use this groundbreaking work.

Among the many topics that *Choson kajok chedo yon'gu* encompasses are family names, ancestral rites, marriage, divorce and remarriage, family composition, terminology for various relations, and mourning practices, as well as other related matters. The work has received accolades for its analysis of the historical structure of the Korean family and the diverse social structures that were created to preserve the Confucian model of the family. Moreover, the work is quite useful in comparative studies since it does not simply concentrate on the Korean family, but further incorporates models from elsewhere in the world that enable comparison.

*Choson kojok tobo* (see Choson koseki zufu)


Chosŏn kŭmsŏkko (see Chŏsen kinsekikō)

Chosŏn kŭmsŏkko ch’ongnam (see Chŏsen kinsekikō sŏran)

Chosŏn kwahaksa (History of Korean Science)

Chosŏn kwahaksa is a summary of Korean scientific history written by Hong Isop and published by Chŏngumsa in 1946. This work represents the first comprehensive history of both scientific thought and technological developments in modern Korean research, and is thus highly acclaimed as establishing a foundation for scholarship in this field. The author initially had this work serialised in the magazine Chagwang (Morning Light) in 1942 and then subsequently published in the Japanese language in 1944. After liberation, Hong translated the work into Korean and it was republished in Korea.

Chosŏn kwahaksa covers a great number of topics concerning Korean science and technology, ranging from ancient times until the end of Chosŏn in 1910. It not only discusses scientific theory, but also the application of technology, for example, in such categories as the history of how the people lived and under what conditions and how technological advance has affected the Korean people. Thus, this work enables the reader to gain a clear understanding of the evolutionary processes that occurred in the technological developments in Korea, making it essential for any research of Korean scientific history.

Chosŏn kyŏngguk chŏn (Administrative Code of Chosŏn) [Literature]

Chosŏn Munso Changryŏ Hoe [History of Korea]

Chosŏn munjŏn (Korean Grammar)

Chosŏn munjŏn is the first grammar of the Korean language produced in Korea, and was written by Yu Kilchun (1856-1914) between 1897 and 1902. (There is doubt as to the actual date). The book is modelled after Latin-style grammar texts and five different versions are in existence. It is thought to have served as the foundation for Taehan munjŏn (Grammar of the Greater Han Empire), published in 1909.

Chosŏn munjŏn has two major sections, covering speech and syntax, and an appendix that discusses various phenomena in the Korean language, such as voice change and lateralisation. The parts of speech are divided into the eight categories of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, suffixes, connectives and exclamations, and syntax is composed of subject, explanatory, objective and modifier. The work appears to have been heavily influenced by the Japanese Nihon bunten (Japanese Grammar) written by Nakane in 1874, itself based upon Western grammars. Chosŏn munjŏn is worthy of note since it is the first Korean grammar.

Chosŏn munch’a kupŏhaksa (History of Korean Script and Studies on Korean)

Chosŏn munch’a kupŏhaksa is a vast collection of information related to the Korean language, which was written by Kim Yun’gyŏng and first published in 1938. The work has been republished on four occasions, the last being in 1954. The contents cover a wide range of topics, from theories on the connection between the Korean language and the Ural-Altaic language family, fragmentary records of the languages and scripts used in ancient Korean kingdoms found in historical sources, and commentaries on the Korean grammar books written at the beginning of the twentieth c. While the work is now outdated, it is still valuable for its historical import.
**Chosŏn musokko**

*Chosŏn musokko*, written by Yi Nūnhwa, is a thesis on Korean shamanism that was published in 1927 in the nineteenth volume of the magazine *Kyemyŏng*. This work covers the history of the shamanistic religious and ideological beliefs of the Korean people in a detailed and thorough manner. Historical documents such as the *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Chosŏn wangjo shillok* (Veritable Records of the Choson Dynasty) are consulted along with various other literary documents.

In all, the work is divided into twenty sections as follows: The first section explains the origins of Korean shamanism, the second to fourth sections discuss shamanism during the Three Kingdoms, the fifth section Koryŏ and the sixth section covers Chosŏn. In particular, the section on Chosŏn is minutely detailed. The seventh section covers the demeanour of Korean shamanism and the eighth records the state of activities of mudang (shamans) as registered at government offices. The ninth section explains the taxes levied on mudang, the tenth the organisation of mudang and the eleventh records the rules and regulations prohibiting the shrines and altars of the shamanistic religion. The twelfth section describes the expulsion of mudang from the capital in the Choson period. In the thirteenth to eighteenth sections the organisation of shamanistic deities is described along with their various attributes and roles. In the nineteenth section the variations seen in regional shamanistic practices is described and in the twentieth characteristic traits of Chinese shamanism are discussed.

This work is appraised as very important in the study of Korean shamanism and represents one of the first comprehensive works on shamanism in Korea. In particular it is of great value for studies concerning the shamanistic practices in the Seoul area of this period. In 1986 it was included in the second volume of *Munhwa illyuhak charyach'ongso*.

**Chosŏn pokshikko** (A Survey of Korean Costume)

*Chosŏn pokshikko* was written by Yi Yŏsŏng and published by Paegyang Tang in 1946. It is a work that examines the traditional costumes of Korea and includes nine plates and forty-five drawings, illustrating the costumes discussed. First written in Japanese, after Korea’s liberation in 1945 it was translated into Korean. Changes in Korean costume from the ancient kingdoms to the end of Choson are examined, using a variety of sources, including historical documents and extant artefacts. *Chosŏn pokshikko* helped to establish a foundation for studies into the traditional costumes of Korea, but the author did not produce supplemental studies as he crossed to North Korea shortly after Korea’s liberation.

**Chosŏn sahoe kyŏngjesa** (A Socio-Economic History of Korea)

*Chosŏn sahoe kyŏngjesa* is a 353-page study of the Korean economy written from a Marxist perspective. It was originally written in Japanese by Paek Namun in 1933, translated into Korean by Pak Kwangsun and republished by Bumwoo Publishing Company in 1989. The author examines the socio-economic structure of Korea during the ancient and medieval periods and is critical of the colonial view of history held by many Japanese scholars who argued that Korea was incapable of sustaining economic development without external assistance.

Chosŏn Sahoe Tang  [Communism, Korea]

**Chosŏn sanggosŏ** (Ancient History of Korea)
Chosŏn sanggosa was written by Shin Ch’aeho and is an account of Korean history from the time of Tan’gun to the fall of the Paekche Kingdom. The work was serialised in the Chosŏn ilbo (Korea Daily), beginning in 1931, and later was published as a single book by Chongno Sŏwŏn in 1948. Originally this was a part of Shin’s Chosŏn sa (History of Korea), but when this portion of the work was completed it was referred to by the title Chosŏn sanggosa.

The contents of the book are as follows: The first chapter provided a general outline of the work, and the second chapter that discusses the tribal states of the ancient Korean peninsula follows this. The third chapter covers the three Chosŏns (Tan’gun, Kija and Wiman) and the fourth details the contention and battles of the small states as they strove for supremacy. The fifth chapter is devoted to the age of flourishing Koguryŏ, while the sixth details the conflicts between Koguryŏ and Paekche. The seventh chapter covers both the offensive and defensive struggles of Koguryŏ, the eighth the struggles among the Three Kingdoms, the ninth Koguryŏ’s battles with Sui China, and the tenth the battles of Koguryŏ with Tang China. The eleventh chapter details the flourishing of Paekche and the machinations of Shilla.

This work is notable in the study of Korean history for several aspects. Firstly, it raised among the Korean people an increased consciousness of their history during the colonial period when Korean history had been oppressed by the Japanese. The work sought to establish a lineage from Tan’gun, Kija, Wiman, the Samhan and the Three Kingdoms to those in the present era. Moreover, it established a succession from Tan’gun Chosŏn to the subsequent Kija Chosŏn and Wiman Chosŏn states, and then to Puyŏ and finally to Koguryŏ that revealed the links between these ancient states. Secondly, the work showed the extent of the ancient Korean states that reached far into Manchuria. Shin sought to change the conception of Korea that had been established from the time of Kim Pushik’s Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) which essentially ignored the accomplishments of the ancient Korean states. Thirdly, Shin demonstrated that Koguryŏ had been the dominant kingdom in Korea for over seven centuries and that only through the external power of Tang was Shilla able to unify the Three Kingdoms. The result of the outside intervention was the loss of much of Koguryŏ’s territory, which was never to be regained by the subsequent Korean kingdoms.

Chosŏn sanggosa reveals a different interpretation of ancient Korean history and places a great deal of stress on nationalistic themes in Korean history. Moreover, there are efforts on the part of Shin to stress certain points in Korean history at the expense of others, which leaves the book open to criticism in places. However, in light of the age in which this book was written, it must be seen as having great value in establishing a strong national consciousness among Koreans.

Chosŏn sanggosagam (Examination of Ancient Korean History)

The Chosŏn sanggosagam is a two-volume study of ancient Korean history written by An Chaehong. The author projects his analysis of Korean history from a nationalistic viewpoint, a study which he completed during the colonial period. His dedication to the cause of Korean nationalism occasioned frequent arrest and incarceration by the Japanese authorities for his participation in various independence activities, such as the March First Independence Movement in 1919 and the New Korea Society (Shin’ganhoe). Although An began this work in the 1930s, it was not published until after liberation because of the fear of Japanese censorship. The first volume was published in July 1947, and the second in the following April.

The contents include An’s examination of the Kija Chosŏn Kingdom; ancient Korean capitals such as Asadal and P’yŏngyang; the circumstances surrounding the foundation of
Koguryo and its government structures; the foundation of Shilla and its governance; and the Samhan; all in the first volume. The second volume covers topics such as the history of Puyŏ, the history of Paekche, and the geography and cultural systems of the ancient Korean kingdoms, among other entries. *Chosŏn sanggosagam* is quite similar to *Chosŏn sanggosa* (Ancient History of Korea) by Shin Ch’aeho (1880-1936). and also *Chosŏnsa yŏn’gu* (A Study of Korean History) written by Chŏng Inbo. This even extends to an incorporation of the same citations and the frequent use of linguistical methodology in An’s research. It does, however, exhibit the author’s individuality in respect to modern social science methodology used in the analysis of historical data. It is also notable in introducing a theory of the developmental processes that ancient Korean society underwent, and this served as a starting point from which later scholars developed their own research.

**Chosŏn sangshik** (General Knowledge on Korea)

*Chosŏn sangshik* is a 1948 work by Ch’oe Namsŏn that seeks to explain Korean history and traditional culture from a practical, ‘commonsense’ viewpoint. It is in three volumes, and was published by Tongmyŏngsa. *Chosŏn sangshik* first appeared in serial form on the literary page of the *Maeil shinbo* newspaper.

The volume dealing with traditional customs includes sections on seasonal customs; rituals; costumes; traditional food (and other entries). The second volume, on cultural geography, analyses the physical features of Korea -- its mountains and waterways Korea’s civilisation; and the names of the various Korean kingdoms. The third volume is dedicated to social systems and encompasses discussions on household duties; duties outside the home; military organisation; and the civil service examination, among other topics. *Chosŏn sangshik* remains as an excellent reference source and as an aid to understanding traditional Korean society. It was published in a single volume by Kungmunsa in 1953.

**Chosŏn sangshik mundap** (General Knowledge On Korea)

*Chosŏn sangshik mundap* is a 1946 study by Ch’oe Namsŏn dealing with Korean customs and social systems. Originally, it was serialised in the *Maeil shinbo* newspaper in some one-hundred and sixty instalments, beginning on 30 January 1937. The serialised version covered four-hundred and fifty-six topics under sixteen main headings. National territory; seasonal customs and folk customs were included, and there were many other topics. It was not until after the liberation of Korea that the serialised articles were condensed into the *Chosŏn sangshik mundap* The book contains one-hundred and seventy-five topics, arranged in ten sections.

The main headings are: Confucianism; cultural geography; folk customs; history; language and literature; the national name; national holidays, organised religions; products of Korea; and religious beliefs. Ch’oe sought to elevate national consciousness among the common people by promoting Korean traditional culture. From the viewpoint of seeking to a further understanding of the fact that the culture of Korea had traditionally centred on the common people, Ch’oe’s work is of significance.

**Chosŏn sosŏlsa** (The History of the Korean Novel)

*Chosŏn sosŏlsa* was written by Kim T’aejun and represents the first systematic study of the history of the Korean novel (sosŏl). It was published in 1933 by Ch’ŏngji Sŏgwan as a 206-page work. Quite extensive in its coverage of the subject, it begins with an analysis of the historical precedents for the novel in Korean legend. From this point it progresses to the development of the novel as a literary genre in Korea and cites early major works such as *Kŭmo shinhwa* (New Tales from Mount Kŭmo) and *Hong Kildong chŏn* (The Tale of Hong Kiltong). Kim also includes an inquiry into the novels written during the turbulent
period from the 1592 Japanese Invasion through the Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636, and the works of Kim Manjung (1637-1692). The author also examines late Choson novels such as Ch’unhyang ch’ón (The Tale of Ch’unhyang) and Changhwacheonghyonch’ón (Rose Flower and Pink Lotus) -- works that represented the evolution of the novel into a more complex form of literature. Finally, Kim discusses the novels of the enlightenment period at the end of the nineteenth century.

Choson sosōlsa was republished in 1939 by Hagyesa, but without any substantial differences. The work is praised for providing a foundation for the scholarly study of the Korean novel, and has thus served as a starting point for many later scholars.

Choson susukkkeki sajōn (Korean Riddle Dictionary) [Literature]

Choson toso haeje (see Chosen tosho kaidai)

Choson wangjo shillok (Annals of the Dynasty of Choson)

From the beginning of the Koryŏ dynasty until the end of Choson there were two established institutions to which historians and scholars were assigned to keep records of daily events. They were the Office of Annals Compilation (Ch’unch’ugwan) and the Yemun’gwan. The records kept were called Shijonggi. When a King passed away, a temporary office called Shillok ch’ông was instituted, at which the Shijonggi of the deceased King’s reign and other government documents were assembled for the compilation of the Annals and these were kept in a Sago (archive). The Annals compiled during Choson comprise 1 893 volumes of 888 fascicles, covering the twenty-five reigns between King T’aego and King Ch’olchong. Their compilation was begun in 1413, in the thirteenth year of King T’aejong’s reign (1400-1418).

The following are the contents of the Annals:

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Additional copies of the Annals have been made during the course of history in an attempt to preserve this rich collection of Korean culture but over the centuries some copies of the records have been destroyed as a result of war or natural disaster. For example, the Annals kept in the archives of Ch’ungju and in the Ch’unch’ugwan were completely destroyed during the Hideyoshi Invasions of 1592-1598. A reprinting was completed in 1606. In an attempt to secure their preservation, four copies were secreted in remote mountain repositories. During the Japanese occupation copies were moved again. A draft set from the Odaesan Archives was taken to Tokyo University Library but was destroyed in the devastating earthquake of 1923. Another set was moved to the Royal Kyujanggak Library where it remained until the outbreak of the Korean War. It was taken to the temporary capital, Pusan, only to be lost in the great fire of 1953. Two sets, the T’aebaek Mountain and the Chongjok Mountain copies were moved finally to the Central Library of Keijō Imperial University, now Seoul National University. These are the only two copies of the Annals of the Chosŏn dynasty which remain today.

These chronological records of daily life and historical events covering a 472 year period are the basic materials not only for the study of the Chosŏn period of Korean history, but also for research on Asian history in general. Many consider they exceed the Annals of the Ming and Qing dynasties of China in terms of scope and content.

Keijō Imperial University, during the period 1929-1932, undertook the publication of the Annals in photostat form. Thirty copies were printed, most of them being distributed to Japanese institutions. Because few copies remained in Korea, the Compilation Committee for Korean History (Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe), Republic of Korea, published the Chason wangjo shillok in forty-eight volumes of photostat between 1955 and 1958.

Chosŏn yŏn’gūksa (The History of Korean Drama)

Chosŏn yŏn’gūksa was written by Kim Chaech’ŏl and covers the history of drama in Korea. It was first published by the Korean Language and Literature Society (Chosŏn Ómunhak Hoe) as a part of the three-volume Chosŏn Ómunhak ch’ongsŏ (Collection of Language and Literature), in 1933. There is a preface by Kim T’aejun, which is followed by Kim Chaech’ŏl’s biography; the main text; and an appendix containing transcripts from kkoktugakshi (puppet drama) performances. It is based largely on Kim’s graduation thesis from Keijo Imperial University. The main body of the work is divided into three main sections, with the first concentrating on the history of masked drama (kamyŏn kŭk); the second on puppet drama (inhyŏng kŭk); and the third section covering classical drama (ku kŭk) and new drama (shin kŭk). Chosŏn yŏn’gūksa is notable for its treatment of kkoktugakshi, and reveals the author’s deep interest in this area.

Chosŏn Hakhoe (see Korean Language Society)
Chosŏn Yŏn'guhoe (see Society for Research in the Korean Language)

Chosun University

Chosun University (Chosŏn Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Sŏsŏk-dong in Kwangju. Founded as a night school (Kwangju Yagan Taehagwŏn) by Pak Chŏrung in September 1946, the school initially consisted of twelve departments. In November of that year, the school’s name was changed to Chosŏn Taehagwŏn. In May 1948, the school became Chosun College with seven departments. By 1950, the college had expanded to twelve departments and over 1,800 students. In 1953, the college gained university status, with three colleges and fourteen departments. In 1955, a doctoral program was inaugurated. The university continued to expand, with the addition of further colleges and departments.

Today, Chosun University consists of the Colleges of Business; Computer and Information Sciences; Dentistry; Education; Engineering; Fine Arts; Foreign Studies; Humanities; Law; Medicine; Natural Science; Pharmacology; Physical Education; and Social Sciences; the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Education; Environment and Health; Industry; Medium; and Small Industries and Policies. University publications include the Chosŏndaehakpo in Korean and The Chosun Academy in English.

Christian Broadcasting System (CBS) [Broadcasting companies]

Christianity in Korea

1. The Roman Catholic Church

Although there had been a significant Nestorian presence in China and Central Asia since the middle of the seventh century, and in spite of medieval Roman Catholic contacts with China, there would not appear to be any evidence to confirm Christian contact with Korea prior to the middle of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910). With the initiation of Jesuit missions in China from the end of the 16th C., Roman Catholics tracts and other materials explaining Christian doctrines began to circulate throughout China. From the 17th c. on the collected works of various Korean Confucian literati indicate that they were aware of Roman Catholic Christianity, its teachings, and of general knowledge about Europe itself. This information was obtained in one of two ways, either from travels to China or through the reading of some of the literature produced by the early Catholic missionaries. In spite of this awareness, there is no evidence that there existed a gathered community of Christian believers in Korea before the last quarter of the 18th c.

a) The Early Church

In 1777, a group of young scholars who belonged to the circle of Yi Ik (1681-1763), a leading member of the so-called Shirhak School, gathered to discuss the teachings of the Jesuit religious tracts. This group maintained their interest in the subject and in 1784 were able to send one of their number, Yi Sŏnhun (1756-1801) as part of a diplomatic mission to China where he was able to meet with one of the missionaries in Beijing. He was baptized and returned to Korea to propagate the faith amongst his fellow scholars and their families. Based upon what Yi Sŏnhun had seen in Beijing, in 1787 these young aristocrats began to build an ecclesiastical structure complete with a bishop, and priests. Advice from the Bishop of Peking in 1789 made them desist from this practice. Further advice received in 1790 that Christians were to be discouraged from participating in the Confucian ancestral rituals because of their perceived idolatrous nature led to the defection of a number of the early converts.
When Father Zhou Wenmu (1752-1801) was sent as the first Catholic missionary to Korea in 1795, he was amazed to learn that there was a gathered community of 4,000 Christians already waiting for him. The political establishment was gravely concerned not only by the great growth in the church largely amongst the members of a Confucian political faction currently out of power, but also by their refusal to perform the ancestral ritual. Not only was there an implied political threat by the faith of the early adherents, but their refusal to perform the ancestor rites was seen to undermine a pillar of Confucian morality.

Although there was conflict between Catholics and the Confucian establishment which resulted in a few deaths, the generally moderate views of King Chŏngjo (r. 1777-1800) held off the possibility of a full-scale persecution of the fledgling church. With the king's early death in 1800, a massive persecution of the church began which was to continue on and off for the next three-quarters of a century. There were five large-scale persecutions of the church, in 1801, 1815, 1827, 1839, and 1866-1871. These persecutions had two effects, to drive the church underground and to change the class character of the church. Early members of the church who escaped execution, sought refuge in remote areas of the country and hid themselves amongst the members of the lowest and most outcaste members of late Chosŏn society. The Catholic Church changed from being the church of a certain section of the aristocratic class to the church of the outcaste class. In addition to these major persecutions, throughout the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, there were minor local persecutions. During the final Great Persecution of 1866-1871 alone when the Prince Regent attempted to wipe out Christianity once and for all, 8,000 Koreans and 9 French missionaries were killed. The severity of the persecutions of the 19th c. created a ghetto mentality within the Catholic community from which it did not emerge until the 1960s.

Although the first missionary to Korea was Chinese, the principal missionary organization in Korea during the early period was the Societe des Missions Etrangeres de Paris. The church in Korea was under the authority of a missionary bishop who held a papal appointment and was a member of the missionary society. The theological character of the Catholic Church was coloured by its experience of suffering. Evidence shows that much emphasis in prayer was placed on the Passion of Christ and the Sorrows of Mary. Although there were materials printed on the Mass and Catholic doctrine, there was no translation of the Bible available in Korean.

b) The recent century

In the last quarter of the 19th c., the condition of the Roman Catholic Church improved considerably with the signing of Western-style diplomatic treaties with Japan and various Western powers. It was now no longer possible to conduct a full-scale persecution of the Church and maintain significant diplomatic relations with the Western world. In the generation between 1876 and the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the Catholic Church grew institutionally, and in terms of numbers. The first church was erected in the capital in 1893, and the cathedral was completed and dedicated in 1898. Additional clergy and an order of nuns arrived and began work. By 1910, there were 73,000 Catholic adherents. Unlike their Protestant counterparts, Catholic missionaries did not have the same degree of interest in social outreach and did not found schools and hospitals.

During the Japanese colonial period, the church continued to grow numerically, but not in percentage terms within the national population. New organizations, especially lay organizations were founded. The most surprising event of the colonial period was the position of the Catholic church on the attendance of Catholic Christians at Shinto shrine worship. Permission was granted on the basis of its nature as a patriotic act, which was not only offensive to Korean nationalism, but ran counter to the position on idolatrous worship taken by the Catholic church in the late 18th and 19th centuries. It is possible that because of the severity of the persecutions, the leadership of the church wished to protect the
community from further persecution. By the end of the colonial period there were 183,000 adherents.

Following Liberation in 1945 from Japanese colonial rule, the church was split in two due to the creation of Soviet and American zones to take the surrender of the Japanese forces. The situation of the Church in the two halves of Korea has been very different. Since the establishment of the North Korean state in 1948, the church has been very rigidly controlled. As all associations free of government or party control have been eliminated, there is very little information available about the life of the church. In 1988, and undoubtedly as a result of the need to have wider commercial contacts with the Western world, the first Catholic church since the late 1940s was opened.

In the south, on the other hand, there has been significant institutional growth and remarkable growth in the size of the church's membership. In 1962, the first Korean hierarchy with its own archbishop was created. Catholic institutional social outreach has increased and the political involvement of the church has become a prominent feature of the institutional church's activities as well. The church now numbers over two million members, representing perhaps five per-cent of the Korean population.

There are two reasons for the emergence of an evangelical movement within Catholicism which has resulted in the dramatic increase in church membership since the end of the Korean War. These are, the rapid growth of the Protestant churches which had the effect of destroying the ghetto mentality of the Catholic church; and the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s which enunciated a more open attitude towards other Christian denominations and provided an impetus towards greater evangelism.

The significance of the church and its history of suffering was recognized by Pope John-Paul II when he visited Korea in 1984 to celebrate the church's bicentenary. A million people attended the ceremony when he canonized 103 of the Korean martyrs, the largest number of persons canonized at one time, and the first canonization ceremony ever held outside Rome.

2. The Protestant Churches

Like the Catholic church before it, the development of Protestantism in Korea antedates the appearance of foreign missionaries in the peninsula. In 1882, John Ross (1842-1915), a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland based in Shenyang, Manchuria, translated the New Testament into Korean.

The circulation of the New Testament throughout the Korean communities on the Manchurian side of the Yalu River and in the northwestern part of the peninsula resulted in the formation of numerous Christian communities before the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in Korea in 1884/1885. Since the earliest period, the Protestant churches have been characterized by a spirit of self-evangelisation, and self-support. Ross's translation also had a tremendous effect on the church after the arrival of the first missionaries as, (a) it was the only complete translation of the New Testament available until 1900, (b) because it introduced key theological terms, including the word for God, Hananim, which are still in use today, and (c) because it was written exclusively in the Korean alphabet, Han'gül.

The first Protestant missionaries to come Korea were Horace N. Allen (1858-1932) and Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916), representing the northern Presbyterian church in the USA, and Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902) representing the northern Methodist church of the USA. Although these missionaries were quickly joined by representatives from other denominations and countries, Protestant missions in Korea were largely American and Presbyterian. Because of restrictions which were initially in force about direct
evangelisation, and because of the missionaries' own social concerns, the foundation of
schools and hospitals were among the very first works which the missionaries undertook.
These institutions became the foundation of Korea's modern educational and medical
systems. Three of the five most prestigious universities in Korea have a Christian
foundation.

Korean church growth from the first proved to be extraordinarily rapid. By the time of the
annexation of Korea by Japan, one per-cent of the population was Protestant. There are
three reasons for this rapid church growth. First, Korea had been dominated for five
hundred years by Zhu Xi's form of Neo-Confucian philosophy which had reached such a
state of rigid orthodoxy that it had become intellectually and spiritually moribund. This
spiritual vacuum joined with the obvious economic and political decline in the Korean state
led many young intellectuals to reject Confucianism and to search for a new Truth. This
attitude predisposed them towards accepting Christianity. The social concerns and firm
moral code of the missionaries would also have commended Christianity to the young elite
as it resonated with their own Confucian ethical code, however different. Second, from the
beginning the missionaries from the first pursued a policy of creating a self-evangelizing,
self-supporting, self-governing church a policy which became enshrined in the so-called
Nevius Method named after John Nevius (1829-1893), a missionary to China. The burden
of developing the church was placed on the Korean Christians themselves, a feature which
began with the distribution of the Ross translation. A third reason for the growth of
Protestantism may be found in the use of the Korean alphabet, rather than Chinese
characters, in the Ross translation. This made the Christian message accessible to anyone,
and did not limit Christian knowledge only to the elite who had mastered the Chinese script.

Following the Japanese annexation of Korea, the church was singled out as a potential
threat to Japanese rule. In 1912, 124 persons were accused of involvement with an
attempt to assassinate the Japanese Governor-General Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919). Of
these men, 98 were Christians. Because the church was a well-organized group not directly
under Japanese control, it appeared to be a challenge to Japanese rule. Also by this time, it
was apparent that many young patriotic Koreans had become members of the churches and
that their influence could hinder the Japanese attempt to control Korea. Although the
charges were dismissed against all but six of the accused, the aura of nationalism has
enveloped Protestantism ever since.

Two events, in particular, have reinforced this association between Korean patriotism and
Protestantism. First, on 1 March 1919, the Declaration of Independence from Japanese rule
was read out. Of the 33 persons signing the Declaration, 16 were either Methodists or
Presbyterians. The course of the nation-wide uprising against Japanese rule was moulded
by the Christians' insistence that the movement must be non-violent. The role of the
Christians in the organization of the movement and its brutal suppression by the Japanese
reinforced the patriotic image of Protestantism. It is an important distinction between the
Protestant churches in Korea and in other parts of the world that the Korean Protestant
churches have never had to answer the question of their relationship to imperialism,
because the imperial power was Japan.

The effect of the Japanese suppression of the 1 March 1919 uprising for Korean
independence was to split the Protestant churches into two supra-denominational camps,
one camp which was socially active, and one camp which was conservative and stressed
evangelism without relation to the social context. During the 1920s and 1930s, the
churches still continued to grow numerically, but failed to increase their per-centage within
the population, remaining steadily at about 3 per-cent of the population.

A second event which reinforced the patriotic image of Protestantism was the controversy
during the 1930s over the Shinto Shrine Question. In 1925, the Governor-General of
Chflosen had erected a central shrine for Korea in Seoul. With the rise of a militaristic,
highly nationalistic regime in Japan, there was a greater demand for Koreans to conform to metropolitan Japanese practice with regard to attendance at Shintō rites. Consequently, in the 1930s, school-children and many mature Koreans were required to attend these Shintō ceremonies which were classified by the government as 'patriotic' but not 'religious' rituals. Many ministers and ordinary Christians went to jail and a few were killed over their refusal to participate in these Shinto rites. Several missionaries were jailed or deported over this issue. The Presbyterian missions closed their schools rather than have their students forced to attend the rites at the Shinto shrines.

Before Japan's defeat in 1945, attempts were made to 'Japanize' the churches by bringing in a Japanese church leadership or to amalgamate the churches with their Japanese counterparts. Finally, the Governor-General forced a merger of all the churches in Korea into a single unified denomination on 25 June 1945. This merger came apart following Japan's defeat on 15 August.

The church lived in turbulent times following the defeat of Japan. The next decade saw the imposition of American military rule in the south and Soviet indirect rule in the north until 1948, then the formal division of the nation, followed by a terrible civil war. Following Liberation in 1945, the churches were rent by dissension over the question of who had or who had not succumbed to pressure over the Shintō Shrine Question. During and following the Korean War in the 1950s, the church was concerned with helping to rebuild the nation by dealing with the problems of refugees and displaced persons.

From the 1960s, Korean Protestantism began the process of rapid growth which has become its best known characteristic to the outside world. By the early 1990s, there were over eight million Protestants accounting for about a fifth of the Korean population. These statistics mean that the Republic of Korea is, apart from the Philippines, the most Christian country of East Asia. There are several reasons which may be given to explain this development. The first explanation for this growth is that Protestant Christianity had a sound foundation which had been established before and during the Japanese colonial period. In a period of national spiritual crisis, the church was strong and available.

Second, from the 1960s onwards - in less than a generation, Korea underwent the most thorough and rapid industrialization of any nation in history. Now easily ranking within the top ten industrial nations, the Republic of Korea has shifted from being principally a rural, agrarian nation to being principally an urban, industrial nation. The social and cultural dislocation caused by this process of rapid industrialization created a great spiritual need, a need to explain the meaning of what was happening around them. Buddhism had been thoroughly suppressed during the Chosŏn dynasty; Confucianism had been well-nigh discredited; Catholicism was too weak. Therefore, the Protestant churches alone were available for people to turn to.

A third reason for the appeal of Protestantism since the 1960s is the re-emergence of a tradition of social critique which had lain dormant since the suppression by the Japanese of the March First Movement of 1919. The re-emergence of social criticism within the church coincided with the rise of the new urban industrial state and the emergence of a conservative dictatorial policy by the government. The various movements for economic justice for the working class and for the construction of an equitable, democratic political system have come from Christian, largely Protestant, circles. This trend has reinforced the patriotic and nationalistic aura of the Protestant churches in Korea.

3. Characteristics of the Church Today

The number of church buildings in modern Korea is a remarkable feature of the rural or urban landscape giving eloquent evidence to the widespread character of Protestantism. Christians in Europe are surprised not only by the number of churches, but also by their
size, and by the size of the congregations. This phenomenon stems from the fact that the Korean church is largely conservative in theological outlook and strongly evangelical. However, rapid growth has also brought many problems, not the least of which is the emphasis on the virtue of large congregations. Two particular theological problem areas have emerged, kibok sinang, and the kido-won. Kibok sinang is a belief in the power of prayer to obtain blessings. It has taken root amongst many Christians who believe that God will provide material blessings upon request and that riches or material success are likewise signs of God's favour. The Kido-won, originally retreat centres for spiritual refreshment, have become centres for the performance of faith healings. Revival meetings likewise are often used to perform acts of spiritual healing. This appropriation of foreign institutions for faith healing ceremonies represents an amalgamation of Christian practice with the shamanistic folk religion, an important element of which was the curing of disease.

Since the late 1970s, an indigenous Korean form of Liberation theology has emerged called Minjung shin hak (Theology of the Masses). This theology was originally articulated by foreign-trained Korean theologians who had been active in the movement for political reform and democracy. More conservative Christians felt that because of their background and political activities, the Minjung theologians got rather too much coverage in the foreign press. Minjung theology has now become very popular amongst theological students in Korea and has established a genuine place for itself in Korean Christianity. A radical theology, Minjung theology takes the part of the oppressed members of society, the minung, whose lives are said to be full of han or anger and resentment. This theology argues that God's Salvation History is a working out of his commitment to the poor and the oppressed.

Although Protestantism has been highly successful numerically, it is still true to say that it has had very little cultural impact on Korean society. Buddhism at a similar stage in its development had a far greater impact on ancient Korean culture. There has been very little indigenization of hymns, styles of worship, and ecclesiastical buildings. The next stage of Christian development will have to be the emergence of a truly Korean Christian culture.

Bibliography

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J H Grayson

Chu Shigyong (1876-1914)

Chu Shigyong was a member of the movement which expounded the use of the Korean language during the Japanese encroachment. His family's ancestral home is in Sangju, his childhood name was Sangho and he also used aliases such as Hanhinsaem and Paekch'on. Chu was born in Pongsan of Hwanghae Province, and studied the Chinese classics under both his father and his adoptive father from an early age. In 1887, he went to Seoul where he continued his studies until his eyes were opened to Western-style education. In 1894 he entered Paejae School where he remained until he was selected by So Chaep'il (1866-1951) to join the clerical staff of the Tongnip shinmun newspaper. Chu devoted his full efforts to the production of this first exclusively Korean (han'gul) newspaper and in order to provide it with a standardised orthography, founded the Society for the Standardisation of Korean
Writing (Kungmun Tongshik Hoe). Concurrently, he was involved with Sŏ Chaep’’il’s Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe). Chu continued his education and graduated from Paejae Normal School in 1900, but since his appetite for modern education was already whetted, he pursued his studies until he was thirty-four years of age. As well as being a student, Chu instructed at many schools, including Ehwa (Ihwa) School and Paejae Academy. He was also a votary of the enlightenment, Korean language and Korean language research movements that existed in the early twentieth c.

Chu was indeed a pioneering scholar in the Korean language field and published works such as Kugŏ munpŏp (A Korean Grammar, 1905) and Mal üii sori (A Phonology of Korean, 1914), which had tremendous influence on the scholarship of the Korean language. His other works of note include, Mal (Speech, 1908) and Kungmun yŏng’u (Research of the Korean Language, 1909). The effect of his works on the subsequent generation of Korean language scholars can be seen in the establishment of the Society for Research in the Korean Language (Chosŏn Yŏn’gu Hoe) founded by his disciples in 1921. This society changed its name to the Korean Language Society (Chosŏn Hakhoe) in 1931 and to the Han’gŭl Society (Han’gŭl Hakhoe) after the liberation of Korea. It continued the work of Chu in creating a standardised orthography for modern Korean.

Chu Yohan (1900-1979)

Chu Yohan was a poet, essayist and politician of this century. His numerous pen names included Songa, Pŏllkot and Nagyang. He was born in P’yŏngyang and his father was a minister. Chu was educated in P’yŏngyang before travelling to Japan where he entered Meiji Academy in 1918. He continued his studies until 1925 when he graduated from Hujiang College in Shanghai. After returning to Korea he worked on the staff of both the Tonga ilbo and Chosŏn ilbo newspapers. After liberation Chu served in a variety of roles up until his death in 1979. He was a member of the National Assembly, president of the Taehan ilbo newspaper, Minister of Commerce, Minister of Reconstruction and president of the Korea Maritime Transportation Corporation.

Chu is best known for his role in introducing modern, free-style poetry to Korean audiences. His poem ‘Pul nori’ (Fire Play), which was published in the first issue of the literary magazine Ch’angjo (Creation) in 1919, represents arguably the first free-style poem by a Korean writer. Chu was not, however, only a modern-style poet as he also contributed to the revival of the shiijo form that came to prominence in the 1920s. Chu’s works also promoted the elevation of the nationalistic spirit of the Korean people during the oppressive Japanese colonial period, and is thus counted with other patriotic literary men such as Kim Sowŏl (1902-1934), Ch’oe Namsŏn (1890-1957) and Kim Tonghwan (1901-?) in this aspect. Chu has two major poetry collections, Arũndaun saebyŏk (Beautiful Dawn, 1924) and Pongsa kkot (Flowers of the Blind, 1930), along with other collections of critical essays including Chayu ŭi kuriim tari (Bridge of Freedom, 1959) and Puhŭng nonûi (Treatise on Reconstruction, 1963).

Chuch’e sasang (see Juch’e Ideology)

Chuhŭl Mountain

Mt. Chuhŭl (1 106 metres) is situated in Mun’gyŏng in North Kyŏngsang Province. Together with Mt. So’baek (1 440 metres), Munsu Peak (1 162 metres), Mt. Songni (1 058 metres) and Mt. Hwangak (1 111 metres), it makes up the border between North Ch’ungch’ŏng and North Kyŏngsang Province. During the Three Kingdoms Period, it marked the border between Shilla and Koguryŏ. At the foot of the mountain lies Hyejuk Temple, which was founded by National Master Pojo (1158-1210).
Chulmun ware  [Ceramics]

Chumong  [Mythology]

**Chun Doo Hwan (1931- )**

Chun Doo Hwan (Chôn Tuhwan) was a former general of the armed forces, a politician and the fifth president of the Republic of Korea. He grew up as the sixth of nine children in a farming family in South Kyōngsang Province. As a boy, Chun was tutored by his father in the Chinese classics, but when the family moved to Taegu he attended elementary school there. By 1951, Chun had graduated from technical high school and with the Korean War then raging, he entered the Korean Military Academy in Chinhae. He was part of the notorious eleventh class of the institution, which was the first to complete a four-year program. After graduation, Chun began a long military career that saw him rise through the ranks of the Korean Army and eventually gain the presidency of the ROK.

Chun's first military duties were on a junior officer level as platoon leader, and he went to the United States for further training. After Park Chung Hee (Pak Ch'onghŭi) took control of the ROK in 1961, Chun was given the opportunity to serve in government positions. He met with Park frequently and from his association with the president was appointed Capital Garrison Commander in 1967. In 1968, when thirty-one North Korean commandos infiltrated South Korea in an attempt to assassinate the president, Chun's troops undertook a highly-successful search and destroy mission, thus earning him credit. After serving as the senior aide to the Korean Army Chief of Staff in the following year, Chun was promoted colonel and given command of an ROK unit in Vietnam. He distinguished himself on active service and was awarded a Bronze Star by the United States Army. On his return to Korea, Chun served as a senior staff officer on the Presidential Security Force and by 1978 had been promoted to brigadier. His command again performed admirably as it discovered the North Korean infiltration tunnels being prepared under the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), and on this occasion Chun received a presidential citation. Subsequently, he was promoted to a two-star general and assigned as commander of the Defence Security Command, in March 1979. This command proved to be of great importance to Chun's future as it placed him in a position of power at the time of Park's assassination in October 1979.

After the death of Park and the resultant turmoil, the new government under Choi Kyu Hah (Ch'oe Kyuha) became increasingly unstable. In these circumstances, Chun began to consolidate his power in the military sphere and then launched a coup d'état. Essentially, there were two steps to his thrust for power. The first occurred in the evening and early morning of 12-13 December. The ROK army mutinied as Chun ordered the arrest of the Army Chief of Staff and head of the Martial Law Command, General Chŏng Sŏngwha, on the grounds of his involvement in Park's assassination. Concurrently, Major General Roh Tae Woo (No T'aeu) brought his Ninth Division, which had been guarding the approaches to Seoul, into the capital and seized strategic points. Then a bloody struggle took place at the ROK Army Headquarters and the neighbouring Ministry of Defence which resulted in the army being placed under Chun's control. Chun appointed Lieutenant General Yi Hŭisŏng as Army Chief of Staff and Martial Law Commander; Roh was given command of the capital garrison and another conspirator, Major General Chŏng Hoyong, was made Special Forces Commander. Thus, Chun had direct control of the South Korean military machine.

The second step in Chun's seizure of power was to take control of the civilian power structure. In April 1980, acting President Choi Kyu Hah appointed Chun as head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), an unconstitutional appointment that now allowed Chun to control not only the military but also the most powerful civilian organisation, and this appointment touched off massive protests by students and others.
The student demonstrations in Seoul alone involved upwards of one-hundred thousand students, causing opposition leaders Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) and Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsam) to fear the intervention of the military, a situation which prompted their calls for a halt to the protests. This was too late, however, as Chun had already brought into existence the puppet government of Choi. The Martial Law Decree No. 10, closed down the National Assembly, all colleges and universities, banned labour actions, and prohibited all political activities nationwide. This mandate was followed by a wave of arrests of political opponents.

At this point, students in Kwangju of South Cholla Province began demonstrating for the release of their local leader, Kim Dae Jung, who had been arrested in the purge. On 18 May, the student demonstrations were confronted by a regiment of paratroopers who used extreme physical force in an attempt to gain control. After two days of indiscriminate violence by the troops, the citizens of Kwangju supported the students and began their own concentrated opposition to the paratroopers. This unison of students and citizens drove out the airborne regiment beyond the city limits. After a one-week or so stand-off between the military outside Kwangju and the citizens and students within, reinforcements from the army’s Twentyieth Division were sent to the city to impose martial law. What followed was the massacre known as the Kwangju Incident, as the regular army took control of the city. Official reports gave the number of deaths as being about two-hundred. However, human rights organisations record a significantly higher number, in the order of two-thousand. Chun had thus demonstrated to the Korean populace that he would not allow any group, political or otherwise, to stand in the way of his personal struggle for power.

After Kwangju, Chun moved quickly to consolidate his gains. Within three months, Choi had resigned as president and Chun had replaced him. After a few months Chun was formally installed as President, bringing with him a new Constitution and National Assembly. Thus, the Fifth Republic of the ROK came into being. Chun’s government was similar to that of Park’s in many respects, as the ROK’s armed forces played a significant role in guaranteeing the stability of the nation. Moreover, political opponents were detained, and so Chun and his political party enjoyed unfair advantage that saw his decrees ‘rubber-stamped’ by the legislative body. While Chun continued to employ a system much like Park’s Yushin (Revitalisation) system, he did permit some basic rights to the people, such as the abolition of the curfew and a relaxation of student-uniform policies. These gave the impression of greater civil liberty, but underneath the facade of liberalisation, Chun continued to exert oppressive force on his political opponents and did not permit challenge to his dictatorial rule.

While Chun strove to emulate his forerunner Park, he fell far short of the latter’s attainments in the office of president. Despite the fact that Park had come to power in a military coup d’état and exercised authoritarian control over the Korean state, he was widely recognised as a man who had the economic insight which saw South Korea’s rise from an impoverished country to one of relative affluence. Moreover, Park was seen as being receptive of expert opinion and as a personally honest and upright individual. Chun, on the other hand, was seen as a dull, arrogant and corrupt leader, and by the end of his rule in 1987, was probably detested by most Koreans. As well as his arrogance and other personality traits that made him unattractive to the people he ruled, was the barbarous way in which he had seized power. Unlike Park’s almost bloodless take-over, Chun used a degree of savagery without precedence in modern Korean history. He had without hesitation, set the military against the Korean people, and further, had refused to acknowledge responsibility for the Kwangju Incident, which had been officially labelled a ‘communist revolt’. Thus, questions of legitimacy surrounded Chun for the duration of his presidency.

It is accepted that South Korea did make some notable advances under Chun’s control, such as further economic growth and securing the rights to host the 1988 Summer
Olympics. However, the 1980s in Korea were a time underlined by serious social unrest as the people sought to free themselves from their president’s oppressive regime. Chun’s fundamental mistake was in assuming that the Korean people would continue to accept him as a virtual dictator. By 1987, public distaste for Chun’s regime peaked and when he announced that all discussion of revising the nation’s Constitution and electing a new president would have to wait until after the Summer Olympics, widespread demonstrations took place. The situation deteriorated with the death of a student at the hands of the National Police, and the appointment of Roh Tae Woo as head of the ruling political party. Roh, however, stunned the nation and outwitted Chun by announcing a series of reforms that included direct presidential elections, reinstatement of political rights and other liberalisation measures, and further stated that he would resign from public life if Chun did not accept these measures. After two days, Chun accepted the proposals that paved the way for the election of Roh Tae Woo as president in December 1987, thereby ending his bloody and unpopular rule.

After Chun left presidential office he continued to be plagued by questions of impropriety in financial matters and for his part in the Kwangju Incident. In November 1988, Chun made a public apology for misdeeds during his presidency and removed himself from public gaze for two years to a remote Buddhist monastery in Kangwŏn province. On his return to Seoul in December 1990, he kept a low profile amidst calls by student and other movements for investigations into his wrongdoings. During the presidency of Roh, Chun remained largely out of reach of the public’s anxiety for justice, but when Roh handed over the reigns of the presidency to Kim Young Sam in 1993, public outcry reached new heights. By late 1994, Chun was arrested for corruption on charges that while president he had taken two-hundred and seventy six million US dollars or thereabouts in bribes. He was placed on trial not only for his corruption, but also for his part in the Kwangju Incident. In August 1996, he was fined an amount which corresponded to the proceeds of his corruption and sentenced to death for his direction of the bloody coup d'état and the Kwangju Incident. Impeached with Chun was Roh Tae Woo, who was also fined heavily for bribe-taking and sentenced to twenty-two years in prison for aiding Chun to snatch power. The once arrogant Chun now humbly accepted the sentence of the court. However, in 1997 with the presidential election of Kim Dae Jung, an opponent Chun had once sentenced to death, a wave of compassion swept Korea. As a result, both Chun and Roh were pardoned by the special edicts of president-elect Kim Dae Jung and the outgoing Kim Young Sam. Thus, with the election of arguably his greatest enemy, Chun was able to return in safety to his home and family in Seoul.

Chung Buk National University

Situated in Ch’ŏngju in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Chung Buk (Ch’ungbuk) National University was founded in September 1951 as the junior college Torip Ch’ŏngju Ch’ogâp Nonggwa Taehak. In January 1953, it became the four-year Ch’ŏngju Nonggwa Taehak with Cho Hyŏnha as its first president. Several years later, in April 1956, a name-change gave it the title, Torip Ch’ungbuk Taehak.

In 1962, a merger took place with Ch’ungnam Taehakkyo in Taejŏn and a national university was formed, known as Kungnip Ch’ungch’ŏng Taehakkyo. The university’s Taejŏn campus consisted of the Colleges of Engineering and Physics while the Ch’ŏngju campus contained the College of Agriculture. Management problems arose from the location of the two campuses in separate provinces and as a result, the colleges reverted to their former status as separate institutions in March 1963.

The college’s undergraduate curriculum was expanded and in 1968, a master’s degree course commenced. This was followed by a doctoral program in 1973. In December 1977, the college gained university status, consisting of the Colleges of Engineering; Agriculture; Social Sciences; and Education. In the following March, Chŏng Pŏmmo was appointed as
the university’s first president. Since that time, new colleges, graduate schools and research centres have been added.

Today, the university consists of twelve colleges and six graduate schools: the Colleges of Agriculture; Commerce & Business Administration; Education; Engineering; Home Economics; Humanities; Law; Medicine; Natural Sciences; Pharmacology; Social Science; and Veterinary Medicine; as well as the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Education; Industry; Legal Affairs; and Public Administration. Chung Buk has a museum with over three-thousand artefacts, including bone carvings, metal work and jade jewellery.

**Chung Ju-yung (1915- )**

Chung Ju-yung (Chŏng Chuyŏng) is the founder of the Hyundai business group. He was born in Ansan of Kangwŏn Province to a farming family. His father taught him Chinese characters when he was young and then Chung underwent a normal primary school education of about five years. This constituted the extent of his formal education. As a young man he held numerous temporary jobs before opening an auto repair business in Seoul, at the age of twenty-five. He continued developing this business after the liberation of Korea and renamed it the Hyundai Auto Repair Company. He also wanted to diversify into the construction industry and in 1950 founded the Hyundai Construction Company. The construction side grew rapidly, Chung having earned the trust of President Syngman Rhee (Yi Siingman). His company completed several major projects, including a bridge over the Han River in Seoul. The presidency of Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi), saw Chung increase further the range of his business, and he built dams, highways and major power plants. Notable among these projects is the Seoul-Pusan Expressway that links the two major industrial and population centres of South Korea. He then sought construction contracts in the Middle East, where Hyundai Construction soon gained international stature.

Chung also launched companies in shipbuilding, automobile manufacture and electronics, which saw Hyundai established as one of the world’s largest industrial firms. He established, in 1977, the Asan Foundation, which provides funds for health care in underprivileged areas. Holding political aspirations, Chung founded the National Unification Party. and ran as a candidate in the 1992 presidential elections, but was an also-ran to Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsam). In the years following, Chung handed over the reigns of the Hyundai Group to his son and retired from public life.

**Chung Nam National University**

Situated in Kung-dong in Taejŏn, Chung Nam University (Ch’ungnam Taehakkyo) was accredited in May 1952. The campus dates from June 1953 and initially it consisted of three colleges and seven departments. It lies at the foot of Mt. Pomun. The undergraduate curriculum was expanded over a few years, and in 1957 a master’s degree program was established.

In 1962, a merger with Torip Ch’ungbuk Taehak in Ch’ŏngju established a national university called Kungnip Ch’ungch’ŏng Taehakkyo. The newly-formed Taejŏn campus had the Colleges of Engineering and Physics, while the Ch’ŏngju campus contained the College of Agriculture. However, the location of the two campuses in separate provinces led to serious management problems. The solution lay in the merged schools reverting to their former status as separate institutions in March 1963. In that year, Chung Nam University instituted its doctoral program.

The university continued to grow with the opening of new colleges and research institutions. Today, it consists of twelve colleges: the Colleges of Agriculture; Arts & Music; Economics & Management; Engineering; Humanities; Home Economics; Law;
Medicine; Natural Science; Pharmacology; Social Science; and Veterinary Medicine. For post-graduate studies, Chung Nam has the Graduate School as well as the Graduate Schools of Business Management; Education; Industry; Public Administration; and Public Health. University publications include the Ch'ungdae Shinmun in Korean and the Chungdae Post in English.

One of the school’s more prominent research centres is the Paekche Yŏn’guso, which is affiliated with the College of Humanities. Founded in 1971, this research institute undertakes studies of Paekche history as well as the traditional culture of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. In addition to its research, field work and publications, the institute holds an international conference on Paekche history every other year.

Chung-ang University

Chung-ang University (Chungang Taehakkyo) is a private university located in Hŭksŏk-dong in Seoul. Its beginnings are found in the Kindergarten Teacher Certificate Program established at Chung-Ang kindergarten in 1922. This was followed, in 1928, by the opening of Chung-Ang Normal School (Chungan Poyuk Hakkyo), a technical school for girls. In 1932, Dr. Louise Yim (Im Yŏngshin) became principal of the school and transferred it to its present location. The school became co-educational when it was accredited as Chung-Ang College in 1947. By 1953, it had become a university, with four colleges and a graduate school. In 1955, a branch was opened in Iri, only to be shut down in 1960.

In 1965, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences was reorganised into the Colleges of Liberal Arts, Sciences and Education. At the same time, a demonstration kindergarten, a primary school, middle school and high school; and a girls’ middle school and high school were established in association with the College of Education. In 1967, the Graduate School of Social Development opened its doors, followed by the College of Agriculture and College of Business Administration a year later.

In 1974, Seorabol Art College merged with the university, becoming the College of Arts. In 1979, a second campus was founded in Ansong in Kyŏnggi Province, along with the Graduate School of International Management, and in December of that year, the Graduate School of Education was established. The university continued to expand in the 1980s, with the creation of the Graduate School of Mass Communication in 1980; the College of Foreign Languages, College of Social Science and College of Home Economics in 1981; the College of Music in 1982; the Graduate School of Construction Engineering in 1984; the reorganisation of the College of Liberal Arts and Science into the College of Liberal Arts and College of Sciences in 1987; and the Graduate School of Industrial Management in 1989. By 1995, the University consisted of ten graduate schools and sixteen undergraduate colleges encompassing five faculties and seventy departments. School publications include the Chungdae shinmun in Korean and Chungang Herald in English.

Chungang Chŏngbo Pu

Chungbo munhŏn pigo (Enlarged Bibliography of Korean Materials)

Chungbo munhŏn pigo is an encyclopaedic collection that was compiled by royal decree from 1903 to 1908. This work consists of 250 volumes in sixteen categories and was printed with movable metal type. Originally, a royal decree in 1769 ordered this work to be compiled and it was published in 1770 under the title of Tongguk munhŏn pigo. (Bibliography of Korean Materials) The original collection contained thirteen categories including astronomy, rites, geography, music, military affairs, law, land-taxes, population, civil service structure, and education among others, and totalled one-hundred volumes. Shortly thereafter, in 1782, Yi Manun was appointed by King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) to
revise the work and this was completed for the time in 1790. However, there were many omitted items and as a result the work of revising and expanding this collection continued until the time of Yi Manun’s death in 1797. At this time the work included seven additional categories of unusual phenomena, palaces, the genealogy of the royal family, clan names, foreign affairs, arts and literature, and posthumous titles, and now was composed of 146 volumes. However, the work was never published. In 1903 the work was ordered to be revised by royal decree and a group of over thirty scholars contributed to the effort. The work was reorganised into sixteen categories and 250 volumes and published in 1908.

The categories of the work are astronomy (12 volumes), geography (27 volumes), imperial lineage (14 volumes), rites (36 volumes), military affairs (10 volumes), law (14 volumes), land-taxes (13 volumes), national expenditures (7 volumes), population (2 volumes), market affairs (8 volumes), selection of officials (18 volumes), official envoys (13 volumes), education (12 volumes), governmental hierarchy (28 volumes), and literature and arts (9 volumes). Chungbo munhōn pigo is an important document for historical research on the Chosŏn Kingdom as it contains a wide spectrum of data that covers many aspects of life during this period. In addition the work is valuable to track changes in the Chosŏn Kingdom after its original publication in 1770 since all of the materials added after that time are denoted by the Chinese character po (supplement), thereby enabling changes to be readily observed.

Chunggyŏng chi

Chunggyŏng chi is an anthology of regional history, geography and customs of the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods that was compiled by Kim Ijae in 1824 and enlarged and published by Cho Pyŏnggi in 1855. It is a total of eleven volumes and six fascicles, and is a woodblock-printed book. Kim desired to create an anthology of ūpchi, a collection of regional history, geography and customs, and at this time renamed this genre of literary works as ‘chunggyŏng chi’. This work centres on the so-called three capitals of Kaesŏng, Hanyang and P’yon Yang and details the important qualities of each in turn. This work is based upon the Songdo chi of the Koryŏ period and incorporates this prior work into its contents.

The first volume of Chunggyŏng chi contains a record of the origins of the Koryŏ Kingdom and the second volume records information concerning the boundaries of the country, county names, dimensions of the fortresses, names of the people and population figures among other items. The third volume lists famous mountains and rivers and other scenic spots and the fourth volume covers palaces and royal gravesites. The fifth volume lists schools, shrines and altars, while the sixth volume includes military organisation and duty stations. In the seventh volume ancient remains are discussed, and the eighth volume presents examples of loyal vassals, filial sons, virtuous women and other historic personages. The ninth volume is a supplement and the tenth volume discusses the literary and military arts among other topics. The eleventh volume discusses various official positions.

This work is a valuable source of information for the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, with most of the material being from the Koryŏ period. The extant portion contains some fifty categories of data from these periods and covers a wide spectrum of issues. It should be noted, however, that the data concerning Kaesŏng is simply reproduced from the earlier works. The work is now stored at the Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University.

Chungin

The appellation chung’in class, or the ‘intermediary class,’ refers to the social class in Chosŏn which lay between the ruling yangban class and the yangin (freeborn commoners) class. The term also applied to the official positions held by members of this class, being
mostly medical officials, technicians in the offices of astronomy and meteorology, accountants, translators and law clerks. The *chungin* class is a Chosön phenomena, and there are no records from Koryŏ that reveal such a class. In the *Koryŏsa* (History of Koryŏ) there are records that reveal social classes such as *yangban*, *yangin* and *chonin* (lowborn), but none relating to *chungin*.

There are two cases for the use of *chungin*. First, it is used to indicate the various officials who filled professional positions in the Chosön officialdom in central Seoul, such as medical officials (*t'ugwan*), interpreters (*yǒkkwan*), accountants (*san'gwan*), legal clerks (*yulgwan*), official scribes (*sajagwan*), court painters (*hwawǒn*) and officials at the office of the calendar (*yǒkkwan*) among other professional positions which were filled by the many illegitimate offspring of *yangban* (*sǒl*). Second, it is used to indicate those who filled positions such as local functionaries (*hyangni*), petty clerks (*sari*), local civilian officials (*t'ogwan*), military officers (*changgyo*), officials of post stations (*yǒngni*) and the supervisors of government stockbreeding establishments (*mokcha*), among others.

Examining the origins of the narrow sense of the term *chungin*, it is thought that it came into use since those that filled the professional positions in the Chosön bureaucracy lived in the central districts of the capital, hence the term ‘middle people.’

The structure of the *chungin* class, when compared to the other social classes of Chosön, is quite complex. Of the *chungin* class, part reflected the social status of the *yangban* class that was above them, while the other part was quite similar in social status to the *ch'ǒnin* class below them. This is due to the innumerable variety of occupations they occupied, giving them different social standing which, assessed with their remuneration, accorded them varying social status. In Chosön, although social position was determined under the premise of a person’s occupation, conversely it was the regulations attaching to such occupation that determined social position. Thus, the organisation of the *chungin* class was quite involved, as the differences in social position among its members were substantial. For example, there were various limits on how high a position the different occupations could reach in officialdom, with some professionals being able to achieve the fifth official rank and local civilian officials able only to reach the seventh grade. Moreover, positions such as local functionaries, officials of post stations and the supervisors of government stockbreeding establishments did not have any civil rank whatsoever. Therefore, it is clear that a wide range of sub-classes existed within the overall composition of the *chungin* class.

The higher positions among the *chungin* class were those in the central area of the Chosön bureaucracy, obtainable by passing the Miscellaneous Examinations (*chap kwə*) for technical specialists, foreign languages, medicine, astronomy (that included both geomancy and meteorology), and law. Those successful in their examinations could then take positions in government offices such as the Bureau of Interpreters of Foreign Languages (Sayǒgwǒn); Palace Medical Office (Chǒngigam); Office for the Observance of Natural Phenomena (Kwansangso); and the Ministry of Punishments (Hyǒngjo). Further, the training of specialists was also managed by these agencies. The literati of Chosön regarded the foregoing positions as being undisciplined and as such, unworthy of members of the *yangban* class. Thus, it fell to the *chungin* class to perform these functions and as a result, they became largely hereditary occupations.

By the late eighteenth c. the social position of the *chungin* class began to improve, as they encroached upon the domain of the *yangban*. The key to their improved situation was the contacts they enjoyed with Qing China, which enabled them to become exposed to advanced Western culture and to also amass large personal fortunes through trade. So the increased economic power of this group resulted in an increase in social prestige, particularly in contrast to the so-called ‘fallen’ *yangban*, who had effectively lost their social status. The *chungin* class readily embraced ideologies such as *shirhak* (practical learning) and Catholicism, both of which offered equality and the promise of change in the *yangban-
dominated social structure of Chosôn. As well, their mastery of technical skills made them indispensable to Chosôn society, and further elevated their position. It is not surprising, therefore, to find many members of the chungin class not only at the head of the reform movements which emerged during the late nineteenth c., but often the motive force for implementing reformation.

While the chungin class as such had ceased to exist by the end of Chosôn, the legacy of its members remains in extant writings. Since they were not of the yangban class, it proved difficult for their literary works to be published, but this was overcome with several collections by chungin class writers, such as the 1857 compilation P'ungyo samsôn (Third Selection of Poems of the People). Also, there were various literary circles founded among members of the chung'in and the lower classes that sought to provide members with outlets for their works. Chief among these was the Jade Bridge Poetry Association (Okkyo Shisa), which was centred on the medical officials of the central Seoul area.

Bibliography

Chungjong kyorin chi

Chungjong kyorin chi is a Chosôn period book that covers the foreign policy of Chosôn. It is composed of six volumes and two fascicles and was printed with movable type. Kim Könso along with Yi Unhyo and Im Sômú compiled the book in 1802. It details the foreign policies of Chosôn with Japan and other neighbouring countries, with the exception of China. The compilers undertook the work at their own expense and on completion it was presented to King Sunjo (r.1800-1834). T'ongmun'gwon chi, a similar book, but focusing chiefly on China, had been compiled in 1720 by Kim Könso’s grandfather, Kim Kyôngmun. Chungjong kyorin chi greatly enlarged on the treatment given to neighbouring countries in the earlier work and also included details of new treaties and official protocol towards these countries.

The foreign policy of Chosôn was centred on the principle of sadae (serving the great) towards China and of equal relationships with other friendly nations. The friendly nations that surrounded Korea at this time included the nations of Japan, Jurchen and Ryukyu, among others. Most important in these relations was the Japanese Island of Tsushima, which served as point of entry for Japanese envoys and trade missions to Korea. Tsushima acted as the central point from which relations between Korea and Japan were conducted. Chungjong kyorin chi contains much information concerning the protocol, treaties and diplomatic affairs between Korea and Japan, particularly as to the role of Tsushima in this exchange. The manner in which to greet envoys from Japan, the types of goods brought to Korea from Japan and other details of the diplomatic intercourse between the two countries are included in this work.

Chungjong kyorin chi was again updated and published in 1865 after new trade treaties were formalised between Japan and Korea. The new edition is composed of six volumes and three fascicles. Chungjong kyorin chi is a highly-valued record of how diplomatic relations were conducted between Korea and Japan in the late Chosôn period. Moreover, it details the unique role of Tsushima in the regulation of trade and diplomatic exchange between the two nations. The original copy of the Chungjong kyorin chi is now kept at the Kyujanggak Library of Seoul National University.

Chungsan'gyo (see New religions; Indigenous religions)

Chuül Hot Spring
Chuul Onch’ôn (hot spring) is situated in North Hamgyŏng Province’s Kyŏngsŏng County. The first syllable of onch’ôn actually comes from Chuulon, the Jurchen name for the site. Chuulon Township, the old administrative name for the area, reflects the original Jurchen name. Chuul Hot Spring is located about thirteen kms. northwest of the Chuul Railway Station at the village of Chuulonbo which lies between Yŏndu Peak (952m) and Ch’ŏnggye Peak (551m). With a daily flow of eight thousand litres and a temperature of 58°C., the spring is one of Korea’s hottest and largest. Records indicate that the spring was discovered during mid-Chosŏn. Close-by stands Chuulon Fortification, which was built during Chosŏn to resist the Jurchen invaders.

**Chuwang Mountain**

Situated to the east of Ch’ŏngsong in North Kyŏngsang Province, Mt. Chuwang (721 metres) is part of Chuwang-san National Park. With massive granite pinnacles and clear streams, the mountain is sometimes called the ‘Lessor Diamond Mountains of North Kyŏngsang Province.’ The mountain is made up of volcanic rock which has been shaped into spectacular cliffs and gorges. The picturesque Chubang Stream runs to the south-west just north of the peak. A popular trail follows the stream up to three waterfalls. Several Buddhist temples are located in the area, including Paengnyŏn Hermitage, Chuwang Hermitage and Taejŏn Temple. Numerous famous figures underwent spiritual training at Taejŏn Temple, including Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn, Naong, Tosŏn, Pojo, Muhak, Sŏ Kŏjŏng and Kim Chongik. The temple is also famous as the place where the monk Samyŏng trained an army to fight against the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598).

**Cities and Counties** (see under each city and county)

- Andong
- Ansan
- Ansŏng county
- Anyang
- Asan
- Changhŭng county
- Changsŏng county
- Changsu county
- Ch’angwŏn
- Ch’angyŏng county
- Chech’ŏn
- Cheju
- Ch’ŏlgok
- Chinan county
- Chinch’ŏn county
- Chindo county
- Chinhae
- Chinju
- Chinnamp’o
- Ch’ŏnan
- Ch’ŏngdo county
- Ch’ŏngjin
- Ch’ŏngju
- Chŏngsŏn County
- Ch’ŏngsong county
- Chŏngup
- Ch’ŏngwŏn county
- Chŏngyang county
- Chŏnju
Ch'ŏrwŏn county
Ch'un'ch'ŏn
Ch'ungju
Hadong county
Haeju
Haenam county
Haman county
Hamhung
Hamp'yŏng county
Hamyang
Hanam
Hapch'ŏn county
Hoengsŏng county
Hongch'ŏn county
Hŭngnam
Hwach'ŏn county
Hwasŏng county
Hwasun county
Ich'ŏn
Iksan
Imshil county
Inch'ŏn Metropolitan City (kwangyŏkshi)
Inje county
Kaesŏng
Kanggye
Kanghwa county
Kangjin county
Kangnung
Kap'yŏng county
Kijang county
Kimch'aek
Kimch'ŏn
Kimhae
Kimje
Kimp'o county
Koch'ang County
Kŏch'ang County
Koesan county
Kohŭng county
Kôje
Koksŏng county
Kongju
Koryŏng county
kosŏng county (Kangwŏn Province)
Kosŏng county (S. Kyŏngsang Prov.)
Koyang
Kumi
Kŭmsan county
Kunp'o
Kunsan
kunwi county
Kuri
Kuure county
Kwach'ŏn
Kwangju Metropolitan City (kwangyŏkshi)
Kwangju county
Kwangmyŏng
Kwangyang
Kyŏngju
Kyŏngsan
Masan
Miryang
Mokp'o
Muan county
Muju county
Mun'gyŏng
Myŏngch'ŏn county
Najin
Naju
Nam Cheju county
Nam yangju
Namhae county
Namwŏn
Nonsan
Okch'ŏn county
Ongjin county
Osan
P'aju
P'och'ŏn county
P'ohang
Ponghwa county
Poryŏng
Posŏng County
Po'ŭn county
Pusan county
Puch'ŏn
Pukcheju county
Pusan Metropolitan City (Kwangyŏkshi)
Puyo county
P'yŏngch'ang county
P'yŏngt'aek
P'yŏngyang
Sach'ŏn
Samch'ŏk
Sanch'ŏn county
Sangju
Sariwŏn
Seoul Special City (Sŏul t'ŭkpyŏlshi)
Shihŭng
Shinan county
Shinŭiju
Sŏch'ŏn county
Sŏgwip'o
Sokch'o
Sŏngju county
Sŏngnam
Sŏsan
Sunch'ang county
Sunch'ŏn
Suwon
Taean county
Cities and Counties (South Korea) by Provinces (see under each City and County)

Cheju Province
Cheja-shi
Nam Cheju-gun
Puk Cheju-gun
Sogwip'o-shi
Cholla, South and North Provinces (Cholla Namdo and Cholla Pukto)
Changhun-gun
Changsong-gun
Changsu-gun
Chinan-gun
Chindo-gun
Ch'ongsu-shi
Ch'ongsan-gun
Ch'onsu-shi
Ch'unch'o-n-shi
Haenam-gun
Hamp'yong-gun
Hwasun-gun
Iksan-shi
Imshil-kun
Iri-shi
Kangjin-gun
Kimje-shi
Koch'ang-gun
Kohung-gun
Kunsan-shi
Kurye-gun
Kwangju-kwangyokshi
Kwangyang-gun
Mokpo-shi
Muan-gun
Muju-gun
Naju-shi
Namwon-shi
Posong-gun
Puan-gun
Shinan-gun
Sunch'ang-gun
Sunch'on-shi
Tamyang-gun
Wando-gun
Wanju-gun
Yoch'on-gun
Yoch'on-shi
Yongam-gun
Yonggwang-gun
Yosu-shi

Ch'ungch'ong, South and North Provinces (Ch'ungch'ong Namdo and Ch'ungch'on Pukto)
Asan-shi
Chech'on-gun
Chech'on-shi
Chinch'on-gun
Ch'onan-shi
Ch'ongju-shi
Ch'ongw'on-gun
Ch'ongyang-gun
Ch'ungju-shi
Hongsong-gun
Koesan-gun
Kongju-shi
Kumsan-gun
Nonsan-shi
Okch’ŏn-gun
Onyang-shi
Poryŏng-gum
Po’ŏn-gun
Puyŏ-gun
Sŏch’ŏn-gun
Sŏsan-shi
T’aean-gun
Taejon-kwangyŏkshi
Tangjin-gun
Tanyang-gun
Umŏng-gun
Yesan-gun
Yŏngdong-gun
Yŏn’gi-gun
Kangwŏn Province
Ch’ŏllwŏn-gun
Chŏngsŏn-gun
Ch’unch’ŏn-shi
Hoengsŏng-gun
Hongch’ŏn-gun
Hwach’ŏn-gun
Inje-gun
Kangnung-shi
Kosŏng-gun
P’yŏngch’ang-gun
Samch’ŏk-shi
Sokch’ŏ-shi
T’aebaek-shi
Tonghae-shi
Wŏnju-shi
Yanggu-gun
Yangyang-gun
Yŏngwŏl-gun
Kyŏnggi Province
Ansan-shi
Ansŏng-gun
Anyang-shi
Hwasŏng-gun
Ich’ŏn-gun
Inch’ŏn-kwangyŏkshi
Kaesŏng-shi
Kanghwa-gun
Kap’yŏng-gun
Kimp’o-gun
Koyang-shi
Kunp’o-shi
Kuri-shi
Kwach’ŏn-shi
Kwangju-gun
Kwangmyŏng-shi
Nam Yangju-gun
Ongjin-gun
Osan-shi
P’aju-shi
P’och’ŏn-gun
Puch'ŏn-shi
P'yŏngtaek-shi
Shihüng-shi
Sŏngnam-shi
Sŏul-t'ŭkpyŏlshi (Seoul)
Suwŏn-shi
Tongduch'ŏn-shi
Ŭijŏngbu-shi
Ŭiwang-shi
Yangju-gun
Yangp'yŏng-gun
Yŏju-gun
Yŏnch'ŏn-gun
Yongin-shi

Kyŏngsang, South and North Provinces (Kyŏngsang Namdo and Kyŏngsang Pukto)
Andong-shi
Ch'angnyŏn-gun
Ch'angwŏn-shi
Ch'ilgok-shi
Chinhae-shi
Chinju-shi
Ch'ŏngdo-gun
Ch'ŏngsong-gun
Ch'ungmu-shi
Hadong-gun
Haman-gun
Hamyang-shi
Haypch'ŏn-gun
Kijang-gun
Kimch'ŏn-shi
Kimhae-shi
Kŏch'ang-shi
Kŏje-shi
Koryŏng-gun
Kosŏng-gun
Kumi-shi
Kuwangi-gun
Kyŏngju-shi
Kyŏngsan-shi
Masan-shi
Miryang-shi
Mun'gyŏng-shi
Namhae-gun
P'ohang-shi
Pongwha-gun
Pusan-kwangyŏkshi
Sach'ŏn-shi
Sanch'ŏng-gun
Sangju-gun
Sangju-shi
Taegu-kwangyŏkshi
Talsŏng-gun
Tongyŏng-shi
Ŭryŏng-gun
Ŭisŏng-gun
Ulchin-gun
Pokshik, the Sino-Korean word for costume is a combination of two characters pok and shik. Pok stands for garment, and shik represents headgear, footwear, belts and other decorative accoutrements. Throughout Korea's long history the basic form of Korean costume has remained intact. For instance, the triple combination of trousers (paji), vest (chôgori), and overcoat (turumagi), has constituted the core of Korean dress, and changes have been confined to modification of their incidental features.

The combination of separate vest and trousers has been the characteristic feature of the costume of the Altai race. In the beginning women did not have gender-specific trousers. However, later they began wearing skirts which distinguished their costume from that of men. Korean people are known as the white-clad race, because from ancient time to the late Chosôn dynasty, white was the everyday colour of the common people. The officials, of course had their robes of diverse colours which were emblematic of their position and power in the society. The charm of Korean dress lies chiefly in the beauty of its natural curve, its flowing supple lines. For instance, Tangili jacket with sharp angles at each corner emphasizes the beauty of undulating curves. It was modelled after Chinese jacket of Ming dynasty, and worn by court ladies during the Chosôn period. Besides, the Korean costume beautifully articulates aesthetic points of colour by not just painting colourful pictures on clothes, but by spinning fabrics of various natural colours into the texture of costumes.

Ancient Costume

Fragmentary records of ancient Korean costume can be found in the Chinese historical text Sânguozhi which relates that in such places as Sukshin and Okcho people wore clothes made of leather. In addition the people of the areas around present-day Cheju Island wore leather apparel, however they only had vests - the lower part of the body being naked. This is the only definitive record of Korean costumes in ancient times. Nonetheless, it appears that the Korean men wore an upper garment called yu above a pair of trousers. It is also surmised that they produced such fibres as hemp, silk and ramie. From the wall paintings of the Koguryô tombs of the 5th and 6th centuries we learn that early Korean costumes comprised two separate items, the vest and the trousers. From these murals it can be seen that the cuffs, collars and hems of the clothing of the people of Koguryô were laced with fabric of different colours.

The gold crown of the traditional Korean costume appears to be the most representative illustration of the Korean character. It is believed that because its resemblance to the headgear of shamans, the crown symbolised the shamanic prerogative of Korean kingship, a tradition which presumably came to Korea from the Skitai area. Belts were once made of either leather or hempen cloth, and were essential for tying long overflowing vests at the waist. Additionally, the royal clan wore such ornaments as necklaces, bracelets and rings, as well as padded socks (pôsôn), and even leather shoes. In later centuries, influenced by
China, the Korean costume underwent profound changes. The basic form, nonetheless, remained unchanged.

Koguryŏ period

The costume of Koguryŏ lent itself to a wide spectrum of diversity depending on the social status of the wearer or user. Headgear was a clear marker of social stratification, and decorations and material used in it distinguished the aristocrats from the commoners. Similarly, in dress a person's place in the hierarchy was recognisable by such aspects as length and width of sleeves of vests, width of trouser-legs and length of skirts. Color and decorative variations were also used as a means to show one's designated status in the stratified society of the times. Based on the Chinese records and the Koguryŏ wall paintings one can delineate the following picture of the costume of Koguryŏ.

Crown and caps: Officials and commoners wore chŏlp'ŭng, a peaked hat, while the aristocracy wore crowns decorated with precious stones. People generally inserted birds' feathers in their peaked hats. Women covered their hair with scarves (kon'gwik).

Dress: Men and women both wore vests which reached down to their hips. Beneath these vests they wore trousers or skirts. It is assumed that the higher the status of a person the wider the legs of their trousers (which were called taegugo). They also wore p'o, a coat, the cuffs, collars and hems of which were laced with fabric of multi-coloured stripes. Since neither the vest nor the coat had strings to tie them, people used a belt to fasten their clothes at the waist. Commoners used belts made of hemp, while the belts of the social elite were made of various materials including gold, silver and leather.

Shoes: The people wore shoes which resembled boots. Shoes were made of various materials such as leather, straw and hemp.

Women's dress: Basic components of the normal female attire were similar to those of men--trousers, vest and coat. However, on ceremonial occasions they would wear skirts. There were skirts with stripes of different colours as well as those with fine lines. It seems that people's social status was reflected in the length of their skirt.

Paekche period

Paekche developed its costume by integrating elements of the costume of Mahan and Chinhan with those of Koguryŏ, and in Paekche emphasis on costume as a definite index of social stratification was more pronounced than in the neighbouring kingdoms. However, unlike Koguryŏ whose tomb murals throw valuable light on its culture of dress, and its ancient records are also forthcoming on the subject, data available about Paekche costume is woefully meagre. According to the contemporary Chinese accounts, the Paekche king wore a coat or p'o with big sleeves of violet, his shoes were black, and his silk crown was embroidered with flowers of gold. This distinct decorative feature of the Paekche crown is corroborated by the archaeological evidence of the tomb of King Muryŏng which was excavated in 1971. Again, we have on the evidence of Zhigungtu (Portrait of Tributary Envoys) of the Liang dynasty that an envoy of Paekche had his headgear decorated with a feather, his robes full at the hem laced with fabric of different colour, and his trousers were not tied at the ankles--perhaps because of the weather. It is said that in the 27th year of the reign of King Koyi (260 A. D.) Paekche established a system of dress and colour. Nonetheless, the record seems to be of dubious provenance. The status of a person appears to have found expression in Paekche through the colours of the clothes and belt. We possess very little data on women's clothes, but it seems that their costumes were similar to those of Koguryŏ. In daily life they wore a vest and trousers, whilst on ceremonial occasions a skirt was worn over trousers. It is said that the coiffure of unmarried women of Paekche was plaïted at the back and dressed in a ponytail. Married women, on the other
hand, put up their hair in two braids and rolled and rounded them up into a hood.

**Shilla period**

It is said that in the beginning, the costume of Shilla did not possess any distinctive features and was similar to that of Koguryo and Paekche. In the 7th year of his reign King Pophueng promulgated dress code with the attendant colour regulations to denote the rank of the wearer. The colours of official robes were violet, red, blue and yellow in order of seniority, while the dress of the common people is assumed to have been either white or black. According to the *Tangshu* (Records of the Tang Dynasty) the people of Shilla covered their heads with black scarves known as *poktu*. It is apparent that Shilla emulated the colour regulations of China, but its system of costumes remained anchored in its indigenous traditions. Later in 648 A.D. the Chinese system of dress requirements for officials was adopted and enforced with effect from the following year which in fact inaugurated a period of continued co-existence of the Chinese system of official robes and the indigenous Korean system. The costumes of Shilla can be reconstructed along the following lines:

**Men's Clothes:** It seems that ushering in the middle period of the Shilla dynasty the headgear *poktu* was unicolour. People wore an upper garment or *yu*, then draped themselves with a jacket called a *p'oui* which was tied with a belt at the waist. As a lower garment they wore trousers. They also wore socks and shoes of various kinds. These shoes were invested with symbolic meanings to reveal one's wealth or status. The shoes of the aristocracy reached up to the ankle, and were quite ostentatious.

**Women's clothes:** Trousers and a vest formed the core female garb. Above these they wore an inner and an outer skirt. A blouse was also worn beneath the long upper garment (*panbi*). Under the influence of Tang China, the practice of wearing a short-sleeved garment and a sleeveless garment called *paedang*, which resembled the modern-day vest, was introduced. They also wore neckscarves (*p'ō*o) which dangled to the breast. They wore floral bands on their heads, as well as peaked hats decorated with jade, gold, silver, bronze or iron. Their coiffures were adorned with hairpins made of jade, sea-turtle shell or horns of animals, and they wore necklaces, earrings, bracelets and rings. This traditional Shilla costume was inherited by the Koryo with features surviving in the contemporary styles of Korean dress.

**Koryo period**

The costumes of Koryo can be divided into four periods. The first period is represented by the initial few decades of the unalloyed adoption of the Shilla tradition. The second period is marked by the span of three centuries of the influence of Shilla costumes, a phase which ended with the surrender of the court to the Mongols. The third period is represented by a century of Mongol influence when people imitated Mongolian hairstyles and adopted the Mongolian dress *chilson*. The fourth phase commenced when the Chinese Ming dynasty costumes were imported in 1386, a tradition which continued until the beginning of the Choson dynasty. Such a classification is premised on the enforcement of official dress codes during these periods. The common people continued to dress as their forefathers in the Shilla period. An upper garment or *yu* and trousers remained in vogue. Only in the third period did the common people start using Mongol dress, a practice which apparently filtered down to the ranks of the commoners. Nevertheless, the Mongolian costume was not radically different from the Korean costume in its essentials. The Mongolian influence was confined to hairstyle and headgear.

The first Phase: This period can be called a transitional phase and lasted for no more than twenty years after the founding of the Koryo dynasty. It emulated all aspects of the Shilla costume.
The second phase: This period commenced with the decree of four colours for official robes along with a new dress code. Emulating the system of Song China the court of Koryŏ established a mourning robe, court robes, an official robe, a sacrificial robe and a general robe. The four types of royal dress corresponded to the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dress</th>
<th>Crown</th>
<th>Belt</th>
<th>Jacket</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mourning robe</td>
<td>Black silk cap</td>
<td>Violet colour</td>
<td>deep gold colored jacket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court robe</td>
<td>Poku</td>
<td>soktæ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Worn when granting audience to officials and common people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official robe</td>
<td>Poku</td>
<td>jade belt</td>
<td></td>
<td>Worn when meeting Chinese envoys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrificial robe</td>
<td>Myŏllyugwan</td>
<td>white jacket made of ramie cloth</td>
<td>Same as that of the common people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A distinct feature of the royal robe was that kings wore golden-coloured overcoats. This differentiated the Korean royal costume from the robes of the Song and Ming emperors as well as appearing more majestic than the violet-coloured robes of the Chosŏn royalty.

**Headgear:** The sacrificial robe, court robe, official robe and mourning robe of the royalty were each of the respective officially designated colors. We do not have detailed information about the sacrificial robe or court robe. The scant record which is available about official royal dress reveals that during the reign of king Ŭijong, the colour of officials' robes differed according to their rank. Civil officials of the fourth rank and above wore maroon robes with golden ōdae (official markers of rank) as fasteners. Those of the fifth and sixth ranks wore a red robe and silver ōdae, while those between the seventh and ninth ranks wore yellow robes. The ōdae was a fish-shaped mark of identification which was broken into two. One was held at court and the other was carried by officials on their person. Officials were required to show their ōdae on entering the royal palace, and were allowed inside only when the two broken halves fitted to make a genuine marker. Since traditional Korea accorded respect to literati and looked down on military officials, military uniforms declined in significance in the course of time. Provincial officials had their own official robes. Their overcoats or sam were of violet, red and green.

**Women's clothes:** The traditional combination of trousers, skirt, and p'o was retained during the period with one innovation: women started wearing a black hood. The hood was called a mongsu and was made of three strips which were draped over the head and trailed to the ground. This costume remained prevalent amongst the elite of Korean society until the 18th century. The shirt or hansam reached to the hip and was fastened with a belt at the waist. An outer skirt made of eight strips was also worn over an inner skirt. Unlike the ancient period, trousers were not worn as underwear but were worn on many occasions as a replacement for the skirt as a lower garment. Trousers of the period were beautifully lined with silk.

The Third Phase:
This phase represents a span of over a century commencing from the reign of King Ch'ungnyŏl to that of King Kongmin when the structure of Korean dress was revolutionised under the influence of the Mongols. During this period every male member of Korean society from King down to commoner adopted the Mongolian hairstyle by shaving the frontal hair and wearing a pigtail. The practice of shaving the frontal hair lasted for a century while the pigtail survived until the beginning of the twentieth century. Korea was introduced during this period to the Mongolian coat chilson. The chilson had a straight collar and narrow sleeves, tailored as it was to the needs of a predominantly horse-riding
population. Korea was introduced at the time to the Mongol-style headgear *pallip*, as well as the *chokturi* (a black crown-like headpiece), which people started tying on their heads, and the *chobawi* which was used to protect oneself from the cold. These are all illustrations of the Mongolian influence. The fact that the word *chogori* is derived from the Mongolian word *Chögötöch’i*, and that the words for overcoat (*turumagi*) in provincial dialects *humae* and *hurigae* can be traced to the Mongolian *hurumakch’i* further confirm the immense influence of the Mongols on Korean costumes of the Koryo period.

Fourth Phase: This phase comprises a period of a few decades commencing with the reign of King Kongmin and ending with the establishment of the Choson dynasty. As this period witnessed a decline of the power of Yuan China established by the Mongols, Korea was moved to revive its lost customs and reform its system of dress. The tradition of shaving the front hair and wearing pigtailed was reformed, and a new institution was introduced whereby people wore hats with decorations on the top with such precious stones as crystal and jade which were commensurate with the wearers’ official positions. In the twelfth year of the reign of King U (1386) an embassy was dispatched to Ming China, petitioning the Ming emperor to issue dress for the king and officials of Koryo. The following year, when Envoy Sŏl Changsu returned to Koryo wearing the headgear *samo* and the coat *tallyong*, the dress code was re-formulated in accordance with the Ming (Chinese) system. According to this code officials holding first to ninth ranks wore *samo* and *tallyong*. Their belts, however, differed in accordance with their rank. *Samo* and *tallyong* featured in the official robes of the Song dynasty, and their revival during the Ming can be attributed to the ideological affinity between the two dynasties ruled by the Han race.

Choson period

Costumes of the Choson dynasty can be classified into three phases. The first phase is marked by the inheritance of the Koryo lineage of dress. This gave way to the second phase when Korea was faced with the major national crises of the Hideyoshi invasion of 1592 and the Qing invasion of 1636. The third phase started in the era of reforms of the late nineteenth century. There are three remarkable features which characterise the Choson dynasty costume. First, no major change in the structure of the costumes was introduced during the entire period of the Choson dynasty rule. Second, a typically Korean system of costume (though exclusive of official robes) seems to have crystallised during the period - most commoners wore the traditional coat, trousers and vest. As has been pointed out earlier, tenacious adherence to the basic structure of costumes from the dawn of history is one of the most remarkable attributes of the culture of dress on the Korean peninsula. The third feature of the period which needs to be noted is that while China changed its system of dress when the Manchus established the Qing dynasty, Choson Korea was unaffected and continued to abide by the Ming-style system. The system of dress during the Choson dynasty can be summarised as follows.

Royal robes: There were three categories of royal robe--the *konbok* to be worn with the crown *myöollyu kwan*, the *kangsa p’o* which was worn with the *wonyu kwan* and the *kollyong p’o* with the *iksön kwan*. The first was a ceremonial and sacrificial robe bearing the royal insignia. The *Konbok* comprised of an *i* (black coat), a *sang*, consisting of seven strips and resembling a screen, exhibiting innumerable folds at the waist, a *chungdan*, a white garment to be worn on the upper body, a *p’esul*, which the king wore on his knees, belts (*taetdae* and *p’aebae*) to be tied at the waist, a ceremonial decorative article called *su*, a padded sock (*mal*), a shoe (*sŏn*) and a jade baton (*okkyu*) which the king wielded in his hands. The Choson dynasty kings wore *wonyu’gwan* and *kangsap’o* when they received the ceremonial obeisances of their ministers. *Iksön* kwan and *kollyong p’o* were every-day wear for royalty. Kings wore coat-like garments known as *tapho* or *ch’ŏmini*, beneath which were worn the traditional trousers and vests. It appears that the robes of the Choson rulers were imported from Ming China. Nevertheless, the fundamentals of the royal costume were not much different from those of the early Koryo
period. Every time a king ascended the throne, Ming China sent royal robes. With the fall of the Ming, however, the practice ceased and the Korean costume style differed from that of China under the Qing.

**Dress of the Crown prince**: The early Chosŏn dynasty rulers unsuccessfully petitioned the Chinese court for official robes for the crown prince. As every-day wear, the crown prince of the Chosŏn court wore ıkson' kwan headgear and a dragon-embossed robe or kollyong p'o. In his study he wore hongjingnyong and ch'ŏmni, red coats with a straight collar.

**Officials' Dress**: Although the uniform of Chosŏn officials was basically patterned on that worn by officials of Ming China, there were certain subtle differences in detail. The Ming model of the Chosŏn dynasty costumes was a ceremonial outfit which officials wore over the traditional Korean trousers, chŏgori, chungdan, tapho, ch'angūi, and overcoat (turumagi).

**Court Dress**: Official dress of the Chosŏn dynasty comprised embroidered black hats known as yang kwan or kum kwan with ornamental hairpins known as mokch'am. Numbers of vertical lines called yang on the garments denoted the rank held by the official. Officials wore vests(chŏgori), trousers and tapho covered by a blue coat (ch'ŏngsam). Two additional layers of clothes, namely sang and a red coat called hongsam were also worn.

**Sacrificial Robe**: This comprised the yang kwan headgear and the same robe as for court dress; the only difference was that the hongsam was replaced by a ch'ŏngsam.

**Mourning Robe**: People wore tallyŏng over the traditional Korean trousers, vest and coat, and the samo headgear. Perhaps due to the neo-Confucian emphasis on ancestral rites and ritual mourning dress was accorded supreme significance during the Chosŏn dynasty. In the second year of the reign of King Tanjong (1454) the state decided to adopt the hyungbae system already in use in Ming China. Hyungbae is an embroidered emblem that was attached to the front and back of officials' dress to signify their rank and position. Designated colouring of the tallyŏng was another mode of demarcation between officers of different ranks.

**Every-day wear of the literati**: The Chosŏn literati wore every-day wear below their official uniforms which were of various kinds. The turumagi or overcoat represents a uniquely Korean style of outer garment, and has been transmitted from Koguryŏ, Shilla and Koryŏ down to the present day. Chingnyŏng: was one of the various styles of jacket, and was popular with both the literati and commoners during the early Chosŏn dynasty. The style emerged during the Koryŏ period as a consequence of the Mongol influence. Before the Hideyoshi invasion it was pleated at the armpits and worn by both men and women. The Ch'ŏmni was a common wear shaped on the top like a vest, and below like a skirt. This was commonly covered by a tapho. Chungdan was a garment worn with official dress, which later appears to have developed into the top'o. The Top'o emerged during the reign of King Chongjong (1506-1544) and continued to be in vogue amongst the literati as an every-day outer garment until the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. The Samiŭ seems to have derived its initial impulse from the prevalence of the Confucian code of ethics during the Chosŏn dynasty and developed as a garment of the gentry. It was a connected piece with vest at the top and a skirt-like undergarment below. The Ch'angūi was designed in the era prior to the sixteenth century as an intermediary form of garment between the turumagi and the top'o. Ch'angūi were worn with both long sleeves and short sleeves. They consisted three strips, and if sewn on both sides, they resembled a turumagi.

**Common people's dress**: The common people always wore the basic traditional Korean dress, namely paji (trousers) and chŏgori (vest). However, the government
imposed various restrictions on commoners whereby they were forbidden to wear silken, coloured or embroidered dress. As a result, white became the most predominant common attire, and as noted above, the Korean people became widely known as the 'white-clad people'. Commoners wore a headgear called *p'yôngnamja*, as well as such clothes as *chin'gyông* and *ch'omni*.

**Women's dress:** Women of the Chosŏn period preserved the basic structure of vest, trouser and skirt which was handed down from the Shilla times. While men's clothes demonstrated the transmission of a parallel tradition in the form of official robes imported from China, women's clothes exemplified mostly indigenous tradition. The queen was the only exception. In daily life she wore traditional Korean dress, but on ritual occasions in the palace she wore officially sanctioned dress imported from Ming China. In general the vest and skirt formed the core of the feminine ensemble, and though changes in different periods of history affected their length, width or other marginal features, this basic structure remained almost intact. Worthy of note in a discussion of women's appearance and dress are various accessories which were used for decoration of the head. On outings, women would wear such veil-like clothes on their heads as the *nōul*, the *ssulgaechi'ma* and the *changot* for covering the face. In the early Chosŏn period a wig named *k'ŭnmō* was in vogue. However, this was banned by a royal edict during the reign of King Yŏngjo (1724-1776), and all traces of it were erased from history. Another garment, the *Tangū*, similar to modern-day vest was devised after the Qing invasion. Additionally, there was a ceremonial garment called *malgun* which ladies of the aristocratic families wore over their skirts when riding horses. It disappeared during or before the twilight years of the Chosŏn dynasty. Notwithstanding their low social status, female entertainers of the Chosŏn dynasty were allowed to lead a life of luxury. They were permitted to wear silken clothes and have them gilded or silver plated.

**Modern development, 1876-**

The era of reform in Korean history refers to the period between 1876 when Japan forced the Kanghwado treaty on Korea and 1910 when the nation was colonised. During this period Korea shed off its isolationist policy and opened its doors to embrace western civilization. At the time the influence of egalitarian ideals led to the simplification of dress styles. The dress reform initiated in 1884 stipulated black for officials, and it was no longer the dress but *hyungbae* which signified official rank. The sleeves of official dress were also narrowed and according to the reform of 1895, use of *tapho* was proscribed, and both officials and commoners were instructed to wear black *turumagi* (overcoats). The 1895 reform was an unprecedented and epoch-making event in the history of Korean costume whose inspiration can be traced to the consciousness of equality between officials and commoners, as well as to a quest for a convenient lifestyle unencumbered by ceremonial paraphernalia. A 'Dress code for Civil officials' was proclaimed in April 1904 and stipulated adoption of the Western-style suit as the formal attire of officials. The western-style dress of Korea was modelled on that of Japan which in turn had appropriated the dress of the British court for its officials. The major formal occasions officials were required to wear a frock coat and trouser of the same colour with a bicorné hat. Dress for lesser occasions was a frock coat, trousers of a different colour and a silk hat. After 1910 there was a shift in emphasis away from the dress culture of the court to that of the common people. An explanation of the rapid Westernisation of the Korean culture of dress can be found in the contemporary historical reality, for it was closely related to the imperialist agenda of Japan which had westernised its institutions much earlier than Korea. By enforcing westernisation of Korean costume Japan sought to achieve its political objective of the annihilation of traditional Korean culture and its economic goal of the transformation of Korea into a supplier of textile goods.

After the liberation of Korea in 1945 when the American forces were deployed in Korea
and many Koreans who lived in exile in the U. S. A. returned the use of Western dress became increasingly widespread. The growth of the popularity of western dress in the post-liberation era stemmed from the realisation amongst the Korean people of its functionality in a working environment. The mechanism involved in the spread of western-style dress at the time was based on voluntary adoption, and therefore it was essentially different from the previous era of Japanese imperialism when it was not grounded in popular consensus. In this era the younger generation demonstrated warm enthusiasm for western-style dress compared to the older generation which showed an inclination for the traditional Korean dress. The last five decades of liberation have witnessed some variations and modifications in the dress of both men and women which involved, for men, shortening and lengthening of coat collars and trouser cuffs, and for women, diversification of form and style in line with the latest trends in the world of fabric.

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Communications

In ancient times communication in Korea was achieved as in most places in the world. Various methods such as word of mouth, signals and signal fires were utilised to facilitate the transfer of information. With the development of written language, communication was also accomplished by the employment of couriers to carry written messages from one location to the next. Of course, the development of paper made the delivering of written messages even easier. The evolution of the processes involved in communication developed side-by-side with the progress of human civilisation.

In Korea the first records of efforts to manage long distance communications in a more efficient manner are found in the Shilla Kingdom. According to records in the Samguk sagi (The History of the Three Kingdoms) in 487 CE Shilla established post stations in each of the four directions. The post system (yŏkch'’am) enabled messages to be transferred by way of couriers who would carry these from one outpost to the next. In the following Koryŏ period, this system of posts was extended greatly and allowed communications with outlying areas. The total number of posts in the Koryŏ period is recorded in the Koryo sa (History of Koryo) as being 525, which were connected by twenty-two post roads. By the subsequent Chosŏn period, the communication systems were further improved due not only to the growth in the size of the nation, but also because of situations that required rapid communications such as frequent invasions. Notable among the communication systems in the Chosŏn period was the arrangement of beacon fires that served to signal urgent information to the capital. For more detailed information, a network of post-stations was maintained, and this was utilised for most government communications. These methods were far from perfect and barely managed to satisfy the needs of government demands.

Postal Services

Due to the isolationist policies of Chosŏn, relations with foreign nations other than China and Japan did not occur until the waning days of the Kingdom. However by the mid 1880s, some innovative thinkers within the Chosŏn government had begun to embrace the systems of the West. One of the areas that these new ideas were incorporated into was that of communications. In December 1882 the Chosŏn government established the Board for General Control of Diplomatic and Commercial Affairs (T‘ongi kyosŏp t’ongsang samu amun) to handle matters of communication such as postal services, diplomatic communiques and telegraphic services. This office was under the charge of Hong Yŏngshik, who in the following year travelled to both Japan and America for an inspection of their communication facilities. In New York, Hong was deeply impressed by the American system, and in Japan he stated that Korea needed to establish a postal system as in Japan, and he requested that Japan provide three individuals to help establish the system in Korea. In 1884 the Postal Administration (Ujongguk) was established in Korea by order of King Kojong, and Hong was made Vice-Minister in charge of its operation. However, later that same year while Hong hosted a banquet for government officials and foreign diplomats, conspirators carried out a coup d’etat (Coup d’Etat of 1884; Kapshin
chŏngbyŏn) which although it ultimately failed, brought about great reforms. One of the consequences of the coup was the collapse of the postal service.

In 1895 a new post office (Uch’esa) was created first in Seoul and then Inch’ŏn, and by 1899 every county and town in Korea was able to send and receive mail. By 1900 the postal service undertook for the first time exchange of mail with foreign countries. However, by the time of the Russo-Japanese War, this service fell under the jurisdiction of the Japanese. The sphere of communications was deemed an essential area by the Japanese in Korea and after the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, there was little that the Koreans could do but watch as the Japanese seized many of the fundamental industries in Korea. In the Colonial period, the postal services in Korea were expanded and spread throughout the country. However, like all else in Korea during this tumultuous period, the postal service was subject to strict control and geared towards maximum benefit for the Japanese.

With liberation from Japanese rule in August 1945, the postal system was paralysed. Despite the nation suffering from shortages of manpower and resources, the need for a functional postal system was evident and the government made the establishment of a modern postal system a priority. With the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, a postal system was implemented under the management of the Ministry of Communication (Ch’eshinbu). The Ministry of Communication was given autonomy in its operations, the communication industry was equipped and expanded, and a post office was established in each township. These ensured that the post office would function properly and all Koreans would benefit from its establishment.

The efficiency of the Korean post office was greatly improved with the introduction of five digit postal codes in July 1970 and the standardisation of envelope sizes in January 1974. The postal codes in Korea were revised in February 1988 to six digits, which enabled the system to become even more highly mechanised. Presently, additional mechanisation is underway including such advanced technology as optical scanning machines to further increase the efficiency of the mail delivery system. As of 1995, South Korea boasted a total of 3,455 post offices and 53,724 mailboxes across the nation. The postal system handled about 2.72 billion pieces of domestic mail in 1995, which was an increase of 10.4 per cent from 1994. International mail accounted for 21.62 million items in 1995 which was up 5.6 per cent from the prior year. Incoming international mail was numbered at 36.44 million pieces in 1995.

Since 1991 the government has been executing a comprehensive plan for the computerisation of the nation’s post offices. This plan consists of five stages beginning with the complete computerisation of domestic and international operations in 1992. The second phase was the computerisation of the domestic parcels sector, which was begun in December 1993. In July 1994, the government completed the third stage by computerising the international parcel post by linking 1,575 post offices. According to this master plan, all of the nation’s post offices are to be linked and will provide a variety of services for consumers, including such items as air and train reservations.

Telegraphic Communications

The telegraph came into East Asia in the latter half of the nineteenth c. Japan was the first in 1869 with its Tokyo-Yokohama line, and China followed in 1881 with the Shanghai - T’einchin line. Korea followed her two neighbours in 1885 with a line that linked ŭiju and Inch’ŏn and was built by the Chinese. ŭiju is located at the mouth of the Yalu River and the line was soon extended to reach deep into Manchuria, where it could facilitate the perceived need of both the Korean and Chinese governments for rapid communications. However, this line was completely under the control of the Chinese and was merely a link in their aggressive designs on Korea. The second line was the Seoul-Pusan line that was built by the Japanese in 1888. This line was then linked to Japan by an undersea cable. This
second line was initially under the auspices of the Korean Bureau of Telegrams (Chosôn chônbo ch' ongguk) but after the Russo-Japanese War it came under the control of the Japanese Government. After the advent of the colonial period, the telegraph facilities in Korea, as all other modes of modern communication, fell under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Government-General.

During the colonial period, telegraph facilities became widespread throughout Korea. In the forty years (1905-1945) that Japan controlled the communications network in Korea, the telegraph system accomplished the following: 1) it provided a convenient facility for Japanese residents in Korea; 2) it assisted the oppression of Koreans by the Japanese government; 3) it linked Korea to the continent of Asia; 4) it served the Japanese war-effort in Asia. As with most other modernization in Korea during the colonial period, the benefit to Korean people was minimal. This is witnessed in the 1941 decree that banned any telegraphic transmissions in han'gul.

After liberation the telegraph industry in Korea was first devastated by a lack of capital, and then by the Korean War. However, in the aftermath of the War, the Korean government directed great resources into the development of a modern communication network throughout the country. As a result, by the 1970s there were telegraph facilities across the nation which served to make communications easier for those living in rural areas. Now, the importance of the telegraph system has diminished, as home, office and mobile telephones have become widespread and replaced the telegraph as the chief means of communication.

Telephone Services

Telephone technology arrived in Korea relatively soon after its invention in 1876 by Alexander Graham Bell. In March 1882 the first telephone was introduced in Korea and an experimental connection was made. However, a telephone service in the modern sense did not begin for another twenty years when the first public telephone service was introduced in Korea, on 20 March 1902. In May of the same year a line was established connecting Hansŏng (modern day Seoul) to Kaesŏng, and in June city telephone exchange facilities were established in Hansŏng. In the following year, despite interference from the Japanese, a telephone exchange facility was established in Inch'ŏn and then service from Kaesŏng to P'yŏngyang, and Hansŏng to Suwŏn were established shortly thereafter. The first phone registers in Korea (Kakchŏnhwa soch' ongwŏn inp' yo) revealed four numbers in 1902, and by 1905 had expanded to eighty people including their addresses.

The Japanese seized control of the telephone industry in April 1905. Expansion of telephone lines and capabilities continued throughout the colonial period, but like much else the benefit of these improvements was for the most part realized by the Japanese. After liberation, development of telephone facilities was given priority, but due to economic hardships, the Korean War and lack of resources not many gains were realized.

The actual basis for the development of the Korean communications infrastructure was provided in 1961 with the first of the Five-Year Telecommunications Plans, which were a part of the First through the Fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plans. The infrastructure facilities in Korea were first expanded with the opening of a land subscription wireless mobile telephone in 1961, which was followed by the introduction of the semi-electronic switching system M10CN in 1978. The second phase saw the establishment of two land-based satellite communications stations, the first in 1970 and the second in 1977. The third phase was marked by a coaxial carrier circuit, a type of long-distance communication network, being opened between Seoul and Pusan. The most urgent need of the telecommunications industry in Korea through the mid-1980s was to provide a communications service that met the demands of the rapidly expanding Korean economy. This period was marked by chronic backlogs of calls and corresponding numbers of
consumer complaints regarding poor service.

To better regulate the telecommunications industry and to provide more efficient and modern telephone service for Korean consumers, the Ministry of Communication was charged with resolving all of the obstacles that arose in creating a technologically advanced, modern communications network. It created two telephone companies to manage the business operations, while the Ministry itself took charge of policy-making and long-term development plans. The Korea Telecommunications Authority (Korea Telecom: Han'guk chŏn'gi t'ongshin kongsa) was created in 1982 and the Data Communications Corporation (DACOM) was established in 1991.

The separation of the planning and business operations proved to be successful and the telephone service in Korea has advanced markedly. At the end of 1995, the R.O.K. had 21,474,791 telephone lines and 18,299,916 subscribers. This is a ratio of 40.8 units to each one hundred people, being an increase from 39.6 units per one hundred people in 1994. Seoul boasted the largest number of subscribers with 5,093,789 followed by Pusan at 1,510,441. Moreover, the number of public telephones nationwide stood at 319,071 by November 1995.

South Korea also has vast long-distance and international networks in place. At the end of 1995, Korea Telecom had almost 1.4 million long-distance communication lines. In addition, it had 15,815 international lines consisting of 7,465 satellite lines and 8,350 undersea lines as of October 1995. DACOM adds another 3,170 to the total of international lines. South Korea has long distance connection capabilities with 231 countries using international direct dialing (IDD).

Research and Development

Research and development in the communications industry has brought about many positive changes to communications in Korea. The Ministry of Communication is seeking to bring about changes in the local telephone industry such as improving call quality and replacing mechanical switching equipment with digital equipment in order to construct intelligent communications networks. In addition, work is underway to replace paper insulated cable with foam-skin cable, which has superior transmission qualities, in order to improve the quality in subscriber lines. In the long-distance sector, items such as the digitalization of toll switching facilities, installing optical cable transmission lines among administrative organizations and constructing optical cables near highways is either planned or currently underway.

The Korean government is also vigorously pursuing a satellite communications network. Korea has leased satellite service through INTELSAT in the past and now is relying on the domestic satellite Mugunghwa for satellite communications service. The funding for the 300-billion won Mugunghwa satellite was provided entirely by Korea Telecom. This satellite was the first in the history of the nation and made Korea the twenty-second nation in the world to possess a multi-function, commercial satellite. Future plans for increasing satellite capabilities and future launchings are being approached with the Ministry of Information and Communications charged with the planning and establishing basic policies, Korea Telecom responsible for the execution of the plans, and the Korean Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (Han'guk chŏnja t'ongshin yŏnguso) conducting the research and development. There are currently plans underway for the launching of subsequent communications satellites to meet the future needs of Korea.

Other communication requirements of Korea are also being met through state-of-the-art communications technology. There are now earth stations that are linked to the INMARSAT satellite network that allow direct communications with vessels in the Indian Ocean, and plans to construct like stations for communications with air ships. Moreover, in
addition to satellite communications, marine optical cable is being largely expanded in order to augment international transmission lines. Other plans call for the digitalization of the communications network to not only provide improved telephone service, but also to accommodate the transmission of images for television. The construction of an Integrated Services Digital Network (ISDN) will allow cable television service, phone service and computer connections to the internet to all be achieved through a single connection.

The future direction of the communications industry is bound to bring about many unanticipated changes, but can largely be summarized into the following three categories: 1) efforts are being directed at both modernizing and expanding service areas for various composite media. 2) the privatization of communications made possible by the development of micro-cell mobile communications has brought increased capabilities and technological advances to mobile communications along with more favourable circumstances for consumers through additional competition. This sphere of communications will undoubtedly continue to grow and expand rapidly into the twenty-first century. 3) the development of intelligent communications networks will allow consumers to receive various services and accomplish many tasks.

New Communication Technologies

At the leading edge of new communication technologies in Korea is the advent of the so-called 'computer age'. With the goal of 'having an information and communications terminal in every house' by the year 2000, the government has been pushing to supply ten million computers since 1991. Of this projected ten million computers, the bulk are expected to come from private industry with Korea Telecom supplying about 500,000 units. Computer communication services are being expanded to meet an increasing market, from a low 627,000 subscribers as of November 1995. The Korean government is also focusing on supplying computer training and access to those who live in the nation's rural areas. To help correct the imbalance that exists between the technological levels of those in the urban and rural areas, the government introduced rural computer training centres in 1988. The number of these centres has steadily increased over the past few years and as of 1995 it stood at forty-five.

A high-speed information network is envisioned for Korea that will bring all of the resources of the vast internet to the citizens of Korea. Under Kim Young-sam, the government promulgated a plan to harness the power of the Internet by preparing a new infrastructure, thereby allowing citizens to participate fully and benefit accordingly in this computerization and the advance of the information industry. The plan calls for 45 trillion won to be invested by 2015 and this huge project is expected to generate a total of 100 trillion won in production, create over 500,000 new jobs and to expand the gross national product of Korea by 22 per cent. The program of implementing this high-speed information network is to be conducted in two phases. First a network available to major groups such as public organizations, research centres and universities will directly impact the competitiveness of the nation. The second phase, which will be readied by 2015, will be available to private individuals.

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Communism

The Korean Communist movement (1918-1945)

Korea, which became a colony of Japan in 1910, possessed the social background (intellectuals, students and the newly-born working class) sufficient for response to the
ideas of Communism. Interest in these ideas was facilitated by the failure of the long and
tortuous struggle for national freedom and progress, and this convinced Koreans of the
necessity of new ideas and approaches. The colossal protest energy accumulated in Korean
society since 1910 brought about a mass uprising in March, 1919 and led to important
changes in the liberation movement.

Korea's first acquaintance with the Communist teaching happened supposedly at the
beginning of the 20th c. in Korean emigrant circles in Russia, China and Japan. However,
the main impulse came from the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, which influenced
the March First Movement of 1919 in Korea. The defeat of the latter demonstrated the
ineffectiveness of the nationalist leadership and its slogans, and forced the radical wing of
the Korean liberation movement to turn to Communist ideology and practice. No doubt, the
doctrinal basis of Communist teaching attracted much less attention; the research-based
theories of Communism were understood as symbols of faith and irrefutable dogmas. The
Communist pathos of social transformation and liberation struggle was what really
mattered. It was looked upon as the only way to the immediate liberation of Korea, to the
annihilation of the colonial yoke and of poverty and backwardness. Information about the
revolutionary changes in Russia also stimulated such hopes.

In Russia, by 1917 the Korean community had emerged as a significant force, based mainly
in the Far East where about 100 000 Koreans lived, the majority as poor and exploited
workers and peasants. Hence many of them supported the Soviet power and defended its
cause during the civil war, and the most active of them joined the Bolshevik Party.
Thousands of Koreans travelled annually to Russia for seasonal jobs and brought home the
news of the birth of a new life in the neighbouring country. The Korean people were
especially sympathetic to the Red Army, since it fought against the Japanese, and dozens of
Korean organisations participated in the fighting. There was, no doubt, significant
propaganda work among the Koreans by the Russian Communist Party and the Far East
Bureau of the Communist International, but one has to admit that it met with an enthusiastic
response from Koreans in both Russia and Korea itself.

The Japanese colonial regime had deprived the Koreans of the possibility of developing an
organized liberation movement in Korea. It was not by chance that the main centres of
Korean political activity were established outside Korea. Of course, the first organizations
of Korean Communists appeared in Soviet Russia, the centre of the revolutionary turmoil of
that epoch. The first organization of that kind arose due to the efforts of the well known
liberation fighter Yi Tonghwí, a former officer of the imperial guard who took part in anti-
Japanese resistance and in cultural and enlightenment activities and then became an emigré
in Russia. There he tried to combine Communism and the liberation movement of the
Korean people. In April 1918 he organized the Union of Korean Socialists in Khabarovsk.
He was supported by A.P.Kim-Stankevich, a leader of the Khabarovsk Bolsheviks. The
Union was not long-lived. In the summer of the same year, Khabarovsk was captured by
the anti-Soviet forces. Many members of the Union were killed (including Kim-
Stankevich); Yi Tonghwi and some others managed to escape.

In May 1919, the surviving members of the Union and a fraternal organisation established
an underground Korean Socialist Party (Chosön Sahoe-dang) near Vladivostok, under the
leadership of Yi Tonghwi. The Party announced its decision to join the Communist
International and sent a delegation to Moscow, but only Pak Chinsun succeeded in passing
through the front lines of the civil war. He arrived in Moscow and spoke at a meeting of the
Executive Committee of the Communist International. In April 1920, the Japanese
occupied Vladivostok and crushed all Korean organizations based there, including the
Korean Socialist Party. Some of its members joined the guerrillas, and others, like Yi
Tonghwí, went to China. In China Yi Tonghwi joined hands with the Korean radical
emigrés and for some time he led the Shanghai-based Provisional Government of Korea.
The first Communist organization in Korea itself was supposedly established in Seoul in 1919. The people's uprising forced the Japanese to liberalise their regime and to allow Koreans some limited political autonomy. As a result, workers, peasants and youth organizations mushroomed, with the support of the underground Communist groups. The Korean Communist organizations in Russia were naturally more active, especially in the Far-East and in Siberia. By the end of 1920 there were 16 organisations with a total of 2300 members. General supervision of these organisations was first performed by the Korean Section of the Far-East Bureau of the Russian Communist Party, and after 1921 by the Far-East Secretariat of the Comintern. The Korean representatives participated in all congresses of the Comintern. The Executive Committee many times discussed the problems of the newly born Korean Communist movement, not always taking into consideration the concrete conditions in Korea.

The aspiration of the Korean Communist organizations in Russia to unite was headed by the most powerful of them, the Irkutsk organization. In 1920, they held a congress in Irkutsk. The delegates from the Korean Communist groups in Russia found it premature to establish a separate party, but to prepare themselves for it and to lead the work among the Koreans in Russia and other countries, as well as in Korea itself. They elected the Central Committee of Korean Communist Organizations. The Central Committee published a newspaper, opened a school for party cadres and engaged in preparations for establishing of party.

In 1921, two Communist Parties of Korea were born at the same time; but since their names were also the same, they are known as the 'Shanghai faction' and the 'Irkutsk faction'. This fact reflected the self-contradictory nature of the Korean Communist movement of the period. To a significant extent the reason was in the different conditions in which both parties were founded. In Russia, the Korean Communists were closely connected with the Bolsheviks, they considered themselves to be a part of the forces of world revolution, and tried to act in union with them. The way to the liberation of Korea was, according to them, in the victory of Soviet power. In China, the Korean Communists were more connected with the local Chinese nationalists. They were concerned with the rise of the liberation struggle and the patriotic forces in Korea itself. They were unhappy with the excessive, in their opinion, involvement of the Russian Bolsheviks in the leadership of the Korean Communist movement. So their revolutionary internationalism was less pronounced. A significant role in these developments was played by the ambitions of the Irkutsk and Shanghai leaders, who contested the claim for exclusive leadership and the title of the only true and orthodox Marxists.

The nucleus of the Shanghai faction was a small group of Korean Socialist Party members led by Yi Tonghwi, who had very soon become disillusioned with the emigré Provisional Government. In May 1921, they held their congress in Shanghai, attended by 20 delegates from different places in China, Korea and the Russian Far East. The congress reorganized the Socialist Party as the Communist Party of Korea. Its Central Committee was chaired by Yi Tonghwi. Among the party founders was Pak Hŏnyŏng, who was one of the outstanding leaders of the Korean Communist movement up to the mid-1950s. In 1922, he went to Korea to take part in underground work and very soon found himself in gaol. The Shanghai faction had some 6 000 members and candidate members, and had branches in Seoul, P'yŏngyang and other cities in Korea, as well as in Beijing, Harbin, Qilin, San Francisco, and in the Russian Far-East.

The congress in Irkutsk in May 1921 was attended by 85 delegates from 26 Korean Communist organizations in Korea, China and Russia. B. Shumyatsky, the representative of the Comintern, as a guest of honour, guided the deliberations of the congress. The congress proclaimed the formation of the Communist Party of Korea, and elected its Central Committee led by Nam Manch'un, a noted military activist and journalist. The Irkutsk party had 8 730 full and candidate members in 32 branches, including three in Korea and three in China.
The formation of the two Communist Parties demonstrates the growth of the Korean radicals' political maturity and their developing contacts with the world revolutionary process. Their activities facilitated the spread of Communist ideas in Korea, but neither of these parties emerged as a truly mass party, as a pan-Korean organization breaking through the barriers of the narrow emigré circles.

The very fact of the formation of the two parties testified to the weaknesses of the liberation movement in Korea, lack of unity and organization, theoretical defects, lack of political experience, and a tendency to inter-group strife contrary to the general interest. The programs and tactics of both parties shared the shortcomings of the Communist movement of that epoch: the purposes and aims proper to the developed countries (e.g. socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power) were mechanically attributed to Korea; sectarianism led to non-cooperation with the national business class; peasants and agrarian problems were looked down on or neglected altogether, and an over-estimated need to pursue militant forms of struggle. These shortcomings were also characteristic of the later Communist movement in Korea.

Shortly after they came into being the two Communist Parties began to fight among themselves. Each declared itself the only true party and criticised the other. These contradictions transferred to Korea and facilitated the split of the Communist groups there. The Comintern and the Bolshevik Party, however, assisted both parties and tried their best to prevent confrontation. Not all efforts in this direction were conscientiously made, the Far East Secretariat of the Comintern, for instance, preferring the 'Irkutskians'. In November 1921, a group of Shanghai Party members was received by Lenin. The group was led by Yi Tonghwi, and Lenin promised support to the Korean revolutionary movement. This fact strengthened the Shanghai faction's ambitions, though the meeting with Lenin was but a natural step dictated by Lenin's desire to know more about the Korean Communists outside Russia. Information on the latter was much less available to Lenin compared to information on the 'Irkutskians'.

The confrontation of the two parties forced the Communist International to look for means to make peace. A Special Commission led by O.V. Kuusinen recommended a merger of the two parties and to hold a congress to effect this. Before the congress, the Provisional Central Committee (four members representing each party) was supposed to supervise the actions of the Korean Communists. But the conflict continued in this provisional organ also. Its membership was reduced on two occasions, but to no avail. However, in October 1922, the joint congress of the Korean Communist Parties was held in Verkhne Udinsk (now Ulan Ude, Russia). 181 delegates from both parties attended, as well as members of the Communist organizations in Korea, China and Japan. Despite all efforts to keep the deliberations on a calm and constructive footing, fierce debate on organizational questions closed the congress down.

This failure made it necessary to move the centre of the movement to Korea, where Communist groups were growing both quantitatively and qualitatively. Most important among them were the Tuesday Society (*Hwayohoe*), led by Kim Chaebong, the Seoul Youth League (leader Kim Saguk), and the North-Wind Society (*Pukp'unghoe*: leader Kim Yaksu). The first two were connected respectively with the Irkutsk and Shanghai Parties, and the third was organized by Korean students in Tokyo and was linked with Japanese Communist organizations. All these factors influenced the work and mutual relations of the organizations.

With the assistance of the Communist Youth International, Komsomol (Young Communists) groups appeared in Korea. The Korean Komsomol was established in 1924, prior to the formation of the Party itself. The leader was Pak Hōnyōng who had been released from prison in 1924 and had joined the Tuesday Society. Meanwhile, in November
1923, the Comintern decided to establish the Party in Korea itself. The Korean Bureau was
formed with this aim, in the Far East Branch of the Comintern, with seven members (two
members each from the Irkutsk and Shanghai Parties and the Seoul groups, and one from
the Japan-based Korean Communists). A representative of the Comintern was sent to Korea
and commenced preparatory work to unite the groups, but the never-ending feuding made
the Korean Bureau ineffective. In February 1924 the Bureau was closed.

On 17 April 1925, in a Seoul restaurant, a secret meeting was held by the representatives
of the Korean Communist groups. Nineteen persons attended, from the Tuesday Society, the
North Wind Society and some minor groups. The Seoul organization, however, refused to
attend. Those present announced the formation of the Korean Communist Party (Chosŏn
Kongsan-dang), elected a Central Executive Committee with Kim Chaebong at its head, and
discussed the program and tactics of the party. Later on, these questions were discussed in
the illegally circulated Manifesto of the Korean Communist Party. As a cover organization
for Party activities, the True Friends' Society (Chŏngu-hoe) was established. The Seoul
group established the Advance Society (Chŏnjin-hoe) with the same purpose in mind. Both
cover organizations of the Korean Communists are sometimes mentioned in literature under
the above names.

In September 1925, the establishment of the Korean Communist Party was discussed by
the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The decision was to facilitate
the unity of all Communist organizations under the leadership of the KCP. The emigré
parties and groups were declared to be dissolved, and their members were to join the
Communist organisations in their countries of residence. The only exception was made for
the Jiandao region of Manchuria, where many Koreans lived. The organisation formed
there was declared a part of the KCP but advised to work in contact with the Communist
Party of China. All former emigré groups were to function only as support groups. The
newly-born KCP (with about 200 members) failed to emerge as a united, monolithic and
well-organized party. The member groups tried to preserve their sovereignty and fought for
dominance. Discussions sometimes ended in brawling. The separatist Seoul group spared
no effort to prevent the KCP from assuming leadership.

Only by the end of 1926 was this group incorporated in the KCP, but this never helped
Party unity. The rivalry of the foreign-based groups failed to stop after the Comintern
decree and in fact had an adverse effect. Since the KCP was based on the 'Irkutskians', the
Shanghai-linked groupings opposed it and insisted on the formation of a new party based
on the Seoul group. The lack of political experience of the KCP leadership, and ignorance
of the mores of this dangerous underground work also played its part. As a result, in
November 1925, the Japanese police arrested the members of the Executive Committee,
including its leader Kim Chaebong. Time was needed to organize a new Central Committee
and the leading role in the party began to be performed by the Seoul group, on the
foundation of which the Marxist-Leninist Group was established.

Despite its shortcomings, the KCP emerged as a factor in the development of the
Communist movement in Korea. Its members led many protests, strikes, agrarian
campaigns and demonstrations. Communists illegally took over leadership of many public
organizations, and declared them to be of socialist orientation. Many workers, peasants and
youth organizations held public meetings on the revolutionary and Soviet holidays, where
they gave lectures on Lenin and the USSR. These activities were not always suppressed by
the Japanese administration, which after its failure of intervention against the USSR was
interested in establishing better relations with that country.

A crucial event in the national liberation struggle in Korea was the anti-Japanese
demonstration in Seoul in June 1926. The pompous ceremony of the late emperor Taishō's
funeral, which was intended by the Japanese to symbolize the reconciliation of the Koreans
and the Japanese, turned out to be an anti-colonial manifestation. Communists were among
its organizers and acted in cooperation with the radical members of the Ch'ŏndogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way). This fact testified to the elements of cooperation between the Communist and left nationalist forces, which corresponded to the current Comintern policy of anti-imperialist consolidation. Many participants in the demonstration were arrested. Members of the KCP Central Committee found themselves in gaol and the committee had to be re-established for the third time.

In May 1927 the New Korea Society (Shin'gan Hoe) was formed on the initiative of the KCP. The Society united organizations of workers, peasants, students, the patriotic-minded bourgeois and members of diverse religious groups. It had more than 10,000 members and about 100 branches throughout Korea. The New Korea Society played a definitive role in the development of the liberation movement, but failed to emerge as its vanguard and to facilitate the formation of a unified national front. The leadership was in the hands of the reformist nationalists. The KCP failed to take the leadership reins and to ensure the militant and consolidated character of the organization.

The Japanese police left no stone unturned to suppress the liberation movement; first and foremost the Communists. News came constantly of the crushing of Communist groups and allied organizations, and the arrests of envoys from the Comintern and other international bodies. The gaols were packed, and many patriots fell victim to torture and disease. The arrests of subversives were everyday occurrences. The greatest was the arrest of one-hundred and one persons in Seoul, in the period September 1927 to February 1928. The accused Communists behaved with courage. Pak Hŏnyŏng delivered a passionate speech against colonial oppression. Eighty-four persons were sentenced. Twelve were vindicated due to the lack of evidence against them, but others died or became psychologically-disabled during the process. Pak Hŏnyŏng succeeded in escaping from gaol and found refuge in the USSR. After some years of study there he returned home clandestinely and remained underground in Korea until 1945.

New fighters replaced their martyred or gaoléd comrades, and the crushed organizations were in most cases re-established. But the strength of the party was undermined by police terror, since it was telling heavily on the ablest and the bravest. The atmosphere within the KCP, however, seemed almost designed to help the repression. Unprincipled factional struggles weakened the party and created favourable conditions for police agents and provocateurs to penetrate the party ranks. The police were easily able to prevent the activities planned by the party and to isolate such activists in time.

The fate of the KCP was decided by the Comintern in a peculiar way at the 6th Congress held in the summer of 1928. On the one hand, the preceding documents of the executive organs were confirmed by the Congress, and the KCP, as a section, was thus officially admitted into the Comintern. But on the other, this decision was followed by one which stifled the admission. The rival factions sent their envoys to the Congress and once again each claimed exclusive leading status. The Congress refused to recognise and support any of them. In effect, this decision meant the dissolution of the KCP.

It has been suggested in many accounts that the KCP was dissolved by the Comintern. This is not the case, since no decision to the effect was officially taken by the Comintern. Moreover, even after 1928, the directives of the Comintern sometimes mentioned the KCP, though it had already ceased to exist (to some extent this demonstrates the lack of adequate information on Korea in the Comintern). The liquidation of the KCP was facilitated by massive police terror against it and non-stop faction feuds within it. The decision of the 6th Congress dissolved the KCP as an independent political organization of the Korean Communists. Now, after the passage of so many years, this measure seems to be somewhat questionable, seen against the background of the development of a Communist movement in Korea which had lost impetus as a result.
The 6th Congress of the Comintern adopted the 'Theses on the Colonial Question' with a special mention of Korea. In its turn the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in December 1928 worked out elaborate theses on the situation in the Korean Communist Party. In January 1929, the Executive Committee published its message 'To the revolutionary workers and peasants of Korea'. O.V.Kuusinen, a noted figure in the Comintern, made a special statement on the problems of the Korean Communist movement. All these documents reflected the aspiration to make the struggle of the Korean Communists more effective and organized, and contained some useful recommendations. At the same time, they reflected the policy direction of the 6th Congress, which had prescribed total independence of the workers' movement and confrontation with the bourgeois nationalist movements, accused of collaboration with imperialist forces and sometimes even branded as their agents. This wrong course negated the previously adopted tactics of the united anti-imperialist front and caused great harm to the liberation movements in Korea and elsewhere.

Despite the dissolution of the KCP the Korean Communist movement continued to develop as a source of great trouble for the colonial administration. The official documents of the epoch describe it as a result of the Comintern's subversive activities. This attitude should not be totally rejected but at the same time not accepted without qualification. Many foreign Comintern representatives or Korean Communists sent from Moscow, as well as the directives and propaganda materials they brought, were seized by the police shortly after their arrival in Korea. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the rapid deterioration of Soviet-Japanese relations, access to Korea became very difficult. Thus, the main stimulus for the development of the Communist movement in Korea was the colonial regime.

The Communists participated in the general strike of the Wonsan workers in 1929 - the mightiest in the history of the Korean workers' movement; in the massive students' protests in Kwangju (1929), and in other popular movements. In the 1930s also, they took part in many forms of social and national protest. Numerous trials of Communists, with Japanese and Korean press accounts of the crushing of Communist units in factories, educational institutions and villages, and the widespread arrests of Koreans suspected of Communist activities testify to the wide range and zeal of the Communist movement of the 1930s.

Following the sectarian policy laid down by the 6th Congress of the Comintern, the Korean Communists engaged themselves, from the late 1920s, in the formation of 'red' workers' and peasants' unions, and associations of teachers, students and intellectuals. Led, as a rule, by Communists, these organisations were militant, active and well-guided. But by acting independently in the demonstrations, strikes and agrarian campaigns, the 'red' unions cut themselves off from other mass organizations, especially those led by bourgeois nationalists. After 1923, the Communists refused to make contact with the 'Society of Rebirth' and in 1931 the latter ceased to exist. These steps were less than useful to the Communist cause.

Meanwhile, the guerrilla struggle, which had never ended in the northern area of Korea and in the bordering territories of Manchuria, grew in the beginning of the 1930s due to the Japanese invasion. Many Korean guerrilla groups were led by Communists, and one of the most able was the group led by the young Kim Il Sung. When, after 1937, the war moved to central China, the Korean Communists there also joined the guerrilla struggle. In Manchuria and in China they were members of the Communist Party of China and fought under its guidance. But they struggled for the liberation of their motherland and tried their best to keep in touch with Korea. Sometimes the guerrillas succeeded in making a breakthrough into Korean territory, but they always had to retreat under heavy pressure from the Japanese forces. The struggle against the aggressive imperialist policy of Japan emerged as an important dimension of the Communist movement in Korea.

After 1928, the re-establishment of the Communist Party remained a crucial problem. The
Comintern stressed this necessity in its documents and secret messages despatched to Korea. This necessity was felt even more by the Korean Communists themselves. Not only in Seoul but in other places, underground preparatory committees were being formed. But they lacked experience and means, the communications between them were weak and vestiges of the old factional feuds still remained. The Japanese police quite easily suppressed these preparatory committees.

Trying to create a theoretical and organizational base for the re-establishment of the Party, an 'initiative group' of Korean Communists (supposedly USSR-based and supported by the Comintern) published, in 1934, a 'Platform of the Activities of the Communist Party of Korea', in which the main guidelines of the world Communist movement were formulated in connection with the Korean situation. The Platform was followed by an open letter 'To all factory and village Communist groups of Korea, on the factional struggle and the tasks of the Communists in opposing the factional groups'. It appealed to Communists to overcome internal conflicts and to establish a centralized, disciplined and mass-based underground party. But these documents, given all their significance, failed to combat the disunion of the Korean Communists. The main obstacle was the police terror. According to Comintern data, in the first half of the 1930s more than 6,000 Communists were jailed in Korea. The problem of re-establishing the Party was solved only after the liberation of Korea.

Several years after the 6th Congress of the Comintern, the world Communist movement started to learn from bitter experience (especially after the fascists took power in Germany) and revised the sectarian policy. The 7th congress held in Moscow in 1935 re-oriented the Communists towards strengthening the unity of the working class organizations and their political allies. It reinforced the necessity of the wide anti reactionray people's front and the unity of all those opposing fascism and the impending war. Raising premature slogans like 'workers' and peasants' revolution' or 'Soviet government' in the colonial countries was criticized. The Communists there were called upon to centre their efforts on the national liberation movement and the uniting of all patriotic forces into an anti-imperialist front.

The Korean Communists fighting as guerrillas in Manchuria were familiarized with the Congress decisions by the Chinese Communist Party. In February 1936, they formed the Fatherland Restoration Association (Choguk Kwangbok Hoe) which was supposed to be a nucleus for the anti-Japanese front. Kim Il Sung, Kim Ch'aek, Ch'oe Yong-gon and other prominent guerrilla commanders were among the organizers. To further the program of the Society (supposedly authored by Kim Il Sung) and to organise branches, a group of political workers was sent to Korea. It succeeded in having some underground groups connected with the Association and in forming some new ones. The Association influenced the liberation movement to a certain extent but failed to unite and lead it. The latter also depended upon the nationalists of Korea, who refused to oppose the colonial regime actively and leaned more and more to collaboration and support of the Japanese invasion plans.

After the war with China began in 1937 the Japanese took active measures to crush the liberation movement. By the beginning of the 1940s, the Japanese army had repelled the guerrillas and forced Kim Il Sung's group and others to retreat into Soviet territory. The surviving Communist units went deep underground, minimizing their activities. The number of strikes and rural protests also decreased. Progressive papers and organizations were suppressed. Nevertheless, during World War II the Korean Communists circulated anti-war leaflets, and organized some sabotage of Japanese military installations.

Modern Stage (1945-1995)

In August 1945, Korea was liberated from the colonial yoke, facilitated by Japan's defeat in World War II. The Soviet Army alone fought in Korea against the Japanese, and paid a
heavy price (1,963 killed and wounded) for the withdrawal of the invaders from Korea. The US Army landed in Korea only on 8 September when the fighting had ceased. Of the allied forces, the Soviet Army was welcomed by the Koreans as a liberator, both in the North where it was supposed to remain according to the Allies' decision, and in the South. The fact that it was the army of a Communist-rulled country from the first helped the reanimation of the Communist movement in Korea.

The news of the Japanese surrender reached Korea on the 15th of August (this day is celebrated in both the North and the South as Liberation Day). The following day the release of political prisoners began, and the surviving Communists came out of their hiding places. They grouped around Pak Hŏnyŏng, the only Korean Communist leader with more than 20 years experience of underground fighting for the Communist cause. Under his guidance an organizing committee was formed, to call a party conference urgently. The conference, held in Seoul, discussed the situation in the country and the most immediate tasks and prospects for the Communists. The elected Central Committee (28 members) was headed by Pak Hŏnyŏng. Thus, in August 1945, the Communist Party of Korea finally came into being.

The party preceded the formation of other parties and emerged as an important factor in liberated Korea's stormy political life. The development of the new party, not at all free from the now traditional contradictions, was facilitated by the organizational work of Pak Hŏnyŏng and his dedicated co-workers. In September 1945 they circulated the Central Committee's 'Appeal on the Present Situation and Our Tasks' which supplied the Communists with necessary political and practical guidelines. By November 1945, there were more than 3,000 members of the Communist Party in the south of Korea, including 342 in Seoul. The Communists played an active role in the formation and functioning of the People's Committees, spontaneously developing organs of democratic self-government. These numbered over 140. The government of the Korean People's Republic, proclaimed by the left on the 6 September, two days before the US Army's landing in Korea, was influenced by the People's Committees. The US military authorities in Korea refused to recognize these organs of power and made it impossible for them to function. The US administration relied mostly on anti-Communist nationalist leaders, headed by the rightist politician Syngman Rhee, who had just returned from exile in the USA.

In the North, the Soviet military administration at first cooperated with the nationalists led by the noted religious activist Cho Manshik. But measures were taken to the effect that in all representative organs of power Communists replaced the nationalists step by step. This was made easier after the return to Korea of the guerillas led by Kim Il Sung in September 1945. At the same time, experienced party organisation workers and administration and economic management specialists of Korean origin began to arrive from the USSR. The most well-known among them was Hŏ Kai, secretary of a District Committee of the CPSU. At the end of 1945 a large group of Korean freedom fighters led by Kim Tu-bong returned from Central China (the 'Yanan group').

The division of Korea into two zones of occupation made it necessary to organize a separate Communist leading organ in the North. In October 1945, the North Korean Organizing Bureau of the CPK was established. Kim Yong-bon, an active Communist since the 1920s, who had studied in the USSR in 1927-31 and then worked underground in Manchuria and Korea, was elected Secretary. In December 1945, he was replaced by Kim Il Sung, who was actively supported and promoted by the Soviet administration as the chief political figure of the North.

The Communist ranks in the North grew rapidly. By the end of 1945 there were six provincial and 10 district party organizations with 6,000 members. By August 1946, membership had grown to 160,000. This rapid growth came mostly from the poorest peasants (workers constituted less than one-third), and this influenced the organizational
and ideological level of the party ranks. The North Korean Party unit was a nominal part of the CPK and its Bureau was subordinate to the Central Committee in Seoul, but in reality the tables were soon turned since, with Soviet assistance, the North was emerging as the centre of the Communist movement or, as party documents stated, the basis of the Korean revolution. In the divided country communications with Seoul became increasingly difficult. Thus, by the summer of 1946 there was an independent Communist Party in the North.

Under Communist guidance in the North, trade unions and youth and women's organizations developed, along with unions of artists and the creative intelligentsia. Similar organizations in the South were likewise influenced by the Communist Party. Learning from their experience of the national liberation struggle, both parties paid great attention to uniting the fraternal political forces around themselves. On the initiative of the Communists two independent United Democratic National Fronts emerged in the North and in the South in 1946. They developed, especially in the North, as significant elements of the political system.

The old feud between Communists and Nationalists which had to some extent decreased in intensity after the liberation flared anew at the beginning of 1946. The Moscow meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA and UK (December, 1945) decided to establish a 'great power' trusteeship over Korea, and this split Korea into two hostile camps. The right wing Nationalists led by Syngman Rhee were categorically opposed to the trusteeship decision, which they estimated as a form of humiliating protectorate. The Communists and allied left forces supported the trusteeship as the allied powers' assistance to the development of Korean democratic statehood. Thus the Communists and their allies were labelled as 'national traitors', harassed in the press and terrorized throughout the South.

In the North, Cho Manshik and his group also protested against the decision and were forcibly removed from the political scene. This allowed the Communists to assume power in the North with the help of the Soviet military administration. The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, established in February 1946, was headed by Kim Il Sung; Communists occupied leading posts in it. To strengthen their political system, they carried out some important reforms (such as agrarian reform and nationalization of industry). Great attention was paid to the establishment of the national army and the security force. Assisted by the Soviet Army all attempts to resist the policies of the new power were suppressed.

The tasks of further reform in the North, and the growing confrontation with the South where an opposed political system was being formed, necessitated the unification of the political forces grouped around the Communist Party. Closest in spirit was the New People's Party led by Kim Tubong. In August 1946, this party merged with the Communist Party during the Constituent (First) Congress, and together they constituted the North Korean Workers' Party. Kim Tubong was elected Chairman, and Kim Il Sung one of the Vice-Chairmen. The Workers' Party emerged as the leading force, pushing out all other political organizations. Its ranks grew rapidly. In March 1947, it had more than 600 000 members, and by January 1948, more than 750 000.

In the South, the Communist Party had about 3 000 members in 1946. In November 1946, it merged with comparatively minor allied parties, the People's and New People's Parties, and formed the South Korean Workers' Party. Hồ Hôn, a noted lawyer and well-known freedom fighter, was elected Chairman; Pak Hŏnyŏng, the real leader of the party, was elected Vice-Chairman. The founding of the South Korean Workers' Party coincided with a period of aggravating internal strife in the South, which sometimes led to armed clashes, for which the Communists were held responsible. From the end of 1946, the 'semi-legal' Workers' Party was under threat. Some of its units were dissolved, and a number of leaders were gaoloed. Still, for some time, the Workers' Party continued to oppose the administration of the separate state in the South. Its members were leaders and active
participants in the guerrilla movement of 1948-1949. This movement was suppressed by
the government, with the assistance of the US Army, on the eve of the Korean war.

In the North, the Workers' Party, assisted by the USSR, took active measures for the
development of the Korean national economy and culture. Of great importance was the fact
that in 1946-1947 the USSR handed to the North Koreans the industrial enterprises and
property of the Japanese. Between the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947 the first local
elections in the history of Korea took place. They strengthened the position of the Workers'
Party (57 per cent of all elected candidates). The Congress of the People's Committees of
North Korea, held in P'yongyang in February 1947, elected the People's Assembly, the
highest organ of state power. In its turn, the People's Assembly elected the Presidium,
headed by Kim Tu-bong, and founded the People's Committee, the highest organ of
executive power, headed by Kim II Sung. At the same time the first economic development
plan was adopted, and became the foundation of the planned economy in the North. The
modern historiography of the PDRK considers the People's Committee to be the first
executive organ of the proletarian dictatorship which signified North Korea as entering the
transition period to Socialism (for tactical reasons Socialist aims were not stressed before
the Korean war).

The division of Korea, which had begun in 1945 with the formation of the Soviet and
American occupation zones, deepened with the aggravation of the Cold War. The leaders of
both the North and the South were involved in it and contributed their utmost to its
development. They refused any contact, compact or compromise, claimed exclusive
authority to represent the Korean nation and to decide upon its fate, and held ideological
affiliation in more esteem than the national interest. As early as 1946, Syngman Rhee laid
claim to the necessity of the separate state in the South. Power systems emerged in both
parts of the country which facilitated the partition and the formation of the two separate
states. The refusal of the USSR and the North Korean leadership to cooperate with the
United Nation's (UN) over the Korean question, led to the UN's decision of November
1947 to hold separate elections in the South. The threat of the formation of the separate state
in the South was now clearer than ever before.

The plans to hold separate elections caused a storm of protest in the South. The idea was
opposed even by some right-wing politicians who considered it to be a step leading to the
final split of the country. They insisted that elections should be held simultaneously with
elections in the North. Of course, the latter was not passive either. The question was so
important that it was discussed at the 2nd Congress of the North Korean Workers' Party.
Having analysed the Party's internal affairs and the economic targets, the Congress turned
to the crisis situation in Korea.

The Congress worked out a policy aimed at the preservation of Korea's integrity and
proposed the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and US armed forces from Korea,
along with general elections to establish a united and democratic state. The state was
projected as the People's Democratic Republic. This target was to be achieved by the
consolidation of patriotic forces and the strengthening of the united democratic national
front. To work out concrete measures for opposition to the separatist elections in the South,
it was proposed to call a meeting of political parties and organizations from both parts of
Korea.

Such a meeting was held in P'yongyang at the end of April 1948. A significant group of
politicians from the South attended (including Kim Ku and Kim Kyushik, all in all 395
persons). The meeting appealed to South Koreans to boycott the separatist elections and
asked the governments of the USSR and USA to pull out their armies from Korea,
promising to take adequate measures to avoid civil war. The meeting also mapped some
important measures to rebuild and re-unify the country.
But it was too late. On the 10th of May, 1948, separate elections were held in South Korea; on the 15th of August the Republic of Korea was proclaimed.

Fighting against the separate elections in the South, the North simultaneously tried to implement its own scenario for the formation of the unified Korean state. As early as 1947, the decision had been taken to work out the Constitution of the future state. In February-April 1948, a draft Constitution was presented to the people for discussion and then approved by special session of the People's Assembly. In April 1948, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party proposed pan-Korean elections to approve the Constitution and form a central government. Legal ratification of this decision was achieved during the second meeting of the Northern and Southern political leaders and parties (the latter was rather more narrow in who it included) in P'yongyang in late June to early July 1948. On 9 July, the People's Assembly enacted the Constitution in the North and decided to hold the pan-Korean elections to the Supreme People's Assembly on 25 August.

According to the official data, the elections were held in the North and also were held illegally in the South. More than one-third of the deputies elected were members of the Workers' Party. At the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly (at the beginning of September 1948) the Constitution was finally adopted, the Presidium was elected (under Chairman Kim Tubong), and the Cabinet was formed with Kim II Sung as its head. Pak Hŏnyŏng was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Workers' Party members held most of the important posts in the government. On 9 September 1948, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was proclaimed. Thus two states emerged on the Korean peninsula. Neither of them considered the other as legitimate; both spared no effort, including extreme measures, to establish sovereignty over the whole of the country.

This aim required further concentration of political forces. First and foremost this concerned the Workers' Party, the existence of which in two separate units, in the North and in the South, became a nonsense. In June 1949, a unified plenary meeting of the two Central Committees was held which decided to merge the two parties into the Workers' Party of Korea. The two Central Committees also merged. This decision was not made public, and even Party members learned about the merger only after some time. The unification congress, scheduled for September 1949, never took place. Kim II Sung was elected Chairman of the Central Committee, and Pak Hŏnyŏng Vice-Chairman. Yi Sŏngyŏp, Secretary of the Central Committee, was responsible for work in the South. According to Soviet data, by the beginning of 1950 the Workers' Party in the North had 825,600 members. In the South there were 714,500 members, 238,500 of them active participants in party work. The data for the South may, however, be exaggerated.

At the same time there was a merger of the national democratic fronts of the North and the South. On this basis, the Democratic Front for the Unification of the Fatherland (DFUF) was founded. It included more than 70 parties and organizations from the North, the South and overseas. The DFUF worked under the guidance of the Workers' Party. Kim II Sung, Pak Hŏnyŏng, Kim Tubong, Hŏ Hŏn and others were members of its Presidium. It was mainly through this organisation that the Party's unification policies were carried out.

During the Korean War (1950-1953), the Workers' Party made a tremendous effort to organize resistance, strengthen the army and mobilize all resources for the needs of the front. The Party itself suffered heavy losses. During the first year of the war only, more than 70,000 of its members lost their lives. Some Party members, however, evaded their responsibilities or were expelled due to collaboration with the enemy or other misdeeds. In the South, the Party units were totally destroyed. After the liberation of the Northern territories occupied in the first stage of the war by US and South Korean troops, the Party quickly rebuilt its organisational structure. From the end of 1950, after the breakthrough by the North Korean and Chinese armies, there was a mass influx of new members to the
Party. By September 1952, its membership had grown to one million, and continued to grow. Such rapid growth inevitably told on the qualitative content. Many qualified party workers were killed and replaced by less experienced cadres. Among the leaders of base level Party organizations 97 per cent had primary education only, or were semi-literate.

The war, with its tragic consequences for the whole of Korea, heightened the contradictions within the Workers' Party leadership. Prior to the war there were four rival factions: the 'guerrilla faction' led by Kim Il Sung, the 'local faction' (i.e. those who were active in Korea before the liberation), led by Pak Honyong, the 'Soviet faction' led by Hǒ Kai and the 'Yenan faction' led by Kim Tu-bong. The war facilitated the increasing influence of the 'guerrilla faction'. It succeeded in pushing aside the hitherto most powerful 'Soviet faction', whose leader Hǒ Kai was responsible for the organizational aspect of Party work. Hǒ Kai was removed from his post in 1951 and in 1953, according to the official version, he committed suicide. Soon the turn of the local faction came. It was accused of treacherous contacts with the US, deliberate undermining of the revolutionary forces in the South, and preparing to mount a coup against the government. In 1951, Pak Honyong, Yi Sǔngyǒp and other South Korean activists were expelled from the party and all were removed from their posts. Within a short time the majority of them had been executed.

From the end of the Korean war the Workers' Party centred its efforts on the economic and cultural rebirth of the country. The main tasks were determined and planned by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee at the beginning of August 1953. One year was considered necessary for assessment of the havoc inflicted on the national economy and for preliminary recuperative measures. In 1954 (to 1956), the 3-year plan for the rebirth of the economy was to be implemented. After that, the first five-year plan for economic and cultural development was to be fulfilled. Due to substantial help from the USSR, China and other friendly countries, the North Korean people succeeded in a very quick (3-4 years) reconstruction and elimination of the most serious consequences of the war. Thus, the groundwork was done for the further progress of the republic.

After the mid-1950s, the Workers' Party became step by step involved in the contradictions and conflicts within the world Communist movement, as well as in the relations between the ruling parties of the Socialist countries. The North Korean Party leadership tried its best to remain independent and to block any influence from outside; it grew and more reluctant to follow the advice of the 'big brothers'. With the passage of time, the selfless assistance of the countries friendly to North Korea began to be hushed up. All victories were attributed to the Korean leadership only; the personal authority of Kim Il Sung was quickly developing into a personality cult.

A significant step in this direction was made by Kim Il Sung's address titled 'On the elimination of dogmatism and formalism, on the est'. This address was delivered at the Party workers' meeting of December 1955. In it the ideas of chuch'e were for the first time fully expounded, to be from then on the basis of the ideological work of the Party and the whole social life of North Korea. The essence of chuch'e is as follows: the Korean people are proclaimed the masters of the revolution and the unification struggle; there is a negative attitude to the use of any other country's experience; strictly exclusive consideration of the country's national interests and traditions; independence in all questions and situations; full self-reliance. At first the chuch'e ideas were styled only as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism in Korea, but gradually this thesis was replaced by the notion of 'Kim Il Sungism' in Party propaganda. Kim Il Sungism was declared to be the highest stage of Communist ideological development, a teaching relevant to all mankind. The introduction of the chuch'e ideas was accompanied by a campaign directed against grovelling before the great powers, meaning the USSR and China.

The North Korean leadership was among those who refused to support the anti-Stalinist stand of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, as well as its policy of acceptance of the peaceful
coexistence of countries with different social systems. An attempt to condemn the Kim Il Sung personality cult, undertaken by a group of high Party officials under the influence of the 20th Congress during the August 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee was crushed by Kim Il Sung. Kim Il Sung not only succeeded in defeating those attempting to overthrow his leadership, but with the help of his followers he destroyed both the Soviet and the Yenan factions. By the end of the 1950s, the Workers’ Party had emerged as a strictly centralized, monolithic party centred around the sole leader of both Party and state - Kim Il Sung.

In April 1956 the 3rd Congress of the Party took place. By that time Party membership exceeded 1,000,000 members. The congress summed up the results of the reconstruction work and decided to build the basics of socialism in Korea. An industrialisation program was also adopted. The concrete targets for the first stage were set out in the ‘Directives on the Creation of the Five-Year Plan for Economic Development (1957-1961)’ adopted by the Supreme People’s Assembly. Congress also published the declaration ‘In the Name of the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland’, which expounded the North’s position concerning the unification of Korea. Having discussed organizational problems and ideological work, Congress worked out the Party Rules, which also contained the program guidelines of the Party. The KWP has no modern program in the form of a separate document.

During the five year plan, Socialist reforms were carried out in North Korean industry and trade, from which private capital was totally excluded. Rapid ‘cooperativisation’ was implemented in agriculture, and related changes took place in other spheres of life.

Despite all specific features, in most cases outward ones, the model of Socialism as projected in North Korea followed Soviet patterns. The energetic measures taken by the Workers’ Party and the government brought about significant progress in the spheres of economic, cultural and social life. By the end of the 1950s, the North was apparently ahead of the South in its rate of economic growth. In September 1961, the 4th Congress of the Workers’ Party discussed the results of Socialist construction. By that time the Party had more than 1,300,000 members. The Congress declared that due to the successful implementation of the five year plan the basics of Socialism had been achieved, and proclaimed the transition to full-scale Socialist construction. This process is still on-going and has passed through successive economic plans. The first of them was the seven year plan for economic development adopted by the 4th Congress (1961-1967) which set out significant steps in industrialization, technical modernisation and cultural policy.

When the military regime headed by Park Chung-hee came to power in the South, the tension on the Korean Peninsula grew considerably. In the North, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party was held in December 1962 and announced a policy of parallel economic and defence construction. This inevitably resulted in slowing down the realization of the development targets. In October 1966, this policy was reaffirmed by the Workers’ Party Conference. Taking the situation into consideration, the Conference decided to re-schedule the seven-year plan; now the completion date was set for 1970. Shortly after this, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee abolished the post of Party chairman and introduced the post of General Secretary. Kim Il Sung was elected General Secretary of the Workers’ Party.

In November 1970, the 5th Congress of the Party was held. By that time it had more than 1,700,000 members. As usual, Congress discussed the results of the preceding plan, and then proclaimed North Korea to be transformed into a Socialist industrial state. Further economic targets were set out by Congress in the Directives on the Six Year Plan (1971-1976). After the official period of implementation of the plan was over, a 'regulation period' was necessary; that is, in reality, more time was needed to fulfil the plan. Similar 'regulation periods' were necessary after the formal fulfilment of the second (1978-1984) and third (1984-1993) seven-year plans.
The 6th Congress of the Party took place in October 1980. The Party had by that time more than 3,200,000 members. Further information on membership is not available. The strategic targets for the 1980s were proclaimed as follows: the construction of the solid material-base necessary for fully victorious socialism, and significant improvement of the people's material and cultural well-being. The 10 projected tasks of economic construction, formulated by Kim Il Sung, became the basis for the third seven-year plan, which, as the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee noted in December 1993, was not fully implemented due to the collapse of the world Socialist system and the loss of important trade partners like the USSR and the East European countries.

During the 6th Congress Kim Il Sung put forward a full-scale program on North-South rapprochement, for the sake of the unification of Korea and the formation of a confederate state. This program is still the core of the North Korean unification policy. Congress also adopted Party Rules which are still enforced today. During the Congress, Kim Chong Il was adopted as the official heir apparent and elected to all governing bodies of the party. Kim Chong Il, the eldest son of Kim Il Sung, had worked in the machinery of the Central Committee of the Party since 1964 and he emerged as second highest ranked officer in both state and Party. Since 1980 no Congresses or conferences of the Party have been held.

According to its Rules, the Korean Workers' Party is a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the chuch'e type, founded by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. The Korean Workers' Party declares the revolutionary thought of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the chuch'e principle, to be its sole guiding principle. The most immediate task of the Party, as stated by the Rules, is 'the achievement of the full victory of Socialism in the Northern part of the Republic, and the fulfilment of the tasks of national liberation and the people's democratic revolution in the country as a whole. The final target is the restructuring of the whole society on the basis of chuch'e and the construction of a Communist society'.

The transition to a fully-fledged Socialist society requires, according to the North Korean leaders, a period of unremitting class struggle. The revolution must thus continue until the building of Communism is accomplished. To these leaders, the revolution proceeds in three fields: ideological, technical and cultural, the first being the most significant. The central role belongs to the leader - 'the great leader of the revolution', 'the hub of the unity and integrity of the toiling masses', who leads the country through the working class party, 'the headquarters of the revolution'. The people's power, which has to be constantly strengthened, may fulfil its functions only under the guidance of the party leader. The Socialist democracy is of class character and linked to the workers' dictatorship over the class enemies.

The transition to Socialism is considered to be the inevitable law for all mankind. Thus the defeat of Socialism in the USSR and some East European countries is looked upon as a temporary phenomenon. According to Kim Chong Il, this happened 'due to the plotting and collaboration of the imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces, as the result of the cultural and ideological expansion of imperialism and the corroding influence of right wing opportunism'.

The main reasons for the failure of world Socialism, in the North Korean leaders' view, were that the attention of the ruling parties was not centred on the people; that the people were not educated in the Communist spirit; that the state and society were managed by privileged circles separated from the masses; and that the unity of the people and their consolidation around the party was broken. Of negative effect also, was the dogmatic approach to Marxism, which, despite all its historical merits, was not devoid of significant limitations.
Expressing the North Korean attitude to the fate of world Socialism, Kim Chong Il was especially outspoken in his opposition to pluralism, meaning ideological liberalization, as well as to the multi-party system and the plurality of property forms, since all of these, according to him, are incompatible with Socialism. The North Korean model of Socialism was declared to be the best. Its merit and proof of durability was considered to lie in the fact that the North Korean people had a really great leader, the succession problem was solved, and that the society had a consolidated will and a single ideology, that of the great leader. But there are serious reasons to suggest that the socio-economic system of North Korea carries in itself a number of factors similar to the ones that caused such deep shocks in other Socialist societies. The prevention of the destructive influence of these factors will depend on the depth and objectivity of the leadership's insight concerning the necessary reforms to be carried out in time and the energy applied to these reforms.

In July 1994, Kim Il Sung passed away. He was the undisputed leader of the country and the ruling party, determining both internal and external policies for nearly half a century. The levers of power have passed into the hands of his son and official successor Kim Chong Il, now styled as the 'great leader'.

In his work, *Socialism is a Science*, published in November 1994, Kim Chong Il states that, 'today our party and people face an important and honourary task to carry on, from generation to generation, and to fulfil, until victory, our great cause of Socialism, which had been started and guided by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung'. One may draw the conclusion that the new North Korean leadership will follow the *chuch'e* ideas, strengthen the existing regime and develop the Korean model of Socialism - that is, follow the path laid down by Kim Il Sung. But it does not mean that no changes can be foreseen in the North. The premises for change have been prepared during the preceding decade by state measures to improve economic management, to invite foreign investment, and to bring the country closer up to date with world technical progress. One can suggest that under favourable internal and external conditions North Korea will go the same way as China and Vietnam in all specific features and strategies in the tempo, scale and forms of change in the Socialist system.

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Communism in Korea

Communism in Korea is a two-volume work that details the development of communism in the peninsula, from its origins to the early-1970s. This work was published in 1972 by the University of California Press, and is co-authored by Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee. The first volume is subtitled The Movement and is divided into eight chapters with an index to the complete work, and the second, The Society, has seven chapters, seven appendices and a bibliography which provides sources in English, Korean, Japanese, Russian, and Chinese. The appendices include the Constitution of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK); rules of the Korean Worker’s Party (KWP); membership rosters of the KWP and the Central Committee from 1948 to 1970; the organisation of the apparat and data concerning economic matters in the North. This work of more than one-thousand five-hundred pages, contains many supporting tables.

Scalapino and Lee have accessed a variety of documents, such as official Japanese records; intelligence reports; court trial documents; the writings of prisoners; biographies; records of the Comintern; and interviews with members of the Communist movement, to conduct an exhaustive exploration of the manifestation and transformation of the Communist movement in Korea. Further, the work incorporates documents from both the North and South Korean governments, as well as the former USSR, in its quest to transcend the propaganda that so often clouded the highly-charged issues of communism. The work is meticulously presented, with cross-references and highly detailed footnotes, and thus is invaluable data for research into the historic roots of the Korean communist movement, and the conditions after the formation of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Moreover, Communism in Korea is useful for gaining an understanding of the structure of North Korean society and the interrelationship of that society; the people; the military; the government; and communism per se..

Although Communism in Korea was published in 1972 and, therefore, does not include information on more recent happenings in the DPRK, it remains worthwhile reading for comprehending the historic conditions that led to the creation and of North Korea and its transformation. Hence, this work is still in demand, as reflected in its reprint by Ilchokak Publishers in 1992.

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys is an examination of the opening of Chosŏn at the end of the nineteenth c. Subtitled, The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885, the author is Martina Deuchler and the publisher the University of Washington Press. The work was published in 1977 and comprises 310-pages of twelve chapters, with two appendices detailing the major protagonists of the Min clan and a listing of the leading members of the Enlightenment Party.

The work begins with an examination of the situation in Chosŏn before its opening, and then details the processes that unfolded over the next decade with the onslaught of foreign culture and politics. Essential to the work is the transformation of the heretofore isolationist
Chosŏn government to one that entered into treaties with Japan and the Western powers, and the consequences of this change. The international predicament of Chosŏn is discussed as the former China-orientation of Chosŏn shifted to one which leaned towards the West and Japan. Other topics explored include the various reform initiatives, both inside and outside the government; the effects of the trade conducted in the newly-opened ports; the power struggles among various factions in the Chosŏn government; and the consequences of the failed coup d'état of 1884.

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys gives a clear examination of what the author deems the most crucial decade in the events that led to the eventual collapse of the Chosŏn dynasty and the advent of the colonial period. The changes that occurred, along with those that did not transpire during this period, had major repercussions on Korea insofar as modernisation; the acceptance of Western thought; and political reforms for the remaining years of Chosŏn are concerned. Hence, this work provides valuable material for an understanding of the process of modernisation in Korea.

The Confucian Transformation of Korea

The Confucian Transformation of Korea, subtitled A Study of Society and Ideology, is an exhaustive examination of the processes involved in the transformation of Korean society from Koryŏ to late Chosŏn. This 439-page work was written by Professor Martina Deuchler and published by Harvard University Press in 1992. The author has divided her work into six chapters and has also included a select bibliography and an extensive glossary of terms used in the work.

Deuchler examines the processes involved in the transformation of the relatively equal Koryŏ society, insofar as the rights of women and men in the family are concerned, to the male-dominated, patriarchal society of mid and late Chosŏn. Of special interest is the presentation of the institutional aspects of Koryŏ society, in which women held economic security in their own hands. The movement of society in Chosŏn towards a patriarchy is seen as a consequence of the widespread acceptance of the neo-Confucian ideology and its emphasis on agnation and ancestor worship. Hence, women were systematically marginalized by society over time, and by late Chosŏn this was a fundamental aspect of society manifested in all social strata to varying degree. There are chapters on mourning and funerary rites, and inheritance practices, which are essential for an understanding of Chosŏn society. The sixth chapter details the situation of women during Chosŏn, including marriage; divorce; remarriage; the indoctrination of women; and secondary wives and concubines; making Professor Deuchler's work a comprehensive study of women during the dynasty.

The Confucian Transformation of Korea enables its reader to gain a thorough understanding of the impact of the neo-Confucian ideology on Chosŏn society and the changes that it brought about to Korean culture as a whole. The bibliography provides a wealth of sources for further study.

Confucianism

Part A. History - ideas, development and acceptance

Historical background

It has been argued that there is no distinctively 'Korean' Confucian philosophy, since the Korean literati largely confined their philosophical thinking to commentary on the Chinese Confucian classics. It is true that the conservative atmosphere of Confucian society, where ancestral veneration and respect for seniors were regarded as overarching duties, made the direct expression of original ideas tasteless and unacceptable. Nonetheless, a tradition which demands homage to the wisdom of the past does not necessarily preclude the need
for adaptation to changing circumstances, and as in China, the urge for innovation found satisfaction, and acceptance, in the subtle but cumulative modification of old modes of thought. In the time-honoured spirit of 'discovering the new through familiarity with the old' the Confucians of Korea became proficient not only at adapting old concepts but at times, in a more subversive sense, introducing new ideas in the clothes of ancient concepts and modes of expression.

Confucian ideas gradually filtered into the Korean peninsula through the medium of Chinese script several centuries prior to the official introduction of Buddhism in 372. In the same year one of the so-called 'Three Kingdoms', Koguryō which shared a large border with China, established a T'aehak or National Confucian Academy to educate the sons of the aristocracy. Koguryō's example was shortly followed by the kingdom of Paekche. Following its unification of the country in the seventh c. the kingdom of Shilla established a Kukhak or National Confucian College in 682 to train the large number of bureaucrats needed to rule its expanded territory.

In all these institutions the Five Confucian Classics formed the heart of the curriculum, and at least in Shilla, familiarity with the Analects of Confucius and the Book of Filial Piety was a prerequisite for high public office. Knowledge of Confucian ethics had also filtered down to the aristocracy of Shilla, as illustrated in the precepts of the 'Flower Corps' or Hwarang of Shilla which combined Confucian teachings on filial piety and loyalty with elements from Buddhism and Daoism.

Although Buddhism continued to wield enormous influence on the culture and general populace during the Three Kingdoms and the succeeding Koryŏ Dynasty, Confucianism, on the strength of its well-developed political philosophy, steadily consolidated itself as the backbone of formal education for the ruling elite, and concomitantly, political thought and institutions. Shortly after the foundation of the Koryŏ dynasty in 958 a civil service examination system was instituted based on the Confucian Classics, and the reign of Sŏngjong (981-997) saw the foundation of Confucian schools in all regions of the country.

The Assimilation of Neo-Confucianism

In the light of the evidence that remains, it was in the late Koryŏ dynasty that Korean Confucian philosophy began to flourish, if by 'philosophy' we mean consistent attempts to understand the human condition, including human nature itself and the relationship between man and the universe.

These philosophical activities were achieved on the basis of a growing familiarity with the Chinese classics, and stimulated by the introduction of Neo-Confucianism, the teachings of the Song philosophers Zhu Xi and the Cheng brothers, by the scholars An Hyang (1243-1306) and Paek Ijong (1247-1323) in the late Koryŏ period. Zhu Xi in particular had grounded the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius in a new cosmology to rival that of Buddhism in terms of sophistication and breadth of scope. He had also introduced a new, more clearly defined theory of self-cultivation which provided a viable Confucian alternative to the Buddhist promise of enlightenment that had attracted so many to the temples. Armed with the new philosophical system, Korean Confucian scholars, led by the influential reformer Chŏng Tojŏn (1337-1398), began to vigorously criticize Buddhism. During the Koryŏ period the steadily increasing wealth and influence of the temples was perceived as a threat to central government, and the new critiques reinforced efforts to consolidate the power of the State. The founder of the Chosŏn ruling line was well aware of these advantages when he instituted Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism as the exclusive ideology of the new dynasty, granting the Neo-Confucian scholars unprecedented status, and enshrining the doctrines of Zhu Xi as the core of a well-organized civil examination system.

The Schools of T'oegye and Yulgok
Following a period of several centuries during which understanding of the new orthodoxy gradually matured, Korean Neo-Confucian philosophy flowered in the writings of its two greatest exponents, Yi Hwang (Yi T'oegye 1501-70) and Yi I (Yi Yulgok 1536-84), and in the sophisticated debates that ensued as they and their followers sought to defend their respective interpretations of Zhu Xi's doctrines. Partly on account of its ambitious scale, Zhu Xi's innovative cosmology posed a host of new questions. In particular, hints of dualism within his system, in conjunction with his ambiguous responses when questioned on the subject by his followers, provided abundant room for elaboration and debate. Like Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, Chosön scholars, and particularly the schools of T'oegye and Yulgok, showed great interest in the question of human nature, a natural outcome of their traditional Confucian preoccupation with ethics. They were particularly interested in the implications of the new metaphysics for this area. They struggled to clarify grey areas and resolve tensions in Zhu Xi's view of human nature with regard to the two metaphysical concepts of li (principle) and qi (material force), and the closely related question of good and evil. But it was to the role of the emotions in this context that they paid unparalleled attention, and where they made a distinctive contribution to the development of East Asian philosophy.

T'oegye is generally regarded as the greatest Korean exponent of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism, both on account of his familiarity with Zhu's life and philosophy, and his unwavering faithfulness to his teachings. He vigorously criticized the philosophy of Wang Yangming, the main alternative Neo-Confucian school of thought, and thus contributed in making the Korean Zhu Xi school even more exclusive than it had been in China.

The most celebrated and protracted philosophical debate in Korean history, which revolved around the intricate relationship between li, qi, and the emotions, began in the correspondence between T'oegye and a friend of his, Ki Taesung (Kobong, 1527-72). This was coined the 'Four-Seven Debate' because it dealt with the 'Four Beginnings' and 'Seven Emotions'. The 'Four Beginnings', originally described by Mencius, refer to four spontaneous and benevolent tendencies common to all human beings, namely the heart of compassion, shame, modesty, and moral discernment, which represent the 'beginnings' or sources of the virtues. On the other hand the seven emotions, enumerated in the Book of Rites, refer to the whole gamut of human sensibilities, positive and negative, such as joy, anger, sadness, delight, etc.

Following the example of Zhu Xi, T'oegye drew a clear ontological distinction between these two sets of attributes by maintaining that 'the Four Beginnings manifest li and the Seven Emotions manifest qi, where li referred to the rational, unifying principle of the universe and qi was the cosmic 'stuff' with which the myriad things are made. Endowed in man, li is both a natural and a normative standard, and constitutes his original nature (ben chan zhi xing ). This nature is implanted in qi, to which he owes his corporality and individuality, and so his physical nature (qizhi zhi xing ), which is the source of his bodily desires, consists of li and qi combined. Evil was regarded as originating from turbid or impure qi in the physical endowment. Consequently T'oegye maintained that the Four Beginnings were entirely good because they manifested pure principle and the Seven Feelings consisted of both good and evil because they manifested material force.

Kobong and later Yulgok implied that T'oegye's position was too dualistic. Yulgok, a scholar of practical bent who emphasised the importance of adapting abstract principles to circumstances, and who excelled in statecraft as well as metaphysics, emphasised the inseparability of li and qi. By describing the 'Four Beginnings' as a subset of the 'Seven Emotions', both of which were manifestations of qi, Yulgok in particular placed a new emphasis on the positive nature of qi as well as the emotions themselves.

Alternative Currents
From the seventeenth c. signs of dissatisfaction with the narrow perimeters of Neo-Confucian debate began to show. Two outspoken scholars sharing a markedly independent turn of mind, Yun Hyu (Paekho, 1617-80) and Pak Sedang (Sogye, 1629-1703), both challenged Zhu Xi’s interpretations of key concepts in the so-called Four Books, which together with the Book of Changes, formed the philosophical core of the Confucian canon. They were both labelled 'traitors of the Confucian Way', a stigma not without irony, for they had implied that the prevailing Confucian orthodoxy, i.e., Zhu Xi’s interpretation, was not entirely orthodox, as its speculative approach had distorted the message of Confucius and Mencius.

Yun Hyu’s concept of Heaven (ch’ on ), the Confucian term for the ruling power of the universe, was particularly remarkable. Instead of equating Heaven with a universal principle in rational terms, which is how Zhu Xi had envisaged it, he reverted to the early Zhou dynasty concept of Heaven as a ruling deity who empathised with human affairs.

Like Yun Hyu, Pak Sedang tried to show that Chu Hsi had altered the original message of the Four Books, and particularly the Great Learning, by changing the order of the text and adding his own speculative interpretations. He criticized core aspects of Zhu Xi’s philosophy of principle such as his equation of the nature of man with the nature of other beings, as well as his concept of self-cultivation. According to Pak, Zhu Xi’s interpretation of "gewu zhi zhi," the 'investigation of things and the extension of knowledge', which was regarded as the initial step in a program of self-cultivation, had inflated its significance and detracted from the succeeding, more practical steps. He argued that this kind of ratiocination had caused the scholars of his age to neglect practical ethics and reverse the inductive approach of the Confucian teachings by 'skipping what was close at hand and plunging into the deep and distant'.

In view of the bitter controversy aroused by the work of Pak and Yun, it is not surprising that the voices of more inventively inclined scholars were muted in the succeeding century. In spite of this the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming, which had flourished in China and Japan, managed to surface in a more restrained, somewhat encoded fashion in the writings of its main proponent, Ch’ on Chedu (Hagok, 1649-1736). Hagok, who cultivated a sizeable group of followers, applied the principle/material force cosmology to enlarge on central aspects of Wang’s thought such as the equation of mind with principle and the ‘extension of one’s innate knowledge’ (zhi liangzhi).

Stimulated by developments in Qing dynasty scholarship, including ksozheng xfiue or 'evidential learning', which frowned on subjective speculation and emphasised a more rigorous philology including the importance of textual corroboration, the School of Yi Ik (Sŏngho 1681-1763) became a focus of philosophical activity. Yi Ik and a number of his followers, including Kwŏn Ch’olsin (1736-1801) and Chŏng Yagyong (Tasan 1764-1836), also took a great interest in Western Learning, including scientific developments as well as Catholicism. Although Yi Ik, who was known more for his encyclopedic scholarship and bold proposals on administrative reform, rejected overdependence on commentaries and called for a return to the text of the Classics themselves, his philosophy broadly adhered to the conceptual framework provided by Zhu Xi.

Nonetheless it was a follower of Yi Ik, Chŏng Yagyong (Tasan, 1764-1836), who used the growing sophistication of evidential learning to challenge the textual basis, and the philosophical integrity, of the Neo-Confucian cosmology. Like his Qing counterpart Dai Zhen, Tasan pulled the carpet from under the conventional debate by claiming that Zhu Xi had reified li, originally an abstract concept signifying 'pattern' or 'law', to the status of a universal being, and thus thrown the Confucian camp into confusion with Neo-Buddhist concepts of the 'one (principle) reflected in the many.' But Tasan went one step further than other 'evidential philosophers' by redefining human nature as affective tendencies (kiho),
both moral and sensual, rather than ontological principle, thus providing the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius with a novel psychological basis.

Summary

Confucian ideas gradually filtered into the Korean peninsula through the medium of Chinese script several centuries prior to the official introduction of Buddhism in 372. From the late Koryô dynasty, when the Neo-Confucian ideas of Zhu Xi were introduced, Korean Confucian philosophy began to take root. During the early Chosôn Dynasty Neo-Confucian philosophy flowered in the writings of its two greatest exponents, Yi T'oegye and Yi Yulgok, and in the sophisticated debates that ensued as they and their followers sought to defend their respective views of human nature and its ontological foundations. The 'Four-Seven' debate, the most celebrated of these controversies, revolved around the relationship between the Four Beginnings, the spontaneous and benevolent tendencies common to all human beings, and the 'Seven Emotions', representing the whole range of human sensibilities.

During the following century dissatisfaction with the narrow perimeters of orthodox Neo-Confucian scholarship surfaced in the work of two outspoken scholars, Yun Hyu and Pak Sedang. Both challenged Zhu Xi's interpretations of key concepts in the Confucian canon such as Heaven (T'ian) and the 'investigation of things and the extension of knowledge', which was regarded as the initial step in self-cultivation.

Following this Ch'ông Chedu surreptitiously introduced the ideas of Wang Yang-ming, which had flourished in China and Japan as an alternative branch of Neo-Confucianism. He applied Zhu Xi's li-qi or principle/material force cosmology to enlarge on central aspects of Yangming's thought such as the 'extension of one's innate knowledge'.

Activated by the thorough philology of Qing kaozheng xiu or 'evidential learning', the School of Yi Ik became a focus of philosophical development. Ch'ông Yagyong in particular challenged the foundations of orthodox Neo-Confucianism by criticizing Zhu Xi's concept of li or principle. By redefining human nature as psychological tendencies (kiho) he provided the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius with a novel psychological basis.

M. Setton

Part B. Philosophical impact, Schools and Examination System

Bonds and cardinal relationships

In Korea, the influence of Confucianism is subtle and yet overwhelming. While that statement may appear contradictory, it is never-the-less true because religions in Korea are expressed in many radically different ways.

Compared to Buddhism with its colourful temples, and even to Christianity with its variety of churches, Confucianism is nearly invisible. Whereas beautiful Buddhist temples set in scenic mountain landscapes, and golden images of the Buddha attract tourists as well as believers, and books and brochures about Korea are covered with photographs of those marvellous sites, Confucian buildings are plain and unpretentious. And Christian churches, large and small, dot the city and the countryside. Unique to Korea, are the red neon crosses atop the buildings that standout against the night sky in great numbers. They are a visual testament to the strength of the Christian movement in Korea. And thus it appears that Confucianism is eclipsed by its two more-visible rivals.

Even Shamanism, which is also a powerful force in Korea, appears to overshadow
Confucianism. Although the Shamans do not have grand architecture, the raucous ceremony, the garish costumes and the excitement of Shamanism rituals seem to outshine the Confucian rituals.

To those who first encounter Korean culture, Confucianism does not seem to have a strong influence on Koreans, but the more one observes Korean culture and the behaviour of Koreans in various contexts, the more one finds the subtle influence of Confucianism. More than anything else, Confucianism is a standard of behaviour - a set of rules to be applied to various relationships one finds in society. When one looks beyond architecture, and sees human interaction in Korea, then one sees the overwhelming presence of Confucianism.

Almost every social relationship is influenced by Confucianism. Confucius was not concerned about the next life (although the rituals of Confucianism focus on the ancestors), and he taught his disciples to stay away from spirits. Confucius was a political philosopher who travelled from kingdom to kingdom advising kings on methods of good government. He taught that morality and character were more powerful than might and force. He believed that obedience to one's parents at home translated into loyalty for one's ruler outside the home. He taught the ideal of the jinunzi (Kor. kunja), the nobleman, one who had cultivated good virtues in himself.

The major ritual of Confucianism is ancestor worship, or as some prefer to call it, ancestor veneration ceremonies. Beginning at the funeral, throughout the three years of mourning, and finally the annual services at the graveside, the various ceremonies for the dead are the essence of Confucian ritual. The heart of the ceremony is the food and drink, and the bows offered to the dead. After the ceremonial offering of the food, all the participants have a feast on the food, and the relationship that brings them together is renewed.

More important than the ritual, however, is the subtle philosophical impact of Confucianism on the society whether one says he believes in Confucianism or not.

In Confucianism there are three 'bonds', and five 'cardinal' relationships. The three 'bonds' (unchangeable relationships) are:

- Sovereign to subject
- Parent to child
- Husband to wife

The five relationships are expressed as a formula that repeats the three bonds in terms of the quality of the relationships and then adds two others. The five cardinal relationships are:

- Between sovereign and subject there is uprightness
- Father and son there is closeness
- Husband and wife there is separation of duties
- Senior and junior there is order
- Friend and friend there is trust

Confucianism emphasises the values held in official relationships. One of the most basic is filial piety, a term used in English only when describing Confucianism. Filial piety is the quality of children acting respectfully to their parents. There is also a corresponding obligation for the parent to act responsibly to the children. Confucian classics state, 'Never has there been one who has learned filial piety at home, who has been disloyal to his ruler (government).'

Filial piety is first, and loyalty follows close behind. Citizens in countries with Confucian traditions often tolerate autocratic governments for long periods because change is equivalent to disloyalty, and thus, is worse than patiently suffering through with bad leaders. Confucianism, however, also calls for goodness and virtue on the part of the
leader. The rivals of Confucious in his day were those who believe might made right. By comparison, the teachings of Confucious were ethereal and abstract. Yet he taught there was greater power in morality and virtue. In fact, most of the rulers of his day rejected his teachings, and only in later centuries did Confucious become recognized as a sage.

Faithfulness on the part of women, wives and widows, who sacrificed for their husbands and parents-in-law was highly prized. Many stories of heroic women who go to extreme measures to find medicine for an ailing husband or father-in-law are found in Korea. These episodes are recorded in books, primarily collected essays (munjip) of prominent men, and on monuments. There were three kinds of monuments erected in traditional Korea - those for filial sons (hyoja), for loyal subjects (ch'ungshin), and faithful wives (Yoolyoo).

In rural areas today one can still see these monuments. They are inscribed stele that are usually around three to five feet tall, and at times there is a small wooden structure built over the monument. Such monuments were not built by individuals or even by committees, but rather they were only erected by authority of the king himself. Local officials would initiate the petition to the government, which would approve it at various levels and finally submit it to the king for authorization. It was a serious matter, and an important manifestation of Confucian government, a government concerned with morality first, in action.

Other important concepts in Confucianism include a concept that is expressed simply in a Chinese character pronounced in. The Chinese character is made of two elements, the symbol for man, and the symbol for the number two. It means the relationship two men should have. It is hard to translate, but the terms benevolence, goodness, and human heartedness are used. If you were to ask a scholar of Confucianism which is the most important concept, some would say in, and some would say hyo (filial piety).

Propriety, etiquette, ceremony, knowledge, and trust are also important and have impact on the daily lives of Koreans. Of these values, the importance of education is striking. Today parents make tremendous sacrifices for the sake of educating their children, and children make their own sacrifices to study hard. The value of education has more than abstract underpinnings. Historically, education was the key to social success.

In traditional times, officials were recruited to serve in the government on the basis of passing an examination. The assumption was that good men made good government. And that a good education (in the Confucian classics) made men good. Therefore, there was an extensive education system and examination system in traditional Korea. It is important to note that the only source of prestige as well as wealth in traditional times was to be a government official. Businessmen were controlled and looked down upon, lawyers, accountants, doctors, scientists, and engineers all served the government officials and were considered inferior.

Education was the key to passing an exam and achieving success in traditional times, and it is so today. In today's society rapid economic development has been the hallmark of the day, and again, education is the key to success. It has been said that the education miracle has preceeded the economic miracle. The Confucian classics ask, 'What is more enjoyable than studying?'

Koreans are wonderful hosts. Foreigners are given royal treatment in homes and in restaurants. The first line of the Analects, one of the classics, says, 'What is more pleasurable that greeting guests who have come from afar!'

All of the above values are expressed in many different ways in the lives of Koreans today and in the past.
Chesa (Ancestor Ceremonies, Ancestor Worship)

The ritual of Confucianism is centred on the concern for the dead. Although Confucius and later writers never described the next life in any detail, they believed in the existence of the soul and the need to offer respect to the departed. The ancestor ceremonies are basically food offerings set on a table, or altar, at the graveside, but they also take place in homes and in special memorial halls.

The ceremony is simple and usually brief, but the preparation of the food for the ceremony can take considerable time and expense. The table is set and the participants, usually descendants of the dead, bow before the altar. The ceremony is basically the same whether it is performed by a few members of a household for their ancestors, or whether it is performed by numerous officials at a national ceremony. At the large-scale ceremonies, there is often a prayer read, and then burned, and at some of the largest ceremonies there is music and sedate dancing.

The largest of all the ceremonies is the Sokchönje, the ceremony offered to Confucius himself twice a year, once in the spring and once in the autumn. The Sokchönje is offered at the site of the former national academy, currently on the grounds of Sönggyun'gwan University. There are similar large-scale ceremonies for the royal family, the kings, of the Chosôn kingdom. Those are offered at the royal shrine (Chongmyo) in Seoul.

There are special buildings, memorial halls, dedicated to the memory of one or more famous scholars from that area, at which ceremonies are offered once or twice a year, and sometimes twice a month. The memorial halls are often attached to traditional Confucian academies (hyanggyo or söwŏn), that once were the heart of the educational system, but now are unused except for an occasional group organized over the summer or winter vacation to study Confucian classics.

Families will offer ceremonies to their ancestors in their homes and at the graveside. In the first three years after the death and funeral of an ancestor there are special ceremonies on the anniversary of the death. After the three-year period of mourning is concluded, the ancestor is considered one of a large number of ancestor who continue to receive offerings, usually at the graveside. On the anniversary date, in most cases the death date, but in some other cases the birth date or a national holiday, the descendants of that ancestor meet and commemorate the life of the deceased.

Sokchönje

The oldest unbroken series of ceremonies to Confucius is found in Korea. At the Sönggyun'gwan, the former National Academy and now a modern university, twice a year, once in the spring and once in the autumn (like Easter and Hannika, the date is set on the lunar calendar, and thus it falls on a different day on each year's western calendar). In recent years, with reforms in China, the Chinese have a renewed interest in the ceremony that was forbidden during the Communist years, and many Chinese have come to Korea to re-learn the old tradition.

The ceremony is the most elaborate and colourful in the variety of ceremonies devoted to ancestors. There are two orchestras, one in the front and the 'porch' of the main hall, and the other in the back of the courtyard. There are also dancers who move slowly and sedately through the motions of two dances, one a military dance and one a civilian dance, denoting the two major divisions of government.

In the days of the last dynasty, the king himself, and his high court officials, would participate, but in modern times men, and a few women, dressed in old court robes carry out the ceremony. The offerings, unlike those at all other Confucian ceremonies, include...
raw meat; it is believed that Confucius lived so long ago that raw was preferred to cooked meat. Large tables with heads of cows and pigs, and a variety of fruits, vegetables and cakes sit in front of each stand that holds the 'spirit tablet' of the deceased sages.

In addition to the spirit tablet of Confucius, there are those for his four disciples, the sixteen Chinese sages, and the eighteen Korean sages. The Korean sages have been canonized over the years beginning with two men from the Shilla period, two from the Koryŏ period, and fourteen from the most Confucian of all kingdoms, Chosŏn.

Several groups of officiators make several rounds of offerings to the illustrious sages. Wine is offered at each altar in turn. At one point a 'prayer' or congratulatory message is read; after which the paper on which it is written is burned at a point off to the side of the main hall. The burning symbolically takes the message from the physical world to the spirit world, from paper to smoke, so that it can be appreciated better in the other world.

The ceremony used to take several hours, but in recent years it has been streamlined so that the formal part of the ceremony takes about an hour. Foreign diplomats are invited and several attend every year lending an international importance to the time-honoured tradition.

Sŏnggyun'gwan

The Sŏnggyun'gwan (National Academy) was first founded in Kaesońg in the Koryŏ period, but was relocated to Seoul when the capital was moved at the beginning of the Chosŏn period. Today the old buildings sit next to a modern university that carries on the name and the tradition. The old buildings serve as a reminder of the historic tradition and the importance of education in previous periods, and twice a year they are the site of the Sokch'ônje the high ceremony to Confucius and his disciples.

The Sŏnggyun'gwan served two functions in traditional times: it was the place for ceremonies to the great sages, and it was a place of sophisticated scholarship. The ceremonies were held on a large scale twice a year, but lesser ceremonies were held twice a month, once on the new moon and once on the full moon. Entering through the main gate the large building across the courtyard, the munmyo, is the site of the ceremonies. The building behind it is the grand lecture hall, the Myŏngnyun-dang, where students once listened to explanations of the Chinese classics in preparation for the all-important state examinations.

The Sŏnggyun'gwan represented the apex of the educational system in traditional times. Students who did well in preparatory exams could be awarded the privilege of studying at the National Academy. The state examinations were not limited to those enrolled in the National Academy, but they did get the best training available to prepare them.

The examinations were forerunners of modern civil service examinations found in many countries of the world today. In traditional times the examinations, offered almost yearly, were the major avenue of recruitment for the civil service, the most prestigious livelihood possible in traditional times. Many of the most powerful and important leaders of the state of Chosŏn passed through the gates of the Sŏnggyun'gwan academy.

The Examination System

In traditional Korea, over ninety per cent of high office holders were selected for government positions on the basis of passing the high state examination, called the mun'gwa. In the five hundred years of the Yi-Chosŏn, an elite number of 14 654 men passed the examination; less than thirty per year.

The examination was offered on a regular basis every three years, but special ones were
offered nearly every year. Special examinations were held to mark auspicious occasions, such as the birth or marriage of a prince. Thirty-three passed in a typical examination, three in the highest level, ten in the second level, and twenty in the third level; the highest receiving special honours.

Lower on the scale of prestige was another civil service examination called the sama, which had two parts, the saengwon and the chinsa. This examination was given without exception every three years, and only every three years; and at each offering exactly two hundred candidates were selected, one hundred from each section. In the early dynasty the sama examination served as a preliminary, with over half of the candidates going on to pass the mun'gwa. In the latter half of the dynasty the sama came to function as a terminal stage, with less than half going on to the higher examination.

In addition to the civil examination, there was a military examination used to recruit military officers. There were two parts to it—a written part, and a practical part that included shooting a bow and arrows and horseback riding. At times of national emergency the examination was offered more often than at times of peace; over 150,000 passed the examination over the Choson dynasty.

There was also an examination for special skills needed to run the government. There were five test areas: medicine, accounting, geomancy/astronomy, laws, and a test for interpreters that was divided into tests for spoken Chinese, Japanese, Jurchen, and Mongolian. Those who took and passed the special skills tests were members of a few family groups who inherited the privilege from their fathers, and whose sons and grandsons could sit also. These specialists lived in the centre of Seoul and were called 'chungin', or 'central people'.

The examination system was inspired by Confucian ideology and the belief that goodness comes from education. The purpose of the examination system was to recruit good men so that there would be good government.

Hyanggyo, Provincial Schools

Each county, in the Choson period had a government-supported school called a hyanggyo, provincial school. There the local elite would teach qualified students and prepare them for the all-important state civil service examination.

The buildings at each hyanggyo were laid out in similar fashion to those of the National Academy, the Songgyun'gan, in Seoul. Surrounded by a fence of stonework, one entered the courtyard, through a three-doored gate. Inside the gate to the left and right was a ginko tree and straight ahead was a stone pathway leading to a large central building. The central building was used for lectures on Confucian classics. To the sides of the courtyard between the gate and the lecture hall, stood smaller buildings, and behind the main hall, usually on an uphill slope, stood the shrine. The shrine held the spirit tablet dedicated to Confucius and there were eighteen other tablets of the Korean sages, nine on each side of the hall.

The hyanggyo was different from the Songgyun'gan in that the hyanggyo was smaller in scale, the lecture hall was in the centre of the courtyard and the shrine was to the rear. The hyanggyo did not have spirit tablets for the four disciples of Confucius or the sixteen Chinese sages.

Many hyanggyo still exist today. They are located in the county capital in a neighbourhood named either Kyo-dong or Myôngnyun-dong, meaning the 'school neighbourhood', or the 'neighbourhood of teaching morality'.

Sõwôn, Private Academy
In 1542, Chu Sebong founded the first of the sowon or private academies in North Kyongsang province. He named it Paegundong Sowon after the hall where Zhu Xi studied in China, but eight years later, when Yi Hwang was the magistrate of the county, he changed the name to the Sosu Sowon by which it is known today. The king personally wrote the characters for the sign board and thus the private academy had official recognition.

After the founding of the first sowon, several more were founded and throughout the next three hundred years over 650 sowon were chartered. But only forty-seven of several hundred were given sign boards written by a king. In 1847, the powerful king's regent known as the Taewon'gun closed and destroyed all but the forty-seven that had royal charters. The tactic was a divide and conquer approach to reduce the power of the bureaucrats who were rivals to the king in the exercise of power. In the view of the throne, the sowon had gone beyond their role as schools and had become power bases of various factions. Factionalism, struggles for power on the basis of group affiliation, had become a problem in the latter part of the dynasty, whereby one faction would gain the king's confidence and sweep the other faction's members out of office. In some cases the disputes would result in accusations of treason and the losing side would lose lives.

Sowon served the same purposes as the hyanggyo, except the former was privately funded and the latter was funded by the government. The purpose was two-fold, educational and ceremonial. The educational purpose was to train for the examination system by learning, memorizing, the Confucian classics. The ceremonial purpose was to honor the departed spirits of prominent scholars from the area. Each sowon was dedicated to one or more Confucian luminaries. For example, the first sowon was dedicated to An Hyang, the late Koryo figure who was credited with bringing Zhu Xi's neo-Confucian commentaries into Korea. Later, Yi Hwang, who had served in that area as a magistrate and later became one of the most important scholars in the Korean Confucian tradition, was also added to the altar and received offerings on the ceremonial days at the sowon.

In recent years, descendants of those men who had been honoured in sowon that were destroyed in 1864, have begun to reconstruct many of the sowon on the site of the original buildings. Therefore, today there exists not only the sanctioned forty-seven sowon, but also many of the unofficial sowon that have been restored.

Part C. Some eminent Confucian Scholars

Yi I (1536-1584)

One of the greatest Confucian scholars in Korean history, Yi I is better known by his pen name, Yulgok. Born in Kangnung at his mother's lineage home, he was taught the basics of Confucian ideology by his mother, Shin Saimdang. His mother is honoured as the classic example of motherhood in Korea. Yi based the sama examination when he was only thirteen years old. Before he could take the mun'gwa examination, his mother died when he was sixteen, whereupon he retired to a Buddhist temple to mourn and to study Buddhism. He returned to his home a year later and resumed his study of neo-Confucianism.

In 1558, he paid a visit to Yi Hwang, who with Yi I in later years would be regarded as the two greatest interpreters of Confucianism in Korean history. Yi I was a young man, Yi Hwang, at age fifty-seven, was already established as a major figure of his time. The senior scholar was impressed with the junior, and the junior was inspired by the senior. Later that same year Yi I took first place in the mun'gwa examination. In fact, he had taken first place at all nine exams at the preparatory, regional, and national levels.
Yi served in several government offices including posts in various ministries, in provincial magistracies, and in central government as a censor and as an assistant in the office of the Chief State Council. When he served in the Board of War, he called for raising a hundred thousand additional soldiers. In a few years after Yi’s death, many wished they had listened to his prophetic advice when the devastation of the Japanese was unleashed on the Korean peninsula.

As an exemplary scholar/official of the Chosŏn period, Yi made greater contributions in the field of scholarship than he did in the officialdom. His interpretations of neo-Confucian philosophy differed from Yi Hwang’s on which was primary, i (principle) or ki (material force). Their disciples carried on the debate for hundreds of years thereafter.

As a member of the Tŏksu Yi lineage, he was a distant cousin to Yi Sun-shin, the admiral who fought the Japanese during the invasion of 1592. Yi I wrote numerous essays and other writings that appear in his collected writings (munjip) and other books. In 1682, he was canonized as one of the eighteen Korean sages enshrined in the Munmyo of the National Academy.

Yi Hwang (1501-1570)

Known by his pen name T’oegye, Yi Hwang was the most influential scholar in the Korean neo-Confucian tradition. A member of the Chinbo Yi lineage, he was born near Andong in North Kyŏngsang province. Since his father died when he was only seven months old, he was raised by his mother and an uncle.

Yi passed the sama in 1528, and was admitted to the National Academy in 1533. In 1534, he passed the munkwa and began his career in public service. However, he preferred the times when he was out of office, when he could return to his home in Andong and pursue his studies.

When he served as the magistrate of P’unggi, near Andong, he was instrumental in obtaining a royal signboard for the first sowon in Korea, the Sosu Sowon. A few years later he obtained a royal signboard for his own academy, the Tosan Sowon, on the north side of Andong. Today, as a symbol of the importance of both Yi and his Sowon, they are featured on the front and back of the 1,000 won note.

Yi developed a large class of disciples and became known throughout the country for his interpretations of neo-Confucian doctrine. In 1558, a much younger scholar, Yi I, visited him and their letters, as well as letters exchanged with other scholars of the time became an important forum in the development of neo-Confucian ideology of the time. Yi I became the founder of one school, and Yi Hwang became the founder of the other school, both of which retained disciples throughout the dynasty. Neither master intended for the schools to develop into the rival factions that came to disrupt the tranquility of the recruitment process for the all-powerful government service positions.

In 1610, Yi Hwang was inducted into the Hall of Worthies (Munmyo), the shrine of the National Academy. He left numerous written works on Confucian thought and ritual. Unquestionably the most important scholar of traditional times, his influence spread to Japan, and today, there are institutes for the study of 'T’oegye's philosophy' across Korea and in foreign countries.

Sŏl Ch’ong (late Shilla)

Born to the famous Buddhist monk, Wŏnhyo, and princess Yosŏk, Sŏl Ch’ong was a member of the Shilla aristocracy. He became interested in Confucianism early in his life.
and devoted his efforts to bring Confucian doctrine to Korea.

He helped to codify a system of writing whereby Chinese characters were used in a creative way to express Korean sounds and grammatical particles. That method of writing came to be known as idu, literally meaning clerical writing. In many texts Sŏl Ch’ong is credited with inventing idu, but clearly that style of writing was extant before Sŏl Ch’ong’s time, but nonetheless Sŏl Ch’ong role as the one who standardized the system cannot be over emphasized.

Using idu Sŏl Ch’ong helped bring Confucianism into Korea and spread its doctrine to all who would study. For his efforts, he is known as the father of Korean Confucianism. Indeed, he was the first sage inducted into the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy.

Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (857-?)

A late Silla scholar, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn went to T’ang China at an early age and passed the Chinese civil service exam at age 17. After serving in the Tang court for a time, he returned to Korea in 884. He was only asked to serve in minor positions in the Shilla court, apparently because he was either over qualified or too Chinese. He thus left government service and retired to Haein Temple northwest of the Shilla capital of Kyŏngju.

In retirement he actively taught a growing crew of disciples who became the well-trained backbone of government service in the new Koryŏ court. It is believed that Wang Kŏn, the founder of the Koryo dynasty, corresponed with Ch’oe; but by that time he was aged and refused to serve the court himself, but many of those he trained brought Confucian oriented ideas into the new administration.

Ch’oe was the second man enshrined in the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy. He is also considered the founder of the Kyŏngju Ch’oe lineage with nearly innumerable descendants, almost everyone named Ch’oe, in Korea today. His pen name was Haeun, the famous beach on the edge of Pusan was said to be his favourite place and was named after him, Haeundae.

An Hyang (1243-1306)

Credited with bringing Neo-Confucianism into Korea, An Hyang travelled to the Yuan dynasty and brought back texts of the Song dynasty scholar Zhu Xi and a portrait of the master as well. Twelve years after his death, in 1318, the king ordered a portrait of An to be painted by Yuan dynasty artist, in commemoration of the great scholars accomplishments. That portrait is still preserved in the academy dedicated to him, the Sosu Sŏwŏn near Andong in northern Kyŏngsang province. And is one of the oldest paintings in Korea.

The oldest sŏwŏn in Korea, the Sosu Sŏwŏn, is dedicated to hosting ceremonies to An Hyang. It was founded in 1542 by Chu Sebung.

An Hyang is also known as An Yu. His name was changed during the reign of King Munjong (1451-1452) because Hyang was the personal given name of the king, and thus, out of respect, had to be avoided by others. An is considered the founder of the Sunhŭng An lineage, which includes most of those in Korea today who have the surname An. He was the third man inducted into the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy.

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Neo-Confucianism and Chosŏn Society

When Neo-Confucianism was introduced to Korea during the last century of the Koryŏ period, it was initially embraced by Korean scholars less for its scholarly and philosophical contents than for its practical propensities. Neo-Confucianism, it was believed, could be state and society which had fallen into disorder and decay because of the Buddhists' inability to rule the country. In contrast to Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism was perceived as "concrete learning" (shirhak) relevant to the problems of the time. Confucian learning, then, was adopted by the founders of the Chosŏn dynasty as an effective ideology of change.

Above all, Neo-Confucianism opened to the Koreans a whole new world of social organization by providing access to the Chinese Classics—a vast body of literature that described the ideal world as created by the sage-rulers of Chinese antiquity. In particular, books like the Liji (Book of Rites), the Yili (Book of Etiquette and Ceremonies), and the Zhou-t'ı (Rites of Zhou) were regarded as handbooks containing blueprints for a program of social change and rejuvenation. This literature had, of course, been known in Korea before, but it was Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) comment-aries that unlocked its true meaning and made it useful for socio-political reform.

Besides the literature of Chinese antiquity, Zhu Xi's Chu Tzu chia-li (The House Rules of Master Chu) provided the Korean scholar-officials with the ritual details they needed for their reform program. This slim booklet outlined the four major rituals (sarye); capping, wedding, funeral, and ancestral service. These rites formed the foundation of ritual behavior. In the Confucian view, rites were not merely guides to correct behavior; rather, they had a crucial impact on the inner disposition of the one who performed them. They, moreover, were effective beyond the individual performer and created a harmonious relationship among all the participants. In short, rituals were regarded as fundamental instruments for introducing change and reform into the decayed society of Koryŏ.

At the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, the eminent scholar-official, Kwŏn Kun (1352-1409), was ordered to establish the details of the four rites. He relied heavily on Zhu Xi's Jiali. The perhaps most important ritual of change was ancestor worship. Like no other ritual action, Confucian-style ancestor worship accentuated the agnatic structure of a descent group and focused it on a common ancestor. A place in this ritual hierarchy determined an individual's rights and duties within the descent group. By building agnatically related worship- ping groups, ancestor worship, thus, became a most effective instrument for
introducing into Korean society a patrilineal paradigm. Koryŏ society had rested on a bilateral organization, and a person's descent was consequently traced through paternal as well as maternal links. The new Confucian scheme narrowed such descent reckoning and constructed clearly defined patrilineal lineages. Ancestor worship, practiced in front of the ancestral shrine (sadang), was the most useful mechanism for creating an agnatic consciousness and translating it into socially meaningful action.

Subsidiary to ancestor worship were the changes on the mourning chart (obok). The assignment of mourning grades to the members of a kin group indicated their respective importance vis-à-vis the mourner. By shortening the mourning periods for matrilateral kin, so revered during Koryŏ, emphasis shifted to the mourner's agnatic relatives. The longest mourning period of three years was observed by a son for his parents. The length of mourning for other kin depended on their genealogical distance from the mourner and varied in time between one year and three months.

Ritual status determined a person's share of inheritance. In Koryŏ, sons and daughters had received equal portions of the patrimony. With the Confucian emphasis on the patriline, the sons became the principal heirs, and the daughters, who married out, were gradually disinherited. Eventually, however, the introduction of primo-geniture meant that even the sons' shares were graded, with the largest share given to the eldest son. This shift was rationalized with the argument that his genealogical standing made the eldest son alone acceptable as his line's main heir. As the representative of his generation he took charge of the ancestral services and therefore needed more economic support. His younger brothers, thus, had to be satisfied with smaller portions, and toward the end of the dynasty it was not uncommon that they were bypassed altogether.

The patrilineal restructuring of Korean society had especially grave consequences for women. In Koryŏ, women maintained a certain degree of independence and freedom through the fact that they received the same share of the patrimonial inheritance as their brothers. The sibling bond was, therefore, often stronger than the marital bond, as women did not depend on their husbands for economic sustenance. For men, marriage to an endowed woman was frequently advantageous to their careers, and husbands thus often took up residence in their wives' house. Such uxorilocal arrangements resulted in children growing up surrounded by maternal relatives to whom they felt special affection.

In the eyes of the Confucian reformers such a family situation was "unnatural" and needed their particular scrutiny. Assigning women their proper place in the patrilineal structure, they realized, was instrumental to their reform program. It was for them a particularly disturbing fact that Koryŏmen could have several wives who were not ranked. One of the first measures to disentangle such complex family relationships, legalized in 1413, therefore was the ranking of wives into primary wife (ch'ŏ) and secondary or minor wives (ch'ŏp). Naturally, this piece of legislation was not popular and caused tension and even strife among wives and their respective sons. In a patrilineal structure, however, only one wife—the primary wife—could become the mother of her husband's rightful heirs. The additional wives and their respective offspring her husband may have had had to be clearly subordinated to her and her sons. The law of 1413, thus, was one of the most momentous pieces of reform legislation as it introduced inequality and conflict into the domestic sphere.

The differentiation of wives was instrumental not only for creating clear lineage features, but also for clarifying social status. The offspring of the primary wife alone were recognized as full members of their father's descent group and thus could claim upper class title. Status reproduction continued to be determined by bilateral considerations. Consequently, only women who themselves were born into elite families could henceforth become primary wives. Secondary-wife status, therefore, carried with it the odium of lower class pedigree, and commoner and slave women entered an elite household as secondary wives. Their sons, called secondary sons (chŏpcha), did not become full members of their
father's descent group. They were excluded from ritual heirship (except at the beginning of the dynasty), were disadvantaged as heirs, and were equally barred from sitting for the civil service examinations (munkkwa). They consequently led an unsatisfactory half-way existence throughout the dynasty.

In the course of time, primary wives became gradually more integrated into their husbands' descent group. Confucian ritual excluded a daughter from functions in her natal ancestral shrine as she was married out into a different descent group and thus was no longer useful to her natal family. Although until roughly the middle of the dynasty daughters continued to receive some parts of their families' patrimony, it is clear that their natal families were increasingly reluctant to endow out-marrying daughters. Female shares of the patrimony consequently grew smaller, and eventually disappeared entirely.

While the Confucian-style ancestral cult became the mainstay of the patrilineal descent group, the wedding rite defied Confucianization. Although absorbing some ritual elements of the Chia-li, the sequence and, even more importantly, the locus of the wedding ceremony preserved native tradition. Contrary to Confucian etiquette, the bridegroom met his bride in the bride's natal home, and the nuptial rite was performed there. The tenacity of this Koryo custom was upheld by the importance which continued to be placed on the wife's status in determining her children's social status. The wedding rite was a clear manifestation of status towards the outside world, and only a bride endowed with a demonstrated elite ancestral background could enter her groom's house as a primary wife.

Confucianism emphasized social virtues, and during the Choson dynasty virtuous behaviour was highly praised. Books like the Samgang haengsilto (Illustrated Guide to the Three Relationships) extolled in text and pictures the virtues of loyalty towards the ruler, filial piety, and womanly chastity. Only a son who exhibited filial devotion towards his parents could be trusted as a loyal subject, and a widowed woman who did not choose to remarry and continued to serve her parents-in-law was publicly acclaimed for her wifely virtue. It was the women's task as mothers to inculcate such virtues into their sons and to educate them to serve their ruler well.

The Confucian transformation affected the elite layer of society most profoundly. By narrowing the criteria of descent, group membership became more exclusive, and only proper genealogical credentials opened the way to political office. Such calculations excluded secondary sons from political participation. The extraordinarily close link between domestic sphere and public realm determined much of the political tenor of the period. Political power was wielded by a relatively small group of elite lineages throughout the dynasty. Descent and high social standing were carefully recorded in detailed genealogical records (chokpo) which proliferated from the seventeenth century. Skillfully tied marital relations were an additional method for maintaining and strengthening socio-political eminence.

The impact of Neo-Confucianism on Korean society, thus, was deep and lasting. The agnatic paradigm as outlined in the Chinese classical literature and reactivated by Zhu Xi transformed Korean society from a bilateral into a patrilineal society—a unique feat of social engineering that has no parallel elsewhere in East Asia. This transformation was not accomplished overnight. Rather, it took roughly two centuries of indoctrination and legislation before the patrilineal structure reached with the emergence of ritual and economic primogeniture its fullest elaboration.

Bibliography:

Constitution of the Republic of Korea

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea was promulgated on 12 July 1948 and today is a document of about 9,000 words, containing a Preamble, 10 Chapters with a total of 130 Articles, and 6 Articles of Supplementary Provisions. The Constitution has been amended 8 times, with the latest version being put into force as of 25 February 1988. The President or a majority of the National Assembly members may initiate an amendment to the Constitution, but in turn this has to be submitted to a national referendum (Articles 128-130). The Constitution is wide-ranging on all aspects of the basic rights, dignities and freedoms of the Korean people and in setting limits on the exercise of government powers, such as freedom from arbitrary arrest, and equality before the law regardless of sex, religion and social status. However, while it gives every Korean an equal right to personal liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it also imposes responsibilities, such as the duty to defend the nation; fulfillment of the obligation of military service; to pay taxes; and to be denied some of the basic rights in times of national emergencies.

The provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea are as follows:

Preamble

We, the people of Korea, proud of a resplendent history and traditions dating from time immemorial, upholding the cause of the Provisional Republic of Korea Government born of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 and the democratic ideals of the April Nineteenth Uprising of 1960 against injustice, having assumed the mission of democratic reform and unification of our homeland and having determined to consolidate national unity with justice, humanitarianism and brotherly love, and

To destroy all social vices and injustice, and

To afford equal opportunities to every person and provide for the fullest development of individual capabilities in all fields, including political, economic, civic and cultural life by further strengthening the basic free and democratic order conducive to private initiative and public harmony, and

To help each person discharge those duties and responsibilities concomitant to freedoms and rights, and

To elevate the quality of life for all citizens and contribute to lasting world peace and the common prosperity of mankind and thereby to ensure security, liberty and happiness of ourselves and our posterity forever,

Do hereby amend, through national referendum following a resolution by the National Assembly, the Constitution, ordained and established on the Twelfth Day of July Anno Domini Nineteen hundred and forty-eight, and amended eight times subsequently.

29 October 1987

Chapter 1 - General Provisions

Article 1 (1) The Republic of Korea shall be a democratic republic.

(2) The sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people, and all state authority shall emanate from the people.
Article 2 (1) Nationality in the Republic of Korea shall be prescribed by law.

(2) It shall be the duty of the State to protect citizens residing abroad as prescribed by law.

Article 3 The territory of the Republic of Korea shall consist of the Korean peninsula and its adjacent islands.

Article 4 The Republic of Korea shall seek unification and shall formulate and carry out a policy of peaceful unification based on the principle of freedom and democracy.

Article 5 (1) The Republic of Korea shall endeavour to maintain international peace and shall renounce all aggressive wars.

(2) The Armed Forces shall be charged with the sacred mission of national security and the defence of the land and their political neutrality shall be maintained.

Article 6 (1) Treaties duly concluded and promulgated in accordance with the Constitution and the generally recognized rules of international law shall have the same effect as the domestic laws of the Republic of Korea.

(2) The status of aliens shall be guaranteed as prescribed by international law and treaties.

Article 7 (1) All public officials shall be servants of the entire people and shall be responsible to the people.

(2) The status and political impartiality of public officials shall be guaranteed as prescribed by law.

Article 8 (1) The establishment of political parties shall be free and the plural party system shall be guaranteed.

(2) Political parties shall be democratic in their objectives, organization and activities, and shall have the necessary organizational arrangements for the people to participate in the formation of the political will.

(3) Political parties shall enjoy the protection of the State and may be provided with operational funds by the State as prescribed by law.

(4) If the purposes or activities of a political party are contrary to the fundamental democratic order, the Government may bring action against it in the Constitution Court for its dissolution, and the political party shall be dissolved in accordance with the decision of the Constitution Court.

Article 9 The State shall strive to sustain and develop the cultural heritage and to enhance national culture.

Chapter II - Rights and duties of citizens

Article 10 All citizens shall be assured of human worth and dignity and have the right to pursue happiness. It shall be the duty of the State to confirm and guarantee the fundamental and inviolable human rights of individuals.

Article 11 (1) All citizens shall be equal before the law, and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, social or cultural life on account of sex, religion or social status.
(2) No privileged caste shall be recognized or ever established in any form.

(3) The awarding of decorations or distinctions of honour in any form shall be effective only for recipients, and no privileges shall ensue therefrom.

**Article 12** (1) All citizens shall enjoy personal liberty. No person shall be arrested, detained, searched, seized or interrogated except as provided by law. No person shall be punished, placed under preventive restrictions or subject to involuntary labour except as provided by law and through lawful procedures.

(2) No citizen shall be tortured or be compelled to testify against himself in criminal cases.

(3) Warrants issued by a judge through due procedures upon the request of a prosecutor shall be presented in case of arrest, detention, seizure or search: provided that in a case where a criminal suspect is apprehended *flagrante delicto*, or where there is danger that a person suspected of committing a crime punishable by imprisonment of three years or more may escape or destroy evidence, investigative authorities may request an *ex post facto* warrant.

(4) Any person who is arrested or detained shall have the right to prompt assistance of counsel. When a criminal defendant is unable to secure counsel by his own efforts, the State shall assign counsel for the defendant as prescribed by law.

(5) No person shall be arrested or detained without being informed of the reason therefor and of his right to assistance of counsel. The family, etc., as designated by law, of a person arrested or detained shall be notified without delay of the reason for and the time and place of the arrest or detention.

(6) Any person who is arrested or detained shall have the right to request the court to review the legality of the arrest or detention.

(7) In a case where a confession is deemed to have been made against a defendant's will due to torture, violence, intimidation, unduly prolonged arrest, deceit, etc., or in a case where a confession is the only evidence against a defendant in a formal trial, such a confession shall not be admitted as evidence of guilt nor shall a defendant be punished by reason of such a confession.

**Article 13** (1) No citizen shall be prosecuted for an act which does not constitute a crime under the law in force at the time it was committed, nor shall he be placed in double jeopardy.

(2) No restrictions shall be imposed upon the political rights of any citizen, nor shall any person be deprived of property rights by means of retroactive legislation.

(3) No citizen shall suffer unfavourable treatment on account of an act not of his own doing but committed by a relative.

**Article 14** All citizens shall enjoy freedom of residence and the right to move at will.

**Article 15** All citizens shall enjoy freedom of occupation.

**Article 16** All citizens shall be free from intrusion into their place of residence. In case of search or seizure in a residence, a warrant issued by a judge upon request of a prosecutor shall be presented.

**Article 17** The privacy of no citizen shall be infringed.
Article 18 The privacy of correspondence of no citizen shall be infringed.

Article 19 All citizens shall enjoy freedom of conscience.

Article 20 (1) All citizens shall enjoy freedom of religion.

(2) No state religion shall be recognized, and religion and politics shall be separated.

Article 21 (1) All citizens shall enjoy freedom of speech and the press, and freedom of assembly and association.

(2) Licensing or censorship of speech and the press, and licensing of assembly and association shall not be recognized.

(3) The standards of news-service and broadcast facilities and matters necessary to ensure the functions of newspapers shall be determined by law.

(4) Neither speech nor the press shall violate the honour or rights of other persons nor undermine public morals or social ethics. Should speech or the press violate the honour or rights of other persons, claims may be made for the damage resulting therefrom.

Article 22 (1) All citizens shall enjoy freedom of learning and the arts.

(2) The rights of authors, inventors, scientists, engineers and artists shall be protected by law.

Article 23 (1) The right of property of all citizens shall be guaranteed. The contents and limitations thereof shall be determined by law.

(2) The exercise of property rights shall conform to the public welfare.

(3) Expropriation, use or restriction of private property from public necessity and compensation therefor shall be governed by law. However, in such a case, just compensation shall be paid.

Article 24 All citizens shall have the right to vote as prescribed by law.

Article 25 All citizens shall have the right to hold public office as prescribed by law.

Article 26 (1) All citizens shall have the right to petition in writing to any governmental agency as prescribed by law.

(2) The State shall be obligated to examine all such petitions.

Article 27 (1) All citizens shall have the right to be tried in conformity with the law by judges qualified under the Constitution and the law.

(2) Citizens who are not on active military service or employees of the military forces shall not be tried by a court martial within the territory of the Republic of Korea except in case of crimes prescribed by law involving important classified military information, sentinels, sentry posts, the supply of harmful food and beverages, prisoners of war and military articles and facilities and in the case of the proclamation of extraordinary martial law.

(3) All citizens shall have the right to a speedy trial. The accused shall have the right to a public trial without delay in the absence of justifiable reasons to the contrary.
(4) The accused shall be presumed innocent until a judgment of guilt has been pronounced.

(5) A victim of a crime shall be entitled to make a statement during the proceedings of the trial of the case involved as prescribed by law.

Article 28 In a case where a criminal suspect or an accused person who has been placed under detention is not indicted as provided by law or is acquitted by a court, he shall be entitled to claim just compensation from the State as prescribed by law.

Article 29 (1) In case a person has sustained damages by an unlawful act committed by a public official in the course of official duties, he may claim just compensation from the State or public organization as prescribed by law. In this case, the public official concerned shall not be immune from liabilities.

(2) In case a person on active military service or an employee of the military forces, a police official or others as prescribed by law sustains damages in connection with the performance of official duties such as combat action, drill and so forth, he shall not be entitled to a claim against the State or public organization on the grounds of unlawful acts committed by public officials in the course of official duties, but shall be entitled only to compensation as prescribed by law.

Article 30 Citizens who have suffered bodily injury or death due to criminal acts of others may receive aid from the State as prescribed by law.

Article 31 (1) All citizens shall have an equal right to receive an education corresponding to their abilities.

(2) All citizens who have children to support shall be responsible at least for their elementary education and other education as provided by law.

(3) Compulsory education shall be free.

(4) Independence, professionalism and political impartiality of education and the autonomy of institutions of higher learning shall be guaranteed as prescribed by law.

(5) The State shall promote lifelong education.

(6) Fundamental matters pertaining to the educational system, including in-school and lifelong education, administration, finance, and the status of teachers shall be determined by law.

Article 32 (1) All citizens shall have the right to work. The State shall endeavour to promote the employment of workers and to guarantee optimum wages through social and economic means and shall enforce a minimum wage system as prescribed by law.

(2) All citizens shall have the duty to work. The State shall prescribe by law the extent and conditions of the duty to work in conformity with democratic principles.

(3) Standards of working conditions shall be determined by law in such a way as to guarantee human dignity.

(4) Special protection shall be accorded to working women and they shall not be subjected to unjust discrimination in terms of employment, wages and working conditions.

(5) Special protection shall be accorded to working children.
(6) The opportunity to work shall be accorded preferentially, as prescribed by law, to those who have given distinguished service to the State, wounded veterans and policemen, and members of the bereaved families of military servicemen and policemen killed in action.

Article 33 (1) To enhance working conditions, workers shall have the right to independent association, collective bargaining and collective action.

(2) Only those public officials who are designated by law shall have the right to association, collective bargaining and collective action.

(3) The right to collective action of workers employed by important defence industries may be either restricted or denied as prescribed by law.

Article 34 (1) All citizens shall be entitled to a life worthy of human beings.

(2) The State shall have the duty to endeavour to promote social security and welfare.

(3) The State shall endeavour to promote the welfare and rights of women.

(4) The State shall have the duty to implement policies for enhancing the welfare of senior citizens and the young.

(5) Citizens who are incapable of earning a livelihood due to a physical disability, disease, old age or other reasons shall be protected by the State as prescribed by law.

(6) The State shall endeavour to prevent disasters and to protect citizens from harm therefrom.

Article 35 (1) All citizens shall have the right to a healthy and pleasant environment. The State and all citizens shall endeavour to protect the environment.

(2) The substance of the environmental right shall be determined by law.

(3) The State shall endeavour to ensure comfortable housing for all citizens through housing development policies and the like.

Article 36 (1) Marriage and family life shall be entered into and sustained on the basis of individual dignity and equality of the sexes, and the State shall do everything in its power to achieve that goal.

(2) The State shall endeavour to protect mothers.

(3) The health of all citizens shall be protected by the State.

Article 37 (1) Freedoms and rights of citizens shall not be neglected on the grounds that they are not enumerated in the Constitution.

(2) The freedoms and rights of citizens may be restricted by law only when necessary for national security, the maintenance of law and order or for public welfare. Even when such restriction is imposed no essential aspect of the freedom or right shall be violated.

Article 38 All citizens shall have the duty to pay taxes as prescribed by law.

Article 39 (1) All citizens shall have the duty of national defence as prescribed by law.
(2) No citizen shall be treated unfavourably on account of the fulfillment of his obligation of military service.

Chapter III - The National Assembly

Article 40 The legislative power shall be vested in the National Assembly.

Article 41 (1) The National Assembly shall be composed of members elected by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot by the citizens.

(2) The number of members of the National Assembly shall be determined by law, but the number shall not be less than 200.

(3) The constituencies of members of the National Assembly, proportional representation and other matters pertaining to National Assembly elections shall be determined by law.

Article 42 The term of office of member of the National Assembly shall be four years.

Article 43 Members of the National Assembly shall not concurrently hold any other office prescribed by law.

Article 44 (1) During the sessions of the National Assembly, no member of the National Assembly shall be arrested or detained without the consent of the National Assembly except in case of flagrante delicto.

(2) In case of apprehension or detention of a member of the National Assembly prior to the opening of a session, such member shall be released during the session upon the request of the National Assembly, except in case of flagrante delicto.

Article 45 No member of the National Assembly shall be held responsible outside the National Assembly for opinions officially expressed or votes cast in the Assembly.

Article 46 (1) Members of the National Assembly shall have the duty to maintain high standards of integrity.

(2) Members of the National Assembly shall give preference to national interests and shall perform their duties in accordance with conscience.

(3) Members of the National Assembly shall not acquire, through abuse of their positions, rights and interests in property or positions, or assist other persons to acquire the same by means of contracts with or dispositions by the State, public organizations or industries.

Article 47 (1) A regular session of the National Assembly shall be convened once every year as prescribed by law, and extraordinary sessions of the National Assembly shall be convened upon the request of the President or one fourth or more of the total members.

(2) The period of regular sessions shall not exceed a hundred days and of extraordinary sessions thirty days.

(3) If the President requests the convening of an extraordinary session, the period of the session and the reasons for the request shall be clearly specified.

Article 48 The National Assembly shall elect one Speaker and two Vice Speakers.

Article 49 Except as otherwise provided for in the Constitution or in law, the attendance of a majority of the total members, and the concurrent vote of a majority of the members
present, shall be necessary for decisions of the National Assembly. In case of a tie vote, the matter shall be regarded as rejected.

**Article 50 (1)** Sessions of the National Assembly shall be open to the public: except that, when it is decided so by a majority of the members present, or when the Speaker deems it necessary to do so for the sake of national security, they may be closed to the public.

(2) The public disclosure of the proceedings of sessions which were not open to the public shall be determined by law.

**Article 51** Bills and other matters submitted to the National Assembly for deliberation shall not be abandoned on the ground that they were not acted upon during the session in which they were introduced, except in a case where the term of the members of the National Assembly has expired.

**Article 52** Bills may be introduced by members of the National Assembly or by the Executive.

**Article 53 (1)** Each bill passed by the National Assembly shall be sent to the Executive, and the President shall promulgate it within fifteen days.

(2) In case of objection to the bill, the President may, within the period referred to in Paragraph (1), return it to the National Assembly with written explanation of his objection, and request it be reconsidered. The President may do the same during adjournment of the National Assembly.

(3) The President shall not request the National Assembly to reconsider the bill in part, or with proposed amendments.

(4) In case there is a request for reconsideration of a bill, the National Assembly shall reconsider it, and if the National Assembly re-passes the bill in the original form with the attendance of more than one half of the total members, and with a concurrent vote of two-thirds or more of the members present, it shall become law.

(5) If the President does not promulgate the bill, or does not request the National Assembly to reconsider it within the period referred to in Paragraph (1), it shall become law.

(6) The President shall promulgate without delay the law as finalized under Paragraphs (4) and (5). If the President does not promulgate a law within five days after it has become law under Paragraph (5), or after it has been returned to the Executive under Paragraph (4), the Speaker shall promulgate it.

(7) Except as provided otherwise, a law shall take effect twenty days after the date of promulgation.

**Article 54 (1)** The National Assembly shall deliberate and decide upon the national budget bill.

(2) The Executive shall formulate the budget bill for each fiscal year and submit it to the National Assembly within ninety days before the beginning of a fiscal year. The National Assembly shall decide upon it within thirty days before the beginning of the fiscal year.

(3) If the budget bill is not passed by the beginning of the fiscal year, the Executive may, in conformity with the budget of the previous fiscal year, disburse funds for the following purposes until the budget bill is passed by the National Assembly,
(i) The maintenance and operation of agencies and facilities established by the Constitution or law.

(ii) Execution of the obligatory expenditures as prescribed by law; and

(iii) Continuation of projects previously approved in the budget.

**Article 55** (1) In a case where it is necessary to make continuing disbursements for a period longer than one fiscal year, the Executive shall obtain the approval of the National Assembly for a specified period of time.

(2) A reserve fund shall be approved by the National Assembly in total. The disbursement of the reserve fund shall be approved during the next session of the National Assembly.

**Article 56** When it is necessary to amend the budget, the Executive may formulate a supplementary revised budget bill and submit it to the National Assembly.

**Article 57** The National Assembly shall, without the consent of the Executive, neither increase the sum of any item of expenditure nor create any new items of expenditure in the budget submitted by the Executive.

**Article 58** When the Executive plans to issue national bonds or to conclude contracts which may incur financial obligations on the State outside the budget, it shall have the prior concurrence of the National Assembly.

**Article 59** Types and rates of taxes shall be determined by law.

**Article 60** (1) The National Assembly shall have the right to consent to the conclusion and ratification of treaties pertaining to mutual assistance or mutual security; treaties concerning important international organizations; treaties of friendship, trade and navigation; treaties pertaining to any restriction in sovereignty; peace treaties, treaties which will burden the State or people with an important financial obligation; or treaties related to legislative matters.

(2) The National Assembly shall also have the right to consent to the declaration of war, the dispatch of armed forces to foreign States, or the stationing of alien forces in the territory of the Republic of Korea.

**Article 61** (1) The National Assembly may inspect affairs of state or investigate specific matters of State affairs, and may demand the production of documents directly related thereto, the appearance of a witness in person and the furnishing of testimony or Statements of opinions.

(2) The procedures and other necessary matters concerning the inspection and investigation of State administration shall be determined by law.

**Article 62** (1) The Prime Minister, members of the State Council or government delegates may attend meetings of the National Assembly or its committees and report on the State administration or deliver opinions and answer questions.

(2) When requested by the National Assembly or its committees, the Prime Minister, members of the State Council or government delegates shall attend any meeting of the National Assembly and answer questions. If the Prime Minister or State Council members are requested to attend, the Prime Minister or State Council members may have State Council members or government delegates attend any meeting of the National Assembly and answer questions.
Article 63 (1) The National Assembly may pass a recommendation for the removal of the Prime Minister or a State Council member from office.

(2) A recommendation for removal as referred to in Paragraph (1) may be introduced by one third or more of the total members of the National Assembly, and shall be passed with the concurrent vote of a majority of the total members of the National Assembly.

Article 64 (1) The National Assembly may establish the rules of its proceedings and internal regulations, provided that they are not in conflict with the law.

(2) The National Assembly may review the qualifications of its members and may take disciplinary actions against its members.

(3) The concurrent vote of two thirds or more of the total members of the National Assembly shall be required for the expulsion of any member.

ff) No action shall be brought to court with regard to decisions taken under Paragraphs (2) and (3).

Article 65 (1) In case the President, the Prime Minister, members of the State Council, heads of Executive ministries, judges of the Constitution Court, judges, members of the Central Election Management Committee, members of the Board of Audit and Inspection, and other public officials designated by law have violated the Constitution or other laws in the performance of official duties, the National Assembly may pass motions for their impeachment.

(2) A motion for impeachment prescribed in Paragraph (1) may be proposed by one third or more of the total members of the National Assembly, and shall require a concurrent vote of a majority of the total members of the National Assembly for passage: except that, a motion for the impeachment of the President shall be proposed by a majority of the total members of the National Assembly and approved by two-thirds or more of the total members of the National Assembly.

(3) Any person against whom a motion for impeachment has been passed shall be suspended from exercising his power until the impeachment has been adjudicated.

(4) A decision on impeachment shall not extend further than removal from public office. However, it shall not exempt the person impeached from civil or criminal liability.

Chapter IV - The Executive

Part 1. The President

Article 66 (1) The President shall be the Head of State and represent the State vis-a-vis foreign states.

(2) The President shall have the responsibility and duty to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and continuity of the State and the Constitution.

(3) The President shall have the duty to pursue sincerely the peaceful unification of the homeland.

(4) Executive power shall be vested in the Executive Branch headed by the President.

Article 67 (1) The President shall be elected by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot
by the people.

(2) In case two or more persons receive the same largest number of votes in the election as referred to in Paragraph (1), the person who receives the largest number of votes in an open session of the National Assembly attended by a majority of the total members of the National Assembly shall be elected.

(3) If and when there is only one presidential candidate, he shall not be elected President unless he receives at least one third of the total eligible votes.

(4) Citizens who are eligible for election to the National Assembly, and who have reached the age of forty years or more on the date of the presidential election, shall be eligible to be elected to the presidency.

(5) Matters pertaining to presidential elections shall be determined by law.

**Article 68** (1) The successor to the incumbent President shall be elected seventy to thirty days before his term expires.

(2) In case a vacancy occurs in the office of the President or the President elect dies, or is disqualified by a court ruling or for any other reason, a successor shall be elected within sixty days.

**Article 69** The President, at the time of his inauguration, shall take the following oath: "I do solemnly swear before the people that I will faithfully execute the duties of the President by observing the Constitution, defending the State, pursuing the peaceful unification of the home-land, promoting the freedom and welfare of the people and endeavouring to develop national culture."

**Article 70** The term of office of the President shall be five years, and the President shall not be re-elected.

**Article 71** If the office of the Presidency is vacant or the President is unable to perform his duties for any reason, the Prime Minister or the members of the State Council in the order of priority as determined by law shall act for him.

**Article 72** The President may submit important policies relating to diplomacy, national defence, unification and other matters relating to the national destiny to a national referendum if he deems it necessary.

**Article 73** The President shall conclude and ratify treaties; accredit, receive or dispatch diplomatic envoys; and declare war and conclude peace.

**Article 74** (1) The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces as prescribed by the Constitution and law.

(2) The organization and formation of the Armed Forces shall be determined by law.

**Article 75** The President may issue presidential decrees concerning matters delegated to him by law with the scope specifically defined and also matters necessary to enforce laws.

**Article 76** (1) In time of internal turmoil, external menace, natural calamity or a grave financial or economic crisis, the President may take in respect to them the minimum necessary financial and economic actions or issue orders having the effect of law, only when it is required to take urgent measures for the maintenance of national security or
public peace and order, and there is no time to await the convocation of the National Assembly.

(2) In case of major hostilities affecting national security, the President may issue orders having the effect of law, only when it is required to preserve the integrity of the nation, and it is impossible to convene the National Assembly.

(3) In case actions are taken or orders are issued under Paragraphs (1) and (2), the President shall promptly notify the National Assembly and obtain its approval.

(4) In case no approval is obtained, the actions or orders shall lose effect forthwith. In such case, the laws which were amended or abolished by the orders in question shall automatically regain their original effect at the moment the orders fail to obtain approval.

(5) The President shall, without delay, put on public notice developments under Paragraphs (3) and (4).

**Article 77** (1) When it is required to cope with a military necessity or to maintain the public safety and order by mobilization of the military forces in time of war, armed conflict or similar national emergency, the President may proclaim martial law as prescribed by law.

(2) Martial law shall be of two types, extraordinary martial law and precautionary martial law.

(3) Under extraordinary martial law, special measures may be taken with respect to the necessity for warrants, freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, or the powers of the Executive and the Judiciary as prescribed by law.

(4) When the President has proclaimed martial law, he shall notify the National Assembly without delay.

(5) When the National Assembly requests the lifting of martial law with the concurrent vote of a majority of the total members of the National Assembly, the President shall comply.

**Article 78** The President shall appoint public officials as prescribed by the Constitution and law.

**Article 79** (1) The President may grant amnesty, commutation and restoration of rights as prescribed by law.

(2) The President shall receive the consent of the National Assembly in granting a general amnesty.

(3) Matters pertaining to amnesty, commutation and restoration of rights shall be determined by law.

**Article 80** The President shall award decorations and other honours as prescribed by law.

**Article 81** The President may attend and address the National Assembly or express his views by written message.

**Article 82** The acts of the President under law shall be executed in writing and such documents shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister and the members of the State Council concerned. The same shall apply to military affairs.
Article 83 The President shall not concurrently hold the office of Prime Minister, a member of the State Council, the head of any Executive Ministry, nor other public or private posts as prescribed by law.

Article 84 The President shall not be charged with a criminal offence during his tenure of office except for insurrection or treason.

Article 85 Matters pertaining to the status and courteous treatment of former Presidents shall be determined by law.

Part 2. The Executive Branch

Section 1. The Prime Minister and Members of the State Council

Article 86 (1) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly.

(2) The Prime Minister shall assist the President and shall direct the Executive Ministries under order of the President.

(3) No member of the military shall be appointed Prime Minister unless he is retired from active duty.

Article 87 (1) The members of the State Council shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

(2) The members of the State Council shall assist the President in the conduct of State affairs and, as constituents of the State Council, shall deliberate on State affairs.

(3) The Prime Minister may recommend to the President the removal of a member of the State Council from office.

(4) No member of the military shall be appointed a member of the State Council unless he is retired from active duty.

Section 2. The State Council

Article 88 (1) The State Council shall deliberate on important policies that fall within the power of the Executive.

(2) The State Council shall be composed of the President, the Prime Minister, and other members whose number shall be no more than thirty and no less than fifteen.

(3) The President shall be the chairman of the State Council, and the Prime Minister shall be the Vice-Chairman.

Article 89 The following matters shall be referred to the State Council for deliberation:

1. Basic plans for state affairs, and general policies of the Executive;

2. Declaration of war, conclusion of peace and other important matters pertaining to foreign policy;

3. Draft amendments to the Constitution, proposals for national referendums, proposed treaties, legislative bills, and proposed presidential decrees;
4. Budgets, closing of accounts, basic plans for disposal of state properties, contracts incurring financial obligation on the State, and other important financial matters;

5. Emergency orders and emergency financial and economic actions or orders by the President, and declaration and termination of martial law;

6. Important military affairs;

7. Requests for convening an extraordinary session of the National Assembly;

8. Awarding of honours;

9. Granting of amnesty, commutation and restoration of rights;

10. Demarcation of jurisdiction between Executive Ministries;

11. Basic plans concerning delegation or allocation of powers within the Executive;

12. Evaluation and analysis of the administration of state affairs;

13. Formulation and coordination of important policies of each Executive Ministry;

14. Action for the dissolution of a political party;

15. Examination of petitions pertaining to executive policies submitted or referred to the Executive;

16. Appointment of the Prosecutor-General, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Staff of each armed service, the presidents of national universities, ambassadors, and such other public officials and managers of important state-run enterprises as designated by law; and

17. Other matters presented by the President, the Prime Minister or a member of the State Council.

Article 90 (1) An Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen, composed of elder statesmen, may be established to advise the President on important affairs of state.

(2) The immediate former President shall become the Chairman of the Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen; except that, if there is no immediate former President, the President shall appoint the Chairman.

(3) The organization, function and other necessary matters pertaining to the Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen shall be determined by law.

Article 91 (1) A National Security Council shall be established to advise the President on the formulation of foreign, military and domestic policies related to national security prior to their deliberation by the State Council.

(2) The meetings of the National Security Council shall be presided over by the President.

(3) The organization, function and other necessary matters pertaining to the National Security Council shall be determined by law.

Article 92 (1) An Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification may be established to advise the President on the formulation of peaceful unification policy.
(2) The organization, function and other necessary matters pertaining to the Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification shall be determined by law.

Article 93 (1) A National Economic Advisory Council may be established to advise the President on the formulation of important policies for developing the national economy.

(2) The organization, function and other necessary matters pertaining to the National Economic Advisory Council shall be determined by law.

Section 3. The Executive Ministries

Article 94 Heads of Executive Ministries shall be appointed by the President from among members of the State Council on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

Article 95 The Prime Minister or the head of each Executive Ministry may, under the powers delegated by law or Presidential Decree, or ex officio, issue ordinances of the Prime Minister or the Executive Ministry concerning matters that are within their jurisdiction.

Article 96 The establishment, organization and function of each Executive Ministry shall be determined by law.

Section 4. The Board of Audit and Inspection

Article 97 A Board of Audit and Inspection shall be established under the direct jurisdiction of the President to inspect and examine the settlement of the revenues and expenditures of the State, the accounts of the State and other organizations specified by law and the job performances of the executive agencies and public officials.

Article 98 (1) The Board of Audit and Inspection shall be composed of no less than five and no more than eleven members, including the Chairman.

(2) The Chairman of the Board shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly. The term of office of the Chairman shall be four years, and he may be reappointed only once.

(3) The members of the Board shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Chairman. The term of office of the members shall be four years, and they may be reappointed only once.

Article 99 The Board of Audit and Inspection shall inspect the closing of accounts of revenues and expenditures each year, and reopen the results to the President and the National Assembly in the following year.

Article 100 The organization and function of the Board, the qualifications of its members, the range of the public officials subject to inspection and other necessary matters shall be determined by law.

Chapter V - The Courts

Article 101 (1) Judicial power shall be vested in courts composed of judges.

(2) The courts shall be composed of the Supreme Court, which is the highest court of the State, and other courts at specified levels.

(3) Qualifications for judges shall be determined by law.
Article 102 (1) Departments may be established in the Supreme Court.

(2) There shall be Supreme Court Justices at the Supreme Court: except that judges other than Supreme Court Justices may be assigned to the Supreme Court as prescribed by law.

(3) The organization of the Supreme Court and lower courts shall be determined by law.

Article 103 Judges shall rule independently according to their conscience and in conformity with the Constitution and law.

Article 104 (1) The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly.

(2) The Supreme Court Justices shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Chief Justice and with the consent of the National Assembly.

(3) Judges other than the Chief Justice and the Supreme Court Justices shall be appointed by the Chief Justice with the consent of the Conference of Supreme Court Justices.

Article 105 (1) The term of office of the Chief Justice shall be six years and he shall not be reappointed.

(2) The term of office of the Justices of the Supreme Court shall be six years and they may be reappointed as prescribed by law.

(3) The term of office of judges other than the Chief Justice and Justices of the Supreme Court shall be ten years, and they may be reappointed as prescribed by law.

(4) The retirement age of judges shall be determined by law.

Article 106 (1) No judge shall be removed from office except by impeachment or a sentence of imprisonment or heavier punishment, nor shall he be suspended from office, have his salary reduced or suffer any other unfavourable treatment except by disciplinary action.

(2) In the event a judge is unable to discharge his official duties because of serious mental or physical impairment he may be retired from office as prescribed by law.

Article 107 (1) When the constitutionality of a law is at issue in a trial, the court shall request a decision of the Constitution Court, and shall judge according to the decision thereof.

(2) The Supreme Court shall have the power to make a final review of the constitutionality or legality of administrative decrees, regulations or actions, when their constitutionality or legality is at issue in a trial.

(3) Administrative appeals may be conducted as a procedure prior to a judicial trial. The procedure of administrative appeals shall be determined by law and shall be in conformity with the principles of judicial procedures.

Article 108 The Supreme Court may establish, within the scope of law, regulations pertaining to judicial proceedings and internal discipline and regulations on administrative matters of the court.

Article 109 Trials and decisions of the courts shall be open to the public: provided that
when there is a danger that such trials may undermine the national security or disturb public safety and order, or be harmful to public morals, trials may be closed to the public by court decision.

**Article 110** (1) Courts-martial may be established as special courts to exercise jurisdiction over military trials.

(2) The Supreme Court shall have the final appellate jurisdiction over courts-martial.

(3) The organization and authority of courts-martial, and the qualifications of their judges shall be determined by law.

(4) Military trials under an extraordinary martial law may not be appealed in case of crimes of soldiers and employees of the military; military espionage; and crimes as defined by law in regard to sentinels, sentry posts, supply of harmful foods and beverages, and prisoners of war, except in the case of a death sentence.

**Chapter VI - The Constitution Court**

**Article 111** (1) The Constitution Court shall adjudicate the following matters:

1. The constitutionality of a law upon the request of the courts;

2. Impeachment;

3. Dissolution of a political party;

4. Disputes about the jurisdictions between State agencies, between State agencies and local governments and between local governments; and

5. Petitions relating to the Constitution as prescribed by law.

(2) The Constitution Court shall be composed of nine adjudicators qualified to be court judges, and they shall be appointed by the President.

(3) Among the adjudicators referred to in Paragraph (2), three shall be appointed from persons selected by the National Assembly, and three appointed from persons nominated by the Chief Justice.

(4) The head of the Constitution Court shall be appointed by the President from among the adjudicators with the consent of the National Assembly.

**Article 112** (1) The term of office of the adjudicators of the Constitution Court shall be six years and they may be reappointed as prescribed by law.

(2) The adjudicators of the Constitution Court shall not join any political party, nor shall they participate in political activities.

(3) No adjudicator of the Constitution Court shall be expelled from office except by impeachment or a sentence of imprisonment or heavier punishment.

**Article 113** (1) When the Constitution Court makes a decision on the unconstitutionality of a law, impeachment, dissolution of a political party or a petition relating to the Constitution, the concurrence of six adjudicators or more shall be required.

(2) The Constitution Court may establish regulations relating to its proceedings and internal
discipline and regulations on administrative matters within the limits of law.

(3) The organization, function and other necessary matters of the Constitution Court shall be determined by law.

Chapter VII - Election Management

Article 114 (1) Election Management Committees shall be established for the purpose of fair management of elections and national referendums, and dealing with administrative affairs concerning political parties.

(2) The Central Election Management Committee shall be composed of three members appointed by the President, three members selected by the National Assembly, and three members nominated by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The Chairman of the Committee shall be elected from among the members.

(3) The term of office of the members of the Committee shall be six years.

(4) The members of the Committee shall not join political parties, nor shall they participate in political activities.

(5) No member of the Committee shall be expelled from office except by impeachment or a sentence of imprisonment or heavier punishment.

(6) The Central Election Management Committee may establish, within the limit of laws and decrees, regulations relating to the management of elections, national referendums, and administrative matters concerning political parties and may also establish regulations relating to internal discipline that are compatible with law.

(7) The organization, function and other necessary matters of the Election Management Committees at each level shall be determined by law.

Article 115 (1) Election Management Committees at each level may issue necessary instructions to administrative agencies concerned with respect to administrative matters pertaining to elections and national referendums such as the preparation of the rosters of voters.

(2) Administrative agencies concerned, upon receipt of such instructions, shall comply.

Article 116 (1) Election campaigns shall be conducted under the management of the Election Management Committees at each level within the limit set by law. Equal opportunity shall be guaranteed.

(2) Except as otherwise prescribed by law, expenditures for elections shall not be imposed on political parties or candidates.

Chapter VIII - Local Autonomy

Article 117 (1) Local governments shall deal with administrative matters pertaining to the welfare of local residents, manage properties and may enact provisions relating to local autonomy, within the limit of laws and regulations.

(2) The types of local governments shall be determined by law.

Article 118 (1) A local government shall have a council.
(2) The organization and powers of local councils, and the election of members; election procedures for heads of local government bodies; and other matters pertaining to the organization and operation of local governments shall be determined by law.

Chapter IX The Economy

Article 119 (1) The economic order of the Republic of Korea shall be based on a respect for the freedom and creative initiative of enterprises and individuals in economic affairs.

(2) The State may regulate and coordinate economic affairs in order to maintain the balanced growth and stability of the national economy, to ensure proper distribution of income to prevent the domination of the market and the abuse of economic power and to democratize the economy through harmony among the economic agents.

Article 120 (1) Licenses to exploit, develop or utilize minerals and all other important underground resources, marine resources, water power, and natural powers available for economic use may be granted for a period of time as prescribed by law.

(2) The land and natural resources shall be protected by the State, and the State shall establish a plan necessary for their balanced development and utilization.

Article 121 (1) The State shall endeavour to realize the land-to-the-tillers principle with respect to agricultural land. Tenant farming shall be prohibited.

(2) The leasing of agricultural land and the consignment management of agricultural land to increase agricultural productivity and to ensure the rational utilization of agricultural land or due to unavoidable circumstances shall be recognized as prescribed by law.

Article 122 The State may impose, as prescribed by law, restrictions or obligations necessary for the efficient and balanced utilization, development and preservation of the land of the nation that is the basis for the productive activities and daily lives of all citizens.

Article 123 (1) The State shall establish and implement a plan to comprehensively develop and support the farm and fishing communities in order to protect and foster agriculture and fisheries.

(2) The State shall have the duty to foster regional economies to ensure the balanced development of all regions.

(3) The State shall protect and foster small and medium enterprises.

(4) In order to protect the interests of farmers and fishermen, the State shall endeavour to stabilize the prices of agricultural and fishery products by maintaining an equilibrium between the demand and supply of such products and improving their marketing and distribution systems.

(5) The State shall foster organizations founded on the spirit of self-help among farmers, fishermen and businessmen engaged in small and medium industry and shall guarantee their independent activities and development.

Article 124 The State shall, as prescribed by law, guarantee the consumer protection movement intended to encourage sound consumption activities and improvement in the quality of products.

Article 125 The State shall foster foreign trade, and may regulate and coordinate it.
Article 126 Private enterprises shall not be nationalized nor transferred to ownership by a local government, nor shall their management be controlled or administered by the State, except in cases as prescribed by law to meet urgent necessities of national defence or the national economy.

Article 127 (1) The State shall strive to develop the national economy by developing science and technology, information and human resources and encouraging innovation.

(2) The State shall establish a system of national standards.

(3) The President may establish advisory organizations necessary to achieve the purpose referred to in Paragraph (1).

Chapter X - Amendments to the Constitution

Article 128 (1) A proposal to amend the Constitution shall be introduced either by a majority of the total members of the National Assembly or by the President.

(2) Amendments to the Constitution for the extension of the term of office of the President or for a change allowing for the re-election of the President shall not be effective for the President in office at the time of the proposal for such amendments to the Constitution.

Article 129 Proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be put before the public by the President for twenty days or more.

Article 130 (1) The National Assembly shall decide upon the proposed amendments within sixty days of the public announcement, and passage by the National Assembly shall require the concurrent vote of two thirds of the total members of the National Assembly.

(2) The proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be submitted to a national referendum not later than thirty days after passage by the National Assembly, and shall be determined by more than one half of all votes cast by more than one half of voters eligible to vote in elections for members of the National Assembly.

(3) When the proposed amendments to the Constitution receive the concurrence prescribed in Paragraph (2), the amendments to the Constitution shall be finalized, and the President shall promulgate it without delay.

Supplementary Provisions

Article 1 This Constitution shall enter into force as of the Twenty fifth Day of February, Anno Domini Nineteen hundred and eighty-eight : except that, the enactment or amendment of laws necessary to implement this Constitution, the elections of the President and the National Assembly under this Constitution and other preparations to implement this Constitution may be carried out prior to the entry into force of this Constitution.

Article 2 (1) The first presidential election under this Constitution shall be held not later than forty days before this Constitution enters into force.

(2) The term of office of the first President under this Constitution shall commence on the date of its enforcement.

Article 3 (1) The first elections of the National Assembly under this Constitution shall be held within six months from the promulgation of this Constitution. The term of office of the members of the first National Assembly elected under this Constitution shall commence on the date of the first convening of the National Assembly under this Constitution.
(2) The term of office of the members of the National Assembly incumbent at the time this Constitution is promulgated shall terminate the day prior to the first convening of the National Assembly under Paragraph (1).

Article 4 (1) Public officials and officers of enterprises appointed by the Government, who are in office at the time of the enforcement of this Constitution, shall be considered as having been appointed under this Constitution, except that, public officials whose election procedures or appointing authorities are changed under this Constitution, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the Board of Audit and Inspection shall remain in office until such time as their successors are chosen under this Constitution, and their terms of office shall terminate the day before the installation of their successors.

(2) Judges attached to the Supreme Court who are not the Chief Justice or Justices of the Supreme Court and who are in office at the time of the enforcement of this Constitution shall be considered as having been appointed under this Constitution notwithstanding the proviso of Paragraph (1).

(3) Those provisions of this Constitution which prescribe the terms of office of public officials or which restrict the number of terms that public officials may serve shall take effect upon the dates of the first elections or the first appointments of such public officials under this Constitution.

Article 5 Laws, decrees, ordinances and treaties in force at the time this Constitution enters into force shall remain valid unless they are contrary to this Constitution.

Article 6 Those organizations existing at the time of the enforcement of this Constitution which have been performing the functions falling within the authority of new organizations to be created under this Constitution shall continue to exist and perform such functions until such time as the new organizations are created under this Constitution.

Construction and Transportation, Ministry of [Government]

Corea: The Hermit Nation

Corea: The Hermit Nation is an introductory history and commentary on the political and social systems of Korea written by William Elliot Griffis in 1882, and published by Harper and Brothers. The writer compiled his book over three years or thereabouts, between 1877 and 1880, while domiciled largely in Japan. The work was enlarged and reissued several times with the last edition published in 1905, with five-hundred and two pages in fifty-two chapters.

In the preface to the first edition, the author gives recognition to the people who assisted him in the compilation of his book. Many of those named are prominent missionary and military figures from the West who played major roles in the politics of Korea in the last days of Chosŏn. The Korean language edition is, however, credited to Japanese students of the author. Moreover, the author gives credit to the sections on folklore, social life and Christianity to the previously published Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée, written by Ch. Dallet in 1874.

The work itself is revealing of the conditions, as the author interprets them, pertaining in Korea towards the end of the nineteenth century. The author holds firm to his Christian beliefs and is quick to qualify many aspects of Korean culture as pagan. Nevertheless, Corea: The Hermit Nation provides a source of comparative data for scholars, and therefore, it remains useful in some aspects.
The preservation movement in South Korea is focused around Important Tangible Cultural Assets (Chungyo yuhyŏng munhwajae), Important Intangible Cultural Assets (Chungyo muhyŏng munhwajae), Important Folk-Cultural Properties (Chungyo minsok charyo) and Monuments. It was initiated in 1962 with the passing of the Cultural Asset Preservation Act (Munhwajae pohobop) by the incoming government of Park Chung Hee. Fifteen amendments were made to the basic law by the end of 1990. The Act reflected debates in the National Assembly during the 1950s. These, in turn, had echoed the nationalist movement which grew in the wake of the 1919 Declaration of Independence, calling for the conservation of indigenous folk arts, crafts, and skills. Back in 1916, the Japanese Governor-general had begun listing old Korean buildings and properties for preservation; 44 wooden and 104 stone structures were still listed in South Korea in 1959. North Korea continues with these designations and also appoints master craftsmen as "people's artists (inmin yesulja)".

Conservation, the new system argued, would strengthen a Korean identity undermined during the Japanese colonial period, weakened by the ravages of war, and now threatened by encroaching westernization. The Koreans nonetheless learnt much from a parallel Japanese system already in operation, duplicating many of the same categories. But, because it was designed to conserve folk arts and crafts, the Korean Intangible Cultural Asset system was distinct: in Japan but not Korea, folk arts and skills are nominated only as unpaid appointments, there is a fixed number of appointees, and people are nominated more for a lifetime's achievement than for the art or craft they have mastered.

The Korean law instructed scholars to undertake research, both to discover what remained of the old and to suggest strategies for local and national preservation. Scholars produced reports (one series, the Chungyo muhyŏng munhwajae chosa pogosŏ [Cumulative Investigation Reports on Important Intangible Cultural Assets], reached volume 165 in 1985). Reports were submitted to a committee of experts (the Munhwajae Wiwonhoe), who recommended to the appropriate government minister what should be appointed. An Office for Cultural Asset Management (Munhwajae Kwalliuk), now a branch of the Ministry of Culture, was set up with Law 743 in October 1961 to co-ordinate publications, performances, exhibitions, and the system's day-to-day running.

By the end of 1991, there were 2,342 national and 2,642 provincial Tangible Assets, comprising buildings, classical books, calligraphy, documents, pictures, sculpture, and craftwork of high historic or artistic value. 224 Folk Assets encompassed public morals and customs relating to food, clothing, housing, occupation, religion, or annual customs and objects "indispensable to the understanding of changes and progress of national life". In practice, this category included 134 houses and three complete folk villages. The Monument category conserved shell-mounds, ancient tombs, castle and palace sites, pottery remains, strata containing remains, scenic places, animals, plants, minerals and caves of "high scientific value".

By 1991, 93 Intangible Cultural Assets were appointed (numbered from 1 to 98, allowing for deletions). These comprised 17 music genres, 7 dances, 14 dramas, 22 plays and rituals, 30 manufactures, and 3 additional Assets concerned with food preparation and martial arts. Within these, some 1,943 people were listed at the Office for Cultural Asset Management. 186 were "holders" (poyaja), known commonly as Human Cultural Assets (In'gan munhwajae) since the journalist Ye Yonghae coined the term in a Han'guk ilbo.
newspaper series on old arts and crafts in the early 1960s. Today, nobody under the age of 50 is appointed a "holder". "Future holders" (poyūja hubo) numbered 84, either too young to be appointed to the senior post or waiting to succeed a "holder". There were 131 honour students (chogyo), 910 master students (isusaeng), 161 students (chōnsusaeng), and 471 "ordinary" students (ilban chōnsusaeng). The system is meant to ensure continuity, hence "holders" are required to train named students who, in turn and subject to examination, graduate as master students.

Conservation does not come free. By 1993, "holders" each received monthly stipends of 600,000 won, a little over half the urban wage. Back at the end of 1991, "future holders" received 200,000 won monthly, honour students 60,000 won and students 50,000 won. Stipends gave a 1991 bill of 1.5bn won, while the government's total expenditure on culture amounted to 0.35 per cent of GNP.

The system has been a considerable success. In the 1980s it was common for student and labour rallies to sing folksongs, to be led by a folkband, and to hold a traditional shamanic ritual to "cleanse" their path. These were all part of the indigenous heritage promoted by the very government they were demonstrating against. Clearly Koreans, with the time for nostalgia that economic prosperity brings, now equate nationalism with their Cultural Assets.

K Howard

Culture and Tourism, Ministry of [Government]

Coup d'Etat of 1884 (see Kapshin chǒngbyŏn)

Customs and Traditions

Folk customs can broadly be divided according to the time that they are observed and their function. Those that take place in the first and second lunar months are generally designed to bring about a good farming season, whereas the spring and summer events are directed at the successful maturation of crops, and those in the autumn are aimed at offering new grains to the gods that govern agriculture, and offering thanksgiving for the abundant harvest. The relationship between folk customs and farming cycles is a natural one, since the events are closely related to the lifestyle of the farmers. Other functions of folk customs are the cultivation of communal harmony and co-operation, the consolidation of familial and community bonds, and providing an outlet for the release of tension among participants. Thus, folk customs fulfilled an essential function in traditional Korean culture, and in some respects still do so.

First Lunar Month

The first lunar month is marked by more customs than any other month of the year, and this can be attributed to various factors, such as the desire to begin the new year in an auspicious manner, the fact that this is a slack period in farming and the necessity to conduct ancestral rite activities at this time. On the morning of the first day of the lunar new year (sŏllal), food and wine are offered at the ancestral shrine (chŏnch'o ch'arye), families dress in special clothing known as sŏlbim, and children and younger relatives give new year's greetings and bows to their elders (sebae). The practice of sebae continues and has been extended to include one's teachers and seniors at work. Parents and grandparents often give money or special treats to children in exchange for the sebae greeting. Sŏllal is also marked with the preparation of special foods that are shared with neighbours and during Chosŏn special leave was given to all officeholders, and gifts of paintings or calligraphy were exchanged among officials. Moreover, to bring about a prosperous year, there was the custom of pok chori (buying a new ladle) on this day. Peddlers would begin making their rounds shortly after midnight, selling these bamboo ladles that were thought to bring good fortune.
There are other customs performed around the beginning of the lunar year that function to forecast the fortune of the unfolding year. Some of these are very simple and rely on the direction of sounds, or casting yut sticks, while others involve the application of Chinese scientific theory based upon the five basic elements, i.e., wood, fire, metal, earth, and water. Other rituals are carried out that enlist various supernatural forces to bring about good fortune for the year, and thus should be viewed as incantatory in nature. These include the so-called 'marrying of a tree' (namu shijip ponaegi), in which a stone is placed in the forked branch of a fruit tree, in the hope of securing a plentiful harvest, and the burning of all loose hair, which had been accumulated for the past year, outside the main gate of a house in a bid to be free of disease in the months to come. Further folk customs include the stealing of 'fortunate earth' (pok hŭk humch'igi), which requires the poorer members of a community to steal a handful of earth from a wealthy landowner so as to bring some of the same good luck to their own homes; making ritual offerings to the seven stars (ch'ilson; Ursa Major), and erecting a rice-straw pole with several varieties of grain tied to it, are all directed at bringing about fortune or prosperity in the new year.

After the lunar new year, the time around the first full moon, known as taeborŭm, is next in importance as far as folk customs are concerned. Taeborŭm is one of the major holidays in traditional times and is marked with various divinatory practices, folk games and the preparation of special foods and medicines. The divinatory practices of taeborŭm include the making of predictions concerning the future harvest or the year in noting the shadow cast by a pole, on the fifteenth of the first lunar month (kūrimja ch'om); by observing the growth of selected bean sprouts; or by the number of times the cock crows on the morning of the fifteenth, and by other means. Special foods include honeyed glutinous rice mixed with dates, chestnuts etc. (yakpap); a mixture of nuts thought to prevent boils (purŭm); mixed grain dishes for good luck, and dried vegetables believed to provide the vigour to withstand the summer’s heat. In order to bring about the hearing of good news and prevent ear disease, a special liquor known as kwibalgi sul is consumed on the morning of taeborŭm. There are many regional variations for predicting the fate of the coming year and in the preparation of foods for special purposes.

Taeborŭm is also marked by a number of communal rituals to various deities. A particularly important village ritual of this time is the tongshin che, which is the descendant of an ancient agrarian ritual to local tutelary deities petitioning for an abundant harvest. Traditionally, all villagers would take part in this shamanistic ceremony and it was funded by donations from all members of the village, in proportion to their relative wealth. Another large communal, shamanistic ritual is the Pyŏlsin kut of the Kyŏngsang region, held either once every ten years or when the will of the tutelary goddess requires it. The actual preparations for this ritual begin on the second of the first lunar month and conclude on the fifteenth, and since this event is quite expensive, it is funded by a special village fund. This ritual is held to petition the village tutelary goddess for good fortune and is accompanied by masked dance dramas (t'alch'um), farmer’s music (nongak) bands and other festivities. A further communal ritual that is performed at this time is the so-called 'trampling of the earth spirits' (chishin papki) ritual that is performed in the southern areas of the Korean peninsula. The performance of chishin papki is thought to drive away malevolent spirits with the accompanying dancing, music and shouting, and at the same time, bring forth the blessings of propitious spirits. Other rites and communal folk games performed on this day include tari papki (bridge treading), which is believed to prevent foot ailments, and tol ssaum (stone fighting) in which teams from different villages engage in a rock-throwing fight. This is now practised at a longer-distance between the participants than was formerly the case, thereby reducing the risk of injury or worse, but at one time it was both a defensive and offensive act, and dates from the early part of Koguryŏ. Then there is hwaeppul ssaum (torch fighting game), that is also played by two teams from neighbouring villages.
Second Lunar Month

The second lunar month is a relatively quiet time insofar as folk customs are concerned, but there are several important events that mark the month. One such event is chomsaengi pogi (Observation of the Pleiades), which is a method of divination practised in the second month. On the evening of the sixth day, people would compare the location of the moon to the Pleiades and if the moon appeared close to the constellation it would foretell an abundant harvest, but if it and the Pleiades were far apart, then a poor harvest would result. There were also rites performed at the Confucian shrines in the second month, and various rituals to bring about a fortuitous year.

Third Lunar Month

The third month is the beginning of spring, and therefore several major rituals are observed. The third day of the month is known as samjinnal and this day is notable for the observation of several folk customs. People gather azalea blossom and place one of the flowers on a rice cake which is then pan-fried, resulting in a pretty cake known as hwajon (flower cake). Hwajon were eaten by everyone to bring about good fortune. Other special foods eaten on samjinnal include rice cake (ttok) combined with various ingredients; a soup made with mugwort (yet'ang); and freshly-caught raw carp eaten with red pepper bean paste (koch'ujang). These special foods were all taken as panaceas. Moreover, there were distinctive liquors prepared for this day, using special ingredients such as azalea and peach blossoms. These drinks were also taken as tonics for providing the good health that would enable the imbibers to survive the hottest months of summer. Other folk customs observed on samjinnal include womenfolk washing their hair in order to render it particularly lustrous, and observing the newly-arrived butterflies as a way of telling their fortunes for the coming months. If a yellow or tiger-striped butterfly was seen first, the year ahead was to be filled with good fortune. If, however, a white butterfly was sighted first, then an unlucky event was predicted.

The second major event of the third lunar month was Hanshik (cold-food day), which was observed one hundred and five days after the winter solstice (tongji). On this day people would prepare fruit, liquor, noodles, rice cakes and other foods and visit their ancestral graves, first cutting the grass and tidying the gravesite, and then making sacrificial offerings to their ancestors. This custom is thought to date from the time of the Chinese Qi dynasty (479-501 CE), and was considered as one of the four great holidays (sadae myŏngjol). The reason that it was called Hanshik was because no fires were lit, as a way of consoling the spirit of the loyal Jin-China minister, Jie Jitui, who died in a fire.

Fourth Lunar Month

Buddha’s birthday is the major folk event in the fourth month, and is celebrated on the eighth day of the month. This event was known by several different designations such as ch’op’ail, yokpuril and yŏndŏng che depending upon the people and era. The nights before the actual holiday were marked by the making of lanterns that were lit the night before Buddha’s birthday. Every house would strive to prepare a decorated lantern and erect it on a pole or hang it on a tree, with the shapes and designs of the lanterns greatly varied, some being modelled after animals, others after fruits, yet others lotus blossoms, fish and turtles, and so forth. It was believed that the brighter the lantern, the greater the luck the family would be blessed with. This custom is thought to have its origins in the p’algwan hoe that dates at least back to Koryŏ. On the eighth of the month people would dress in their finest clothes and visit temples where a large festival in honour of Buddha would be held.

Fifth Lunar Month

The major folk event of the fifth lunar month is the Tano Festival held on the fifth day of the
month. This festival is known by various appellations such as suii, chungojol, tanyang, ch'ŏnjungjol and surinnal, and is considered one of the four major holidays of the year. Tano is characterized by the performance of shamanistic rituals, ancestor rites, folk games, special foods and merriment. The holiday is thought to have originated in China during the Chuo dynasty (740-330 BCE) and subsequently transmitted to Korea, where it became integrated with indigenous festivals such as surinnal. It is noteworthy that Tano is predominately a northern custom since the fifth month is a busy farming season in the southern rice growing areas. Thus, during the Koryŏ period this was a more important holiday than Ch'usŏk (Harvest Festival) held in the eighth lunar month.

On the morning of Tano, boys and girls boil iris plants, use the liquid for bathing and hair washing, after which they don their best clothes. The tubers of the iris are carved to make a hairpin for the girls, and the Chinese characters for luck (pok) and longevity (su) are painted in red thereon, which is believed to drive away baleful spirits. The most notable folk games played on Tano day are swing play (kûne) for young women and girls, and ssirium (akin to wrestling) for males. The sight of the young women and girls dressed in their colourful garments swinging high into the air has long been the subject of Korean folk painters and poets. The opportunity to enjoy the outdoors and the company of their peers in swinging contests provided the females of Chosŏn, who otherwise led strictly regulated lives, a rare chance for enjoyment outside their homes. Ssirium was one of the major events of Tano and the wrestler who eventually won the contest would be awarded a worthwhile prize such as an ox or sacks of grain.

Other events surrounding Tano festivals include bullfights (so ssaum) and mask dances (t'alch um) held in some regions. Additionally, shamanistic rites such as the p'ut kut or the nongshinje, designed to ensure successful harvests, were often held in conjunction with the Tano festival. Another means to prevent misfortune was to post a talisman above the main gate of the house. These talismen contained short phrases written in red ink and in addition to houses, they were posted at government offices and even the royal palace and were designed to prevent calamity. The same belief in the preventive powers of the colour red is seen in the practice of young women dying their fingernails red with a concoction made from the petals of the touch-me-not flower, a practice which also sought to expel injurious spirits. Tano remains a major folk custom in Korea today, and the festival held in Kangnŭng of Kangwŏn Province is particularly well known.

Sixth Lunar Month

The fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month is known as yudu, and on this day people would often travel to a clear mountain stream where they would bathe and wash their hair, and then while away the rest of day in a cool spot. There are records of yudu being observed from the time of Shilla, and this practice was thought to not only prevent heat-related illnesses such as sunstroke, but also general misfortune. The people would also make sacrificial offerings to their ancestors and household gods in a ritual known as yudu ch'ŏnshin, with such seasonal foods as watermelon, fruit, rice cakes, and cold noodles, among others. Of course, after making the ritual offerings the people would then consume all of this food, along with liquor and meat dishes. Since the sixth lunar month is the hottest part of summer, other foods reputed to have medicinal or restorative qualities were often taken. Among these, pat'chuk (red bean porridge) kaejang (dog soup) and sange ye 'ang (chicken-ginseng soup) were all believed to be particularly efficacious in overcoming ailments that could be brought on by the oppressive summer heat. Moreover, since the sixth month is an extremely busy season for farmers with the weeding of crops, these foods were also purported to provide the essential nutrients needed to maintain a person's strength. At the time of crop-weeding, communal labour groups known as ture were often recruited to work the fields in rapid succession. This operation was frequently accompanied by a farmers' music (nong'ak) troupe that
provided rhythmic accompaniment and a pleasant distraction from the harsh and repetitive work of weeding.

Seventh Lunar Month

The seventh day of the seventh lunar month is known as ch’ilsoke and this is the day that magpies and crows are said to fly to the heavens, where they make the Ojakkyo Bridge that allows the separated lovers Kyónu (Herdsmen) and Chingnyó (Weaving Damsel) to be united for a single night. This legend dates from the time of the Chinese Zhou dynasty (1027-771 BCE), and it is said that there are no crows or magpies to be seen on ch’ilsoke day since they have all flown to the heavens. Moreover, it is claimed that it always rains on this day as a result of the tears of joy shed by the reunited lovers. Also, young women and girls offer prayers to Chingnyó so that they can become talented in sewing, and young men petition Kyónu to give them the skills to make them good scholars. It is also around the seventh day of the month that people expose their clothing, bedding and books to the sunlight, since the rainy season has by then generally ended. This is a way to forestalling damage of these items by mould that often results from the dampness prevalent during rainy weather.

The fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month is known as paekchong (hundred kinds) or paekchung and is largely a Buddhist festival in which the ‘hundred kinds’ of fruits and vegetables are offered in a ceremony to Buddha. This is accompanied by celebrations with food, dance and music. The origins of this ceremony are thought to be found in the Koryó festival known as the uranbun hoe that was one of the two major Buddhist festivals of this period. Moreover, the shamanistic ritual manghonil (day of the dead spirits), which consists of food and vegetable offerings to the ancestral spirits and also performed on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, is thought to be related to paekchong.

Other notable folk customs of the seventh month include homi ssitki (hoe-washing day), which is held on the fifteenth of the month and is a day both of rest and festivity among the farmers. This day is so named since it marks the end of the weeding season and thus the farmers can clean their hoes early and then have a day of leisure. The farming families all prepare food and drink, gather at a cool meeting-place by a river or lake, and hold a party, accompanied by farmers’ music, dancing and various folk games. The seventh month also marks the beginning of the planting season. Autumn crops are planted, such as cabbage and turnips which are ingredients of the kimchi that is prepared at the beginning of winter. Also, to protect the ripening grains, farmers erect scarecrows in the fields at this time.

Eighth Lunar Month

The major folk event of the eighth lunar month is Ch’usok, or Harvest Festival. This event has been observed in Korea since at least the beginning of Shilla as recorded in the Sangguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), at which time it was known as kawi. This holiday is also known by the designation of Han’gawi. The festive atmosphere of this holiday is further aided by the ideal weather of this season in Korea, with moderate temperatures and clear skies. Thus, with the newly-harvested crops and the tedious work of the farming season behind them, the people can relax, visits ancestral graves (songmyo) and offer thanks for their harvest.

The events of Ch’usok begin with early rising, bathing and dressing in one’s best clothes, before preparing the foods that will be offered at the ancestral shrine on this day. Many foods are prepared for Ch’usok including those with the freshly harvested grains, fruits and liquor that will serve both in offering sacrificial rites to the ancestors and for the subsequent feast that will be enjoyed by all. Along with the foods prepared for this day, there are many folk games enjoyed by the people, including chuldarigi (tug-of-war), kanggang sulwolfae (a circle dance), swing play, see-sawing, tol ssaum, and ssirum, together with music and
dance. Ch’usŏk continues to be observed and with Sŏllal (New Year) is one of the two major holidays.

Ninth Lunar Month

The ninth month is somewhat quiet for the observation of major folk customs, but there are still those events that the people take notice of. The ninth day of the month is notable in that it is said to be the day that the swallows return to the south, marking the end of the temperate weather of autumn. Moreover, the ninth day is auspicious in that it is a double yang (positive, male energy) number day, and thus is often marked by certain folk games or rites. With the beauty of the autumn foliage to be seen, many people journey to nearby mountains to view the autumn landscape, and this has traditionally served as a muse for many poets and painters. Of the seasonal food and drink prepared for this month, those that include the chrysanthemum are notable, such as the kukhwa-jŏn (chrysanthemum rice-cake) and kukhwa-chu (chrysanthemum liquor). Pomegranates and pine nuts are also enjoyed during the ninth lunar month.

Tenth Lunar Month

The third day of the tenth lunar month is commemorated as the day that the legendary founder of Korea, Hwanun, descended from the heavens on to Mount T’aebaek with 3000 followers and established an earthly kingdom, which later was ruled by his son Tan’gun for some 1500 years and known as Ko Chosŏn. This day is called kaech’onjol (Foundation Day), and is considered as the day that Korean history began in the year 2333 BCE. Kaech’onjol is still marked by ritual offerings to Tan’gun and the heavenly deities, and is a very important day to the adherents of Tan’gun’gyo, the religious cult that centres around the veneration of Tan’gun.

Other events of the tenth lunar month include shamanistic rites offered to the tutelary god of the household (sŏngju), various winter foods such as mugwort soup (ssuk t’ang), rice cakes (ssuk ttŏk) and dumpling soup (mandu kuk) made with vegetables, beef and other meats. The preparation of winter kimch’i, known as kimjang, is also undertaken in this month as the cabbage and turnips planted in the seventh lunar month are harvested and processed into the vegetable side dishes that will be enjoyed throughout the long winter. There are many types of kimch’i prepared by the womenfolk at this time including, paech’u (cabbage kimch’i) and kkaktugi (cubed turnip kimch’i). After preparation, the kimch’i is placed in earthenware vessels of varying size and buried in the ground, which keeps the pickled vegetables fresh throughout the winter.

Eleventh Lunar Month

The eleventh month is marked by tongji, or the winter solstice, which is accompanied by many folk customs. In traditional times, tongji was the day in which everyone added a year to their age, since this was the beginning of the year according to the former calendrical system. One exceptional seasonal food prepared for tongji is tongji p’achuk (winter solstice red-bean porridge) a dish eaten by all family members. The red colour of the p’achuk was thought to be an effective means of driving out any baleful spirits present in the household. During Chosŏn, the eleventh month was the time that calendars for the year ahead were distributed to government offices and also when the tribute of mandarin oranges was sent from Cheju Island to the royal palace. Other customs in this month include special foods such as naengmyŏn (cold buckwheat noodles) and drinks like sujŏnggwa, a tea made with persimmon, ginger, cinnamon, sugar, and pine nuts and served cold.

Twelfth Lunar Month
In the last month of the year, the major event is sŏddal kŭmŭmnal, or New Year's Eve, which marks the passing of the old year. Many of the events of this season are in preparation for the new year, but there are also those that concentrate on the last night of the old year. At the forefront of these is the so-called 'watching out of the year' (hae chik'im), which included lighting lanterns in every part of the house and keeping the whole family awake to greet the cock's crow of the new year. Folktales provide accounts that those who fell asleep on this night awoke the next morning with white eyebrows, and thus children were urged not to sleep lest this happen to them.

Other events of the last month of the year include the narye ceremony, which was held to drive away all of the demons of the past year in both the homes of commoners and the royal palace. In this month, each family would repair worn spots on the kitchen hearth, put the house in good order, and tidy or repair the animal pens. Then at midnight on the last day of the year, they would build a bonfire in the front courtyard of their house and set off firecrackers. This ceremony was thought to drive off demons and malevolent spirits from the house and its environs and thus begin the new year in a propitious manner. A similar procedure was followed in the royal palace, although the ceremony that accompanied the ritual was much more elaborate, and included shamans, ritual dancers and musicians. This ceremony has been observed in Korea since early Koryŏ, and continued to be performed at the royal palace, albeit on a smaller scale, throughout Chosŏn.

**Intercalary Month**

The leap month, which occurs every fourth year, is treated as an extra or free month and carries no religious or folklore significance. Thus, since this month is not plagued by problems from ghosts or spirits, it is generally considered as both a good and safe time for the people. Moreover, the intercalary month is said to be the best time to prepare coffins for the elders or garments for the dead.

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**Daegu University**

Daegu University (Taegu Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Naeri Village in Kyŏngsan. Founded as Han'guk Sahoe Saŏp Hakkyo (Korea Social Work College), the school was the first in Korea to offer specialised training in the fields of social work and education for the handicapped. In February 1961, the school was elevated to the status of a college and in January 1973, a graduate school was added. In order to accommodate the school’s expansion, a new campus was created in Kyŏngsan County (now Kyŏngsan City) just east of Taegu in 1979 and in December of the same year, the school’s name was changed to Hansa Taehak. When the college became a university in March 1982, the school acquired its present name. At this time, the university was made up of six colleges and one graduate school.

The university now consists of twelve colleges and five graduate schools. The Kyŏngsan campus has become the university’s main campus, with the Colleges of Economics & Business Administration, Engineering, Fine Art, Human Ecology, Humanities, Law, Natural Resources, Natural Science, Public Administration and Social Science as well as an Evening Class Program. The campus also contains the Graduate School as well as the
Graduate Schools of Education and Industry & Information. At the Taegu Campus, are the Colleges of Education and Rehabilitation Science, and the Graduate Schools of Rehabilitation Science and Social Development.

Daehan (Taehan) Maeil Shinbo. [United Kingdom and Korea]

Daewoo Group [Industry]

Dance

History

The history of Korean dance begins some 3,000 years ago. As in many other cultures, Korean dance evolved largely from the religious ceremonials of primitive tribes. In the Three Han tribal states of Mahan, Chinhan, and Pyŏnhan, dance was also closely linked to the agricultural cycle, as it still is in farmers festival music and dance - called Nongak - of present-day Korea.

In the 13th c. B.C.E., many tribal peoples were roaming the northern and central parts of the Korean peninsula. One of these tribes, the Puyŏ, who occupied the area that is now Manchuria, held a festival during the 10th month of the lunar calendar (November) called Yŏnggo, which they celebrated with songs and dances. The Ye people in the northeast held a festival called Much'ŏn in or around October, and this also included songs and dances. The ancient Chinese chronicle, the Hou Han shu (History of Later Han dynasty) and Wei shu (History of the Wei dynasty), compiled between the 6th and 7th c. C.E., tells us that invocatory group dancing and singing were characteristic of the sacrificial ceremonies to the gods of heaven and earth which were carried out as part of these festivities.

In the Three Han Kingdoms (Sam-Ham) in the south thanksgiving festivals were held twice annually, after rice transplantation and after harvest. The Wenxian tong kao (Kor.Munhŏn tongggo, ), describes the dances performed at these festivals: they were,"...performed by a dozen or so dancers, who, lined up in a single file, followed the leader, raising their hands up and down, stamping on the ground to the accompaniment of music...the ceremonies were presided over by a leader who might well have been a Shaman who was, at the same time, lyricist, composer-musician, and dancer...". This, again, is similar to farmers festival music and dance, which, thereby, may be the oldest form of dance extant in Korea today. It is still closely related to folk religion, or Shamanism being often utilized to exorcise evil spirits or to supplicate the beneficence of the gods. The same may also be said for the mask dance-dramas.

However, the earliest known Chinese reference to these various types of ritual festivities is found in the San Guo zhi (The History of the Three Kingdoms) compiled by Zhen Shou in 297 C.E., in the section dealing with the 'Eastern People' (the inhabitants of Korea), telling of the ritual practices held by various tribes up until the 3rd c. C.E.: " In the fifth month, they sacrifice to spirits; all day and night, without rest, they sing, dance, and drink wine." This same chronicle also describes the Korean people as being endowed with, "...a talent for the arts that excels both in originality and creativity."

The Zhou li (Rites of The Duke of Zhou), describes Korea as being, "...a land of dance and music that is forever bursting forth anew with an art filled with vigour and vitality", pointing up the fact once again that from ancient times the Koreans were a people endowed with a gift for the arts who delighted in music and dance.

In these ancient rituals to heavenly deities, held before the outset of farm work and after the agricultural cycle was completed, labour and the arts enjoyed a common origin and existed
together in harmony and accord. The rituals were continuously handed down and further propagated among succeeding generations so that they came to form the very basic character of Korean culture: and so it is that Korean music and dance found in folk rites, folk games, farmers festival, music and dance, and in the mask dance-dramas are not separate entities in themselves, but are considered part of an integral whole along with ritual and drama.

The Shaman who presided over the festivals of the Three Han Kingdoms may well have been the immediate predecessor of the hwarang (flower of youth) of the subsequent Silla period, a unique society of young men whose name in present-day Korea is associated with that of knight, fearless warrior, man of arts and letters, and other highly notable qualities. But, according to the most reliable historical sources, they were only partly such, being also quasi-Shamanistic and kwangdae (dancers, singers, actors) as well.

The earliest source we have on the hwarang is the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), compiled in 1145 C.E. This chronicle tells us that the hwarang were organized into their final form in 576 C.E., during the last year of the reign of King Chinhyun (r. 534-576) for ethical, artistic, and military training.

The same King Chinhyun who founded the hwarang organized an annual court entertainment known as the P'algwanhoe, a mixture of Buddhist and earlier indigenous religious elements at which the hwarang are believed to have performed. This festival, held in the palace gardens, was a formalization of the annual and semi-annual custom of heaven-worship which had been observed by primitive tribes and has survived today in remote villages in the form of such periodic festivals as the mask dance-drama of Hahoe. According to Hong Pong-han's Tongguk munhón pigo (Encyclopaedia of Korea, 1770), participants "...amused themselves with singing, dancing, and variety acts, and also prayed for blessings."

While the foundation for some of Korea's music and dance tradition was being laid by the Silla hwarang in the south, a people characterized by bravery and strong will-power were creating music and dance of a different nature in the Koguryo kingdom to the north in what is now Manchuria. A fresco on the walls of the Muyong chong (Tomb of the Dancers) discovered in 1940 in Tonggu, once the capital of Koguryo, provides significant evidence. Dating from approximately 500-650 C.E., the fresco reveals convincingly the impetuous, almost Mongol-like ferocity of the people. A portion of the mural contains a scene with five dancers and seven musicians showing the figure of the Koguryo dance: "...shrugged shoulders, protruded hip, side-stepping with arms raised horizontally and hands dropped."

The P'algwanhoe which was performed until the end of the succeeding Koryo dynasty, is considered to be important in the history of Korean music and dance because it not only included Korean and Tang dynasty, China music, but also dance and acrobatics, which were collectively referred to as paeghui (one hundred games). At the P'algwanhoe, as held at the Koryo court, masked plays and the Ch'ŏnyong mask dance-drama were performed. The latter was created from a hwarang lyric poem, 'The Song of Ch'ŏnyong', taken from a collection of fourteen pieces of vernacular poetry of Silla referred to as hyangga and preserved in the Samguk yusa (Legends and the History of the Three Kingdoms). The song is said to date from the late 9th c. It is thought to be a Shaman ritual song that passed into the repertory of the Koryo dynasty in an extended form and was believed to be potent against disease.

The first historical records of the mask dance-dramas appear in lyric poetry - as is the case with the Ch'ŏnyong - written by the famous Shilla period scholar-poet Ch'oe Chi'won (857 C.E. - ) in the 9th c., entitled 'Five Poems on Korean Music' (Hyangak chabyong osu), and recorded in the Samguk ssigi (History of the Three Kingdoms), compiled by Kim Pushik (1075-1151 C.E.). Though the title bears the words '...Korean Music', the dances
correlated with these poems are believed to be either Turkestani, Indian, or Central Asian in origin and were introduced into Korea from Wu dynasty South China as Buddhist ceremonial mime dance - some sources say mask dance-drama - known as Kiak (Jap. Gigaku) by a Paekche dynasty musician named Mimaji (Jap. Mimashi), who later, in 612 C.E., taught these dances at the royal court of Japan. This fact suggests that Central Asian music and dance had already been in use before Tang music and dance ever reached Korea. Moreover, the facial features - particularly the prominent noses - of the masks employed in the dance-drama point to a Central Asian origin.

Only when performed at Buddhist temples did the Kiak retain its original message of the consequences of worldly pleasure for the unfaithful. Towards the latter part of the Chosôn dynasty (1392-1910), this Buddhist didactic dance-drama was to become, under folk influence, a satire on apostate Buddhist monks, and the lion - whose original purpose in the drama was to devour those who transgressed the precepts of Buddha - began devouring the decadent monks themselves.

Although the Chosôn dynasty was the age of Confucianism, Confucian ritual music and dance had actually been imported into Koryô from Song dynasty in 1116, a year that stands out in the musical annals of Koryô as being perhaps the most important of all, for it was in this year that Sung Emperor Huizong (r. 1100-25), a noted patron of the arts, sent a complete set of musical instruments, dance and music scores, costumes, and props for the performance of Confucian ceremonial music and dance.

Another important event was the introduction into Korea of a large amount of Chinese court and religious music and dance of the Song dynasty, which eventually replaced the music of Tang. As early as the 10th c., Chinese musicians and musical instruments had already found their way into Koryô and this simple, but noble, Chinese music and dance (referred to as Tangak) was always offered jointly with so-called Korean native music and dance (referred to as Hyangak), which was livelier by comparison whenever performances were given at royal court banquets and other occasions.

In 1073, court dances of the Song dynasty such as pao qiü yue (p'ogurak) a dance game in which balls are thrown through a hole in a gate-like frame were incorporated into the P'algwanhoe held at the Koryô court. This Ball-Throwing Dance is still performed to this day, albeit infrequently.

Of all periods in Korean history, none were perhaps more favourable for dance and music than the Chosôn dynasty; for, in 1418, young King Sejong (r.1418-50) ascended the throne and brought Korean culture in general to its apex. This period initiated the great era of codification and transcription. For the first time, special attention was given to detail and authenticity. The great king gave himself over to music and dance as much as he did to language, mathematics, astronomy, literature, and fine arts. Together with his chief court musician, Pak Yôn, he classified all court music and dance into three primary divisions: Aak (Confucian ritual), Tangak (Chinese Tang and Song dynasty), and Hyangak (native Korean). In addition, he readjusted the system of musical performance at the royal court and the costumes of the court musicians and dancers.

King Sejong's work of classification was continued by King Sejo (r.1455-68), who classified instrumental and vocal music as well as dances and developed the theory of musical notation. His grandson, King Sôngjong (r.1469-94), had the musical theorist Sông Hyôn compile the Akhak kwebôm (Standard Work of Musical Studies) in 1493. It is said to be the first and the greatest, most comprehensive treatise ever written on music and dance in Korea. This epochal text contains not only the Chosôn period music and dance extant at the time, but also covers the theory of music, the arrangement of the orchestra, musical instruments, costumes, choreography, properties, procedures for court dances, and even dance programs. Eight of the dances described are of Chinese origin; seven of traditional
Korean. The scores of five new dances, which were created during this early Chosŏn period to commemorate the founding of the dynasty, are also included. Its detailed descriptions and illustrations made it possible to restore old music and dances after the court musicians and dancers had fled to the countryside and the musical instruments had been destroyed during the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasions at the end of the 16th c. So precise are the contents of this book that it may be used to this day as a reference in re-creating music and dances that have long fallen into disuse.

In 1759, during the reign of King Yŏngjo, the first book of dance scores, the *Siyong mubo* (Scripts of Current Dances) was compiled. The scores in this book are those of the Confucian ritual dance, the *Il-mu* (Line Formation Dance), which was imported into Koryŏ from Song Dynasty China in 1116 and which was performed at ceremonies held at the Confucian and Royal Ancestral Shrines.

In the early part of the 19th c. Crown Prince Hyomyŏng, 1809-1830 is reputed to have composed many court dances, among which is *Kain chŏn moktan* (Beautiful Persons Picking Peonies), created during the reign of King Sunjo (r.1800 - 34) in tribute to the literary and martial achievements of his royal ancestors. According to Song Kyŏngin, former director of the National Classical Music Institute of Korea (NCMI), Hyomyŏng was probably the only great court dance composer, and of almost all known Korean court dances, about 50 are either his own creations or revisions. That he also created the dance known as *Ch'unaeng chŏn* (A Nightingale Singing in Spring-time), however, is open to question. Dr. Ho Kuang-chung of Singapore University maintains that the dance was known in Tan and Song dynasty, and that it is the T'ang version which is now preserved in Japan and the Song version which is preserved in Korea.

With Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, the Chosŏn court, along with its music and dances entered into a state of decline, leaving behind only a few remnants to be preserved in what was once the Royal Music Conservatory that later became the NCMI and is presently called the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Centre. Folk music and dance, which had been flowering among the common people since the latter part of the Chosŏn period, also entered into a state of gradual decline after the 1919 Independence Movement, when modern Western music and dance began to be introduced into Korea by the Japanese.

The period of the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910-45) is marked by a decided turn in the tide of what remained of the eastward cultural migration from China. Japan had by this time become quite Westernized and sent this wave of Westernization, as well as her own traditional cultural influences, westward, submerging her new possession in a completely new era. Every aspect of life was affected, including traditional music and dance. Fortunately, for Korean folk dance, this period also witnessed the last of the great dance masters, Han Sŏng-jun, who, until his death in 1938, stood alone and unexcelled in upholding the great folk dance tradition. So notable were his achievements that even the Japanese could not overlook his merits, and they presented him with an art award. Ironically, it was one of Han's most talented pupils, however, who sub-sequently dealt Korean traditional dance one of its most devastating blows. Choi Seung-hee (Ch'oe Sung-hŭi) studied with Han and then went to Japan where she became the student of Ishii Baku, who brought the *Neue Tanz* (New Dance) to Japan from Europe. Korean audiences received her performances unfavorably, but when she took her dances to Japan, they were enthusiastically received and she became established by the Japanese as the 'Queen of Korean Dance'. As time passed, Korean dance became even further Westernized at the hands of Choi and her students. Fortunately, another one of Han's students was his own grand-daughter, Han Young-sook (Han Yŏngsuk), who faithfully carried on the folk dance tradition handed down to her by her illustrious grandfather. Her interpretation of *Sŏngmu* (the Buddhist Monk Dance), created by her grandfather from Buddhist ceremonial dances, called *Chakpŏp* (*nabich'um*), was superb and flawless in every sense of the word, and set a standard that was followed by a host of dance students to come. For her extraordinary
talent and her devotion to maintaining the folk dance tradition, she was designated a Human Cultural Treasure by the Korean government, as was court dancer Kim Ch'uhn'hung, who in the early 1990's was the only living male court dancer left in Korea, and who (then well into his 80's), still danced and strived to revive and preserve the dances of the royal court that have long since passed into oblivion. Most dancers active on the dance scene in Korea today, however, seem to derive their greatest satisfaction from their own creations rather than from the glorious dances of the past. It is, perhaps, a manifestation of the new freedom that came with the liberation from Japan in 1945, the birth of the republic in 1948, and the trend toward democratization that has followed ever since.

A C Heyman

Dankook University

Dankook University (Tan'guk Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Hannam-dong is Seoul. Established as Dankook college in November 1947 with Chang Tobin as its first president, the college was moved to its present location in Yongsan Ward in July 1957. A graduate school was established in the following year. In 1967, the college became a university, with Chang Ch'ungshik as its president. At that time, master's and doctoral programs were established. The university's undergraduate curriculum was further developed and this led to the building of a new campus in Ch'ŏnan in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.

Today, the university consists of twenty colleges and eight graduate schools. At the Seoul campus, are the Colleges of Commerce and Economics; Education; Engineering; Evening School; Law; Liberal Arts; Music; Politics and Economics; and Science. There is a separate Graduate School, side-by-side with the Graduate Schools of Education; Industrial Design; Industrial Technology; Labour-Management Relations; Management; and Public Administration. At the Ch'ŏnan campus are the Colleges of Agriculture; Arts; Dentistry; Economics and Commerce; Engineering; Humanities; Law; Medicine; Natural Science; Policy and Business Management; Social Science; and Sports Science. In May 1981, a museum was opened and its three-storey building contains a large number of artefacts, especially of ancient items of apparel and decoration, such as crowns, ceremonial attire, belts and shoes. University Publications include the Tandae shinmun in Korean and The Dankook Herald in English.

Daoism

Daoism refers to both a religious system that arose in the early centuries (CE) and to a group of texts usually understood to be philosophical; the most important of which come from the third century BCE and earlier. These texts, notable the Laozi (also commonly known as the Daode jing or The Way and its Power) and the Zhuangzi, are often seen to oppose the Confucian ideal, emphasising spontaneity and dismissing ritual. The religion of Daoism is traditionally understood to have begun with revelations delivered to Zhang Ling from the deified form of Laozi. Its goal was longevity and the ultimate achievement of immortality through alchemy, sexual regimens, meditations, special diets and by other means. Daoist practitioners often chose to live alone, deep in the mountains, striving for harmony with the forces of nature. The religion incorporated into its practice particular readings of the Laozi -- the I Ching (Book of Change), Yinyang and Five Elements theory, medical practices, prognostication and divination.

Introduction to Korea

When Daoism was introduced to Korea, there were certain factors which prevented it from developing to the extent it had in China. First, unlike Chinese Daoism, which had a chance to develop for several centuries before an increase in Buddhism's popularity, in Korea
Daoism had to compete with Buddhism from the outset. Secondly, in China, Daoism could criticise Buddhism as a foreign import, while in Korea, both ideologies were on an equal footing.

Conversely, there were many common elements in Daoism and early Korean beliefs. For example, the Chinese ideal of the Daoist immortal was easily combined with early Korean worship of mountain spirits (sanshin) as seen in the Tan'gun myth. In addition, the ideal of the Daoist sage who is able to control the elements of nature had its parallel in Korean shamanism.

**Koguryo**

According to the *Samguk yusa*, in 624 the Emperor Gaozu (r. 618-626) of Tang China sent a Daoist priest to Koguryo along with a statue and the *Daode jing* as a gesture of friendship. This marks the formal introduction of Daoism to Koguryo. However, the religion does not seem to have increased its following at this time. Twenty years later, in 643, Yôn Kaesomun (?-666), the true power behind King Pojang (r. 642-688), presented a memorial to his king requesting that Emperor Taizong of Tang agree to despatch a priest to teach Daoist principles in Koguryo. Later in the same year, the Chinese monk Shuda arrived with seven other Daoist priests and another copy of the *Daode jing*. King Pojang also converted several Buddhist Temples into Daoist Temples and these served as bases for conducting activities to propagate Daoism. The Daoism introduced at this time was of the Celestial Masters sect, and main Daoist practices were centred around ritual offerings to Heaven and the stars. Koguryo's attempt to introduce Daoism as a state religion came too late, as the Koguryo kingdom soon succumbed to the combined Shilla and Tang forces in 668.

**Paekche**

Although little is known about religious Daoism's introduction to Paekche, Japanese records such as *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* claim that Daoist texts and rituals were imported from Paekche by Ajikki and Wang In. These records suggest that Daoism entered Paekche at an early date in the country's development. According to the *Samguk sagi*, when King Kungusu (375-384) was a prince, he fought against invading Koguryo forces. When the defeated Koguryo forces fled, the prince pursued them to Sugok Fortress where he prepared to make a further attack. However, his general, quoting a passage from Chapter 44 of the *Laozi*, dissuaded him from making the rash attack. It follows that if Daoist passages were common knowledge even to the military by the fourth century, it can be assumed that philosophical Daoism entered Paekche even earlier.

**Shilla**

Many of the early hagiographical accounts of Shilla heroes tell of magical feats reminiscent of the (magical) powers commonly attributed to Daoist adepts. Hogong, who helped Pak Hyŏkkŏse found Shilla, is described as being able to control the natural elements, as well as the birds and the beasts, but these legends may be derived from Shilla shamanism. Many early Shilla legends concerning the mountains surrounding the capital, Sŏrabŏl (present-day Kyŏngju), are also connected with Daoism.

**Greater Shilla**

During Greater Shilla, an increasing number of scholars travelled to Tang China to study. Many of them returned with knowledge of Daoist techniques of cultivation. For example, during the mid-ninth century, the Shilla scholars Ch'oe Sāngu, Kim Kagi, and the Buddhist monk Chihye studied at Guangfa Temple on Mt. Zhongnan. While there, they happened to meet a Daoist adept who introduced them to another Daoist master by the name of Zhongli Quan, (Han Zhongli), one of the Eight Immortals. From Zhong, they received a
number of Daoist works and esoteric teachings. After three years, they obtained the cinnabar elixir -- a metaphor for Daoist enlightenment. The three scholars later returned to Shilla where they were influential in spreading Daoist practices. Kim Kagi and Ch'oe Sûngu passed on their knowledge to Ch'oe Ch'iwôn, the renowned Greater Shilla scholar.

Koryô

During Koryô, Daoist practices were incorporated into Buddhism. An example is the continuation of the P'algwanhoe (Festival of the Eight Vows), which was first held in Shilla. But the ceremony was expanded to include many Daoist elements. In a similar manner, the Yöndûnhoe, or Lantern Lighting Festival, came to be celebrated with Tang song and dance forms which were Daoist in character.

Daoism also benefited from intermittent royal support. Yejong (r. 1105-1122), the successor to Injong, so favoured Daoism that he even wanted to change the national religion from Buddhism to Daoism. The Chinese emperor, responding to Yejong's wish to know more about Daoism, sent two Daoist monks to Koryô. Yejong built Pogwôn Palace as a Daoist temple for them. In the temple, the monks trained the Koryô people in Daoist rites. It must be remembered, however, that these Koryô Daoists did not observe any monastic precepts or wear any special monastic garb. On the contrary, they returned to their houses daily after training. This indicates that the monastic traditions of Chinese Daoism were unable to take root in Koryô at this time.

On of the most concrete examples of the Koryô amalgamation of Buddhist and Daoist beliefs is King Injong's (r. 1122-1146) establishment of the P'alsông-dang (Eight Sages Shrine). In 1131, Injong sent Yi Chungbu to the Western Capital (modern-day P'yôngyang) and had him erect the P'alsông-dang in Imwôn Palace. Within the shrine, eight hermit-sages (sôn) were enshrined. The first hermit-sage was Munsusari, who was conceived as the sage associated with the sacred Mt. Paektu. The other figures are a mixture of Daoist and Buddhist figures.

Chosôn

During Chosôn, Daoism continued to enjoy intermittent support from members of the royal household. However, opposition from the Confucian literati led to a gradual decline in formal Daoist rites and practices. Even so, Daoist beliefs and practices continued to have a social impact. The great advances in medical knowledge during Chosôn were to some extent a result of Daoist learning. In particular, the Tongûi pogam (Examplar of Korean Medicine), a large medical compendium finished in 1613, was influenced by Daoist medical knowledge. More explicitly, the work can be seen as a response to the Daoist quest for immortality. In particular, Daoist influence is evident in the work's Naegyông Chapter.

The scholar Ch'ujôk put together the Myôngshim pogam, a short compendium of verses to be used as a guide to self-cultivation. Although this work, which has continued its popularity to the present day, consists primarily of quotations from Confucian texts, there are many passages from Daoist thinkers.

In Korea, Daoism had a significant influence on Chosôn thought. Neo-Confucianism, the state ideology of Chosôn, was already imbued with many Daoism ideas from its inception in Song dynasty China.

By the end of Chosôn, the influence of Daoism could again be witnessed in beliefs of the millenarian movements that began to appear throughout Korea. Chief among these was the Tonghak Movement, founded by Ch'oe Cheu (1824-1864). Ch'oe preached a combination of Daoist, Buddhist and shamanist ideals with the Neo-Confucianism of Sô Kyôngdô (1489-1546). He proclaimed far-reaching goals -- ideals such as equality for all men, in
addition to the chanting of magical verse as a form of protection. In particular, his writings in *Yongdam yusa* (Hymns from Dragon Pool) are noted for their many Daoist elements.

**Daoism in Korean Literature**

During the turmoil existing in Chosŏn after the 1592 Japanese invasion, many popular writings appeared that reflected the people's desires to escape the turbulence that now dominated their lives. Novels written by members of the intelligentsia, such as *Hong Kil tong chŏn* (The Tale of Hong Kil tong) by Hŏ Kyun (1568-1618), began to suggest alternatives to the Neo-Confucian belief system that gripped Korea. These works revealed protagonists well-versed in the Daoist arts which they used to achieve dominance over the ruling apparatus. Other anonymous works mirrored the collective longing of the common people to escape the hardships and burdens of everyday life, through the assistance of supernatural forces that had harnessed the power of mystical Daoism. *Sukhyang chŏn* (The Tale of Sukhyang) is one such work. In addition to these literary works, there were those composed by self-proclaimed Daoists who, having withdrawn from Confucian society, sought to form their own communities, governed according to Daoist principles. A representative work of this genre is the *Ch'onghak chip* (Collected Works of Ch'onghak) written by Cho Yŏjŏk in mid- Chosŏn. This is in the form of a literary miscellany and is a record of the deeds of various individuals who were skilled in the Daoist arts of alchemy, the elimination of emotions, and invoking trances, among others. The work is also exclusive in that it sought to establish a Daoist lineage in Korea showing the existence of this religion since the time of the legendary founder of Korea, Tan'gun.

The inclusion of Daoist beliefs and practices can also be witnessed in the oral literature of the common people. In the genre of *p'ansori* many of the themes of these dramatic performances reveal roots in Daoist beliefs *Shimch'ong ka* (The Song of Shimch'ong) reveals a strong belief by its composer group in the necessity of being assisted by supernatural forces in order to achieve a happy life. Another *p'ansori* work, *Hŭngbu ka* (The song of Hŭngbu) reveals a motif of supernatural assistance by animals that leads to an abundant life. The popularity of these works indicates that the commoners believed one way in which to escape their many hardships was through the intervention of supernatural forces. Significantly, too, the appeal of Daoism lay in the hope that it would provide the commoners with an elixir to expunge the troubles which plagued their everyday lives. Other genres of oral literature, most notably *muga* (shaman songs), also show the extensive incorporation of Daoist themes into their repertoire.

**Other Daoist Influences**

Where religion is concerned, Daoism has had rather a pervasive influence in many aspects of Korean religions. Perhaps this is most notable in shaman beliefs in Korea. In examining the pantheon of deities in Korean shamanism, the number of these entities having a connection to Daoism is quite striking. Moreover, the adoption of Daoist concepts such as the Jade Emperor (Okhwang sangje) into shaman beliefs is clearly a manifestation of the syncretic nature of these two belief systems. Daoist influence can also be seen in Buddhism, and the early Nirvana sect of Buddhism clearly exhibits this. This sect, which holds that an immortal Buddha- nature exists within all creatures, was propagated most notably by the late-Koguryŏ monk, Pod, in an attempt to counter the prevalent appeal of the Daoist belief in immortality.

**Modern Daoism**

The influence of Daoism is still felt in Korea, and can be attested to in the manifestation of Daoist symbolism in many different areas. However, it must be noted that the syncretic nature of Daoist, Buddhist and shamanistic beliefs provides many ambiguities when trying to state exactly where the origin of a particular practice lies. One manifestation of Daoist
beliefs is seen in the fact that the Chinese characters for longevity (su) and happiness (pok) are used to decorate many everyday objects, such as eating utensils, blankets and cushions. This reveals that Koreans today are continuing their quest for the realisation of these mainstays of Daoism. Another area in which Daoist beliefs can be seen is the use of amulets (pujok) to ward off evil influences. These are often placed above doorways or carried by a person in order to prevent misfortune. However, it is the manifold ways in which Daoism has influenced both Korean religious and philosophical thought that remains its greatest legacy.

Daoism has also influenced a number of recent religious movements. Daoist practices, such as breathing exercises, meditation in fixed postures and physical exercise programs, have recently enjoyed considerable popularity. Many of these new movements, including Tanhak, Sǒndo, Kuksŏndo, and others of like ilk, which are almost exclusively interested in Daoist practices as opposed to ideology, are not genuine religious movements in the strict sense of the term.

Judging from the large number of Korean translations and commentaries of the Laozi and Zhuangzi, there has also been a continuous interest in philosophical Daoism in the modern era.

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Design

In Korea, designs have been used to decorate clothing, pottery, handicrafts, sculptures, buildings, religious art and other objects. The origins of Korean design are complex. Numerous waves of migrants came into the Korean peninsula from the north. Each successive migration brought in different design techniques and art motifs. In addition, these people were, from earliest times, influenced by the related Mongolian and Manchurian tribes to the north and the Yangtze River culture to the west.
Decorative designs were in use as early as Korea's Palaeolithic Age. During the early Neolithic Age, simple pottery was decorated by affixing strips of clay to a vessel. Around this time, simple line drawings also became common on both pottery and tools. The Middle Neolithic Age, on the other hand, is characterised by comb-pattern (ch'ûlmun) pottery. Produced from about 5,000 B.C.E., this pottery was made by adding stacks of circular strips or by repeatedly wrapping a single coil around a piece of pottery. The body of the pot was decorated with thin lines (like those from a comb), each row at opposite angles. This pattern has been found in Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Japan and throughout north Asia from Scandinavia to Siberia. During the Late Neolithic Period, the use of painted designs spread to Korea from China. During this period, wave and thunderbolt designs also appeared.

With the advent of the Bronze Age, geometrical designs such as the comb-pattern became much more refined. A mirror from this period (National Treasure no. 141) shows exquisitely detailed triangles, concentric circles and radiating lines. In addition, decorated bronze daggers, mirrors, buckles, etc., from the confederated kingdoms period have been excavated. These artifacts are usually decorated with geometric patterns or by realistic images of animals. Rock drawings from this period often show hunting scenes on land and sea or geometrical designs.

Design styles and techniques became much more diverse during the Three Kingdoms Period. The early design motifs from this period were based on indigenous beliefs related to ancient Altaic myths and Shamanism. For example, early gilded crowns have metal strips in the shape of trees and antlers, an indication of the early veneration of trees and deer. The crowns are also decorated with small, curled pieces of jade.

With the introduction of Chinese culture during the Three Kingdoms Period, Korea came into contact with Buddhist religious designs and images from as far away as central Asia and India. The vast Buddhist cosmology provided artists with an abundant stock of religious and mythological motifs to draw from. As each of the Three Kingdoms adopted Buddhism, the symbolism of Buddhist cosmology blended with that of autochthonous beliefs, giving birth to distinctively Korean motifs and designs. Along with Buddhism, Daoism was introduced to Korea from China. The Daoist ideal was the immortal hermit who passed his time in leisure among remote mountain retreats. Daoist influence accounts for the recurring theme of mountainous landscapes in Korean art, as well as the frequent use of longevity symbols.

During the Greater Shilla Period, Buddhist influence and central Asian influence via China led to use of much more elegant and refined designs. Elaborate floral designs and arabesque became popular at this time, some design motifs coming from as far away as Persia. A distinctive characteristic of Greater Shilla art is its use of symmetrically placed objects such as a pair of dragons, phoenixes, fairies or celestial horses. In addition, tiles, pottery and gilded works from this period are often decorated with lions, zodiacal figures or with the imaginary Buddhist song-bird called the kalavinka.

In the Koryó Period, Buddhism continued to enjoy government support. At the same time, Confucian ideals exerted a much greater influence. The Daoist love of nature combined with the Confucian fondness for simplicity and frugality. As a result, the intricate designs of the previous period gradually gave way to idyllic landscapes. Such pictures consisted of descriptive pastoral scenes, such as a scholarly gentleman sitting under a pine tree, watching cranes frolic in the distance. In addition, there were many depictions of plum flowers, orchids, chrysanthemum and bamboo, since these four plants were said to represent the spirit of the cultivated gentleman.

During Chosón, Korean artists were initially influenced by China’s northern school of painting. However, during the late Ming Dynasty, Chosón artists came under the influence
of the popular painting style of the Southern Sung Dynasty. As a result, Korean artists started to do paintings using ink on white paper. During mid-Chosŏn, the subject matter of such paintings became more diverse. In addition to showing mountain landscapes and leisurely scholars, artists used black ink to depict simple objects like plums, bamboo or grapes. During late Chosŏn, longevity motifs also became popular. The ten longevity symbols (the turtle, deer, crane, pine, bamboo, sun, clouds, rocks, water and the magic fungus of everlasting youth) were often incorporated into both religious and secular design motifs. In addition, various auspicious symbols, such as the unicorn (a mixture of a dragon and other animals), turtle, phoenix and dragon became increasingly common.

Some old motifs continued to be used. From earliest times, Koreans had been concerned with fertility. As a result the fish, carp and 'hundred boy' motif were used on folded screens and in pictures in order to encourage fertility. Pomegranates were also used as a fertility motif, their numerous seeds suggesting abundant offspring. In addition, Koreans continued to use Chinese characters as a basis for designs. The complex characters for long life (su) or good fortune (pok) were often repeated or alternated. Other designs were used to drive away evil spirits. Depictions of the dragon, phoenix, tiger and turtle were believed to prevent evil from the east, south, west and north respectively. For similar reasons, complex talisman designs (originally from China) resembling Chinese characters were also employed. These designs, usually red on white paper, were pasted on walls and above doors to ward off evil influences. Numerous designs, such as the Buddhist swastika, chain links or arabesques, continued to be used on lattice work on doors and buildings. Many of these design motifs were used to represent long life or to guard against evil spirits.

Chinese homophones also influenced symbolism in China and Korea. For example, the Chinese character for 'deer' (rok) has the same pronunciation as the character for 'emolument' (rok), thus deer are sometimes used in Korean art to represent financial success. Likewise, the character for 'bat' (pok) and 'good fortune' (pok) have the same sound; hence, bats have traditionally been a favourite motif in East Asia.

The vast mixture of designs and motifs, derived from multiple layers of history and culture, has made Korean design a particularly enigmatic puzzle. Korean Buddhist temples, in particular, demonstrate the complex origins of Korean design. These large wooden structures are elaborately decorated, on both the inside and outside, with a number of motifs from Buddhist, Daoist and indigenous sources. Each building is covered with detailed patterns, called tanch'ŏng, consisting of intricate patterns of bright red, blue, green and other colours. Tanch'ŏng is normally applied to the beams and girders, the brackets on the column heads, the corners of the roof where the bracket arms are joined to the roof frame, the eaves and ceiling, and the latticework of the windows and doors. The panels on the outside of the various temple buildings usually depict scenes from the Buddha’s life, stories of the temple’s founder or the famous Ten Ox-herding Pictures. However, many of the designs painted directly onto the interior or exterior of the buildings show dragons, goddesses and other motifs that are indigenous or come from China. The statues within temples and shrine halls are usually plated with gold. Much of the iconology, including the standardised motifs and complex hand positions (mudra) of the figures, are ultimately derived from Indian or central Asian sources.

Korean design is a synthesis of many influences, both foreign and indigenous. Although Korean, Chinese and Japanese designs and motifs share many features, Korean design has some subtle features that make it unique. Korean artists tend to break up a large design into many smaller elements like those of a mosaic. In addition, Korean artists especially value spontaneity, and are not greatly concerned about technical perfection. This lack of self-consciousness gives Korean designs a unique softness and naturalness.

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**Dong-A ilbo**

The *Dong-A ilbo* (*Tonga Ilbo*, East Asia Daily) is the second oldest newspaper currently published in the ROK, with its inaugural issue on 1 April 1920 being less than one month after the first issue of the *Chosŏn Ilbo*. The *Dong-A ilbo* had an initial staff of seventy-eight, including Kim Songsu. Its first president was Pak Yonghyo; its managing editors Yu Kun and Yang Kit'ak; its editor-in-chief Chang Tǒksu; and its general editor Yi Sanghyŏp.

From its inception, the *Dong-A ilbo* was a staunchly nationalistic newspaper, which sought to establish itself as a means for the Korean people to express themselves; as a bastion of democratic rights; and as a strong supporter of cultural development. Not surprisingly, the *Dong-A ilbo* was more often than not the subject of Japanese oppression during the colonial period, as witnessed by its temporary closure only two weeks after its inception for the alleged anti-Japanese sentiments it published. Perhaps the best-known incident for which the newspaper was closed occurred after the publication of a photograph of the Korean athlete, Son Kijong, who had won gold in the marathon in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, with the Japanese flag on his running strip obliterated. This published photograph resulted in the newspaper being shut down for over ten months, from August 1936 to June 1937, and it represents the longest enforced closure of the *Dong-A ilbo*.

As time passed, the publication had developed from its original four pages to twelve pages by early 1936. In the late 1920s, it fluctuated between a morning and evening edition, but by November 1932, it was regularly on the streets twice daily. Its circulation was by far the highest of any newspaper in Korea by the late 1920s, being put at 40,968 by the Japanese Government General in 1928. This was ahead of its nearest competitor, the *Maeil shinbo*, which boasted a circulation of 23,946. The staff of the *Dong-A ilbo* continued to put the interests of the Korean people before those of the Japanese authorities and as a result, the newspaper was subjected to even greater censorship following the outbreak of the China-Japan war in 1937. As a result of unceasing harassment by the colonial government, the *Dong-A ilbo* ceased publication in 1940.

After Korea's liberation in 1945, the *Dong-A ilbo* resumed publication and ever since it has served as one of the standard-bearers of the Korean press. Even during the tumultuous days of the Korean War, the *Dong-A ilbo* continued publication from its temporary abode in Pusan. The sharply critical style of its columns, however, brought down the wrath of the Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) government. Consequently, the newspaper was closed indefinitely in March 1955. This closure, the fifth in its history, lasted only one month before publication recommenced. Over the past forty or more years, the *Dong-A ilbo* has been in the vanguard of Korean journalism and has received many accolades for its fair and explicit reporting.

**Dong-A University**

Dong-A University (Tonga Taehakkryo) is a private university situated in Saha Ward in Pusan. Founded as Tonga Haksuk in Pusan's Sujŏng-dong in August 1947, it was
officially accredited as Dong-A College in December of the following year. With Dr. Chung Gi-won (Chong Kiwon) as its first dean, the college consisted of two divisions, Liberal Arts and Natural Sciences, and Law. In 1949, the college was relocated to Pŏmil-dong in Pusan.

The college expanded throughout the 1950s under the leadership of Dr. Chung Jae-hwan (Chong Chaehwan), who had been chairman of the foundation body. The divisions of Agriculture; Engineering; and the Evening College were established in 1954, 1955 and 1956 respectively. In 1958, a master’s program was inaugurated, and in the following year, the college attained university status. In 1962, its doctoral program was established. Around this time, the university library, museum and science hall were completed, and a number of research institutes were established.

The Graduate School of Business Administration came into being in 1970 and this was followed by the Graduate School of Education. In 1979, the College of Engineering was moved to a newly-constructed second campus in Hadan-dong, in the western part of the city.

In the 1980s, the university continued to expand with a number of new departments and attached research centres. In particular, it was during this period that the Research Institute for Basic Sciences (Kich’o Kwahak Yŏn’guso) was established, along with the Institute for German Study (Togirhak Yŏn’guso) and the Ocean Resources Research Institute (Haeyang Chawŏn Yŏn’guso).

Today, the university consists of eleven colleges -- the Colleges of Administration; Arts; Business Administration; Engineering; Human Ecology; Humanities; Medicine; Natural Resource and Life Sciences; Natural Sciences; Physical Education; and Social Sciences. Six graduate schools are in place, -- the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Education; Industry; Mass Communication; and Policy Sciences. Other facilities include the university Museum and medical centre. The museum was opened in 1959 with Chŏng Chaehwang’s collection of almost nine-thousand pieces. The collection includes classical works of literature; paintings; calligraphy; pottery; tiles; old utensils; and some thousands of archaeological items. The university hospital opened in 1990, and was expanded into a medical centre in 1995.

University publications include *The Dong-A Herald* in English and the *Tongadae Hakpo* in Korean.

**Dong-eui University**

Dong-eui University (Tongŭi Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Kaya-dong in Pusan. Founded by Kim Imshik as Tongŭi Hagwŏn in October 1966, it changed to Kyŏngdong Kongŏp Chŏnmun Hakkyo in December 1976, and then became Dong-eui College in January 1979. With Kim Chubong as its first president, the college quickly expanded its original six departments to twenty-five in the space of one year.

In September 1983, the college attained university status, and it then consisted of the Colleges of Commerce & Economics; Engineering; Humanities; Law; and Natural Science. A month later, a master’s program commenced, followed by a doctoral program in November 1987. In 1990, the Dong-eui Medical Centre (consisting of an oriental-medicine clinic and a general hospital) was established. In 1996, the university concluded an academic exchange agreement with seven colleges and universities in the Pusan area, and an exchange agreement was reached with Kyungsan University in the following year.

Today, the university consists of eight colleges (Arts; Commerce and Economics; Engineering; Human Ecology; Humanities; Law; Natural Science; and Oriental Medicine)
and four graduate schools (the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Industrial Technology; Public Administration; and Small Business). Including the evening-school curriculum, the university has sixty-one departments. As of 1998, 3,420 undergraduate and postgraduate students were enrolled.

**Dongguk University**

Dongguk University (Tongguk Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in P’ildong in Seoul. Its history can be traced to Myŏngjin Hakkyo, a school established in 1906 at Wŏnhŭng Temple outside Tongdaemun (Seoul’s East Gate) at the present site of Ch’angshin Primary School. With Yi Podam as its first president, Myŏngjin Hakkyo’s aim was to introduce modern educational methods into Korean Buddhism. In April 1910, the school was reorganised as Pulgyo Sabŏm Hakkyo, and in July 1914, its name was changed to Pulgyo Kodŏng Kangsuk. In the following year, it was renamed Changang Hangnim.

Many of the school’s students and faculty participated in the March First Movement (1919). In the following years, large numbers of students and staff members fled to remote temples in the countryside or to Shanghai or Manchuria, making it extremely difficult to conduct regular classes. As a result, the school was shut down by the Japanese Government General in September 1922. In December, Buddhist monasteries donated funds for the revival of the school as Chosŏn Pulgyo Chorang Kyomuwŏn. The school was renamed Pulgyo Chŏnsu Hakkyo in 1928, Chorang Pulgyo Chŏnmun Hakkyo in 1930, Chogye Hagwŏn in 1940, and then Hyehwa Chŏnmun Hakkyo later in 1940. In 1944, the school was again closed by the colonial government.

In September 1945, the school was re-established, becoming Dongguk College in the following year, with Hŏ Yun at its helm. In 1949, it was renamed Tongguk Hagwŏn, and as the Korean War entered its final stage, its status was raised and it became Dongguk University, with four colleges and ten departments. Kwŏn Sangno was its first president. Steady expansion of the university led, some twenty-five years after its birth, to the establishment of a second campus in Kyŏngju in October 1978.

At present, the university consists of eighteen colleges and nine graduate schools. At the Seoul campus, are the Colleges of Arts; Buddhism; Business & Economics; Education; Engineering; Law; Liberal Arts; Life Resources Sciences; Science; Social Sciences; and the Evening College; as well as the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Buddhism; Business Administration; Cultural Arts; Education; Industrial Technology; Information Industries; and Public Administration. At the Kyŏngju campus are the Colleges of Buddhist Culture; Commerce & Economics; Humanities; Law & Political Science; Medicine; Natural Sciences; and Oriental Medicine; as well as the Graduate School of Regional Development. At the Seoul campus, there is also the Dongguk University Museum.

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1. Economic History

Economy, premodern.

Archaeological evidence shows that the Korean peninsula was inhabited by Lower Palaeolithic Age people by at least 500,000 B.C.E. Archeological discoveries suggest that the primary economic activities of these inhabitants were hunting and fishing. However, it is the Neolithic inhabitants who are most often regarded as the direct ancestors of today's Koreans. They arrived around the third millennium B.C.E. Pottery discovered during this period shows that their primary activities were food-gathering, hunting, and fishing. But it was not until the 15th c. B.C.E. (the Bronze Age) that agriculture was introduced into the economy. Rice was cultivated in the south. Increased food production and population growth led to social differentiations based on an unequal access to economic resources and clan or kin groups. Early labour specializations were peasant, artisan, and bondsman.

668-935

Korea's history as an independent nation is often traced back to 668 C.E. when the Shilla Kingdom (57 B.C.E. - 935 C.E.) conquered two earlier Korean kingdoms - Koguryŏ (37 B.C.E. - 668 C.E.) and Paekche (18 B.C.E. - 660 C.E.). Buddhism, first adopted by Koguryŏ, then by Paekche and Shilla, reigned. The early economy of this kingdom was dominated by the activities of a few merchants, like Chang Pogo, who developed a maritime-based trade network linking Korea, China, and Japan. His headquarters were in southwestern Korea (Wando Island). This was the beginning of Korea's long-history in the shipbuilding and export-import industries. Celadon pottery was a key item involved in the trading exchanges. Today, Koryŏ bluish-green celadon pottery is still a popular export item.

During the Unified Shilla Kingdom (618-935), scholars specializing in diplomatic correspondence, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy were brought into public service. Peasants became eligible to cultivate lands set aside by the equity land system (chŏngŏn) and paid for this right by returning in kind rice, millet, barley, and wheat - the nation's first tax system. Reservoirs were constructed to irrigate the rice fields. Overall, the Shilla people were relatively affluent.

918-1392

As the Shilla Kingdom waned, the Koryŏ Kingdom (918-1392) emerged, led by Wang Kon, a Shilla dissident, who built the kingdom through a network of landlords and merchants. Key economic developments attributed to this time period, with lasting economic ramifications for Korea's economy, were accelerated printing technologies (wood block and metal), continued refinement of the celadon technology, the suspension bridge, the spinning wheel, and a water clock. The foundation was laid for a centralized government. A civil service examination system to recruit government officials was established as was the principle of allotting land to public officials for public activities. But land policies became the centre of controversy as only government officials, military, and a few merchants owned all the agricultural land. Confucianism also appeared in reaction to the public's criticism of the wealth and power of the Buddhist monasteries.

1392-1864

This period, known as the Chosŏn period, or the Chosŏn Dynasty, saw many important developments that have had a lasting impact on Korea's economy. The adoption of Confucianism by the state instilled an ethic that has permeated Korean society ever since. This ethic stresses cooperation and harmony and one's duty to society-at-large rather than to
oneself. (This appears in direct contrast to the Western philosophies stressing competition and government's responsibility to protect individual rights which some say explains the difficulty Korea has had in moving to a strictly free market-based economy.) During the early days of General Yi's power, he imposed a major land reform - rank land law (Kwajŏnpŏp). The aristocrats (Yangban), were given land by their rank and were free to trade it. They were permitted to collect rent from peasants who were given the right to cultivate the land. The rent was limited to half the crop instead of much higher proportions collected in the past. The effect was to enhance the peasants' economic condition somewhat - but only temporarily. Throughout Chosŏn, land policies and taxing policies were periodically used by the yangban to build wealth and power at the expense of the commoners (sangmin) and the lowborn or slaves (ch'ŏnmin). Yangban were those who directed the economy, government, and culture of Korea. Even today, there is animosity between the average citizen and government leaders over land policy.

During Chosŏn, development of knowledge was given a high priority, especially in the areas of administration, phonetics, economics, science, music, medicine, and humanities. The Korean alphabet, Hangul, was created to make it easier for the common person to communicate. (The Korean literacy rate today is one of the highest in the world.) Other long-lasting accomplishments were detailed works on Korean agriculture, medicine, astronomy, and musical notation. The world's first ironclad ship, known as the turtle ship (kŏbukson), was built. It is regarded by some as the predecessor of Korea's modern shipbuilding industry - the world's largest by 1987.

Agriculture was the dominant economic activity during Chosŏn and was given priority over manufacturing and commerce through a strictly enforced class system. Under this system, the rank ordering from highest to lowest was: scholar, farmer, manufacturer or artisan, and merchant. However, farmland actually disappeared during this time period as the population grew. Land ownership in general became more concentrated in the hands of a few. One of the reasons was that the central government gave land to local government officials to cover the costs of their salaries and local government services and activities. There were a series of agrarian tax revolts in 1812 and 1862.

The major commercial activity during the Chosŏn occurred through a five-day market day system (changnal) linking communities within walking distance. The primary items for exchange were food and handicrafts. The lack of a well-developed money system and transport difficulties constrained the development of commerce beyond this system. Foreign trade during this period was low volume and pretty much restricted to exchanges between government leaders in Korea, Japan, and China.

Early modern economy, 1864-1910.

This period can best be described as one during which other nations (Great Britain, China, Russia, Germany, United States, and Japan, among others) sought entry into Korea's economy, often forcefully. American troops were repulsed in 1871 when they tried to invade Kanghwado Island. More difficult to repel were the aggressive actions of the Japanese and Chinese. As early as 1868, the Japanese began pushing for trade relations with Korea with an eye toward its natural resources and abundant rice crop. Faced with the possibility of a Japanese invasion, Korea signed a twelve-article treaty establishing diplomatic relations with Japan in January 1876 (Treaty of Kangwha). It was followed in July 1876 by a trade agreement which effectively gave Japan a monopoly over Korean markets. Japanese merchants were mostly interested in buying rice, soy beans, cattle hides, and alluvial gold for sale back home at handsome profits.

These foreign intrusions created conflicts among Koreans. A number of Confucianists urged that European capitalist encroachment (which the Japanese had adopted) be repelled. Others urged Koreans to accept capitalism in order to strengthen the economy and to join
with China, Japan, and the United States in defense alignments aimed at deterring Russian intrusion which appeared to be eminent. Ultimately, Korea signed treaties of commerce with them all but the foreign powers were the primary winners. Korean farmers and peasants became impoverished and took their anger out on Korean's ruling elite by holding huge demonstrations, then violent revolts in 1894 (Tonghak uprising). But it was the Japanese who gained outright control over Korea in 1905 through another treaty (Protectorate Treaty, 1905). By that time, Japan was already imposing its own finance, banking, agriculture, forestry, mining, transportation, education, and cultural policies on Korea. The Japanese even had control of Korea's currency. Some 30,000 hectares (75,000 acres) of unclaimed government-owned land and military farms were confiscated by Japan through its Oriental Development Company founded in 1808. The ODC then coerced poor, uneducated Korean land-owners to sell their land to it, greatly reducing the number of Koreans holding property. During this period, economic development took place, but solely on the terms of the Japanese - for their benefit. Koreans generally suffered economically.

Economy under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1910-1945

Japan ruled Korea for 35 years and therefore controlled the Korean economy throughout this period. The economy grew at a rate of almost 4.0 per cent per annum, but the Japanese government and citizenry were the major beneficiaries. The Koreans actually suffered a decline in their standard of living. Although exports increased (mostly rice and other agricultural products and natural resources in short supply in Japan), most of the profits went to Japanese firms. Korea became the 'import' capital for Japanese citizens exported from Japan to alleviate overcrowding there. It also served as the training ground for the Japanese military in its preparation for the invasions of Manchuria and China. Many young Koreans were drafted to serve in the Japanese military arm.

The long-lasting positive economic benefits to Koreans from this period of Japanese occupation were large-scale infrastructure improvements (railroads, electric utility plants, communication facilities), a first-hand familiarity with the Japanese way of doing business, and, for many of the young who served in the Japanese army, an understanding of large-scale organizational management and behaviour.

The current strong Korean desire to catch up to and surpass the Japanese economy stems from animosities formed during this period and a feeling on the part of many Koreans that their economy's growth was unfairly obstructed by the Japanese occupation.

Partition to the Korean War, 1945-1953.

Japan's defeat in World War II led to Korea being split at the 38th parallel, a real set-back to Koreans who had hoped for the opportunity to be an independent state governed by Koreans. As part of the World War II settlement, North Korea was to be occupied by Russian and South Korea by the United States until an acceptable government under which the two would be united could be agreed to. The subsequent Cold War between Russia and the U.S. prohibited this unification. Instead, governments mirroring their respective ideologies were implanted on each side of the 38th parallel and remained even after the departures of the Russians and the Americans.

During the period of U.S. occupation (1945-1948), there was so much political conflict over how to structure the new government that it was difficult to focus on how to revive the economy. From an economic recovery perspective, it is often said that the South had the more difficult challenge because it was left with most of the population and only the agricultural sector to support it, whereas the North got the bulk of the industry and infrastructure. In spite of this disadvantage, the per capita income of Koreans increased rapidly during this period, primarily because the Japanese were no longer draining the economy.
The recovery was short-lived. The Korean war, 1950-53, destroyed what little infrastructure South Korea had left after post-World War II split and wrecked the economy. It further shook Koreans' confidence in the ability of their governmental leaders to solve the nation's problems.


This was one of the most difficult times in the economic, political, and social history of Korea. The period began with the problems left behind by the Korean war: thousands of war widows and orphans; large numbers of unemployed farmers whose lands had been devastated and who migrated to the cities looking for work; unemployed university graduates; discharged soldiers; and other unemployed workers whose jobs were destroyed by the War. Governance during this time period was autocratic and corrupt, inefficient and inequitable, sparking major protests, demonstrations, and ultimately violence and the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee government. The major approach to economic development was import substitution of non-durable consumer and intermediate goods behind a protective wall of high tariffs and stringent quotas. This did little to turn the economy around and was quickly abandoned once systematic economic planning guided by professional economists began in 1961. In the nine-year period following the Korean War, the annual average growth rate of GNP was only 3.7 per cent and that of per capita GNP was 0.7 per cent. Commodity exports were negligible, usually amounting to less than 1.0 per cent of GNP. The domestic currency was highly overvalued. Industrial incomes remained at subsistence levels and domestic savings were practically non-existent. As described by Suh (1986:4-5), 'The Korean economy in the post-Korean war period was characterized by political instability, a rapidly expanding money supply, rampant inflation, an extremely complex market system, and an inability to meet most of the basic needs of consumers. Additionally, due to the lack of planning experience, the Korean government endured a long period of trial and error in its development projects.'

The most positive long-lasting economic benefit from this time period emanated from a large infusion of government spending for education and the elimination of the class system for employment opportunities. During this period, the illiteracy rate dropped from 78 per cent to 28 per cent and school enrolments at all levels burgeoned. This educational foundation became a critical base from which to launch Korea's economy recovery shortly thereafter.

Another key development during this period was land reform. The Land Reform Act of 1949 established a limit on farmland possession. The percentage of full owners increased from 16.5 in 1947 to 71.6 by 1964. Over time the earnings of small farmers increased and the rural economy improved.

But as late as 1961, Korea was still suffering from many difficulties commonly faced by less developed nations. The unemployment rate remained high, savings were negligible, and the population was growing by 3 per cent annually adding more stress to an already poor economy. The nation had few lucrative exports and was highly dependent upon imports for both raw materials and important manufactured goods. Most of the economic planning efforts during this time period were largely formulated and carried out with the assistance of the U.S. They concentrated on establishing priorities for spending U.S. foreign aid (the Five-Year Korea Economic Reconstruction Plan, 1953/54-1957/59; the Three Year Task Assistance Program of 1963). The nation was still primarily a traditional, closed agrarian economy; approximately two-thirds of the working population was engaged in agriculture. Its industrial base (not large to begin with) was destroyed in the course of the Korean War.

Economy, Contemporary, 1961-Present.
Most economic histories of Korea begin with the early 1960s. Under the new president, Park Chung-hee, formal economic planning and use of the five-year plan to guide the economy's growth and development began. The Economic Planning Board (EPB) was created in 1961 and given a strategic role in this process. While the first Korean-developed plan was drawn up by the Economic Development Council of the Ministry for Reconstruction (Three Year Economic Development Plan for 1960-62 - the first half of a Seven-year Economic Development Plan 1960-1966), it was never implemented due to the Student Uprising of April 1960 and the military coup d'état led by Park Chung-hee. Consequently, the first plan to be formulated and implemented by Koreans under the guidance of the Economic Planning Board was for 1962-1966.

The first major economic recovery decision was whether to take an import substitution route or to adopt an outward-oriented strategy emphasizing exports and participation in the world economy. The government chose the latter which represented quite a drastic departure from the nation's long-standing preference for isolationism. But it was a necessary route in light of Korea's poor natural resource endowment (especially the lack of oil), its shortage of arable land - at that time only 11 per cent of the nation's total land, and its small, rather undeveloped domestic market. The essence of the outward-looking strategy in the 1960s was to promote labour-intensive manufacturing exports in which Korea had a comparative advantage. (Suh, 1986.)

The government's role in guiding economic development has been strong since the beginning of the reconstruction period. (See Economic planning.) Government policies, especially in the initial stages of economic growth following the Korean War, often provided monopolistic conditions that were conducive to the success of large, family-held corporations called chaebol and that of the Korean economy as well. A strong partnership between government and big business aimed at building firms able to compete internationally was regarded by Korean political and economic leaders as the fastest, most efficient way to achieve fast economic growth.

The emphasis of the five-year plans changed as the economy developed but clearly rapid expansion was the focus of the first three plans. (See Table I.)


The basic objective of this initial plan was to reverse the decelerating trend in the economy and to attain a substantial rise in economic growth rates by investing an increasingly larger portion of the expanding gross national product in the expansion of the means of production. The plan emphasized the development of three basic industrial sectors (energy, agriculture, public infrastructure) to 'build a strong industrial base for the development of a future self-sustaining economy.' Its targeted growth rate for the period was 8.3 per cent. The plan was overly-ambitious and reflected the inexperience of its drafters in dealing with an export-driven economic recovery plan. It had to be adjusted downward in 1964.

Adjusted First Five-Year Plan (1964-1966).

This plan was drafted to correct the first plan's failures to consider such restraining factors as:

- the repayment of loan principal and interest;
- effect of raw material imports on economic growth;
- lack of attention to the role of public finance in economic growth;
- insufficient attention to long-term growth potential;
- neglect of inter-sectoral and inter-project relationships and to individual project feasibility studies;
- insufficient support measures for actual execution of the Plan; and
- an inadequate commodity supply and demand schedule.
The basic change, however, was in the projected growth rate, rather than in the policy direction, with the exception of exports being singled out as an area to be emphasized. The growth rate was revised downward from 8.3 per cent to 7.1 per cent, but the actual growth rate was 7.8 per cent.

During this early period, the government depended heavily on market mechanisms to drive the economy. To mobilize domestic savings, in 1965 the government allowed commercial banks to raise their interest rates on deposits from 12 per cent to as high as 26.4 per cent. (Savings deposits in commercial banks nearly doubled annually for three consecutive years thereafter and the ratio of time and savings deposits to GNP rose from 3.8 per cent in 1965 to 21.7 per cent in 1969.) To encourage the inflow of foreign investment, the government enacted a comprehensive Foreign Capital Promotion Act under which the Korean government underwrote in certain instances the risk borne by foreign investors. To promote exports, the government devalued the Korean won by almost 100 per cent, thereby creating a unified exchange rate. It also provided short-term export financing for Korean businesses, allowed tariff rebates on materials imported for re-export use, and simplified customs procedures. The government moved to liberalize imports by shifting from a 'positive list' of import controls to a 'negative list' system which required proof that an item required import protection rather than proof that it did not. The result was a growth in imports well in excess of the growth in exports ($501.9 million v. $137.8 million or 38.6 per cent v. 18.7 per cent). However, prices rose too and inflation became a serious problem, exceeding 30 per cent by 1964.

The First Plan's goal to use export policy to improve the nation's international balance of payments naturally yielded trade policies with this emphasis. Eight specific paths were proposed:

- balance demand and supply of agricultural products, and growth of domestic infant industries
- by means of import controls on consumer goods;
- product increases of import substitution industry;
- enlargement and consolidation of export compensation system;
- reinforcement of foreign trade financing including exports storage financing;
- enlargement and enrichment of export subsidy, tax reduction, export-import link system;
- overseas market research and increased export promotion;
- quality improvement and standardization through export inspection system; and
- active participation in bonded processing trade.

(From The Federation of Korean Industries, Korea's Economic Policies 1945-1985.)

During this period, Korea's reliance on trade related to exports was 8.0 per cent; for imports 16.7 per cent. The Export Promotion Council was founded and actually chaired by the President of the Republic of Korea, signifying the high priority given to the export strategy.

The government also overhauled its domestic tax administration during this period. In 1966, the National Tax Administration was created under the Ministry of Finance. The immediate purposes were to minimize price distortions stemming from inflation, to increase government savings, and to eliminate chronic budgetary deficits. It was given expanded powers over tax scheduling, auditing, direct taxation collection, and imposition of substantial penalties and fines on delinquent firms. This reform later turned out to play a key role in helping finance the ambitious development programs as revenues increased substantially and deficits disappeared.


The basic objectives of this Five-Year Plan were similar to those of the first - to promote the modernization of the industrial structure and to build the foundations for a self-sustaining
The key elements were export expansion, capital mobilization, and efficient man-power utilization. Emphasis was placed on:

- achieving self-sufficiency in food production;
- investment in chemical, machinery, iron and steel industries to accelerate and diversity industrialization;
- expansion of exports;
- control of population growth rate through family planning; and
- raising the level of technology and productivity to accelerate economic modernization of all sectors.

The plan was also significant for initiating the New Community Movement -Saemaul Undong - to assist farmers in improving their economic and living conditions. The projected growth rate for this plan was 7.0 per cent; the actual rate was 9.6 per cent.

During this period, both exports and imports grew. Exports totalled $698.6 million (25.8 per cent) and imports $1,572.7 (17.9 per cent). Once again, the growth rate for imports exceeded that of exports, resulting in a trade deficit of $800 million for the period. (Many of the exports depended upon the import of key parts and components.) While the GNP rose, prices stabilized, and domestic savings increased. However, domestic savings did not keep pace with the need of both the public and private sectors to expand. The reliance on foreign debt increased even more.

Under the first two plans, the economy experienced an average annual growth rate of 9.5 per cent. On a per capita basis, real growth for the whole period was 6.9 per cent, in sharp contrast with the 0.7 per cent of the 1953-1961 period. Much of this growth stemmed from foreign trade which itself changed in character over this period. The share of primary products exported declined from 73 per cent of the total in 1962 to 14 per cent in 1971, while that of industrial products increased from 27 per cent to 86 per cent. In the import sector, the share of capital goods increased from 17 per cent in 1962 to 29 per cent by 1971. Internally, there were structural changes. Employment in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries declined from 63 per cent to 48 per cent of the total, while employment in manufacturing and mining increased from 9 per cent to 14 per cent between 1962 and 1971.

Third Five-Year Plan (1972-1976).

The major emphasis of this plan was on the dynamic development of the rural economy, a dramatic and sustained increase in exports, and the development of heavy and chemical industries to avoid dependence on imported raw materials and intermediate goods. Balanced regional development of basic social facilities (electricity, transportation, storage, cargo handling, and communications) and promotion of social welfare programs, along with increased emphasis on food production were also targets of this plan. The projected growth rate for this plan period was 8.6 per cent; the actual growth rate was 9.7 per cent. (See Table 1.)

The focus on developing heavy and chemical industries (HCI) was designed to combat what had turned out to be a significant imbalance in the industrial structure under the Second Plan due to disproportionately high amounts of foreign capital being infused into certain industries. Development of the HCIs was expected to supply Korea's developing industries with domestically produced raw materials and capital goods and thereby reduce their dependency on foreign capital. They would, in turn, become more internationally competitive and thereby increase their earnings from expanding their sales in both foreign and domestic markets. This represented somewhat of a shift toward import substitution as a development policy rather than away as had been the case in earlier periods.

Government fiscal and financial policies aided the development of HCIs. These policies ranged from financial loans, special depreciation allowances, and tax rate incentives to administrative and technical assistance. Major new industries aided in their development
were the integrated iron and steel plan in Pohang, petrochemicals, shipbuilding on the southern coast, transport machinery, and household electric appliances (TVs and transistor radios). The HCI share of the manufacturing sector increased to 45.6 per cent (from 37.3 per cent in the Second year plan period), the ratio of the mining and manufacturing sector to total industries increased from 20.9 per cent to 29.5 per cent, and the per annum rate of growth in the mining and manufacturing sector jumped from 9.8 per cent to 18.1 per cent.

During this period, exports increased at a faster pace than imports, although imports still slightly exceeded exports ($5,523.6 million v. $4,456.2 million). The nation's reliance on trade increased from 40.4 per cent to 63.3 per cent. However, the rate of increase in wholesale prices was twice that of the economic growth rate (20.3 per cent v. 10.1 per cent), indicative of a real problem with inflation.

The government continued its rural community development program, primarily to increase agricultural production and income. These had fallen as the gap between urban and rural household incomes had widened in favour of urban households. Between 1972 and 1975, government investments and loans to agriculture increased 96 per cent over those made in the 1967-1971 period. A price support program for government-purchased rice and barley was instituted. As a result of both government subsidies and rising farmer productivity, agricultural income increased significantly and the urban-rural household income gap was closed and reached parity by 1976, although this was short-lived.

In addition to inflation, other problems began to emerge during this period. Among these were rising unit wage costs (which were beginning to erode Korea's comparative international advantage in many labour-intensive industries), unbalanced regional and sectoral growth, and an over-extension of government investment and low interest loans in the heavy industries, which made the nation more vulnerable to external shocks.

These problems led economic planners and government leaders to emphasize efficiency more than simple rapid expansion in their next two five-year plans.

The Fourth and Fifth plans were designed to 'remedy the structural imbalances in the economy and build up the foundation for economic stability. Social development, technological innovation, and rationalization were the new additions to these plans.'


The major goals of this plan were efficiency-oriented:

- achievement of self-reliance in investment financing;
- equilibrium in the balance of payments; diversification of the industrial structure (promotion of skilled labour-intensive industries);
- promotion of social development (job creation, strengthening of education, health care, and vocational education programs);
- tax reform; rural development; pollution control; more housing; and technological innovation and improvement in efficiency.

The projected growth rate for this five-year period was 9.2 per cent. However, the actual growth rate was far below (5.8 per cent), representing the first time actuals fell below projections. Two oil price shocks, a world recession, continued high inflation at home, along with a disastrous crop failure in 1980, were the major causes of this underachievement.

The key mechanisms used by government to achieve its goals of stabilizing the money supply, prices, and the economy-at-large during this period were - the adoption of the monetary rule of fixing money-supply growth at a prescribed constant rate of 20 per cent per
annum; the creation of a value-added tax system; and the maintenance of realistic effective exchange rates. But it still continued its direct support for export-oriented firms (offering them export subsidies, tax benefits and foreign loans), along with indirect support for training and research and development. During this period, the government also imposed some other improvements aimed at increasing efficiency. It expanded the number of industrial estates for export firms, including industrial export estates and free export zones. It also created the general trading company (GTC) system to expand trade in world markets.

Nonetheless, the government’s efforts at stabilizing the economy through conservative fiscal and monetary policies were generally nullified by negative conditions which surfaced both inter-nationally and domestically. In 1980, the Korean economy faced a negative growth rate of 5.2 per cent for the first time in more than two decades. The wholesale price index jumped almost 39 per cent. The ratio of growth in the mining and manufacturing sector to economic growth declined to 30.8 per cent over the five year period from 38.7 per cent in the previous five-year time frame, although imports and exports generally maintained an average annual growth rate of 10 per cent. The balance of payments, rather than reaching equilibrium per the plan’s goal, reached a level of $3 billion in the red.


To combat the slow growth, rising foreign debt, and high inflation of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the basic objectives of this plan were ‘stability, efficiency, and balance.’ Price stabilization (to control inflation), stimulation of domestic savings, promotion of efficiency through competition (the market model), export growth, development of industries with a comparative advantage in both the domestic and world market, balanced regional development, and greater social development were all specific objectives. The plan was the first to emphasize ‘the principles of a market economy encouraging private initiative and creativity.’ It was the first to mention greater citizen involvement in the priority-setting process, paralleling the political democratization movement. It also represented a shift in emphasis from heavy and chemical industries to technology-intensive industries. The projected growth rate for this period was 7.5 per cent; the actual was 8.6 per cent.

The government imposed a series of tight monetary and fiscal measures to induce price stability following its 1981 relaxation of fiscal and monetary policies to counter the severe economic recession. A restrictive monetary policy limited the overall rate of expansion of the money supply. A tight fiscal policy reduced the overall government budget deficit as a ratio of GNP from 5.6 per cent in 1981 to 1.5 per cent in 1985. Other stabilization efforts included the issuance of suggested guidelines for wage increases and a steady reduction in rice subsidies to farmers.

The government’s efforts at liberalization of the market included the implementation of the Anti-Monopoly and Fair Trade Act of 1981. The Fair Trade Administration within the Economic Planning Board ministry was created. Its early efforts were directed at eliminating cartel arrangements, price-fixing, and other monopolistic practices. Other liberalization efforts were directed at the financial sector. Five commercial banks were denationalized. Entry barriers for foreign banks were lowered. Foreign firms were given greater access to the Korean securities market.

Import liberalization efforts also began. The proportion of freely importable items among all commodities rose from 74.7 per cent in 1982 to 87.7 per cent in 1985. Tariff rates were reduced from 38.7 per cent in 1978 to 21.3 per cent in 1985. More foreign companies invested in Korean industries following liberalization of foreign ownership restrictions.

What was most significant about these liberalization activities is that the government began shifting its style of economic management away from the direct intervention of the 1970s towards a style of less bureaucratic intervention and more reliance on indirect guidance and
market forces. Often the shifts did not occur fast enough in the opinion of many Korean and foreign businesses - with certain exceptions (e.g. Korean rice growers).

The overall health of the economy improved between 1982 and 1988. Real GNP growth during this time period averaged 10.5 per cent per annum. Inflation in both the wholesale and consumer sectors was below 5.0 per cent annually. For the first time, the trade account turned to a surplus (1986). The amount of current account surplus reached $14.2 billion in 1988. This economic growth created about 2.8 million new jobs and the unemployment rate dropped to 2.5 per cent. Most of the job creation came from the mining and manufacturing sector's expansion. In 1986, the nation recorded more savings than investment by 8.0 per cent of GNP. Korea's credit rating increased, permitting it to turn more to bank loans, bond issues, and other sources of capital. In 1985, long-term funding exceeded short-term loans for the first time.

Textiles continued to be the largest single export category, the same position it had held for years, followed by electronic products, machinery, automobiles, footwear, and iron and steel (in that order). The nation's major imports were crude oil and raw materials, transportation equipment, machinery, and electric and electronic products. Small and medium-sized businesses still were disadvantaged vis-a-vis the large conglomerates (the chaebol) in benefiting from government policies and subsidies. So too were the rural parts of the country in spite of the attention promised to be given to each in almost every five-year plan.

Recognizing this shortcoming, the Sixth and Seventh five-year plans gave a greater weight to the achievement of economic equity than previous plans, while still keeping the goals of efficiency and stability.


This plan, more democratically conceived, represented a basic shift in purpose. Whereas the first five plans had as their broad-stated objective 'developing an economic structure for self-sustained growth', the Sixth plan stated the desire to become 'an industrialized advanced state' (a major world industrial power) in the 21st c. by creating a more free-market, competition-based economy. It also called for an improvement in economic equity in the short-term. The three major objectives stated in the plan were:

- competition between government and major sectors of society to establish an economic and social system that will encourage all people to develop their potential fully;
- cooperation between Korean business leaders and workers to restructure industry and improve technological levels; and
- government promotion of balanced regional development (to redistribute national income on a fair and equitable basis, especially for the benefit of lower income groups) to establish a fair market order.

The projected growth rate for this plan was 7.3 per cent. However, in the first year of this plan, the actual growth rate so far exceeded projections that is was necessary to formulate a revised plan.

The revised Sixth plan called for greater emphasis on the qualitative improvement of the economy, private initiative in future economic development, and provision of equal economic opportunities. The plan stressed 'institutional reforms designed to enhance autonomy and equal opportunity' and gave priority 'to support for the underprivileged and lagging sectors of the economy' which had been largely ignored during the past period of rapid economic growth. The plan also stressed international cooperation, especially with socialist nations (the 'Nordpolitik' or the Northern policy). Ironically, while the plan called for greater equity, balance, and competition in the world market place, the techniques used to achieve them were contingent upon the public sector's involvement (tax reform, land
reform, rural development, liberalization of the financial market, liberalization of trade). The growth rate projected for the revised Sixth Plan was 8.2 per cent. The actual growth rate was 10.0 per cent.


While sustaining a heavy emphasis on equity (in both domestic and international markets), this plan departed from the Sixth by reducing expectations regarding growth rate; placing greater emphasis on economic stability and the development of human capital; stepping up the pace of liberalization of import policies and the financial and capital markets; giving greater priority to the development of new, innovative technologies; and expanding governmental spending for infrastructure and social welfare expenditures. It also sought to 'strengthen the role of the private sector by placing special emphasis on the principles of entrepreneurship, workmanship, and citizenship.' The projected growth rate for this period was 7.5 per cent, well below the 10 per cent actual GNP growth rate under the Sixth Plan. Preliminary 1992 figures showed the economy grew at only a 5-6 per cent rate for that year, down from 8.4 per cent in 1991.

The Seventh Plan's lowering of growth rate expectations was based upon the fear that higher growth rates might cause such problems as: a shortage of skilled workers in manufacturing; wage increases in excess of productivity improvements; inflation; a rise in consumption and imports; lower exports and savings growth rates; the re-emergence of the trade deficit; and a diversion of labour from manufacturing and services.

The lower projected growth rate also reflected the political realities of the day, namely growing citizen hostility toward inflation and income distribution patterns, as well as friction from foreign trading partners with regard to perceived inequities in access to Korean markets and capital. Opponents of the Seventh Plan generally faulted the EPB drafters for moving too fast toward a free market economy. Proponents defended the pace, saying that without it, Korea would not be able to sustain its growth of the past, let alone expand on it.

The election of Young-Sam Kim as President in 1992 produced a revised Seventh Year Plan (1993-1998), called the New Economic Five Year Plan. It calls for the government to concentrate on 'enhancing growth potential, enlarging international markets and improving living conditions of the people.' Its targets are: price stabilization at 3.0 per cent, a balance of payments surplus, and a GNP per capita of $15,000 by 1998.

To meet these targets, the government assumes a more aggressive stance in its financial reform and liberalization by implementing policies designed to free interest rates, open wider the foreign exchange and capital markets, revamp the banking industry, and institute a real-name financial transaction system. Korea's track record with regard to actual implementation of such liberalizations (which have been called for since the Fourth Plan) is a slow one as are its records of putting in place major land reforms, stimulating the growth and development of medium and small-sized firms, and reducing regional and sectoral imbalance. Administrative reform, too, has lagged and affected each of the above. By most accounts, it still takes too long and requires too much paperwork for both domestic and foreign firms to expand their role in the Korean economy. But there are some very positive notes to Korea's recent economic history as well.

Since 1962, Korea's economy has grown at one of the fastest paces in the world. Long one of the world's poorest agrarian societies, by the early 1990s, it had emerged as a NIC (newly industrialized country) and was a key member of several important economic blocs. By 1991, the agricultural sector made up only 8.1 per cent of the GNP production, down from 39.9 per cent in 1960. The industrial sector increased its share of the GNP from 18.6 per cent to 45.4 per cent. The services sector also increased slightly from 41.5 per cent (1960) to 46.5 per cent in 1991. Of the industrial sector components, manufacturing made
the biggest gains. Its share of GNP production increased from 12.1 per cent in 1960 to 27.5 per cent in 1991. Changes in the sectoral employment patterns paralleled the production sector changes. By the 1990s, the commodity trade volume (exports and imports) had exceeded $150 billion in contrast to $500 million in 1962. The domestic savings rate rose from 3.3 per cent in 1962 to 36.1 per cent in 1991. To put it all in perspective, when Korea joined the International Monetary Fund in 1955, the per capita GNP (in current dollars) was $65. By 1992, it was $6 685. It is targeted for $10 908 by 1996 and for $15 000 by 1998. Government initiatives (monetary and fiscal) have played a major role in these development efforts.

Foreign Trade

Foreign trade has always been a key element of the contemporary Korean economy. The pattern began when the government chose an export-oriented industrialization strategy as the fastest way to stimulate economic expansion in a resource-poor nation, with a small domestic market. Korea's trade strategy has been industry-oriented rather than resource or service-oriented. The contribution of exports to Korea's GNP growth has increased sharply and significantly since the 1950s.

Initially, imports greatly exceeded exports but that pattern reversed itself so that by 1986, the nation experienced its first positive balance of payments (current account surplus). While the pattern subsequently reversed itself again, the deficit is not nearly as large as in the past.

Structural changes

Over the years, the nation's foreign trade-based strategy has shifted the structure of industry from subsistence agriculture to modern manufacturing and export trade. The share of primary industries (agricultural, marine, and mineral products) in the overall industrial structure decreased from 34.8 per cent in 1966 to 23.5 per cent in 1976 to 10.2 per cent in 1989.

This structural change is reflected in the nature of the products exported. The top ten exports in 1962 were (in order) - silk, tungsten, fish and fish products, animal oil and fat, plywood, miscellaneous products, textile fabric, machinery, clothing, chemical products. By 1974 they were - clothing, electronics products, ships, textile fabrics, sweaters, plywood, footwear, steel plates, cotton goods, and synthetic resin products. By 1984 the order was: textiles and garments, ships, electronics products, steel products, footwear, synthetic resin products, metal products, petroleum products, electric products, and tyres. By 1991, the rank ordering was: clothing, thermonic valves, textile fabrics, ships, footwear, office machines, iron and steel plates, automobiles, telecommunications equipment, and television receivers. It is apparent from looking at these orderings that the export structure has shifted over time from the production of highly-labour intensive goods to more capital intensive, high-tech goods. Exports in 1991 totalled $71 870.1 million (US dollars).

Bibliography

2. Economic efficiency

Economic efficiency is defined as the allocation of a nation's resources in a manner that produces the maximum possible benefit (output) at the lowest possible cost. In Korea, the government's role in guiding the economy has been a key determinant of its efficiency. The efficiency curve has generally been in an upward direction, although there was a slight interruption in the early 1990s.

Per capita GNP (in current dollars) increased from $252 in 1970 to $6498 in 1991. The unemployment rate steadily declined (from 7.7% in 1964 to 2.4% in 1991). The nation's balance of payments (BOP) turned positive in 1986, a major achievement for a nation that in 1962 was very much a debtor nation. The nation's production index increased from 3.1 in 1964 (1985=100) to 202.6 in 1991 and featured double digit per cent increases per annum for most of the period.

Some weaknesses in the economy began to appear in the early 1990s. The BOP turned negative again in 1990 and the GNP growth rate slowed. There were also increases in the consumer and wholesale price indexes, a slower growth rate in the production index, and a decline in the stock price index.

For the individual, personal disposable income increased between 1970 and 1991 from $242 to $5866. The proportion of an urban household's spending going to purchase food dropped from 47.6% in 1971 to 31.4% in 1991; for farm households, from 47.4% to 22.8%. This drop was only slightly offset by an increase in the proportion needed for housing (from 5% in 1965 to 100.4% in 1991 for an urban household; from 3.8% to 8.2% for a rural household). The rate of increase in the consumer price index, which was in double digits throughout the 1970s, dropped to single digit figures in the 1980s. Although the rate headed upward again in 1990, it still remained below 10%. The ratio of farm household income to urban household income, positive through most of the 1980s, turned slightly negative for farm households in the early 1990s but was still in the 90th percentile - quite different from 1970 when it was a mere 75.6%. Tax burdens have changed very little over the past two decades. In 1975, the ratio of the tax burden to GNP was 15.3%; in 1991, 18.9%. Private savings rates increased from 15.6% in 1975 to 28.6% in 1991.

Government's Role in Promoting Efficiency.

The government has virtually controlled the development of the private sector, especially during the early days of rapid expansion. It was able to do this for several reasons. As a major stockholder in the nation's domestic banks, the government had the power to appoint bank managers. The Bank of Korea and the Ministry of Finance were able to dictate interest rates in the formal banking sector. The government also controlled the inflow of foreign capital that served as the primary source of corporate loans in the early days. Businesses either went along with the strings and guidelines attached to government loans and credit or they got none. Today, the government's role in promoting economic efficiency
is geared more toward enhancing competition in its marketplaces than restricting
competition to large Korean conglomerates as was the case in the early days. Since
passage of the Comprehensive Measures for Economic Stabilization in 1979, the five-year
economic plans have called for liberalization of financial institutions, the capital market,
and trade.

The Domestic Commercial Bank Industry.

The commercial banking industry in Korea is becoming more competitive as a consequence
of the faster pace of deregulation, beginning in 1989. At that time, three new nationwide
commercial banks, Donghwa Bank, Dongham Bank, and Daedong Bank were established
and the state-run Korea Exchange Bank was privatized. In addition, some 30 new financial
institutions, mostly leasing and life insurance companies, were formed. But the downward
adjustment of loan interest rates to stimulate small and medium-sized business development
and expansion have cut into their profit margins, making the industry considerably more
risky than in the past. Some experts project that it will be ten to fifteen years before
Korea's commercial banks are competitive with foreign banks, especially if the Korean
government continues to overregulate the industry. The major problems lie in the
segmentation of the short-term call money and the long-term capital markets and with the
inter-bank wholesale money market, the corporate bill market, and the repurchase
agreement market. Korea's commercial banks, like its businesses, are expanding into
foreign countries in an attempt to increase profits. As of 1991, Korea commercial banks
had 146 offices abroad.

The Foreign Commercial Bank Industry.

As of 1991, there were 53 foreign banks operating in Korea, excluding 14 Japanese banks.
Foreign banks have generally had a very difficult time acquiring the right to do business in
Korea. Government restrictions on the establishment of foreign-owned banks/branches
deter them as do foreign exchange swap ceilings and the high level of capital requirements.
There has been growing pressure on the Korean government by GATT (General Agreement
on Trade and Tariffs) nations and other international financial organizations to liberalize the
financial services market as soon as possible.

The Securities Market.

On 15 June 1991, the Ministry of Finance announced that foreign investors would be
permitted to invest directly in the Korean stock market starting 3 January 1992. Consistent
with its struggle to rapidly liberate all types of markets, the government limited the amount
of foreign investment in the Korean Stock Exchange (KSE) to 10% of its outstanding
shares. It also set a foreign ownership ceiling of 3% and reserved the right to limit the
amount of foreign investment in companies 'vital to the national economy' to 8%. Initially,
the number of firms restricted under the latter rule was 478, including the Pohang Iron and
Steel Co., the Korea Electric Power Corp., and railroad, airline, and finance companies.
As of 1991, the Korean Stock Exchange was the twelfth largest stock market in the world
but also one of the most tightly controlled.

The Domestic Securities Industry.

In recent years, the Korean government sought to stimulate growth in the domestic
securities industry in anticipation of opening the market to foreign investors. To increase
competition in the industry, the government boosted the brokerage commission rate from
0.4 to 0.6 %, converted eight short-term finance companies into securities firms, and
established the Korea Development Securities (a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Korea
Development Bank) to establish a strong position in international business through bonds
and underwriting activities. Liberalization of the market, specifically letting in foreign
investors, has made domestic securities firms more attentive to profits. They have generally shifted their investment patterns from short-term to mid and long-term investments.

The Foreign Securities Industry.

In March 1991, four foreign securities houses were permitted to open branches in Seoul (Merrill Lynch and Citicorp Scrimgeour Vickers Ltd of the United States, Baring Brothers of the United Kingdom, and Jardine Fleming of Hong Kong). The application criteria laid down by the Korean government were so stringent that only 17 firms were eligible to apply; of those, only nine did. The Ministry of Finance limited the breadth of activity of foreign securities firms to three securities activities - underwriting, dealing, and brokerage. The license to undertake all three activities cost a firm $US28 million.

Venture Capital.

One of the newest developments from a capital acquisition perspective has been the emergence of venture capital firms - however, the first venture capital corporation was actually formed in 1974 - (the Korea Technology Advancement Corporation.) Recent growth in the venture capital industry was prompted by passage of the Small and Medium Enterprise Start-up Promotion Act (SESPA) in 1986. The Act exempted venture capitalists from capital gains taxation. By 1990, the total amount of venture capital financing in Korea was $US850 million including a sizeable amount from the U.S. and Japan. By 1991, there were 56 domestic venture capital firms. As a whole, the industry puts 62% of its investments in initial start-up companies, 25% in recently-formed firms, and 8% into the expansion of existing firms.

Venture capital activities have been hampered by the government's restrictive regulations on initial public offerings of venture-capital-based companies and limits on the types of companies in which they may make equity investments (mining, manufacturing, software engineering and information research, machinery rental companies). There is also a dual system at work which pits venture firms under the authority of the Ministry of Finance against those under the authority of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Those under the control of MOF (four technology business financing corporations) generally assist existing companies through loans, leasing, and factoring. Those under the control of MTI (53 companies) support the start-up of small technology-intensive companies through 3 to 6 month short-term loans to their portfolio companies, often funded by venture partnership funds.

Foreign Capital Markets.

In the 1990s, many credit-starved Korean businesses began to turn to foreign markets for capital, primarily to raise funds for crucial technology development and facilities investment. A major stimulant to this external search for capital was higher interest rates at home than abroad - due to the government's slow pace of interest rate liberalization. However, another government policy permitted this external search, namely its relaxation of constraints on overseas financing. Popular overseas investment instruments used by Korean firms are convertible bonds, bonds with warrants, and depository receipts.

Trade liberalization.

Trade liberalization is a highly politically-charged issue in Korea today. On the one hand, the Korean government is being pressured to open its markets to comply with GATT Uruguay free trade requirements as a consequence of its status as one of the world's newly-industrialized economies. On the other, it is experiencing intense pressures from the Korean agricultural and service sectors to protect them against foreign goods and services until they have expanded and improved their efficiencies and technologies.
Some analysts see the Korean government's slow pace of liberalizing its markets as a major ex-planator of the economic inefficiencies that reappeared in the early 1990s.

Bibliography


3. Economic planning

A rigorous, highly-centralized process of formulating and implementing five-year economic development plans has been the driving force behind Korea's economic growth since the early 1960s when the first plan was passed. Responsibility for the process lies with Economic Planning Board (EPB) created in 1961 immediately after the military coup led by then President Park Chung-hee. Its creation represented Park's strong commitment to making economic development the highest priority for the new government and for those to follow.

The importance of the Board is evidenced by the fact that the EPB Minister concurrently serves as Deputy Prime Minister and is responsible for coordinating business among all the ministries related to the economy and finance. The Board is responsible for the development of the national economy, the formulation and execution of the government's budget, the overall coordination of plans for mobilization of resources, investment, technical development, and economic cooperation with foreign countries and international organizations. Advice is regularly sought from other countries and from international organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The EPB has a secure political mandate and superior capacities to collect and analyze economic data (macro and micro). However, EPB's role in promoting a free market economy in accordance with the goals of the most recent five-year plans has increasingly resulted in inter-jurisdictional conflicts and tensions between it and the Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industry, and Agriculture and Fisheries, to name a few.

Citizen Participation

While the EPB maintains the preeminent role in the development of Korea's five-year economic plans, the public's participation in the process has gradually increased, beginning with the Fifth plan. Representatives of academia, research institutes, industry, and other private organizations now serve on ministry-level sectoral planning committees. Opinions are also solicited from the populace through public hearings and regional policy consultation meetings. Plans are more widely-disseminated through the media. The opening of the planning process has paralleled the opening of the political system generally. The result has been a greater emphasis on economic equity and stability (and even protectionism) than economic expansion or efficiency - a result that can be easily observed by comparing the first four five-year plans with the last three (Fifth, Sixth, Seventh).
The initial decision of the economic planners and government officials to implement policies creating rapid growth in the short term have caused problems in the long-term that are extremely difficult to remedy both politically and economically. The initial decision to develop a predominantly export-based economy, and the heavy reliance upon large conglomerates (the chaebols) to do it, created a pattern of inequities from the beginning which have only hardened over time. Government economic development policies are generally perceived to have disproportionately advantaged large firms (especially the chaebols), the manufacturing sector, the Seoul metropolitan area, domestic firms, farmers, large land-owners, and management (vis-a-vis labour).

Goals of the Seven Five-Year Plans.

In broad terms, the plans of the 1960s to mid-1970s emphasized rapid economic growth. The plans of the mid-1970s to mid-1980s stressed efficiency through technological improvements and productivity gains. The plans for the latter half of the 1980s and the early 1990s heavily stressed economic equity (both domestically and internationally). Each of the plans established fairly specific quantitative economic goals. With the exception of the Fourth, the Korean economy exceeded the projected growth rates in each of these five-year time periods. (See Table 1.)

Government Tools for Meeting Plan Goals

Historically, the Korean government has played a major role in directing business expansion and development, primarily by controlling corporate access to credit, capital, and markets. It has used a variety of tools including direct subsidies (tax reductions and exemptions; loans), policies affecting crucial industries and sectors (most notably banking and manufacturing), and regulation. It has also used indirect subsidies, information, and exhortation ('jawboning'). These are all examples of somewhat positive incentive mechanisms.

The government has also used disincentive mechanisms to control the activities of uncooperative firms and ensure compliance with government goals and policies. The three most commonly used have been tax audits, suspension of bank credit or recall of loans, and disconnection of infrastructure services (electricity, water, roads, telephones). (See Song, 1990).

Bibliography


4. Econometric models

Econometric models are highly quantitative multivariate techniques used to explain, predict, or forecast various dimensions of the economy, such as GNP (macroeconomics) or the impacts of fiscal and monetary policy at the individual sector, household, geographical, or
Economic planning. (see Economic planning).

Macroeconomic models.

Macroeconomics is the study of large economic systems comprised of different sectors, such as that of an entire nation, rather than of specific elements of the larger economy (microeconomics). Macroeconomic models are used to forecast or predict South Korea's economic growth. Major indicators of Korean economic growth often included in such models are: GNP (Gross National Product); GNP per capita; GNP growth rate (%); inflation rate (%); interest rate (%); rate of private savings (%); trade balance; exports; foreign debt; rate of unemployment (%); and the foreign exchange rate (won/US$). GNP and GNP per capita are expressed in terms of current prices. The rate of inflation is based on GNP deflator. The rate of interest is the bank interest rate on time deposits for the period of one or more years. These variables are collected and/or disseminated quarterly and annually by the Economic Planning Board (Major Statistics of the Korean Economy) and The Bank of Korea (Economic Statistics Yearbook).

Macro-economic models focusing on the demand-side factors contributing to Korea's economic growth typically include variables such as inter-industry demand, final consumption, investment, export, and import. Those focusing on the supply side often include variables such as labor, capital, productivity, advances in knowledge, improvement in resource allocation, and economies of scale. (See Byung-Nak Song, The Rise of the Korean Economy, 1990).

In addition to forecasting, or explaining, the overall economic growth rate, macroeconomic models are often the basis for government decisions regarding the regulation of the money supply, interest rates, and so forth.

Microeconomic models.

Microeconomics is the study of particular aspects of an economy rather than the economy as a whole (macroeconomics). Microeconomic models have been used to assess the viability and effectiveness of various economic policies on creditors, savers, fixed-income earners, and pensioners. They have also been used to predict, or explain, the impact of various monetary and fiscal policies on urban v. rural areas, on the size of the gap between highest income earners and lowest income earners, and on the growth of one sector vis-a-vis another. Korea's economic planners have relied heavily on micro-economic models to guide the nation's economic development. Government incentives and disincentives to individual sectors and businesses (and to a lesser extent individuals), guided by microeconomic modeling by the Economic Planning Board, have been the basis for Korea's dynamic (as opposed to static) national industrial policy. Some analysts argue that microeconomic approaches emphasizing government loans directly to individual firms rather than macroeconomic approaches altering the money supply for all firms may be much more effective for guiding the economic growth of countries with developing economies. (See Song, 1990:135).

Recent developments and future prospects.

The use of econometric models by both the public and private sectors has intensified as the statistical techniques available to analysts have become more sophisticated. It is likely that their use will increase even more in the future with the globalization of the economy. The demands for models inclusive of the actions of other nations will continue to escalate for three reasons. First, Korea is being forced to move fast in liberalizing its markets (including its financial markets) in order to be recognized as a major developed economy.
Second, the projected emergence of strong regional economic blocs will necessitate the development of different economic models as this occurs. Third, the economic experiences of West Germany following reunification with East Germany have demonstrated to Korean politicos and economists on both sides of the 38th parallel the need to conduct thorough economic impact analyses before any reunification of North and South Korea takes place.

Bibliography


S A MacManus

Education

In a general sense, 'education' refers to the processes and methods needed for teaching and learning all of the many activities necessary for humans to conduct their lives. Education is manifested in many forms and can be seen in the processes of learning how to interact with others in a community, and in particular is generally exhibited in the transmission of knowledge from experienced persons to the inexperienced. Thus, the relationships between parents and children, teachers and students, seniors and juniors, and the mature and immature are all materialisations of the educational process. In examining the processes of education it becomes readily apparent that there are two fundamental functions involved: first is the innate ability that humans are born with to explore and manipulate their environment, and the second is the acquired abilities that come through the interaction of humans in a structured and designed manner with the additional aim of transmitting knowledge.

History of Education in Korea

Prehistoric Age

Even with the first humans in Korea educational activities were carried out, albeit in an unintentional manner. In the prehistoric age where primitive co-operative societies formed the basis for man's existence, educational activities were carried out as a natural extension of the process of life itself. People in primitive societies acquired the needed skills for living through interaction with those in their communities who possessed these skills. Thus, the older generation taught their juniors how to acquire food, make clothing and shelter, and how to protect the community from the dangers present in the area that they lived in. Much of the educational process at this stage of man's existence can be seen in the development of seasonal customs and the transmission of tales and myths. Moreover, the educational activities of this period are characterised by imitation of one's elders, in hopes of securing the same skills that permitted the elders to survive in the world.

Education developed during this primitive period as a way of surviving in a hostile environment and explaining the occurrences in a community. Hence the primitive people preserved this informal, life-experienced based education and it further developed as the primary religious practices of these people. Then, religion focused on practical goals, i.e., the securing of an abundant catch or harvest, and was not based in a profound ideology but
rather on survival. Religious life was directed at controlling the forces of the supernatural, and this information was codified and transmitted to subsequent generations in the forms of myths, ritual practices and beliefs. Those that were deemed best able to control the forces of nature led the ceremonial rituals that were a manifestation of the religious beliefs of these communities. The educational activities were conducted in order to transmit these rituals. However, these were not executed in a practical manner and many customs are believed to have died out within a generation or two.

**Ko Chosŏn**

With the beginning of an agrarian based state, changes were necessitated in this period. With more settled living conditions came the establishment of social ethics that were derived from common experiences transmitted to the following generations as customs, and these customs established the basic educational ideology. The *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) relates that in the foundation myth of Ko Chosŏn, the *Tan’gun shinhwa*, Hwanung descended from heaven with 3,000 followers and founded this kingdom. Hwanung had the ability to control the wind, rain and clouds, which were essential for agriculture, and further held dominion over disease, punishment, and managed the lives of the people. This reveals that Hwanung had the ability to distinguish good and evil, to teach the people, to govern the human world and to cure disease. These traits in the king divulge that the aim of education in this period was to teach the people in order to ensure their welfare.

In addition to the information concerning Ko Chosŏn contained in the *Samguk yusa*, there is also information on this period in Chinese documents. In particular, the legal code of Ko Chosŏn was recorded in *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty). This code, known as the Eight-Article Law (*P’alcho pŏp*), reveals the items that were stressed by the social code of Ko Chosŏn and thus were among the educational goals of this period. There are presently three of these laws preserved: ‘A person who kills another will be executed;’ ‘One who injures another will compensate him with grain;’ and ‘One who steals from others will become the servant of that house, or will pay them 50,000 nyang to be pardoned.’ These three articles reveal that Ko Chosŏn society respected human rights and property, and that the state guaranteed the well being of its people. The education of this period was not institutionalised, nor executed through an educational system, but instead was conducted by familial and clan systems. The chief emphasis of education was on transmitting social mores and customs, agricultural skills, family living methods and military training, all of which were aimed at success in the struggle to survive.

3.) The Three Kingdoms

The Three Kingdoms is characterised by a shift from the unintentional, familial based education of the previous periods to an organised, state sponsored educational system. Moreover, the introduction of Confucian and Buddhist belief systems also had a major impact on educational activities. To build the basis for the educational systems, students were sent to China for study as the rulers of these early states realised the necessity for education. Education now was a monopoly of the ruling class, and the content of education was directed towards their preservation and their culture. Thus, the goals of education were directed at the consolidation of the bureaucracy that was headed by a powerful sovereign, and to further protect the culture of the ruling class. Supplementary goals were to train military leaders and soldiers necessary for the maintenance and protection of the state.

**Koguryŏ**

Because of its proximity to China, Koguryŏ accepted many facets of Chinese civilisation from an early point in its history. From records concerning documents of Koguryŏ it is
clear that a writing system was used from the beginnings of this Kingdom. One such document is the 100-volume *Yugi* (Extant Records), a national history of Koguryŏ, compiled in the early years of the Kingdom. This work was later adapted into the five-volume *Shinjip* (New Compilation) by Yi Munjin during the reign of King Yong'yang (r. 590-618). Although neither of these two works are extant, the fact that they recorded the history of the Kingdom reveal that the writing system of this time was standardised to such an extent that it could be used for a major undertaking. From this we can ascertain that writing was taught in a systematised way from early Koguryŏ.

Various documents show that Koguryŏ established the T’aehak (National Confucian Academy) in 372 as a top-level school for the children of ruling class families. King Sosurim (r. 371-384) embraced Buddhism and this educational institution was a means to consolidate the national structures of Koguryŏ; Buddhism was to provide the nation with spiritual unity and the T’aehak would supply educated bureaucrats to staff the administrative apparatus of the Kingdom. This institution is thought to have been modelled on a similar Chinese institution, and it served as a conduit to the higher Chinese civilisation. The actual organisational structure of the T’aehak is little known, but it is thought to have offered instruction in subjects such as the Confucian classics, literature and military arts.

Aside from the national-level T’aehak, there were also private schools known as *kyŏngdang* in Koguryŏ. There are records of these schools in the Tang history books *Chiu Tangsou* (Old History of Tang) and *Xin Tangsou* (New History of Tang), which provide a glimpse of the educational practices (in these institutions) and of the Koguryŏ people. One such record notes, ‘it is their custom to love books; they erect a large structure and regardless of class all unmarried youths attend classes at this kyŏngdang where they read the classics and practice military arts.’ It is not known when the kyŏngdang were first established, but these institutions provided education in a manner quite similar to the hwarang (youth corps) of Shilla. Thus, aside from just reading, the unmarried youths in Koguryŏ were trained in the military skills, bravery and in the arts. These institutions of Koguryŏ can be viewed as the antecedent to the sŏdang (private school) of Koryŏ.

**Paekche**

Similar to Koguryŏ, Paekche also accepted the higher Chinese culture from an early date and incorporated this culture in its society. There are no extant records of the designations of any educational institutions in Paekche, but through Japanese historical sources it is possible to ascertain that the educational levels in Paekche were as high as those in Koguryŏ. The *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* contain records of Paekche scholars travelling to Japan where they introduced Chinese classics such as *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius) in 258. In addition, other scholars and specialists were invited to Japan periodically. A further indication of the educational activities in Paekche is the compilation of *Sŏgi* (Documentary Records) by Ko Hŭng in 375, which recorded the history of the Kingdom.

**Shilla**

Because of its geographical location, Shilla lagged behind Koguryŏ and Paekche in development of its culture. Shilla was further troubled by her more powerful neighbour to the north and Paekche’s encroachments from the west. However, Shilla strove to solidify its central administration, military capabilities and other social systems through the establishment of the hwarang order. The fundamental characteristic of the hwarang was in the formation of the character of the aristocratic youths that composed its ranks. These young men were taught concepts such as self-sacrifice and bravery that permitted them to develop into warriors, thereby fulfilling the needs of the Kingdom. While the hwarang was initially constituted of the sons of aristocratic families and a private institution, from the time of King Chinḥŭng (r. 540-576) it was organised and formalised according to the needs of the State. The objective of hwarang education was to use hwarangdo (the way of the
hwarang) to develop the skills that would allow the difficulties confronting the kingdom to be surmounted. The Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) relates that the hwarangdo allowed youths to develop their interpersonal skills through emotional education, to cultivate their aesthetic qualities through songs and artistic pursuits, and through excursions to mountains and rivers develop a sense of love and knowledge for their country. The daily lifestyle of the hwarang is revealed in the so-called, 'five secular injunctions' (sesok ogye) established by the monk Wŏn’gwang in the early seventh c. These injunctions were: 1) to serve the king with loyalty; 2) to serve one’s parents with filial piety; 3) To practice fidelity in friendship; 4) to never retreat in battle; and 5) to refrain from wanton killing. The qualities inherent in the hwarang cultivated the skills necessary for Shilla’s eventual victories over Koguryŏ and Paekche.

Other educational institutions in Shilla include Confucian-orientated institutions that began around the time of the Greater Shilla period. The Kukhak (National Academy) was established in 682 and was the highest educational institution in Shilla, falling under the jurisdiction of the Board of Rites (Yebu). This institution underwent a name-change during the reign of King Kyŏngdŏk (r. 742-765) to T'aehakkam, but the name subsequently reverted to Kukhak in the reign of King Hyeong (r. 765-780). There are extant records concerning the administrative organisation of the Kukhak, and the features of its curriculum and student composition. The school was headed by a vice-minister (kyŏng), several instructors and middle and low-ranking officials. Entrance into the Kukhak was limited to those members of the aristocracy who held the twelfth official rank (teasa) or below, including those without official rank. It is thought that most of the students at the Kukhak were, in practice, from the sixth head-rank (yuktup’um) since the official position awarded upon completion of studies was either nama (11th of the 17 official ranks) or taenama (10th of the 17 official ranks), and these positions were too low for members of the aristocracy to consider.

The curriculum of the Kukhak was mainly focused on the study of the Chinese classics and was divided into three courses of study. Each curriculum required the study of Lunyu (Analects of Confucius) and Xiaojing (Book of Filial Piety) since these works were considered as essential in conveying Confucian ethics and establishing proper moral training. The first course of study additionally required mastery of Lizhi (The Book of Rites) and Zhiyi (Book of Changes), the second course Zuozhuan (A Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals) and Shijing (Book of Songs), and the third course added Wenxuan (Anthology of Literature) and Shangshu (Book of Documents). The period of study was for nine years, although some students were given extensions beyond this. In addition to the study of the Chinese classics, there were also special courses in which mathematics, astronomy, medicine and law were also taught in order to provide a broad educational background for the students of the Kukhak.

Another educational innovation in Shilla was the development of toksŏ samp’ungwa (examination in the reading of texts in three gradations). This examination was based primarily on the texts that the curriculum at the Kukhak revolved around. However, there was special consideration for those demonstrating even broader knowledge of such texts as the Five Confucian Cannons (Shijing, Shangshu, Zhuzhi, Lizhi, and Chunqiu [Spring and Autumn Annals]) and the Three Histories (Hanshu [History of the Former Han], Hou Hanshu [History of the Latter Han] and Shizhi [Records of the Historian]). Those students that demonstrated thorough knowledge of these additional works were appointed to higher positions.

The educational institutions in Shilla revolved around the hwarang in the pre-unification period and the Kukhak after Shilla had subdued its rivals. The Kukhak system was adopted from the Tang Chinese system and closely followed its model. The Kukhak, however, failed to successfully amalgamate with Shilla society due in part to the resistance of the aristocracy. The highest-ranked shunned the institution and instead clung to their
hereditary rights, and as a result the importance of the Kukhak was greatly diminished by late Shilla. Another important feature in the development of education in late Shilla was the large number of students who travelled to Tang China for study. The number of students continued to increase and by the end of Shilla it was those students who had trained abroad who became the motive force in intellectual matters.

**Koryŏ**

For the most part, the educational system in Koryŏ can be divided into government and private schools. The central government schools consisted of the central Kukchagam (National University), capital academies (haktang) and county public schools (hyanggyo). The private schools of Koryŏ include the Twelve Assemblies (Shibi to) and the sŏdang (private village schools).

The highest national educational institution was the Kukchagam, established in 992. This central institution was structured somewhat akin to the structure of a modern university in that it had six colleges, namely University College (Kukchahak), High College (T’aehak), Four Portals College (Samunhak), Law College (Yurhak), Calligraphy College (Sŏhak), and Accounting College (Sanhak), all of which were created during the reign of King Injong (r. 1122-1146). Although there were six separate colleges, the curriculum offered was not necessarily distinct, as the University College, High College and Four Portals College all offered a predominantly Confucian-orientated education. Among the Chinese works that were covered here, the Five Confucian Canons and Four Books were central. Special texts that provided instruction in mathematics or accounting were also used at the colleges. The mode of study was to master one subject before moving on to the next, and students were evaluated on a yearly basis by their instructors.

The number of regular students was three hundred in University College, High College and Four Portals College, but at times this number increased to as many as six hundred students. The qualifications for entry into the various colleges of the Kukchagam were different. The University College admitted the sons of military or civilian officials of the third rank or higher, the High College the sons of fourth and fifth rank officials, and the Four Portals College the sons of sixth or seventh grade officials. The remaining three colleges admitted the sons of eighth and ninth grade officials in addition to the sons of all commoners, thus providing an opportunity for all free-born men in these technical fields.

The county public schools (hyanggyo) were governmental secondary educational institutions established in outlying areas and modelled after the Kukchagam. It is not known when the first of these schools was established, but with a royal edict by Injong in 1127 to further propagate the schools, it is clear that they were already abundant at that time. The county public schools served not only as educational institutions, but also as Confucian shrines to observe rituals to various Confucian sages. The top students at the hyanggyo were often sent to the Kukchagam for additional studies, and moreover, these local institutions contributed to the development of the provincial culture. After the reign of King Úijong (r. 1146-1170), however, the influence of these institutions waned.

The third type of government educational institution was the five academies (obu haktang) located in the five major wards of the Koryŏ capital. These institutions served much the same purpose as the hyanggyo did in the provinces, and provided a secondary education for their students. The chief difference between the hyanggyo and the haktang was that the former incorporated a Confucian shrine and sacrificial rituals into the institution while the latter was solely for educational purposes.

In the private educational sphere the Twelve Assemblies (Shibi to) were representative of the higher, non-government institutions. The Twelve Assemblies originated in 1053 when Ch’oe Ch’ung (984-1068) began providing an education to students in his house, deploring
the stagnation of the government schools. This school was known as the Nine-Hall Institute (Kujae) since when Ch’oe opened his school he had such a large number of students that he had to divide them into nine classes. After the death of Ch’oe, however, the school was named the Disciples of Master Munhon (Munhon’gong To) after his posthumous title. Due to the success of this first of the Twelve Assemblies, other scholars retired from their offices and opened their own schools, and eventually the Twelve Assemblies were formed.

The curriculum of the Twelve Assemblies was very similar to the Kukchagam, and centred on the Five Confucian Cannons, Four Books and the Three Histories. These schools became very popular among those students who wished to take the civil service examination, since the masters of the schools had all successfully sat for the higher examinations and held high government office, or even supervised the examinations in the past, thus ensuring the success of their pupils. Hence the educational influence of the Twelve Assemblies was major during the mid-Koryo, and these schools came to be supported in part by land grants from the central government. However, as the kings, Yejong and Injong, who were concerned with the decline of the state schools, were successful in their attempts to strengthen the Kukchagam, the influence of the Twelve Assemblies declined, and in 1391 they were closed.

The other private educational institution in Koryo was the sodang (private village schools), which are thought to be the vestiges of similar Koguryo institutions. There are few records concerning these schools and authentic records of their curriculum are not extant. However, there is a record in the Chinese source Gaoli tujing (Illustrated Account of Koryo) written by Xu Jing in the early part of the twelfth c.to the effect that there were many sodang scattered throughout Koryo and that the unmarried children of the common people gathered to learn the Chinese classics at these schools. It is clear, therefore, that the sodang fulfilled the role of local primary educational institutions during this period.

A noteworthy innovation of the Koryo period is the establishment of a government service examination system in 958. King Kwangjong (r. 949-979) at the urging of the Chinese scholar Shuang Ji adopted a civil service examination modelled after the Tang Chinese system. The aim of this system was to employ men of talent in the Koryo bureaucracy instead of merely those who had rendered service towards the founding of the kingdom. Hence, education in Koryo came to focus on successfully sitting for this examination.

Choson

For the most part, Choson adopted the school system in place at the end of Koryo. Accordingly, the educational institutions of Choson can largely be divided along lines of government and private educational institutions. The government schools consisted of the central Sŏnggyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy) and the Sahak (Four Schools) also in the capital, and in the provinces the hyanggyo (county public schools) provided secondary education in the outlying areas. The private schools consisted of the sŏwŏn (private academies) and sodang (private elementary schools) in areas outside the capital.

The educational ideology of Choson was strongly influenced and dominated by the neo-Confucian philosophy. This ideology would eventually come to dominate every aspect of the Choson government and the lives of those who staffed it. Although neo-Confucianism first entered Korea during Koryo, it was not until Choson that government policy and ensuing legislation made its place in society paramount and unquestionable. The educational institutions of Choson were crucial to the implementation of this ideology, and chief among these institutions was the Sŏnggyun’gwan.

The Sŏnggyun’gwan actually began in the Koryo institution, the Kukchagam. The Kukchagam was actually renamed as ‘Sŏnggyun’gwan’ during the reign of King Ch’ungsŏn (r. 1308-1313), but subsequently reverted to Kukchagam during the reign of
King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374). After King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398) transferred the capital of his new dynasty to Hanyang (modern Seoul), the Sŏnggyun’gwan was established in 1398 in the northeast part of the city (present day Chongno-gu, and the site of the present day Sŏnggyun’gwan University). Initially the organisation of this institution remained as it had been in the Koryŏ period, but with the promulgation of the *Kyŏngguk taejon* (National Code) in 1471 it underwent major alterations. The Sŏnggyun’gwan was headed by a Director (*chisa*), an Assistant Director (*tongjisa*) and a Headmaster (*taesasŏng*). In addition, there were two assistant masters (*sasŏng*), three second assistant masters (*saye*), four lecturers (*chikkang*), thirteen librarians (*chonjok*), and three each of reference consultants (*paksa*), first proctors (*hakchong*), second proctors (*hangnok*) and third proctors (*hagyu*). Thus, this highest educational institution of Chosŏn boasted a large staff headed by a senior second-grade official.

At the inception of Chosŏn the Sŏnggyun’gwan admitted one-hundred and fifty students, but after 1429 this number increased to two-hundred where it remained for the remainder of the dynasty. Qualifications for admission to this school were 1) being either a Literary Licentiate (*chinsa*) or Classics Licentiate (*saengwŏn*); 2) being well-versed in either the Five Cannons or Four Books as a student of one of the Sahak (Four Schools) and being at least fifteen years of age; 3) one who was familiar with the *Xiaoxue* (kor. *Sohak*; Small Learning) and the son of either a meritorious retainer or an official of at least the third rank; 4) one who had passed the Hansŏng Examination (a preliminary examination for the Classics Licentiate Examination), the Literary Licentiate Examination and the regional examinations; 5) a government official who desired to enter the school for additional study. Students who entered the Sŏnggyun’gwan were required to stay in the dormitories and they signed a register before each and every morning and evening meal. By doing so they earned one 'point'. When they had accumulated 300 points they became eligible to sit for the Kwanshi Examination, which was similar to the civil service examination (*munkwa*), but only for Sŏnggyun’gwan students.

The students were subject to many regulations that prohibited morally-questionable activities such as violation of the five Confucian virtues, slander of the government, enjoying wine and the company of women, or even reading Daoist or Buddhist scriptures. The content of education at the Sŏnggyun’gwan naturally centred on the Confucian classics such as the Five Cannons, Four Books and Three Histories. In addition, Korean works such as the *Kyŏngguk taejon* and the *Tongguk chongun* (Correct Rhymes of the Eastern Nation) were also incorporated in the curriculum. The content of the education at the Sŏnggyun’gwan changed on occasion to reflect the content of the civil service examinations, and students were also taught various forms of calligraphy and poetry. The students’ progress was measured by daily, ten-day and monthly examinations, and students who were successful in their studies were allowed to sit for the civil service examination, as well as receiving special consideration for appointments. There was no fixed term of study at the Sŏnggyun’gwan; the day a student successfully passed the civil service examination would be his graduation day.

The Sŏnggyun’gwan, being a government institution, was granted special agricultural land and slaves to meet its operating expenses. The students at the school were completely provided for by the institution during their studies, thus necessitating large land and slave holdings for the school. Accordingly, by the end of the fifteenth c. the Sŏnggyun’gwan held more than 2 400 kyŏl (approximately 550 acres) of fields and some 400 slaves to provide for expenses. However, after the devastation resultant from the 1592 Japanese Invasion the amount of land and slaves allocated to the Sŏnggyun’gwan was drastically reduced, and by the mid-seventeenth c. its holdings were down to 358 kyŏl (approximately 82 acres). However, the number of slaves that the school had rose dramatically during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and by the early eighteenth century there were some 7 000 slaves on the rolls of the Sŏnggyun’gwan. This number was also reduced in 1750 when the ownership of all slaves reverted to the Board of Taxation (Hojo), which then distributed.
the taxes collected from the slaves to the Sŏnggyun'gwan. As a result of the diminished financial resources of the school, the educational function of the Sŏnggyun'gwan progressed poorly at the end of the Chosŏn period. Moreover, the development of the słowŏn as task-orientated institutions also took students away from the Sŏnggyun’gwan as did the factional politics that plagued the late Chosŏn period.

The Sahak (Sabu haktang; Four Schools) were so named because there were four schools in the capital, in the southern, eastern, western and central areas, that provided a secondary level of education. The origins of these institutions is in the Obu Haktang (The Five Academies of the Five Wards) of the Koryŏ period. Initially there was also a school in the northern area of the Chosŏn capital but it did not have an independent building and was abolished in 1445. The Sahak offered a curriculum similar to the Sŏnggyun’gwan but on a smaller scale and lower level. The students who demonstrated excellence in scholarship at the Sahak were then permitted to enter the Sŏnggyun’gwan as special students. Thus, these institutions can be viewed as preparatory schools for the Sŏnggyun’gwan.

The qualifications for entering the Sahak were to be the son of either a yangban or commoner family and at least eight years of age. All expenses for the students was borne by the central government and the teachers for these institutions were provided by the Sŏnggyun’gwan. Each school had about 100 students and the curriculum was based upon the Five Cannons, Four Books and Xiaoxue (Small Learning). At the age of fifteen the students could sit for the Sungbo Examination (a special examination for students of the Sahak) and if they were successful they could enter the Sŏnggyun’gwan for further studies. The importance of the Sahak, however, declined markedly after the 1592 Japanese Invasion during which time they were destroyed. They were rebuilt, but never had significant impact after this time.

The regional government schools were the hyanggyo, or county public schools. These schools were established with a primary aim at both providing a Confucian indoctrination in the outlying areas and at solidifying the control of the central government in these same areas. The hyanggyo thus played a major role in the Chosŏn ideology of suppressing Buddhism while promoting Confucianism. The hyanggyo further served as the intellectual centres of small communities as Confucian rites were offered here throughout the year and these schools also served as gathering places for local intellectuals. Thus newly promulgated laws were introduced at the hyanggyo and important political matters were debated here also. Resultant from this was the loss of the pure educational function of the hyanggyo and the adaptation of these institutions to political centres for the local communities.

The educational process of the hyanggyo allowed youths of common families at least sixteen years of age to be admitted for training. The curriculum of the hyanggyo featured the study of basic Confucian texts such as the Xiaoxue, and the instructors for these institutions were dispatched by the central government. The number of students was closely regulated by the central government since while at the hyanggyo, they were exempted from military and corvee labour service. This exemption led to abuse, as many youths maintained their status as students at a hyanggyo to avoid compulsory service, even to the extent of recording it on the census register. According to the Kyŏngguk taejon the number of students allowed enrolled at the hyanggyo at any one time was a maximum of 15 330 nationwide. This figure allowed ninety students at provincial level schools, seventy in urban prefectures, fifty at the county level, and thirty at the prefecture level. These numbers were designed to prevent too large a number of students becoming unavailable for government service.

The hyanggyo were mostly supported by the central government with grants of lands and slaves. The size of the land granted to an institution varied according to its location, with those hyanggyo serving larger areas being granted tracts of land of seven kyŏl (about 16
371 acres) and those serving smaller areas receiving five kyŏl (11 acres). The number of slaves provided to an institution also fluctuated with hyanggyo serving the larger urban areas having between twenty and thirty slaves, while their smaller counterparts generally had ten or so slaves. The hyanggyo also received support from local government officials and Confucian scholars. There were also levies placed upon communities to help fund these institutions. The hyanggyo came to wield tremendous political and economic influence in the outlying areas as they represented the political centres of their communities. However, in 1894, with the abolition of the civil service examination these institutions had outlived their usefulness from an educational aspect, and thus only the Confucian ritual side remained.

The sowŏn, or private academies, best represent the private institutions of Chosŏn. The sowŏn began with the establishment of the Paegundong Sowŏn in the Kyŏngsang Province by the P'unggi County Magistrate, (kunsu) Chu Sebong, in 1543. Subsequent to this, sowŏn were established throughout the country at a rapid pace. Initially, the sowŏn in Korea were influenced by the private academies of China that operated without ties to the government and provided an education in a liberal atmosphere. However, the sowŏn of Chosŏn did not remain such simplistic institutions for long and gradually transformed to political and social organisations that had a major influence throughout Chosŏn society. Moreover, the sowŏn filled a role as a place for the performance of sacrificial rites to particular individuals and as a result, by the nineteenth century, the educational function became blurred with the Confucian ritual import of the sowŏn.

Since the sowŏn were private institutions, the regulations concerning them were not fixed. The number of regular students was generally around ten, but this increased towards the end of Chosŏn to thirty. Additionally, the requirements for entering the sowŏn for study were also subject to variation. We can, however, note the instance of the Paegundong Sowŏn that required students to be: 1) a literary licentiate (saengwŏn), or a classics licentiate (chinsa) or 2) to have passed the preliminary examination or either the classics licentiate or literary licentiate examination; 3) to have been recommended by a Confucianist and have demonstrated both excellence in scholarship and upright moral conduct. The curriculum of these private institutions differed little from that of the Sŏnggyun'gwan or the hyanggyo. However, since the sowŏn were private and not encumbered by government regulations, or a one-track curriculum solely aimed at helping its students pass the civil service examinations, there were also courses of study directed at the cultivation of a proper Confucian character.

The sowŏn initially served as organisations where the neo-Confucian literati of the late sixteenth c. could establish a foothold in the rural communities under the guise of providing education to those in rural communities. Thus the number of sowŏn began to rapidly increase and, particularly during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1726), a large number of these private institutions were opened. Part of the reason for the rapid expansion of sowŏn during this period was the desire of the neo-Confucian literati to propagate the Confucian ideology. However, the factional strife that was rampant then was another rationale for the establishment of a sowŏn, since the foundation of a faction was based upon a given school and its particular interpretation of the Confucian ideology. Thus, sowŏn represented the outlet for the embodiment of the formation and study of the ideology of a faction, and this fact resulted in an explosion in their numbers. For example during the reign of Sukchong alone, some 166 sowŏn were established.

The preponderance of sowŏn by the late seventeenth c. cannot only be attributed to factional strife as the function of these institutions as ancestral shrines also became magnified at this time. Within the yangban families there existed an increased awareness of 'family'. This was manifested in the desire to elevate consanguineous status by the establishment of a sowŏn, where a family could honour its ancestors. Thus, families wishing to enhance their status dedicated a sowŏn to an ancestor, be he worthy or not, and this function of the
sŏwŏn came to overshadow its instructional capacity.

The social abuses of the sŏwŏn peaked in the late eighteenth c. as the pursuit of scholarship in these institutions stagnated. The money for the establishment of sŏwŏn was illegally procured from local government officials, and the sŏwŏn provided a haven for the sons of yangban who wished to avoid compulsory service to the government. During the mid-nineteenth c., when Chosŏn was under the guidance of the Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (1820-1898; the father of King Kojong), all but forty-seven of the over 650 sŏwŏn were abolished by royal decree, thus ending the influence of these institutions in Korean education.

The other private educational institution of Chosŏn was the sŏdang, or village school. Sŏdang were designed as primary educational institutions with an instructional objective of preparing students to enter either a hyanggyo or one of the Sahak in the capital. Although these institutions were private, the Chosŏn government actively participated in the administration, regulation and encouragement of the sŏdang. There are four basic types of sŏdang that can be categorised by their management: 1) those schools that were self-managed by a single teacher as his livelihood; 2) schools that were opened by a clan for the primary benefit of their children; 3) a local concord that pooled its resources and then extended an invitation to a teacher; and 4) a town that combined its resources before inviting a teacher. While the basic curriculum of sŏdang focused on the instruction of Chinese characters and the basic Chinese Confucian texts, many sŏdang taught morality and a variety of other subjects.

The role of the sŏdang continued to be of importance even after the advent of the enlightenment period in the late nineteenth c., as many of these schools adopted a modern, Western-style curriculum. However, during the colonial period sŏdang became a target of the Japanese and as a result of increased regulation and interference, the function and number of these schools diminished.

Period of Modernisation

The period of modernisation runs from the 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa Island (Kanghwa-do choyak) to the advent of the colonial period in 1910. It is characterised by the realisation of many in Chosŏn of the need to bring modernisation to this heretofore isolated and China-focused nation, in order to be able to withstand the onslaught of foreign cultures. The first manifestation of the new educational objectives of Chosŏn was the establishment of the Interpreter Training School (Tongmunhak, or T' ongbyŏn hakkyo) under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1883. The first private school was the Wŏnsan Academy founded by Chŏng Hyŏnsŏk in Wŏnsan of Hamgyŏng Province. The government also opened the English Academy (Yugyŏng Kongwŏn) in 1886, not only to provide instruction in English, but also in the natural sciences, mathematics, geography and economics. The schools of this period can broadly be categorised as either government operated schools or privately-administered schools. Of these two categories, it was the private institutions that would have the greater impact on education in this turbulent period.

The single group with the most substantial influence on the development of education in this period was the Christian missionaries, who were in Korea in large numbers. Some of the notable schools founded by missionaries include the Paejae Academy in 1885, and the Ehwa Girls School and Kyŏngshin School in the following year. These institutions provided a Western-style education, in addition to providing instruction in Christian precepts. Paejae Academy was sponsored by the United States North Methodist Church and was founded by Henry G. Appenzeler. This school featured a curriculum that provided instruction in English, astronomy, geography, mathematics, and Bible study, in addition to extra-curricular activities such as debating, baseball and tennis. Ehwa Girls School is noteworthy in the fact that it was the first educational institution for women in Korean history, and thus performed a vital role in freeing Korean women from the fetters of the
Confucian ideology that had long dominated their lives. Ehwa was founded by M. F. Scranton of the United States North Presbyterian Church and served as a secondary educational institution. The Kyŏngshin School, founded by Horace H. Underwood, also of the United States North Presbyterian Church, began as a kindergarten and then developed into a secondary school.

Non-Christian interests also undertook the establishment of private schools. The aforementioned Wŏnsan Academy represents the first private school of this period and in 1895 Min Yonghwa (1861-1905) opened the Hŭnhwa Academy, which was closely followed by the Ulmi and Chunggyo schools that were founded in 1899. The curriculum of these private schools varied widely, but they did focus on providing a Western-style, modern education to their students.

The Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyŏngjang) brought about many changes to the official policies concerning Chosŏn education. One major change was the abolition of the Board of Rites (Yebu) that had formerly regulated educational policy. In its stead the Ministry of Education (Kyoyuk-pu) was established and charged with the administration of educational policies. The Reforms also brought about the discontinuance of the primary educational focus of the previous five-hundred years. The civil service examination system was eliminated and with this stroke the entire scope of education shifted from Chinese classics-centred education to that of practical, modern and Western-centred instruction. Education also slipped from the grasp of the ruling class during this period, as the primary impetus of educational reform was that of the commoner class. Educational institutions became sources of both new ideologies and the nationalist movement. The conservative elements in Chosŏn society resisted these changes since they not only threatened their power base, but also since they viewed these new educational modes as being improper. Nonetheless, private schools flourished during the period of modernisation and those of the lower class became the dynamic force in both the enlightenment and nationalistic movements.

The Chosŏn government was not entirely passive during this period as some leading forces in the government realised the need for education in the modernisation and preservation of Korea. Thus, in 1895, the government an edict for founding the Hansŏng Teachers' College, with the goal of training primary school teachers that would permit the implementation of a new school system. The establishment of this institution resulted in an upheaval in the various types of schools throughout Korea. All told, in the fifteen years before Korea fell under the complete colonial domination of Japan, some five thousand schools were established in Korea, with a particularly high percentage of these being located in the northern provinces of Korea and in Seoul.

The government did provide an abundance of legislation concerning education in the mid to late 1890s. In 1895, regulations for the operation and the programs of primary schools were promulgated, and these were followed by legislation in 1899 concerning the operation and management of junior high schools. These legislative measures established the age for students in primary and middle school, and the required periods of study before graduation. Specifically, primary-school students were to be between the ages of eight and fifteen and were required to undergo three years of general study, followed by two to three years of study at an upper level. For the junior high schools, students were obligated to complete a seven-year course of study that would enable them to graduate and enter into business. Other legislation enacted by the government concerned foreign language schools (1895), medical schools (1899), and commercial and industrial schools (1899). Such laws provided basic standards that all licensed schools were expected to follow, and thus contributed to fostering educational activities that would help the nation in its quest for modernisation.

As the Japanese encroachments upon Chosŏn's sovereignty increased, however, legislation sponsored by Japanese interests began to impinge upon the new educational institutions. Japan viewed the educational institutions of Chosŏn as a threat to her designs, and thus
during the Residency-General period, enacted a law that required private schools to operate only with government sanction and that only approved textbooks were to be used. As a result, of these restrictions many private schools were forced to close. Education in Korea, after the enactment of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (ulji poho choyak), can be characterised as stringent regulation by Japanese interests seeking to inhibit and destroy any possible nationalistic uprising fostered by the desire for any new education system.

Colonial Period

Korean education during the Japanese colonial period can be understood in terms of the educational policies implemented in Korea that reflected the colonial aims of the Japanese Empire. The desires of the Korean people were shelved and the focus of the schools turned to producing obedient and productive cogs in the Japanese colonial machine. After the annexation of Korea in 1910, education was redirected to training in manual skills and thus vocational education became the primary educational goal. The rationale for this direction was that the Japanese feared that the Koreans, if provided with a higher level of education, would become critical of the colonial regime and strive for independence. In addition to this reasoning, the Japanese had no desire or need to have Koreans at the higher educational levels with the underlying threat of becoming future leaders. The goal of the Japanese was quite simply to provide only the basic amount of education that would permit Koreans to perform the menial tasks required of them, and to provide this education at the lowest possible expense for Japan. A further and perhaps more sinister objective of Japanese colonial educational policy was the obliteration of the national spirit and culture of Korea. Japan sought to thoroughly assimilate Korea into the Japanese Empire by not only seizing her sovereignty, but also by destroying the essence of Korean culture.

At the time of the Japanese occupation of Korea the number of primary educational institutions established by the government stood at one-hundred and one. This had increased to two-thousand eight hundred and eighty-four by liberation in 1945. The number of government secondary schools increased from three to ninety-seven, and the number of vocational institutions rose from fifteen to fifty-eight. These sharp increases can be attributed to the Japanese desire to educate the people in a manner that would make them better colonial subjects. Thus the focus was on basic educational skills so designed for handling practical affairs and not for preparing students to pursue any higher education ideals. This is seen in the fact that only Keijo (Seoul) Imperial University and eleven colleges were established during the colonial period.

The curriculum and educational policies of the colonial schools also reflected Japanese aims for Korea. Curriculum and policy changes can largely be divided into three periods: 1) the initial occupation years of 1910-1919 which were characterised by the harsh implementation of Japanese will; 2) 1920-1938, the 'enlightened' administration era, and 3) 1938-1945 when the Japanese sought to destroy Korean culture and thoroughly assimilate Koreans into the Greater Japanese Empire.

The activities of the first period are seen in the changes in both curriculum and administrative regulations. Noteworthy is the change in status of the Korean language, which was now designated as the Chosón language, while the Japanese language was deemed the 'national' language. The classroom time spent in the study of these two languages was similarly impacted by this change, with the Japanese language taking precedent over Korean. Textbooks also underwent considerable change and naturally reflected the Japanese colonial outlook.

The Resident-General in Korea, Terauchi Masatake, issued sweeping reforms of the Korean educational system that included provisions for all textbooks used in Korean schools to be written in Japanese and which focused mainly on Japanese culture. Moreover, the Japanese language was to be the language of instruction. These policies
resulted in the closure of many private Korean schools since all teachers were required to be fluent in Japanese. In 1910, the first year of the colonial period, some 1,973 private schools closed, and by 1919 an additional 1,230 also closed their doors. At this point in 1919 only some 742 private Korean schools remained open and this, of course, resulted in diminished educational opportunity for Korean children. This can be seen in the fact that 91.5 per cent of Japanese children in Korea attended school, while the percentage for Korean children was a paltry 3.7 percent.

After the March First 1919 Independence Movement the Japanese colonial policy in Korea softened somewhat. The reasonably ‘enlightened’ educational policy of this period featured more opportunities for Korean students, especially in higher education. The 1922 promulgation of the Second Choson Educational Regulations increased the length of study in primary and secondary schools, established the Korean language as a required subject, and provided the foundation for the establishment of a national university. The concession of the Japanese to permit a national university in Korea was in response to the demands of the Choson Educational Association, which had lobbied strongly for this cause since mid-1920. The Japanese agreed to establish Keijo Imperial University, a measure that allowed them to continue to control higher education in Korea.

The educational policies of this second period are, on the surface, more enlightened and less confrontational than the policies of the first period. In truth, however, the Japanese guise of an ‘enlightened’ policy was little more than a cover for their continued encroachment into every facet of Korean society. Insofar as educational policy was concerned, the Japanese sought to strengthen Japanese-style education by harmonising it with the Korean system, and in a final analysis their goal of obliterating Korean culture did not waver.

The third period of Japanese educational policy for Korea is highlighted by the cultural assimilation policies of the period. In March 1938, the Japanese issued the Third Choson Educational Regulations, measures designed to forcibly assimilate Koreans. Under the banners of ‘Naisen Ittai’ (Japan and Korea are One Entity) and ‘Ninku Tanren’ (Perseverance and Discipline), the Japanese changed the names of Korean schools to the same as their Japanese counterparts and also changed the content of the educational curriculum to match the Japanese model. These changes included the complete prohibition of the use of the Korean language at schools; the memorisation of the Oath of Allegiance to the Japanese Emperor was made mandatory for all students, as was its recitation at various functions; Shinto Shrines were erected at all schools and worship at these was compulsory. The adoption of a Japanese name was required for all, with those who refused being barred from either attending or teaching at a school. But with the escalation of the Pacific War in the 1940s, educational activities in Korea went into abeyance in the light of Japan’s declining fortunes in this massive conflict.

In 1943, in a last-ditch effort to exploit the resources of Korea, Japan implemented the Fourth Choson Educational Regulations that fully changed the educational system of Korea to a wartime-footing. Thus, school education became an instrument of the war effort and the remaining private schools, which until then had been carefully treated by the Japanese, bore the brunt of these policies. Educational goals now stressed labour and military training, and many students were conscripted and sent to the various theatres of war. As a result of these policies, the education system in Korea collapsed and would not recover until after liberation in 1945.

Education in the Modern Period

United States Military Government in Korea, 1945-1948

The post-1945 liberation of Korea is characterised by the USA’s occupation of the
southern part of the peninsula and the USSR’s occupation of the north. From this, the educational policies in the south and north reflected the respective political ideologies. Thus, the United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) instituted educational policies that reflected a democratic education, and these would shape post-liberation education in South Korea. A single-track 6-3-3-4 (six years elementary, three years junior high, three years senior high, four years college) system was implemented along with teacher training, adult education and the use of the Korean language in the classroom. In addition, facility expansion was planned and the six years of elementary education was made compulsory. Moreover, elementary education was to be free of charge and the age for elementary students set to begin at six and end at eleven. Secondary educational institutions of this brief period included the junior and senior high schools, teacher’s colleges and vocational schools. Higher education was represented by the colleges with a fixed study period of four years for students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. A marked accomplishment of this period was the establishment of a teachers’ college and of Seoul National University, the first truly Korean national university.

The post-liberation growth in the number of schools and students can be seen in Table 1.

The educational system of South Korea made tremendous improvements during this three-year span not only in quantity, but also in instructional quality. The system was, however, still burdened with a lack of qualified instructors, overcrowding and outdated teaching methods. Thus, while this short period represents a drastic improvement over the colonial era, it still fell well short of educational ideals.

Table 1. School Facilities and Student Enrolment 1945-1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>Change (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Schools</td>
<td>2,884</td>
<td>3,443</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Students</td>
<td>136,024</td>
<td>242,115</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High Students</td>
<td>50,343</td>
<td>287,512</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Schools</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Students</td>
<td>83,514</td>
<td>110,055</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Ed. Institutions</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Ed. Students</td>
<td>7,819</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Republic of Korea, 1948-1960

The establishment of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in 1948 brought about further refinement of the educational system with the enactment of various legislative measures. These new laws were designed to create a system that contributed to completing the character of the individual who would then have the intellectual means to assist in the growth and development of an independent and democratic nation, and importantly be imbued with the desirable qualities of a citizen in a modern democratic society. Moreover, the educational philosophy reflected the realities of the Korean peninsula and thus education in the ROK promoted an anti-Communist ideology. The single-track educational system of the previous period was retained and was further supplemented with the addition of a two-year kindergarten period. Perhaps most importantly, the foundations for a national educational policy were enshrined in the Constitution of the ROK with the guarantee of equal opportunity in education for all citizens and a guiding ideology of devotion to the welfare of mankind.

Education in the new Republic advanced rapidly, but not without problems. Due to the constitutional right for a compulsory elementary education, enrolment in primary institutions skyrocketed, resulting in a lack of classroom space. However to meet this
increased demand, schools began conducting classes in shifts with those with the largest enrolments operating three to four shifts a day. The greatest setback to education in this period was the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. The war resulted in a massive displacement of people and resources and a tremendous disruption of educational activities. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education (MOE) created a textbook, *Chŏnshi tokpon* (Wartime Reader), that was designed to provide guidance to students during this tumultuous period. Here, the aim of education was to defeat communism and rebuild the nation after the cessation of hostilities. Educational policy was designed to provide the skills needed for living during the war, and to further train each student in one skill that would be of use in the rebuilding of the nation after the war.

Other significant developments in this period include the establishment of an autonomous educational system by mid-1953. Although this system had many early problems, it still represented an early stage of self-government and is thereby quite meaningful. Civil education also came to the fore in this period as a means to educate those individuals who were too old for regular classes. Vocational schools were also founded at both upper and lower levels, and in 1950 sixteen junior colleges were authorised throughout the nation and one national university for each province was approved as a means to combat the heavy concentration of colleges in the national capital. Despite the many hardships caused by the war and the extreme poverty then current in the ROK, education was viewed as the answer to many of the nation’s woes, and thus it grew exponentially during this period.

**Education after 1960**

After the 1960s there were several stages of major change in the composition of the Korean educational system and its goals before it reached its present state. The rapid expansion of the 1950s had resulted in a deterioration of educational quality to some extent and this shortcoming was further exacerbated by the superficial imitation of foreign educational systems. Thus, in the latter half of the 1960s, several projects were launched to revise the curricula of Korean schools to meet the needs of Korean students. One major change was the abolition of the entrance examination for junior high students, which permitted the proportion of elementary school students advancing to the next level to increase from 55 to 75 per cent. The impact of this was to permit a greater number of students to obtain a higher education level and in turn to provide more highly educated workers for the industrialisation process that Korea was then experiencing. Also, a standardised national entrance examination system for colleges and universities was established to provide equal opportunity so that all students might secure a higher education. The effect of this regulation was to guarantee that the best-qualified students were admitted to higher education institutions, thereby raising the overall quality of higher education. Finally, in 1968 the National Education Charter (Kungmin Kyoyuk Hŏnjang) was promulgated, and this substantiated the goals of national education as being to assist the people in the realisation of a concrete national identity in addition to developing respect for history and tradition. Moreover, the Charter emphasised the importance of balancing the needs of an individual with those of the State, and to foster a spirit that would provide for both the individual and the nation. Thus, the Korean educational system was prepared for the period of rapid economic growth and to help usher in a period of prosperity.

The 1970s were distinguished by a great push for economic advancement and a national philosophy of anti-Communism and nationalism. Hence, the educational focus was on the development of scientific and technical skills, while at the same time programs such as the New Village Movement (Saemaul Undong) advocated the progression of self-reliant communities. The educational policies of this period created a strong national identity among the Korean people and programs such as the New Village Movement were largely responsible for this increased awareness. At the same time, efforts to realise an improvement in higher education were undertaken. In particular, engineering and technical colleges were developed as these institutions held the key to better preparing Korea for
advancement in high-technology undertakings.

In the 1980s, Korea's educational policies were reorganised with the outlawing of private tutoring and revised college entrance regulations. Other changes executed by the MOE included strengthening of moral education, implementing pre-school education, qualitative improvement in college education, the extension of social education and the strengthening of international education, among other reforms. All of these changes and others besides helped prepare Korea for the 1990s and her place in an increasingly technology-driven society. International exchange programs ensured that Korean students were among the world's best educated and that Korea was able to compete in the global community. In addition compulsory education was extended through junior high school in the early 1980s and this guarantees all Koreans a basic educational level. The tremendous growth of education in Korea can be seen in Table (2):

Education in the Republic of Korea has made tremendous gains since liberation in 1945. Illiteracy, which was rampant at the time of liberation, has been virtually eliminated among Koreans, and this can be attributed to the immense desire of Koreans for education. Education has traditionally and continues to be of great importance to the Korean people and this is seen in the efforts that the Korean people have made in this aspect of their modern society. Primary education has become something all young Koreans have a right to, and access to secondary and higher education is also guaranteed to all Koreans. However, there are problems in the educational system of Korea such as the over-crowding of classrooms, excessive focus of junior and high school students on the college entrance examination and expenses incurred by parents in trying to provide their children with an education. These issues must be addressed in the future in order to prepare educational policies that will best suit Korea and her people in the upcoming years.

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Electronics Telecommunications Institute (ETRI)

Located in Taedŏk Science Town in Taegŏn, the ETRI (Han'guk Chŏnja T'ongshin Yŏn'guso) is one of Korea's leading research institutions. Its origins date from December 1976, when the Korea Institute of Electronics Technology (KIET) was established under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. A year later, the Korea Telecommunication Research Institute (KTRI) was established with responsibility to the Ministry of Communications. In March 1985, KIET and KTRI were combined to form the ETRI, under the control of the Ministry of Science and Technology. In March 1992, the Ministry of Communications assumed control of the ETRI.

The Institute engages in basic and advanced research in the electronics and telecommunication fields. As of 1994, it had a total operating budget of almost US$180 million with three-quarters of this sum, or thereabouts, utilised for R and D. The Institute's budget supports a direct payroll of around eighteen hundred staff of which three hundred
hold doctorate degrees and fifteen hundred or so have technical qualifications. If consultants and other contracted personnel are included, the total labour force of ETRI exceeds two thousand, three hundred.

ETRI’s research interests are multifarious, and include basic and advanced technologies in the fields of telecommunications; semi-conductors; computers; and information technology. These functions are primarily devoted to providing sophisticated telecommunications services to Korea in the twenty-first century, and in expanding the international market share of the country’s electronics and communications technologies.

**Emille Museum**

Located in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province’s Poŏn County, the Emille Museum (Emille Misulgwan) is a private museum founded and operated by Zo Za-yong (Cho Chayong), a renowned architect and art collector. Zo studied architecture at Tennessee’s Wesleyan College and then at Harvard University. When he returned to Korea in 1953, he began to gather ancient roof tiles and other artefacts related to Korea’s traditional architecture. In the years that followed, his collection widened to include folk art, especially shrine paintings of the mountain spirit (sanshin) and works in which tigers are the subject. In 1968, he founded a museum in Seoul’s Kangsŏ Ward and the exhibits there slowly grew to about eight-thousand. To house his collection, a museum branch was set up in Poŏn County in May 1982 and in the following year the entire collection was transferred there.

*Empire News* (see *Cheguk shinmun*)

**Employment**

Employment encompasses those activities in which humans undertake in order to secure the goods or products that they need to ensure their daily survival. It also generally entails a certain set of skills and requires the completion of some task or tasks in order to receive the means that permit one to gain his or her livelihood. Resultant from employment is work which serves to satisfy many diverse needs. For the individual employment satisfies his need to exercise his faculties and to participate in the collective work of society. It also provides him a claim on the social product, thereby enabling him to support himself and his family. From the standpoint of the community, work is necessary for both survival and civilisation.

Throughout most of history, man has had to gain his living from the land. In traditional societies, in which the productivity of agricultural labour is very low, virtually the entire population was required to be engaged in agricultural activities. As a civilisation advances and develops, it becomes able to feed its people more easily, thereby requiring a smaller proportion of its population to be engaged in agricultural activities. When agricultural production achieves a certain threshold, the demand for primary products, that being those of agrarian nature, drops and the demand for other goods such as clothing, shelter and manufactured products increases. The production of secondary products ultimately becomes organised in factories and expands dramatically. As demand grows the employment in the secondary sector increases. Another sector of employment, the tertiary sector, emerges as society continues to advance. This sector encompasses the service trades, teaching, administrative functions, scientific research, medicine, arts and other such areas. This sector features slight technical progress when compared to the first and second sectors, hence requiring large numbers of people. In countries with high standards of living, demand for the products of the tertiary sector is great and keeps increasing. Consequently, employment in this sector increases more rapidly than the other two sectors.

**History of Employment**
In traditional Korean society it is difficult to identify many practices as being employment in a modern sense of the word. However, working in agricultural activities in order to gain one's livelihood is very much like the modern concept of employment. The same can be said for livestock raising activities. However, as ancient societies advanced towards centrally-governed states, there appeared a class of those who supervised and of those who were supervised. A manifestation of this phenomenon is the existence of social and class relations in the ancient kingdoms of Korea. In Shilla the kolp 'um (bone rank) system reveals this relationship as does the aristocracy of Koryo and the upper and lower classes of Choson. In traditional society there was a very close relationship between the occupation that one was engaged in and his social class. Only members of certain classes performed certain occupations. In traditional society one's physical ability or technical knowledge did not determine his occupation inasmuch as his ancestry did. Accordingly, it was of no consequence of what talents or desires an individual had, but to which class he was born determined what he would do for his livelihood. As a result there were tremendous restrictions on one advancing in traditional society. Therefore, traditional Korean societies can be characterised by generations of the same family specialising in a particular occupation.

The economy of the Koryo period was founded in agriculture, and the vast majority of the people were involved in direct tillage of the land. However, there were those who received stipends for services performed for the government in other realms. The Stipend Land Law (chonshi kwa) provided land stipends for various reasons, one of which was the so-called 'soldier's land' (kunin chon) that was granted to those peasants who entered the Koryo military service. Moreover, local government officials also received compensation for their service to the government in the form of stipend lands known as oeyok chon. Both of these occupations were hereditary, and therefore so were the lands that provided support for the recipient families. If there was not a male heir to continue in the family tradition, the land would revert to the state and the family would then receive a small pension.

In Choson the social structure is dominated by the relationship between the ruling yangban class and the commoners. The preservation of power by the ruling class was achieved through restrictions on land ownership, outsiders gaining access to official posts, social mobility, and other such measures designed to prevent commoners from entering into the ranks of the governing class. However, the numbers of those in the yangban class were not sufficient to staff all positions within the government, so commoners accessed the lower administrative positions. Such positions as sori (petty clerks), kun'gyo (military cadre members) and togwan (local civilian officials) were filled by commoners. The individuals in these positions received stipends in various forms and therefore can be considered as employees in the modern sense of the word.

Being tied to a single, hereditary occupation marked the lives of most commoners during Choson. Employment was not a matter of choice, but was instead dictated by one's birth. Even worse than the plight of the commoners of this period was that of the slaves and other low-born peoples. Slavery was hereditary and in accord with the status of one's mother. The lowborn people were those engaged in the hereditary occupations such as butchers, travelling entertainers, tanners, female entertainers (kisaeng) and shamans. These individuals were ostracised from society and generally lived in separate hamlets.

The opening of ports in Korea in the aftermath of the 1876 Kanghwa Treaty saw the birth of a class of day-labourers. There had already been, of course, labourers in Choson who were required to work as service for the government such as those in the silver and copper mines, but in the modern sense of the word, it was not until this period when they came into existence in Korea. It was the areas around the newly opened ports of Inch'on and Pusan that day-labourers first appeared. It is thought that by 1911 there were over 22,000 of these wharf workers in Korea. Other evidence of a large employed class forming can be seen in the 1910 mobilisation of 100,000 workers for the construction of railroads. Prior to the Japanese seizure of Korea, a modern army was founded and the bureaucratic structure
was modernised with a system for hiring public officials. In addition to the employment opportunities created in these areas, there were jobs created in the tertiary sector, such as in hospitals and schools. The structure for the creation of employment as such was accelerated throughout the colonial period.

The colonial industrial policies of the Japanese were greatly accelerated in the 1930s and this caused a marked increase in the number of wage-workers in Korea. By 1943 it is thought that there were around 1,750,000 wage-workers in Korea. Of these, 390,000 were employed in factories, 280,000 worked in mines, 170,000 were employed in various transportation-related occupations, 380,000 were employed in construction jobs, and another 530,000 were employed in various other occupations. The vast number of jobs under the Japanese were those requiring labour and in 1942 nearly 67 per cent of all jobs were for various types of labour, 7.4 per cent mine work, 8.6 industrial in nature and 2.0 per cent for marine related occupations. Contrasted to this, only 4.3 per cent of the Korean employed at this time were in jobs that can be classified as either bureaucratic or liberal. An examination of the employment structure created for Koreans and Japanese in Korea at this time, shows that the Japanese were mostly involved in management or technically-advanced employment, while Koreans were largely employed in manual work. Therefore, by the time of liberation in 1945, Korea was presented with a largely unskilled labour force.

Modern Employment

After 1945 the government of South Korea implemented a capitalist economic system. From the 1960's, Korea entered the world market with an export-orientated economy that became one of the fastest growing in the world. The rapid expansion of employment in the second and third sectors of the economy resulted from industrialisation. The shift of employment from primary sectors such as farming, stockbreeding and fishing to other areas reveals the depth of this change. In 1955 the agrarian and marine sectors of the economy were the largest, but by 1975 numbers employed in these sectors had decreased to 48.8 per cent, and in 1983 to 28.5 per cent of the population.

Korean workers are now guaranteed the right to choose the occupation they wish to follow. The fifteenth Article of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea states: 'All citizens have the freedom to choose their occupation'. This is a right that did not exist in Korea until the establishment of the Republic of Korea. However, potential choices in employment are greatly influenced by factors such as age, sex and education. Manufacturing jobs with their relatively low wages remain the domain of those with lower educational levels, and among the manufacturing jobs those that are mostly staffed by women such as in the textile industry generally pay the lowest wages. However, in recent years the gap between the earning power of men and women in the manufacturing sector has somewhat narrowed.

As Korea recovered from the turmoil surrounding the liberation of the country, its subsequent partition and the disastrous Korean War, it entered a stage in the early 1960s that would witness rapid economic expansion and modernisation. The manufacturing sector grew at an annual average of 13.2 per cent from 1962 to 1979, and here employment also grew by leaps and bounds. In 1963 the sector accounted only for about 8.0 per cent of the workforce, but by 1980 this had grown to almost 22.0 per cent. Virtually every segment of the manufactured-goods industry expand during this period. Due to rapid economic growth and an improved industrial structure, the problem of unemployment in Korea has been virtually eliminated. However, with the decline in birth rate since the mid-1980s, the elevation of income levels and the trend among Koreans of avoiding the so-called '3D' (dirty, dangerous, difficult) jobs, the Korean economy has been experiencing a serious labour shortage, particularly in the manufacturing sector since the early 1990s.

The government has undertaken a series of measures to combat this growing problem,
recognizing that a stable supply of manpower is necessary to ensure planned economic activity. With the aim of matching supply and demand for manpower, various employment policies have been implemented and vocational training services established. Those who wish to find new jobs or change their careers have access to guidance services, such as vocational aptitude tests and counselling. Placement services are being promoted to improve job finding and security through country-wide employment security agencies. These agencies are linked with nation-wide computer data bases.

To train technically skilled workers and expand employment in preparation for the advent of an advanced industrial society, development programs focus on better utilisation of educated or trained manpower. Also emphasised are the improvement of working conditions and the environment, including the fostering of a constructive dialogue between labour and management, and the revitalisation of labour unions at the industrial level. To foster the heavy and chemical industries and to promote export industries which are the life-blood of the nation, efforts have been made to ensure the qualitative improvement and increased sophistication of skilled workers and their technical orientation.

The vocational training system in Korea can be divided into public and private sectors. Public training is mainly conducted by the Korea Manpower Agency (KOMA) under the guidance of the Ministry of Labor (nodongbu). Other governmental institutions also manage vocational training programs to meet various needs. KOMA training focuses on basic and new technology trades, and skilled labour. Private vocational training consists of in-plant training offered by companies and authorised training conducted by individual or non-profit organisations. The former is conducted to meet the specific needs of the enterprises and the latter is conducted with approval from the Ministry of Labor. However, many companies are reluctant to invest a large amount of money in worker re-training programs, since the focus of many small to medium sized corporations is on immediate profits. This has created something of a dilemma in Korean industry where the need for having workers that are both highly skilled and flexible is evident, but where there remains an unwillingness to invest the money needed to achieve this.

Korea's need for a highly-educated and highly-skilled workforce is becoming increasingly evident as the economy looks to a greater share of the international market. Labour-intensive jobs that are dependent upon a low wage workforce and an export market, such as textiles, have already started to move from Korea to China, Thailand and elsewhere. Therefore, the education of Korea's workforce is more important than ever before.

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Eul-yoo Publishing Company (Üryu Munhwasa) is a publishing company located in Susong-dong in Seoul's Chongno Ward. It was established in Seoul in December 1945 with Min Pyŏngdo as president, Yun Sŏkchung as editor-in-chief, Chŏng Chinsuk as general manager and Cho P’ungyŏn as managing editor. Its stated role was that of elevating popular awareness of traditional Korean culture while introducing the more advanced aspects of foreign cultures.
In 1946, the company established Chosŏn Adong Munhwa Hyŏphoe as an organisation committed to creating edifying works for children. In February of the same year, Yi Kakkyŏng's children's book *Kajŏng Kŭrsst Ch'ech'ŏp* (A Book of Model Penmanship for Home Learning) was published, followed in November by the weekly periodical *So Haksan* (primary school student magazine), which became a monthly in May of the following year. As one of the first publications of its kind in liberated Korea, *So Haksan* helped to kindle a new interest in the genre of children's literature.

As a further milestone in Korean publishing, the company published the first volume of *Chosŏnmal K'un Sajŏn* in 1947. The sixth and final volume of this comprehensive dictionary of the Korean language was completed in 1957. In 1948, the company created the academic monthly *Hakp'ung*, but its publication, as well as that of *So Haksan*, was soon halted by the Korean War. In October 1952, Chŏng Chinsuk became president, and the company's operations were transferred to Pusan.

In the years following the war, the company moved back to Seoul where it remains today. Its publications include important histories such as *Han'guk t'ongsa* by Han Woo-keun (in Korean) and *The History of Korea* (in English) by the same author. The company still publishes books for children.

**Ewha Womans University**

Ewha University (Ihwa Yŏja Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Taehyon-dong in Seoul. Its beginnings can be traced to May 1886, when the Methodist missionary, Mary F. Scranton taught a female student. In 1887, after receiving the name Ihwa (Plum Blossom) from Empress Myongsŏng (1851-1895), Scranton named her establishment Ihwa Haktang. Being the first educational institution for women in Korea, the school was accredited in 1908 as a school with departments for primary, junior high and high school students.

In 1910, Ihwa Haktang offered a four-year college curriculum and four years later, three students were the first to receive their diplomas from the school. In 1925, Ihwa Haktang was reorganised as Ihwa Yŏja Chŏnmun Hakkyo and a humanities and music department were established. In order to accommodate increased student enrolment, the school was relocated to its present site in 1935, when new buildings were constructed. In 1939, Kim Hwallow became its principal. Because of pressure exerted by the Japanese colonial government, in 1943 the school changed its name and role to Yŏja Ch'ŏngnyŏn Yŏnsŏngso, a one-year training institute for young women. In 1945, it became the technical school, Kyŏngsŏng Yŏja Chŏnmun Hakkyo.

After liberation, the school was reorganised as Ewha Womans College, but with the outbreak of the Korean War, the campus was abandoned and the faculty moved south to Pusan. While in Pusan, a graduate school was established and Ewha was reorganised into five colleges and nineteen departments. The college was returned to Seoul in August 1953. In the decades that followed, much expansion took place, and Ewha has developed into one of South Korea's foremost universities, with a good measure of international standing.

Today, Ewha Women's University consists of fourteen colleges: Art and Design; Business and Economics; Education; Engineering; Home Science and Management; Law; Liberal Arts; Medicine; Music; Natural Sciences; Nursing Science; Pharmacology; Physical Education; and Social Sciences. For postgraduate studies, there is the Graduate School as well as the Graduate Schools of Design; Education; Information Science; International Studies; Social Welfare; and Translation & Interpretation.

The university also supports the Ewha Women's University Museum. The museum's
collection dates from 1935, and initially consisted of objects donated by faculty members and students. The displays include pottery; roof-tiles; paintings; calligraphic works; bamboo articles; metalwork, set gemstones; personal ornaments; and household utensils used by women during Chosŏn.

Export-Import Bank of Korea

Export Promotion Council, The

Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC)

Federation of Korean Industries, The

Federation of Korean Trades Unions

Federation of Small Business

Film and film makers

Korean film is a broad subject to define, and its practitioners are a varied group to describe; but it is possible to outline the most prominent aspects of their interrelated history up to the present time.

Early History: the Japanese occupation, censorship, and two wars serve as backdrop, strongly influencing early Korean film development.

The first showing of a motion picture in Korea was in 1904; it was a news documentary of the feats of the Japanese Navy in the Russo-Japanese War. It was shown to Korean government leaders for obvious reasons and preceded by six years the outright takeover of Korea by Japan in 1910.

The first Korean-made film was shown to the public in 1919. 'Righteous Revenge', a 'kinedrama' designed to be combined with a stage performance, was directed by Kim Tossan. There is some discrepancy over the honour of first feature-length film in Korea. One source, *A Handbook of Korea* 1990 ed., says, 'Oath Under the Moon' (1923) was the first such film made there. Directed by Yun Paek-nam, the film was a prelude to the era of silent movies in Korea. However, in *The Koreans*, by the Korean Overseas Information Service, it states that 'Ch'unhyang chŏn' (1922) - the story of enduring romance between an upper-class young man and a common girl, already made famous in novel, *p'ansori* (Korean operatic) and *ch'angguk* (folk song) forms - was the first film of that type.

Regardless, in 1926 the classic 'Arirang', a protest against Japanese colonial oppression, was produced by the writer-actor-director giant Na Un-gyu (who also made a version of 'Ch'unhyang chŏn' that was Korea's first 'talkie', and who died in 1937 at age 35). Early silent films like 'Arirang', whether domestically produced or imported, used a *pyonsa*, who narrated all the spoken parts live during each showing of the film. Through this vehicle, anti-Japanese sentiments could be inserted for Korean audiences during the Japanese occupation.

'Arirang' was followed by a few more films of its type, and then the Japanese began a crackdown against Korean films in 1930. Only two or three films were made each year in the 1930s and cinema activities in Korea were in the hands of the Japanese until Korea's liberation at the end of World War II: more than 140 films were produced from 1919 to
1945, mostly of a propagandistic nature.

During World War II, virtually no Korean films were made in Korea. The Japanese masters saw to it, though, that propaganda films were made. War documentaries came more into play in Japan than in Korea, but they still were important to the Japanese war effort throughout that nation's empire, inclusive of Korea.

With liberation, the film industry was reborn in Korea. The first 'liberated' commercial success was the 1946 film 'Chayu manse!' ('Hurrah for Freedom!'). Then came the first Korean-made colour film, 'The Diary of a Woman', directed by Hong Sunggi, in 1949. The Korean War (1950-1953), however, dealt a severe blow to the fledgling film industry, and only a handful of war documentaries were made in North and South Korea at that time. In the South, American newsreels also provided coverage of what democracy consisted of, with Japanese voice-overs. Even North Korean prisoners of war developed a liking for these films, once the Japanese soundtracks were disconnected.

In 1955, the South Korean government exempted all domestic films from taxation, which led to a rapid increase in the number of film-makers and a golden age of cinema in Korea. A nicely-done 'Ch'unhyang' broke all box-office records in 1956 by attracting 90,000 viewers in a twenty-one day first run in Seoul. The number of films produced in the late 1950s reached about 100 annually, and about 200 a year in the 1960s. In 1969, The 'History of Korean Motion Pictures' was published to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the introduction of cinema to the country.

**Film Making**: Early signs were positive; things progressed, albeit gradually; finally, it was time to develop indigenous Korean film possibilities.

The film-making art in Korea has been a gradually progressive form in terms of quantity and quality. Early technology did not allow for colour or sound; black-and-white cues were paramount then. And the struggle to make first-rate films in the face of Japanese censorship was an ongoing one for the first 26 years of the industry's growth. Eventually, the artistic genius of Korean film-makers began to flourish. Early signs had been positive. The vision inherent in an 'Arirang' or the first 'Ch'unhyang chon' is apparent; and when 'A Diary of a Woman' emerged in 1949, Korean film-making began forming an indigenous wellspring of possibilities.

The main force for good in Korean film-making has been the way the technical limitations imposed upon Korean film-makers have been blended with the talent of all personnel involved, producing useful Korean films. A kind of nationalistic and cultural imperative has been obtained in the way those forces have come together, especially since the 1950s, when both Korean governments became active in the promotion of their nations' films. More recently, it is hoped the opening of the film-making market in South Korea since the late 1980s will have effect on the production of even more powerful films near the start of a new millennium.

**Directors**: there have been outstanding Korean film directors from the early days on. And in Korea today there continue to be many excellent directors.

There have been many leading directors in the Korean film industry over the years. These include Kim Tosan, the director of the very first Korean-made film, *Righteous Revenge*, 1919; Lee Myongu, dir., *Ch'unhyang chon*, ca. 1922; Yun Paengnam *Oath Under the Moon*, 1923; Na Un'gyu, *Arirang*, 1926; Hong Sunggi, *The Diary of a Woman*, 1949; Shin Sangok (Mr. Shin was the producer-director of more than 200 films, in both South and North Korea - mainly in the 1960s and 1970s in South Korea); U Wŏnjun and Yun Yonggyu, *The Tale of Ch'unhyang*, 1978; Yi Tuyong, *P'imak* (Death cottage), 1981 and *Mulleya Mulleya* (Spinning wheel), 1984; Pae Ch'angho, *Kipko p'urūn pam* (Deep Blue
Night), 1985; Im Changbom and Ko Hagim, Pomnal üi nunsogi, 1987; Pae Yonggyun (Why Did Bodhi-Dharna Go East ?), 1989; Chung Ji-Young (Chông Chiyông, (The White Badge), 1992; Pak Jong-Won (Pak Chongwôn), Our Twisted Hero), 1992; Kim Ui-Suk ('A Marriage Story', 1992); and Im Kwón'taek, Sôp'yônje, 1993 and Ssibâji (The Surrogate Mother). Film directing in Korea has been a man's profession until recently. Korean women have been making strides there, too, but more slowly than in the West. All-told, Korean directors have made real contributions to the film-making art.

Actors: Korea has produced many fine actors and actresses, especially since the 1970s.

Korean actors have been playing leading roles in the films of their nation since 1919, when the first film made by Koreans, 'Righteous Revenge', was released. Although little information is readily available about the casts of Korea's earliest films, it is safe to say that the Japanese masters of Korea during their most recent occupation of that peninsula kept a close watch so that the 'Koreanness' of these pictures was not overly emphasized. After liberation, government sponsorship was not, at first, profound enough for Koreans to produce many films; and the Korean War slowed what was a fledgling development of film acting styles (which depended on acting styles from the drama) early on.

By the late 1970s and 1980s, things had improved significantly. At the 24th Asian Film Festival, held in Sydney, Australia, in 1978, the South Korean Kim Ja-Ok won the best actress award for her role as a hostess in the feature-length 'Apartment of Miss O'. Then, in 1987, Kang Su-Yon won her first international best actress award at the Venice International Film Festival for her role in 'Ssibâji' ('The Surrogate Mother'). And in 1989, Ms. Kang captured her second award of that magnitude at the Moscow International Film Festival for her role in 'Aje, Aje, Para Aje' ('Come, Come to a Higher Place'). Meanwhile, in 1988, Shin He-Su, a newcomer, won the best actress award at the Montreal Film Festival in an Im Kwon-Taek film, 'Adada'. And by 1992, at the 37th Asia and Pacific Film Festival, held in Seoul, the South Korean Chang Mee-Hee had won the best actress award.

In 1993, a new film was released that proved to be an instant artistic and popular success. 'Sop'yônje' ('A Journey into the Korean Soul', which is an epic dramatization of the life of a family of p'ansori performers, p'ansori being a traditional Korean song-in-drama, operatic form) starred three actors whose reputations are assured as a result of their contact with this greatest of Im Kwon-Taek films. Those actors were: Kim Myung-Gon, as the step-father, Yubong; Oh Jung-Hae, as the faithful daughter, Songhwa; and Kim Kyu-Chul, as the rebellious son, Tongho. Writing for Korean Culture in its Spring 1994 issue, Y.K. Kim-Renaud notes: "These actors... do not just perform music well; they also act superbly, most probably because of their deep understanding and empathy for the life of the people they portray."

Producers: although the film producers of Korea have done yeoman's work, they have not been recognized as widely as Korea's directors and actors.

In North Korea, film producers do the work of the Communist Party. They have been strongly influenced by the Soviet and Chinese models. Meanwhile, in South Korea film producers have been influenced by the Western and Japanese models. South Korea's Kang Dae-Bong was named best producer in 1978 at the 24th Asian Film Festival for his work on 'Butterfly Girl', partly because he recognized the validity of the latter examples. Others have won regional wards since then, but aside from South Korea's Shin Sang Ok, whose talents were so pronounced that he apparently was kidnapped by the North Koreans in 1978, Korean film producers have not yet come into their own in the international marketplace. That is not because they have failed to work hard and well at their jobs, but rather it is because they have not received the publicity of other producers. That may change soon, as the two Koreas continue to move more into the international spotlight.
Companies: Korean film companies do not carry as much clout as Western film companies. Nevertheless, they are making headway.

North Korea does not have film companies in the Western sense. Films are produced by and for the state, and some good films emerge from that formula; but the best Korean films are being made in South Korea today.

In 1971, the South Korean government, in an effort to help the ailing movie industry of that nation, launched a program of financial assistance for film production and script writing, and established the Motion Picture Promotion Corporation to support cinema circles both in financing and in dealing with technological problems. Film companies *per se* have not been dominant in the industry there; rather, the South Korean government, more recently big business, and individual producers, directors, and their associates have been.

However, in the controversial 1994 Im Kwon-Taek film 'Tae-Baek-San-Maek' ('The Taebaek Mountain Range'), the role of all film production companies came into greater focus, as Tae Hung Production Company defended Im, its employee, from attacks relating to the socialist themes associated with the novel that inspired that company's film. The novel by the same name was attacked by political rightists for its portrayal of South Korea's early leaders as Japanese sympathizers. The rightists branded the novel a 'socialist revolutionary textbook' and were none too happy that a film was being made from it. Lee Taewon, the film's producer and president of Tae Hung, noted in the *Korea Newsreview* of 14 May 1994: 'It is my personal opinion that the novel is a source of controversy. However, making the film has nothing to do with that. It is entirely up to director Im how to make the film. If somebody wants to say something about it, then he should say it after seeing the film.'

Also in 1971, the South Korean government provided outstanding producers with permits to import foreign films, subject to an annual quota. And following-on from the opening of the South Korean film market to foreign film-makers in the late 1980s, in 1995 a new Motion Picture Act was passed, with the thrust of strengthening the domestic film industry. South Korean film-makers are today encouraged to compete directly with the best foreign film-makers, inclusive of those in Hollywood. And yet, Western films continue to attract - like 'Jurassic Park' (1.4 million people in 1993); 'Cliffhanger' (1.3 million), and 'The Bodyguard (1.1 million). Even the Russian-made 'Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears', continued to draw big audiences in South Korea fairly recently.

Locations: P'yŏngyang and Seoul are keys to Korean film-making, although that is changing.

P'yŏngyang is the heart of the North Korean film industry, as is Seoul in the South. The North Koreans produced a film in 1987 that gained international recognition because it dealt with social themes and not political ones *per se*. That film, 'Pomnal ŭi Nunsogi' ('The Snow Falling Away in Spring', or simply, 'Thaw'), is rare because it attacks the Japanese rather than the Americans. Needless to say, it was not made in Japan.

Seoul is the centre of the South Korean film industry, but that capital is now being tested by other locales. For many years in South Korea, localism was paramount in the nation's film production. Then in the 1980s, overseas location sequences were included more often in South Korean films. However, due to depressed box office receipts in early 1992 by colossal South Korean films containing sequences shot overseas, that nation's film-makers began rethinking their interest in working outside their country. Still, it seems likely that more South Korean films will be shot overseas by the start of the 21st century.

Genres: six categories, broadly defined, cover Korean film-making types.
Comedies: Korean comic dramas have long depended on earthy humour and horseplay; and so have the nation's satires. Korean comic films use these devices plus more subtle humour (in more serious films) to lighten up difficult situations. This was most readily apparent in several recent films. 'Out into the World' (1994), to take one example, is a black comedy written by the former drama critic Yo Kyun-dong. It is the story of two convicts who accidentally become fugitives while being moved to another prison. Joined in their escapades by a worn-out bar girl, the pair poke fun at the 'outside' world. In the end, the star power generated by Moon Sung-gun, Lee Kyung-Young, and Shim Hye-Jin (as the bar girl), asks the question: Who really should be in prison - the convicts or the law enforcers?

Documentary: Korean documentary films were originally made under Japanese control, and with pointed imperialistic aims in mind. Most of these films were made between 1938 and 1945, but their history is older than that. Then with liberation and the separation of the two Koreas, new situations called for new methods. In the North, documentaries became a means of teaching Communist techniques. The Soviet model was used there at first. In the South, documentaries have been more influenced by free market mechanisms. During the Korean War, U.S. film-makers influenced South Korean film-makers for the first time at close range. After the war, both North and South Korean film-makers took practical, indigenous roads to new art as well.

Hyondaeguk: This word derives from drama circles, and it means, roughly translated, 'the modern stage'. In terms of Korean films, it describes very generally those films that express their emotions and ideas through modern characters and scenes.

Literary Sources: Korean films have been directly influenced on many occasions by Korean novels, folktales, dramas, and even by songs, paintings and poems. The most important instance has been in the 'original' and remade versions of 'Ch'unhyang chon'. That folktale is perhaps Korea's favourite story. (As with all the major distinctions made in this section, there is some overlap between categories, but that only means that Korean films are as complex in most respects as American, European, or Japanese films.)

Melodrama: Korean films have often been called too melodramatic. That may be the case with some films; but it is also true that the melodramatic form *per se* is a thing of beauty when expressed right in Korea. Again, the story of 'Ch'unhyang chon' is melodramatic, but it also is lyrically poetic and central to the Korean way of life.

Saguk: This word also derives from drama circles, and it means, roughly translated, 'the historical stage'. With regard to Korean films, it refers in some cases to those films created from historical sources. The Japanese occupation (as in the film made from a novel by the same name, 'Taebaek sanmaek', translated as 'The Taebaek Mountain Range') or the Korean War come into play here; but more likely *saguk* are those films created from royal or more distant-in-time historical sources. These fall into four categories: court drama, melodrama (again, an overlap), action drama, and historical biography.

Film Studies: The specialty is growing in Korea and elsewhere.

Researchers, critics and historians of Korean films have developed decent specialities for themselves not only in the two Koreas, but in other East Asian countries, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Commonwealth nations, for example. Schools like the University of Southern California's film department and the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, which recently sponsored a Korean film festival (whose catalogue title was *Seoul Stirring: 5 Korean Directors*) are leading in this area, while film courses are being added in Korean universities, especially since the late 1980s. In conjunction with new studies of Korean art forms in those schools and in more private instructional areas, Korean
Film-makers should learn more about what it takes to make good films as time passes.

Film festivals at which Korean films have been featured have included the ‘Cinema and Society’ series of the American Museum of Natural History, held from 11-14 January 1990. In that series, two films from each of four countries (Hong Kong, Vietnam, India and South Korea) were shown. The films from South Korea focused on the issue of sexism in Korean society. They were: ‘The Tale of Ch’unhyang’ (Ch’unhyang chon’, 1978), and ‘Come, Come to a Higher Place’ (Aje, Aje Para Aje’ 1988).

Libraries and Archives: A selective endeavour, and yet essential.

The largest, single, independent collection of motion pictures in the two Koreas belongs to Kim Jong-Il, the president of North Korea. He is reputed to own more than 20,000 feature films in his library. Among his favourites are the American-made ‘Friday the 13th’ series, and ‘Godzilla’, a North Korean remake of the classic American film. Apparently, President Kim loves Hollywood pictures, especially violent ones. He also has a great fondness for North Korean documentaries. Large South Korean collections are owned by leading film producers and the Korean Motion Picture Promotion Corporation. With the growing interest among all types of people in both Koreas relative to film, it is essential that film libraries in those countries be continually expanded, albeit judiciously.

The Television Age: new challenges from other media, and the future.

Like radio and television, film has become an important element of the mass media in Korea. However, before television, film was becoming as influential as radio had been early on there. More recently, television has made vast inroads into film’s potential audiences. Today, North Koreans either watch government-controlled programming on the occasional very expensive television set or venture out to see movies in government-controlled distribution centres.

For their part, South Koreans more often stay at home to watch their favourite commercial-network-produced comedies and melodramas than to view similar ones at theatres. Theatre buildings - like the Seoul Cinema Studio Complex (for film and drama) - are themselves useful to both Koreas, but they are not the be-all and end-all of cultural existence.

What does the future hold for film in the two Koreas? It is anyone’s guess whether Korean film-making will bring the two Koreas closer together. But most likely it can be said that the two Koreas will find common ground in film at least as quickly as they will in the political arena - if not sooner.

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Financial Institutions

Introduction

The Korean financial system has evolved rapidly since the Korean War (1950-53), in the process, becoming diverse and complex. At its apex stands the central bank, the Bank of Korea, but the real power is held by the Minister of Finance and through him, the government.

The core of the financial system consists of the five old-line commercial banks. They have the power to open branches nationwide. Four of them predate Korea's liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. In the last decade, they have been joined by two joint-venture and three new purely Korean commercial banks. In addition, the Korea Exchange Bank, which formerly specialized in international financial transactions, has become a nationwide commercial bank. All have been given the same powers as the old-line commercial banks.

Other less important deposit-money banks include the 67 branches of foreign banks and ten provincial commercial banks, whose branching is currently limited to adjacent provinces.

Finally, among the deposit-money banks are the following several specialized institutions.

The second level of the system includes development banks, investment companies, savings institutions, and insurance companies. Table 1 shows the relative importance of each major category of institution as measured by its assets and by how rapidly they have grown between 1975 and 1990.

Table 1 Consolidated Assets of the Korean Financial System by Type of Financial Institution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Financial Institution</th>
<th>1975 %</th>
<th>1990 %</th>
<th>Annual Growth %</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY SYSTEM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bank of Korea</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Banks</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized Banks</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Primary</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY SYSTEM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Banks</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Investment Companies</td>
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<td>Savings Institutions</td>
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<tr>
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<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Secondary</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At a third level is the informal curb market in which savings are consolidated and re-lent on short maturities, with little or no security, usually at very high rates. High rates and high risk have gone together and while the government has tried to restrict the curb market, it has in fact flourished, particularly at those times when government regulation of the formal banking sector left desperate borrowers with no place else to go. There is little hard information on this sector, but one estimate was that it amounted at a minimum to more than $2 billion in 1990. This is equivalent to about one per cent of deposit money bank assets, so that it is no longer a significant source of funds in the economy as a whole, if it ever was.

In the past, some large firms took out low-rate policy loans and re-lent the funds in the curb market, thus defeating the purpose of government attempts to direct the flow of capital. Officialdom seems to have turned a blind eye to this practice when an important company was having financial difficulties in order to avoid seeing it go under. Of course, since little is known about the curb market as a whole, the importance of policy funds re-lent in it is even more difficult to determine.

The curb market was diminished by government efforts in the early 1970s during a financial crisis to regularize its loans and bring them within the formal sector where they are subject to government regulation. Several of the non-deposit banking institutions were created at that time to pay somewhat higher deposit rates in order to make the curb market less attractive. The curb market has come under increasing pressure in recent years during which time the government-imposed interest rate structure has been kept very high. The planned move to deregulation of all rates by 1997 will likely see the demise of the curb market.

Evaluation

The Korean banking system has been the subject of much criticism and is currently in the middle of a major reform. It has been described as repressed because of government intervention in what elsewhere would be considered private sector decisions, made in the context of market forces. In the past, many Koreans also considered it to be corrupt in the sense that they believed government allocated credit to businesses that made substantial political contributions. The new Kim Young-sam administration has implemented the real-name law (it has been on the books since 1981 but never enforced), which requires holders of financial assets to record their holdings in their actual names, in order to end one form of corruption in the system. It has also required politicians and civil servants to declare their assets.

Criticism begins with the absence of independence at the central bank. Although the governor is appointed to a four-year term, he really serves at the pleasure of the President: as recently as 1992, a particularly independent governor was forced to resign less than two years into his term because he wanted to maintain tight monetary policy. Moreover, the Monetary Board, which is charged with making monetary policy, is appointed by the President or by his ministers and is chaired by the Minister of Finance. The Finance Minister can override Board decisions, initially by insisting that they be reconsidered and then if they are still rejected, referring the final decision to Korea's president.

The banking system has been the main instrument for financing Korea's investment and growth. It both consolidates savings and, following government guidance, directs them toward designated activities. Both the savings rate and the investment rate have been highly conducive to rapid growth. In addition, government choices of priorities for investment have been generally sound, so that the return on investment has been high.

However, several consequences of government intervention have been adverse. One has
been the weakness of the five core commercial banks. The government used them to direct credit to its priority industries. Some of these industries (for example, shipping, shipbuilding, and overseas construction) were initially successful, but ultimately experienced financial difficulty. By 1989, despite attempts to improve their position, these banks found 13 per cent of their loan portfolios to be non-performing (see Table 2) and 16.5 per cent to be troubled. Rather than write off the losses, the government chose to subsidize the losing banks and to continue to control their managements.

Table 2 Credit Soundness of the Big Five Old-Line Nationwide Commercial Banks (at the end of 1989, in 100 million won, %)

Also contributing to the financial weakness of the banks has been government ceilings on interest rates. The banks' margins between lending and deposit rates have usually been adequate but at times were squeezed as the government attempted to keep lending rates low in the face of rising market pressures on deposit rates.

Even so, a 1993 World Bank study of the Korean financial market concluded that the repression of interest rates placed them only moderately below free market rates and that they were kept positive in real terms in most years. It gave the performance of the financial system high marks.

A second consequence of government intervention is the failure of the core banks to develop the capacity to determine the creditworthiness of borrowers independently. Instead, bankers simply checked on whether the central bank and the Ministry of Finance would approve rediscounting a loan to a particular borrower. Although the government sold off its controlling holdings of bank stock and gave up its formal power to name bank officers, it continues to nominate senior bank managers who are consistently elected by the stockholders. If these banks are ever to have an independent capacity to judge credit risk, they will have to be turned loose from the remaining elements of government control.

A third consequence is that the banks cannot be thought of separate from the government's industrial policy. They are the instrument by which it is carried out. Freeing the banks from government intervention means finding other instruments to implement industrial policy or giving up having an industrial policy altogether. The new presidency of Kim Young-sam declared it would cease making industrial policy, but pressure to raise the growth rate may induce it to abandon its vow. In any case, the financial system remains mired in rolling over past policy loans, making it difficult for the government to eliminate its direct controls. It recently announced its intention to reduce directed credit and phase out policy loans made through the commercial banks by transferring them to the specialized banks or the government budget. However, it is not clear how rapidly this will happen.

The government's industrial policy selected the winning industries, and companies willing to embrace the government selections were the ones that got capital and grew. (It also required the banks to direct a certain amount of their new lending to small and mid-sized business.) The government's influence on business decisions was amplified by requiring government approval to enter certain activities and to obtain foreign exchange, foreign capital, foreign technology, and approvals to import. Korea might still identify its best idea of the likely industrial winners but not use finance or other controls to promote its choices. Such an 'indicative industrial policy' may yet evolve and would avoid weakening the banking system.

A fourth consequence of government intervention has been the emergence of the large company groups that dominate Korean business. Because so much of their financing came and still comes from the banks rather than from the sale of equity or debt to the public, founding families have been able to maintain a high degree control. This is widely considered to be responsible for inequities in income distribution, although comparative
measures show that Korea's income distribution is among the best in developing countries.

A fifth consequence has been the development of a widespread belief that the government and business are in a corrupt embrace in which the government approves loans to those who will make campaign contributions and pay bribes. Paradoxically, the enforcement of the real-name law and the compulsory revelation of officials' assets seem to confirm this belief even as these two measures make it more difficult for such practices to continue.

A sixth result of financial repression has been difficulty in controlling the money supply at times when inflation began to accelerate. Prices have risen fairly fast in Korea over the years (about 8 per cent) which seems not to have damaged growth. However, at times, they have risen far faster and monetary policy failed to achieve its targets because it could not restrict bank lending for policy loans.

A seventh and last consequence has been that companies with no access to policy credits were often short of capital and generally had to resort to the curb market for funds. They paid higher rates and were often unable to get as much credit as they wanted or for as long as they wanted. This is widely considered to have been particularly damaging to the economy in the 1970s when such labour-intensive industries as textiles had to find capital outside the banking system. Nevertheless, the World Bank considers that Korea has been remarkably successful at allocating credit to highly productive activities and that its industrial policy has not altered the composition of industrial output from what would be expected without industrial policy measures.

In recent years, foreign-invested firms seem to have been the most adversely affected under this regime to allocate credit as they were reluctant (or in some cases, not allowed because of the government's tight monetary policy) to bring in additional funds from abroad or to resort to the curb market. Some foreign companies have reportedly disinvested because of their difficulty in raising sufficient loan funds at attractive rates, when all available bank funds had been allocated to priority activities. Limits on foreign-invested firms access to credit have become a trade issue with such governments as the United States, which is pressing the Korean government to liberalize its financial system. The government has announced several liberalization plans, the latest of which is to run to 1997, the end of Kim Young Sam term as president. It calls for the substantial deregulation of foreign exchange and capital flows. One measure, effective 1 January 1994, allows foreign firms to borrow abroad an amount up to half their capital investment in Korea.

In some measure, liberalization of capital flows into and out of Korea is inevitable. As other capital markets around the world have removed controls, it has become easier to move funds in defiance of Korean government regulations. That this has happened is attested to by the rise in the errors and omissions entry in the balance of payments.

For many years, the stock market played a relatively small role in Korea's economic development. In recent years, however, it has been encouraged to grow and equity now constitutes about a third of companies' capital. The stock market will undoubtedly be a more important source of finance in the future.

The market rose slowly for many years and then took off between 1986 and 1989 when company earnings grew very rapidly. Between 1989 and mid-1990, however, the market fluctuated but was generally flat. The government has wanted to see it appreciate, and particularly to raise price/earnings ratios, in order to make raising equity funds more attractive to companies. As a result, it has limited the number of new issues that it has approved. Despite the limit on the issuance of new shares, however, company earnings have not grown as fast as in the past, so that price/earnings ratios have remained restrained. After 1989, the government also pushed the banks into lending large amounts to securities firms to buy stock and thus boost the market. It failed to do so but left the banks holding
Foreign investment coming in response to the greater opening of the market at the beginning of 1992 resulted in a marked rise in the Seoul Exchange index, but this was also attributed to a more positive assessment of the profitability of Korean companies as well as less attractive returns in other nations' markets. Net foreign investment in the Seoul market totalled $1.25 billion in 1992 and $6.41 billion in 1993. The two-year total is the equivalent of about 7 per cent of the values of stock transactions in 1992.

The 'repressed' character of Korea's financial system which kept returns to savers below market clearing rates has led many to channel their savings into activities which were disapproved by the government, including speculation in real estate and other assets. The system allowed this through the ability of investor-speculators to own property under false names. Since 1982, the government has made these false names illegal, but only taxed them in such a way that they remained attractive. In August 1993, however, the newly-elected president, Kim Young-sam, gave owners of such assets a few months to declare their holdings in their real names or be prosecuted. Some expected this to create turmoil in financial markets and produce capital flight, but these fears seem to have proved wrong. The only reported effect has been a shortage of money in the curb market.

**Banking Institutions**

**Commercial Banks**

The core nationwide commercial banks are:

- Bank of Seoul
- Chohung Bank
- Commercial Bank of Korea
- Hanil Bank
- Korea First Bank
- Koram Bank
- Shinhan Bank

The two foreign-invested nationwide commercial banks are the

- Korea Exchange Bank
- Dongham Bank
- Donghwa Bank
- Daedong Bank

Recent additions to the nation-wide category are:

The provincial commercial banks were originally established to provide banking services in each province. From the beginning they were privately owned and escaped most government interference. They were allowed to open as many branches as they wished in their home province and one in Seoul. Since 1990, they have been permitted to expand to adjacent provinces. They remain, however, relatively less important outside their home provinces.

Table 3 shows the relative importance of loans by each type of Korean deposit-money bank.

**Table 3 Loans by Type of Deposit Money Bank (end of 1990)**

| % of Total |
Nationwide Banks 47
Provincial Banks 10
Foreign Banks 7
Commercial Banks Total 64
Specialized Banks 36
Total 100

Specialized Banks

The specialized banks were set up to provide lending services to low income clients, mostly for specific groups as indicated by their names. They also provide deposit and general banking services. They include:

The Korea Housing Bank
The National Agricultural Cooperative Federation
The National Federation of Fisheries Cooperatives
The National Livestock Cooperatives Federation

In addition, the Industrial Bank of Korea is designed to help small and mid-sized business and The Citizens National Bank, households and small business.

The Bank of Korea

Korea’s central bank has the powers one would expect, including currency issue, bank supervision, rediscounting, open market operations, and reserve requirements. In addition, it still sets some lending and all deposit rates. It also runs the foreign exchange system, including holding Korea’s foreign exchange reserves.

Non-banking Financial Institutions

Development Institutions

Their names indicate the type of activity they carry on. They include:
The Korea Development Bank
The Export-Import Bank of Korea
The Korea Long Term Credit Bank

Savings Institutions

Savings institutions address the needs of small savers and include:
Trust business now carried out by most banks
Mutual savings and finance companies
Credit unions and their close relatives, mutual credit facilities, and
New Community Finance Associations (part of the New Community or Saemaul Movement)
The Postal Savings System

Investment Companies

These include:
Investment and Finance Companies which were originally set up to draw funds from the curb market. They deal in commercial paper, underwrite and sell securities, and act as brokers.

Merchant Banks which were set up mainly to attract foreign capital but also sell debentures in Korea, all six of which are currently joint ventures with foreign financial institutions.
Insurance Companies

Insurance companies must issue either life or casualty/property insurance. Their rates are set by the Minister of Finance, but such regulation is now scheduled to be phased out by 1998. In the past, most were owned by the large company groups (chaebol) which were able to use their large policy reserves to invest in other group companies. The government has attempted to eliminate this practice in recent years, but the restriction can be circumvented if two groups privately agree to lend to each other.

Property and casualty reinsurance is entirely handled by a government established company, the Korean Reinsurance Company. Supervision and 'guidance' is the responsibility of the government established Insurance Supervisory Board. The post office also writes life insurance.

Foreign insurance companies were kept out of Korea until the mid-80s, when unfair trade practice complaints from American companies led to a few being approved. They have had considerable difficulty competing in Korea and one has withdrawn from the market.

The National Investment Fund

The National Investment Fund was started to mobilize investment funds for the heavy and chemical industry program of the government. It gets funds from required deposits by the banks and insurance companies and by public entities as well as the government itself. The fund is administered by the Bank of Korea and makes loans through the regular banking institutions. It has decreased in size in recent years, as the government has tried to extricate itself from making policy loans.

Securities market

The Seoul Stock Exchange has operated since 1956. It started small but has grown to be of increasing importance. To get listed and sell shares on the exchange, companies have to meet requirements as to years since incorporation, amount of paid-in capital, number of issued shares, and proportion of issued shares on public offer. In addition, a company’s shares are initially listed in a second tier category and can advance to the first tier if a higher per cent of total shares is publicly held, dividends have been paid in two of the last three years, and the firm has been listed for 6 months. There is also an over-the-counter market where the requirements are still less stringent.

Foreign participation in the market was prohibited for many years, but has been gradually expanded since 1984. Initially, foreign mutual funds were allowed access to the market in a fixed amount. Subsequently, a few Korean companies were allowed to sell convertible bonds or bonds with warrants, and this became a second avenue for foreigners to invest in the Seoul market. In 1992, foreigners were allowed to trade directly in the market if the foreign held proportion of a particular company was kept below 10 per cent.

The issued value of Korean stocks had reached 23 trillion won in June of 1990.

The Money Market

This market has grown rapidly in recent years and trades in:
Call money
Commercial paper
Repurchase agreements
Negotiable certificates of deposit  
Short-term government bonds  
Monetary stabilization bonds  
Trade bills  

**Flow of Funds in the Financial Market**

Financial surpluses and deficits by sectors - individuals, the government, financial institutions, and the foreign sector - indicate who is financing whom. Individuals are increasingly important as a source of savings, followed by government and financial institutions. The business sector has run net deficits as one would expect in a rapidly growing economy. The foreign sector has been a supplier of savings except from 1986-89.

Data on individuals' holding of financial assets shows that money has declined and constitutes less than 3 per cent of the total in the period 1985-89. Time and savings deposits have grown to become their most important holding, at 36 per cent, followed only by insurance and trusts at 26 per cent. Stocks have declined relatively to 13 per cent, and bonds to 3 per cent, while beneficiary certificates have grown to 12 per cent. Other assets have declined to 7 per cent.

**Table 4 Business Sector Sources of Funds**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Banks</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>insignificant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Paper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Borrowing</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data on the business sector's fund raising shows that financial institutions have declined in importance over the years, reaching 44 per cent in the 1958-89 period. Stock has grown to 30-30 per cent, bonds to 16 per cent, and commercial paper to 8 per cent, while foreign borrowing has declined to 2 per cent.

J T Bennett

**FM Broadcasting**

[Broadcasting companies]

**Folklore** (see under each heading)
- **Customs and traditions**
- Folk crafts (see Art)
- Folk performing arts (see Music; Literature)
- Folk religion (see Indigenous religions)
- Folk songs (see Music; Literature)
- Folk tales (see Proverbs; Literature)
- Lunar New Year
- *P'algwanhoe*
- *Yŏndŭnghoe*
Food and eating

Eating Customs

The Korean meal, laid out on a table or tray, has been influenced by the strong Confucian tradition that has pervaded all of Korean society. During the Choson Period the layout of the food was normalised according to the following characteristics:
There was to be a mixture of different tastes, so salty would be off-set by bland, hot off-set by cold and different colours laid out to enhance the aesthetic appeal. The more dishes the more diverse the colours, tastes and flavours available.

The basic meal offered cereals, uncooked fresh vegetables, cooked vegetables, fermented side dishes including kimch'i, a pickle made of a radish, cabbage, garlic, shallot, ginger, etc., and meat or fish. The table setting usually contained a rice bowl, soup bowl, kimch'i bowl, bowl for stew and small bowls for side dishes. A spoon and chop sticks complemented the setting. In summer, ceramic or porcelain bowls would be used but during the winter months brass tableware was preferred. People had their own individual rice and soup bowls and utensils.

The layout of the table was also standardised. On the table, immediately in front of the person, the rice would be placed slightly to the left side with the soup to the right. Utensils were usually placed to the right of the soup bowl. Forming a second row across the table were side dishes in small bowls set in the middle and dishes of dried food or other fermented foods set on the outside of these. In a third row across the back of the table would be stews or steamed dishes and kimch'i placed in the centre. For a larger table or setting more side dishes would be included.

Staple Food and Side Dishes

The staple foods of Korea are rice, barley and millet cooked without any flavouring or seasoning but sometimes with beans added. These staples provide the main source of calories in the normal diet and rice in particular, because of the balance of starch and thiamine, is regarded as central to any meal.

Basic side dishes include soups, stews and kimch'i. Also provided are a selection of fresh uncooked vegetables, green vegetables, salads, grilled meat or fish, fermented dishes, dried fish, dried vegetables, raw fish, raw meat and varieties of pancakes. The basic principle of the side dish is to supplement salt, vitamins, minerals and proteins that may be lacking.

Seasoning and Cooking

Soy sauce is still the main seasoning agent used in Korean cooking. Before mass manufacture, soy beans were boiled, removed from the pot and kneaded into small bricks then left to ferment before being dried in the sun. This dried bean malt was called meju. The sauce was then made by mixing one part bean malt with two parts water and approximately half a part salt in large earthenware pots with lids on. After fifty to sixty days the liquid was boiled, cooled and left in the pot. Another important seasoning agent was bean paste. There were various types of bean pastes, but most were manufactured from soy beans.

History

Early States

Incipient farming methods (dibbling and planting) and cattle breeding led to agricultural cultivation becoming the main food source as the inhabitants of the Korean peninsula formed communities and then tribal leagues. These comm-unities benefited initially from
the bronze ware culture imported from Manchuria and later from the iron age culture imported from Han China. In this evolution, the cereals grains produced were ground in earthenware bowls and then cooked in urns (shiru) over hut fires. It is presumed that meat and shellfish were added to the simmering cereals and archaeological excavations have revealed that food was also steamed in urns. Meat and shellfish were also dried and pickled - a type of broiled meat (maekchok) became very well known throughout the peninsula.

The Iron Age culture provided the advantages of more durable iron vessels for cooking but earthenware pots were still used for preserving foods. Spoons were the common eating utensil used.

The development of agriculture saw the emergence of beverages, with millet and rice used to produce a wine (t'akju). The present-day soy sauces and bean curd had their origins in beans produced and processed in the Puyŏ region from this time.

The Three Kingdoms

Koguryŏ

More efficient methods of rice and millet cultivation became possible at this time due to new implements forged of iron. It was during this era that pork became a food used in ritual ceremonies.

Paekche

Flood control methods were put in place along the rivers, with irrigation systems for crops and cattle used as beasts of burden for land cultivation, point-out a notable development in agricultural production.

Shilla

Barley cultivation was the main crop for this area of the peninsula.

After the transition to the Greater Shilla, central granaries were established by the government to store crops - such was the quality and quantity of production. Cereals had by now become the staple food source. From the sixth century, pots with lids were being used and these transformed cooking practices. Simpler ways of cooking were developed and it is from this time that the Korean tradition of morning and evening cooking took hold. The tradition of rice as the staple dish with side dishes for variety has been handed down through the ages to form the basis of the Korean meal.

Other basic foods developed during this period were dried and pickled meats and shellfish used as side dishes, soy sauces, alcoholic beverages and rice cakes.

Koryŏ

Throughout the Koryŏ period agricultural development was strongly encouraged by the royal court. In addition, the rise of Buddhism saw a marked decrease in the consumption of meat which lasted to the end of the period, when a combination of the demise of Buddhist influence and an in-bound migration from Manchuria led to a resurgence in meat consumption. As a direct result of the decrease in meat consumption many new vegetable dishes were developed - including the forerunner of the present-day favourite, kimch'i.
A new development during this time was the use of milk. Milk was processed and used by the aristocracy for medicinal purposes. Another drink enjoyed by the aristocracy was tea and it was at this time that the rituals for the tea ceremony were established. Alcoholic beverages made from rice and other plants and flowers were refined and supplemented with liquor (soju) imported from China.

Foreign foods

During the Koryo period there was an increase in trade with Sung dynasty China, Japan and other foreign countries. This facilitated the development of drinking establishments and inns providing a variety of different foods, including imported dishes, and accommodation for the foreign traders. An example of the imported dishes is the sanghwa, which was made from flour, mixed with alcohol then left to ferment. A bun or dumpling-sized piece of the mixture was then moulded, stuffed with a vegetable mix, steamed and served.

Banquets

The nobility were able to enjoy such favours. The participants would be seated around large tables with each guest receiving a separate small table loaded with individual servings. This was in contrast to the common meal where people sat around a table with dishes laid out for all to access, much like they are today.

Ritual Food

Although meat consumption declined during Koryo, following the custom of the earlier period, foods selected for sacrificial offerings were beef, pork and mutton, vegetables and fruits.

Choson

The Choson era was a time of scientific developments and the time when Confucianism emerged to supplant Buddhism as the dominant force within the kingdom. Texts concerning agriculture and agricultural production were published and disseminated. Supplies for medicines were developed following publication of Tongui pogam (Exemplar of Korean Medicine) and Hyangyak chipsjongpang (Compendium on Indigenous Medicine) and the previously used chinaware was replaced by Koryo celadon. Brass tableware was cast and its usage was common throughout the region.

A great variety of fruits, cereals, oils and spices became available during this period; consequently there were changes in the main dishes - in addition to soups, stews (tchigae) and casseroles (chongol) became common. Different types of fritters, pancakes and other foods were fried in wide pans and the boiling of food became much more widespread also. By the end of the Choson period many specialised skills had emerged, along with recipes for special or ceremonial dishes, medicinal additives, gruels and beverages.

Some of the ceremonial foods that existed were white rice cakes, sticky millet with red beans, coloured rice cakes (songpyon), seaweed soup containing meat and various vegetable dishes. These were all prepared for the one-hundred-day birthday celebration, weddings and sixtieth birthday banquets.

Sacrificial or ritual foods were usually laid out with the red foods to one side of the table and white foods to the other. The table would include various fruits (except peaches) vegetables, dried meat, fish (but not carp and scaleless fish), shellfish, pickled fish, rice, soup (meat or meat and vegetable), dumplings, noodles, pork, beef, mutton, chicken, rice cakes and various pancakes. All these would be prepared, set out and then, after the
ceremony, consumed.

Modern Period

Korean society was in transition from an agricultural to an industrial base and this change was reflected in the change in dietary habits. The daily staple diet was still rice supplemented with meat, fish, vegetables and fruit. However, the development of the processed foods industry provided ready access to foods such as pickles and sauces that had previously been laboriously produced at home. More of the population had access to a wider variety of these foods, a greater variety of condiments appeared, as did recipes for western dishes. The country's electricity grid brought power for cooking and the use of electrically-operated appliances in the home made food preparation a lot less burdensome than in the past.

Chinese Influence

The importation of beans from Manchuria led to the development of a 'bean culture' (k'ong munwha), which was the origin of many Korean dishes such as bean curd, bean paste, soy and other sauces. Also from Manchuria, with a migration into the Korean peninsula at the end of the Koryo period, came many new recipes for meat dishes - this also coincided with the demise of the Buddhist influence. Tea was first cultivated in 828 during the Shilla period and tea drinking became popular during Koro when tea and the tea ceremony were imported and adapted from China. The distilled liquor soju was introduced from Yuan dynasty China. Initially, these vegetables were cultivated to supplement dietary intake in times of famine.

Japanese Influence

The chilli pepper was introduced to the Korean peninsula from Japan and was widely cultivated and used from the reign of the Choson ruler Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-23). The condiment brought about a tremendous change in the cuisine of the time and within one hundred years of its introduction it had been universally adapted to develop the chilli paste which became so integral to Korean cooking. Sweet potatoes were also introduced from Japan, being mainly cultivated as a supplementary food source in the years when harvests were lean.

Preservation

In the Early States period some meat and fish products were dried naturally while others were pickled in brine solutions. Later during the Three Kingdoms period ice was utilised to help in the preservation of food. During Choson vegetables and fruits were preserved both by drying and by burying them in the ground. Chestnuts were placed in dry sand inside pots, covered with bamboo leaves and sealed with clay. Fish products were steamed, frozen or soaked in salty water and dried. It was during Choson that the pickling of foods became popular, the techniques for fermenting foods became specialised and information concerning the most appropriate place to store kimchi, in order to maintain the correct temperature and acquire optimum flavour, was spread around the kingdom.

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Tr. Y H Cosgrove

Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]
Foreign Trade

Overview

Korea ran current account deficits for many years. (See Chart 1) From the end of the Korean War in 1953 until the mid-1970s when American aid ended, most of the deficits were financed by concessional aid - primarily from the US but also from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. As American aid declined, Korea sought additional foreign financing from the private sector. Initially, this took the form of syndicated bank loans, but more recently, Korean companies and financial institutions have been able to sell bond issues, some convertible and some with warrants to purchase stock.

Insert Chart 1 Current Account Balance ($ Billions) ???
Insert Chart 1 Export Growth (%)

By the mid-80s, Korea had become the fourth largest debtor among the developing countries. This created problems for Korea's economic policy makers on two occasions. During the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, Korea tried to maintain investment levels and borrowed heavily abroad; on both occasions, foreign banks became nervous enough about Korea's ability to service its debt that they informally put a stop to additional lending. The government had then to cut back on its ambitious investment plans.

The Korean government guaranteed the foreign borrowings of its banks or companies, either directly or implicitly through its support of the banking system. Thus, it was able to obtain foreign credits at only a small margin above the best rates available to the most creditworthy international borrowers.

Korea crossed a divide in 1986 when for the first time it ran a current account surplus (it had run a one-time insignificant one in 1977). The change occurred in part because of the maturing of the Korean economy but also because of three fortuitous circumstances - low interest rates, a rise in the yen which made its exports to the US much more competitive, and low oil prices. Korea continued to run current account surpluses until 1990 when rising labour costs had made it less competitive and when it was going through a major restructuring of its manufacturing sector to higher technology products. Korea's current account had swung from a surplus of $14 billion in 1988 to a deficit of almost $9 billion by 1991. However, the deficit was eliminated by 1993.

Korea's economic growth has always been constrained by the speed with which its exports grew. Its imports have been limited by its exports, after taking account of the availability of foreign financing for modest deficits. To see the connection, it must be remembered that Korea produced value-added to imports which were then re-exported. Thus, export growth first allowed employment to grow until full employment was achieved and then produced rising wages in manufacturing, which competition for labour then conveyed to the rest of the economy. The speed at which this process progressed was determined by the rise in demand for Korean exports around the world, most importantly, by the level of economic activity in the US, Korea's long-time largest market.

While most of Korea's foreign earnings have come from the export of goods, service exports were significant in the 1970s when the first oil shock led to high prices and a construction boom in the middle east. That boom evaporated after a few years but Korea has remained a significant competitor in overseas construction, both among the oil-rich and more recently in southeast Asia.

For the balance of the services accounts, Korea is a net exporter of shipping services, which are now its largest earner in services. It is in deficit on other transportation services.
Travel has been heavily in deficit in recent years. It went into net deficit when the Korean government began to allow its citizens unrestricted foreign travel; previously, business travel alone was allowed and family members were not permitted to accompany the business person. Investment income has long also been in deficit, reflecting Korea’s heavy overseas borrowing (See Table 4).

**Balance of Payments**

Table 1 shows Korea’s capital account from 1992. Both its long-term borrowing (maturing in more than 3 years) and its short-term borrowing have grown in most years. Part of this went to increase its foreign exchange reserves, and the balance has been used to finance its net import of goods and services.

**Table 1 Korea’s Capital Account Balance of Payments, 1992 ($ millions)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Dollars</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long-term capital balance</td>
<td>7 233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-term capital balance</td>
<td>1 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errors and omissions</td>
<td>1 084</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign exchange assets</td>
<td>4 898</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such deficits are logical in a country with a very high rate of return on invested capital—foreigners find investing attractive and Korea finds that it can grow even faster than would have been possible from its own high rate of domestic saving.

The exception was the period, 1986-89, when its current account surplus allowed it to pay off many of its long-term loans and reduce its net foreign debt (debt less foreign exchange assets) almost to zero. Since 1989, of course, its gross and net debt have increased moderately.

**Exports by Commodity Group**

Table 2 shows exports by major commodity group. Over the years, virtually all of Korean exports have become manufactured goods.

**Table 2 Exports by Commodity Group, 1992 ($ million, %)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>$mill.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; live animals</td>
<td>2 118</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages &amp; tobacco</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude materials, inedible, except fuels</td>
<td>1 073</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral fuels, lubricants, &amp; related materials</td>
<td>1 742</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal &amp; vegetable oils, fats, waxes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals and related products not elsewhere specified</td>
<td>4 445</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufactured goods specified by material</td>
<td>18 491</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery &amp; transport equipment</td>
<td>32 547</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous manufactures</td>
<td>15 883</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>76,631</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest category is machinery and transport equipment, followed by manufactures classified by material and miscellaneous manufactures. The three categories accounted for 87 per cent of total exports in 1992.

**Table 3 Imports by Commodity Group, 1992 ($ millions, %)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>$mill.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; live animals</td>
<td>4097</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages &amp; tobacco</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude materials, inedible, except fuels</td>
<td>8315</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A major element in Korea's development strategy has been to substitute heavy industry and chemical products for its light manufactures, because greater value was added and higher wages could be paid. The percentage of light industrial products (principally textiles, clothing, and footwear) fell to 40 per cent of total exports in 1993.

The distinction between light and heavy industrial products is slightly misleading — electronics and electrical equipment are included.

Table 4 Invisible Trade Balance, Current Account, Balance of Payments, 1992
($ millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shipping</td>
<td>1 763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other transportation</td>
<td>(2 788)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>(523)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment income</td>
<td>(1 143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(2 613)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foreign exchange control

Foreign exchange controls remain pervasive in a formal sense, although in practice they are much less stringent than formerly. Thus, the import licensing system remains in existence, although licenses are automatically granted for almost all goods. Similarly, stringent controls remain on reporting exports, and foreign exchange earnings must be turned in to the Bank of Korea. The justification for continuing formal controls remains that Korea is in danger of attack from the North and that its economy is vulnerable. In addition, Korea maintains control on inward capital movements in order to prevent loss of control of Korean companies and to maintain its ability to conduct an independent monetary policy.

Controls on outward investment remain as well. Companies must seek approval to acquire property abroad, though where it has a business-related purpose, it is usually granted. At times, controls have been relaxed, and while Korea was running current account surpluses, repayment of foreign debt and foreign investment were encouraged.

While Korea was running a current account deficit and borrowing abroad, the government restricted Korean companies investments abroad. They were allowed where they assured access to a market, for example, by getting around protectionist measures; to acquire market knowledge and technology; and to assure itself of raw materials and energy.

Following the rise of wages beginning in 1987, many of Korea's labour intensive industries became much less competitive. The government then encouraged companies to invest overseas by moving their factories and capital equipment to low-wage markets. At the end of 1992, Korean companies had actual investments abroad which cumulated $4.4 billion. Most were in the United States, where market access and technology were key, and in Southeast Asia, where its textile and light manufactures found an abundant source of low cost, diligent labour and where its marketing skills and used machinery earned a good
Foreign investment in Korea

Korea's direct foreign investment legislation has been quite liberal for many years. However, in practice, the Korean authorities have wanted direct foreign investment only when it brought foreign technology that was not otherwise available.

Officials argued that everything direct foreign investment brought could be acquired in other ways more cheaply. Marketing was available through its general trading companies, modelled on the Japanese *sogogaisha* or from contract buyers, mainly large American retailers like Sears Roebuck and K Mart. Capital could be obtained more cheaply by borrowing with government guarantees than by issuing equity to foreigners. Technology generally could be purchased at attractive prices, embodied in machines or through licenses, the terms of which the government had to approve. Korean supervisors were generally better able to manage Korean workers than foreigners.

The attitude toward foreign investment has changed in the last ten years. Much of the more sophisticated technology Korea now seeks is only available with equity investment. Marketing of higher technology goods is not done by American retailers or very well by Korean general trading companies. Profits on equity investments are only remitted when they are made, whereas service payments on loans must be made year-in and year-out. Even so, foreigners find Korea a demanding place in which to invest, partly because some of the old doubts about such investment persist.

Formally speaking, Korea has begun to change its foreign investment legislation to take some of the tax incentives away. The argument has been that foreign investors should be treated on a par with Korean investors. Nevertheless, some special advantages continue to be granted where it is necessary to attract an investor with a particularly desirable technology.

The numbers show that the more favourable policy has produced results. By the end of 1991, foreign direct investment (on an approval basis) totalled $93 billion. Five years earlier, it had amounted to $3.6 billion, while in 1981, it had amounted to only $1.8 billion.

Nevertheless, direct foreign investment is overshadowed by other forms of foreign funding. At the end of 1991, Korea's total foreign debt amounted to $39 billion. It is now seeking portfolio investment in its stock market as well; after opening its market to direct trading by foreign investors in 1992, they had invested a total of $7.7 billion in it.

Government Policy on Foreign Trade

Since the 1960s, the Korean government has recognised the necessity of exporting, primarily because it has to import in order even to feed itself. Self-sufficiency and import substitution were never long-term alternatives.

Its pro-export policies have varied greatly over the years but must generally be considered a success. Export growth has been spectacular (see Chart 2). Early on, exports were subsidised through the exchange rate. This was later supplemented by government attempts to reduce the risk in exporting. Credit, foreign exchange, and approval to undertake new manufacturing lines were only available to companies which successfully exported. The most successful exporters were honoured in annual export day ceremonies presided over by Korea's president and the president long presided over monthly meetings with exporters and the economic ministers, at which performance was monitored and problems were addressed.
Korea has long been criticised for what appeared to be import substitution policies. This misread the facts. Korea freely imported raw materials, semi-processed goods that could not be made competitively at home, and capital goods.

Imports of finished consumption goods on the other hand, were mostly considered luxuries that Korea was not yet rich enough to afford. But most of what Korea consumed, as well as exported, had to be made from imported materials on imported machinery.

Explicit import substitution policies were implemented on a narrow range of producer goods as part of Korea's heavy and chemical industry program in the 1970s. The objective was to be less dependent on imports, particularly from Japan. But it was also made clear to Korean companies enjoying this protection that it would be for a limited time and that they were expected to become competitive abroad. Some protection of this sort, involving new products, has continued in the 1980s but has become the target of growing criticism from Korea's trading partners, backed up by threats of retaliation.

Korea began to reduce its import barriers in the late 1970s, when it looked as if its trade would achieve balance. It moved in this direction, based on the notion that it would enjoy the highest standard of living if it exported a small range of internationally competitive goods and imported the balance of its requirements. The second oil shock put its trade back into deficit, and further import liberalisation had to be deferred.

In the early 1980s, however, Korea again began to liberalise, first reducing import licensing requirements, then reducing tariffs, and finally, reducing the restrictions on foreign investment (thereby giving foreign companies the choice of manufacturing in Korea or exporting there). It also installed a system for determining the exchange rate that allowed market forces to influence it.

Nevertheless, Korea's trading partners, especially the United States, continue to criticise its trading regime and to press it to liberalise. Four areas remain of major concern, agriculture, intellectual property protection, the financial system, and direct foreign investment.

**Imports by commodity group**

Table 3 presents a breakdown of imports by commodity group. As one might expect with a small country specialising in manufactures, they are more diverse than its exports. The three manufactured-goods categories are the most important, but comprise 55 per cent of total imports, compared to 87 per cent of its exports. Fuels are the next most important, followed by crude materials, chemicals, miscellaneous manufactures, and food.

**Joint Ventures**

For many years, Korea has declined to approve wholly-owned foreign investments except when they brought technology that could be obtained in no other way. Generally, instead, foreigners were encouraged to enter joint ventures and to accept minority positions; most did so.

Joint ventures generally made good sense to the foreign investor because of the difficult Korean business climate. First, foreigners had to deal with the government, and a Korean partner who understood the culture was much more likely to succeed in getting what the company wanted from the government than a foreigner. Second, feverish competition in Korean business and the importance of personal connection made it important for foreigners to have a Korean ally.

A number of important foreign companies have pulled out of Korea after many years there. Several, such as Dow Chemical, Gulf, and Union Oil, did so because of changes in the
conditions of their industries (e.g., energy costs and control of crude oil sources). Nevertheless, had the business in Korea remained attractive, they might well have stayed.

One major factor in the loss of profitability of foreign investments has been the rapid rise in Korean wages. This has forced foreign investors to consider alternative manufacturing bases in Asia. The alternative would have been to upgrade their Korean operations, primarily through the use of new technology. Many foreign investors have been unwilling to do so, partly because of concerns about the adequacy of Korean protection of their intellectual property (i.e., patents, copyrights, and trade marks) and partly because that wasn't part of their business strategy (e.g., the more sophisticated products were already being manufactured elsewhere).

Although most companies date the rise in wages from the election campaign of 1987, when trade unions first escaped enforcement of the repressive labour laws, companies had long been moving abroad because of rising wages. As early as 1975, some of the low-end textile manufacturing had moved to cheaper labour markets, and the duty-free zones that depended on low wages for assembly work had been losing tenants since the early 1980s.

Another element in the decision to divest has been the Korean partner's desire to run the joint venture. Most large foreign firms have been unwilling to take that step, which they thought incurred greater risk.

Similarly, joint venture partners have disagreed on basic strategy and goals. For example, Korean companies are often less interested in large profits than in larger market share. Other times they are interested in reinvesting earnings, whereas the foreign partner wishes to remit its share (but is unwilling to see its equity share reduced, effectively making it impossible to expand), often for business reasons related to conditions outside of Korea.

Many foreign firms have concluded that the goals of investment in a joint venture can be obtained through long-term contractual relationships with much less risk and much greater flexibility. Many Korean firms find this arrangement more attractive as well. Thus, in the absence of the ability to upgrade its technology, the foreign firm can contract for manufacture in Korea, providing a single injection of technology and considerable management control. When manufacture there is no longer competitive, it can move on relatively easily. The Korean partner may also find that its goals and strategy make it attractive to give up its joint venture.

**Protectionism**

Although exceptions remain, Korea has substantially liberalised its trading regime. Licensing has been virtually eliminated as a restriction on imports, tariffs on average have been cut by more than half, and special laws which affected particular imports have been modified or eliminated.

The principal remaining areas of protection lie in agriculture, but even here Korea starting in 1995 will import some rice, phasing in tariffication of this most sensitive product (Koreans, like many other Asians, have an almost religious attachment to rice growing). It earlier agreed to allow the import of substantial amounts of beef, though this trade is not, even now, completely market determined.

Financial services remain a major source of concern to foreigners. Restrictions on entry and on the freedom to do business affect not only potential foreign investors in the financial sector, but also foreign company subsidiaries that wish to borrow. Korea has committed itself to phase out remaining financial restrictions by the end of 1998. Although it has made similar promises in the past and then put off carrying them out, this time circumstances look more favourable. In any case, foreign banks have been given more freedom to branch, to
borrow locally, and to offer a growing variety of services, bringing them closer and closer to full national treatment. The real issue remains whether Korean banks will be allowed the full freedom to do business as in other countries - a prerequisite to full freedom for foreign bank branches.

Another area of contention is the protection of patents, copyrights, and trade marks. Korea has changed its law to meet most foreign objections. However, despite improvement, enforcement continues to generate complaints. Since enforcement is a problem in many home countries, the complaints may be exaggerated.

Direct foreign investment also remains a source of foreign complaints, primarily because the taking and implementation of decisions to allow such ventures has been slow and seemingly inconsistent with stated policy.

Removing controls on the import of agricultural products has been very difficult for Korea. Agriculture still employs more than 15 per cent of the labour force and is politically potent. While the country cannot feed itself and is a major importer of food and feedstuffs, a majority of Koreans wants to protect and subsidise its farmers. Because the farm population is rapidly falling (the old are retiring and the young are migrating to the cities), the problem will disappear over the next decade or two, but in the meantime, is a very hot potato.

Other areas for foreign investment continue to face restrictions, but are less the subject of complaint.

Trading companies

In 1975, faced with weakness in its export markets, Korea followed the Japanese model and created its General Trading Companies (GTCs). Favoured with preferential loans and other measures, they were intended to become much more aggressive in overseas marketing, particularly of products from small businesses, which lacked the resources to do their own overseas selling.

Originally ten in number, the GTCs currently total eight. Seven are affiliated with the large company groups (Hyundai, Samsung, Lucky-Goldstar, Daewoo, Ssangyong, Sunkyong, and Hyosung) while one, Korea Trading, was government-initiated, with the intention of keeping the others competitive and serving small business.

Today, they account for about half of Korea's exports. Although they were used to promote purchases from the US during the 1980s, they are much less important as importers and still less so as traders between two foreign markets. In contrast, their Japanese counterparts get a substantial portion of their business from imports and trade between two foreign countries. In 1994, the GTCs have announced their intention to begin to invest overseas in production facilities, which will effectively transform their role.

The GTCs have been criticised for making small firms dependent on them and thus facilitating their take-over. It is true that the chaebol have acquired many such companies. However, it is not clear whether this was their original intention or the consequence of the competitive failure of the small company on which they depended.

It is also not clear whether the GTCs have played a critical role in Korean exporting. In their early days, they often 'bought' exports (paid another company to route its export through the GTC) in order to meet government requirements for retailing their GTC status and to gain other government benefits. Such practices are said to have disappeared.

More recently, the type of product has changed as heavy and chemical industry products have become a larger share of the total. These are not marketed through the same channels as consumer goods and require quite a different kind of marketing expertise.
Nevertheless, the GTCs have brought substantial benefits to Korean industry. The training and experience working in other cultures has prepared Korean companies for the time when they can no longer depend on contract manufacturing relationships with foreign retailers to meet their marketing needs. They have created a cadre of businessmen who are used to living and working abroad and to addressing the language and idiosyncrasies that distinguish one country from another. They have become a window on the rest of the world, keeping Korean companies aware of what is happening and of the competitive challenges and opportunities that changing conditions bring.

Trading partners

Korea's trading pattern has gone through substantial changes in the last 20 years. Initially heavily dependent on the American and Japanese market for its exports, it subsequently made great efforts to diversify. It found growth in the middle east in the 1970s, and in Europe and Asia in the 1980s and 1990s. Although many Koreans worry about their ability to continue to increase their exports, Asia looks to be the source of future export growth. The dynamism of its economies and the emergence of the People's Republic of China along with Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia among the fastest growing, bodes well for future growth.

Korea's largest source of imports remains Japan (capital equipment and components for manufactures). The rest are diversified and involve principally crude oil and other raw materials.

Korea has sought to increase its imports from the United States because of the US complaints about its restrictive trade practices. It has also been concerned to try to reduce its trade surplus with the US (and has virtually eliminated it) while reducing its deficit with Japan by switching sources where this has been feasible. The rise of the yen relative to the dollar has facilitated the transfer. Even so, the US has remained relatively the same as a source of imports (23 per cent of the total in 1977 and 1992). In the same years, Japan declined as a source of imports much more sharply (from 36 per cent to 23 per cent of the total).

Finally, it has tried to find its new growth outside of the US market and has succeeded to a considerable extent. While the US declined relatively as a market (from 31 per cent of total exports in 1977 to 23 per cent in 1992), and Japan declined (from 21 to 15 per cent), non-Japan Asia has been the principal source of growth, followed by Latin America. Europe and the middle east were also down somewhat as a proportion of the total in the same period. The regional distribution of Korean trade is shown in Table 5 and 6.

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<th>Table 5 Regional Distribution of Korean Exports, 1977 &amp; 1992 (%)</th>
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<th>Table 6 Regional Distribution of Korean Imports, 1977 and 1992 (%)</th>
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Forestry is the management of forested land, together with associated waters and wasteland, primarily for harvesting timber but also for conservation and recreation purposes. Forestry includes not only the management of lands in rural areas, but also lands that are surrounding urban areas. The forestry in Korea combines both the management of rural and urban forests, and moreover, both public and private lands. Urban forests in Korea include many different environments such as city greenbelts, parks and mountainous areas located around the major urban centres. Rural forests are located throughout Korea and are generally in the mountainous areas.

Since the Korean peninsula stretches from the north to the south for over 1,000 kilometres, the types of trees that grow in Korea are quite diverse. In addition to great differentials in the mean temperature of the various regions, there are also variations in the amount of precipitation, differences in elevation and dissimilarity in soil composition. Therefore, it is to be expected that the diversification in flora in Korea would be greater than in a country that was relatively similar in composition regardless of size.

Angiosperms, the biological class to which most trees belong, constitute the dominant plant life of the present geologic era. They are the products of a long line of evolutionary development that has culminated in the highly specialised organ of reproduction known as the flower, in which seed development occurs within an ovary. This group includes a large variety of broad-leaved trees; most of which are deciduous but some that are evergreen. The angiosperms are further divided into monocots and dicots. Trees are represented in both groups. There are also those trees that are classified as gymnosperms, such as pine trees, and those that are monocotyledonous like bamboo.

In South Korea forests occupied 6,455,550 hectares of land, or about 65 per cent of the nation’s total area at the end of 1995 and trees grow on about 97 per cent of this area. The composition of the forests in Korea can be divided into about 45 per cent coniferous trees, 26 per cent deciduous trees and 26 per cent mixed between the two. In general, coniferous species are found at higher elevations, while deciduous species are found at lower and more temperate elevations.

Species

The chief indigenous tree species in Korea are the Red Pine (*Pinus densiflora*), Korean White Pine (*Pinus koraiensis*), Black Pine (*Pinus thunbergii*), Korean Larch (*Larix gmelina*), Needle Fir (*Abies holophylla*), Hornbeam (*Carpinus laxiflora*), and several varieties of Oaks and Alders. Introduced species include the Pitch Pine (*Pinus rigida*), Jack Pine (*Pinus taeda*), Rigietaeda Pine (*Pinus rigitaeda*), Japanese Larch (*Larix leptolepis*), Japanese Cedar (*Cryptomeria japonica*), Hinoki Cypress (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*), Black Locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*) and various Poplars. The natural forest zones of Korea include the sub-tropical forest that is predominant in the southern coastal regions and the lower elevations of Cheju Island, the southern temperate forest which encompasses most of the southern half of the Korean peninsula except for the higher elevations of the T’aebaek Mountain Range, and the northern temperate forest which consists of the higher elevations in South Korea and much of the northern part of the peninsula.
The Red Pine grows over much of South Korea but since its form is often stunted and of poor shape, it is unsuitable for many commercial applications. The Korean White Pine grows at a faster rate than the Red Pine and is a favoured tree for reforestation due to its commercial value and the pine nuts that can be harvested from the trees after they reach maturity in their tenth year. The Black Pine is commonly found in the sandy soils of the southern coastal areas where it thrives and produces a stabilising crown cover. Various types of oak are spread throughout South Korea but usually are not suitable for commercial use. The Pitch Pine was introduced from North America in 1906 and has been widely planted in the past for fuel and erosion control. The Japanese Larch was introduced from Japan in the 1920s and has great commercial value as a tree that can be utilised for construction, pulp and shipbuilding. The Japanese Cedar and Cypress were also introduced from Japan in this same period and both are now widespread due to the value of their timber.

Forest Utilisation

Ownership of most forestland in South Korea is private, with about 96 per cent of the total forest area being owned by individuals with holdings of less than ten hectares. There are also national forests and public forests, which account for the remainder of the nation’s forestland. Wood in forests has traditionally been used for fuel. The use of wood as fuel has only recently declined as other forms of heating has spread throughout the rural areas of Korea. In the past fifty years the industrial use of timber has had the greatest impact on Korean forests, with the highest demand being for sawn logs. The export of forest products in Korea reached 530 million dollars in 1995 which was an increase of 19 million dollars from 1994. The main export of the forest product industry is plywood. Other products that are exported from the forest include food items such as chestnuts, pine nuts and mushrooms. However, despite Korea’s sizeable amount of exported forest products, she remains heavily dependent upon imported lumber in many areas having imported 87 per cent or her lumber needs in 1995.

Other traditional and modern day uses of the forest include as a source of compost, which is readily available for agricultural needs. However, this is declining with the widespread use of chemical fertilisers. The placement of grave sites, recreation, minor forest by-products and erosion prevention are all other uses of forestland. Most of the nation’s forests are dotted with grave sites, which are located on private family lands, and is generally the sole purpose of forestland ownership for individuals. Sites were traditionally chosen for their geomantic qualities, and are noticeable by the small burial mounds in cleared spots on the slopes of mountains. Erosion control is the object of great efforts by the Korean government in many mountainous areas. Since forests are generally located on mountainous lands in Korea, they provide a favoured spot for recreation among Koreans who enjoy outdoor activities such as mountain climbing, camping and other outdoor activities in a natural setting. The increase in the amount of leisure time in Korea in recent years has seen an explosion of recreational activities in forested areas.

History of Forestry

The beginnings of forestry in Korea are found in the colonial period of the nineteenth c. During the Japanese occupation the whole of Korea was exploited for food production and the harvesting of natural resources. Timber did not escape the attention of the Japanese and was used initially to support the development of Japanese industry and then from the late 1930s forward it was used to sustain to Japanese war efforts. Although the Japanese introduced many controls concerning the cutting of timber and afforestation, these guidelines were largely ignored by the Japanese themselves as their timber needs escalated in the waning days of the Second World War. Entire mountain slopes and forests were clear cut in the futile attempts by the Japanese to fuel their war efforts.
After liberation tremendous economic hardships and political turmoil beset the Korean peninsula. As a result the Korean people were forced to seek sources of fuel and building materials from the forests, and as a consequence the devastation of Korean forests continued unabated. To compound the crisis in the forests of Korea, the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 led to wide-scale clearance of forestlands by the military in carrying out the war efforts.

There was no true forestry policy in Korea until legislation was passed in the early 1960s. At this time the government of the Republic of Korea established guidelines for the preservation, maintenance, restoration and usage of Korean forest resources. Large-scale afforestation projects were undertaken and from a beginning of 125,080 hectares reforested in 1962, government led programs saw this number soar to over 450,000 hectares reforested in 1967. Efforts by the Korean government have continued until the present time and have seen the amount of forested land stabilised with an ongoing program for the afforestation of lands used for commercial purposes. In addition, efforts are underway to preserve the so-called ‘green-belts’ that surround many of the major Korean cities. This type of environmental afforestation covered over 2,000 hectares in 1995 in urban areas, and is forecasted to cover an additional 25,000 hectares by 2004. These environmental projects are being conducted under the auspices of the Korean government and are designed to provide the citizens of Korea with a better living environment by reducing pollution and providing natural areas to relax in.

In establishing government policy, agencies such as the Forestry Policy Bureau (Imjongguk) and the Forestry Research Institute (Imop yon'gwon) are crucial in maintaining the balance between commercial needs for forest products and preserving this great natural asset of Korea.

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Fortune-telling

Fortune-telling or divination practices are various methods that man uses to discover either what the future will bring him, or to modify his actions so as to bring about the most favourable consequences. In ancient times, divinations were used to predict the outcome of battles, matters of state and also to explain natural phenomena. It is tempting to connect practices of divination with the earliest human civilisations as ancient man tried to understand and explain his environment.

Fortune-telling practices are performed in a variety of ways with some using implements and others interpreting signs in natural objects like the moon and clouds. There are in essence four types of fortune-telling practised in Korea today: shinjom (divine inspired divinations), chakkwaejom which unravel the fortune of men by interpreting the hexagrams in the Chinese Yiijing or I Ching (Kor. Yokyong, Book of Changes), mongjom in which the future is seen through a dream, and ch'on'gijom which observe natural phenomena such as the shadow of the moon on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, or the Pleiades (chomsaengi pogi) on the sixth day of the second lunar month in order to predict good fortune in farming.

History

The first records of fortune-telling practices in Asia are found in the so-called ‘oracle bones’ of the Chinese Shang Dynasty (1700-1027 BCE). Oracle bones are turtle plastrons and ox
scapulae on which the Shang kings divined by applying a hot instrument to prepared hollows in the bones and then using the resulting cracks in the bones to divine all matters of state and ritual acts. On the bones themselves, the actual questions that were tested were often recorded and many of these records are extant. It is not known whether this practice was transmitted to Korea or not, but records concerning the Puyó Kingdom in the Sanguo zhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) reveal similar practices. In Puyó during ritual ceremonies to heaven, an ox would be slaughtered and if the cleft in its hoof was found to have widened it was thought to portend disaster. If it had not, it was interpreted as a propitious omen. In Puyó the duty of performing divinations was originally that of the king, but as his political authority expanded, the duty of divinations fell under the realm of the shaman.

Through historical records such as the Samguk yusa (Memorabillia of the Three Kingdoms) we know that there were many instances of fortune-tellers being consulted by the royal courts to either explain natural phenomena or to predict the outcome of battles and other matters of state. Those who were charged with predicting the future were the ilgwan of Shilla, the ilja and muja of Paekche, and the mu and samu of Koguryó. Legends passed down that concerned divinations and those who performed this art include Ch’öyong ka (The Song of Ch’öyong), Yónorang seonyö chōnsol (The Legend of Yónorang and Seonyó), Manp’asikchók chōnsol (The Legend of the Flute that could Calm Ten Thousand Waves) and the legend concerning the demise of the Paekche Kingdom. In Ch’öyong ka, King Hón’gang (r. 875-886) is told by his ilgwan that he must build a temple to appease the Dragon of the East Sea. After he does this, the Dragon presents to the King one of his sons who becomes a royal adviser to the King. In Yónorang seonyó chōnsol the Shilla King summons his ilgwan and asks him to explain why the sun and the moon had stopped shining in Shilla. The fortune teller explains that the spirits of the sun and moon had left Shilla for Japan. The King sends a messenger to Japan who meets with Yóno-rang and Seo-nyó and is told that the god of heaven wished them to come to Japan. They then presented him with some golden cloth with which to offer a sacrifice to the heavens, and after this the sun and moon again shone in Shilla.

Manp’asikchók chōnsol tells of a magical flute that was given to King Shinmun (r. 681-692) by the spirit of his father, King Munmu (r. 661-681) and the spirit of Kim Yushin (595-673) that could control the waves in the East Sea, whereby the Japanese marauders could be repelled. King Shinmun was presented with this flute after consulting his ilgwan to discover why there was a small mountain floating off the Korean coast. These examples of divinations are all recorded in the Samguk yusa...

One tale concerning the downfall of the Paekche Kingdom is recorded in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms). In mid-reign of Paekche’s King Úija (r. 641-660) on a turtle shell that was unearthed, it was recorded that: ‘Paekche is as a full moon, Shilla is as a crescent moon’. This was interpreted by the King’s muja as foreshadowing the downfall of Paekche, which shortly was realised. In Buddhist beliefs the Chö mch’al kyŏng (Divination Sutra) was used by some to foretell the future and the results of their karma in their next lives. To discover their future using this work, wooden sticks would be cast and then interpreted in light of the Sutra. The Chö mch’al kyŏng was also used at Chö mch’al Dharma Assemblies. According to the Samguk yusa this work is said to date to the Chinese Sui Dynasty (581-617) and was given to the monk Ch’inpyo by Maitreya along with 189 divination sticks.

The use of divination was also widespread throughout Koryó and Chosön, but as shamanism was replaced as the state religion firstly by Buddhism and then by Neo-Confucianism, the status of fortune tellers and their trade became degraded. However, among the common people of these ages, fortune-telling was accepted as one way in which to understand both current and future events. Although many mudang (shamans) of these periods continued to practice fortune-telling through the use of various implements, there
also gradually appeared a class who performed only fortune-telling functions. In addition to those who specialised in telling fortunes, many of the common people relied upon the observation of heavenly bodies, the outcome of various folk games such as tug-of-war, or the behaviour of animals as means to predict future events. In particular, the amount of divinatory practices surrounding the farming culture of Choson reveals strong beliefs on the part of the farming communities in the validity of these practices. Many of these practices are still observed to some degree.

One mode of fortune-telling that was well received during Choson and continues to enjoy popularity to the present-day is the use of the *Yijing* (Book of Changes). This method of divination uses an interpretation of a reading of certain hexagrams in the *Yijing*. The hexagrams are selected from a total of sixty-four by casting lots for each of the six lines that will compose one's fortune. Then the *Yijing* practitioner interprets these six hexagrams. There are different ways to determine which hexagrams are selected such as casting wands, drawing yarrow twiglets from a bunch or tossing coins. Of these methods, the tossing of coins (usually three in number) is probably the most common in present-day Korea. Once a hexagram has been created by casting the coins six times, the reader then interprets this in the light of the appropriate passage in the *Yijing*. Adherents to this mode of divination commonly use this method to determine answers to questions of marriage, family and business.

**Modern Practices**

Today, divinations are still received by Korean people in many of the same modes as they had been in traditional times. Consultations with *Yijing* practitioners are very common and on any given week-end afternoon many of these fortune-tellers can be seen in areas around parks, temples and palaces in the major urban areas of South Korea. Consultations with *mudang* are also very common for adherents to shamanism. The divinations of the *mudang* are used in a wide range of applications from matters concerning poor health to where to locate a house. Divination by observing items of nature is also very common, particularly in rural areas. These arts of predicting the future continue to thrive in many forms since they are used to provide answers to people's problems and often to comfort them. Fortune-telling, along with closely related practices and arts such as incantations and taboois, help humans cope with the external world. Generally, taboos and incantations are used to prevent an undesirable event from occurring while fortune-telling is used to discover what the future holds.

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**France and Korea**

Choson Period Relations

Korea-France relations began with French missionaries attempting to introduce the Catholic faith to Koreans. Catholicism was known to Koreans in Beijing, where the work of French and other Western missionaries was prevalent, but the Church was not established in Korea because of the threat of persecution by the Choson government. The first French missionary in Korea was Fr. Maubant who came in early 1836. He was followed by Fr. Chastan who arrived at the end of the same year and Fr. Imbert, a year later. The
missionaries work was proving successful, with 6000 converts in 1836, to over 9000 two
years later. Apart from the endeavours of the priests, a major reason for the spread of
Catholicism at this time was a relaxation of the anti-Catholic stance of the Chosôn
government, which was a direct reflection of the royal father-in-law Kim Chosun (1765-
1831), the real power behind the throne. This attitude, however, underwent a drastic
change with the arrival of a new royal in-law power, the P'ungyang Cho family, which
commenced with the reign of King Hônjong (r. 1834-1849). As a direct result of Cho
policies, the Catholic Persecution of 1839 took place and the three French priests along with
many Korean Catholics were massacred.

Once the deaths of the three friars became known to the French authorities, a French
warship was despatched to the Ch'ungch' öng coast, and a letter was delivered to the Korean
authorities demanding an explanation. A year later another French vessel appeared in
Korean waters, requesting Chosôn authorities to reply to the first letter, and expressing
France’s wish to conclude a friendship treaty with Chosôn. The Chosôn government,
however, was aware of the hardships that befell China in her constant clashes with Western
nations in the Opium War and the Arrow Incident, and it preferred a policy of isolation as a
means of avoiding similar trouble. Also, the Chosôn government feared the Catholic
doctrines, which they saw as patently confrontational to the teachings of neo-Confucianism.
However, despite the Chosôn government’s intentions and actions to prevent the spread of
Catholicism, an increasing number of French missionaries journeyed to Korea, and by the
early years of King Kojong’s reign (r. 1863-1907), there were about 20000 followers.

The policy of Kojong’s father, the Hûngsôn Taewôn'gun (1820-1898), while at first
moderately tolerant of Catholicism in his country, was soon swayed by his advisers and in
1866 he launched a major persecution of Catholics. Initially, the Catholic missionaries had
persuaded some members of the Chosôn government that if Chosôn entered diplomatic
relations with France and England, it would prevent the Russians from gaining a foothold
in Korea. The aim of the church was certainly that of securing an unfettered hand for their
missionary activities, in exchange for the promise of France’s assistance against the Russia
gaining a foothold on the peninsula. The Taewôn’gun sent for the leader of the
missionaries, Bishop Berneux, but later declined to go ahead with the meeting, on the
Bishop’s delayed arrival at the palace. The Taewôn’gun saw the Catholics as a threat to his
political power and demonstrated his disdain for them by ordering the full-scale persecution
that occurred in 1866. Nine of the twelve French missionaries in Korea were executed,
together with a large number of Korean converts. The three missionaries remaining fled to
safety across the Chinese border where they reported the massacre to the French Legation.

On hearing of the death of their missionaries in Korea, the French decided to take punitive
action against Chosôn, in what became known as the Foreign Disturbance of 1866. Under
the command of Admiral Roze, three naval vessels crossed the Yellow Sea, sailed up the
Han River, anchored within sight of Seoul, and prepared for action. A flotilla of seven
French warships had also left China for Korea, from which the admiral sent a detachment to
capture the fortifications on Kanghwa Island and despatched another to Seoul. While the
French on Kanghwa met with limited success, the ships that attempted to make their way to
the capital were repulsed by a Korean contingent led by Han Sŏnggûn. A second attack on
Kanghwa Island was also repelled by troops led by Yang Hŏnsu, and this forced Roze to
withdraw to China, with his punitive mission against Chosôn closing without achieving its
objectives. This ended French attempts to force Korea to enter into relations it did not want.

Early Diplomatic Relations

After the Chosôn government concluded the 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa Island (Kanghwa-do
Choyak) with Japan that opened Korean ports to foreign trade, China urged Chosôn to also
sign similar treaties with Western powers, such as Great Britain and the United States.
Insofar as France was concerned, however, China hindered attempts to negotiate a treaty
with Chosön, cautioning the Koreans about the problems associated with the propagation of Catholicism in Korea. The French persisted in their efforts, and eventually the thirteen-article 'Treaty of Friendship' was concluded in 1886, with Kim Manshik and Georges Cogordan as signatories for their countries.

The treaty between Korea and France was somewhat different than those that the United States and Great Britain had concluded with Chosön, since it reflected to a greater extent the independent will of Korea. Even so, the treaty provided protection for French nationals on the peninsula, and stated that they should be subject only to French law and to trial by the French authorities. Moreover, the treaty allowed the French to trade openly at the ports of Pusan, Wonsan and Chemulp'o, and to lease or purchase land or buildings at these locations. Moreover, French nationals with visas were allowed to travel freely in Korea, and those who wished to learn the Korean language were to be provided with help by the Korean government. Other clauses in the treaty secured France's right to freely propagate French language and culture, and to employ Koreans in various capacities.

Although France now had a treaty with Chosön, its interests in the peninsula were only peripheral compared to its other areas of interest in Asia. The French government did, however, consider its diplomatic representation in Korea to be on an equal footing with its diplomatic missions in Japan and China, thereby revealing that it held Korea in equal esteem with her neighbours. Its envoys were further instructed to concern themselves with commercial and cultural activities only and not interfere in Chosön's domestic affairs. France did not recognise Korea as being a Chinese suzerain, but treated it as an independent nation. France also sought to pursue mining and construction projects in Korea, and in particular was awarded the concession to build the Seoul-Uiju railway, but eventually had to surrender this right to the Japanese authorities.

In contrast to the subdued French view of Korea, the Chosön government had many high expectations concerning the relationship. Korea saw the treaty as a way to improve her international standing, to modernise her military and training techniques, so as to keep China at bay, but also as a possible source of financial support. While France did supply Korea with some texts on military organisation and tactics, it was not interested in taking an active role in reforming the Chosön army, and actually declined a request to do so. The French also declined to guarantee French military support against Chinese intervention in Korea. Lastly, Chosön's requests for loans from France were also rejected on the grounds that the Chosön government was a poor credit risk and that the people of France knew very little about the country and its situation. Thus, the relationship between the two countries excluded military intervention amongst foreign powers and it proved unsatisfactory to Chosön in its sought-after economic aid. This was not what Chosön had contemplated in concluding its treaty with France.

The economic relations between France and Korea proved of little consequence. Despite some initial interest on the part of French companies for importing Korean paper and ramie, this was not realised. According to 1889 statistics, imports from France accounted for less than one per cent of Korea's total imports, and these imports were confined to a small amount of wine, canned food and cotton products. The lack of French interest in Korea is seen in the minuscule French population there, of about twenty persons. Of this, the number of merchants was at most one, and often none.

The only area in which the French proved to have a serious interest in Korea was in the propagation of Catholicism, and this was pursued by French missionaries with vigour. Although the clause in the treaty between Korea and France was understood by the Chosön government as allowing the teaching of the French language and culture, the French interpreted it as permitting the teaching of Catholic doctrines, and this was a point of contention between the two nations. The Korean government was eventually compelled to allow the missionary activities and so Catholicism spread rapidly. By 1910 it had secured a
strong foothold throughout the peninsula.

Relations during the Colonial Period

The cause of Korean independence was not an issue with the government of France, which was then far more concerned with the preservation of its Indochina interests. There were individuals in France, however, who aided the Korean independence movement indirectly. Félicien Challaye, a professor at a French university, joined with the Chinese journalist Xie Dongfa and formed the Paris branch of the Aid Korea Association (l'Association des Amis de Corée), which had a membership of some forty persons at its inauguration in 1919. Other activities during this period included the publishing of a journal, La Corée Libre, which presented arguments for Korean independence. However because of a shortage of funds, the journal was only published for one year, from May 1920.

Aside from some indirect cultural influence from France in the realm of literature, the contacts between France and Korea all but ceased during the colonial period. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the Japanese were very restrictive in allowing Westerners to enter Korea. Secondly, the French were beset by their own internal problems; reconstruction after the conclusion of World War I; the political conflicts of the 1930s, and the outbreak of World War II, in September 1939. The independence movement activities of Koreans abroad centred on courting the Western world powers, mainly the United States and Great Britain, and France was largely ignored in the process.

Free City Incident

Fu Jian Qin

Furniture

Domestic furniture and interiors

Korean furniture consists of three distinct yet overlapping traditions: a court tradition of elegant and luxurious pieces; a temple tradition of intricate pieces with colourful Buddhist, Daoist, and shamanistic motifs; and a domestic tradition of wood furniture used primarily in upper and middle class homes. Little from the court and temple traditions survive, but its existence can be verified in scanty records, depictions of furniture in old paintings and in what remains of old furnishings from Korean palaces, temples, and shrines. Its rich beauty can also be experienced in a few surviving small boxes, trays, and tables that are lacquered and date from as early as Ancient Choson (1 000-500 BCE). The Shōsōin in Nara, Japan preserves a few seventh c. cabinets which might have links to Korea. From the Koryō period (918-1392) onwards, cabinetry for upper class use in temples and palaces was often lavishly inlaid with mother-of-pearl.(see Lacquerware).

Korea's household furniture, with most extant pieces dating from the last two hundred years of Choson (1392-1910), has commanded wide interest for its originality of style, simplicity of design, beautiful proportions, and flexible utility. Based mostly on a simple box design with few interior compartments or drawers, Korean chests are surprisingly versatile and fit easily into modern or traditional decor. They were made from native woods, of which over twenty varieties have been identified. In the northern provinces mixed coniferous forests predominate and soft woods with fine grain like pine and linden were the usual timbers for furniture. Perhaps to compensate for the plainness of the grain, chests from North Korea, such as those from P'yŏngyang tended to be more profusely decorated with metalwork. In the milder climate of South Korea, many varieties of
deciduous trees thrive and a wide selection of hardwoods with decorative grain such as persimmon, maple, Korean ash, and zelkova (a type of elm) was available. So as to not detract from the beauty of the wood grain, chests from the Southern provinces tended to be simply or delicately adorned with metalwork. Regional differences were also evident in the overall style of chests and this largely depended on the taste and the wealth of the patrons. Furniture from Kyŏnggi Province, where the capital was located, was often of generous proportions, made of solid wood, and magnificently ornamented. Cheju Island, which was home to exiles and prisoners produced basic furniture of rough and rustic character.

Glue and bamboo or metal nails were in use in the construction of furniture, but pieces were usually held together by means of jointing techniques, the most common being mitre joints (yŏngwi), finger joints (ssagae), lap joints (tŏk), mortise and tenon joints (chok), and butt joints (mat). Wood surfaces were either left unfinished or polished with an oil made from the perilla plant (tul kirum). Smaller pieces were sometimes subjected to a smoking process which caused the resin in the wood to come to the surface where it was then rubbed to form a protective coating.

The furniture of Chosŏn was generally modest in size, low in height, and frontally oriented. Chests usually opened at the front where the decoration was also concentrated. These features evolved not only to fit the spaces of the Korean house but to accommodate traditional living habits. An agrarian and nature-oriented people, Koreans ventilated their houses and kept them tuned to seasonal changes through the use of detachable open lattice-work doors and windows called ch’angho. The outdoors was also brought under the roof of the house through the use of open verandahs, corridors, and side-rooms with wood plank floors called maru. The cool, raised maru floor was the preferred place to work, socialize, and rest during the warmer months. Household items requiring cold storage were also kept year-round on maru floors. In the winter months, Koreans retreated to small, low-ceilinged rooms that were designed to facilitate a unique type of underfloor heating called ondol. Ondol floors were sealed and plastered over with thick oiled paper. (see Architecture) Living in tune with the environment and staying close to the source of heating contributed to the adoption of a floor-living culture by Koreans. The floors of a traditional house, particularly those of ondol rooms, doubled as activity rooms during the day and sleeping quarters at night. They were kept spotlessly clean through the removal of outside shoes and daily wiping. People sat, slept, ate, worked, and studied on straw mats or padded cushions directly on the floor. Rooms did not have built-in closets. The furniture in a room had to accommodate both items in daily use as well those in long-term storage. To keep the centre of a room cleared for human activity, storage chests and cupboards were relegated to the walls, where they were placed side by side, and sometimes stacked one on top another.

Placed against the wall, only the fronts of chests were in full view. Thus the fronts were typically fashioned out of the best wood (sometimes in veneer panels) and embellished with the fanciest fittings. The two sides were made of less-desirable wood and hinged with simpler fittings. The backs of chests were made of the least-desirable wood and hardware without compromising function. Chests were raised off the floor on attached or detachable stands to protect their bases from exposure to the intense heat of the ondol floor in winter, humidity in summer, and pests year-round.

Domestic furniture of the Chosŏn period also reflects the hierarchal Neo-Confucian ordering of society under which people lived. To the extent that wealth and social status permitted, the houses of this period were segregated into men's and women's quarters and furniture was designed accordingly. In upper-class Yangban families, the men lived and studied in outer rooms collectively called sarang ch'ae. They entertained and took their meals in a main ondol-floored room called a sarang-bang or, in warm weather, on an adjoining balcony or the maru wooden-floored rooms. Their women lived in inner rooms collectively called anch'ae and the principal ondol-floored room of their domain was called
the anbang. Sometimes connected to the anbang by sliding showing doors was a raised alcove called an utbang which housed larger storage units and cabinets. The anbang was entered from a wooden-floored porch called a taech'ong maru, where women worked and close-family members socialised in warm weather. Sometimes opposite the anbang was a smaller sitting and sleeping room called the konabang.

Confucian ideology emphasised that the man of virtue should lead a life of moderation and decorum, and this encouraged an ethos of austerity in the design of the men's quarters and its furnishings. The result was furniture that was restrained in style, sober in colour, and made of subdued woods like pine and pillion. Fittings were plain, kept to a minimum, and fashioned from dull metals like cast iron. Standard pieces of furniture found against the walls of the sarangbang were a pair of low chests for stationery and incidentals called mun'gap, a four-tier book and display stand called a sabang t'akcha, a two-tier book chest called a chaekchang, a wardrobe chest called an uigori chang, and a storage chest (chang) for items in daily use. In the centre of the room would be such low and portable pieces as a scholar's desk (ch'aeksang or kyonsang) and an inkstone box (yonsang). At meals times, individual serving tables (soban) laden with food were brought in from the kitchen. The adjoining wooden-floored maru might contain such additions as a low bamboo or wood slatted platform bed and one or two book storage cabinets.

In contrast to the restraint ambiance of the sarangch'ae and its furnishings, the women's quarters or anch'ae was a much brighter and cheerful place. The furniture of the anbang was more exuberant in style, brighter in colour, and made of more ornate woods like persimmon and zelkova. Chests of red or black lacquer embellished with ox-horn panels, mother-of-pearl inlay, and carved motifs were not uncommon. Fittings were also more ornate, often incised with decoration, and made of shinier metals like brass or nickel. Hinges were fashioned into whimsical and auspicious shapes such as flowers, butterflies, bats, swallow tails, or the Sino-Korean characters for happiness (pok) and longevity (su). An anbang typically contained a three-level chest for everyday clothing called a samch'ung chang, a two-unit stacked chest for out-of-season clothing called a ich'ung nong, a pair of mun'gap, an all-purpose chest called a bandaji upon which the daily bedding was stowed, and several low chests such as mõrig chang (headside chest), aegijang (a baby-sized chest), or posonjang (chest for socks). These pieces were placed against the wall; on top of them were stacked such small, portable boxes as ham (a pair of wedding boxes), kori ham (a document box), and kyöngdae (mirror box).

The kitchen of a Chosõn house was connected to the far end of the women's quarters and built at a lower level to the anbang. It had an earthen floor in the stove area and in the area opposite where crockery, utensils, and food were stored, a raised wooden platform or maru floor. Typical pieces of furniture found on the maru include stands of two or three tiers (ch'ant'ak) for the storage of ceramic bowls, jars, and bottles; chests for the storage of rice (ssal twiju) and beans (p'at twiju); and a three-level chest with a row of small drawers (samch'ung ch'ankanjang) for the storage of eating utensils and crockery. Kitchen furniture was built to be sturdy and functional, usually made of solid pine and fitted with plain cast iron or tin hardware.

As late as the 1970s, fine specimens of domestic furniture were still being found in villages as Koreans moved to the cities and abandoned traditional ways of living. Today, however, unadulterated pieces of high quality are extremely difficult to acquire, with fine specimens having found their way into museums and private collections. The National Folklore Museum of Korea, the Onyang Folk Museum, the Korea University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, as well as most university museums in Korea will have excellent pieces of traditional Korean furniture on public display. The Japan Folk Crafts Museum in Tokyo and the Koryo Museum of Art in Kyoto both display notable old Korean furniture. In the West, almost any large museum with a collection of Asian art is likely to have isolated specimens of Korean furniture.
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Rose E. Lee
Gale, James Scarth (1863-1937)

James Scarth Gale was a missionary and scholar of Korean history and culture. He was born in Canada as his parents had shortly before emigrated from England in search of a better life in North America. Gale was the fifth of six children born to John and Miami Gale and he was raised on their Ontario farm. He received his elementary education in the local school, and when he was eighteen travelled to St. Catherines to study at St. Catherines Institute. There he met Robert Harkness who would become a life-long acquaintance, and who would later serve with Gale in Korea. By 1884 Gale had graduated, and enrolled at University College in Toronto. In 1888 he had completed his studies, following which he accepted a position as a missionary in Korea. He arrived in Pusan in December 1888 and then journeyed north to Seoul. Initially, he concentrated on studying the Korean language and soon departed Seoul for the city of Haeju in Hwanghae Province. In Haeju he learned Chinese characters and was fully exposed to the Korean way of life in the provinces. Within a year he had relocated to Pusan and was intent on establishing a mission there, but within a short time thereafter he returned to Seoul.

Gale became acquainted with many of the other foreign missionaries in Seoul and was afforded the opportunity to travel to parts of Korea not yet explored by foreign missionaries. By 1891 he had severed his links with the Toronto YMCA, his supporting organisation, and joined the Presbyterian Church, New York, which gave him increased financial support for his mission in Korea. In the early 1890s, he devoted time to educational activities and in writing a book on the Korean language entitled, *Korean Grammatical Forms* (1894). In 1891, he married Harriet Gibson, the widow of Dr. John W. Heron, who had been one of the first Presbyterian missionaries and physicians in Korea, and soon thereafter moved his new family to Wonsan, to take up an appointment. During his time in Wonsan, in addition to his duties as a missionary, he wrote his *Korean-English Dictionary* (1897) which was the first comprehensive work of its kind. It served as the standard dictionary for more than half a century. Gale also published his translations of Korean *shijo* poems, undoubtedly the first ever in English, in *The Korean Repository* in 1895, in addition to various translations of Christian materials into Korean.

Gale’s activities in the period after the inception of the declaration of the Great Han Empire (1897-1907) are marked by continued educational, missionary and literary achievements. He participated in the founding of the Seoul YMCA, served as a correspondent for the *North China Daily News* of Shanghai and produced a series of textbooks. *Yumong ch’ónja* (Korean Readers) designed to instruct in modern science, world history, English and American literature, among other subjects. He also served as Secretary of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society shortly after its foundation in 1900. At about this time Gale developed a friendly rivalry with other scholars in Korea, most notably Homer Hulbert. Gale’s scholarship was, however, distinctly superior to Hulbert’s in the understanding of Korean language and history, especially as Hulbert had no knowledge of Chinese characters.

In 1908 Gale’s wife died, and two years later he remarried Ada Louisa Sale who had lived most of her life in in Japan. Notwithstanding the colonisation of Korea by Japan, Gale furthered his Korean studies and in 1913 his *Korean Folk Tales* was published. Moreover, he continued to publish amended versions of his dictionary and revised his *Korean Grammatical Forms* in 1916. Between 1911 and 1916 he served as president of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and published, *The Cloud Dream of Nine*, a translation of the 1687 novel *Kuun mong* (A Dream of Nine Clouds). One of his most acclaimed works, *The History of the Korean People*, was completed between 1924 and 1926 and was initially published in instalments in the *Korea Mission Field*. Shortly thereafter, Gale and his family left Korea for England, where he died in 1937. Gale is remembered not only for his missionary zeal, but also for his prolific writings that held pride of place as the best English-language works on Korea until the late 1950s.
Geomancy

In Korea the practice of geomancy is known as *p'ungsujiri sol* or the theory of wind, water and land, and these practices adhere to the belief that the natural features of an area can influence the fortune of those who live there and their descendants. *P'ungsujiri sol* is derived from the Chinese practice of *feng-shui* (wind-water) which is thought to have developed from the chronic natural catastrophes wrought in China by winds and floods. These beliefs are thought to date back to at least the time of the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) and also incorporate the Daoist sciences of *yin-yang* along with the five elements that compose all matter.

Theory

Geomantic theory centres on the building of structures such as graves, temples, palaces, dwellings, villages and capitals and is thought to repulse calamity and baleful influences, and at the same time bring about good fortune by harnessing the power inherent in certain natural features. The directions are represented by animals with the east symbolized by a blue dragon, the south by a red sparrow, the west a white tiger and the north a black turtle. The interrelation between these entities and the natural topographical features such as mountains, rivers and valleys is examined before deciding on where to build. The aspects of how wind and water interact are also examined in determining the propitiousness of a location.

In the case of a major structure, a strong character of the blue dragon is sought-after in the terrain surrounding the planned structure. The building itself would generally face the south (red sparrow) with the white tiger to the right and blue dragon to the left, leaving the black turtle to the rear. This was thought to be the most propitious way in which to design most buildings. In the case of deciding the location for a grave, or *myöngdang* (a propitious site for a grave), geomantic features are also very important since they permit descendants to benefit from their ancestors. The best grave-sites would have a high peak behind them and from this peak there should be two ridges that sweep down from it to the east (blue dragon ridge) and to the west (white tiger ridge). This would enable the grave-site to be protected by these guardian spirits which would ensure the living benefit from their ancestors through these auspicious resting spots.

The selection of auspicious sites for the graves of one’s ancestors also had a down side. There was, naturally, the belief that if one’s ancestors were buried in an ideal location on an auspicious mountain, the descendant’s future would be very prosperous. However, from ancient times, there has also been the concept that if people settle on the foot of an auspicious mountain and receive the benefits of the mountain evenly, this would prevent one family from receiving the exclusive benefits (of the mountain). Moreover, it was thought that for a cadaver to be buried on an ideal mountain, the impurities resulting from death and decay would not be washed away and thus there would be no rain. Therefore, during a prolonged drought people would assume that someone had secretly buried a corpse in the mountains, and they would then seek to find and remove it. Here it is clear that the balance between geomantic benefits had to be shared among the living and the dead.

History

The knowledge of geomantic principles is thought to have entered Korea along with Taoism
in the late sixth or early seventh centuries in the Koguryo Kingdom. However, widespread adoption of these principles is not thought to have become common until the latter part of Greater Shilla. In particular, it is thought that through the teachings of the monk Tosôn (827-898) geomantic beliefs were spread. His teachings combined the Buddhist ideal of achieving merit through good works with the Daoist principles of yin-yang and the five elements, together with geomancy. Tosôn likened the Korean peninsula to a great tree with its roots at Mt. Paektu. There are many tales from the end of Greater Shilla concerning the diminished auspiciousness of the Shilla capital and its demise.

In the Koryo period there are also many stories concerning auspicious places, such as that surrounding the ancestral home of the Kingdom’s founder. The family home of Wang Kön (King T’aeyo), which was in Kaesŏng, was claimed to be in a greatly auspicious locale and by virtue of the topography of Kaesŏng, Wang Kön was able to unify the later Three Kingdoms and found the Koryo Kingdom. Wang Kön had such a strong belief in the attributes of geomancy that in his Ship hunyo (Ten Injunctions) that he left for future rulers he asserted in the fifth injunction that he was able to carry out the unification of Koryo by the latent virtue of mountains and streams of Korea. The palace of the Koryo Kingdom was constructed in a place that was renowned for its geomantic qualities. The tremendous geomantic qualities of Manwoldæ are noted in many historical records such as the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), Koryo sa (History of Koryo), P’aryŏk chi (The Eight Provinces) of Korean writers, and Gaoli tujing (Kor. Koryo togyŏng, Illustrated Account of Koryo) and Chaohsian fu (Kor. Chosŏn pu) both of Chinese writers.

Geomancy also played a major role in the Revolt of Myoch’ong in 1135. Myoch’ong was a Buddhist monk who sought to take advantage of the turbulent times in the mid-Koryo period and seize the throne for himself. By using geomantic theory the monk tried to convince King Injong (r. 1122-1146) to relocate his capital to P’yŏngyang where Myoch’ong and his conspirators planned to take power for themselves. He reasoned with the King that the geomantic attributes of Kaesŏng were depleted and that if the capital was relocated to P’yŏngyang the kingdom would be recharged by virtue of the abundant geomantic energy located there. King Injong was nearly swayed by the monk’s argument, but in the end the ruling powers in Kaesŏng convinced him to leave the capital in Kaesŏng. Myoch’ong rose up in revolt but was soon defeated.

In the subsequent Chosŏn Kingdom geomancy also played a major role in the selection of Hanyang (present day Seoul) as the site for the capital of the new kingdom. Yi Sŏnggye, the founder of the new Kingdom, selected Seoul for not only its easily defensible location, but also because the site was well situated to take full advantage of the geomantic attributes of the area. Seoul is surrounded by mountains and has the Han River flowing through its centre. To the north is Mt. Pugak which holds the power of the black turtle, Mt. Nak to the east is the blue dragon, Mt. Mallidong to the west is the white tiger and Mt. Nam (Namsan) to the south channels the power of the red sparrow. Seoul served as the seat of power for Chosŏn for almost 600 years, which bespeaks its geomantic merit.

Geomancy is not at all a dead art in this c. During the Japanese colonial period it is said that the Japanese placed their Government-General building in the front of Kyŏngbuk Palace in order to sever the flow of geomantic energy of Korea. One reason cited for the recent demolition of this building is to restore to Seoul the natural auspiciousness of the area. Other aspects of present-day adherence to geomancy are seen in the location of graves and in choosing sites to build a home.

Bibliography

Germany and Korea

Early contacts

In a first casual encounter between a Korean and a German, crown prince Sohyŏn in the middle of the 17th c. met Father Adam Schall von Bell in Peking and received some Jesuit writings. Then, in 1832, the British East India Company sent Captain Lindsay of the 'Lord Amherst' in order to try to establish trading contacts. Whilst his ship was at anchor off the west coast of Korea, waiting for the Court's permission to land, Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff went ashore and distributed religious pamphlets.

The third encounter was less harmless. Ernst Oppert, a German merchant from Shanghai, in 1866 made two futile attempts at establishing trading contacts. He went to Korea a third time in 1867 or 1868, planning to rob the mortal remains of the Korean king's father and thus acquire a means of exerting pressure on the Court. The plan failed, but became known, resulting in a consolidation of the Korean policy of isolation.

As for official contacts, Germany had no interest in acquiring colonies in Korea, but only trading interests. However, since Korea attracted foreign interest until it was eventually colonised by Japan, German-Korean relations also have to be viewed in the light of this rivalry for the peninsula.

When the Western powers became politically active towards East Asia in the second half of the 19th c., China did not succeed in clearly defining its relations with Korea in terms of international law. Korea continued to remain politically dependent on China, but was traditionally left to make its own decisions on questions of trade and missionary activities, the sole points of interest to Germany. Against the background of this badly defined legal status, Japan developed an active diplomacy towards an opening of Korea to international trade and an internal reform. The situation was so unclear that the German diplomat M.A.S. Von Brandt set out to Pusan from Yokohama on a Japanese ship in 1870 in order to examine the status of Japan on-site. The result was conclusive: the Koreans protested to the Japanese and achieved his immediate departure.

In 1874, M.A.S. Von Brandt tried to encourage Berlin to take diplomatic steps towards a German-Korean treaty, but Berlin was not interested, although the German consul in Niuzhuang also welcomed the idea. In 1875, the Japanese provoked a military incident at Kapkoji on Kanghwa Island in landing a combat-ready force there, which followed desultory naval bombardment along the Korean coastline, keeping the two countries just short of actual war. Japan then sent a negotiator to Beijing who announced that direct negotiations would be taken up with Korea in this matter. In consequence of the indecisive attitude of China, the treaty of Kanghwa was eventually signed in 1876, which was heavily weighted in Japan's favour. Although it recognized Korean sovereignty, it gave the Japanese privileges of extra-territoriality, exemptions from customs duties and the right to use their own currency in the three ports opened to Japanese trade.

The Western powers reacted positively to this treaty. When an aggressive Russian policy towards Manchuria and Korea became apparent Japan suggested that other powers, especially Germany, make treaties with Korea, so that in case of a Russian aggression Japan would not be the only power concerned. Germany was hesitant, fearing a rebuff, but changed its attitude in 1880. Shufeldt was trying to open Korean ports to the United States, and a concentration of Russian ships off Nagasaki worried foreign diplomats in Japan. At this point, the German diplomat Eisendecher recommended to follow the American example if an agreement could be reached peacefully. Von Brandt, by that time posted to Beijing, had been given authority for negotiations if the opportunity arose.
After the American-Korean treaty of 1882, followed by one with the same wording with England, Von Brandt also reacted quickly and achieved an agreement which was signed on 30 June 1882. It contained the concession that Germany and the German people might benefit from all rights conferred by the treaty even before ratification by the governments; quite important, since it was never to be ratified because Germany reopened negotiations following the same British policy.

A new treaty, negotiated by the German consul-general at Yokohama, Zappe, was signed on 26 November 1883 in Seoul. It entailed lower customs duties and contained a most-favoured-nation clause. The ratification documents were exchanged on 18 November 1884. The debate of the treaty in the German parliament brought out the question of principle concerning colonial politics, which was defined in very reticent terms. The German policy was to look after the interests of German merchants, not to acquire colonies, which reticence was to be the essence of German colonial politics for years ahead. This primacy of trade continued even after German politics changed in the 1890s, when Germany began to show colonial interests in China. In Korea, Germany limited itself to assisting German merchants and experts, because of the Japanese and Russian interests there, and Germany entertained friendly relations with both countries. Also, trade with Korea did not fulfill German expectations and was not promising to improve. Altogether, Germany was not very interested in Korean problems, remaining neutral in the various conflicts in and around Korea, even when Japan colonised Korea.

Towards the end of 1905 Japan took over Korean foreign relations, which were thenceforth represented in Tokyo, and the closure of the German Minister's residence in Seoul ended the first phase of diplomatic relations between Germany and Korea after twenty-three years. German trade with Korea had never been substantial. German exports to Korea stayed below 0.003 per cent of the total German exports and the import figures were lower still. For instance, Germany was able to secure only one goldmine concession and small first-day projects like a model farm were short-lived. In reality, Germany had not had a bad start. The former German adviser in China, Von Mollendorff, had organised the Korean customs and had much influence at court. There is also a long list of Germans who occupied prestigious and influential positions, but German diplomacy, being limited to representing civil interests as against the more 'aggressive' diplomacy of other powers, could achieve no lasting influence.

Not much of importance can be said for the time until the end of World War II. Korea was dominated and colonised by Japan, but Germans still continued to come to Korea. One of the German missionaries who visited Korea was Andre Echardt, who later returned to Germany and embarked on a university career. As the first German scholar of Korean he tried to present Korea as the third great culture of East Asia in its own right, in his many lectures and publications. For completeness sake it should be mentioned that the Korean provisional government in Shanghai declared war on Germany (being an ally of Japan) in February 1945.

Post-war relations

The second phase of German-Korean relations after World War II is the history of at least two sets of relations, given the division of both countries. Both were basically friendly, with regard to trade as well as mutual understanding for the other's complicated political situation.

The relations between the former East Germany (GDR) and North Korea (DPRK) were the first to start. The two countries entered into diplomatic relations on 7 November 1949 and exchanged ambassadors. East Germany was naturally on the side of the North Koreans during the Korean War, and gave assistance in the recovery afterwards. The common interest in the reunification of both countries led to mutual visits of the two political leaders.
in 1955/56. A number of scientific and economic agreements enhanced the good relations. Owing to various loyalties and ideological difficulties on the background of Soviet-Chinese relations, there were no visits on the highest level from 1960 to 1968. However, relations recovered after Honecker's visit to the DPRK in 1977.

The Korean War actually brought about a normalisation in West Germany's relations with the western powers, and German rearmament began. It can be said that in this sense what happened in Korea was of the utmost importance to Germany. Soon after the war, in 1953, the Republic of Korea wanted to establish a consulate general in the Federal Republic of Germany. After initial hesitation on the German side, the first Korean consul general, Dr Yi Han-ho, was established in West Germany and opened a trade mission. The FRG opened a consulate-general in Seoul in 1956, which became a legation in 1957. Both missions were raised to the status of embassies in 1958. From 1957 there were mutual visits on a ministerial level; the heads of state exchanged first visits in 1964 and 1967 respectively.

The good general relations, based on good trading relations, were at times subject to crises. The most precarious situation resulted when in 1967, during a time when anti-communism was very strong in South Korea, a group of Koreans, suspected to be North Korean spies, was kidnapped in Germany and taken to Korea. Germany protested against this violation of German sovereignty and demanded the return of the kidnapped persons and an official apology, and promised credits were frozen. The affair was not settled until 1969 and, given much prominence by the media, it had a long-term negative effect on the Korean image in Germany.

Relations between Germany and Korea are now on an excellent footing, cementing a longstanding relationship. Korean miners came to Germany in 1963, followed by nurses from 1966. Today there are more than 10,000 Koreans with permanent residence status living in Germany. Commercial exchange is also outstanding. Korea, which started off as a receiver of substantial developmental aid, has become an economically viable partner.

Germany has been one of the protagonists in the economic recovery and modernisation of South Korea. It gave humanitarian aid towards the construction of a hospital in Pusan (opened in 1954), sent experts in vocational education, and financially supported Korea's economic development. In the mid-1960s Germany was the second biggest, later the third-biggest investor, after the United States and Japan. At present, Germany is Korea's most important trading partner among the European Union countries and third on the list of partners worldwide.

Ginseng

Ginseng is a perennial plant in the family of Araliaceae that is used for medicinal purposes and is native to Korea. The species found on the peninsula is Panax ginseng C.A. Meyer and is known in Korean as 'insam.' The scientific name of ginseng alludes to its medicinal powers as the prefix 'pan' means 'all' and 'ax' is derived from axos meaning 'to cure'; thus 'panax' means to cure all -- literally, a panacea. In East Asia there are several varieties of ginseng including, Panax japonicum C.A. Meyer, which grows in Japan and parts of China, and Panax notoginseng (Burk) F.H. Chen, that is found in China. Ginseng is grown also in North America and Europe. The plant is known to have been used by man for at least two millennia, with its mention in the Chinese medical books, Mingyi bielu (Record of Medicine Names) of the Liang dynasty, and Shennong bencao jing (Shennong's Book of Medicine). Records of ginseng cultivation in Korea date to the early Three Kingdoms, during the reign of King Onjo (r. 18 BCE-28 CE) of Paekche.

Ginseng grows naturally in the mountainous regions of Northeast Asia, from latitude 30 to 48 deg. N., in which the Korean peninsula is located (from latitude 33.7 to 43.21). It is also found in Manchuria between 43-47 N., and in Siberia from 40 to 48 N. Ginseng is a
low-growing shrub that prefers a shady location. It produces berries which are generally red in colour, and its leaves are long and plural.

Korean ginseng grows best in mountain range locations with a north or northeast-aspect and between 100 and 800 metres above sea level. In South Korea, the best regions for ginseng cultivation are from latitude 36 to 38 N., but if the soil and location are reasonable it can endure less favourable climatic conditions. However, ginseng can be a difficult plant to grow for marketing, since if the environment is not to its liking, the shape of the root, its quality and efficacy will be adversely affected. Ideally, the climatic conditions for ginseng cultivation are those areas with an annual average temperature between 0.9°C and 13.9°C and an annual average rainfall of 1 300 to 1 100 mm., with an occasional snowfall. The plant will not tolerate direct sunshine and needs a humus-abundant soil and good drainage on gently sloping land, with a north or northeastern exposure. While almost all ginseng sold in Korea is cultivated on dedicated farms, the most efficacious plants are said to be those found in the wild (sansam), in the mountainous regions of the peninsula.

There are two basic types of ginseng: red and white. Red ginseng is harvested when the plant has been in the ground for over six years, while white ginseng is grown for 4-5 years before it is culled. Red ginseng is processed under controlled conditions by careful steaming, drying and shaping of the raw ginseng root. White ginseng retains the original form of the ginseng root and is washed and sun-dried until the water content is less than twelve per cent, a process generally taking about four years of storage under special conditions. Ginseng is processed in many different forms including natural root for stewing or chewing, as capsules, as a tea or tonic drink, as a powder, and is used in candy and wine, even as an ingredient in cake.

Ginseng has been treated historically as a commodity monopolised by government in Korea, with records showing the plant being placed under government control during the reign of King Myongjong (r. 1545-1567) in 1556. Other regulations during Choson reveal that the cultivation and trade of ginseng were strictly regulated as a means to control the value of this commodity. The monopoly on ginseng was maintained throughout Choson, and after Korea’s liberation in 1945, it transferred to the government of South Korea. The monopoly laws for red ginseng were reassessed in 1972, with the new regulations focused on controlling the production, processing and sale of red ginseng. White ginseng is not subject to government inspection and is not included in the government’s monopoly of the product.

Medicinal Attributes

There are numerous records of the cultivation of Korean ginseng going back as far as the early Three Kingdoms era, and to differentiate the Korean plant from others it was referred to as Korean ginseng (Koryŏ insam). From early on ginseng was prized as a panacea among the people, and its qualities are now beginning to be understood by modern science. While ginseng was in former times imbibed as a tonic for the protection of the so-called ‘five vital organs’ (ojang) and as a general health restorative, modern science now has verified its therapeutic value for supplementing adaptogenic activity; improving the circulation of blood by reducing peripheral resistance; positively increasing metabolism in regards to the promotion of regenerating fatty matter, protein and nucleic acid; and improving the function of the digestive system by promoting blood circulation in the gastric membrane. Moreover, some researchers claim that ginseng serves to fortify the immune system and thus delay the development of AIDS from the HIV infection. Others have asserted that ginseng suppresses the multiplication of cancerous cells. Other curative claims for ginseng include the promotion of mental functions such as learning ability and memory capabilities; as a male reproductive tonic; and as a painkiller for menstrual pain in women. While many of these claims have yet to be confirmed by exhaustive scientific study, clearly
the potential for the medicinal use of ginseng is quite high.

Due to the many purported medical attributes of ginseng, as well as its not unpleasant taste, it is well used by Koreans. In the culinary field, it is an ingredient in a variety of traditional dishes, perhaps most notably in samgye t'ang, which is a ginseng and chicken soup often eaten as a general health tonic. Ginseng has also become a commodity on the international market in recent years, as some of the medicinal claims made for it are progressively verified, to the degree that it can be considered as one of South Korea's major exports to Western countries.

**Chemical Composition**

Korean ginseng is a unique species and possesses a chemical composition that has long been praised as being superior due to the varied formation of its ginsenosides, which are the major active components in ginseng. Moreover, only Korean ginseng contains insulin-like compounds such as acidic peptides; ginsenoside Rb1 and Re; adenosine and Mn-containing compounds; all of which are effective in the treatment of diabetes. Thus far, a total of seventeen ginsenosides have been identified in Korean ginseng: Ro, Ra1, Ra2, Ra3, Rb1, Rb2, Rb3, Rc, Rd, Re, Rf, Rg1, Rg2, Rg3, Rh1, Rh2, and 20-gluco-Rf. Other varieties of ginseng have only seven or eight kinds of ginsenosides present. Korean ginseng also contains numerous antioxidants such as vanillic acid, syringic acid and ferulic acid, among others. Other components found in Korean ginseng include natural sugars, lipids, nitrogen-containing compounds, vitamins and inorganic matter.

**Bibliography**


**Government and Legislature**

**Government**

The Civil Service

In 1998, the government embarked on sweeping austerity programs in a bid to induce consumers into restrained spending as one of its counter-measures to the country's economic downturn. Concurrent with these programs, the Kim Dae Jung government undertook, in legislation passed by the 188th National Assembly on 17 February 1988, a massive government restructuring program, to effectively downsize the civil service, through a reduction of the number of ministries, ministers, vice-ministers and minister-level officials, together with an overall cut to civil service positions of 17 612 (10.9 per cent), by the end of the century.

The civil service system still borders, however, on a personnel total in excess of half a million, approximately one-quarter of whom work in local government. The other three-quarters include, firstly, a special category of high-ranking officials who are members of the State Council; vice-ministers of executive ministries; directors of other ministerial-level offices; ambassadors and ministers; judges and lawyers; secretaries to political figures; military personnel; civilian employees of defence establishments; provincial governors; and mayors of the seven metropolitan cities which now have status akin to that held by provinces. Secondly, there is a general civil service category composed of nine grades, of which the first five have presidential appointments, on the recommendation of the relevant ministers. Grades six to nine are nominated by ministers. Thirdly, there is a category for administration and faculty of the public schools at all levels. These people are referred to as
'educational civil servants' and are subject to the Education Civil Servant Act. Their posts include presidents, deans and faculty members of the national universities, and teachers in all secondary and primary schools. Fourthly, there are the officers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, who are subject to the provisions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Personnel Act, 1981, which improved the career structure in that organisation. Also included in the list are the national police (not paramilitary) and employees of the Presidential Office's, Agency for National Security Planning.

Civil servants employed in local government fall into 'career' and 'non-career' categories. The Local Civil Service Act, 1963, (as amended) sets out the conditions, procedures of recruitment selection, appointment, job classification, promotion and associated matters. Career stream local government officers in general hold less standing than their counterparts in central government.

The civil service is still one of the most prestigious professions in the ROK, and its entry examination is highly competitive. Civil servants are employed within the province of the National Civil Service Act 1963 and its amending legislation. This law cushions civil servants from political activity and pressure, and prevents their unfair dismissal. They have the right of appeal, but are not permitted to engage in collective bargaining. Overall, the civil service is a strong political force, not least because of its pivotal role in executing the functions of government. Also, its powerful position in Korean society owes much to the degree of eminence that surrounds the profession in the public's estimation.

The Presidency

The President of the Republic is the head of state. Under the rules of the Constitution of the Sixth Republic, the presidential system of government was adopted, and the President is now elected directly by popular vote. The incumbent serves a single term of five years, and this term may not be extended. If a future constitutional amendment were to be made to alter this rule, either to extend the term or to allow the President to serve an additional term, this would not apply to the present incumbent. This legislation provides a double safeguard against the prevailing holder of the office from seizing power for an extra term.

The President is the most powerful member of the executive, even though his powers have been reduced while those of the National Assembly have been increased commensurately. He no longer has the right to dissolve the National Assembly, but the Assembly can call the President to account to the Constitution through the impeachment rule. It can also recommend that the president dismiss the Prime Minister and other cabinet members, either individually or collectively, but this is not binding. Under the Constitution of the Sixth Republic, the President has lost the power to issue emergency measures across the whole spectrum of state affairs. His power is now limited to the issuing of emergency decrees in respect of financial matters.

The President has eight essential roles to perform, as follows:

As the head of state, and head of the executive arm of government, the President has responsibility for ensuring the safety and independence of the country, and the continuity of the state and the Constitution.

As the principal administrator, the President ensures that laws passed by the National Assembly are implemented, and can issue decrees for the enforcement of laws. The President has control over the State Council (through an instructive process to the Prime Minister who controls the ministries) and over a number of advisory bodies and executive agencies. He is empowered to appoint public officials, including the Prime Minister and the heads of executive agencies.

In his capacity as the foremost policy maker and lawmaker, the President can propose legislative bills to the National Assembly, and can veto bills passed by the National Assembly, but he can be overruled in
The President is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

As the chief executive in the foreign policy-making process, the President makes decisions relating to the conclusion of treaties or agreements, on receiving and dispatching diplomats, and on making and keeping peace with foreign states.

The President represents the country domestically, within government, and externally, in foreign relations. This includes the welcoming of foreign dignitaries, awarding honours, performing ceremonial duties, and the granting of pardons.

The President is leader of a political party, with the power of decision-making on the appointment of top-ranking personnel to the executive wing, on the basis of advice from the party.

The President has the task of pursuing the reunification of the Korean peninsula, and of referring policy on matters of momentous importance, in regard to diplomacy, national defence, or reunification, to the nation through a referendum.

The Presidential Office

In the late 1990s, under the presidency of Kim Dae Jung, the Presidential Office, with its location in Ch'ong Wa Dae (Ch'ongwadae, the Blue House) underwent sweeping change. The following organisations are placed within the Presidential Office:

Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification
Agency for National Security Planning
National Security Council
Planning and Budget Commission
Presidential Advisory Council for Science and Technology
Presidential Commission on Small and Medium Business
Presidential Secretariat
Presidential Security Service
Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs
State Council

Under a Secretary-General, senior secretaries are in control of protocol, political and economic matters, civil issues, public information, general questions and administration.

The State Council

The State Council is the body through which the President undertakes his executive functions. Members of the State Council are appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister (Constitution, Article 87). The State Council considers significant matters of state and policies which come under the President's direct responsibility, and stands ready to give him advice also on sensitive and acute issues. However, the terms of reference of the State Council are set out in Article 89 of the Constitution, of which the following are perhaps the most important:

Action for the dissolution of a political party.
Appointments of the Prosecutor General, the Presidents of the national universities, Ambassadors, the Chief of Staff for each armed service, and public officials and managers of major state-run enterprises as are required by law.
Award of honours.
Basic plans concerning delegation or allocation of powers within the executive arm.
Basic plans on state affairs and general policies of the executive.
Draft amendments to the Constitution, proposals for national referenda, legislative bills, and proposed ordinances of the President.
Evaluations and analysis of the administration of state matters.
Examination of petitions pertaining to executive policies submitted or referred to the executive branch.
Granting of amnesty, pardon and rehabilitation. Important military matters.
Matters pertaining to requests for convening extraordinary sessions of the National Assembly.
Proposed budgets, closing of accounts, basic plans for disposal of state properties, conclusion of contracts which involve major financial obligations for the state, and other significant financial questions.
Proposed treaties and other important foreign policy issues.
Questions regarding the determination of jurisdiction between executive ministries.
Other matters presented by the President, the Prime Minister, or member of the State Council.

The Cabinet

The Constitution empowers the Prime Minister to control the ministries under instructions from the President. The Cabinet examines all major policy matters coming before the government. The President chairs the Cabinet and the Prime-Minister is vice-chair.

Cabinet membership includes the Prime Minister and all Ministers with portfolios.

Office of the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister is appointed by the President with the National Assembly’s approval. He is the chief executive assistant to the President, and in this capacity (under the President’s control) he oversees the executive ministries. The extensive restructuring which commenced in February 1998 saw the establishment of the Office of State Affairs Coordination, led by a minister-level official, to assist the Prime Minister’s Office in the coordination and evaluation of inter-ministerial affairs. As vice-chairman of the State Council, the Prime Minister has the authority to recommend to the President the appointment or dismissal of members of this body.

The Office of the Prime Minister includes the following organisations:

Administrative Appeals Commission
Commission on Youth Protection
Emergency Planning Committee
Fair Trade Commission
Financial Supervisory Commission
Office for Government Policy Coordination
Office for Public Information
Ombudsman of Korea
Prime Minister’s Secretariat

The Prime Minister’s Secretariat consists of seventy members, with the Chief Secretary controlling divisional secretaries in charge of political affairs, petitions, protocol and more general matters. With the dismantling of the Ministry of Information in the February 1998 cut-backs, the work of that organisation is now the responsibility of the Office for Public Information, within the Prime Minister’s Office.

Board of Audit and Inspection (BAI)

The BAI is an organisation established by Article 97 of the Constitution and is the supreme audit and inspection body of the ROK, reporting to the National Assembly. It was established as the BAI in 1962, but its origins are in the first ROK government in 1948.

By virtue of Article 97, the BAI is under the President’s direct control, but in practice
retains its independence in the performance of its duties. It has a seven member Audit Committee and a Secretariat. It operates under a secretary-general, with two vice secretaries-general who supervise its bureaus and offices. It principal roles are to keep a close watch on the way public money is used, to examine and audit government operations and the job performances of the executive agencies and civil servants in carrying out their official duties.

The BAI was actively involved in a bid to assist the improvement of current-account deficits in January 1997, through a special audit of, inter alia, foreign currency spending by ministries. In this audit, the BAI cast a wide net, from macro-type operations such as the detailed examination of inter-bank money exchange and illegal outflow of foreign currencies, to the more subaltern issues of excess use of credit cards and injudicious overseas travel. From this audit, 6449 cases of irregularities were uncovered, and the BAI asked for disciplinary and judicial action against 1617 officials, of whom 356 were sued. Fines imposed amounted to 165.7 billion won.

State Structure

As already noted above, the President now has reduced powers while those of the National Assembly have been increased commensurately. He is now allowed to make emergency decrees only in respect of financial matters. The State Council is the primary policy-making body in the land, and it is through this institution that the President performs his executive duties.

The state structure comprises, at the summit of the executive system, the President, as the head of state; the legislature, where power resides in the National Assembly, which is a unicameral body; and the judiciary, which is constitutionally an independent arm of government, where power is vested in the courts. The court system operates at three levels. First, there is the Supreme Court which hears and adjudicates appeals of the verdicts of the appellate courts in both civil and criminal cases. The decisions of the Supreme Court are final. Secondly, there are the three appellate courts which hear appeals of decisions by district courts; and thirdly, there are the district courts which are located in all major cities, whose task is to act upon all civil and criminal cases heard in the first place. Also, at this level are the Family Courts which deals with matrimonial matters and those affecting minors.

The Ministries

Directly beneath the summit level is the office of the Prime Minister whose duty it is to assist the President. Below the Prime Minister are the Ministries, brief details of which follow:

The Ministry of Finance and Economy

The Ministry has ten divisions:

- Economic Cooperation Bureau
- Economic Policy Bureau
- Financial Policy Bureau
- International Finance Bureau
- National Tax College
- National Tax Tribunal
- Planning and Management Office
- Tax and Customs Office
- Treasury Bureau
- Welfare and Customer Policy Bureau
The Ministry holds multiple responsibilities, which include the overall planning for and the development of the national economy; emergency planning; economic policy; mobilisation of resources; investment; technical development and cooperation with foreign states and international organisations. Further, the Ministry has responsibility for matters relating to the state treasury, currency, finance, national bonds, accounts, taxation, customs; foreign exchange; and the control of state-owned and vested properties.

The Ministry of National Unification

This Ministry has nine divisions:

- Humanitarian Assistance Bureau
- Information Analysis Office
- Institute of Political Education for Unification
- Intra-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation Bureau
- Office of the Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification
- Office of Planning for LWR-Project
- Office of South-North Dialogue
- Planning and Management Office
- Policy Planning Office

The Ministry is engaged in research on many matters regarding the unification of South and North Korea, and decides measures and plans for public information and education in preparation for the eventuality.

Special mention is made here of the Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification, which illustrates the enormity of the task faced by this body and the other organisations planning for unification.

The Advisory Council has its origins in 1981 when it was established as the Advisory Council for Peaceful Reunification. It was given its present name on 25 February 1988 following its embodiment in federal law.

The Council’s primary role is to advise the President on matters of policy designed to bring about the non-violent unification of the two Koreas. In 1997, the Advisory Council consisted of over 13,000 members, with many drawn from local government (over 5,000), a greater number (about 6,000) of leading figures in many walks of life in the ROK, and an unspecified number from political and social organisations.

The President chairs the Advisory Council, which holds plenary sessions, domestic and overseas meetings, steering and standing committees. The Council’s activities are coordinated and decided by more than two-hundred and sixty domestic committees, overseas regional committees and sub-committees.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

The former Ministry of Foreign Affairs was expanded in 1998 to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. It has absorbed some of the functions of international trade negotiations and overseas trade promotions. Issues relating to diplomacy; trade; treaties with foreign states; other international agreements; and the protection and guidance of Korean nationals abroad are the responsibility of the Ministry, as are Korean missions to other states, and the maintenance of good relations with the diplomatic representatives of foreign states in Korea. In addition, the Ministry has the duty of care for economic relations with foreign countries.

The Ministry includes the following offices, bureaus and institutions:
The Ministry deals with matters associated with provincial and local administration; managing national referenda; naturalisation; elections; civil emergency planning; budgetary and financial matters; internal security; fire prevention; national police; maritime police; and local government.

The Ministry consists of twenty-one academies, bureaus, offices, commissions and centres, across the spectrum of internal affairs and local government, as follows:

Administrative Management Bureau
Appeals Commission
Central Officials Training Bureau
Civil Defence and Disaster Management Bureau
Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau
Fire Administration Bureau
Five Provinces of North Korea
Government Archives and Records Centre
Government Buildings Management Centre
Government Computer Centre
Local Administration Training Institute
Local Autonomy Support Bureau
Local Finance and Economy Bureau
Local Tax Bureau
National Fire Service Academy
National Police Commission
National Scientific Investigation Laboratory
Personnel Bureau
Planning and Management Office
Protocol and State Council Bureau
Recruitment and Training Bureau

The National Police Agency, under the control of the Ministry, has the following divisions:

Central Police Academy
Crime Prevention Bureau
Criminal Affairs Bureau
Intelligence Bureau
Metropolitan Police Agency (13)
The Ministry of Justice

This Ministry has control over prosecutions; supervision of prosecutors; penal institutions; exit from and entry into the country; immigration; protection of human rights; administration of civil and criminal justice, and other juridical matters.

The Ministry has the following bureaus, institutions, offices and other bodies under its control (numbers in parenthesis, at February 1999):

Correction Bureau
Correctional Institutions (30)
Detention House (7)
Immigration Bureau
Immigration Office (12)
Immigration Processing Centre
Institute of Forensic Psychiatry
Juvenile Classification Home (5)
Juvenile Training School (11)
Legal Affairs Office
Legal Research and Training Institute
Parole Examination Committee (5)
Planning and Management Office
Probation Office (12)
Prosecution Bureau
Regional Correction Headquarters (4)
Social Protection and Rehabilitation Bureau
Social Protection House (2)

The Ministry of National Defence

The Ministry of National Defence has responsibility for all aspects of the country's defence and military affairs. The armed forces, including the army, air force, navy and homeland reserve forces, come under the control of this Ministry, with Military Manpower Administration as a subordinate office. It consists of seventeen bureaus, headquarters and offices, as follows:

Air Force Headquarters
Army Headquarters
Budget and Finance Bureau
Defence Project Office
Information Systems Bureau
Installations Bureau
Joint Chiefs of Staff Headquarters
Logistics Bureau
Mobilisation Bureau
Naval Operations Headquarters
Office of Defence EDPS
Office of Daejon National Cemetary
Office of Information and Management
Office of National Cemetary
The Military Manpower Administration has the following offices:

- Conscription Bureau
- Mobilisation and Call Bureau
- Regional Military Manpower Office (10)

The Ministry of Education

This Ministry has overall responsibility for formulating and implementing the nation’s educational policies and programs for all levels of education -- from kindergarten to university; for life-long education; and for the provision and staffing of special schools for the physically and intellectually handicapped. It carries responsibilities also for educational establishments and facilities. It provides administrative and financial support for departments, subsidiary organisations, local education offices and all levels of schools. The Education Reform Committee, a presidential advisory body, mapped out a fifteen-year master plan on education, which came into operation in January 1998. The organisation of the Ministry includes the following divisions:

- Academic Research Policy Bureau
- Appeal Commission for Educators
- Education Environment Improvement Bureau
- Education Information and Technology Bureau
- Korea Institute of Curriculum and Evaluation
- Korea Institute for Special Education
- Life-long Education Bureau
- National History Compilation Committee
- National Institute for International Education Development
- National Institute for Training of Educational Administrators
- Planning and Administration Office
- School Policy Office
- Secretariat of National Academy of Sciences

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism

Formerly the Ministry of Culture and Sports, this Ministry was renamed the Ministry of Culture and Tourism during the government restructuring process of 1998. The sports interest is still retained in the form of a Sports Bureau, which holds responsibility for the general oversight of sports and sporting venues and fixtures, both in Korea and overseas.

The Ministry has a wide responsibility for matters pertaining to culture, including policy on the Korean language; the arts; traditional as well as modern sports; the National museums, institutes, library and theatre; the preservation of cultural property; promotion of the Korean film industry; and looking after the interests of specialised groups in the culture and art fields, and also in all areas of sport.

The 1998 reorganisation of the Ministry resulted in the formation or preservation of the following organisations:

- Arts Bureau
- Culture Industry Bureau
- Cultural Policy Bureau
The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

The major functions of this Ministry include the determination of policies in regard to medium and long-term development and farmland management; land registration; agricultural technology; water resources; food-grain production; sustainable agriculture; livestock, food grains, vegetables, fruits; and horticulture; forestry planning and management; improvement of the marketing structure; control of agricultural products; and many other matters which fall within the purview of agriculture. There is a training institute for agricultural officers, a plant and animal quarantine service, and an inspection and quality control service. The institutions which command these functions include the following:

Agricultural Officer Training Institute
Agricultural Policy Bureau
Agricultural Production and Horticulture Bureau
Food Policy Bureau
International Agricultural Bureau
Livestock Bureau
Marketing Policy Bureau
National Agricultural Products Grading and Inspection Office
National Animal Quarantine Service
National Plant Quarantine Service
National Veterinary Research Institute
Planning and Management Office
Provincial Agriculture Statistics Office (9 offices)
Rural Development Bureau

Subordinate divisions of the Ministry exist for forestry administration (comprised of eight specialised areas) and rural development administration (which has a total of fourteen experimental stations, bureaus and institutes)

Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries
This Ministry was created from the division of the former Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, and holds responsibilities for all matters related to the establishment and maintenance of fisheries; aquaculture; management of marine resources; and negotiation of maritime treaties. The Ministry has further responsibility for the National Maritime Police Agency (which includes twelve maritime police stations). The main divisions of the Ministry are:

Fisheries Patrol Vessel Management Office
Fisheries Policy Bureau
Fishery Promotion Bureau
Floating Navigational Aids Office
Maritime Accidents Inquiry Agency (5 offices)
Maritime and Fisheries Officials’ Training Institute
Maritime Policy Bureau
Maritime Transport and Seafarers’ Bureau
National Fisheries Products Inspection Station
National Fisheries Research and Development Institute
National Oceanographic Research Institute
Planning and Management Office
Port Construction Bureau
Port Policy Bureau
Regional Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Office (11 offices)

The Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Energy

On 6 March 1993, the Ministry of Trade and Industry was merged with the Ministry of Energy and Resources to form the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy. With the government’s reshuffle of the ministries in early 1998, it was renamed Commerce, Industry and Energy.

This Ministry is responsible for the country’s overall trade policy related to exports and imports, bilateral and multilateral trade cooperation and international trade policy. Its energy and resources policy covers petroleum and gas, coal, electric and nuclear power. It carries responsibility, inter alia, for the promotion of industrial competition, for new and established industries, industry and the environment, and industrial technology. policy. It keeps a watchful eye on imports by conducting investigations and making determinations, where imports are having, or are likely to have, an injurious effect on Korean industry.

The main establishments are:

Capital Goods Industries Bureau
Electronics, Textile and Chemical Industries Bureau
Industrial Policy Bureau
Korea Trade Commission
Planning and Management Office
Power and Resources Policy Office
Technology Policy Bureau
Trade Policy Office

Other organisations include:

Free Export Zone Administration Office
Korean Industrial Property Office
Mine Registration Office
Mine Safety Office (4)
Small and Medium Business Administration
The Ministry of Construction and Transportation (MOCT)

This Ministry was created by merging the previously separate Ministries of Construction and Transportation under the government’s initiative for ‘small government’ (December 1994).

The MOCT’s organisations are tasked with the coordination in construction and operation of the national infrastructure system. The establishment and co-ordination of plans for national land development and control; conservation; utilisation; preservation; development; and renovation of land and water resources development are its responsibility. It deals too, with matters such as building materials production, the preparation of construction budgets, and building research and construction legislation. The Ministry formulates policy and oversees all matters related to land transport, marine transport, harbour and port construction; railways, aviation and tourism.

The organisations of the MOCT include the following:

Civil Aviation Bureau
Construction Economy Bureau
Construction Safety Bureau
Construction Technology Bureau
High Speed Railway Construction Planning Team
Housing and Urban Affairs Bureau
Land Bureau
Logistics Bureau
Major Urban Areas Transport Planning Team
National Planning Development Bureau
National Railroad Administration (with 14 sub-divisions)
New Airport Construction Planning Team
Planning Management Office
Road Bureau
Surface Transportation Bureau
Transport Planning Bureau
Urban Architecture Bureau
Water Resources Bureau

The Ministry of Health and Welfare

This Ministry is responsible for the maintenance and promotion of national health and social welfare. Its functions include public health; epidemic prevention and control; public hygiene and sanitation (the latter including a quarantine service and the testing, acceptance or rejection of imported foodstuffs); medical and pharmaceutical administration; public assistance; social welfare; health insurance and family planning programs. The main divisions of the Ministry are:

Health Policy Bureau
Health Promotion Bureau
Health Resources Management Bureau
Hospitals - National Mental Health (5)
National Rehabilitation Centre
National Sorokdo (leprosy) Hospital
National Tuberculosis Hospital (2)
National Health Institute
National Institute of Social Welfare Training
National Medical Centre
The Ministry of Labour

The Ministry of Labour is concerned with industrial matters relating to a workforce of over twenty-one million (21.6 mill. in 1997). This includes, for example, the control of foreign workers (267,000 in 1997), most of whom are employed in labouring or similar work; the foreign-worker industrial training scheme; and the enforcement of legislation which compels the medium and larger-sized firms (over 300 employees) to employ disabled persons. Its concerns include worker-employer relations; safety in the workplace and working conditions; employment and unemployment policies; maintenance of the job bank; occupational stability; protection of workers' rights and welfare; wage levels and standards; and the resolution of labour disputes. The Ministry's bureaus and offices include:

- Central Employment Information Office
- Employment Policy Office
- Industrial Accident Compensation Insurance Deliberation Committee
- Industrial Safety Bureau
- Labour Policy Bureau
- Labour Standards Bureau
- Labour Training Institute
- Local Labour Relations Commission (12)
- Minimum Wage Council
- National Labour Relations Commission
- Planning and Management Office
- Regional Labour Administration Office (6)
- Working Women Bureau

The Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC)

The MIC was established in 1994 and in 1995 the Korea Information Infrastructure Initiative (under the provisions of the Basic Act on Informatisation Promotion, 1995) set the scene for bringing information technology directly into the lives of the Korean people, as well as facilitating government services and actively assisting the business sphere. Many 'informatisation' programs are being implemented to enhance the quality of life of the Korean people.

The MIC holds responsibility for Korea's postal services; telecommunications; broadcasting; postal exchanges; postal savings; postal pensions; and national life insurance. On the development of information technology policies and programs, the MIC works closely with the Ministry of Science and Technology. The main areas of the MIC include:

- Central Radio Monitoring Office
- Electronic Data Management Centre
- Information and Communication Officials Training Institute
- Information and Communication Policy Office
- Informatisation Planning Office
- Korea Communications Commission
- Planning and Management Office
- Postal Savings, Insurance and Finance Bureau
- Posts Bureau
- Radio and Broadcasting Bureau
- Radio Research Laboratory
Regional Communications Office (8)
Supply and Construction Office
Telecommunication Business Promotion Bureau

Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST)

The main functions of the MOST are to provide technology forecasting and to set basic policy for science and technology (S&T); the development of core technology and future-oriented technology; what the Ministry refers to as ‘big science technology’; the pursuit of technological self-reliance in regard to the safe use of nuclear technology; the promotion and support of research and development (R&D) programs carried out by Government Research Institutes (GRI’s) such as the Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), tertiary institutions and private bodies; policy-making for R&D investment; human resources information; international S&T cooperation; and the promotion of public understanding of S&T.

The Ministry has a continuing and fully responsible role in the coordination of S&T policy among the other Ministries and for overseeing compliance with the policy.

The basic legal framework for the government’s S&T policy is contained in Article 127 of the Constitution and S&T related laws. The Ministry was extensively reorganised and elevated in status by the government’s restructuring process in February 1998. It has the following offices and bureaus:

Atomic Energy Office
Basic Science Manpower Bureau
Planning and Management Office
R&D Policy Office
Science and Technology Cooperation Bureau
Science and Technology Policy Bureau

The Meteorological Administration is a distinct organisation with direct responsibility to the Minister of Science and Technology, and has six divisions, as follows:

Applied Meteorology Bureau
Forecast Bureau
Meteorological Research Institute
Meteorological Training Institute
Planning Bureau
Regional Meteorological Office (5)

Ministry of Environment

The Ministry is committed to preventative policies which encourage industry to engage in production processes aimed at lessening the amount of waste and pollutants and the damage to natural areas. These extend to the establishment of transparency and consistency in environmental and conservation policies, not least to ensure that the ROK can claim that its standards are in tune with those of advanced nations. Sweeping programs are in place to improve air quality; the better control of waste; the improvement of water standards; and the upkeep of the natural environment. The Ministry is directly concerned with the government’s global treaties on environmental issues, of which thirty-two were in existence in 1998.

The Ministry of Environment has twelve departments for policymaking and control of environmental and associated issues, as follows:

Air Quality Management Bureau
Central Environmental Disputes Coordination Office (4)
Environmental Management Office
Environmental Officials' Training Institute
Environmental Policy Office
National Institute of Environmental Research
Nature Conservation Bureau
Planning and Management Office
Regional Environmental Management Office (4)
Waste Management and Recycling Bureau
Water Quality Management Bureau
Water Supply and Sewage Treatment Bureau

Ministry of Legislation

The Ministry of Legislation has general control over and coordination of government legislation. This includes the presentation of bills and regulations before the State Council; the authoritative interpretation of laws and regulations; submission of the Executive's legislative bills to the National Assembly and the preparation and promulgation of laws and regulations. The Ministry compiles data and information for legislation, and is the informed source on domestic and foreign laws. Under the Prime Minister it holds responsibility for the Administrative Appeals Commission; it has an officer in charge of public relations on legislation who, *inter alia*, is responsible for informing the public of important laws and regulations which affect the citizen's daily life. The Ministry has four bureaus, as follows:

Legislation Bureau of Administrative Affairs
Legislation Bureau of Economic Affairs
Legislation Bureau of Social and Cultural Affairs
Bureau of Administrative Appeals Management

The Ministry of Patriots' and Veterans' Affairs

Now directly controlled by a Minister, the former Patriots' and Veterans' Administration Agency is tasked with overseeing issues relating to veterans; such as financial relief; loans; compensation; employment and insurance for disabled war veterans and policemen; defectors from the DPRK; bereaved families of soldiers, policemen, and students killed in the 1960 uprising; and a National Cemetery. The Ministry is comprised of the following establishments:

Enhancing and Memorial Affairs Bureau
Merit Reward Administration Bureau
Merit Reward Judging Committee
Office of National Cemetery for the April 19th Revolution
Regional Office of Patriots' and Veterans' Affairs (5)
Research and Training Centre for Patriots’ and Veterans’ Affairs
Welfare Services Bureau

Legislature

Confucian socio-political Doctrine

The Chinese Confucian tradition of behavioural and institutional modes, focusing upon hierarchical structures, deference to superiors, virtuous behaviour, and observance of correct form, is deeply ingrained in Korean socio-political culture. Other influences, such as those associated with the western liberal democratic, and western socialist traditions, combined with Korea's own native mores and practices, are now more in evidence. They have helped to produce an integrated socio-political culture in Korea, but elements of the
Confucian doctrine continue to persist in regard to attitudes and thinking. This is not surprising since Korean society was subjected to Confucianism over a period of more than five hundred years, until the Chosŏn dynasty came to a close in 1910, during which it was the official philosophy.

Some of the characteristics of the Confucian doctrine include the following,

- A dislike of government interference in private and family matters and life.
- A preference for decision-making through consensus, rather than by a majority vote, and a reluctance to compromise on matters of principle.
- A striving for power and position over rivals.
- An acceptance of a hierarchical pattern of relations among people within society and elsewhere, so that everyone was either superior or inferior to everyone else, apart from peers of the same age.
- An unchanging and resigned view of the human condition whereby states and dynasties emerged and disappeared in a cyclical way, while life in its essentials stayed fundamentally the same.
- Belief in order, consensus and accord as the most important political principles.
- Devout loyalty of subjects to their ruler who was regarded in awe and with reverence.
- Disapproval of commercialism, industrialisation, and a cash economy.
- The importance of placing duty towards family over and above individual desires and interests.

Some features of the Confucian doctrine persist in regard to the citizens' relative lack of interest in civic matters as opposed to family and group concerns; their residual unwillingness to be involved in voting and other political procedures; and their contempt for political parties. An example of this characteristic is the voter turnout in the 4 June 1998 local elections, which hit a record low with only 16.72 million (52.6 per cent) of the 32.53 million voters going to the polls.

Other features include a disinclination to accept the idea of a loyal political opposition and open debate within the legislature; and a tendency for political leaders to believe that their superior knowledge gives them the right to decide what is best for the people, without question.

The Yushin Hŏnpŏp Constitution (1972-1987)

The Fourth Republic came into being on 28 December 1972, with Park Chung-hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi) as President. A new Constitution was implemented at the same time, after a national referendum, and this ushered in the Yushin (meaning revitalisation reforms) system, in order to accelerate domestic economic growth and to deepen the industrial modernisation process, and in response to dramatic changes in the international environment which were perceived as a grave threat to the ROK's security. Under this system, democracy was virtually extinguished, as the President assumed his role for life. His election was through a presidential electoral college, composed of at least 5 000 presidential electors elected directly by ROK citizens. To be elected, the President required a majority of the votes of the total members of the college through a secret ballot. Also, under the new Constitution, one third of the National Assembly members were appointed by the President; the principle of the separation of powers and checks and balances was discarded and replaced by the absolute supremacy of the President. Opposition parties, dissidents and the press, were hounded and silenced, and some of their fraternity imprisoned and tortured. Freedom of association scarcely existed, and enfranchisement lost its meaning other than nominally. The new regime took on the attributes of bureaucratic authoritarianism. The President believed that a liberal democracy was incapable of achieving his economic and industrial goals because it had 'created a social environment blurred with inefficiency and conspicuous consumption'. With the introduction of the Yushin system, the ROK experienced huge economic growth, increased industrial expansion, and a surge in GNP and per capita income, in a situation where big business could thrive in the absence of labour problems.
Following President Park's assassination on 26 October 1979, there was a two-year interim period of chronic unrest and instability, as the country's economic fortunes plummeted, with falling production and exports. During this period, on 18 May 1980, the bloody Kwangju massacre took place, in which many people died. As a consequence of this, political control was tightened, the Special Committee for National Security Measures was formed, and General Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tuhwan) was elected President on 27 August 1980, with a pledge to build a 'democratic welfare state', and to allow the resumption of normal political activities.

Despite the promises of President Chun, the new Constitution under the Fifth Republic, approved by referendum, displayed many of the features of its immediate predecessor, but with certain improvements. It did not guarantee the presidency for life, but for one term of seven years, thus anticipating a peaceful transfer of power. It guaranteed stronger political and civil rights, habeas corpus was restored, and the guilt-by-association policy was abolished. Also, greater freedom of the press and association materialised during the latter part of the Republic's life, but most characteristics of the Yushin system were retained until 1987. That year, although economic performance and growth were excellent, opposition movements clamouring for democratic reform grew larger and more vociferous until even the army and the police could not contain them. The situation veered out of control following President Chun's 13 April 1987 refusal to consider Constitutional revision, his approval for police action in arresting hundreds of political dissidents, and for their indiscriminate use of tear gas and methods of torture against students. It was in response to these circumstances that retired General Roh Tae Woo (No T'aeu), leader of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, put forward his eight-point proclamation, pledging a thorough democratisation of ROK politics, on 29 June 1987. These included:

- Amendment of laws to allow union organisation, collective bargaining and collective action;
- Constitutional reforms to guarantee basic human rights;
- Direct presidential elections;
- Freeing of all political prisoners except those charged with serious crimes;
- Lifting of restrictions placed upon the press and political parties;
- Independence of the judiciary;
- Local autonomy;
- Revision of the Constitution.

In July 1987, President Chun, now under tremendous public pressure, gave his word to implement the eight-point program.


The most significant change in this Constitution occurred in the executive arm where the President's powers were reduced while those of the legislature were enhanced. The President is now elected by popular vote, for a single five-year term. He no longer has the power to take emergency measures, except in relation to financial matters, and he cannot dissolve the National Assembly.

The new Constitution authorised the extension of the National Assembly sessions from ninety to one hundred days. It granted the National Assembly the power to inspect all aspects of state affairs on a regular basis, instead of only certain matters, and it was also given the power to pass a non-binding motion calling for the removal of the Prime Minister or any member of the State Council, as well as the stipulation that the Assembly's consent be given for the appointment of the Prime Minister.

Other provisions of this Constitution called for the appointment of the Chief Justice by the President with the consent of the National Assembly. Judges of the Supreme Court have to
be appointed by the President with the approval of the Chief Justice, with the consent of the National Assembly. All other judges are appointed by the Chief Justice with the consent of the Conference of Supreme Court Justices. Impeachment or imprisonment constitute the only grounds for a judge being dismissed.

A Constitution Court was established by this Constitution under Article 111. It has responsibility for passing judgement on the constitutionality of a law upon request of the courts, and rules on impeachment and jurisdictional disputes between the branches of government, and other constitutional matters prescribed by law. Article 111 also calls on the Constitutional Court to decide on the disbanding of political parties and to judge the legal rights of organisations.

The rights and responsibilities of citizens were given new protection. It was made obligatory for an arrested person to be told of the charges brought against him; and habeas corpus was maintained. Other freedoms implemented included the restoration of the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, and association; with prior censorship forbidden. Victims in criminal cases were permitted to attend court hearings in person to present their cases if they so wished. Those suffering from injuries committed by those engaged in criminal acts were given the right to receive financial compensation from the state if the offender could not pay.

In the work place, the Constitution made it compulsory to implement a minimum wage; and to prohibit discrimination against women in terms of their employment, including wages and working conditions. It also granted workers freedom to associate, to engage in collective bargaining, and to take collective action. The welfare of senior citizens and the very young also became prioritised in the Constitution.

The year 1997 marked the final year of the Seventh Republic under the presidency of Kim Young Sam (Kim Yŏngsam). President Kim, who presided over the first genuinely civilian government, pledged to further the democratic process as a means of restoring the fortunes of the economy, by furthering the reforms promised by his predecessor; through strong government, clean politics, and the creation of a just and healthy society. Steps were taken to drive out corruption at the top of society, by forcing high-ranking political, military and judicial figures to disclose their assets. Towards the end of his term of office, however, Kim Young Sam’s administration began to lose popular support, in tactical moves not unlike those of some earlier presidents, as well as the corruption revealed by the collapse of the Hanbo Steel Group; irregularities attached to his own son, Kim Hyun-chul (Hyŏnch’ol); and the revelation that the President intended to personally choose the presidential candidate for the New Korea Party. On the other hand, Kim honoured his promise to administer the presidential elections in a fair manner, and thus he is credited with the nation’s first-ever clean and fair election.

Politics witnessed unprecedented change in 1997, highlighted by the break-up of the New Korea Party and the nomination of a single candidate representing both the National Congress for New Politics and the United Liberal Democrats, and the merger between the New Korea Party and the Democratic party to create the Grand National Party. The inauguration of Lee In-je’s (Yi Inje) New Party for the People, and the agreement to field a single candidate for the National Congress for New Politics and the United Liberal Democrats gave way to a new political equation, pitting a united opposition camp against a divided government one. The 18 December 1997 election was won by Kim Dae Jung by a margin of 390 000 votes over his Grand National Party opponent, Lee Hoe-chang Yi Hoech’ang).

The National Assembly

Legislative power is located in the National Assembly which is a one-chamber body, which
must have more than two hundred members; the exact number is determined by law. Two-thirds of the lawmakers are elected by popular vote for a term of four years, and the remaining one-third of the seats are distributed proportionately among parties winning five seats or more in the direct election. This system of proportional representation is intended to encourage legislative participation by leading technocrats through the political party structure, and to advance democracy. Lawmakers now have the right to examine government activities, and to give the Prime Minister or other cabinet ministers a no-confidence vote. However, the right to dismiss the Prime Minister, which entails the removal of the whole cabinet, cannot be exercised during the first year following his appointment to office.

The significant responsibilities of the National Assembly include the power to propose, deliberate and approve or reject legislative bills, to finalise and inspect closing accounts of the national budget, to ratify or reject foreign treaties, and to give, or withhold, support on the declaration of war or the conclusion of peace. The Assembly has the prerogative of impeaching the President, and to endorse his emergency orders, thus giving it more opportunity to check possible abuses of presidential powers.

The National Assembly elects one Speaker and two Vice-Speakers. A law-maker enjoys the usual privileges of a legislator, and he is not held responsible outside the Assembly for any opinions expressed, or votes cast, within the legislative chamber. A lawmaker is not allowed to hold any other office, and he is not permitted to abuse his position and privileges.

S Kirby

(Amended with up-to-date information supplied by the Yonhap News Agency, Seoul, especially the Korea Annual, and the Public Information Services of the ROK Government Ministries referred to)

Government Administration and Home Affairs, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]

Government Service Examination (see kwagō)

Greater Shilla and Parhae (see History of Korea)

Guide to Korean Characters, A

A Guide to Korean Characters is an introductory book that features the 1,800 basic Chinese characters used in Korea. It was written by Bruce K. Grant and published by Hollym International in 1979. Grant’s work is designed as a guide in writing Chinese characters and the characters are presented in order based upon stroke count. Each character has a definition; han'gül equivalent; three to four examples of usage; and a simplified chart demonstrating how to write the character. The work also functions as a rudimentary dictionary in which characters can be found by stroke count, radical or phonetic index. The author includes several appendices listing Korean surnames; easily confused characters; simplified characters; and characters with multiple readings; in addition to others. While A Guide to Korean Characters is useful for the elementary student of Korean, it lacks depth and full definition for intermediate and advanced students. Further, since the work is limited to 1,800 characters, it is less valuable for specialised reading requirements.

Gyeong Sang University

Gyeong Sang University (Kyōngsang Tachakkyo) is a national university situated in Chinju in South Kyōngsang Province. It began as a junior college (Torip Ch’ogūp Chinju Nonggwa Tachak) in 1948, with Hwang Unsŏng as its first president. In 1953, it became
the four-year Chinju Nonggwa Taehak.

In 1973, the college attained national college status. In the 1950s and 1960s, its main role was as an agricultural college, but the rapid increase in junior high and high school students in Korea had led to a surge in the demand for teachers. In response, the college established the Departments of Science Education, Mathematics Education and Home Economics Education in December 1969. In 1972, the name was changed to Gyeong Sang College. In March 1975, a master's degree program commenced, followed by a doctoral program in December 1978. In the following year, the college became a university and was re-established to its present location in Kajwa-dong.

The university consists of the Colleges of Agriculture; Business Administration; Education; Engineering; Humanities; Law; Marine Sciences; Medicine; Natural Sciences; Social Sciences and Veterinary Medicine. Post-graduate studies are undertaken in the Graduate School as well as in the Graduate Schools of Business and Public Administration; and Education and Industry. University publications include the Kyŏngsangdae hakpo in Korean and The Gyeongsang Herald in English.

HMS Samarang [United Kingdom and Korea]

Hadong County

Situated in the southwest corner of South Kyŏngsang Province, Hadong County is comprised of the town of Hadong and the townships of Kojŏn, Kŭmnam, Kŭmsŏng, Pukch’on, Agyang, Yangbo, Okchong, Chŏgyang, Chin’gyo, Ch’ŏngam, Hwagae and Hwangch’ŏn. The county covers 675.03 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 69 104. Mt. Chiri National Park, comprised of a chain of rugged mountains over 1 500 metres high, lies in the northwest area of the county. As the name Hadong (East of the River) suggests, the county is situated to the east of the Sŏmjin River. With some of Korea’s cleanest waters, the Sŏmjin River is a major habitat of the sweetfish, a local delicacy. Traditionally, the river also served as an important trade route.

The Seoul-Chŏnju Line, which connects Chinju and Sunch’ŏn, passes through the center of the county, while the Namhae Expressway connecting Pusan and Sunch’ŏn runs through Chŏngam Township and Kŭmsŏng Township in the south. National roads from Mokp’o to Pusan and from Namhae to Wŏnju also pass through the area. With the construction of Namhae Grand Bridge, the national road linking Namhae and Wŏnju now leads directly to Namhae Island.

Because of the rugged terrain in the northern portion of the county, only about seventeen per cent of the land is arable. Most of the agriculture is centred around rice cultivation along the river and streams, especially along the Hoengch’ŏn Stream and Sŏmjin River. Songwŏn Reservoir, the county’s largest, serves as an important source of irrigation water for the region. Besides rice, dry field crops such as barley, beans, sesame, garlic and Chinese cabbage are grown here. In Hwagae Township, Hwagae tea is produced. Since records state that the shirhak philosopher Chŏng Yagyong (styled Tasan, 1762-1836) discovered Gaolin tea plants growing here, it can be surmised that the area has a long tradition of tea cultivation. In recent times, a large number of stock breeding operations have also been set up in the area. Coastal fishing provides catches of flatfish and anchovy, but the local fishing industry has lately been in decline due to depletion of fish stocks and the negative effect of industrial pollution.

Clay is extracted from about ten quarries located in the Pukch’on and Okchong townships. The clay is used to produce ceramics and traditional pottery. The ceramics industry is centred around Chin’gyo township, and in Saemigol. Other speciality products of the area include bamboo shoots, pears, small shells called corbicula and rice-straw shoes known as chipshin. Although the shoes are no longer worn, they are still used in shaman rituals and
funeral ceremonies.

In addition to Mt. Chiri (See Chiri Mountain), the county has a large number of tourist destinations and historical relics. Ssanggye Temple in Hwagae Township is the most famous temple in the county. This ancient monastery houses numerous old buildings as well as a relief carving of a Buddha. Within the temple complex one also finds a marble stele, dating from the Greater Shilla period, that commemorates Chin'gam, the temple’s founder. Outside of the temple, there is a unique pair of changsŏng (spirit post) made by planting tree trunks upside down with the roots exposed. Up the slope from Ssanggye Temple stands Ch’ilbul (Seven Buddha) Temple. Legend has it that seven princes who came here attained Buddhahood.

There are a number of Confucian schools in the area, including Oksan Sŏwŏn in Okchong Township, Yŏnggye Sŏwŏn in Yangbo Township and Hadong Hyanggyo next to Highway 19 in Hadong. Built during the Chosŏn period, the school was moved three times during the 18th century before reaching its present location in Ùmnae Village. The school has been designated South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 233.

The Chosŏn Confucian tradition is being kept alive in Ch’ŏnghak-dong, a small village in Ch’ongam Township. Here, residents follow a traditional lifestyle. Boys have long braided hair while men wear their hair in top-knots, and everyone wears the white clothing common during the Chosŏn period. In the village’s Ch’ŏnghak Sŏdang, students receive an education in the Confucian classics.

In order to promote the Hadong County’s unique cultural heritage, a series of festivals and celebrations are held throughout the year. Since 1981, the Hadong Cultural Festival has been celebrated annually on the first of November. Held under the auspices of the Hadong Cultural Centre, this event includes folk games, exhibitions and sporting competitions. Another event, called Meguch’igi, is held for up to fifteen days around the lunar New Year. During this time, a farmers’ band visits every household of the village to wish for a good harvest and conduct exorcisms of evil spirits.

**Haedong cheguk ki** (International Records of Korea)

*Haedong cheguk ki* was compiled in 1471 by Shin Sukchu by order of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) and consists of one volume. This work contains a historical survey of the geographical features of Japan, national affairs in Japan and the procedures for the exchange of diplomatic envoys with Japan. It contains six maps that show the countries around Korea: Japan proper, Kyŏshō, Tsushima and the Ryukyû Islands among others. It also contains the ‘Ilbon ‘guk ki’ which records the major historical events in Japan from the time of the first emperor until 1471, the ‘Yuguguk ki’ which contains a history of the Ryukyû Islands and the ‘Chobing ŭngjŏp ki’ which is a record of the diplomatic procedures between Japan and Korea.

After the original work was published there were supplements added to the work. First there was a report of an uprising in 1473 and in the next year upon receiving a royal order the Junior Secretary of the Board of Rites, Nam Che, made maps of the Three Ports (sampo). In addition in 1501 there were descriptions of the diplomatic affairs with Ryukyū, as related by envoys from Ryukyū, added to the work. All of these supplements were added to the original work as appendixes.

This work contains valuable data for the study of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan and the various protocol guidelines that were adhered to by the two countries. It is notable that while Chosŏn pursued a policy of subservience (sadae) towards China, they held an attitude of superiority in their dealings with Japan and Ryukyū. This disposition can be seen in the various protocols that were observed in dealing with these countries. In
addition this work not only served as the basis for Korean diplomatic intercourse with Japan from the time of the Muromachi Shogunate, but also was studied by Japanese scholars during the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It has been reissued at least twice in this century with the most recent being in 1974 when it was included in Haechaeng ch’ôngjae published by the Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe.

**Haedong kayo** (Songs East of the Sea)

*Haedong kayo* is a *shijo* collection that was compiled by Kim Sujang in 1755. There are three versions of this work: the Ilsŏk-edition, the Chu family-edition and the Pak family-edition. The Ilsŏk-edition bears the title *Haedong p’unga* (Music of Korea).

The structure and organisation of various editions of *Haedong kayo* are quite similar insofar as the placement of songs and the classification by writer are concerned. The earliest version, the Pak family-edition, has a total of five-hundred and thirteen works by ninety-three writers; the Chu family-edition has five-hundred and sixty-eight works by one-hundred writers; and the Ilsŏk-edition, the most recent version, has six-hundred and thirty-six works by eighty-five writers. However, the Ilsŏk-edition is incomplete, as the end part of the book is missing. In examining the contents of these editions, all of the writers present in the Pak family-edition are found in the Chu family-edition, but the Chu family-edition has seven writers that are not present in the Pak family-edition. The Ilsŏk-edition has the largest number of unknown writers at three-hundred and fifteen, while the Pak family-edition has two-hundred and two. Works of the compiler Kim Sujang number twenty-one in the Pak family-edition while there are one-hundred and seventeen of his poems in the Chu family-edition. Also, the poems of Kim Ch’ŏnt’ae in the Chu family-edition number fifty-seven while there are only twenty-one in the Pak family-edition.

*Haedong kayo* is valued as one of the most important songbooks of Korea, along with Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn (Enduring Poetry of Korea) and Kagok wŏll'yu (Sourcebook of Songs). *Haedong kayo* has not only preserved songs from traditional ages, but has served also as a model for later compilations.

**Haedong kosŭng chŏn** (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks)

The *Haedong kosŭng chŏn* is a collection of biographies of eminent Buddhist priests of Koguryŏ, Paekche, Shilla as well as Koryŏ (up to mid-Koryŏ), compiled by the priest Kakhun. It was ordered by King Kojong in the second year of his reign (1215), and is the oldest extant work of its kind. Only Volumes 1 and 2 of the *Yut’ŏn’yŏn* have survived to date, but these are nevertheless considered as important classical works relating to the religious and cultural history of Korea. The exact number of volumes in the complete work is not known, but it is assumed to have been about ten volumes, based on the Chinese model of similar works at that time.

The surviving volumes of the *Haedong kosŭng chŏn* include biographies of such Chinese priests as Shun Dao (Machurian?), Tan Shi and A Dao, who were considered important in relation to the introduction of Buddhism to Korea, as well as a number of notable Korean priests. Volume 1 is regarded as being more valuable than Volume 2, which consists mainly of items reproduced from other sources such as the *Biographies of Priests*, compiled by the priest Yi Jing of the Tang dynasty.

The extant volumes were discovered by a priest named Yi Hoegwang in a Buddhist temple in Sŏngju, North Kyŏngsang province, and were reproduced in the journal Pulkyo (Buddhism), no. 37. An edited version appeared in the *Dai Nippon bukkō yoshō: Yuhoden sōsho*, Series 2, in 1917. They were again reproduced in Histories and Biographies, No.2, of the *Taishō shinshō daizōkyō*, volume 50, and in 1956 Tongguk University published them as *Changoe chammok*, No. 1.
**Haedong munhŏn ch’ŏngnok**

*Haedong munhŏn ch’ŏngnok* is a bibliography of historical documents that was compiled by Kim Hyu (1597-1639) and is composed of one fascicle. In 1616 Kim saw for the first time the Chinese book *Wenxian tongkao* (Kor. *Munhŏn tonggo*) and desired to make a like work in Korean. He therefore devoted over twenty years of his life recording documents from the Shilla period to the Koryŏ period up until the time of his own birth. This work holds about 670 entries that cover a broad spectrum of topics such as the Confucian Classics, historical documents, documents of rituals and music, military and law records, medical documents and those concerning agricultural matters among others. The entries are arranged under the title of the document followed by the author’s name, his father and grandfather’s names, his scholarship, official post, posthumous title and his acquaintances. The bibliographical annotation provided by Kim includes any reprintings of the document or its inclusion in subsequent works and also explains the features of the work.

Presently there are copies of this work at Korea University, Seoul National University and Seoul City University. It contains very valuable data for the study of historical documents in the times prior to the early Chosŏn period.

**Haedong yaŏn**

*Haedong yaŏn* is a Chosŏn period compilation of unofficial historical documents from the early Chosŏn period that was compiled by Hŏ Pong (1551-1588). It consists of two fascicles and is a calligraphed work. The first section of this work contains the ‘T’aeguk’, ‘T’aejong ki’ and the ‘Sejong ki’. The second section includes additional records from ‘Sejong ki’, and records from ‘Munjong ki’, ‘Nosangun ki’, ‘Sejo ki’, and ‘Yejong ki’ among others. The third and final section is composed of ‘Yŏnsan’gun ki’, ‘Chungjong-ki’, ‘Injong ki’ and ‘Myŏngjong ki’ among other documents. The form of this work is closely related to other literary miscellanies that preceded it such as Sŏ Kŏjong’s *P’ilwŏn chapki* (Writing Brush Garden Miscellany) and Sŏng Hyŏn’s *Yongjae ch’onghwasa* (Assorted Writings by Yongjae) and others.

This work contains documents from many historical works that are not presently extant and therefore is quite valuable in the study of the early Chosŏn period. Moreover, since it is in the form of an unofficial history, it contains many of the behind-the-scenes political intrigues and machinations that were common in the Chosŏn period. Notable is the record surrounding the time of Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) that records events surrounding a political massacre and many events from the life of this Prince who led a decadent lifestyle before being deposed.

**Haedong yŏksa** (History of Korea)

*Haedong yŏksa* is a historical chronology that details the history of Korea from ancient times to the end of the Koryŏ period which was compiled by Han Ch’i’yun (1765-1814). This seventy-volume work took over ten years to complete and also has a fifteen-volume supplement. It was modelled after the Qing dynasty work *Yishi* (Kor. *Yŏksa*) and therefore Han named it *Haedong yŏksa*. The general historical divisions and outline of the work closely follow the examples presented in An Chŏngbok’s *Tongsa kangmok* (Annotated Account of Korean History) and *Zichi tongjian gangmu* (Kor. *Chich’i t’onggam kangmok*) of the Chinese Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi.

In compiling this work, Han Ch’i’yun tried to provide an objective point of view by using many foreign documents. In all 550 documents were cited for this work, and of this number 523 were Chinese sources. This bias towards Chinese sources results in *Haedong*
yŏksa accepting the Chinese view of Korean history, which according to Chinese sources began with the Chinese colonies set up on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, early states such as Ko Chosŏn are disregarded in this work. This, of course, leads to the largest criticism of this work, which is the over reliance on Chinese sources instead of also incorporating Korean documents. Nonetheless, this work still is a worthy source of data in the study of the ancient states in Korea. A seventy-one volume, twenty-six fascicle calligraphed copy of this work is presently stored at the National Central Library in Seoul.

_Hae egessọ sonyŏn ege_ (From the Sea to Children) [Literature]

**Haehaeng ch’ongjae**

*Haehaeng ch’ongjae* is a collection of travel accounts and poems written by Korean envoys and the officials who accompanied their embassies to Japan from the time of both the Koryŏ and Chosŏn Periods. Also included in this work are the accounts of prisoners returning from Japan and those who had run adrift in Japan due to shipwrecks and storms. This hand written work of an unknown compiler is comprised of twenty-eight volumes. The name of the work is derived from the rather broad term ‘haehaeng ch’ongjae’ which accounts for all types of travel to Japan.

This collection has no preface or epilogue and the works are classified by the author’s name into the twenty-eight volumes. Some of the writers featured in this collection include Chŏng Mongju whose trip to Japan in 1377 is recorded in the section entitled ‘Pongsasijak’, Shin Sukchu’s 1471 journey, Kim Sŏngil’s 1590 travel chronicled in ‘Haesa rok’, the 1597 journey of Kang Hang in ‘Kanyang rok’, Kyŏng Sŏm’s 1607 journey in ‘Haesa rok’, and Kim Chinam’s ‘Tongsail rok’ that details his 1682 trip to Japan. There are many other accounts included in this collection in addition to those listed above.

*Haehaeng ch’ongjae* was included in the efforts by the Chosŏn Kosŏ Kanhaeng Hoe to collect and publish all of the important documents of the past kingdoms that were undertaken from 1909 to 1916. *Haehaeng ch’ongjae* is included in its entirety in the third to sixth volumes of this collection. Although there are some differences with the original, they are minor and the result is a nearly identical work. *Haehaeng ch’ongjae* is a highly valued document for research into the relationships between Korea and Japan in both the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods, and moreover, provides a Korean perspective on conditions in Japan.

**Haehak yusŏ** (Posthumous Collection of Haehak)

*Haehak yusŏ* is the collected works of Yi Ki (1848-1909) a patriot in the waning years of Chosŏn. This calligraphed collection consists of twelve volumes and three fascicles. The materials in this work were posthumously collected by Yi’s son, Nakcho, and then revised by Kang Tonghŭi and Chŏng Inbo. It was published in 1955 in the third volume of *Han’guk saryoch’ongsŏ*.

The first volume contains information on the land systems in traditional Korea, the second discusses various political and governmental systems and the third contains literary documents. The fourth volume holds memorials presented to the king and the fifth contains prefaces and epilogues to various other works and the eighth is a diary. The ninth volume contains biographical accounts and miscellaneous notes, while the tenth is composed of rhymed verse. In the eleventh and twelfth volumes other poems of Yi’s are collected.

This work provides a window through which to view the tumultuous events that swept the
Chosŏn dynasty into the twentieth century and ultimately to its demise. Yi was a patriot who sought reforms in Korea but was thwarted by those in the government who were concerned with protecting their own interests rather than those of the nation. This well-written work provides many enlightening chapters on the political, economic, social and educational situation in Korea at the end of the Chosŏn period, and for this the work is highly praised.

Haein Temple

Haeju

Haeju is situated on the Yellow Sea in Hwanghae Province. Mt. Suyang (899m) and Yongsu Peak (513m) rise in the northern part of the city. In close proximity with the ocean and with mountains blocking winds from the northwest, the city enjoys a relatively mild climate. The area has an average rainfall of 1,025mm and an average annual temperature of 10.7°C.

The city’s most important source of employment is manufacturing. Local factories produce building materials, chemical goods, machinery, metal products, foodstuffs, clothing, glass, pottery and everyday household items. Building materials made here include cement produced at Haeju’s cement plant, and chemical products include potassium fertilisers and caustic soda. Machinery produced here includes agricultural implements, electric motors and transformers. In addition, local factories manufacture furniture, musical instruments, pottery, shoes, cloth, blankets, under garments, sheet glass, bicycles, plywood, tiles and fishing tackle.

The city’s agriculture is centred around vegetables such as Chinese cabbage, turnips, spinach, cucumbers, tomatoes, red peppers and leeks, and fruits such as persimmons, pears, peaches apples, strawberries and jujubes. In addition, there are dairy farms, duck farms and piggeries. Marine products also make a significant contribution to the local economy. Boats operating out of the city’s harbour bring in catches of gizzard shad, croaker, grey mullet, and shrimp. Oysters and clam are also harvested in the area.

Historical sites in the city include Suyang Fortress and pavilions such as Nagwŏlch’ŏng and Haeunjong. In Haech’ŏng-dong, one finds a Koryŏ-era nine-storey pagoda and a 4.64-metre high pillar erected during Koryŏ. Known as the Tarani Pillar, each of its six sides contains an inscription of the Buddhist text Dafoding Tuoluonjing. In Okkye-dong, there is a stone-built ice-storage chamber. The inner chamber is 28.3 metres long, 4.5 metres wide and 6.0 metres high. It is said to have been built during Koryŏ, and to have been repaired in Chosŏn, in 1735. Near the chamber is a five-storey pagoda, with a height of 4.63-metres, also built during Koryŏ. In Okkye-dong there is Haeju Hyanggyo, an old county public school, founded in 1423.

Haenam County

Situated at the southwestern tip of South Cholla Province, Haenam County consists of Haenam Town and the Kyegok, Masan, Munnae, Pugil, Pukp’yŏng, Sani, Samsan, Songji, Okch’ŏn, Hwasan, Hwawŏn, Hwangsan and Hyŏnsan Townships. Although there are several mountains on the eastern side of the county, the area is mostly made up of relatively flat terrain. As a southern coastal area, the region’s weather is characterised by mild winters and cool summers. These conditions make it an ideal place for the cultivation of warm-weather crops such as fruits and red peppers. Along the coast, there are a number of artificial oyster and cockle beds, and there are also several mines in the area.

Haenam County has a number of tourist attractions. Mt. Turyun Provincial Park is
particularly popular. At the base of Mt. Turyun, one finds Taehing Temple which is famous for its links with Hyujong (Grand Master Sosan, 1520-1604), one of the greatest monks of the Choson period. Some of the personal effects of Hyujong can be seen in a small museum at the temple, and a stupa in his honour stands with other stupas near the entrance to the temple. On the slope of Mt. Turyun, stands Ilchi Hermitage. This small hermitage was built by Úisun, (1786-1866) styled Ch’oůi. Famous as both a meditation master and a tea expert, Ch’oůi was on intimate terms with many of the Confucian literati of his time, including Kim Chŏng'hŭi and Chŏng Tasan. Tea is still grown outside of this small but picturesque hermitage.

In Songji Township, one finds the southernmost point of the Korean mainland, known as Land’s End. This rocky strip of land jutting into the sea has been eulogised in the poetry of Kim Chiha. The exposed granite pinnacles of Mt. Tarma rise up above the site, and on the slopes of Mt. Tarma, one can see Mihwang Temple.

In addition to Buddhist temples, the county has several old historical buildings associated with Choson period Confucianism. The Haenam Hyanggyo (County public school), in Haenam Town, was originally founded in 1398 and was moved to its present location in 1482. After being destroyed in the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), the school underwent restoration in 1673 and 1844. The main lecture hall has been designated South Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 77.

**Hagwŏn**

Hahoe village

**Haksul ch’ongnam** (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Academic Works)

*Haksul ch’ongnam* is a bibliography of Korean studies research works, which has been published annually since 1966 by the National Academy of Sciences. The contents cover research publications from 1901 to the present-day, thereby making it a comprehensive research tool.

**Haktang**

**Halla Mountain**

Located in the middle of Cheju Island, Mt. Halla (1,950 metres) is South Korea’s highest mountain. It has been known by a number of names, including Puak, Mt. Wŏn, Mt. Čhin, Mt. Sŏn, Tumuk, Mt. Yŏngju, Mt. Pura, Hyŏlma Peak and Yŏngjanggun. In the present name, ‘han’ (which becomes ‘hal’) refers to the Milky Way, while ‘na’ (misconstrued as ‘la’) means ‘grab.’ In other words, from the mountain’s lofty peak, it seems as if one could reach up and grab the Milky Way.

Mt. Halla is actually a volcano. At the top of the mountain, there is Paengnoaktam (White Deer Lake), a three-kilometre caldera which has filled with water. Beautiful in any season with its reflections of the sky, the lake is especially lovely when covered with snow. In addition, there are approximately 360 parasitic cones on the mountain. Living next to a volcano, Cheju Island residents are no strangers to natural disaster. In addition to heavy winds and occasional cyclones that threaten the island, the residents experienced two eruptions at the beginning of the eleventh century. The island’s inhabitants survived the ordeal by hiding in caves or by temporarily fleeing in boats.

The valleys of Mt. Halla are primarily found on the north and south sides of the mountain.
The streams running down the northern side tend to be straight, in contrast with the winding streams and waterfalls characteristic of the southern side. A collection of odd-shaped rocks called the ‘Five-hundred Generals’ lie on the mountain’s southern slopes. Tourists come from far away to see scenic areas such as T’amni, Kolmŏri, Hyodonch’ŏn, Suak and Tosolch’ŏn Valley and the Ch’ŏnjŏnyŏn or Ch’ŏnjeyŏn Waterfall. The mountain also has several lava tubes such as Kuri Cave, Honggwae and Sanggwae. The latter two caves are around thirty metres long. Kuri Cave begins at the entrance to the Kwanŭm Temple hiking trail. Its height and width vary from two to five metres and it is 380 metres in length.

Many writers and poets have praised Mt. Halla’s unique beauty. One of the earliest accounts was Kim Sanghon’s work *Namhang ilji* (Daily Accounts of a Southern Voyage). In 1601, Kim, while performing a mourning rite on the mountain, praised the mountain’s spiritual powers and picturesque scenery. In 1875, Ch’oe Ikhyŏn described a hike up the mountain in his work *Hallasan gi* (Record of Mt. Halla). Approximately fifteen people accompanied Ch’oe on the hike; yet, all but four turned back short of the summit. The record suggests how rugged the ascent must have been before modern hiking trails were built. Yi Kŏn, in his work *Cheju p’ungt’o gi* (Record on Cheju’s Environment), discusses the area’s wildlife. He states that although there were no bears, tigers and wolves on the mountain, there were cattle, horses and a surprising number of deer. With its high elevation, Mt. Halla has a great number of temperature zones. As a result, the mountain also provides a habitat for a wide variety of plants. The area is home to around 300 species of trees. Of these, 31 per cent are evergreens and 62 per cent are subtropical varieties.

With its spectacular scenery, lush valleys and lovely waterfalls, Mt. Halla is a favourite destination for Korean tourists. To meet the demand, there are five well-marked hiking routes leading up the mountain. Unfortunately, the increasing number of visitors has put a great deal of stress on the area’s delicate environment. In order to preserve the mountain’s natural surroundings, the area was designated Halla-san National Park in 1970.

**Hallym University**

Hallym University (Hallim Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Ch’unch’ŏn in Kangwŏn Province. Founded in January 1982 as Hallym College (Hallim Taehak), it initially had the Departments of Biology; English; Social Welfare; Pre-medicine and Medicine. Kim T’agil served as the school’s first president. In the 1980s, the college expanded with the addition of numerous departments and institutes and in December 1984, the affiliated Sŏngshim Hospital was built adjacent to the campus.

In November 1987, the college received accreditation for Master’s degree courses and in November 1989, was accredited for Ph.D. courses. In 1988, Hallym became a university, composed of four colleges, with Hyŏn Sŭngjong as president. In the 1990s, the university continued to expand with the construction of new facilities, a gymnasium and a language centre with state-of-the-art computer and audio-visual facilities.

Hallym University now consists of the Colleges of Information & Electronics Engineering; Humanities; Medicine; Natural Sciences; and Social Sciences, along with the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration, North-East Studies and Social Welfare. The university’s history department is known for its internationally-recognised scholars, such as Yi Kibaek and Yu Yŏngik, who have both taught there. In support of historical research, there is also a small museum on campus, with a collection of artefacts from Kangwŏn Province. Hallym also offers a foreign language program, with an international exchange student content.

*Hallim pyŏlgok* (Song of the scholars) [Literature]
Haman County

Situated in the centre of South Kyongsang Province, Haman County is comprised of the town of Kaya and the townships of Kunbuk, Taesan, Popsu, Sanin, Yohang, Ch’ilbuk, Ch’ilso, Ch’ilwón and Haman. The county covers an area of 416.57 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 64,212. Mt. Mudung (556m) and Mt. Chaktae (648m) rise along the county’s eastern border while Mt. Sobok (739m), Mt. Yohang (744m) and Mt. Pangó (530m) stand in the southwest. As the site of heated battles during the Korean War, Mt. Pangó switched hands on about nineteen occasions.

The Nam and Naktong rivers mark the county’s northern border. In the flat areas near these rivers, farmers grow rice, the county’s major crop. Approximately 33 per cent of the county’s land is arable. Besides rice, watermelons, red peppers, garlic, spinach, cotton and sesame are grown here, while local orchards produce peaches and persimmons. In addition, there are numerous mines in the area which excavate gold, silver and copper.

The county has a number of scenic areas. Kyôngyangdae, a giant rock overlooking the Naktong River, offers a panoramic view of the surrounding area. Situated on the east side of the Kuma Expressway, the rock is easily accessible to visitors coming from Taegu. In earlier days, one of the main routes into southeastern Korea went by here. As a result, Kyôngyangdae is frequently mentioned in older travelogues and poetry.

During the early Three Kingdoms period, the area belonged to the Ara Kaya, one of the tribes of the Kaya federation. A number of Kaya-era tombs and fortresses have been discovered in the area. Some claim that the Mt. Sông Fortress in the town of Kaya marks the site of Ara Kaya’s palace, but this has yet to be confirmed.

Buddhist artefacts in the area include Koryo-era stone statues depicting a seated Buddha with attendants at Haman’s Taesan Village, an old Ch’ilson-gak (Seven Star Pavilion) at Wŏnhyo Hermitage in Kunbuk Township and a pagoda with a lion motif at Haman’s Churi Temple. On Mt. Pangó, there is a relief carving of a Buddha. As the date it was carved (801) was inscribed on the rock, the work is of particular significance to the art historian. At Changch’un Temple in Ch’ilbuk Township, there is a seated Buddha figure, a five-storey pagoda and an old Main Buddha Hall (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 7, 68 and 16).

In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Ch’ilwón Hyanggyo just east of the Kuma Expressway in Ch’ilwón Township, Togyōn Sŏwón in Ch’ilwón Township’s Yongjong Village, Kŭmch’ŏn Sŏwón built in 1569, Tŏgam Sŏwón built in Pongsŏng Village in 1634, Torim Sŏwón built in Taesan Township’s Taesa Village in 1672, Sŏsan Sŏwón built in Kunbuk Township’s Sach’on Village in 1706, Songjong Sŏwón built in Sanin Township’s Songjong Village in 1721 and Haman Hyanggyo in Haman Township just east of Kwangjŏng Stream. Haman Hyanggyo was founded in 1392 in P’asu Village, but was moved to its present site in Pongsŏng Village in 1595. Famous pavilions in the area include Tongsanjöng in Kaya’s Kŏmam Village, Pan’gujöng in Taesan Township’s Changam Village, Sajjöng in Kaya’s Sŏlgok Village, Ch’aemjöng in Kunbuk Township’s Wŏnbuk Village and Hapjangjöng in Taesan Township’s Changam Village. Hapjangjöng (Uniting Rivers Pavilion) gets its present name from its location at the spot where the Naktong and Nam rivers come together. The pavilion site was used as a retreat by Cho Imdo (1585-1664), a neo-Confucian scholar and writer.

Aimed at preserving the area’s cultural heritage, a number of festivals and celebrations are held throughout the year. The Ara Cultural Festival is held in early November in the town of Kaya. The festival includes an opening ceremony, various celebrations, a sporting
competition for local residents, folk performances and games. Writing, drawing, music, and calligraphy contests are also held at this time.

Hamel, Hendrik (1630-1692)

Hendrik Hamel was a Dutch seaman who was shipwrecked off the coast of Cheju Island in 1653. A journal, considered to have been written by Hamel, concerning the adventures of his crewmates and himself in Korea, represents one of the first Western accounts of the country.

Hamel was born in 1630 in Gorkum and in 1650 left his native Holland for the East Indies as a seaman. He served in various capacities for the VOC (The United East Indian Company), such as gunner, before being promoted to writer and then bookkeeper. His duties as bookkeeper required him to not only keep a record of the ship’s finances, but to be responsible also for the ship’s journal. It was in this capacity that Hamel left Batavia (present Jakarta) in the sixth month of 1653, on board the merchant ship De Sperwer (Sparrow Hawk) of the VOC, as it set sail for Taiwan. After a stay in Taiwan, the ship then navigated to Nagasaki in Japan, but met with foul weather and ran aground off the southern coast of Cheju Island. Of the sixty-four-man crew, thirty-six survived the shipwreck. Under normal circumstances the ship would have been expected to arrive in Nagasaki by the end of the eleventh month, and as time passed, the VOC’s governors gave up all hope of recovering the vessel. In the following year the ship, crew and cargo were all officially declared lost.

The shipwrecked seamen were soon discovered by the Koreans on Cheju, and were then detained by royal command. King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659) ordered that the seamen should not be allowed to leave Cheju, and when several members of the party attempted to escape, they were punished by the authorities. In 1654, Hyojong ordered that they be brought to the mainland and then to Seoul, the capital. There, Hamel and his crewmates were ordered to serve as the king’s guard. The Dutch sailors were closely watched by the Chosŏn authorities and were denied any freedom of movement in Korea. Notwithstanding, there were various escape attempts, which resulted in some of the men losing their lives on recapture. Those remaining were exiled to Cholla Province in 1656, and eventually split up into small groups in various areas of the province. In autumn 1666 Hamel, along with seven of his comrades secretly purchased a boat and set sail for Japan, thus eventually escaping from their Korean captors after some thirteen years. In Japan, Hamel and his crewmates were interrogated by the Japanese authorities before being allowed to leave on a Dutch trading vessel. Hamel remained in Batavia for a short period before finally departing for Holland, where he arrived in late 1667. He and the other seven sailors were awarded small payments by the VOC. Hamel lived out his life in Gorkum and died, still unmarried, in the second month of 1692.

The journal attributed to Hamel was the first information on Korea to reach the West. The work was, however, recorded in Japan while Hamel and the other sailors were awaiting a Dutch ship, and was largely composed from the recollections of its writer. Hamel’s journal provides an account of the shipwrecked crew’s stay in Korea and a general description of various Chosŏn institutions, the governing structure, and of housing, etc. Hence, it is of value for its perception of seventeenth c. Korea, as seen through European eyes.

Hamel and his crewmates were not the first Europeans to arrive in Korea, as they had been preceded by nearly thirty years by another Dutchman, Jan Janse Weltevree. Weltevree had also been shipwrecked, but did not leave Korea and worked towards the improvement of armaments by imparting his knowledge of cannon-casting to Chosŏn artisans. According to the journal, Hamel and his fellow captives met Weltevree during their time in Korea, and gained much knowledge about the peninsula from him.
Hamhung

Hamhung is situated in South Hamgyŏng Province. Except for Mt. Panyong (319m) in the northwest and Unju Peak (618m) and Ch’ŏnju Peak (562m) on the eastern border, the city’s terrain is flat. Sŏngch’ŏn River flows through the western sector before joining Horyŏn Stream on its way to the East Sea. Most of the area’s agriculture is centred around rice cultivation on the fertile Hamhung Plain. Although the cultivated area is limited, crop yields here are exceptionally high. Fruits such as apple, pear, grape and peach are also grown commercially in Hamhung.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, an efficient transportation network was set up in Hamhung. In 1922, the Hamnam Railway Line was built, followed by the Hamgyŏng Line in 1928 and an industrial railway linking Hamhung and Hŭngnam in 1933. The area’s electricity supply comes from hydro-electric plants on the Pujŏn and Changjin rivers. Taking advantage of the city’s transport hub, many factories have been established in the area, including the Hamhung Industrial Park. These plants manufacture a wide range of goods, including chemical products, workshop and farm machinery, electrical equipment, tyres, building materials, textiles, foodstuffs and articles for everyday use.

The city contains a number of important historical sites. On Mt. Panyong is Hamhung Fortress and at the foot of Mt. Sŏlbong lies Kwiju Temple. In Kwiru-dong, there is Kyŏnggi’ŏn, a large wooden structure which is said to mark the birthplace of Yi Sŏnggye. Hamhung Pon’gung, a hall located in Sonamu-dong, was built by Yi Sŏnggye after he became King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398). Erected at the site of the king’s forbear, the hall was used for rites dedicated to the last four generations of his ancestors. Burnt down during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), the building was restored in 1610 and then reconstructed in the late 17th c. It was extensively damaged during the Korean War, but has been gradually repaired. It is now a museum. Northwest of city hall in Panyong-dong is Hamhung Hyanggyo, a Confucian school built c. 1469. Modern educational institutions in the city include Chŏngsŏng College (originally known as Hamhung Medical College), Hamhung College of Chemical Industries and Hamhung Waterworks College.

Hamp’yŏng County

Situated to the west of Kwangju in South Cholla Province, Hamp’yŏng County is comprised of the town of Hamp’yŏng, and the townships of Nasan, Taedong, Sonbul, Shin’gwang, Ōmda, Wŏrya, Hakk’yo and Haebo. The county covers an area of 387.70 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 69 728. The area’s topography is characterised by plains and hills. Mt. Pulgap (516m) and Mt. Moak (348m) rise in the north; Mt. Karnak (258m) stands on the southwestern border and Kosan Peak (359m) is in the centre. With its location on the coast, Hamp’yŏng County has relatively mild weather with an average yearly temperature of 12.8°C and an annual rainfall of 1 337mm.

Approximately 77 per cent of the county’s households are engaged in agriculture, and 39 per cent of the total area is arable. Of this, 15 270 hectares is used for rice cultivation and 9 350 hectares for dry-field crops. Tobacco, sedge, peach and persimmon are also cultivated commercially. Hamp’yŏng County is a leading producer of onions. Mint (nowadays a key ingredient in motion sickness medicine); edible lotus roots and herbs for oriental medicine are among the speciality crops grown for market. More as a supplementary income, local farmers raise cattle, chickens and ducks. For the last 300 years, sedge mats have been woven in the Sasan, Wŏrya and Haebo townships.
Most of the area’s historical sites are found in the vicinity of Kisan Peak in the south and near Mt. Wôrak (165m) in the northwest. Hamp’yông Park, situated at the base of Kisan Peak, contains several pavilions including Sheshimjong, at the southeast end of the park, and Kwandôkjông. To the left of the path leading through the park, is a row of twenty-two steles commemorating war veterans and Chosôn governors.

Buddhist sites in the area include a stone lantern at Yongch’ôn Temple, relief carvings of Buddhas at Kosan Temple and Sagi Peak, a stupa in Hamp’yông Village, a standing Buddha figure in T’ap-dong and a large bronze bell at Pogwang Temple. Important temples in the area include Sôsang Temple on Mt. Kunyu, Taegul Temple on Mt. Taegul and Kŭngnak Temple on Mt. Kambang.

A number of tongje (village rituals) are still performed in the area. Of these, one of the most important is the Yŏngsuje which is performed in the town of Hamp’yông. Held to appease the spirits of those who died by drowning, the ritual begins around sunset and continues until early next morning. At an altar in Yŏngsu Stream, prayers are offered beseeching the local water deity to prevent any future drownings. During the procedure, ritual offerings are made to the deity from a boat on Yŏngsu Stream. As the food for offering is placed on the boat, those in attendance float candles on the water as they pray for personal good fortune. Farmer’s music (nongak) is then played by a local band. Buddhist monks originally officiated at the ritual, but it is now performed by shamans.

Hamyang County

Situated in the western part of South Kyŏngsang Province, Hamyang County is comprised of the town of Hamyang and the townships of Mach’ŏn, Pyŏnggok, Paekchŏn, Sŏsang, Sŏha, Sudong, An’gū, Yurim, Chigok and Hyuch’ŏn. The Sobaek Mountain Range runs through the county and one of Korea’s best-known mountains, Mt. Chiri, rises (1 915m) is in the south. In spite of the area’s high elevations, the weather is relatively mild with a yearly average temperature of 12.6°C and an average annual rainfall of 1 178mm.

Approximately eighty per cent of the county’s residents work in the agricultural sector. Rice is the principal crop, but barley, potatoes, beans, radishes, Chinese cabbage, garlic and hot peppers are also cultivated. Poultry and pig farming operations are also found here. As a supplementary means of income, over half of the area’s households practice sericulture. In the town of Hamyang, there are silk processing mills as well as factories producing hanji (Korean paper), wooden implements and cut stone.

With Mt. Togyu National Park to the north and Mt. Chiri National Park in the south, the county invites tourists to a large number of attractions. The trail through the Hanshin Valley up to Mt. Chiri’s Ch’ŏnwang Peak is particularly popular with hikers. Other scenic areas in the county include Yongch’u Waterfall and the Yongch’u Temple site in An’gū Township’s Songwŏn Village, and Sŏgye, a picturesque valley in Hamyang’s Kuryong Village. Sŏgye is famous for the oddly shaped granite pillars that overlook the valley’s clear streams. Taeun Temple stands at the valley entrance.

Since most of the county’s historical sites are clustered around the 88 Olympic Expressway, they are easily accessible to visitors. As for Buddhist relics, at the old site of Sŭngan Temple in Sudong Township, there is a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 294) and a seated Buddha figure made of stone (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 33), and in Hamyang’s Kyŏsan Village, there is another seated Buddha figure (Treasure No. 376). Other artefacts include a seated Buddha figure at the Kŭngnak Temple site in Sŏsang Township’s Oksan Village, a three-storey pagoda at Kŭmdae Temple in Mach’ŏn Township, a stupa at An’guk Hermitage, a rock carving in relief (Treasure No. 375) of a standing Buddha in Tŏkchŏn Village and a three-storey pagoda at Pyŏksong Temple.
Confucian schools in the area include Hamyang Hyanggyo in Kyosan Village; Anñi Hyanggyo in Anñi Township’s Kyobok Village; Hamyang Namgye Sŏwŏn in Sudong Township’s Wŏnp’yŏng Village, and Ch’ŏnggye Sŏwŏn northwest of Mt. Yŏnhwa. Hamyang Namgye Sŏwŏn was built for Chŏng Yŏch’ang in 1552 — its structure was recently reconstructed and now serves as the county library. In Paekchŏn Township’s P’yŏngch’ŏng Village, one finds Pyŏksongjŏng. This small pavilion was originally built in honour of Kang Mun’il who resided in this area. Other pavilions in the area include Haksaru and Hamhwaru (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 90 and 258) in Hamyang’s Unnim Village and Nongwŏlchŏng in Anñi Township’s Wŏllim Village.

Overlooking Imch’ŏn Stream in Yurim Township’s Son’gok Village, stands Hamhŏjŏng, a pavilion built in honour of Ch’oe Hanhu. When Ch’oe served as governor of the county in early Chosŏn, he was popular as a leader who urged the general populace to engage in both agriculture and scholarly studies. In Hamyang’s Sangnim Park, there is a stele in commemoration of his achievements and in 1970 another stele was erected outside of Hamhŏjŏng.

Han Ho [Calligraphy]

Han River

From its origin in the T’aebaek Mountain Range, the Han River flows east-west through the provinces of Kangwŏn, North Ch’ungch’ŏng and Kyŏnggi, and the city of Seoul before entering the Yellow Sea near Kanghwa Island. In ancient times, there were several names for the river. In the Han-shu (History of the Former Han Dynasty), it is called Taesu; on the stele next to the tomb of Koguryŏ’s King Kwanggaet’o (r. 391-413), it is referred to as Ari-su, and in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), it is called Han-su. The words ‘ari’ (originally ‘al’) and ‘han’ are originally Korean words referring to the great size of the river. The Han is about 514 kms. in length and is the fourth longest in Korea after the Yalu, Tuman and Naktong rivers. It has two main branches. The northern branch, known as the Puk (North) Han River, begins around Mt. Kiimgang in Kangwon Province while the southern branch, known as the Nam (South) Han River, has its source at Mt. Taedok in Samch’ŏk. The river’s northern and southern forks meet at P’aldang Lake to the east of Seoul.

Located at the centre of the Korean peninsula, the Han River basin was home to some of the region’s early cultures. Excavations of the Han River and Nam Han River areas have revealed a large number of Palaeolithic remains. In addition, there are over one hundred and forty Neolithic sites, many of which contain geometric-design pottery. A number of earthen fortifications and tombs provide proof of the Paekche kingdom’s early occupation of the area. During greater Shilla, the Han River basin’s political importance waned due to its distance from the capital in Kyŏngju. However, the area increased its importance during Koryŏ, when the capital was moved to nearby Kaesŏng. Towards the end of Koryŏ, as a response to many foreign invasions, some claimed that the geomancy of the Han River basin made it more suitable as a place for the nation’s capital. Even so, the permanent transfer of the capital to modern-day Seoul was not effected until early Chosŏn. Yi Sŏnggye (King Taegjo) who founded Chosŏn in 1392, moved his capital from Kaesŏng to Hanyang (present Seoul) in 1394.

About three-quarters of the Han River basin is mountainous terrain. The area is sparse in forest and vegetation generally and not least because of this the catchment area of the surrounding mountains drains the outflow into the river at a rapid rate. As a result, the Han sometimes overflows and the resultant flooding can be severe, especially around Ch’unch’ŏn and P’aldang Lake. During the twentieth c., the worst floods occurred in
1925, 1936, 1940, 1960, 1965, 1972 and 1984. In 1990, the Ilsan Dyke burst, causing tremendous damage to the surrounding area. In order to better harness the river’s resources, Hwach’on Dam was built in Hwach’on County in 1944. This was followed by the construction of Ch’unch’on Dam, Soyang Dam and Uiam Dam on the Puk Han River, P’aldang Dam just east of Seoul and Ch’ungju Dam on the Nam Han River.

Han Yongun (1879-1944)

The Korean Buddhist priest Han Yongun (Manhae) lived during a turbulent period in Korean history. It was a period which had profound effects on his life and upon which he left an enduring mark through his efforts as a Buddhist reformer, social activist, and author of both novels and poetry. His celebrated collection of eighty-eight poems, Nimului Ch‘immuk (The Silence of the Beloved), firmly secured his reputation as a leading figure within modern Korean vernacular poetry. This collection of poetry continues to affect Korean readers with its vivid images and masterful display of the poetry inherent in the Korean spoken language, and it would be nearly impossible to find a schoolchild who could not recite by memory at least two of the poems.

During Han’s lifetime Korea’s longlasting policy of isolation came to an end as the Choson dynasty (1392-1910) collapsed in the face of internal and external forces. In 1910 Japan’s control was formalized through the Treaty of Annexation, and in the fifty-year period under Japan’s aegis Korea was transformed from an independent, agrarian kingdom to a colonized, industrial police-state.

This era of colonial rule witnessed the growth of a variety of nationalist responses to the national situation, and in the main, the greatest threat to Japan’s rule came from organized religions. The Korean Protestants, the Ch’ondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way; a syncretic Korean religion), and the Buddhists all played important roles in attempting to regain Korea’s sovereignty, as demonstrated in their cooperative effort in the March First Independence Movement of 1919.

Han came from a modest gentry family and as a child was schooled in the Chinese Classics. He early on exhibited a certain precociousness in his enjoyment of classical Chinese novels, an enjoyment which most traditional parents would have prohibited. In 1899 he left home intending to see world but was soon shocked to see that his traditional education left him ill-prepared in the modern world.

It was during this time of dismay that he went to a Buddhist monastery and began a period of reclusion and meditation. While at the monastery he learned of the world beyond Korea set his mind on going to Vladivostok and, ultimately, America. In Vladivostok, however, he was nearly killed and so went home in 1904.

In 1905 he returned to the Paektamsa Monastery, the site of his earlier retreat, and received his ordination as a monk and subsequently commenced his formal studies of Buddhist scripture and began his Sôn (Zen) training. In 1908 he left for Japan where he was befriended by a Japanese Buddhist scholar and had the chance to see firsthand a modernized society. During these six months he studied Buddhism and Western philosophy at a Buddhist university, and he was deeply impressed by the vitality of Japanese Buddhism. This period proved to be pivotal in his intellectual maturation and the development of his Buddhist outlook.

The progressive attitude in Japanese Buddhism was precisely what he saw lacking in Korean Buddhism, and in 1910 he completed his Chosôn pulgyo yushinnon (The Reformation of Korean Buddhism), a lengthy treatise which called for widespread changes within Korean Buddhism and which was greatly influenced by his observations of how Japanese Buddhism had come to terms with the drastic changes of modernization.
Among his many proposals for reform, *Reformation* called for an end to the insistence that monks be celibate, and this issue, which caused an uproar in the Buddhist community, still proves to be divisive.

He spent the years between 1911-1917 trying to popularize Buddhism and serving on a variety of Buddhist councils which opposed other Korean Buddhists who had allied themselves with Japanese Buddhism. In 1917 he achieved his spiritual awakening and on March 1, 1919 launched himself into the political arena by acting as one of the thirty-three signatories of the Korean Declaration of Independence. He spent close to three years in prison for this, but upon release in 1922, he resumed his efforts towards strengthening Korean Buddhism and giving it a role in the struggle for national sovereignty. He remarried in 1933 and had a daughter one year later, and despite the difficulties on him and his family, he persevered in his activities as a Buddhist intellectual and social critic until his death at the age of sixty-six.

Although it is commonplace to think of Han as a Buddhist reformer and a political activist, it is crucial to bear in mind that these activities were, to a great degree, carried out in print and were made possible by the proliferation of print media in Korea in the early part of this century. He was a prolific essayist who wrote on topics ranging from Buddhist history and philosophy to social events outside of Korea. In essays he put forth his views on the debate over women's hair length and offered advice to students facing financial difficulties, and in tackling the many uncomfortable issues of his day, he showed an unflinching, realistic attitude. His views were certainly tempered by Buddhism, to which he often referred, but there was little dogmatism - religious or otherwise - in his social criticism. Rather, he was much the progressive, staunchly opposed to the superstitious trappings of Korean society in general and Buddhism in particular. Moreover, his views on women demonstrated his admirable tendency to apply the Buddhist doctrine of equality to criticize unjust social practices, even when such practices were accepted aspects of the Korean tradition. In this sense, his *Chosôn tongnip üi sô* (*Document on Korean Independence*) can be seen to have a political significance beyond the question of Korea's right to freedom. Submitted to the Japanese after his arrest in 1919 and published later that same year, this document began with: "Freedom is the life of all creatures and peace is the happiness of human existence. Accordingly, those without freedom...are as corpses and those who have lost peace...experience the utmost agony." While written explicitly to justify Korea's right to engage in a peaceful struggle for independence, it is suggestive that he chose to base his appeal on the importance of the individual and reason therefrom towards the political relationships between nations: just as no individual should be enslaved to another, so too no nation should be made to suffer under the yoke of another. This egalitarian aspect of his thought in regard to women, at once radical in light of tradition and rational in light of his religious philosophy, was clearly expressed in 1927 in his essay *Yosŏng üi chagak* (*The Self-awakening of Women*) which concluded: "And so I say that women's self-awakening is the basic element for attaining the goal not only of women's liberation, but moreover the liberation of the human race." In short, he believed that women have the right to self-determination, and in the context of his opening to the *Document on Korean Independence*, it seems likely that he saw the plight of traditional Korean women as symbolic of the plight of the Korean nation under Japanese colonial rule.

The likelihood of this parallel in his thought seems rather credible when we consider his novels which were marked by strong female characters attempting to determine their own destinies. He began work in this genre in 1924 with *Chugŏm* (*Death*), which was published posthumously, and between 1935 and 1939 he completed two serial novels which were published in newspapers: *Hükpu'ng* (*The Black Wind*) and *Pangmyǒng* (*Misfortune*). During the same period he began publication of the serial novels *Huhoe* (*Remorse*) and *Ch'oryŏl miin* (*The Iron Lady*), though neither of these were completed. Despite the prevalent critical appraisal that Han was a poor novelist compared to many of his contemporaries, his novels bring into relief many of the issues of his day ranging from
opium addiction to the conflicts between traditional morality and modern necessity. Moreover, his novels brought to the fore two practical consequences of his feminist stance: women must be allowed the opportunity for education and the opportunity to choose their own marriage partners.

In addition to his work as an essayist and novelist, he also engaged in numerous other scholarly and literary activities ranging from collecting historical documents related to important Korean Buddhist sites to recovering centuries-old Korean translations of Buddhist sutras. In 1914 he published his lengthy *Pulgyo taejŏn* (Buddhist Canon), which was a systematic presentation of the various Buddhist texts and philosophical concepts contained in the *Tripitaka Koreana*, and in 1917 he published his commentary on the *Ch'ae'gûntam*, a syncretic text written by the Ming Chinese scholar Hong Ying-ming which Daoist perspectives on spiritual training. In 1926 he published his commentary on the *Shiphyŏn tam*, a collection of talks by Chang-cha (a Zen master from T'ang China), and between 1939-40 he began publishing his Korean translations of the *Vimalakirti Sutra* and the classic Chinese novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, though both of these went unfinished apparently due to the Japanese colonial government's increasing interference with Korean publications.

As befitted a man of his generation and background, Han was an able poet in the traditional art of Chinese verse. He also wrote traditional Korean *shijo* (a short poetic form defined by its rhythm) and modern Korean free-verse poems, of which he is credited as having published the first in 1918. Nevertheless, his literary reputation is based on a collection of free-verse, vernacular poetry written in 1926 when he was forty-eight. Throughout these eighty-eight poems of *Nim'u ch'immu* (The Silence of the Beloved), Han demonstrated his ability to adapt the rich metaphors of Chinese poetry and Buddhist thought to the Korean spoken language. In the process he created a body of poems which is at once erotic and evocative of his lifelong focus on the Buddhist concepts of *all is mind* and the *immanent enlightenment of all beings*.

The structure of the collection subtly suggests that they were written during the passage of a single night, and this suggestion is strengthened by the prevalence of images indistinctly seen by the eye, yet clearly seen by the mind's eye. The first poem of the collection begins with the parting of *nim*, or the beloved, and Han uses vivid language to convey his overwhelming sense of loss and to foreshadow the power of memory to instill hope even as it heightens sadness. The paradox of intangible memories as forceful presences is clearly voiced in the final stanza: "My love song, an unconquerable melody/ twines around your silence." [throughout all translations mine] This sense of separation from the beloved leading to a strengthening of love in the mind frames the collection as a whole.

The most emblematic poem of the collection is found in the middle, and in this poem, *Sŏnsa'î sŏlpŏp* (A Zen Master's Talk on the Great Way), Han vividly describes his attachment to the beloved. This poem self-consciously manifests the inherent paradox between the Buddhist doctrine non-attachment and the poet's own mind persistently clinging to the beloved, and as such it is worth quoting in full: "I listened to the Zen Master's lecture/ In loud rolling words/ 'Don't suffer in love's cold cuffs, break its tether and in this your heart will celebrate!'/ What dull folly not to know/ Wrapped in the coils of love is an ache/ But cutting those strands is an agony even greater than death/ In love's shackles, chains tighter wound come loose/ Escape is there/ Troubled that the threads of your love tangling me had grown weak/ I doubled mine about you." This tension between the Buddhist ideal of the transcendence of emotional ties - especially romantic love - and the Buddhist poet's firm resolve not to let go of his beloved underlies the essential difficulty in our attempts to interpret the collection.

The fact that Han was a committed patriot who had been imprisoned for his role in the March First Movement has led some scholars to speculate that the beloved from whom the
poet is separated is Korea. In this interpretation, then, the entire corpus of poems can be read as a veiled description of the poet's resolve to work for independence, to reunite with his beloved. In other interpretations the beloved is seen as a symbol of religious enlightenment, and the collection as a whole is interpreted as a depiction of the mystical process of the individual consciousness transcending dualistic thought. Essentially Buddhist, this interpretation may be firmly based on the *Vimalakirti Sutra* in which a layman, Vimalakirti, manifests his spiritual enlightenment through silence. Another interpretation is, like the first, biographical, and it ventures that the beloved refers to an actual woman with whom Han had fallen in love.

Although these three different interpretive strategies might seem mutually exclusive, most scholars give varying degrees of support to each, and a significant body of scholarship devoted to *The Silence of the Beloved* has arisen. This can be attributed to the fact that Han never discussed these enigmatic poems and thus left to his readers the joyful task of reading and re-reading, searching for clues in light of his Buddhist thought, his remarkable life, and indeed, in light of the ever-changing circumstances of our own world.

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**Han'guk ch'o'ňju kyohoesa** (A History of the Korean Catholic Church)

*Han'guk ch'o'ňju kyohoesa* is a history of the Korean Catholic Church written in 1874 by the French Catholic Priest, C. C. Dallet. It was originally published in French under the title of *Histoire de l'Église de Coree*, in two volumes. The complete work comprises one thousand, one hundred and sixty-eight pages under fifteen main headings. When first published, it provided valuable material about the heretofore unknown Chosŏn nation.

*Han'guk ch'o'ňju kyohoesa* traces the development and growth of the Korean Catholic church and moreover, serves as a record of the men who helped establish the religion in Korea in the face of ongoing persecution by the Chosŏn government. The book was well-received and was soon translated into English and Russian. Parts were translated into Korean over time, but it was not until 1956 that the entire work was translated into modern Korean, when it appeared in serial form in the magazine *Kyŏnghyang chapji*. Eventually, in 1979, it was published in three-volumes by Pundo Ch'ulp'ansa.

*Han'guk ch'o'ňju kyohoesa* is highly acclaimed for its role in providing a Western record of the history of the Korean Catholic Church.

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Han'guk chungse chŏngch'i pŏpchesa yŏn'gu was written by Kim Sŏngjun and published by Ilchogak in 1985. Its four-hundred and twenty-four pages are divided into thirteen studies, and cover such topics as the Ship hunyo (Ten Injunctions) by King T'aejo (r. 918-943) of Koryŏ, the legal systems of Koryŏ and Chosŏn, and the military systems of Chosŏn.

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Han'guk hyŏndae munhak non is a work that covers modern Korean literature written by Shin Tongguk and published by Pagyŏngsa Publishing Company in 1981. The contents of this 337 pages work include a discussion of problems in Korean literature, and inquiries into representative work such as Samdæ (Three Generations) by Yŏm Sangsŏp, Muyŏngt'ap by Hyŏn Ujin, and Chujŏndo by Sŏ Chŏngju. Other topics covered include a study of literary criticism and an analysis of Western literature and literary topics.

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contains works of Ch’oe Namsŏn and Yi Kwangsú, and reviews the writers of the 1920s and 1930s. The work also contains appendixes that cover the literature of the Enlightenment period, the new schools of novels in the late Colonial period and a review of Korean literature of the first twenty years after liberation in 1945. Ilchogak Publishers issued this work in 1980.

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*Han’guk kojŏn munhaksa* (The History of Korean Classical Literature)

*Han’guk kojŏn munhaksa* is an introductory study into the classical literature of Korea and it also compares this with literature of similar periods in China and Japan. Classical literature, including those works in Chinese characters, from the Three Kingdoms, Greater Shilla, Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods are all covered in this work of 452-pages. It was written by Kim Chunyŏng and published by Hyung-Seul Publishing Company in 1982.

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Han'guk kubi munhak taegye (A Grand Collection of Korean Oral Literature)

Han'guk kubi munhak taegye is an eighty-five volume collection of oral literature that was published by The Academy of Korean Studies (Han'guk Chǒngshin Munhwaa Yǒn'gwǒn) from 1980 to 1988. This vast collection includes mostly folktales although a great number of shaman songs (muga) are also included. Fieldwork for this project took place from 1978 to 1986. The work consists of eighty-two volumes of transcribed text and three volumes of indexes, and the works included are categorised by which region of Korea they were recorded in. All regions in South Korea are included in this collection.

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Han'guk Manju kwan'gyesa ūi yǒn'gu is a 274-page study of the historical relationship between the Korean and Manchu states. Its author is Yi Inyǒng and the work was published as a part of Han'guk munhwaa ch'ongsaa (The Complete History of Korean Civilisation) by Eul Yoo Publishing Company in 1954. The preface is by Son Chint'ae and there are seven chapters which cover the various phases of relations between the Manchu and Korean peoples, from early to late Chosǒn. The impact of the establishment of the Six Garrisons (yukchin) along the Yalu River during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) is examined, as is the northern emigration policy of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468). Each brought Chosǒn into conflict with the Manchu people, which eventually resulted in the Manchu invasions of the early seventeenth century. Han'guk Manju kwan'gyesa ūi yǒn'gu is a notable work, not only for its excellent scholarship, but also as the first post-liberation work that examined the historic relationship of the Manchu and Korean peoples.

Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaekkwa sajǒn (The Encyclopedia of Korean Culture)

Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaekkwa sajǒn is a twenty-seven volume (24 795 pages) work published by The Academy of Korean Studies between 1988 and 1992. The encyclopaedia covers all aspects of Korean society in its sixty-five thousand entries and forty-thousand photographs and illustrations. Its compilation took seven years, beginning in 1980 and concluding in 1987, with contributions representing the scholarship of over four-
thousand specialists. Entries on various aspects of Korean society and culture are arranged alphabetically in the first twenty-five volumes of the work, while volume twenty-six contains a detailed chronological table of Korean history along with other tables and maps. The twenty-seventh volume contains an extensive index. Han'guk minjok munhwa taebeekwa sajŏn is highly valued by scholars and students for its comprehensive coverage of Korean culture and history, and it stands as the most inclusive encyclopaedic work on Korea.

**Han'guk minskok chonghap chosa pogosŏ (Folklore in Korea: A Series of Reports)**

Han'guk minskok chonghap chosa pogosŏ (Folklore in Korea: A Series of Reports) is an ongoing twenty-two volume series that covers various aspects of folklore across Korea. The first volume in this series was published in 1968, and the latest in 1922. In addition there are plans for future publications. The earlier volumes of this series contained a full survey on the folk customs in each province. The later volumes contain a nationwide survey of one particular aspect of folklore such as food-implements, geomancy and the like. This work is being done under the auspices of the Office of Cultural Properties a branch of Ministry of Culture.

**Han'guk minsok taegwan (An Overview of Korean Folklore)**

Han'guk minsok taegwan is a six volume study of Korean folklore that was published in 1980 by the Korean Cultural Research Center at Korea University. This work is divided into twelve categories, which include marriage, funeral and ancestor worship methods, daily life, clothing, food, folk beliefs, religions, seasonal customs, folk games, folk arts and oral literature.

**Han'guk minyo chip (A Collection of Korean Folk songs)**

Han'guk minyo chip (A Collection of Korean Folk songs) is a five volume collection of Korean folk songs compiled by Im Tonggwŏn. This work contains a total of 7,183 folk songs, 3,685 children's songs and 267 old songs. This work only contains the lyrics to these works. Chippmundang published this collection in 1982.

**Han'guk minyo sa (The History of Korean Folk Songs)**

Han'guk minyo chip contains a historical survey of the development of the Korean folk song. This 282 page book was compiled and written by Im Tonggwŏn and published by the Chimmundang Publishing Company published in 1981. It includes 1,945 pieces of data. The contents of this work include a review of the history of folk songs, the meaning of folk songs, and a study of the history of folk songs in the context of Korean literature. In addition, this work records songs from the period before and during the Three Kingdoms, from the Chosŏn period and those of the present time. A bibliography of Korean folk songs is attached to this work as an appendix.

**Han'guk muga chip (Korean Shaman Song Collection)**

Han'guk muga chip is a four-volume collection of shaman songs (muga) compiled by Kim T'aegon. This comprehensive collection includes explanatory comments by the author, his recording methodology and data concerning his subjects. It includes shaman songs from all Korean provinces and is the most extensive work of its kind.

**Han'guk munhaksasa (History of Korean Literature)**
Han'guk munhaksa is a 503-page work written by Chang Tŏksun and published by Dongwha Moonwha Sa in 1982. The contents of this work contain a methodology for historical study of Korean literature, legendary literature, ancient songs, hyangga, Koryŏ period literature, Chosŏn period literature and modern literature. In this work the history of Korean literature is divided into the four periods of ancient times to Shilla, Koryŏ, Chosŏn, and the late Chosŏn period until 1945. The author discusses the advent of literature in Chinese characters, hyangga, kasa and shijo literary forms. In addition han'gul literature is also discussed.

Han'guk munhak sa (History of Korean Literature)

Han'guk munhak sa is a work that traces the development of Korean literature to the end of the Colonial period in 1945. This work classifies Korean literature into eleven periods that are characterised by the literary activities that were present at these times instead of the traditional historical divisions based upon the kingdom. According to this work, Korean literature was formed during the Greater Shilla period but not further developed during the subsequent Koryŏ period. However, after the advent of han'gul (the Korean script), Korean literature was reformed. This 604-page work was written by Cho Yunje and published by Tamgudang in 1985.

Han'guk munhak sa (A History of Korean Literature)

Han'guk munhak sa is a 486-page work co-authored by Kim Yunshik and Kim Hyŏn. Minūmsa published this work in 1973. It is divided into sections concerning criticism of methodology, the growth of modern consciousness, the Enlightenment period, the period of the growth of nationalism, discovery of the individual in literary works and national reconstruction. This work is notable in that it explores many of the causes behind the growth of a modern and nationalistic consciousness such as the collapse of the social system of the Chosŏn period, the extreme Korean poverty under the Japanese colonial government and the influence of Western ideologies in Korea. In addition this treatise covers the works of such literary giants as Ch'oe Namsŏn and Yi Kwangsu whose works and ideals had a lasting impact on the development of modern Korean literature.

Han'guk munhak t'ongsa (A Complete History of Korean Literature)

Han'guk munhak t'ongsa is a five-volume comprehensive history of Korean literature from the time of the ancient states until liberation in 1945. The data in this collection is based upon accumulated field research and provides an exhaustive examination of the major trends in the history of Korean literature and an explanation for these trends. Written by Cho Tongil and published by Chishik Sanŏp Sa Publication Company it has been updated and was re-issued in a second edition in 1989.

Han'guk munhwasa taegye (Korean Cultural History)


Han'guk Munhwa Yesul Chinhŭngwŏn (see The Korean Culture and Arts
Han’guk munhwa sa yŏn’gu non’go (Research in the Cultural History of Korea)

Han’guk munhwa sa yŏn’gu non’go is a 368-page work by Yi Sangbaek that is composed of three papers in which the author discusses the ramifications of the anti-Buddhism movement in the waning years of the Koryǒ Kingdom and the early years of Chosŏn, and the subsequent transition to Confucianism. It was published by the Eul Yoo Publishing Company in 1947.

Han’guk nonjŏ haeje (Annotated Bibliography of Works in Korean Studies)

Han’guk nonjŏ haeje is a six-volume annotated bibliography compiled by The Korean Cultural Research Center (Minjok Munhwa Yŏn’guso) at Korea University. It was published by the Asian Cultural Press published in 1972. The first volume is devoted to language and literature, the second to history, and the third to political science, legal studies and economics. The fourth volume covers sociology, folklore studies, arts, religious studies and geography, while the fifth volume is devoted to the natural sciences and the sixth covers medical sciences and pharmaceutical studies.

Han’guk pokshik sa yŏn’gu (A Study of the History of Korean Costume)

Han’guk pokshik sa yŏn’gu is a historical examination of Korean dress written by Kim Tonguk. The Asian Cultural Press (Asea Munhwa Sa) published this 584-page work in 1980. It is divided into sections on the dress of the early Chosŏn period, late Shilla period, of women’s dress in the Chosŏn period and an analysis of the headgear system of the Chosŏn period among other topics.

Han’guk Pulgyo Pŏphwa-jong

Han’guk Pulgyo Pŏphwa-jong is a Korean Buddhist order founded by Kim Unun (styled Hyesŏn). Its origin can be traced to 1939, when Kim established a Buddhist mission in Seoul’s Sungin-dong. This was followed by the construction of Pŏphwa Temple in Seoul’s Samsŏn-dong in 1941 and the official founding of the order in 1946. In March 1960, the order split three-ways into the sects of, Taehan Pulgyo Pŏphwa-jong; Taehan Pulgyo Puripchong; and Taehan Pulgyo Ilsung-jong. The order regards the Lotus Sutra (Kor. Myŏbŏp yŏnhwa kyŏng) as its basic text and pays homage to Sakyamuni Buddha. At the end of the 1980s, the Han’guk Pulgyo Pŏphwa-jong had 60 temples, 82 monks and over 175 000 followers.

Han’guk Pulgyo T’aego-jong

The T’aego Order (Han’guk Pulgyo T’aego-jong) is, after the Chogye Order, the second largest Buddhist sect in Korea. Although the order traces its roots back through the Korean Sŏn tradition to the historical Buddha, the modern T’aego Order was born out of factional disputes that plagued Korean Buddhism following the country’s liberation in 1945. From 1954 to 1962, confrontation persisted between those monks who believed that the Buddhist monastic order must be strictly celibate and those who advocated a clergy entitled to marry. In March 1962, those advocating celibacy founded the Chogye Order. Eight years later, on 15 January 1970, those who would allow monks to marry established the T’aego Order with Pak Taeryun as its Grand Patriarch (chong-jŏng).

The T’aego Order reveres Pou (styled T’aego, 1301-1382) as its leading Korean figure and regards the Diamond Sutra (Kor. Kŭmgang kyŏng) and the Avatamsaka Sutra (Kor. Hwaŏm kyŏng) as its most authoritative scriptures. The order’s main administrative centre
T’aego Temple in Sŏngbuk-dong in Seoul. As a sect with a married clergy, the T’aego Order promotes itself as a form of Buddhism more applicable to modern-day circumstances. At the end of the 1980s, the order had over 4,000,000 members, 2,455 temples and 4,708 monks. Important temples of the order include, Pongwŏn Temple in Pongwŏn-dong in Seoul, and the ancient Sonam Temple in Sunch’ŏn in South Chŏlla Province.

Han’guk sahoe sa yŏn’gu (Research in the History of Korean Society)

Han’guk sahoe sa yŏn’gu is a work written by Yi T’aejin and published by Chishik Sanŏp Sa in 1983. This book is a collection of studies on agricultural techniques and rural communities in Korea.

Han’guk sosol ŭi iron (Theoretical Approach to the Korean Novel)

Han’guk sosol ŭi iron is a work that establishes a systematisation of the history of Korean literary thought. The work contains commentary on the tradition of basic principles and new theoretical directions in Korean literature along with discussions on the theory of the ego and its role in the history of the Korean novel. This work also reviews the birth of the novel, period novels and the structure of heroic novels. This 476-page work was written by Cho Tongil and published by Chishik Sanŏp Sa Publishing Company in 1985.

Han’guk t’ongsa (A Complete History of Korea)

Han’guk t’ongsa is a seven volume work that covers Korean history from ancient times until 1910. It was compiled by The Chindan Society and published by Eul Yoo Publishing Company Ltd. The first volume in this set covers ancient Korean history and the second the middle ages of Korea. Yi Pyŏngdo wrote both of these volumes. The third volume covers the early pre-modern age and the fourth the late pre-modern stage, and these were written by Yi Sangbaek. The fifth volume details the early modern period and the sixth the modern period. These last two volumes were both written by Yi Sŏn’gŭn. The seventh volume is a chronological table.

Han’guk tongnip undong chi hyŏlsa

Han’guk tongnip undong chi hyŏlsa is a history of the Korean independence movement written by Pak Unshik in 1920. The 326-page work, penned in Chinese characters, was published in Shanghai by Yushinsa (Weixinshe). It provides extensive coverage of the situation in Korea from the time of the opening of the seaports in 1882 to the loss of national independence. It concludes with an examination of the First of March 1919 Independence Movement. The author explains the events that led to the loss of national sovereignty at the end of Chosŏn and during the Great Han Empire, and further probes into the prevailing situation during the colonial period which saw the rise of the independence movement. The an’guk tongnip undong chi hyŏlsa is an extremely valuable source for understanding the events that surrounded the independence movement.

Han’guk tongnip undong sa (A History of the Korean Independence Movement)

Han’guk tongnip undong sa is a work that presents the history of the independence movement in Korea in a straightforward and systematic manner. It was compiled under the auspices of the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe). between 1965 and 1969, with one volume being published annually.

Volume One covers the period 1904 to 1910 - during which Korea lost its national sovereignty. Volume two is concerned with the period to the 1919 Independence Movement, while Volume Three analyses the period to the 1931 Manchurian Incident.
Volume four deals with the period to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and Volume Five covers the period until Korea’s liberation in 1945.

Han’guk tongnip undongsa provides a comprehensive examination of the period in which Korea lost her national independence, and the quarter-century that followed, until the end of World War II. This extensive and comprehensive work provides an excellent aid to the researcher in this field.

Han’guk tosŏ haeje (Annotated Bibliography of Korean Books and Manuscripts)

Han’guk tosŏ haeje is an annotated bibliography of important Korean books and manuscripts published before 1910. This work was compiled by about eighty scholars over the course of nine years, and was published under the auspices of The Korean Cultural Research Centre (Minjok Munhwa Yŏnguso) at Korea University. It contains over 29,000 entries concerning materials written before 1910, including undated old and modern period novels. The data in this work are arranged in Korean alphabetical order.

Han’guk ŭi minsok (Folklore in Korea)

Han’guk ŭi minsok is a series of colour slides that is divided into seven areas of Korean folklore. This collection includes topics such as rites and folk games, clothing, housing, social systems, folk beliefs and folk crafts among other subjects. There is also an accompanying set of explanatory texts. The collection was compiled by the Onyang Museum of Folklore.

Han’guk ŭi myŏngjŏ (The Classics of Korea)

Han’guk ŭi myŏngjŏ is a three-volume collection of modern Korean translations of classical works that were highly influential at the time in which they were written and still of great relevance today. These works were selected by hundreds of scholars and specialists in various fields. The first volume contains literary works, the second works on philosophy, religion, politics, economics and the military arts, and the third volume features works on history, geography, science and technology and others. At the end of each volume are biographies of the author and the translator of the works, and there is also a bibliography of related works. Pak Chŏngchong headed the compilation effort for this work, and it was published by Hyonam Publishing Company in 1978.

Han’guk ŭi p’ansori (P’ansori of Korea)

Han’guk ŭi p’ansori is a 468-page work that introduces the literary genre of p’ansori (one-man dramatic singing). This work was written by Chŏng Pyŏnguk and published by Chimmundang Publishers in 1981. It is divided into four chapters and twenty main sections that cover topics ranging from an introduction to p’ansori, a discussion on the qualities of this art, how to perform p’ansori, and biographies of the eighteen great singers of this art. Also included are the texts of the five extant p’ansori: Ch’unhyangga (Song of Ch’unhyang), Shimch’ŏngga (Song of Shimch’ŏng), Hŭngbuga (Song of Hŭngbu), Sugungga (Song of the Underwater Palace) and Chŏkpyŏkka (Song of the Red Cliff).

Han’guk ŭi susukkekki (Korean Riddles) [Literature]

Han’guk ŭihaksa (A History of Korean Medicine)

Han’guk ŭihaksa is an examination of the history of the science of medicine in Korea written by Kim Tujong. The first volume, a detailed examination of medicine in medieval
Han'guk ümak yŏn'gu (A Study of Korean Music)

Han'guk ümak yŏn'gu is a collection of twenty-two articles written by Yi Hyegu. This 461-page work was published by the Kungmin Úmak Yŏn'guhoe in 1957. It was the first of its kind in Korea and includes the author's Ph.D. dissertation and comparative studies of Korean music with that of neighbouring countries.

Han'guk ümaksā (History of Korean Music)

Han'guk ümaksā is a history of traditional Korean music written by Chang Sahun. This work systematically describes the history of Korean music in eight chapters and also includes a chronology and photographs of traditional Korean instruments. The second half includes a reproduction of the Akhak kwebŏm (Guide to the Study of Music), which was a music theory book of the Chosŏn period. This 538-page work was published by Chŏngŭmsa Publishing Company in 1976.

Han'guk yŏng'yŏksa (The History of Korean Drama)

Han'guk yŏng'yŏksa is a 374-page work written by Yi Tuhyŏn and published by Hagyŏn Sa Publishers in 1987. This book covers Korean drama from ancient times to 1945. It is divided into six chapters, which introduce Korean drama, cover the drama of the traditional periods and detail the development of modern drama. This work also examines traditional forms of Korean drama such as t'alch 'um (masked-dance drama) and kkoktugakshi (puppet play).

Han'guksa (History of Korea)

Han'guksa is a twenty-five volume collection compiled by the Korean History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P'yŏnch' an Wiwŏnhoe) in 1984. This work was published by T'amgudang Publishers. The collection covers Korean history from the prehistoric periods until the 1930s, and features articles written by many different scholars. The first twenty-two volumes contain articles about various historical events, while the twenty-third volume is a general introduction, the twenty-fourth an index and the twenty-fifth carries a list of articles contained in the work.

Han'gŭl (see Language, Korean)

Han'gŭl Hakhoe (see Korean Language Society)

Han'gyŏng chiryak (Summary of Han'gyŏng)

Han'gyŏng chiryak is a description of the capital of Chosŏn, Han'gyŏng (present-day Seoul), which was compiled during the reign of King Sunjo (r. 1801-1834). The compiler is thought to have been Yu Ponye, but this has never been confirmed. The hand-written work consists of two fascicles in two books.

Han'gyŏng chiryak contains descriptions of many of the governmental structures in the
capital. Volume One includes such topics as astronomy; castle walls; gardens; government offices; graves; history; royal palaces; scenic locales; shrines, as well as other entries. Volume Two is an account of the government offices located around the palaces; bridges; historical locations; natural features such as mountains and rivers; post stations and other items.

The work is of value to researchers and others interested in the features of the Chosŏn capital, and it provides a comprehensive analysis. In 1956, the only extant copy of the original work was copied by the Committee for the Compilation of Seoul City History (Sŏulshisa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe).

Han-Chung kwan'gyesa yŏn'gu (A Study of the History of Sino-Korean Relations)

Han-Chung kwan'gyesa yŏn'gu is a study of Korean-Chinese relations written by Chŏn Haejong and published by Ilchogak in 1970. This 268-page work was compiled over a ten year period (1959-1968) and includes a series of ten papers which examine the constantly-changing relationship of China and Korea. Chŏn is concerned with the historical relationship between the earliest Korean states and their Chinese counterparts, and continues his research through Chosŏn and the bilateral relationship existing between the two nations. Han-Chung kwan'gyesa yŏn'gu is a valuable source for the study of historical Chinese-Korean relations.

Hanam

Hanam is situated to the east of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. Mt. Kŏmdan (620m) rises to the east of the city while Ch'ŏngnyang (480m) stands in the southwest. The Han River flows past the city's northern border. Until recently, rice was cultivated in the low areas of the city and along the Han River. However, the area's rapid urbanisation has led to sharp reductions in farmland. Taking advantage of the city's proximity to Seoul and the Han River, a large number of industries have been set up here, mostly producing textiles or chemical products for export.

The city's tourist industry is centred around P'aldang Resort on the Han River, Namhan Fortress to the south and the Tongsŏl and Namsŏngdae country clubs. There are a number of important historical relics in the area. In Ch'un'gung-dong, there are five-storey and three-storey pagodas (Treasures No. 12 and 13). In Kyoasan-dong, there is a relief carving of Bhaisajya-guru (the Medicine Buddha, Treasure No. 981, and in Kyoasan-dong, one finds Kwangju Hyanggyo (Kyŏnggi Province Cultural Site No. 13).

In 1962, the Canaan Farmers' School was founded here by Kim Yonggi, a leader of the independence movement during the Japanese occupation. During the school's four-day program, students undergo an intensive course to instill the values of hard work and frugality. In 1973, another branch of the school was opened in Wŏnju. Approximately half a million people from all walks of life have undergone training at the two schools.

A Handbook of Korea

A Handbook of Korea is a general introduction to Korea for non-specialists interested in various aspects of Korea. This 592-page work has been published numerous times, with the most recent edition being issued in 1993, by the Korean Overseas Information Service. It is largely divided into twenty-two chapters, which cover such topics as the land, the people and language, history, religion and philosophy, customs, culture, system of government, foreign relations, unification policy, national defense, finance, economy, industry, agriculture, transportation and communication, science and technology, education, social development and lifestyles, mass communication, sports, and tourism. The writing style employed in this handbook is quite straightforward and designed for the general
reader. Moreover, there are a large number of charts, photos and graphs that enable comparative ease in comprehension.

Given the wide array of topics covered in this book and the self-professed intent of providing a useful guide to Korea for students, businessmen and tourists, the work is presented admirably. Moreover, many of the statistics that the work provides are useful to even those whose interest in Korea is more in-depth than the casual reader. The primary value of the work is, however, as a general handbook on Korea and her institutions for the general, non-academic reader.

**Hangnul**

Hangnul (1888-1966), styled Hyobong, was born in Yangdŏk in South P’yŏngan Province as Yi Ch’añhyŏng. In 1913, after graduating from Japan’s Waseda University, he returned to Korea where he worked as a judge in the Seoul and Hamhŭng district courts, and then in a P’yŏngyang review court. In 1923, he felt such remorse after sentencing a defendant to death that he left his job and family and set off wandering the country engaged in menial labour jobs or working as a taffy vendor.

In 1925, he went to Shin’gye Temple on Mt. Kŭmgang where he received the five precepts from Im Soktu. Having become a monk at the late age of thirty-eight, he devoted himself to intense meditation in an attempt to gain enlightenment. In the following years, he spent retreat seasons at various temples throughout the country, visiting famous masters such as Suwŏl, but he was still unable to attain awakening. Deciding that he would have to achieve realisation through his own efforts, he returned to Mt. Kŭmgang where he engaged in intense meditation practice during which he would not even lie down to sleep. In 1930, he built a one-room hut behind Pŏpki Hermitage, and after shutting himself inside, swore that he would not come out until he achieved realisation. Eating just one meal a day, he practiced intense meditation until he finally achieved awakening in the summer of 1931.

In 1932, he went to Yujŏm Temple in Seoul where he received full ordination and the Bodhisattva Precepts. In 1936, he received formal recognition (in’ga) of his enlightenment from Hanam and Man’gong, two of the most respected Korean Zen masters of the period. He then went to Songgwang Temple’s Samil Hermitage, where he spent the next decade serving as a meditation instructor. After Haein Temple was expanded into a major training monastery in 1947, he was nominated to the prestigious position of the monastery’s resident meditation master (pangjang). During the confusing years of the Korean War, he resided at various temples in the south of the peninsula. When the war finally ended, he was active in leading the restoration of Korean Buddhism. In 1962, after the married monks (aech’ŏsŭng) succeeded from the Chogye Order, he became the new order’s first Chongjŏng (Supreme Patriarch). For a number of years, he resided at Songgwang Temple where he instructed a number of famous disciples including Kusan and the popular writer, Pŏpchŏng. He died at P’yŏch’ung Temple in Miryang. Hyobong is best remembered for his strict teaching style and his meticulous observance of the monastic precepts. In 1973, Kusan and Pŏpchŏng published a compilation of Hyobong’s writings known as Hyobong ᄂᆞROKE.
Hanjung mannok (A Record of Sorrow)

Hanjung mannok or Hanjung nok (A Record of Sorrow, 1795-1805) is the memoir of Lady Hong of Hyegyŏng Palace (1735-1815) who was the wife of Crown Prince Sado (1735-1762), the mother of King Ch'ŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) and the grandmother of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834). In this memoir the author, Lady Hong (1735-1815) tells the tragic tale of her life at the Chosŏn court. It is one of the few works written by a woman and in the Korean alphabet, han'gul, about court life. The memoir is written in the elegant court language of the Chosŏn dynasty, which is rarely found in the prose of male writers.

Lady Hong describes her experiences with the controlled emotion and Confucian compassion which permeates the whole of her life and work. In her lifetime, Lady Hong was never Queen of Chosŏn, or even Queen Consort. Her husband, Crown Prince Sado, was gruesomely put to death by his father in 1762.

Lady Hong was born into an impoverished yangban family in 1735, and at the age of eight entered the royal court as the bride chosen for the crown prince. There is a particularly poignant and entrancing part of the memoir, portraying King Yongjo's affection for the young girl and (at times) his goodwill towards her parents, while throughout neglecting the Crown Prince and often maligning and scolding him in public. Even in these early stages there is an undertone of extreme tension and concealed violence. Lady Hong first noticed there was something odd about her husband at the age of ten, when he seemed to take an extraordinarily long time with his morning ablutions. As the memoir unfolds, it reveals the prince's increasing mental instability, which ultimately took bizarre and even murderous forms. Lady Hong herself was spared when the Crown Prince was put to death, and her son by Sado later succeeded to the throne as King Ch'ŏngjo (r. 1776-1880). She outlived her son; and it was mainly to instruct her grandson, the young King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) in what actually happened, that, in the twilight of her life, she wrote this memoir. Particularly, she sought to divert the blame away from her own family, which had been unjustly implicated in the tragedy.

Hanjung nok is an account of the tragic relationship between the king and the crown prince, father and son. After 1776, all mention of the Imo incident was expunged from the Diary of the Royal Secretariat after 1776, when Lady Hong's son Ch'ŏngjo succeeded to the throne as King Ch'ŏngjo (r. 1776-1880). She outlived her son; and it was mainly to instruct her grandson, the young King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) in what actually happened, that, in the twilight of her life, she wrote this memoir. Particularly, she sought to divert the blame away from her own family, which had been unjustly implicated in the tragedy.

Begun in 1798, when Lady Hong was in her sixtieth year, Hanjung nok was completed in six separate sections according to the manuscripts of the Ilsa and Karam Collections. The Ilsa Collection however divides the manuscript into four chapters, one and three being subdivided into two parts. The Karam Collections has six chapters. Chapter one is a description of Lady Hong's early life, which forms a necessary background for her narrative. Chapter two and three describe the Imo Incident.

Bibliography

Hankook ilbo

The Hankook ilbo (Han'guk ilbo) is a national daily newspaper published in Seoul. It derived from the T'aeyang shinmu newspaper, and under the direction of Chang Kiyŏng.
was renamed the *Hankook ilbo*, with its first issue on 9 June 1954. At the outset, Chang handled publishing, editorial and even printing duties, and was assisted by editors O Chongshik and Chông Hongjin. The first issues were of only a few pages, but these had increased to twelve pages in the third year of publication. In 1957, the *Hankook ilbo* established the Korean Broadcasting Stock Company (Taehan Pangsong Chushik Hoesa), with its broadcasting station HLKZ-TV.

The *Hankook ilbo* strove to report in an apolitical and unbiased manner, and this led to many conflicts with the Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghui) government. In a dramatic change of direction, Chang Kiyōng founded a political party (Republican Party) in opposition, his newspaper was openly critical of Park’s government in November 1962. Chang, together with the editor-in-chief Hong Yusŏn and the political-bureau chief Kim Chahwan, were imprisoned for three days. In addition to its political activities, the newspaper also sponsored nationwide efforts to reunite separated families in the 1960s and 1970s. Other social issues in which the *Hankook ilbo* was in the vanguard, included the creation of ‘green zones’ in Seoul, which saw the planting of one million saplings along the banks of the Han River in 1979; and the establishment of a cultural centre in 1981 to foster continuing (lifelong) education for the people.

Where technology is concerned, the *Hankook ilbo* has been at the fore of the Korean newspaper industry in several respects. In July 1975, it was the first Korean newspaper to print its editions in four colours, and in late 1979, the first to perfect a computerised han’gul language printing press. In 1983 the newspaper began to use a larger and clearer font that made for easier reading of its columns. More recently, other innovations have been developed through state-of-the-art printing and editing techniques, and these have established the *Hankook ilbo* as an industry leader in Korea.

The *Hankook ilbo* also encourages new literary talent, by offering prizes in the various genres of literature. It also sponsors a wide range of activities, such as national beauty pageants, concerts, marathon running and other sporting events which encourage the Korean people to expand their interests and lead more interesting lives.

**Hankuk University of Foreign Studies**

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Han’guk Oegugŏ Taehakkyo) is a private educational institution situated in Imun-dong in Seoul. Founded as Hankuk College of Foreign Studies in January 1954 by Kim Hungbae, the school initially consisted of five departments that taught English, French, Chinese, German and Russian. A Spanish department was added a year later. The college moved to its present location in Tongdaemun ward in 1957. During Korea’s rapid economic development in the 1960s, its role assumed increasing urgency as more foreign language graduates were required, to meet the needs of Korea’s export-oriented economy. In 1979, a night school was established and a branch opened in Yongin in Kyŏnggi Province. By 1980, the college had University affiliation, with Kim Tongson as its first president.

Today, the university consists of twelve colleges and seven graduate schools. At the Seoul campus, are the Colleges of Business & Economics; Education; Law; Occidental Language; Oriental Language; and Social Science; the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Education; Global Business; Interpretation and Translation; International Area Studies; Management and Information; and Policy Science. The Yongin campus contains the Colleges of Asian and African Studies; Economics and Business; European and American Studies; Humanities; Information and Industrial Engineering; and Natural Science.

**Hankyoreh shinmun**

The *Hankyoreh shinmun* (Han’gyŏre shinmun) is a daily general newspaper that is
published in Seoul. The first issue of the paper was on May 15, 1988. The newspaper was formed when a group of reporters who had been dismissed from their posts at the Chosôn ilbo and Dong-A ilbo (Tonga ilbo) newspapers came together to form a paper to carry on the struggle against the establishment. Among those who helped create the paper was the former editor-in-chief of the Dong-A ilbo, Song Kônho. After the necessary funds for the operation of the paper had been secured, publication began with a thirty-two page inaugural edition. While the size of the paper was but eight pages per issue after the first issue, this increased to twelve pages by September 1988.

Perhaps most notable in the origin and operation of the Hankyoreh shinmun is the creation of the newspaper with small capital investors, which ensured that the newspaper would be independent of external influences. In post liberation Korea, it is only the Hankyoreh shinmun, aside from small regional papers, that can boast a capital base financed by small investors, and in this aspect, the paper is quite unique. Moreover, the Hankyoreh shinmun was the first general paper in the post liberation period to use the vernacular han'gûl script exclusively, which has resulted in it becoming the paper of choice among those in the working classes. Additionally, the paper features a larger font and wider spacing than most papers, all of which are conducive to easier reading. The independent ownership and working-class orientation of this paper has resulted in it being the most popular paper among college students, and the liberal editorial viewpoints of the paper further attracted the interest of student groups in the various student movements of the late 1980s and early 1990s. In recent years, the Hankyoreh shinmun has established branch offices in Chicago, London, Frankfurt, Berlin and Sydney among other locations, which have enabled it to better report on international events.

Hannam University

Hannam University (Hannam Taehakhkyo) is a private university situated in Ojông-dong in Taejôn. Its forerunner was founded as Taejôn Kidok Hakkwan by American Presbyterians. When first established, the four-year school had three departments which specialised in the scriptures, English literature and chemistry. In February 1959, the school obtained accreditation as Taejôn Taehak with W. A. Linton as its first president. The institution was then moved to its present location in the Tong District of Taejôn. In 1970, it merged with Sungshil Taehak in Seoul to become Sungjôn Taehak and in the following year, it gained university status.

In 1983, Sungjôn Taehakhkyo’s Taejôn campus was separated from the university, becoming Hannam College and in November 1985, it became a university with Yi Wônsôl as its first president.

Hannam today consists of eight colleges: the Colleges of Economics & Business Administration; Education; Engineering; Law; Liberal Arts; Natural Sciences and Social Sciences, as well as the Night College. In addition, there are five higher degree schools: the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Education; Industry; Regional Sciences; and Small and Medium Business. The university also contains a number of research institutes and a museum. University publications include Hannam Taehak Shinmun in Korean and The Hannam Times in English.

Hansan Island

Hansan Island is situated in Hansan Township in the city of T’onyŏng in South Kyôngsang Province. The island covers a total area of 15.55 sq. kms. and has a 30-km.-long coastline. Statistics for 1985 show a population of 4 404. Mt. Mang (294m) rises in
the south of the island. This is the source of Tuok Stream which flows into Hansan Bay in the northwest. Because of its southern location, the island’s climate is mild with an average January temperature of 1.0 °c., an average August temperature of 26c. and an average yearly rainfall of 1385mm.

About 19 per cent of the island is farmland. Of this, under 1.0 sq. km. grows rice and some 2.0 sq. kms. grow dry-field crops such as barley, beans, sweet potato, garlic, sesame and hot pepper. Local marine products include anchovy, eel, mussel and seaweed. There are also a number of oyster farms.

To meet the educational needs of the residents, there are four primary schools and one junior high school. A daily ferry service runs between the island and T’ongyong.

The island is famous as the place where Admiral Yi Sunshin (1542-1598) had his naval headquarters during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). It was also the site of one of the three major naval engagements of the war. During the battle, which took place in the seventh lunar month in 1592, Yi’s forces achieved an overwhelming victory without losing a single ship. Every year, a festival is held on the island to commemorate the battle.

Hanshik [Customs and Traditions]
Hansŏng sunbo [Newspapers]

Hansŏng Tosŏ Chushik Hoesa

Hansŏng Tosŏ Chushik Hoesa was a publishing company founded during the Japanese occupation, with Yi P'ongha as its president. The company published biographies of patriots, books on Korean history, literary works and a magazine. Famous works published by the company include Kim Okkyun by Kim P'albong, Sangnoksu (Evergreen Tree) by Shim Hun and the literary collection Han'guk munhak chonjip.

Hanŭm mun'go (Collection of Hanŭm)

Hanŭm mun'go is the anthology of Yi Tŏkhyŏng (1561-1613), a mid-Chosŏn scholar official. The work is a woodblock print consisting of twelve fascicles in five volumes. It was first compiled and published by Yi Sangjŏng, the author’s grandson, in 1673. The contents of the work include poems, memorials to the throne, correspondence with Japanese and Ming Chinese generals during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, and some miscellaneous pieces.

The Hanŭm mun'go is acclaimed both for its literary and historical merits, and in particular for the insight it provides of the situation during and after the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Many of the memorials presented by Yi Tŏkhyŏng to the throne concern events during the Invasion, and are thus of importance for an understanding of this period. The author’s poetry reveals his literary skills and adds to the value of the work. Copies of the Hanŭm mun’go are now in the possession of the Kyujanggak Library and Sŏnggyun'gwan University, as well as other locations.

Hapch’ŏn County

Situated in South Kyongsang Province, Hapch’ŏn County is comprised of the town of Hapch’ŏn and the townships of Kaya, Kahoe, Tŏkkok, Taebyŏng, Taeyang, Myosan, Pongsan, Samga, Sangbaek, Ssangch’ae, Yaro, Yongji, Yulgok, Chŏkchung, Ch’ŏngdŏk and Ch’o’gye. The county covers an area of 983.71 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 78 942. Part of Mt. Kaya National Park is situated to the north,
while Mt. Odo (1134m), Mt. Suksông (899m), Mt. Hwangmae (1108m) and Mt. Chŏnam (696m) stand along the county's western border. The Hwang River meanders eastward through the central part of the county to join the Nakdong River in the east. As for weather, the area has an average temperature of 13.3°C and receives an average annual rainfall of 1099mm.

Only 17.6 per cent of the county is arable. Two-thirds of this land is used to cultivate rice, the county’s main crop. On the remaining land, barley, beans, potatoes, burdock, taro and lotus roots are produced. Other crops include sedge (used to make mats), cotton, hemp and medicinal herbs. In addition, there are a large number of stock breeding operations in the area.

In addition to Mt. Kaya (See Kaya Mountain), the county has a large number of scenic attractions. In the eastern part of the county sixteen kilometres southwest of Hapch’ŏn lies Hapch’ŏn Lake. This mammoth reservoir was created with the completion of Hapch’ŏn Dam in December 1988. Standing ninety-six metres high, Hapch’ŏn Dam holds 7.9 million tons of water and its hydro-electric power station generates 234 million kilowatts of power annually. The lakeside route via the dam is an excellent scenic drive. Anglers also come here to fish for carp and other fish. Southeast of Hapch’ŏn Dam in Yongju Township, one finds Hwanggye Waterfall. This twenty-metre high waterfall is a popular destination in the hot summer months.

There are a number of historical sites in the area. Most of the Buddhist artefacts are located in and around Haein Temple in Kaya Township. At the old site of Yŏngam Temple in Kahoe Township, there is a three-storey pagoda, a stone lamp with a twin-lions motif, and a stone stele holder in the shape of a tortoise. In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Hapch’ŏn Hyanggyo just south of Mt. Chagyŏng (503m) in Yaro Township, Hwaam Sŏwŏn in Myosan Township, Paeksan Sŏwŏn next to the Hwang River in Ssangch’aek Township, Ch’ogyŏng Hyanggyo just south of Highway 24 in Ch’ogyŏe Township, Sohaktang in Kaya Township’s Maean Village and the picturesque Sanga Hyanggyo next to Highway 33 in Sanga Township. Famous pavilions in the area include Hwanggang-jŏng in Ssangch’aek Township’s Sŏngsan Village, Huyŏng-jŏng in Yulgok Township’s Munnim Village and Yongmun-jŏng in Yongju Township’s Naega Village. Yongmun-jŏng was originally founded in memory of Yu Sujŏng. As the governor of Kangwon Province, Yu was caught up in the Purge of 1519, and was thus forced to relinquish his position and seek seclusion in this remote area away from the capital.

In order to promote local culture, festivals and celebrations are held here on a regular basis. In particular, the Taeya Cultural Festival is held for three days in October in Hapch’ŏn, with the major event being a march by students along 'The Road to Loyalty and Filial Piety,' the road that Admiral Yi Sunshin took when he was released from prison on the King's amnesty after having been falsely charged and arrested by Wŏn Kyun and his partisans.

This region is reported to have 72 different sacrificial rituals for the local spirits, among which the rituals of Sangch’ŏn Village, Yŏkp’yŏng Village and Hoeyang Village are the best known. The hosts of these rituals, who are chosen one month before, must cover the yards of their houses with yellow soil, and take a bath three times a day to avoid evil. The food offered in this ritual is the same as that offered in traditional memorial services for the dead, the only difference being that the head of a pig is added. In Yŏkp’yŏng Village, people do not offer fruit on the altar, but instead use food made of rice from a mill built exclusively for this ritual.

Haram Mountain
Situated on the border of Hwanghae and P'yongan Province, Mt. Haram (1,485 metres) is part of the Kukhwa Mountain Range. The mountain is surrounded by other peaks over 1,000 metres high. On top of Mt. Haram, there is an area called Ch'ima-dae (Running Horse Summit). Yi Sŏnggye is said to have practiced martial arts and trained his horse here before he became King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398), first king of the Chosŏn Dynasty. A stele commemorating King T'aejo was erected on the mountain in 1799 by King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). Although the area is not readily accessible, numerous tourists come from far away to enjoy the mountain’s beautiful scenery.

Health and Welfare, Ministry of

Health Care System

The Republic of Korea initiated a compulsory health insurance program in 1977. At the outset this program only covered about ten per cent of the population but was gradually expanded until it covered all but a fraction of the population by 1989. In January 1995, 42.86 million people or 95.6 per cent of the population were eligible for medical insurance, and the remaining 4.4 per cent were eligible to receive medical support from the government. The current medical system dictates different insurance premiums depending upon which medical cooperative one belongs to, with most members of private cooperatives paying from two to eight per cent of their monthly income for health insurance. Members of the cooperatives for public servants pay 3.8 per cent of their monthly wages. The government subsidizes the cooperatives for low-income farmers, fisherman and the urban poor, in order to keep premiums low.

However, flaws such as a low reimbursement schedule, high co-payments and the exclusion of many health care services from coverage have beset the health insurance system of Korea. Also, health care facilities are not distributed equally throughout Korea, but instead concentrated in the urban centres. This inequity can be seen in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>National</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beds</td>
<td>45.70</td>
<td>25.10</td>
<td>41.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinics</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Medicine</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacists</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Numbers per 10 000 persons)


The result of this inequity between the rural and urban areas is that patients who live in rural areas are required to pay additional travel expenses for medical services while the available medical care in their regions remains low.

The government is attempting to reform the medical system and has implemented some improvements in medical insurance coverage and other areas. For example the reimbursable treatment period per year is presently at 240 days, and this number will gradually be increased every year until it reaches 365 days coverage by the year 2000.

This extension of services will provide better treatment for the elderly or chronically ill who require ongoing medical care. Another area that is scheduled for reform is the payment of
cash benefits to women who leave their jobs to give birth. Presently they are paid a nominal amount through maternity leave, but this is targeted for supplementation by the payment of cash benefits through a maternity support system.

The implementation of a national health insurance program in Korea has seen the overall health of the Korean people improve substantially. In addition, programs that have seen major improvements in diet, lifestyle habits and the development of health and medical programs have had a major effect on the overall health of Koreans. Table 2 diagrams some of the improvements since 1970.

Table 2. Major Health Indices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth rate (per 1000)</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>24.30</td>
<td>23.70</td>
<td>19.70</td>
<td>16.51</td>
<td>15.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (per 1,000)</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>17.70</td>
<td>17.50</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>9.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortality rate (per 1,000)</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>5.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy (age)</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>67.40</td>
<td>68.20</td>
<td>69.00</td>
<td>70.40</td>
<td>71.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child mortality (0-4 yr., per 1,000)</td>
<td>45.50</td>
<td>38.00</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal mortality (per 1,000)</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural population growth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calorie intake (daily, person)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2097</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protein intake (grams per day)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>60.40</td>
<td>69.60</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>79.30</td>
<td>83.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal protein (grams per day)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>12.20</td>
<td>22.20</td>
<td>31.00</td>
<td>49.00</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Overall the state of health of Koreans has improved markedly since the beginning of the 1970s. The incident rates of communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis or cholera, have declined sharply. However, there have still been recent outbreaks of cholera and cases of tuberculosis although these numbers are quite small. Korean people are using more medicine than ever before and this can be seen in the percentage of income devoted to the purchase of remedial substances. In 1963 medical expenses accounted for just 2.7 per cent of the total income of an urban family, but by 1990 this number had nearly doubled at 5.3 per cent.

Present State of Health Facilities and Management

As of 1995 South Korea had a total of nearly 200,000 hospital beds, and of this number nearly half were in general hospitals. The number of hospitals and clinics was over 15,000 with 266 of these being general hospitals, 398 hospitals and the balance clinics. Dental hospitals and clinics were numbered at over 8,300 and oriental medicine hospitals amounted to nearly 6,000. There were also 42 specialized hospitals, 177 midwifery clinics, 238 health centres and over 3,300 health centres. In trying to give balanced health care facilities to the entire nation, the government established 2,039 primary health care centres that were under the existing health centres and health sub-centres. These facilities are most commonly located in rural areas that do not have regular medical facilities and are staffed by either nurses or midwives who can perform first-aid and para-medical services in these remote areas.

The management of many of the nation's health care facilities is in the private sector, but all parts of the health care domain are under government regulation. There are many different government organizations that oversee the regulation of this sphere of Korean society including the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (Pogŏn sahoebu). In addition to the bodies that determine policy and regulate the health care professions, there have also been
numerous legislative measures taken to ensure the health and social welfare needs of Koreans are being met.

The management of public health includes various measures designed to combat diseases and to promote healthy lifestyles. The implementation of programs to combat both infectious and non-infectious diseases has been successful in reducing their occurrence. Also there have been programs directed at improving the diets and lifestyles of Koreans, which has resulted in better overall health. Some of the campaigns sponsored by the government include those that are aimed at preventing non-communicable diseases such as cancer, lung and cardiovascular diseases that are now responsible for a large share of all deaths in Korea. Along with the establishment of research institutes to search for cures of these diseases, the government has also launched major public education programs that are designed to encourage healthy lifestyles that will help prevent these ailments.

The final link in the health care management of Korea is the training of health care professionals. The education of these professionals to staff the facilities in Korea is achieved through a comprehensive system of universities that offer training in the various fields of medicine. There are many universities that now offer programs in medicine, dentistry, oriental medicine and public health. In 1992 there were over 41,000 students enrolled in either medicine or pharmacology programs in Korea. The medical departments at the major universities of Korea offer six-year programs that are designed to equip their graduates with the tools needed to provide competent health care to the citizens of Korea.

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Heavenly Way (see *Ch’ondogyo*)

**History of Corea**

*History of Corea* was written by John Ross and published by Elliot Stock in 1891. It is a 404-page history of Korean civilisation, supplemented with a self-proclaimed description of Korean manners, customs, language, and geography. The author, who resided in Manchuria for seven years, cites his purpose for writing the book as being the dearth of information available on Korea for the Western reader. He likens the influence of China on East Asia to that of Rome on Europe, and thus examines much of Korean history from a Chinese perspective.
History of Korea

Prehistoric Times

The Paleolithic Age

Remains of human bones and artifacts have been found widely spread through the Korean peninsula, occurring in both cave deposits and along rivers in the open. Earliest discoveries of hominid activity in Korea may be as early as 500,000 years ago. Although these early dates are disputed, well-dated sites in near-by China demonstrate that finds of this age in Korea are not unreasonable. Cave sites so far have produced only sketchy evidence of human activities, but the pollen cores and animal bones have allowed a reconstruction of the paleoclimate, especially from caves such as Turubong, and periods of warm and cold no doubt reflect the Ice Ages known around the world. At the site of Chŏn'gongni the discovery of "hand-axes" (a stone tool made by flaking a core on both sides, with one end narrower and somewhat pointed), previously thought to be missing in Asia, caused a rethinking of the whole question of the context and function of these stone tools. Another site, Sŏkchangni, is important for the depth of the deposits, showing change in stone tool technology through time, and a rare late paleolithic shelter in an upper layer. Suyanggae is a late paleolithic site with an unusual amount of lithic scatter. Rectangular stone knives, microblade cores and tanged points connect this site with others in northeast Asia and the Japanese islands. The gap between paleolithic and neolithic is beginning to be filled with preceramic levels in shell mound sites and evidence of composite tools made with microblades.

The Neolithic (Chulmun) Period

Neolithic sites contain pottery, chipped and ground stone tools, and consist of semi-subterranean houses grouped into small villages. The sites are found along riverbanks or coastlines, or on islands in the Yellow Sea. The earliest dated site is Osanni, on the east coast just north of the 38th parallel. A group of calibrated dates for the lowest level clusters just after 6000 B.C. Dwelling floors have square hearths outlined with cobbles, and the pottery has flat bases with stamped or pinched designs (Yunggi-mun) in a band around the mouth. Tools include large stone shanks for composite fishhooks, and pointed weights.

On the west coast, slightly later, the Chulmun (Pitsal-mun) pottery is quite different, with pointed bases and incised all-over decorations, especially featuring nested zigzags and bands of short slanted lines. At Amsadong the main stone tools are chipped hoes, net sinkers, and projectile points made of slate. Houses are similar to those of Osanni. At the site of Chidamni, near Pyŏngyang, grains of two kinds of millets were found in a Chulmun jar, indicating plant cultivation at this time. At coastal Kungsan, where bone has been well-preserved by a shell mound, antler picks and reaping implements made of pig mandibles have been found.

The Chul-mun pottery style later spread to the south and east, and is found in a layer at both Osanni and Tongsamdong above Yunggimun and undecorated pottery. In the far northeast, at Sŏp'o-hang, the pottery has flat bases and is decorated with incised bands, while in the northwest the bases may be pointed, rounded, or flat.

Whether all neolithic groups were growing grains is not known, but the consensus is that the earlier villages engaged in fishing and hunting and shellfish collecting, later adding cultivated plants to their subsistence base. North Korean archaeologists believe that pigs and dogs were domesticated in the Chulmun period, as well. Since settled villages with domesticated pigs and millet cultivation are found in northeast China (Manchuria) as early as 6000 B.C.E., this claim is not unreasonable, but the full data have not been made available.
The Megalithic Age

The temporal boundaries of a bronze age are not easy to draw, and in any case it is more appropriate to consider the appearance of new pottery called Mumun as the marker for a new stage than to insist on bronze as the important difference in the new way of life.

Bronze was probably not a factor in the origin of this change, and only gradually became an important feature of the Korean cultures. The Ch‘ulmun neolithic changed in many important ways with the introduction of rice cultivation and megalithic monuments, perhaps as early as 2000 B.C., but certainly by 1000 B.C. The differences can be seen in far more than mere stylistic differences in pottery or stone tools, although these occurred. Most telling is the changing location strategy of the villages - whereas Ch‘ulmun sites are on riverbanks and coasts, Mumun sites are found on hillsides, like present-day Korean villages, leaving the flat ground for agricultural use, in addition to terracing the hills for better water distribution to the crops. Not only does the location of the village in relation to the arable land imply rice cultivation, actual grains of rice, as well as other grains such as millets and barley, have been collected from sites such as H‘unamni and Songgungni. Stone tools were made in several new shapes, including heavy axes, chisels, semi-lunar reaping knives, star-shaped mace heads, and large perforated discs. Polished stone daggers also appear. Like the neolithic, not all of these tool types were found at every site. The sizes of villages vary considerably; some have only a few dwellings, while others contain more than 100 houses. In conjunction with these villages, rows of dolmens have been found.

The megalithic monuments in Korea are given the names of analogous structures in Europe, although there is probably no connection. Menhirs are simply unmodified standing stones, sometimes placed in lines. Dolmens are constructed in several ways. The "northern style" has four upright stone slabs, making a box, topped with a much larger slab that extends above the box on all sides. These capstones routinely weigh several tons, and one is estimated to weigh 300 tons. "Southern style" dolmens are placed directly on the ground, or covering a group of small propping stones or even a stone pavement. Dolmens are burial markers, although the northern-style examples were easy to loot by removing one of the upright stones, and few have been found with any contents. Southern style dolmens mark subterranean burials, most often in stone cists, but also jar burials and earth pit graves. Associated grave goods include small burnished red jars, polished stone daggers, tubular stone beads, and the curved bead known as kogok.

Bronze first appears in northern Korea in the form of small objects such as buttons and knives. Bronze daggers with points along the edges of their blades are characteristic of both Korea and Liaoning province in northeast China. Those in China are dated to the Spring and Autumn period of the Zhou dynasty (8th to 5th century B.C.). A cache of Chinese swords of the Warring States period (5th to 3rd century B.C.) has been found in the southwestern part of Korea.

Later bronzes include mirrors with geometric designs, narrow daggers, belt buckles in the shape of horses and tigers, and bells. Bronze axes and chisels are occasionally discovered, but in general the use of bronze appears to have been more for weapons and ornaments that for tools. Thus, bronze was for the elite and not the common person.

Early Use of Iron

Iron, in contrast, was widely used for agricultural implements and wood-working tools as well as weapons and armor. Iron ore was available in many areas of Korea, and local smelting on a small scale occurred widely, particularly along the Han and Nakdong rivers. There are also several coastal sites in both the southeast and the southwest with evidence of local iron production in the form of iron slag. The date for the beginning of iron production
in Korea is not secure, but sites near sources of iron date to the third c. B.C.E. These sites have new types of houses that are square with corner hearths, and built on the ground surface. They may reflect the advent of iron tools with which to make wooden houses above the ground, or more efficient heating so that it was no longer necessary to use the earth for partial walls. In a few cases, the subfloor heating system known as ondol has been found.

New regional pottery types are found as well. They include paddled exteriors, globular jars with ‘eggplant’ designs on the body, and jars with oval impressions around the base. There are also wide-mouthed vessels with rolled rims and long-necked black jars. Some stone and bone tools were still in use, such as knives and projectile points of stone and bone needles, awls, and handles for iron tools.

Although the use of iron began earlier, most radiocarbon dates for sites with iron in the south fall into the first few centuries A.D. During this period, with the rise of the Lelang commandery in the northern half of the peninsula, the south was free of Chinese domination but not of Chinese influence. Iron became a state monopoly in China, perhaps increasing trade with Korea for iron.

Archaeological sites from this time period include walled hill forts, towns along rivers, and burials. A particularly interesting burial is the site of Tahori, where a continuous high water level preserved a number of ordinarily perishable artifacts. In one burial, the coffin was a dugout log, cut in half lengthwise. Beneath the coffin, a bamboo basket was found containing writing brushes and rope. A laquered wooden bowl on a stand contained the remains of persimmons, a lacquer sword stand, iron axes with wooden handles, and bows and arrows were also found.

Chinese coins have helped to date a number of sites. In the north, mingdao coins shaped like knives or spades have been found in large numbers, whereas in the south wushu coins are more common. Other interesting discoveries include 'oracle bones' (animal scapulae with burn marks), glass beads, and Han dynasty mirrors from China.

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The provided map to be included.

The Earliest Korean States

Ancient Chosön

In the thirteenth century Samguk yusa occurs the legend of the foundation of the earliest Korean kingdom by the supernatural hero Tan’gun. This story may have originated as an attempt to affirm the unique and indigenous quality of Korean culture in opposition to another legend, found in Chinese texts as early as the second century B.C.E., which described how Jizu (Kor. Kija) a prince of the Shang dynasty in China, established a kingdom in Korea when his royal house was overthrown towards the end of the second millennium B.C.E.. As commonly happens, both these legends were elaborated further in later sources; the account of Kija went on to claim that his descendants reigned in P’yöngyang for over eight hundred years.
So far archaeology is not in a position to confirm or deny these stories. It is known, however, that several kingdoms of the late Warring States Period in China - especially the northeastern state of Yan - were in contact with northern Korea, and that when, between 231 and 221 B.C.E., these kingdoms were swallowed up by the western state of Qin which went on to found the first Chinese empire. Chinese refugees made their way into northern Korea. One such refugee was a certain Wei Man (Kor. Wiman) who in 195 B.C.E. established a powerful state based at Wanggŏm, near modern Pyŏngyang. According to a Chinese text of the third century C.E., the Weilue Wei Man seized control from a local ruler who had welcomed him and who, when driven out, fled to the Han tribes in southern Korea: once again it is difficult to be sure that we are not dealing with later legends. There is, however, no doubt about the historicity of Wei Man and his successors, whose power seems to have extended over most of northern Korea, and whose influence at least extended into the south.

The rise of Wei Man's state coincided with the rise of the Former Han Dynasty (202 B.C.E.-C.E.9) in China, which within a century had built up the most powerful East Asian empire of its day. Trade contacts between China and Korea continued, but Wei Man's grandson Ugŏ antagonised the Chinese Emperor Wu (r.141-87 B.C.E.) by blocking Chinese diplomatic contact with the Han tribes of southern Korea. In 109 B.C.E. Emperor Wu despatched armies against Ugŏ's kingdom of Chosŏn; the Chinese campaign was badly co-ordinated, but the struggle also revealed internal tensions in Ugŏ's state. Within a year he was murdered by his subordinates and his domains annexed to the Han empire, which subdivided them into four provinces or commanderies. Of these, two quickly passed out of Chinese control, and only Luolang (Kor. Nangnang) based in the area round Wanggŏm, and Xuantu (Kor. Hyŏndo), which lay at least partly beyond the Yalŭ, outlasted the Former Han dynasty itself.

Koguryŏ and Puyŏ

Clearly the enormous distance and difficulties of communication limited the extent to which a Chinese government based in Chang'an could control conquests in Korea; moreover land communications were constantly threatened by the great nomad confederacies of the steppe, the Xiongnu and their eastern subordinates the Wuhuan and the Xianbi. Chinese frontier authorities in northern Korea attempted to secure themselves by alliances with other tribal groups, notably a group of five tribes known under the general title of Koguryŏ, apparently connected with the Manchurian tribal kingdom of Puyŏ. However, when the Chinese usurper Wang Mang (r.C.E.9-23) tried to use Koguryŏ in his war against the Xiongnu, the Koguryŏ tribes rebelled; a Chinese general murdered the chieftain used by the frontier authorities as an intermediary in their dealings with the tribes, but this did nothing to quell the disturbance. Meanwhile Wang Mang was overthrown and his empire was disputed by rival warlords. It was not until thirteen years later that the Eastern or Later Han dynasty (25-220) took over most of China and granted official recognition to the Koguryŏ kingdom.

Under the Later Han, Chinese control in Luolang and Xuantu was even less secure than before, indeed in northeastern Korea it was now non existent; Koguryŏ moved in to fill the vacuum. Essentially the Koguryŏ state consisted of a warrior aristocracy supported by a serf-like peasantry who grew the food which the nobles consumed and provided the labour to build their massive stone tombs. The centre of the kingdom was the Hunchiang valley north of the Yalŭ, where ruins of these tombs have been found, but the rule of Koguryŏ extended over a wide area, including the coast of north-eastern Korea inhabited by the rice-growing Okcho tribes, who now became Koguryŏ vassals. The power of the 'king' of Koguryŏ was restricted by the privileges of the tribal nobility, and at some time in the first century C.E. the kingship was actually transferred from one tribe, the Sonnobu, to another, the Kyerubu. Nevertheless, Koguryŏ remained strong enough to be a threat to the Chinese commanderies, especially in the early second century; indeed the Chinese only managed to
preserve their position thanks to the help which they received from Koguryô's rival, the ancient kingdom of Puyô in Manchuria. Kung, the ruler who mounted this threat against the Chinese, was to be regarded as the ancestor of all later Koguryô kings.

The Wei Reconquest

Later Han power was increasingly affected by internal problems, notably the increasing shift of population from north to south China; in 189 the dynasty collapsed, but this did not immediately benefit Koguryô as the north-eastern border commandery of Liaodong was then taken over by a powerful warlord family, the Gongsun. The following century was one of crisis for Koguryô: the heartlands of the kingdom were devastated by an invasion of Gongsun Kang, warlord of Liaodong; the Sonnobu tribe seems to have abandoned the kingdom en masse after supporting an unsuccessful claimant for the throne in a civil war, and the state came under increasing pressure from the Wuhuan and Xianbi confederacies who had replaced the Xiongnu in the steppe borderlands. In response to these threats the early third century king Limó moved the Koguryô capital further south (but still north of the Yalu) to the stronghold of Hwando. However in 244 - 45 Hwando itself was sacked by the armies of the Chinese Wei dynasty (220-265), one of the three states into which the Han empire had divided. The Wei had reconquered Liaodong in 238, and now seemed poised to re-establish Chinese control in northern Korea; they recognised the Koguryô vassal rulers of the eastern coast as independent kings, reasserted the old alliance with Puyô in the north, and in the south again asserted a loose suzerainty over the Korean Han tribes. Hundreds of Koguryô families were deported to central China; it seemed as if Koguryô had been blotted from the map, and for over half a century it disappears from the Chinese records.

Transition to the Three Kingdoms

But the Chinese triumph was more apparent than real; the shift of population within China already mentioned meant that the Chinese settler presence in the northern border areas, including the Korean commanderies, declined sharply, creating a vacuum into which other groups such as the Xianbi tribes of Manchuria moved or were resettled by Chinese administrators. In 285 the Murong clan of the Xianbi overran and almost obliterated the ancient state of Puyô; surviving members of the Puyô royal house fled through what had once been Koguryô territory to establish a kingdom in north-eastern Korea amongst the Okchô, themselves former Koguryô vassals. The Jin dynasty which had succeeded the Wei in China in 265 and nominally reunited the country in 280, proved even less capable of preventing these tribal movements on the borders than its predecessors. For a time it maintained a facade of imperial control, and the Jin records list 'tribute missions' from chieftains in southern Korea upon whom the Jin had bestowed such titles as 'the Jin King' or 'the lord of Mahan'. But at the beginning of the fourth century the Jin dynasty collapsed in a series of bitter civil wars in which several of the contenders attempted to use armies of Xiongnu and Xianbi who had been settled inside the empire. The result was that these resettled northern nomads took north China for themselves, restricting the Jin dynasty to the south and cutting off all contacts with the surviving Chinese settlers in Luolang. There was no longer a Chinese administration capable of bestowing titles and honours upon the minor Korean chieftains, who then looked about for other means to bolster their eroding status. This would seem to have been what happened in Mahan where, if we reinterpret the legends preserved in the twelfth century Sino-Korean chronicle, the Samguk sagi, 'the lord of Mahan' appears to have invited a group of Puyô warrior aristocrats from their new foothold in north-eastern Korea. In the course of a long struggle the newcomers succeeded in taking over most of Mahan, which became the mediaeval kingdom of Paekche, proud to trace its royal house from the ancient state of Puyô. At the same time Koguryô, which resurfaces in the Chinese records shortly before 313, began to exercise pressure on the old Luolang commandery, being blocked from expansion further north by the strong Murong Xianbi kingdom. The situation amongst the Chinhan tribes of south-eastern Korea is less clear, but certainly changes which led to the emergence of the Shilla kingdom later in the
fourth century were already taking place. With the reappearance of Koguryo and the formation of the states of Paekche and Shilla the mediaeval period of Korean history may be said to have begun.

K H Gardiner

The Three Kingdoms Period

The Changes of the Fourth Century.

During the so-called Three Kingdoms Period Shilla, Koguryo and Paekche were not the only states which existed in the peninsula; there were other petty tribal 'kingdoms' in southern Korea, notably the so called Kaya league lying west of the Naktong river and consisting of Kŭmgwan Kaya, also known as Karak (near modern Kimhae), Greater Kaya, Ara Kaya, Koryŏng Kaya, Sŏngsang Kaya and Lesser Kaya. Shilla seems to have been in origin a similar petty state, but it succeeded in uniting the tribes of Chin-Han, east of the Naktong river, whereas the various principalities of the Kaya league failed to come together (though at first Kŭmgwan Kaya predominated), and eventually the Kaya states which had once formed a barrier between Paekche and Shilla, were swallowed up by these more powerful neighbours.

The beginnings of most of the kingdoms can no longer be traced; it is not necessary to take seriously the claim of the eleventh century Samguk sagi that Shilla was founded in 57 B.C.E. (this is a magical date based on calculations involving the sixty year cycle). Both Shilla and Paekche occur as names amongst the lists of scores of petty tribal communities in southern Korea in the third century Chinese history, San guo zhi - but they can hardly have been fully fledged kingdoms at this time, and Paekche cannot have acquired its distinctive Puyo royal house until after the migration of the Puyo princes to Okchō in 285. Further north we are on surer ground: the rulers of Koguryo which re-emerged at the beginning of the fourth century (Kings Úlbol or Úlbulli and his son and successor So) claimed descent from the Kyerubu kings of the second and third centuries, and there is no reason to doubt this, though how the state had survived more than fifty years of total eclipse is not clear. In the fourth century as North China fell to the warring Xiongnu and Xianbi, Koguryo and Paekche were both able to recruit refugee literati from China, a process which tended to strengthen centralising trends within these two states.

As in earlier times, the warrior aristocracy of Koguryo were intent on imposing their control over settlers in the surrounding lowlands, notably Liaodong and the coastal plains of north-western Korea -- the old commandery of Luolang. But expansion into Liaodong was now blocked by the kingdom of the Murong Xianbi, who had occupied this area under the outstandingly able chieftain Murong Hui (r.285-333). When a civil war erupted after the latter's death, some of the defeated party, including a certain Dong Shou, fled to Koguryo, which had long attempted to form a coalition of other regional powers against the Murong. To discourage such activity, Murong Huang launched a two-pronged attack against Koguryo in 342/43; once again Hwando was sacked and King So was forced to flee. However the Xianbi forces did not attempt to hunt the king down as the Chinese had a century earlier; the tributary structure of the Koguryo state was left intact, and this time it soon recovered from the blow.

Checked for the time being in their attempts upon Liaodong, the rulers of Koguryo turned to the south to take over the Chinese settlers of Luolang. Here too they met with difficulties, and it seems likely that Dong Shou who had perhaps been despatched to this area to conciliate his fellow Chinese to Koguryo rule, took advantage of the Koguryo defeat of 342/43 to assume de facto independence. Between 1949 and 1957 a huge tomb was excavated at Anak in Hwanghae Province, containing an inscription giving the precise date of Dong Shou's death (24th November, 357) and listing his titles such as "General Pacifying the East, Commandant-Protector of the Barbarians, Governor of Luolang". Such
detail would be most unusual if the tomb had been actually made for someone else (North Korean archaeologists tend to regard it as that of a Koguryó king). It also contains frescoes of day to day scenes -- a procession, horses in a stable, dogs hanging about a butcher's shop, women at a well -- with nothing specific to connect them with a Koguryó ruler. It is most unlikely that this last attempt to restore the old Luolang commandery survived Dong Shou's lifetime. By 358 the Murong kingdom was locked in a bitter struggle with its rivals for the domination of North China, and the rulers of Koguryó were free to concentrate upon expanding southwards into the Korean peninsula. Luolang seems to have been taken over fairly quickly, and only the rise of the kingdom of Paekche prevented Koguryó extending its control even further.

**The Rise of Paekche**

It was the arrival of emigré northern warriors from Puyó which transformed the old tribal community of Paekche into the Paekche kingdom. In the *Samguk sagi* what appears to be an older variant of the Paekche foundation legend assigns the leading role in this migration to a Prince Piryu, whose name is identical to that of the father of the first definitely historical king of Paekche in the mid fourth century. It seems very likely that they are one and the same. Indeed a date for the foundation of Paekche's northern ruling house at the beginning of the fourth century would fit in well with the collapse of the Western Jin dynasty in China and the consequent need of the 'lord of Ma-han' to find some other source of support for his position. In this case the story given in the *Samguk sagi* of the Puyó princes being invited into Ma-Han and then gradually taking over the whole Ma-han territory will have been substantially accurate, needing only to be redated from the first century B.C.E. to the early fourth century C.E.

The *Samguk sagi* also tells how a king of Paekche married the daughter of the ruler of Daifang, and subsequently came to the aid of Daifang when it was attacked by Koguryó. Daifang, originally the southernmost portion of Luolang, had been made into an independent commandery under the Gongsong warlords, and would have been threatened by Koguryó once the latter had taken over Luolang, perhaps after the death of Dong Shou. Any authority amongst the Chinese settlers there may well have seen a princely house descended from Puyó, traditionally a Chinese ally, as preferable to conquest by Koguryó, traditionally hostile to the Chinese. Moreover such an alliance would readily explain the presence of Chinese settler families amongst the Paekchae ruling group and the high degree of sinicisation which the Paekche court revealed from quite early times. Paekche was certainly a stumbling block to Koguryó expansion: the *Samguk sagi* places a Koguryó attack upon Paekche in 369; in 371, in a retaliatory raid on Koguryó, Paekche forces killed King So of Koguryó under the walls of P'yongyang (not at that time capital of the state). Chinese sources confirm that King So was killed by Paekche, but without giving a date. Clearly the long feud between Paekche and Koguryó had begun.

Since by this time the destruction of the Murong state in China by its rival Fu Jian Qin (in 370) had removed any threat from Koguryó's northern borders, King So's successors concentrated upon conquests in the Korean peninsula. Prudently keeping on good terms with Fu Jian Qin's court by a series of 'tribute missions' (Fu Jian Qin for his part sent the first Buddhist priests to Koguryó in 372), Koguryó looked for allies in its struggle with Paekche; in 377 representatives from the south-eastern state of Shilla accompanied Koguryó ambassadors to the court of Fu Jian Qin. As will be seen, the Kwanggaet'o Stele inscription of 414 confirms that the young state of Shilla was a Koguryó ally at this time. Paekche itself was now threatened with encirclement and began looking for powerful helpers.

In 372 King Ch'ogo sent a mission to the court of the refugee Eastern Jin dynasty in south China. He was rewarded with the title of 'General Stabilising the East and Acting Governor of Luolang', but clearly no substantial help could be expected from this source. It
would seem that the rulers of Paekche turned elsewhere -- to the Japanese archipelago.

Korean historians have been rightly sceptical of claims in the eighth century Japanese histories, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, of Japanese connections with Korea going back to remote antiquity, pointing out that even in the fourth century Japan was not united, and the Yamato kingdom, from whose point of view the histories were written, was merely one amongst a number of contending tribal states. On the other hand the *Nihon shoki* does cite earlier documents such as the *Kudara ki*, which seems to have originated as a Paekche chronicle (its list of Paekche kings from Ch'ogo onwards is virtually identical with that of the *Samguk sagi*) and from this it appears that contacts were in fact initiated by Paekche, which used Yamato warriors to take over some of the small tribal principalities between Paekche and the Nakdong valley, bribing the Yamato leadership with gifts of iron, the iron of southern central Korea being already famous in the region in the third century. It is in this context that we Dong Id see the famous seven-branched sword, still preserved in Japan, with an inscription stating that it was conferred on an otherwise unknown King of Wa (i.e. Yamato) by the King of Paekche and his crown prince, presumably King Ch'ogo and his son Kusu, who succeeded his father in 375. The alliance with Paekche became vital to the Yamato court, since from this foothold on the mainland of Asia it could import not only iron, but also horses and horse-riding equipment, and even the Confucian Classics, said to have been introduced to Japan along with Chinese writing by Paekche scholars at the beginning of the fifth century.

The Climax of Koguryŏ power

A flood of somewhat contradictory light is thrown on Korean politics at the turn of the fourth/fifth centuries by the inscribed (but badly damaged) stele of the Koguryŏ King Kwanggaet'o (r.391-413). In a period for which source materials are scarce the inscription is invaluable as a contemporary document, although its presentation of events of the reign is by no means undistorted; the purpose of the inscription was to glorify King Kwanggaet'o and it sought to achieve this in part by blackening his enemies and exaggerating their power. No part of the text has caused more controversy than the statement that, whereas Paekche and Shilla were originally subjects of Koguryŏ, in 391 'Wa crossed the sea ... defeated Paekche .... and Shilla and made them their subjects'. As the Japanese scholar Hirano Kunio has pointed out, even though there is a notice of an expedition to Korea at this point in the Nihon-shoki 'Yamato was not in a position to 'subjugate Paekche' since it was not even in control of western Japan. It is also true that Paekche had never been a subject of Koguryŏ prior to this, and even Shilla was more of an ally of Koguryŏ than a subject. The purpose of the text is to convey the impression that the rulers of Paekche were in treacherous rebellion against their suzerain, and that they brought in troops from across the sea who took over Paekche, Shilla and the tribal states in between. This led to the Koguryŏ expedition against Paekche in 396, when King Ahwa of Paekche is said to have surrendered and given hostages for his future good conduct, and a further successful expedition against the Wa troops in Shilla and the neighbouring areas in 400. After these victories the *maegŭm*, i.e. the supreme chieftain, of Shilla, who had never come to the Koguryŏ court before, did so -- an interesting remark in view of the earlier assertion that Shilla had hitherto been a Koguryŏ subject. In spite of the grandiose claims of the stele, it is clear that Paekche continued to exist as a state with its capital at Hansŏng in the Han valley, and with a continuing close alliance with Yamato. On the other hand, if we are to accept that the Shilla ruler visited the Koguryŏ court, it implies that Koguryŏ suzerainty was extended into southeastern Korea. Certainly hundreds of families from the south and east were carried off back to Koguryŏ, since later on we read of 220 such families being settled as tomb guardians round the king's grave. The acquisition of such new subjects who, coming from outside the Koguryŏ tribal structure, were more completely under royal control than the 'old families' still linked to the Koguryŏ tribal aristocracy, may well have been part of the purpose of these campaigns.
The most spectacular territorial gains of Koguryo at this time do not appear on the stele; they were made at the expense of the new Murong state set up after the collapse of Fu Jian Qin in 383. This Later Yan kingdom was dogged by foreign invasion and internal quarrels, thanks to which by 402 Koguryo seems to have achieved one of its long term objectives, the conquest of Liaodong. When in 407 the last Murong ruler was murdered, he was briefly succeeded by the former captain of the bodyguard Gao Yun, a man of Koguryo origin who continued to enjoy excellent diplomatic relations with his native land. The interesting possibilities of this situation were never developed, since Gao Yun in turn was murdered (in 409) and succeeded by a man of another family. Nevertheless Liaodong remained in Koguryo hands, and a witness of its conquest is the tomb discovered outside P'yongyang in 1976 belonging a governor of Liaodong who died in 409 and who - unlike Dong Shou - bears a Koguryo rank and dates in the regnal year of King Kwanggaet'o. Strikingly enough, before any of his official titles, this man boasts above all his devotion to Sakyamuni Buddha.

It is from the painted tombs of this era that we can picture the life of the Koguryo' nobility at the height of their power. Of these perhaps the most famous is the so-called 'Tomb of the Dancers', which shows Koguryo nobles galloping across the hills and using the famous Parthian shot -- back over the horse's hindquarters -- to shoot at game -- deer and tiger. Frescoes in other tombs show a wrestling match, carts pulled by bullocks, dancing figures from a mortuary cult, and a combat between heavily armoured horsemen like Parthian cataphracti.

According to the Samguk sagi it was in 427 that the Koguryo court moved from Hwando to P'yongyang, its last capital. Although uncorroborated elsewhere, the move tallies with the stele's indications of the increased importance of P'yongyang in King Kwanggaet'o's day, and took place under his successor, King Changsu (413-491), whose seventy-eight year reign is attested by contemporary Chinese references, and must count as the longest in East Asian history. It is clear that for most of this time Shilla, now threatened by an increasingly aggressive Yamato kingdom, remained very much under the aegis of Koguryo. As for Paekche, it came close to destruction in 476 when the aged King Changsu led a huge army to besiege its capital, Hansong; the Paekche King Kaero, captured while leading a desperate sortie, was duly executed; thus the hundred year old grudge was satisfied. At this moment Koguryo must have appeared as one of the strongest states in East Asia.

The Triumph of Shilla

Late in the fifth century the death of the Yamato King Bu, known to later generations as Yuryaku, led to internal instability and dynastic change. This meant that Shilla was no longer under threat from Yamato -- or from Paekche, since that state was still struggling to survive with its capital moved further south to Ungjin. In Koguryo the enormous reign of King Changsu, like most excessively long reigns, seems to have left a certain weakness in the central authority. In these circumstances the ruling group in Shilla, resenting their partial dependence on Koguryo, allied themselves with Paekche against their former suzerain. The moment was well chosen; Koguryo was going through internal troubles -- King Anjang was murdered in 531 -- and after a series of campaigns the two allies attacked and won back the Han valley which had been taken from Paekche in 476. Since Koguryo no longer posed a threat, Shilla now turned on Paekche and kept the Han valley for itself; when King Soney of Paekche fell in a night ambush and Shilla for the first time emerged as the strongest state in the peninsula.

It was Shilla's geographic position -- on the east coast without a good harbour -- which had made it into a cultural backwater; until the sixth century it had largely escaped influences from China and beyond which had helped to reshape both Koguryo and Paekche. It is significant that Buddhism, which reached Koguryo from North China in 372 and Paekche from South China in 384, did not make a significant impact in Shilla until the 520's, at the
same time that Shilla began direct diplomatic contact with the imperial court of South China and, perhaps as a result, started to reorganise its internal structure. The Kaya states were amongst the first objectives of a reinvigorated Shilla; between 527 and 532 Shilla annexed Kumgwan Kaya or Karak, and for the first time crossed the Naktong river; this was followed, as already seen, by the campaigns against Koguryo and the successful war with Paekche, which gave Shilla access to the west coast of Korea and hence a more direct route to southern China.

This early phase of Shilla expansion reached its culmination in the reign of King Chinhiing (540-576), and is associated with the unique Shilla institution of hwarang. The hwarang were specially chosen sons from noble families who were given a rigorous military training and obliged to perform special religious pilgrimages and vigils; each hwarang was accompanied in battle by oath-pledged comrades, sometimes to the number of several hundred. The combination of strict military and religious training -- the Buddhist priest Won'gwang drew up a code of conduct for hwarang in 602 - developed this elite into an extremely efficient fighting force, but by the beginning of the seventh century Koguryo seems to have recovered some of its earlier power and national spirit, and Shilla was again on the defensive.

The situation in Korea was now complicated by the reappearance of a united Chinese Empire under the Sui dynasty (581-618), which saw itself as the heir to the old Han empire and therefore unable to accept non-Chinese rule over such border areas as Liaodong. The Sui emperors dreaded an alliance of Koguryo with the Eastern Turks, who now dominated the steppe borderlands; an early clash between Koguryo and Sui China was narrowly averted in 598, but in 612 Emperor Yang of Sui (r.604-618) launched the first of a series of massive invasions. There followed three years of bitter fighting in which Koguryo, though ravaged almost to the point of exhaustion, managed to beat off the Chinese attack. Indeed, the campaigns ultimately proved more disastrous to the Sui dynasty; under the strain rebellions broke out all over China, and the dynasty collapsed. Nevertheless, within a decade the new Tang dynasty (618-907) had restored the united empire of the Sui, and it was not long before a tense situation again developed along the Chinese border with Koguryo.

Although Shilla embassies had helped to encourage the Sui invasions, neither Shilla nor Paekche had taken any active part in the fighting. Instead Paekche, now showing signs of recovery, began a series of attacks on Shilla to regain its lost lands. Shilla itself was going through an internal crisis, connected with the stratification of the Shilla ruling group into 'bone-ranks'. These 'bone-ranks', which were hereditary, controlled access to all official positions; the kingship was only open to the members of the highest, sŏnggol. However, with the death of King Chin-p'yŏng in 632 the male sŏnggol line became extinct, and a female ruler inherited the throne, to be succeeded by yet another female in 647. It was this perceived weakness in Shilla that triggered the Paekche attacks, which in turn led to further Shilla appeals to the Tang court. Tang Taicong (r.626-649) was more interested in attacking Koguryo, especially after 642, when the Koguryo noble Yŏn Kaesomun in 642 seized power, killing the king. However the Chinese invasions of Koguryo in 644/45 were indecisive, and operations were halted in 649 by the death of Tang Taicong.

Throughout these years Shilla was being harassed by Paekche, to some extent in alliance with Koguryo, and further appeals for help led the Chinese to renew their attacks against Koguryo in 655, the year after the throne of Shilla had finally passed to the second highest 'bone-rank', the chin'gol. The Chinese experienced great difficulty in supplying their forces along the only practicable land route - via Liaoxi and Liaodong - while attempts to launch naval expeditions against the Koguryo coast had generally proved disastrous. In 660 however a new strategy was adopted; finally turning against Paekche, the Tang forces, aided by Shilla, quickly overran that state. But Paekche was an ally of Yamato, and the Japanese and the Japanese intervened to help the Paekche resistance - only to be
disastrously defeated in a naval battle. Now the Tang, with a secure base in Korea, could launch attacks on Koguryó from two directions at once. For a time the northern kingdom continued to hold out, but when Yôn Kaesomun died in 666 disputes broke out amongst his sons, and the end could no longer be averted. P'yöngyang fell in 668 to the Tang after a siege which left most of the city in ruins. With Shilla the only independent state in the peninsula the Three Kingdom period comes to an end.

**Three Later Kingdoms**

The late ninth c. was a period of turbulence and change almost throughout East Asia, as an old order passed away and a new one painfully shaped itself. In China the Tang dynasty collapsed in chaos following the Huang Chao rebellion of 875-84, and when the Later Liang succeeded the Tang in 907 it only controlled a fraction of the country. At almost the same time the Khitan tribes united under the able leadership of Apaochi and threatened both the warlords of the Chinese borderlands and the waning kingdom of Parhae.

The final collapse of Greater Shilla coincided with these events. The *Samguk sagi* suggests that it was triggered by the accession to the throne of another ruling queen, Queen Chinsöng (887-897) who attempted to collect taxes throughout the country at the end of a year’s amnesty following a famine, but here we may be in the presence of a hostile historiographic tradition. Certainly by the end of the century large scale banditry was rampant; interestingly enough, the bandit leaders were not the provincial nobility who had contended for power in earlier struggles, but individuals from various underprivileged groups. Kyôn Hwôn in the south-west was a farmer’s son who had served as an officer in the coastal defence system and had taken the opportunity to form his own private army; his career thus recalls that of Chang Pogo half a century earlier. In central southern Korea his great rival, Kung Ye, allegedly the illegitimate son of a Shilla king, had survived (with the loss of one eye) an attempt to put him out of the way in early infancy. Not surprisingly his whole career (which included a brief period as a Buddhist monk) was a bitter vendetta against the Shilla court. When he occupied the provincial centre of Hung-ju he is said to have slashed with his sword at the portraits of Shilla kings in the great temple, and to have denounced Shilla for bringing in foreign troops to destroy Koguryó. Nevertheless, once he had styled himself king the title he chose for his kingdom (in 904) was not Koguryó or Koryó but Majin, a term with magico-religious associations. In contrast, when Kyôn Hwôn entered Wonsan in 900, he took advantage of local discontent with the Shilla court to proclaim himself King of (Later) Paekche.

In the conflicts of the early ninth c. those with power bases in the provinces had striven to control the succession to the Shilla throne; this was no longer the case. With its influence confined to Kûmsöng (Kyöngju) and its environs, the court had become a largely irrelevant factor in the civil wars, although the fact that amongst the last Shilla kings there were several from the Pak consort family suggests that succession problems still continued there. But the court was clearly living on borrowed time; the real struggle was between Kyôn Hwôn and Kung Ye.

In this contest Kung Ye was aided by his able lieutenant Wang Kôn, who was perhaps involved in the China trade. Certainly Wang Kôn seems to have had a grasp of naval warfare; he established an island base in the south-west of Kyôn Hwôn’s sphere of control and not merely resisted all attempts to expel him from there but succeeded in threatening Later Paekche’s trade link with China. Eventually Wang Kôn’s achievements may have begun to appear somewhat excessive to his leader, and in 913 he was recalled to Kung Ye’s court at Ch’ôrwon in central Korea.

Surviving in the nightmarish atmosphere of Kung Ye’s court may have required even more skill than Wang Kôn’s expeditions against Later Paekche. Jealous of his rivals and suspicious of his subordinates, Kung Ye sought to bolster his power by claiming
supernatural authority; he announced that he was Maitreya, the coming Buddha, who could see into the hearts of men and discern their secret motives, and that his two sons were Boddhisattvas. This did not prevent him from putting his sons to death with horrific torments when he became suspicious of them too. Such a reign of terror could not go on indefinitely without producing a reaction, and on 24 July 918 what was clearly a well-prepared coup overthrew Kung Ye and installed Wang Kön in his place. After hiding in the mountains for a few days, Kung Ye was killed by peasants from whom he was seeking food.

Wang Kön and his followers reorganised the northern kingdom and shifted its capital from the inland town of Ch'orwón to Sŏngak (Kaesŏng), the home of Wang Kön’s family; it was not long before diplomatic contact was made with the state of Wuyue in southern China, circumventing Later Paekche’s attempted monopoly of the China trade. Wang Kön also renamed his state Koryŏ, asserting a continuity with the earlier northern kingdom of Koguryŏ; by 919 he had had P’yŏngyang, the old ruined capital of Koguryŏ, refortified. There was more interest than sentiment to prompt such measures, since at this time the expanding Khitan power was pressing hard upon the kingdom of Parhae, eventually overrun by Apaochi’s armies in the winter of 925-26, and crowds of Parhae refugees, including members of the royal house, were going over to Koryŏ.

Another change of direction was the development of diplomatic contacts with the Shilla court, unthinkable in the time of Kung Ye. It was perhaps inevitable that in this protracted struggle between three states the weakest should seek the alliance and protection of one of the other two, and this combination persisted even though governors of isolated towns north of Kyŏngju who were still holding out for Shilla now began to go over to Koryŏ. Naturally it sharpened the rivalry between Koryŏ and Paekche, in spite of an attempt to stabilise relations between the two by an exchange of hostages. But in 926 the Paekche hostage died in Koryŏ and Kyŏn Hwŏn, refusing to believe that this was a natural death, reopened hostilities. In fact time was now running out for Kyŏn Hwŏn; he was already a man of sixty and had been campaigning for over thirty-five years. In October 927 he suddenly launched his main army against Kyongju, surprising the Shilla court while it was on a pleasure trip outside the city. The Shilla king was forced to commit suicide in front of the Paekche troops; the court ladies were handed over to them and the whole place ransacked, although a puppet king was also appointed. Wang Kön, hurrying up with an inadequate force in response to a last minute appeal for help from the Shilla court, was surrounded and very nearly killed, and only escaped thanks to the devotion of a handful of his followers.

For the next few years southernmost Korea was dominated by Kyŏn Hwŏn. However, the latter does not appear to have developed any long range strategies to counter his still powerful rival; his forces plundered southern Koryŏ and the lands of his nominal puppet in Shilla alike, inevitably causing the latter to make common cause with Wang Kön, and from 930 the tide had again turned in Koryŏ’s favour. In March, 931 Wang Kön himself visited the Shilla court and was entertained by King Kyongsun who was apparently already considering abdicating the throne in his favour. This actually took place in November 935, when this last Shilla king led his court to surrender to Wang Kön in Kaesŏng.

Meanwhile Kyŏn Hwŏn had been overthrown by his son Kyŏn Shimgon, who resented having been passed over as heir to the throne. Kyŏn Shimgon killed his more favoured brother and shut up his father in a Buddhist temple at Kūm-san. After three months the old warrior was able to escape, and to make his way to the court of his hated rival Wang Kön. Wang Kön now prepared to invade Paekche to punish Kyŏn Shimgon’s unfilial behaviour, and he did so in September 936, accompanied by Kyŏn Hwŏn. In the circumstances, support for Kyŏn Shimgon could scarcely be wholehearted, and in the battle of Iłsŏn-gun on 26 September 936, the Paekche army was routed and Kyŏn Shimgon and his brothers surrendered to Koryŏ. Kyŏn Hwŏn, embittered and humiliated, died a few days later,
bringing to an end the era of the warlords, the so-called Three Later Kingdoms.

K H Gardiner

Greater Shilla and Parhae

After the Tang Invasions

With the destruction of its two traditional rivals, Koguryo and Paekche, Shilla entered upon a new phase in its long history. At first it had to counter the threat represented by those Tang armies still remaining in Korea, occupying areas which the Tang court regarded as rightfully part of its empire. These forces came under increasing pressure as Shilla, claiming the need to secure itself against so-called ‘Paekche drifters’ took over more and more of the south-west. Eventually the Tang launched a series of punitive campaigns against Shilla, but these proved singularly ineffective, largely because T’ang resources were now seriously overstretched and were needed to defend other frontiers (notably against Tibet). By 679 China had effectively acquiesced in Shilla’s rule over the whole of the former Paekche kingdom and over southern Koguryo; in this same year the Shilla court despatched officials to take over the island kingdom of T’amna (Cheju-do) formerly a dependency of Paekche. Now begins the period of Greater Shilla (sometimes misleadingly called Unified Shilla).

With the regularisation of relations with the Tang, cultural contacts between Shilla and China naturally increased. A stream of Buddhist monks travelled from Shilla to China and beyond - such as Hyech’o, who left a record of his travels to India in 726. Even greater numbers of students went to Chang’an and Luoyang to study the Confucian classics - in one year alone 105 such students are said to have returned from China to Shilla. Largely as a result of these contacts the Shilla court attempted a superficial sinocisation of local institutions, including the introduction of the Tang examination system, the registration of land holdings and regular distribution of land to peasants. Some of these changes were probably intended to curb the power of the great provincial families, more threatening now that the Shilla royal house only enjoyed chin’gol status. For the ‘bone-rank’ system continued to stratify Shilla society, and restricted even access to examinations to the upper reaches of the aristocracy, with the result that some of the more talented individuals from outside this group (such as the great scholar Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn at the end of the 9th c.) found it easier to go to China and gain an official position there.

In spite of these internal contradictions in Shilla the period saw an efflorescence of the arts in the peninsula. Chinese characters were adopted in an attempt to represent the sounds of the Korean language (hyangch’al), and in this cumbersome system the earliest known Korean poems have been preserved. State patronage of Buddhism was responsible for some of the most spectacular examples of Shilla art - a number of enormous temple bells, one the second largest in the world, and the famous Sokkuram grotto. Moreover, the earliest printed text in the world appears to be a dharani prayer discovered in the base of the 751 Pulguk-sa pagoda in 1967, a wood block print which clearly antedates the earliest known use of wood block printing in China.

The Rise of Parhae

Well before the end of the 7th c. Shilla expansion had come to a standstill, although the inadequate sources do not clearly show why. The change may have been connected with difficulties which the Shilla court was having in controlling the provincial nobility, as already mentioned. It is clear that Shilla rule never extended north of the Taedong river, and the ruined city of P’yŏngyang remained in a kind of no-man’s land, controlled neither by Shilla nor China. In 697 the revolt of the Khitan tribes west of the Liao effectively terminated Chinese control in Liaodong, and within a few years the Malgal tribes, formerly a subject group under Koguryo, had come together to form their own kingdom under the leadership of a certain Tae Choyŏng, whose ancestors had been Koguryo generals. Hoping
to use Tae Choyŏng as a counter to both the Khitan and the Eastern Turks, the Tang court in 713 bestowed upon him the title of ‘King of Parhae’; the state which he founded was to survive for another two centuries.

Unfortunately Kim Pushik, author of the Samguk sagi, being a descendant of the Shilla royal house, deliberately excluded Parhae from his account of Korean history, and, since no Parhae records have survived, this means that we are dependent on the superficial and sinocentric accounts in Chinese dynastic records for most of our information on this state. However even from these sources it is clear that Parhae soon emerged as an important regional power, taking over the old Koguryŏ territory in Manchuria and the northern third of Korea. Its rulers claimed to be the legitimate successors of the kings of Koguryŏ, and in the Japanese records - Parhae initiated diplomatic contact with Japan in 727 - the rulers of Parhae are invariably termed ‘Kings of Koryŏ’, the shortened form of Koguryŏ.

Almost nothing is known about Parhae’s relations with Shilla, though Kim Pu-sik affirms that Shilla built a defensive wall across its northern frontier early in the 8th c., and in 735, when Tae Muye, the second ruler of Parhae (reigned 719-737) had come into conflict with the Tang, the latter pressured Shilla into launching a northern expedition against Parhae. The result was catastrophic; caught in the early onset of winter over half the Shilla army perished in blizzards, and the dispute between Parhae and China was eventually settled by diplomatic means. Under Tae Muye’s son and successor, King Mun (reigned 737-794), Parhae reached the height of its power, and it is from this period that a rare piece of evidence of Parhae material culture has survived, the tomb of a Parhae princess, excavated between 1953 and 1959; the grave goods included golden earrings, jade ornaments and a carved stone lion.

The Decline of Shilla: Chang Pogo

During the second half of the 8th c. it becomes clear, even from the Samguk sagi’s scrappy account, that the problems of Greater Shilla were beginning to assume a more threatening character. In 780 King Hyegong perished in the course of a palace revolt and the throne, hitherto hereditary, albeit in a chin’gol lineage, now became something which any leading noble could hope to seize. In the ensuing struggles for power and influence at court it was the ordinary people of Shilla who suffered most; while the Samguk sagi mentions repeated droughts, locust plagues and resultant famines, the Chinese histories speak of boatloads of starving refugees from Shilla coming ashore in South China.

The career of Chang Pogo epitomises the problems of this time. A commoner, Chang Pogo had gone off to China to seek his fortune together with a friend. Returning to Shilla after a brief career as an officer in the T’ang armies, he somehow managed to persuade King Hŭngdŏk (reigned 826-36) to put him in charge of an island garrison off south-western Korea so that he could stop pirates from carrying off those living along the coast for sale overseas as slaves. In this endeavour he was successful, and in the process built up a most effective private army; when coup and counter-coup erupted in the capital after King Hŭngdŏk’s death, Chang Pogo’s support was worth having, and in 839 his forces captured Kŭmsŏng (Kyŏngju), killed the usurper who had been maintaining himself there, and installed a rival candidate for the throne. Though this candidate died almost immediately, Chang Pogo continued to support his son and successor King Munsŏng (reigned 839-57), and received an appanage of 2000 families. His ships now controlled the China Sea and, when the Japanese Buddhist monk Ennin travelled to China in 839, we know from his extant travel diary that he went in one of Chang Pogo’s ships and stayed in a monastery in Shandong built by Chang Pogo for Shilla monks. Nevertheless when King Munsŏng proposed to make Chang Pogo’s daughter his queen, an uproar at court over this unseemly promotion of an ‘islander’ compelled him to abandon the idea. This in turn alienated Chang Pogo, who prepared to rebel but was murdered by an agent from the court, probably in the winter of 841-42. But the court’s victory was hollow; when the garrison which Chang
Pogo had commanded was abolished, presumably to prevent others from following his example, the China Sea became so unsafe that diplomatic missions between Shilla and China, and between Japan and China, came to an end. The Shilla ‘dynasty’ continued, but from now on the *Sanguk saga*’ account concentrates almost entirely on affairs of the capital, suggesting that the kings had already lost control over most of the country.

K H Gardiner

**Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392)**

The Koryŏ kingdom, from its founding in 918 to its collapse in 1392, occupies a pivotal period in Korean history. As a link between Silla and Choson, it inherited the traditions of the former and laid the foundations for the latter. In this role, it transformed and developed itself to new levels of institutional and cultural sophistication. Because of its refined governing apparatus, spirited defence of its land from foreign conquerors, and priceless artistic and literary masterpieces, Koryŏ has been labeled a golden age in Korean history.

**Founding: 918-949**

Koryŏ history commences in the early tenth century with the disintegration of Silla. As the Korean peninsula divided into three warring sections, Wang Kon (d. 943), Koryŏ's future dynastic founder, achieved prominence as an able warrior under the northern regional lord Kim Kúngye (d. 918). Kúngye, a scion of Silla's royal Kim clan, called his state Later Koguryŏ. To the southwest the state of Later Paekche under Yi Kyŏnhwŏn (d. 936), a peasant-soldier, dominated the area. Silla retained only the loyalty of the people of the southeast. Kúngye initially attracted a number of local authorities to his banner. During the early tenth century, Wang Kon, one of many leaders, quickly proved his worth as both an able general on land and a superior tactician on sea. Despite Wang Kon's military successes, Later Koguryŏ floundered as Kungye became increasingly tyrannical. Believing he was an incarnation of a bodhisattva, he sponsored lavish ceremonies that depleted his state treasury. And in carrying a determined hatred for Silla traditions, he refused to employ Silla intellectuals who offered their expertise and even executed people who spoke favourably of Silla.

By 918 life under Kúngye had so deteriorated that Wang Kôn, supported by a number of disaffected officers, revolted, executed Kúngye, and founded Koryŏ. Wang Kôn, the son of a prominent maritime leader, made his home district in the Imjin River estuary the new capital, calling it Kaegyong or Kaesŏng. He consolidated his position by relying on his skill both as a diplomat and a talented general. In building his new state, he sought to unify the diverse regions of the peninsula. Mindful of the country's northern heritage, he name the kingdom Koryŏ which is a shortened form of Koguryŏ. From the south he welcomed men from the Silla kingdom and sought to infuse his regime with Silla's educated elite, thereby gaining a modicum of the old kingdom's legitimacy. He also sought to build his authority through a number of strategic marriage alliances with regional leaders across the peninsula, ultimately marrying 29 women. Coupled with these tempered policies, he vigorously fought his opponents and by 936, with the surrender of Yi Kyŏnhwŏn of Later Paekche, reunified the peninsula, securing his new state.

Aware of the many latent threats to his kingdom and fearful that his successors would be unable to govern effectively, Wang Kôn issued a series of commands called the Ten Injunctions (ship hunyo). In these warnings, the dynastic founder urged restraint in foreign affairs and the practice of Buddhism, and discussed principles of governing and issues of succession. Despite his appeals, power struggles marred the next reigns as a number of Wang Kôn's allies sought to dominate the new kings. Wang Kyu (d. 945), a royal son-in-law, tried to kill King Hyejong (943-945) and place his own grandson on the throne. Koryŏ's third king, Chŏngjong (945-949), even considered moving the capital to Pyŏngyang to escape the threats posed by the some of the powerful regional leaders.
Consolidation: 949-1009

Although Wang Kon and his lieutenants established the dynasty within a twenty year period, the process of dynastic consolidation consumed the next sixty years, lasting until the end of the tenth century. Two kings in particular, Kwangjong (949-975) and Sŏngjong (981-997), son and grandson of Wang Kon, were the key architects of this policy. On becoming king, Kwangjong was determined to assert his authority, having watched the two previous monarchs struggle against the regional strongmen. He launched an investigation into the social status of slaves, many of whom had been captured in the battles for reunification, and manumitted those wrongly seized. In the process, he won the loyalty of the formerly enslaved and also curtailed the economic power of the slave owners, who were frequently regional strongmen. When he continued to face opposition, he launched a purge that by some accounts packed the prisons.

In an attempt to build monarchical power through an invigorated officialdom, Kwangjong also inaugurated a state examination system that was modeled on Chinese precedents. With the help of an advisor from China, he instituted the examination system in 958 and recruited a number of men into the government in part based on their ability to understand the Chinese classics. To give added dignity to his officialdom, he reintroduced a garb system where an official's status was indicated by the colour of his robe. In yet another attempt to enhance his government's authority, he called himself "emperor" rather than king, and his capital became known as the "Imperial Capital."

Sŏngjong, while repudiating some of Kwangjong's more drastic policies, continued to augment royal power and centralize the Koryŏ state. During his reign Ch'oe Sŭngno (927-989), a young Confucian scholar, emerged as a powerful voice for reform. In a 28 point reform proposal submitted to the king, Ch'oe first reviewed the errors of the former kings citing especially their excessive dependence on Buddhism and then proposed specific policies. Ch'oe put special emphasis on recruiting only able officials, retaining but limiting contacts with China, establishing a regional governmental structure to meet the needs of the people, and guarding against the over consumption of goods and other excesses by the officialdom. Under Ch'oe Sŭngno's influence, Sŏngjong relied heavily on Confucian norms that called for frugality in governing. He sought to educate the youth in the Chinese classics and extend direct central-government control over outlying areas by dispatching officials to head provincial administrations. In this way, structure and system were brought to Koryŏ.

Aristocratic State: 1009-1170

From this foundation, Koryŏ matured into a stable, sophisticated state during the next century. Slowly an aristocratic elite of great families emerged, with their power resting in part on a sound education in the Confucian classics and control of key government offices. By monopolizing offices of prestige, they were able to gain control over large tracts of land and thereby win a degree of economic security. To sustain their positions of influence, they intermarried with other elite families and also relied on such governmental mechanisms as the protective appointment which allowed men of high rank to name a family member to a government post. The clan system which became a distinguishing characteristic of Chosŏn yangban society began to emerge at this time. Great families such as the Ansan Kim or the Inju (Kyŏngwŏn) Yi repeatedly held the most prestigious and influential offices and provided queens for the royal family. From their clan seats such as Ansan or Inju, they established themselves at court in Kaesŏng and dominated Koryŏ aristocratic life.

This society emphasized education. From the start of the kingdom, schools were in Kaesŏng and P'yŏngyang, the Western Capital. Sŏngjong, by establishing the National University (Kukchagam) in 992, actively promoted the study of Confucian learning. The state further expanded its educational efforts in the 12th century with the founding of scholarship foundations and academic institutes to promote the study of especially the
Chinese classics. In Munjong's reign (1046-1083) Ch'oe Ch'ung (984-1068) established his own private academy which became a model for a number of other privately endowed institutions. These schools became popular among the elite where personal ties that lasted throughout their lives developed between masters and students. Sŏngjong labored to extend learning beyond Kaesŏng by dispatching scholars to the countryside to teach Confucian principles. In the 12th century Injong (1122-1146) fostered these endeavours and founded regional schools in a number of localities.

Koryŏ developed a complex governing apparatus. As in other areas, Chinese models provided the initial inspiration for Koryŏ's bureaucratic divisions, but in operation the kingdom relied heavily on consensus building institutions. The Council of State (Chaesang) which comprised the top officials of the Royal Secretariat and Chancellery (Chungsŏmunhasŏng) and the Security Council (Ch'umirwŏn) established policy and directed the Six Ministries (Yukbu) to implement their decisions. Gradually censorial agencies became powerful in reviewing and critiquing both policy and official action. The king presided over this structure providing a sense of unity and symbolizing state authority.

Regional administrative units (to, chu, hyŏn) developed as primary links between the central authority and the people in the countryside. Through centrally appointed magistrates, the dynasty tried to maintain its control over the people. The state military structure called the Two Guards and Six Divisions was the primary peace keeping force. Stationed in the Kae-song area and along Koryŏ's northern border, they protected the dynasty from internal and external emergencies. The soldiers who filled these units were professionals who stayed in the military throughout their lives. When invasions or internal rebellions threatened the country, the dynasty would conscript peasants into specially formed central armies and, placing them under civilian leaders, these armies became the major defense force that was disbanded only after the danger had passed.

Central, civil officials and military officers were paid stipends and granted specific yields from land according to the Stipend Land Law (chŏnshikwa). This law established 18 grades by which officials according to their ranks received yields from land allotments for the duration of their careers. Similar grants were offered to soldiers. Besides these publicly acknowledged land holdings, officials privately gained control over land and passed parcels on to succeeding generations.

Challenges to this structure came from both foreign and domestic sources. Even before Wang Kŏn had consolidated his new authority, the Mongolian Khitan tribe had posed a latent threat. Because of Khitan incursions and their destruction of the Manchurian kingdom of Parhae, Wangŏn in the Ten Injunctions warned his descendants to be wary of this foe. His words were prophetic, for the Khitan invaded Koryŏ three times during the late ninth and early tenth centuries, sacking Kaesŏng on one of these forays. The people of Koryŏ resisted by building walls around their capital as well as across their northern border. Sŏ Hŭi (940-998), a civilian leader who assumed command of a Koryŏ army, when confronted with Khitan demands for Koryŏ territory, advised resistance rather than surrender. He backed his position by personally confronting the Khitan commander and, in pointing to Koryŏ's Koguryŏ heritage and rights to land in the northern part of the peninsula, negotiated a favorable settlement. When several decades later the Khitan launched a final invasion, another Koryŏ official led forces that overwhelmed the invaders and ended the Khitan threat. Not content with these measures alone, Koryŏ sought to invoke divine intervention by carving on woodblocks the entire Buddhist Tripitaka.

In addition to the Khitan, Koryŏ also had to contend with the Jurchen, another northern tribal people, and Song China. No sooner had the Khitan been subdued than the Jurchen in the late 11th century rose to pose a similar threat to Koryŏ's northern frontier. After a series of intense encounters, relations with the Jurchen stabilized, and when the Jurchen conquered northern China and established the Jin state in 1126, Koryŏ exchanged tribute.
missions with Jin. With Song China, Koryô established amicable ties relying on both diplomatic and commercial links. Admiring Song material achievements, Koryô actively sought to borrow not only Sung institutions, but Song products. Exporting gold, silver, ginseng, and fans, Koryô imported silk, medicine, musical instruments, and books. However, these cultural ties never jeopardized the national interests of either state. When Koryô called on China to aid in resisting the invading Khitan, China refused, as did Koryô when China asked for help in rescuing a captured emperor in 1126.

Domestic unrest also threatened the security of the state. As Koryô aristocrats increased their monopoly over top offices, several clans, such as the Yi clan of Kyôngwôn, became especially powerful. They not only held many offices of prestige but also intermarried with the royal family in an effort to affect policy at the highest levels. Although one Yi clansman in the late 11th century made an initial attempt to control the dynasty, the most serious challenge occurred in 1126 when Yi Chagyôm (d. 1126), who was both father-in-law and grandfather to the young king Injong (1122-1146), threatened the throne. Other aristocrats blocked his attempt, ultimately causing his defeat, but the dynasty survived in a weakened state.

The Yi Chagyôm revolt of 1126 was one indication of growing internal unrest. Another sign was the Myoch'ông revolt less than ten years later. A charismatic monk, Myoch'ông (d. 1135) charmed King Injong into believing his dynasty was threatened unless he moved the capital north to Sôgyông (Western Capital). Relying upon geomantic theory and calling for a declaration of independence from Chin China's influences, Myoch'ông revolted in 1135. The ensconced Kaesông elite, led by the Confucian scholar Kim Pusik (1075-1151), fought back, defeated Myoch'ông, and secured the dynasty. Myoch'ông's revolt embodied the clash of several interests. On one side was Myoch'ông who represented Buddhist impulses, independence from the Chinese world order, and a call for native, non-elite, non-Kaesông traditions. In contrast was Kim Pusik who stood for Koryô's Confucian heritage, the power of the central Kaesông ruling class and a China-centered foreign policy. Kim Pusik's victory reaffirmed the authority of the latter, and afforded the kingdom a superficial, short-lived sense of security.

**Military Domination: 1170-1270**

The costs derived from these two failed rebellions were mounting and ultimately contributed to the military coup of 1170. Peasants burdened by civil unrest and forced to pay for these military expeditions fell further into debt. Military officials, smarting under civilian domination and yet assuming a new confidence through their successful roles in defeating both Yi Chagyôm and Myoch'ông, became disillusioned with state affairs. When the new king -Uijong (1146-1170) came to power, he cared less for governing, choosing instead to pursue pleasure. Uijong, building new palaces and gardens, spending his funds on travels and banquets, all but ignored the growing problems in the kingdom. In addition to an oppressed peasant class, there were a number of conscientious civilian leaders and military officers who wanted change. Shortly after General Ch'ông Chungbu (d. 1178) had his long white beard set on fire by a drunken civilian elite, he led fellow military officers in a coup that killed a number of the more dissolute civilian officials and forced King Uijong to abdicate.

In the years that followed the coup, Koryô society rapidly deteriorated as generals at the top struggled among themselves for control over the dynasty, and peasants, slaves, and monks rebelled to protect their own interests. Initially the Council of Generals (Chungbang) which comprised the key military leaders of the age, tried to govern, but the power of this agency collapsed under the ensuing chaos of rebellion. It was not until 1196, when a young general from a military family named Ch'oe Ch'ungôn (1149-1219) came to power, that a degree of stability returned to Koryô. An innovator, Ch'oe Ch'ungôn established a new structure that would last four generations until his great grandson was assassinated in 1258. He
announced his intentions to reform shortly after he assumed control through the publication of his own Ten Injunctions. In this document somewhat reminiscent of Wang Kôn's earlier appeal, Ch'oe Ch'üng-hôn sought to curtail the excesses of Buddhist monks and civilian elites, limit the number of governmental offices, and promote only talented people.

To restore order to the kingdom, General Ch'oe built his own private military power and purged possible sources of military resistance. Gradually he augmented his own armed force and allowed the dynastic troops to atrophy into insignificance. Aware that he needed a strong administration, General Ch'oe turned to established civilian families and recruited the educated elite into his government by means of both handsome stipends and the state examinations. He consciously addressed the problems of social unrest by refreezing the social order and decisively defeating slave, peasant, and monk insurrections. To refine further his governing apparatus, he brought a number of dynastic decision-making agencies into his own house and ruled the kingdom through an ad hoc dynastic directorate (Kyojông togam). He also controlled the royal family, forcing kings who opposed him to abdicate and richly rewarding those who were compliant. The Personnel Authority (Chôngbang) developed under Ch'üng-hôn's son and became a major agency for Ch'oe recruitment. Ch'oe leaders placed talented, learned men into this office, making it an important centre for Ch'oe policy. Institutionally, the Personnel Authority survived even the collapse of the military leaders and was an organ of civil power into the 14th century. For a number of decades, the Ch'oe House governed Koryó through this dual organization of private and dynastic institutions, with Ch'oe private agencies governing the country while dynastic offices afforded the regime a specter of legitimacy.

Initially the Ch'oe House was quite successful as power transferred to Ch'üng-hôn's son U (d. 1249). However, there were certain institutional contradictions that ultimately undermined this order. Ch'oe Ch'üng-hôn had stabilized the dynasty in part by invoking tradition. But through his manipulation of the royal family and reliance on the civilian elite and their norms, he became dependent on these institutions and their sanctions of legitimacy. When the Ch'oe House heir was assassinated in 1258, civilian leaders quickly maneuvered to restore authority to the court and commence a process that once again would isolate generals from key dynastic offices.

The greatest threat to the stability of the Ch'oe House did not come from civilian opposition or domestic unrest, but from Mongol attacks. The Mongols first confronted Koryó early in the 13th century, and by 1231 they invaded the country with a massive army. Ultimately the Mongols forced their way over the peninsula seven different times, bringing destruction and death wherever they roamed. That the Koreans chose to resist rather than submit affords insight into the determination of the Korean character. With the first Mongol attacks, the Koreans used every means available to defeat the enemy. All social groups withstood the Mongol onslaught and retaliated. When these measures failed, the Ch'oe House opted to evacuate the capital to the offshore island of Kanghwa and urged the peasantry throughout the peninsula to resist the Mongols from the islands and mountain fortresses of Koryó. As they had under the earlier Khitan siege, the Koryó people again appealed to Buddha's intervention and carved the Tripitaka in 80 000 woodblocks as a sign of their devotion. None of these measures protected the Koreans from the Mongols. The people suffered huge loss of life and destruction to their farmlands, and the culture witnessed the looting of many literary works, buildings, and cultural treasures. Shortly after civilian and military leaders toppled the Ch'oe House, they sued for peace with the Mongols and by 1270 the Koryó court returned to the mainland, marking their submission to Mongol rule.

Some Koreans chose to resist even this peace. Disgruntled military officials, unwilling to surrender to Mongol authority, rebelled. Using the Three Elite Patrols (Sambyŏlch'o) and forming an anti-Mongol regime, they enthroned a royal clansman to be their king. First occupying Kanghwa island as their base, under pressure from combined Koryó and Mongol forces, they evacuated to Chin island in the southwest and then to Cheju island.
Their struggle ended in defeat in 1273.

Late Koryŏ: 1270-1392

For the next century the Mongols controlled Koryŏ. Initially their rule was harsh, but by the middle of the 14th century, as Mongol authority waned across Asia, so did their influence in Korea. No sooner had these new overlords taken Korea than they demanded that the conquered country outfit an invasion force to capture Japan. When a typhoon destroyed the first invasion, the Mongols ordered a second expedition which set out in 1281 and was also swept away by another storm. The Koreans, forced to provide many of the provisions, men, and ships, bore the costs of these two disastrous defeats.

The Mongols sent military governors to Korea and tried to rule the country through them. They also established a special office, the Eastern Field Expedition Headquarters, first to direct the Japanese invasions and then to administer Koryŏ. Through this agency the Mongols manipulated the royal family, exacted huge tribute requests that included demands for gold, falcons and women, and put some Koryŏ land directly under Mongol jurisdiction. As the people of Koryŏ helplessly watched the dismemberment of their country, they slowly grew more bold, beginning to express a sense of national consciousness through literary works, and arguing for their own sovereign interests through diplomacy.

The Mongol domination of Koryŏ brought the country into closer contact with Chinese culture. On the frequent visits of the Koryŏ embassies to the Mongol capital, Koryŏ and Chinese scholars met. For a variety of reasons, both Mongol and Koryŏ officials proposed reforms for Koryŏ society. King Kongmin (1351-1374), during whose reign Mongol authority disintegrated in China, became a strong proponent of changes to curtail the influences of the great Koryŏ clans that had prospered under the Mongols. In trying to eliminate their excessive land and slave holdings, he was assisted by the Buddhist monk Shin Ton who became a key royal adviser. The king recruited Sin Ton because of his humble origins and lack of ties to the Koryŏ elite. Together, king and subject, charted polices that attacked the entrenched central elites who had prospered by manipulating Koryŏ's contacts with the Mongols. Especially prominent at this time was the Ki lineage which had married one of its women to the Mongol emperor and then enjoyed and abused its elevated status. The reforms advocated by King Kongmin attacked the vast wealth of these aristocrats and challenged the intrusive authority of the Eastern Expedition Field Headquarters. Because of their aggressive polices and the success of their reforms, dissident forces assassinated King Kongmin and removed from power and then killed Shin Ton.

During King Kongmin's reign there lived a number of other reformers who also assisted him and through their fierce defence of Confucian norms, they placed a renewed emphasis on Confucian ideals causing Confucianism to flourish. Influenced by changes in Chinese thought that they learned of through increased contact with China, Koryŏ officials sought to resuscitate moribund Confucian traditions and press for reforms. The foundations of the Neo-Confucian state that would be embodied in the rise of Chosŏn was laid in these last decades of Koryŏ. These same reforms that caused Koryŏ officials to challenge their subordination to Mongol authority, infused them with the determination to contest both the domestic and the foreign order by establishing a new dynasty in 1392.

Tensions fractured Koryŏ history, as the court and central officialdom, central and regional authority, military and civilian power, Confucian and Buddhist impulses, rich and poor, and domestic and foreign interests vied for primacy. These divisions were both negative and positive in potential. They were negative in that they occasionally split the country and brought it to the verge of collapse. They were positive because, when controlled, they propelled Koryŏ forward toward new levels of achievement and
sophistication. The negative has been seen in the insurrections, rebellions and invasions that marred Koryó's 474 years of history. The positive can be enjoyed materially even today through a cultural legacy that illustrates Koryó's eminence.

Cultural Heritage

Koryó produced priceless artistic treasures. Korea's earliest extant wooden buildings date from late Koryó and reveal a refined simplicity and subtle beauty. Of even greater renown is the celadon that has been so closely associated with Koryó's greatness. Capturing a greenish hue that has been unmatched to this day, Koryó potters also innovated with novel designs and perfected an inlaid technique on the surface of their vessels. Although much of Koryó's legacy in painting has been lost, there are a few remaining Buddhist portraits that reveal a similar intricacy and sophistication.

While producing masterpieces in art and architecture, Koryó scholars also wrote peerless verse. Because of the terrible destruction wrought to Koryó by both the Khitan and Mongol invasions, few literary works remain from before the 12th century. In those native songs (hyangga) surviving from early Koryó, readers gain a sense of honesty and frankness in the portrayal of life. These same themes can be found in the literature of the mid-Koryó writer Yi Kyubo (1168-1241). Yi Kyubo, under the patronage of the Ch'oe House, wrote prolifically on nearly every theme imaginable. Especially noteworthy were his appeals to the Mongol court, which are reported to have brought tears to the eyes of the conquering khans. Other period writers include the poet Ch'ong Chisang (d. 1135) and the prose writers Yi Illo (1152-1220) and Ch'oe Cha (1188-1260). Ch'ong Chisang, an ally of Myoch'ong and executed for his participation in that rebellion, eloquently presented the pathos often found in Korean expression, as he lamented the inevitability of parting or separating from people and places held dear. Both Yi Illo's Jottings to Break Up Idleness (P'ahan chip) and Ch'oe Cha's Supplementary Jottings in Idleness (Pohan chip) are collections of essays on any number of topics that afford insight into the people and the literary sophistication of Koryó.

Two key histories have also survived from mid Koryó. Samguk sagi (The History of the Three Kingdoms), compiled under the supervision of the Confucian scholar Kim Pushik, appeared in 1145. Adapting Chinese historiographical traditions to Koryó, Kim Pushik divided this history into four major parts, annals, chronology, treatises, and biographies. The Buddhist monk Iryón (1206-1289) wrote Samguk yusa (The Memorablia of the Three Kingdoms) in the late 13th century, while Koryó was suffering under the Mongol occupation. Filled with legends and tales of early Korea, the Samguk yusa offered a monk's interpretation of Korea's heritage in contrast to the measured, scholarly analysis of Kim Pushik. Both works, in addition to providing a history of early Korea, reveal a clear consciousness of Korean traditions and heritage. Innovations in printing, such as the use of a moveable metallic print, facilitated the dissemination of all sorts of writings and literature.

Religious and philosophic expression was another underpinning of Koryó life. Shamanic and geomantic beliefs, expressed through art, architecture, and literature, remained at the very root of much of Koryó's life. Buddhism played an equally significant and fundamental role. In early Koryó, both the Doctrinal (Kyo) and Meditation (Son) Schools found broad support among the central and regional elite. In the 11th century, the royal prince Uich'on (1055-1101), after traveling to China, founded a new school called Ch'ont'ae which tried to fuse scholarship and meditation. At the end of the 12th century, Chinul (1158-1210), a monk who received Ch'oe House patronage, reinvigorated the Buddhist world by placing new emphasis on the Meditation school. Largely through his and his disciples' efforts, Meditation became the dominant religious force in late Koryó, as both the ruling elite and the farming peasant embraced it. Buddhist holidays captured the imagination of the people. The Lantern festival (Yöndunghoe) in the spring and the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions (P'algwanhoe) in the eleventh month became annual
festivals to honor local spirits and represented the merging of Koryô's various spiritual traditions.

Confucian principles, studied and practiced throughout the dynasty, remained the ideology for good government. In the early 12th century and then in the 14th century, scholars seriously discussed its concepts and applied them to governing. In part stimulated by metaphysical speculation originating in China, late Koryô scholars like An Hyang (1243-1306) and Chông Mongju (1337-1392) epitomized this new thinking. Many of late Koryô's intellectuals, in an effort to forward Confucian analysis, criticized the excesses of Buddhism. They also attacked some scholars' excessive attachment to literary studies and poetry. These approaches, coupled with a rigid adherence to principle or righteousness and a call for the moral cultivation of rulers, characterized the new thinking that has been labeled Neo-Confucianism. Moreover, through their writings, late Koryô scholars, becoming strong advocates of reform, drew on the efforts espoused by King Kongmin. Other Neo-Confucian thinkers like Chông Tojon (d. 1398) shaped these ideas into a political platform that helped to establish the foundations leading to the rise of the Chosôn kingdom in 1392.

Retrospect

The legacy that is Koryô remains to this day. Koryô people, concerned about power relations, adopted a system of governing that was Chinese in practice, but tempered by Korean norms. They developed an examination system based on Chinese standards and used it to attract new blood, but also continued to rely on men with lineage. Buddhism, often at the spiritual center of Koryô aristocratic life, became by the end of the dynasty the property of both the elite and peasant class. Contributions in literature and the fine arts have remained an important reminder of Koryô's heritage. It is through the expressions of these traditions that Koryô people demonstrated a love for their land and a sense of belonging to that land that has remained steadfast to the present. Finally, it is in Koryô that the western world first learned of Korea, and the word "Koryô" provided the name by which the country of Korea is now known to the West.

Bibliography


E J Shultz

Chosôn Dynasty (1392 -1450)

The establishment of the Chosôn Dynasty

When the Chosôn dynasty was founded in 1392, it brought to an end over two hundred years when the power of the kings of the Koryô dynasty (founded 918) had been reduced to a virtual nullity by a military coup in 1170 and Mongol overlordship in 1258. King Kongmin's attempts to rebuild royal power after 1351 were thwarted by aristocratic yangban families. General Yi Sônggye seized power in a coup in 1388 and ruled behind three puppet kings, undertaking reforms that preceded his establishment of the new Chosôn dynasty in 1392.

Yi moved the capital from Kaesông to Hansông (Seoul) and preserved the Koryô bureaucratic system, but he expanded central control by appointing central bureaucrats to all local districts, making the civil service examinations the primary route to regular office, and barring members of the rural elite hyangni class from promotion to regular official posts.

To redress the severe shortage of central revenues, he conducted a national cadastral
survey, burned the many prebendal (i.e., tax-collection) certificates granted to favoured yangban families, restricted prebends only to men granted official rank, and limited the land over which prebends were granted to only part of the province around the capital. Most land was now owned privately and subject to the land tax.

The overall tax system was designed to fit an agricultural subsistence economy with underdeveloped commercial and industrial sectors. The land tax was payable in grain, the local product, tribute tax was paid in kind by peasants, and labour and military service was made compulsory and non-remunerative, levied on adult males except for slaves and yangban with official rank. Relatives of yangban were allowed to serve in elite military units or sinecures, and military service was divided between rotating duty soldiers and support taxpayers who paid a cloth tax to support duty soldiers.

Early Chosŏn society was heir to the late Koryŏ social system dominated by great hereditary families called yangban who relied on their slaves and commoner tenants for the cultivation of large landed estates. The yangban took pride in their ancestors prominent in government service, Confucian scholarship, and belles-lettres. When the new dynasty required passing the highest civil service examination to qualify for office, the yangban adapted readily by educating their sons, and dominating the restricted quotas, and blocking any real chance for upward mobility for commoner peasants. The clerks and technical specialists who were excluded from the ranks of regular officials soon formed an hereditary class called 'middle people' (chung'in).

The new dynasty was also a slave society at its inception because about one third the population consisted of chattel slaves, the legacy of hereditary slavery introduced some time in the tenth c. When the Chosŏn state confiscated the slaves of the Buddhist monastic estates, it converted about 70,000 of them into official slaves. Private slaves were divided into household servants and outside-resident slaves who lived on the master's parcels of land and paid personal tribute equivalent to a sharecropping rent. Slaves were part of the status category of base persons, which included kisaeng (female entertainers), shamans, and the outcaste paekchong (hereditary butchers and willow-basket weavers).

Commoner peasants probably constituted about sixty per cent of the population and worked as smallholding subsistence proprietors, but some could be landlords, owner-tenants, pure landless tenants, or day or seasonal labourers. Only a small number engaged in commerce and handicrafts.

The Koryŏ period was a syncretic age when Buddhism provided solace, Confucianism provided ethical norms and practical knowledge for officials, and animism, shamanism, and popular Buddhism provided for the spiritual needs of the peasantry. In the late thirteenth c. the Chinese Song dynasty version of Neo-Confucianism synthesized by Zhu Xi of the twelfth c., was introduced into Korea, and it carried with it a powerful bias against Buddhism. The Neo-Confucians supported the overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty and persuaded the Chosŏn regime to adopt Zhu Xi's commentaries on the classics as the main curriculum for the examinations that were opened to commoners but not slaves and merchants.

The Neo-Confucians reorganized family structure, ritual, and religious life according to patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal principles of descent, marriage, and inheritance. They lowered the status and financial independence of women and elevated the power of the eldest legitimate son by putting him in charge of ancestral sacrifice, increasing his share of the inherited patrimony, and subordinating his younger brothers and half-brothers by concubines. Replacing Buddhist with Confucian rituals took until the late seventeenth c. to spread among the peasantry, but Confucian practice only had minimal influence over
peasant belief in animism, shamanism, geomancy, spirit worship, and prophecy. Some Neo-Confucians advocated a radical program of institutional reform including the elimination of hereditary status, the abolition of private property, and egalitarian land redistribution to peasants, but those plans were blocked by the *yangban* landlords.

The early Chosŏn economy was primarily agricultural, and the main crops were rice, barley, beans, hemp, ramie, and cotton. The techniques of rice production were not advanced because rice was seeded by the broadcast method and watered by rainfall rather than irrigation, and keeping some land fallow rather than annual manuring remained dominant.

Clothing was woven of either ramie or cotton cloth at home by peasant households. Silk was not worn by the peasants, and the finest silk brocade was imported from China for the upper class. Precious metals like gold and silver were used only for ornaments or shipped to China as tribute, but they were not minted into coins. Roof tiles and fine ceramics were fired in kilns operated by the state. Iron and bronze were used for buildings, agricultural tools, weapons, and brass for plates and vessels. Precious metals, iron, copper, and tin were mined by the state or part of the peasants labour service during the agricultural rest season.

Bolts of cloth and bags of grain were the main media of exchange, and the attempt throughout the fifteenth c. to institute the circulation of metallic coins and paper money ended in failure. The country lacked developed markets except for the Seoul, Kaesŏng, Pusan, Uiju, Chŏnju, small towns were devoid of permanent shops, and rural peasants were served only by itinerant peddlers and periodic markets. The government granted monopoly licenses to a few shops in the capital to supply luxury items, and employed official artisans, mostly slaves, to produce ceramics, paper, and utensils. Foreign trade was limited to the tribute missions to China, and trade with Japan was limited to a few open ports and a small quota of Japanese ships.

Even though King T'aejo enrolled as tributary of the Ming Emperor, the latter mistrusted Koreans, demanded heavy tribute and cession of some Korean territory, refused to issue a patent of investiture to King T'aejo, and included derogatory statements about his lineage in the official Ming code. By 1398 Ming tribute demands were eased and later Ming emperors issued patents of investiture routinely, but the Ming code was not amended until 1581.

Since the Chinese did not interfere either with Korea's domestic political affairs or foreign affairs that had no bearing on Chinese security, Korea was regarded as self-governing (*chaju*). Korea was plagued by raids from the *Wako* (*Waegu*) pirates based on Tsushima Island and other places in Japan, but a raid on Tsushima in 1419 ended the pirate threat. Thereafter, Japanese ships were allowed to trade in three ports. Peace was maintained except for brief outbreaks of violence in 1510 and 1544.

Since the Chosŏn dynasty was founded by an act of usurpation, legitimacy was a problem from the outset. The Neo-Confucians supported a more powerful monarchy, but they also insisted that the king be restrained by Confucian moral norms and the royal succession be passed on to the eldest legitimate prince, but both principles were often violated. The successions of the second, third, and fourth kings were irregular, and in 1455 the king's uncle usurped the throne (King Sejo) and cast doubt on the legitimacy of his successors for the next fifty years. Kings were also restricted by their *yangban* in-laws and by *yangban* officials who used the censorate to remonstrate.

The fourth king, Sejong (r. 1418-50), was most notable for his contributions to the refinement of institutions and the flowering of culture. He sponsored the invention of an alphabet in 1444 -something never achieved in China or Japan - but the Confucian literati clung fast to Chinese ideographs and denigrated the new script to the end of the dynasty.
He patronized painting, music, medicine, and agriculture, and compiled books on Korean history. He built a new sundial, water clocks, a rain gauge, and an astronomical observatory, cast a new font of movable metal type, established a gunpowder magazine, and cast cannon. He created a more equitable system of land tax assessment in 1437, established grain loans to peasants, and made the death penalty more difficult to enforce.

Changes in early Chosön institutions (1450-1592)

King Yŏnsan'gun (r.1494-1506) was so infuriated by critics of King Sejo's usurpation and by censorate opposition to his decisions that he conducted two bloody purges of officials in 1498 and 1504. His attempt to rule as a despot, however, violated accepted norms of conduct and led to his deposition by his officials and the enthronement of King Chungjong in 1506.

Now that the prestige of the censorate was restored, the censor Cho Kwangjo, a leader of the self-professed Confucian moralists, persuaded the king to hold a special recommendation examination to ferret out virtuous men overlooked because of politics. Cho and the new censors then attacked and forced the dismissal of merit subjects who had supported the coup against Yŏnsan'gun, but those men then convinced the king that Cho was a threat to the throne. Chungjong agreed, executed Cho, and exiled his compatriots in 1519, a purge that wounded the censorate, but did not destroy it.

By 1530, the ambitious prime minister, Kim Allo, eliminated his major rivals and married his son to a princess, but when he tried to depose King Chungjong's second queen, the king executed him in 1537. The court then split apart in 1544 over the succession. Yun Im (Big Yun) of the P'ap'yŏng Yun supported the son of King Chungjong's second queen while Yun Wŏnhyŏng (Little Yun) from the same clan supported the son of the third queen. When the king abdicated the throne to King Injong, the Big Yun faction gained power, but Injong died only eight months later in 1545 and was succeeded by King Myŏngjong, the eleven-year-old nephew of Little Yun, who purged almost a hundred supporters of Big Yun. The pursuit of power still overwhelmed Neo-Confucian norms of civility and generational succession.

Internecine politics became worse with the emergence of hereditary factions in 1575. An official in the personnel ministry, Shim Úgyŏm, vetoed the appointment of the scholar Kim Hyowŏn, and when Kim later became bureau chief in that ministry, he blocked the appointment of Shim's brother. Kim's supporters became known as the Easterners (Tongin) and Shim's followers the Westerners (Sŏin) because of the geographical location of their residences in Seoul. King Sŏnjo encouraged the rivalry in 1591 when he dismissed the Westerners for opposing his choice for crown prince. Then the Easterners split into the Northerners (Pugin) and Southerners (Namin) over the demand for harsh or moderate punishment of the Westerners, and their hostility clouded the judgment of the court on the eve of the Japanese invasion of 1592.

By the late fifteenth c. population growth, the division of land among heirs, and bankruptcy among the poorer smallholders led to increases in tenancy and the size of landlord estates. Even though the state gradually took over prebendal tax collection rights, it failed to maintain efficient taxation of landlords because it kept the land tax rate too low and neglected regular cadastral surveys. The local tribute tax also proved unworkable as villages that stopped producing tribute goods were forced to pay tribute contractors to remit the goods they owed the state.

The educational system of official schools suffered erosion because of the decline in the quality of the instructors, and so many prominent families hired resident tutors or established private academies. In 1543, Chu Sebong established a private academy alongside a shrine to An Hyang of Koryŏ, and in 1550, King Myŏngjong granted it a royal
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charter, land, books, and slave cultivators. These academies did not function primarily as grammar schools, but they grew in number to over 600 by the eighteenth c.

The Imjin War and the Manchu Invasions 1592-1659

The system of military service also deteriorated. Private and official slaves were exempted from military service from the outset, which eliminated a third of the adult male population. The male relatives of officials and even commoners evaded service by bribing registrars, and unit commanders accepted cloth tax support payments in lieu of service. Not only did King Sonjo ignore Yi I's (pen name, Yulgok) suggestion in 1574 to create a 100 000-man army, but the local garrison forces were empty of troops.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi was the supreme feudal lord in Japan, having defeated all his feudal rivals after over a century of continuous warfare. Possessed of overweening arrogance, illiterate and ignorant of the wonders of Chinese culture, and heedless of diplomatic niceties, he now decided to conquer the huge Ming empire. When King Sonjo refused to grant his forces free passage through Korea, he despatched an initial force of over 100 000 battle-hardened mounted warriors, archers, and infantrymen equipped with Western muskets to Korea in 1592. In a few weeks they cut their way through regular Korean forces to P'yŏngyang where they camped for the winter. Only Cholla Province in the southwest was spared because of the naval skill of Admiral Yi Sunsin in interdicting Japanese maritime supply lines.

Although Ming dynasty forces arrived belatedly, six months after the invasion, because they suspected Korean complicity, they drove the Japanese back to Seoul but suffered a serious defeat at Pyŏkchégwon. Thereafter they played a very cautious game and signed an armistice with Japan in 1594 that lasted until 1597. The war resumed in 1597, and the Japanese now laid waste Cholla Province, but after the Ming army checked the Japanese advance, Hideyoshi died in 1598 and the war came to an end.

The performance of the Korean army was a complete disgrace, but magnificent actions were rendered by leading guerrilla fighters who harassed Japanese camps and columns. Admiral Yi Sunsin, recalled from action by hostile political forces, returned to duty to win crucial engagements at sea, but he lost his life at the end of the war, a tragic end to a great and heroic performance.

The loss of life from war and starvation was enormous, and the area of registered arable land was reduced by two-thirds. The state cancelled or lowered taxes as an inducement to the reclamation of waste land, but attempts at reconstruction were offset by a new foreign challenge, the rise of Manchu tribesmen under a heroic leader, Nurhaci.

His attacks against Ming territory placed King Kwanghaegun in an awkward position because the Ming court demanded Korean reinforcements. He could not avoid Ming demands but was fearful of a Manchu invasion, so he sent his reinforcements but told his commanders to surrender as quickly as possible. The plan worked, but it angered the Westerner faction who believed that Korea owed undying loyalty to the Ming for blocking Hideyoshi.

Since the Westerners also resented the Great Northerner faction that supported Kwanghaegun, they deposed him and placed King Injo on the throne in 1623. They immediately reversed foreign policy by declaring outright support of the Ming dynasty against the uncultured and barbaric Manchus, but the defence of the northern frontier against a Manchu attack was disrupted when Yi Kwal, a dissatisfied coup leader and commander of the north-eastern frontier, rebelled and seized the capital with his troops.

Although the rebellion failed, it decimated border defences. King Injo had to keep too many
troops around the capital for political protection, but the moralistic Westerners continued to
defy the Manchus. Manchu forces naturally invaded Korea in 1627 (Chǒngmyo horan) and
pressed right down to Seoul, but fortunately they quickly offered peace terms because they
were eager to transfer their forces to the Ming frontier. King Injo readily agreed to adopt a
younger brother relationship with the Manchu emperor without damaging his tributary
relationship to the Ming emperor.

When Injo rejected Manchu demands to hand over royal hostages and the advocates of the
anti Manchu policy for punishment, Emperor Taizong of the Qing dynasty personally led an
invasion (Pyǒngja horan) in 1637 that forced Injo's capitulation. Later, King Hyeongjong (r.
1649-59), who had been a hostage in Manchuria, tried to rebuild his army to attack the
Manchus, but Manchu surveillance was too pervasive, especially after the Manchus ended
the Ming dynasty in 1644.

Tax and economic changes in the seventeenth century.

During the Imjin War, King Sonjo replaced the local product tribute tax with a grain surtax
on land from 1594 to 1599, and King Kwanghaegun reinstated the method for Kyǒnggi
Province in 1608 and Kangwon Province in 1623, dubbing it the taedong (Uniform Land
Tax Law) system. Despite landlord opposition to a surtax on land, it was extended
piecemeal to the rest of the country by 1708. It eliminated the costs of tribute contracting,
helped to convert compulsory labour service to compensated labour, made the land tax three
times greater than before, and stimulated market activity.

King Injo began minting coins in 1625, after a hiatus of over a century, and Kim Yuk
brought back Chinese cash in 1650 and persuaded King Hyojong to authorize private
minting in 1651. Even though Hyeongjong suspended minting in 1657, cash was still
circulating when King Sukchong resumed minting in 1678. Unable to prevent inflation,
Sukchong banned minting operations in 1697, and the fear of inflation induced other kings
to sustain the ban to 1730. The severe deflation that resulted hindered the growth in market
activity, but commerce was stimulated by the agricultural recovery. The abandonment of the
fallow system by the application of night soil, the expansion of irrigation, and the shift from
broadcast seeding to transplantation allowed landlords to reap greater surpluses and use
them to buy more goods on the market, which stimulated the activities of merchants. It
allowed a population expansion to around fourteen million in one estimate (over sixteen
million in another) by about 1750, but population cut into consumption and put a halt to
growth thereafter.

Society was subjected to severe shocks during the Imjin War because the government
allowed slaves to purchase freedom and wealthy men to purchase office, but the price for
manumission still remained too high to permit a large-scale reduction in the slave
population. In 1623, the nothoi of yangban by slave concubines were finally permitted to
take the examinations, but slaves were subjected to a greater hardship when the state began
to recruit them permanently for military service.

Since the threat of foreign invasion was removed after 1637, the pressure for increasing the
size of the army decreased and military service was converted primarily to a cloth tax
system. The stigma of associating with slaves in the army stimulated even greater evasion
of service by commoners, shrinking the tax base for payment of the support cloth tax. By
the early eighteenth c. proposals to include yangban in the tax were rejected in favour of
reducing quota of duty soldiers and the tax rate, but it did not alleviate the burden on
commoner males.

In politics, the Westerners deposed King Kwanghaegun and drove the Great Northerners
into virtual oblivion; they also won a protracted battle with the Southerners over a mourning
rite dispute waged between 1659 and 1694. In 1659, Song Shiyŏl of the Westerners
persuaded King Hyŏnjong that a lesser degree of mourning be observed for his late father, King Hyojo, because he was the second son of King Injo, despite the Southerners' insistence on a longer degree of mourning. In 1674, however, King Sukchong reversed the decision, sent Song into exile, and installed the Southerners at court.

Factional strife now became deadly and dangerous because of Sukchong's fickleness. In 1680, he reinstated Song Shiyŏl and executed two Southerner leaders. After the Westerners divided into Song's Patriarch's faction and the Disciples' faction, in 1689 King Sukchong replaced the Westerners with Southerners and executed Song because he opposed the Sukchong's deposition of his second queen from the Yŏhŭing Min clan. Five years later in 1694, King Sukchong unexpectedly restored the Min queen, purged the Southerner leaders, and put the Disciples in power, an act that kept the Southerners out of high office for a century.

The devastation wrought by foreign invasions stimulated the emergence of a new concern among scholars over problems of statecraft. The leading figure was the recluse scholar, Yu Hyŏngwŏn (pen name, Pan'gye), who wrote about the problems of his age between 1650 to 1670. Deriving inspiration from the Chinese classics and histories he opposed the examination system for failing to destroy aristocracy and demanded the nationalization and redistribution of land based on ancient Chinese systems. He condemned hereditary slavery as an abomination, yet he admitted radical abolition was not possible because the yangban could hardly live without slave labour. Thus, he supported the matrilineal succession law of 1669 to determine the status of offspring of mixed slave/commoner marriages and the replacement of slaves with hired labour as gradual methods for reducing the slave population. In economic policy he supported the taedong reform because of its rationality and the introduction of currency but it was justified by precedents in both classical and contemporary China. Even though Yu's ideas were not well known until the mid-eighteenth c., they were far more important in stimulating reformist thought in the next two centuries than learning from the West.

Western science, particularly cartography, astronomy, and mathematics, and Western inventions like a telescope, sundial, clocks, and guns were brought to Korea from China after 1631, but only Jesuit views on astronomy gained acceptance. A few shipwrecked Dutchmen like Jan Janse Weltevree and Hendrik Hamel spent years in Korean captivity, but their influence was minimal.

The eighteenth century

In an attempt to increase the population of commoner males for military service, King Yongjo in 1730 reinstated permanently the matrilineal succession rule, which had been adopted in 1669 and rescinded twice, the last time in 1689. In 1750, he hoped to extend the military cloth tax to yangban households, but in the face of strong yangban opposition, he refrained from a direct confrontation and cut the cloth tax rate in half. Nevertheless, the measure alleviated the tax burden on the commoner peasants and bought another half century of domestic tranquillity.

Some time around 1780, there was a sudden and rapid decline of the slave population, the outside resident private slaves in particular, because of an increase in the number of runaways. Neither the slave owners nor the government had the will to pay the costs required to recapture them because it was now much cheaper to rent land to landless commoners. Since hired commoner labour had also been replacing official slaves as well, in 1801 King Sunjo manumitted most of them in the capital.

The reduction of the slave population to less than ten per cent was not matched, however, by a corresponding rise of commoners to yangban status. In fact, opportunities for the examinations and government service declined even for many yangban lineages as a
smaller number of yangban lineages than before proved successful.

In commerce, the ban against minting and severe deflation eventually forced the reluctant King Yongjo to mint more cash in 1731, but he maintained a conservative monetary policy until his death in 1776. Regular minting ensued after that date, but cash was confined to the copper penny coin, no paper money or bills of exchange were ever printed, and banks never developed.

Despite this brake on commercial expansion, private, unlicensed merchants continued to compete illegally with the licensed monopoly merchants in the capital. In 1742 Yongjo permitted them to do business in certain products for the first time, and in 1791 King Chôngjo issued a 'joint sales' edict that restricted monopoly privileges to the licensed 'six shops' in the capital over the products they traditionally sold but allowed unlicensed merchants to sell any other products. This compromise between monopoly and free trade lasted without change to the end of the dynasty.

Statecraft writing by retired scholars was continued in the early eighteenth c. by men like the Southerner, Yi Ik, and the Disciple, Yu Suwon, but they did not always agree with Yu Hyôngwôn. Yi Ik preferred limiting landed property and thought the well-field model totally impractical. He opposed hereditary slavery in principle but recommended only a ban on the purchase and sale of slaves, a limit of one hundred per family, and a restriction on the number of generations that slave status could be inherited.

In the 1730s, Yu Suwon deplored hereditary slavery but was more interested in converting useless yangban into merchants, uplifting the commoner peasants, and affirming the line between them and the slaves. Although he broke the stigma against yangban commercial activity, he disdained unbridled competition and favoured government-licensed oligopolies of small shopkeepers and peddlers. In the late eighteenth c. scholars like Pak Chiwôn, Pak Chega, Hong Taeyong, and Yi Tôngmu, known as advocates of Northern Learning, wanted Korea to emulate the more advanced commercial economy of Qing China and increase trade.

Chông Yagyong (pen name, Tasan), who was influenced by Christianity but was sent into exile because of it for two decades after 1801, was more interested in radical land reform, communal property, and distribution based on work points in which the privileged yangban would be reduced to scribes and accountants. He modified this program later on, but he was not particularly concerned about the development of commerce and industry or slavery, probably because the slave population was no longer a major problem.

The rational treatment of Western Learning, particularly Christianity, changed in 1783, when Yi Sung hun was converted while in Beijing. In 1791 the government banned and burned Christian books and executed two Christians for destroying their ancestral tables, but the Chinese annexation of Korea, and the dispatch of European troops to protect Christians from persecution, many officials were convinced that Korean Christians were the fifth column of foreign aggression. The dowager happily seized the opportunity to purge ship'a and Southerner officials and execute Catholic converts.

After the Catholic persecution and purge of 1801, court politics was dominated by the consort relatives of queens for the rest of the century. Their fortunes were founded by King
Sunjo's father-in-law, Kim Chosun of the Andong Kim clan, and the crown prince's father-in-law, Cho Manyong of the P'ungyang Cho clan. The Andong Kim dominated the court to 1839, the P'ungyang Cho to 1849, the Andong Kim to 1864, the P'ungyang Cho and Andong Kim until 1882, and the Yöhüng Min clan to 1895.

The treatment of Christians also varied with the consort clan in power. Christians had to go underground to survive after 1801. Three French priests arrived between 1836 and 1837, but all were executed by a purge directed by the P'ungyang Cho in 1839, and two more in 1846, but the number of Christian converts rose to about 20,000 by 1864.

By the nineteenth c. corruption in the land tax, military support cloth, and government grain loans to the peasantry exacerbated the hardships of the peasantry. These conditions laid the groundwork for the Hong K'yongnae rebellion in P'yŏng'an Province in 1812, but Hong was also a professional geomancer who used millennial appeals and prophetic announcements about a change of dynasty to appeal to the peasants. The rebellion of 1862 in the southern three provinces and Hamgyŏng in the northeast was much larger in scope. Its main causes were specifically land distribution and the land tax, the military cloth tax, and the rural credit system. After it was put down, King Ch'ŏlch'ong's reform attempts were blocked by conservatives.

By mid-century Korea came face to face with Western imperialism. The British had defeated the Chinese in the Opium War in 1842, and the British and French did so again between 1856 and 1860, forcing China to pay huge indemnities and sign unequal treaties. American gunboats arrived in Japan in 1854 and forced a similar treaty on her in 1858. These unequal treaties fixed import tariffs at a low rate, allowed foreign courts to judge their own people for legal violations, and set up extra-territorial areas in the ports controlled by foreign officials. Naturally, Koreans were determined to avoid contact with the West at all costs.

The Taewŏn'gun's reforms and policies (1864-73)

When King Ch'ŏlch'ong died without heir in 1863, Yi Haung, a member of a minor royal branch family, conspired with the P'ungyang Cho dowager-regent to select his eleven-year-old son to be the next king, Kojong. The father, now known as the Taewon'gun (grand prince), had no legal position, but he controlled policy for the next decade and carried out a major restoration program. He built a palace to elevate the prestige and power of the throne, strengthened central political authority, appointed more minority factions to office, extended the military cloth tax to the yangban for the first time, and reformed the grain loan system to alleviate peasant distress.

Initially sympathetic to Korean Catholics, he turned against them and launched a persecution of Catholics from 1866 to 1871 that took the lives of nine French missionaries and half the 20,000 Korean Christians. In 1864, he also executed a declasse yangban from Kyŏngju named Ch'oec Cheu who had created a new religion called Eastern Learning (Tonghak) to combat Western Learning (Sŏhak). The new faith was a syncretic amalgam of the Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and animism combined even with Christian elements like an anthropomorphic Lord of Heaven and the notion that all men were equal under Heaven. The authorities, however, condemned Tonghak as a heterodox abomination.

In 1866, Korea suffered its first clash with Western troops on its own shores. The French Asiatic Squadron attacked Kanghwa Island in late 1866 to avenge the execution of French missionaries, and an American trading schooner, General Sherman, that sailed up the Taedong River to P'yŏngyang was burned and its crew killed by an angry mob angered by
their arrogant behavior. In 1868, the Prussian adventurer, Ernst Oppert, tried but failed to seize the skeletal remains of the Taewon'gun's father as leverage for a trade agreement. In 1871, the Americans, after failing to induce the Chinese to mediate a treaty with Korea, sent naval gunboats to Korea to negotiate directly. Fired on by coastal batteries on Kanghwa Island, American marines attacked the defenders and killed fifty-three of them before withdrawing to teach the Taewon'gun a lesson. He learned no lesson, however, for he declared victory and denounced all those who supported foreign treaties as traitors.

Relations with Japan deteriorated in 1868 when the Japanese informed Korea that the Tokugawa feudal regime had been replaced by a new central government under the Meiji emperor, but the Taewon'gun refused to accept any changes in traditional relations or communications from any emperor but the Qing emperor. In 1873, Korea barely escaped a punitive Japanese invasion when Prime Minister Iwakura Tomomi returned from a visit to Europe to reverse a decision made by Saigō Takamori to redress Korea's insult to the Japanese emperor. Iwakura believed that Japan's main task was self-strengthening, not a costly foreign venture.

Even though the Taewon'gun's foreign policy was popular with conservative Confucians, his domestic policy antagonized them, particularly his taxation of the yangban, his ban on all but forty-seven of the chartered private academies, and his minting of the multiple-denomination 100-cash. The opposition to his domestic policies made it easy for his son to proclaim personal rule in 1874, leaving his father no choice but to withdraw.

The Kangwha Treaty to the Sino-Japanese War (1874-1895)

King Kojong's intention to revise his father's policies was stymied when at the advice of the conservatives he banned the use of Qing cash. This action only created a fiscal crisis by wiping out the monetary value of most government reserves. He then turned to a reversal of his father's foreign policy by accepting communications from the Japanese emperor on the grounds that the title of Japan's ruler was her own business, and that a profession of friendship would secure peace and permit renewal of traditional trade relations. He was unaware that the Japanese wanted to strip Korea free of Qing suzerainty and expand opportunities for trade beyond the old system.

Because the Japanese perceived that Kojong was vulnerable, they dispatched a reconnaissance vessel to the Korean coast in the hope of attracting fire from Korean coastal artillery. When a Korean shore battery obliged, Tokyo sent Kuroda Kiyotaka with a contingent of troops to Kanghwa Island in February 1876, and he intimidated King Kojong into signing the Kangwha Treaty that opened Korea to trade and diplomacy despite the strong conservative opposition against it.

The Japanese were able to include a statement in the treaty that Korea was a self-governing country, but neither the Koreans nor the Chinese thought that it interfered with Qing suzerainty. The treaty provided for the opening of two additional ports, extraterritorial rights, and Japanese consular jurisdiction in the treaty ports, but other matters like a permanent ambassador in Seoul, a most-favoured-nation clause, or a limited import tariff, were set aside.

The two ports of Wonsan and Inch'ŏn were opened in 1880 and 1882, respectively, and the Japanese began trade in Pusan immediately, replaced inferior Korean with Japanese coins, and established a branch of the Daichi National Bank to finance trade. Since Japanese manufactures were not well developed, Japanese imports consisted mainly of British textiles traded for Korean rice, gold, ginseng, ox hides, dried fish, seaweed, medicines, and cotton homespun.

After 1879, Li Hongzhang, the Chinese official in charge of Qing relations with Korea, and
Huang Zunxian, the Qin minister to Japan, advised the Korean court to conclude more treaties with the United States and other European nations to block Japanese aggression, but their main goal was to preserve China's suzerainty. King Kojong sent technical trainees to the Chinese arsenal in Tianjin, and a secret mission called to Japan to inspect industrial facilities in 1881, but both missions proved dismal failures. He also hired a Japanese army lieutenant to train a new military unit in the capital, but this initial spurt of reform was checked by an abortive plot in 1881 to depose him in favour of the Taewŏn'gun's illegitimate son, and an abortive coup d'état in 1882.

King Kojong took Chinese advice to sign a treaty with the United States on 22 May 1882, the Shufeldt Convention, but he was so fearful of domestic opposition that he allowed Li Hongzhang to negotiate the terms with Commodore Shufeldt in China. Li then sent two of his deputies to Korea with Shufeldt for the signing ceremony. Shufeldt rejected Li's attempt to include a statement confirming Korea's dependence on China, but King Kojong send a separate letter to that effect to the American president. Under the treaty the United States offered her good offices but no military support to defend Korea's independence. It included the standard terms of unequal treaties and set the import tariff at ten percent ad valorem on common items. Later that year, the British reduced the lowest import tariff rate to five percent, and that rate held for other treaties signed with Germany, France, and Russia.

The reaction to King Kojong's program broke out with a vengeance in July 1882, when soldiers of the old regiments rioted, killed officials like Min Kyŏmho and the Taewŏn'gun's brother, Yi Ch’oeŭng, and tried but failed to assassinate the queen. They then drove Japanese Ambassador Hanabusa Yoshimoto (1842-1917) and his entourage to the coast and out of the country. Kojong was forced to install the Taewŏn'gun as a formal head of state, and he immediately dismissed the queen's relatives and reversed Kojong's reforms, but the Qing government was not about to allow the Taewŏn'gun to bring on a Japanese invasion of Korea. Li Hongzhang sent troops to Korea to suppress the rebels and kidnap the Taewŏn'gun, and he kept him under confinement in China for three years. Li also pressured Kojong to pay an indemnity to Japan and allow the Japanese to station a battalion of troops in the capital. Li succeeded in preserving the political status quo by returning the king, the queen, and her relatives to power, but his interference in Korea's domestic politics looked more like Western imperialism than the tributary system. That same year Li also dictated a set of trade regulations with restraints similar to the Western unequal treaties imposed on China.

Kim Okkyun and other officials who travelled to Japan after 1881 contacted Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1910), Japan's leading proponent of Westernization, and returned to Korea inspired by Japan's self-strengthening program. But they soon found that the Min clan was suspicious of them and too uninspired an advocate of reform. Fearful of arrest and execution, they decided to launch a coup d'état with the only military support available - the Japanese legation guard.

In 1884, Ambassador Takezoe Shinichiro (1841-1917), without benefit of approval from the Tokyo government, used his guards to help Kim's group seize the palace and murder a half dozen high officials. Kim was only able to hold power for three days because the Qing military adviser, Yuan Shikai, mobilized Chinese and Korean troops and drove the junta and the Japanese out of the capital and the country. The Chinese again saved the king, queen, and her relatives, and forced Kojong to pay an indemnity even though Takezoe was guilty of assisting treason.

To prevent another such incident from inciting a full-scale war, Li Hongzhang met with Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), a leading Japanese oligarch, in 1885 to sign the Tientsin Convention, which called for the removal of all but a small legation guard on both sides. Unfortunately, there was a loophole in the agreement that would prove fatal, because it
provided that if either party sent more troops to Korea in the future, the other party would automatically have the right to send a force of equal size.

In late 1885, Li Hongzhang appointed Yuan Shikai the Chinese resident minister to Korea, and for the next decade Yuan dominated Korean affairs and prevented any attempt at an independent policy. Li also returned the Taewŏn'gun to Korea to counter the Min clan, but the queen had already removed most of his supporters. When the British seized Komun Island off the Korean coast as a warning to Russian adventurism in 1885, Yuan persuaded the Koreans to tone down their protest. In 1886, Yuan obtained the banishment of the officials who wanted to hire Russian military instructors, and he tried but failed to persuade Li to depose the king in favour of the Taewŏn'gun's favourite grandson, Yi Chungyong.

He stymied Kojong's attempts to obtain American military instructors, investment, and loans, blocked efforts to expand American missionary education, forced the recall of the Korean ambassador to the United States in 1887, did likewise with the Korean minister to Japan and stopped the dispatch of a mission to Europe in 1890. He forced Kojong to pay an indemnity to Japanese merchants for imposing a blockade of bean exports during a famine in 1887, and he banned the use of customs revenue as collateral for foreign loans and stopped providing Chinese loans after 1885. He did, however, help Chinese merchants increase their volume of trade in Korea almost to the same level as the Japanese. The Japanese, meanwhile, kept a low posture and did not challenge Chinese hegemony.

Li Hongzhang's strategy to keep Korea in the Chinese tributary orbit came to an end in 1894. Followers of the Tonghak religion emerged from hiding in 1893 to campaign for toleration for their religion, and their spiritual leader, Ch'oe Shihyŏng, developed a powerful local organizational system. At the same time Chŏn Pongjun, a local Confucian yanghan with military experience from Kobu, Cholla Province, began planning a peasant uprising. He only had marginal sympathy with Tonghak beliefs, but he spent two years as the Taewŏn'gun's aide and appears to have conspired with him to overthrow the Min oligarchy. Peasant poverty, unfair taxation, local government corruption, and Tonghak persecution provided tinder for the rebellion, and a local official's demand for a water tax in Kobu provided the spark for a full-scale rebellion that combined Tonghak believers with peasant malcontents. The rebellion was neither directed primarily against the landlord class nor designed to obtain an Utopian redistribution of land. Rebel manifestoes expressed admiration for the sage emperors of Chinese antiquity, loyalty to the dynasty, disdain for the breakdown of moral order, the poverty of the peasants, and the increase in foreign debt. They also complained about deficiencies in the taedong system, government grain loans, the military cloth tax, and the registration of taxable land - just like 1862 rebellion!

Government forces sent down to quell the rebellion eventually negotiated a settlement that tolerated the existence of the Tonghak religion and its local organization, but the government had panicked and foolishly requested the dispatch of troops from China. At the same time it lured Kim Oskyun from Japan to Shanghai and had him assassinated, but failed in a similar attempt against Kim's associate, Pak Yonghyo, in Tokyo. Japanese warhawks under Yamagata Aritomo forced a decision in July 1894 to send a large military force to Korea with orders to foment a war to remove Chinese suzerainty once and for all, and Japan declared war soon thereafter.

The Japanese surrounded the palace and asked the Taewŏn'gun to head a reform government, but he proved a reluctant ally and seemed to be acting in collusion with the Tonghak when they resumed their rebellion in September to resist the Japanese occupation. A contingent of 6,000 Japanese troops with modern weapons participated in the battle at Kongju that brought the rebellion to an end. Inoue Kaoru, the Japanese home minister sent to Korea to run affairs, removed the Taewŏn'gun, established a cabinet under Kim Hongjip, and recalled Pak Yonghyo from Japan in December to be minister of education. This cabinet passed the first of the radical kabo reforms (Kabo Kyŏngjang) in July 1894,
but most of the reforms were adopted from May to July 1895, thanks to Pak Yanghyo, the power behind the Pak Changyang cabinet.

These reforms revised local government, the police, and the army, put the cabinet in charge of finance and removed the king and queen from government affairs, abolished the civil service examination system and slavery, lifted the ban against the remarriage of widows, and ordered adult males to cut off their topknots and adopt Western-style haircuts. Pak, however, antagonized Inoue by opposing his efforts to gain control over railroad and telegraph rights. When in June 1895, his plan to use his new Military Training Unit to seize power, depose the king, and assassinate the queen leaked, he barely made good his escape to another exile in Japan and the United States.

After the Sino-Japanese War came to an end in April 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki terminated the tributary system and made Korea nominally independent. Japan won the island of Taiwan and control over the Liaodong peninsula and railroad rights in Manchuria, but a week later she was forced by Russia, France, and Germany to give up her gains in Manchuria. This Triple Intervention later forced her to withdraw her direct involvement in Korea.

In Korea, Miura Gorō as minister to Korea took over from Inoue. With the acquiescence of the Taewon'gun, he led a group of Japanese gangsters, police, and Korean soldiers to the palace, murdered the queen and burned her body on the palace grounds. He then forced the king to appoint a new pro-Japanese cabinet and all Korean males to cut off their traditional topknots as a symbol of modernization.

**Russian hegemony to the Russo-Japanese War (1896-1905)**

In 1896, King Kojong was able to escape to the Legation and dismiss his cabinet. An angry crowd bludgeoned Prime Minister Kim Hongjip and two other cabinet officials to death in the streets, and the new conservative cabinet reversed some of the kabo reforms, but not the abolition of slavery and the examination system. The Japanese, however, recalled most of their troops and conceded Russian hegemony in military advisers and loans to the Korean government in return for concessions. It was ironic that King Kojong chose this time, in 1897, to change the name of the country to the Great Han Empire (Taehan cheguk) and proclaim himself emperor.

At least the Japanese withdrawal allowed some young idealists to organize a Korean independence movement. Sō Chaep'il (Philip Jaisohn) and Yun Ch'iho who had spent much time in the United States established the Independence Club in 1896. They held public meetings to demand independence, criticize current officials for selling out national resources to foreigners, and discuss the need for a participatory assembly or council. Their protest in 1898 over the Russian-Japanese negotiations for a possible division of the Korean peninsula and the arrogant demands of the Russian ambassador, Alexis de Speyer, for a coaling station, probably influenced Emperor Kojong to demand and obtain his recall, but Kojong only succeeded because the Russians had always been far more interested in Manchuria.

Kojong accepted the Club's demands for a privy council and agreed to appoint half its members from the Club, but he balked at removing conservative cabinet members and feared the Club wanted to replace the monarchy with a constitutional republic. He then ordered the arrest of the Club's leaders in November 1898, putting an end to the first attempt at independent, extra-bureaucratic political participation.

Soon thereafter, meagre attempts at reform were overwhelmed by Russian and Japanese rivalry. When the Russians rejected a Japanese proposal to acknowledge Japan's exclusive sphere of influence over Korea for one over Manchuria, Yamagata Aritomo pushed the
Japanese government to negotiate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. By obtaining Great Britain's promise to assist Japan if any other nation assisted Russia in a future conflict, the Japanese stripped Russia of her former allies, France and Germany. Japan then attacked Russian forces in February 1904, sent its armies to occupy Korea, sank Russia's Baltic fleet, and pushed Russian forces back, but fearing defeat in a protracted war, she happily accepted Theodore Roosevelt's mediation and signed the Portsmouth Treaty in 1905 to end the war. Japan now obtained Russian recognition of paramount interests in Korea and Manchuria.

From protectorate to annexation (1905-10)

During the war Japan posted advisers to the Korean ministries of foreign affairs and finance, required approval of all Korean agreements with foreign countries, and reduced the Korean army to 8,214 men. She gained U.S. acquiescence to Japanese control in the Taft-Katsura agreement of 1895, in return for a disavowal of Japanese interest in the Philippines, and British acquiescence in the renewal of her treaty with Japan. Ito then established a Japanese protectorate over Korea against Kojong's will simply by declaring a majority cabinet vote in its favour even when no such vote had been taken. No one noticed Korean mass demonstration in the streets and the protest suicides of two high Korean officials, for all foreign ambassadors obligingly left Korea without protest.

Some Korean nationalists still sought a way to preserve Korean independence. Son Pyonghui, an ex-Tonghak leader, took refuge in Japan in 1901, became a convert to Westernization, and organized a Progressive Society in September 1904, that grew to over 100,000 members. Korean government persecution forced him to ally his society with the pro-Japanese Unity and Progress Society (Ilchinhoe), but his group split when the latter declared its support for the Japanese protectorate in 1905. He then gave up politics and organized the Religion of the Heavenly Way (Ch'ondogyo) that perpetuated Tonghak doctrine.

The Unity and Progress Society was founded in 1905 by Song Pyongjun, a businessman in Japan for ten years. During the war it mobilized Koreans as baggage carriers for Japanese forces and established connections with Uchida Ryôhei, an advocate of a Japanese-led, anti-Western alliance of Asian nations. Uchida got Song appointed home minister in 1907, where he was able to obstruct nationalist associations like the Great Korea Association under Yun Chi'ho and Namgung Ok.

Ito Hirobumi, meanwhile, had returned to Korea as the first resident-general early in 1906. When he disbanded the regular Korean army in 1907, many Korean officers took to the countryside to lead a guerilla struggle of peasants that lasted for four years. The same year Emperor Kojong sent secret envoys to the meetings of the world peace conference at the Hague in 1907 to plead Korea's case for independence, but the plea fell on deaf ears. Ito responded by forcing Kojong to abdicate to his son, but he paid the price for his machinations when he was assassinated by the Korean patriot, An Chunggûn in Harbin in 1909.

Ito's death brought to an end his plan to create a figurehead Korean regime, for Yamagata forced through the act of annexation in 1910. Those Korean officials Son Pyongjun and Prime Minister Yi Wanyong, who aspired to leadership of a pro-Japanese Korean government, watched their political ambitions go up in smoke because the new colonial Government-general of Chôsen under General Terauchi Masatake stripped all Koreans of rights and opportunities for political participation. Korea then entered a humiliating period of thirty-five years of colonial subjugation.

Colonial Period, 1910-1945
Annexation and Administration

There was scant substance to the notion of Western supremacy in East Asia, but this myth nevertheless nourished Meiji Japan’s ambition to offset Western power in the west Pacific and act as ‘guardian’ of East Asia’s integrity. Accordingly, Japan became an imperial power whose chief colonial energies between 1890 and 1942 were directed to Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria. This larger and grander mission aside, a militarily restive and economically energetic Japan envisaged definite strategic and commercial benefits in so enlarging its political territory. These intended benefits largely determined the nature of Japan’s colonial policies in Korea between 1910 and 1945.

The formal annexation of Korea on 22 August 1910 was almost universally hailed in Japan as a great achievement, and despite treaty clauses which Koreans believed obligated the United States of America to come to its assistance, no Western power expressed any opposition to the move. The Japanese armed forces were thus given a free hand in crushing the vigorous guerrilla resistance of the Korean ‘Righteous Armies’ (ūbyōng) and in implementing colonial rule through the Government-General of Chōsen.

To a great many Koreans, however, the annexation was a humiliation and it is often referred to as the ‘national shame’ (kukch’i). The ensuing thirty-six years up to liberation from Japan in August 1945 were fraught with tension between Japanese colonial objectives and Korean nationalist and nationalist/socialist aspirations for autonomy. At the same time, tremendous change occurred in the social, economic and cultural lives of the Korean people, change which was associated with industrial developments, the introduction of ‘modern’ ideas and practices, and the breakdown of the traditional institutions centred on the yangban (ruling class). Besides the question of nationalism, therefore, this period was a time of accelerating change that affected increasing numbers of Koreans in more and more detail. It is possible that these changes prompted Koreans to think about their culture and national position as much as the fact of Japanese colonial rule itself.

Japanese Colonial Policy

Quite apart from the guerrilla campaigns and other forms of opposition to the annexation, Japan’s objectives on the Korean peninsula were greatly frustrated by the adoption of an assimilation policy, that is, by the assumptions on which the policy was based, and by the inconsistent nature of its application. In summing up the official rationale of the assimilation policy, General Terauchi Masatake, the first Governor-General, disingenuously said, “It is a natural and inevitable course of things that two peoples whose … interests are identical, and who are bound together with brotherly feelings, should amalgamate and form one body.” Dissenting voices among a few Japanese scholars and politicians over this egregious assumption were ignored, and despite the magnitude of the March First Uprising in 1919, which created a period of diplomatic embarrassment and administrative panic, assimilation remained the guiding principle throughout Japan’s rule of Korea.

Logically, the assimilative principle ought to have involved the absorption of Korea into Japanese political structures and rights. This inconvenience had been circumvented in 1910 by recourse to the argument that ‘when the [Meiji] Constitution was written, it did not anticipate the annexation of Korea.’ In 1920, spurred by the March First demonstrations, Premier Hara Kei conceded that, “Korea and Japan proper forming equally integral parts of the same empire, no distinction in principle should be made between them, and it is the ultimate purpose of the Japanese government in due course to treat Korea as in all respects on the same footing with Japan proper.” However, at no point did this principle ever threaten the actual distinction that was embodied in the separation of the Japanese Diet from the Government-General of Chōsen and the independent, almost unlimited power of the latter in Korea.
The structure of the Government-General was essentially a continuation of that of the Residency-General of 1905-1910. The Governor-General, who was also commander-in-chief of the army and navy forces in Korea, enjoyed direct authority over the Secretariat, five departments, and seventeen affiliated offices of the Government-General. In accordance with the emphasis on direct control, local administration was also highly centralised so that it was efficient as a directive organ but ineffective as a means of assimilation. Local administration was divided into 13 Provinces, 12 Prefectures, 317 District Magistracies, and 4,322 Townships, the latter being reduced to 2,504 after 1919. Provincial governors, prefect chiefs and district heads were all appointed directly by the Governor-General.

Following reconsideration of colonial practice occasioned by the 1919 uprisings, the Government-General underwent its most extensive structural modifications of the colonial period. Designed to soften Korean opposition, the chief changes were replacement of military with civilian leadership, absorption of the military police into the ordinary police force, inclusion of an Education Bureau under the Secretariat, relaxation of school regulations, and granting permission for the publishing of vernacular newspapers and journals. However, attempts to broaden Korean political participation were shallow and half-hearted. For example, a scheme by Premier Katō to involve Koreans in the central administration in June 1924 was simply abandoned upon the discovery of a Korean Communist Party in Seoul in 1925.

In local government, the limited decentralisation that occurred in 1919 and 1920 related mainly to police matters, but it also heralded the only avenue to political involvement of a representative nature the Koreans were ever to obtain under colonial rule. In November 1920, elections were held for membership in new advisory councils at provincial and municipal levels. As the electoral system was quite new to Koreans, however, elections were held only in specially-selected places, and since the governors reserved the right to appoint council members, elected candidates remained few. In 1930 and again in 1933, the franchise criteria were broadened but remained financially very restrictive, and candidates were vulnerable to Government-General veto. Hence, while legally Koreans were given a voice in some local matters such as education, they were subject to administrative exclusion by decree of the Japanese colonial apparatus. By the 1920s, Japan had installed a bureaucracy of some 17,000 administrators over a population of less than 20 million Koreans.

With political participation out of the question, the Japanese implemented educational policies that were designed to bring about cultural and social assimilation. However, education was not a universal obligation during this period, and the failure of the Japanese colonial education system to transform any significant number of Koreans into loyal citizens of the empire (perhaps 18 per cent of Koreans were fluent in Japanese by 1945) was attended by a correspondingly heavy reliance on the arms of the law. The judiciary was not independent of the Government-General. Unlike for Japanese, there was no jury system for Koreans, and the supreme and all high courts were presided over by Japanese judges throughout this period. The implementation of the law was not generally a great deal harsher than had been the case before 1910 (flogging was abolished as a form of punishment in 1920), but the military and civilian police were plentiful, intrusive, and feared. It has been observed that colonial Korea was one of the most highly policed countries in the world, with one police officer, military or civil, for every four hundred Koreans. Moreover, the per centage of convictions per case was extremely high, averaging 96.8 per cent per year between 1910 and 1923. Yet it was the discriminatory nature of the law that caused most discontent. For the Japanese, one criminal code applied, for the Koreans another, and the greater severity of the latter confirmed in the minds of Koreans conscious of legal systems elsewhere, their belief that Japan was impeding Korea's social advancement.
The rule of the Government-General was thus characterised by efficiency on the one hand and a damaging discrimination on the other. As Governors-General Saitō and Ugaki discovered to their distress, the economic and social interests of the Japanese settlers in Korea and the ambitions of the armed forces were inimical to efforts to implement any real assimilation of the Korean populace. Discouraged by the recalcitrance of the Japanese settlers and alarmed at the Kwangtung Army's fanaticism under General Minami Jirō, Ugaki in 1936 asked in vain to be permitted to resign. Yet apart from a moment of uncertainty in 1919, Japan at no time allowed its rule over Korea to be seriously threatened in any material way by sustained Korean opposition. From the mid-1930s, Japan tightened its hold over the nation even more, a hold it only relinquished when forced to do so by its defeat at the close of World War II.

**Independence Activities**

Quite apart from the inner contradictions of Japan's colonial theory, it was opposition from the Koreans themselves that represented the most formidable obstacles to the assimilation policy. A people possessing the intellectual, religious, artistic and historical heritage of a proud civilisation were not inclined to submit to colonial rule that was predicated on a supposed Korean cultural inferiority. Thus Japanese imperialism stimulated the growth of national consciousness among Koreans, and to a considerable degree the nature, direction and strength of Korean nationalism in the twentieth c. has been determined by its struggle to regain independence from Japan.

Opposition to Japanese encroachments on Korea's sovereignty had begun as early as the 1890s, particularly after alleged Japanese complicity in the infamous assassination of the Korean Queen Min on 8 October 1895. This opposition was expressed in a number of ways, but chiefly through the campaigns of the 1896-1898 Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe) led by reformers such as Sŏ Chaep’ıl (1866-1951) and Yun Ch’iho (1865-1945), and the armed resistance of the Righteous Armies (ŭibyŏng) under the leadership of the old guard of Korean Confucianism represented by Ch’oe Ikhyŏn (1833-1906). The former became the inspiration of a number of pro-independence cultural and reformist movements that are often referred to collectively as 'independence enlightenment' movements. The latter continued a vigorous but extremely costly guerrilla resistance until this became impracticable in about 1913, after which armed resistance became focused around a number of expatriate communities across Korea's northern borders in North China, Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Provinces. Both major streams of the independence movement continued in various forms throughout the colonial period, and at times maintained reasonably close communications with each other.

**The March First Movement**

The greatest and most united concrete expression of the will for national independence was the 1919 March First Movement, in which more than a million Koreans participated, over a period of three months or so. This initially peaceful national uprising was conceived and organised chiefly by two religious traditions that had taken hold in Korea and had been competing with each other for the religious allegiance of the people: Ch’ŏndogyo, or the Religion of the Heavenly Way, and Protestant Christianity. If their co-operation was thus conspiratorial, it was also a symbol of the unprecedented unity of the movement that cut across boundaries of age, sex, education and social status, in addition to religion.

The March First Movement grew out of a rising determination among Koreans during the first decade of harsh military rule, a decade referred to as the Dark Ages, to make a stand for their country's political and cultural independence. This determination had been reinforced among the Protestants by hostile actions against their membership by the
Government-General that began with the 1912 Case of the One Hundred Five (paegoin sakkôn), in which Yun Ch’iho and large numbers of leading Protestants were arrested and tried on trumped up charges of plotting to assassinate Governor-General Terauchi Masatake, and continued with close police surveillance of their churches and attempts to force closure of their schools. The indigenous Ch’ŏndogyo religion, formed by Son Pyŏnghŭi (1861-1921) in 1904, was the successor to the late nineteenth-c. Tonghak movement which had already clashed with Japanese forces during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.

The March First Movement had its origins in the doctrine of the self-determination of nations espoused by the American President Woodrow Wilson at the conclusion of World War I. The movement was preceded, in fact, by the February Eighth Movement in Tokyo, which was organised by Korean students in Japan under the leadership of Yi Kwangsú (1892-?). These students composed a Declaration of Independence that directly appealed to the national self-determination principle and which became the forerunner of the March First Declaration of Independence written some weeks later in Korea by Ch’oe Namson (1890-1957).

The date chosen for the movement was the day on which the Korean people from all over the nation had been permitted to travel to Seoul to pay their last respects to the recently deceased Korean Emperor Kojong (r. 1863-1907). The March First Movement itself commenced with a reading of the Declaration of Independence by the thirty-three signatories in the Myŏngwŏl restaurant in Seoul, followed by a reading before the large crowd that had gathered in Pagoda Park nearby. The crowd broke into chants of, “Long live Korean independence!” and crowded the streets for the beginning of one of the largest mass-movements in the twentieth c.

The movement was both planned and spontaneous. Readings of the Declaration had been scheduled for the same day in other provincial cities and the Protestant and Ch’ŏndogyo networks had been used to good effect. However the response of the public exceeded the expectations of even the most sanguine patriot. Within days the movement had spread to the entire country and was sustained for a full three months despite a chillingly brutal response by the colonial regime. After the demonstrations were finally quelled, the movement continued to inspire the creation of myriad independence organisations; the Japanese police reported up to 3 000 such organisations in 1921. Although this movement failed in its fundamental aim, the March First Movement remains at the zenith of the Korean nationalist movement.

The Korean Diaspora

The helplessness of the Koreans in the face of Japan’s military and political might in spite of the proportions of the March First Movement compelled Koreans abroad to engage in comprehensive preparations for independent statehood, although nationalist activities had begun well before the 1919 movement. Korean émigré communities were centred in Shanghai, in North and West Chientao and other parts of Manchuria, and in California and Hawaii, besides Japan itself. The populations of these communities expanded from the early 1910s for a number of reasons, including economic exigency and nationalist ambitions, and the largest, reaching around 560 000 in the early 1920s, was the group of Korean settlements across the northern border in Manchuria. In the main, nationalist leaders in North China and Manchuria trained Koreans for military offensives against Japan, those in Japan turned to educational and ideological preparations, while those in North America and to some extent Shanghai concentrated on diplomatic efforts and supported ‘enlightenment’ movements, meaning training in the economic, educational and political foundations of independent nationhood.

(a) North America
Activities in the United States centred on An Ch'angho (1878-1938), a former member of the P'yŏngyang branch of the Independence Club, who had originally travelled to California for study but by 1909 had focused his talents on organising the Koreans in the San Francisco area. He established the Hŭngsadan (Society for the Fostering of Activists), which was later organised in Korea as the Tonguhoe by Yi Kwangsu in 1923. An also founded the nationalist newspaper, the Kongnip shinbo, that later was renamed the Shinhan minbo. This news outlet carried on the traditions of the Tongnip shinmun (The Independent), the publication of the Independence Club, and featured articles that called for patriotism and reform of lifestyles, beliefs and ethics.

Another major Korean organisation in North America was the Korean National Association, which was led by another former Independence Club activist, Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman, 1875-1965), who had fled to America in 1912. Rhee's efforts were exerted at not the Korean residents of the United States, but instead at those in the ruling circles of the Western governments, aiming to secure support from politicians and governments in North America and Europe, and from the League of Nations, for Korea's independence. A Korean National Association was formed inside Korea, and Rhee's influence was further extended by his election to the presidency of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai in 1919. Rhee, however, chose to remain in the United States until after liberation in 1945.

(b) China, Manchuria and Siberia

As an international trading port endowed with a number of areas reserved for European diplomatic and trading headquarters known as the 'Foreign Concessions,' Shanghai was from early on a haven for pro-independence Koreans, who benefited from both its advantages for communications and the shelter from Japanese police afforded by the concessions. The Confucian reformer and patriot Pak Unshik (1859-1926) based himself in Shanghai from the 1910s, and there wrote his history of Korea, a counter to Japanese propaganda, and later his account of the March First Movement. After this movement, the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min'guk Imshi Chôngbu) was established in Shanghai, and for some time the city became a focal point of independence activity for Koreans at home and abroad, and a point of intersection for a number of the more important groups that arose or reorganised in its aftermath.

Leadership of the New Korea Youth Association (Shin Han Ch'ŏngnyŏn Tang), founded by Chang Tŏksu (1895-1947) before the March First Movement, was taken over by Kim Kyushik (1881-1950), the Korean delegate to the Paris Peace Conference at the end of World War II, after Chang returned to Korea to found the nationalist Tonga ilbo newspaper and spearhead the cultural movement. Upon election to the Provisional Government, An Ch'angho moved from San Francisco to Shanghai where he attempted to apply his Hŭngsadan principles as a cabinet minister. An was joined by Yi Kwangsu, composer of the Declaration of Independence in Tokyo, who subsequently returned to Korea to further the Hŭngsadan's work on the peninsula itself. Yi Tonghwi (1873-1935), a guerrilla leader and early socialist who had been active in Manchuria, moved his headquarters to Shanghai for a time upon being elected Premier of the Provisional Government in 1919. Kim Ku (1876-1949), a radical nationalist, Premier of the Provisional Government in 1926, member of the guerrilla Uiyŏldan (Righteous Fighters' Corps), and founder of the Hanin Aegukdan (Korean Patriotic Corps) in 1931, based his many undertakings in Shanghai throughout almost the entire colonial period. Finally, Shanghai was the venue for the Kungmin Taep'yohoe (Korean Delegates' Conference) organised by An Ch'angho in concert with such major nationalist figures as Shin Ch'aeho (1830-1936), Yŏ Unhyŏng (1885-1947), Kim Kyushik, and Shin Kyusik (1880-1922).

Because of its proximity to the northern Korean border and the large number of rural
Koreans who migrated there in search of land and a living, Manchuria, and particularly North and West Jiandao, became natural havens for guerrilla activities. It was not until after 1919, however, that attempts were made to co-ordinate the various guerrilla forces for large offensives against the Japanese, and even then the enterprise was fraught with difficulties in sustaining communications, supply systems, and unity among the diverse bands scattered over the rugged terrain. However a few co-ordinated raids that cost the Japanese significant casualties in 1920 incurred fierce Japanese reprisals and a ‘mopping-up’ operation late in 1920 known as the Hunch’un Incident. The Provisional Government claimed that some 3,500 Koreans were killed, and over 3,000 homes, 36 schools and 14 Christian churches laid waste during this operation.

The Hunch’un Incident also marked the onset of Chinese-Japanese co-operation against Korean guerrillas. The Mitsuya Agreement signed by Zhang Zuolin for China in June 1925 severely restricted the freedom of Korean groups in West Jiandao who for geographical reasons had escaped the brunt of the Japanese counter-offensive. As Japan established itself in Manchuria from 1929, some Korean guerrilla leaders capitulated to the lure of Japan’s ‘Kyōwa Kai’ (Harmony Society). Sabotage and assassination activities by Kim Ku’s Korean Patriotic Corps in the early 1930s reinvigorated the guerrilla movement for a time and even attracted financial support from Chiang Kai-shek’s Guomindang in 1934. However, increasing communist influence split the movement and worried the Chinese nationalists, and in 1935 the Ho-Umetzu Agreement was signed to terminate Guomindang support of Korean revolutionaries. Upon the outbreak of war between Japan and China in July 1937, Korean guerrilla forces linked themselves more positively to Chinese nationalist and communist forces, and to the Soviet Far Eastern forces based in Siberia.

(c) Japan

Tokyo, from the last decades of the nineteenth through the early decades of the twentieth centuries, attracted nationalist and reformist leaders from around Asia and particularly from China and Korea. As such it served as a meeting ground for young activists from the East Asian nations and a source of ‘progressive’ ideas. Korean students who sailed to Japan from the 1880s to 1920s were mostly from the cream of Korean society and intelligentsia, but at least from 1908 included members of the newly rising group, such as Cho Manshik (1882–?) and Chang Tōksu, who had gained access to ‘new’ education through the Protestant missionary schools. In October 1912, the first Korean student association was founded in Tokyo, and in a comparatively short period these groups became widespread. Enjoying relative freedom of speech in Japan, Koreans debated the issue of Korea’s independence quite openly, and the venue for the debates was usually the Korean YMCA building in each locality.

The latter 1910s and the 1920s were the period of ‘Taishō democracy’ in Japan, and Korean students drew theoretical and moral support from a number of influential Japanese intellectuals during this time. But the chief inspiration for the young Koreans in Japan up to 1919 came from the pen of the brilliant Yi Kwangsu, who advocated a thorough revitalisation of Korean culture. It was mainly through the efforts of Yi and his colleagues that a line of communications was set up between Korean nationalists in North America, Japan, Korea, and Shanghai at the end of World War I to plan and co-ordinate a response to Woodrow Wilson’s principle of national self-determination. Yi himself travelled extensively between Japan, North China, Manchuria, and Korea before and after the February Eighth Tokyo and March First Declarations of Independence.

From 1922, many Koreans in Japan turned to socialist and communist ideologies, which they disseminated in Korea upon their return from their studies. Among the left-wing organisations operated by Koreans in Japan were the North Wind Society (Pukp’ung Hoe) and the January Society (Ilwol Hoe). As the number of Koreans migrating to the Osaka, Nagoya and elsewhere in Japan to work for Japanese enterprises as low-wage labourers
exceeded 300,000 by the early 1930s, left-wing activities among Koreans increased. The impact on Korea of the Korean communist movement in Japan during the colonial period was at least as great as that of its counterpart in Manchuria and North China, and with a greater ideological content.

**The Cultural Movement**

It is common, but not altogether accurate, to contrast the culturalist movement inside Korea with the military movements across the northern border. Many of the leaders of the two streams, such as Chang Tōksu in Seoul (after 1919) and Yi Tonghwi in Shanghai and Manchuria, maintained cordial relations and viewed their respective activities as complementary means to the same end of Korean independence. To some degree the difference in method was a matter of practicality, that is, a matter of what was feasible or productive inside Korea under the Government-General and what was possible abroad. The limited reforms introduced by the Government-General in response to the March First Movement offered greater freedoms in press and education and to some extent in economic ventures as well.

A central tenet of the culturalist movement was that under the circumstances then prevailing overt political opposition to the Government-General would be counter-productive. Therefore, the most practical action Koreans could take at that point was to equip themselves with the qualities and skills necessary for independence, so that when a genuine opportunity presented itself they could both gain freedom and retain it securely thereafter. The prime foci of their campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s were education, in both Western knowledge and Korea's literary and historical heritage, and economic self-strengthening. A notable feature of this movement was the prominence and energy of women, led by Kim Hwallan (1899-1970), Esther Hwang, Im Songshin, Pak Indok and others, who strove to improve women's education, health, and economic and social status.

There were five main agents of the culturalist movement in Korea. First was the Tonga ilbo newspaper edited by Chang Tōksu from 1920, which published works of Korean literature, articles informing the people of new economic methods, and news of cultural, economic and even political activities in Korea and abroad. The second was the movement to establish a national university, which was somewhat successful with the establishment of Keijo (Seoul) Imperial University in the mid-1920s. Third was Cho Manshik's Korean Products Promotion Campaign (Chosŏn Mulsan Changnyŏhoe) of 1923-1924, and the fourth was the Tonguhoe, the Korean branch of An Ch'angho's Hūngsadan that Yi Kwangsu founded in Seoul in 1923. Finally, there was the Hūngŏp Kurapu, or Society for Industrial Development, led by Yun Ch'ihŏ. Although these actions were severely hampered by the Government-General and all forced to cease activities by 1938, they contributed to the level of literacy and knowledge among Koreans, increased their experience in practical economics and administration, and promoted development and awareness of Korea's literary and other cultural heritages.

**The Socialist and Communist Movements**

Various forms of left-wing ideology, from democratic and ethical socialism to Marxist-Leninism, swept the Korean peninsula in the early 1920s. Interest in socialism developed partly from the failure of the democratic nations and the League of Nations to consider Korea's case in the Paris Peace Conference and later, from Washington and Pacific conferences. Whereas the culturalists advocated waiting for the right opportunity, the socialists and communists urged a creating of opportunity and thus favoured direct political methods. But whatever particular form of leftist thought was adhered to, Korean socialists and communists were motivated primarily by the nationalistic objective of ridding Korea of Japanese rule.
The first socialist party, the Korean Socialist Party (Chosŏn Sahoe Tang), was founded by Yi Tonghwi in Khabarovsk in June 1918. In April 1919 he moved its headquarters to Vladivostok and reorganised it as the Koryŏ Communist Party (Koryŏ Kongsan Tang). In May the Party was based in Shanghai, at which point Yŏ Unhyŏng completed his Korean translation of the Communist Manifesto. However in September 1919, the Korean section of the Irkutsk Communist Party was promoted by Moscow as the All-Russia Korean Communist Party, causing a division in the Korean movement between ‘Soviet’ and ‘Korean nationalist’ communists. This division came to a head in June 1921 in a horrific armed clash, known as the ‘Free City Incident’, which claimed the lives of some 600 Koreans. When a third Korean communist group surfaced in Chita, the Russians in February 1923 impatiently, but vainly, ordered all factions to dissolve and form a united body. These different factions maintained links with counterparts inside Korea, but by the late 1930s merged into the Chinese and Russian communist parties and armies, thus forming what later were termed the Yenan and Soviet factions.

Meanwhile in Japan, Koreans formed the North Star (Puksŏng Hoe), North Wind, and January societies along with the Tokyo Korean Proletarian Youth League between 1922 and 1925. Whereas the focus of the groups to the north of Korea was on guerrilla warfare, these organisations were directed by students who devoted more energy to the study of socialism and to organisation and education of labourers. Many of these students, such as Chu Chonggŏn and Paek Namun, returned to Korea and formed clandestine reading societies where Marxist thought was studied and revolutionary action was planned. The Korean and Japanese communists merged as early as 1929, and by 1930 the combined movement boasted over 4,000 Korean members.

The first communist group inside Korea was the Seoul Youth League, formed in 1921 with connections to Yi Tonghwi, from which later split the M-L (Marxist-Leninist) faction. By 1924 three more groups had established offices in Seoul: the North Wind Society from Japan, the Tuesday Society (Hwayo Hoe) sponsored by the Irkutsk faction, and the Women’s League (Yŏsŏng Tonguhoe) affiliated with the Seoul Youth League. From 1922, Lenin indicated that Korean communists would not be recognised fully by the Comintern unless a Korean Communist Party was established inside Korea. The first such party was established on 17 April 1925 by the Tuesday and North Wind societies, and this was succeeded by three more parties in February 1926, February 1927, and March 1928. Troubled by factional struggles and Japanese suppression, none of these parties survived longer than nine months. They did, however, keep debate alive and directly or indirectly promoted worker consciousness, development of rural co-operatives, and concern among nationalists and others for the economic conditions of the mass of the people. The party members formed the core of the ‘domestic’ faction by 1945.

The United Front Movement

Cognisant of the need to combine all Korean groups who were committed to the task of liberating Korea from Japan, whatever their respective ideological positions, Yi Tonghwi had attempted to form a united front between left-wing and right-wing or centre nationalists during his term as Prime Minister of the Shanghai Provisional Government from August 1919 to January 1921. His efforts were seconded by a number of leaders at different times, but it was not until February 1927 that a united front movement was effectively organised, with its headquarters in Seoul. Called the Shin’ganhoe (New Korea Society), this united front established branches throughout the peninsula and achieved a membership of some 30,000 by 1930. The Shin’ganhoe published a manifesto and a policy platform, which indicated three main objectives: opposition to colonial policies harmful to the people; amelioration of the economic conditions of the people and promotion of co-operative societies; and continued efforts to increase the general level of education. Leadership of the united front was shared between national figures from the left and centre, but with lesser representation from the culturalist stream.
A sister body, the Kűnuhoe (Korean Women’s League), was founded in June 1929 with its own manifesto and platform, to promote the national, social, and economic interests of women. Although its leadership swung between Christian liberals such as Kim Hwallan and Marxists such as Ho Chongsuk, the Kűnuhoe did succeed, unlike the Shin’ghanhoe, in publishing a journal. It also organised education for women, undertook surveys of factory conditions for female labourers, and campaigned for minimum standards of employment for women, including maternity leave.

On 3 November 1929, an altercation between Korean and Japanese students in the city of Kwangju in South Chŏlla Province led to a street demonstration by the Koreans against the colonial education system. A number of leftist reading groups had been formed among the Kwangju students by Koreans returning from studies in Japan, and the tinder was dry for such a spark. Seizing their opportunity, the Shin’ghanhoe leadership organised rallies in Seoul and sponsored the Kwangju demonstrations into a nationwide movement that involved thousands by March 1930. No repeat of the March First Movement eventuated as the Japanese police moved quickly to arrest Shin’ghanhoe members around the nation. In addition to the arrests, the left-wing membership of the Shin’ghanhoe were concerned at the extent to which the non-communist leaders were able to influence the course of the Kwangju uprising. Moscow also sent directives to the Korean communists to take over the united front. Thereupon, the communists mounted a campaign for the dissolution of the Shin’ghanhoe with the intention of reconstituting it under a leftist charter, and in May 1931 the united front was dissolved. At this point the Japanese Government-General stepped in to prevent a reorganisation, and thereafter the left and right wings of the nationalist movement went their separate ways.

Economic Developments

The first half of the twentieth c. witnessed further development of a Korean capitalist class that had its origins in the previous c. The period from the opening of Korea in 1876 through the industrial developments of the 1930s, resulted in profound economic and social changes that provided a more egalitarian atmosphere for business. Japanese intervention and regulation, however, tempered these new opportunities. Along with this new class, another new group, an industrial labour-force, became more obvious in the 1930s, although it had begun by 1910. The economic modernisation of the colonial period was certainly under way prior to the Japanese annexation of Korea and would no doubt have continued its momentum in any case. However, while it is important to acknowledge that capitalism was not simply an imposition on Korea by Japan, it is also necessary to recognise that in fact capitalism grew in Korea under colonial conditions, something which deeply affected the nature of capital formation and social change in Korea.

(a) Land Management

The land acquired by the Oriental Development Company on behalf of Japan from 1908 on was predominately former crown land and reclaimed or idle land. The small proportion of other land that fell into the company’s hands through the new registration laws came principally from poor peasant holdings, not from large estates. The original expectation that Japanese would migrate to Korea to buy or otherwise acquire and settle on Korean farmland never materialised. Consequently, land use during the colonial period proved the exception to the general practice of Japanese directly owning or managing the economy. The status of traditional land ownership was reinforced by the new registration laws, resulting in this period being a relatively good time for Korea’s landowning class, so long as they made good their opportunities and did not embark on open opposition to the colonial regime. Small-scale holdings declined, however, and with this decrease the rate of tenancy over the colonial period climbed from less than 40 per cent to nearly 60 per cent. At the same time, the numbers of Koreans immigrating to Manchuria in search of arable
land rose significantly.

(b) Industry, Trade, and Commerce

Agriculture remained the most important industry in Korea throughout the colonial period, although a structural shift towards secondary and heavy industries began in the mid-1930s. The proportion of the population engaged in agriculture in 1920 was around 80 per cent, but by the late 1930s this had dropped to just over 75 per cent. The structural shift is more apparent, however, if one compares the figures for non-agricultural production, which increased from 11 per cent of total output value at the beginning of the colonial period to 38 per cent at the end. Although some genuine development of Korea’s economic and even social infrastructure did occur, the guiding principle for industrial policy was the demands of the empire as a whole and of Japan in particular.

The chief agricultural interest of the Japanese was rice production. The removal in 1913 of the foreign rice import tariff from rice grown in Korea indicated the Japanese intention of integrating Korean rice production into the home economy. In the 1920s, a number of plans were pursued to increase the rice output of Korean farms in order to achieve imperial self-sufficiency in rice and provide a cheap supply of rice to Japan’s growing urban workforce. As a result, net imports of rice from Korea by Japan increased over the period of 1915 to 1935 from approximately 170,000 to 1.2 million metric tons. It should be noted, however, that the per capita rice consumption of Koreans declined during this period. Japan’s military involvement in China from 1937 especially ensured that the empire’s pressure on Korea’s rice continued through to 1945.

The strengthening of the land ownership system and a plentiful supply of agricultural labour gave landlords a relatively free hand in keeping land rent and taxes as high as the market would bear. This situation is reflected in the very high number of farmers’ strikes and protests through the 1920s and 1930s. No longer busy seeking political posts, some landlords invested their proceeds in non-agricultural industries such as textile manufacture or in banking establishments. But the landowners’ traditional exclusive access to wealth was challenged by initiatives taken by mostly non-elites in the commercial arena. Thus, there are numerous examples of those from the lower classes rising to positions of prominence such as the tenant farmer Pak Hungshik who founded the Hwashin Department Store. It was also this situation that lay behind the ‘self-help’ rationale of Cho Manshik’s Korean Products Promotion Campaign.

Koreans also took advantage of the abolition of the official monopoly of trade from the end of the nineteenth c., which gave rise to a new merchant class, the kaekchu. These middlemen also embraced the opportunities afforded by the colonial use of Korea as a source of Japan’s rice, which they traded in return for goods manufactured by the Japanese zaibatsu firms. A cluster of enterprises formed around their activities: construction of large warehouses, building and operating inns for commercial travellers, supply of packaging and transport of goods, and banking institutions which held funds in safekeeping for their merchant clients. Since the bulk of Korea’s trade was with Japan—around 95 per cent of exports and 80 per cent of imports in 1931—the Japanese relied heavily on the services of the kaekchu, who formed their own co-operative societies and rose from poverty to relative wealth.

Another development during the colonial period was the joint-venture system involving Japanese and Korean enterprises: most of the corporate capital of consequence in which Korean businessmen were involved was held in joint Korean-Japanese companies. Some Korean businessmen succeeded in operating independent companies. The most well-known of these are the Koch’ang Kim brothers, Kim Yôn-su and Kim Sông-su, who took advantage of their fertile landholdings, the rice export market, and the more relaxed company laws after 1920 to develop an independent textile industry, the Seoul Textile
Company (Kyŏngsŏng Pangjik Hoesa), into a prototype of the modern Korean family-centred chaebol conglomerates. These activities, however, were quite exceptional and depended upon judicious give and take with the colonial authorities.

From 1931, in conjunction with Japan's creation of Manchukuo and its subsequent designs on North China, the Government-General pursued rapid industrialisation of northern Korea and greater exploitation of the area's mineral resources. The proportion of Korean engineers and technical personnel to Japanese remained low, never exceeding 1 : 5 -- and Korean workers in these new industries were paid roughly 40 per cent less than the Japanese workers in Korea. An attempt by Governor-General Ugaki to redress this discrimination in 1933 was abandoned in the face of strong Japanese opposition. The industrialisation policy caused internal migration, from farm to factory, and, as mentioned earlier, effected the first noticeable shift from an agricultural towards a secondary industrial economy. A notable feature of this industrialisation was the incorporation into the urban labour force of large numbers of young women.

Cultural Developments

The cultural developments of this period can largely be attributed to the influx of foreign culture to Korea, mostly through Japan. It would be erroneous, however, to see the progress and innovations in education, literature and culture as being the result of Japanese intent, and should instead be viewed as continuations of the processes that were already underway during the late nineteenth c.. Thus, the developments in Korean literature such as the genre of the ‘new’ novel (shin sosŏl), free-style poetry and the essay were not due to the Japanese presence in Korea, but instead the result of Koreans exploring new areas of literature. The same can be applied to the developments in education during this period with the Japanese actually restricting growth in this area by Koreans. The focus of the Korean educational system during the colonial period was to produce Koreans with the minimum educational level required for performing the menial tasks that their colonial masters required of them. Culturally, the goal of Japan was to assimilate Koreans into the greater Japanese Empire, and this task was to be accomplished by obliterating Korean culture in totality. Hence, the Japanese presence in Korea was detrimental to the preservation of traditional Korean culture, and moreover injurious to the realisation of new Korean culture.

Forced Assimilation and War

By the late 1930s the Japanese objectives for Korea underwent a dramatic change as the focus of Japan shifted to her expansionist plans for Asia. To better facilitate the use of Korean human and natural resources, the Japanese embarked on a program of forced assimilation of Koreans into Japanese culture and lifestyle. To this end the use of Korean language was prohibited at schools, and all students and teachers were required to memorise an oath of allegiance to the Japanese emperor. Other measures designed to obliterate Korean national consciousness include the forced adoption of Japanese-style names by all Koreans who had dealings with the government in 1939, the closing of all Korean language newspapers except the Japanese propaganda organ (Maeil shinbo), and the founding of pro-Japanese social organisations to ensure compliance on the part of Koreans and their social organisations. Thus Japan had established her presence in every aspect of Korean society in an attempt to destroy all traces of Korea’s traditions.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Japan began a full-scale mobilisation of Korean human resources for her war effort. In actuality, this mobilisation had already begun in 1940 with the formation of Neighbourhood Patriotic Associations (Aikoku-han) throughout Korea, and numerous groups of these associations helped the colonial government institute rationing, the collection of ‘voluntary’ donations, and compliance with government edicts. Moreover, this period witnessed educational policies
aimed at supporting the war and students were required to contribute labour services to the government in addition to undergoing military training.

The large-scale mobilisation of Koreans during the war years contributed to the massive drain of Koreans from their country during the final years of the colonial period. Korean men were subject to conscription into the Japanese army while others were recruited to work as labourers in either mines in the north of Korea or factories in Japan. This resulted not only in the displacement of Koreans from Korea, but also from the southern provinces to the northern ones. In addition to the conscription of Korean men, the Japanese also conscripted women for the so-called ‘Comfort Corps’ that provided for the sexual needs of the Japanese army. In all some four million Koreans, nearly 16 per cent of the Korean population, were living outside of Korea by the time of liberation in 1945.

Conclusion

The colonial period in Korea came to an abrupt conclusion with the Japanese defeat by the Allied forces in August 1945. The day that the Japanese surrender was announced to the Korean people was one of unrestrained joy, as the Koreans now seemingly controlled their own destiny for the first time in almost forty years. This period witnessed some of the most momentous changes in Korea’s historical experience: the 500-year-old Choson dynasty ended, and with it the monarchical system as a whole; the nation lost its political and economic independence and became a Japanese colony, a development that has had a profound psychological effect on the Korean people; debate and division over liberal democracy versus communism commenced; the economy began its move in earnest from an agrarian to a secondary industrial economy, accompanied by an increase in the demographic, political and cultural importance of urban over rural areas; education changed in form and in content and began to spread more widely among the population, aided by a vigorous publishing industry; women participated in the public arena, in education, politics and economic ventures; and new religious movements arose and involved themselves in all the major issues of the times. This short period of thirty-six years is thus a pivotal one in the experience of Koreans in the modern era. Change was both rapid and dense. Although the fact of colonial rule has rendered the legacies of this period ambiguous, there is very little in the subsequent history of Korea, north and south, that does not relate back to phenomena that were initiated or developed in the previous four decades.

Bibliography


K Wells

Contemporary Period

The Liberation and Partition of Korea (1945-1948)

As much as any one country can, post-war Korea has become a symbol of contemporary times. Humanity's tensions and conflicts as well as its expectations, successes and frustrations all have found themselves mirrored in its experiences.

The liberation of Korea came about through the defeat of Japan by the Allied Powers, and, as in Germany, the country's partition also emerged from this event. With the surrender of Japan on 15 August 1945, the Korean peninsula thus entered a new era of opportunities,
challenges and tragedies and they were all inextricably entwined with the tentacles of certain decisions made much before the Pacific War ended.

At the Cairo Conference of December 1943 the United States, Great Britain and China had pledged to dispossess Japan, after its defeat, of its colonial territories, and had agreed that Korea should 'in due course' attain full freedom and independence. Later, in its declaration of war against Japan the Soviet Union had also echoed this intention.

The initial Korean euphoria over their nation's liberation against the backdrop of these announcements soon dissipated, however, as the United States and the Soviet Union fell out with each other over their global and Asian ideological and strategic ends. This mutual gulf and antagonism between the two postwar superpowers, dubbed as the Cold War, quickly spilled over into the Korean peninsula. It was not helped by the fact that the Korean people themselves, whose loyalties and preferences were scattered among scores of political groups on the left, right and centre of the ideological spectrum, could not develop anything remotely akin to a national consensus on the future shape of Korea. The fact that the United States and the Soviet Union had jointly decided to divide the peninsula temporarily at the 38th parallel for the purely military convenience of accepting the surrender of Japanese forces in Korea - in the southern zone by the American troops, in the northern zone by the Soviet military - complicated the situation further. This arrangement tended to be frozen into an enduring separation as the American - Soviet rivalry later intensified amid the civil war developments in China, which ominously seemed to indicate a future victory for Mao Zedong's Communist Party over Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist Party. All this, however, came at the end of a fitful process of diplomatic negotiations between the two superpowers to resolve the Korean problem.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union had initially wanted to establish a five-year trusteeship over Korea involving them, Great Britain and China as the trustees. Ostensibly, the Korean people needed to be trained, under a provisional government, for their future role as a sovereign and independent nation. The proposal, first broached at the Yalta Conference of February 1945 and later confirmed at the 7 December Conference of Allied foreign ministers in Moscow, drew vehement opposition from almost all Korean groups at the beginning as insulting to their dignity, although the communists among them subsequently came to support the concept. A United States - Soviet Union Joint Commission held several meetings between March 1946 and October 1947 to hammer out a design of the trusteeship structure, but foundered on sharp disagreement over which Korean organisations were entitled to participate in the provisional government.

In the Southern Zone, the United States Army Military Government (USAMGIK) under General John R. Hodge tried to maintain a semblance of order and, though handicapped by a severe lack of knowledgeable American specialists in Korean language, history and culture and hampered by unclear policy directives from Washington, endeavoured to deal with various Korean social and political organisations.

Hostile to the revived Korean Communist Party and to the 'Korean People's Republic' -- a self-styled left-oriented government formed after Japan's surrender -- the U.S. military authorities attempted to form a coalition regime of Koreans from the moderate left represented by Yŏ Unhyōng (Lyuh Woon Hyung), and the moderate right led by Kim Kyushik, a returned vice-chief of the Korean Provisional Government based in Shanghai. Amid much tension and violent clashes between these groups and between them and the communists, General Hodge created a South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly to help govern the Southern Zone.

Ignored, however, by both the extreme left and the extreme right, the assembly remained a non-actor on the political stage. Meanwhile, the artificial division of the country was daily compounding its social and economic problems. Physical movement between the two zones was tightly controlled, and the light industries and farmlands of the South were woefully
dependent on the mercy of the northern zone for many raw materials, heavy-industry products and hydroelectric power. Koreans returning from Japan and its former Chinese possessions aggravated the unemployment problem and labour unrest became endemic. Frustrated over its inability to resolve the Korean issue, the United States turned over the matter to the United Nations (UN).

The UN, through a temporary commission on Korea (UNTCOK) headed by India's K.P.S. Menon, decided to hold elections in Korea as a preparatory step toward forming an independent Korean government. Denied access to the Soviet Zone, the UNTCOK could hold elections only in the south. Many south Korean groups opposed such a move, fearing that it would sow the seeds of a permanent division. Amid this resistance, some further futile moves to reconcile the differences between the two zones, and the assassination or 'disappearance' of several leading political figures including Yŏ Unhyŏng, the elections were nevertheless held in May 1948. Dr Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman), a freedom fighter in exile now back in Seoul, emerged as the chief victor and became head, first, of the new national assembly and then as president of the new Republic of Korea (ROK), which was officially inaugurated on 15 August 1948. This led the northern zone to sever all vital ties with the south, including the electricity supply, and to establish its own independent regime on 9 September, called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), based in Pyŏngyang. The leader of this northern government was Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng), a former guerrilla leader who is said to have conducted campaigns from Russian and Manchurian redoubts against Japan before liberation. The governing party of the north, forged earlier from the merger of all existing leftist groups, was called the Korean Workers’ Party. American and Soviet occupation forces left the Korean peninsula upon the transfer of power in each zone.

The First Republic: From the Syngman Rhee Era to the April Nineteen Revolution (1948-1960)

While the North came to be ruled by a Stalinist regime with close military and economic ties to both the Soviet Union and, after 1950, the new People's Republic of China (PRC), Syngman Rhee's South Korea from the outset acted out all the patterns of a typical anti-communist, right-wing, authoritarian government tied to and dependent upon the West, especially the United States. These measures included the repression of political opponents; severe press controls; politicisation of the educational system, the military, police and judiciary; frequent recourse to national-security legislation; together with the intimidation of ideologically unacceptable elements by paramilitary thugs through midnight phone calls and violent acts, including assassinations. The unrestrained use of forced constitutional amendments and martial-law decrees strengthened and maintained the regime's hold over the citizenry. North Korea's 25 June 1950 attack on South Korea (The Korean War), leading to the most destructive and fruitless armed conflict on the Korean peninsula since the late 16th c., only heightened and accentuated the South's fears, weakened its already limited democratic potential and reinforced its tendency toward police-state methods of governance.

When Syngman Rhee was not crusading for reunification with the North on his own terms, he was trying to eradicate all ideas of accommodation with Kim Il Sung, who, it must be stressed, was the shaper of an even more recalcitrant system on his side. In accordance with U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' vision of the world as a stage for an epic struggle between the forces of good, represented by the West, and the forces of evil, represented by the Soviet Union's alleged goal to communise the world, Syngman Rhee rejected any official dealings with communist regimes anywhere (including that of Yugoslavia), was suspicious of the non-aligned countries, built up close ties with Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist regime on Taiwan and helped shape an even closer military and economic relationship with the United States and most of its 'Free World' allies. The centrepiece of the new configuration was the US-ROK Mutual Security Treaty of 1953.
under which American ground, air and naval forces and American strategic and tactical weapons came to be an integral part of South Korea's defence structure. However, from within this circle of Korean allies, the pro-U.S. Japan remained excluded due to its harsh colonial record on the peninsula.

With the use of martial law in 1952, two railroaded constitutional amendments in 1952 and 1954, election rigging and similar fraudulent means, Rhee managed to stay in power without interruption until the spring of 1960 under the banner of the Liberal Party, which was tightly controlled by him and a coterie of his loyal supporters in the National Assembly, the army, the police, and the civilian populace. In the March 1960 presidential election, however, the Liberal Party's misuse of power sank to an all-time low. While Rhee was easily reelected due to the sudden death of his chief rival Cho Pyŏngŏk in the United States -- in 1956 Rhee had 'benefited' from a similar circumstance when his main opponent, Shin Ikhu, died of a heart attack ten days before the election - his vice-presidential candidate Yi Kibung, a lackluster henchman, garnered an extra-ordinary margin of 8.3 million votes against the 1.8 million votes of his popular opponent, Chang Myŏn (Dr. John M. Chang) of the Democratic Party. Suspecting blatant fraud, college and high school students in both Seoul and several other cities held massive protest demonstrations. On 19 April some thirty thousand youths marched to the Blue House -- the presidential office-cum-residence. Fearing an attack on the president the police fired on the demonstrators to stop the march, causing at least one-hundred and forty-two deaths and one-thousand other casualties. On 25 April, three-hundred university professors expressed their solidarity with the students by holding a rally in front of the National Assembly and demanding Rhee's resignation. Meanwhile, the United States officially condemned the response of the police, and Martial Law Commander General Song Yŏch' an refused to fire on the new protesters. Driven into a corner, Rhee resigned on 26 April, and two days later, Yi Kibung, his wife and their two sons committed group suicide, apparently as an act of atonement for Yi's role in causing the tragedy. At any rate, the First Republic had come to an end. The entire series of events soon acquired a legend-like aura as the April Nineteen Revolution.

The deeper reasons for this upheaval were, however, more complex than its immediate causes, i.e. Rhee's corruption and his deceitful governing style. They were economic, political and cultural. Despite the Korean War and its devastating toll, South Korea's economic development under Syngman Rhee was quite respectable. The G.N.P. was, for example, 5.5 per cent from 1954 through 1958, and a Seven-Year Economic Development Plan adopted in January 1960, if allowed to be put into effect, would surely have made further growth possible, given the expected inflow of an average $200 million in annual aid from the U.S. and additional hard-currency assistance from other foreign sources. In addition, a land reform program had been enacted in 1949 and fully implemented after the Korean War, reducing tenancy and increasing peasant proprietors. Yet the overall resources of South Korea could not keep pace with other occurrences. There was, for example, a much faster rate of educational expansion. By 1960, over seventy per cent of the populace was functionally literate and there was an explosive growth in the number of universities and colleges. By 1960, again, enrolments in these institutions had increased twelve times from the figures in 1945. The freedom and dissent-oriented print media, led by such major newspapers as the Dong-A (Tonga)Ilbo and the Chosŏn Ilbo - the former's circulation rose from 20 000 at the end of World War II to 400 000 in the mid-1950's - and the equally democratic content of higher education under the influence of South Korea's new Western nexus had steadily created serious pockets of alienation in the society over the years. Combined with rising unemployment and under-employment of the educated youth, this mix became a seething cauldron of discontent and anger in the urban centres of South Korea throughout the 1950s. The events of April 1960 were just the last straw.

Finally, cherishing the traditional Confucian self-image that as part of the educated elite of
the nation they should bear the burden of rectifying misgovernment, the students naturally fell into their role as idealistic guardians of moral purity against moral decay in high quarters. They were, of course, thoroughly outraged at the Liberal Party's and Syngman Rhee's misuse of the National Security Law, meant for national defence, as a political tool against the government's domestic political foes. This heroic and successful challenge to a despised regime created much exhilaration, but it could scarcely solve the many systemic problems festering in the body politic. At any rate, from the ashes of the First Republic took shape the Second Republic.

The Second Republic: 1960-1961:

Under the acting presidency of Hồ Chôn, the foreign minister until Rhee's resignation, the National Assembly revised the constitution to create a bicameral parliamentary system of government headed by a prime minister responsible to the legislature. To control future abuses of executive power this was considered essential by the law-makers. Rhee was also persuaded to go into voluntary exile in Hawaii, taking himself out as a potential rallying point for those still wedded to his leadership despite his advanced age (85). Under the new dispensation the Democratic Party emerged with a decisive majority in the July 1960 elections for the National Assembly. However, due to squabbles between the two leading factions of the new Prime Minister Chang Myôn and the nominal President Yun Posôn, the party could not govern the nation effectively. Cabinet reshuffles became the order of the day. Raucous demonstrations and work disruptions by students for often unrealistic clean-ups and reforms in the economic and political systems and for the opening of an immediate dialogue with North Korean leaders became a tiresome routine. A self-styled reformist faction within the military also wanted the Chang government to purge those from the armed forces perceived by this faction as corrupt. The attitude of the government over these issues, when expressed in rare actions of decisiveness, sometimes led to yet more Rhee-like laws to suppress dissent.

Both the supporters of democracy and those opposed to it thus found the Chang government wanting - the former for its not being democratic enough, the latter for its not being tough enough, soon enough. Amid all this turmoil, Yun Posôn's faction broke away from the Democratic Party to form its own New Democratic Party in November, making the ruling party still weaker and totally bereft of its original unity, purposiveness and promise. Taking advantage of its vulnerability a small group of determined young army officers led by Major General Park Chung Hee (Pak Chônghŭi) and his nephew Colonel Kim Chong'p'il decided to seize power through a coup d'état. On 16 May 1961 they struck in a bloodless uprising, removed Prime Minister Chang from power but kept President Yun in place as the figure-head president over a junta-led Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR), a move clearly designed to put the stamp of legitimacy on an otherwise illegal and insubordinate action. Thus ended South Korea's first experiment in what at the beginning was seen as authentic democracy; and thus also began a long period of military overlordship of South Korea, first in uniform, then in civilian clothing, that did not yield to genuine civilian rule until late 1992.

The Third and Fourth Republics: The Era of Park Chung Hee (1961-79)

The SCNR's avowed goals were to restore and keep order, protect the nation from external threats, cleanse the government of corrupt elements, install morally upright leaders and rejuvenate the economy. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), a new creation of Colonel Kim Chong'p'il, became the self-styled watch-dog of national security and well-being under the SCNR, but soon itself came to be dreaded for it ruthless pursuit of the junta's political opponents, both at home and abroad, in the manner of many secret-police organs in earlier Korean periods and in other contemporary authoritarian states. Abductions and illegal detentions as well as fraudulent trials, tortures, convictions and punishments of Park's political rivals and critics were soon being widely reported abroad as the methods by
which the KCIA kept the lid tightly closed on dissent.

Park's seizure of power was severely criticised in the United States. Recognising his country's heavy dependence on American military and economic aid Park and his cohorts decided to doff their uniforms and don civilian clothing. In part, of course, this was also done to obtain a fig leaf of legitimacy at home — where the Confucianism-derived regard for men of culture (mun) remained high and for men of arms (mu) low.

Using a newly-drafted constitution approved by a popular referendum in December 1962, Park decided to hold a new presidential election in October 1963, with himself as the candidate of the Democratic Republican Party (DRP) — another handiwork of Kim Chongp'il. He won the election against Yun Posôn, the New Democratic Party candidate, by a margin of just 0.5 per cent, testifying to Park's new, yet by no means enduring sensitivity to the procedures of a democratic election. In the subsequent National Assembly elections, however, due to large-scale government-enforced purges of unacceptable politicians, his party won an overwhelming 110 seats out of the total 175. Park and the DRP also won the 1967 and 1972 presidential and National Assembly elections, but to ensure his continued command of power and leadership in the future Park soon resorted to another coup, this time without excessive show of military muscle, but nevertheless illustrating the base of his strength clearly by yet another proclamation of martial law. This took place in October 1972.

He also abolished the National Assembly, closed down all higher educational institutions, tightened controls on free political activity even further and gagged the press more categorically than before. A new charter called the Yusin ('Revitalisation') Constitution was put into effect after yet another national referendum, under which the president was to be elected by a rubber-stamp body called the National Conference for Reunification. Park also reserved the right to issue wide-ranging emergency decrees. Within the next three months many such decrees were issued, the most infamous of which was Emergency Decree No. 9. It made it a criminal offence to attack the new political order or even to cover such criticism in the press. Park defended these draconian orders as necessary to protect the country from North Korean threats. Former President Yun, many vocal dissidents, and eminent opposition leader Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), who had contested the 1971 presidential election, soon found themselves in gaol for not heeding Park's stern commands. The most chilling incident of Park's new regime was the 1973 abduction from a Tokyo hotel of the outspoken Kim Dae Jung by agents of the KCIA. They had planned to kill him on their way back to South Korea, but according to official reports circulating much later (in 1993), were prevented from doing so by the timely intervention of U.S. Ambassador Philip Habib who had been alerted by U.S. surveillance agencies.

Park's repressive regime made him a much hated figure both at home and abroad. In 1974 a South Korean resident of Japan on a visit to Seoul tried to shoot him at a public function but ended up killing his wife, Yuk Yongsu. The DRP's standing in the National Assembly suffered much decline in 1978 as new opposition leaders like Kim Young Sam (Kim Yōngsam) began to speak up with renewed boldness again. On 13 October 1979, all opposition members of the assembly resigned to protest Kim's forced ouster from it for having assailed Park's authoritarian methods. Student groups once again followed with massive demonstrations in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Masan and other cities, only to be met with yet another series of local martial-law orders and arrests. Park's style now alienated even the KCIA Chief, Kim Chaekyu (Kim Chaegyu). On 26 October 1979 at a dinner he shot and killed Park and several other officials, claiming that this was all done for the sake of making democracy safe in South Korea. Park's self-appointed role as South Korea's political steward thus came to an end as horrible as its beginning and course throughout.

While Park's political style is noted for its anti-democratic and anti-human rights features, most analysts, including many of his detractors, acknowledge his contributions, some even
calling them sterling contributions, to South Korean's economic development and his role in fostering a strong nationalistic consciousness among his people. Paradoxically, this latter role was played out at a time when South Korea was increasingly drawn into the economic embrace of both the U.S. and Japan.

Through a planned development model borrowed substantially from Japan, which involved close governmental guidance and direction of private enterprise to implement nationally determined economic priorities, Park goaded the South Korean economy toward great leaps in production, construction and exports. With massive investments, through successive five-year development plans, in infrastructure such as the Seoul-Pusan Expressway and other major arteries, favourable treatment through tax breaks, subsidies, loans, foreign-exchange allocations and access to raw materials, to carefully chosen private conglomerates (pejoratively called chaebol, or 'financial cliques', as in Japan, where they are known as zaibatsu), suppression of labour unrest, forced maintenance of low wages, expansion of existing industries and the building of new ones such as steel, petrochemicals and shipping, Park helped set the country on a course that in the 1980s came to be widely admired by observers as the 'Miracle on the Han [River]'. (It is, of course, a rhetorical flourish that obscures rather than illuminates the hard work of both the government and the people in achieving the goals). While the 1973 Oil Shock and inflation certainly took their toll, the GNP still registered a stunning average growth rate of over nine per cent per annum during the Park era. After 1972, the rural sector got special attention under Park's Saemaul undong ('New Community' Movement). Better credit, new agricultural technology, extension services, farm price supports, improved rural education, product diversification, better health facilities, and electrification transformed the rural scene dramatically. By the late 1970s many of the thirty-six thousand rural settlements of South Korea began to take on the appearance of prosperity, with tiled-roof dwellings, television sets, farm machinery, and private as well as cooperative commercial operations dotting the landscape.

Through the building and maintenance of patriotic symbols such as statues of heroic historical figures like Admiral Yi Sunshin of the 16th c. or freedom fighters of the 20th c., historical parks, battlegrounds, museums and similar other commemorative projects, Park sought to create a widely-shared national pride in Korea's past in order to stimulate a strong competitive urge for success in the international economic arena and for general nation-building mobilisation.

For vital financial aid and scientific and technological assistance Park first relied heavily on western sources, especially American, and on earnings from remittances of three-hundred thousand Korean soldiers, businesses and employees serving in combat, logistical or civilian duties or activities in Vietnam under contract with the United States, during 1965-1973. He also normalised relations with Japan which led to the inflow of one billion dollars in Japanese governmental and commercial aid between 1965-1975. Large construction projects overseas, especially in the Middle East, and increasing domestic savings proved to be equally vital. While the decision to send soldiers to Vietnam and normalise relations with Japan were highly controversial, Park did not, as usual, allow any opposition to come in the way, and from the strictly economic point of view they paid off handsomely in the long run. In diversifying and expanding the Korean economy, Japan's direct and indirect role later came to be as important as that of the United States and was much greater than that of all other western countries combined.

Park also opened South Korean foreign relations wider by setting up diplomatic or consular ties with many non-aligned countries, notably India, Egypt and Indonesia. He was determined to make South Korea strong enough to negotiate with North Korea from a position of strength when the time was ripe according to his own perceptions.

Reemergence of the Military and The Fifth Republic: The Kwangju
Uprising and the Chun Doo Hwan Regime, (1980-88):

With Park's assassination, the vacuum at the top was temporarily filled by Choi (Ch’oe) Kyuha, a long-time Park loyalist and premier who had no significant political following of his own in the DRP, the military, the bureaucracy, or the general public. He functioned effectively as president only until the end of 1979, when through a series of military actions the generals started to come back into power. Choi relaxed the political system by abolishing the hated Emergency Decree Number 9, freeing many political prisoners, including Kim Dae Jung, and restoring their civil liberties. He also promised to help enact a new, more democratic constitution. By May 1980, however, many college student groups were once again marching in the streets, demanding the lifting of martial law in force since Park's assassination, labour rights, university and college autonomy, protective treatment of farmers, and full press freedoms.

In early December 1979, Lieutenant General Chun Doo Hwan (Chön Tuhwan), head of the Defence Security Command and a group of his cohorts including Major General Roh Tae-woo (No T’aeu), had already, through a number of politico-military manoeuvres, taken over leadership of the army and the KCIA. Strengthened by such power and emboldened by other 'in-house' purges, General Chun struck for full-scale seizure of power when the student troubles broke out again. On 17 May 1980 Chun ordered the closing down of all colleges and universities, arrested Kim Dae Jung and even some Park loyalists such as Kim Chong'pil, imposed fresh censorship, and decreed new restrictions on all political activity, designed to retract the concessions granted earlier by Choi.

Such a hard-line stance led to a gruesome massacre in the city of Kwangju, South Cholla Province, between 18 and 27 May 1980. Kwangju was the political base of Kim Dae Jung, the city's most celebrated son and political dissident. Angry demonstrations starting with 200 Chönnam University students, quickly expanded to include more students and, eventually, many citizens. Unable to control the demonstrators, the city police sought central government help. A Special Forces detachment sent by the Martial Law Command headed by Chun crushed the demonstrations by assault-type action, killing many in the crowd. Rumours soon gained currency to the effect that the special forces had been sent by Chun and his chief aides, most of whom were of Kyongsang Province background, in a diabolical attempt to wipe out all potential sources of political trouble from the traditionally despised and maltreated South Cholla Province.

The political cauldron in Kwangju now boiled to new heights. On 25 May a crowd of 50,000 people took to the streets demanding an end to martial law and the freedom of Kim Dae Jung. After some confused and abortive citizen attempts at defusing the situation, the army once again intervened through yet more attacks on the demonstrators. In the predawn hours of 27 May, a full division launched the attack, killing more people. The total death toll as a result of more than one week of turmoil was conservatively put at 200 by the army's own later investigation, but some disinterested observers put the figure as high as 1,000.

This bloodbath widened South Korea's civil-military chasm further, poisoned the already delicate relationship between two major provinces and created a more festering brand of antagonism in some social sectors, especially among left-inclined student leaders, toward the United States. The last consequence was in part due to the fact that the chief American military official in South Korea, General John A. Wickham, Jr., had freed South Korean troops under General Chun from the United States-South Korean Combined Forces Command, thus indirectly signalling support for the crackdown. (Later, President Reagan was to give this action more explicit support, lending apparent 'credence' to the theory that the American government was part of a 'conspiracy' to suppress South Korean democratic aspirations). Meanwhile, the increasingly hapless President Choi resigned under pressure. On 5 August, Chun retired from the military and then had himself elected as the president by the well-emasculated electoral college called the National Conference for Unification.
It rubber-stamped him with 2,524 of the total 2,525 votes, the lone dissenting voice being declared invalid.

Like the first military ruler Park, Chun promised a clean government, vigorous economic development and, once again, a new constitution. The draft of this constitution was approved by a national referendum vote of 91.6 per cent on 22 October 1980. While on the surface it offered some democratic freedoms such as an absolute guarantee of civil liberties, including the right to privacy, prohibition of torture and invalidation of trials based on forced confessions, it gave the new one-term, seven-year president the extraordinary power of dissolving the National Assembly at will. In addition, the Assembly could not hold the president accountable for his actions. Until the election of a new Assembly, the wholly appointive Legislative Council for National Security, yet another variation on South Korea's rubber-stamp legislatures, was to make laws unencumbered by political parties, all of which were dissolved. Coupled with the enforcement of yet new purges, designed to weed out several thousand 'corrupt and unclean' elements from central and local government bodies, private and public corporations, universities and the press, all this set the stage for Chun's unchecked control of South Korea until the summer of 1987. A sham trial of Kim Dae Jung, convicting him of treason and sentencing him to death was the most chilling evidence of Chun's constitutional despotism.

In foreign policy and economy Chun kept the tested Park policies essentially untouched. Relations with the United States were solidified further as the conservative Reagan administration took charge in Washington. It welcomed Chun into the White House and later used this connection to win commutation of the death sentence, and eventually freedom, for Kim Dae Jung. Japan's role in Korean economic development also continued to grow. The construction-production-exports orientation of the economy achieved even higher levels of performance, except in 1980. Growth rates between 1981-1988 regularly ranged above 7.0 per cent and sometimes exceeded 12.0 per cent. Consumer industries and labour wages also received much support and by the mid-1980s South Korea was showing all the signs of a prosperous middle-class steadily gaining ground, with private cars, apartments, fine clothing, modern furnishings and vacations becoming a part of the normal life style of an increasing number of people. Multi-billion-dollar conglomerates such as Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung and Lucky-Goldstar became household names, not only in South Korea, but in many overseas markets on all continents.

Despite this record of economic accomplishment Chun remained perhaps the most despised president in all of South Korean history. The comparison was often drawn with Park Chung-hee, and Chun always seemed to come out worse. He had neither Park's charisma nor his patriotism and personal legitimacy. Park ruled at a time when economic development was the nation's top priority and the general public's political sophistication was low. Park's dedication to the nation and his apparent non-interest in amassing a personal fortune through misuse of power were widely acknowledged. Chun struck most people by contrast as a gangster-style usurper and his declarations of creating a clean government struck a ludicrous note when his family was discovered as being involved in unlawful land speculation, bribery, kickbacks and extortion schemes. His vindictiveness against those business groups that refused to support his subservient new Democratic Justice Party (DJP) was a frequent topic of conversation in Seoul, and the swelling number of political prisoners under his regime all made him a thoroughly distasteful political figure to most thoughtful people.

Student protests continued to erupt throughout the 1980s, but came to a new explosion during the spring and summer of 1987 when the torture and death of a college student at the hands of the police engulfed the capital and many other cities in month-long disturbances. Chun had picked his cohort Roh Taewoo as the DJP's presidential candidate in the next election, but the opposition groups would not subdue their chorus of protest until 29 June, when Roh pledged to implement most of their demands, which essentially boiled down to
enacting a genuinely democratic constitution before the next election.

Meanwhile, the more traditional opposition leaders had aligned and realigned under new political banners. Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, two leading voices of the NDP, fell out with each other on both personal and policy grounds, and by the time a new constitution installing the direct popular election of the president was enacted in late October both had declared themselves candidates for the office -- the former under his own party called the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) and the latter under a revamped former NDP faction renamed as the Reunification Democratic Party. (It had earlier been called the New Korea Democratic Party (NKPD)).

In the three-way contest that took place on 16 December, Roh won by only thirty-seven per cent of the votes while the two Kims scored considerably under thirty per cent each. On 25 February 1988, Chun transferred the presidency to Roh and the Sixth Republic was formally inaugurated. With the entry of South Korea into the Sixth Republic, presided over by Roh until February 1993 under the single, five-year term stipulated by the new constitution, the country saw much relaxation of central controls, starting a flowering of intellectual and political pluralism at home and dramatic diplomatic breakthroughs abroad, such as full-fledged relations with the Soviet Union (now CIS) and the People's Republic of China and many other (now former) communist regimes. With the election of Kim Young Sam as president, the first civilian head after thirty-one years, in the winter of 1992, South Korea appeared, for the first time, headed securely in the direction of authentic democracy.

The Sixth Republic: The Era of Roh Tae Woo and Kim Young Sam

Roh rode into office with several major expectations from the public trailing him: continued high economic growth, environmental improvement, rapid progress towards a democratic polity and society, a more respectable international profile for South Korea, a speedy resolution of the dangerous tensions with North Korea leading to steps towards eventual reunification, rectification of governmental corruption, solution of the critical housing shortage, and the like. During his non-renewable five-year tenure, despite his persistent image amongst his critics as the mul ('watery', i.e. spineless) president, Roh delivered substantially if not wholly on most of these expectations. Although of military background, Roh moved rapidly to restore virtually full democratic rights albeit within the National Security law, which was now less draconian than before. By 1990 the South Korean urban scene represented an intellectually and politically free society with all manner of ideas from the entire ideological spectrum vying for public attention without excessive fear of harsh censorship or punitive retaliation from the government. Newspapers, books, magazines, and the electronic media, as well as higher-educational institutions, were beginning to examine all ideas with the freedom associated with mature democracies.

The National Assembly became a more representative and vocal participant in policymaking, although manipulation of individual members by the executive branch remained a notable feature of this process. On the other hand, significant steps were taken to loosen the control of the central government over the nation by restoring local autonomy to provincial and municipal governments. By 1991 elected councils had been installed in the provinces, counties, and cities, and plans were being negotiated for the introduction of elected executive officials for these units and special cities, including Seoul by 1995.

The March 1992 National Assembly elections were a lively event, with existing political parties being joined by many independents and a new party, named the Unification Peoples Party (UPP), headed by Chung Ju-yung (Ch'ong Chuyông), South Korea's 'Ross Perot', who was the irrepressible honorary chairman of the Hyundai chaebol. The authentic multi-party makeup of the new National Assembly made it a vigorous forum for debate and discussion on national issues including the hitherto secretive conduct of the top military and
political officials, and the espionage organs, especially the Korean Central Intelligence

On the economic front, Roh's performance was the subject of mixed reviews domestically,
although by international standards South Korean economic growth rate and other indices
of development remained more than respectable. Accustomed to spectacularly sustained
high growth rates during the previous regimes, most South Koreans expressed
disappointment at the slower rates of 6.8, 8.4, and 4.8 per cent for the years 1989, 1991,
and 1992, although no one could legitimately point to 12.4 and 9.3 per cent for 1988 and
1990 as evidence of poor productivity.

The most vociferous complaints were in regard to consumer goods prices, the housing
shortage, and environmental pollution due to urban industrialism and an explosive
automobile culture. While strong environmental protection laws were enacted and many
government and private watchdog agencies emerged, the enforcement of controls remained
ineffective due to alleged 'influence peddling' by powerful polluters. Grumblings about
high prices, however, were partly contained due to continued growth in per capita income,
which rose close to $US 700 by the end of 1992. Exports, likewise, continued to rise,
reaching $US 72 billion by 1991. In addition, the society's dream to join the middle class
was given a new boost by government-supported construction of two million new housing
units by the end of 1992.

Roh's most celebrated accomplishments were in the arena of foreign affairs. While he was
not the architect of Nordpolitik ('Northern Policy') - it having been initiated under the
Chun presidency - he expanded, refined, and finessed it to give South Korea a more
diverse, active, and respectable international profile both politically and economically. Its
chief new focus was on enlarging and improving the small openings toward the Soviet
Union and Eastern European states to boost South Korean exports, diversify sources of
raw materials and project Seoul as a truly viable representative of all Koreans, versus
Pyöngyang which was an isolationist and paranoid political entity and an economic 'basket
case'. The magnificent 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul, which were partially staged as a
national 'coming-out party' precisely for this purpose, played a major role in accelerating
Nordpolitik. By the time Roh handed over power on 25 February 1993 to president-elect
Kim Young Sam, South Korea had established diplomatic or consular ties with all countries
that belonged to the erstwhile Communist bloc except North Korea and Cuba. (The
People's Republic of China also formally joined the group later). No doubt, the breakup of
the Soviet Union and the domino-like fall of other communist regimes in Europe in the
wake of the 1989 demolition of the Berlin Wall and the resultant reunification of Germany,
made Roh's Nordpolitik a much smoother process than during Chun's time. The
cumulative result of these events was to make South Korea a truly global player,
particularly economically, with the U.S.A., Japan, Western Europe, much of Asia,
Oceania, Africa, and Latin America being already familiar territory to South Korean
diplomats and businessmen. By the time Kim Young Sam took over as president, the only
truly credible strikes that his opponents could make against Roh were the continued
intractability of political and administrative corruption and the slow, fitful process in
resolving tensions with North Korea. Defence modernisation projects and real estate
speculation seemed particularly rife with charges of sleaze. Many government officials,
both at the central level and local levels, as well as some lawmakers and judges were
alleged to have unaccountably become multi-millionaires while in office.

In January 1990, in a clever strategic move Kim Young Sam had merged his party with the
ruling party and helped create the new governing party called the Democratic Liberal Party
(DLP -- in 1996 it was renamed the New Korea Party). Kim seemed confident that this way
he stood a better chance at winning the ruling party's nomination for the presidency and the
forthcoming December 1992 election, when he could count on a combination of his personal
reputation as a relatively clean fighter for democratic rights and the legacy of stability with
growth expected to be left by the Roh Administration. This calculation paid off as Kim later won the DLP's nomination handily and the election by forty-two per cent against the charismatic Kim Dae Jung of a newly organised Democratic Party and Chung Ju-yung of the renamed United People's Party.

Kim's focus in the first year of his office was on keeping the economy steadily moving forward in a period of global recession, combating corruption and making new approaches toward North Korea. Overall, he seemed to be achieving more visible results on the corruption issue, reasonable success on the economic front, and appeared unsure of how to deal with North Korea. He launched a frontal assault on corruption, calling it 'the Korean disease' soon after his inauguration, required several thousand high officials to disclose their personal assets and fired or forced to resign a number of top-ranking civil and military officials, lawmakers, and judges if they were suspected of having amassed wealth through illegal or unethical means. Among these were the speaker of the National Assembly, the chief justice and a senior member of the Board of Audit. In August 1993 he began a larger crackdown on corruption in the society at large by decreeing that all 'false name' financial transactions be converted to 'real name' transactions. This was mainly designed to eradicate widespread use of 'black money' and tax evasion. While it caused considerable dislocation in the economy as the 'curb market' in private loans headed toward collapse, many hard working honest Koreans cheered Kim for his bold action. Partly as a result of Kim's reformist zeal and partly due to expanded import liberalisation, increased foreign competitiveness and unchecked inflation, the GNP remained sluggish and grew only by 4.9 per cent in 1993.

Politically, Kim projected an image of stability and progress both. He released two-thousand political prisoners and ordinary convicts upon his inauguration, employed a number of ex-dissidents in positions of responsibility, and generally seemed a champion of full-fledged democracy, as befit the first civilian president in thirty-two years and one with strong dissident credentials himself. Colleges and streets soon returned to normalcy. The occasional demonstrations now marking the South Korean political scene had more to do with bread and butter issues, such as import liberalisation, especially the emotionally-charged matter of allowing the import of a small amount of foreign rice by the late 1990s. The old radical left was now an irrelevant and spent force in South Korean politics. At the end of 1993, South Korean body politik was intellectually pluralistic, economically at least steady, and culturally open. The new democratic trends were now stimulating much spirited debates on many hitherto little-discussed social subjects including male-female equality. Media discussion seemed filled with new ideas about marriage, family, housework, inheritance and gender relations in general. President Kim stood as an authentic symbol of this new Korea. Abroad, he continued the policy of retaining solid ties with the West, especially the U.S., and steadily-improving relations with Japan.

The Korean Reunification Question

Both North and South Korea have since the beginning claimed that they were wedded to achieving the reunification of their divided land. Until the early 1970s, however, neither side ever seriously considered direct mutual negotiations as a possible means toward this end, each claiming to be the sole legitimate voice for all Koreans and holding the other side in utter contempt as a lackey of one or another superpower. While the rhetoric of mutual hostility continued, having been particularly intensified as a result of the Korean War, it was left to President Park Chung-hee, a staunch anti-communist, to take the initiative toward a limited dialogue with North Korea. In employing both the KCIA and the South Korean Red Cross he started talks with North Korea toward a step-by-step process of opening up relations for such non-political purposes as gradual reunification of divided families, sports and cultural exchanges, and exchange of controlled telephone and postal communications. After several rounds of slow negotiations between officials of the two sides, the process was brought to a screeching halt by the alleged North Korean-instigated
attempts to assassinate Park in 1974 and 1979, the second being successful, as noted above.

Later, President Chun Doo Hwan picked up the broken dialogue but he too was the target of an alleged North Korean-directed assassination plot. In 1983 he escaped a bomb explosion in Yangon (Rangoon), Myanmar (Burma) which was aimed at him but killed and injured several high officials in his entourage. Some progress was made in 1985 when a few divided families were reunited, but in September 1987 another terrorist act attributed to North Korean agents destroyed a South Korean civilian plane with 95 passengers and 20 crew members in mid-air when it was on its way from the Middle East to Seoul. With this incident all hopes of a resumption of dialogue with Pyŏngyang were dashed. North Korea seemed bent on preventing any trust-inspiring links from taking shape.

The severed thread was picked up again under the presidency of Roh Tae-woo, whose Nordpolitik, the collapse of Eastern European and Soviet communism between 1989-1991, the growing economic prosperity of South Korea, the isolation of Pyŏngyang and the rapid decline of the North Korean economy all combined to make Kim Il Sung a bit more responsive to Seoul's new overtures. The warming up of relations between Seoul and Moscow culminating in a visit by President Mikhail Gorbachev to Cheju-do in April 1991 and the subsequent opening of full diplomatic relations between South Korea and Russia made Pyŏngyang feel abandoned, alone, and vulnerable. Even the People's Republic of China was cozying up to South Korea, being much interested in its investment capital and technology. (Subsequently, this too led to full-fledged diplomatic ties between Seoul and Beijing.) Amid these developments, North Korea abandoned its longstanding demand for reunification on its own terms. Within South Korea also the earlier emotional desire for reunification was tempered by the huge financial and social burdens of such unity as the sobering effects of German reunification's economic costs began to sink into South Korean consciousness. In September 1991, both sides therefore decided to accept a temporary coexistence through separate memberships in the U.N., and they continued negotiations aimed at assuring mutual security and resuming economic, cultural and athletic exchanges. One product of these talks was a six-point 'denuclearisation' and mutual cooperation accord between the two regimes on 31 December 1991. It was expected that this would soon be followed by mutual verification procedures.

Meanwhile, economic and cultural exchanges would be pursued to reduce the climate of tension. The most remarkable thing about the process was that several rounds of talks were held at prime-ministerial level in both Pyŏngyang and Seoul. Some sports and cultural events involving both friendly competition and cooperative presentations both accompanied and followed this process, and a limited degree of trade also took place. There was much talk of developing South Korean tourism in North Korea, modernising its harbours and undertaking other industrial projects with South Korean capital and know-how.

Into this hopeful climate, however, a monkey-wrench was thrown as suspicions surfaced in the West and South Korea that North Korea was developing nuclear weapons and advanced missile-based delivery systems. The North denied the charge about nuclear weapons and countered by alleging, among other things, continued South Korean-U.S. aggressive intent behind the annual South Korean-American military exercises called 'Team Spirit'. Inspection teams sent by the International Atomic Energy (IAEA) to North Korean nuclear reactors in Yongbyŏn near Pyŏngyang seemed to confirm South Korean and American misgivings, once more throwing North Korean protestations of peacefulness into serious doubt. Angry recriminations marked the entire period from late 1992 through the summer of 1993. Pyŏngyang, a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), even announced that it would withdraw from the treaty in June 1993. Negotiations in Vienna, however, soon led to a 'temporary suspension' of this intention.

A hectic round of further talks was held between the summer and winter of 1993 in
Vienna, Beijing, Washington and New York, involving mainly the US., North Korea, and the IAEA. Washington let it be known that if North Korea could prove by allowing the IAEA access to all its nuclear sites, including nuclear storage sites for inspection, that it did not have and was not developing nuclear weapons, substantial technological help, trading privileges and even American diplomatic recognition would be forthcoming to it as a result. While these events produced no formal accord, at the end of 1993 once again there were reports of a favourable response from North Korea and there was mild optimism that the crisis might be defused soon.

These events appeared to take all dramatic initiative on the reunification issue away from the Kim Young Sam government. It was now reduced to a reactive stance from an earlier proactive stance. Meanwhile, North Korea seemed caught on the horns of a dilemma. By opening itself widely to cooperative international behaviour, it stood to benefit in economic and technological terms, but this could also jeopardise its rigid ideological foundations drawn from Marxism-Leninism and Kim Il-Sungism. In early 1994, due to the zig-zag course of the preceding events there was no indication as to how the future would unfold on this issue.


Since the completion of the foregoing survey in late 1993, developments on the Korean peninsula have taken many new turns, some positive in nature, others quite unsettling for Koreans, at least in the short run.

President Kim Young Sam was enjoying popular support until 1996, when partly as a result of his own drive towards a cleaner, more transparent and more accountable administration, former presidents Chun and Roh, several other army officers and civilian bureaucrats and more than twenty chaebol heads and other leading business executives were indicted on charges of involvement in bribery, kickbacks and illegal slush funds amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. Chun was also accused of gross insubordination to and unlawful overthrow of duly-constituted state authority and seizure of power through his coup d'état in 1980. In addition, his violent suppression of student protesters in that year came back to haunt him during the highly publicised court trials. In a singular triumph of South Korea's new yet confident democracy organised public opinion and independent judiciary, both Chun and Roh were convicted of the charges. The former initially received the death sentence and the latter twenty-two years in gaol, though eventually Chun's punishment was commuted to life imprisonment and Roh's gaol term was also reduced. The two were also fined $276 million and $350 million respectively, for their bribery convictions. Kim's association with Roh, suspicions that he had himself benefited from the latter's slush fund, and the discovery that one of his own sons had misused his connection to the Blue House to line his pockets, all thereafter made Kim rapidly lose his high public standing. The sight of the highest former officials of the country convicted by due process was, however, a breath of fresh air that South Korea had never breathed before. It was a major triumph for the institutions of democracy in Korea.

This trend was reinforced by nation-wide local elections in June 1995 and another round of National Assembly elections in 1996 which broadened and deepened the experience of political participation. (A further round of such local elections in June 1998 appear to have made such participation as routine as in any mature democracy.) Although President Kim could take legitimate credit for having speeded up these changes and he might have recovered his lost popularity to some extent, his failure to devise a coherent and effective policy toward North Korea, his bewilderingly frequent cabinet reshuffles, his inability to reach an acceptable settlement of the festering 'comfort women' issue with Japan, and the dark clouds of a developing economic crisis in the autumn of 1997, all overwhelmed him and he found himself unequal to the challenges. At one point late in his term his public
approval rating sank as low as ten per cent, and most South Koreans began to look forward with eagerness to the 1997 presidential election, at the end of which his term was to expire and a successor was to take charge.

The nature of the economic crisis was complex but it showed that the much heralded ‘Miracle of the Han’ had been built on a rather shaky foundation. Japan’s deepening recession, with which South Korea’s economic destiny was inextricably linked, the ripple effects of a serious economic collapse in much of the rest of Asia, a heavy dependence on exports, currency devaluation, cronyism between banks and enterprises leading to massive amounts of bad loans, excessive private business indebtedness to foreign creditors, continued incidence of corruption and deceitful book-keeping among the chaebol, corporate and small enterprise bankruptcies due to loss of profitability, and stock market declines were some of the major problems that South Korea faced during late 1997. The prospect of a large number of Korean businesses not being able to meet their domestic and international debt obligations ultimately forced the South Korean government to seek, among other measures, help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF rescue package put together finally amounted to over $57 billion. That a country that had prided itself on its legendary economic development during the previous three decades had suddenly been thrown back to the status of a supplicant for foreign aid under Kim Young Sam’s leadership became a label of shame for his presidency, and the sight of citizens donating cash and personal jewellery to help the government meet its own debt obligations vividly reinforced the image of a nation on its financial knees.

For Kim’s reputation there were also adverse consequences flowing from North Korea’s own worsening economic crisis, caused by both government policies and such natural disasters as flood and drought during 1995-97. P’yongyang’s mood swings on inter-Korean relations, its nuclear weapons potential, and its continued recourse to occasional provocations across the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) also caused much headache for Kim. His inability to develop a sustained and workable approach toward the unpredictable P’yongyang regime unfairly added to his image as an incompetent leader, although his administration was not without its moments of thoughtfulness and imagination towards the North.

The death of Kim Il Sung in July 1994 had created a new window of opportunity for the United States, Japan, and South Korea to resume negotiations with P’yongyang toward a lessening of tensions on the peninsula. The North Korean nuclear weapons potential and related technology with presumed ‘terrorist’ states, such as Iran, served as a special impetus to the U.S. in seeking this dialogue with P’yongyang. North Korea’s increasingly vulnerable economy, its balance of payments crisis and the inclination of its new leaders under Kim Chongil -- Kim Il Sung’s son and defacto heir -- to explore new options, made a new series of parlays possible. With full support from South Korea and Japan, the United States and North Korea finally reached an agreement whereby North Korea would freeze its nuclear weapons capabilities in return for the construction of two light-water nuclear power reactors and the interim supply of heavy fuel oil to be financed largely by the U.S., South Korea and Japan. A Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation (KEDO) was to be created as the international body in charge of implementing this agreement. By the beginning of 1995 all this arrangement had been well worked out.

While work on this hopeful front proceeded and further talks with North Korea on related matters continued in P’yongyang, New York and Geneva, a series of crop failures caused by the natural calamities mentioned above focused a different kind of spotlight on P’yongyang. Reports of widespread malnutrition, disease and death in the North during 1995-1997 indicated a growing famine of rare gravity. After some reluctance, P’yongyang admitted as much and appealed for and welcomed international relief. The United States, South Korean and Japanese governments, the UN and many other governmental and non-governmental agencies from around the world pledged or rushed shipments of grain,
medicine and the like. While accepting the aid, the North criticised what it perceived as the niggardly attitude of the South Korean government. Its animus against Kim was particularly pronounced. Pyŏngyang's press and radio attacks on Kim continued unabated throughout this period.

The North's schizophrenic stance also showed a more dangerous side in 1996 as it tried to infiltrate submarine-based armed commandos into the South. The attempt, though abortive and followed by a rare North Korean apology, strengthened the hands of hard-liners in the South and President Kim himself took an increasingly harsher stand against the North in response to this and several other instances of provocation. The February 1997 defection to South Korea of Hwang Jang-yop (Hwang Changyŏp), a senior secretary of the North Korean Workers Party and allegedly the intellectual father of the North's Juch'ae (chuch'ae) ideology, further intensified the air of hostility between Pyŏngyang and Seoul as Hwang disclosed alarming details of Pyŏngyang's warlike intentions. Kim now made it clear that any further South Korean aid to the North would depend on a guaranteed change in its behaviour. Seoul's financial commitment to the KEDO projects also became jeopardised by the south's domestic economic catastrophe. All this in turn made the North's attacks on Kim even more venomous.

Parallel to this imbroglio was the seemingly intractable problem of getting a forthright and unqualified official apology and official compensation from the Japanese government on the emotionally-charged issue of 'comfort women'. The World War II-era forcible sexual enslavement of scores of thousands of Korean women by the Japanese army remained the thorniest matter between Tokyo and Seoul, and despite the on-going discussions with Tokyo, Kim's government was no closer to resolving it at the end of his term than at the beginning.

In sum, by late 1997, President Kim Young Sam's achievements had become greatly overshadowed by his perceived failures, and when he handed over the presidency to his successor on 25 February 1998, there was little exuberant expression of public gratitude for his leadership, rather an audible sigh of relief at his ignominious exit. To make the sting sharper to him, just about that time south Korea was in the midst of a nostalgia boomlet centred on the assassinated dictator Park. He was seen by many as a patriot, a visionary, a decisive leader and a nation builder, whereas Kim, the former dissident, political prisoner, and nurturer of democracy, stood weighted down by a heavy political cangue around his neck.

As for Kim Young Sam's successor, the story had all the elements of high drama. The winner of the December 1997 election was Kim Dae Jung, candidate of the National Congress for New Politics, largely a party of his own creation, a one-time exile from his country, a passionate fighter for democracy, a former political dissident who survived torture and both an assassination plot and a death sentence, a native of the underdeveloped and frequently despised Cholla area, a devout Catholic in a land dominated by Buddhists and Protestants, and a life-long and persistent candidate for his country's highest office, Kim Dae Jung was anything but a run-of-the-mill candidate. Though by any standards a man of towering character amid a Korean 'leadership' crowd of moral dwarfs -- he was often compared with Nelson Mandela, Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa -- Kim was not above a certain Machiavellian craftiness in enlisting the politics of strange bed-fellows with former enemies and adversaries in order to win power.

Running on a platform of economic recovery, reconciliation with the North through peaceful means, and abiding respect for democratic processes and human rights, Kim did not offer any radically new ideas but struck many as more authentic in his promises than his closest rival Lee Hoi-chang (Yi Hoech'ang) of the ruling New Korea Party, now renamed Grand National Party. While conscious of his assets in this multi-party contest, Kim was equally aware of his weak support base in the Kyŏngsang and Ch'ungch'ŏng areas -- the
former under the long domination of the associates of Park, Chun and Roh, and the latter under the sway of Kim Chongp'il -- a nephew of Park, the architect of the notorious Park-era organ, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, and a perpetual politician. Kim Chongp'il had also formed his own party, called the United Liberal Democrats, as a vehicle for furthering his own designs for a high-profit role in national politics. Realising that by joining their forces they could both advance their ambitions with mutual support, their parties created a strategic alliance that proved not only effective during the election campaign but has also lasted into the present. (Kim Chongp'il, for example, became President Kim's new prime minister.)

Upon election, Kim Dae Jung showed yet another master stroke -- an example of his skill in fusing compassion and forgiveness with political savvy. He and outgoing President Kim Young Sam agreed to confer upon Chun and Roh an unconditional pardon for their crimes. Kim Dae Jung knew that he would need the cooperation of all Koreans, including the powerful supporters of Chun and Roh, to meet the challenges before him, and so this gesture was an essential stepping-stone toward projecting his image as a national, as opposed to a sectarian and regional leader. While not popular with all segments of the populace, this act of magnanimity naturally drew expressions of gratitude from both Chun and Roh. They also made a stunning presence at Kim Dae Jung's inauguration as honoured guests!

President Kim Dae Jung was now saddled with the task of addressing the major problems inherited from the past. He took another significant stride toward establishing a full-fledged democracy when he amnestied scores of political prisoners, including several who refused to renounce their pro-North Korean leanings, and promised to reexamine and reform the National Security Law and the intelligence organs to prevent them from being misused in the future. His speeches also reflected a genuinely conciliatory and generous attitude toward North Korea. During a June state visit to America, where he received a hero's welcome in the Congress, he publicly urged the U.S.A. to be more accommodating toward P'yongyang. In addition, he encouraged freer contacts between overseas South Koreans and North Koreans and called for expansion of South Korea's limited economic and cultural ties with the North. He dubbed this new approach to the North 'Sunshine Policy.'

The North's response toward Kim personally was friendlier, but its general attitude toward the South continued to reflect its split personality. On the positive side, new exploratory meetings between delegates of Seoul and P'yongyang took place in Beijing. In June, a flamboyant convoy of trucks conveying the first batch of a thousand cows, personally donated and led by the North Korea-born Hyndai chief Jung Ju-young, drove across the DMZ toward the welcoming arms of P'yongyang officials and added a touch of civilian diplomacy, colour and entertainment to the usually sombre contacts between the two sides.

At the same time, the North was suspected of sending another group of armed agents into the South in July, making many wonder again what exactly was going on in the minds of P'yongyang's leaders. Spokesmen of the normally dovish Kim Dae Jung strongly condemned the incident amid familiar countercharges from the North of yet another Southern fabrication. The decibel level of confrontation between the two sides rose high again.

Kim Dae Jung was, however, much more occupied by the pressing economic issues facing the country. The IMF 'bail-out' terms led to demands for greater transparency and rationalisation in government-business relations, more deregulation, liquidations or mergers involving weak enterprises and banks, greater economic globalisation, acceptance of the painful pills of a short-term rise in unemployment and a disturbing reversal in GNP and per capita income trends. The last two conditions were clearly alarming to numerous individuals as well as the country. South Koreans were being told, for example, that unemployment in 1988 was likely to be about 7.0 per cent, vastly above the customary 2.5
per cent, and that the country must for the first time in more than three decades confront the
prospect of a precipitous drop in both national and per capita incomes -- something that
only North Korea had hitherto experienced. The grim statistics about suicide rates related to
job losses and business failures were now disturbingly on the rise.

As of this writing (mid-July 1998), discussions on these matters within the South Korean
government and among Seoul, Washington and the IMF were still going on and policies
and actions were still being hammered out. President Kim's daily schedules were likely to
remain filled with this kind of agenda in the early years of his administration. It was agreed
by most experts, however, that South Korea had both the essential infrastructure, other
potential assets and the will for a full economic recovery in the long range. Of course, what
this 'long range' means, no one can ever precisely define. The atmosphere in Seoul
therefore seemed to mirror both apprehension and hope stemming from this ambiguity. At
this time, thus, it was premature for anyone to issue a verdict on President Kim but fitting
to wish him success in his reconstructive endeavours.

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Korean War, 1950-1953

The Korean War was by far the bloodiest military conflict in modern Korean history. War
commenced partly as a result of internal political tensions but, as has so often been the case
in Korean history, these tensions were greatly magnified by foreign influences and rivalry
among great powers.

In August 1945, the Korean peninsula was liberated from Japanese colonial rule by the
Soviet and United States armies. The 38th parallel, which divides the country's territory
into more or less equal halves had been agreed upon as a temporary demarcation line
between the North (to be occupied by the Soviets) and the South (to be occupied by the
Americans).

It is likely that initially this division was considered to be temporary. In December 1945 the
'Three-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow had accepted an American
proposal for a five-year 'international trusteeship' which was to prepare Korea for a unified
national government. However, the very logic of rivalry between the capitalist West and the
communist East prevented the process of unification.. The Soviet military authorities and
their American counter-parts were determined to promote 'friendly' elements in their
respective zones of occupation. The Americans lent their support to the Nationalist Right
and helped to outlaw the Communists and other radical leftists while the Soviets were busy
creating a Communist government and purging real and potential opposition. Half-hearted
attempts to promote the decisions of the Moscow Conference were fruitless : for all
practical purposes as early as 1946 both zones already had governments of their own. These governments depended on their foreign patrons and each was very hostile to the other. Each considered the other an illegitimate puppet regime which had to be overthrown.

The official inauguration of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South (15 August 1948) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North (9 September 1948) provided these rival groups with some semi-legal ground to justify their pretensions. Each government claimed itself to be the only legitimate authority on the Korean peninsula. Consequently, military tension between North and South mounted.

In spite of its belic平ity, the South’s Rhee Syngman’s government was not in a position to launch a full-scale war. It was corrupt, ineffective and unpopular, and the Americans refused to provide it with the heavy military equipment necessary for modern warfare. Meanwhile, the Soviet-backed North was determined to construct an effective military machine. The degree of cohesion in the North was remarkably high: partly due to ruthless extermination of ‘hostile elements’ and intensive indoctrination, partly due to real economic and cultural success of the new regime.

The first North Korean military units (initially disguised as police detachments) were organized in 1946 and in February 1948 the Korean People's Army (KPA) officially came into being. Though reliable data is unavailable, according to reasoned estimations, in June 1950, the KPA numbered about 130,000 men. It consisted of 10 infantry divisions and an armoured brigade. It had about 700 pieces of field and 550 pieces of anti-tank artillery, with about 240 tanks and 200 aircraft. Though the Soviet Army left Korea in December 1948, a comprehensive network of Soviet military advisors was instrumental in forming the new army and educating its commanders in the conduct of modern warfare. The ROK Army then numbered about 100,000 men (plus 48,000 paramilitary in its police forces). In comparison with the KPA, it had by far the lower morale and training and it also lacked heavy weapons. When the war began it possessed only 22 planes and very few tanks and minimal artillery pieces.

The North Korean leaders were more or less enthusiastic about the military liberation of the South. There were signs a-plenty that the South was to be an easy prey: to civilian riots; the communist guerrilla movement (supplied from the North, but not without strong local support); an ineffective administration and a weak army. Some South Korean communist leaders insisted that a mass uprising would follow an outbreak of war, but even those less optimistic were of the opinion that the resistance would be short and weak.

The USSR and mainland China (communist from 1949) were more sceptical about the idea of military unification. Both powers wished to improve their strategic situation by destruction of a hostile pro-American regime near their borders, but the Soviets did not want to risk a major confrontation with the USA because of an adventure of their North Korean clients. But Kim Il Sung and other North Korean leaders, during their visits to Moscow in 1948-1950, made great efforts to persuade Stalin that victory would be swift and the Americans would have neither time nor will for a military intervention. In spring 1950, a somewhat reluctant Stalin gave his permission. The initial plans of attack were redrawn by experienced Soviet advisers, and the scale of Soviet military assistance was increased. However, Moscow was not going to take any direct part in the coming conflict which was to be a Korean civil war.

The war began at dawn on 25 June 1950 with a sudden attack of the KPA across the 38th parallel. The strategy of the KPA’s Soviet advisors reflected their experience during World War II. A massive deployment of armour at strategic points and concentration of all forces against Seoul, the main target of the assault, were distinctive features of the North Korean plan. A huge numerical superiority, better equipment and the patently higher morale of the KPA determined the outcome of the first battles fought.
In spite of the brave resistance of some units, in a few days the South Korean Army had collapsed. Dusk on 27 June saw the first invading units in Seoul, and on the next day the capital was firmly in North Korean hands. Rhee Syngman's government fled to Taegu and later to Pusan, while the remnants of its army withdrew in disarray.

On 25 June, an emergency meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council was summoned. The Soviet member was boycotting in protest against UN refusal to replace the Nationalist China delegation with the Communists. In his absence, the Security Council unanimously passed a resolution condemning the North Korean aggression. On 27 June the Council adopted a new resolution which asked UN members to "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel an armed attack". Thus the way was paved for military intervention. On 7 July the Security Council requested that all troops sent to Korea by member countries be put under a unified command headed by the USA.

On 8 July, General Douglas MacArthur, America's most experienced general, was appointed commander-in-chief of the UN forces. Eventually, 16 countries sent their troops to Korea, but with few exceptions (United Kingdom, Turkey and Canada) these were token units up to battalion strength. Since it took much time for the South Korean Army to recover and reorganize after the initial onslaught, the main fighting was done almost entirely by the UN force, which was predominantly American.

By the beginning of August the KPA controlled the whole Korean Peninsula, except for a small pocket around Pusan, which the remaining South Korea units and some American reinforcements (which were organized as the 8th Army) held under siege conditions, the so-called 'Pusan perimeter'. During August and early September, the KPA formations were making unsuccessful attempts to penetrate the UN defences, but overstretched lines of supply, serious losses during the offensive to the South and American command of the air considerably reduced the military might of the KPA.

In the occupied territory the DPRK authorities tried to establish the same political and social system which existed in the North. People's committees were organized and agrarian reform began. However, these measures generally did not win the support of the South Korean population due to extreme political oppression launched by the North Korean administration. All right-wing parties and groups were banned; their supporters persecuted. Atrocities perpetrated by the new authorities averted even those who had pro-left sympathies before the war. The ruthless DPRK policy in the occupied territory greatly damaged the prestige of the political left there.

In August, MacArthur drew up a plan to land a huge force at Inch'on, the port city for Seoul, and then cut-off the KPA from its supplies. This was a tactic made possible by the fact that the main KPA force was now engaged in a determined attempt to break through the Pusan defences, far to the South. The Inch'on landing took place on 15-16 September and is recorded as one of the biggest amphibious operations in world military history. In spite of difficult tidal conditions about 70,000 men of X Corps (independent from the 8th Army) landed there, in close proximity to Seoul. The KPA command lacked resources in this vital region and on 25 September the first UN units entered the Korean capital, which was only secured by 29 September after hard fighting. Meanwhile, the 8th Army launched a highly successful counter-offensive from the beleaguered Pusan perimeter. By the end of September the KPA had collapsed. Most of its units were destroyed or entirely demoralised. It had to discard all its heavy weapons. By late September, the UN/ROK formations had reached the 38th parallel.

Although the fall of Seoul had effectively signified the end of the invasion, both MacArthur and the South Korean government thought it would not be enough to simply restore the status quo ante-bellum but wanted to unify Korea under Rhee Syngman's tutelage. On 1
October, a ROK force crossed the 38th Parallel, and soon was followed by the Americans. The shattered KPA withdrew, followed by the fall of Pyōngyang on 19 October, just a few days after Kim Il Sung and his government had fled to the Chinese border. On 25 October ROK troops reached the Amnok (Yalu) River; the Korea-China border.

However, the UN approach to the Yalu River raised serious concern in Beijing. The new Chinese Communist government considered the appearance of an openly hostile regime on its borders, close to the main Chinese industrial base in Manchuria, a grave threat. The Chinese leaders gave diplomatic warnings about possible intervention if the UN formations continued their offensive to the north, but these signals were ignored by the American and South Korean leaders who were sure the war was over. In this respect they had greatly underestimated the Chinese politicians and their military machine.

In early October the Chinese government decided to send its army into Korea to preserve the North Korean regime and to expel the threatening military formations far from the Chinese border. Marshal Peng De-huai was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Korea, which were called the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV, which in western publications were often called CCF - Chinese Communist Forces) to formally avoid direct involvement in the war. It was the same fiction as labeling the joint American-South Korean Army 'the UN forces'. The Chinese forces initially (in mid-October) consisted of the XIII Army Group which comprised four armies (3 infantry divisions each) and some other units.

The first Chinese units crossed the border on 19 October. During October and early November Peng De-huai concentrated up to 150 000 troops in North Korea. All troop and supply movements were done by night, with men and machines heavily camouflaged. As a result, the Chinese presence was not discovered by American intelligence until late October, when the first Chinese counter-attacks halted the UN offensive. On 25 November, the Chinese armies began a large-scale counter-offensive. In a few days many UN/ROK formations were annihilated or routed. In spite of enormous losses the CP pushed south. P'yōngyang fell on 5 December. By the end of December, Chinese formations had reached the 38th parallel.

On 31 December Peng De-huai launched a new attack against Seoul. The Korean capital was in Chinese hands by 4 January, but the CPV’s offensive soon lost its momentum. By the end of January the UN command had stabilized the situation and a new UN offensive began on 7 March. This overcame all resistance and during the night of 14 March the CPV abandoned Seoul. A new frontline approximated the demarcation line along the 38th parallel from which the war had been launched.

In the spring and early summer of 1951 intensive fighting, local offensives and counter-offensives continued, but the territorial gains were indecisive and it was becoming clearer that both sides were deadlocked. The DPRK/Chinese had lost the opportunity to establish their control of the Korean Peninsula, but the ROK/UN also could not hope to repeat its success and unify Korea under Rhee Syngman's government. On the frontline, both sides eventually constructed formidable fortifications against which any attack meant heavy losses with little or no gains.

It was in this situation that cease-fire talks began on 10 July 1951 in Kaesŏng (from 25 October the negotiations continued in P'anmunjŏm). In the first few months negotiations hinged on territorial problems, but by 1952 a provisional truce line (based on military positions) was agreed. Then the exchange of prisoners-of-war become the main object of discussion. The UN command insisted that captured soldiers could make a choice of whether to stay with their captors or return to their former homes. This proposal was unacceptable to the DPRK/Chinese mainly for propaganda reasons, because they knew that many of their soldiers would opt to stay in the south. The Communists were sure that
time was on their side and that the war-weary-public opinion of the West would sooner or later compel Western governments to conclude a peace settlement on less favourable terms. There is room for conjecture that Stalin himself wanted to extend hostilities, since the war had bled both the USA (the USSR's main enemy) and China (a potentially untrustworthy ally).

The Soviet Union itself was determined to avoid a direct confrontation with the West. During the war the Soviets had provided logistic and advisors, as well as some air cover. They did not, however, commit their ground forces to Korea and imposed restrictions on the actions of their pilots. The same self-restrained position was adopted by the Americans. MacArthur's persistent proposals to attack the Chinese mainland and escalate the war into a full-scale confrontation resulted in his dismissal, in April 1951, by President Harry Truman. Thus, the land, air and sea battle operations were restricted to the Koren peninsula.

After the summer of 1951 there were no drastic changes to the frontline positions. The ground forces were engaged in positional warfare, but the rare offensives and counter-offensives were of limited scale. The main fighting was done by the Chinese and Americans, with the South and North Korean armies gradually recovering after near-annihilation.

Trying to inflict heavy losses on the enemy, in 1951 the UN air forces launched a bombing campaign against the North. The main targets were military positions, roads, bridges and power stations. Since throughout the war air superiority was maintained by the UN (though sometimes challenged by the Chinese and Russian pilots), the bombing itself was not a difficult task. It did, however, result in the devastation of towns and cities, the destruction of industrial plant and severe damage to North Korea's infrastructure. However, the bombing campaign failed to achieve its definitive purpose, since the CPV the KPA and the civilian authorities had constructed numerous underground (bomb-proof) installations.

After many months of fruitless talks, in March, 1953 the situation in P'annonjōn improved considerably. The Communists gave up their demands and agreed that every prisoner had a right of choice whether to return home or stay in the north. After some final deliberations the armistice agreement was concluded on 27 July 1953 at P'annonjōn. However, the ROK government refused to sign the truce agreement, which it considered a perpetuation of national division. Thus it was signed only by the Chinese, the DPRK and the UN forces. According to the terms, the truce line was to be similar to the existing frontline and had only minor differences to the pre-war demarcation line. The truce was to be supervised by a commission of four neutral nations.

For Korea, the war was an economic and human disaster of unprecedented scale. Due to lack of reliable data, estimations of human losses vary greatly. Estimates for the ROK forces are 150 000 killed and dead from wounds; 200 000 missing in action and 250 000 seriously injured, while 100 000 - 150 000 civilians were abducted or went voluntarily to North Korea. The United Nations force suffered heavily too. The United States had 33 000 casualties and the United Kingdom 3 800, with the losses of the smaller contingents correspondingly heavy. The data about losses of the DPRK/Chinese forces and civilians is highly disputable. According to South Korean estimations, probably 500 000 North Korean soldiers and more than 200,000 civilians were killed during the conflict. The Chinese insist that their losses were 360,000 (killed and seriously wounded), but in all probability, the figures are much higher. According to some estimations, they number about one million. The economies of both North and South were devastated. In the south, almost half of the country's factories and plant, coal mining and electricity generation were destroyed or severely damaged. About one-third of all houses were lost and substantial amounts of the infrastructure were destroyed. Politically, the war strengthened the positions of both Rhee Syngman and Kim Il Sung's regimes. The supporters of oppositional groups...
were either killed during mass repressions or escaped to another zone. Large amounts of foreign aid permitted both regimes to create military and police machines which were effective enough to provide necessary cohesion.

Internationally, the Korean War was of great consequence. It was the first limited war of the nuclear age, the first conflict between superpowers (the term was not coined yet) and/or their allies in which both sides imposed some self-restraint to prevent the conflict from escalating into full-scale nuclear war. The Korean War set a precedent for later conflicts (notably, Vietnam and Afghanistan). It increased the tensions between West and East, provoked the re-armament of the West and strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). At the same time, the disinclination of the USSR to give all-out support undermined Soviet credibility, both in Beijing and P'yŏngyang.

**Bibliography**


**North Korea, History of**

**The formation of an independent Korean State (1945-1948)**

On 9 August 1945, the Soviet Government declared itself at war with Japan. On 11 August the units of the 25th Army (the 1st Far Eastern Front) crossed the Korean border. In the following week Soviet troops advanced into the country and marines were landed in major Korean ports. On 15 August the Japanese surrender was announced. Some Japanese units held out, but fighting lasted for only a few days.

Consultations between Soviet and American governments about drawing a demarcation line (in one form or another) had taken place ever since the Potsdam conference, and by 15 August, it had been decided that after the Japanese surrender the USSR would occupy the Korean Peninsula north of the 38th parallel and the USA to the south of this line.

By the end of August, the Soviet military assumed the control of the northern half of the Korean Peninsula, with Soviet troops stationed in major cities and taking responsibility for governing the country. However, the Soviet generals were hardly prepared for this governmental task, in contrast to Russia's role in the control of those European countries occupied by the Soviet Army after WWII. Moscow too, was unfamiliar with the Korean political situation. Although numerous Koreans resided in the USSR, none of them enjoyed any kind of popularity inside Korea and even a Communist Party - a recognized manipulatory tool of Soviet policy - was non-existent. A majority of prominent Korean leftists who fled to the Soviet Union before WWII and worked in the Komintern, fell victims to Stalin's purges, while Soviet-Koreans (with very few exceptions), being mostly second or third-generation immigrants, had no contact with Korea.

The 25th Army Commander, I.I. Chistiakov (Member of the Military Council); N.G. Lebedev and other senior officers were responsible for the practical implementation (and, to a certain degree interpretation) of Moscow's policy in Korea. Korean affairs were supervised by T.F. Shtykov (Member of the Military Council of the 1st Far Eastern Front). The main task of the Soviet authorities was to establish in Korea or, at least in its Northern part, a friendly (desirably communist) regime.
North Korea. However, the decision was not yet final, and Kim Il-sŏng (together with Cho Manshik, Pak Hŏnyŏng and, probably a few more) was only one of several likely candidates.

The division of Korea was officially considered to be only temporary. The future of Korea was discussed during the Conference of foreign ministers of the USA, USSR, UK and China which took place in Moscow (16-26 December). The Conference adopted a proposition (initially American) to establish over Korea an International Trusteeship for a transitional period. These plans brought sharp protests by nationalists who considered it an insult to national dignity and an attempt to establish a new form of colonial regime in the country.

On 5 January 1946, at the session of the People's committee of the province of South Pyŏngan, Cho Manshik not only protested against the Trusteeship plan, but also refused to cooperate with the occupying authorities and resigned. Other nationalist members of the committee did the same. It was an open challenge to Soviet authority and could not, therefore, be tolerated. A repressive campaign against nationalists was then launched. Cho Manshik was arrested in early January 1946, spent five years in prison and was executed in October 1950. Cho Manshik's supporters were purged also from the Democratic Party which soon was transformed into a puppet organization led by government agents posing as nationalists. The Right answered by the organization of anti-Soviet, anti-communist revolts (the biggest one took place in Hamhung) and terrorist actions (including an attempt on the life of Kim Il Sung and some other leaders in spring, 1946). The result was the severance of all links between the nationalists and the Soviets and the latter had to deal entirely with the communists.

The Korean communists have never been a monolithic identity. In 1946 there were four communist factions, differing greatly in their background and experience. The kungmaep'a (domestic faction, led by Pak Hŏnyŏng) consisted of the former underground communists. Most of them worked in the South, but the growing anti-communism of the Americans and the Seoul authorities encouraged them to escape to the North and in 1946-1950 their number increased greatly. The ppalchisanp'a (guerrilla faction) led by Kim Il Sung, consisted of former guerrillas who fought the Japanese in Manchuria and after 1940 escaped to the USSR to serve in the 88th Brigade. The yonanp'a (Yanan faction, leader Kim Tubong) was composed of the Korean left-wing intellectuals who emigrated to China in the 1920-30s and were closely associated with the Chinese Communist Party (most of them spent their exile in the communist headquarters in Yanan) as well as a number of the Koreans who had served in the Chinese Red Army. The soryonp'a (Soviet faction) led by Hŏ Kai, was formed by the Soviet-Koreans, mostly former school teachers and medium-level officials. They were sent to Korea in 1945-1948 by the Soviet government to work in North Korean party and government institutions. Members of all four groups had very different education levels and had had very limited contacts with each other before 1945, therefore tension was inevitable (especially taking into consideration the strong tradition of factionalism, so endemic to Korean culture).

The Communist Party of North Korea initially was under the control of the 'guerrilla' and 'Soviet' factions while 'Yanan' faction members decided to establish a party of their own. The 'Yanan' faction led New People's Party (Shinmindang) came into being on 16 February 1946.

The practical management of the country's everyday life was vested in the Soviet Civil Administration which replaced the direct rule of the 25th Army on and from 3 October 1945. However, the Soviet authorities needed an organ of self-government in North Korea, which could form a proto-government, and thereby a nucleus of a pro-Soviet regime. The first attempt took place as early as in October 1945, when the 'Administrative Bureau of Five Provinces' was established in P'yŏngyang. The break with
Their conceptual political framework was viewed through the eyes of a 'people's democracy' which had been developed by the Soviet ideologists during and after World War II. According to this concept, every would-be socialist country had to pass through a transition period. This was a period of 'people's-democratic reforms' which were to eliminate the old order - land reform, partial nationalization, etc. - and thus create conditions for future 'socialist development' (practically the establishment of a Stalinist mono-party regime). As such, it played a very important role in the North Korean politics of the 1940s and 1950s. As soon as the Soviets entered the North, they began to search for a force to fill the political vacuum and their first choice was Cho Manshik, a prominent right-wing nationalist politician. Just before the arrival of the Soviet troops to P'yongyang, the biggest North Korean city which was chosen as 25th Army Headquarters, Cho Manshik formed there a cell of self-government, the Preparatory Committee for National Construction (Kön'guk Chunbi Wiwonhoe). In August-September 1945, a number of these self-government bodies appeared everywhere in Korea. In the North they were sometimes ordered by or under the supervision of Soviet military authorities, but more often than not they were just a product of the local initiative and nationalist enthusiasm. These institutions initially had various names, but from September 1945 they were usually called 'people's committees'. Even though at that time nationalists were much more numerous than communists as members of the 'people's committees', the Soviet military authorities decided to support the committees as the nucleus of a future 'people's democracy' and began to enhance the communist influence in them. Under Soviet pressure many communists were co-opted to the 'people's committees' (including Cho Manshik's Committee in South P'yongyan province) and obtained important posts.

Cho Manshik was probably the most influential politician of the North and the Soviet authorities did their best to establish a dialogue with him. It seemed as if they would make him a leader of the pro-Soviet administration. However, Cho Manshik's rigid opposition to communism as well as his deep distrust of any foreign power made him a very unsuitable partner and led to a number of minor clashes between him and the occupation authorities. On a lower level, cooperation between the Soviet Army (and Soviet-supported communists) and nationalists also was far from being smooth, as was well demonstrated during a riot of nationalist students in Sinuiju (November 1945). In this month Cho Manshik founded the right-wing Democratic party (Minjudang) which proved to be a very popular and influential rival. Reacting to this move, the Soviet authorities began their search for other possible leaders among Korean communists who previously had not been considered seriously due to their lack of influence. Since the most prominent communist leaders were in the South, the Soviets were interested in Kim Il Sung (Kim Il-sông), a former Manchuria guerrilla who in 1940 fled to the USSR to become a captain in the Red Army. Kim had arrived in Korea towards the end of September 1945. However, prior to the autumn of 1945 neither the Soviet authorities nor Kim Il Sông himself had any plans concerning his participation in politics. This decision to transform a Red Army officer into a leader of local authorities of the Soviet-controlled North was a rather impulsive move.

On 13 October the Soviet authorities gathered a meeting of local communists to establish the North Korean bureau of the Korean Communist Party (Chosön kongsandang Pak Chosön pun'guk). Then the bureau recognized the supreme authority of the Central Committee in Seoul. Kim Yong-bom, a former underground communist, was elected its chairman, but in December he was replaced by Kim Il Sung. In winter 1945-46 the bureau ceased to be a local organ and, with the blessing of the Soviet authorities, gradually transformed itself into the Communist Party of North Korea, independent from Pak Honyong's leadership in Seoul.

On 14 October Kim Il Sung appeared in public for the first time. He addressed a mass rally held in P'yongyang to welcome the Soviet Army. Since that time the Soviet authorities, without abandoning their efforts to establish a dialogue with Cho Manshik and his nationalists, began to stake on Kim Il Sung as a future leader of 'people's democracy' in
the nationalists undermined this body, but on 8 February 1946 a new organ of local self-
government, the 'Provisional People's Committee of North Korea' (Puk Chosŏn
imshin innin wiwonhoe), was inaugurated in P'yŏngyang. Kim Il Sung whose position
as the main Soviet protégé by that time had been firmly established, was appointed its
chairman.

During the spring and summer of 1946 the Soviet Administration realised many
social reforms subscribed by the 'people's democracy' concept. The most important
was probably in land reform. It was proclaimed by way of a special Decree which was
issued by the Provisional People's committee, but in fact written by Soviet officials
and approved in Moscow. The maximum size of landholdings was limited to 5 chŏngbo
(slightly less than 5 hectares). The outright ownership of land ceased to exist and the
peasants' support of a future communist government was thus won overnight. Large-scale
nationalisation of industry was launched in August, only twelve months after the North
was occupied by the Soviet Army (much earlier than in the 'people's democracies'
of Eastern Europe, where this process took a few years longer).

In that relatively short period, full control over the country was exercised by the Soviet
Civil Administration. However, by the end of 1946, the North Korean embryonic
government also had a small, but ever-increasing share of power. The influence of this
government was strengthened by the merger of two Marxist parties - the Communist
Party of North Korea (Guerilla and Soviet factions) and New People's Party (Yanan
faction) - into the North Korean Workers' Party (NKWP). The unification was decided
during Kim Il Sung's and Pak Hŏnyŏn's secret visit to Moscow and their consultations
with Stalin and other Soviet leaders in July 1946. The 1st Congress of the NKWP took
place in August. Kim Tubong, leader of the Yanan faction, become Chairman of the Party
while Kim Il Sung was elected his Deputy. Since Kim Tubong, an aged scholar, usually
avoided practical politics, real power in the Party eventually passed into Kim Il Sung's
hands. However, he did not hold supreme power, as this was still being curbed by rival
factions (of which Kim Il Sung's own Guerrilla faction was the least significant) as well as
by the paramount presence of the Soviet military.

In July 1946, the United Democratic National Front, a North Korean version of the
United Front, was proclaimed in P'yŏngyang. Its existence was considered to be
necessary to the 'people's democracy' concept and it was very useful for propaganda
reasons. But in North Korea it was only a formal, bogus coalition, since one of the two
non-communist parties (the Democratic Party) had lost its independence and the other,
a party with religious affiliation, called Ch'ondogyo-ch'ŏngu dang (Young Friends' Party),
lacked both strength and opportunity to challenge the Communist hegemony.

Initially, Moscow was uncertain about the desirable future of divided Korea, but as it
was becoming clear that only a right-wing nationalist government would be permitted by the
Americans in Seoul, the Soviet authorities began to lose interest in plans for a united
Korean state and concentrated their efforts on the formation of a separate communist
regime in the North. The Joint Soviet-American Commission was established in March,
1946 to supervise the realisation of Moscow Conference decisions, but it operated in a
very uneasy atmosphere because of endless altercation between the Soviet and American
delegations. The Soviet side realised, taking into consideration the greater population of the
South (where under the American occupation the communists were persecuted and
nationalist parties thrived) that the free elections throughout Korea would result in the
establishment in Seoul of a nationalist, right-wing and more or less anti-Soviet
government. Therefore, the Soviet side insisted on granting some privileges for the leftists,
which the Americans saw as unfit to adopt. After months of quarrels, the Commission
failed to achieve any results and was abolished in October 1947.

Meanwhile, the construction of an independent state in the North continued. On 3
November 1946 the local elections legitimated the system of the people's committees, which had hitherto been largely self-proclaimed institutions. On 21 February 1947, the 1st Congress of People's Committees elected a North Korean provisional government. This government, led by Kim Il Sung, completed the nationalisation of all big and medium-sized businesses (small merchants were tolerated, albeit restricted, until the late 1950s) and quickly re-shaped the North Korean economy according to standards common for all other 'People's Democracies'. Education, mass-media, cultural activities, also were drastically changed: the Japanese traditions were rooted out and replaced with new approaches, often based upon Soviet patterns.

As early as 1946, the North (just like the South) began to develop its own armed forces. Initially its army was disguised as a field police and border guard force, but on 28 February 1948 it was officially established as the Korean People's Army (KPA). The training of this force was organized by numerous Soviet advisers. Substantial support, both in well-trained personnel and logistics also was provided by the Chinese communists, among whom there was a number of Koreans.

By the summer of 1948 it was evident that ruling elites in both Koreas - the Soviet-backed communists in the North and American-backed nationalists in the South - were not going to fuse their zones of control at the risk of losing power, preferring instead to establish in the Peninsula two independent and hostile states. In the 1948 summer, the North Korean Constitution was drafted and on 25 August, ten days after the declaration of the Republic of Korea in Seoul, separate elections took place in the North. Certainly, they were strictly controlled and opposition of any kind was not tolerated. On 9 September, the first session of the People's Supreme Assembly was held and proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).


Just like its southern counterpart, the DPRK government insisted on being the only legitimate authority on the Korean peninsula and did not recognize officially the rival government. By the late 1940s, it was apparent there was no way of unifying the divided country, except by military force. The military decision then was favoured by all factions in P'yongyang as well as by the DPRK's main allies, though their reasons (apart from the idealistic, which are not to be neglected or under-estimated) were different. Moscow and Beijing hoped not only to strengthen the influence of communism, but also curb American expansion in Asia and crush an unfriendly regime near their borders. The Guerrilla faction hoped to increase the role of the military, where they were very influential, while the Domestic faction (consisting mainly of southerners) also hoped to have a bigger share of power after the 'liberation' of their native South, which was much more populous than the North.

An intensive military build-up began. The Soviet units had been completely withdrawn by December 1948, leaving behind numerous military advisers. The KPA General Staff designed a war plan against the South as early as in 1947, even before the official establishment of the Army, but all plans were drastically revised in spring 1950 by a group Soviet military advisers. At the same time, the North supported active guerrilla movement in the South which was to weaken Rhee Syngman's regime prior to the attack.

The decision to unify the country by a sudden stroke against the South was confirmed by Stalin during his private talks with Kim Il Sung in Moscow (March 1950) and, in all probability, was approved by Beijing also. Kim Il Sung and Pak Honyong then insisted that it would be an easy task, since Rhee Syngman's regime was very unpopular and the war would be won just in a few days or weeks.
The invasion began at dawn on 25 June 1950. In spite of all Rhee Syngman's bellicosity, his army was no match for the North. On 28 June the KPA tanks were in Seoul and by mid-September firm control of nearly all the Southern provinces had been secured by the communists. A system of people's committees was introduced there, with the new authorities starting land reform and the partial nationalisation of industry. However, American intervention turned the tables.

On 16 September the United Nations began their amphibious operation in Inch'ón cutting the supply lines of the KPA troops concentrated on the southern tip of the peninsula. The North Korean units, though they were usually victorious over the lesser-trained and often demoralized army of the South, were overcome by the sophisticated American weaponry and had to retire in total disarray. On 19 October 1950 P'yŏngyang was occupied by the Americans. The North Korean government fled to Shinŭiju and then to Kanggye, a small city in a mountainous region near the Chinese border. By the end of October the South and the United Nations were convinced they were close to victory, just like their adversaries were only weeks before.

The United Nations high command had discounted the idea of Chinese entry into the conflict, however, Chinese intervention started at the end of November. Numerous battle-hardened Chinese units drove the United Nations and ROK Armies back to the 38th parallel and succeeded in capturing Seoul, for a short time (January - March 1951). From spring 1951, the conflict began to stalemate and both sides conducted positional warfare until 27 July 1953 when an Armistice was signed in Panmunjom. However, since the winter of 1950/51 the North Korean units had served largely as auxiliaries while the main work was done by the Chinese. On the other hand, the Chinese commander-in-chief, Peng De-huai and his subordinates, refrained from intervention in questions of North Korean domestic politics.

The war had contradictory consequences for the domestic development of the North. The P'yŏngyang regime emerged from the war greatly weakened economically, but immensely strengthened politically. In spite of all the terrible devastation of war, ever since the DPRK authorities could rely on a strong army and police force. But they were considerably less dependent on direct foreign political support (though economic aid was vital still) and could disregard even the slightest possibility of internal opposition, since most former dissenters either left the country, were dead or, at least, silenced. The direct participation of the Chinese (not the Soviet) armies in the war inevitably led to a shift of the sphere of influence from the Soviet Union to China. Until the war, the Soviet position was a decisive factor, now it could be counterbalanced by Beijing.

Economic and social development of the DPRK during its early years was very like that of other 'people's democracies'. Small artisan-type private enterprise and trade were abolished and private agricultural firms were united under government supervision into cooperatives. In economic development the emphasis was on heavy industry. Such a scheme was in keeping with Stalinist tradition and well-matched the North Korean situation (deposits of ores and coal, and the existence of many plants constructed during the colonial period). Though reliable statistics are not accessible or even may not exist, the 1950s witnessed remarkable economic achievements. By 1960, the North Korea economy not only had recovered from huge war-time losses, but also had made substantial progress. Per capita GNP was higher than in the South, and there was a very considerable rise in industrial production of 10-25% annually, according to official data, between 1953-1960. The great role in this economic advancement was played by foreign, mostly Soviet, aid, both direct and indirect, through credits (which have never been repaid), artificially low prices on oil, raw materials and so forth.

All principal political decisions were made by party committees, which were considered
to be elected, but which in practical terms were partly appointed from above and partly co-opted. The legislative bodies and organs of self-government lost even the small degree of independence they had held before the war and were reduced to rubber-stamping activities. The ultimate power was now in the hands of the Party Central Committee and its Politburo.

After 1953, North Korea abandoned for a while her attempts at destabilising the South Korean regime and its policy towards the South calmed. Foreign policy was mainly confined to China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, since throughout the 1950s the DPRK remained in diplomatic isolation and was recognized only by socialist countries.

In North Korean domestic politics the 1950s saw the eventual destruction of all factions other than Kim Il Sung's Guerrilla faction, as well as the gradual decline of foreign control over political life. In June 1949, the Workers' parties of South and North Korea had merged, with Kim Il Sung appointed Chairman of the new Korean Workers' Party (KWP). Both Kim Tubong, a leader of the Yanan faction and former Chairman of the North Korean Workers' Party and Pak Hŏnyŏng, a leader of the Domestic faction and former Chairman of the South Korean Workers' Party, became Kim II Sung's lieutenant. During the war, Hŏ Kai, an influential leader of the Soviet faction was purged and later died in uncertain circumstances. Pak Iju, another remarkable leader of the Yanan faction, also fell victim to the purge. Each of these events resulted in the considerable strengthening of Kim Il Sung, who now sought unrestricted power for himself and who, due to endemic Korean factionalism, could rely only on his old comrades-in-arms from the Guerrilla faction. He used changes in the domestic and international situation to begin a campaign against party leaders from other groupings, his first target being the Domestic faction which was especially vulnerable since it had no foreign patron. In spring 1953, some leaders of the Domestic faction were arrested. Between 3-6 August 1953, during the biggest political show trial in North Korean history, prominent Domestic faction leaders, who had been outstanding members of the communist movement since the 1920/30s, were accused of spying for the USA and South Korea, or else of secret collaboration with the Japanese political police, and were executed. The Domestic faction leader, Pak Hŏnyŏng, was arrested in August 1953, tried (on 15 December 1955) and subsequently executed as an American spy. After the liquidation of their leaders most of the remaining Domestic communists were purged and the faction dissolved.

The destruction of the Yanan and Soviet factions was, however, a much more formidable task because both had a deal of external support. Of the two, the Soviet faction was probably the more dangerous because it could conduct de-Stalinisation ideas, thereby threatening Kim Il Sung's power, which was modelled on the Stalinist pattern. It seemed that at first Kim Il Sung planned to concentrate on the Soviet faction - a campaign he started in the autumn of 1955, but events took a different course. In August 1956, Kim came under direct attack at the plenum of the KWP Central Committee. Some members of the Yanan factions severely criticised his methods and the leader personally. They hoped they could convince Central Committee members to condemn the Kim Il Sung's personality cult and hopefully, to replace him, but it was a fatal blunder. Kim Il Sung and his faction had secured firm support among the high and middle-level party officials and only few (mostly members of the Yanan faction) supported the opposition. In true Kim Il Sung tradition, large-scale purges of the Yanan supporters began just after the plenum.

In a vain attempt to stop such a development Beijing proposed that Moscow send to Korea a joint Soviet-Chinese delegation to study the situation in North Korea and persuade Kim Il Sung to stop the purges. This was the delegation of A. Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai, in September 1956. Bowing to pressure from these powerful neighbours, Kim Il Sung's faction had to make some concessions, but these proved to be short-lived. In 1957, large-scale purges against the Yanan faction recommenced. However, an
unrealized Chinese-Soviet intervention attempt reassured Kim Il Sung that to become an omnipotent master of his domestic policy he would have to disengage from all foreign control.

Since both Yanan and Soviet factions were considered to be the tools of such external control, they were purged *ipso facto* between 1957-1960. Some officials, belonging to both fractions, were either executed, imprisoned or banished, but most preferred to leave North Korea in haste. However, Chinese or Soviet intervention, which was considered inevitable only few years before did not occur, due to many factors. Among these were a degree of political instability both in China and the Soviet Union; the growing rivalry between these powers; Khrushchev's policy of relaxed control over other communist regimes; as well as Kim Il Sung's tactical skills.

The rise of Juche (*Chuch'e*): the DPRK in the period of political independence and radical experiments (1960-1985)

The failure of the so-called August Group had resulted in a noticeable transformation of the North Korean internal policy, which became increasingly totalitarian. The former standards of political and social life which imitated Stalin's models, appeared to be too liberal. There was, too, the great influence of China, where Maoist radicalism was at its height.

The early 1960s were marked by a radicalization of North Korean domestic and foreign politics. Such a development was influenced by Maoist China and met with enthusiastic support from some members of the DPRK ruling elite. However, by the 1970s, radical experiments had proved to be too costly and dangerous, or ineffective, and were gradually replaced by more moderate and traditionalistic approaches.

In economics, the beginning of the 1960s was a time of numerous experiments, mostly influenced by ideas of Maoist China. The *Ch'ollima* Campaign (Flying Horse Campaign) imitated the Chinese Great Leap Forward, and the agricultural cooperatives were remodelled to be more like the Chinese people's communes than the Soviet kolhoz. The self-sufficiency movement which was to become one of the main propaganda topics for decades, was also modelled upon Chinese patterns and even had the name written in the same characters, *charyŏk kaengsaeng*. As in Maoist China, the emphasis was now on ideological leadership of the party, political control, the omnipresence of government institutions, centralization and discipline, as well as on revolutionary enthusiasm rather than economic incentives. In the 'Taean system', introduced in industry in the early 1960s, at every plant or company the party secretary was placed above the director to stress the role of party and the inferiority of economics to politics. Even the slightest traces of economical independence were abrogated: the small individual kitchen gardens which peasants had been permitted to hold were withdrawn, as were the market-places. The control was eased slightly in the early 1980s, but, nevertheless, remained more rigid than in other socialist states.

The years 1960-1985 were not overly successful for North Korea in its dealings with the Soviet Union and China. The biggest challenge was the nagging quarrel between the two Powers, which began in the late 1950s and continued for several decades. P'yŏngyang, after some wavering, preferred to remain neutral and in July 1961, almost identical Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Help were concluded with both China and the Soviet Union. After 1961, however, North Korea aligned itself briefly with China in the conflict, but from 1965 firmly established itself as a neutral actor. The fierce rivalry between North Korea's two principal allies made possible some very delicate maneuvering in order to gain more independence. But this split, as well as the serious internal chaos in China during the cultural revolution, also created an atmosphere of instability and severely affected the flow of vital economic aid.

The economic situation deteriorated during 1960-1985, and did not recover. The rapid-
paced development of the 1950s slowed, and then, after 1980, stagnated. The command economy proved to be ineffective; foreign aid ceased to be as generous as before (critical of the DPRK's earlier economic record); the burden of massive military expenditure; world-wide ambitions and expensive propaganda, all had their effect. The reckless experiments of the 1960s, though much more cautious than in China, were nevertheless destructive enough to slow down economic development. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the South (where the so-called economic miracle was taking place) began to outstrip the North. However, the North Korean authorities managed to provide the people with minimum sustenance and thereby avoided famine. Living standards were at best moderate, but nevertheless stable.

The general radical trends of the 1960s also greatly influenced North Korean policy toward Seoul, and become even more violent and ambitious than in the 1953-1960 period. In the 1960s, the North Korean leaders (probably swayed by the impressive success of left-wing guerrillas in Vietnam) attempted to destabilize the South Korean government by starting a clandestine movement there. Meanwhile, the pace of military build-up in the North increased. In 1968-1969, North Korean troops used as guerrillas launched several attacks against military installations, as well as civilian targets in the South, including the president's residence. Concurrently, North Korean secret services supported some illegal communist groups in a vain attempt to create a wide left-wing movement in the South. Some direct actions against United States planes and ships also took place (such as the seizure of the US ship Pueblo on 23 January 1968, and the shooting down of an EC-121 aircraft on 15 April 1969). However, these operations achieved little.

This failure resulted in a more realistic approach toward the South, reinforced in 1970 when South Korea's president Park Chung Hee made his Liberation Day (August 15) Declaration, from which flowed (in November 1972) the formation of the South-North Coordinating Committee (SNCC). After 1972, however, the relations of the North to its rival remained very hostile, even dotted with some quasi-military actions, and both Korean states continued the policy of mutual non-recognition. But notwithstanding, a 'start and stop' arrangement continued the direct dialogue intermittently between Pyeongyang and Seoul. This dialogue continued, though with very few practical results, throughout the 1970/80s.

The 1960s and early 1970s were a period of diplomatic activity worldwide. The diplomatic isolation of the 1950s was broken and North Korea was recognized by many countries, especially in the developing countries. The number of countries which had diplomatic relations with North Korea increased from 15 in 1960, to 35 in 1970, and to 90 in 1975. Apart from efforts to gain recognition from left-wing and/or nationalist regimes, North Korea in the 1960s began to support a range of left-wing guerrilla groups, providing them with training, arms and money. Huge resources were dedicated to the overseas propagation of Kim Il Sung ideology. This policy continued, but after 1970 when the radical trends were exhausted, North Korea attempted to establish better relations with hitherto hostile Western countries in a search for alternative sources of loans and technology. However, since P'yongyang could not manage its foreign-sourced loans well and ceased virtually all interests payment after 1975, these attempts were mostly in vain.

The domestic politics of the 1960s were more stable than in previous periods since all possible opposition inside and outside the party had been eliminated and Kim Il Sung could enjoy absolute control over the country. Some purges among party elite still took place at the lower levels, and the early 1960s saw massive repressions directed against those who were considered to be potential dissenters due to their lineage and biography. Tens of thousands were sent to concentration camps, while numerous others were executed (often in public) as counter-revolutionaries. After 1970, the scale of this campaign gradually decreased. To establish better control over the populace, the authorities relied on
measures unusually rigid even for many totalitarian states. Unauthorized domestic travel was forbidden and the whole population was separated into *inminbans* - small groups of a few dozen families - where the mutual responsibility for correct political behaviour encouraged mutual surveillance.

After 1970 the stability of the ruling strata remained, but the years were marked by growing nepotism. An ever-increasing number of Kim Il Sung's relatives appeared in both government and in party leadership positions. The most significant was the rise of his eldest son, Kim Jong Il (Kim Chongil b.1941- ) who was elevated to the KWP Central Committee and then to its Politburo with special responsibility for culture and ideology. It soon became clear that he was to succeed his father to the highest office. In fact, he was officially acknowledged as heir apparent in October 1980, on the occasion of the 6th Congress of the KWP.

The cultural policy of the period was marked by nationalistic tendencies as well as the tightening of controls over culture and arts. In the mid-1960s, the publication of foreign and non-political fiction was suspended for two decades and all art-forms were used only to glorify the Great Leader (as Kim Il Sung was known). The Soviet-modelled institutions and structures which had been widely introduced after 1945, were partly replaced by new ones which were considered to be pure Korean.

After 1960, the secretivity of the state greatly increased. The mass-media ceased to publish reliable statistics, almost all unofficial contacts with foreign countries were suspended, and the population was absolutely deprived of any unauthorized information about the foreign situation as well as all contact outside North Korea. Even the private ownership of radio receivers with a tuning facility was forbidden and established as a crime. Such isolation was becoming increasingly important for political stability, since it kept the population in the dark on the rapid economic development of the South. Kim Il Sung's Juche ideology (*Chuch'e sasang*) was officially proclaimed a new step in the development of progressive thought, and held superior to both Marxist and Leninist principles. A new Constitution (1972) proclaimed that the transitional period of people's democracy was over and that North Korea was now a socialist country.

Probably, the most striking feature of North Korea's political situation was Kim Il Sung's personality cult, which equated or exceeded that of some other notorious figures in modern world history. Thousands of Kim Il Sung's monuments were erected throughout the country, his portrait hung in every living room, every office and even in every railway carriage. Enormous resources were used for this propaganda. After 1972, all North Koreans over sixteen were obliged to wear a badge with the portrait of the Great Leader, and the song about General Kim Il Sung had almost replaced the national anthem. After 1980, Kim Il Sung's son and heir Kim Jong Il received similar adulation.

**The last years of Kim Il Sung's rule: the DPRK during the crisis of state socialism (1985-1994)**

Though the accelerating disintegration of state socialism in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe after 1985 had no immediate consequences for North Korea, and the political system remained untouched until the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, the general environment changed dramatically and it had very serious influence on North Korea. By the end of the 1980s the economical crisis had greatly deepened. In economic terms, the South was now far ahead of its northern neighbour. Though correct estimations are hardly possible, per capita GNP in the North by 1990 was not more than $US1,000 (probably even as low as $US500), or, about 6-10 times less than in South Korea. After 1990, the scale of the crisis was so great that North Korean authorities had to officially recognize the decline in industrial output.
After 1985, it soon became clear that the self-sufficiency of the North Korean economy was largely a myth and in fact its dependence on Soviet and Chinese economical support a matter of great concern. In spite of the deep crisis, North Korean authorities did not instigate serious reform - such being considered too dangerous for political stability. In the early 1980s, however, North Korea tried to improve its relations with the West. The most remarkable of all these attempts was a Joint Venture Law (1984), but results were disappointing as few foreign companies showed interest in investment in North Korea. The project of establishing a Chinese model free economic zone in the lower Tuman River region also failed, by and large, to gain international support.

An attempt to obtain more aid by improving relations with the U.S.S.R. was launched and some progress was indeed achieved after Kim Il Sung's 1984 and 1986 trips to Moscow. However, 

perestroika

in the Soviet Union dramatically changed the entire situation. The DPRK and the U.S.S.R. grew apart, as the new Soviet leadership was more interested in establishing cooperation with the developed South than in supporting the impoverished North. In September 1991 Moscow and Seoul established diplomatic relations. In the late 1980s Soviet aid to North Korea diminished, and after the fall of the U.S.S.R. in 1991, it ceased. Conversely, relations with China improved (despite recognition of South Korea by Beijing in August 1992) indicating the ideological alliance of the two countries. But Chinese aid, which always had been less than that of the U.S.S.R., was insufficient to stem the decline of North Korean industrial and agricultural output.

The last years of Kim Il Sung rule were marked also by an intensive development of a nuclear program which led to a flare-up of confrontation with the USA between 1992/1994. The practical resolution of this problem acted, however, to soften to a slight extent, inter-Korean relations. The scheduled summit meeting between Kim Il Sung and South Korean president Kim Young-sam did not take place because of the North Korean leader's sudden death from a heart attack on 8 July 1994. He was succeeded as a leader by his son Kim Jong Il.

**Literature on North Korea**

A host of publications on North Korea exist in many languages, but they share some common defects. First, due to the esoteric nature of North Korea, and the systematical distortion of history by official North Korean publications, it is extremely difficult to get reliable information. Secondly, since North Korea was enmeshed in longstanding conflict with South Korea - which in turn was a small part of the global conflict between capitalist and state socialist systems - all too often scholarly studies were influenced by propaganda or the personal political bias of the author. Here mention is made of only a few English-language works, published outside of North Korea.

**Bibliography**


A Lankov
Hŏ Chŏng (1621-?)

Hŏ Chŏng was a civil official of the late Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Yangch'ŏn, his courtesy name was Chungok and his pen name Songho. His father was a vice-minister (ch'amp'an) of the Board of Rites (Yejo). In 1651 Hŏ passed the Special Civil Service Examination (Pyŏlshí mun'gwa) and began his official career. He was appointed in succession as magistrate (pusa) of Sŏngch'ŏn, royal secretary (sangji,) and a city governor (puyun). Of Hŏ's literary works, three of his shiyo have been transmitted to the present time in Haedong kayo (Songs of Korea) and Ch'onggu Yŏngŏn (Enduring Poetry of Green Hills).

Hŏ Chun [Medicine; Science & Techn.]

Hŏ Hŏn [Communism, Korea.]

Hŏ Kai [History of Korea.]

Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618)

Hŏ Kyun (styled Kyosan) was born into a celebrated yangban family of distinguished lineage, Hŏ of Yangch'ŏn. His father Hŏ Yŏp was the governor of Kyŏngsang Province and commander of the military and naval force. Like his father, Hŏ Kyun was a noted Confucian scholar-official, and also a poet, prose writer and literary critic.

Well educated and talented, he had an insatiable appetite to study Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and Catholicism. However, his career in government fluctuated, mainly because of his non-conformity. He was dismissed many times, but his resoluteness just as often saw his return and he eventually attained high office, having passed the civil service examinations with distinction. But with rising social injustice and unrest he was increasingly attracted to Buddhism and religious Daoism, as a means of escape from the overpowering Confucian rigidity.

Hŏ Kyun was deeply influenced by Sŏn Daoism (neo-Daoism) which contributed substantially to his work. His father died when he was still young and a lack of parental discipline is said to be the cause of the unconventional life style he led. He was a dissenter; yet highly idealistic and forward-thinking in his own social reform policy. His aim was to create a progressive and liberal society by eliminating existing prejudicial and ultra-conservative elements. Yet, for all his self-discipline in his devotion to studies, a regulated life was not what he sought. His continuing association with thesŏl and his secret involvement in the movement which opposed the deposition of queen-mother Inmok, eventually brought him much ill-will and misfortune. Finally, he was arrested on a charge of treason and executed in 1618.

The man who played a large part in Hŏ Kyun's life was his tutor Yi Tal. Of illegitimate birth and with an associated social stigma, Yi Tal seems to have influenced Hŏ Kyun throughout the latter's adult life. He too had a long-standing association with Sŏn Daoism and strongly supported the struggle of the sŏl against discrimination. Hŏ Kyun's Sŏngso pyŏkpuwo contains several fictional biographies of the Daoist recluse, written in Chinese, such as Chang Saninjŏn, Namgung sŏnsaeng chŏn and Changsaeng chŏn. Hŏ wrote similar Daoist fiction including his famous Hong Kiltong chŏn (The Tale of Hong Kiltong), the first novel written in han'gul in the history of Korean literature. It was penned sometime during the reign of Prince Kwanghae (1608-1623), when Korea was experiencing a mixture of political division, recurring wars, and widespread confusion. Instability and insecurity gave writers grounds for turning to Daoism as a salve. Hong Kiltong chŏn is an invaluable
forerunner of the pre-modern Korean novel, one which opened the doors of literature to the common people, and paved the way for popular fiction.

Ho's *Songsusihwa* and *Haksanch'odam* are two most valuable and vital sources for the study of Chosön poetry. He also compiled *Kukcho shisan*, a collection of verse written by thirty-five early to middle Chosön poets, which has a superb commentary on poets and poetic tradition.

Hǒ Nansōrhôn, a prominent Daoist poet, was Hǒ Kyun's sister. (see Hǒ Nansōrhôn.) His half-brother was Hǒ Sông, a respected scholar-official who held government posts as minister of three boards, and who, in 1590, accompanied the Royal Envoy to Japan. On his return, Hǒ Sông correctly predicted the Japanese invasion of Korea by forces under Toyotomi Hideyoshe.

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**Hǒ Nansōrhôn** (1563-1589)

Hǒ Ch'ohūi (styled Nansōrhôn) was born in 1563 in Kangnung, Kangwŏn Province, into a Yangch'ŏn family of distinguished lineage. As a girl, aided by both an eminent family tutor, Yi Tal (styled Son'gok, 1561-1618) and by brothers who were to become renowned writers themselves, she showed aptitude for learning the Chinese classics. It was largely due to this encouragement, that notwithstanding the neo-Confucian restraint, she became a foremost poet and a master calligrapher and painter. Some information exists about her family, as well as writings by her family in which she is mentioned. The biographies of Nansōrhôn’s father and brothers are included in *Chosön wangjo shillok* (The Veritable Record of the Chosön Dynasty). The most comprehensive and reliable biography of Nansōrhôn’s family is considered to be the epitaph of her father, Hǒ Yŏp (1517-1580).

The years between Nansōrhôn’s marriage at the age of fifteen and her death are little recorded. Considerable difficulty in reconstructing Nasōrhôn’s biography arises because the material in her collected works, *Hǒ Nansōrhôn shijip* (Collected poems of Hǒ Nansōrhôn) which could have provided some information about her life, is largely Sŏn Daoist or neo-Daoist poems - 214 in all. She wrote occasional poems marking momentous events in her life such as parting from a brother or her husband and, in a time of deepest grief, the death of her children. Regrettfully, these are the only works of Nansōrhôn which provide valid biographical information.

At the age of eight she was considered a prodigy after composing *Kwanghanjŏn Paegongnu sangnangmun* (Inscriptions on the Ridge Pole of the White Jade Pavilion in the Kwanghan Palace). Her brother Hǒ Pong (styled Hagok) was fully aware of his sister’s talent and arranged for Son’gok, the foremost poet of the Tang style to teach her Tang poetry, an
opportunity that both guided her to a new literary genre and contributed to her development as an outstanding poet.

Nansŏrhŏn is believed to have been married to the son of a civil official, Kim Sŏngnip (1562-1592) of the Andong Kim lineage, a distinguished family. Kim Sŏngnip studied constantly from the time of his marriage and passed the Civil Service Examination in the year of Nansŏrhŏn’s death. Nevertheless, he was unable to match his wife either in scholarly achievement or literary talent. It is said that he was an unimposing man, and a philanderer, often frustrated by his wife’s superiority. His studies at the Reading Hall were often mere excuses for absence from home. Many of Nansŏrhŏn’s poems exemplify her heart-felt sorrow, in their depictions of the loneliness of a neglected wife.

With so much unhappiness in her marriage, it is hardly surprising that melancholy and despair are so deeply reflected in her verse. To compound her misery and frustration, she never found favour with her mother-in-law, as revealed by her younger brother Hŏ Kyun (styled Kyosan) in his Sŏngso pokpugo). Nansŏrhŏn was influenced more by Daoism than by either Confucianism or Buddhism. She was, nevertheless, like all other women of her time, confined to the inner quarters of the house. With this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why a substantial part of her poetry, more than half in fact, attempts to capture her dream-world and the visionary land of the immortals.

Several tragic happenings hit Nansŏrhŏn in a relatively short space of time. Her two children, a girl and a boy, died in consecutive years. From the time of these tragedies, until her own untimely death, she had to contend with increasing disappointment in her husband; resentment from her mother-in-law; the exile and eventual death of her dearest brother, Hagok, and her own indifferent health. After Nansŏrhŏn’s death, Kim Sŏngnip remarried, but died during the Japanese Invasions of Korea, 1592-98, while leading the Chŏngūi kun (Righteous Army).

The compilation and the preservation of Nansŏrhŏn’s works is attributed to her brother, Kyosan. Nansŏrhŏn’s official biography as recorded in the epilogue of Nansŏrhŏn chip (Collected Works of Nansŏrhŏn) is written by Kyosan, and is one of the few reliable sources on her life:

‘The author’s name was Miss Hŏ, styled Nansŏrhŏn. She was my third elder sister and was married to an Eighth Counsellor of the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan chŏjak), Kim Sŏngnip (1562-1592), but she died very young. Being childless, she could afford to spend much of her time writing, and consequently accumulated a great deal of literary work. However, according to her wishes, her works were burned and only a small portion, my own transcriptions, has survived. I have kept them for a long time, but have now engraved them on wood, as I fear losing them, and because I wish to introduce Nansŏrhŏn’s works to a wider circle of readers.’

**Ho-am Gallery**

Situated in the Joong-ang Ilbo Building in Seoul’s Chung Ward, the two-storey Ho-am Gallery (Hoam Gaellori) is one of the most popular art centres in Seoul, testimony to its many high-quality exhibits. Part of the 924-sq-m. ground-floor area has an 8.7 m.-high ceiling which allows for larger exhibits. The exhibition area on the second floor is 396 sq-m. There is also a 330-sq-m. outdoor display area for sculptures.
Hongch’ŏn County to the north, P’yŏngch’ang County to the east, Yangp’yŏng County to the west, and Yongwŏl County and Wŏnju City to the south. The county is comprised of the town of Hoengsŏng and the townships of Kapch’ŏn, Kangnim, Konggŭn, Tunne, Sŏwŏn, Anhŭng, Uch’ŏn and Ch’ŏngil. All but the southwestern approach to the county is surrounded by the Ch’aryŏng Mountain Range and its branches. Run-off from these mountains flows down into the Han River. As part of a high inland basin, the area’s climate is characterised by cool weather and short growing seasons.

The majority of residents earn their living through farming. Although some rice is cultivated, most of the agriculture is centred around dry-field crops such as corn, red peppers and potatoes. Hops, used to make beer, are also grown here. The region is also a major producer of ginseng and silkworm larvae.

Taking advantage of the area’s good access to Seoul and Ch’unch’ŏn, cattle breeding operations and dairy farming have also become important parts of the local economy. In addition, there are several mining operations in the area, including an iron mine in Konggŭn Township and a gold mine in Ch’ŏngil Township.

There are a number of historical artefacts in the area. Relics from the late Neolithic period have been excavated in Tunne Township indicating that people were living in this area from 20 000 to 30 000 years ago. Other artefacts, discovered in 1983, indicate that a village existed here about 2 000 years ago. Near Mt. T’aegi, there is the Tŏkko Fortress which is said to have been built during the first to third century C.E.

There are also a number of ancient Buddhist artefacts, including a seated stone Buddha statue and a three-storey pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 22 and No. 23 respectively) in Hoengsŏng’s Upha Village, a three-storey pagoda and seated Buddha statue in Konggŭn Township’s Sangdong Village (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 19 and 20 respectively) and a three-storey pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 60) in Ch’ŏngil Township’s Shindae Village. There are also a number of active Buddhist monasteries in the area, including Pongpok and Songdŏk temples near Mt. T’aegi, Tohwa Hermitage south of Mt. Pyŏngmu and Pogwang Temple southeast of Hoesŏng Town.

Several old historical buildings can be seen in the area. Hoengsŏng Hyanggyo (Confucian school) was founded during the reign of King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398). Rebuilt after being destroyed in the Korean War, the Hyanggyo can now be seen in Hoesŏng’s Úpsang Village. In Sŏwŏn Township, there is the P’ungsuwŏn Catholic Church (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 69). Catholics began to gather here in 1866 to avoid increasing prosecution by the Chosŏn government. The religious community thus formed practised slash-and-burn agriculture and manufactured storage pots.

With Mt. T’aegi (1 261 metres) on its eastern border and Mt. Ch’iak (1 288 metres) to the south, the county attracts visitors throughout the year. As a further attraction, the T’aep’ung Cultural Festival has been held in the area since 1981. The festivities held at this time include traditional music, mask dancing, wrestling, drama etc. In addition, the Kangwŏn Province Folk Village was recently set up on highway 441. With a number of dwellings reconstructed in the traditional style, the village offers visitors a glimpse into the unique customs and heritage of Kangwŏn Province.

Hogyŏng

Hŏjil (Tiger’s Rebuke, A )

Hollym Publishing Company
Situated in Kwanch’ŏl-dong in Seoul’s Chongno Ward, Hollym Publishing Company (Hallim Chulp’ansa) was founded on 18 January 1963. With Ham Kiman as editor, the company specialises in books related to technology, art, foreign languages, literature and children’s literature. It also publishes English translations of Korean works, particularly those that deal with traditional Korean culture.

Holt, Vyvyan  [United Kingdom and Korea]
Honam (Goldstar Group)  [Industry]

Hong Ik University

Hong Ik University (Hongik taehakkwo) is a private university located in Sangsu-dong in Seoul. Established as Hongmun College (Hongmun taehakkwan) in April 1946, the school was officially associated with Hŭngguk Temple in Yongsan Ward. In August 1948, the college’s name was changed and it became Hong-Ik College (Hongik taehakkwan). By 1950, the college had expanded to include the Departments of Law; Liberal Arts; Political Science; and Science. During the Korean War, the college was forced to move to a temporary location in Pusan, with a consequent reduction in programs. Returning to Seoul in 1953, the college continued its growth, with the establishment of the Departments of Business and Economics; Education; Engineering; and Fine Arts and Handicrafts, as well as the Graduate School. The Hong-Ik School Foundation also established Hong Ik Junior Technical College; Hong Ik Junior and Senior High Schools; Hong Ik Girls’ Junior and Senior High Schools; and Hong Ik Primary School.

In 1971, Hong Ik College merged with Soo-Do Engineering College to form Hong Ik University. At this time, the university consisted of twenty departments in the Colleges of Business and Economics; Engineering, and Fine Arts. The Graduate School of Industrial Arts opened in 1971, while a night school and the College of Education were added in 1972 and 1973 respectively. In 1973, doctoral programs were initiated and in 1978, the law college opened.

In 1981, the Ministry of Education authorised the establishment of the College of Liberal Arts and the Graduate School of Environmental Studies, and these were closely followed by the Graduate School of Education (1982). To keep pace with the growth in its educational programs, the university’s buildings and facilities were expanded in the 1980s. In the late 1980s, there was further expansion in academic programs with the opening of the Graduate School of International Business Administration and the College of Law and Economics, as well as the Departments of Art Science; Print Making; and Visual Design in the College of Fine Arts.

In 1989, a second campus opened in Choch’iwŏn in South Ch’ungh’ŏng Province. The new site includes the College of Industrial Sciences, which contains eleven departments. In the 1990s, academic programs were increased at both locations. 1996 statistics show that Hong-Ik University had 14,067 students in its nine colleges, the graduate school and six professional graduate schools. Future plans for the university emphasise the expansion of the Choch’iwŏn campus.

Hong Island

Situated 113.5 kilometres west of Mokp’o, Hong (Red) Island is part of Hŭksan Township in South Chŏlla Province’s Shinan County. The island has a total area of 6.47 kilometres and as of 1985, had a population of 819. To meet the educational needs of local residents, two elementary schools have been built on the island. The island’s average temperature in January is 2c. and in August 25c. The island has an average annual rainfall of 1,126mm and
an annual snow fall to the order of 8.8mm.

With virtually no arable land, most of the population is employed in fishing operations. Several abalone farms have been established. Ferries to the island land at Il-gu, the largest village. Here, and at I-gu Village to the north, are small coves for fishing boats. The two villages are linked by a trail that takes about an hour to walk.

Rising precipitously out of the sea and protected by high cliffs, this six-kilometre-long island is acknowledged for its breath-taking beauty. The highest peaks are Kittae Peak (386m) to the north and Yangsan Peak (231m) to the south. On the southwestern part of the island lies Hwangdo Beach. The island get its name from the red glow that bathes the island at sunset.

**Hong Kiltong chŏn** (Tale of Hong Kiltong)

*Hong kiltong chŏn* is a novel of the middle Chosŏn period which has been transmitted to the present time as a work of the scholar-official Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618), and consists of one book. There are both woodblock-print and calligraphed han'gul versions, and this work is considered to be the oldest han'gul novel. The protagonist of this novel is thought to be based upon a real Hong Kiltong, a bandit with purported supernatural powers, who lived during the reign of Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) and whose deeds are recorded in the *Chosŏn wango shillok* (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty). Hŏ’s skill as a writer is revealed in the fact that he could take this historical figure and embellish his actions to create the protagonist for this. It is also notable in the fact that it displays a highly critical viewpoint of Chosŏn society.

This novel is surrounded by two questions that are the subject of much controversy. First, there is some question as to who the writer of *Hong kiltong chŏn* is. Generally, Hŏ Kyun is accepted as the writer of this work, but since there is no clarification of who the writer is in the original work, some consider this as a work of an unknown writer. However, Yi Shik, who was a contemporary of Hŏ’s, states in his *T’aedong chapcho* that Hŏ was the writer of *Hong kiltong chŏn*. Given this fact, it seems highly improbable that the writer of this work could be anyone other than Hŏ. The second topic that gives rise to much debate is whether or not it was originally written in han’gul or Chinese characters. The common opinion is that *Hong kiltong chŏn* was the first novel written in han’gul, but the basis for these assertions is not certain. Given the fluidity of the work and skill used in its descriptions, there is a school of thought that insists it was first written in Chinese characters and then translated into Korean script.

The content of this novel is as follows: Hong Kiltong was born the son of a chambermaid, Ch’unsŏm, in the house of Minister Hong in the capital of Chosŏn during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Before the conception of his son, Minister Hong had an auspicious dream of a dragon that foretold he would sire a noble son. He therefore sought to have relations with his wife but was rejected by her and instead slept with her chambermaid and fathered Kiltong. From an early age Kiltong displayed unusual talents and became well versed in Daoist magic. Moreover, his frame of mind and personality were righteous and of great integrity and he grew into an excellent individual. However, due to his illegitimate birth (sŏdil status) he could not call his father ‘father’, nor call his brothers ‘brother’ and thereby came to harbour a seething resentment. His family feared the rancour of their son and thought that his animosity would spell the ruin of the family and therefore hired an assassin to kill him. Kiltong escaped this threat by using his Daoist magic, *tungappop* (the power to shrink distances) and left his father’s home and wandered the countryside. He eventually became the chief of the thieves by outwitting these men. Through the use of Daoist magic, Kiltong organized the thieves and led them in a raid on Haein Temple where they looted the temple of its treasures. This became the calling card of Kiltong and his band of thieves as they roamed the countryside and repeatedly captured the unjust fortunes of
village chiefs through the use of Kiltong’s sharp wit and his Daoist magic. They then distributed the bounty they had captured to the poor, from whom they never took property. The band became known as the Righteous Band and their fame spread throughout the country. They even raided government facilities, and after stealing the military equipment and provisions in the town of Kamjong in North Hamgyong Province, Kiltong left a note behind that read: “The one who stole the grain and arms here was none other than the leader of the Righteous Band, Hong Kiltong”, ensuring that the common people would not be accused for the crime. Kiltong used ch'ukchipop (a Daoist magic that transforms straw figures into humans) to create seven straw effigies, invoking them with spirits and sending them out to the eight provinces. Now there was a Kiltong in each of the provinces who took from the wealthy exploiting class and redistributed this ill gotten wealth to the poor. There were none that could stop the actions of Kiltong. All of the Provinces reported to the capital that Kiltong had committed these crimes, on the same day and time. The King dispatched his Chief Constable to capture Kiltong; however, he was instead seized by Kiltong and ridiculed before being sent back to the capital. Eventually, Kiltong’s father appealed to him to surrender to the King and Kiltong did so. The King then appointed him as Minister of Military Affairs. After his appointment Kiltong left the country and went to the south where he discovered Yuldo Island. He slew the evil gnome that controlled the land, rescued a beautiful maiden and then became king of the land. When he heard that his father had died he returned to Chosôn where he mourned for three years. He then returned to Yuldo where he reigned over the land in a benevolent fashion.

Hong kiltong chön utilizes an unrealistic biographical method to create the protagonist of this work, Hong Kiltong. However, the protagonist is confronted with the harsh realities of Chosôn, which reveals that this work is not a biographical romance. It must fundamentally be viewed as a social commentary novel that reveals a deep-seated opposition to the social state that was predominant in Chosôn during this period. The inclusion of such elements as religious Daoism into the story reveals a desire on the part of the author to change the current situation through the use of supernatural means. Moreover, the Daoist elements in this work point at the strong beliefs of the author in religious Daoism, and it is the use of Daoist magic that allows the protagonist to accomplish many of his desires. The Daoist ideological underpinnings of the protagonist provide a righteous contrast to the corrupt Buddhist monks and Confucian officials. Another notable feature of this work is in the criticism of the social systems of Chosôn. Hö Kyun is known to have opposed the systematic discrimination against illegitimate sons (sŏdŏ), and felt that this methodical neglect created a dangerously discontented underclass. Moreover, given the chaotic state of the Chosôn in which Hö lived in the aftermath of the 1592 Japanese Invasion, this work reveals the plight of the common people who were forced to live in abject poverty while the ruling class of the kingdom was engaged in factional political struggles. Therefore, it can be seen as an extension of the author’s convictions to create a society that is just to all, provides for its people and governs in a compassionate manner.

This work, however, has been criticized for providing a fantasy-like solution to the problems of the people. The protagonist is initially motivated by a desire to overturn the oppressive social system that discriminates against those not born of a first wife. In addition, the actions of the protagonist to redistribute wealth among the poor exhibit a desire to create a more equitable social system in which the peasantry is not unfairly exploited by the ruling classes. However, once the protagonist achieves a high-ranking position, he no longer has an interest in assisting the poor. Moreover, through the action of pledging loyalty to Chosôn at the end of the work, Kiltong approved and accepted the realities of the Chosôn government. This was done by the protagonist despite the fact that he had yet to reform the social system and inequalities that he had risen up against in rebellion, and therefore reveals that Kiltong accepted the situation of the kingdom once he had gained personal comfort. The fact that once Kiltong had gained a position of power he no longer showed an interest in the social problems of the kingdom, is the major flaw of this work, and reveals that the protagonist was no more than a discontented individualist.
Hong kiltong chŏn was a very popular work in the Chosŏn period due mainly to the antisocial, yet noble actions of its protagonist in the first half of the novel. However, the work reveals the limitations of the writer’s conceptions of reform, as he cannot see beyond the limits of his Confucian philosophy and ideology and in the end accepts the status quo. Nonetheless, this work can be highly praised for revealing the flaws in the social fabric of Chosŏn, such as the corruption of the ruling class and the mercenary behavior of Buddhist monks. It is for this reason that the work remains popular until the present time.

Bibliography


Hong Kyŏngnae (1771-1812)

Hong Kyŏngnae was the leader of a late Chosŏn period peasant uprising named the Honggyŏngnae Rebellion (1811). His family’s ancestral home was Namyang and he was born in Yonggam. He learned Chinese characters from his maternal uncle, Yu Hakkwŏn, and mastered many of the classical writings and military documents, in particular the Chŏnggam rok (Chŏng’s Prophecies), but still failed in passing the civil service examination (kwagŏ) in 1798. Hong abandoned his hopes of entering Chosŏn officialdom, left home and lived a life of poverty wandering about the countryside. At the time the civil service examination system had become corrupted, the Andong Kim family was conducting their so-called in-law government (sedo chongch’i) and the samjong tax administration was in disarray. All of this led to lives of poverty and hardship for the common people and their contempt and dissatisfaction with the corrupt government seethed.

During his wanderings Hong met U Kunch’ik and they conspired together to rise up in rebellion against the government. Hong and his followers demanded that the discrimination against those from the northern provinces should cease and their ranks were swelled by the addition of yangban farmers, merchants and private tradesmen. At that time the conditions in P’yŏngan Province were quite bad due to severe famine and large bands of wandering peasants, and this mix created an unstable atmosphere. Soon Hong’s forces began an open rebellion against the government troops and swept through the northern regions. In a very short span of time, nearly the entire area north of the Chŏngch’ŏn River was under the control of the rebel army. However, the rebel forces were soon defeated in the battle of Songnim in Paekch’ŏn and all the rebels could do was fall back to the fortress town of Chŏngju where they held out for four months. However, in the end the government forces overran the fortress, and the life of Hong, along with his rebellion, was ended.

Hong Kyŏngnae is remembered in many ways. From a historical standpoint he was a rebel who was discontented with the status quo of late Chosŏn and chose to combat this by an armed insurgence. However, his rebellion against the corruption and factional politics of late Chosŏn was only the beginning of many and therefore, he can be seen as one of the first who saw that the only way to change Chosŏn into a more equitable society was by revolution. Therefore, Hong can be viewed as a patriot who advocated the establishment of a fair and just society.

Hong Manjong (1643-1725)

Hong Manjong was a scholar, critic and literary man of the middle Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home was in P’ungsan, his courtesy name was Uhae and his pen names
were Hyŏnmukcha, Mongbŏn and Changju. Hong’s father was the county magistrate (kunsu) of Yŏngch’ŏn and his mother was the daughter of the ch’amp’an (a Board vice-minister, 2B rank) Chŏng Kwanggyŏng. Hong was a pupil of Chŏng Tugyŏng and his associates included Kim Tūkshin and Hong Sŏkki. In 1675 Hong passed the chinsa kwa (Literary Licentiate Examination) and was appointed to positions including magistrate (pusa) and assistant curator (ch’ambong). In 1680, however, he was exiled due to being implicated in the affair surrounding Hŏ Kyŏn and the Sambok Incident. He was reinstated from exile in 1682 and served in other posts in the government after this time.

Hong wrote many works during his life of which Sunoj chi (Fortnight’s Record), a collection of essays, is perhaps the best known. He also wrote Haedong ijŏk (Korean Miracle), Sŏhwa ship’yŏng (Commentary of Gossip) and Tongguk akpo (Scores of Korean Music) among a total of ten works.

Hong Nanp’a (1897-1941)

Hong Nanp’a was a composer, violinist and conductor. His given name was Yŏngho. He was the composer of Pongsŏnhwaw (Touch-me-not balsom) a favourite song during the Japanese occupation. Hong is further remembered for the large impact that he had in the cultural movements during the Japanese occupation.

Hong was born in Hwalch’o Village of Hwasŏng County in Kyŏnggi Province. At fourteen he entered the YMCA Middle School and this began his interest in music. In 1913 Hong attended the Chosŏn Chon’gak chŏnsupso, the first specialised music institution in the modern period in Korea, and spent a year studying the violin under Kim Inshik in the Western Music Department. After graduating, Hong became an instructor at the same institution. In 1917 Hong entered the Tokyo School of Music and concentrated his efforts on a magazine that encompassed literature, music and art. He also became involved in the anti-Japanese movement among the Korean students in Japan and for this was forced to return to Korea. Back in Korea, Hong worked for the Taehan maeil shinbo (Korean Daily News) and also wrote music. Notably, in 1920 his song Pongsŏnhwaw became quite famous among Koreans. In 1925 Hong’s Umakkye (The World of Music) was launched and this represented the first music magazine in Korean history. Hong continued to teach, write music and play the violin until 1931 when he travelled to America to study at the Sherwood Music School in Chicago. Upon returning to Korea, Hong taught at Ihwa Yŏja Chŏnmun Hakkyo (present Ewha Woman’s University) and in 1936 he founded the Kyŏngsang Orchestra.

Hong Nanp’a is remembered for his many contributions to the propagation of Western music and theory in Korea. His writings served to introduce a wide variety of Western music to Koreans. Most notable is the legacy that Hong left behind in his music, which continues to be enjoyed by Koreans. Hong was also a patriot who resisted the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea. It was this patriotic spirit that contributed to his untimely death in 1941 from an illness that resulted from his incarceration by the Japanese.

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Hong of Hyegyŏng Palace, Lady (1735-1815)

Lady Hong of Hyegyŏng Palace was the wife of Crown Prince Sado (1735-1762), the mother of King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) and the grandmother of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834). Her family’s ancestral home is in P’ungsan and she was the daughter of the Chief
State Councillor (yǒngūijǒng), Hong Ponghan.

In 1762 her husband Crown Prince Sado met a cruel death at the hand of his father, King Yongjo (r.1724-1776). Lady Hong raised their son and two daughters. The son later succeeded to the throne as King Chǒngjong (r. 1776-1880), and Lady Hong outlived him. When Chǒngjo became king, her palace was elevated to the status of Hyegyǒng in honour of being the Queen Mother. Likewise, when her grandson King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) took the throne in 1800, she was given the title of Queen Kyǒngǔi.

Lady Hong is best remembered through her memoirs, Hanjung nok, which provides a vivid account of her life at the royal palace. This work provides a glimpse of court life during Choson and moreover, details the tragic circumstances that led to her husband’s death at the hands of his father, King Yongjo.

Hong Taeyong (1731-1783)

Hong Taeyong was a shirhak (practical learning) scholar of the late Choson period. His family’s ancestral home was Namyang, his courtesy name was Tǒkpo and his pen names were Hongji and Tamhǒn. Hong is particularly well known for his heliocentric views of the universe and for acting as a patron for Western science. Hong was a close friend with another renowned scholar of the day, Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805).

Hong failed in several attempts to take the kwago (government service examination), but he was nonetheless rewarded with an official position due to the merit of his ancestors (the umbo system) and appointed to the official post of kamyǒk (Supervisor) at the Sǒn’gonggam (Office of Public Works) in 1774. He was later appointed as an inspector (kamch’al) at the Sahǒnbu (Office of The Inspector General) in 1777, and then as first the county magistrate (hyǒn’gam) in T’aein and then as the prefect (kunsu) of Yǒngch’ǒn.

However, Hong devoted more energy to his pursuit of Western science that he had been introduced to during his trip to Beijing in 1766, than he did towards his official duties. Hong wrote Tamhǒnsǒ (Writings of Tamhǒn), a collection of poetry, analysis of the Confucian classics and his experiences while in Beijing, over a ten-year period after returning from China. Hong’s experiences in Beijing over a sixty-day period would prove to have the most profound impact on his ideological views. During this period Hong was introduced to Western scientific thought in areas such as mathematics, astronomy and even social systems. Of his writings in Tamhǒnsǒ, ‘Ŭisan mundap’ (‘Dialogue at Úsan’) is notable in that it presents his vision of a heliocentric universe in the form of a debate between two scholars of the day. One is Hǒja who represented the conservative Confucian scholar of the day, and the other, Shirung, embodied the writer’s ideology. The two scholars debate matters concerning the formation of the cosmos, in which Shirung rejects the orthodox view of the universe and presents a heliocentric view that is heavily influenced by Western scientific thought.

Hong is chiefly remembered for his ideological slant that was strongly shaped by Western thought. His writings also include Chuhae suyong (Mathematical texts) among several other treatises that present his ideological views, but he is best remembered for Tamhǒnsǒ. Hong’s introduction and advocating of Western science had a profound impact on later generations of Korean shirhak scholars.

Hong Yonghu (see Hong Namp’a)

Hongch’ǒn County

Hongch’ǒn County, situated in western Kangwŏn Province, is comprised of the town of Hongch’ǒn and the townships of Nam, Nae, Naech’ǒn, Tong, Tuch’on, Pukpang, Sŏ,
Sösōk and Hwach’on. The entire county is extremely mountainous with numerous peaks over 1000 metres high in its eastern sector. As an inland highland, the region’s weather is characterised by sharp variations between summer and winter.

The majority of the population is employed in the agricultural sector. Due to the area’s rugged terrain, chiefly dry field crops such as corn, hops and ginseng are cultivated. There are also a number of stock breeding operations which raise cattle, pigs and deer. Mines, excavating iron, alluvial gold, silver and asbestos, also make a significant contribution to the local economy. In addition, there are some manufacturing operations situated in the western part of the county.

With rugged mountains and picturesque valleys, the county has numerous tourist attractions. Tuch’on Township’s Yongso Valley is particularly famous for its serene beauty. Mt. P’albong (Eight Peaks) is a popular destination for hikers. Rising up from the plains surrounding the Hongch’on River, the mountain’s steep slopes and rugged granite spires belie its low elevation (only 302 metres).

As an additional attraction to tourists, Hongch’on County contains a large number of ancient historical sites. At the foot of Tong Township’s Mt. Kongjak, one finds Sut’a Temple. This ancient monastery houses a three-storey stone pagoda and a number of ancient stone stupas. Other Buddhist relics can be seen in Taesŏng Temple in Naech’on Township and around Mt. Nam in the town of Hongch’on. As for Confucian sites, there is Hongch’on Hyanggyo in the town of Hongch’on. The school’s founding date has been disputed, some claiming that it was first built during the reign of King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800), others claiming that it was founded in 1531. During the Korean War, the complex was completely burnt down, but was gradually rebuilt in the decades that followed. In Pukpang Township next to the Hongch’on River, is Nodong Sŏwŏn (private school), which houses the memorial portrait of the Koryŏ scholar Ch’oe Ch’ung (984-1068).

**Hongṣŏng County**

Located on the west coast in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Hongṣŏng County consists of the towns of Kwangch’on and Hongṣŏng; and the townships of Kalsan; Kyŏlsŏng; Kuhang; Kūmma; Sŏbu; Ŭnha; Changgok; Hongbuk; and Hongdong. Formed in 1914 when the counties of Hongju and Kyŏlsŏng were amalgamated, the county covers an area of 421.6 sq. kms. and according to 1989 statistics, had a population of 111,933. There are mountains on the county’s northern, eastern and southern borders, with mountain streams feeding the Kongni, Hongyang, Hongdong and Kwangch’on reservoirs. With the county’s location along the Yellow Sea, the climate is affected by cold winter winds from the northwest. The area has an average annual temperature of 11.7 deg. C. and an average January temperature of minus 3.6 deg. C. The county receives an average rainfall of 167mm.

About 16,000 hectares of the county are arable. Of this, over 9,000 hectares grow rice and almost 7,000 hectares cultivate dry-field crops such as grains, sweet potato, tobacco and hemp. Although the county has direct access to the Yellow Sea, the fishing and marine products industry is fairly dormant. Local fishermen bring in catches of yellow corbina, shrimp, clam, etc. In addition, there are laver farms and salt flats. Mineral deposits found in the area include asbestos and small amounts of gold, silver and tungsten.

Most of the county’s historical sites and relics are centred around the town of Hongṣŏng. One of the most important is Hongṣŏng Fortress just south of Hongṣŏng High School. Of about 800 metres in circumference, this fortress is thought to be Churyu Fortress, a fortification known to have existed in Paekche. The first written mention of the structure is in the Chosŏn work Sejong shillok (Annals of King Sejong). In 1451, the fortification was rebuilt to conform to local administrative boundary revisions. It was repaired during the
reign of King Hyŏnjong (r. 1659-1674) and also in 1824. Several gates and other structures were added in 1870. Choyang Gate was completely rebuilt in 1975. In modern history, the fortress is famous for the 19 May 1906 battle in which Min Chongshik, Yi Seyŏng, Ch’ae Kwangmok and An Pyŏngch’an led a force of more than 1,100 guerrilla soldiers in an attack against the Japanese army units based at the fort. The guerrillas seized the fortress and forced the Japanese to retreat to nearby Mt. Tŏk.

Buddhist sites in the area include a rock carving of a Buddha (Treasure No. 355) in Hongbuk’s Shin’gyŏng Village; Kosan Temple’s Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 399) in Kyŏlsŏng’s Muryang Village; stone banner-pole supports (Treasure No. 538) in Hongsŏng Ogwan Village; a three-storey pagoda and a seated Buddha figure at the old site of Kwanggyŏng Temple in Sohyang Village; a standing Buddha figure in Taegyo Village; a Maitreya figure in Hongbuk’s Sangha Village; a grinding stone, mortar and stone basin at the old site of Yongbong Temple in Shin’gyŏng Village; and a stupa and rock carving of a Buddha at Yongp’ong Temple.

Old county public schools include Kyŏlsŏng Hyanggyo to the north of Mt. Soktang (146m) and Hongju Hyanggyo in Taegyo Village. The former was founded in 1010 and the latter in 1871. As for old private schools, there are No’n Sŏwŏn (founded in 1676), Hyehak Sŏwŏn (founded in 1706) and Yonggye Sŏwŏn (founded in 1724). Promoting cultural awareness and patriotism, the Hongju Cultural Festival is held each year on 30 September and 1 October. The first day of the festival includes a parade, traditional dancing, games and various contests and exhibitions, while the second day is taken up with athletic events.

Hŏnhwa ka (Flower presentation song) [Literature]
Hop’ae [Taxes; Society]

Horim Museum

Horim Museum is located in Taech’i-dong in Seoul. The museum was established in 1982 by the Sŏngbo Cultural Foundation, under Yun Changsŏp. He first set-up the museum with eight-hundred and thirty-five cultural treasures from his personal collection. Today, items in the collection include over two-thousand pieces of pottery and over three-hundred pieces of metalware, together with numerous paintings and calligraphic pieces. The museum is especially noted for its collection of ceramics and Buddhist art works. Key treasures in the collection include a punch’ŏng flask with lotus and fish designs (National Treasure No. 179); a blue-inlay white porcelain vase with plum and bamboo design (National Treasure No. 222) and a seven-volume edition of the Buddhist Saddharmapundarika-sutra (Lotus Sutra) written with ink on white paper (National Treasure No. 211).

Hŏsaeng chŏn (Story of Master Hŏ, The) [Literature]

Housing

History of Housing

Prehistoric Era

In the Paleolithic Era it is thought that the Korean people lived in caves or other natural structures. There were no vestiges of any man-made housing from this period. However, with the key development of pottery in which early man was able to store and preserve food, man began to settle into an agrarian lifestyle on the Korean peninsula. Instead of living in caves or other natural shelters for protection, by the Neolithic Era the first man-made housing appeared in Korea. Since man had begun to farm he had become accustomed
to using various wood and stone implements, which allowed him to build shelters. He
could now easily dig into the ground, drive in support posts, and cover the crude frame he
had erected with a thatch of twigs and straw, or animal hides. These first homes are called
umjip, or dugout huts, and traces of them have been found at several sites throughout
Korea. As the name implies, holes were dug to a depth of about one metre. Then posts
were erected to form a conical shape. The huts were generally about 7 metres in diameter.

In the centre was a fireplace that was used for both cooking and warmth. As time moved
on, primitive man began to develop better tools such as stone axes, stone chisels and the
like which enabled him to build even better designed huts.

The shape of the dugout huts underwent a gradual transformation by the end of the
Neolithic Era and in the subsequent Bronze and Iron Ages there were tremendous changes
brought about by great improvements in the tools that ancient man used. The iron axe
allowed him to easily cut timber into various lengths, and the iron chisels that he made could
easily fashion stone to exact sizes. The dugout huts changed from their original cone-
shape, and huts began to be built in a rectangular form. Walls were also added to provide
more height to the structure and comfort for the inhabitants. The size of the dugout huts
also increased markedly, with sizes ranging to over 50 sq.m. In the Neolithic Era, the ends
of the eaves of the dugout huts still reached to the ground, but gradually there was a change
in this construction and the roof came to be supported entirely by the structure itself. It is
known through ancient documents that by the early Iron Age, most structures had elevated
wooden floors.

Three Kingdoms Period Through the Koryŏ Kingdom

The major changes in housing construction during the Three Kingdoms Period (B.C.E. 1st
- C.E. 7th c.) came through contact with the advanced Chinese civilization and the
importation of this into the Korean peninsula. The Koguryŏ Kingdom was the first to adopt
the Chinese civilization, followed by Paekche and then much later, the Shilla Kingdom.

The changes in housing were gradual, and much of what is transmitted to the present time is
through either written documents compiled at a later time, or in the case of Koguryŏ,
through tomb paintings that reveal much about the lives of the people. Of the Koguryŏ
tomb paintings that show the houses of the people, the most prominent structure is that of
the kitchen, followed by barns and storehouses. The paintings do reveal that the most
common construction material for homes was wood, although some had stone walls. The
roofs were thatched and the homes were heated by an underfloor heating system known as
kudul, which was the predecessor to the modern ondol heating system. Generally, the
homes of Koguryŏ were surrounded by a stone wall. Of the early period countries in
Korea, there is the most information available on the housing of Koguryŏ due to the tomb
paintings. However, through recent excavations it is known that kudul was also used to
heat the homes of Paekche. Moreover, it is thought that the construction styles of Shilla
were influenced by Koguryŏ, and that the construction styles must have been quite similar.

The period of Greater Shilla (668-936 C.E.) was an extension of the Three Kingdoms
Period in regards to the gradual development of more complex houses. Wood construction
with thatched roofs is thought to have been the predominant style, but stone construction in
this period also is thought to have increased. There is much extant stone work of the Shilla
craftsmen, and the high quality of this work is still evident. Another development in this
period is the increased use of roof tiles. There are various types of both clay and stone tiles
that were used in houses of the ruling classes. Also, during the Shilla period distinctions in
one’s social status became clear in housing as there were royal edicts that dictated the size of
houses permitted for commoners and the various ranks of the ruling classes.

The construction styles of the Koryŏ period (918-1392) were mostly transmitted from the
Shilla Kingdom. Along with the influence from Shilla was the new culture that was
imported from Sung China. However, since most of the structures from the Koryo period are no longer extant, this can only be surmised. It is thought that the primary construction material for the homes of the common people was wood, and this was topped by a thatched roof. Stone construction and the use of tile for roofs was most likely reserved for the homes of the ruling classes.

Choson Period

Depending upon the region that they were located in, homes in the Choson period (1392-1910) were either chiefly constructed of wood or stone, according to what material was readily available. Most often this was wood, but in the case of Cheju Island where basalt was abundant, this was the main material used in the construction of houses. Moreover, the size of a house and the materials used in its construction also hinged upon the social and economic status of the owner. Region, too, was a factor in the size and disposition of houses and their sites, with the areas of the homes in the northern regions being somewhat smaller due to the mountainous terrain, and the homes in the southern plains being built on a larger scale. The houses of the common people were generally built under a single beam with the rooms in a single line. A more prosperous home would have rooms extending from both sides of the beam. A wealthy farmer’s house was commonly designed in either a L or U shape. The home of an upper-class person would utilize a double L construction so that the courtyard in the centre of the housing compound was entirely surrounded by rooms. Roof composition was most often thatch for commoners and tile for the ruling classes.

Choson period homes can generally be divided into two spheres, an inner zone that was the domain of the mistress of the house, and an outer portion where the master conducted his affairs. The inner sphere centred around the innermost room called the anbang. This was the women’s quarters and served as a sleeping chamber at night and the place where the mistress of the house conducted her household in the daytime. All other rooms of the house would radiate from this centre. The man’s quarters were called the sarangbang, and this is where the master would entertain his male guests and conduct his studies. The presence of these two rooms in the ruling class homes of the Choson period reveals the strict Confucian social code that stressed the separation of men and women.

The homes featured rooms that were heated by an underfloor ondol heating system, and maru rooms that were open, wood-floored rooms designed to circulate the air and so keep family members cool during the oppressive summer months. The kitchen and storerooms of the house generally had earthen floors. The courtyard usually included a well and items necessary for everyday life such as a condiment stand where crocks of soy sauce, bean paste and various other seasonings were stored. In an area separated from the rest of the house by a fence, was the building which housed the ancestral tablets and where sacrificial rituals were performed. Houses were generally surrounded by a wall, and within its confines were front and rear gardens. Often the gardens in the homes of the ruling classes would contain ponds and pavilions from which the residents could view their gardens. The homes of the Choson period are considered to be the so-called traditional housing of Korea. There are still many examples of these homes, called hanok, throughout the country in folk villages and historical sites. Rural homes often still retain many of the characteristics of hanok, except that nowadays it is not common to see a home with a thatched roof.

Furnishings in traditional homes reflected both function and beauty. Since Korean homes were heated from the floor, furnishings were built low to the floor, and most rooms consisted of several chests, small tables for writing or eating at, and cushions for the occupants to sit on. Of note is that the rooms were used for many activities in the course of the day, and their furnishings reflected this flexible nature. The anbang was the most elegant of the rooms, often having paintings, decorated wooden chests and elegantly embroidered cushions among its decor. The sarangbang was much more stern in its outlook than the anbang. The chief focus of this room was scholarly materials such as ink
brushes, ink stones, a water dropper, paper, books, along with a few chests and small tables. Often the walls would be graced by the calligraphy of the occupant with the whole focus of the room directed towards scholarship.

Modern Period

With the 1876 Kanghwa Treaty and the resultant opening of Korea to foreigners and their cultures, came the inevitable dismantling of the traditional systems that had guarded the social hierarchy in traditional Korea. In housing these changes could be seen in the adaptation of certain elements contained in the housing of the upper classes into the homes of the common people. Moreover, after the advent of the colonial period, the prices of dwellings in the city began to rise, which increased the importance of the appearance of one's home. Therefore, the location of a dwelling and the view therefrom gained a new significance.

In the 1930s, major changes in housing saw the traditional-style homes of Korea beginning to incorporate features that heretofore were reserved for the upper classes, which gave the homes a more affluent appearance. Some examples of these changes include the shortening of roof eaves and the addition of rain-water gutters. Materials that had not been readily available to commoners in the past, such as granite, were now used in housing construction. Exposed wood parts of the house were varnished and rain-water gutters and pipes were painted in order to preserve the material from the elements. By the 1940s, Korean traditional housing had become much more Westernized, with an increase in the number of houses built with red brick, and in the construction of multi-story apartments. The continued adoption and adaptation of Western elements into Korean housing that had started at the end of the Choson period would continue for several decades.

By the early 1970s, housing in Korea had begun a dramatic change. Up until this time, single family dwellings had been the predominant domestic housing form in Korea. However, with the rapid industrialization and the accompanying urbanization of South Korea, the supply of single-family homes could not keep pace. Moreover, based on the fact that the country has a paucity of land for housing development, government policies dictated that the majority of housing would have to be in the form of multi-storied apartment complexes.

The apartment complexes that dominated the landscape of Korea from the early 1980s marked a dramatic departure from the traditional style of Korean house. Instead of a construction style centred around a single room that served many purposes, apartments designated rooms for a single purpose such as bedrooms, dining areas and living rooms. Moreover, instead of the open design of the traditional house in which rooms all face towards a courtyard, apartments of this period were located in large buildings with very small communal open spaces. In addition, the apartment complexes to the end of the 1980s were of very monotonous design which provided little visual relief for those living in and around these buildings.

In recent years the architectural style of the apartment buildings has dramatically changed. The buildings are now of individual design, with each structure presenting a different visual experience. Also, the buildings now feature large open areas in which playgrounds, parks and other common areas are maintained for the residents. This has resulted in the apartment complexes becoming less like a ‘new town’ development and more like the traditional neighbourhoods of past times when residents gathered and relaxed together in the common areas.

Housing and Lifestyles

With the rapid urbanization that accompanied industrialization, South Korea suffered from
housing shortages resulting from the mass migration of workers from rural areas to the cities in the 1960s and forward. The solution to this problem was to build apartments which were designated as housing for the working classes. Although the first apartments in Korea were built in 1932, it was not until the late-1960s that they became widespread. The South’s Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1967-1971) called for an increased number of apartments to be built, and by 1985 Korea boasted 821,606 units that accounted for 13 per cent of total housing. This number has continued to rise as apartments are now not only found in large urban centres, but also in smaller rural towns.

Ownership of housing in the major urban areas of South Korea is becoming increasingly difficult to attain for the average citizen. Housing prices have soared due to a shortage in quantity and land speculation. There have been attempts to address the housing shortage such as the election campaign promise by the then presidential candidate Roh Tae-woo in 1987 to build 400,000 units for low-income citizens in Seoul by 1992, but even this number fell considerably short of the average annual increase of 100,000 households in Seoul. The government is now underway with projects to construct massive satellite cities around Seoul and the other major population centres in an attempt to provide more housing for its citizens.

As in many other countries, the affordability of housing is of real concern in South Korea. In recent years, a system of mortgage finance has been gradually introduced, and the government has supported this by introducing a guarantee program that protects the housing loan. However, it is still common practice to complete the purchase with a lump sum of cash, as many Koreans disdain the idea of a mortgage. With the price of real estate continuing to skyrocket in Seoul and elsewhere, buying a home is becoming an impossibility for many wage earners. For example, in 1987 a thirty-five pyong (one pyong equals 3.3 square metres) apartment cost about 50 to 60 million won (about US $71,500 - 85,700). But over the next three years the price increased four or five fold. The same apartment in 1990 cost 200 to 250 million won (US $285,000 - 360,000), which is far out of the range of possibility for most wage earners. Real estate prices have continued to soar throughout the 1990s.

The supply rate of housing in South Korea has been on a steadily rising plane for the past three decades. The housing supply rate which was below 70 per cent in 1988, climbed to 84.2 per cent by 1995. This increase in housing supply helped to ease the housing shortages which are still a problem in urban areas. Rural areas recorded a 96.1 per cent housing supply rate in 1995 compared to just 77.7 per cent for the cities. The average size of the home built in the early 1990s is larger than in the past measuring 84.3 square metres, which is an increase from 68.4 just ten years earlier. The types of housing being built are still predominantly multi-family structures such as apartments and multi-residence housing units. Of the 619,000 units built in 1995, 80.3 percent (497,057) were apartments, 10.7 per cent (66,233) multi-residence units and 9 per cent (55,710) single family homes. Allowing for land scarcity, this shows the continued preference of Koreans for apartment-style living accommodation over single family homes.

Another theme that is of the utmost concern to South Korean consumers in the 1990s, is that of quality in the construction of their homes. The last decade in Korea has brought about a series of disasters caused by shoddy construction practices that aimed only to generate greater profits for builders without concern for the safety of consumers. This crisis was brought to a head in 1995 with the collapse of the Sampoong (Samp’ung) Department Store that killed 501 and injured 930 people. Investigation revealed that the collapse was brought on by the use of substandard materials and that government officials had taken bribes to overlook the flaws. The result of this tragedy is a new awareness of construction quality and its consequences among Korean consumers.

In contrast, housing in North Korea is completely regulated by the state. Based on the established housing standards, the central government constructs two to four-bedroomed
apartmens and allocates each unit to a family according to its specific needs. It has been noted that the central government further provides essential necessities such as a desk, tables, cabinets, bookshelves, a refrigerator, a washing machine, and a television set for each newly-built urban apartment unit.

As each family progresses through its family cycle stage, including split-off family situations such as the marriage of children and other routine changes, the central government of North Korea also faces increasing shortages of housing. Since the ownership of housing belongs to the state and rents charged to residents are too nominal to be seriously considered in the nation's total housing budget, the maintenance of the existing buildings has persisted as a serious problem. Unless the central government distributes a significant amount of resources from the GNP for the construction and rehabilitation of housing, many socialist countries like North Korea and China will continue to face their own unique housing problems.

**Urban Planning**

Urban planning in Korea began in the modern sense during the colonial period in the 1930s. During this period both short and long-term plans were put forth for many cities including Seoul in 1936, and Pusan, Taegu and Inch’ŏn in 1937. In all, by the time of liberation in 1945, there were master plans drawn up for a total of thirty-eight cities in Korea. In addition to the short range plans for the cities, there were also long-range plans established for periods of twenty-five to thirty years.

After liberation, urban planning did not come to the fore of government action until the 1960s. Then, in 1962, the Urban Planning Act was passed and for the first time urban planning was directed by Koreans. Following this, various other laws were enacted relating to urban construction and planning. Some of the important stipulations in the urban planning amendments included provisions that required public participation in the planning process through public forums, twenty-year long term plans, and many other provisions designed to ensure an open and all-encompassing planning method. Urban planning in South Korea exceeds just the institution of physical facilities, but also covers matters such as population, societal issues, the economy, industry, finances and the like, and is designed to achieve a betterment of all of these factors.

Some of the notable events in the history of urban planning in Korea include the establishment of the Special Regional Development Plan for the Seoul and Inch’ŏn region in 1965, and a like plan for the development of Ulsan in 1966. These plans were designed to maximize the utilization of manpower, technology, resources and other items in these specific regions. Urban planning in the 1960s was characterized by the construction of highways which marked a major turning point of the nation’s transportation which up until then had focussed on railroads. The 1970s is characterized by focus on problems that were the result of traffic congestion and other improvements in transportation systems.

Urban planning also addresses issues in the redevelopment of areas within the cities. Three types of basic redevelopment can be done: the first is demolition redevelopment, the second reclamation redevelopment and the third is preservation redevelopment. In Seoul, for example, the central sections of the city have been undergoing demolition redevelopment since the late 1960s. This period has seen the demolition of many old residential neighbourhoods, which once were the dominant structures in central Seoul, and their replacement with modern office buildings and business complexes. The central feature of redevelopment in Korea has been one of modernization, basically translated into the destruction of old neighbourhoods and structures and their replacement with modern-design buildings.

In the past few years, however, there has been a movement to preserve some of the
traditional neighbourhoods that once dominated the large cities. This has been influenced by the steady increase in the awareness of Korean culture and its historical traditions. Notably, the City of Seoul has designated special preservation districts to keep intact the traditional style homes located in these areas. Moreover, there have been guidelines enacted for any new construction in these areas so as to preserve the traditional neighbourhood ambience. This preservation redevelopment has been well received by Koreans and the further expansion of the areas that it effects will help and maintain the traditional flavour of Seoul and other cities throughout Korea.

Bibliography


Hulbert, Homer Bezaleel (1863-1949)

Homer Bezaleel Hulbert was a missionary, teacher and scholar who arrived in Korea in 1886 and would continue to be involved in that country’s affairs for the remainder of his life. He was the son of Calvin Butler Hulbert, a Dartmouth College graduate, Congregational minister and president of Middlebury College, and Mary Woodward, a descendant of the founder of Dartmouth College and the daughter of American missionaries to India. Hulbert graduated from Hanover College in 1884, and then upon the request of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) for young Americans to teach English, travelled to Seoul, along with Mr. and Mrs. George Gilmore and Dalzell Adelbert in 1886. For five years, from 1886, Hulbert taught English at the Royal English School (Yugyông Kong’wôn). During this period he gained a keen insight into the political situation that was gripping Chosôn, as well as becoming interested in propagating the knowledge of the West in Korea. He also published Sa’min p’ilchi (Knowledge Necessary for All) in 1889, a ban’gûl text that imparted what he deemed to be fundamental knowledge of the West. He became convinced that the future of education in Korea was in the study of ban’gûl, and as a result advocated that Korean students concentrate on their own language, rather than learn the Chinese characters that had heretofore been the focus of Korean education.

Hulbert left Korea in 1891 and took a teaching position at the Putman Military Academy in Ohio, USA, but returned to Korea in 1893 at the bequest of Henry Appenzeller to serve as manager of the Trilingual Press, the publishing house of the Methodist Mission in Seoul. Hulbert’s work for the Trilingual Press was highly successful and in a two-year span had made the enterprise highly profitable. By 1895, however, Hulbert had become deeply involved in the political turmoil that surrounded the Chosôn court as foreign powers vied for hegemony over Korea. He worked closely with many reform-minded Koreans such as Sô Chaep’il (1866-1951) and Yun Ch’ihö (1865-1945), who shared his understanding of the importance of education to the future of Korea, and also served as a confidant of King Kojong.

After the establishment of the Great Han Empire (1897-1910), Hulbert focused his energies on educational activities as principal of the Imperial Normal School, which became the Imperial Middle School in 1900. There, he was able to continue his research into Korean history and the result of this was the publication of The Passing of Korea (1906), one of the first Western-authored histories of Korea. He also played a vital role in the struggle to maintain the sovereignty of Korea, serving as an envoy to the United States on behalf of
Korea in an effort to secure assistance to resist the 1905 Protectorate Treaty (Ulsa Poho Choyak), then being forced upon Korea by Japan. Hulbert also was part of the Korean mission to The Hague in 1907 in a final effort to preserve the national independence of Korea. He made the plight of Korea known to the world through his articles in the magazine Review and the aforementioned The Passing of Korea. These attempts for maintaining Korea’s independence having failed, Hulbert was soon forced to leave Korea by Japanese suspicion of his involvement in the independence movements then being formed.

Hulbert remained in the United States until 1949, and participated in activities designed to help Korea regain her independence, along with men such as Sŏ Chaep’i’l and Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman). Hulbert had known Rhee since the latter was a student at Paeje Academy in the late 1890s, and when Rhee took office as the first president of the Republic of Korea in 1948, he formally invited Hulbert to visit Korea. Thus, in 1949 Hulbert began the long rail and sea journey to Korea alone. The journey proved too trying for him, however, at the age of eighty-six, and by the time he arrived in Seoul on 29 July, he was exhausted and had to be hospitalised. He died within a short time of his arrival and was given a state funeral by the Republic of Korea as a national hero. His early works, such as The Passing of Korea, provided an insight into Korea at the turn of the nineteenth c., and his work Hulbert’s History of Korea (published in 1962) served as the basic Korean history for Western readers for many years. He is remembered as not only a devoted educator and historian, but also as a tireless advocate for Korea’s independence.

Bibliography


Hŭngbu chŏn (The Story of Hŭngbu)

Hŭngbu chŏn is a novel of the Chosŏn period of which neither the writer nor the date of composition is known. This work is in the p’ansori (one-man dramatic song) group which has been transmitted from long ago and became a song as the lyrics for p’ansori in the Chosŏn period. It has also been recorded as a novel in its process of settlement. The titles of this work are various and include Pakhŭngbu ka, Pakt’aryŏng and Hŭngbu ka insofar as p’ansori works are concerned. In the genre of novels, it is known by titles such as Hŭngbu chŏn, Yŏnui kak and Changhŭngbu chŏn. At present there have been thirty-seven different versions researched.

The story is as follows: At the intersection of the three Provinces of Ch’ungch’ŏng, Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang, there lived two brothers. The elder brother, Nolbu, was evil and violent, while the younger brother, Hŭngbu, was kind-hearted. After their parents had died, Nolbu took sole possession of all their property and drove his younger brother off. Hŭngbu, with his wife and children, built a small hut on a hillside and tried to eke out a living, but the family was always near starvation. One day, Hŭngbu went to his elder brother’s house and begged him for some rice, but he was beaten by his brother and returned home empty handed. Although Hŭngbu and his wife tried various types of work for wages, there was no way for them to earn enough money to live. Hŭngbu even tried the work of being beaten, but that too, was unsuccessful. One day in the spring Hŭngbu found a young swallow which had fallen to the ground and broken its leg. He nursed it back to health and eventually the bird could fly away. The following year the bird returned with the seed from a gourd in its beak. Hŭngbu planted this seed and watched as it rapidly grew and yielded many large gourds in the fall. Inside of the gourds were gold, silver and other treasures, which resulted in Hŭngbu becoming very wealthy. Nolbu heard of his younger brother’s windfall and intentionally broke the leg of a swallow and then nursed it back to health. This swallow also returned in the spring of the following year with a gourd seed in its beak. Nolbu planted this seed and watched with anticipation as the plant grew rapidly. However
in the fall, out of the gourds came a myriad of evil creatures that brought ruin to Nolbu’s house. Hünghu heard of this calamity and then shared half of his property with his elder brother. After this, Nolbu saw the error in his ways and lived from this point forward in harmony with his younger sibling.

The structure of Hünghu chŏn is threefold. First there is the motif of an evil elder brother and a gentle younger brother, second the theme of animal gratitude, and third the motif of unlimited treasures. The first motif is realized in the characters of the two brothers and is a tale of imitation in which the elder brother seeks to accomplish what his younger brother has done but fails to do so. This motif is seen in other Korean tales such as Kŭm tokki, ŏn tokki (Gold Hatchet, Silver Hatchet) and Malhanun yŏmsŏ (The Talking Goat). The inclusion of this motif indicates the social realities present from the time of the 1592 Japanese Invasion onward in the Chosŏn period, these being a country in dire poverty in which harmony was not possible even among siblings. Therefore the eldest would take from his younger siblings to ensure his own well being. The motif of animal gratitude reveals that even animals return favor if they are indebted to others. There are many traditional Korean tales with this theme including Saechŏn solhwa (The Tale of the Bird’s Gratitude) and Sastum poŏn solhwa (The Tale of the Deer’s Gratitude). The inclusion of the theme of animal gratitude is also reflective of the social situation at the time of the formation of this work. This theme reveals the desires of the people to live in a society that is so just, that even animals return kindness with like actions. This indicates the actualities of this period in which the quest for survival did not allow charitable acts to be prevalent. As for the motif of receiving boundless wealth, this inclusion reveals the wish of the people for wish for wealth from supernatural sources. This reveals that the consciousness of the composer group of Hünghu chŏn was cognizant of the fact that the only hope for the alleviation of their destitution was in supernatural powers. The awareness of the composer group of their social situation is revealed in the presence of these thematic concerns. As a result, Hünghu chŏn can be seen as an agglomeration of three separate tales with motifs as outlined above.

In addition to the influence of folk culture and its beliefs on the formation of Hünghu chŏn, there is also Buddhist input. In ‘Son’gu akku solhwa’ (‘The Tale of Seeking Good and Seeking Evil’) in Hyŏnu kyŏng and ‘P’agak toin solhwa’ (‘The Tale of the Crippled Taoist’) in Chappiyu kyŏng there are very similar themes as in Hünghu chŏn.. This reveals Buddhist influence in the formation of this work, and explains its Buddhist characteristics.

Hünghu chŏn is generally understood as a novel that is based on Confucian morals emphasizing harmony among brothers that dominated the society in which this work was formed. This theme of the promotion of virtue and the admonishment of vice based upon retribution has been the general view of this work in past times. However Hünghu chŏn, as a work that was based on the behaviour of those in the common classes of Chosŏn, also reveals the prevailing social realities of its time, and the characters reflect realistic models of this class. Accordingly, the intent of the composer group and the subject of the content of Hünghu chŏn can be viewed as a critical consciousness among the common people concerning the morals of the middle Chosŏn period, in addition to the Confucian concepts of rewarding good and rebuking evil. In these aspects Hünghu chŏn is a mirror of its times, and the characters of the two brothers represent the two faces of the farmers of this period. Specifically, Nolbu represents a wealthy and self-serving farmer who is skilled at accumulating wealth, while Hünghu is a model of the typical farmer who has lost his land and thereby has no means to earn a living. As for the subject of this work, there are two differing opinions as to its origin. One view is that it represents the mood of agitation and discord caused by the changes in society, thereby raising the social consciousness of the common class. The other view reveals a contradiction of social realities in which an evil person leads a comfortable life of abundance while a good person, regardless of his efforts,
is resigned to a life of poverty and hardships. This latter view reveals the social phenomena that were manifested at the end of the Chosŏn period.

**Hŭngbu ka**

[Literature]

**Hŭngdŏk, King (r. 826-836)**

King Hŭngdŏk (? -836) was the forty-second king of Shilla and reigned from 826 to 836. His family name was Kim, his given name Sujong, and also had names of Kyŏnghwı and Susŏng. He was the brother of King Hŏndŏk (r. 809-826), his father was King Wŏngsŏng (r. 785-798), his eldest son was Crown Prince Hyečʻung and his mother was Queen Dowager Sŏngmok. Hŭngdŏk’s queen, Changhwa, was the daughter of King Sosŏng (r. 798-800). Upon the death of his brother in 826, Hŭngdŏk was granted the throne by Queen Dowager Chŏngmok.

The political situation in which Hŭngdŏk was confronted with when he ascended to the throne was essentially the same that his brother Hŏndŏk had. The two brothers schemed to carry out political reforms during the reign of King Aejang (r. 800-809), and by 809 had driven the monarch from the throne, allowing Hŏndŏk to take power. Even during the reign of his brother, Hŭngdŏk participated greatly in the political affairs of the nation, thus solidifying his position as rightful successor to the throne. After taking the throne in 826, Hŭngdŏk, like his brother had before him, sought to limit the power of the chingol (true bone) aristocrats and simultaneously strengthen the monarchy. One measure he took was to increase the authority of the Chancellery Office (Chipsabu) and he also attempted to enact various measures to impede the tremendous wealth that the aristocracy had been accumulating. During the decline of Shilla, ambitious members of the aristocracy sought to increase their power, and perhaps vie for the throne, through the accumulation of vast personal fortunes and private armies. The insurrection led by Kim Hŏnch’ang (827-822), which was successful for a number of years, was merely one of several that occurred in the final years of Shilla. Hŭngdŏk recognised the growing power of the aristocrats, but was unable to halt its expansion during his short reign. The turmoil that ensued after Hŭngdŏk’s death for the throne would become the pattern for the remainder of the Shilla period as personal power among the aristocrats became the sole determiner for the occupation of the throne.

Hŭngdŏk is further noted for being the monarch under whose reign tea was brought from Tang China and established as a crop in Korea. In 828, his envoy, Kim Taeryŏm, returned from Tang with tea and Hŭngdŏk had this cultivated at the base of Mt. Chiri, where it is recorded to have grown luxuriantly dense. Additionally, there is a legend in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) concerning Hŭngdŏk, entitled *Hŭngdŏk wang kwa aengmu sae solhwa* (The Legend of King Hŭngdŏk and the Parrots), which recounts a song that the monarch wrote about his prized parrots.

**Hŭngnam**

Located on the central coast of South Hamgyŏng Province, Hŭngnam covers a total area of 130 sq. kms. The city consists of Chakto-dong; Ch’ŏn’gi-dong; Hado-dong; Honam-dong; Hunong-dong; Naeho-dong; Sŏho-dong 1 and 2; P’unch’ung-dong; Songsang-dong; Tŏk-dong; Ungbong-dong 1 and 2; Yujŏng-dong 1, 2 and 3; Majŏn Village; and Nŭngdong Village;.

Ch’ŏnju Peak (562m) rises on the city’s northeast border while the Tongŏnch’ŏn and Sŏngch’ŏn rivers flow along the western border into Hamhŭng Bay. While the warm coastal currents influence the city’s climate, the January average is minus 5.3 deg. C., and the average August temperature is 24 deg. C. Rainfall averages 900 mm annually.
There are several important historical sites in the city. In Kungsŏ Village, next to the Hamgyŏng railway line, is the reconstruction of the palace where Yi Sŏnggye lived before becoming King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398). Rebuilt after the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), the palace was again destroyed during the Korean War. Within the complex lie the tombs of Yi Sŏnggye's paternal grandfather and grandmother. Two steles commemorating the royal tours of Shilla's King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576) are kept in a museum at the site.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, Hŭngnam’s industrial development was spurred by the construction of railways -- the Kyŏngwŏn line in 1914; the Hamgyŏng line in 1928; the Harnam line in 1933; and the P’yŏngwŏn line in 1936. These railways linked the city with Wŏnsan; Seoul; P’yŏngyang; and North Hamgyŏng Province. As well as its railheads, Hŭngnam had a port with facilities able to load and unload large cargo ships. In 1927, a large nitrogen fertiliser factory opened, and in 1929 the Pujŏn River Hydro-electric Plant was completed, providing the basis for further industrial development. To service local industry, workers were attracted to the city and the population almost tripled between 1927 and 1943: by the latter date it was over 165,000. Hŭngnam was granted city status in 1945.

Hŭngsdadan (Society for the Fostering of Activists) [History of Korea]

Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (see Yi Haung) [History of Korea]

Hŭnguk Temple [Architecture]

**Hunmin chŏngŭm** (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People, 1446)

The Korean alphabet (han’gul) is regarded as the crowning achievement of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Its completion was officially announced in 1443. The dynastic record states: ‘His Highness has personally created the twenty-eight letters of the Vernacular Script. Although King Sejong had surrounded himself with able young scholars from the Academy of Worthies (Chiphyŏn chŏn), their role in Sejong’s script project seemed to be an advisory one.

Three years later in 1446, the new script was promulgated. The promulgation document was given as its simple title the name of the script, *Hunmin chŏngŭm* (The Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People). It was a kind of handbook for learning the alphabet. The text of the document contains a short preface, a list of the symbols used in the alphabet, and brief descriptions of the sounds associated with the symbols.

The main text contains the Preface by King Sejong and Yeŭi, a section in which the sound value of twenty-eight phonetic symbols used in the Korean alphabet, in comparison with Chinese characters, as well as the six spelling rules, are briefly explained. This basic text of the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* was supplemented by a second and much longer text, a scholarly commentary called *Hunmin chŏngŭm haerye* (Explanations and Examples of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People).

Unlike the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* itself, this commentary was not authored by King Sejong but by a group of scholars, commissioned by him. Eight scholars, Chŏng Inji, Ch’oe Hang, Pak Paengnyŏn, Shin Sukchu, Sŏng Sammun, Kang Hŭiian, Yi Kae and Yi Sŏnno undertook the task of writing a new detailed exposition and completed in 1447. It is an invaluable source of information about Sejong’s alphabet and the Korean language. The *Hunmin chŏngŭm* sketches the outline, the *Hunmin chŏngŭm haerye* fills in detail and gives examples of usage.

With the passage of time, copies of the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* have disappeared and only one
copy is extant. This is now held in the Kansong Art Gallery as National Treasure No. 70. Discovered in Andong in 1940, it comprises one volume of thirty-three leaves (two of which are not original) and measures 23.3cm by 16.8cm.

The 'Haerye' or second part of the work consists of six chapters. It is in the first chapter, 'Chejahae', that the origins of the Korean phonetic symbols and the principles on which they are based, are explained. The five basic consonant symbols are schematic drawings of the speech organs articulating the sound. Other consonant symbols are made by adding strokes to the basic five shapes.

King Sejong also created a separate symbol for each vowel phoneme. Three vowel symbols, rationalized along the lines of Neo-Confucian philosophy, were considered basic: the roundness of 'a' is a depiction of Heaven; the flatness of 'i' is a depiction of Earth; the uprightness of 'i' is a depiction of Man.

The symbols for the other vowels in the system were formed by combining these three basic shapes. The Hunmin chōngǔm haerye then classifies all the vowels into two groups called yin and yang, the members of which interact phonologically with one another in ways that modern linguists term 'vowel harmony.' Thus linguistic analysis was merged with philosophy.

Prior to the discovery of the one extant copy of the original Hunmin chōngǔm, many theories, usually devised by Western scholars, had existed as to the origins of the script. It was said they were based on Sanscrit, Tibetan or even Balinese letters. The hypotheses of Korean scholars that they were based on an original Korean system were confirmed by the original manuscript found in 1940.

Hunmong chahoe (Collection of Elementary Chinese Characters)

Hunmong chahoe was written by Ch’oe Sejin in 1527 in order to teach Chinese characters to children. Before the publication of this work, basic education in Chinese characters was accomplished with either Ch’önjamun (One Thousand Characters) or Yuhap. These works, however, were criticised as containing many abstract characters that were too difficult for children to understand. Ch’oe therefore arranged this work with those characters that represented concrete objects, such as the names of animals, birds, trees and the like, first, and then proceeded with the characters for more difficult concepts. This work is comprised of three volumes of beginning, intermediate and upper levels. Each volume contains 1,120 characters for a total of 3,360.

The work lists the Chinese characters with the han’gúl pronunciation alongside with an explanation of the meaning of the character. This enabled the book to be used by learners without a teacher. Since it contains explanatory notes on how to use han’gúl, it is a valuable document for research into the history of the Korean script. In the light of research into han’gúl, the main features of this work can be summarized as follows: first, in providing the sounds for the Chinese characters, Ch’oe used but twenty-seven han’gúl letters instead of the twenty-eight that had been present in Hunmin chōngǔm (Proper Sounds to Instruct the People); second, the author divided the han’gúl alphabet into eight sounds that could be used in initial or final positions, eleven middle sounds and eight sounds that could be used as only initial sounds; and third, the author provided a fixed pronunciation for the han’gúl letters.

There are several different editions of this work presently extant as it was published many times during the Chosŏn period. There are slight differences in content among these editions. This work is considered a valuable document for research into the changes and settlement of han’gúl.
Hwaak Mountain

Situated north-west of Ch’unch’ŏn on the border of Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Hwaak (1,468 metres) is the highest mountain in Kyŏnggi Province. Along with Kungmang Peak (1,168 metres) and ŭng Peak, the mountain is part of the Kwangju Mountain Range which branches off from the Taebaek Mountain Range. As a high peak just south of the 38th parallel, the mountain was the scene of many pitched battles during the Korean War. In one particular battle, a large division of communist Chinese troops suffered defeat. A war memorial in Sach’ŏng Village has been set up in memory of those who fought in the battle.

Hwach’ŏn County

Situated in Kangwŏn Province to the north of Ch’unch’ŏn, Hwach’ŏn County is comprised of the town of Hwach’ŏn and the townships of Kandong, Sanae, Sangsŏ and Hanam. The northern branch of the Han River flows down the eastern end of the county. Near Tongch’ŏn Village, the Hwach’ŏn Dam blocks the river, creating P’aro Lake. The entire county is extremely mountainous. Mt. Samyŏng (1,198 metres), Mt. Obong (779 metres) and picturesque Mt. Yonghwa (878 metres) mark the county’s southeastern border, Mt. Kwangdŏk (1,046 metres), Mt. Paegun (904 metres) and the Mt. Hwaak (1,468 metres) mark the southwestern border, while Mt. Chaean (1,071 metres) and Mt. Il (1,190 metres) rise up in the northeast.

Although the western part of the county is linked to Ch’unch’ŏn via Highway 5 and Highway 56, much of the area is not readily accessible. To the north lies Ch’ŏrwŏn County and the DMZ. These factors, coupled with the rugged terrain, have hindered the county’s economic development. Many of the small towns in the county’s northern areas consists mainly of service industries catering to the needs of soldiers and their families. Only a small portion of the county’s area is under cultivation, and most of this is devoted to dry field crops such as corn, potatoes and beans. Specialty crops such as pine seeds, chestnuts, mushrooms and medicinal herbs are also grown here. In addition, many farmers supplement their income with sericulture and bee-keeping. Increasingly, cattle and pigs are being raised in the area. Due to the area’s poor infrastructure and strict pollution controls along the county’s rivers, there has been little industrial development in the region. However, a hydro-electric power plant has been set up at the Hwach’ŏn Dam.

With numerous lakes and rivers and unspoilt mountain scenery, the area offers a wide range of activities for visitors. On weekends during the summer, tourists from Seoul and nearby Ch’unch’ŏn come to picnic along the county’s numerous streams and rivers. With over seventy varieties of freshwater fish, P’aro Lake is particularly popular with sports fishermen. For those who love mountains, there is the scenic Mt. Yonghwa. The mountain’s hiking trails take one along huge rock cliffs and granite spires. Northeast of the peak, there is an old stone fortress which is said to have been built by the ancient Maek people during the period of tribal states.

The county boasts a number of scenic attractions, including Mirŏk Rock, P’allang Waterfall and Chiyŏn Waterfall. There are also numerous medicinal springs. The spring water at T’ongyŏng Temple is particularly famous for its medicinal qualities. Even during the summer, the water from the spring is cold, and it does not dry up even in times of drought.

There are several Buddhist artefacts in the area. In Hanam Township’s Wira Village, there is a seven-storey stone pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 30) from the Koryŏ period, and in Hanam Township’s Kyesŏng Village, there is the old site of Kyesŏng Temple. The stone lantern at the site has been designated Treasure No. 496.

As for Confucian artefacts, there is the Hwach’ŏn Hyanggyo (Confucian school) in
Hwach’ŏn Town. Founded during the Chosŏn period, the school was burnt down in 1950 at the start of the Korean War. Gradually reconstructed during the decades that followed, the present building has been designated Kangwŏn Province Cultural Site No. 102.

Hwadu

[Buddhism]

Hwang Chini

Hwang Chini was a famous *kisaeng* (female entertainer) of the Chosŏn period whose dates of birth and death are not known. Her given name was Chin, her *kisaeng* name was Myŏngwŏl, and she was also known as Chillang. She was from the city of Kaesŏn, and although her exact dates are unknown, there is evidence that she lived during the reign of King Chungjong (r.1506-1544). Since there are no specific biographies of her, information must be derived from indirect historical sources such as unofficial histories, which contain abundant references to her. However, it is difficult to verify the accuracy of the many stories about her found in these sources.

There are two common stories regarding the birth of Hwang. The first records that she was the illegitimate daughter of Hwang Chinsa (Esquire), while the second states that she was the daughter of a blind man. Although there are far more stories that name her as a daughter of Hwang Chinsa the theory that she was in fact the daughter of a blind man is rather convincing when one takes into account her social position as a *kisaeng*. As to the reason for her becoming a *kisaeng*, it is said that when a neighbour boy whom she loved died of disease, she rushed away and joined the world of the *kisaeng* at an age of fifteen. However, this can not be verified.

Hwang was described as beautiful, brilliant and talented, and she was also skilled at poetry and song composition. It is said that she loved the erudite scholar of that time, Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1486-1546), and often visited his retreat with her *komungo* (six-stringed zither), wine and refreshments, and composed eloquent Tang-style poetry there. One of the many stories that surround Hwang details that she seduced the Monk Chijok, who had been practising an ascetic lifestyle for over ten years and was called a Buddha incarnate, and caused him violate his Buddhist vows. There is also the tale that she tried, but failed, to seduce Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk and therefore became his pupil.

Hwang Chini, along with Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk and Pagyŏn p’okp’o (Pagyŏn Waterfall) have been called the three famous treasures of Kaesŏn. Hwang composed *hanshi* (Sino-Korean poems) such as *Pagyŏn, Yong panwŏl, Tŭng manwŏl tae hoego* and *Yŏ soyanggok* among others that have been transmitted to the present. She also composed *shijo* such as *Ch’ŏngsalli pyŏkkyesu ya, Tongjittal kinagin pamŭl* and *Ojyo naeiri yŏ* and three others which are extant. Since her works were mainly composed for banquets or elegant gatherings and were also the product of a *kisaeng*, it is thought that many have not been transmitted to the present time. However, her *hanshi* and *shijo* are highly praised for their literary quality and the depth of feeling that they express. They also reveal much about the luxurious lifestyle of the writer.

Hwang Chipchung

[Hanging]

Hwang Sayŏng

[Hanging]

Hwangbyŏng Mountain

Situated in P’yŏngch’ang County in Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Hwangbyŏng (1,407 metres) is part of the coastal range which includes Noin Peak (1,338 metres), Mt. Tongdae (1,434
metres), Ch’ónma Peak (999 metres) and Mae Peak (1,173 metres). This range is, in turn, part of the long T’aebaek Mountain Range. The north side of the mountain is characterised by spectacular crags and picturesque gorges. Known as Sogúmgang (The Lesser Diamond Mountains), the area gets its name from the Chosón Confucian scholar Yi I, styled Yulgok (1536-1584). In his travelogue Ch’onghak san’gi, Yulgok described the area as a miniature version of the Diamond (kūngang) Mountains. This scenic valley contains many famous sites, including Shipcha Pool, Shiktang Rock and the gorgeous Kuryong (Nine Dragons) Waterfall. Easily accessible from the highway connecting Seoul and Kangnung, the area is a favourite tourist destination. In 1975, in order to preserve the area’s pristine natural environment, the area, along with Mt. Odae to the west, was designated Odae-san National Park.

**Hwangnyong Temple Site**

The Hwangnyong Temple Site (Historical Site No. 6) is situated in Kyungju in North Kyungsang Province. During its heyday, the monastic complex that stood here was perhaps the largest in East Asia. According to records, the monastery was founded during the reign of King Chinhung (r. 540-576). The King had ordered the construction of a new palace east of Panwíl (Half-moon) Fortress. However, a dragon was seen at the site, prompting the king to change his plans and order the construction of a monastery, to be called Hwangnyong (Imperial Dragon) Temple. According to another legend, the temple was constructed on the ancient site of a temple from the time of Kasyapa, the Buddha who preceded Sakyamuni.

The temple’s construction began in 553 and was completed sometime between 566 to 569. Around 575, the temple’s statue, an image of Sakyamuni Buddha, was cast. According to legend, the bronze and gold used to make the image was found on an abandoned ship seen floating in Korean waters. An inscription is said to have revealed that the ship was sent by India’s King Asoka. In 584, the Main Buddha Hall (Kūm-dang) was completed, and the nine-storey pagoda was finished in 645. Notably, a construction expert by the name of Abaji was sent from the Paekche Kingdom to Shilla to help with the construction. When completed, the approximately eighty-metre high pagoda was probably East Asia’s largest wooden structure. In 754, the temple’s enormous bronze bell, approximately three times the size of the famous Emillie Bell, was cast.

From the beginning, the temple was associated with Shilla’s ‘state-protection Buddhism’ (hoguk pulgyo). When Buddhism was first accepted by the Shilla elite, it was seen as a force providing spiritual protection to the country. This idea was reflected in the large ceremonies that were held at this time, such as the Assembly for Sutra Recitation by One-hundred Monks (Paekchwa Kanghoe) during which the Benevolent King Sutra (Renwang jing) was recited. This ceremony was performed in response to specific situations; but in general, it served to ensure the well-being of the king and the prosperity of the nation. It was also held in conjunction with military campaigns to quell rebellions or expand Shilla’s territory.

Wùn’gwang and Chajang are two of the most famous monks to have resided at the temple. Wùn’gwang (?-630), one of the earliest Shilla monks known to have studied in China, created the Five Secular Injunctions - a code of conduct for Shilla’s young hwarrang warriors. Vinaya Master Chajang also stayed at the temple. After his return from study in China, Chajang urged Queen Sëndìlik to construct the nine-storey wooden pagoda in order to protect the nation from invasion.

From the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, there was a major excavation of the site. Through detailed research, scholars were able to piece together the extensive layout of the original monastery. Over the years, approximately forty-thousand artefacts have been found. In addition to numerous foundation stones, archaeologists have found stone statues, banner-
pole support pillars, tiles, gilt-bronze figurines and various other metalwork objects, as well as pottery - including pieces imported from Tang China.

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Hwanin

**Hwanjae chip** (Collected Works of Hwanjae)

*Hwanjae chip* is an anthology by literary man Pak Kyusu (1807-1876), and the title is taken from the pen name of the author, Hwanjae. This work of eleven volumes in five fascicles was printed with moveable type and published in 1911. At the beginning of the first volume there is a preface written by Kim Yushik. The first three volumes contain 201 poems written by Pak. Volume four holds various miscellaneous writings and the fifth volume records various memorial addresses and epitaphs. The sixth includes official letters of the author and several memorials he presented to the throne, and the seventh volume carries a speech for the king that Pak wrote, epilogues and letters that the Korean court sent to Qing China with regard to the American intrusion on the Taedong River. Volumes eight to eleven contain 163 letters that Pak wrote and other miscellaneous works.

This work is a valuable source for study of the late Chosŏn period and many of the documents provide useful insights into the working of the Korean government during this turbulent period. Particularly notable is the role of Pak, who was governor of P’yŏn’yang at the time, in the burning down of the U.S.S General Sherman when it sailed up the Taedong River in 1866. This work is now stored at the Kyujanggak and National Central Libraries among other places.

Hwaŏm Sect

Hwaŏm Temple

**Hwarang** (Shilla warrior youth corps)

Hwasŏng County

Situated in southwest Kyŏnggi Province, Hwasŏng County is comprised of the town of T’aean and the townships of Namyang, Tongt’an, Mado, Maesong, Panwŏl, Pongdam, Pibong, Sŏshin, Songsan, Yanggam, Ujong, Changan, Chŏngnam, P’alt’an and Hyangnam. The area’s terrain is characterised by low hills in the north and east, and plains in the west.

Agriculture is the largest sector of the economy. With relatively flat terrain and good irrigation, roughly 41 per cent of the county is arable. Stock breeding and dairy farming are another important source of income. Many farmers supplement their income by fishing for oysters, clams, shrimp, yellow corbina and various small fish varieties in the Yellow Sea. Taking advantage of the county’s close proximity to Inch’ŏn and Seoul, numerous factories have been established in the area. These factories manufacture a wide array of goods, including communications equipment, electronics and clothing.
The county’s tourist industry is primarily centred around its lakes and coastline. In particular, Chebu Island, located in Soshin Township, is popular for its beach and beautiful pine forest. Visitors also come to see the area’s historical sites and relics. Founded in 854, Yongju Temple in particular contains a great number of artefacts, including a large bronze bell (National Treasure No. 120) from the Koryo period, a gilt-bronze incense burner, a bronze incense burner, a folding screen given to the temple by the royal family in 1796, an altar painting made in 1791 and printing blocks for the Pulsŏl pumo'n chung kyŏng. Pongnim Temple also contains several important Buddhist artefacts.

Confucian sites include Namyang Hyanggyo (county public school) which was founded in 1397 and An’gok Sŏwŏn (private school) founded in 1667. As for modern schools of higher learning, in Pongdam there is Hyupsung University, Suwon Catholic University and University of Suwon.

In Namyang Township’s Pugyang Village, one finds the Ch’ungjŏlbi (Loyalty Stele). Legend has it that when Qing China forced Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898) to go to China as a hostage, an old man blocked the king’s procession and admonished him, ‘If you desert the people, what will become of this country?’ Sympathising with the old man, Taewŏn’gun shed tears of sorrow. When he eventually returned from China, Taewŏn’gun searched for the old man only to discover that he had passed away. In memory of the old man’s loyalty to his country, Taewŏn’gun had a stele erected at the site.

Hwasun County

Situated in South Cholla Province, Hwasun County is comprised of the town of Hwasun, and the townships of Nam, Nŭngju, Togok, Toam, Tong, Tongbuk, Isŏ, Iyang, Ch’ŏngp’ung, Ch’unnyang and Hanch’ŏn. Except for the western area, the county is characterised by mountainous terrain with peaks from 400 to 900 metres. Mt. Mudŭng (1,187m), rising in the north, is the county’s highest peak. Due to the area’s high elevation, the county tends to be relatively cool in summer and is often foggy.

Although the county has little arable land, most of the residents are employed in the agricultural sector. Due to the rugged terrain and cool temperatures, rice cultivation is limited. Dry field crops such as barley, sweet potatoes, potatoes, beans, corn, hot peppers and peaches are common. Isŏ Township’s Tongbuk Lake, Hanch’ŏn Township’s Kŭmjŏn Reservoir and Ch’unnyang Township’s Kadong Reservoir provide irrigation water to the area’s farms. Mining also makes a significant contribution to the local economy. Coal is extracted from mines in the townships of Ch’unnyang, Tong, and Tongbuk. In addition, silica is mined in Nam Township, lime in Ch’unnyang Township and pagodite in Iyang Township. Primarily based in the town of Hwasun, the county’s factories produce processed farm products, liquor, textiles and other manufactured goods.

Tourism is another important source of income for local residents. Situated just southeast of Kwangju, the county attracts large number of visitors who come to enjoy the area’s natural beauty and ancient temples. In Toam Township, there is Unju Temple, famous for its reclining Buddha and other artefacts, and Ssangbong Temple, located in Iyang Township, is also well-known for its large number of ancient relics. Mt. Mudŭng and nearby Mt. Manyŏn are popular areas for hiking and picnics. In the lush valley at the foot of Mt. Manyŏn lie Manyŏn Temple and Manyŏn Waterfall. Legend has it that the waterfall’s name comes from the names of two lovers in the Paekche Kingdom. When the Koguryŏ Kingdom attacked Paekche, Mansŏk was crippled in the battle. Mansŏk and his girlfriend Yŏnsun, aware that their love could never be realised, committed suicide at the falls. From this time on, local people named the falls after the first syllables of the couples names.

Confucian sites in the area include Nŭngju Hyanggyo (county public school) which is said
to have been founded in 1392, Hwasun Hyanggyo founded in 1434, Tongbuk Hyanggyo, founded in 1445, Chuksu Sŏwŏn (private school) built to commemorate Cho Kwangjo (1482-1519) and Yang P’aengson, Towŏn Sŏwŏn which was built to commemorate Ch’oe Sandu, and Haemang Sŏwŏn which was built in memory of Kim Chongjik, Chǒng Yŏhae, etc.

Hwayo Hoe (Tuesday Society) [History of Korea]

Hyangak [Music]

Hyangch’al [Language]

Hyangga [History of Korea, Literature]

Hyanggyo (county public school) [Architecture; Education; Society]

Hyangyak [Agriculture]

**Hyangyak chipsŏng pang** (Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions, 1433)

*Hyangyak chipsŏng pang* is a comprehensive reference work of 85 volumes on Korean medicine. It is a synthesis of native medicine used since the time of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

The work has its antecedents in earlier studies of Korean medicine. A medical prescription book based on Korean herbs (*Hyangyak hyemin kyŏnhŏm pang*) was compiled during the Koryŏ Dynasty and later adopted as a textbook for students. Another early medical work was a collection of prescriptions for emergency cases (*Hyangyak kugŭp pang*), an edition of which is to be found in the Bureau of Mausolea and Books of the Imperial Household Agency in Japan and is the oldest extant Korean medical book. These and other works were the basis for a large compilation of thirty volumes in the reign of King T’aejo (r. 1392-98) called the *Hyangyak chesaeng chipsŏng pang* (Collection of Native Prescriptions to Save Life) which had the purpose of popularizing folk medicine and extending medical care. Unfortunately, this work is no longer extant, and we know of its existence only from the preface of *Hyangyak chipsŏng pang* which was subsequently compiled from it.

While, therefore, by the beginning of Chosŏn, there were compilations of Korean herbal medicines and treatments, there was a lack of standardization regarding terms and prescriptions, particularly with the Chinese equivalents. When forced to substitute local medicines for the Chinese ones, the medical profession faced many difficulties. In consideration of this situation, King Sejong (r.1418-50) frequently dispatched medical officials to Beijing to collect prescription books and to correct erroneous medicine names used in Korea.

In 1413, King Sejong instructed Yu Hyŏt’ŏng, No Chungrye and Pak Yundŏk to compile various books in the field into a single prescription book, while adding 'folk medicine' to prescriptions in *Chesaeng chipsŏng pang*. As a result, the number of diseases covered increased from 338 in the *Chesaeng chipsŏng pang* to 959 in the *Hyangyak chipsŏng pang*, and the number of prescriptions from 2 803 to 10 706. With appendices which deal with the 1 476 methods of acupuncture and moxibustion, local herbs and methods of parching, the book consisted of 85 volumes. The compilation was completed in 1433 and publication commenced straight away.

The main text of each volume begins by describing the various kinds of diseases, explaining them within the theoretical framework of Eastern medicine. Diseases are classified into 959
kinds, with most of the diseases known to modern medicine included. Next, the work introduces methods of treatment and various prescriptions, indicating the sources from which the treatments originated. Traditional Oriental medicine relies on the theory of the five elements, namely wood, metal, soil, fire and water, and diseases such as paralysis and frostbite are treated differently from the way modern Western medicine treats them. Other diseases are classified into intestinal medicine, ear, nose and throat, ophthalmology, dermatology, etc. There are also prescriptions for a number of antidotes, as well as sections on gynecology, pediatrics, infant nursing and treatments for fainting and drowning.

Volumes 76 to 85 deal with 630 medicinal plants, animals and minerals produced on the Korean peninsula, describing where they are to be found, their taste, their qualities and effects, and in the case of plants, at what time of the year they should be harvested. In short, it is a comprehensive work based on Chinese sources as well as original Korean works handed down from the Koryó dynasty.

_Hyangyak chipsŏng pang_ was used as a textbook by medical students and as a handbook for selecting worthy new students. It lost some of its popularity after the introduction of Chinese medicine during the Ming Dynasty, only to be revived after the Qing invasion of Korea, to be reprinted in 1633.

**Bibliography**


**Hyech’o (704-787)**

Hyech’o is famous as a specialist in esoteric Buddhism. Around 723, he went to Kuangzhou in Tang China. While there, he became the disciple of Vajrabodhi (671-741), the founder of the Vajradhatu branch of esoteric Buddhism. Following his teacher’s advice, Hyech’o went on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist sacred sites. Travelling by sea to the Nicobar Islands in the Bengal Gulf and then on to India, he visited Magadha, Kusinagara and Bodhgaya and then travelled extensively in both central and south India. From there, he passed through northern India to Samarkand, Eastern Turkestan and Kucha, reaching China in 727. He wrote a four-volume account of his travels to India, known as the _Wang Och’onch’ukkuk chŏn_ (Memoirs of the Pilgrimages to the Five Regions of India). The text was discovered by the Frenchman Pelliot in the Dunhuang Caves in 1910.

After his return to China, Hyech’o studied with Vajrabodhi in Changan. In 733, he participated in the translation of the _Dasheng yushu jingang xinghai manxu xili qianbi qianbo daqiaowang jing_ (Treatise on Anuttarasamyaksambodhi Thought in the Amoghavajrayoga). He was regarded, along with Huiguo, as one of the master’s six major disciples. He later studied with Amoghavajra (705-774). He spent the last years of his life living in a temple on China’s Mt. Wutai. Although he never returned to Shilla, he was part of a circle of famous thinkers who were to have a profound impact on the Buddhism of East Asia. His fellow student, Huiguo, later taught Kukai, who founded the Shingon Sect in Japan.

**Bibliography**


**Hyegong, King (758-780)**
King Hyegong was the thirty-sixth king of Shilla and reigned from 765 to 780. Hyegong’s surname was Kim and his given name Konun. He was the son of King Kyongdok (r. 742-765) and a direct descendent of King T’aejong Muyol (r. 654-661), the architect of the Shilla conquest of the peninsula, and the last of the mid-Shilla kings. His mother was also of the Kim family. Hyegong. was designated crown prince in 760 and he ascended to the throne at eight years of age under the regency of the Queen Mother.

The period surrounding the reign of Hyegong is notable in that it marked the height of the power struggle between the chingol (true-bone) aristocracy and the king for control of Shilla. The middle period of Shilla is considered to be the high-point of the kingdom, yet even by the reign of King Kyongdok (r. 742-765) the balance of power between the chingol aristocracy and the monarchy had begun to alter. Hyegong sought to increase the authority of the monarchy through the Chancellery Office (Chipsabu), and this was the focus in the early years of his reign. Naturally, the attempts to strengthen the monarchy came at the expense of the power of the aristocracy and thus were vehemently opposed by the chingol aristocrats. Hence, the sixteen year reign of Hyegong is marked by a number of political uprisings in the struggle for supremacy between the throne and the chingol aristocrats.

An uprising began in 768 with a plot against Hyegong, led by Kim Taegong. This incident, which lasted three years and was ultimately unsuccessful, grew in magnitude and is said to have involved up to ninety-six members of the aristocracy who held the highest official rank of kakkun. In 774, however, a member of the chingol aristocracy, Kim Yangsang, was able to seize power and reduce the young king Hyegong to little more than a figurehead. There were repeated attempts by supporters of the throne, most notably Kim Ungö, to restore the authority of Hyegong, but each of these failed. It was at this time that the balance of power in Shilla shifted decidedly to the chingol aristocracy, and so marked the end of the prosperous middle Shilla period. There were various attempts by the factions surrounding Hyegong to restore his power, with the most visible of these aimed at implementing reforms based upon the Tang China systems. Kim Yangsang effectively thwarted these attempts and in 780, Hyegong and his queen were assassinated. Kim Yangsang then declared himself king (King Sondok, r. 780-785), an event which effectively ended the line of King T’aejong Muyol and thereby the mid-Shilla period of Korean history.

Hyeja (?-624)

Hyeja was a Koguryo monk who crossed over to Japan in 595. Hyeja, along with Hyech’ong, who went to Japan at the same time, resided at Hōkō Temple. There, they taught Prince Shōtoku, the eldest son of King Yōmei. Their instruction covered a wide range of Buddhist thought, including works from the Three Treatise (Sanlun) School, as well as basic works such as the Lotus Sutra and the Vimalakirti Sutra. Through their missionary efforts, the two monks helped lay the groundwork for the Japanese acceptance of Buddhism. In 615, after having spent over twenty years in Japan, Hyeja returned to Koguryo.

Bibliography


Hyep’yon

Hyep’yon, a Koguryo monk, is best known for his missionary activities in Japan. In 584, Paekche had sent an envoy to Japan with a Maitreya statue. Sóga no Úmako built a temple
near Ishikawa's residence and enshrined the statue. At the time, there were no monks available to reside at the temple. After searching far and wide, Hyep'yon was discovered living in Bansho. Soga put him up in the temple as his teacher. In this way, Hyep'yon became the teacher of Soga, an important Japanese convert to Buddhism. In the same year, Hyep'yon ordained three Japanese women: Zenshin, Zenzo and Keizen. These three women became the first Buddhist nuns in Japan.

Bibliography


Hyobong

Hyobong was a general of the Later Paekche Kingdom. Neither his date of birth nor death are known. He along with three other Paekche generals, Tŏksul, Aesul and Myŏnggil, surrendered to King T'aejo (r. 918-943) at Ilsŏn (present day Sŏnsan) in the ninth month of 936. Then the newly founded Koryŏ Kingdom crushed the remaining military forces of later Paekche in the last of the unification wars of the period.

Hyojong, King (r. 1649-1659)

King Hyojong (1619-1659) was the seventeenth king of Chosŏn and reigned from 1649 to 1659. His name was Ho, his courtesy name Chŏngyŏn and his pen name Chugo. He was the second son of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), his mother was Queen Inyŏl and his queen, Insŏn, was the daughter of the Third State Councillor (Uuijong), Chang Yu. Hyojong was born in Seoul and married at the age of twelve. With the 1636 Manchu Invasion, Hyojong together with his brother Grand Prince Inp'yon, the queen, royal consorts and various officials, were ordered to take refuge on Kanghwa Island by King Injo. However, after Injo capitulated to the Manchu in the following year Hyojong and his brother Crown Prince Sohyŏn were taken as hostages to ensure the compliance of Chosŏn. Hyojong and Sohyŏn remained in the Manchurian court for eight years, with the Crown Prince returning to Chosŏn in the second month of 1645. In the fourth month of the same year, however, Sohyŏn died suddenly, and as a result Hyojong returned to Korea one month later and was named crown prince. Four years later when Injo died, Hyojong took the throne.

Since the high officials and court of Chosŏn regarded the Manchu as little more than barbarians, the forced submission to their suzerainty gave rise to hostility towards their conquerors. Hyojong, who held clear memories of eight years spent as hostage in various locations of the Manchu domain, shared these feelings and with like-minded government officials began to plan a northern expedition to restore the Ming dynasty. However, the plans of Hyojong and the pro-Ming faction of the Chosŏn court were revealed to the Manchu by members of the pro-Qing faction in Chosŏn led by Kim Chajŏn (? —1651). As a result, the planned expedition came to nothing. The pro-Qing faction was purged in 1651 and other plans were formulated for an invasion of the northern regions, but these also did not materialise. Perhaps the most notable military achievements of this period were the strengthening of the border defences in the north, and the development of new and more powerful weapons. In particular, the new artillery pieces and muskets which were developed with the assistance of Hendrik Hamel, a Dutchman who had been shipwrecked in Korea. This new weaponry aided the strengthening of the Chosŏn army.

Aside from his plans to retaliate against the Qing, Hyojong also implemented various economic reforms so designed to help Chosŏn recover from the calamitous Japanese invasions that had begun in 1592. In a move aimed at lessening the tax burden on farmers, the amount of tax per kyŏl of land was reduced. Insofar as scholarly achievements during
the reign of Hyojong are concerned, the official history *Kukcho pogam* (Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns) was published in 1654, and *Nongga chipsŏng* (Compilation for Farmers), a collection of previously written works on farming, was published and distributed. However, matters concerning a military action against the Qing continued to dominate Hyojong’s life and reign, and these remained unfulfilled when he died at age forty-one in 1659.

**Hyŏl ŭi nu** (Tears of Blood)  [Literature]

**Hyŏn Chemyŏng** (1902-1960)

Hyŏn Chemyŏng was a composer and an educator. His family’s ancestral home is in Yŏnju, his pen name was Hyŏnsŏk and he was born in Taegu. He studied at Kyesŏng School and then at Sungshil College in P’yŏngyang (Sungshil Chŏnmun Hakkyo). It was at this time that Hyŏn showed an interest in music, particularly in vocal music and the piano. He graduated in 1923 and then became a music teacher at Shinhŭng School in Chŏnju. In 1925 he travelled to the United States and studied at both the Moody Bible School and Gunn Music School. Upon his return to Korea in 1929 he took a position teaching at Yŏnhŭi College (present Yonsei University) in Seoul. The following year he began his professional recording career and made records with the Victor and Columbia recording companies. In 1933 along with Hong Nanp’a (1897-1941) he founded the first music publication company in Korea and concentrated on this business until liberation in 1945. In 1950 he composed the first opera in Korea entitled *Ch’unhyang chŏn* (The Story of Ch’unhyang) and went on to compose others such as *Wangja hodong* (1958). Hyŏn is also known for leading Korea’s first full-scale symphony orchestra from 1945-1948. In 1945 he founded the Kyŏngsang Music School (Kyŏngsang Umak Hakkyo) and in subsequent years he was active in music organisations in both Korea and on the international stage.

Hyŏn is remembered for his impact on the propagation of Western music in Korea and for his educational activities which enabled him to train a new generation of musicians in Korea. Hyŏn is also praised for his compositions such as *Kohyang saenggak* (Hometown Reminiscing), *Ku chip ap* (In Front of that House) and *Sandŭl param* (Gentle Breeze).

**Hyŏn, Rody** (see *Hyŏn Chemyŏng*).

**Hyŏnak yŏngsang hoesang**  [Music]

**Hyŏndae kŭk**  [Film and film making]

**Hyŏndae munhak**  [Magazines]

**Hyŏn’gwang**

Hyŏn’gwang was born during the reign of King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576). He is famous as the first monk to introduce Tiantai (Kor. Ch’ŏnt’ai) thought to Shilla. Having been ordained as a boy, Hyŏn’gwang later journeyed to China’s Chen Kingdom (557-588) where he achieved realisation under the guidance of Nanyue Huisi. After receiving formal recognition from his master, he returned to Shilla where he founded the Pŏphwa Sect, based at a temple on Mt. Ong in Ungju. In China, he was considered to be one of the patriarchs of the Tiantai sect. Likewise, during the Koryŏ Period when National Msect at Chuch’ŏng Temple in Kaesŏng, Hyŏn’gwang’s picture was kept in the temple’s Chosa-dang (Hall of the Patriarchs).
Hyŏngpŏp taejŏn

Hyujŏng (1520-1604)

Hyujŏng, styled Ch'ŏnghŏ, was born in Anju, P'yŏngan Province. His father, Ch'oe Sech'ang, worked as a government official. His parents were both forty-six years old when Hyujŏng was born. Around the age of eight, he lost his mother, followed by his father a year later. Hyujŏng, a highly prodigious boy, caught the eye of Yi Sajung, a county magistrate. Yi, seeing much promise in the orphaned boy, adopted him and brought him to Seoul. When Hyujŏng turned eleven, Yi enrolled him in the famous Sŏngyunggwan Confucian academy. At this time, Hyujŏng also started studying with the official No, an old friend of his father's. Around the age of fourteen, he took the civil service examination but failed.

Disappointed with life in the capital, Hyujŏng travelled through the country until he came to Mt. Chiri. There, he stayed at various temples, receiving instruction from famous teachers such as Grand Master Yonggwang. One morning while hauling water, Hyujŏng looked into the distance at the cloud-covered mountains and suddenly achieved awakening. The second morning after this happened, he entered the order under the direction of the elder Sungin. In 1540, he received his higher ordination. Eventually, he received formal recognition (in'ga) of his enlightenment from Grand Master Yonggwang.

In 1549, Hyujŏng passed the monk examination and was selected to be head of both the Kyo (Doctrinal) and Sŏn (Meditation) sect. However, in 1556, feeling that such a position was not the proper role for a monk, he resigned. In the years that followed, he travelled through Mt. Kŭnggang, Mt. Turyu, Mt. T'aebaek, Mt. Odae and Mt. Myohyang, studying and engaging in spiritual practices. At this time, the band of disciples that gathered around him grew to number over a thousand.

In 1589, when Chŏng Yŏrip's (?-1589) rebellious plot came to light, the monk Muŏp fabricated charges leading to Hyujŏng's arrest. King Sonjo (r. 1567-1608), however, soon proclaimed the charges erroneous and had him released. The king went so far as to write a poem in Hyujŏng's honour. Hyujŏng retired to Mt. Myohyang, also known as Sŏsan (Western Mountain), in order to practice more intensely. Around this time, he became known as Grand Master Sŏsan.

In 1592 when the Hideyoshi Invasion broke out, Sonjo, who had fled north to P'yŏngyang and then to Ŭiju, sent for Hyujŏng by means of an envoy. When Hyujŏng arrived, the king asked for his advice. Hyujŏng recommended that all able-bodied monks be called on to fight, and that the older monks, who were too old to go into battle, look after the temples and pray for the welfare of the nation. After the king consented, Hyujŏng sent a call to arms to monks throughout the nation. He gathered together a monks' army over 1 000 strong, which then headed for P'yŏngyang under the leadership of Kwŏnyul. He then mobilised a militia of 1 500 disciples at Pŏphŭng Temple in Sunan. These troops, under his personal direction, fought alongside Ming troops to recapture P'yŏngyang. In return for his services, Sonjo awarded Hyujŏng with the position of commander of monk armies of the eight provinces. Due to his advancing age, Hyujŏng passed on the position to his disciple Yujŏng.

Hyujŏng wrote a number of works, including the Samga kwigam (Mirror of the Three Teachings), Sŏn'gyo sŏk (Explanations of Sŏn and Kyo), Sŏn'gyo gyŏl (Secrets of Sŏn)
and Kyo), *Unsutan kasa* (Cloud River Platform Verses), *Ch‘onghō tanjip* (Collection of Ch‘onghō’s Works), *Shimbōp yo* (Essentials of the Mind Dharma). In the *Samga kwigam*, Hyujōng attempted to show that Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism ultimately transmitted the same truth. This eclectic approach is also seen in Hyujōng’s attitude toward Sŏn (meditation) and Kyo (doctrine). Hyujōng, like Chinul before him, felt that Sŏn and Kyo were mutually compatible aspects of the teachings. One section of the *Samga kwigam* was also published separately as the *Sŏnga kwigam* (Mirror of the Sŏn School). This work is one of the most widely read Sŏn texts in Korea.

**Bibliography**


Hyundai (Hyŏndae) Group

Hyungbae

Ibam Mountain

Mt. Ibam (1,107 metres) is situated on the border of Hwanghae and Kangwŏn Province, about 10 kilometres east of Koksan. The name ‘Ibam’ (Standing Boulders) probably comes from the mountain’s steep cliffs and exposed granite faces. Numerous streams flow down the mountain, creating picturesque gorges and valleys. Posal Temple lies at the southern base of the mountain.

Ich’adon (506-527)

Ich’adon, Korea’s most well-known Buddhist martyr, is also named Kŏch’adon, Ch’ŏdo and Yŏmch’ok, and is said to have been of the Pak clan. The oldest references to Ich’adon come from the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), *Samguk sagi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms) and *Haedong kosiing chon*. (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks). Also, there is a hexagonal, inscribed pillar in the collection of the Kyongju National Museum, which is thought to have been carved in 817, and which depicts Ich’adon’s martyrdom, along with an explanation of the event. Because of severe erosion of the pillar has, however, erased almost half of the text, but it seems to generally agree with the *Samguk yusa* and *Samguk sagi* accounts. In particular, it confirms the story of milk flowing out of Ich’adon’s severed neck.

The three accounts vary in matters of detail. According to the *Samguk yusa*, Ich’adon was a minor court official of the rank of sain, but was descended from Sŭppo Kammunwang, the father of King Chijiing (r. 500-514). This work also suggests, at one point, that Ich’adon was a monk, but this would appear to be an added opinion. The three sources generally agree that both Ich’adon and King Pophiing (r. 514-540) planned the martyrdom as a means to overcome the opposition of the aristocratic Hwabaek council to the official acceptance of Buddhism.

According to the *Haedong kosiing chon*, an order for the erection of a monastery in the Shilla kingdom was given, thereby inviting the opposition of court officials. When King Pophiing pretended not to have issued the order, Ich’adon (as previously planned) claimed responsibility. The council of ministers demanded Ich’adon’s execution, and the king
concurred, noting that Ich’adon was at odds with majority opinion. Ich’adon’s martyrdom is said to have occurred in 527 (Samguk yusa), 528 (Samguk sagi) or 529 (Haedong kosung chon). As Ich’adon predicted, when he was beheaded, his blood ran white like milk and his severed head flew to the peak of Mt. Kūmgang.

According to legend, this miracle, along with other strange portents, induced the council members to immediately allow Shilla’s formal acceptance of Buddhism. However, the postponement to 534 of the construction of Hŭngnyun Temple, Shilla’s first monastery suggests that the official acceptance of Buddhism may have actually occurred a little later, in 534 or 535. It is generally agreed, though, that Ich’adon’s martyrdom marks the beginning of Buddhism’s flowering in Shilla. In the following years, King Pŏphŭng and his queen both entered the Buddhist monastic order. Ich’adon became a symbol of Buddhist piety, with Buddhist devotees regularly gathering at Hŭngnyun Temple in commemoration of his martyrdom. In 544, when the temple’s Kŭmdang (Gold Hall) was completed, he became one of the ten sages worshipped there, and he was further honoured with the construction of Chach’u Temple on Mt. Kūmgang.

Bibliography


Ich’ŏn

Situated in southeast Kyŏnggi Province, Ich’ŏn is comprised of the townships of Pubal, Ich’ŏn and Changhowŏn, and the townships of Taewŏl, Majang, Moga, Paeksă, Sŏlsŏng, Shindun, Yul and Hobŏp. Except for the mountainous terrain along the northern and eastern borders, the city’s area (462.59 square kilometres) is relatively flat. Both the Chungbu and Yongdong Expressway pass through the city, providing ready access to Korea’s large cities.

The soil of the area is particularly fertile and, unlike many places in the Korean peninsula, is not rocky. As a result, farming plays a key role in the local economy. Although fruits and vegetables are grown here, rice remains the main crop. In fact, the rice grown here, known as chach’ae (purple hue) rice, was previously sent in tribute to the king. The kegŏlmu, a variety of radish, is also grown exclusively in this area. In addition to agriculture, numerous industries have set up factories here in order to take advantage of the region’s excellent transportation networks.

Located within an hour’s drive from Seoul, the area has a number of tourist sites. The Ich’ŏn Hot Spring is famous for its curative powers. Discovered over 100 years ago, this spring produces 6,500 litres of 30 degrees Centigrade water per day. The hiking course past Sŏlbong Lake and Yŏngwŏl Hermitage to Mt. Sŏlbong (394 metres) is another popular tourist destination. At the numerous pottery kilns in Ich’ŏn’s Saŭm Village and Shindun Township’s Sugwang Village, visitors can witness Korea’s pottery tradition.

Scattered throughout the city, there are numerous relics and historical sites. In addition to artefacts from the prehistoric era, there are what appear to be stone fortress remains from the Three Kingdoms period on Mt. Sŏlbong, Mt. Sŏlsŏng, Mt. Wŏnjŏk, and Mt. Hyoyang, and at the villages of Ch’in’ga and Chŭngil. There is also a relatively intact stone fortress on Mt. Mai (472 metres) at the southern edge of the city.

There are a large number of Buddhist artefacts, including a standing stone Buddha in
Idiophones

Idu (see Language, Korean)

Iksan

Situated in North Cholla Province, Iksan is comprised of the townships of Kümma, Nangsan, Mangsông, Samgi, Sŏngdang, Sŏnga, Yŏsan, Osan, Wanggung, Yongdong, Yongan, Ung’o, Ch’unp’o, Hamma and Hwangdung. The city was created by combining Iksan County with Iri City. Except for a few mountains and hills along the eastern border, the area’s terrain consists of flat plains. The Küm River flows past the northwest border of the county on its way to the Yellow Sea, while the Man’gyŏng River flows along the southern border.

Most of the area’s agriculture is devoted to rice cultivation. In the townships of Nangsan, Yŏsan and Kümma, grapes and other fruit crops are grown, and there are a number of stock breeding operations in the townships of Nangsan and Wanggung. Located just off the Honam expressway, Iksan is easily accessible from Taejŏn. In addition, several major highways link the city with Chŏnju to the southeast and Kunsan to the east. Taking advantage of the area’s excellent transportation networks and its proximity to the Yellow Sea, there has been extensive development here beginning with the construction of a large industrial complex in 1969. At present, factories in the city produce a wide array of goods including textiles, metalwork and chemicals.

With extensive industrial development and flat terrain, the area does not attract large numbers of tourists. Yet a limited number of visitors come to the city to see the local historical sites. In addition to the large number of prehistoric artefacts found throughout the area, there are many ancient fortresses, including the Miruk Fortress in Kümma Township’s Shinyong Village and the Nangsan Fortress in Nangsan Township’s Nangsan Village. Many of the region’s relics are from the Paekche kingdom. In Kümma Township’s Shinyong Village and Wanggung Township’s Wanggung Village, there are remains of ancient Paekche kilns.

There are a large number of Buddhist sites in the area. Outside of Iri Girls High School, there is a five-storey pagoda, and another five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 44) can be seen in Wanggung Village. Ancient stone Buddha statues are located in Samgi Township’s Yŏndong Village and Kümma Township’s Tonggodo Village (Treasures No. 45 and No. 46 respectively). At T’aebong Temple, there is a stone Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas (North Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 12). In addition, a gold Buddha figurine was found in excavations near Yŏsan Township’s Tosung Temple.

Perhaps the most interesting Buddhist site in the area is the stone pagoda (National Treasure No. 11) at the Miruk Temple site. Located in Kumma Township’s Kiyang Village, this 14.24-metre high structure was built in imitation of a wooden pagoda. Much of the front
section has deteriorated and only six-storeys are extant. In 1910, cement was applied to the pagoda in an urgent effort to prevent further damage. The original structure is believed to have been approximately 20 metres high and to have consisted of nine storeys. Thought to date from the reign of Paekche’s King Mu (r. 600-641), this is both the oldest and largest stone pagoda in Korea. Near the site, there is also a pair of banner-pole supports (Treasure No. 236).

Confucian sites in the area include Usanjongsa, which was used by Song Yonggu as a ceremonial hall during the reign of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623). The hall now houses various paraphernalia associated with Song. There are a number of old Confucian schools in the area including the Iksan Hyanggyo (founded in 1398) in Tonggodo Village, the Yōsan Hyanggyo in Yōsan Township, the Yongan Hyanggyo in Yongan Township and the Hamyŏl Hyanggyo in Hamna Township. Shrines in the area include Mohyŏn-dong’s Maegoksa founded in 1927 in commemoration of Kim Kunbae who committed suicide in protest over the Japanese occupation of Korea.

As for modern educational institutions, there is Wonkwang University north of central Iksan. Founded by the Won Buddhist Order, the university contains a number of colleges including a College of Won Buddhism and a College of Oriental Medicine. The university also runs a museum, gallery and the Wonkwang Medical Center.

Ilchon Hoe (see Advancement Society)

Ilchogak Publishers

Situated in Seoul’s Chongno Ward, Ilchogak Publishers was established on 3 September 1953. The company specialises in works related to the social sciences, technology, history and foreign languages.

Ilsŏngnok (Record of Daily Reflection)

The *Ilsŏngnok* is a monumental record, in diary form, promulgated by King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800), which exceeds two-thousand three-hundred volumes, and spans one-hundred and fifty years, from 1760 to the end of Chosŏn (1910). It embraces the regnant period of six Korean kings, as follows: 1760-75 - pre-accession of King Chŏngjo, 30 vols.; King Chŏngjo, 646 vols., and 2 supplementary vols.: King Sunjo, (1800-34) 637 vols.: King Hŏnjong (1834-49), 199 vols.: King Ch’olchong (1849-63), 200 vols.: King Kojong (1863-1907), 562 vols.: King Sunjong (1907-10), 33 vols.

The *Ilsŏngnok*, like the earlier *Oje chasŏngpy’yon*, was compiled as a vehicle for the self-examination of kings. In its earliest stages the manuscript was edited personally by King Chŏngjo, but this task was later performed by librarians of the Royal Kyujanggak Library. The manuscripts were written by the Ipchik Kŏmsŏ (compiler on duty) who placed the daily entries before the king every fifth day. Each entry was arranged according to the importance of the subject or person therein, in eleven descending classifications, and a brief synopsis was kept separate from the main article. However, commands of the king were entered unabridged. Each month’s writing was bound into book form, and submitted for the king’s approval, with any lacuna inserted in the first month of each year.

There are eleven classifications of the contents of the *Ilsŏngnok*, as follows:

(i) On astronomy; (ii) On memorial rites to the king’s ancestors; (iii) On the king; (iv) On the grace of the king; (v) On the appointment and dismissal of officials; (vi) Memorials to the throne; (vii) The letters of prosecution; (viii) Stenographs and reports; (ix) Long reports; (x) On the government service examinations; (xi) On penal administration.
The *Ilsŏngnok* contains many diverse accounts which are unrecorded elsewhere, rendering it an extremely valuable source of historical material. Some other accounts of late Chosŏn, such as the *Veritable Records of King Sunjong* and the *Veritable Records of King Kojong* (posthumous records of the monarchs) were scrutinised and edited by the Japanese administration. They are, therefore, a less reliable collection than the *Ilsŏngnok*. A considerable number of the 2307 vols. of the *Ilsŏngnok* has not survived, but the last 33 vols. (during Sunjo's reign) are extant.

**Ilwŏlo Hoe (January Society) [History of Korea]**

**Im Kkŏkchŏng**

Im Kkŏkchŏng (?-1562), also known as Im Kŏjong and Im Kŏjiljong, was a Robin Hood-like figure from the middle Chosŏn period during the reign of King Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567). Im was a man of low birth (*ch'ŏnmin*) in a highly stratified society where *ch'ŏnmin* had no choice but to accept social discrimination and resign themselves to poverty.

Cunning and resourceful, Im vented his dissatisfaction with his low social position by organizing a small band of thieves which robbed wealthy private estates. As soon as his influence had increased sufficiently, Im moved into Hwanghae Province and set up his lair in the Kuwŏl Mountains and pillaged surrounding villages. In Hwanghae and neighboring Kyŏnggi Provinces, Im's band attacked officials, raided granaries, and distributed the spoils to the common people. Such actions contributed to his popularity with the lower classes and with lower officials, who helped Im elude capture.

In 1559, Im moved south to Kaesŏng where he was seen frequently. The governor of Kaesŏng, Yi Ŭkkŭn, dispatched a force of about twenty to attack Im's lair, but they were all killed. In response, the king ordered Im's arrest. After a month of unsuccessful attempts, the king threatened the regional governors with serious punishment for failure to catch Im, and offered a reward for his capture. Nevertheless, they were able to catch only a few of Im's band.

In August of 1560, Im and his band were seen as far south as Seoul where a magistrate was killed by an arrow when he attempted to apprehend Im. A number of Im's band were arrested, and his wife was captured and imprisoned. In October of that year, the road running into Seoul through the Kŭmgyo Post Station was blockaded and heavily defended against the robbers, but Im had already moved his central lair and plundering activities to the north. In December of the same year, a chief member of Im's band, Sŏrim, was captured and interrogated. Sŏrim disclosed Im's location, as well as plans to destroy the prison, rescue Im's wife, and kill munitions officer Yi Hûmnye in Pongsan, who had previously captured members of Im's band.

The king promptly sent an army of five hundred to Pongsan, but an attack from the mountains by the robbers drove them back. The commander was killed and many of the army's horses were stolen. In response, the king personally charged the magistrates from Hwanghae, P'yŏngan, Hamgyŏng, Kangwŏn, and Kyŏnggi Provinces to capture the robbers. The deputy of Sŏhŭng, Shin Sangbo, arrested and imprisoned the wives and children of a few of the robbers, but they were rescued by members of Im's band from Paekchu. Also in December of 1560, Yi Sajŭng, who was newly dispatched to Hwanghae, reported to the king that he had captured Im Kkŏkchŏng. Further interrogation by the king's officials showed the prisoner to be not Im, but Im's older brother, Ka Toch'i. Yi Sajŭng was relieved of his duties.
While officials in the five provinces focused their efforts on eradicating the robbers, the people were thrown into a panic. Supplies and commodities were appropriated for use by armies, and commoners who complained were executed. In September of 1561, a message was sent to the king from Pyŏngan Province claiming that Yi Such'ŏl, a priest from Uiju, had captured the robbers Im Kŏkch'ŏng and Hanon. They were exposed by Sŏrim as fakes, and Yi Such'ŏl was relieved of his position. In October, a band of Im's robbers moved into Pyŏngsan in broad daylight, setting thirty or so local granaries on fire, and killing many people. Following this event, the king took desperate measures. He appointed Kim Sehan leader of a select military unit. Kim raided Kaesŏng and Pyŏngyang and, on a predetermined date, his forces secured the gates of Seoul and scoured the city from dawn to dusk. The people were terrified. Those who were guilty of even the smallest misdemeanor fled the intruding forces, and were captured and jailed on the slightest suspicion. Many of Im's band were discovered and arrested.

In the first month of 1562, the hunt finally came to an end. News came of Im's capture by two officers from Sŏhung. According to the report, Im was spotted at Mt. Kuwŏl after the rest of his band was killed. Sŏrim identified him on the spot, and he was finally apprehended and brought to the capitol. It had taken the government three years to find him. He was executed fifteen days later. The dynastic Annals (Yijo shillok. Myŏngjong shillok) makes the following observation: "When there is no good government, then culture and morality cannot thrive. The ministers fulfil their greedy desires as they please, and the magistrates torture the people, rending their flesh and bones and exhausting their blood and tears. There is nowhere to turn for help. He became a thief as a means of survival, after months of starvation and cold. If anyone is to blame, it is the royal court, and not these individuals." After his death, he became revered by outlaws as a bandit and champion of the common people, and inspired numerous tales and novels. He and Chang Kilsan were two great robbers of the Chosŏn period.

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Herbert Mahelona

**Im Kŏjŏng** (see Im Kŏkch'ŏn)

**Imha p’ilgi** (Notes on Imha)

*Imha p’ilgi* was written by the civil official Yi Yuwŏn (1814-1888) of the late Chosŏn period. This calligraphed work consists of thirty-nine volumes in thirty-three fascicles. Yi compiled it while living in a temporary abode at the foot of Mt. Ch'ŏnma in Yangju County about forty kilometers to the east of Seoul. *Imha p’ilgi* contains writings on the Confucian Classics, history, biographies, customs, geography, poetry and many other topics recorded in the refined calligraphy of Yu.

The first volume of this work is entitled ‘Sashi hyangch’um kwan’ and discusses the Four Books and Five Classics of China. The second volume, ‘Kyŏngjŏn hwashi’ covers the poetry of ancient China, and the third and fourth volumes designated ‘Kŭmsŏk haesŏngmuk’ deal with inscriptions on monuments and tombstones in China. The fifth and sixth volumes are entitled ‘Kwaegŏm yŏhwa’ and contain discussions on the military strategies of ancient China, and the seventh, ‘Kūnyŏl’ introduces personages from Chinese
history. Volume eight, ‘Inil’, contains the stories and teachings of the ancient sages of Korea, and the ninth and tenth volumes designated ‘Chǒnmo’ contain writings about the proper conduct for a lord and a vassal. The eleventh to twenty-fourth volumes, which are named ‘Munhon chijang’, cover a vast array of topics ranging from the histories of ancient Korean states during the Koryó period, politics, economics, geography, climate, astronomy, customs and many other topics. Volumes twenty-five to thirty are entitled ‘Ch’unmyǒng ilsa’ and are supplementary volumes that cover a wide range of topics. Volumes thirty-one and thirty-two are named ‘Sunil’ and are also supplements as are the remaining volumes in this work.

*Imha p’ilgi* provides much insight into the situation towards the end of the Chosŏn period. A copy is now kept at the Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University.

**Imjin River**

With its source around Mashik Ridge to the north of Mt. Paegam, the Imjin River flows to the southwest through Kangwŏn Province where it joins with Komit’an Stream and P’yŏngan Stream. In Kyŏnggi Province’s Yŏnch’ŏn County, it merges with the Hant’an River. Near Munsan, it joins Munsan Stream and then the Han River before entering the Yellow Sea near Kanghwa Island. From Yŏnch’ŏn to the coast, the river is flanked by fertile plains which grow rice, wheat, millet, corn, red pepper and tobacco. Before the division of the Korean peninsula, vessels could navigate upstream as far as Korangp’o and smaller boats even as far as Anhyŏp. In ancient times, this area served as the border between the Three Kingdoms. As a result, the river, then known as the Ch’ilchung-ha, was the scene of many battles. In the Korean War, the Imjin was a line of defence for United Nations forces -- the British contingent (the Gloucestershire Regiment) was heavily engaged at this point, in April 1951. Nowadays, the river staddles the contentious border between North and South Korea.

*Imjin waeran* (see Japanese Invasions, 1592-1598) [Japan and Korea; History of Korea]

*Imo kullan*, 1882 [Japan and Korea]

**Imshil County**

Situated in North Chŏlla Province, Imshil County has the town of Imshil and the townships of Kangjin, Kwan’ch’ŏn, Tunnam, Tŏkch’i, Samgye, Sŏngsu, Shindŏk, Unam, Chisa and Ch’ŏngung. The county has a total area of 599.16 sq. kms. and as given by 1989 statistics, a population of 53,081. Most of the county lies on the eastern slopes of the Noryŏng Mountain Range. In the southeastern area, there is a basin at about 250 metres elevation that extends downwards into Namwŏn.

Roughly one-fifth of the county consists of arable land. Of this, some two-thirds is used as rice paddy and much of the remainder for dry-field crops and dairy-farming, the latter on the area’s extensive pasture land found in Ship’yŏng. Strawberries are grown commercially in Sŏngsu Township and alpine vegetables in Kangjin and Unam. There is a large dairy-products processing plant in Tae Village. Sericulture is another source of income for local residents.

The county offers a number of scenic areas and historical sites. Okch’ŏng Lake in Kangjin Township’s Yongsu Village has been developed as a fishing resort since the 1970s. Covering 16 sq.kms., the lake has a wide variety of fish including carp, catfish, mandarin, perch and snakehead mullet. Popular tourist destinations include Sasŏndaes (a spectacular bluff that overlooks Owŏl Stream in Kwan’ch’ŏn Township) and Mt. Sŏngsu in Sŏngsu Township.
Buddhist sites exist at Shinhung Temple in Kwanch'on Township, Tot'ong Temple and Unsu Temple. Established in 529, Shinhung Temple's Main Buddha Hall has been designated North Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 112. A number of Confucian schools exist in this area, including Imshil Hyanggyo founded in Imshil's Ido Village in 1413; Yongch'on Sowon founded in Chisa Township's Yongch'on Village in 1619; Chuan Sowon in Chisa Township's Panggye Village; Kwan'gok Sowon in Chisa Township east of Ongnyo Peak; Shimn Sowon in Imshil's Shimn Village; and Hakjong Sowon in Ch'ongung Township's Kugo Village.

In order to promote the area's cultural traditions, festivals and celebrations are held on a regular basis. The Soch'ung Festival, held on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, is the county's most important celebration. One of the more interesting festivals in the area is the Uigyon (Loyal Dog) Festival. Held since 1984 on Mt. Wondong in Tunnam Township, the festival commemorates a faithful dog that died while trying to save his master's life.

**Imuls nok** (Record of the Year Imuls)

*Imuls nok* is an account of the peasant uprisings that sprang up throughout Korea in 1862 and 1863. The title of this one-volume work was taken from both the fact that the year in which the uprisings began was known as Imul in the sexagenary calendar of traditional Korea, and that *Imuls nok* is the work in this collection that is considered most representative. This work includes a total of six documents, *Imuls nok*, 'Cheju mok anhaeksa changgye tungnok', 'Chongsan chip ch'orok', 'Ijong ch'ong tungnok', 'Samjongch'aek' and 'Yonbuk samjon ch'orok'.

The writer of 'Imuls nok' is unknown and the work covers the peasant uprisings in areas such as the Kyongsang, Cholla and Hamgyong Provinces. The work includes reports by government officials such as special inspectors (anhaeksa), temporary officials (s6nmsa) and governors (kwanch'alsa). This work uses much i6du in its composition. 'Cheju mok anhaeksa changgye tungnok' was written by Yi K6np'il who was a special inspector dispatched to Cheju Island after the outbreak of riots and contains records of his investigation of the chief culprits in the uprising. 'Chongsan chip ch'orok' is a collection of writings by Yi Samhoyn who was charged with putting down the insurrections in Kyongsang Province in the first half of 1862 and then later with quelling the uprisings in Hamhung Province. This work is in the form of a diary. 'Ijong ch'ong tungnok' is a record of special measures that were taken to reform the samj6ng system of taxation and thereby ease the tax burden on the peasantry. 'Samjongch'aek' was written by H6 Ch6n who was Deputy Commander (puhogun) and includes the author's counter-measures to pacify the uprisings. Of all the works that deal with the reforms of the samjong system of taxation, this is the most famous. 'Yonbuk samjon ch'orok' was written by Yun Chonggi and is his opinions on reforms for the samjong system.

*Imuls nok* as a collection of these six documents was published by the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P'y6nch'an Wiw6nhoe) in 1958 in the eighth volume of Han'guk sar6yo ch'ongs6. The original documents of this collection are now in the possession of private collectors or various educational institutions. *Imuls nok* is a valuable document for research into the turbulent times at the close of the Choson period and the rise of various popular movements against excessive taxation and governmental corruption.

**Imun chimnam**

*Imun chimnam* is a work that explains how to use the imun writing style of the Choson government. It was written by Ch'oe Sejin (1473? -1542) in 1539 and is of four volumes and one fascicle. Ch'oe explained the need for this book in that it would aid in understanding the difficult language and writing styles that were used in diplomatic
documents that involved the government's relations with China. The first volume of this work was omitted by the author at the time of compilation since it only contained the King’s order (Chungjong) and did not contain any explanation of the imun or idu system of writing Chinese characters.

This work was published several times during the Chosŏn period, but the original version has not been transmitted to the present age. There is, however, a late sixteenth century edition that has survived to the present and is now stored at Dongguk University Library in Seoul. Along with the explanation of the Chinese character writing systems used by the Chosŏn court, this work also includes about eighty examples of slang written in either han’gul or Chinese characters. These inclusions are of great value to linguists studying the changes in colloquial Korean from the middle period. This work was issued as a supplement to Hundok imun which was published in 1942.

Imundang

Imundang was a book store and publishing firm established in 1916 in Seoul’s Chongno Ward. Its publications included Korean folktales, poetry and Yi Kyubang’s noteworthy book on the Korean language Shinch’an Chosŏn Ŭbop (New Korean Grammar)

Imwŏn shimnyuk chi (Sixteen Treatises upon Retirement)

Imwŏn shimnyuk chi is the work of the late Chosŏn period shirhak (practical learning) scholar Sŏ Yugu (1764-1845). It is also known by the title of Imwŏn kyŏngje chi and is a calligraphed work consisting of 113 volumes in fifty-two fascicles. In the preface of this work, the author reveals that he wishes to pass on to the country gentlemen the essential knowledge and technology needed for life in the countryside. Therefore this work is quite characteristic of an encyclopaedia of pastimes and handicrafts of life in the rural areas.

The 113 volumes of this work are divided into roughly sixteen major categories. The first section is ‘Polli chi’ which covers the first thirteen volumes of the collection and deals mainly with farming methodology. Irrigation and field management techniques are outlined in this section along with the use of fertilizer, the cultivation of certain crops and climatic data of various regions. The second section is ‘Kwanhyu chi’ and covers the fourteenth to seventeenth volumes of this work. This section covers edible and medicinal plants including wild greens, herbs, seaweeds and medicinal plants. Following this is ‘Yewŏn chi’ which includes the eighteenth to twenty-second volumes and covers mainly flower cultivation methods. The fourth section is ‘Manhak chi’ which is composed of volumes twenty-three to twenty-seven. This portion of the work covers the cultivation of thirty-one types of fruit trees, fifteen types of cucumbers and twenty-five varieties of trees. The fifth section, ‘Chŏn’gong chi’ (volumes twenty-eight to thirty-two) explains how to foster mulberry trees along with how to produce silk and make this into silk thread. The sixth section is ‘Wisŏn chi’, volumes thirty-three to thirty-six, which details various astronomical phenomena concerning agriculture. The seventh is ‘Chŏno chi’ which includes volumes thirty-seven to forty and explains stockbreeding, hunting and fishing techniques. The eighth section is ‘Chŏngjo chi’ (volumes forty-one to forty-seven) which explains how to make all kinds of food and drink. In the ninth section ‘Sŏmyong chi’, which entails volumes forty-eight to fifty-one, such items as housing construction, furniture, modes of transport and clothing are clarified. ‘Poyang chi’, the tenth section, includes volumes fifty-two to fifty-nine and explains various aspects of health care such as the care of the elderly and the young. The eleventh section ‘Inje chi’ (volumes sixty to eighty-seven) explains Korean medicine. The twelfth section entitled ‘Hyangnye chi’ covers volumes eighty-eight to ninety and deals with local rituals and observations. The thirteenth section contains volumes ninety-one to ninety-eight and is entitled ‘Yuye chi’. This section explains the art and leisure time activities of the countryside gentry such as calligraphy and painting. ‘Jun chi’ (volumes ninety-nine to 106) is the fourteenth section and covers other hobbies of the rural intellectuals. The
sixteenth section, 'Sang'taek chi' (volumes 107-108) explains the geography and
topography of Korea. The final and sixteenth section of this work is entitled 'Yegyu chi'
and covers volumes 109 to 113. This section explains the economic theory of the author
and puts forth suggestions for the nation as a whole.

This work contains a great number of documents relating to agriculture and rural lifestyles.
It is representative of the works of the shirhak scholars of the late Choson period who
advocated knowledge that could be practically applied to real-life situations. It provides
valuable data for research into the lives of those who lived in rural areas during the Choson
period. In 1966 it was republished by Seoul National University as part of their series on
classical documents entitled Kojon ch'ongso.

Inch'on Metropolitan City

Inch'on is a port city located to the west of Seoul. The city covers an area of 955 square
kilometres and as of 31 December 1996, had a population of 2,390,000. Several islands in
the area, including Yongjong, Yongyu, and Muui Island, are also included in the city limits.
Located across from China's Shandong peninsula, the port has historically served as an
important sea-link between China and Korea. Even now, the city has a small Chinatown,
which is inhabited by approximately 3,000 Chinese. Up to the nineteenth century, however,
Inch'on, then called Chemulp'o, was merely a small fishing village at the mouth of the Han
River.

As Western powers attempted to force open Korean ports in the late nineteenth century, the
area took on strategic importance. In 1871, American ships launched two attacks on the
harbour to avenge the General Sherman incident of 1866. A few years later, after the
signing of the Corean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, Westerners began to enter
Korea through the port, which was officially opened under the name of Inch'on. During the
1890s, there was also a large presence of Japanese entrepreneurs working in the city.
Several years later, these Japanese residents served as a justification for the landing of 8,000
Japanese troops during the Tonghak rebellion.

During the Korean War, Inch'on was the site of a daring amphibious assault by American
forces under the leadership of General MacArthur. Since the harbour's tides are some of the
highest in the world, the landing had to be meticulously planned. On September 15, 1950,
MacArthur's troops made a successful landing. By cutting off the supply lines to North
Korean troops fighting in the south, the invasion led to an abrupt turn-around in the war.

In modern times, Inch'on, located in close proximity to the heavily populated Seoul area,
has served as one of Korea's leading ports. With two tide locks and eight dolphins for
mooring, the harbour has an annual cargo handling capacity of 25 million tons. The city,
with its large iron and steel mill, is also an important industrial centre. Inch'on's industries
also produce flour, plywood, sheet glass, boats and autoparts. Due to its economic and
strategic importance, Inch'on is a directly administered municipality.

The city's role as a transportation hub is being further enhanced by the construction of the
Inch'on International Airport. Urgently required due to the continuously increasing demand
for more international flights to and from Korea, the new airport is scheduled for operation
in the year 2000 with two runways. For the final phase in 2020, four
4,000 metre runways will be constructed.

The city has a number of popular tourist destinations. There is Wölmi Island, which has
actually been reconnected to the mainland through land reclamation projects. On Wölmi, one
finds the popular 'Culture Street' which is clustered with cafes and raw fish restaurants.
Chayu (Liberty) Park on Ungbong Mountain contains a statue of General MacArthur and a
monument commemorating one hundred years of friendship between Korea and the United
States. The area offers a view of downtown Inch’ŏn and the sea. Subong Park, located in Sungūi-dong contains an amusement park for children and a monument to the soldiers who died during the war.

Inch’ŏn has several important educational institutions. In previous times, the Inch’ŏn Hyanggyo (Confucian Academy), located in Kwan’gyo-dong, taught about thirty students. The Hyanggyo contains the mortuary tablets of eighteen Korean scholars renowned for their learning. During the Chosŏn period, the academy received an allotment of land and servants, but it ceased to function as an educational institution after the Kabo reforms of 1894. In modern times, numerous educational institutions, such as Inha University, Inchon National University of Education and Inchon Catholic University have been founded in the city.

**Inch’ŏn Municipal Library**

Situated in Yulmok-dong in Inch’ŏn, the Inch’ŏn Municipal Library (Inch’ŏn Chikhal Shirip Tosogwan) was established in November 1921 under the name Inch’ŏn Purip Tosogwan at what is now the site of Chayu (Liberty) Park. The library was moved to its present location in November 1946. Over time, its collection has expanded from the original holding of nine-hundred volumes to more than seventy-thousand. More than two-hundred and sixty-thousand people are estimated to use the library’s facilities every year.

**Inch’ŏn Municipal Museum**

Situated in Songhak-dong in Inch’ŏn, the Inch’ŏn Municipal Museum (Inch’ŏn Shirip Pangmulgwang) was established in April 1946. Its collection includes stone and earthenware from the Inch’ŏn area; handicrafts; paintings; calligraphy and ancient texts; as well as bronze bells; Buddhist images; and canons from China. Of note are remnants of Japanese armaments and other items from the Sino-Japanese War (1894) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). In addition to its exhibitions, the museum conducts archaeological surveys of local historical sites and records local folklore. Through regular publications, it makes the results of its research available to specialists in the field.

**Independence Club, The (see Tongnip Hyŏphoe)**

**Independence Hall of Korea**

Situated in the city of Ch’ŏn’an in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, the Independence Hall of Korea (Tongnip Kinyaogwan) is an exhibition hall for articles related to the independence movement against the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910-1945). The facility opened on 15 August 1987 in commemoration of the forty-second anniversary of Korea’s liberation. Situated on a 3 993 936-square-metre site, the facility houses over 8 000 items which were shown in seven halls. Progressing from the ancient past to the present, the exhibitions in these halls represent: the Prehistorical period to Chosŏn period, the nation’s struggle with Western imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese occupation from 1894 to 1945, the March First Movement of 1919, independence fighters against the occupation, governments in exile and Korea since independence. In the plaza in front of the museum stands a towering 51.2-metre-high stone structure symbolising the Korean people’s dream of reunification.

**Independent, The (see Tongnip shinmun)**

**India and Korea**
India's relations with Korea commenced in the late fourth century when Buddhism was introduced to Koguryó. Korean Buddhism grew, particularly, in its formative phase under the shadow of Chinese influence. However, not content with the knowledge of Buddhism acquired in China, a number of Korean monks travelled to India in search of scriptures. The list of Korean pilgrims who negotiated the hazardous journey to India is long -- Hyönyu from Koguryó, and Hyöno, Hyöngak Hyeryun, Chölyun, Hyeyöp, Taebom, Hyöntae and Hyech'o from Shilla. Hyeryun, Chölyun, Hyeyöp and Hyöntae studied in the renowned monastery of Nalanda in North India, the last named monk being so erudite that he was given a Sanskrit name Sarvajna deva (an all-knowing god). The Paekche monk Kyömk is also believed to have visited India in the early sixth century, but the singular record Mirilk pulkwang-sa sajok which records his pilgrimage in an Indian monastery appears to be of doubtful provenance.

Though numerous Korean monks visited India during the Three Kingdoms and Unified Shilla era, names of only a few of them have survived the ravages of time. The only Korean monk whose career in India emerges clearly from the shadows of the past is Hyecho. A fragment of his travelogue named Wangochön ch'ukkuk chön (translated in English as the Hyech'o Diary) was discovered by Paul Pelliot in the Dunhuang grotto early this century. Hyech'o studied esoteric Buddhism in Tang China under Indian masters, Subhakarsinha and Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi praised him as 'one of the six living persons, well-trained in the five sections of the Buddhist canons'. On the advice of his Indian teachers in China, he set out for India, to drink deep of the teachings of Buddha. Like travelogues of Xuancang and Yijing, Hyech'o’s work is an invaluable source for the study of the social and religious history of early medieval India. The extant copy of Hyecho’s travelogue starts with the account of a place in North India where Buddhism was no longer a living faith and where people went barefoot and naked. Subsequently Hyech'o visited Kusinagara, a place where Buddha attained Nirvana. His description of the city as desolate and without any human habitation attests to the decline of Buddhism in India at the time. He visited all the major Buddhist sites, including Deer Park near Varanasi where Buddha gave his first Sermon, Rajgriha, where Buddha spent many years preaching his doctrines and Bodhgaya where Buddha attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. Hyech'o also visited many important cities in Central India and West India, including Kannauj and Jalandhara.

Many Indian monks, too, took their monastic staffs and embarked on an assiduous journey to Korea. An Indian monk, Marananda (perhaps a corruption of Kumarananda), reached Paekche from Eastern Jin in south China, bringing incense and Buddhist Scriptures along. Mukhoja (literally, Dark Barbarian) who visited Shilla and cured a Shilla princess during the reign of Nulchi Maripkan (417-458), the nineteenth ruler of Shilla is also believed to be from India or the Western Region. According to the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) he lived stealthily in the house of Morye, and later when a Chinese envoy presented incense to the court of Shilla, Mukhoja was the only person in the kingdom to know its name and use. It is also mentioned that Mukhoja cured a Shilla princess by praying and the burning of incense.

In the heyday of Buddhism, invocation of paradigmatic India and the related Buddhist elements became a common phenomenon, apparently because it reaffirmed sacrality of the land as the Buddhist realm (pulgukt'o) and its rulers as moral exemplars of the Buddhist kingship. The rulers of sixth and early seventh century Shilla proclaimed their faith in the Buddhist concept of cakravartin (Universal Ruler) and employed Asokan symbolism in order to legitimate and reinforce the centralised political structure of the kingdom which faced relentless challenge at the time from the powerful aristocratic class. King Chinhung (r. 540-576) demonstrated his allegiance to the concept of cakravartin by naming his sons Tongnyun (Bronze Wheel) and Saryun/ Kunryun (Iron Wheel / Gold Wheel), two of the four categories of cakravarin described in the Buddhist sutras. When monk Hyeryang escaped from Koguryó, he was asked to recite Inwang kyông (Benevolent King Sutra)
which contains references to the glory and magnificence of a cakravartin king. Additionally, *Samguk yusa* and *Haedong kosung chŏn* (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks) record that a shipload of gold and iron sent by King Asoka drifted to a number of kingdoms and several kings sought to mould the metal into statues of Buddha, but failed. It was the Shilla king Chinhŭng who succeeded in casting the metal into a Buddha triad (statues of Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas). He is said to have installed the 'Asokan' statues in the Hwangyong temple, the palladium of Buddhist culture in Shilla.

King Chinp'yŏng (570-632) revived the tradition of King Chinhŭng and used Buddhist rhetoric to articulate his political concern and strengthen his hold over power. He named himself Chŏngban (Suddhodana) and called his wife Maya puin (Lady Maya), and the king's two brothers, also, were named after the two brothers of Suddhodana. Symbolism of the names of Buddha's parents which Chinp'yŏng adopted had an obvious political implication. It signified the sacred character of Shilla kingship and complete unity between Buddhism and royalty.

During the reign of Queen Sŏndŏk (r. 632-646), the twenty-seventh monarch of Shilla, Buddhist myth was invoked once again. She faced threat to her power from a faction of powerful aristocracy which used Confucian values to question her right to rule. And externally, she was perceived by the rival kingdoms on the peninsula as weak, and they plotted to attack Shilla. Monk Chajang proclaimed her as a queen of the Ksatriya caste, the warrior caste of India to which Buddha belonged and thus accorded her a status crowned with virtue and valour. Chajang described Shilla as the Buddhist realm, an abode of the Past Buddhas to give spiritual comfort to his countrymen and to instil in their mind confidence and a sense of pride. Indeed, so heavily undergirded was the age with Buddhist lores that Kim Ch'ŏlchun called it, 'an age of Buddhist royal names'.

It appears that the legend of Hŏ Hwangok, an Indian princess from Ayodhya sailing to the shore of Kaya to marry King Suro (r.42-199) in 51 C.E., was manufactured in the seventh century. When Kaya was absorbed by Shilla in the sixth century, its ruling house was integrated into the social and political structure of Shilla and given the chin 'gol (true-bone) status. Later, King Muyŏl (r. 654-661) took a Kaya woman as his queen, and it appears that at the time clan of the former Kaya royalty borrowed several myths and motif of Shilla in order to retroactively sacralise its geneology. It could well have been intended to maintain its privileges which accrued from its status as a clan of royal consort. The theme of birth from an egg that we find in the origin myths of both Shilla and Kaya royalty may not be an example of Kaya's borrowed motif. However, appearance of the symbolism of Ayodhya in the career of Queen Chindŏk (r. 647-654) as well as the consort of Kaya's legendary founding ancestor appears to suggest Shilla's influence on Kaya. It is to be recalled that the maiden name of Queen Chindŏk was Sungman (Srimala), a queen of Ayodhya according to Buddhist scriptures. It is quite likely that the former royalty of Kaya, which was known in Shilla as the New House of Kim, learnt about the significance of Ayodhya symbolism in the seventh century during the reign of Queen Chindŏk and employed it adroitly to acquire greater political legitimacy in the Shilla court. Apparently, the apocryphal tale was accepted by later generations as an authentic historical reality and marriage between the Kimhae Kim clan and the Kimhae Hŏ clan became a taboo. The legend of Hŏ Hwangok together with several other mythological accounts which connect Korea with India may not have much historical value, but they are important as sources of romantic imagination of the Korean people about India, the land of Buddha.

India's cultural dialogue with Korea continued during Koryŏ. According to the *Koryŏsa*, Srivajra from Magadha in India reached the court of Koryŏ and was accorded a warm reception by the Koryŏ royalty. *Koryŏsa* also records that the famous Monk Úch'ŏn met an Indian monk Chŏngil Sang during his sojourn in Song China, and later, when a portrait of the Indian monk was brought to Koryŏ by royal command, he was overcome with nostalgic feelings and composed a poem on the occasion. The last recorded monk to visit
Korea was Dhyanbhadra (Buddhist name Sunyadisya: Chigong in Korean) who reached Koryŏ in 1326 and returned to Yuan China two years later. Chigong was a dharma master of several Korean monks including Naong, Baegun and Muhak. At the time of Chigong’s visit, Koryŏ Buddhism had lost its spiritual purity and ideological strength because of its close collusive links with power struggles amongst the aristocracy, and its engagement in profitable commercial enterprises. Chigong was distressed at the degeneration of the glorious Buddhist tradition of Korea and emphasised the need to understand and recover the true spirit of Dhyana (Sŏn) Buddhism. The fact that a stupa monument was constructed in his memory and an account of his life and activities engraved at Hoeam temple illustrates the extent of Chigong’s influence on the world of Koryŏ Buddhism.

With the adoption of neo-Confucianism as a guiding ideology by the Chosŏn dynasty founded in 1392, along with the decline of Buddhism in India, the rhythm of vibrant interaction between the two countries ceased and India lingered in the Korean consciousness as a distant and fading memory. Chosŏn’s lingering nostalgia for India found its articulation in such Buddhist works as Sŏkpo sangjol and Worin sŏkpo, and in the dreamland of fiction written by Kim Manjung, while the confucian literati would read works like Tongmun Kwango (A Broad Survey in Sino-Korean Writing) to quench their intellectual curiosity about Indian society. Tongmun Kwango, written by Yi Tongjung, has a section on history, geography and society of India and it represented the first major attempt to overcome the limitations of its Sinocentric channel of information and form an independent perspective of the various Asian countries. The situation of mutual indifference between Korea and India during Chosŏn changed in the twentieth century when the common colonial experiences served as a major reference-point and fanned the dying embers of mutual interest. The credit for revitalising the bilateral relations in the twentieth century goes to Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore.

In the early twentieth century, the world knew little about the Korean reality, and even Western writers described Japan as a harbinger of modernisation and progress in Korea. India could not really understand or appreciate the legitimate nationalist aspirations of the Korean people. The Korean question was not raised in any of the meetings of the Indian National Congress, nor did any political leader engaged at the time in India's freedom movement write about it. Gandhi was the only Indian to pen his thoughts (random though they were) on the developments on the Korean peninsula. During the initial years of the twentieth century Gandhi was in South Africa, engaged in what he himself described as 'experiments with truth'. And it seems that some political events of the Korean peninsula confirmed his belief that truth and non-violence were the most effective instruments of resistance against a mighty imperialist power.

In a short note which Gandhi originally wrote in Gujarati on 25 April 1908, he pointed out that the Chinese in Korea resorted to a boycott of Japanese goods to protest against Japanese atrocities, and that Japan was frightened, because it knew that it needed their support in order to stay on in Korea or anywhere in China. Gandhi concluded, 'Such is the power of boycott, and boycott is the only one aspect of Satyagraha. If by itself it can be so much stronger than hundreds of guns, what may we not expect of Satyagraha?'

Again in an article dated 26 October 1909, Gandhi pondered over another event on the Korean peninsula—the assassination of Japan's leading statesman of the times, Itō Hirobumi, at the hands of a Korean patriot, An Chunggün. Itō Hirobumi was instrumental in imposing on Korea the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, which reduced the Korean sovereign to the status of a Japanese marionette, and paved the way for the annihilation of the Korean national identity.

It is not known how knowledgeable Gandhi was about Korea. However, he was politically shrewd enough to see through the Japanese propaganda about the history of Korea-Japan relations. He felt that Itō was a brave Japanese soldier, but unfortunately his patriotic zeal
was misguided. He wrote that, 'in subjugating Korea, Itō used his courage to a wrong end.' Gandhi further observed, 'They (the Korean people) have always regarded Japan with hatred. Itō had been attacked twice before this. But Japan, having once tasted Russian blood, was certainly not likely to pull out of Korea so easily. Such is always the intoxication of power.'

The Korean people too took note of the Gandhian strategy of political agitation and explored ways of adapting it to their own struggle for national liberation. In its editorial dated 13 November 1922, Korea's leading newspaper, the Donga ilbo, admired Gandhi for his 'sagacity in pointing out the way towards the eternal welfare and happiness of the Indian people', and underlined the 'necessity of devising a means of self-production' in Korea as well. In the 1920's the ideals and ideas of Gandhi gained so much momentum in Korea that many organisations emphasising self-production mushroomed, causing immense damage to the colonial industry of Japan. Apparently, Gandhi's influence seems to have played the role of a catalyst to the promotion of native industries in Korea in the twenties.

Gandhi was held in such high esteem in Korea that he struck some Korean intellectuals as an emblem of Christian values, and an attempt was made to understand the Gandhian philosophy in a Christian framework in the same way that Romain Rollands did in the West. In Korea, Yi Kwangsu, a celebrated nationalist thinker, argued that Gandhi emulated the ideas and ideals of Jesus. In post-liberation Korea when the military junta unleashed a reign of terror on the champions of democracy and justice, Korean Christians once again recalled Gandhi as the embodiment of Christian values, and turned to his principles and precepts for the salvation of the nation, as is evident in the writings of Ham Sŏkhŏn and Kim Dae Jung. The Christian philosopher Ham Sŏkhŏn based his thoughts in such close parallel to Gandhi that he was given the sobriquet, 'Gandhi of Korea'. Ham translated into Korean the Bhagavadgītā, Gandhi's favourite Hindu scripture, and discussed its influence on the life and thought of Gandhi in an informed introduction to his translation. Like Gandhi, Ham also established an asrama (hermitage) for moral regeneration of the Korean youth, and used his pen as an instrument for the spiritual uplift of the nation. When Park Chung Hee seized power in the coup d'état of 1961, Ham criticised him for using the wrong means to achieve his stated objective. Apparently, Ham drew his ideological sustenance in his unyielding opposition to military rulers of Korea from Gandhian thought. Gandhi believed that it was impossible to define a just and noble goal, and employ unjust and ignoble means to achieve it, because 'ends do not justify means'. In one of his essays Gandhi and Christ, Kim Dae Jung, Korea's intrepid champion of democracy, acknowledged his ideological and spiritual debt to Gandhi. He compared Gandhi with Jesus Christ and praised him for using non-violence to instil 'a sense of righteous wrath in the masses who were watching and in arousing sympathy in world opinion'.

While Gandhi built a political bridge of understanding between the two countries, the voice of Tagore appealed to the Korean people as an echo of India's rich spiritual civilization. Tagore's first Korean experience can be traced to 1916 when during his first trip to Japan he met several Korean students and learnt about Japan's harsh colonial policies in Korea. During his sojourn in Japan he wrote a poem entitled The Song of the Defeated. He gave this poem to Chin Hangmun, a Korean student in Japan who visited him at his Yokohama residence on 11 July 1916. The poem reads:

My master has bid me while I stand at the roadside, to sing the Song of defeat, for that is the bride whom he woos in secret..... She is silent with eyes downcast; she has left her home behind her. From her home has come wailing in the wind. But the stars are singing the love-song of the eternal To a face sweet with shame and suffering.

By giving the poem to a Korean student the poet wished to underscore the common destiny of India and Korea. He also intended to provide moral fortitude to the Korean people,
suffering under the yoke of Japan's repressive colonial rule. The poem is a testament of the Tagore's belief that it is not defeat and humility but conquest by swords that calls for shame. Chin published Tagore's original (English) poem together with its Korean translation and an introductory note in the magazine Ch’ongch’un.

Tagore visited Japan twice more, once in 1924 on his way back from China and finally in 1929. During his last trip to Japan Tagore made a vitriolic attack on Japan's imperialist rule in Korea. Some Korean students visited Tagore soon after he reached Japan, and apprised him of the exploitation and suffering to which his countrymen were subjected by the colonial rulers. As 1929 marked the tenth anniversary of the famous March First Movement, some Korean students requested Tagore to contribute a poem to commemorate the greatest expression of protest in the colonial history of Korea. Tagore quickly composed the quatrain:

In the golden age of Asia  
Korea was one of the lamp-bearers  
That lamp waits to be lighted once again  
For the illumination of the East

In the 1930s, when Japanese imperialism reached its most vigorous stage, Tagore gave a stern warning to Japan, and in a letter to his poet-friend Noguchi Yonejirō he stridently criticised the Japanese slogan, 'Asia for Asia'. He wrote, 'You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls.'

During the 1920's many of Tagore's works were translated into Korean. However, his poetry represented to the Korean mind 'a glowing warmth, not a boiling turmoil', as Yi Kwangsu once observed. It is generally believed that Tagore's influence found its best expression in the poetry of Han Yongun (1879-1944). Indeed, Han Yongun adopted the motif and the metaphorical implications of Tagore's verse and produced Nim ī Ch’immuk (The Silence of Love) which is considered a milestone in modern Korean poetry for its departure from the traditional poetic conventions. Like Tagore, Han made an effort in his poetry to transmute human passion into a yearning for an eternal and divine bliss, but Han Yongun was much more particularistic and practical in his enunciation of political views than Tagore. Han imitated the motifs of Tagore -- separation, sighs, silent tears -- but there is a manifest attempt in his verse to ignite the dormant Tagorean sparks into fervent flame. 'Do not wash fallen flowers with tears, wet instead the dust beneath the flower-tree', a line from Han Yongun's poem, After Reading Tagore's Poem 'Gardinesto', attests to Han's ambivalent attitude to Tagore.

Jawaharlal Nehru seems to have closely followed the flow of the Korean nationalist movement. In a letter to his daughter Indira, (30 December 1932), Nehru lauded the patriotic spirit which the Korean youth displayed during the patriotic Korean nationalist uprising of 1 March 1919. He noted that, 'the people of Korea, and particularly the youth, struggled gallantly against tremendous odds', and described the suppression as 'very sad and dark chapter in history'. Nehru met some nationalist leaders from Korea at the Brussels Congress of the League against Imperialism which he attended as a representative of the Indian National Congress. He was instrumental in appointing a committee of four with its seat in Paris to cooperate with the League against Imperialism, and especially to look after the interests of small countries like Korea and Persia, which had no special organisations to watch over their interests. He noted that delegates from Korea along with some other Asian countries like Syria and Indonesia, wished to form an Asiatic federation which represented a unity amongst Asian countries; the idea, however, did not find favour with the western organisers of the Conference. Nehru also noted that the international community did not take a firm stance on Korea, and that delegates from Korea were considerably put off.

On 15 October 1945, exactly two months after the Japanese war machine had collapsed on
the Korean peninsula, Nehru handed a statement to the press in which he mounted a strident criticism on Japanese imperialism for depriving Korea of its freedom and subsequently wreaking havoc on a number of weaker nations of Asia. As the prime minister of an independent India in 1947, Nehru continued to take a keen interest in Korean affairs and played an active role in the resolution of Korean crises at different stages.

India got involved in the Korean affairs soon after it achieved its own independence in 1947. After the conclusion of the Second World War Korea was arbitrarily divided across the 38th Parallel and negotiations between the USA and the USSR broke down over plans for a Korean trusteeship. At that time, K. P. S. Menon, an Indian diplomat, was voted chair of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNOK), which was charged with the responsibility of supervising and conducting elections throughout Korea, and setting up a unified national government. The prevailing political chaos and social upheaval made the task of the commission singularly difficult, a situation which was further complicated by the Soviet refusal to cooperate with the United Nations (UN) with the result that the Commission could not follow its mandate in Soviet-occupied North Korea. When the proposal was made before the UN Interim Committee to hold elections in those areas accessible to the Commission, Menon voted in favour. He originally believed that the UN-supervised elections only in the southern part of the peninsula would lead to chaos and instability and perpetuate national division across ideological lines. However, he compromised his conviction and allowed his heart to rule his head, because he did not wish to disappoint the Korean poet, Marion Moh (Madame Mo Yunsuk). India’s vote clinched the issue in favour of the electoral process.

In June 1950, when the Korean War broke out India condemned North Korean aggression and voted in favour of the Security Council resolution at the UN. It sent an ambulance unit as a token of its support to the UN action, but did not commit itself militarily. During the difficult years of the Korean war India made concerted efforts to mediate a negotiated settlement. The major provisions of the Indian peace initiatives which its ambassadors unfolded in Washington, Moscow and Beijing were seating the People’s Republic of China in the UN; ending the UN Security Council boycott by the Soviet Union; and a coordinated effort by these powers to bring about a ceasefire in Korea. The Indian proposals evoked irate reactions in both Seoul and Washington and in the end nothing substantial came of the overtures. Nevertheless, India’s experience of unsuccessful diplomacy in Korea prepared her for a more meaningful role in international relations in future years. After conclusion of an Armistice Agreement in July 1953 India was chosen Chair and Executive Agent of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission to solve the issue of the prisoners of war, perhaps a belated recognition of the Indian insistence on positive neutrality during the war years.

Diplomatic ties between India and Korea commenced in April 1962 when Korea established its consulate in India. The relationship was elevated to ambassadorial level in 1973 and since then it has expanded slowly but steadily to new horizons. A number of positive and concrete measures taken by both governments, which include the exchange of numerous high level visits, academic and cultural exchange programs, and the establishment of a joint commission and joint business councils have doubtless strengthened mutual understanding between the two countries. The major underpinning of the current bilateral ties is, however, trade and investment.

Korea Economic Relations fall into three broad categories: Trade, Investment and Aid. Trade relationship has grown significantly over the years, from a modest $US301 million in 1981 to a massive $US2.32 billion in 1996. During the period, Korean’s export to India consisted mainly of plant and machinery equipment, and India’s exports to Korea comprised mostly raw materials, such as iron ore, cotton, and animal feed. The changing composition of India’s exports to Korea in the recent years is, indeed, a cause of satisfaction; however, the present level of total turnover is hardly commensurate to the size
of the two economies.

In the investment arena, Korea's recognition of India's vast potential is becoming increasingly manifest. Until June 1996, the aggregate value of Korean investments in India amounted to $US700 million. By the end of 1997, however, the amount of Korea's direct foreign investment in India had soared to $US1.5 billion. The major Korean conglomerates (chaebol), including Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung, LG, are represented in India. Aid represents a new facet of India-Korea economic ties. With the recognition of its developmental strategy, Korea initiated a number of modest programmes to share its experiences with and render assistance to the developing nations. Though India benefitted from some of the Korean scheme of grants-in-aid and technical assistance, aid per se has not been an important component of the bilateral economic ties.

An official visit by India's Prime Minister Sri P. V. Narasimha Rao to South Korea in September 1993 was the first ever by an Indian prime minister and it was reciprocated six months later by President Kim Young-sam who visited India in March 1997. These summit meetings cemented bilateral ties and created a momentum for closer collaboration for the mutual benefit of both countries in various areas. The climate of political understanding, together with phenomenal growth in economic linkages has led in recent years to the realisation of the need to forge cooperation in other fields such as science, technology, culture and education.

Because of the flourishing Buddhist civilization of Korea, the study of Indian philosophy was always present on Korea's academic landscape. Donguk and Wonkwang universities have offered courses in Sanskrit, Pali and Indian philosophy for several decades. The study of Hindi and Modern Indian culture in Korea started in the early 1970s, when a department of Hindi was opened at Hanguk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul. The Hindi department at the Pusan University of Foreign Studies, opened in the mid-1980s. Koreans have published several original works of research in various fields of Indology and their achievement in the field of translation of Indian texts is also impressive. Many works of fiction and non-fiction written in classical and modern Indian languages, as well as works by Indian scholars are available in their Korean translation. Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru, Radhakrishnan, Premchand Bhisma Sahni and R. S. Sharma are only some of the many writers whose works have been translated into Korean. Such India-related journals as Hanin yŏng'gu, published by the Tagore Society of Korea; Indohak pulgyohak Yŏng'gu, published by Dongguk University; and Sŏnama Yŏng'gu (Journal of West Asian Studies) published by Hanguk University of Foreign Studies have also made significant contributions towards the dissemination of knowledge and the attendant enhancement of awareness about India in Korea. Compared to the Korean enthusiasm for India, India's academic interest in Korea is rather abject. Courses in Korean studies are offered only at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

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Indigenous religion

Besides native shamanism, the majority of new religions in Korea are classifiable as indigenous, for although they have borrowed from the imported Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism and Christianity, their syncretism reveals native interpretations and predilections. The four main indigenous religions now are Ch'ondogyo, Taejonggyo, Chungsan'gyo and Won Pulgyo.

Ch'ondogyo is the direct successor to Tonghak, a religion founded in 1860 by Ch'oe Cheu after a revelation from Sangje (Emperor on High). A marginalised intell-ectual, trained in Confucianism, Ch'oe practiced Buddhistic austerities. Suffering a shaman's sickness, he was unexpectedly spoken to by an immortal and given a mandate of Heaven with the words, "I have a numinous talisman called the medicine of the immortals, shaped like the Supreme Ultimate (t'aegik) ... Accept the talisman and heal people. If you receive my incantation and teach it to people, you will have long life." Eaten, the talisman cured Ch'oe and those who believed in Hananim (God - usually written Hanullim by Ch'ondogyo). The twenty-one character incantation, 'The supreme ki (energy/pneuma) now imminent, I pray for its great descent. I will serve the Lord of Heaven and creation will be established. I will never forget (God) and all things will be known', contains many of the fundamentals of Ch'ondogyo doctrine.

Ch'oe called his teaching the Heavenly Way (ch'ondo) or Tonghak (Eastern Learning) to contrast with Christianity (söhak, Western Learning). The Supreme Ki and the emphasis on sincerity and respect derive from Neo-Confucianism. The long life, talisman and promised utopia originate in folk immortals' Daoism. Ch'oe's experience was then rationalized via borrowings from Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and Christianity, which he had been studying previously. Having attracted followers by populist faith-healing and by selecting elements from known doctrines, the authorities executed him for heresy in 1866.

One only required, he claimed, faith in Hanullim (Lord of Heaven), sincerity and reverence. As the Lord of Heaven is all creation, which is manifested via the Supreme Ki or the oscillations of yin and yang, the most spiritual beings, humans, need only constantly serve Heaven, and an immortals' paradise will eventuate. The mind of Heaven is the human mind, and so the mind is innately pure, and all the phenomena of the universe are an evolution of the Supreme Ki, with which unity humans can identify...and become immortal.'

The successor, Ch'oe Shihyông, expanded these unsystematic doctrines, creating an organization, ethical code and scriptures. He taught reverence for Heaven was reverence for one's mind, which leads to respect for others and finally for all creation. Thus, pantheistically, Nature serves Heaven, the inner meaning of the 'great descent'.

Initially, Ch'oe Shihyông tried to avoid politics, but Tonghak resentment over the execution of their founder and the increasing exploitation of the farmers exploded into the Tonghak Uprising (1893-1894) led by Chôn Pongjun. Ch'oe Shihyông was captured and executed in 1898.

Son Pyônghûi succeeded as leader, and fearing for his life, spent most of 1901-1906 in Japan. Son reacted to the pro-Japanese political activities of Yi Yonggu and the Iljinhoe, proclaimed Tonghak purely a religion, renaming it Ch'ondogyo. He expelled Yi Yonggu's group, who formed Sich'ón'gyo. Son consolidated doctrine and practice, a process still continuing. He announced that humans are Heaven (God) - inmaech'on - that humans bear divinity, the purpose of which is the creation of a divine paradise on earth. Cultivation of
the mind leads to communion with Hanullim, and by serving humans like Heaven, mind and body are perfected. Thus are the people aided and saved. Similarly, one is neither mired in the mystical idealism of the impersonal and formless Heaven nor in the materialism of the Supreme Ki.

Sunday was made the day of observance, daily prayer was worship before a bowl of water symbolizing awareness of the foundations of the universe. Believers chant the incantation, and daily offer a spoonful of rice for religious works. This organization enabled Ch'ondogyo to play a pivotal role in the March First Movement, overcoming the pro-Japanese taint. Son read the independence proclamation, was arrested and died in prison in 1922. The Japanese repression produced factions and new 'sects'. Despite Japanese and then communist suppression, Ch'ondogyo survives in South Korea, where it had an estimated 2,000,000 followers in 1950, and in 1995 had 29,623 believers.

Taejonggyo was founded in 1909 by Na Ch'ol, a former bureaucrat, under the name Tan'gun'gyo. Faith in Tan'gun, the mythical divine founder of Korea, had been revived by Kim Yŏmbaek in 1893. Kim claimed Tan'gun was the god behind all religions, and salvation was thus through belief in Tan'gun. Na Ch'ol, on a voyage to Japan in a bid to save Korea in 1908, supposedly received a book written on Mt Paekdu. Through this re-illumination of the ancient holy teaching and other revealed texts, Na Ch'ol and sympathizers hoped to revive Korea by worshipping Tan'gun and Heaven, for Koreans were the descendants of Heaven via Tan'gun. To avoid offending the imperial Shintoist beliefs of the Japanese who had annexed Korea, the religion's name was changed to Tae jonggyo. The religious headquarters shifted in 1914 from Seoul to near Mt Paekdu, the mountain of Tan'gun's advent. Their 30,000 membership seemed a threat to the Japanese, who began repression. Na Ch'ol suicided, and his successor and many believers fled to Manchuria from where they led a military resistance to Japan until 1945, being almost annihilated. But membership in 1973 reached 145,000.

The faith's three gods are Hwan'in (Sangje), Hwan'ung (Shinshi) and Hwan'gŏm (Tan'gun) who function as creator, teacher and ruler, and are united in substance as Han'ollim or Hanbae'gŏm. Han means universal, the one, primal originator of the chosen people, the Koreans or Han. All humans at birth receive the three truths of human nature, life and vitality from Han'ollim. But the three truths are overcome by mind, energy (ki) and the body, producing evil. The three truths can be restored by suppressing the three errors via ascetic practices (halting emotion is the Buddhist seeing of the nature; regulation of the breath or ki is the Daoist immortality technique; the restriction of sensation is Confucian cultivation of the self/body, or divine assistance. Humans, situated between the good gods and evil demons can gravitate to either. The triune principle is applied to this cosmology, to the gods and the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Ceremonies are performed with symbolic utensils (round=Heaven, square=earth, triangle=humans) in which dew, grain, silk and money are offered to Han'ollim. Believers numbered 11,047 in 1995.

Ch'ungsang'gyo is a general name for approximately sixty current new religions that claim Kang Iksun (1871-1909) as their founder. Ch'ungsang was Kang's style. He claimed he was an incarnation of Kuch'ŏn Sangje (Emperor on High of the Ninth or highest Heaven) come to found an earthly paradise by reordering the relations between the human and spirit worlds via ritual magic, and that after death he would return as the future buddha, Maitreya. Disillusioned with Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, and disappointed at the failure of the Tonghak Uprising, Kang sought other remedies, such as the taegŏju - (Incantation of the Great Primal), Kim Hang's Ch'ông yŏk theories of the order of the imminent universe, and traditional medicine. Through prayer at Taewŏn Monastery on Mt. Mo'ak, he realized he was humanity's saviour. Perceiving that the gods, spirits and demons influenced the human world, and vice versa, because the souls of the dead become gods, spirits, demons or immortals according to their circumstances in life, he asserted that a future world order of
immortals could be created by transforming the spirit and human worlds.

The past world had now reached nadir due to disputes within the spirit and human realms. Aided by the leading god (Sangje / Kang II-sun), the regulation of the universe can be achieved via cosmic magic ritual (ch'ŏnji kongsa) incantations reordering the spirit world. This changes human behaviour, for the spirit realm is basically a projection of human mentalities. As humans are the highest existence, the human action of expunging accumulated grievances, especially primal resentment, and replacing mutual conquest with mutual aid, will reform the universe. So gods and humans develop together, and the spirit and human realms will be harmonized. In the new cosmos humans are mentally deified via humaneness and righteousness, which remove grievances and disease. As Kang manifested Sangje, the utopia would commence in Korea.

The magic rituals involve offerings to gods, incantations and prayers. The common scripture is the Taesun chŏn'gyŏng, and incantations the T'aedŏju, Tonghak Shich'ŏnju or the Buddhist spell to expel the disease demons, which contains the Sanskrit-derived word humch'i that was used derogatively for the religion, Humchi'gyo (Thieving Religion).

Because Kang died without any nominated heirs, or institutions, or set doctrines or name for his teaching, his widow and many pupils established their own religions; some Buddhistic (using the name Maitreya), some Daoistic, some stressing Tan'gun worship. Spreading initially from areas once supportive of the Tonghak Rebellion, one sect, Poch'ŏn'gyo, gained a reported following of 6 million in the 1920s. It was suppressed because its leader, Ch'ă Kyōngsŏk was rumoured to be an emperor. Most Chungsan'gyo religions were suppressed by the Japanese, but many survived. The largest is the Taesun chillihoe with 67 6322 believers in 1995.

Wŏn Pulgyo or Wŏn Buddhism is a reformist Buddhism directed at the laity, with a Buddhist metaphysic and a practice and morality with Confucian nuances. The founder, Pak Chungbin (1891-1943), the son of a peasant, after failing to meet a mountain god or an enlightened master, fell into a shaman's sickness. In 1916, sitting quietly at dawn, he suddenly found his mind cleared of doubts and felt refreshed. Hearing the lines of the mandate given to Ch'oe Cheu, and lines from the Zhou Yi, he understood them instantly, unlike before. Realizing he was enlightened, he announced, "All existence is of one essence and all dharmas are of one source. In this the Way which lacks origination or cessation and the principle of cause and effect (karma) are mutually grounded, forming a clear framework." According to personal testimony, after he studied Confucian, Buddhist, Christian and Tonghak texts, he understood that his realization was Buddhist.

This independent enlightenment is used as evidence that Wŏn Buddhism is indigenous, but some observers claim Pak had been a child monk or had assistance from an eminent monk in compiling his scriptures. The language encapsulating his enlightenment experience is Buddhist, and Mahayana Buddhist scriptures and sayings of Chan/Sŏn monks are included in the Wŏn Buddhist canon. Pak practiced contemplation and meditation at Wŏlmyŏng Hermitage in 1919, called his original thrift association Pulbŏp yŏng'guhoe (Buddha-Dharma Study Society) and published a Chosŏn pulgyo hyŏksshimnon (Thesis on the Reform of Korean Buddhism) in 1935, criticizing established Buddhism for being unproductive, monastic-centred, and deliberately abstruse in doctrine and ritual.

Through religiously-inspired labour, Pak built an economic base for religious ends, welfare, education and improving women's rights. Believers were free to marry, but had to be diligent, thrifty and moral. Establishing a base at Iri in 1924, the membership has grown to a reported 1000 000 believers and 5 000 religious functionaries. It has adopted Christian organizational practices (set scripture, hymns, Sunday observance and sermons) and welfare activities (old-people's homes, orphanages, pharmacies, agricultural extension agencies, schools and a university). Some of this may also have been modelled on the
active Japanese Buddhist denominations or on Tonghak.

The name Wŏn Pulgyo was adopted in 1946, wŏn meaning circle or perfection. Wŏn is used to symbolize the Dharmakătya Buddha ( pŏpshin pul ), the corpus of the enlightened Law, which is essentially the source of the phenomenal or dharmic universe and the original nature of all sentient beings that is realized by the buddhas, wherein karmic retribution has ended, but which manifests itself in the particulars of phenomena and karmically under the influence of Awareness. This circle ( ilwŏnsang ) symbolizes the noumena within phenomena, both of which are empty. The formula, 'Everywhere is a Buddha image, every event an offering to Buddha', shows that the practice of the 'Buddha-Dharma is life' itself, in which meditation ( sŏn ) is timeless and unrestricted by place, a legacy of the Korean Sŏn tradition of Pojo Chinul (1158-1210).

As quotidian phenomena are enlightenment or noumema, there are means to that enlightenment. Four graces ( saon ) emanate from Dharmakătya Buddha: the grace of heaven and earth which provide the basis of existence; the grace of parents to whom one owes one's life; the grace of brethren who provide mutual aid; and the grace of legal regulations which facilitate peace and justice. In this Buddhо-Confucian morality, one should know and requite these kindnesses via the four essentials ( sayo ): cultivating one's nature, acting morally and identifying with heaven and earth; filial respect and repaying parents by achieving wisdom, and treating everyone as parents and helping the helpless: educating the brethren, cooperating with others and not needlessly harming animals or vegetation; and respecting public laws and acting fairly. These articles of faith are the selfless service to the public.

This is put into practice and achieved in gradual stages. Practice begins with calming the mind by meditation, the study of events and principle by learning about karma, and by proper conduct. Resentment is converted to gratitude by these means, true awareness is realized through correct conduct, which activates the Buddha-Dharma as a timeless and placeless meditation in daily life. The sorrows of the current materialistic civilization will be overcome by the creation of a new spirituality appropriate to the modern scientific age, in which body and spirit are both perfected through labour and morality.

Wŏn Buddhism is currently the best organized and most active of these indigenous religions, with 84 918 believers in 1995.

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Industrial Bank of Korea

[Banks
Industry (see also Korea)

Introduction

Basic to Korea's rapid growth has been the change in the sectoral composition of output. It has quickly shifted from an agricultural base to an industrial one. Implicit in this as well was the associated growth of service industries - electricity, gas, and water; construction; transport; distribution; government; and so on. Mining output, which never accounted for much of the total has actually fallen in recent years. These changes are presented in Table 1.

Within the manufacturing sector (and some of the most closely related sectors like trade, construction, and electricity), there have also been significant shifts, as Korea had gone through the stage in which it produced labour-intensive, low-value-added, low-wage, low-technology products like textiles, footwear, stuffed toys, and wigs. It has gone on to a higher stage, in chemicals and heavy industry like steel, autos, and shipbuilding. These changes are clearly brought out in Table 2, which shows the current composition of manufacturing by product type.

Table 3 and 4 communicate much the same message at a level of greater detail for example, showing the decline of mining and textiles and the growth of motor vehicles from 1981 to 1992.

Table 1 Composition of Korean Output in Value Added Terms, 1957 and 1992 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forests, fisheries</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining, quarrying</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas, water</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale &amp; retail trade, hotels</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage, communication</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, real estate, business services</td>
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<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community, social, personal services</td>
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<td>Government services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private, non-profit services to households</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import duties</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Imputed bank service charges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross domestic product</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Industrial Composition of Value Added in Manufacturing, 1991 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food, beverages, &amp; tobacco</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles, wearing apparel &amp; leather industries</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood &amp; paper products, including furniture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper, paper products, printing &amp; publishing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals &amp; chemical, petroleum, coal, rubber, plastic products</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-metallic mineral products (except petroleum &amp; coal)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic metal industries</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricated metal products, machinery &amp; equipment</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Banking system (See Financial Institutions)

Industrial estates and free export zones

Korea has both industrial estates and free export zones. The former continue to play an
important role in the economy. The latter, however, have diminished to insignificance because the reason for their attractiveness, low wages, has disappeared over the last 15 years, causing tenants to move their operations elsewhere. The free export zones were largely established to attract foreign investors in labour-intensive assembly industries. The most important is at Masan, near Pusan on the southern coast. The zones offered the usual amenities - existing facilities, power, water, tax exemptions, and simplified procedures for importing and exporting.

Industrial estates were established primarily to induce domestic investment in areas distant from Seoul which has become overcrowded and currently accounts for more than a quarter of the population and perhaps half of the investment in physical plant and equipment. By establishing industrial activity remote from the capital it was hoped to reduce the rate of growth there.

The industrial estates offer many of the same amenities as the free export zones, as well as tax and financial advantages. They are specialised in that, for example, the one at Iri is devoted to electrical and electronic products while that at Changwón is dedicated to machinery and heavy industry products. By specialising, it was expected that linkages would emerge close by and that synergy would develop.

The industrial estates must be considered at least a partial success. Although Seoul remains the centre of industry and population, a considerable amount of industry is located outside the capital area. The development of specialised regional centres has proved attractive, inducing the location of related plants nearby.

**Industrial organisation**

Distinctive in Korea, as in Japan, has been the emergence of the large company groups, the chaeból (akin to the pre-World War II Japanese zaibatsu, but lacking a bank in the group). These are under the control of a single family, usually led by the senior member. The component companies are held together through cross holdings of stock, in which Company A holds stock in B, which holds stock in C, which holds stock in A. The effect of this arrangement is that control is retained but after netting out the cross holdings, little equity investment is actually required. They serve the same purpose, elsewhere in the world, as holding companies, which employ considerable equity, but whose structure often permits the controlling interest to be exerted by a minority owner.

While Korea has laws now which require the chaeból to eliminate their cross holdings (as well as their total stock holdings in other companies) the per cent of equity in cross holdings had only declined from 46 per cent in 1987 to 32 per cent in 1990, and the original families have been able to retain control. The government had two motives - to get the chaeból to sell stock to the public, thus giving a broad group a stake in the success of the conglomerate and to get the companies to depend less on bank loans and debt. The issue of family control remains, and the government is seeking ways to make senior management professional.

In early 1994, the government announced that the top thirty chaeból would be required to focus their efforts on core sectors. The ten largest would be required to declare three and the next 20 largest, to opt for two. They have all now announced their choices. Presumably, they intend to spin off the others, though how this is to be done remains unclear. The top ten would be required to divest themselves of their operations in an average of eight sectors, and the next twenty, an average of five - a major shift in Korea's industrial structure. The ten largest had been required to declare their intended core businesses several years earlier if they were to continue to get access to bank credit, but this condition was not enforced. There is some question whether it will be enforced on this occasion. The government's intention is to make the chaeból more efficient and competitive.
and to give a boost to small business, but business conditions will probably have to improve before it strictly enforces the rule.

The chaebol emerged during the 1970s when they proved the most cooperative and successful in working with the government in carrying out its industrial policy, as well as in exporting and selling in the domestic market. The groups are highly competitive among themselves, moving into many of the same product sectors. For example, Hyundai, Daewoo, and Ssangyong all produce diesel engines. The government, however, became concerned about excessive competition. It therefore established limits on the size of engines each could produce and barred other entrants to the industry. The companies, however, continue to try to move into their competitors' product range. (See also the sections on construction and vehicle manufacture below.)

The chaebol have organised their own association, the Federation of Korean Industry. For many years, its chairman was a retired senior government official. The FKI spoke quietly and appeared to be dominated by the government. Since the advent of real democracy in the presidential election of 1987, however, it has voiced an increasingly independent and critical view of government policy. The emergence of Hyundai-founder Chung Ju Young as a presidential candidate in 1993 constituted another step in freeing the chaebol from government control although it did provoke a government reaction in which Chung was indicted for tax evasion, seemingly as a consequence, but has yet to be convicted.

While the government favoured the chaebol in the 1970s, it also adopted policies to assist small business, including the ear-marking of bank funds for them, preferred terms for credit, and the provision of information on markets and technology. It has also intervened to prevent their being taken over by a large company when that threatened to diminish competition. Despite these measures, the chaebol retained relative advantages so that they grew proportionately faster.

Small business has its own organisation (the Federation of Small Business) which also participates in industry associations, such as the Spinners and Weavers Association of Korea (SWAK), or the Korea Toy Industry Cooperative which speak for the industry as a whole in dealing with the government and foreign entities.

In the 1970s, the chaebol and industry associations were regularly consulted by the government, both at the working level (e.g., by the industry bureaus in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry) and at the highest level in the monthly meeting of the Export Promotion Conference presided over by the President. The title was subsequently changed to Trade Promotion Conference and the meeting schedule has become somewhat irregular, but frequent, high-level as well as constant low-level attention continues.

In any case, the proliferation of business organisations has permitted Korea to develop a well-used and effective means of consultation with the government and of cooperation among companies that nevertheless preserves a high level of competition in the market place. It has allowed the government to monitor economic developments almost as they happened, to consult on remedies for problems, and to take rapid and effective action.

It has also become an integral part of the national economic planning procedure. This uses an interactive process of proposal and comment between the private sector and the government. The plans themselves are more indicative than compulsory but establish a common assessment of the situation and a consistent vision of the future, against which the government tracks actual experience and makes changes where called for. For example, the Five-Year Plans are built up from discussions with industry and checked for adequacy measured by whether they create enough jobs to absorb new entrants to the labour force and keep those currently employed after taking account of their growing productivity.
Industrial structure (See also Introduction above)

In addition to the information given in Tables 1 and 2, which examine the total economy, Tables 3 and 4 provide a somewhat more detailed account of industry. Table 3 shows which sectors expanded in the last 11 years and which contracted. The weights used for calculating the industrial production index, based on the value of output in 1990, offer a measure of relative importance of different industry sectors. One point it clearly makes is that the manufacturing sector is highly diversified, particularly considering the small size of the country.

Table 3 Relative Size of Different Industrial Sectors, Measured by their Output in 1990 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1990</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>93.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food products, beverages</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco products</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing apparel &amp; fur articles</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanning, dressing of leather</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood &amp; products of wood &amp; cork</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publishing, printing &amp; reproduction of record media</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coke, refined petroleum products &amp; nuclear fuel</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals &amp; chemical products</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber, plastic products</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-metallic mineral products</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic metals</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricated metal products</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery &amp; equipment not elsewhere counted</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office, accounting &amp; computing machinery</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical machinery &amp; apparatus not elsewhere listed</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio, TV &amp; communication equipment</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical, precision &amp; optical instruments, watches</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicles &amp; trailers</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other transport equipment</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture not elsewhere counted</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Industrial Production Indexes 1981 and 1982 (1990=100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food products, beverages</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco products</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing apparel &amp; fur articles</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanning, dressing of leather</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood &amp; products of wood &amp; cork</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulp, paper &amp; paper products</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publishing, printing &amp; reproduction of record media</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coke, refined petroleum products &amp; nuclear fuel</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals &amp; chemical products</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber, plastic products</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-metallic mineral products</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic metals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricated metal products</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery &amp; equipment not elsewhere counted</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office, accounting &amp; computing machinery</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical machinery &amp; apparatus not elsewhere counted</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio, TV &amp; communication equipment</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical, precision &amp; optical instruments, watches</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicles &amp; trailers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other transport equipment</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture not elsewhere counted</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Industrial waste and the environment

Pollution has become much more serious as a result of Korea's growth. More democratic practices have made protest over pollution more frequent as well. Finally, growing household wealth has made the public more willing to pay the cost of improving the environment.

Twenty years ago when Korea had just begun its industrialisation and was still poor, pollution of rivers and coastal waters created problems for farmers and fishermen. Little, however, was done at the time, despite periodic protests. It is no longer possible, however, to ignore such complaints.

Seoul itself sits in a bowl of mountains which trap air pollution. The city was severely affected by the burning of soft coal for heating and cooking. It has largely switched to natural gas in recent years. Air pollution is now mainly created by vehicles and by industry. The country is switching to unleaded gasoline and controls on industrial pollutants are increasing.

Growing concern over water pollution both in the Seoul area and in other industrial centres like Taegu has been highlighted in recent years by cases in which spills or dumping of chemicals has occurred, making the city water supply unhealthy or undrinkable.

Environmental awareness has made nuclear generating plants, on which Korea depends heavily for electricity, controversial. Both the plants themselves and storage of the nuclear waste they produce have been the objects of demonstrations and mass protests. The government, nevertheless, continues to plan further expansion (see Energy generation below).

Environmental awareness in Korea increased greatly as a result of the Environmental Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Korea participated and the associated publicity has raised the level of public concern greatly.

### Industries

#### Construction

The construction industry has grown rapidly since the early 1970s. That growth got an additional spurt from a government housing program in the late 1980s, so that the compound annual rate of increase in real value added was 11 percent from 1987 to 1992.

In 1991 there were 19,477 establishments (11,731 of which were self-employed individuals) employing more than a million people, producing value-added of $27 billion. Domestic work accounted for 54 percent of total orders received. The balance overseas is handled by a group of large firms, most of which are members of the large company groups, like Daewoo and Hyundai.

The large companies got started overseas in the 1960s and expanded quickly, particularly during the Vietnam War. Their next great period of growth began after the first oil shock, when high oil earnings started the middle east off on an investment boom. The overseas business hit a peak in 1980 when the industry contracted for $13 billion in new overseas
orders.

The industry became very attractive and more and more companies began to bid for overseas work. Competing against the early arrivals, they drove down contract prices, eliminating profit. The Korean government then intervened, limiting the amount of contracts that each company could undertake, both to firm up prices and to assure buyers like Saudi Arabia that commitments would be fulfilled. Government controls remain in effect on the overseas industry.

The overseas industry has changed since the 1970s. Few Korean tradesmen or labourers are willing any longer to go overseas to work in difficult and demanding conditions, as they can do as well at home. The overseas industry has come to depend on labourers from poorer countries, like Pakistan, India, and the Philippines. However, Korean engineers and construction managers have continued to be willing to work overseas, increasingly building more complex and remunerative structures and plants.

**Energy generation**

Electricity generation has grown with industry and to a lesser extent, with household consumption, as Koreans have become wealthier and wish to live better. Total power generated by the government owned monopoly, the Korea Electric Power Company (KEPCO), rose from 9.2 billion kilowatt-hours in 1970 to 131 billion in 1992, a 14-fold increase and an annual compound rate of growth of 25 percent.

In 1992, 19 percent of total generation was consumed by households, 58 percent by manufacturing, 17 percent by service activities, and the remaining 6 percent by agriculture, mining, and government. In the same year, 11 percent of total generation was produced by hydro plants, 53 per cent by thermal (mostly oil), and 43 per cent by nuclear plants.

Because it was able to expand output at lower capital cost and because additional capacity could be added relatively quickly, Korea opted to use oil-based generating facilities until the 1970s when it shifted to nuclear generation. It had previously largely exhausted the potential for hydro power. Its own small output of low quality coal was devoted to space heating.

In the 1970s, nuclear generation seemed the most attractive, and Korea planned to become the most heavily dependent on it of any country in the world. However, its heavy use of capital, the high rate of return on capital invested in competing uses like manufacturing, and ceilings imposed by foreign lenders led Korea to diversify to other fuels. It has, for example, built thermal generating facilities using imported coal, driven in part by its relative cost, uncertainty about future oil prices and the high capital costs of nuclear facilities. Environmental and safety concerns and growing doubts about how low the generating cost of nuclear power really is subsequently raised new questions about devoting so much to nuclear capacity.

Current government plans call for tripling generating capacity by 2006 from the current 18 million kw. to 54 million kw.. It would come with the addition of 14 nuclear units (12.8 million kw.); 25 soft-coal thermal units (13.17 million kw.); 12 liquified-natural-gas units (6.3 million kw.); 19 hydro units (3 million kw.); 4 oil-based units (0.44 million kw) and one hard-coal thermal unit (0.2 million kw).

**Fisheries**

Fishing contributes a smaller and smaller proportion of Korean output, while the absolute level of output has remained roughly constant over a decade. In the same period, the population of households classified as dependent on fishing has declined 40 percent.
Most of the fish are produced from the ocean. By comparison, inland fishing is
insignificant. Korean ships participate in the major fisheries around the world.

Fish processing is dominated by the frozen sector. Large processing ships, for example in
the pollack fishery, account for most of this. Much of the frozen product is exported.

The total value of output from the fisheries sector was $3 billion in 1988, and in the fish
processing sector, $2 billion. The industry lost money in 1990 and 1991.

The low incomes earned in fishing and the demands of being at sea for months at a time are
increasingly unacceptable to Koreans who have more attractive alternatives. In addition, the
extension of exclusive fishing zones has placed limits on Korean catches.

**Manufacturing**

**Mining and exploration**

Mining has clearly fallen to insignificance, adding only 0.4 percent to the GDP. The sector
has been losing money since 1989.

The major product is low grade anthracite. Output in 1992 was 12 million metric tons, less
than half the output in the peak years of 1985-88.

The other major mineral product is limestone, used in the manufacture of cement and steel.
Small amounts of iron ore, tungsten ore, gold, silver, silica sand and stone, etc. are also
produced.

In 1991, 37,824 (0.2 percent of the those working) were employed in coal mining, 20,063
in metal mining, and 21,096 in other mining. A total of 307 establishments were reported
in coal mining, 20 in metal mining, and 1,461 in other mining. Many of the establishments, 1
306, were proprietorships employing an average of 17, while 482 were companies with an
average of 80 on the payroll. The sector was thus composed primarily of small enterprises.

Korean companies have engaged in considerable mineral and petroleum exploration
overseas. Exploration and development has occurred in Indonesia and the middle east.
Much of this was done in the 1970s when importing countries became concerned about
assuring themselves of raw material supplies.

**Primary industry** (see Agriculture)

**Service industry**

The structure and relative contribution of different service sectors is portrayed in Table 1.
Financial services are the most important, followed by wholesale and retail trade.
Government is next but is disproportionately large because of the importance of defence
and security which account for about 4 per cent of GDP by themselves. Transport and
communication is the smallest of the service sectors. All of the service sectors have been
growing rapidly.

In the transportation sector, motor vehicles in service have grown by 22 times between
1975 and 1991. Most of this is private cars (25 million), followed by trucks (948,470) and
vans/buses (373,187). Commercial trucks were up a modest 3.3 times and commercial
buses, 2.6 times between 1975 and 1991. Road transportation currently suffers from an
inadequate road network. Transport on the government-owned national railway has also grown. Passenger-
kilometers increased 60 per cent from 1983 to 1992. Tonne kilometres of freight were up 24 per cent in the same period.

While the tonnage of registered vessels of all types has grown by a modest 13 percent from 1983 to 1992, the tonnage of cargo carried has risen 44 percent. Shipping has been a troubled industry, partly because of intense competition and partly because the Korean industry had bought a lot of second-hand, energy-inefficient ships when they were cheap. The industry has been distressed for some years and kept alive in some measure by government guaranteed credits extended through the banking system.

Overall the transport sector (including storage) has been profitable since 1985, before which it suffered from over-capacity and the recession that began in 1980.

The growth in telecommunications is indicated by the increase in the number of telephones which have increased by a factor of 25 between 1985 and 1992. Korea now has 36 telephones for each 100 people.

Wholesale and retail trade has grown in constant-price terms by 66 percent between 1986 and 1992. The sector has been consistently profitable.

Shipbuilding

In 1993, Korea became the world's largest shipbuilder, measured in terms of new orders, finally overtaking Japan, primarily because of the rise in the yen. It was also the best year ever for the Korean industry. At the end of 1993, the government announced that it would remove the embargo on expanding shipbuilding capacity which it had imposed in 1989 when the industry became troubled. Another reason for the change may be that Japanese yards can no longer keep up.

Three companies, Hyundai, Daewoo, and Samsung dominate the industry. Chosen by the government as one of the priority heavy industries in the 1970s, it received favoured tax and financing treatment. Hyundai is the largest of the three, operating ship-breaking, repair, and new construction facilities. Daewoo follows and has one of the largest dry docks in the world, built both to construct very large crude carriers and floating manufacturing plants that can be towed and installed anywhere in the world that has deep water access. Samsung has the smallest yard and is reportedly eager to expand as its existing facility is too small to be really profitable, while Hyundai and Daewoo are more cautious.

Although shipbuilding is considered capital intensive, it is in fact labour intensive; although the total investment in a world class yard is large, the number employed per unit of capital is high. In the late 1960s, Korea's planners saw the industry's decline in Europe, potential trouble for Japan's industry as wages rose, and the superiority of their yards which would be new and state-of-the-art. Nevertheless, the industry experiences large swings in demand and in prices which has put the Korean companies on a roller-coaster and threatened the survival of the financially weakest.

Textiles

Rising wages have made this, one of Korea's most labour intensive industries, look for alternatives. The number of firms has declined 40 per cent from the peak, though most of those that disappeared were small. Many, mostly the labour-intensive apparel companies, have moved to Southeast Asia, where salaries have kept them competitive.

The industry is classified two ways, based on material (cotton, wool and synthetic), and process (spinning, weaving and knitting, dyeing, and sewing). Most of the firms are small but the large company groups like Daewoo and Samsung are also important in the industry.
While portions of the industry have been shrinking, others have been growing. Yarn and fabric, which are less labour-intensive, have expanded, while apparel has contracted. The industry remains predominantly dependent on exports which take almost 70 per cent of output and which are expected to continue to grow. Industry advocates note that while it has lost first place as an exporter, net of imports it remains Korea's most important exporter.

The key to the industry's future remains improved technology and investment, as well as moving labour-intensive operations overseas. In part this is related to developments in the chemical industry which supplies the raw material for synthetic fibre and fabrics. But even the apparel sub sector has partially adapted by going into high fashion.

In some measure, the industry's prospects have been dominated by access to foreign markets as determined by the Multilateral Fibre Agreement which determines access to Korea's major foreign markets - the US and Europe. Korea has done particularly well in the American market over the long run, but with the shift in consumer demand away from synthetics, where Korea's quotas have been large, to natural fibres, in which it is weaker, the industry has not done so well recently. With agreement on the Uruguay Round, which will phase out the Multilateral Fibre Agreement, apparel exports are likely to decline further.

Overall, the industry has nevertheless continued to be profitable, though at sharply lower rates of return. Much of this is apparently due to continued strength in the production of yarn and fabrics as contrasted with finished apparel. Exports of apparel reached a peak of $9.1 billion in 1989 and have declined by 26 per cent by 1992. In contrast, yarn and fabrics of all kinds continued to grow rapidly, reaching $6.7 billion that year.

Iron and Steel

Iron and steel are the principal products in the basic metal category in Tables 3 and 4. They constitute a major part of the manufacturing sector and have quadrupled between 1981 and 1992.

The Pohang Steel Company (POSCO) is Korea's only integrated steel company. It has become one of the largest primary producers in the world. With plants in Pohang and more recently at Kwangyang built on green fields or filled land with ocean access, they used the latest technology and have very low costs. Ore and coking coal are imported, while limestone is available from domestic sources. POSCO has the capacity to produce 20 million tons of steel a year in its eight blast furnaces.

In addition, a score of small producers smelt from scrap using electric furnaces. Their capacity is 10 million tons. This group is currently planning further expansion. A large number of fabricators of steel shapes and semi-finished products compete with and supplement POSCO in the production of sheet, plate, and cast and forged products.

The industry has expanded based on domestic demand, exporting the excess part of its output while balancing the need for those products it could not produce competitively with imports. Its dependence on exports, however, has made it subject to restraints in its major foreign markets, the US and Europe. It is currently finding an expanding market in mainland China.

Chemicals

Chemicals (including petroleum refining and coke manufacture) is the largest sector in manufacturing as Korean companies have made a major commitment to it. Its growth has been explosive (see Table 3 and 4) and today it is the largest manufacturing sector.
Korea entered the chemicals industry in the 1960s, with major investments in the production of fertiliser and petroleum refining. Subsequently, it expanded into synthetics for fibre production. Since the heavy and chemical industry program of the 1970s, it has branched out to produce plastics and such major components for other chemicals as naphtha, mostly in joint ventures with foreign companies that had the necessary technology. It has become a major supplier to world markets.

Petroleum refining is in the hands of five companies, of which Yukong and Honam (in the Goldstar group) are the major players, but also includes Ssangyong, Kyung In (a Hanwha group member) and Hyundai. In mid 1993, the government approved a major refinery expansion program for four of the companies which will add 48 percent to total capacity by 1997, in anticipation mainly of growing gasoline consumption, making it possible for the domestic industry to supply 90 per cent of estimated demand by 1997.

The chemical industry is dominated by the chaebol because of the high investment requirements and scale required by the industry. Some concern has been expressed at the possibility of an over commitment, particularly since Korea depends on imported crude oil as the base for the industry and the amount of capacity available elsewhere in the world. This fear seemed warranted when one of the ten petrochemical makers declared bankruptcy in 1993. The others reportedly began organising a 'depression cartel' (authorised under the Fair Trade Law) to allocate domestic market quotas (but not exports) and put a floor under prices.

Motor Vehicles

Counting transport equipment with it, motor vehicles are the second largest sector in manufacturing. It has also experienced one of the most rapid rates of growth from 1981 to 1992. Another of Korea's chosen industries, the industry is dominated by four chaebol companies Hyundai, Daewoo, Kia, and Ssangyong. For many years, Samsung, another chaebol, has also wanted to enter the business, but the government has refused to approve. Samsung recently tried to buy Kia, but the government again barred it.

Korea has set out to be a major producer of motor vehicles. It produced 1.26 million cars, 122,000 buses and 286,000 trucks in 1992. Preliminary figures suggest it built 2 million cars in 1993 and would build 2.6 million in 1994, which would make it the fifth biggest maker in the world. In any case, it currently plans to expand capacity substantially, despite the seeming excess facilities around the world.

A substantial parts and components industry has grown up with the industry, particularly in the last 15 years when it became apparent that Hyundai would succeed in the US market.

General Motors was the joint venture partner with Daewoo until 1992 when it decided to sell its share of the assembly operation to its partner. GM maintains joint venture relationships in the manufacture of parts and components.

Kia, which had marketed its cars in the US through Ford, now intends to establish its own network of dealers.

Electronics

The electronics industry consists of three sub sectors: parts and components, consumer products, and industrial products. For many years, Korea produced parts, then moved into assembly of house brand consumer products, later became a major producer of its own brands of consumer products, and finally, with the computer age, has become a significant producer of chips and monitors.
Production of parts and components made it the largest sub sector, with output totalling $16.7 billion in 1993, more than half of which was semiconductors, and most of the rest, colour picture tubes and magnetic tape.

It was followed by the consumer products sub sector (including appliances like refrigerators and microwaves), with output of $11.3 billion. In last place was industrial products, whose output was valued at $8.2 billion. Most of this, more than $2 billion, was computer monitors. Computer output was recovering, after faltering because Korean makers failed to keep up in the shift in demand for computers using upscale central processing units as 286-class machines were replaced by 386- and then 486 class units.

The chip industry is dominated by Samsung, said to be the largest producer in the world. Hyundai, Goldstar, and Anam are producers as well. For the most part, they produce memory chips. Capital intensive, production is only feasible by the largest firms. Korea has become the number three producer in the world, after the US and Japan.

The large companies are also the major producer of branded consumer electronics—again, Samsung and Goldstar are the outstanding names, closely followed by Daewoo and Hyundai. All four have chosen this sector to which to make a major commitment.

The industry has grown very rapidly in the last decade, as demonstrated in the radio, TV and communication category in Table 4. It is one of the largest sectors in manufacturing, as shown in Table 3.

John T Bennett

Information and Communication, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]

Inhwamun ware [Ceramics]

Inje County

Situated in eastern Kangwŏn Province, Inje County is comprised of the town of Inje and the townships of Kirin, Nam, Puk, Sangnam and Sŏhwa. The demilitarised zone which divides North and South Korea runs through the northern tip of the county. Mt. Mu (1 320 metres), Hyangno Peak (1 296 metres), Mt. Sŏrak (1 708 metres), Mt. Chŏmbong (1 424 metres) and Kalchŏn’gok Peak (1 204 metres) run along the county’s eastern border, while Mt. Taem (1 304 metres) and other peaks of the Tosol Mountain Range mark the western border. Streams flowing down from these peaks form the Soyang River to the southwest of Inje. Geologically, the area consists of gneiss layers of rock that formed prior to the Paleozoic Period along with layers of granite that intruded during the Mesozoic Period. As a result, the terrain is characterised by oddly-shaped granite formations and exposed crags.

Highways number 46, 44 and 31 link the area with Ch’unch’ŏn and Seoul while Highway 46 and 44 connect the area with Sŏrak National Park and the east coast. Road access is hindered by the Soyang Reservoir and rugged terrain to the west and the high Mishiryoŏng and Han’gyeryŏng passes to the east. In addition to these overland routes, it is also possible to travel all the way to Ch’unch’ŏn from the Kunch’ungnyŏng Ferry terminal in Inje.

Only about three per cent of the county’s area is cultivated. Most of this farmland is dedicated to dry field crops such as corn, beans, potatoes, garlic and hot peppers. Alpine vegetables are also grown here. In the thick forest, local residents supplement their income by gathering medicinal herbs and mushrooms, and by keeping bees. Inje honey, in particular, is famous throughout the country for its quality.
Inje County’s tourism is primarily centred around Mt. Sŏrak National Park (See Mt. Sŏrak). The park’s picturesque Paektam Valley, Sosŭng Waterfall and Twelve Fairy Pools (Shibi Sŏnyŏ t’ang) all lie within the county’s borders. Soyang River is also popular with both sightseers and sport fishermen who use either fishing poles or nets to catch pond smelt and other cold water fish. Some pond smelt fish farms have also been set up in the area in an effort to maintain the pond smelt population in the lake.

There are several historical sites in the area. Prehistoric relics discovered in Puk Township’s Wŏrhak Village indicate that human beings were living here as early as the Bronze Age (c.1000 B.C.- 4th century B.C.E.) In addition, three dolmen have been discovered in the area around Wŏnt’ong Village. There are also a number of Buddhist artefacts. Besides those found in Mt. Sŏrak National Park, there are a three-story pagoda and a seated Buddha image near Paengnyŏn-jŏng Temple. These artefacts were moved from their original location when the Soyang Reservoir was constructed. There is also a three-storey stone pagoda at Wŏldae Village in Inje.

There are several stone fortifications in the area, including remnants of a fortress at Inje’s Hapkang Village and in Sŏhwasa Township’s Sŏhwasa Village. The Han’gye Fortress, situated just south of Mt. An in Puk Township, was originally built during the reign of Greater Shilla’s King Kyŏngsŏn (r. 927-935) and was later repaired during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods.

Several examples of Chosŏn period architecture can be seen here. The Inje Hyanggyo (Confucian school) was originally founded in 1610 but was moved several times before it was brought to its present location in Inje Town. Everything but the main hall was destroyed during the Korean War. In the decades after the war, new halls were built and the main hall was repaired. In Inje’s Hapkang Village, there is also the Hapkangjŏng. Large official ceremonies were held in this pavilion during the Chosŏn period.

**Injo, King** (r. 1623-1649)

King Injo (1595-1649) was the sixteenth king of Chosŏn and reigned from 1623 to 1649. His rule began with the usurpation of the throne from Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) and was cursed throughout with domestic upheaval and foreign invasion. Injo, personal name Yi Chŏng was a grandson of Sŏnjo, the fourteenth king of Chosŏn. After Sŏnjo’s death in 1607, Kwanghae, his son by a concubine, became the new king, but Kwanghae’s legitimacy was seen as being somewhat dubious. Fierce rivalry of the court factions increased and this undermined political stability. Kwanghae relied to a large extent on the Big Northern (Taebuk) faction, while other groupings, notably the Western and Southern factions, were out of power, and their adherents had few if any chances to gain high official positions. Moreover, Kwanghae executed or exiled some members of the upper echelon whom he viewed as potential rivals and thus alienated members of the royal family and the ruling elite.

The discontented literati of the Western and other factions now conspired to remove Kwanghae from the throne. They contacted Yi Chŏng (the future Injo) who agreed to become king. In 1623, their coup d’état moved with lightning speed to capture Kwanghae and his supporters, and proclaim Injo the new king. Injo’s ascension, therefore, was less than legitimate and it heralded a lingering period of political instability, so typical for the Chosŏn court in the seventeenth c. This unrest came to a head in a fresh rebellion. In 1624, Yi Kwal, a military leader and one of the conspirators in the initial move against Kwanghae, was so dissatisfied with the relatively minor position he was given after the coup, that he instigated an uprising. His troops were initially successful and even managed to occupy Seoul, which caused Injo to flee to the south. Within a short while, however, the more powerful government forces routed Yi Kwal’s army. Though later, Injo sought to avoid major clashes between political groups, his reign was to remain a time of lingering
political instability.

The last years of Injo’s life were full of court intrigue, clashes in his immediate family and increasing hostility and alienation between factions. Although Injo continued to favour the Westerner faction, adherents of other groups were not totally denied career opportunities in official circles. Choson’s domestic strife was followed by incursion from without. In 1627 the peninsula was invaded by Manchu tribes who by then had proclaimed the Later Jin dynasty and were preparing an expedition against ailing Ming China. Their task was to provide safe flanks during the impending war against China. Kwanghae was prudent enough to keep Korea out of Manchu-Chinese conflict, but Injo’s diplomacy proved to be less successful. After the invasion started, the government withdrew to Kanghwa Island, but soon had to bow to pressure and sign a treaty with the invaders, promising to break the union with the Ming and to establish friendly relations with the Manchu. It was a compromise, since the Confucian public opinion despised the Manchu as ‘savage barbarians.

In 1636 another invasion followed. This time the Court could not escape to Kanghwa Island and Injo, together with his dignitaries, was surrounded by Manchu troops in a fortress near Seoul. After difficult negotiations, the Korean court had to reluctantly recognise its dependency on the new Manchu state, which by then had been renamed Qing and which was soon to establish its dominance in China. The Manchu dominance was seen by the Korean Confucian-educated elite as both repugnant and humiliating, but Korea obviously lacked means to overcome it and had to adjust to the new situation. Though Injo and his government tried to stabilise the Korean economy which had not recovered from the Japanese invasions (1592-1598), the rebellion of Yi Kwal and these new invasions considerably undermined their economic policy. Moreover, the political infighting among various factions further weakened Choson and resulted in an extended period of decline for the nation.

Ink Painting (see Painting)

Insam (see Ginseng)

Institute of Advanced Engineering

Located in Seoul, the IAE (Kodang kisul yoon'guwon) is a research and training Institute founded in July 1992 by Kun Mo Chung, a former Minister of Science and Technology and NSF program director, and Woo-Choong Kim, chairman and founder of the industrial giant Daewoo. The Institute is supported by a substantial funding through a consortium of Daewoo companies. Daewoo is committed to providing up to ten per cent of its research and development budget to IAE.

In general, the IAE serves two functions. It is an engineering research laboratory aided by member companies which provide guidance and priorities for research projects. In particular, the Institute accepts specific research that its member companies are not prepared to undertake themselves. By doing so, IAE aims to foster new technologies for use by Korean industry. IAE’s facilities include laboratories for Electronic Signal Processing; Automotive Technology; Manufacturing Technology; Electric Power Systems; Technology Management; Environmental Engineering; Bio-medical Engineering; and Electronic Materials.

The Institute, in its role as an academic institution associated with Ajou University's Systems Engineering Department, provides doctoral courses in systems engineering and master’s degree courses in technology management. Doctoral students receive a stipend
and other benefits from Daewoo for the duration of their courses. Through its academic curriculum, IAE aims to train engineers who are also qualified to work as research development managers and as leaders in various social and political fields. The Institute is primarily focused on systems engineering, but also seeks to integrate skills from traditional engineering and science.

To assist in developing IAE into an internationally recognised research institution, its researchers are required to be fluent in a second language (with English preferred). Some courses are run in English.

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology

Intermediary class (see Chungin)

International Relations (see also under each county)
- Australia and Korea
- China and Korea
- France and Korea
- Germany and Korea
- India and Korea
- Japan and Korea
- Russia and Korea
- United Kingdom and Korea
- United States and Korea

Introduction

Ancient States

Since the earliest Korean states developed, international relations have been a factor in Korean societies and their development. The early Korean states encompassed a much larger area than the present Korean peninsula, and ranged far into Manchuria and the Liaodong Peninsula, thus inviting contact with Chinese states from an early point in history. Most of the records concerning the early association between Korean and Chinese states are of territorial battles, suggesting that there were ongoing struggles over territory. The first recorded invasion by a Chinese state is the Yen invasion of around 300 BCE, and from this point forward there was an almost continual penetration of Chinese military, political and economic influence to the northern reaches of the Korean states. The state of Wiman Choson was formed as a result of Chinese pressure on Ko Choson, which allowed Wiman (r. 194 BCE-?) to usurp Ko Choson and form his own kingdom Moreover, the advanced culture that Wiman had command of, such as iron culture, allowed him to subjugate the less advanced states to the north, east and south. Hence, it was through the contacts with China that early Korean states were able to develop into a higher-level civilisation and to grow in strength.

There were also early attempts by the Chinese states to incorporate the territory of the Korean states into China, as is evidenced by the establishment of the Four Han Commanderies. This was an attempt by the Han dynasty to establish her hegemony over the Korean peninsula. The reaction of the indigenous Korean people was openly hostile to the Chinese presence and caused two of the Commanderies to be abandoned within twenty-five years. The Lolang Commandery in the Taedong River basin did, however, survive for over two-hundred years, and had a substantial impact on the indigenous Korean societies that adopted many of the administrative systems of the Chinese compound. Thus, the cultural influence of the Chinese outposts is significant in its having the greatest impact on the early Korean societies. The adoption of Chinese cultural systems allowed the early
Korean states such as Koguryō and Puyó to expand their own domains, and by the early third c., Koguryō had become strong enough to defeat Lolang and end the Chinese presence on Korean soil.

Three Kingdoms

Contacts with China were the most important foreign interactions during the Three Kingdoms era, and these ranged from cultural exchange to outright war. Koguryō, by virtue of its proximity to China, was engaged in constant territorial conflict with her northern neighbour, while at the same time importing much of the higher Chinese civilisation. Koguryō’s domain took in much of modern day Manchuria and the Liaodong Peninsula and at its peak in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries rivalled the Chinese states in power and development of its civilisation. Koguryō adopted Chinese writing, administrative systems, and even Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism from China. However, due to its location at the border with China, Koguryō was perceived by the Chinese states as a threat, and when Sui had managed to unify China in the late sixth c., she turned to deal with the danger at her northern boundary. But Koguryō proved her worth against the Sui divisions and the major battle fought at Salsu left the Sui army devastated and forced to withdraw from Koguryō territory.

Paekche also imported many aspects of Chinese civilisation in building its territory. Specifically, it developed relations with the Eastern Jin Kingdom located across the Yellow Sea as a balance to the power of Koguryō in the north. It imported Chinese writing and administrative method, along with Confucian and Buddhist belief systems. Paekche also established contacts with the Japanese Wa Kingdom, which gave it a military edge against the Shilla Kingdom that was developing to her east. It also represented an important conduit for the flow of higher civilisation to Japan. In much the same way that Chinese culture had flowed to Paekche, this was now further transmitted to Japan, through the latter’s cultural contacts with Paekche.

Shilla developed at the slowest rate of the Three Kingdoms, in part due to her cultural isolation in the southeast corner of the Korean peninsula. Nevertheless, by the early sixth c., many aspects of Chinese civilisation had been incorporated into Shilla, including the Chinese writing system and the adoption of Buddhist and Confucian ideology. Shilla further cultivated close contacts with Tang China as a means of survival, with the powerful Koguryō Kingdom to her north and Paekche to the west. The Shilla-Tang alliance allowed first the defeat of Paekche in 660 and then the subsequent subjugation of Koguryō in 668. This alliance with Shilla served the Tang as well, as it allowed the Chinese to remove the onerous presence of Koguryō. Moreover, Tang sought to use the occasion of eliminating Paekche and Koguryō as a way to incorporating the whole of the Korean peninsula into her domain.

The intentions of Tang became evident after the defeat of Paekche as she established five commanderies in the area of the former kingdom and also created additional commanderies to administer the Koguryō domain and that of Shilla. Thus, as soon as Koguryō had been defeated, Shilla launched a campaign against her former ally to drive it from the territories that Shilla considered her own. Through a series of battles over a ten-year period, Shilla was able to establish hegemony over most of the Korean peninsula and force the Tang to retreat, and by such means preserve her independence. Moreover, to the north the refugees from the former Koguryō kingdom, under the leadership of Tae Choyong, formed the Parhae kingdom that occupied much of the former domain of Koguryō. Hence, despite the Tang intentions of incorporating the Korean peninsula into her territory, she was foiled by the sovereign desires of the Korean people.

Greater Shilla and Parhae
Shilla culture benefited greatly from her contacts with Tang, and many aspect of Tang civilisation were brought into Shilla such as literature, religion and administrative systems. Shilla entered a somewhat tributary status with Tang through the exchange of diplomatic missions and gifts, and this was solidly in place by the late eighth c. There was also informal exchange between the two nations that often occurred through either merchants or scholars travelling to China. In the sphere of education, Chinese literature in the form of the Confucian classics became firmly entrenched as the locus standi of education in Shilla, and what is more, a great number of Shilla scholars travelled to China for further study. The Shilla education system, with the Kukhak (National Academy) at its core, was based upon similar Tang institutions and there was even a civil service examination developed in Shilla that stressed proficiency in Chinese literature (toksŏ samp’umgwa). The frequent journeys by Korean monks to China to study Buddhist scriptures, which led to the establishment of various Chinese Buddhist sects in Shilla such as the Pure Land sect, were no less important. Merchants are best represented with the Ch’ onghae Garrison established by Chang Pogo (? -846) on the Yellow Sea that came to control the sea-lanes between Tang, Japan and Shilla. Records also reveal a sizeable community of Koreans living on the east coast of China at this time, providing yet another means for the transmission of Chinese civilisation to Korea.

Parhae, by virtue of it precarious international position, had a strong need for developing its contacts outside its borders in order to ensure its survival. The kingdom itself was governed by a numerically small Koguryŏ refugee population with the majority of its subjects being the indigenous Malgal people -- members of semi-nomadic Tungusic tribes scattered over a wide expanse of Manchuria, southern Siberia, and north-east Korea. Many aspects of Parhae society were modelled after those of Tang, including its administrative apparatus and educational system. Parhae developed international relations with Japan and the Tuque (Eastern Turks) people to the north of China as a means to create a balance of power with the Tang-Shilla alliance. This enabled Parhae to flourish and survive until 926 when it was destroyed by the Khitan (Khitan Tartars).

Koryŏ

Koryŏ was born of a period of internal conflicts within the decaying Shilla kingdom and thus the importance of military strength was substantial. After the defeat of Shilla and the unification of the Korean peninsula, Koryŏ was immediately threatened by the peoples to its north. The Khitan, who had earlier destroyed Parhae, posed the first threat to Koryŏ, and this situation was magnified by the northern expansion policies that were prominent under King Chŏngjong (r. 945-949). The Khitan had initial success in their battles with Koryŏ, but were forced to sue for peace after being crushed in a battle at Kuju by Koryŏ forces led by General Kang Kamch’an (948-1031). Koryŏ experienced difficulties also with the Jurchen (a proto-Manchu people of Eastern Manchuria) to their north, and these were finally resolved by Koryŏ entering into a a tributary relationship.

The relationship that Koryŏ maintained with the Chinese Song dynasty sought to reap benefits from the highly developed civilisation of the Chinese. Koryŏ modelled her administrative, educational and cultural systems after those of Song. The most important may have been the adoption of a true civil service examination system by Koryŏ in 958 that firmly established Confucian ideology as the dominant force in governmental matters. Thus, the study of the Chinese classics became increasingly important and the status of the class of Confucian scholars increased to levels heretofore not experienced in Korea. Other cultural aspects of China were transmitted to Koryŏ, such as porcelain, medicine and even spices, contributing to the overall development of the recipient society. The relationship between Song and Koryŏ can be viewed as one of peaceful economic and cultural exchange and this too, greatly contributed to the vigour of Koryŏ society.

The rise of the Mongol people in the early thirteenth c. created many crises for the Koryŏ
rulers. The Mongols desired that Koryo enter a tributary relationship with them, but Koryo resisted since they believed the Mongols to be little more than barbarians. The result was a number of disastrous incursions by the Mongols that saw the eventual surrender of sovereignty to the invaders. The result of the Koryo capitulation was the complete domination of Koryo society by their Mongol masters. For example, Koryo kings were appointed by the Mongols and required to take Mongol queens, the royal family resided mostly in Manchuria, Mongol military headquarters were established in Koryo, and heavy tributes were levied in the form of gold, silver and young women. Koryo also served as the base for the ill-fated Mongol invasions of Japan, which not only cost Koryo dearly in monetary terms and loss of life, but also served to sour relations with Japan. The subsequent attacks on the Korean coast by Japanese marauders contributed to the social instability that led to the downfall of Koryo.

With the weakening of the Mongol Yuan dynasty at the end of the fourteenth c., some forces in Koryo sought to establish a relationship with the newly-rising Ming dynasty in place of the humiliating subservience to the Yuan. Thus, with the kingship of K'oongmin (r. 1351-1374), Koryo adopted pro-Ming policies and exchanged embassies with the Chinese state. This was opposed by many in Koryo, who had a self-interest in preserving the relationship with the Yuan, since this was the basis for much personal power in Koryo. Resultant from the conflict in personal and national interests was a great deal of political turmoil that led to the downfall of Koryo. In fact, it was the dispatch of Yi Sunggye (King T'aejo, r. 1392-1398) on the command of the Koryo king, to launch an attack against the Ming, that led to the general turning on the throne and seizing power for himself, thereby establishing the Choson dynasty.

Choson Period

The foreign relations of Choson can be characterised through the term sadae (serving the great), used to describe its relationship with Ming. The pro-Ming policy of the founder of Choson was evident from his reluctance to attack the Chinese state and this remained as the foremost pillar of Choson foreign policy until the downfall of the Ming in the early seventeenth c. The tributary status of Choson to Ming was formalised through the dispatch of three tribute missions each year on the occasions of the New Year, the emperor's birthday and the crown prince's birthday. These missions provided an opportunity for both cultural and economic exchange between the two nations. From its subservient relationship with Ming, Choson was granted access to Ming culture and security from encroachment by the Chinese on Korean territory.

As in the prior Koryo era, Choson experienced problems in the settlement of its northern regions due to the presence of nomadic peoples such as the Jurchen, as well as coastal attacks from Japanese pirates. Choson fortresses were established along the Yalu River to secure this area and to defend against possible northern attacks. Aside from occasional uprisings, the northern areas were kept under control during early Choson. To discourage the raids of Japanese marauders, Choson attacked their base on Tsushima in 1419, thus largely ending the threat. After this time, the Choson government established three ports on the south-eastern coast for trade with the Japanese. Choson's aims for this economic exchange were principally to maintain peaceful relations with Japan and control pirate raids.

Perhaps the most devastating event during the five-hundred year Choson dynasty was the 1592 Japanese Invasion that affected every aspect of Korean society. The war continued until 1598, although it was largely contained to the southeastern regions of Korea after the early stages. In the end, Choson required assistance from Ming to overcome the Japanese forces, but this was not accomplished until great losses were inflicted upon the land and people of Choson. Moreover, thirty years after the conclusion of the Japanese invasion, there followed a series of invasions from the north by the Manchu people as they sought to force Choson to submit to their state. Hence, the massive invasions of Choson in this
period marked her decline and the beginning of a long era of hardships for her people.

The rise of the Manchu nation in the early seventeenth c. created problems for Chosón much like the rise of the Yuan had four hundred years earlier for Koryŏ. Chosón considered itself fundamentally superior to the Manchu people, and its unyielding allegiance to Ming resulted in another series of disastrous invasions before its capitulation to the Manchu emperor by King Injo (r. 1623-1649) in 1636. The Manchu dynasty, the Qing, sought with Chosón the same type of suzerain-subject relationship that the Ming had enjoyed, but those in the Chosón government still looked on the Manchu with disdain. Nonetheless, Chosón was compelled to honour Qing as it had the previous Ming, and the two nations co-existed on peaceful terms until the late nineteenth c.

The relationship with China continued to be one in which Korea benefited to a great degree through the importation of knowledge. Unlike in previous ages, when it was primarily the higher Chinese culture that the Koreans sought, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was knowledge from the West that had entered China that most interested Korean scholars. Thus, intellectual movements such as shirhak (practical learning) came to the fore in late Chosón through the international contacts that Korea enjoyed with China. On the other hand, relations with Japan diminished as the nineteenth c. drew near. Insofar as contacts with other nations are concerned, Chosón maintained a strict isolationist, China-centred foreign policy, and visits from the ships of other nations were discouraged.

The end of the nineteenth c. proved to be a tumultuous period for Chosón's international relations. With her nearest neighbours, Japan and China, having already been compelled to enter trade and diplomatic treaties with Western nations, it was simply a matter of time before Chosón would undergo a similar fate. Ironically, the first nation to force the so-called Hermit Nation to open open its trade barriers was Japan, which had rapidly accepted Western culture and systems in the twenty or so years since she herself had to let in the Western ships. The 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa (Kanghwa-do Choyak) marked the beginning of a series of diplomatic measures that allowed access to Korea by American, French, Russian and British merchants and diplomats among others, and would fundamentally change Korea.

The close of the nineteenth c. in Korea witnessed the struggles of several nations for hegemony over the weak Korean State. Initially, it was China and Japan who sought to control Korea, and consequently the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 occurred. This skirmish, fought on Korean soil, revealed that Japan had become the new power in Asia as she easily defeated the Chinese. When Japan attempted to assert her will on Korea, however, the Chosón rulers sought the protection of Russia. Russia also had designs on Korea as it would give Siberia access to ice-free ports, and thus it entered the struggle for supremacy in Korea. After Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 for control of Korea, however, no force could prevail over the colonisation of Korea by Japan. Predictably in 1910, Japan annexed Korea as her colony, thereby ending the five-hundred year long Chosón dynasty.

Modern International Relations

International relations for Korea directly after liberation from Japan in 1945 are characterised by the polarisation of Korea into the two camps of the pro-United States right, and the pro-Soviet Union communist left. National division was essentially guaranteed with the Soviet occupation of the north and the American presence in the South, and the political development in each sphere followed the ideology of its occupying army. Accordingly, the Republic of Korea (ROK) that emerged in the south in 1948 had a political ideology that closely adhered to that of the United States, while the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the north adopted a communist ideology that matched that of its benefactor, the Soviet Union. Diplomatic issues from the time of the national division
have been distinguished by the various attempts to bring about national reunification through either diplomatic or military means.

The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 revealed the desire of the DPRK to bring about a forcible unification of the peninsula. The War quickly divided much of the world into either the camp of the ROK, which was backed by the United Nations (UN), and that of the DPRK, supported by the Communist Bloc. The Korean War represented a manifestation of the Cold War that dominated international politics throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and the stalemate that eventually resulted from the conflict was also highly reminiscent of the Cold War confrontations. In the aftermath of the Korean War, both the ROK and the DPRK sought to increase their international standing by engaging in diplomatic intercourse with the nations of the world. Predictably, the ROK concentrated on expanding its contacts within the Western powers led by the United States, and the DPRK largely maintained contacts in the Communist Bloc led by the Soviet Union. Relations between South and North were non-existent, except for occasional border skirmishes.

The 1960s were a time of important diplomatic milestones for both the ROK and the DPRK. In the ROK, the normalisation of relations with Japan in 1965, which provided the South with the capital and technology that would enable it to become a regional economic power in the space of two decades, was a major diplomatic achievement by President Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghŭi). The ROK also remained committed to participation in American foreign policy in Asia, and sent troops to Vietnam to support the American forces fighting there. This was the first time that Korean troops had fought in a war or battle not waged on or concerned with Korean territory. At the same time, the DPRK was attempting to expand its international prestige by increasing its influence among the non-aligned nations as a counter to the ROK’s diplomatic success on the international stage. An essential factor in DPRK policy was the establishment of Juche (chuch’e) Institutes, which sought to propagate the unique doctrines of self-reliance advocated by the North, throughout the world as a means of increasing its international standing.

By the late 1980s and the early 1990s the international situation had changed with the conclusion of the Cold War, and thus the respective foreign policies of both the ROK and the DPRK reflected this. Foreign policy in the ROK was characterised by the ‘Northern Policy’ of President Roh Tae Woo (No T’aeu), which focused on the establishment of diplomatic relations with both the Soviet Union and China. Moreover, the hosting of the 24th Olympiad in 1988 allowed the ROK to entertain nations and their ideologies from across the world, and thus concurrently increase its international prestige. The ROK and the DPRK were admitted to membership of the United Nations in 1991, which allowed both full participation in the international arena. Also, the two countries entered into a series of agreements concerning the future of the Korean peninsula, most notably the Joint Declaration for the Denuclearastion of the Korean Peninsula. The early part of the 1990s represented a time of significant improvement in inter-Korean relations that were a direct result of the increased international contacts of both the ROK and the DPRK.

The government of the ROK under the leadership of Roh Tae Woo and his successor Kim Young Sam (Kim Yŏngsam), embarked on a program to increase the international prestige of the nation through expanded international contacts. This also was a part of the economic policy of the ROK that often used economic relations as a first step in building international ties. As a result, by the end of 1995 the ROK maintained diplomatic relations with a total of 176 nations and had joined international organisations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit. Moreover, the ROK participated in UN peacekeeping missions in various global trouble spots. The increased diplomatic activity along with a powerful economy resulted in the ROK gaining a great amount of international prestige.

The DPRK, on the other hand, saw its traditional allies enter into relations with the ROK
after the collapse of the Soviet Union and thus entered a period of decline, both domestically and internationally. The situation was complicated by the sudden death of Kim Il-Sung (Kim Ilsŏng), the long time leader of the North, in 1994 and the economic turmoil resultant in the loss of aid from the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the DPRK strove to establish new international contacts and by the end of 1995 had relations with 133 nations, with 125 of these nations also maintaining contacts with the ROK. The major allies of the DPRK remain China and other nations of the former Communist Bloc such as Cuba and some Southeast Asian nations. However, the economic and physical hardships that the north continued to suffer in the mid and late 1990s, caused the nation to become a chief recipient of international aid to provide food and medical supplies to its impervious population.

**Inwang Mountain**

Mt. Inwang (338 metres), a low mountain made up of exposed granite, is situated in Seoul, just south of Mt. Pukhan. According to the science of geomancy, the mountain is an important feature of the Seoul landscape. When Seoul was chosen as the capital at the beginning of the Chosŏn Period, geomancy experts claimed that the mountain served as the ‘white tiger’ (paekho) ridge coming down to the west of the city’s main protective mountain (chusun), Mt. Pukhan. Mt. Nak, on the other hand, formed the corresponding blue dragon (ch’ongnyong) ridge to the east. Situated to south, Mt. Nam served as the opposing mountain, or the ‘an-san.’ Considered by many to be a sacred area, the mountain is popular with shamans who go there to perform kuts. With numerous springs and striking scenery, the mountain is also a favourite hiking spot for residents of Seoul.

**Irkutsk Communist Party**

[History of Korea]

**Iryŏn (1206-1289)**

Iryŏn Sŏnsa, the compiler of the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), whose appellation was Haeyŏn, given name Kyŏnmyŏng, was of the Kim clan of Changsan county in Kyŏngju. He joined the priesthood at the age of nine and was eventually promoted to Kukchon (National Preceptor), the highest degree conferred by the state on the priesthood. He was invited to court as royal priest, a position he resigned from to care for his mother when she was over ninety. After her death, in 1284, the government reconstructed In’gak-sa, a temple in Iryŏn Sŏnsa’s native province (presently Hwasu-dong, Kojae-myŏn, Kunwi County, North Kyŏngsang Province), and appointed him as Chief Priest of the temple.

His works include Hwarok, 2 fascicule; Kesong chapchŏ, 3 fascicule; Chungp’yŏn chodong owi, 2 fascicule; Chop’a to, 2 fascicule; Taegang suji rok, 3 fascicule; Cheshŭng pŏpsu, 7 fascicule; Cho’jŏng sawŏn, 30 fascicule; Sŏnmun yŏmsŏng sawŏn 30 fascicule; and Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) 5 fascicule.

**Ishibil to hoego shi** (Poetic Reminiscence of Twenty-one Capitals, A)  [Literature]

**Islands**

(South Korea: 3,201 Islands; North Korea: 518 Islands)

Aphae-do
Ch’ongsan-do
Ch’u’n-do
Chi-do
Chin-do
Cho-do
Prehistory - 1875

Prehistoric Relations

As neighboring countries separated by the Straits of Korea, Japan and Korea have had a close relationship which can be traced back to prehistoric times. According to remains unearthed in Japan, one can assume there were some exchanges between the two countries beginning at least from the Jōmon period of Japan in the Neolithic age. However more extensive cultural exchanges started in the Yayoi period, 3rd century B.C. At the time, manufacturing techniques in pottery, bronze ware and iron ware as well as agricultural technologies were transmitted to Japan. Yayoi culture enjoyed rapid development through these exchanges. Around the beginning of the Christian era, the kingdoms of Koguryō, Paekche, Shilla and Kaya were established on the Korean peninsula and political society was developed in Japan. The Kaya kingdom of Korea had the most active exchanges with
Japan at the time. This is well supported by archaeological remains as well as myths. The founding myth of Japan is very similar to those of Tan'gun Chosôn, Puyo, Koguryŏ and Kaya. The King Kim Suro myth of Kaya is strikingly similar to the descent of heavenly children myth of Japan in their style, motif and names of holy places. Other Japanese founding myths mostly include the story of the heavenly deities defeating native deities in conflict with each other. This is the symbolic representation of the historical fact that emigrants from the continent conquered indigenous powers and established ancient kingdoms. The distribution of remains excavated in both countries corresponds with the route of heavenly deities. Ancient Japanese myths are also dubbed as "emigration of gods" in the sense that most of them are related to the Korean peninsula. According to the "horserider theory" of professor Egami of Japan, horseriding nomads from Puyo origin advanced into northern Kyushu by way of the Korean peninsula, conquered the Ginai area subsequently and established the Yamato government. On the other hand, emigrants from Silla origin moved to the Izumo area adjacent to the East Sea and established a kingdom in rivalry with Yamato court.

Ancient Relations

Relations between Korea and Japan became bilateral with the emergence of ancient kingdoms in Japan in the fourth and fifth centuries. The framework of international relations in East Asia at the time consisted of two blocs: the Northern bloc comprised of the Northern Dynasties of China, Koguryŏ and Silla and the Southern bloc comprised of the Southern Dynasties in China, Paekche and Wa in Japan. Paekche tried to overcome the crisis incurred by the external expansion policy of Koguryŏ by forming a military alliance with Wa. Paekche-Wa relations further strengthened after Shilla conquered Kaya around the mid-sixth century. Wa provided military assistance to Paekche during Shilla's unification process in the mid-seventh century. The Paekche-Wa alliance, however, was defeated by the Shilla-Tang alliance.

The 'culture flowing eastward' phenomenon continued throughout ancient times. Paekche maintained the most amicable relations with Japan and transmitted its culture there from the fourth century. Near the end of that century under the reign of King Kūn Ch'ogo, Ajikki and Wangin brought the Thousand Character Text and Analects of Confucius to Japan thereby introducing Confucianism and Chinese ideographs there for the first time. Experts in Chinese scriptures from Paekche were dispatched to Japan at the beginning of the sixth century. Buddhist scriptures and Buddha images were transmitted to Japan by the middle part of the sixth century during the reign of King Song. This event marks the historical introduction of Buddhism to Japan.

Confucianism and Buddhism played a pivotal role in the development of the ancient states in Japan. Confucianism contributed to the establishment of ruling system such as its legal code. The universalism of Buddhism functioned as an ideology to form a unified government, breaking down the centrifugal tendencies of local gentries. Paekche also dispatched experts in calendar making, healing, and herb collection who transmitted their skills to the Japanese. In the Records of Japan, there are references to the dispatch of skilled artisans in temple construction and the creation of Buddha statues and roof tiles, painting, music, weaving, dress making, and the transmission of embankment building skills. It is quite clear then that there was a transmission of the features of Korean civilization to Japan in wide-ranging fields such as Buddhist art, architecture, music, handicrafts, and engineering skills. Besides technical specialists and artisans whom the states dispatched, there was also an extensive migration of the populace. This was especially notable at the end of seventh century with the fall of Paekche and Koguryŏ. People who were subjects of the two former kingdoms emigrated en masse. The numbers were surprisingly high. According to the New Compilation of the Register of Families compiled in 814 A.D. in Japan, one-third of the tribal groups that lived in Kinai area were emigrants originating from the Korean peninsula. These people played an important role in
the development of Japanese civilization during the Heian Period.

Shilla, which unified the Korean peninsula by defeating Kaya, Paekche and Koguryŏ in turn, had hohilla even fought directly against Japanese troops which had assisted Paekche during the hostilities. Shilla needed to make peace with Japan after unification, however, since it was in conflict with Tang China. Five years after Shilla's unification, the two countries exchanged envoys. But Silla's relations with Japan were not as close as that of Paekche's. Tension over the diplomatic protocol system (woegyo ch'eje) arose and hostility persisted between the two countries which resulted in quite a few military clashes. Meantime on the Korean peninsula, the new kingdom called Parhae was established by former subjects of Koguryŏ in 698. Parhae established an amicable relationship with Japan as a consequence of its confrontation with Tang and Shilla. Around the eighth century, Wa improved its administrative and legal system (yullyong ch'eje), changed its name to Japan, and established the imperial throne. Japan's relations with the continent dwindled slowly. Dispatches of emissaries to Shilla ended in 779. Its last embassy to Tang was dispatched in 838. Relations with Parhae persisted to the beginning of the tenth century, but exchanges between the two countries were limited to trade only after the eighth century. No state level exchanges between Shilla and Japan took place at this time even though trade and cultural exchanges continued.

Medieval relations

Koryŏ, which unified the Later Three Kingdoms in 936, sent envoys to Japan and tried to reopen diplomatic ties in vain. Japan, at the time in its Heian period, was absorbed in the glory of being "a small China" centering around the imperial throne and its unique style of national culture. It was indifferent to foreign relations. Koryŏ likewise responded and became passive in opening friendly relations with its island neighbor. After the mid-eleventh century, however, local gentries and merchants in Japan actively sought to resume regular contacts with Korea for the benefit of importing the accoutrements of civilization and trade. Koryŏ was extensively involved in the international trade with countries like Arabia at the time. As the number of Japanese traders who visited Korea increased, the Koryŏ government made an agreement with Tazaifu of Kyōtō who was in charge of foreign relations in 1263 to allow two trading vessels to Koryŏ once a year. This was the so-called Shinpftsosen trade system which was a form of tributary trade.

Even though there were no formal relations between the two governments, Koryŏ and Japan maintained amicable exchanges until Koryŏ and Yuan allied to invade Japan twice, in 1274 and in 1281. The allies failed both times near Kyushu because of typhoons. Due to the heavy burden imposed on Koryŏ during the two wars, Koryŏ became weak and suffered from peasant uprisings internally and raids of Japanese marauders (waegu) externally. In Japan, the wars contributed to the collapse of the Kamakura Shogunate. Hostility toward Yuan and Koryŏ followed and the Japanese notion of being a nation favored by the gods (shin'guk ūisik) was reinforced.

At the end of Koryŏ, the most important issue between Korea and Japan was the Japanese marauders. Japan was in a chaotic state called the Period of the Southern and Northern Courts (1331-1392). Amid political chaos, ruined warriors and the poor from the western area of Japan resorted to piracy. Koryŏ's limit on trade was also a source of dissatisfaction. From the mid-eleventh century, raids of Japanese marauders became rampant and caused much damage to Koryŏ. Koryŏ's three-fold policy toward the marauders consisted of military measures, diplomatic negotiation and economic conciliation. These various efforts were successful in holding off the Japanese but they contributed to the Koryŏ kingdom's exhaustion and eventual overthrow. Yi Sŏng-gye, who distinguished himself in the struggle against the Japanese marauders, established a new dynasty.
Relations Between 1392-1868

The international situation in East Asia changed significantly around the end of fourteenth century. The Ming Dynasty replaced the Tang in China and the Yi Dynasty was established in Korea in 1392. In the same year, Japan was unified ending the Southern and Northern Courts Period. Amid these changes, a new international order led by Ming China was formed in East Asia. As for Korea-Japan relations negotiations resumed concerning the waegu issue and progressed rapidly after Ashikaga shogunate and Choson were conferred legitimacy by the Ming emperor in 1401. Yoshimitsu, the third shogun of the Ashikaga shogunate, sent a message to Choson which was accepted in 1404 and, as a consequence, formal diplomatic relations were established. It had been 625 years since relations between the two countries were severed. The intent of Choson policy toward Japan was to keep peace in the south by curtailing Japanese marauders. To this end, Choson used military confrontation like the Tsushima Attack in 1419. However the basic policy of Choson toward Japan was to employ economic conciliation measures in order to transform the marauders into peaceful traders. Through these activities, Choson government accepted the demand for trade by various factions as well as the shogunate generals. Commercial and living quarters for the Japanese (waegwan) were established for trading. Diplomatic relations with Japan in early Choson period was not unitary at the governmental level but pluralistic by means of negotiations with various partners in Japan. The Choson government interacted with the shogunate on an equal basis but had tributary relations with others.

The two countries actively exchanged envoys after opening diplomatic ties. Over two hundred years, Choson dispatched sixty envoys in all. Korea received sixty royal envoys from Japan (envoys from the shogunate) and 4,000 envoys others. Japan sought relations with Choson for profitable trade but Choson's prime motive was political: to deter marauders and maintain peace. After relations between Korea and Japan stabilized, Choson reinforced a limited trade policy with Japan. Choson's early relations with Japan were smooth and peaceful except for a few disturbances by Japanese from Tsushima who were dissatisfied with the limited trade policy. Items exported to Japan were cotton, fabrics and cultural items like Buddhist scriptures, books, and stationary while imports from Japan were produce from the south such as dyes, spices and medicines, and minerals and handicraft products. There were technical and cultural exchanges as well. Buddhist cultural assets like the Tripitaka and Confucian writings were brought to Japan. Japan had great interest in the Tripitaka and sent envoys requesting grants of the Tripitaka eighty two times and, as a consequence, about 3,800 volumes were sent to Japan. As for technical exchanges, metal workers accompanied Choson envoys to Japan and manufacturing methods to construct water mills and ships and manufacture swords were offered to Korea in turn.

Peaceful relations between the two countries were disturbed by Japan at the end of the sixteenth century. Toyotomi Hideyoshi ended the Age of Warring States in Japan which had lasted over one hundred years, unified the country in 1590, and began to eye the continent for expansion. The Japanese army invaded Choson with 160,000 soldiers on April 1592 and initially won the battle on land. But before long they retreated repeatedly due to military assistance offered by Ming China, great defeats inflicted by the Choson naval forces, and the uprising of guerilla forces called "righteous armies" (ubiyong) throughout the country. The war lasted for seven years including peace negotiations and yet another invasion by the Japanese. Finally Hideyoshi's death in 1598 led the Japanese to completely withdraw from the peninsula. Besides Choson, Japan and Ming China, southeast Asians like Thais and Ryukyus also participated in the war with Ming troops. The war might well be called a "world war within East Asia." Its impact was tremendous. Nearly all of Korea suffered severe damage including the destruction of land, lives and the loss of cultural assets. Korean animosity toward Japan became extreme. It took a long time for Choson to recover from the war. The Ming who had assisted Choson during the war
were soon conquered by the Ch'ing and the Toyotomi regime which brought about the war in Japan collapsed. Japan did not achieve its original ambition in the war but it reaped some benefits from it.

The Japanese Invasion of 1592-1598 (Imjin waeran) is referred to as 'Japanese marauder attacks on a national scale' or 'a war of pillage' because the Japanese systematically looted Choson of many of its cultural assets and treasures on a massive scale. The study of Zhu Xi, metal printing type and skill in the ceramic arts taken from Korea contributed significantly to the development of modern Japanese civilization. The study of Zhu Xi was originally introduced to Japan by a Korean Confucian scholar named Kang Hang who was taken as a prisoner of war. Followed by Fujiwara and Hayashi, Confucian studies developed as a discipline in Japan and was consequently recognized as an official college of the shogunate. More than 200,000 letters of very advanced metal printing type, which had been devised and manufactured in Choson for the first time in the world, were pillaged by Japan. This along with books greatly influenced the development of modern typography and publication in Japan. The way of tea was becoming popular among the Japanese at the time and their interest in Choson ceramics led to the abduction of skilled Korea potters who advanced the ceramic art of Japan tremendously. This eventually became the biggest export trade item with Europeans.

Tokugawa who established a new shogunate in 1600 after defeating Toyotomi forces sought normalization with Choson. After more than ten years of negotiation, the two countries resumed diplomatic ties again with some changes in their mode of diplomacy (woegyo ch'eje). The Choson government allowed trade with the lord of Tsushima after the Ulyu Treaty (Ulyu choyak) in 1609. But the trade volume was strictly controlled in order to call Japan to account for the war. Dispatch of embassies from Japan stopped due to a Choson prohibition against Japanese envoys visiting Japan. Practical diplomatic issues were expedited by the lord of Tsushima and a Choson official from Pusan (magistrate of Tongnae). Diplomatic missions (t'ongshinsa) from the Choson government were dispatched twelve times by the invitation of the shogunate general. The political intent of Japan's mission diplomacy (t'ongshinsa woegyo) was to project a grander image of the shogunate general internationally than the feudal lords. Meanwhile the Choson government justified its relations with the Japanese as a way to educate them through the introduction of Confucian culture. As a result, envoys of more than five hundred people included a number of people in charge of cultural exchanges such as the literati, painters, calligraphers, doctors, and military bands. These personnel interacted with people from various parts of Japan. Japanese scholars and the general populace of Japan under the government's isolationist policy had abnormally high cultural regard for the Choson envoys, and their influence was considerable as a consequence. Japanese civilization was also introduced to Choson by the envoys who provided new information about Japan.

Peaceful relations between Korea and Japan lasted about two hundred years after the Imjin War. The situation changed as Western forces advanced into Asia in the nineteenth century. Japan delayed the invitation of official envoys from Choson by claiming financial restraints as the importance of relations with that country dwindled. The last official envoy was sent to Japan in 1811. The Korea-Japan relations afterwards became estranged and cold. As the Meiji Restoration took place in Japan in 1868 and changed its domestic administration, relations between Korea and Japan entered a new phase.

**Early Modern Relations (1876-1909)**

The new government of Japan after the Meiji Restoration sent a sovereign's message (kuksô) to Choson announcing the establishment of a new administration in Japan and requesting a new diplomatic relationship with the Choson government. Choson refused to accept the message however because it employed an expression which subordinated the king of Choson to Japanese emperor. Since Choson had established the relationship on an
equal basis with Japanese sovereignty in the international arena, it did not matter whether it was the emperor or the shogun. The message from Japan was considered detrimental to the existing friendly relationship between the two countries. When success in establishing diplomatic ties with Choson as it dictated did not materialize, the idea of subjugating Choson to its will was raised in Japan. Japan finally brought about the Unyo Incident in 1875 in order to force Choson to open its doors. Using the incident as a pretext, Japan dispatched Minister Plenipotentiary Kuroda to Korea on February 4, 1876 along with six warships and began negotiations with Choson on Kanghwa Island. Japan demanded reconciliation amid intimidations and a show of armed force. The Choson government, after vehement argument, finally decided to open its ports on February 18. The conclusion of the treaty was influenced by the need for amicable trade relations by the enlightenment faction in Choson and a recommendation by Ch'ing China. Important elements of the twelve articles in the Kanghwa Treaty (Korean-Japan Treaty of Friendship) concluded on February 26 were the mutual dispatch of diplomatic missions, the opening of the ports of Pusan, Inch'on and Wonsan, the acknowledgement of a Japanese consul to Korea and consular jurisdiction, the establishment of a leased territory, and freedom to survey the coastline. Article 1 of the treaty read "as an independent nation, Choson has equal rights with Japan" and was intended to eliminate Ch'ing influence on Choson. In August of the same year, the Trade Regulations (T'ongsang changjông) was signed as an addendum to the treaty. This allowed the circulation of Japanese currency in Korea and tariff-free trade, thereby legalizing Japan's economic invasion. The Korea-Japan Treaty of 1876 which copied the U.S.-Japan Treaty of 1854 and the England-Japan Treaty of 1859 was a forced, unequal treaty unfavourable to Korea. The Kanghwa Treaty however was an impetus for Choson to enter the new modern international order by breaking away from traditional relations in East Asia centering around China. Korea concluded treaties with the US (1882), England (1883), Germany (1883), Russia (1884), Italy (1884), France (1887) and other western nations and as a result, modern culture from the West was introduced. On the other hand, opening ports was a prelude to invasion by the imperial powers including Japan.

After opening its ports, the Korean government was divided into two factions, a conservative faction which insisted on isolation, and an enlightenment faction which advocated modernization. In the 1880's, the enlightenment policy was pursued with King Kojong's support. The Soldiers' Riot (Imo Kullan) of 1882 was a military mutiny by conservative forces and soldiers against the enlightenment policy. During the rebellion, one Japanese training officer was killed, the legation office was burned, and Qing entered Korea reinforcing its influence on Korea. The enlightenment faction, meantime, split into two factions. The progressive party favored rapid changes with Japan as its model. The moderate party advocated gradual enlightenment with aid from Qing China. Japan tried to strengthen its influence on Korea by supporting the pro-Japanese progressive party, Pak Yonghyo, Kim Ok-kyun and others. They brought about the Coup d' Etat of 1884 (Kapshin chôngbyôn) but failed due to their mistaken judgement of the situation at the time and Chinese intervention. China and Japan maintained peaceful relations after the Convention of Tientsin of 1885 but Qing's influence on Korea grew. When the Uprising of the Tonghak Peasant Army (Tonghak nongmin undong) arose on February 1894 and extended to Chonju, King Kojong requested military assistance from Qing to quell the uprising. Chinese troops were dispatched to Korea and, in accordance with the Convention of Tientsin, Japan which had been looking for an opportunity to advance into Korea, also sent troops. Japan suggested that the two powers jointly undertake to reform Korea's internal administration but this proposal was rejected by China. At this, Japan independently demanded Korea to reform and started the Sino-Japanese War on August 1 which ended in a Japanese victory in 1895. The Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895 successfully eliminated China's influence in Korea though Japan's advance was restrained by the intervention of Russia, Germany and France. Japan was forced to return the Liaotung Peninsula due to international containment. A new faction within the Korean government arose at this juncture which sought reliance on Russia which seemed to be
more powerful than Japan at the time. Anxious Japan abetted the Japanese minister Miura to perpetrate the murder of Queen Min who supported the pro-Russian faction. Japan's attempt to expand its influence on the Korean peninsula failed due to the brutal suppression of the Tonghak peasant army and the Queen Min Incident (sUlmisabyon). The atmosphere of hostility toward Japan peaked and 'righteous armies' rose up throughout the country to wage an armed struggle against Japan.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed in 1902 in an effort to curb the growth of Russia's influence in China and Korea after its military occupation of Manchuria in 1900. The Russo-Japanese War broke out after negotiations between Russia and Japan over Manchuria and Korea failed in 1904. In August of the same year and still in war, Korea and Japan signed a new agreement stipulating the employment of Japanese financial and foreign advisers in the Korean government and advance approval from Japan regarding diplomatic matters. In 1905, Japan signed a secret agreement between the US Secretary of the Army Taft and the Japanese prime minister Katsura recognizing Japan's suzerainty over Korea. The second Anglo-Japanese Alliance in August of 1905 acknowledged Japan's exclusive authority over Korea. The Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded between Japan and Russia in September with Japan winning Russia's concession not to interfere with the internal affairs of Korea. Through victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, Japan removed its rival from Korea and won approval from the world powers for the colonization of the peninsula. Japan divested Korea of sovereignty in foreign relations and appointed a Japanese resident-general in charge of foreign affairs after signing the Protectoate Treaty in November 1905. King Kojong sent secret envoys to the Hague Peace Conference held in the Netherlands to appeal the injustice and the validity of this treaty but they failed to get a hearing from the world powers represented there because of Japan's interference. Japan instead used this incident to force King Kojong to abdicate. The first Resident-General, Ito, and the Korean prime minister, Yi Wan Yong, signed a new agreement which gave complete authority over Korea to the resident-general and dissolved the Korean army which was the biggest obstacle to annexation.

Koreans rose against Japan in response to their loss of national sovereignty. After the opening of the ports, there were three political forces in Korea; conservatives, Confucian scholars who were out of office, and populists which comprised enlightenment faction, intellectuals and Tonghak. They had repeated confrontations over ways to modernize the nation and protect national sovereignty. However, they did collaborate with each other to instigate and propel the independence movement at this time. After failing in the Kabo Reform (Kabo kyōngjang) and the Independence Club Movement (Tongnip hyŏphoe undong), the enlightenment faction instead took up an enlightenment campaign (kyemong undong) through political societies, education, the press and national religions. The most intense resistance against Japan was the armed struggle joined by the peasant army and Confucian scholars. With the signing of the Protectoate Treaty, the resistance of the Righteous Armies spread nationwide, and was strengthened when joined by disbanded Korean army troops in 1907. The Righteous Armies even advanced to Seoul with the union of thirteen provincial units in 1909. However their major force was defeated by a massive Japanese punitive military action which obliged them to relocate to Chientsao, the Russian maritime territory and Manchuria to continue their battle for independence. Their last act of defiance was the assassination of Resident-General Ito by a Righteous Army chief, An Chunggun in October 1909 at the Harbin train station in Manchuria when Ito was visiting Russia to prepare the annexation treaty. The Resident-General Terauchi and Prime Minister Yi Wan Yong finally signed the annexation treaty on August 22, 1910. As a result, king of Korea yielded sovereign power to the Japanese emperor. Thus Korea's independent modernization efforts over thirty five years beginning with the opening of ports failed and Korea became a colonial subject to another nation for the first time in its history.

The Japanese Colonial Period (1910-1945)
Japan established a Government-General to rule Korea and appointed General Terauchi to be the first governor-general. As a direct appointee of the emperor, the governor-general commanded all legislative, executive, and judicial powers and directed the Korean army and navy. He implemented a military police administration through a gendarmerie system to quell resistance against annexation. At the same time various measures were taken to disband political organizations, ban public political assembly, and shut down the Korean press. A harsh economic policy was also implemented. Japan's purpose in the management of Korea was in line with classical colonial strategy to make Korea not only a supplier of food grains and raw materials but also a market for Japanese products in order to develop its capitalist economy. The Government-General promulgated two important laws to this end, a Land Survey Law and a Company Law. Korean farming villages throughout the country collapsed in a few years after the Land Survey Law of 1912 was implemented. The Government-General became the largest landowner possessing forty per cent of the total land area of the country. This property in turn was distributed to Japanese agricultural companies and farmers in Korea almost free. Korean farmers whose land was confiscated found their way to Manchuria, Siberia, and Japan. The heart of the Company Law promulgated in December 1910 was that all the companies in Korea should obtain permission for their establishment and managerial supervision from Government-General. Its purpose was to restrain Japanese investment in Korea and suppress capital investment in industries by Koreans as well. The Government-General had a firm grip on the industry and economy of Korea through the establishment of the Oriental Development Company and various monopolies. Education and academic research on national culture were banned through the promulgation of the Education Ordinance.

Resistance by Koreans to the cruel colonial policy persisted from the beginning. The movement of underground organizations within Korea persisted and Koreans in exile continued their struggle after annexation. There were armed anti-Japanese activities in Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Territory, joint activities with Chinese revolutionaries in Shanghai, and the formation of national movement organizations and diplomatic activities in the U.S. The largest independence movement at the time was the March First Movement which began in Seoul in 1919. The March First Movement was originally a peaceful petitioning for national independence but changed into popular demonstrations crying "long live independent Korea" led by students and youthful forces. Confronted with brutal suppression by the Japanese police and army, demonstrations erupted nationwide which lasted for over two months. More than two million Koreans participated in more than 1,500 protest meetings which occurred in 211 out of the 218 counties (kun) within the country. The March First Movement has great historical significance in that it united all the existing independence factions throughout the country, provided a foundation for nationalist movements afterwards such as the Korean Provisional Government and heralded an anti-imperialist movement in Asia. The March First demonstration took place during the Paris Peace Conference. It influenced international opinion and was a great shock to Japan. As a consequence, Japan changed its colonial rule from a military administration to a so-called 'enlightened' cultural administration. Cultural administration implemented a divide and rule policy through conciliation, the abolition of the gendarmerie police system, some freedom of speech, press and publications, and an easing of restrictions on educational and cultural activities.

The Korean national movement entered a new, expanded phase in the 1920s. Relaxed legal restrictions allowed, first, a nationalist enlightenment movement in the press and education, second, a civil rights movement within the general populace including the farmers' movement, labor organizations and a social equality movement. The main force in all these movements was the Korean public itself and the prime motive was economic.

Japan's colonial policy in the 1920s entailed a plan to increase rice production that lasted from 1920 to 1934. Rice production increased as planned and Korea was forced to become a supplier of food grains to Japan whilst the land lost its ability to replenish itself due to
repeated mono-crop cultivation. Japan, caught up in the worldwide depression of 1929, incited the Manchurian Incident in September 1931 as its military secured political influence. This eventually led to the Sino-Japanese War of 1937 and the Pacific War of 1941.

Japan, in a state of war for fifteen years, used Korea as its supply base to advance onto the 'cultural administration' and resumed its policy of cruel suppression with the expansion of the war. Japan forcibly mobilized Korean labor to fill its urgent manpower needs through the promulgation of the National General Mobilization Law in 1938 and forced Koreans to perform dangerous work in mines and military facilities. As the Pacific War progressed, Japan drafted 210,000 Koreans through its National Government Service Ordinance (1942) and Student Enlistment (1943). Japan even mobilized 370,000 Korean women under the name of the Comfort Corps (chŏngshindae) to work and serve the sexual needs of Japanese soldiers. They also enforced an assimilation policy to obliterate Korean identity as well as forced mobilization campaigns. Accordingly, Japan forcibly enforced emperor and Shinto shrine worship, a ban on Korean language, obligatory Japanese language education, and the Name Order forcing Koreans to change their names to Japanese style. Japan's cruel and primitive colonial policy can be safely characterized as 'land exploitation in the 1920s, rice exploitation in the 1920s, labor force exploitation in the 1930s, and life exploitation in the 1940s.'

Korean resistance to Japan was as intense as the Japanese suppression. The centripetal point of the Korean national movement was the Provisional Government. The Shanghai Provisional Government was established by national leaders in exile in April, 1919. As a government-in-exile, it led the Korean people both within and outside Korea to struggle against Japanese militarism for the next twenty five years. Independence fighter organizations in Manchuria combined under the Korean Provisional Government to form the Restoration Army in 1941. These forces continued their struggle against Japan in cooperation with the Chinese army and fought against Japan with the Allied forces during the Second World War. In February 1945, the Provisional Government declared war against Japan and Germany, the Restoration Army engaged in India and Burma and made preparations to join the landing operation on the Japanese mainland in cooperation with American troops. In 1941, an overseas Koreans gathering was held in the US. Some joined the OSS and participated in battles against Japan.

There were also various resistance movements in Korea. The two largest demonstrations since the March First Movement were the June 10 Independence Demonstration in 1926 and the Kwangju Student Movement in 1929. Sin'ganhoe and Kunuhoe which were created in 1927 as a national unification front of left and right factions, led the nationalist movement. Since 1930s, these nationalist activities continued through the activities of national movement organizations like the Hungsadan, the Korean Language Society, and the struggle against Shinto shrine worship.

Korean Residents in Japan

By 'Korean residents in Japan' we here refer to Koreans who migrated to Japan during the colonial period and remained there after the war. There were 790 Koreans in Japan in 1909 before the annexation of Korea, but by 1945 the figure had swollen to 2.1 million. In short, the Korean population in Japan was resulted from Japan's colonial rule. The influx of Koreans to Japan occurred in two stages. The first stage between 1910 and 1938 was the emigration of impoverished Korean farmers. Japan was in need of cheap labor due to the development of capitalism. Korean farmers who were ruined as a result of the land survey were obliged to migrate from their homeland to Manchuria and Japan. In the 1920s, 300,000 Koreans migrated to Japan and in 1938, 800,000. The second stage was forced migration from 1939 to 1945. Japan, embroiled in the Pacific War soon following the Sino-Japanese War, had to mobilize many laborers for the war industry. It passed the National
General Mobilization Law of 1938 and the Labor Mobilization Plan of 1939 and took Korean laborers by force. The number of Koreans who were forced to migrate to Japan was no less than one million. They were unskilled workers who performed manual labor, and they were paid one third their Japanese counterparts. They maintained a very minimal standard of living, and resided mostly in the industrial and mining areas or in slums near cities. More than 6,000 innocent Koreans were slaughtered at the time of the great Tokyo earthquake of 1923.

The liberation of Korea brought major changes in the standing and attitude of Korean residents in Japan. Naturally they wasted no time to return to Korea. The number of Koreans who returned to Korea in the eight months after liberation to March 1946 exceeded 1.4 million. 600,000 Korean residents in Japan registered in accordance with the Alien Registration Ordinance Japan promulgated on May 1947. They can be considered the 'first' Korean residents of Japan. They remained in Japan for two reasons: the political and economic situation of Korea was chaotic and the Japanese government placed restrictions on the amount of money and goods they could take with them. The Japanese government revoked the Japanese nationality of Koreans in Japan unilaterally in April 1952. The legal status of Korean residents in Japan was guaranteed by the Korea-Japan Basic Treaty in 1965. The Agreement on the Legal Status and Treatment of Korean Nationals Residing in Japan, the accessory agreement to the Basic Treaty, stipulates that the Japanese government should assist them to lead a stable life in consideration of their special relationship with Japanese society. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two countries exchanged a note on January 1991 in order to supplement sections of the Basic Treaty. According to the note, Koreans from the third generation and after shall obtain the right of permanent residence, be exempted from fingerprinting, and be allowed to be employed as teachers and local public officials. National education is also allowed on the decision of local government authorities. This is some improvement on the Basic Treaty. The Japanese government, however, still places restrictions on national education and keeps more than 200 discriminatory clauses in social security and welfare.

Korean society in Japan has experienced significant changes in the forty years since the war. Distinctive trends are the shift in generations, the increase in naturalization, and permanent settlement. Second and third generation Koreans constitute the majority of Korean residents in Japan now. As of 1974, 80% of Koreans in Japan were born after the war. Unlike the first generation, they set 'living in Japan' as a premise. International marriage has also become popular. As of 1992 more than 80% of Korean residents in Japan marry Japanese. According to the Japanese Nationality Act revised and enforced in 1985, children with at least one Japanese parent can acquire Japanese nationality. Due to these changes, the number of Korean residents in Japan is decreasing. The figure for naturalization is larger than the rate of natural population growth since 1985. The figure for naturalization has increased every year since it began in April 1952 and reached 168,000 by 1992. However, the naturalization policy of Japan is to Japanize naturalized citizens under the ideology of 'a unitary nation-state.' There is a fundamental difference between the Japanese system and obtaining citizenship in multi-ethnic America.

Policies regarding Korean residents in Japan serve as a test of desirable Korea-Japan relations. Korean residents have been treated as foreigners or as Japanese according to the arbitrary judgement of the Japanese government. They fulfill 100% of the duties of Japanese citizens but enjoy only 50% of their rights. As the generation of Koreans in Japan shifts, they wish to continue living in Japan. Yet they also want to preserve the national characteristics. The International Human Rights Covenant (Kukje ingwon kyuyak) which Japan joined in 1979 recognizes equal principles for natives and foreigners, the securing of the right to work and livelihood, and cultural self-determination of minorities. However it is yet to be determined to what extent the Japanese government abides by the agreement. The Japanese government should abolish discrimination and discard an assimilation policy that obliterates national identity based on the fabricated theory of a unitary nation-state.
Contemporary Relations  (1945-present)

The liberation of Korea was a direct result of the victory of the Allied Forces and the defeat of Japan in the Second World War. At the same time, it was also the result of the persistent Korean national movement for independence. As the prospect of the Allied Forces' victory became certain, a summit conference was held in Cairo, Egypt in November 1943 among the leaders of the US, Great Britain and China. The independence of Korea was declared among the postwar matters which were discussed. The leaders of the US, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union who met in Potsdam, Germany in July 1945 recommended the unconditional surrender of Japan and reaffirmed Korea's independence as agreed to in the Cairo Declaration. When Japan ignored this recommendation, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6. The Soviet Union declared war against Japan and attacked Manchuria and the Korean peninsula at the same time. Japan finally announced unconditional surrender to the Allies on August 15, 1945. With this, the fifteen year long Japanese war of aggression beginning with the Manchurian Incident came to an end with 2.6 million war casualties.

On August 15, 1945 when Japan unconditionally surrendered, the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence was immediately organized. The Committee comprised of both left and right wing forces guaranteed the safe repatriation of 700,000 Japanese in mutual agreement with the Government-General and maintained peace and order during the transitional period. Korea went through great confusion after liberation. The United States and the Soviet forces occupied the southern and northern halves of the Korean peninsula respectively divided at the 38th parallel. Koreans were torn by the ideological confrontation. The Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence weakened because of the confrontation between its right and left wings and finally dissolved as the US started its military administration in the South. Eventually the Republic of Korea in the south and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north were established in 1948, and thus the division of Korea began. In June 1950 the Korean War began with an attack launched by North Korea. The war became an international war when sixteen countries led by the US entered the war under the flag of the United Nations. Communist China supported North Korea. Warfare came to an end with a truce in 1953 but Korea remained frozen in division while Japan, under US occupation, overcame its postwar crisis and laid a foundation for economic revival owing to the war in Korea.

With the Korean peninsula becoming an outpost of the international cold war, the United States strongly recommended reconciliation between Korea and Japan to form a united front against the communist bloc in northeast Asia. A preliminary meeting was held in Tokyo in October under the direction of General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) shortly after the San Francisco meeting and the signing of the US-Japan Security Treaty in September 1951. This was the first of meetings to reopen diplomatic relations between the two countries. Formal negotiations for the normalization of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan was held in February 1952 but mutual agreement did not occur because of disputes over unresolved issues such as property claim rights. The meetings were discontinued because of a remark rationalizing Japan's colonial rule by Kubata, a Japanese representative to the third meeting in October 1953. A fourth meeting was held in April 1958 four years later but again failed due to differences regarding the repatriation to North Korea of Korean residents in Japan. Park Chung Hee (Pak Chung-hui) who seized power through a military coup d'etat actively pursued results in Korea-Japan talks while putting economic development as the first priority of his government administration. Thus there was rapid progress from the sixth talk resumed in October 1961. Agreements on major pending issues like property claims against Japan, the Lee line, the legal status of Korean residents in Japan, and the return of cultural assets transpired and a basic treaty was provisionally signed in Seoul in February 1965. A strong anti-normalization movement arose in Korea, followed by a declaration of martial law.
There were demonstrations in Japan against the normalization as well. But the governments of the two countries officially concluded the Korea-Japan Agreement which was composed of one basic treaty with four auxiliary agreements on June 22, 1965. The general agreement stipulates the opening of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries, reaffirmation of the invalidity of the annexation treaty and all other agreements and treaties signed prior to the annexation, and the acknowledgement of the Republic of Korea as a sole legitimate government on the Korean peninsula. In accordance with the Claims Agreement, Japan provided Korea with $300 million in grants, $200 million in public loans, and $300 million in commercial credits over a ten year period. The amount of money was meager compensation for its long colonial rule but it helped to rebuild the Korean economy. Korea has pursued intensive economic development and in the process has received economic cooperation from Japan. At present, Korea and Japan are major trading partners but there is a serious trade imbalance. As of 1993, the total trade deficit with Japan was $8 billion, equivalent to twice the total foreign trade deficit of Korea after the war. Upon restoring diplomatic ties, Korea and Japan have consulted on pending diplomatic matters at the Korea-Japan Ministerial meeting which has been held as a courtesy visit every year since 1967. A Trade Agreement, an Aviation Agreement and a Korea-Japan Agreement on Joint Continental Shelf Development were concluded respectively in 1966, 1967, and 1974. President Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tu-hwan) visited Japan in 1984. He was the first Korean head of state to do so. At the time, the Japanese emperor apologized for past affairs and Korea received $4 billion in security cooperation funds. Korea-Japan relations have progressed smoothly centering around economic exchanges.

North Korea-Japan relations have been restricted since Japan acknowledges the Republic of Korea as the sole legitimate government on the Korean peninsula in accordance with the Korea-Japan Basic Treaty. However Japan has maintained economic and technical exchanges with the North through a policy of separating political and economic matters. Exchanges between the North and Japan began as the North-South dialogue began on the peninsula and as the international order became more complex in the 1970s. North Korea and Japan concluded a treaty regarding trade in August 1965 and a fisheries agreement in November 1984. Broadcasting Commissions of the two countries also signed an agreement on the exchange of broadcasting materials. Efforts to normalize diplomatic relations between North Korea and Japan are progressing as the Cold War subsides in the 1990s. The Pro-North Korean Residents' League in Japan mediates trade and joint enterprises in the North. Trade volume however is no more than one-fiftieth of that between South Korea and Japan.

Korea and Japan have had a peaceful relationship over most of their long history with only relatively short periods of conflict and confrontation. Relations in modern times have often been distorted and uncomfortable, however, especially in the early 20th century with the blight of Japanese colonial rule and Korea's inevitable resistance. Japan maintains a cooperative relationship with South Korea but it has not yet established diplomatic relations with North Korea in the latter half of the 20th century. Relations between Korea and Japan have often been dubbed "close and yet distant." Bitterness over responsibility for the war, postwar settlement, and other differences are shared by citizens in both countries. Korea and Japan must learn how to restore amicable mutual understanding while maintaining equal and friendly relations in the global era of the 21st century.

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The Joong-ang ilbo (Chungang ilbo) is a nationwide daily newspaper that is published in Seoul. It was launched on 22 September 1965, with Yi Pyōngch’ŏl as president; Hong Chin’gi as vice-president; and Yi Wŏn’gyo as editor-in-chief. The newspaper strongly reflected the convictions of its first president as it sought to establish itself as a pundit for social welfare and social justice. These high ideals were met through neutral editorial policies, new-style columns, rigid political neutrality, and the unwavering cultivation of moral culture. Initially, the newspaper was an eight page edition and provided coverage on national news, world news, sports, weather, culture and fashion, together with topical editorials and columns, thus offering the Korean public a somewhat differently formatted newspaper than others published at that time.

The management of the Joong-ang ilbo was reorganised in 1968 with Yi Pyōngch’ŏl assuming the chairmanship; Hong Chin’gi as president and Yi Kyuhyŏn taking over as editor-in-chief. By early 1970, the size of the publication had increased substantially to forty-eight pages. Another major development was the December 1974 merger with Tongyang Broadcasting Company to form the first print-broadcasting mass media company in Korea. The size of the newspaper continued to grow and was further increased to seventy-two pages in 1981. A further expansion in the early 1990s denoted it as among the first of the so-called ‘section’ newspapers in Korea. The Joong-ang ilbo has maintained its growth and has increased its activities, establishing a research centre (Tongsŏ Munje Yŏn’guso). The newspaper has been at the forefront in its reporting of the many domestic events, incidents and scandals of recent years, and it is widely respected for its journalistic integrity.

Juche Ideology

The juche (chuch’e; self-reliance) ideology is the cornerstone of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea -- DPRK) society and is manifested in many aspects of its politics, society and philosophy. Juche is said to be a new philosophical thought that centres on man, and in which man is the master of all and decides on everything. The juche philosophy promulgated by Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) states that man is a social being with Chajusong (autonomy), creativity and consciousness. Juche is claimed to be a truly revolutionary philosophy that will enable men to transform the world and shape their destiny independently, creatively and consciously, with a high degree of awareness that they are both masters of the world and their own destiny. Insofar as DPRK literature is concerned, juche is viewed as the paramount ideology on which the foundations of society are built.

Formation of the Juche Ideology

Some scholars hold that the beginnings of juche ideology are found in the shift from a Soviet-orientated policy to one that was focused on self-reliance, which occurred in the late 1950s. After the formation of a five-year economic development plan in April 1956, a North Korean delegation, headed by Kim Il Sung, travelled to the Soviet Union and countries in Eastern Europe to secure the necessary aid for the implementation of the grand plan. The mission was not successful, however, and consequently the focus of the DPRK development shifted to one of self-reliance, or juche, a measure necessitated by a dearth of economic resources. Initially the policies of the DPRK were somewhat similar to the Maoist
ideology of self-reliance, and simply stated, they were aimed at the mass mobilisation of domestic human and natural resources to meet the needs of economic development. Along with this shift from foreign dependence to self-reliance, there was an accompanying purge of the ranks of the North Korean government, of those who opposed this new direction of the state. Hence, as a co-product of the shift, the political position of Kim Il Sung was further consolidated, as he seized the opportunity to eliminate all factions in the Korean Workers’ Party (KWP) that were not completely loyal to him.

The process of creating the ideology of self-reliance required mass indoctrination of the people to the new direction of the state, and this was the genesis of juche ideology. The brain-washing of the people for their acceptance of the juche concept commenced in speeches and in propaganda issued by the KWP and its organs. Its first mention was in a speech by Kim Il Sung in December 1955, in which he espoused juche as a means of creating a national identity. Juche was to function as an ideology by which both international obligations and national goals were to be integrated in external affairs, and by which the leadership and the masses would be closely linked in domestic matters. Kim insisted that juche was not a self-aggrandisement policy, but was rather a general policy to determine how best to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to North Korea, and how to avoid the basic mechanical duplication of foreign systems and ideologies.

The result of the adoption of juche ideology as the main tenet of the state, was a decided shift from the former policy of ‘learning from the Soviet experience’, to one of the promotion of every virtue of Kim Il Sung, and by extension, the North Korean state. Hence, the writings that had formerly praised the ‘great liberating Soviet Army’ disappeared and were replaced with those that praised the ‘revolutionary tradition of the guerrilla armies in Manchuria’ led by Kim. The shift from a pro-Soviet policy in North Korea was remarkably similar to the one in China in the mid 1950s, and both movements served the same fundamental purpose of mobilising the nation for economic development. The process of shifting the focus of DPRK ideology away from the Soviet Union was not an easy task, however, as the people and ruling elite had been thoroughly indoctrinated in accepting the Soviets as both their liberators and as their models for development. Thus, as an outgrowth of the self-reliance policies, the process of glorifying the revolutionary accomplishments of the Manchurian guerrillas, led by Kim, was intensified. In the juche ideology, then, are the beginnings of the creation of the Kim Il Sung cult and the deification of the North Korean leader.

Developments in the Juche Ideology

The juche ideology underwent transformation as circumstances in the international arena demanded that North Korea adapt. Namely, as relations became strained with first the Soviet Union and then China, the North was forced to become even more self-reliant, and so the juche ideology became even more prominently manifested. The international events of the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Cultural Revolution in China, the Vietnam War, the establishment of relations between China and the United States, and the policy of détente between the Soviet Union and the United States, all served to force North Korea to become increasingly isolated and even more reliant on juche ideology. Therefore, the party line of ‘avoiding the mechanical imitation of foreign systems’ was escalated, and moreover, North Korean society became even more inward-looking and more concentrated on Kim Il Sung.

The international political activities of the DPRK became more focused on the so-called non-aligned movement of the 1970s. The North sponsored the establishment of Juche Centres in many nations around the world in an attempt to establish itself as a leader of the non-aligned movement. This shift in North Korean philosophy reflected the changing international situation, as global politics at this time were moving away from the polarised world of the Cold War, and shifting to a multi-faceted world in which many diverse interests and relationships were being formed among nations. The juche ideology of the
North prevented it from aligning with any one country or group, and this resulted in even greater isolation internationally.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist Bloc in the late 1980s and early 1990s, created even more international isolation for the North. Compounding this was the loss of almost all foreign aid, and of necessity, this brought a corresponding increased emphasis on self-reliance.

Today, the focus of the North Korean state is directed almost completely inward, with Kim Jong Il (Kim Ch'ong'il) now leader of North Korean society in place of his father. While DPRK propaganda continues to promote the virtues of juche and the benefits it brings to the people, the fact is that this introverted ideology has doomed its own economy and resulted in the state not being able to deal adequately with national emergencies, such as the nationwide famine of the mid-late 1990s. While North Korea promotes its society as a 'proletariat eldorado' that has resulted from the juche ideology (in which man is his own master), the truth of the matter is that the North's economy is moribund and the country must now rely upon international aid in order for the common people to subsist.

Bibliography


Jungeumsa

Jungeumsa (Ch'onguumsa) is a publishing company situated in the Chongno Ward of Seoul. Its origin was in a small publishing house established in Seoul in July 1928 by Ch'oe Hyŏnbae, a professor at the junior college Yŏnhŭi Chŏnmun Taehakkyo. The company did not take on the vestiges of a modern publishing company until May 1941. It was shut down by the Japanese colonial government, but reopened after Korea’s liberation, with Ch'oe Yŏnghae as president. From this time on, it published numerous works on the Korean language, literature, poetry, history and other subjects, as well as textbooks. From 1946, it also published the monthly magazine Hyangt'o (The Country). The company’s operations were disrupted during the Korean War, but later it continued to publish works ranging from Korean literature, poetry, and music, to doctoral theses and literary criticism. Jeungeumsa has received many awards for the high standard of its publications.

Justice, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]

Ka Island

Ka Island is part of Ch'ŏlsan Paengnyang Township in North P'yŏngan Province's Ch'ŏlsan County. The island, also known as P'i Island, covers an area of 19.2 sq. kms. and has a 35km.-long coastline. Geologically, the island is at the extremity of the submerged Kangnam Mountain Range. Most of the residents work in both fishing and agriculture. Off-shore fishing brings in catches of yellow corbina, bream, croaker and shrimp. Crops grown in the area include bean, corn and rice. At times during Chosŏn the island was used to breed horses.

Kabo kyŏngjang (see Reforms of 1894)

Kadŏk Island

Located to the immediate west of the Naktong River estuary, Kadŏk Island is part of the
port city of Pusan. The island has an area of 20.7 sq. kms. Kadok has a number of large peaks, including Yondae (459m) and Ungju (330m). Except for the northern coast, the island’s coastline consists of cliffs which have been eroded by the sea. Kadok’s southern location makes for a temperate climate, with an average yearly temperature of 13.7c. and an average yearly rainfall of 1250mm.

The island’s main agricultural crops are garlic, barley and onion. Fishing is an important part of the local economy, as is oyster farming. However, both fishing and oyster farming have been adversely affected by the industrial waste coming out of Chineae Bay.

There are four primary schools and one junior high school on the island.

Kaebyŏk (see Magazines)

Kaebyŏksa

Kaebyŏksa was a publishing company founded by the Ch’ŏndogyo religious organisation during the Japanese occupation. The company published numerous books, as well as the monthly magazine Kaebyŏk. (The Genesis). Because of its anti-Japanese sentiments, the company was severely supressed by the colonial authorities.

Kaech’ŏn

Kaech’ŏn is situated to the north of Sunch’ŏn in South P’yŏngan Province. The Ch’ŏngch’ŏn River marks the city’s border with North P’yŏngan Province while Mt. Wŏlbong (1033m), Karin Peak (1088m), Mt. Kosa (1011m) and other peaks of the Myohyang Mountain Range rise in the east. The city’s weather is characterised by extremes between summer and winter temperatures and an average yearly rainfall of 1148mm.

Approximately 21 per cent of the city is arable land. Although the western plains are not particularly fertile, a ready supply of irrigation water and a moderately heavy rainfall makes the area suitable for rice growing. Other grains are grown, as well as legumes, tobacco, cotton, and Chile pepper. Orchards grow apple and peach in marketable quantities and cattle and pigs are farmed. Others engage in sericulture. Outside the rural sector, there are chemical product factories, and north of Mt. Piho, there are graphite mines. High quality anthracite is mined at Yongdam, and in the western part of the city there are iron ore mines.

Several important historical sites exist in the area. Northwest of Mt. Kosa (1011m), one finds Kosa Fortress. Once an extensive stone fortification, only a section of the wall now remains. Next to the fortress in Pongha Village is Kwanŭm Temple. Other sites include a nine-storey stone pagoda to the south of Mt. Piho and remains of the Choyangjin Fortress in Mijang Village.

During the twentieth c., the indigenous Ch’ŏndogyo religion was prominent here with a large church in Pongmyŏng Village in the centre of the city and missionary centres in each of the city’s townships. The Presbyterian church also carried out missionary activities here. In 1935, a church elder by the name of Pak Kwanjun openly opposed worship at the Japanese Shinto shrines. After sending an official letter of protest, he was arrested and sent to a P’yŏngyang prison, where he died.

Kaech’ŏn chŏl

[Customs and Traditions]

Kaehwa Tang (see Enlightenment Party)
Kaesŏng

Located to the northwest of Seoul in North Korea, Kaesŏng was previously part of Kyŏnggi Province. In 1955, the city limits were expanded to include the counties of Kaep’ungs, Changp’ungs and P’anmun. From this time, the city was directly administered by the central government. Kaesŏng’s population is about 380,000.

Kaesŏng’s climate is characterised by sharp seasonal fluctuations with January temperatures averaging minus 6.2 deg. C., and August 25.3 deg. C. The city area averages 1253mm of rainfall annually.

Factories in Kaesŏng produce textiles; leather goods; food stuffs; household products; timber products; metalwork; shoes; electronics; pottery; and handicrafts. The city is particularly well-known for its plaited articles such as rugs; mats; mesh bags; cushions; baskets; and fans. It is also a leading producer of ginseng and ginseng products.

Archaeological artefacts indicate that people first lived in the Kaesŏng locality during the Neolithic era. The area was known as Pusogap during Koguryŏ, but Shilla renamed it Songak County, and built a fortress, in 694. About 899, Kungye, the founder of Later Koguryŏ, used the area as his capital before changing it to Ch’ŏrwŏn. After Wang Kön succeeded Kungye, he switched the capital of the new Koryŏ kingdom back to Songak, his local power base. After several alterations to administrative boundaries, the capital’s name was changed to Kaesŏng-bu in 995. During Koryŏ, Kaesŏng developed into the prosperous (and overcrowded) cultural and political centre of the new kingdom.

A number of historical artefacts and sites attest to Kaesŏng’s rich history. About one kilometre north of Sŏnjuk Bridge, lies Kaesŏng’s Sŏnggyun’gwan. Originally founded as Kukchagam (National Academy) in 992, the Confucian academy’s name was changed to Sŏnggyun’gwan during the reign of King Ch’ungnyŏl (1274-1308). The academy was expanded in 1367, the school’s instructors included the renowned Yi Saek (1328-1396) and Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392). The complex was rebuilt after its destruction by fire during the first Hideyoshi Invasion (1592). Today, the school contains the Koryŏ Museum, which displays pottery, pagodas and a number of Buddhist relics. Confucian ceremonies are occasionally re-enacted at the school.

One of the most important of the city’s relics is Nam (South) Gate at the Panwŏl (Half Moon) Fortress site. Constructed in 1393 and restored in 1955, the structure is the only gate of the seven gates that made up Kaesŏng’s inner fortress to have retained its upper storey. The Yŏnbok Temple bell, which was moved to the gate when Yŏnbok Temple was razed in 1563, is contained in the upper storey. Cast from copper alloy, the bell is 3.3 metres high, 1.9 metres in diameter at its mouth, and is 23 centimetres thick. It weighs about 14 tonnes. It is decorated with fish, dragons, phoenix, giraffes, crabs and wave designs.

South of Mt. Songak lie the foundation stones of Mangwŏldae, a Koryŏ palace. A short distance to the west of the site are the remains of an observatory -- four stone pillars holding up a square stone slab. The structure is surrounded by small pillar-shaped stones spaced evenly apart. Other important artefacts include Sŏnjuk Bridge (built in 1216); the tomb of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) and his queen; and Sungyang Sŏwŏn (private school) founded by Nam Ungun on the slope of Mt. Namja in 1573. Modern monuments include a statue of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) on Mt. Chanam.

Kagok

Kagok wŏlyu (Headwaters of Kagok)
Kagok wollyu is a collection of kasa compiled by Pak Hyogwan and An Minyŏng in 1876. This work was originally handwritten and is composed of one volume and one fascicle. Kagok wollyu along with Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn (Eternal Words of Green Hills) and Haedong kayo (Songs East of the Sea) are considered as the three great shijo collections of Korea. There are some ten editions of this work extant, with the one in possession of the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center (Kungip Kugagwŏn) considered to be closest to the original.

The content of Kagok wollyu (Kungnip Kugagwŏn edition) is divided into 665 songs for men and 191 songs for women making a total of 856 works. These are arranged into thirty categories depending upon their musical style. Other factors such as the writer’s social status or class were not taken into consideration in the compilation of this work. At the end of those items which are not anonymous, there is a brief biography of the writer. The works in this collection range from Úlp’aso (?—203 CE) of Koguryŏ to An Minyŏng of the late Choson period. With but a few minor differences, the other editions of Kagok wollyu are quite similar to the Kungnip Kugagwŏn edition. All of the works pay close attention to both the melody and singing technique of the songs. There are thirty musical categories used to arrange the melodies of these works, which is remarkable considering that there are but ten in Ch’ŏnggu yŏng'ŏn and fourteen in Haedong kayo.

Kagok wollyu is a valuable resource for the study of shijo and musical styles in Korea from early times through the final years of Choson. When this work is examined in conjunction with Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn and Haedong kayo, the development and progression of the shijo form can be traced throughout the Choson period. In particular, Kagok wollyu provides valuable data for the study of traditional musical styles of Korea.

Kaji Island (see Tok Island)

Kanbaek Mountain

As part of the Mach’ŏnnyŏng Ridge, Mt. Kanbaek (2,164 metres) is a subsidiary peak of Mt. Paektu. Connected with Taeyŏnji Peak (2,360 metres) and Soyŏnji Peak (2,123 metres) to the north and Mt. Sobaek (2,174 metres) to the south-east, Mt. Kanbaek is one of the mountains that make up the border between North and South Hamgyŏng Province. The mountain’s steep and rugged terrain accounts for the linguistic and cultural differences between the people living in these two provinces.

Kang Ilsun [New religions]

Kang Kamch’an (948-1031)

Kang Kamch’an was a famous military commander of the Koryŏ period. His ancestral home was in Kŭmjū (present day Shihŭng) and his given name was Unch’ŏn. In 983 after passing the government service examination (kwagŏ) with the highest mark, Kang was appointed to the position of shirang, the second highest position, on the Board of Rites (yejo). In 1010 after the military ‘strongman’ Kang Cho (?—1010) had disposed of King Mokchong (r. 997-1009) and replaced him with King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-1031) the Khitan invaded from the north led by their emperor Shenzong and took advantage of the political disarray in Koryŏ to sack Sŏgyŏng (present day P’yŏngyang) forcing the Koryŏ court to flee south to Naju. After the Khitan retreated, Kang continued his political career and was appointed to various offices before being commissioned as the Commandant of Sŏgyŏng (yusu) in 1018 in addition to duties in the central government. As Commandant of Sŏgyŏng, Kang was charged with the command of the northern forces and for making preparations against another Khitan invasion. Subsequently, later in the same year the
Khitan again attacked Koryŏ, this time led by Xiao Paiya, with a force of 100,000 men. This time Kang’s troops, along with those of the northwestern command and the general command, harassed the Khitan at every turn causing them to retreat. Then at Kuju, Kang executed a massive attack on the retreating Khitan and annihilated their forces in such a devastating manner that only a few thousand Khitan troops survived. At the conclusion of this disastrous invasion, the Khitan sued Koryŏ for a peace treaty.

After leading the Koryŏ forces to the brilliant victory over the Khitan, Kang received many honors from the King and continued to serve the state in various official capacities. Kang is not only remembered for his military brilliance, but also for matters such as building Nasŏng Fortress at Kaegyŏng (present day Kaesŏng) and greatly improving the border defense systems of Koryŏ. Presently Kang’s grave is located in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province in Kuksa Village. In addition to his military exploits, Kang was also an accomplished literary man writing works such as Naktogyogŏ chip and Kusŏn chip. However, these works are not now extant.

Kang Sehwang (1713-1791)

Kang Sehwang is a representative literary man, painter and critic of the Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Chinju and his courtesy name was Kwangji. Kang also had many pen names including Ch’ŏmjae, Sanhyangjae, Pagam, Ŭisangja, Kyŏnam, Nojuk, P’yoam and Haesanjong among others. He was born in Seoul, the youngest of ten siblings and he received much of his education under the affectionate tutelage of his father and his elder sister’s husband. His wife’s brother Yu Kyŏnjong, and friends such as Hŏ P’il and Yi Subong were his closest companions, while other acquaintances included Yi Ik, Shim Sajong and Kang Hŭiŏn. Notably, future painting masters that learned from Kang include Kim Hongdo and Shin Wi.

At eight years of age, Kang began to write poetry and his writing style was so skilled that by the age of thirteen or fourteen his writings were put on decorative folding screens. At thirty-two he moved to Ansan in poverty and for a long period concentrated on cultivating his scholarship, writings and painting skills. Through the good offices of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776), Kang started on the road towards an official position at the age of sixty-one; at sixty-four he took the kigugwa (special government service examination for those over sixty) and at sixty-six he had the highest score on the munshin chŏngshi (a special civil service examination held by order of the king). Kang then held official positions such as Assistant Curator (ch’ambong), Third Minister (ch’amŭ, 3A rank) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo) and as Mayor (p’anyun) of Seoul among others. At the age of seventy-two he was appointed as envoy to Beijing and the travel account and drawings from his sightseeing trip to the Kŭmgang (Diamond) Mountains at age seventy-six are extant. Kang’s official and artistic activities were greatly influenced by the good favour that he received from both King Yongjo and King Chongjo (r. 1776-1800).

Kang is praised chiefly for his excellence as a painter and there are a number of his works presently extant. His paintings include both landscapes and portraits and display his excellent ability and keen eye for detail. Kang was also a renowned art critic and influenced the work of future generations through his insight. In his autobiographical work, P’yoong chaji, he included several scrolls of his artwork including two self-portraits, which was quite unusual. Kang’s grave is located in Toha Village of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province and an annotated collection of his literary works was published by the Academy of Korean Studies in 1979.

Kang Sŏkhŭi

Kang Sehwang (1713-1791)
Kang Sehwang is a representative literary man, painter and critic of the Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Chinju and his courtesy name was Kwangji. Kang also had many pen names including Ch'ŏmjae, Sanhyangjae, Pagam, Ùisangja, Kyŏnam. Nojuk, P'yoam and Haesanjo among others. He was born in Seoul, the youngest of ten siblings and he received much of his education under the affectionate tutelage of his father and his elder sister's husband. His wife's brother Yu Kyŏngjong, and friends such as Hŏ P'il and Yi Subong were his closest companions, while other acquaintances included Yi Ik, Shim Sajong and Kang Hŭiŏn. Notably, future painting masters that learned from Kang include Kim Hongdo and Shin Wi.

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Kanggang suwŏllae

[Custums and Traditions]

Kanggye

Kanggye is located on the Tongno River in the area previously known as North P’yŏngan Province and has a population of 217 000 (1986). Serving as the capital of Chagang Province, an administrative region created in 1949, the city is comprised of the townships of Öroe, Kokha, Chongsŏ, Chongnam, Kongbuk, Kanggye and Tongmun.

As a recently formed industrial city, Kanggye manufactures electronics, machinery and military supplies. In addition, the city has a pencil-making factory and a winery. The Manyp’o and Kanggye railways link the area with other cities in the region, and of roads connects the area with Hŭich’ŏn and Changgang County. As well as being an industrial city, Kanggye serves as the educational centre for the region, with Kanggye Industrial College, Kanggye Educational College and Kanggye Medical College.

Rice is cultivated in the low areas on the banks of the Tongno River and Nam Stream; but most of the city’s agriculture is devoted to potato, legumes, and grains With over 80 per cent of the city’s environs covered by forest, the area also produces timber, firewood, charcoal, pine nut, mushroom, edible fern, and wild walnut.
There are several historical sites in the area. Pavilions include Koyŏnjŏng (built in 1890 by Yi Yongik), Mangmijŏng and Inp’ungnu. Mangmijŏng sits on a cliff overlooking the Tongno River, while Inp’ungnu is sited on a bluff where the Tongno River and Puk Stream meet. The Kanggye Fortress is nearby.

**Kangwha County**

Administratively part of the Inch’ŏn Metropolitan Area, Kangwha County is comprised of 24 islands totalling 358 square kilometres and has a population slightly under 100 000 (1994). The main island of Kanghwa accounts for 75 per cent of the county’s territory. Several low mountains rise on the Kanghwa Island, including Mt. Mani (469m), Mt. Hyŏlgu (466m), Mt. Chin’gang (443m), Mt. Pyŏllip (400m) and Mt. Kilsang (336m). The county was once connected with the mainland, but became islands as a result of continuous erosion by the sea. Since 1970, the county has been linked to the mainland by Kimp’o Bridge.

Originally, Kanghwa Island primarily consisted of mountainous terrain, but extensive reclamation projects have created level areas suitable for rice cultivation. In addition to rice, dry field crops such as barley, beans, potatoes and lettuce are grown in the region. Since the Korean War when many ginseng farmers from nearby Kaesŏng moved here, the area has produced ginseng famous for its fine quality. In addition, local farmers grow a special variety of radish called sunmu which has reddish skin on its upper section. As for specialty products, the area produces colourful sedge mats known as hwamunsŏk (flower-pattern mats) which are sold in a local market every five days. During the Chosŏn period, both sunmu and hwamunsŏk were given in tribute to the king. Fishing also makes an important contribution to the local economy. Boats operating out of the island’s small ports bring in catches of sea bream, croakers, spanish mackerel, yellow corbinas and shrimp.

Situated in close proximity to Seoul, the county attracts a large number of tourists who come to witness the area’s scenic beauty and vast array of historical sites. There are several hiking courses here. Mt. Mani (See Mani Mountain) is popular since it offers a panoramic view of the surrounding area. On top of the mountain, there is an altar dedicated to Tan’gun, the mythological founder of Korea.

The area’s historical sites range from the prehistoric era to the late nineteenth century. A dolmen in Hajom Township provides evidence of the island’s prehistory. The largest megalith in all of Korea, the dolmen is 2.6 metres high and has a capstone 7.1 metres long and 5.5 metres wide.

There are also several Buddhist temples on the island. In Kilsang Township, one finds Chŏndung Temple. According to legend, the stone fortress that surrounds the temple grounds was built in one day by Tan’gun’s three sons. The temple’s Main Buddha Hall, Yaksa (Medicine Buddha) Hall and large bronze bell have been designated Treasures No. 178, No. 179 and No. 393 respectively. Cast in 1097 in China, the bronze bell is a good example of Northern Sung style bells. On Sŏngmo Island, a seventh century carving in relief of a Buddha looks over Pomun Temple. About ten minutes by boat from Kanghwa Island, this picturesque temple receives large numbers of visitors throughout the year.

In addition to Buddhist sites, many celadon and punch’ŏng kiln sites have been discovered around the island, especially in the Hajŏm and Hwado Townships. These kilns indicate that regional potters played an important role in the development of celadon and punch’ŏng pottery styles.

Many sites on the island are associated with the invasions and foreign intervention that Korea has had to deal with throughout its history. When the Mongols launched their first invasion of the peninsula in 1231, the Koryŏ court fled to the island, taking advantage of
the Mongols’ fear of the sea. The court selected the island since it was situated in close proximity with the capital Kaesǒng and was strategically well placed, offering ready access to the Yesǒng, Imjin and Han Rivers. During the 39 years that the court stayed on the island, it built various stone fortifications including the one on Mt. Munsu, remnants of which can still be seen today. From 1236 to 1251, a wood block edition of the Buddhist canon was carved in order to replace the one burnt by the Mongols in 1231. This massive work (National Treasure No. 32), consisting of 80 000 printing blocks, can now be seen at Haein Temple.

During the Manchurian Invasion of 1636, the island was again used as a refuge. At this time, the Chosǒn court built stone fortifications and cannon batteries to reinforce the island’s natural defences. Legend has it that when the Manchu soldiers swarmed through the South Gate after a long siege, Kim Sangyong gave his life when he blew up the gunpowder stored in the gate’s roof. His memorial tablet can now be found near the city bell (Treasure No. 11). This bell was cast during the reign of King Sukchong (1674-1720). When the French attacked and burned the city in 1866, they attempted to steal this 3 864 kilogram bell, but finding it too heavy, abandoned it at the edge of the city. In 1876, Japan sent a battleship called the Unyǒ to the island on the pretext of surveying sea routes, but was fired upon and thus forced to withdraw. The ‘Unyǒ incident’ resulted in the signing of an unequal Kanghwa Treaty with Japan in 1876.

There are several old buildings on the island. The Kanghwa Hyanggyo (county public school) was originally founded in 1127. It was moved several times before being reconstructed at its present location in Kwanchǒng Village. The Episcopal Church on the island is one of the oldest churches in Korea. This interesting church, built here in 1900, incorporates Daoist, Buddhist and Confucian elements into its design. A bodhi tree (a Buddhist symbol) was planted in the southwestern corner of the compound at the time of the church’s dedication.

Kanghwa-do choyak, 1876 (see Treaty of Kanghwa, 1876)

Kangjin County

Situated in the southern part of South Cholla Province, Kangjin County includes the town of Kangjin and the townships of Kundong, Toam, Taegu, Maryǒng, Pyǒngyǒng, Sǒngjǒn, Shinjǒn, Omch’ǒn, Chakch’ǒn and Ch’illyang. The county occupies 460.56 sq. kms. and 1986 statistics give a population of 78 357. The tail-end of the Sobaek and Noryǒng Mountain Ranges runs through the north, west and eastern areas of the county with Kangjin Bay to the south. Mt. Wǒlch’ul (809m), the county’s highest peak, rises in the northwest.

About 31 per cent of the county is arable land. Rice, the area’s principal crop, is grown along the Kǔm and T’amjin Rivers. Pear and grape are also grown in commercial quantities. Kangjin strawberries, said to be superior to those of many other areas, command a high price in provincial markets. Fishing boats operating out of Kangjin Bay bring in catches of anchovy, eel and shellfish, and laver is gathered along the shoreline. Ch’illyang Township has a number of cockle-farms. In Ponghwang Village, the 30-hectare cockle farm produces almost two tonnes of cockles daily, which are processed at the site’s refrigeration plant and then transported to both domestic and foreign markets. Mining/quarrying in the county consists of silica and clay excavation.

With an interesting combination of ocean and mountain scenery, the county offers a number of tourist attractions. On the southern slopes of Mt. Wǒlch’ul in Sǒngjǒn Township’s Wǒllam Village, is Kǔmnǔng Kyǒngp’odae, a scenic area that includes waterfalls, sparkling streams and rock-pools of crystal-clear water. The name ‘Kǔmnǔng’ comes from one of the old names for Kangjin County.
The county contains a number of important historical sites. In Taegu Township’s Sadang Village, excavations have revealed twelfth c. kilns and in nearby Yongun Village, remains of kilns from the tenth-eleventh c. have been found. The latter site is significant since finds at the site provide proof that Korean celadon was directly influenced by the celadon of Tang China.

In Sŏngjŏn Township’s Wŏrha Village on the southeastern slopes of Mt. Wŏlch’ul stands Muwi Temple, a branch of Taehŭng Temple. When the temple was founded by Wŏnhyo, it was called Kwanŭm Temple, and its name was changed to Karok Temple when it was reconstructed by Tosŏn in 875. After its third reconstruction by Sŏn’gak in 946, it was known as Pangok Temple. Its present name comes from T’aegam’s reconstruction in 1550. The temple houses a number of artefacts including a stele commemorating Grand Master Sŏn’gak (Treasure No. 507) and a standing Buddha figure thought to date from late Koryŏ. In front of this stone statue there is a stupa set up by Tosŏn in 875. The stone structure is said to hold the sarira from Sakyamuni Buddha. In addition, within the temple complex stands Kŭngnakjŏn (Paradise Hall), which has been designated National Treasure No. 13.

In Toam Township just east of Highway 18 stands Paengnyŏn Temple. The area around the temple is famous as the place where the distinguished shirhak philosopher Chŏng Yagyon (styled Tasan, 1762-1836) lived in exile. Here, on Mt. Mandŏk, is Tasan Ch’odang, the old house where Tasan lived for more than ten years from 1808.

Kangnŭng

Situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province, Kangnŭng is comprised of the town of Chumunjin, and the townships of Kangdong, Kujŏn, Sach’ŏn, Sŏngsan, Okkye, Yŏn’gok and Wangsan. With the Yongdong Expressway and Tonghae Expressway passing through the city, and a railway line and domestic airport, Kangnŭng serves as a regional transportation hub. The area’s farmers produce rice, potatoes, beans, barley, com and persimmons. Less than one per cent of the population is employed in the fishing industry. In the winter, commercial fishing boats catch cod and walleye pollack; in the summer, warm current marine life such as cuttle fish are caught.

Kangnŭng is best known as a popular tourist destination. In the summer, crowds of tourists come to enjoy Kyŏngp’odae Beach. The area also has a number of annual festivals. On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, the Tano Festival (Important Intangible Cultural Relic No. 13) is held. This festival was the most important yearly celebration during Koryŏ times, but is now almost exclusively associated with the Kangnŭng area. The entire festival takes about fifty days, beginning with the brewing of the sacred wine to be used in the rite (begun on the twentieth day of the third lunar month) and ending with the burning of the ritual tree (sixth day of the fifth lunar month). Most of the festivities take place beginning from the first of the fifth lunar month. At this time, the Tano kut (shaman ritual) is performed and traditional contests such as wrestling, tug-of-war, and yut (a Korean stick throwing game) are held.

Kangnŭng has a large number of important historical sites and relics, including comb-pattern pottery from the Neolithic Age. In Ch’odang-dong, plain style pottery from the Bronze Age has also been unearthed. Dolmen as well as early stone tools have also been discovered here as well.

There are also a great number of Buddhist relics in the area. Two pairs of ancient stone banner pole supports have been found in the area, one in Taech’ŏng Village (Treasure No. 82) and one in Sumun Village (Treasure No. 83). At the Shinbok Temple site, there is a seated stone Buddha (Treasure No. 84) and a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 87).
At the Hansong Temple site, there is another seated stone Buddha (Treasure No. 81), but the statue's head and right arm have unfortunately been broken off.

The city also contains a number of important historical buildings. Next to Kyöngp'o Lake, there is the pavilion known as Kyöngp'o-dae (Kangwön Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 6) and in Unjong-dong, one finds Haeun-jong (Sea and Clouds Pavilion, Treasure No. 183), a small complex built in 1530 when Shim On'gwang served as Kangwön Province's governor. In Nan'gok-dong, there is Hwangsan-sa (Kangwön Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 58). Built in 1936, this shrine commemorates the Kangnung Ch'oe family. There are a number of other important buildings and pavilions in the area, including the extensive Sön'gyo-jang complex and the Kangnung Guest House Gate (National Treasure No. 51), an extant building from the Koryö period.

In both the past and present, Kangnung has been a regional educational centre. In the centre of the city next to the train station, there is the Kangnung Hyanggyo (Treasure No. 99). This Confucian school is believed to have originally been founded in the late Koryö period. In modern times, Kangnung National University has served as the area's largest school of higher education, teaching over 1,500 students and in Naegok-dong, there is Kwandong University.

### Kangnung National University

Kangnung National University (Kangnëung Taehakkyo) is situated in Kangnëung in Kangwön Province. The university was preceded by Kangnëung Sabôm Hakkyo, a teachers' college which was in being from 1946 to 1963. In 1969, Kangnëung Kyoyuk Taehak was founded with Yu Söngnyöl as its first president. In 1978, the school was reorganised as the junior college Kangnëung Ch'ogüp Taehak and in the following year, it became the four-year Kangnun College (Kangnëung Taehak) with Kang Yöngsön as its president. In 1983, the campus was moved to its present location in Chibyon-dong. In the ensuing years, the college's undergraduate curriculum was expanded and a post-graduate program instituted.

The university now consists of the Colleges of Arts & Physical Education; Dentistry; Engineering; Humanities; Life Science; and Social Science. For post-graduate studies, there is the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Education; Industrial Technology; and Management & Policy Science.

### Kangsong Art Museum

The Kangsong Art Museum (Kangsong Misulgwan) was established by Chon Hyong P'il, a private art collector, in 1938. The museum's collection contains approximately twelve-thousand items, with over ten-thousand books, five-hundred paintings and drawings, and two-hundred ceramic works. National treasures in the collection include two gilt-bronze Buddhist figures, Hunmin ch'ongūm (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the Korean People).

### Kangweon National University

Kangweon National University (Kangwön National University) is situated in Ch'unch'ön in Kangwön Province. Founded as Kangwön Torip Ch'un'ch'ön Nonggwa Taehak in June 1947, the name was changed to Kangwön Torip Ch'un'ch'ön Nonggwa Taehak in December 1951. In 1953, it became a national college, and underwent a further name change to Kungnip (National) Nonggwa Taehak. A graduate school was established in 1968, and in 1970 there was a merger with the private college Ch'un'ch'ön Taehak. It then became Kangweon College (Kangwön Taehak). In 1978, the college was given university status. At that time it consisted of four colleges, with Ham Insôp as the first president.
In the years that followed, the university continued to expand. It now consists of thirteen colleges: the Colleges of Agriculture & Life Sciences; Animal Sciences; Arts; Business Administration; Education; Engineering; Forest Sciences; Humanities; Law; Medicine; Natural Sciences; Pharmacology; and Social Sciences. For post-graduate studies, there is the Graduate School as well as the Graduate Schools of Business & Public Administration; Education; Industry; and Information Sciences.

Kangwŏn Province

Overview

Province located in the east-central part of the Korean Peninsula, bounded to the north by South Hamgyŏng and Hwanghae provinces, to the west by Kyŏnggi Province, to the south by North Ch'ungch'ŏng and North Kyŏngsang Provinces and to the west by the East Sea (Sea of Japan). The division of the peninsula in the aftermath of the Korean War (1950-53) left the province divided into two sections, the northern third and the southern two-thirds administered by the North and South Korean governments respectively. Although the largest province in South Korea, accounting for almost one-fifth of the total land area, Kangwŏn Province has the lowest population density in the nation. Part of Yemaek territory in ancient times, the area occupied by present-day Kangwŏn Province became a vassal state of the Koguryŏ Kingdom during the reign of T'aejo, and was later annexed during the reign of Kwanggaet'o. Incorporated into Shilla territory in 551AD, this area came under the administration of the Later Koguryŏ monarchy during its brief existence in the early tenth century before becoming part of the Koryŏ Kingdom in 918AD.

Geography and Climate

The topography of Kangwŏn Province is dominated by the T'aebaek Range which forms the backbone of the Korean Peninsula, following the East Sea coastline in a roughly northwest-southeasterly direction. With an average elevation of approximately 1000 meters (rising to 1708m at Mount Sŏrak), this range has constituted a major obstacle to transportation between the narrow coastal plain in the east and the rugged hinterland which occupies the bulk of the western part of the province. The majority of this hinterland falls within the catchment areas of the North and South Han Rivers and their tributaries, and although steep, winding gullies formed by these waterways pose difficulties for transportation in many areas, regional development has been aided by the construction of a series of dams along the North Han in the vicinities of Hwach'ŏn and Ch'unch'ŏn. The northeastern corner of the province lies within the catchment area of the Imjin River, however Ch'ŏlchwŏn is the only major center in this region. Gentle terrain along the western borders of the province has permitted the development of regional centers at Ch'unch'ŏn, Wŏnju and Hongch'ŏn. The East Sea coastline is relatively smooth, although local topography ranges from rocky headlands south of the port city of Kangni:ing to small alluvial plains and lagoons at various points along the northern coast.

There are significant differences in seasonal climatic conditions between the coastal plain and the mountainous hinterland. Cool, humid northeasterly winds keep temperatures relatively low throughout coastal districts during early summer, while the same winds become warmer and drier as they pass over the T'aebaek Range and further inland. Conversely, temperatures plummet in inland districts during the winter months due to the effects of prevailing northwesterly winds, while coastal districts experience comparatively mild conditions due to the blocking effect of this range. Almost half of annual precipitation is recorded during the two months of July and August, and upper regions of the Imjin and North Han River catchment areas rank among the wettest parts of the peninsula with average annual precipitation of 1300mm. Coastal districts and inland areas adjoining the T'aebaek Range typically experience heavy snowfall, which is generally concentrated during the months of February and March.
Agriculture and Industry

Agriculture, forestry and fishing have traditionally played a dominant role in the provincial economy, and the industrial sector is comparatively small, however prospects for future development in the secondary and tertiary sectors are bright due to the existence of numerous mineral deposits, an abundance of natural resources, and a wide variety of tourist attractions. The province's rugged terrain imposes major limitations on agricultural activities, and the proportion of cultivated land (10%) is the lowest in South Korea. Rice cultivation is largely restricted to terraced paddies, and rice production is second-lowest in the nation following Cheju Province. However, although the province accounts for only 5% of national crop production, Kangwón produces approximately half of the nation's cereals, and major crops include potatoes, corn and millet. In addition, flax, tobacco, ginseng, mountain vegetables, hops and tobacco are among specialized crops which combine to make the province's agricultural sector the most varied in the country. Approximately 80% of the province's land area is forested, and forestry therefore constitutes an important element of the local economy. Reforestation projects are gradually restoring the province's resources following severe depletion during the period of Japanese colonial rule and in the turmoil of the Korean War (1950-53), and forest products now include timber, pine nuts, acorns, mushrooms, resin, oriental oak bark, edible mountain herbs and medicinal herbs. Although the East Sea coastline is relatively unindented with few natural ports, the nearby convergence of cold northern and warm eastern currents creates rich fishing grounds. Annual catches of Alaska pollack and squid together account for half of the nation's total annual fish catch, while other common varieties include codfish, pike and mackerel. Seaweed production also constitutes an important element of the local coastal economy. The nation's richest mineral deposits are concentrated in the Taebaek Range in the southern part of the province, and include anthracite coal, iron ore, tungsten, graphite and limestone. The development of a coastal industrial zone in the vicinity of Samch'ok and Tonghae producing cement, slate, carbide and lime has been greatly facilitated by easy access to mineral deposits and transportation links, while electricity production in the province has been greatly aided by the ready availability of coal and the construction of a series of dams throughout the upper Han catchment area. Further industrial zones have been developed at Wŏnju, Ch'unch'ŏn and Kangnung, while the principal ports are also home to small-scale seafood processing plants.

Tourism

An abundance of natural beauty makes Kangwón Province a popular tourist destination, and major attractions include Mount Sŏrak and Mount Odae National Parks, Wŏlch'ong Temple, Yongp'yŏng and Chimburyŏng skifields, beach resorts along the East Sea coast (notably Kyŏngp'o located near Kangnung), in addition to Mount Ch'ieak and the East Sea Provincial Parks. Traditionally ranked among the nation's most beautiful peaks, Mount Kŭmgang is now located north of the Demilitarized Zone dividing North and South Korea.

General Information

Area: 16 784 square kilometers; population: 1 421 000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Ch'unch'ŏn. Other major centers include Wŏnju, Kangnung and Taebaek.

Kap'yŏng County

Situated in Kyŏnggi Province, Kap'yŏng County is comprised of the town of Kap'yŏng and the townships of Puk, Sŏrak and Oeso. The Kwangju Mountain Range runs through the county from the north to the southwest, while the northern branch of the Han River flows past the town of Kap'yŏng on its way to Seoul. Mt. Hwaak (1 468m), Kyŏnggi Province’s highest peak rises to the north along with Ung Peak (1 436m) and Mt. Myongji (1 267m). As a result of the area’s rugged topography, it has a relatively low population of around 80 000 (1993). Both Highway 46 and a railway line connect the
Less than 10% per cent of the land is arable and even this land does not give high yields. In addition to rice and vegetables, a number of specialty crops such as pinenuts, shiitake mushrooms, ginseng, jujube, aralia shoots, balloonflower roots and tödŏk (Codonopsis lanceolata) are grown here. The area’s rivers and lakes also serve as an important source of income. Located on the road from Taesŏng Village to Sŏrak Township, the Ch’ŏngp’yŏng Dam houses the second hydro-electric plant to be built in Korea. The plant is an important energy source for Seoul. Ch’ŏngp’yŏng Dam creates Ch’ŏngp’yŏng Lake, which is used for water-skiing and boating. Several of Korea’s largest fish farms are located here.

With scenic mountains and rivers and easy access to Seoul, tourism is the county’s most important industry. In particular, the area surrounding Lake Ch’ŏngp’yŏng, designated as a National Tourist Compound in 1969, has been developed as a popular resort with bungalows, vacation homes and swimming pools. In the summer, large groups of students take the train here to camp out by the river. The area’s specialty dish is maeunt’ang, a spicy stew cooked with carp or mandarin fish from the lake.

At the upper reaches of Chojong Stream, one finds Mt. Unak. With picturesque gorges and magnificent rock formations, the area is known as the Diamond Mountains of Kyŏnggi Province. Part way up the mountain lies Hyŏndŭng Temple, an ancient monastery founded during the Shilla period in honour of the Indian monk Maraharni. At the temple, there is a three-storey stone pagoda (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 63) from the Koryŏ period, which houses the remains of Chinul (National Master Pojo, 1158-1210). On the temple grounds, one also finds stupas commemorating Grand Master Hamhŏ and Pugak. The temple’s large bronze bell, cast in 1619, is an important source of information on bells of the Chosŏn period.

Kapshin chŏngbyŏn (coup d’Etat of 1884) [Communications; Japan and Korea]

Kariwang Mountain

Mt. Kariwang is situated in southern Kangwŏn Province, between Chŏngsŏng, Sugam Village and P’yŏngch’ang County’s Changjŏn Village. At 1,560 metres, the rounded peak of Mt. Kariwang rises above Mt. Chungwang (1,377 metres) to the west, Mt. Paeksŏk to the north-west and Mt. Ch’ŏng’ok to the south-west. Odae Stream flows past the northern slopes of the mountain before joining with the Choyang River at Namjŏn Village.

The mountain is believed to be named after a ‘King Kari’ (Kari-wang) who supposedly ruled over the ancient ‘Maek people.’ According to some scholars, the Maek people lived along the middle reaches of the Yalu. According to the legend, when the Maek were attacked, King Kari fled to Mt. Kariwang and established a fortress, traces of which can still be seen in one of the mountain’s northern valleys.

Although Mt. Kariwang does not have any famous temples or tourist sites, its forests and valleys have a serene beauty, as well as a relatively large amount of wildlife. At different seasons of the year, herb gatherers frequent the area. Bee keepers also come to the mountain. The abundant wild-flowers that grow on the slopes are ideally suited for the cultivation of high-quality honey.

Kasa [Literature; Music]

Kasa Island

Located 20.5 km. northwest of Hajo Island, Kasa Island is part of Chodo Township in
South Cholla Province’s Chindo County. The island covers a total area of 5.64 sq. kms. and has an 18.5-km.-long coastline. The northwest coast consists of steep cliffs, while the southwest has sandy beaches. An embankment has been built across a bay in the northeast to create extensive salt flats.

The islanders’ employment is mainly in agriculture, but this is often supplemented by income from fishing. Only 0.15 sq kms. of land is used for rice cultivation, whereas 1.08 sq. kms. grows dry-field crops such as sweet potato, barley, bean, garlic and rape. Local marine products include anchovy, eel and seaweed. For transportation, residents rely on ferries that regularly stop at the two landings on the east coast. Educational facilities are limited to Kasa Primary School located in the centre of the island next to Kasa Reservoir. At the southern end of the island there is a mine and a lighthouse.

Kawi (Festival) [Society]
Kashiri (Would you go) [Literature]

Kaya Mountain

Mt. Kaya, also known as Mt. Udu (Ox-head), is situated in Kaya-san National Park west of Taegu, on the border of North and South Kyongsang Province. The mountain’s highest point, Sangwang Peak (1,430 metres) is surrounded by numerous other peaks and ridges that reach around 1,000 metres. Nestled amidst the rugged slopes lies Haein Temple, one of the three main monastic training centers in Korea. The temple is famous for its thirteenth century copy of the Tripitaka Koreana, a set of woodblocks for printing the Buddhist canon. Numerous hermitages are found within walking distance of Haein Temple. On the Ch’ain Village route to the summit, there is also a nine-meter high, ninth-century carving of a Buddha on the face of a cliff.

With numerous maples and oaks, the mountain is particularly beautiful in autumn when the leaves change colour. Over 300 varieties of trees, including various pines and firs, make up the dense forest leading up to the 1,000 meter level. Above this level, there is a diverse assortment of shrubs and bushes. Small springs flow around the large granite boulders found throughout the area, descending into streams running through the mountain valleys.

The most famous valley in the park is called Hongnyu-dong. Munung Bridge, which once lay at the valley entrance, has been eulogised in Korean poetry for its great beauty. The entire area has important links to traditional Korean literature. Poets and writers have left their names inscribed on many of the large boulders that line the valleys. The area even has connections with Ch’oe Ch’iwon, one of Korea’s greatest poets and writers. Ch’oe, who lived during the late Shilla Period, was disgusted with the political climate of the time. Wandering throughout the mountains of Korea, Ch’oe is last mentioned residing on Mt. Kaya.

There are two theories concerning the mountain’s name. Some believe that it comes from the ancient Kaya Kingdom which existed in the area until the first century C.E.. After Tae Kaya fell to Shilla, the area surrounding the mountain was called Tae Kaya County, and the mountain, as the most representative peak in the area, was called ‘Mt. Kaya.’ Others claim that the mountain was considered to be a sacred place where the mountain spirit (sanshin) was worshipped. Later, with the introduction of Buddhism, the mountain took on the name ‘Kaya’ from the Sanskrit word ‘Buddha Gaya’ -- the holy site where the Buddha preached his most important sermons.

Kaya states, The (see History of Korea)
Kyemyung University

Kyemyung University (Kyemyŏng Taehakkyo) is a private university with two sites, both situated in Taegu. The original school was founded by the Presbyterian Church in March 1954 as Kyemyŏng Kidok Hakkwan (Kyemyung Christian School). In 1956 the school became Kyemyŏng Kidok Taehak (Kyemyung Christian College). The name was changed to Kyemyŏng Taehak (Kyemyung College) in 1965. In 1966, a graduate school was created and in 1973, a doctoral program commenced. The college became a university with Shin Ilhŭi as its first president, in 1978.

At the school's Shindang-dong campus are the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of Arts; Business Administration; Education; Industrial Design; Policy Development; and Women's Studies, as well as the Colleges of Business Administration; Fine Arts; Home Economics; Medicine; Music; the Teacher's College; and the Evening College. The Songso Campus in Taemyŏng-dong has the Graduate Schools of Industrial Sports; Industrial Technology; International Studies; and Pastoral Theology, as well as the Colleges of Engineering; Environmental Science and Technology; Humanities; International Studies and Commerce; Law; Natural Science; Physical Education and Social Sciences.

The university's newspaper Kyedae hakpo (Kyemyung University Gazette) is published in Korean once a semester.

Kido-wŏn

Kijang County

Situated in South Kyŏngsang Province, Kijang County is a coastal region surrounded by Ulsan to the north, Yangsan to the west and Pusan to the south. In the centre of the county, run-off from Mt. Ch'ŏlma (605 metres) and Mt. Yongch'ŏn (543 metres) forms the Chwagwang Stream, which runs past Panggok Village into the East Sea.

Fishing makes a significant contribution to the local economy. Boats operating out of Kijang or Changan catch anchovies and other fish varieties. Kijang seaweed, with its thick, wide leaves, is famous throughout the nation for its delicious flavour and quality. In addition to fishing, the area has a large number of factories and service industries. To meet the needs of these industries and the expanding population, a nuclear power plant was built in the northern area of the county in 1977.

In close proximity to the large population centre of Pusan, the county also has an important tourist industry. During the summer, crowds of visitors come to Ilgwang Beach. Other popular destinations include Changan Temple, Paegyon Hermitage, Kwanŭm Temple and the Kijang Hyanggyo.

Kil Chae (1353-1419)

Kil Chae was a scholar of the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods. His family's ancestral home is in Haep'yŏng, his courtesy name was Chaebŏ, and his pen names Yaŭn and Kŭmosanin. At eleven years of age, Kil went to Mt. Nae-gsan where he learned Chinese characters at Tori Temple. At eighteen he went to Kaegyŏng, the capital of Koryŏ, where he learned the neo-Confucian ideology from such masters as Yi Saek (1328-1396), Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) and Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409). In 1374 he entered the Kukchagam (National College) and first passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (seangwŏn shi) and then in 1383 he passed the samagam shi. In 1387 Kil was appointed First Proctor (Hakchŏng) at the Kukchagam and then in the following year he was promoted to sunyu
Kil is an important scholar in the lineage of neo-Confucianism in Korea. He was a student of Ch'ong Mongju and passed his knowledge on to disciples such as Kim Sukcha who later passed on these teachings to others. Therefore, in the assimilation and adaptation of the neo-Confucian ideology to Korea, Kil played a very important role. After his death at age sixty-seven, Kil was honoured by his disciples with the establishment of the Songgok Sowon (Private Academy), the Kumo Sowon and the Osan Sowon. He is also remembered as one of the three great neo-Confucianists of Koryo along with Ch'ong Mongju and Yi Saek. His literary works, Ya'un chip (Collected Works of Ya'un), Ya'un sok chip (Supplementa to the Collected Works of Ya'un) and Ya'un ônhaeng sôhyu (The Teachings and Deeds of Ya'un) are all extant.

Kim Ch'angjip (1648-1722)

Kim Ch'angjip was a scholar-official of the Chosön period. His family's ancestral home was Andong, his courtesy name was Yôsông and his pen name Mongwa. He was the great grandson of Kim Sanghôn who was the Second State Councillor (chwa ôijông, 1A rank) and the son of Kim Suhang who held the position of Chief State Councillor (yôngôijông, 1A rank), and his older brothers were Ch'anghyôp and Ch'anghup. In 1672 Kim passed the Literary Licentiate Examination (chinsa shi), In 1681 he was appointed as instructor for the palace eunuchs (naeshi kyogwan) and in 1684 while serving as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of Works (Kongjo) he passed the Garden The Final Civil Service Examination in the Palace (chôngshi mun'gwa). After this Kim held successive posts as Fourth Censor (chôngôn) and as Fourth Minister (ch'amu1) of the Board of War (Pyôngjo). In 1689 when his father was exiled to Chindo Island, Kim accompanied him and studied with him. After that Kim held various official positions, including Third Minister (ch'amiiI) of the Board of Rites (Yejo) and served as an envoy to Qing China in 1716 before being appointed as Chief State Councillor in 1717.

Kim was a key player in the factional struggles that marred the politics of the late Chosön period. He was a member of the Noron, or the Old Doctrine Faction that was in constant skirmishes with the Soron (Young Doctrine) for political power. In the end, Kim was exiled during one of the power shifts that frequently occurred, and retired from political life in Sôngju. However, when King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776) acceded to the throne, Kim's rank and title were restored. After Kim's death, the Pan'gok Sôwôn (private academy) was established in his honour and sacrificial rites were held for him there. He was posthumously granted the name of Ch'unghôn by King Yongjo. Extant writings of Kim's include Kukcho chagyông p'yôn and Mongwa chip (Collected Works of Mongwa).

Kim Ch'ônt'aek

Kim Ch'ônt'aek was an active shijo and song writer of the King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776) era. His courtesy names were Paekham and Isuk, and his pen name Namp’a. It is not known for certain where his family's ancestral home was or his date of birth. However, based on historical records and the ages of his contemporaries, it is thought that he was born sometime in the late 1680s. Kim's lineage and social status are also not known for certain, but it is thought that he was probably of the middle class and entered the service of the government as a singer or musician at an early age.
Kim is well remembered for his prolific composing of shijo, many of which have been transmitted to the present time. In the ‘Chin pon’ of the Ch’ônggu yǒngŏn (Enduring Poetry of Green Hills) there are thirty of his works, and in the ‘Chussi pon’ of Haedong kayo (Songs of Korea) there are fifty-seven of his poems. In the various versions of Haedong kayo Kim is the second most often represented poet after Kim Sujang (1690-?). Most of Kim’s shijo praise the beauty and splendour of nature and are valued for their excellence in the use of language and imagery.

Kim Chebong

Kim Chaegyu

Kim Chiha (1941-)

Kim Chaegyu

Kim Chiha is a writer who was born in Mokp’o of South Cholla Province and educated at Seoul National University. Kim’s given name is Yongil. He has received numerous literary awards including the Lotus Special Award of the Asian and African Writers in 1975, the Great Poet Award by Poetry International in 1981, the Bruno Chrski Human Rights Award in 1981 and the Isan Literature Prize in 1993. Kim made his début in the magazine Shin (Poets) with the publication of ‘Seoul Street’. Kim was at the vanguard of the democracy movements in Korea during the 1970s and this led to his arrest in 1970 after the publication of an anti-government work, ‘Ojŏk’ (‘Five Traitors’) in the literary magazine Sasanggye. He was released after one month but did not abandon his participation in movements that opposed the government. His subsequent anti-government activities led to his arrest under the anti-Communism laws of Korea and to his ensuing life prison sentence. He was the subject of an international movement for his release, and eventually in 1980 his sentence was suspended.

Kim is known not only for his political activities, but also for his excellent poetry and essays. His poetry collections include Hwangt’ŏ (Yellow Earth, 1970), T’anun mongmarumiro (With a Burning Thirst, 1982), and Pyŏlpat’ŭl urŏrŭmyŏ (Looking up at the Field of Stars, 1989). He also has published collections of his essays including Pap (Meal, 1984), T’anun mongmarum esŏ scangmyŏng ŭi padaro (Towards the Sea of life With a Burning Throat, 1991) and Saengmyŏng (Life, 1992). Kim has also written a play, Nap’olleong K’on’yang (Napoleon Cognac, 1972).

Bibliography

Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1856)

Kim Chŏnghŭi was a painter, calligrapher, literary man and a shirhak (practical learning) scholar of the late Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Kyŏngju and his courtesy name was Wŏnch’un. Kim had many pen names including Ch’usa, Wandang, Yedang, Shiam, Nogwa, Nongjangin, and Ch’ŏnch’ukko sonsaeng among others. Kim is best remembered as not only one of the most talented calligraphers in Korean history, but also as a scholar of epigraphy and an innovator in a new calligraphy style of the late Chosŏn period. Kim’s ancestors had long held powerful positions in the Chosŏn government and he entered government service after passing the civil service examination (mungwa) in 1819. Kim held positions such as Secret Inspector (amhaeng ŏsa), Third Minister (ch’amŭn) of the Board of Rites (Yejo), and various positions in the Crown
Prince’s Tutorial Office (Seja Shigangwŏn) including First Tutor (podŏk). Kim had several falls from power as he was the subject of various scandals and purges related to the factional politics of the late Chosŏn period, most notably the period from 1840 to 1848 when he was exiled to Cheju Island. However, he was resilient and was reinstated only to be again involved in a political scandal and exiled to Hamgyŏng Province. After two years he was reinstated but chose to retire to private life in Kwach’ŏn where he could concentrate on literary and other pursuits.

From an early age Kim was marked as a prodigy and he was given many opportunities for study. One major moment in Kim’s life came when he was twenty-four and accompanied his father on an embassy to Qing China. At this time Kim came into contact with the great Confucian scholars of the day in China such as Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan. In particular under Weng’s tutelage, Kim was introduced to the Confucian classics, epigraphy, history, phonology, geography and many other fields of scholarship. Among all of these areas, Kim took particular interest in epigraphy and ardently researched and pursued this discipline. In addition his adherence to the shirhak ideology resulted in new theoretical foundations for scholarship in epigraphy in Korea. His work Yedang kŭmsŏk kwaan rok, which was an analysis of ancient Korean inscriptions, was the first of its kind in Korea.

In the spheres of painting and calligraphy, Kim is also renowned as a visionary and innovator who had lasting impact in both realms. In calligraphy he developed his own style, ch’usach’e, which he perfected while exiled to Cheju Island. By studying the works of past great calligraphers, Kim was able to fuse their styles and create an unique style that exploded with a boldness of spirit. Kim’s artistic excellence is also manifested in his paintings, which are the first ventures into an abstract style in Chosŏn. His most acclaimed work is Sehan to (Winter Scene) which not only is a landscape painting of Chosŏn, but also reveals an abstract portrayal of an idealised world of another dimension. Kim’s works had great influence on subsequent generations of artists and are still praised today.

Kim is remembered by the present generation as a man who raised the level of art and by doing so increased the breadth of the art audience in Korea. His calligraphy style is still emulated today which reveals the strength and power of his work. Kim’s literary collections are also extant such as Wandang ch’ŏktŏk (Collection of Letters by Wandang), Wandang sŏnsaeng (Master Wandang) and Wandang sŏnsaeng chŏnjip (The Complete Works of Master Wandang).

Kim Chongjik (1431-1492)

Kim Chongjik was a literatus of the early Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is Sŏnsan, his courtesy names were Hyogwan and Kyeon, and his pen name was Chŏmp’’iljae. Kim was born in Miryang and his father, Kim Sukcha, was the Second Assistant Master (saye) at the Sŏnggyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy). In 1453 Kim became a chinse (literary licentiate) and in 1459 he passed the Triennial Literary Examination (shigyŏn mungwa). In 1453 Kim became a chinse (literary licentiate) and in 1459 he passed the Triennial Literary Examination (shigyŏn mungwa). In 1462 he held positions as Reference Consultant (paksa) at the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sŭngmunwŏn) and as First Diarist (ponggyo) at the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemungwan). In the following years he held various positions such as Inspector (kanch’al), Army Aide (pyŏngma pyŏngsa) in Kyŏngsang Province, Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) at the Board of Personnel (Ijo) and as the Prefect (kunsu) of Hamyang.

In 1476 Kim was appointed as Magistrate (pusa) of Sŏnsan and in 1483 he was appointed to the Royal Secretariat (Sŭngjŏngwŏn). At the Royal Secretariat he served as Fourth Royal Secretary (chwa’bu sŏngji) and then at the Board of Personnel he was nominated as Second Minister (ch’amp’’an). Other positions that he held include Deputy Director (chehak) of the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmunwŏn), Deputy Director of the
Kim represents a link in the neo-Confucian literati that began with the late Koryŏ scholars Chōng Ch'ŏng (1337-1392) and Kil Chae (1353-1419). From an early age Kim wrote a great deal including poetry and various essays, and a notable example of his work is the Tongguk yŏjjip sŏngnam (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea) that he compiled along with Shin Chongho. Kim’s devotion to scholarship is evident in the large number of dedicated disciples that studied under him including Kim Koeng'il (1434-1504), Chōng Yŏch'ang (1450-1504) and Kim Ilson (1464-1498), who became prominent scholars in their own right. However, Kim is best remembered for being at the centre of the Purge of 1498 (muo sahwa) that was carried out under Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) even though he had been dead for some years when this occurred. This event erupted during the compilation of the official records of the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) in which Kim Ilson incorporated into the draft Kim Chongjik’s Choui chemun (Lament for the Righteous Emperor). In this work Kim had used the metaphor of mourning the death of a young Chinese emperor as a way to criticise the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) and his subsequent execution of his nephew, the boy King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455). When the meritorious elite discovered this inclusion, they induced Yŏnsan to order Kim Ilson and the other disciples of Kim Chongjik to be either executed or imprisoned. Kim, although he had been dead for six years, was exhumed and posthumously executed.

Kim’s literary remains include Ch'omp’ilchae chip (Collected Works of Chomp’ilchae) which includes not only his literary works, but also a chronology of his life and an interpretation of the events that surrounded his life and the Purge of 1498 which came after his death. Sacrificial rites were held for Kim at such sówŏn (private schools) as the Yerim Sŏwŏn in Miryang, the Kŭmo Sŏwŏn in Sŏnsan and the Paegyo Sŏwŏn in Hamyang among others. Kim was also honoured with the posthumous name of Munch'ung.

Kim Chongp'il

Kim Chŏngshik (see Kim Sowŏl)

Kim Chun’gŭn

Kim Chun’gŭn, styled Kisan, was a painter of the late Chosŏn period. Many details of Kim’s life are unknown such as the date of his birth, his family background and from whom he learned his painting skills from. While Kim was living in Pusan in 1886, he was summoned by King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) to draw sketches of Korean folk customs for the daughter of R. W. Shufledt. Kim also befriended the missionary Gale while he was in Pusan and eventually followed him to Wŏnsan and entrusted him with a painting. From this time Kim became quite close to a number of Westerners and presented them with numerous drawings and paintings that reflected the indigenous customs and practices of Korea. Of his extant works, there are over sixty sketches that he made for the Netherlands official Rhein which were shipped to Germany and are now in possession of the Hamburg Cultural Museum in Hamburg, Germany, and also those collected by P.G. von Molendorf. There are over three hundred drawings, sketches and paintings by Kim that reflect the lives of the common people at the end of the Chosŏn period. These works are a great aid in trying to understand the modes of living at this time.

Kim Dae Jung (1924 - )

The eighth president of the Republic of Korea, Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) was born on Hauta Island off the Cholla coast. His family moved to the port city of Mokp’o when Kim was young and he attended school there, graduating with first-place in his high school class
in 1943. He received his Master's degree in Economics from Kyunghee University in 1970.

On completing high school, Kim worked for a freight company and did so well that before long he was able to form his own business with a fleet of nine small ships operating out of Mokp'o. He also served as president of the Mokp'o ilbo newspaper in 1948. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Kim left Seoul to walk to his home in Mokp'o, and was apprehended by North Korean troops, but was able to escape.

After the Korean War ended, Kim began his political career. He made several unsuccessful attempts for election to the National Assembly before being appointed as spokesman for the Democratic Party, which had come to power following the 19 April 1960 student revolt that deposed Syngman Rhee's regime. Kim won his seat in the National Assembly in early 1961, but this was short-lived as Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi) dissolved the Assembly after seizing control of the country power in the coup d'état of May 1961. Kim was among the many opposition members arrested as a result of Park's military junta. In 1963 when Park reinstated the Assembly, Kim was again elected as the representative from the Mokp’o district. He was re-elected in 1967 with a substantial majority and he emerged as one of the leading opposition figures to Park's government. In 1971, he was the presidential candidate for the New Democratic Party and almost defeated Park by winning forty-five per cent of the vote. Kim had a substantial following in the Cholla region as well as in the Seoul-Kyŏnggi area. However, he suffered from the regional antagonism that divided the Cholla and Kyongsang areas, thus he did not perform well in the heavily populated areas of Southeastern Korea, which certainly cost him the election.

After his unsuccessful presidential campaign, Kim remained an outspoken critic of Park's regime. This opposition to the authoritarian president almost cost him his life when he was abducted from Japan to Korea by agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), in August 1973. He was sentenced to an eight-year prison term for conspiring to overthrow the government, but was released in December 1978 because of failing health. After Park's assassination in 1979, Kim returned to the political arena and announced his candidature for the presidency. At this time, massive demonstrations were taking place among the supporters of Kim, Kim Young Sam (Kim Yŏngsam) and Kim Jong Pil (Kim Chŏng’iil), the so-called 'three Kim's.' After the May 1980 Kwangju Uprising, which resulted in the death of hundreds of students and citizens at the hands of the ROK armed forces, Kim was arrested, tried and sentenced to death for his complicity in the incident, by the new regime of Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tuhwan). His sentence was later commuted to a twenty-year gaol term, but he was released in December 1982 under an agreement that he leave Korea. He then travelled to the United States for medical treatment and to accept a fellowship at Harvard University. Kim remained in the USA until 1985, then returning to Korea and to house arrest once again.

By 1987, the ROK was undergoing a phase of liberalisation and democratisation, and at this time, Kim again entered national politics as presidential candidate. With the first true democratic presidential elections in almost two decades, the choice of the people lay between Kim Dae Jung, Kim Young Sam and the ruling party nominee, Roh Tae Woo (No T’aeu). But the two opposition leaders were unable to form a coalition and so split the vote, thereby paving the way for Roh's victory. Roh had about thirty-seven per cent of the vote while Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung received about twenty-eight and twenty-seven per cent respectively. Thus, factionalism had prevented Korea from having a true opposition-party president for the first time. Kim continued to be active in politics and served as leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, along with his rival Kim Young Sam. Prior to the 1992 presidential elections, however, Kim Young Sam merged with the ruling party in a bid to secure the presidency. Kim Dae Jung opposed him in the elections, but the combination of the support of the conservative ruling faction and Kim Young Sam's Kyŏngsang region power base proved too great an obstacle, and so Kim Dae
Jung was defeated.

After the 1992 election, Kim retired from active politics, but maintained a powerful voice as a leading critic of President Kim Young Sam's policies. As the country began to falter under Kim's leadership, Kim Dae Jung again emerged as the principal opposition candidate for the 1997 presidential elections. Ironically, the ruling party saw its ranks break as the election drew near and as a result, the vote for the ruling party was split among Lee Hoi-chang and Rhee In-je, allowing Kim to win the presidency with a vote of marginally more than forty per cent. Kim Dae Jung's success marks the first time in Korean history of an opposition candidate being elected to the nation's highest office.

Kim's initial tasks on being conformed as president 25 February 1998 were daunting, the country being in the grip of its worst economic crisis since the Korean War. He formed a steering team, took personal charge of the country's financial management as president-elect from December 1997, and worked unceasingly to put Korea on the right path for economic recovery. He extended a conciliatory hand towards the former ruling party and his past oppressors -- Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, arranging for both former presidents to be granted presidential pardons for their past crimes.

Bibliography

Kim Hang

Kim Hongdo (1745-?)

Kim Hongdo was a foremost genre painter of late Chosŏn. His family's ancestral home is in Kimhae, his courtesy name was Sanŭng, and his numerous pen names include Tanwŏn, Tan'gu, Sŏho, Komyŏn-kosa, Ch'wihwasa, and Ch'ŏpch'wiong. At twenty-nine years of age, Kim painted a portrait of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776) and also the crown prince. He was then assigned to the Kammok kwan (Office of Horse Breeding) and began his official duties. Kim's talent as a painter spread and in 1788 he and Kim Unghwan were sent by King Ch'ongjo (r. 1776-1800) to Kumgang Mountain to paint landscapes. In 1791 Kim was involved with the completion of the royal portrait of Ch'ongjo and was then in government service until 1795 when he retired from his official duties. His last years were plagued by illness and poverty.

Kim's paintings are considered among the best of Chosŏn, and he was adept in landscapes. His other subjects included Daoist immortals, common folk going about their daily business, and the branches of trees. Among his best known works are Muak (Dancer and Musicians) and Ssirŏm (Wrestling), which display the festive activities of the commoners. Other acclaimed paintings are Masang ch'ŏngaeng to (Hearing an Oriole on Horseback) and Tanwŏn to (Tanwŏn's Paintings). Kim is known as one of the three great masters of Chosŏn painting, along with An Kyŏn and Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1856).

Kim Hongjip (1842-1896)

Kim Hongjip was a late Chosŏn period bureaucrat and politician. His family's ancestral home is in Kyŏngju, his given name was Koengjip, courtesy name Kyŏngnung, and pen names Towŏn and Yijŏnghakchae. His father, Kim Yongjak, was the Commandant (yusu) of Kaesŏng City. In 1867 he passed the literary section of the Kyŏnggwa chŏngshi (a special government service examination held on national celebratory occasions), and in the next year he was appointed to a position in the Royal Secretariat (Sŭnjŏngwŏn). After a
few months his father died. Kim went into mourning and then in 1870 his mother died, so Kim retired from his official position and was in mourning for a total of about five years. In 1873 Kim resumed his official career and was simultaneously appointed as Reference Consultant (paksa) in the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Süngmun-won) and as Supernumerary Third Copyist (kwonji puジョンja). In 1875 he was appointed as Junior Sixth Rank Military Officer (pusagwa) among other military positions and was then appointed as County Magistrate (hy Jongam) of Hwangyang where he won acclaim from both his superiors in the government and from the people. As a result of this, Kim was promoted to a higher position in the central government, first as Sixth Rank Military Officer (sagwa) and then in the next year as Instructor (kyosu) at the Southern School in Seoul. After this he held various positions on the Board of Taxation (Hojo), Board of Works (Kongjo), Board of War (Pyongjo) and the Board of Rites (Yejo). In 1879 he was appointed as First Secretary (tojong) of Royal House Administration (Tolly 농부).

In 1880 Kim embarked upon a mission to Japan as Ambassador (sushinsa) with an entourage of fifty-eight government officials in an attempt to solve the problems between the two nations concerning trade and other matters. However, no agreement could be reached. Before returning to Korea, Kim met Huang Zunxian, a counsellor to the Chinese delegation in Japan, who gave him two treatises on Korea that were to have considerable impact on Choson. One of these works, entitled Chaoxian cellie (A Policy For Korea) was written by Huang himself, and stressed that Korea should adopt Western institutions to strengthen herself from foreign aggression and form treaties with China, Japan and even America to keep Russian imperialism at bay. After returning to Korea, Kim was appointed as Second Minister (ch’ampan) of the Board of Rites. Kim continued to play an important role in negotiations between Japan and Choson concerning the opening of Inch’ŏn as the third port stipulated in the 1876 Treaty of Friendship (Pyongja suho choyak), and eventually Inch’ŏn was opened to foreign trade. Kim also figured prominently in the 1882 Treaty of Chemulp’o (Chemulp’o choyak) that served to open this port to foreign trade. In 1884 Kim served as Minister (p’anso) of the Board of Rites and at the same time as Supervisor (tokp’an) in the Office of Foreign Affairs (Oemu). Kim had become at this point the foremost shaper of Choson foreign policy.

After the failed Coup d’État of 1884 (Kapshin Chongbyŏn) Kim took further control of the Choson government and was appointed as Second State Councillor (chwauljong) in addition to his duties as Supervisor of the Office of Foreign Affairs. It was in these capacities that he negotiated the 1885 Treaty of Hansŏng (Hansŏng choyak) with Japan. In the next year, Kim retreated to the less demanding post of Minister-without-Portfolio (chungch’ubu). In 1887, however, Kim was again appointed as Second State Councillor but shortly resigned this post. With the outbreak of the Tonghak Rebellion in 1894 and the intervention on Korean soil by Qing, Japanese and British troops, Kim was again brought back into the Choson government. Japan refused to withdraw its troops after putting down the Tonghak Rebellion and instead used this opportunity to gain more control in Choson. The Japanese removed King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) from power and instead restored his father, Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1888) to power. Next a new government composed of pro-Japanese elements was formed, and it was this cabinet headed by Kim Hongjip that pushed through the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyŏngjang).

The Reforms of 1894 were carried out by the Deliberative Council (Kun’guk kimuch’o) which was headed by Kim. This group had authority over all matters of government, and carrying out sweeping reforms and actually operated outside the reach of King Kojong and Queen Min (1851-1895). It also defied the power of the Taewŏn’gun to whom the King had delegated authority. However, when this was realised, the council was abolished, but not before major changes to the face of the Choson government were executed. The Taewŏn’gun attempted at this juncture to seize control of Choson’s destiny and tried to bring the Qing in to supplant the Japanese. This was discovered and the Japanese Prime Minister Inoue Kaoru forced the Taewŏn’gun to retire. He then appointed to Kim’s
cabinet Pak Yongho (1861-1939) who had been in exile in Japan, creating a coalition government between the two men. This government was blatantly pro-Japanese in its actions, which caused Queen Min to seek Russian assistance, at which time the pro-Japanese elements were purged from the government by those supporting increased ties with Russia. However, this was short-lived as the Japanese brutally carried out the assassination of Queen Min, which again returned Kim Hongjip to power as the head of a new cabinet. Kim then proceeded to then carry out many more reforms that brought Choson ever closer to Japan. The barbaric slaying of Queen Min created public outrage and also caused King Kojong to fear for his life. He fled to the Russian delegation to seek refuge and with this reversed the political situation in Choson to one that favoured the pro-Russian elements. Accordingly, Kim and other pro-Japanese elements were ousted. At this time in front of the Kwangha Gate to Kyongbok Palace, Kim, along with his cronies, was executed for treason.

Kim Hongjip, while a great advocate of reform and modernisation for Choson, will chiefly be remembered as a traitor to Korea whose actions allowed Japan to make major inroads in their colonial designs on Korea. Kim did carry out many beneficial reforms for Korea, but in the end his pro-Japanese policies resulted in the murder of the Korean Queen and the weakening of the Korean state.

Kim Hwallan (1899-1970)

Kim Hwallan was an educator and woman’s rights advocate of this century. Kim’s given name was Kidük, pen name Uwol and baptismal name Helen. Kim was born in Inch’on and with the opening of the port at Chemulp’o her family moved there and her father, an ardent Christian, operated a warehouse. Kim was the last of six daughters in her family and also had two brothers. When Kim was eight she entered Yonghwaso School, but a year later when her father’s business failed and the family moved she entered Ehwa School in Seoul. Kim finished elementary, middle and high school at Ehwa and then graduated from college in 1918, making her the first Korean woman to do so. After graduating, she taught at Ehwa and while doing so met the Methodist missionary H. Welch, whose recommendation allowed her to travel to the United States and attend Wesleyan College in Ohio where she studied philosophy and education among other subjects. In 1924 after graduating from Wesleyan, she entered Boston College where she received a Master’s degree in literature. Kim returned to Korea in 1925 where she assumed duties as both an instructor and as a dean at the present Ehwa Women’s University. In 1930 she again returned to the United States and entered Columbia University where in October of 1931 she received her doctorate of philosophy. In doing so Kim became the first woman to hold a Ph.D. in Korea. Kim’s dissertation, Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea, outlined the problems in Korean agriculture under the Japanese policies and revealed a thesis stressing that the education and mental rehabilitation of Koreans was required to realise improved results in agriculture.

Kim was also very influential in spheres outside academia in Korea. In 1923 along with Kim P’illye and Yu Kakkyöng she helped found the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) and through this organisation she helped promote women’s rights in Korea and sought to overturn the systematic societal discrimination continued from the Choson period. In 1939 when she assumed the position of director of Ehwa Women’s College and Ehwa Kindergarten, she became the first woman to hold such a high position in Korean history. In her role as the head of these institutions, she helped shape the educational structure of Korea. She also represented Korea in many international forums such as at various United Nations conferences. Another of Kim’s many accomplishments is the publishing of Korea’s first English language daily newspaper, the Korea Times. In September of 1961 she retired as head of Ehwa Women’s University and then acted as an ambassador-at-large for the Republic of Korea until her death in 1970.
Kim is praised as a pioneer in many fields and particularly for helping to advocate equality among the sexes. Her contributions to Ehwa Women’s University are innumerable, as they are to numerous other fields.

**Kim II Sung** (1912-1994)

Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) was anti-Japanese guerrilla and North Korean statesman. Leader of the Communist regime in North Korea in 1946-1994.

Born in Man’gyŏndae near P’yŏngyang on 15 April 1912. KII Sung’s real name was Kim Sŏngju. His father Kim Hyŏngjik (1894-1926) was graduated from a missionary school and earned a livelihood by teaching and, sometimes, herbal healing. The D.P.R.K. official history insisted that Kim’s father played an active role of anti-Japanese movement. This is an exaggeration, but Kim’s family definitely was sympathetic toward the nationalist movement. Around 1920, Kim’s parents moved to Manchuria where he studied at a Chinese school. As a student Kim established first contacts with the communist underground. In 1929 he was arrested by Japanese police as a member of an illegal communist youth organization and spent 6 months in jail.

Soon after his discharge from prison, Kim, a young man who was inspired by both patriotic ideas of national independence and communist dreams of social justice, joined the communist guerrillas fighting the Japanese in Manchuria. Around 1932 he entered the Chinese Communist party. Throughout the 1930s Kim made a distinguished career in the Northeast China Anti-Japanese Allied Army (Tongbuk Hang-II Yŏnhapkun). In 1936 he become a commander of the 6th division of the 2 d Army. In 1937 Kim led the famous attack on Poch’onbo, a small Korean town near the Chinese border. This raid had a good publicity since it was a rare large-scale operation of the guerillas inside Korea.

In the late 30s the Japanese launched a large-scale offensive against Manchurian guerrillas. It proved to be successful. The guerrillas suffered great losses and in the winter of 1940/41 Kim with a few of his guerillas had to cross the Soviet border to find an asylum there. After some military training, in 1942 he was promoted to a captain of the Soviet Army and assigned as a battalion commander to the 88th Brigade, a specific unit, consisted entirely of former Manchurian guerrillas, both Chinese and Korean. It was stationed near Khabarovsk where Kim lived until 1945 with his wife Kim Chongsuk (1917-1949), whom he married in the late 1930s when she also fought with Anti-Japanese guerillas. There his 2 sons were born. Both sons were initially given Russian names: Yura (the elder, Kim Jong Il, b.1942) and Shura. It indicates that perspectives of return to Korea at that time were not considered to be very likely by Kim himself.

In 1945, after the Japanese surrender, the 88th Brigade was disbanded and Kim, who was the most senior Korean officer, was sent to Pyongyang where the Headquarters of occupational forces was stationed. Initially Kim was to become a deputy of a local Soviet military commander (komendant), but soon after his return to Korea (September, 1945) he was trapped into politics. By that time the Soviets had been disappointed by behavior of Cho Manshik and other nationalists and began to search for another possible leader of the future North Korean authorities. They were interested in Kim whose Korean background, guerrilla experience and, first of all, close association with the Soviet military made him a better candidate than a local communist (like Pak Hŏnyŏng) or a Soviet -Korean. Kim himself seemed not very enthusiastic about a political career, but on 13 October he took a part in a meeting of local communists when the North Korean Bureau of the Korean Communist Party was established. On 14 October Kim addressed a mass rally in Pyŏngyang where he was introduced by the Soviet military as a "Korean national hero". As of 17 December Kim became the Secretary of the North Korean Bureau of the Communist Party and during the few next months gradually transformed this body into an
independent party which was free from control of Pak Honyong's group in Seoul.

By the spring of 1946 Kim had been openly favored by the Soviet authorities as a future North Korean leader. On 8 February 1946 he became a Chairman of the Provisional People's committee of North Korea, an embryonic government of the Soviet occupational zone. After the merging of the Communist Party of the North Korea and the New People's Party into the North Korean Workers' Party (Puk-Chosón Nodongdang, NKWP), Kim became Deputy Chairman of NKWP. He exercised the supreme power in the Party, however, due to the passivity of its formal leader Kim Tu-bong. On 9 September 1948, when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Choson Minjuju'i Inmin Konghwaguk), a separate communist state, came into being in North Korea, he was appointed a Premier of the D.P.R.K.'s government. In 1949 the Workers' Parties of the North and South merged and Kim became a Chairman of the united Korean Workers Party. Thus, by the beginning of the Korean War Kim held key posts both in the Party and executive government.

Shortly before the Korean war personal life of Kim was struck by 2 tragedies. In 1949 his wife died. Not shortly before his younger son drowned in a pool near his house. Kim was greatly shocked by both incidents. Not until the late 50s did he marry again (his second wife was Kim Songae, b.1924).

As a leader of North Korea Kim took an active part in preparations for invasion to the South on 25 June 1950. Though this invasion failed to achieve the main goal - to unify the country under the tutelage of the communists - the political positions of Kim considerably strengthened due to the inevitable war time concentration of power.

The 50s were a period of gradual consolidation of Kim's power. After the Korean war, the D.P.R.K. leadership consisted of 4 rival groupings of which Kim's "Guerrilla" faction then was the weakest one. The existence of these groups checked the supreme power of Kim. The greatest challenge for him was also the USSR's de-Stalinization which could undermine his own Stalin-type system. However, Kim managed to survive attacks of his opponents. During the 50s Kim, who had been transformed to a ruthless and calculating politician, skillfully used frictions between his rivalries to eliminate all kinds of opposition inside the KWP and establish his own ultimate power. By 1960 rivaling factions had ceased to exist, their leaders exiled, imprisoned or executed. Simultaneously, Kim also succeeded at solving even the more formidable task - checking foreign (Soviet and Chinese) influence (for further detail see History of North Korea).

In search for more independence, Kim needed a kind of national ideology which would not be in open conflict with Marxism-Leninism, but, nevertheless, would be nationalist enough to justify the North Korean independent policy. Kim's own ambitions, probably, also played a certain role in the formation of such an ideology which was called chuch'e (developed after 1955). It was an eclectic mixture of Marxism-Leninism (with strong Stalinist overtones) and Korean nationalism, ornamented with ideas about "the absolute role of the leader" and praising "independent spirit". Since the 60s chuch'e ideas were considered the state ideology of the D.P.R.K. and became the foundation of Kim's personality cult which, probably, had few parallels in world's history. He was usually referred to as "Great Leader, the Sun of Our Nation, Ever-Victorious General" and so on. His portraits became objects of worship and every Korean was to bow before his statues at least a few times a year and during national holidays, the biggest of which was Kim's own birthday.

Since the late 50s and until his death in 1994, Kim had been an unchallenged ruler of the D.P.R.K. In 1994 he held the posts of KWP General Secretary, President of the D.P.R.K. and Chairman of Military Affairs Committee of the KWP. Kim's power was ultimate and uncontrolled. Even Party Congresses, which are supposed to
convene every 5 years, were rare events (in 1956-1995 the Congresses took place only in 1961, 1970 and 1980). To ensure the political control, Kim moved a number of his relatives as well as former Manchurian guerrillas up to high party and government offices. His eldest son, Kim Jong-il, had been groomed to succeed his father since the early 70s and in 1980 the 6th Congress of the KWP acknowledged him as Kim's heir apparent. For winning loyalty of the officials, Kim granted them numerous privileges and they could enjoy a range of material benefits which contrasted greatly with both the very moderate living standards of common people and the egalitarian of official ideology.

In practical politics Kim was a skillful manipulator who often broke previous promises, and could incite his enemies to attack one another. He lacked systematic education, but had a certain amount of practical good sense. In the early 60s, Kim and his entourage became enthusiastic about Maoist China, but he had enough pragmatism to stop the Chinese-style experiments as soon as they proved to be devastatingly ineffective. In his foreign and domestic policy Kim pursued not only the establishment of his own unrestricted power, but also the emergence of his D.P.R. K. as an absolutely independent state, even often at the expence of people's living standards. He wasted huge sum of money in overseas activity, sometimes contradictory, like support of left-wing or nationalist guerrilla movements or extensive propaganda of his own chúc'ẽ ideas in developing countries. These actions usually were fruitless or even ruinous economically, but were considered necessary to increase the international influence of the D.P.R.K. as well as of Kim himself.

After 1985 the economic situation of North Korea began to deteriorate, but Kim did not attempt any serious changes (like Soviet perestroika or Chinese openness), probably, because he was well aware that such changes could destroy carefully arranged systems of political control inside North Korean society and undermine his personal power and his goal of dynastic transition. The fall of socialism in Eastern Europe and the USSR proved him to be correct. Kim could manage to politically survive in an unfriendly environment again, but did not find any alternative solutions to difficult economic problems and by 1994 the D.P.R.K.'s economy was on the verge of collapse. Only strong political surveillance and the absolute isolation of people from unauthorised information saved the country from turmoil.

On 8 July 1994, Kim Il Sung, who by that time had been the world's longest ruling Communist leader, suddenly died of heart attack in his luxurious palace near Pyongyang.

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A Lankov

**Kim Inhu** (1510-1560)

Kim Inhu was a middle Chosŏn period neo-Confucian scholar and civil official. His family's ancestral home is in Ulsan, his courtesy name was Huji, and his pen names Hasŏ and Tamjae. His father, Kim Yong, was an assistant curator (ch'am bong, 9B rank) and his mother was of the Okch'ŏn Cho family. When Kim was ten, he studied the Sohak (Small Learning) from Kim An'guk and in 1531 after passing the entrance examination he entered Sŏnggyun'gwan (National Confucian Academy). It was at this time that he became a close friend of Yŏ Hwang (1501-1570) among others. In 1540 after passing the military portion of the Special Examination (pyŏlshih), he was appointed as Supernumerary Third Copyist (kwŏnjipujŏngja). In the next year he entered the Hodang, an institute for the further studies of young scholars of merit and then took a position as Seventh Counsellor (paksa)
at the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun'gwan). In 1543, along with his duties at the Office of Special Counsellors, he assumed the positions of Fifth Tutor (sŏlsŏ) in the Crown Prince’s Tutorial Office (Seja shigangwŏn) and also Junior Sixth Counsellor (pusach’an) at the Office of Special Counsellors. It was at this time that he became a close associate of the Crown Prince Podo. Particularly after the Purge of 1519 (Kimyo sahwa) and witnessing the deaths and suffering of many men, Kim endeavoured to cultivate his scholarly abilities. In the same year in order to be closer to his aged parents, Kim took a position as County Magistrate (hyŏng’gam) of Okkwa. With the death of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) he returned to Seoul and assumed a position in the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sŏngmunwŏn), but within a year King Injo (r. 1544-1545) died and the Purge of 1545 (Ulsa sahwa) occurred. Under the pretence of illness, Kim returned to his hometown. From 1554 onwards Kim was appointed to positions as the Fifth Counsellor (kyŏn) at the Office of Special Counsellors, as a Lecturer (chikkang) and Librarian (ch6nj6k) at the Songgyun’gwan and as Section Chief (chŏngnang) at the Board of Works (Kongjo).

Kim’s extant literary works come to a total of about ten volumes and chiefly deal with neo-Confucian ideology. Despite their small number, these works are considered important in the study of neo-Confucian ideology of the Chosŏn period. Kim’s writings differed somewhat from those of his friend Yi Hwang in the view the two scholars as to the interaction of ying and yang upon matters of the universe. Writings of Kim that have been passed on to this age include Hasŏ chip (Collected Works of Hasŏ) among other works.

**Kim Inshik** (1885-1963)

Kim Inshik was a musical educator and is acclaimed as the first Korean to teach Western music in Korea. Kim was born in P’yŏngyang and in 1896 entered the Methodist Sungdŏk School in P’yŏngyang. After this he entered Sungshil Middle School where under the wife of the missionary. Hunt, and Snook, an instructor from Chŏngū Women’s School, he studied singing, the organ and musical techniques. After this Kim also learned the violin and cornet. Kim revealed particular skill in playing the organ and by his third year at Sungshil, he was given charge of teaching first year students this instrument. At this time Kim planned to go to the United States to study and he went to Seoul to prepare for the trip. However, while in Seoul many private music schools asked him to teach and eventually he gave up his plans to study abroad and began to teach music on a full-time basis. He began at the Sangdong Youth Academy as the head of the Western music instruction and subsequently taught Western music at various other private schools such as Chinmyŏng, Osŏng, Kyŏngshin and Paejae among others. In 1910 when the first music institution in Korea, Choyanggu Akpu, was underway, Kim was appointed as music instructor. Two of his more famous students at this time included Hong Nan’pa (1897-1941), who learned violin from Kim, and Yi Sangjun. After this Kim directed the YMCA choir and formed the first independent choir in Korea, the Kyŏngsŏng Choir. In addition, he later formed the Honsŏng Choir. Kim also translated many Western hymns into Korean such as Schubert’s Ava Maria and Handel’s Hallelujah. Moreover, he contributed to the recording of musical scores of traditional Korean music in Western notation.

Kim is largely remembered for his activities in propagating Western music through education and performances. He also wrote many notable works including Haktok ka (Student’s Song), P’yomo ka (Wash Woman) and Kukki ka (Song of the National Flag).

**Kim Jong Il** (Kim Chŏngil)  
[History of Korea:North Korea]

**Kim Koengp’il** (1454-1504)

Kim Koengp’il was an early Chosŏn period scholar and civil official. His family’s
ancestral home is in Sŏhung, his courtesy name was Taeyu, and his pen names Saong and Hanhwŏndang. His father Kim Yu was a sayong (military official of 9A rank) in the Ch'ungjwawi (one of the five military commands) and his mother was of the Ch'ongju Han family. Kim began his studies in earnest under the neo-Confucian literatus Kim Chongjik (1431-1492) from whom he learned the Sohak (Small Learning). In 1480 Kim passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwŏnshl) and entered the Sŏnggyun'gwan for further study. He began his official life in 1494 with an appointment as Assistant Curator (ch'ambong) and held various other official position up until the time of the Purge of 1498 (muo sahwa). This purge was sparked by the inclusion of Kim Chongjik’s essay Choticheumun (Lament for the Righteous Emperor) in the official records of the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) which Kim’s disciple Kim Ilson (1464-1498) had compiled. In this work Kim used the metaphor of mourning the death of a young Chinese emperor as a way to criticise the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) and his subsequent execution of his nephew, the boy King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455). When the meritorious elite discovered this inclusion, they induced Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) to have Kim Ilson and the other disciples of Kim Chongjik to be either executed or imprisoned. Accordingly, since Kim Kŏngp’il was a disciple of Kim Chongjik also, he was exiled to P’yŏngan Province for two years. During his exile Kim concentrated on his studies and passed on his teachings to his disciple Cho Kwangjo (1482-1519) who would continue the lineage of neo-Confucian scholarship in Chosŏn from the late Koryŏ period literati Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) and Kil Chae (1353-1419). After returning to official life from his exile, Kim was again caught up in the factional politics of his day. The Purge of 1504 (kapcha sahwa) was aimed at those literati who had survived the 1498 purge, and this time Kim was among those who were executed on the orders of Prince Yŏnsan.

Kim is remembered for his neo-Confucian scholarship and as being a link in the transmission of the neo-Confucian teachings from the late Koryŏ period. His extant literary works include Kyŏnghyŏn rok, Hanhwŏndang chip (Collected Works of Hanhwŏndang) and Kabŏm (Domestic Rule).

Kim Koo (see Kim Ku)

Kim Ku (1876-1949)

Kim Ku was a freedom fighter and politician. His family’s ancestral home is in Andong, his childhood name was Ch’angam and his given name Ch’angsu. He was renamed as Ku, his Buddhist name was Wŏnjong, his courtesy names included Yŏnsang and Ch’oho among others, and his pen name was Paekpŏm. He was born in Heju of Hwanghae Province to a middle class family. At the age of four he had a serious bout of smallpox and barely survived. By nine he began formal schooling and learned both Chinese characters and han’gul. From the age of fifteen Kim devoted himself to his studies ardently and at the age of seventeen he sat for the last government service examination held in the Chosŏn period. However, he failed the examination and could not take a government position; this he blamed on the corrupt system that allowed wealthy students to bribe their way to official positions. Spurred on by his frustration with the corrupt Chosŏn government, Kim joined the Tonghak army at the age of eighteen and was quite active in this organisation. He assumed a position at the vanguard of the Tonghak military and led an assault on Haeju Fortress at the age of nineteen. After the Japanese crushed the Tonghak Rebellion, Kim spent his time with others that shared his feelings of disdain for the Japanese. Eventually when he could bear his hostility towards the Japanese no longer, he crossed the Yalu River and joined the Righteous Army (uibyŏng) under the command of Kim Ion.

After the assassination of Queen Min by the Japanese in October of 1895, Kim’s anger seethed and he exacted his revenge by killing a Japanese Army lieutenant in Ch’ihap’o in February of the following year. For this he was arrested and sent to a prison in In’chŏn where he remained until his escape in 1897. Kim continued to participate in many anti-
Japanese activities in Korea after his escape, and also contributed to the nationalistic movements that had sprung up throughout the country to educate and enlighten Koreans. In 1909 when An Chunggun (1879-1910) assassinated the Japanese Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi, Kim was arrested as a part of the conspiracy and again sent to prison. This time Kim remained incarcerated until July of 1914 when he was released two years before the end of his sentence.

Directly after the March First Independence Movement in 1919, Kim travelled to Shanghai to take part in the formation of the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min'guk Imshi Ch'ongbu) and was appointed as the first head of the Bureau of Police (Kyŏngmuguk). Subsequently he was appointed as secretary of the Home Ministry (Naemu) in 1923, as Assistant Prime Minister of State (Kungmu ch'ongni taeri) in 1924, and in 1927 he was appointed as the leader of this government. In 1928 Kim, along with Yi Tongnyŏng and Yi Shiyŏng, formed the Korean Independence Party (Han'guk Tongnip Tang). He also formed the guerrilla organisation, the Aeguktan, that carried out many terrorist activities against the Japanese. Most notable were the 1932 attempt to kill the Japanese emperor by Yi Pongch'ang (1900-1932) and the bomb that was set off in a Shanghai park by Yun Ponggil (1908-1932) in 1932 that killed a number of high-ranking Japanese military and civil officials. In 1933 Kim met with the Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek and this discussion is believed to have led to the Cairo Declaration of 1943 that was adopted by the United States, China and Britain that in effect stated that Korea would in due course become an independent state.

After Korea was liberated from Japan on August 15, 1945 there were many political parties vying for power in the South. Kim strongly opposed the partition of Korea and sought to reach a compromise with the North Korean Government. Accordingly, in 1948 Kim, along with Kim Kyushik (1881-1950) travelled to North Korea for a summit with Kim Il-sung (Kim Ilsŏng) and Kim Tubong. However, no agreement was reached and the talks were branded a failure by Kim’s ultra-right opponent Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman). Kim nonetheless returned to Seoul with the intent of boycotting the United Nations-sponsored elections that were to be held later in the same year. Kim Ku continued his battle for control of South Korea with Rhee, but was assassinated by army lieutenant An Tuhtū on June 26, 1948. The assassination of Kim is widely believed to have been carried out by the Syngman Rhee government as a way to consolidate its power.

Kim Ku is praised not only for his zealous guerrilla activities against the Japanese imperialists, but also for the foundations that he helped establish for democracy in post-liberation Korea. He was also an adept statesman as his relations with Chiang Kai-shek and his willingness to reach a conciliatory agreement with the communists in North Korea after liberation reveal. Kim left behind his literary collection, Paekpŏn ilji.

Kim Kyushik (1881-1950)

Kim Kyushik was a freedom fighter and politician. His family’s ancestral home is in Ch’ŏngp’ung, his school name was Johann and his pen name Usa. Kim was born in Tongnae and was the second son of Kim Chisŏng. At about this time, the Qing government sent Yuan Shikai to Korea in order to regulate and assist in the managing of domestic affairs and to counter the Japanese presence in Korea. Kim’s father had the unfortunate task of presenting a memorial to the throne at this time for the establishment of better relations with the Japanese. As a result of this, he was exiled, and at about the same time Kim’s mother died and Kim thus became an orphan. He was sent to Seoul where he was taken care of by the American Methodist missionary Horace Underwood and received his English name Johann. In 1906 he married the daughter of Cho Sunhwan, Ŭnsu who bore him two sons. In 1917 his wife died and in 1919 Kim remarried to Kim Suae who had one daughter by him.
Kim Kyushik is not only remembered for his political activities and opposition to the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea, but also as an educator who helped in the enlightenment of the Korean people. He served as an educator in various capacities in both Korea and China during the colonial period. In 1950 after the outbreak of the Korean War, Kim was kidnapped by the North Koreans and it is known that he died on December 10 of the same year in the Manp'ojin area of North P'yŏngan Province.

Kim Manjung (1637-1692)

Although Kim Manjung (Sŏp'o) was an accomplished poet, a scholar of varied interests, and an astute social critic, his commanding position as a man of letters in Korean history is largely due to a single novel, the Kuunmong (A Nine Cloud Dream), and it is fitting that
this novel has been translated into English twice: in 1922 by James S. Gale under the title *The Cloud Dream of the Nine* and again in 1974 by Richard Rutt under the title "A Nine Cloud Dream" in *Virtuous Women: Three Masterpieces of Traditional Korean Fiction*. Although each translation reflects the different styles of the translators, and no less the English of the time of translation, both are in themselves superb pieces of English literature.

From our modern viewpoint Kim's fame seems a little ironic insofar as the *Kuunmong* was never intended for a public audience. Rather, according to the traditional account of its authorship, it was written as a private gift to give solace to his grief-stricken mother. This irony is further compounded by the fact that most men of Kim Manjung's *yangban* (ruling class) status would have considered the writing of a novel to be a disreputable undertaking on a par with the creation and performance of oral stories by the lower classes. The sober minds of the male *yangban* engaged in philosophy and manifested their literary talents through the rigorous and complex art of composing Chinese poetry, both of which were requisite talents for the scholar-official. Conversely, the exercise of imagination needed to create a convincing fictional world was not valued, and the *Kuunmong* would have been considered even more unseemly for its varied romantic interludes, focus on distinct female personalities, and liberal references to Taoist magic all set within an overarching Buddhist conceptual structure. The very fact that this novel still proves compelling suggests the care with which it was written, and Kim Manjung's choice to write a story for his mother in which female personalities sparkle with individuality is apposite the crucial features of his life.

Between 1592 and 1636 Korea underwent a series of military attacks by the Japanese and the Manchus, and in 1636, the year of the final Manchu invasion, Kim's father escaped to Kanghwa Island with other members of the royal court. Upon the fall of the island to the Manchus he committed suicide, and Kim was born not long thereafter. His mother, Lady Yun, came from an esteemed aristocratic family, and following the death of her husband she raised Kim and his older brother at her parent's home. She was an extremely well-educated woman, noted for her calligraphy and fond of Chinese poetry, and it was she who educated her sons. One of the many consequences of the destructive military invasions was that books were scarce, but despite this hardship Lady Yun managed to obtain texts for her sons' education.

Her efforts were successful, and at the age of 28, in 1665, Kim passed the civil service examination with honours. Like his brother, who had successfully sat for the exam in 1663, Kim's career began with few problems since he was associated with the dominant political faction. Nevertheless, by 1676 the balance of political power had shifted, and he was removed from office. He spent the next few years in scholarly pursuits and by 1680 found himself once again in a high official post. During the next several years he managed to hold several respected positions with few problems apart from the recurring factional struggles at the court. In 1687, however, he so infuriated King Sukchong that he was sent into exile in Sŏnch'ŏn. In the following year he was allowed to return to the capital, but no sooner had he returned than he became involved in a dispute regarding the queen and one of the king's concubines. Contrary to the king's wishes, Kim's faction supported the priority of the queen, and Kim was subsequently exiled to the island of Namhae in 1689. His mother died not long after this, and it seems that her death was a crushing blow. His health deteriorated, and he died in exile at the age of fifty-five.

The importance of Kim's relationship with his mother cannot be overestimated. She was a woman of strong character, and he seemed to regard her as an embodiment of ideal Confucian virtues of femininity: self-sacrifice to her children and faithfulness to her dead husband. However, what is most intriguing is that she had the skills to educate two boys so well that they could enter government service. That his education, albeit a Confucian one, was directed by a woman largely explains why his writings dwelt on women and their world. He was raised in a woman's world and thus was able to develop a perspective
different than most men of his class. This is not to say, however, that he was a radical reformist; he wrote of the upper class, and his criticisms of the upper class came from his position as a member of the ruling class. His other novel, Sassi Namjönggi (The Story of Lady Hsieh's Dismissal), was a pointed attack on the inequities of polygamy, and despite its literary inferiority in comparison to the Kuunmong, it clearly showed that he was sensitive to the difficulties which had to be endured by yangban women. His Söpqöjip (Collected Writings of Söpq'o), published a decade after his death, contained a variety of poems celebrating women and provides support for the suggestion that he was something of a womanizer. Whether his reputation as a ladies' man was deserved is impossible to answer, but we can be quite certain that his apparent admiration of women was related to the fact that he was brought up by a talented, strong woman. His somewhat non-conformist attitudes also come into view in the posthumously circulated Söp'omanp'il (The Random Jottings of Söpq'o). While this book contains his thoughts on a variety of themes from the sciences to aesthetics, it also includes his sympathetic views towards Buddhism and Taoism: two religions which were generally condemned by the male yangban of his era and whose popularity was largely confined to women. Although it is likely that his renowned impeccable manners and filial piety can be traced to his strict Confucian upbringing under his mother, we can only wonder whether his sympathies for Buddhism and Taoism also might have been derived through her.

The Kuunmong appears, then, to be a culmination of the essential attributes of his life: his filial piety towards his mother, his interest in religion, his poetic skill, his love of women, and his intimate knowledge of the joys and dangers of court life. It was most likely written during his first exile to Sŏnch'ŏn (1687-8), and it is assumed to have been a gift meant to comfort and entertain his mother during his absence. Despite the discovery of various editions written in the Korean vernacular script (han'gul), Dr. Chŏng Kyubok has concluded that the Kuunmong was originally composed in Chinese and subsequently translated into the vernacular. As Richard Rutt has noted, it would have been odd for Kim to write such a book in the vernacular, especially in light of the fact that his mother had refined literary tastes. The setting of the story is T'ang China, and the novel is filled poems, letters, and official documents which, in Korea as well, would only have been written in Chinese. Furthermore, the names of the different characters are in themselves brief, yet significant, allusions to Chinese literature or Buddhist philosophy, and the brevity and clarity of these references rely on Chinese.

As its name implies, the Kuunmong is structured as a dream, and nine refers to the male protagonist and the eight women whom he marries. The story begins with Sŏngjin (Chinese, Hsing-chen), the ablest disciple of a great Buddhist master, despatched to pay a visit to the Dragon King on his master's behalf. While there, the Dragon King convinces Sŏngjin to have a glass of wine, and after leaving the Dragon King's Palace he crosses a bridge where he meets eight beautiful fairies. Upon returning to his room in the monastery he is unable to quiet his passions stirred by the wine and the image of the fairies. He begins to question the worth of his Buddhist vows to transcend worldly pleasures when suddenly he is summoned to an audience with his master. Rebuked for breaking the vows of a monk, Sŏngjin and the complicitous fairies are arrested and sent to hell where the king, Yamana, sentences them to be re-born. This punishment is, in fact, exactly what Buddhists intend to avoid, and Sŏngjin is extremely ashamed because he had been his master's finest student. He is re-born as Yang Shao-yu, and while still a child, his father, a hermit, departs this world on the back of a white crane. The youngster, endowed with a magnificent intellect and superior martial skills, is devoted to his mother and decides at the age of thirteen to take the civil service examination in the hopes of saving his mother from their difficult economic circumstances. No sooner does he begin his journey to the capital than he meets a beautiful girl whom he promises to wed eventually, and this sets the pattern for much of the story.

He resumes his journey and meets a variety of women in different locations. He is intelligent and handsome, and these two qualities make him irresistible to the ladies. In the
various episodes Yang and any given woman in question engage in conversations or exchange poems which are filled with romantic overtones. He is a confident fellow and much the womanizer, and yet he maintains a certain degree of propriety: he does not seduce the women, but rather promises to marry each of them. He eventually reaches the capital where he gets the highest score on the examination, and the emperor is so impressed by his services that he decides that Yang should marry his daughter, the princess. Despite certain minor complications related to the priority of the wives, Yang marries the princess as well as the other seven beauties to whom he has pledged his affections. Furthermore, with his fortunes secured, he is able to send for his mother and express his filial devotion. Yang has several beautiful children, all destined for success, and the family lives together in complete harmony. He lives to an old-age, full of health, having enjoyed an ideal Confucian life: a loving family, wealth, and the respect of those around him.

Despite this prosperity and untroubled life, Yang grows sad. Following his splendid birthday banquet he plays a sad song on the flute, and his wives all know immediately that something is amiss. He looks out into the distance and explains that even the greatest kings of antiquity are but memories and that he and his wives too will perish forever: "just think of it—man's life is no more than a moment of time." (throughout all translations from Rutt) He then gives a speech comparing Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism and decides that Buddhism is the superior of the three for only it provides relief against the endless cycle of birth and re-birth in this veil of tears: "I must put off the trammels of worldly life and obtain the way that has no birth or death. But because this means I must now say farewell to all of you, with whom I have spent such long and happy years, I feel sad. My sadness showed in my flute-playing." The eight women all comply with his decision, and they then decide to celebrate with some wine when suddenly an old monk pays a visit. Yang admits that he has some vague memory of having seen the monk's face before, and the monk replies, "so you still have not woken from your dream." He strikes his staff against the balustrade and a thick mist arises. Yang, somewhat perplexed, begins to ask a question, but the mists disappear, and he finds himself alone, seated on a prayer mat in a small room with a shaven head: he is Sŏngjin, a youthful monk and disciple of a great Buddhist master. He is summoned to the assembly hall where the master asks, "did you enjoy the pleasures of the world?" Sŏngjin is confused whether "the dream was not true, or the truth was not a dream." The Buddhist master promises profound instruction but says that he must wait for the arrival of some new students. The eight fairies suddenly arrive, repentant of their sins and begging to be enlightened. After shaving their heads and removing their make-up, they sit with Sŏngjin and listen to the Buddhist master's teaching of the Diamond Sutra: "All is dharma, illusion/ A dream, a phantasm, bubble, shadow/ Evanescent as dew, transient as lightning/ And must be seen as such." This profound teaching awakens Sŏngjin and the eight nuns to the truth through which one may escape transmigration. The Buddhist master leaves the care of the monastery to Sŏngjin whose teaching impresses the world of men and ethereal beings, and eventually he and the eight nuns enter Paradise together.

Although the Kuunmong contains elements of Confucianism and Taoism, the underlying philosophical attitude is Buddhist as ultimately made explicit by the Buddhist master's recitation from the Diamond Sutra. Confucianism provides the structure for the development of the novel's Buddhist point of view, and Taoism offers the narrative a certain liveliness with its references to fairies, phoenixes, and old hermits ascending to the heavens astride white cranes. Simply put, it would be difficult to create a compelling narrative without reference to something besides "all is illusion," and this variety of religious references is significant not merely for literary reasons. In a very substantial way, the essential Buddhist idea would be weakened if Yang did not have a splendid life and still find it wanting.

Like Yang Shao-yu, Kim lost his father, went on to make top marks on the civil service examination, and rose in the ranks of officialdom; but unlike Yang, Kim's life was anything but idyllic. That someone as blessed as Yang would turn to the path that has no
birth or death crystallizes the story's claim that even the luckiest must suffer; that Songjin's religious awakening required the illusion of life's pleasures affirms the worth of illusion itself.

Through placing both strife and joy within this Buddhist perspective, Kim managed to weave a story at once exciting and philosophical, and without a trace of self-pity, it showed that he was in empathy with himself. Doubtless, this is something which his mother's refined literary and moral tastes would have appreciated.

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Kim Maria (1891-1944)

Kim Maria was a freedom fighter and educator of the colonial period. Her family's ancestral home is Kwangsan and she was born in Changyön of Hwanghae Province. Her father was a devout Christian and established a church and school in their village. In 1895 Kim entered Sorae Elementary School, which her father had founded, and after four years graduated. After this she returned home where while weaving she zealously studied Chinese characters. Her father died in 1895 and her mother in 1904. As her mother's last wish was that her daughter complete college, Kim left for Seoul where she lived at an uncle's house. During this time she became associated with such patriots as No Paengnin (1875-1926), Kim Kyushik (1881-1950) and Yu Tongyol among others. In 1906 she entered Ehwa School but due to connections with others of her faith, she transferred to Yöndong Woman's School shortly afterwards and subsequently graduated in 1910. After this she spent three years as an instructor at Sup'i Women's School in Kwangju and then in 1913 transferred to her alma mater, now named Chöngshin Women's School. In the next year Kim travelled to Japan to continue her studies. She entered Kinjö Women’s School in Hiroshima and studied English and then in the following year entered Tokyo Women’s Academy in the College Preparatory Department.

In 1918 she became involved in the Tokyo Foreign Students’ Independence Party (Tonggyöng Yuhaksaeng Tongnip Tan) and at this time became immersed in the national salvation movement along with others such as Hwang Esût’ö. Kim was involved in the February Eighth 1919 Independence Movement and as a result was detained and investigated by the Japanese police. Giving up her own dreams of graduating, Kim then devoted herself wholeheartedly to the restoration of her country’s sovereignty and with ten or so hand-written copies of the Tongnip Sönönsö (Independence Manifesto) which she concealed in her clothes, she returned to Korea on February 15, 1919. Back in Korea, Kim travelled about the country and made preparations for the upcoming March First 1919 Independence Movement. In particular, she tried to involve women in the activities. On March 5 she was arrested by the Japanese police and as the result of being subjected to repeated tortures she suffered for the remainder of her life from empyema of her upper jawbone. Kim was imprisoned for five months for her activities and after her release returned to teaching at Chöngshin Women’s School where she covertly directed the
women’s anti-Japanese movement. In this same year Kim helped establish patriotic women’s groups such as the Korean Patriotic Wives Association (Taehan Min’guk Aeguk Puin Hoe) of which she was president. However, as a result of these activities she was again arrested by the Japanese and received a three-year prison sentence. In the midst of her sentence, Kim was released to receive treatment for an illness and she then took this chance to disguise herself and flee from Korea.

In June of 1923 she entered the United States and in the following year entered the Park College literature department where she studied for two years. In 1928 she entered the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago and subsequently received her Master’s Degree. While in America Kim met with her comrades from the independence movement in Korea and Japan and helped organise the Kunhwa Hoe (The Korean-American Patriotic Wives Association) and was elected as president of this organisation.

Kim continued her educational and patriotic efforts for her homeland throughout her life. She died in 1944 as a result of the horrendous torture that she had suffered at the hands of the Japanese that had ruined her health. In 1962 she was posthumously awarded the Order of Merit for National Foundation by the government of the Republic of Korea.

**Kim Okkyun (1851-1894)**

Kim Okkyun was a politician and a member of the Enlightenment Movement of the late Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is Andong and he was born in Kongju. Kim’s courtesy name was Paegon, and his pen names were Kogyun and Kou. At age seven he was adopted by his father’s second cousin, Kim Pyŏnggi who raised him in Seoul. When Kim was eleven, his adoptive father was appointed as Magistrate (pusa) of Kangnŭng and Kim then studied at the Sodang (village school) where the memorial tablet of Yulgok is kept. Where he quickly learned composition, poetry, music, painting and many other skills.

At this time the ideology of modernisation as espoused by modern thinkers such as O Kyŏngsŏk (1837-1879) and Yu Honggi was sweeping through Chosŏn. In 1870 Kim, along with other youths, was introduced to this ideology of enlightenment in the sarang pang (man’s quarters) of Pak Kyusu (1807-1876). In 1872 Kim passed the Royal Visitation Civil Service Examination (alsŏng mungwa) with the highest score and was subsequently appointed as Fifth Counsellor (kyori) in the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun ‘gwan) in 1874. From this time forward Kim strove to create an association of like-minded scholars, and the Progressive Party (Kaehwa Tang) began to take shape with Kim at its head. In 1879 Yi Tongin, who also advocated enlightened policies, was dispatched to Japan and witnessed first hand Japan’s modernisation and actual conditions. Through his good offices, the so-called gentlemen’s sightseeing group (shinsa yuramdan) was organised and went to Japan in 1882.

During Kim’s trip to Japan in 1882 he was greatly influenced by the progress and modernisation that he witnessed. Kim and those who shared his views of the necessity for drastic reforms to Chosŏn sought to implement life reforms in Korea. However, they were blocked from positions of true power within the government by the faction of Queen Min (1851-1895) and the Min clan, which controlled the government. Accordingly, the few reforms these individuals could bring about were minor and left the group of reformers looking for other ways to effect change. In 1883 Kim approached the Japanese for a three-million yen loan to finance a new government in Korea, but the Japanese, the key to Kim’s plan, he was forced to wait for his chance to overthrow the Chosŏn government.

In 1884 when hostilities between the French and Chinese occurred, Kim and his fellow Progressive Party members saw this as the chance to carry out a coup. At this time they also succeeded in enlisting the help of the Japanese who had a change of mind on the
prospects of the coup. The Japanese minister, Takezoe Shinhiro, committed the 140 or so Japanese legation guards in Seoul to assist in the coup, and this completed the plans of the progressives. The coup, known as the Coup d'Etat of 1884 (Kapshin ch'ôngbyŏn), took place on the seventeenth day of the tenth lunar month. The conspirators took advantage of a banquet held for diplomats and high-ranking officials to carry out their plans. Kim and his cohorts did succeed in seizing King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and establishing a new government. However, before the lengthy list of reforms that the progressives proposed was made public, the Chinese troops in the capital took action and crushed the coup. Many of the progressives were killed, but Kim along with nine of the conspirators managed to escape with the retreating Japanese and fled to Japan.

After coming to Japan Kim was not well- treated by the Japanese and was exiled by the Meiji Government. Eventually he travelled to Shanghai where he was assassinated in March 1894. The coup that Kim and others plotted hastened the fall of the Chosŏn government and in the end resulted in the colonial occupation of Korea by Japan.

Kim Pushik (1075-1151)

Kim Pushik was a politician, historian, Confucianist and literary man of the Koryó period. His courtesy name was Ipchi and his pen name Noech’ŏn. Kim was a descendant of the royal family of Shilla and his great-grandfather, for his meritorious service to the founder of the Koryó dynasty, T’aejo (r. 918-943), was appointed as chujang (Chief Magistrate of the Region) in the Kyŏngju area. Kim’s father died when he was about thirteen years of age, and from this time his mother alone raised him. Kim and his four brothers all sat for and passed the government service examination and had entered the central government’s ruling bureaucracy. Since this reflected the excellence of their mother, she was sent an allowance of grain every year by the king.

Kim himself passed the civil service examination in 1096 and was appointed as an official of the Ansan grand prefecture (taedohobu). Subsequently he was selected for a position at the Hallimwŏn (Academy of Letters). Over the next twenty or so years, Kim devoted himself to his literary work and helped to develop scholarship to a higher level. Moreover, he was charged with lecturing King Yejong (r. 1105-1122) and King Injong (r. 1122-1146) on the Confucian classics. Kim not only expounded the teachings by Confucius and Mencius, but endeavoured to practise the tenets of Confucianism and was devoted to Confucian ideology. Kim’s dedication to Confucianism can be witnessed in not only the earnest lectures that he delivered to the Koryó kings, but also in the structure and ideological views presented in his most famous work, the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms).

Kim’s political career spanned many years and saw him hold various positions. Directly after the treason of Yi Chagyŏm (?-1126), Kim travelled to Song China as an ambassador on a mission to congratulate the Emperor Gaozung on his ascension to the throne, and at the same time to ascertain the true situation between Song and the rising Jin nation. After the Yi Chagyŏm faction was expelled from the political scene, Kim was promoted to several high positions in the government. When the Myoḥ’ŏng faction emerged in the aftermath of the Yi Chagyŏm treason Kim stood at the head of the opposition. Myoḥ’ŏng schemed to convince King Injong to move the capital of Koryó to P’yŏngyang on the premise that it possessed better geomantic qualities than the present capital Kaesŏng. However, once the seat of Koryó power was transferred, Myoḥ’ŏng and his followers sought to seize power for themselves. Kim Pushik represented the Confucianist, China-centred faction that was based in Kaesŏng and strongly resisted the manoeuvres of Myoḥ’ŏng. In the end, Injong allowed the capital to remain in Kaesŏng and Myoḥ’ŏng rose up in rebellion declaring his own state in P’yŏngyang. However, in early 1136 forces led by Kim Pushik sacked P’yŏngyang and crushed the rebellion of Myoḥ’ŏng.
Although Kim had various successes and failures in the political world, these pale in comparison to his literary accomplishments. His representative work is the *Samguk sagi*, which was compiled by a team headed by Kim upon order from King Injong. Directly before the death of Injong, Kim presented the King with this fifty-volume work. Kim was heavily influenced by both Chinese historiography and his Confucian ideology in the compilation of this work. Other works that Kim compiled include *Yejong shillok* (Veritable Records of King Yejong) and *Injong shillok* (Veritable Records of King Injong). He is remembered as an eminent scholar and also as an adept statesman.

**Kim Shisūp (1435-1493)**

Kim Shisūp (styled Maewoltamg), was a renowned philosopher and writer. He was a founder of the Korean dualist school and a philosopher antagonist to neo-Confucian orthodoxy. He was well known also as a Buddhist and a Daoist and the mixture of his beliefs and experience is well preserved in his writings. Principally, he was an eminent writer and one of four outstanding scholars of Sŏn (Ch. Hsien) Daoism. Legend has it that Kim eventually found immortality after learning and teaching alchemy and Daoist yoga. He is also counted among the saeng yukshin (the six loyal subjects).

Kim’s family ancestral home is in Kangnung, his courtesy name was Yŏlgyŏng, and his many pen names include Maewoltang and Ch’ŏnghanja. Through various records such as Kim’s own literary collection *Maewoltang chip* (Collected Works of Maewoltang) and writings by his contemporaries, such as Yi I (1536-1584), it is revealed that Kim was a descendent of the royal family of Shilla. Kim’s great-grandfather was the Magistrate (moksa) of Anju and his grandfather a battalion commander (pujang) of the Five Military Commands (Ow1). Kim’s father Ilsŏng was appointed to an official position in the Cha’ungmuwi (one of the Five Military Commands) through the umbo system that conferred appointments on the descendants of meritorious retainers. His mother was of the Sŏnsa Chang family.

Kim was born in Seoul and there he studied the Four Books and Three Classics under Kim Pan, Yi Kyejon and other scholars. When Kim was fifteen his mother died and Kim is said to have stayed by her graveside in mourning for three years. However, before the three-year mourning period was completed, Kim’s maternal aunt who had been caring for him also died. At this time his father remarried and Kim continued his studies. At the age of twenty-one, Kim heard the rumour that Grand Prince Suyang (King Sejo) was plotting to usurp the throne, so he burnt all of his books, cut his hair and began to roam about the country visiting temples. From then Kim did not sit for the national examination or enter government service as he realised the futility of public service.

While Kim led a life of wandering, he also wrote. At the age of twenty-four (1458) he wrote *T’anyu kwansō rok* in which he included among his reasons for fleeing the world of officialdom, as the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) - an action which caused him to grasp the lack of virtue in the world. Kim continued his wandering and writing, and by 1465 had found his way to Mount Kūmo where he stayed for six years. It was there that he acquired his pen name Maewoltang and also where he wrote his acclaimed *Kūmo shinhwā* (New Tales from Mount Kūmo). Though the work is a rather straightforward adaption of its Chinese model, *Jiandeng xinhua* by Zhu You, with some changes in settings, person and place names, it is of undeniable value to Korean literary history, for the important reason that it was the first recognized attempt by a Korean at writing a novel.

Kim continued to wander about the countryside throughout his life, eventually winding up at Muryang Temple in Ch’ungch’ŏng Province where he died from an unspecified illness at age fifty-nine. Kim’s body was cremated, his remains were then gathered and a stupa erected over them. Kim is praised for his writings which contain many Buddhist and
Daoist influences. His best known work, *Kumo shinhwa* is a thinly-veiled criticism of Sejo's usurpation of the throne. In addition to this work, others transmitted to the present time include *Maewōltang chip* and *Tongbongjahwa chinsang.*

**Kim Sŏngsu** (1891-1955)

Kim Sŏngsu was an educator, entrepreneur and politician. His family's ancestral home is in Ulsan and his pen name was Inch'on. He was born in North Chŏlla Province to a wealthy family and when he was three years old his father's elder brother adopted him. When Kim reached thirteen years of age he was married to Ko Kwangsŏk. In 1906 he began studying English and in 1908 he attended Kŭmho School in Kwangsan. In October of the same year Kim travelled to Japan for study, beginning at an English Academy and eventually entering Waseda University in 1910. He then graduated in 1914 from the Political Economics Department. Believing that before Korea could achieve independence her people needed educational enlightenment, Kim began work as a teacher upon returning to Korea. He also participated in the March First Independence Movement (1919) and saw the seeds of Korean independence planted at this time.

Kim was also a major industrialist in colonial Korea. In 1919 he founded the *Kyŏngsŏng Textile Company* (*Kyŏngsŏng Pangjik Chushik Hoesa*) which is notable in that it was formed with Korean capital and only hired Korean employees, which was in stark contrast with those companies operated by the Japanese industrialists. In the following year, Kim founded the *Dong-A ilbo* Newspaper and in 1922 through this organ promoted the 'Korean Products Promotion Campaign' (*mulpan changnyŏ undong*) that aimed at supporting Korean enterprises through the nationalistic sentiments of the Korean people. Kim was also involved in the drive to establish the private Korean universities (*minnip taehak sŏllip undong*) that blossomed in 1924. In 1929 Kim provided the endowment that allowed the establishment of Chungang School and in 1932 after it had suffered a series of financial difficulties he was entrusted with the management of Posŏng College. Kim made numerous contributions to the independence movements of Korea both directly and indirectly through his economic activities and the opinions expressed in the *Dong-A ilbo* before its forced closure by the Japanese.

After liberation in 1945, Kim was appointed as chairman of the Korean Advisory Board to the American Military Government, and in January of the following year again assumed his duties as president of the *Dong-A ilbo* which had resumed publication after having been closed by the Japanese. Also in 1946, Kim helped finance and found the Korea Democratic Party (Han'guk Minju Tang; KDP) and served as its leader. In addition, in August of the same year, Kim, using Posŏng College as the foundation, established Korea University (Koryŏ Taehakkyo) in Seoul. Kim also participated in the many political activities and movements that opposed the trusteeship that had been forced upon Korea by the United Nations. In 1949, Kim merged his KDP with the Korean People's Party (Taehan Kungmin Tang) to form the Democratic Nationalist Party (Minju Kungmin Tang; DNP) and served as a member of this Party's supreme council. In May 1951 he was appointed as vice-president of the Republic of Korea, but resigned in the next year in protest over the arrest of opposition party legislators by the Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) government.

After Kim's departure from the political world, his health began to deteriorate and he subsequently died in 1955. He is remembered not only for his nationalistic economic activities, but also for his attempts to enlighten the Korean people through education. Korea University, which is at the forefront of Korean institutions for higher education, remains as a lasting legacy to the work of Kim. In 1962 he was posthumously awarded the Order of Merit for National Foundation by the government of the Republic of Korea.
Kim Sowol (1902-1934)

Kim Sowol was a poet. His family’s ancestral home is in Kongju, his given name was Chongshik and he was born in Kusong of North P’yongan Province. When Kim was just two years of age his father became mentally ill and the infant was raised by his grandfather. Kim attended various schools before graduating from Paejae High Normal School in Seoul in 1923. He then entered college in Japan, but quit after a short while and returned to his homeland. Upon his return, he began a serious study of poetry, in which he had a special aptitude, and in this he was encouraged through his association with Kim Ok. It was through Kim Ok that the poetry of Kim was introduced to the literary sphere in 1920. Other events of this time greatly influenced Kim, such as the failure of his grandfather’s mining company, which incident had a major bearing on Kim’s living standard! Kim then moved to Kusong County where he found a position as manager of the local Tonga ilbo newspaper office. His poetry was published in the Tonga ilbo, but the quality of his work had deteriorated considerably. It is thought that he had become a heavy drinker by this stage of his life, and was despondent in regard to his limited future prospects. In 1934, he returned to Kusong, where he took a lethal dose of opium.

Kim’s literary debut was in the magazine Ch’angjo in 1920, with the publication of poems such as Nangin di pom (Spring of the Drifter) and Ya di ujok (Night Rains). His reputation grew with the publication of his poems in the literary magazine Kyebyo in 1922 including Küm chandi (Golden Grass), Chindallae kkot (Azalea) and Kangch’on (Riverside Village). In 1923, also in Kyebyo, Kim published further poems, such as Kanun kil (The Travelling Road) and this marked the high-point of his career. Kim is perhaps best known, however, for his collection Chindallae kkot, which was published in 1925 by Maemuns. This work is divided into sixteen parts and is composed of one-hundred and twenty-seven poems. While most of these poems had already been published elsewhere, Kim had reworked and embellished a number of them. Chindallae kkot is said to be the most widely-read poetry collection in modern Korea. It contains Kim’s representative works such as Chindallae kkot, Küm chandi and Ch’ohon (First Marriage).

The poetry of Kim is romantic and reveals his love of his lost family and childhood. His poetry is permeated with a sense of helplessness and despair, thus adding to the feeling of loneliness in his works. Kim’s work is often identified with the emotion of han, or a sense of resentment and bitterness at some loss. Hence, reading his poetry leaves the reader conscious of the author’s despondency concerning his life and the state of the world.

Kim Sujang (1690-?)

Kim Sujang was a late Choson period songwriter. He was born in Wansan, present day Chonju, his courtesy name was Chap’yŏng, and his pen names included Shipchu and Nagajae. During the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) he served as a petty clerk (sŏri) at a military post station, and aside from this fact little is known for certain of his background. Kim is acclaimed, along with Kim Ch’ont’ae (1725-?), as a representative songwriter of the late Choson period. It is not known when Kim Sujang died, but there is a record of his still being alive at the age of eighty in 1769.

Kim’s literary activities can largely be divided into three areas. The first is his work in compiling the Haedong kayo (Songs of Korea) in 1755. This work is widely acclaimed as one of the three great shijo collections of the Choson period. The first compilation of this work is the Pak family-edition, which Kim also used as the basis for the subsequent 1763 Chu family-edition. Kim continued to revise this work into his eighties, and it reveals the time and care that he devoted to it. Secondly, Kim is known for his leading activities in forming musical organisations in the capital. In 1760 he is said to have formed one such group in Hwagae-dong. Third, Kim is known for his prolific production of shijo, which helped bring this literary form to its maturity. In the Pak family edition of the Haedong
Kayo there are sixteen shijo by Kim, in the Chu family-edition there are 117, and in another shijo collection, Ch'onggu kayo (Enduring Songs of Green Hills) there are an additional three shijo by Kim. In addition, there are works by him in other collections and also those in the preface and epilogue of Haedong kayo that have been either removed or lost over time. Therefore, all of the shijo by Kim have not been transmitted to the present time.

Kim's shijo can be characterised in three main categories. The first group is those works which reflect the ideology and worldview of the dominant yangban culture of Chosŏn. Therefore, themes that revolve around loyalty and sincerity are common. Second, there are many works that reflect the lives and emotions of the common people. In particular, Kim helped bring love songs to a new stage in their development through his works with this theme. Third, there are many works that reveal a relationship between singers and those who write songs.

Kim's many contributions to the development and preservation of shijo has made him one of the representative songwriters of his day. His works are presently extant in Haedong kayo among other works.

**Kim Sùngok (1941-)**

Kim Sùngok is a novelist of the contemporary period. He was born in Osaka, Japan and graduated from the College of Liberal Arts, Department of French Literature, at Seoul National University. Kim is generally regarded as being at the van of the so-called 'April 19 Generation' that is used to refer to those writers who were in college during the April 19 Revolution that brought down the corrupt Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) government. These writers are characterised by their acute social awareness brought about by the experiences of the Korean War and the authoritarian regime of Rhee. Moreover, since their education was given primarily in han'gŭl, as opposed to their fathers who were educated in Japanese and their grandfathers who received formal education in Chinese characters, these writers have complete mastery and confidence in vernacular Korean, and this is an earmark of their works.

Kim appeared on the literary scene in 1962 with the publication of his first work Saengmyŏng yŏnsip (Life Practice) which won the Shinch'un Literary Contest sponsored by the Hangook ilbo Newspaper. Subsequently, in 1965 Kim's talent was again recognised as he was awarded the Tongin Literary Award for his short story Sŏul, 1964 nyŏn kyŏul (Seoul, Winter 1964) which captured the passions of a changing Korea and the disenfranchised with its bleak and poignant descriptions.

Kim was a very prolific writer throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, but after this time his output began to wane. Nonetheless, his 1977 work Sŏul ŭi tal pit o chang (Moonlight of Seoul, Chapter 0) did receive the first Yi Sang Literary Prize. Kim is still remembered as a voice of his generation and his most notable works focus upon the turmoil and changes that mark the April 19 Generation.

**Kim Suyŏng (1921-1968)**

Kim Suyŏng was a poet. His family's ancestral home is in Kimhae and he was born in Seoul. In 1941 he graduated from Sŏllin Vocational School and travelled to Japan where he entered Tokyo Commercial College. In 1941 in order to flee from conscription into the army Kim returned to Korea, and in 1944, he and his family moved to Manchuria. In Manchuria Kim began activities as an educator and also in dramatic movements. After liberation, he returned to Korea and entered the English Department at Yŏnhūi College, but dropped out before completing his degree. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Kim did not flee south and consequently was conscripted by the North Korean army and was eventually captured and detained as a prisoner of war at a camp on Köche Island off the
coast of South Kyŏngsang Province. After he was released, Kim took a position as a translator with the American Army and at the same time managed the duties as a deputy editor of the cultural section of the *P'yŏngwa shinmun* Newspaper. It was at this time that he devoted his undivided attention to translations and writing poetry that would continue until his death as the result of a traffic accident in 1968.

Kim's debut work was published in *Yesul purak* (Art Community) entitled ‘Myojong ìnorae’ (Song of the Altar). However, it was not until the publication of a joint poetry collection with Kim Kyŏngnin, Pak Inhwán and others, entitled *Saeroun toshi wa shimindül ìi hapch'ang* (The New City and the Chorus of Citizens), that Kim became well-known. He is considered to be a pioneering modernist and this is revealed in the unpoetic elements and solecisms in his poetry, which made him the foremost poet after the introduction of modernism to Korean poetry. Kim's poetry is said to be born of the deep-seated emotions resulting from his experiences during the Korean War, and this was the hallmark of his poems before the 1960s.

After the April 19 Revolution of 1960, Kim's works entered into a new phase. He was disillusioned with the political process in Korea and this was reflected in his works. The subjects of his poems were often everyday implements, but Kim imbued these with symbolic meaning in order to convey his message to the reader. His work is fairly representative of the poetry of the 1960s, an age of intellectual awakening in Korea.

Kim's works still are well read by Koreans of the present day and his best known works are his poetry collections that were published after his death. *Kodaehan ppuri* (The Enormous Root, 1974), *Chumoni sok ìi shi* (The Poem in my Pocket, 1977) and *Kim Su-yŏng chŏnjip* (Collected Works of Kim Su-yŏng) are all collections that contain his most representative works.

**Kim Taegŏn** (1822-1846)

Kim Taegŏn was Korea's first Roman Catholic priest and is one of the 103 saints of the Korean Catholic Church. His family's ancestral home was in Kimhae, his given name was Chae-bok and he was born in Tangjin. When his great-grandfather, Chinhŭ, who was a Catholic, was martyred after ten years of imprisonment, his grandfather, Taekhyŏn, moved to Namgok Village of Kyŏnggi Province, and Taegŏn grew up there. His father was also a dedicated Catholic and was martyred outside Sŏsomon Gate in Seoul in 1839.

After the Korean diocese was established in 1831, Kim was selected by Father P. Maubant and attended a Catholic seminary in Macao at the age of fifteen along with Ch'oe Pangje and Ch'oe Yangŏp. After finishing a middle school level of education in Macao, he further studied philosophy and theology. When the Opium War started in China, he went on a French warship to Manchuria where he continued his theological studies and became an associate priest in 1844. After crossing the northwestern border, he arrived in Korea in January 1845, ten years after he had left to study in Macao. Settling in Seoul, he restored the Catholic Church, which had been persecuted by the Chosŏn government. Then, he went to Shanghai and received holy relics and was ordained as the first Korean priest at the church in the Wantang Seminary. In August of the same year, he returned to Seoul by sea with Bishop Ferreol and Father Daveluy, and began active evangelistic works. In May 1846 Kim was arrested at Sunwi Island, after he had traveled to the West Coast on the instructions of the Bishop to find a new way to bring in Western clergy to Korea. The government executed him after applying the law of ideological corruption and the anti-government act. He was martyred on September 16 at Saenam'tŏ.
Nonetheless he revealed admirable qualities such as unwavering faith. Today, Kim is regarded as a great saint in the Korean Catholic Church. In 1925 he was made a blessed one and in 1984 a saint.

Kim Taanjeung (see Kim Dae Jung)

Kim Tongin (1900-1951)

Kim Tongin, born in Pyongyang, is regarded as the founder of the Korean short story. He was the second son of a five children and came from a well-to-do family. His father, a church elder, was very strict and outside the family circle Kim had a rather lonely childhood, with few close friends. In 1914, at only fourteen years of age, he withdrew from the Sungshil Middle School, a Christian establishment, and went to Japan. There, he studied first at the Tokyo Gakuin and then at the Meiji Gakuin, where he met Chu Yohan (later to become a distinguished poet). Out of friendly rivalry, as much as anything else, the two young men set their hearts on literary careers. In 1918, Kim enrolled at the Kawabata Art School and also visited Korea to marry Kim Hyein. In 1919, relying on family funds, he began to publish Ch'angjo (Creation), the first Korean literary journal. The same year he returned to Korea in the wake of the March First Independence Movement and was sent to gaol for three months, resulting from his authorship of a declaration on Korean independence. Ch'angjo ceased in 1921 for financial reasons and Kim, disregarding his marriage, embarked on a life of irresponsible pleasure-seeking. He made some further attempts to write and publish and even dabbled in film production, but by 1928 with a broken marriage, he faced financial ruin. However, in 1930, he re-married to Kim Kyongae, and his life-style changed. He began to write prolifically, with historical novels predominating. But in 1942 he spent a further three months in prison, charged with disrespect for the Japanese emperor. He died in Seoul on 5 January 1951.

Kim Tongin was undoubtedly the first master of the modern short story in Korea. Korean critics spend much time trying to label him, but as different stories are said to be realistic, naturalistic, aestheticist, or romantic, he seems to defy categorization. However, his general attitude towards literature was that of art for art's sake, an attitude which developed in direct reaction against his contemporary, Yi Kwangsu, and his didactic novels. For this, Kim has often been an object for criticism, particularly from those scholars who see such an attitude as an insufficient response to the oppressive reality of Japanese colonial rule in Korea.

Kim Tongin is also accredited with playing a major role in the completion of the merging of the spoken and written style of language as begun by early modern writer Yi Injik. From his first story, Yak han cha (Sorrow of the Wea'), published in the first and second issues of Ch'angjo in 1919, we can see his innovative use of the third person singular pronoun k'u, and the past narrative tense, where previously stories had been told without conscious use of tense.

Possibly, Kim Tongin's most famous story is Kamja ('Potatoes'; 1925), about a young Korean woman who, faced with extreme poverty and a husband who refuses to work, starts to sell her favours and discovers a hidden bestiality in her own sexuality. Other stories of particular note are the early Paettaragi; (The Seaman's Chant, 1921); the fin-de-siecle-style, Kwangyom Sonata (Sonata Appassionata,1930); Kwanghwasa (The Mad Artist, 1935); and Palgaragi t'almatta (His Toes Look the Same, 1932). Pulgun san (Bare Hills, 1932) is an example of a story which has a more political content. His historical novels are known for their infusion of individual character into historical figures, for example, Ch'olmun k'ul (The Young Ones', 1929). Kim Tongin also published two significant pieces of literary criticism; Choson k'undae sosol (A Study of early modern Korean
Kim Tongni (1913-1995)

Kim Tongni was a writer, born in Kyŏngju. He attended Kyŏngshin High School and later served as Professor of Creative Writing at Chungang University in Seoul. He was president of the Korea Literature Association and the Korea Art Academy. Kim’s literary debut was in 1934 when his poem Paengno (White Heron) was published in the Chosŏn ilbo newspaper.

Kim’s work written during the colonial period reveals his discontent with the transformation of Korea under the subjugation of Japan, and this is revealed by his use of rural settings which depict lives plagued with hardship, poverty and superstition. Kim had a deep understanding of rural culture and thus his works such as Pawi (The Rock, 1936), Munyo to (Portrait of a Shaman, 1936) and Hwangt’ogi (Tale of the Yellow Earth, 1939) provide a valuable insight into the superstition and beliefs that dominated the lives of the impoverished rural people in this era. Pawi, in particular, focuses on a protagonist who seeks to reverse her illness and misfortune by summoning assistance from a rock renowned for its supernatural qualities. The desperateness and cruelty that Kim invests his characters with has given his readers a lasting impression of conditions in the period of which he writes.

After liberation, Kim’s works changed to reflect the ideological conflicts that abounded between the Right and the Left in the political turmoil that characterises that time. Some of his representative works include Yŏngma (Post Horse, 1948), Hŭngnam ch’ŏlsu (Retreat from Hŭngnam, 1955) and Saban ŭi shipchaga (The Cross of Shaphan, 1955). While Kim’s writing reveals the influence of the Korean War and the commotion experienced by the Korean people, they also manifest an attempt by Kim to endow a universality to the Korean people, their folklore and way of life. Kim was heavily influenced by his comprehension of traditional Korean folk culture and this is exhibited in the many facets of his works.

Kim Tubong (1889- ?)

Kim Tubong was a scholar, educator, nationalist, communist leader and North Korean statesman.

Kim Tubong was born in South Kyŏngsang Province, on 17 March 1890 and received both a traditional and contemporary education. From 1910, while teaching at schools in Seoul, he began to study Korean linguistics and eventually became a leading exponent of Han‘gul, the Korean language. Following the First of March Movement activities, Kim, who took part in these events, had to flee to Shanghai, where he continued both teaching and studies. During the 1920/30s Kim published several books on the Korean language, was active in
emigration politics and served as principal of a school for Korean children in Shanghai.

In 1929, Kim was a founding member and secretary of the nationalist Korean Independence Party. His political views during the 1930s were changing gradually towards left-wing and Marxist ideas, though this evolution was slow and he still kept close to conservative nationalists who respected his scholarship and academic achievement. At this time he was more of a left-wing nationalist than a communist. He was an active supporter of the United Front of leftists and rightists against the Japanese occupation. In 1937 he was one of the founding members of the Korean National Revolutionary Party, which unified many groups of left-wing nationalists. However, his shift to communism was boosted from the beginning of Japanese aggression in China. In 1942, Kim moved to Yanan, then the principal base of the Chinese Communist Party. There he founded and led the Korean Independence League, which was to become the leading organisation of Korean communists in China.

In December 1945, Kim and some other leading members of the Korean Independence League returned to Korea. They preferred not to join the Korean Communist Party, but instead stabilised the New People’s Party. A year later, though, they merged with the communists to form the Korean Workers’ Party. Kim was elected its Chairman, his election probably reflecting his wide popularity among the nationalists and intellectuals. In 1948, he was appointed Chairman of the Supreme People’s Assembly, and to all intents and purposes he was the supreme leader of both party (between 1946-49) and state (1948-56). However, he was not motivated by practical politics and remained more as a symbolic figure.

The purges of other factions, launched by Kim Il Sung’s group in the early 1950s, set the course for the ousting of Kim Tubong. His influence gradually waned and in August 1956, he was associated with the abortive attempt by some prominent Yanan faction leaders to replace Kim Il Sung - although he played no direct part in it. Nevertheless, he was accused of anti-Party activity and dismissed from office. Later, this accusation was embellished by the usual charges of spying and subversive actions. In 1958, he was expelled from the Korean Workers’ Party, exiled and, according to certain data, later assassinated, but the exact circumstances of his death are uncertain.

A Lankov

Kim Tükshin (1604-1684)

Kim Tükshin was a poet of the middle Chosôn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Andong, his courtesy name was Chagong and his pen name was Paekkok. His father was the Governor (kwanch’alsa) of Kyŏngsang Province, and it was his father’s patient teaching that enabled Kim to overcome the slowness that resulted from his childhood bout with smallpox and eventually become a stellar poet. Kim read the works of the ancient sages and literary men and from this gained his perception of poetry and his worldview.

Due to the devastation that accompanied the 1636 Manchu Invasion, much of Kim’s work has been destroyed. However, there are many of his works transmitted to the present in the literary collection Paekkop chip (Collected Works of Paekkop) which reveal his skill in writing poetry, particularly the oŏn chŏlgu (five-syllable quatrains) and ch’ilŏn chŏlgu (seven-syllable quatrains) forms. In his works ‘Yongho’ (Dragon Lake), ‘Kujŏng’ (Turtle Arbour) and ‘Chŏn’ga’ (Family Plot), Kim paints a gripping picture of life in a fishing or mountain village.

Kim was not only a talented poet himself, but he also had an appreciative eye for the poetry of others and provided critical commentary in Chongnam ch’ongji. Some of the poets that he appraised in this work include Yi Haeng, Chŏng Saryong, Chŏng Ch’ŏl and Kwon P’il among other famous poets.
Kim Wonyong (1869-1936)

Kim Wonyong was a Roman Catholic priest. His baptismal name was Augustino and he was born in Kongju of Ch'ungch'ong Province. In 1882 in order to begin his religious studies, Kim travelled to the Malay Peninsula where he entered the Penang Seminary and remained as a student through 1891. In the next year Kim returned to Korea and entered the Yongsan Sacred Heart Seminary (Yongsan Yesu Sŏngshim Shinhakkyo) where he completed his studies. In 1899 at the Chŏnghyŏn Cathedral (present day Myŏngdong Cathedral) he was ordained by G. Mutel. In the same year he travelled to Cheju Island with the priest Peynet and established the first Catholic Church on the island in Sŏgwip'o. After this time, Kim also established churches in Pongsan of Hwanghae Province and in Anbŏn of Hamgyŏng Province. In 1904 he was invited by the parish priest to the Haengju Catholic Church in Kyŏnggi Province. In 1914 Kim was made responsible for the church in Suwŏn and there he organised and managed the Samdŏk School to provide religious education. In 1917 he was in full charge of the operation of the Suwŏn parish, and in 1927 he invited nuns to his parish to take charge of the educational responsibilities at the parish school. In 1933 he moved to Shin'gye in Hwanghae Province and devoted his full energies to propagating his faith. In 1936 he travelled to Seoul on church business but became quite ill and could not return to his post in Shin'gye. In October of the same year while receiving medical treatment at the Bishop's Office in Seoul he died.

Kim's activities helped propagate the Catholic faith to wide areas of Korea. He is remembered for both his religious and educational activities during the colonial period when Catholics were subject to harsh persecution by the Japanese.

Kim Yaksu (1892-?)

Kim Yaksu was a politician and labour activist in colonial and post-liberation Korea. His given names were Tujon and Tuhui and he was born in Kijang Township of South Kyŏngsang Province. Kim attended both Hwimun School and Kyŏngsŏng Vocational School in Seoul, and after graduating in 1918 in order to be better prepared for his domestic activities he traveled to Nanjing where he entered college. However, after hearing of the March First Movement (1919) in Korea, Kim and his friend Yi Yŏsŏng returned to Korea. In September of 1920 Kim, Pak Chunghwa and Pak Igyu formed the first labour movement organisation in Korea, Chosŏn Labour Mutual Aid Association (Chosŏn Nodong Kongje Hoe). After this Kim traveled to Japan where he entered the Sociology Department at Nihon University and there he formed the Hŭktohoe (Black Wave Association) with anarchists such as Pak Yŏl and Chang Sangjung. However, Kim had ideological conflicts with this group and soon formed Puksŏnghoe (North Star Association) which became one of the leading factions in the socialist movement in Korea. In 1922 Kim returned to Korea where he joined with Yi Hŏn, Kim Chŏngbŏm and Ma Myŏng to form the Pukpunghoe (North Wind Association) which became one of the leading factions in the socialist movement in Korea. In 1924 Kim along with Kim Saguk, Shin Paegu, Yi Yŏng and Chŏng Paek formed the Korean Workers Alliance (Chosŏn Nodong Yŏnmaenghoe), and with Cho Tongu, Chŏng Unhae, Kim Chŏngbŏm and Shin Ch'ŏl, founded the Chosŏn Communist Party (Chosŏn Kongsan Tang) after receiving approval from the Comintern. However, for this Kim was arrested and remained incarcerated from 1926 until 1931. After the Manchurian Incident in 1937, Kim published a magazine Taejung (The Masses) but after being imprisoned and otherwise harassed by the authorities he ceased publication of the magazine shortly thereafter. Kim steadfastly refused to comply with the demands of the pro-Japanese organizations, and for this he was imprisoned many times during the Japanese occupation.

After Liberation Kim was involved in the political turmoil that was rampant in South Korea. While his ideology was to the left, he worked in cooperation with those on both the right.
Kim was affiliated with the People's League (Minjung Tongmaeng) but after a dispute with Na Sunggyu he broke ranks and formed the Choson Republic Party (Choson Konghwa Tang) of which he was appointed secretary. Kim continued his political activities and was elected as deputy speaker of the first session of the National Assembly after the May 1948 general elections in South Korea. However, in the disorder that continued after the elections and in particular as the Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) government consolidated its power, Kim was implicated in a scandal and as a result was jailed in June 1949. With the outbreak of the Korean War a year later, Kim was freed from jail and took refuge in North Korea. Kim did not cease his political activities after moving to the North, and this proved to be the cause of his demise, as the last record of his whereabouts is in 1959 when he was exiled to North P'yongan Province in the aftermath of a political purge by the North Korean Leader Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong).

Kim Yongsam (see Kim Young Sam)

Kim Young Sam (1927-)

Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsam) was the seventh president of the Republic of Korea (1992-96). He was born on an island off the Pusan coast, the son of a fisherman, and grew up during the colonial period, graduating from Kyongnam High School in 1947. He then entered Seoul National University and received his Bachelor's degree in Philosophy in 1952, during the Korean War. On graduation, he married Son Myongsun. His interest in national politics saw him elected to the National Assembly in 1954, at the age of twenty-seven. During the administration of President Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman), Kim worked to develop a strong power base in the Kyongsang region, and this would prove to serve him well. After the fall of Rhee's government and the subsequent rise to power of Major-General Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghui), Kim became a stalwart member of the parliamentary opposition, which occasioned him considerable problems throughout the Park regime.

Kim served as president of the New Democratic Party (NDP) throughout the 1970s and led his Party in trying to overturn the Yusin Constitution of Park. Eventually, his persistent opposition to Park led to his expulsion from the National Assembly in October 1979. Shortly afterwards, Park was assassinated and another military junta, led by Major-General Chun Doo Hwan (Chon Tuhwan), seized power. After the Kwangju Uprising in May 1980, Kim was detained, along with other opposition leaders, and banned from all political activities. By 1983, however, his political rights had been restored and in the National Assembly he ran counter to the ruling party of Chun. As the ROK became increasingly democratised, towards the end of the 1980s, Kim emerged as a strong presidential candidate, along with his fellow opposition leader Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), in 1987. The opposition parties, however, could not compromise and field a single candidate, and this clearly led to the 1987 election as president of another general, Roh Tae Woo (No T'aeu), of the ruling party. Roh carried the election with only 37 per cent of the vote; the divided opposition candidates, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung gaining 28 and 27 per cent respectively. Thus, the inability of the opposition to put forward a single candidate led directly to the ruling party retaining its grip on the nation's highest office.

Kim continued to serve as a National Assemblyman and as head of his party. In January 1990, however, he merged his party with the ruling party of Roh to form the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), in a move designed to enhance his bid for the presidency. But he was widely criticised in many opposition circles for selling out to the ruling party and the entrenched powers of the government. The move, however, placed him in a prime position for the presidency in the forthcoming 1992 elections. This time the election came down to Kim and his long time rival, Kim Dae Jung, and was decided largely by regional preferences, with Kim Young Sam easily carrying the populous Kyongsang regions. It was his much earlier investment in the Kyongsang electorate that enabled him to win the
presidency with a vote of 42 per cent, compared to Kim Dae Jung’s 34 per cent.

Kim began his administration with campaigns to eliminate government, financial and business-sector corruption and he implemented sweeping reforms such as the ‘real-name financial transaction law’, which sought to do away with illicitly-acquired and untraceable wealth. Kim also lashed out at the so-called ‘Korean disease’, which he interpreted as, ‘greed, conspicuous consumption and lack of concern for one’s fellow man’. In his attempts to be seen as a dynamic and just leader, Kim first pressed for the prosecution of former president Chun and then Roh on grounds of bribery and corruption and for their involvement in the coup d’état that brought Chun to power in 1980. The two ex-presidents were eventually convicted and gaol led, as were a large number of their cohorts from former governments. On the international stage, Kim tirelessly promoted South Korea and greatly expanded the nation’s prestige both economically and politically. He also strengthened ties with the republics of the former USSR and also with the People’s Republic of China. The economy prospered and by 1996 the ROK had become the world’s eleventh largest economy with a per capita GNP which had climbed above $US 10 000. The country appeared to be entering a stage of great prosperity and national affluence under Kim’s leadership.

As the end of Kim’s term approached in 1996, a series of events occurred that greatly undermined the accomplishments of the president. Kim’s ruling party came under siege from the opposition parties concerning financial irregularities and illicit connections with business groups. By the end of the year, Kim’s son had been indicted on charges of influence peddling with a major business group and members of the ruling party were also indicted for other violations. As the allegations escalated, Kim’s popularity plummeted and the ruling New Korea Party (NKP) suffered major losses in the local elections, further reducing Kim’s status. 1997 was a catastrophic year for Kim and his country fared no better. By year’s end, the ROK was suffering from its worst economic crisis since the Korean War and the nation teetered on the brink of insolvency. Kim handled this crisis badly, and merely observed the events taking place, without providing his nation with the strong leadership it required. The December 1997 presidential elections saw Kim’s rival, Kim Dae Jung, elected and the nation turned to its new president for guidance even before his term of office commenced.

Kim Young Sam had taken the highest office, declaring himself the first ‘opposition’ leader to lead South Korea and his intention of bringing the nation to a new level of international prestige. In reality, Kim, who in the early days of his term was so positive in his intentions for the ROK and enjoyed unprecedented popularity, left office in disgrace and was blamed by many for his country’s economic woes. He had proved to be no better than his predecessors in enforcing anti-corruption measures, and it was under his watch that the economic underpinnings of Korea unravelled due to lack of governmental regulation and corrupt financial practices. Thus, Kim’s presidential rule diminished considerably the international prestige of the ROK, and the rebuilding of this and the nation’s economy had to be left to his political rival, Kim Dae Jung.

Kim Yun’gyŏng (1894-1969)

Kim Yun’gyŏng was a Korean linguist and educator. His family’s ancestral home is in Kyŏngju, his pen name was Hangyŏl and he was born in Kwangju of Kyŏnggi Province. When Kim was fourteen he left his hometown and entered Usan School in Seoul, then transferred to Ùibŏp School and eventually finished his studies at Ch’ŏngnyŏn School in 1913. While at Ch’ŏngnyŏn School he received instruction in Korean linguistics from Chu Shigyŏng which was to have a major influence on his future. From 1913 Kim began teaching subjects such as Korean, history and mathematics at Ch’angshin School in Masan, and in 1917 he enrolled in the Literature Department at Yŏnhŭi College. At this time Yŏnhŭi College was at the forefront of the student movement in Korea, which was united in
the Choson Haksaeng Taehoe (General Meeting of Choson Students) of which Kim was president. Kim was also a founding member of the Choson Yon'guhoe (Society for Research in the Korean Language) in 1921 and of the Suyang Tongmaeng Hoe (Moral Cultivation League) in 1922. From 1922 Kim was an instructor in Korean and history at Paehwa Women's School. At this time, Kim received funds from Paehwa Women's School to study abroad and entered the Literature and Asian History Department at the Ritkkyo College in Tokyo where he graduated in 1929. Upon graduation, Kim returned to his teaching duties at Paehwa.

From January 1931 Kim began the publication of Tonggwang which published graduation theses, but this publication was suspended after eighteen instalments. After this for a period of about four years, Kim completed his manuscript on many facets of his research in Korean linguistics entitled Choson muntcha kup ohaksa. He had problems with the Japanese authorities and was arrested for a violation of the Public Security Maintenance Law (Ch'ian Yuji p̣ọ). He then resigned from his teaching duties and was subsequently imprisoned in June 1937. In January of 1938 after his release from prison, Kim published his work Choson muntcha kup ohaksa. However, due to his activities with anti-Japanese groups, Kim was unemployed for five years until 1942 when he received a teaching position at another girl’s school. In the following year he was again arrested and imprisoned for his activities in the Korean language movement.

After liberation Kim took a position as head of the literature department at Yönhü College, and later served as president of the college. In 1948 he published Nara mabal (Korean Grammar) and Chungdung mabal (Secondary School Grammar). He continued to be active in many academic organisations after liberation and received honours for his previous publications and activities. He further published Kodung nara mabal (High School Korean Grammar) and Chungdung nara mabal (Secondary School Korean Grammar) in 1957 and in 1962 retired from Yōnse (Yonsei) University after reaching the mandatory retirement age. Even after retirement, Kim continued to be active in academic circles publishing Saero chiun kugohaksa (New Writings on Korean Linguistic History) in 1963, and Hang'yŏl kugohak nanjip (Collected Papers on Korean Linguistics by Han'gyol). In December 1977 he was posthumously honoured with the Medal of Merit for Nation Founding by the government of the Republic of Korea.

Kim Yushin (595-673)

Kim Yushin is known as the greatest general of the Shilla Kingdom and is also remembered for his statesmanship. His great-grandfather was the King Kuhae of Kŭngwan Kayae who had surrendered to Shilla in 532. In order to distinguish the descendants of the royal family of Kŭngwan Kayae from the royal family of Shilla that both had the surname of Kim, the descendants of the former Kayae State were designated as 'new' Kims. Kim Yushin’s mother was also of royal blood being the great-granddaughter of King Chiji1ng (r. 500-514). Kim’s family was of the chingol (true bone) status in Shilla which was the second highest rank of the Kingdom, and in actuality became the highest rank after the death of Queen Chindŏk (r. 547-654) who was the last of the sŏnggol (sacred bone) line. The union of the ruling family from the former Kayae State and the Shilla Kingdom continued to be solidified and with the marriage of the future King T’aejong Muyol (r. 654-661) to the sister of Kim Yushin, we can see the formation of the ruling class in the middle Shilla period. Kim’s eldest son was to become King Munmu (r. 661-681) who unified the Three Kingdoms with his father’s help.

Kim was born in present day Chinch'on of North Ch'ungch'ong Province and at the age of fifteen he entered the hwarang (youth corps) for the sons of the aristocratic class of Shilla. It is while Kim was in the hwarang that he learned the leadership skills and essential military training that would enable him to become a great military leader in the future. Kim’s first military appointment came in 629 when he was thirty-four. At this time Kim
participated in the Shilla attack on Nangbi Fortress of Koguryo and he performed with valour and distinction in this important victory for the Shilla forces. Kim rose through the Shilla military ranks and became not only an important field leader for the Kingdom, but also a great tactician whose skill enabled Shilla to defeat their more powerful northern neighbour, Koguryo. Kim’s early activities are not known for certain, except that he was an important figure in the military activities of Shilla.

In 642 Kim was appointed as Sop’an (the third of the seventeen official ranks of Shilla) and began the first of many military excursions against the Paekche Kingdom. Despite his repeated success against Shilla’s western neighbours, the tide of the struggle among the Three Kingdoms did not turn until Tang China joined the struggle on the side of Shilla. In 660 Shilla forces led by Kim in unison with Tang naval forces attacked the Paekche capital of Puyó which was being defended by the great general Kyebaek (?-660). The Paekche general was badly outmanned and after a heroic struggle fell to the forces of Kim. This marked the end of the Paekche Kingdom. After the fall of Paekche, Shilla and Tang turned to Koguryo, which fell to the united forces in 668, thereby unifying the Three Kingdoms under Shilla.

Kim is remembered as not only one of the greatest generals in Korean history, but also for his tomb which contains some of the finest examples of Shilla stonework extant today. The tomb is located in Kyongju of North Kyongsang Province and has been designated as historic site no. 21. Moreover, there are many legends associated with Kim Yushin and his spirit has even been incorporated into the pantheon of shamanistic deities.

Kimch’aek

Kimch’aek, previously known as Songjin, is situated on the east coast in North Hamgyöng Province. Ssangp’o Stream runs through the northern part of the city into Songjin Bay. As an important east coast port, during the Japanese occupation the city served as a vital transport link between northeast China and Japan. At that time, the city was also developed as a centre for the chemical industry.

Rice, barley and beans are the area’s main agricultural crops. Fishing boats operating out of local ports bring in catches of walleye pollack, cod, sardine, mackerel, yellowtail, flatfish and octopus. Based on the local fishing industry, the city also contains canneries and fish-oil plants. There are mines and quarries in the region, excavating graphite, magnesite, clay and coal. Taking advantage of the area’s mineral resources and an ample power supply, foundries, refineries and brick-making plants have been set up in the city.

Until modern times, Kimch’aek was a quiet fishing village; and consequently, there are few historical sites in the area. There is a 666 metre-long earthen fortification known as Kosong Fortress on the grounds of Shimsang High School and part of a stone fortress that was built in 1614 near the old Songjin Ferry terminal. The city’s first modern schools were the coeducational Poshin School and Hyopshin Junior High School set up by R. Grierson, a Canadian missionary.

Kimch’i

Kimch’on

Situated in the southwestern part of North Kyongsang Province, Kimch’on is comprised of the town of Ap’o and the townships of Kammun, Kamch’on, Kaeryong, Kusong, Nam, Nongso, Taedok, Taehang, Pongsan, Puhang, Amo, Chirye, Chungsan and Choma. The present city was formed when Kimch’on City recently expanded to include Kümnung County. Mt. Sudo (1 317m), Mt. Wólmae (1 023m), Mt. Taedok (1 290m), and other
peaks of the Sobaek Mountain Range rise in the south, and in the north there is a basin.

Large quantities of rice are grown in the Kūmnūng and Kaeryŏng plains while dry field crops are cultivated in the more mountainous areas. The area’s specialty crops include sesame, mushrooms and yellow-leaf tobacco. Grape vineyards as well as apple and pear orchards are also a common sight in the area. In the downtown area of Kimch’ŏn, factories produce a number of items including farming machinery, raw silk, wigs and ko-hemp wallpaper.

The city’s tourism is centred around the area’s high mountains, scenic rivers and Buddhist temples. Kusông Resort is located in Kusông Township where the Hawŏn and Kamho Streams meet. The resort is famous for its clear stream water, white sand beaches and lovely pine forests. Restaurants in the area specialise in making stews of minnows, Prussian carp and mandarin fish. West of the resort, one finds Tŏkchae Fortress.

Paekhwadong, located in Choma Township, is another famous tourist destination. Located in a picturesque area, this small village is best known as the place where Yi Segan lived. Since Yi was famous for his filial piety, the village was previously known as Hyojadong (Filial Son Village). Its present name of Paekhwadong (Hundred Flower Village) comes from the numerous flowers and trees that Yi’s descendants have planted in the area in honour of their esteemed forefather. In the village, one also finds Sangch’in-sa, a shrine commemorating fourteen outstanding members of the Nongsŏ Yi clan.

The area has a number of historical sites associated with Buddhism and Confucianism. Ancient monasteries in the area include Mt. Kammun’s Kyerim Temple (founded by Ado), Mt. Paengma’s Kobang Temple, Mt. Hwangak’s Chikchi Temple (See Chikchi Temple), Mt. Pibong’s Ponggok Temple founded by Tosŏn, Mt. Sudo’s Sudo Hermitage and Ch’ongam Temple in Chungsan Township. Sudo Hermitage and Chikchi Temple in particular house a large number of ancient artefacts.

In addition to Buddhist temples, there are a number of Confucian sites in the area. In Kusông Township’s Hawŏn Village, one finds Mosŏngjŏng, a small pavilion overlooking rice fields. This site is famous as the place where Yi Changwŏn studied. In 1697, his great-grandson Chinyŏng inscribed the characters ‘Mosŏng Rock’ on a nearby granite boulder and his descendants later built the pavilion that now stands at the site. There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Chirye Hyanggyo, Kaeryŏng Hyanggyo, Wŏn’gye Sŏwŏn, Chadong Sŏwŏn, Ch’unch’ŏn Sŏwŏn, Kŏmsan Hyanggyo (in central Kimch’ŏn), Kyŏngyang Sŏwŏn (in Kusông Township), Todong Sŏwŏn (in Kusông Township), Sŏmgye Sŏwŏn (in Taedŏk Township) and Tŏngnim Sŏwŏn (in Ap’o). Modern institutions of higher education include Kimch’ŏn Nursing College and Kimch’ŏn Junior College.

**Kimhae**

Adjoining Pusan in South Kyŏngsang Province, Kimhae comprises the town of Chinyŏng and the townships of Taedong, Sangdong, Saengnim, Changyu, Ch’uch’ŏn, Chinnye and Hallim. In recent years, the city has expanded to include the areas previously known as Kimhae County. Mt. Much’ak (700m) rises in the north, Mt. Shinŏ (630m) in the east, while Yongji Peak (750m) and Mt. Pulmo (802m) are to the city’s southwest. The Naktong River winds around Kimhae’s northern border before splitting into two branches.

On the lower reaches of the Naktong River lies the extensive Kimhae Plain. Along with the Honam Plain, this is one of the largest plain regions in Korea. Of the city’s total arable land, over three quarters is used for rice production. In addition to rice, many farms produce vegetable and fruit crops for the Pusan metropolitan markets. Farmers are now diversifying their produce, cultivating persimmons and chestnuts and raising chickens and
pigs. Along the coast, clam and seaweed are harvested, while factories in the region produce food-stuffs, textiles, chemical products and machinery.

Most tourists visiting Kimhae and its environs come from nearby Pusan to see the area’s natural and historical sites. Mt. Shinō, with its interesting rock formations, is an impressive location, and at its foot stands Unha Temple. In Changyu Township, between Yongji Peak and Mt. Pulmo, is Changyu Valley. The area is famous for its thick forests and clear waters. Here, is Changyu Hermitage, a small temple built by the monk Changyu. Next to the hermitage is a stone stupa housing Changyu’s sarira. In addition to their scenic beauty, the area’s marshes and waterways serve as an important habitat for wildlife. In particular, the lower reaches of the western branch of the Naktong River are visited each year by migrating birds. Snipe, swans and cormorants are commonly found here.

The city has a rich historical heritage. During the Three Han period, the area was known as Kuya, and it honoured Suro (legendary reign 42-199) as its first king, developing into the Pon (original) Kaya Kingdom.

Archaeological excavations in the area have provided important insights into the culture of Kaya. In Chuch’ŏn Township’s Yangdang Village, excavations have revealed an ancient cemetery. Artefacts from the site date from the late second century B.C.E. to the fifth century C.E. A total of 562 burial sites, including wooden coffin tombs, outer coffin tombs, vertical stone chamber tombs and jar coffins have been recovered, along with 1 925 pieces of pottery, 2 889 metal objects, 45 bronze objects, 69 ornaments and 24 other miscellaneous objects.

Buddhist and Confucian sites are to be found in the city. Buddhist artefacts here include a Koryŏ-era stone lantern and tortoise-shape stel holder at the Kamno Temple site in Kamno Village, a stupa in Toyo Village, three-storey pagodas in Pŏmbang Village and An’gok Village (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 23 and 24) and a Buddha carving in relief on Chinyŏng Peak. Confucian schools in the area include Kimhae Hyanggyo just west of Kŭmsŏng Temple in the city centre; Shinan Village’s Songdam Sŏwŏn founded in 1703; Shinnyong Village’s Miyang Sŏwŏn built in 1832 and Chudong Village’s Shinsan Sŏwŏn. However, all that remain of Songdam Sŏwŏn and Miyang Sŏwŏn are steles. Modern educational institutions here include Inje University in Obang-dong.

Kimje

Situated in the centre of North Cholla Province, Kimje is comprised of the town of Man’gyōng and the townships of Kongdŏk, Kwanghwal, Kŭmsŏng, Kŭmsan, Pongnam, Puryang, Paekku, Sŏngdŏk, Yongji, Isŏ, Chuksan, Chinbong, Ch’ŏngha and Hwangsan. The city covers a total area of 553 square kilometres and as of 1986, had a population of 169,565. Kimje is surrounded by Chŏnju and Wanju County to the east, Puan County and Chŏngju to the south and Iksan and Kunsan to the north. Situated between the industrial centres of Iksan, Chŏnju and Kwangju, the area’s roads bear a heavy load of traffic. In addition to the local road network, the Honam Railroad Line and Honam Expressway pass north-south through the eastern part of the city. The Man’gyōng River flows west along the city’s northern border while the Tongjin River marks the border with Puan County. Mt. Moak (793m), Kuksa Peak (543m) and Mt. Sangdu (575m) rise in the southeast. Apart from these mountains, the city’s topography is characterised by flat areas mostly under fifty metres in elevation. Along the lower reaches of the Tongjin and Man’gyōng Rivers and Wŏnap’yŏng Stream, is the extensive Honam Plain.

With fertile plains, good sources of irrigations water and an annual rainfall between 1 200 and 1 250 mm, Kimje is the nation’s leading grain producing region. Fifty-nine per cent or thereabouts of the city is arable. Of this, seventy-six per cent grows rice and twenty-four
percent dry-field crops. In the Hwansan and Yongji townships, sweet potatoes and ginseng are grown and in the Paeksan, Yongji, and Paekku townships, there are numerous sericulture operations. There are many beef and dairy farms here too, particularly in the Küm san, Yongji and Paeksan townships. Fishing and fish-farming in the Yellow Sea are another source of income and there are also several small-scale salt flats. Local industry is limited to silk manufacture and the processing of yangsongi mushrooms.

The area contains a number of important historical sites and relics. In Kimje's Kodong Village one can still see remains of Sŏng Fortress. After the Paekche Kingdom fell, Shilla troops, on a punitive expedition against guerillas attempting to re-establish the Paekche Kingdom, are said to have been stationed here. Buddhist temples in the area include Sambul Hermitage, Hŭngbok Temple, Manghae Temple, Munsu Temple, Kwishin Temple and Kŭmsan Temple. Founded by Chinp'yo during the Shilla period, Kŭmsan Temple was the central monastery of the Pŏpsang (Dharma Characteristics) sect. Within this monastic complex, one finds a stone pillar, a statue platform, a stele commemorating Royal Preceptor Hyedok, a five-storey pagoda, a bell-shaped stupa, a hexagonal multi-storey pagoda, banner-pole supports and the Shimwŏn Hermitage Pagoda (Treasures No. 22-29 respectively).

Confucian schools in the area include Yongam Sŏwŏn (1488), Namsan Sŏwŏn (1574), Chŏsan Sŏwŏn (1577), Hoedong Sŏwŏn (1602), Chiŭm Sŏwŏn (1634), Paeksŏk Sŏwŏn and Haktang Sŏwŏn, (both founded during the reign of King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659), Kŭmgu Hyanggyo (first built in 1407 and moved to its present site in 1676), Man'gyŏng Hyanggyo (founded in 1407 and moved to its present locations in 1637) and Kimje Hyanggyo (founded in 1404 and reconstructed in 1635).

In order to promote the area’s unique traditions, the Pyŏkkol Cultural Festival is held here every October. The festival commemorates Pyŏkkolje, Korea's oldest man-made irrigation facility, which is located in Puryang Township's Wŏlsiing Village. During the festival, local residents play tug-of-war and stage ssangyong nori, a dramatic enactment of a battle between a white and green dragon at Pyŏkkolje.

Kimp'o County

Situated in northwest Kyŏnggi Province, Kimp'o County is comprised of the town of Kimp'o and the townships of Koch'on, Taegot, Yangch'on, Wŏlgot, Hasŏng and T'ongjin. Except for the southeastern area, the county is surrounded by water. To the east lies Kanghwa Island, separated from the mainland by a narrow strait. As a result of a long process of erosion combined with silt deposits from the Han River, the county’s terrain is characterised by low, flat plains.

Kimp’o County’s agriculture is primarily devoted to rice cultivation. Irrigation water for the area’s farms previously came from the Han River, which flows through Seoul, and Kulp’o Stream, which flows through Puch’ŏn. As a result of Seoul’s and Puch’ŏn’s industrial development, this water is now polluted and its use in agriculture has been restricted, forcing the county to look for alternative irrigation sources. Rice, potatoes, beans, leafy vegetables and ginseng are grown in the area. Dairy farming is another important source of income for local residents. Although the county’s tourist industry is not large, many visitors pass through on their way to Kanghwa Island.

There are a number of historical sites in the area. In Wŏlgot Township, one finds Munsu Fortress. First built in 1694 and repaired in 1812, this 2 400-metre fortification guarded the strait between Kanghwa Island and the mainland. It is famous as the site of a pitched battle during the French invasion of Kanghwa in 1866. As for Confucian sites, there is the Ujŏ Sŏwŏn (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 10) and Kunha Village’s T’ongjin Hyanggyo (county public school). In Kimp’o’s Pukpyŏn Village, one can see Kimp’o
Hyanggyo, which was founded in 1122. The county’s Buddhist sites include the Munsu, Kūmjōng, Yonghwa, Kwangūn, Yakch’ŏn and Kyehyang temples. At Munsu Temple, one finds a stupa and stele (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 91) commemorating Uishim (1592-1665), who was styled Grand Master P’ungdam.

**King Sejong Memorial Hall**

King Sejong Memorial Hall (Sejong Taewang Kinyŏngwan) is situated in Ch’ŏngnyangnindong in Seoul. Founded in October 1968, the hall houses texts and historical materials related to King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). The non-profit foundation Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏphoe is responsible for management of the hall. In addition to collecting and exhibiting historical items, the foundation publishes numerous annals and treatises related to Sejong and other Chosŏn-era kings.

**Kiryŏ sup’il (Essays of Kiryŏ)**

*Kiryŏ sup’il* is a collection of records concerning the activities and deeds of Korean patriots from the end of the Chosŏn period until liberation in 1945. This work was compiled and edited by Song Sangdo and includes a preface by Kwŏn Sangik. Song collected records such as newspaper clippings that recorded events in the lives of Korean patriots. He arranged these materials into a five-volume and five-fascicle collection, but this work was not published until 1955 after Song’s death, when the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P’yŏnch’ŏn Wiwonhoe) included it in the second volume of *Han’guk saryo ch’ongso*.

The patriots covered in this work begin with Yi Shiwŏn who died while trying to protect his country from the 1866 invasion by the French and include a total of 239 patriots. It chiefly focuses on the activities of patriots at the end of the Chosŏn period. Some of the major events of this period that are covered by Song include the June 10 Independence Demonstration in 1926 (6-10 Manse Undong), the Kwangju Student Demonstrations in 1929 and other events in the struggle for national sovereignty. *Kiryŏ sup’il* also includes the activities of the Shanghai Korean Provisional Government, the Koryŏ Communist Party (Koryŏ Kongsan-dang) and the Korea Revolutionary Corps (Koryŏ Hyŏngmyǒng Tan) in addition to the deeds of individual patriots such as An Chunggŭn (1879-1910) and Min Yŏnghwan (1861-1905). Special attention in this book is given to the guerrilla warfare waged by the Righteous Armies (Ŭibyŏn) against the Japanese colonial occupation.

This work provides valuable data for research into the independence activities of Korean patriots during the tumultuous period in which Korea lost her national sovereignty. Therefore, *Kiryŏ sup’il* provides the present day reader with a window to view the activities of those Koreans who bitterly resisted the Japanese colonial designs for Korea.

**Kisaeng**

In traditional Korean society the *kisaeng* female entertainers were known by various appellations, including *kinyŏ* and *hwaryugye yŏja* (pleasure women). While it is rather vague as to when the class and institution of *kisaeng* became formalised in Korean history, there are many records of women serving men from ancient times. Originally, there was no distinction between a girl or women working as a maid (*pi*) and a *kisaeng*, although the former are known to have existed at an earlier time. It is thought that the entertainment functions of the *kisaeng* may have originated in the songs and dances of the female shamans (*mudang*) of the southern Korean provinces. Thus, one possible origin of the *kisaeng* could be the degraded *mudang* who became female entertainers in order to earn a living. In addition to hereditary *kisaeng* such as these, there were also those *kisaeng* who had been reduced on the official census registers from female maids to *kisaeng*. 
The social class of kisaeng was the same as that of a male or female slave, and once a person was designated as a member of the ch’ǒnin (low-born) class, there was no release from this classification. Since, in Chosŏn, a child’s status was determined by that of its mother, the offspring, say, of a yangban and a kisaeng would be of the low-born class. Thus, kisaeng were included in the lowest strata of Chosŏn society, and for a women to enter this calling would result in a degradation of her social status. The occupation of kisaeng, while being one of the very few available to women of Chosŏn, was considered to fit the so-called ‘eight low-born’ (p’alch’ǒn) occupations.

Upper class kisaeng were, however, more than prostitutes and were required to be multi-skilled, in shijo poetry composition, dance, the art of conservation and music, among other talents. Accordingly, there are many famous kisaeng from traditional Korean society, such as Hwang Chini, of the early sixteenth c., whose skill in poetry composition was highly acclaimed. The contribution of kisaeng to such literary genres as the Koryŏ poem-songs (Koryô kayo) is substantial, and a sizeable body of material has been preserved. Perhaps the best known kisaeng was Non’gye (? -1593), a kisaeng in Chinju during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. She sacrificed her own life in order to assassinate a Japanese general, and is regarded highly for her patriotism.

By the end of Chosŏn there were three classes of kisaeng -- the first class kisaeng, most of whom were married; the second class kisaeng who were basically prostitutes, but who did not work openly; and the third class kisaeng, who were simply prostitutes. The first class kisaeng were well-trained and for the women of Chosŏn, well educated. Many were the daughters of yang’in (freeborn commoners) families, and after receiving intensive training in matters of etiquette, music and literature, they primarily entertained the high-ranking members of Chosŏn officialdom and were thus often called kwan’gi (government-official kisaeng). Since they were highly-skilled in the arts and music, they were often called upon to perform at royal banquets. Like the government officials they served, these women received a stipend from the government. Second class kisaeng, however, while little more than prostitutes, were required to show greater discretion than their third class counterparts. The three classes of kisaeng could be further differentiated by their hairstyles and mode of dress. Also, by the commencement of the colonial period, the colour of their parasols indicated their class, with first class kisaeng carrying a red parasol. This distinction was not, however, uniform, with many third-class kisaeng carrying red parasols during the later colonial period.

Girls often entered their profession as early as the age of ten, and served as Kisaeng apprentices for a number of years before establishing their own clientele. Many mature kisaeng retired to positions superintending the younger kisaeng or left the profession. A further option was to work as a female doctor (ŭnyŏ) and provide medical services to palace ladies, servants and kisaeng, or else in the Bureau of Royal Attire (Sangguiwŏn) as a seamstress. But when there was a banquet, these retired kisaeng would again don their costumes and perform for the assembly.

While the profession of kisaeng does not exist today as it once did in modern Korea, there are still those women who pursue careers very much like the traditional kisaeng. These women, unlike their predecessors, are not bound to their calling, and are chiefly highly-skilled entertainers who perform traditional Korean songs and dances. Thus, while prostitution certainly exists in modern Korea, those women who perform as kisaeng are merely traditional entertainers.

Bibliography


Kisan (see Kim Chun’gŭn)
Ko Shiŏn (1671-1734)

Ko Shiŏn was a poet of the late Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Kaesŏng, his courtesy name was Kungmi and his pen name was Sŏngjae. In 1687 he passed the yokkwa (government service examination for foreign languages) and after that time he travelled to Qing China on various occasions as a member of official Korean embassies. Ko was attached to the Bureau of Foreign Relations (Woegyo Kwan) as an official of the second rank. In 1734 on another trip to China, Ko became ill and died.

After Ko’s death those who worked under him gathered his materials into a collection. In particular Ko was known for his skill in composing Tang-style poetry and along with Im Wonjun, Hong Set’ae and Chong Naegyo was considered one of the four masters of this style. Ko also compiled the poetry collection Sodae p’ung’yo (Poems of a Peaceful People) which was a collection written by commoners from the time of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) until King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). This work is considered important in the history of Korean literature since it displays the works of those outside the upper classes. In addition, Ko’s own work Sŏngjae chip (Collected Works of Sŏngjae) is extant.

Ko Ên (1933- )

Ko Ên is a poet who was born in Kunsan of North Cholla Province. His given name is Unt’ae and his Buddhist name is Ilch’o. Ko made his debut in November 1958 with his poem ‘Pombam ūi malssūm woe’ that was published in Hyŏndae munhak (Modern Literature). He is a prolific poet and has published numerous poetry collections, novels, essays and other critical writings.

Ko’s writing style has undergone frequent changes with his maturation as a poet. He began with writings that expressed his nihilistic views of life, which he saw as plagued with illness, mental anguish and death. This initial nihilism was gradually replaced with his tragic sense of history that had roots in the trials of the Korean people throughout the twentieth century. From this historic framework, Ko broached issues such as the political oppression of the Korean people and the social turmoil that has surrounded modern Korean history. In his latest poems, Ko is heavily influenced by his own brushes with the military dictatorships of Korea that resulted in prison terms for him. It is these experiences, however, that permit the poet to see the precious nature of life expressed in simple objects such as a ray of sunshine or patch of clear sky. Ko is primarily an activist, but his poems are lively and engaging. In order to convey his ideas and emotions, he uses techniques such as exclamation, imperative and question to engross the reader.

Among Ko’s many writings are poetry collections such as P’ian kamsŏng (Sensitivity in Another World, 1960), Paektu san (Mt. Paektu, 1987) and Ajik kajiam kil (The Road Not Yet Taken, 1993). His novels include Hwangp’o ilgi (Record of Hwangp’o, 1976) and Naega mandun sanak (The Desert I Made), and In’ganiin sulp’uryo t’ae’onatta (Men are Born to be Sad, 1968) and Sarangt’ul wihayŏ (For Love, 1978) are among his essay collections.
**Koguryŏ (see History of Korea)**

*Kobong munjip* (Collected Works of Kobong)

*Kobong munjip* is the literary collection of the mid-Chosŏn scholar-official, Ki Taesŭng (1527-1572). It is composed of fourteen fascicles in eleven volumes and is a woodblock-printed work. The original collection consists of three fascicles in a like number of volumes, and this has been augmented by various supplemental works. The collection was first published in 1614 by the author’s son, and was subsequently supplemented in 1629. It contains a variety of pieces including essays, funeral dirges, and official documents. However, it is the author’s writings on philosophy and neo-Confucian ideology that are best known. The work is highly valued by scholars of traditional Korean philosophy and the debates that surrounded this theme in the mid-Chosŏn era.

**Kŏch’ang County**

Located in the northwest corner of South Kyŏngsang Province, Kŏch’ang County consists of the town of Kŏch’ang and the Kabuk, Kajo, Koje, Namsang, Namha, Mari, Puksang, Shinwŏn, Ungyang, Wich’on and Chusang Townships. There are a number of high mountains in the area, including Mt. Tŏgyu (1 614 metres), Mt. Wŏlbong (1 279 metres), Mt. Sambong (1 254 metres), Mt. Sudo (1 316 metres) and Tanji Peak (1 327 metres) in the north, Mt. Kibaek (1 330 metres) and Mt. Kŭmŭn (1 354 metres) in the west, and Turi Peak (1 135 metres), Ūisang Peak (1 046 metres), Mt. Pigne (1 126 metres) Mt. Odo (1 134 metres) and Mt. Susŏng (899 metres) in the east. The south consists of a relatively flat basin surrounded by Mt. Porok (767 metres), Mt. Ch’ŏlma (705 metres) and Mt. Kalchŏn (763 metres). Runoff from these mountains forms the upper tributaries of the Naktong River.

The county has a high agricultural output. Besides grains and beans, farmers in the region produce cotton, castor beans, sesame and hemp. Since the 1930s, Kŏch’ang Town has been a major apple growing region. In addition to agriculture, there are several mining operations in the area, which extract *kaolin* clay and gold. Most of the area’s industry is devoted to either textiles or machinery production. Tourism is another source of income for the area. Mt. Tŏgyu National Park draws a continuous stream of visitors throughout the year. This mountainous area, serving as a buffer between Shilla, Paekche and Kaya during the early Three Kingdoms period, contains a number of ancient artefacts.

Kŏch’ang County has some Confucian relics, including the Kŏch’ang Hyanggyo (County public school) which was built in 1415, Tosan Sŏwŏn (private academy), Namjŏn sŏwŏn, Wan’gye Sŏwŏn (built in 1664), Sŏngch’ŏn Sŏwŏn (built in 1637) and Kuyŏn Sŏwŏn (built in 1694). There are also a number of pavilions including Soshim-nu in Namha Township, Yosu-jŏng in Wich’on Township, Inp’ung-jŏng in Shinwŏn Township and Chaha-ru in Ungyang Township. The area’s Buddhist artefacts include a gilt figurine of a standing Bodhisattva (Treasure No. 285) which was excavated in Kŏch’ang, a standing stone Buddha figure (Treasure No. 377) in Kŏch’ang’s Yangp’yŏng-dong, and another such figure (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 36) in Nongsan Village.

**Koch’ang County**

Located in the southwestern corner of North Cholla Province, Koch’ang County consists of Koch’ang Town and the townships of Kosu; Kongŭm; Taesan; Mujang; Puan; Sangha; Sŏngnae; Sŏngsong; Shillim; Shimwŏn; Asan; Hŭngdŏk; and Haeri The county’s eastern border is demarcated by the Noryŏng Mountain Range.
Although the county has some mountainous terrain, much of it is level land and eminently suitable for rice cultivation. Barley; sweet potato; varieties of bean; Chinese cabbage; and tobacco are also grown here. Although the county has over 80 kms. of coastline, there is not a great deal of commercial fishing. In Haeri salt flats extract sea-salt. Since Koryŏ, the area has been famous for its porcelain and earthenware pottery. Local kilns still produce high quality porcelain as one of the region’s leading speciality products.

Kŏch’ăng, an ancient town, has a great number of historical artefacts and relics. The Hyogamch’ŏn (Filial Piety that Moved Heaven) Well in Shillim is associated with the legend of a model filial son of early Chosŏn, who brought water everyday from far away, for the memorial offerings to his parent’s grave. Heaven, moved by his filial devotion, sent a lightning bolt that instantly created a well next to the grave site. There is now a stone marker in front of the well, commemorating the son’s devotion. The Ch’anghyo Shrine was built behind the well during the reign of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). Chidong Village has a large Bronze Age dolmen. This is the southernmost northern-style dolmen on the Korean peninsula. It is known as Mangbuktae (Looking North Platform) because Song Kisang (1612-1667), a local scholar, rallied his compatriots here, urging them to pledge loyalty to the country after the Manchu Invasion of 1636. The local people bring offerings of clean water to the dolmen on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month.

Moyang Fortress is another pointer to the town’s past. Along with Pŏpsongjin Fortress to the south and Ibam Fortress to the north, this 5-metre high, 1 680-metre long stone wall formed a vital line of defence protecting the fertile plains of the region. The fort originally contained the offices of the town magistrate, the government guest house and auxiliary buildings including storehouses, a gaol and a pavilion. Every year during the Wall-walking Festival, the local people march along this ancient wall, carrying a stone on their heads. Legend has it that anyone who walks the wall three times in this fashion will have all of his or her wishes fulfilled and will be reborn in the ‘pure land’ in the next life. Some days before this celebration, gongs and drums are struck and the streets are festooned with colourful lanterns.

A thatch-roofed house stands near the gateway to the Moyang Fortress. This is the birthplace of Shin Chaehyo (1812-1884) who made a significant contribution to the development of p’ansori (one-man opera) in his patronage and training of kwangdae; consolidation and editing extant textual materials; exposition of theory; and composition of p’ansori itself. Shin is famous for creating a p’ansori version of the popular Ch’unhyang chŏn (Tale of Ch’unhyang).

There are some Buddhist temples of note in the area, including Munsu; Hŭngdŏk; Soyo; Sangwŏn; Mongbul; and Yonghwa temples as well as Naewŏn Hermitage. Sŏnun Temple is said to have been built in 577. This ancient temple contains some important historical relics, including a gilt-bronze seated Bodhisattva (Treasure No. 279); a seated image of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva (Treasure No. 280); a six-storey pagoda (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 29); a large bronze bell (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 31); and the main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 290). There is also a Buddha in relief (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 30) at the temple’s Tongbul Hermitage. In Asan Township, there is Chinhung Cave where Shilla’s King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576) is said to have undergone spiritual cultivation in his final years.

Koesan County

Situated in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Koesan County comprises the towns of Koesan and Chŏngp’yŏng, and the townships of Kammul, Toan, Mun’gwang, Pulchŏng, Sari, Sosu, Yŏnp’ung, Changyŏn, Ch’ŏngan, Ch’ŏngch’ŏn and Ch’ilŏng. The county covers
an area of 936.98 square kilometres and as of 1986, had a population of 106,867. The Noryŏng Mountain Range runs through the county’s western area while the Sob'aeck Mountain Range runs along its border with Mun’gyŏng in North Kyŏngsang Province. In order to preserve its scenic beauty, the latter area has been designated Mt. Songni National Park (See Songni Mountain). As an inland mountainous region, the county receives 1500mm of rainfall annually and experiences sharp variations between summer and winter temperatures.

Roughly 70 per cent of the population is engaged in farming an area of the county that is about twenty per cent arable. Of this land, 40 per cent is used for rice cultivation and 60 per cent for dry-field crops such as barley, wheat, sorghum, garlic, bean and potato. The area’s speciality crops are ginseng and tobacco. Well-known for yellow leaf tobacco, the county produces about 4000 tons annually. A gradual decline of the ginseng crop has occurred as a result of cheaper imports from China. Mineral resources include iron in Pulch'on; tungsten and coal in Ch'onch'o'n; coal in Kammul. and limestone in Ch'ŏngan and Ch'ilson. The limestone found here is used in local potteries in porcelain production, as is the iron oxide, for designs in black on the porcelain’s white background. In order to provide power to the region, a hydro-electric plant was built in Ch'ilson’s Saun Village in 1952.

Due to its lack of heavy industry, the region is relatively free of pollution, making it an important plant and wildlife habitat. Koesan County is home to the unique white forsythia and white herons, estimated at some 300 in number, to be seen in the area. In addition to its flora and fauna, Koesan County offers numerous scenic attractions, such as the Sŏnyu Valley in Ch'ŏngch'o'n’s Songmyŏn Village and the 15-metre-high Suok Waterfall in Yŏngung’s Wŏnp'ung Village. In Ch'ungpyŏng Village one finds Ch'ungpyŏng mineral spring. Containing calcium carbonate and iron, the spring water is said to alleviate both skin disease and gastrointestinal afflictions.

The county contains a number of important historical sites. On its eastern border, to the north of Mt. Choryŏng (1017m), stands an old fortress gate. Built during the Three Kingdoms period, the gate was part of a fortress that stood on Mun’gyŏng Saejae and North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Important Buddhist sites in the area include Kagyo Temple in Changyŏn’s T'aesŏng Village and the old site of Ponghwa Temple in Sari’s Sadam Village. At the latter site, there is a 4.97-metre-high, five-storey pagoda which was built during early Koryŏ. Confucian schools found in the area include Koesan Hyanggyo (established in the early Chosŏn period) in Koesan’s Sŏbu Village, Yŏnp’ung Hyanggyo (established in 1515) in Yŏnp’ung’s Haengch’ŏn Village, Ch’ŏngan Hyanggyo in Ch’ŏngan’s Umnae Village and Kunbang Sŏwŏn (originally established as a shrine in 1688) in Ch’ŏngan. As a good example of Chosŏn architecture, there is the Kim Kiung residence in Ch’ilson. In most respects, the house is a typical residence of a southern aristocrat during late Chosŏn.

Kŏgŭm Island

Kŏgŭm Island is part of Kŭmsan Township in South Chŏlla Province’s Kohŭng County. The island covers a total area of 62.08 sq. kms. and has a 54 km. long coastline. Kŏgŭm is a mountainous island, the highest points being Chŏktae Peak (592m) and Yongdu Peak (419m). Most of the villages are situated in the less elevated areas to the island’s west and northwest. There has been extensive land reclamation on the northern and western coasts.

Roughly one quarter per cent of the island area can be farmed, with about 5 sq. kms. used for rice and 12.0 sq. kms. or thereabouts for dry-field crops such as garlic, onion, barley, bean and turnip. Local marine products include eel, frog flounder, gizzard shad, seaweed and oyster. The island’s transportation needs are met by a regular ferry service to and from the town of Toyang just 2.3 kms. away on the Kohŭng Peninsula. There are eight primary
schools, one primary school branch, two junior high schools and one high school on Kögüm Island.

During Chosŏn, the island, then known as Chŏlli Island, was used for horse breeding. Some mid-Chosŏn records, however, refer to it as Kŏkkŭm Island. Cultural relics include ancient shell mounds in Taehŭng Village, dolmens, Songgwang Hermitage and the Kŭmsan Village Fortress remains.

Koguryŏ (see History of Korea)

Kohŭng County

Situated in South Cholla Province, Kohŭng County is comprised of the towns of Kohŭng and Toyang, and the townships of Kwayŏk, Kŭmsan, Nameyang, Todŏk, Tohwâ, Tonggang, Tongil, Tuwŏn, Taesŏ, Pongnæ, Yongnam, Chŏmam, P'odu and P'ungyang. Kohŭng is a peninsula jutting into the southern sea between Posŏng Bay and Sunchŏn Bay, along with 23 inhabited and 147 uninhabited islands. The county covers a total area of 699.50 square kilometres and as of 1986, had a population of 159,510. The region's topography is characterised by low mountains about 500 metres in elevation. Reclamation projects have recovered extensive stretches of land along the coast.

Approximately 29 per cent of the county area is arable. Of this, about 88 square kilometres grows rice and 124 square kilometres dry-field crops. Garlic is grown in the southwest (Toyang, P'ungyang and Kŭmsan) and barley for brewing in Kŭmsan and Tuwŏn. Both laver and brown seaweed are gathered offshore. Kögüm Island in particular, is well-known for its laver production, which ranks second after that of Wan Island. Clams and other shellfish are also found in abundance here. In addition, Toyang's Oma Village has the largest shrimp-farming operation in east Asia. Much of this produce is exported to Japan.

With numerous picturesque islands and beaches, the county attracts large numbers of tourists, particularly during the summer months. Famous beaches in the area include Narodo Beach on the northern coast of Naro Island, P'ungnyu and Taejŏn Beach in Tuwŏn and Surokto Beach on the eastern coast of Surok Island. Surok Island is home to a leper colony. In earlier days, the island was isolated, but as medical knowledge of the cause and treatment of leprosy has advanced, so the area has been opened up to tourism.

As well as its scenic attractions, the county has a number of important historical sites. At the base of Mt. P'aryŏng in Chŏmam stands Nungga Temple. This ancient monastery is said to have been built by the foreign monk Ado during the Three Kingdoms period, but this has not been confirmed by extant record. The temple was burned down in 1592 during the first Hideyoshi Invasion and was restored during the reign of King Injo (r. 1623-1649). Near the temple one finds a 900-kilogram bronze bell made in 1698. Kŭmt'ap Temple, located at the base of Mt. Ch'ondŭng (550m), is another famous temple. Established by Grand Master Wŏnhyo in 637, the temple suffered extensive damage during the various invasions that swept through the area. However, the Kungnakchon (Paradise Hall) has remained relatively intact. The dense nutmeg forest around the temple has been designated Natural Monument No. 239.

There are also Confucian sites in the area such as Kohŭng Hyanggyo (established in 1441 and moved to its present location in Tuwŏn in 1587) and Pongamsa (a shrine in Kwayŏk commemorating Kim Chun and other famous members of the Kimyŏng Kim clan).

Local customs are still preserved in Kohŭng County. From lunar New Year to the 15th day of the first lunar month (i.e., the first full moon), residents of the county hold the Maegu
kut, a shamanist ritual developed here. After the ritual, folk-bands led by a flag bearer, visit village households.

Kohyŏn Mountain

Mt. Kohyŏn (1,033 metres) is situated in northeastern Ulsan in South Kyŏngsang Province. Along with Mt. Kaji (1,240 metres), Mt. Unmun (1,107 metres), Mt. Ch'ŏnhwang (1,189 metres), Mt. Nŭngdong (918 metres), Mt. Kanwŏl (1,083 metres), Mt. Shinbul (1,209 metres) and Mt. Ch'wisŏ (1,059 metres), it is part of the mountainous area located in the north-eastern section of South Kyŏngsang Province. Run-off from the mountain’s southern and western slopes flows into the T’aehwa River while Samjŏng Stream flows down from the eastern slope. At the lower reaches of the Samjŏng Stream lies Sayŏn Lake, and at the lake’s edge, there is a rock engraving dating from the Bronze Age (10th - 4th C., B.C.E.)

Kŏje

Situated just off Korea’s southern coast, the city of Kŏje comprises the town of Shinh’yŏn and the townships of Kŏje, Nambu, Tongbu, Tundŏk, Sadŏng, Yŏnch’o, Irun, Changŏk and Hach’ŏng. Totalling 397 sq. kms, the city consists of the large Kŏje Island and several small islets. Geologically, the island is part of a submerged chain of mountains; as a result of which the city’s terrain is mountainous with Mt. Taegŭm (438m) rising in the north, Mt. Kyeryŏng (555m) and Ongnyŏ Peak (555m) in the centre and Mt. Kara (585m) in the south. Highway 14 crosses a narrow strait to connect the island with Tongyŏng on the mainland.

Approximately 19.2 per cent of the city is arable land. Of this, 65 per cent is used for rice cultivation and 35 per cent for dry field crops such as barley and sweet potatoes. Most of the city’s rice paddies are located on reclaimed land along the coast. Taking advantage of the forests that cover much of the island, local farmers also grow large quantities of shiitake mushroom. The area has a mild climate with an average mean temperature of 13.6°C and a high annual rainfall of 1,662mm. With this relatively warm climate, farmers are able to grow citrus fruits and pineapple.

The city is located on the southern coast, which accounts for twenty per cent of the nation’s total fish catch. Boats operating from the city’s port bring in catches of cod, Spanish mackerel, black porgy (f. Sparidae), frog flounder, mackerel pike and perch. As fish stocks off the southern coast become depleted, many local fishermen are switching to fish and shellfish farming. In particular, a number of oyster farms have been established in Kŏje Bay and Tundŏk Bay, and on Ch’ilch’ŏn Island. Kŏje’s industrial sector is centred around its shipbuilding yards, which are the second largest in the nation. In 1973, the Okp’o Shipyard was opened in Shinh’yŏn, with a capacity to build 24,000-tonne ships, and a year later, the Chukto Shipyard was established at Okp’o Bay.

As Korea’s second largest island, Kŏje boasts great scenic beauty. Along the island’s rocky coastline, large granite cliffs rise from the clear waters of the southern sea. The spectacular pinnacles of rock on the east side of Nambu Township, known as Kŏje Haegŭmgang, are often compared to similar formations east of Mt. Kŭmgang. Kuch’ŏn Valley, in the middle of Kŏje Island, is another popular tourist destination. Large granite formations rise above this valley’s dense forest. Here are T’anggŏn Rock, Shinsŏn Rock and Yongju Temple. Other popular sights include Ku’jora Beach in Irun Township and Mundong Waterfall near Yongsu Temple in Shinh’yŏn.

As well as its natural beauty, the city has a number of important historical sites. Since the island was often attacked by Japanese pirates, many stone fortifications can be seen throughout the area. Buddhist artefacts include a three-storey pagoda in Shinh’yŏn’s Ayang
Village and a seated stone Buddha figure (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 48) in Sadun Township's Oryang Village. Confucian schools in the city include Koji Hyanggyo, which was built during early Chosön, and Pan'gok Sówôn. Sites from the modern era include the remains of a prisoner of war camp in Shinhyŏn. During the Korean War, the camp held up to 170,000 prisoners of war, some of whom had been press-ganged into the North Korean army. In 1951 and 1952, numerous murders occurred in the camp as a result of hostilities between pro-Communist and declared anti-Communist prisoners. On a single occasion, pro-Communist prisoners brutally slaughtered one-hundred and five anti-communist inmates.

Kojong, King (r.1864-1907)

King Kojong (1852-1919) was the twenty-sixth king of the Chosön period and reigned from 1864 to 1907. His childhood name was Myŏngbok, later changed to Hŭi, his courtesy name was Sŏngim and his pen name was Sŏnghŏn. He was the second son of Yi Haŭng (Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun) and his mother was of the Min family. Upon the death of King Ch'ŏlch'ong (r. 1849-1863), Kojong succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve. The accession of Kojong was based upon an understanding between his father and the Queen Dowager Cho (the mother of King Honjong) that the two would in actuality govern the nation. With the Taewŏn'gun acting in his son's stead, Chosŏn was set upon a course for reform. In 1866 Kojong was married to the daughter of Min Ch'irok in an attempt by the Taewŏn'gun to break the so-called in-law government (sedo ch'ongch'i) by the Andong Kim and the P'ungyang Cho families. The Min family, which did not have the powerful political connections that the previous royal in-laws had possessed, nonetheless developed into a staunch rival for the royal family. In particular, Kojong's queen, Myongsŏng (Queen Min 1851-1895) proved to be a worthy opponent for the royal family.

As Kojong grew older he gradually began to assert his own ruling authority and grew to oppose many of the reforms of his father in small increments. In 1873 the Taewŏn'gun was driven from power by the combination of Confucian literati who had been the target of many of his reforms and the newly emerging power of the Yŏhŭng Min family that was now the royal in-laws. The young King Kojong was now under the control of his Queen. With the staunchly isolationist Taewŏn'gun out of the way, Chosŏn now embarked upon a course of reforms and modernisation. In 1876 Chosŏn signed the Treaty of Kanghwa Island (Kanghwa-do Choyak) with Japan that proclaimed Chosŏn as a sovereign nation and opened the port of Pusan along with two subsequent ports to foreign trade. Moreover, the treaty granted Japan extra-territorial rights that permitted Japan to establish settlements within Chosŏn. Another of Kojong's early focuses was on military reform. In 1881 he invited Horimoto Reizô, a lieutenant in the Japanese army, to instruct a newly organised unit in modern warfare techniques.

Kojong's attempts at reforms were not met with approval by the Confucian literati who vehemently opposed the Treaty of Kanghwa from the outset as they expressed concern with opening the country to Western nations and Japan. In addition, the Taewŏn'gun schemed to bring himself back to power by deposing Kojong and installing his eldest son, Yi Chaeson, on the throne. However, this plan was uncovered and Yi along with thirty others were executed. The Taewŏn'gun, by virtue of being father of the King, was not implicated in this matter. Also affecting the management of the Chosŏn government was the ongoing struggle between the Taewŏn'gun and Queen Min for power. This was fuelled by the hostility of the people towards the expansion of Japanese influence in Korea. The consequence of these factors was the Military Mutiny of 1882 (imo kullan).

The Military Mutiny erupted as a repercussion of the soldiers of the elite corps (Pyŏlgigun) not being paid. When they were finally paid in rice, it was adulterated with chaff, which caused the soldiers to fight with the ration clerks. For this, the instigators were sentenced to death by Min Kyŏmho, the official in charge of Sŏnhyech'ŏng (the office charged with
the administration of the Uniform Tax Law), who was also of the royal in-law family. At this the soldiers erupted in a full-scale riot and burned the Japanese legation building, killed the military advisor Horimoto, killed Min Kyŏnho and also sought out Queen Min for the same purpose. The Queen, however, narrowly escaped. The consequence of the mutiny was for Kojong to bring the Taewŏn’gun back to power and he at once issued an edict declaring that all governmental matters must be submitted to him for approval in the future.

The Taewŏn’gun was not long in power as both Chinese and Japanese troops descended on Seoul after the mutiny. It was the Chinese that asserted their power at this time and reinstated Kojong on the throne and took the Taewŏn’gun to China. Kojong thus set out on a trail of reforms, which were ushered in by the advocates of ‘enlightenment’ thought such as Kim Hongjip and Kim Yunshik. These reforms, however, put the King in conflict with Queen Min and thereby created more turmoil in the Chosŏn government. It was in this atmosphere that the Coup d'Etat of 1884 (kapshin chŏnqbyŏn) broke out as the progressive forces sought to overturn the Chosŏn government. The coup was initially successful as the progressives, led by Kim Okkyun, abducted the King and drew up a list of reforms. However, the intervention of Chinese forces spelled an end to the coup and resulted in Queen Min seizing an even greater share of power in the government.

The reaction of Kojong to the events of the mid-1880s was to seek a foreign benefactor to preserve his crumbling power. To this end foreign powers such as Russia and the United States were brought into the political mix in Chosŏn. It was Japan, however, that had the greatest degree of power in Korea. In 1894 Japan was the force behind the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyŏngjang) that again resulted in Kojong being stripped of his power and the Taewŏn’gun being reinstated. In effect, the Reforms of 1894 established a new government outside the jurisdiction of the King and Queen, but this did not last long. The Reforms failed as the Taewŏn’gun bitterly opposed them and even sought again to bring China into Korea. This was discovered and he was removed from power by the Japanese who then forced Kojong to give approval for a new government led by a cabinet headed by Kim Hongjip. Queen Min who saw her power waning sought to bring the Russians into the Korean government as a balance to the growing Japanese power. For this the Japanese assassinated the Queen, causing Kojong to seek refuge in the Russian legation in February 1896.

Kojong remained in the Russian legation for a year before he finally emerged and announced the Great Han Empire, and proclaimed Korea to be an independent power. Despite the bold announcement of a new ‘empire’, the situation of Korea had not changed as the foreign powers vying for control continued to wring concession after concession from Korea. Moreover, the fact that Kojong decided to take up residence at Tōksu Palace rather that Kyŏngbok Palace reveals that the King wanted to be close to the refuge offered by the embassies of Britain, Russia and America which were close to the former. Kojong feared Japan and was no longer in control of his country.

Japan continued to gain privileges from Korea and after defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 was unchecked in her designs on Korea. The 1905 Protectorate Treaty essentially stripped Kojong of his power. Kojong attempted to fight this and sent a royal letter to the Taehan maeil shinbo newspaper stating that he had not consented to the treaty. In addition a secret mission was sent to The Hague where Korea protested the treaty. This provided Japan with grounds to force Kojong to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Sunjong (r. 1907-1910) and paved the way for the annexation of Korea by Japan three years later. Kojong’s death in 1919 served to fan the flames of the March First Independence Movement in that many people had flocked to Seoul for his funeral rites that were scheduled for March 3.

Kojong is remembered as the last true king of the Chosŏn period yet his reign was marked with political schemes that revealed him as not having firm control of his own and the
nation's destiny. Both his father and his queen proved to be far superior politicians than Kojong and perhaps his legacy is to epitomise the ineffectual rule of the monarchs during the last century of the Choson dynasty.

Koksŏng County

Situated in the northeast part of South Cholla Province, Koksŏng County is comprised of the town of Koksŏng and the townships of Kyŏm, Kodal, Moksadong, Samgi, Sŏkkok, Ogok, Okkwa, Osan, Ip and Chukkok. Ridges branching off of the Sobaek Mountain Range run through the county, creating the area's rugged terrain. Mt. Ch’ŏnma (765m) and Mt. Chubu (768m) are in the centre of the county, while Mt. Hŭna (764m) is to the south. Mt. Hŭna (765m) is in the northeast and Mt. Yŏn (505m) in the west. The area's weather is generally mild, but is relatively cold in winter. The county has an average yearly temperature of 13.1c and an average annual rainfall of 1204 mm.

About 19 per cent of the county is arable. Rice is cultivated in the flood plains of the Sŏmjin River and Okkwa Stream, while dry-field crops such as barley, beans, sweet potatoes, cotton and tobacco, are grown elsewhere in the county. In the mountainous areas, medicinal herbs, chestnuts, mushrooms, honey are produced and timber is extracted for processing. In addition, large apple orchards exist in the area around Okkwa Township's Soryong village. Except for a number of refineries, breweries and cotton-weaving operations, the area's industrial sector has been slow to develop.

With its numerous mountains and picturesque rivers and streams, the county offers many scenic attractions. Near its eastern border, where the Posŏng and Sŏmjin rivers converge, there is a long sandy beach known as the Amnok Resort. The area is easily accessible by car via Highway 17 or by train via the Cholla line. In the summer, the area fills up with sports fishermen and tourists, many of whom come to escape the heat.

Visitors also come to see the area's temples and historical sites. Torim Temple, situated to the east of Hyŏngje Peak (657m), is one of the area's most popular Buddhist monasteries. Founded by Grand Master Wŏnhyo in 660, the temple is located in a valley of lush forest and spectacular waterfalls. T’aean Temple in Chukkok Township’s Wŏndal Village is another ancient temple. Here one finds a pagoda (Treasure No. 273) and stele commemorating Sŏn Master Chŏgin, a pagoda and stele (Treasures No. 274 and 275) commemorating Grand Master Kwangja, a large bronze bell and a three-storey stone pagoda.

In addition to Buddhist temples, there are a number of Confucian sites in the area. Ancient schools found here include Koksŏng Hyanggyo in Koksŏng’s Kyoch’ŏn Village, Okkwa Hyanggyo in Okkwa Township, Togyang Sŏwŏn in Ogok Township’s Tŏksan Village, Yŏnggwi Sŏwŏn just south of the Honam Expressway in Kyŏm Township and Chukhyang Sŏwŏn next to Highway 17 in Ogok Township. Koksong Hyanggyo was constructed in 1570 and refurbished in 1649. Confucian rituals are still held here in the 2nd and 8th lunar months in honour of five Confucian sages and twenty-two Confucian scholars.

Throughout Koksŏng County, handed-down ceremonies are performed. During the first lunar month, most villages hold a Tangsan Ceremony (a ritual worshipping the mountain spirit). On the eve of the ceremony, the area around a sacred tree is covered with yellow soil and the tree is roped off against people entering the site. From this time on, the local villagers must not eat fish nor any other food with a fishy smell. Around midnight, music played by a folk band signals the commencement of the ritual during which food is offered to the local mountain spirit (sanshin).

Kolp’um chedo (bone-rank system) [History of Korea; Society]
Kŏmdŏk Mountain

Situated in South Hamgyŏng Province, Mt. Kŏmdŏk forms part of the barrier between South Hamgyŏng Province’s inland and littoral regions. ‘Kŏmdŏk’ literally means ‘sword virtue.’ The word ‘sword’ refers to the mountain’s steep and rugged terrain. Kŏmdŏk Mine, located on the same range, is the largest lead and zinc mine in Korea. Developed several hundred years ago, this facility mines large quantities of high-quality metals, which represent an important North Korean export.

Kŏmun Island

Located forty kms. south of the Kohŭng Peninsula, Kŏmun Island is part of Yŏch’ŏn County in South Chŏlla Province. The island is actually three islands: Sŏ (West), Tong (East) and the smallest of the three -- Ko (Old). Together, these islands have a total area of twelve sq. kms.

Camellia trees completely cover Sŏ Island, the largest of the three, and on its northern tip stands the giant Noksan Lighthouse. Ko Island is home to a fishing fleet. Vessels fishing out of the islands bring in catches of mackerel, yellowtail and other fish. Laver is gathered along the coast.

Since the islands occupy a strategic location and the surrounding seas are deep enough for the draught of larger vessels, the islands were coveted by the colonial powers of the late nineteenth c. In May 1885, under the pretext of establishing a balance of power in the area and preventing Russian intrusion, Great Britain seized Kŏmun Island, calling it Port Hamilton. During the two years of occupation, the British garrisoned from 200 to 800 men on the island and 5 to 10 ships were docked at the port. Relationships between the islanders and the British were placid, with the residents supplying labour and the British offering compensation and medical care. After unsuccessful attempts to purchase the island from the Korean government, Britain finally withdrew its military and naval force on 5 February 1887.

Kon-Kuk University

Kon-Kuk University (Kŏn’guk Taehakkyo) is a private educational institution and is located in Mojin-dong, Seoul. The school from which the university developed was founded as Chosŏn Chŏngch’i Hakkwan in May 1946 by Yu Sŏkch’ang, who had been an independence activist during the Japanese occupation. In 1949, the school became a college and in 1959, achieved university status with the title, Kon Kuk University. Yu Sŏkch’ang was its first president. In 1961, the university commenced a doctoral program. In the years that followed it continued to expand with the creation of a second campus (Ch’ungju College) in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province.

At the university’s Seoul Campus there are six graduate schools (the Graduate School together with the Graduate Schools of Agriculture & Animal Science; Business Administration; Education; Engineering; and Public Administration; and eleven colleges: the Colleges of Agriculture; Animal Husbandry; Arts & Home Economics; Business Administration; Commerce and Economics; Education; Engineering; Law; Liberal Arts; Political Science; and Science. The Ch’ungju campus has the Graduate School of Social Science and the Colleges of Arts; and Social Science. The Minjung Hospital in Hwayang-dong in Seoul is also affiliated with the university.

University publications include the Kŏndae shinmun (Kon-Kuk University Newspaper) in Korean and The Kon-Kuk Tribune in English.
Kongju

Situated in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Kongju consists of the town of Yugu, and the townships of Kyeryong, Panp'o, Sagok, Shin'ung, Usŏng, Úidang, Iin, Changgi and Chŏngan. Now expanded to include the areas formerly known as Kongju County, the city covers a total area of 939.68 square kilometres. The Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range runs across the northern part of the city and Mt. Kyeryong (See Kyeryong Mountain) rises in the southeast. The Kŭm River, which flows between these mountains, provides water to the region.

The city’s agriculture is centred around the low-lying land adjacent to the Kŭm River. Rice is the main crop, but barley, bean, sweet potato, potato and tobacco are also grown here. Sericulture is an active industry in Kongju. From 1896 to 1931, the area was a key administrative, commercial and transportation hub for the region, but its importance has waned since 1932 when the provincial capital was transferred to Taegŏn. There is relatively little industry in Kongju, although the talc mines in Yugu are one example.

The city’s tourism is based on its ancient history. Kongju was established in 475 C.E. as the second capital of the Paekche Kingdom after the first capital south of the Han River was abandoned. Although little remains of the first capital, there are numerous relics in Kongju providing testimony to the days of Paekche splendour. Most of the Paekche royal tombs found here have been looted. The Japanese made archaeological excavations in 1907 and 1933 but it was not until 1971, when some of the known tombs were being repaired, that the undisturbed tomb of King Muryŏng (501-523) was discovered. Situated south of the Kŭm River near Kongju Junior High School, parts of King Muryŏng’s tomb are now open for viewing. In order to provide atmospheric control and thus prevent damage to the interior, the chambers have been hermetically sealed, with generous glass viewing windows provided.

The trove of artefacts discovered at King Muryŏng’s tomb became the prized possession of the National Museum in Kongju. Opened in 1972, the museum houses the best collection of Paekche artefacts in the county. This includes two gold crowns, gold, jade and silver ornaments, bronze mirrors, Bronze Age daggers, arrowheads, axes, an Iron Age bell and numerous Buddhist images. In the museum grounds there is a collection of stone images. North of the museum on the southern bank of the Kŭm River lies Kongsan Fortress. Originally built during Paekche times, the fortress was reconstructed in the 17th c. Once the site of the Paekche royal palace, the area contains Yŏngun Temple (established in 1457), Ssangsujŏng (Twin Pines Pavilion) and several other pavilions and steles.

Because of its past eminence as the capital of the Paekche Kingdom, the city is home to a large number of ancient Buddhist temples. Located in Sagok Township, Magok Temple was, according to one account, built by Chajang in 640 (See Magok Temple). In Kyeryong National Park at the city’s southeastern extremity, is the famous Kap Temple. This ancient monastery was one of the ten principal temples of Korea’s Hwaom Sect. On the temple grounds, are some ancient artefacts including an iron banner-pole and stone banner-pole supports (Treasure No. 256); a stupa (Treasure No. 257); an ancient copy of the Lotus Sutra (Treasures No. 269 and 270); a bronze bell (Treasure No. 478); old wooden printing blocks; a standing Bhaisajyaguru figure; a standing Bodhisattva figure, and a stele commemorating events at the temple. To the east of Kap Temple, is Tonghak Temple and to the south Shinwŏn Temple. Founded in 651 by Podŏk, the latter houses Chungaktan, a large hall used to worship the mountain spirit (sanshin) -- South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 7.

Confucian schools found in the area include Kongju Hyanggyo located between city hall and the Kŭm River, and Ch'ʼunhyŏn Sŏwŏn situated next to Highway 32 in Panp'ŏ. The
former was established in early Chosŏn and was moved to its present location in 1623 while the latter was founded in 1581 by Sŏ Ki. In modern times, Kongju has become an important educational centre for the region. Colleges and universities here include, Kongju National University in Shin'gwan-dong; Kongju National University of Education in Puk District; Kongju College of Education next to city hall and Kongju Junior College just east of Kongju National Museum.

Kongju National Museum

Situated in Kongju in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Kongju National Museum (Kungnip Kongju Pangmulgwan) was established in 1940 when the Society for the Exaltation of the History of Kongju moved into a Chosŏn-period office building at the site of the present museum, in order to display Paekche artefacts recovered from the Kongju area. In 1946, the museum received Paekche relics from the National Museum of Korea. With the excavation of the tomb of Paekche’s King Muryŏng (r. 501-523) in 1971, the museum’s collection expanded, requiring the construction of a larger building. Today, the museum is home to over 7 000 artefacts, including eighteen National Treasures and two designated Treasures. Except for the stone sculptures, only about one-third of the collection is on display at any one time.

Kongjung nugak (Pavilion in the Air) [Literature]

Kongmin, King (r.1351-1374)

King Kongmin (1330-1374) was the thirty-first king of Koryŏ and reigned from 1351 to 1374. Kongmin’s given name was Chŏn, his childhood name Ki, and his pen names were Ijae and Iktang. He was the second son of King Ch’ungsuk (r. 1313-1330, 1332-1339) and Queen Myongdok. Kongmin had several queens including the daughter of the Yuan emperor and four Korean queens. Early in his life Kongmin was enfeoffed as Grand Prince (taegun) of Kangm1ng and in 1341 he travelled to Yuan for his stay in their court. After returning to Koryŏ for a brief period, he again travelled to Yuan where he was married to the daughter of the Yuan emperor and two years later after the dethronement of King Ch’ungjong (r. 1348-1351) he returned to Koryŏ with his queen and assumed the throne.

The time when Kongmin acceded to the throne was marked by a decline in the power of the Yuan and the rise of the Ming State in China. Therefore, Kongmin took advantage of this situation to enact reforms with two major facets: first, an external policy directed against the Yuan, and second, an internal policy that attempted to suppress the powerful families of Koryŏ. One of Kongmin’s first moves was to abolish the Yuan’s liaison organ in Koryŏ, the Eastern Expedition Field Headquarters (Chŏngdonghaeng chungsŏ sŏng). He then purged the pro-Yuan faction from the Koryŏ government and sent an army to attack the Yuan commandery headquarters at Ssangsŏng in Hamgyŏng Province in order to regain lost Koryŏ territory. The actions by Kongmin were opposed by not only the Yuan, but also by the pro-Yuan elements in Korea. An attempt to assassinate Kongmin was made by Kim Yong and the Yuan proclaimed that Kongmin had been deposed. Nonetheless, Kongmin held on to power and proceeded with his reform policies. In 1368 with the foundation of the Ming Dynasty, Kongmin immediately adopted a pro-Ming stance and sent an official envoy to the Chinese State.

As to Kongmin’s internal reforms, in 1352 he abolished the Personnel Authority (Chŏngbang) which had been formed during the rule of the Ch’oe house and still remained as an impingement on royal authority. In later moves, Kongmin appointed the monk Shin Ton as National Preceptor and charged him with the implementation of extensive governmental reforms. The appointment of an outsider such as Shin for the execution of
reforms reveals how deep-seated the influence of the powerful families of Koryo was at this time. The King carried out extensive land and property reform but in doing so both he and Shin were eventually killed by powerful families.

King Kongmin is remembered as the monarch who liberated Koryo from the humiliating grip of Yuan and in doing so regained both lost national territory and pride. However, his actions were not well received by the powerful families of Koryo and in the end this resulted in his death. Kongmin sought to restore the honour of Koryo but his efforts were quickly brushed aside by the self-interests of the powerful families, which hastened the fall of the Koryo Kingdom some twenty-five years later.

Kongpōp (Tribute Tax Law, 1444) [Taxation]

Kookmin University

Kookmin University (Kungmin Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Chōngnūng-dong in Seoul. Dr. Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman), Kim Koo (Kim Ku) and Haikong Shinicky (Shin Ikhui) formed the steering committee for the establishment of the school. Founded as the night-school Kungmin (Kookmin Institute) in December 1946, the school was transferred to Ch’angsŏng-dong in Seoul in February 1948, and shortly thereafter became Kookmin College. Financial difficulties in 1959 led to a reorganisation of the school’s foundation principles under the guidance of Kim Sungkon (Kim Sŏnggon). In 1971, the school moved to its present location, when fifteen departments were established. After five years a master’s program was launched, followed by a Ph.D program in 1979. In 1981, the school attained university status, with Chŏng Pŏmsŏk as president.

As of 1996, the school had about two-hundred and fifty full-time academic staff and a student enrolment of approximately eleven thousand. Kookmin now consists of nine colleges: Architecture & Design; Economics & Business Administration; Education; Engineering; Forest Science; Humanities; Law; Natural Science; and Social Science. There are seven graduate schools: the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Design; Education; Industrial Technology; Information Science; and Public Administration. Other facilities include the Sungkŏk Memorial Library; Language Institute; Computing and Information Centre; Cooperative Experimental Equipment Centre; Sports Centre; Bugak Broadcasting Service; and Kookmin University Press. University publications include the weekly Kungmindae hakpo in Korean and The Kookmin Tribune in English.

On the fifth floor of the library, is the university museum. Established in 1973, the museum is home to a collection of archaeological artefacts such as earthenware; crafts and folk craft pieces; various ancient documents; and fine-arts pieces. The Folk House, formerly the residence of the Chosŏn minister Han Kyusŏl (1856-1930) can be viewed within the university grounds. Built in the 1890’s, this fine example of traditional Korean architecture was later moved to the campus, where it is now in regular use for the performance of traditional tea ceremonies.

Kookmin University is now supported by the Ssangyong Group.

Kor-Am Bank [Banks]

Korea

Korea written by Angus Hamilton and published by Charles Scribner’s Sons in 1904 is a 313-page survey of the prevailing conditions in Korea at the beginning of the twentieth c. The book is particularly revealing insofar as the military situation which was unfolding in
the days before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 is concerned; the author going to great lengths to describe the military status of the two future combatants and of Korea.

Hamilton provides vivid descriptions of the mode of life of the Korean people that he encountered, and also supplies commentary on Korean social institutions as he understands them. His criticism of various aspects of Korean culture is unbridled, but at the same time he counters inaccurate stories of Korea and her people spread by other traveller-writers. His book, therefore, provides a seemingly honest appraisal of the situation in Korea during the writer's travels.

The author's assessment of the future prospects for the Korean state are hauntingly accurate, as he details the inadequacy of the Korean army in the face of the Japanese and Russian forces. The introduction of the book provides extensive data concerning the vessels of the Japanese and Russian navies, the type of weaponry used by their troops, command staff organisation and even the provisions in a typical field-pack. Thus, aside from the extensive information on Korea and its people, Hamilton's work is also of considerable value for gaining an understanding of the participants of the Russo-Japanese War.

Korea

Agriculture (see also under Agriculture)

Agriculture formed the mainstay of the Korean economy until the 1960s, and in 1960, over half of the workforce was engaged in agricultural activities, while agriculture accounted for approximately 40% of the country's GNP. However, these ratios began to decline rapidly following the adoption of a series of Five Year Economic Plans commencing in 1962, and stood at 19.5% and 10.3% respectively in 1989. Significant changes have also taken place within the agricultural sector itself, due to land rationalization, species improvement and general diversification of activities. Rice cultivation continues to represent the main pillar of the Korean agricultural economy, as it has done since the Three Kingdoms Period. Practiced throughout the peninsula, it is particularly common in the central and southern plains. The introduction of high-yield varieties and improvements in agricultural methods since 1972 has led to a marked increase in rice production, and rice accounted for 83.1% of total Korean grain production of 7.28 million tonnes in 1989. Barley, wheat and oats made up 7.7% of the total. Wheat is a particularly common crop in North Korea, as it is more resistant to cold, drought and disease than barley. Double-cropping is predominant in southwestern and southeastern regions.

A rapid increase in the urban population during the postwar period has also led to significant growth in agricultural activities in districts adjoining urban centers. These activities include flower, vegetable and fruit growing, in addition to beef cattle and poultry farming. Furthermore, the use of plastic sheeting has allowed growers to provide a regular supply of high-grade vegetables and flowers to urban consumers, regardless of seasonal climate variations. Although there has been a gradual trend away from self-sufficient agriculture, with its emphasis on the cultivation of staple food-grains, towards diversified commercial agriculture, the majority of the rural population has been unable to free itself from small-scale farming on family plots of approximately one hectare.

Figure Production of major foods in 1997 (in thousands of tonnes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>% change from previous year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>5 450</td>
<td>+2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>-34.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beans 182 -3.7
Vegetables 9,806 -3.9
Fruit 2,452 +11.1
Meat 1,122 +1.7
Milk 2,293 +14.8

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

Climate

Temperature

The Korean peninsula lies between the latitudes 33 and 43 degrees north of the Equator, and most of the country enjoys a temperate climate. The east coast generally experiences greater extremities of temperature than the west coast, and winter temperatures throughout the peninsula are extremely low. Although Seoul lies on the same degree of latitude as Athens, its January average temperature (-4.6°C) is 13 degrees lower than that of the Greek capital (8.8°C).

Korea's climate includes aspects of that of both arctic and tropical regions. Under the influence of continental high pressure systems located over Siberia, northwesterly winds send winter temperatures plunging to -10°C, and minimums of -15°C to -20°C are not uncommon during cold spells. In contrast, high pressure systems located over the Pacific Ocean bring humid tropical conditions during the summer months, and daily maximum temperatures typically exceed 30°C.

Continental climate patterns become more pronounced as one moves northward on the peninsula, and the difference in average temperatures for the coldest and hottest months of the year ranges from 23°C in the south to 40°C in the north. The lowest temperature ever recorded in Korea is -43.6°C at the northern frontier town of Chunggangjin, while the hottest temperature was 40°C, recorded at Taegu in the southeast. The extreme range of temperatures experienced in Korea can be attributed to the fact that the north of the peninsula directly adjoins the main part of the Asian continent and is characterized by high elevations, while the south is surrounded on three sides by the ocean and mainly comprises low-lying land. Sŏgwip'o on Cheju Island has the highest average annual temperature (14.7°C), while the coldest annual average is found at Chunggangjin (3.8°C). It is important to note, however, that the difference between average temperatures in these two locations is far more pronounced in winter than in summer. While Sŏgwip'o's August average (25.8°C) is a mere three degrees above that of Chunggangjin (22.7°C), the difference in average monthly temperature between the former (5.1°C) and the latter (-20.8°C) widens to 26 degrees in January. As can be seen from these figures, the entire peninsula enjoys warm summers, however extreme winter cold is restricted to northern and eastern regions. In general, Korea experiences long winters and relatively short summers, while spring and fall are very short. Winters in the north last from four to five months, while those in the south last for only two to two-and-a-half months. In contrast, summers on the Kaema Plateau in the far north last only a few weeks, while they may last for three-and-a-half months in the far south. Despite sharing the same latitudes, there is a clear difference in temperatures between eastern and western regions, and the east coast enjoys temperatures approximately 3°C higher than the west coast during the winter months. This phenomenon is caused by the Taebaek Range acting as a barrier against the bitterly cold northwesterly winds, and these winds become warmer after dropping snow over western districts.

Rainfall

Precipitation throughout almost the entire peninsula is concentrated in the summer period. July is the wettest month in Seoul and central regions, while August is wettest in regions to
the north. This difference is due to the gradual northerly movement of the seasonal rain front which forms at the point of convergence between the cold Okhotsk airmass and the warm, humid North Pacific airmass. The summer months of June, July and August account for approximately 60% of Seoul's annual precipitation, and July alone accounts for 30% of the annual total. The rainy season generally commences in late June, ending in late July in central and southern regions, but continuing into August in northern regions. High humidity persists after the end of the rainy season, and typhoons occasionally bring additional rain. There is a wide variation in annual precipitation throughout the peninsula, however there is a general trend towards lesser precipitation as one moves northward. There is also a close relationship between topography and precipitation. Heavy rainfall occurs in the middle and upper catchment areas of major rivers in summer as migratory low pressure systems originating in China's Yangtze River basin move into Korea and "collide" with mountainous terrain. Surrounded by mountains and under the strong influence of the seasonal rain front, the lower reaches of the Sömjin River experience the highest annual precipitation (1 400 - 1 500mm), while the middle and upper reaches of the Han, Imjin and Ch'ôngch' ön Rivers receive between 1 200 and 1 300mm of rain annually.

The Kaema Plateau is the driest region in Korea, as the Hamgyông Range blocks the prevailing summer winds and limits the influence of rain-bearing low pressure systems. Other areas of low precipitation (under 800 - 900mm per annum) include the lower reaches of the Taedong River and the middle and upper reaches of the Nakdong River, the latter area being encircled by mountains of the Taebaek and Sobaek Ranges.

Although Korea experiences a humid climate, there are extreme variations in annual precipitation levels from year to year, mainly due to fluctuations in summer rainfall. Such fluctuations vary according to region, however an example can be found when comparing annual rainfall in Seoul for the years 1940 (2 135mm) and 1949 (633mm), a difference of 1 500mm for the same location. Further, there is an average variation of 20% in annual precipitation for central and southern agricultural regions.

Seasonal Patterns

Seasonal changes in Korea's climate are largely determined by the shifting location and relative strength of airmasses and air-pressure systems located over the Asian continent and the Pacific Ocean. In winter, the peninsula's weather is mainly influenced by the cold, dry Siberian airmass, which advances and recedes in a cyclical pattern. Temperatures fall as the airmass strengthens, rising again as it weakens and high or low pressure systems move into Korea from China, causing the phenomenon known as samhian sa'ôn ("three cold days followed by four warm"). With the arrival of spring, the Siberian high pressure system weakens and migratory high and low pressure systems alternately move through the peninsula at two or three day intervals, bringing sunny but changeable weather conditions. Flowers in southern regions begin to blossom as temperatures rise, a pattern which gradually extends northwards throughout the country as spring progresses. There is a difference of one month between the azalea season in northern and southern regions. Dry spring weather occasionally leads to the outbreak of forest fires, and the appearance of the hwangsa hyônsang ("sandy dust phenomenon"), whereby yellow-brown dust particles are carried to Korea from China by prevailing winds.

During early summer, the dominant influence on climatic conditions is the cold Okhotsk high pressure system, which brings sunny weather, and cool breezes are common in western districts. As this high pressure system weakens and remains stationary at lower latitudes, the hot, humid Pacific high-pressure system begins to strengthen, moving towards the Korean peninsula in a northwesterly direction. The seasonal rain front forms at the point of convergence between the two pressure systems, and the rainy season sets in. The Pacific high-pressure system comes to dominate weather conditions on the peninsula as
the rain front moves north into Manchuria, and the full heat of midsummer begins to be felt. Southeasterly and southwesterly prevailing winds are relatively predominant at this time. Fine conditions prevail as autumn begins, under the influence of the migratory high-pressure system which breaks off from the developing Siberian high-pressure system. The passage of migratory low pressure systems brings changeable conditions, although their influence is weaker than in springtime, and accompanying rainfall is beneficial to crops.

**Flora (see also Plants)**

Due to the wide variation in climatic conditions and undulating topography of the peninsula, Korea contains a relatively rich variety of flora, and it is possible to find subtropical, temperate and alpine forest as one moves northward. Subtropical forest is found in southern coastal regions, and largely consists of broadleaf evergreen trees, of which camellia and thorny species are particularly widespread. Broadleaf deciduous trees predominate in the temperate forest found in hilly parts of North Korea and most of South Korea, and oak varieties, including Mongolian oak, are common. As one moves southward, these varieties generally become interspersed with zelkova, Chinese nettle, common bamboo, and other species suited to warm temperate environments. Coniferous evergreen forest is predominant in the northeast, being well-suited to climatic regions which experience long winters and short summers. Common species include spruce and Korean fir.

There are wide variations in flora according to elevation throughout the mountainous Korean peninsula, and this differentiation is perhaps most clearly visible in the mountainous regions of North Korea and on Mt Halla on Cheju Island in the far south. At higher elevations, broadleaf deciduous species are replaced by alpine conifers, however the alpine conifer zone varies according to latitude, beginning at an elevation of 1500m on Mt Halla and at 900m on Mt Paekdu in the far north. The treeline on Mt Paekdu lies at 2000m, while Mt Halla has no treeline. The lower slopes of Mt Halla are characterized by broad grassland, developed as grazing pasture for livestock since the Koryo Dynasty. Similar areas can be found on Taekwallyong in the Taebaek Range and in other parts of the peninsula.

**Fauna (see also Animals)**

Korea belongs to the Palaearctic zoogeographic zone, and many of the fauna in the highland regions adjoining the Korea-China border are closely related to those found in Siberia, mainland China, Sakhalin and Hokkaido. Mammals commonly found in highland regions include deer, roe deer, the water shew, the muskrat, the amur goral, the Manchurian weasel, the tiger, the lynx, the brown bear and the northern pika, while bird species include the three-toed woodpecker, the pine grosbeak, the Manchurian ring-necked pheasant and the hawk owl. Fauna in the southern lowlands are related to species found in southern Manchuria, central China and Japan, and include the mandarin vole, the black bear, the river deer, the white-bellied black woodpecker, the fairy pitta and the ring-necked pheasant. Other wildlife species recorded in South Korea include 25 reptiles, 14 amphibians and 130 varieties of freshwater fish.

23 species have been designated as natural monuments by the Korean government, including the musk deer and the hooded crane. In addition, 20 birds, two species of mammal and several insect species have been designated as endangered species. Other rare and valued species include the California grey whale and the purebred Chindo dog.

**Formation of the country**

Despite its location as a buffer zone between China and Japan, Korea has been able to maintain a distinct identity during a history which spans more than 5000 years.
Archeological evidence shows that the peninsula has been inhabited for at least 20,000 years, and that the earliest inhabitants were probably the Mongoloid ancestors of modern-day Koreans. However, it was not until the fourth century AD that formal state structures were established, with the development of the Paekche and Shilla kingdoms in the south and Koguryô in the north during the Three Kingdoms Period. Shilla succeeded in uniting the country in 668 AD, and leadership later passed to the rulers of the Koryô Dynasty (918-1392). A neo-Confucian government hierarchy was established during this period, and this government structure was consolidated during the Chosôn (Yi) Dynasty (1392-1910). Major attacks from Japan (1592, 1597) and China (1627) led the Chosôn rulers to adopt a 'closed door' foreign policy and Korea became known as the "Hermit Kingdom" during the two centuries of self-imposed isolation which followed. During this period, the government showed nominal fealty to China, although Japanese influence became predominant towards the end of the 19th century. Japan's military successes in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) encouraged Japanese expansionist ambitions, and Korea was annexed in 1910. During the following 35 years of colonial rule, the Japanese government suppressed use of the Korean language and attempted to eradicate Korean culture, and this process continued until the country's liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. Following World War II, the northern half of the peninsula was occupied by Soviet forces and the southern half by US forces. Korean political forces also became polarized with the formation of a pro-Communist government in the north under Kim Ilsŏng and a pro-Western government in the south under Syngman Rhee. The US withdrew its forces from the southern zone in 1949, however northern forces launched an unprovoked attack on the south on June 25, 1950, marking the beginning of the three-year Korean War. At the conclusion of an armistice agreement on July 27, 1953, the entire peninsula lay in a state of devastation, and an armistice line dividing the peninsula was to remain as the boundary between two independent nations which are still technically at war.

Population

The population of Korea during the middle Chosôn Dynasty is estimated to have been approximately 10 million, and remained relatively unchanged for the following two centuries, rising to approximately 13 million by the end of the Chosun Dynasty. At the time of the first modern census in 1925, Korea had a population of 19 million, and between 1920 and 1944 the population doubled in 34 years to reach 25.12 million. At the time of Liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, there were approximately 2.1 million Koreans in Japan, of which 1.5 million subsequently returned to Korea. However the majority of the 1.6 million Koreans in Manchuria and 200,000 in the Soviet Union remained in those areas following Liberation. During the Korean War, the population of the southern part of the peninsula was swollen by the mass influx of refugees from the north, and the first census in South Korea in 1955 registered a population of 21.5 million. Steady economic growth commencing during the 1960s saw the population grow at an annual rate of approximately 2%, slowing during the following decade. In 1995 the population of South Korea was estimated at 44.85 million, and the population density was 451.24 persons per square kilometer. In 1993, North Korea's population was estimated to be 23.05 million, and the population density was 188.36 persons per square kilometer.

Modern administrative system

From the early part of the Chosôn Dynasty, Korea was divided into eight provinces, and these were subdivided into 13 provinces in 1896, of which eight now lie in South Korea. (The northern parts of Kangwŏn and Kyŏnggi Provinces lie in North Korea and a group of islands off the south coast of Hwanghae-do now lie in South Korea). The island of Cheju became a province in 1945. Today, South Korea comprises nine provinces (do), one special city (t'ukbyŏlshi) and five metropolitan cities (kwangyŏkshi). The provinces, special city and metropolitan areas all operate at the same level of local administration
directly under the central government. The provinces are further divided into 55 cities (shi) and 138 counties (kun).

North Korean administrative divisions have been reorganized, creating a total of nine provinces (North and South Hwanghae, North and South P'yongan, North and South Hamgyong, Kangwŏn, Ryanggang and Jagang) and three municipalities (P'yŏngyang, Nampho and Kaesŏng). At the lower end of the administrative hierarchy are villages and laborer camps, the latter having been established in the vicinity of mines, forestry and fisheries project sites, factories and enterprises.

### Area and population of major administrative divisions in South Korea (1997)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Area (sq.km)</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>605.74</td>
<td>1 0389 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusan</td>
<td>749.17</td>
<td>3 865 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taegu</td>
<td>886.67</td>
<td>2 502 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inch'ŏn</td>
<td>954.36</td>
<td>2 461 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangju</td>
<td>500.86</td>
<td>1 326 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taejŏn</td>
<td>539.85</td>
<td>1 323 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulsan</td>
<td>1 055.70</td>
<td>1 013 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏnggi</td>
<td>10 161.20</td>
<td>8 515 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangwŏn</td>
<td>16 784.21</td>
<td>1 540 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Ch'ungch'ŏng</td>
<td>7 438.30</td>
<td>1 475 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Ch'ungch'ŏng</td>
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<td>1 903 000</td>
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<td>North Ch'ŏlla</td>
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<td>2 007 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Ch'ŏlla</td>
<td>11 858.21</td>
<td>2 166 000</td>
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<td>North Kyŏngsang</td>
<td>19 020.59</td>
<td>2 812 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Kyŏngsang</td>
<td>11 558.71</td>
<td>3 058 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheju</td>
<td>1 826.57</td>
<td>528 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>99 393.81</td>
<td>44 609 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Settlement

Korea's rural population declined rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s, falling from 70% of the total population in 1960 to only 42.7% in 1980, however the proportion remains relatively high in comparison to other developed nations. Apart from those dwelling on the outskirts of urban centers, most of the rural population is engaged in agricultural activities, and the distribution of settlement largely corresponds to that of arable land throughout the country. Villages are usually constituted of dense groupings of houses (chipch'ŏn), however spacing of dwellings is more scattered in the case of newer settlements and those found in mountainous areas (sanch'ŏn). The layout of the former type of village is closely...
associated with the natural and social environment of traditional Korea, reflecting both its aesthetic taste and family system, in addition to a rational approach to land use. Settlements are commonly found backing onto the south side of low hills, as such a location ensures protection from cold northwesterly winds during winter and optimum exposure to sunlight, and allows for maximum cultivation of flat land.

Korean villages underwent a radical transformation as a result of the Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement), launched during the 1970s while the country was simultaneous undergoing rapid industrial development. The positioning of homes within villages was rationalized, building materials and structures were standardized and traditional thatched-roof houses almost disappeared from the landscape. However, it is still possible to find examples of these older-style dwellings today, and there have been no visible changes in the basic location of villages nor in the structure of farmhouses. Urbanization is a relatively recent phenomenon in Korea, and this process has closely followed the transformation of the industrial sector resulting from the Five-Year Economic Plans and the Land Development Plan. The urban population rose from 7 million in 1960 to 36.4 million in 1985, while the rural population decreased from 19.4 million in 1966 to 14 million in 1985. (see Figure ) Between 1960 and 1966, development of light and heavy industry in urban centers led to an increase in the urban population, however there was no corresponding fall in the rural population. During the period of the Second Five-Year Economic Plan (1966-70), there was significant population growth in the Seoul metropolitan region and in the Taebaek Range district, and the rural population commenced an absolute decline from 1968. Population growth in the Seoul metropolitan region was due to the development of satellite towns on the outskirts of the capital. Most urban centers and the Taebaek Range district showed further population growth between 1970 and 1975, with particularly significant growth in centers adjoining the Kyöngbu Expressway and in rapidly-developing industrial zones in the southeast of the country, including Pohang, Ulsan, Pusan and Masan. The period from 1975 to 1980 saw the urban population rising by 4.6 million, while the rural population fell by a further 1.8 million. The only region which did not experience a decline in its rural population during this period was Cheju Island in the far south. This period was marked by a significant expansion in Korea's export volume, and the expansion of related industries. The decline in the rural population began to ease during the period from 1980 to 1985, with the exception of North Kyongsang Province. 39.1% of Korea's population was concentrated in the Seoul metropolitan region by 1985, a phenomenon which can be attributed to the expansion of the rail network, opening of new expressways and construction of satellite towns in this area since the beginning of the 1970s. In contrast to trends in the remainder of the country, the development of fruit-growing and tourism industries during the past decades has prevented a significant decline in the rural population in the case of Cheju Island.

Figure Urban and rural population (in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
<th>Rural population as % of total</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>24,954</td>
<td>7,083</td>
<td>17,871</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>29,160</td>
<td>9,753</td>
<td>19,407</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>31,435</td>
<td>12,941</td>
<td>18,494</td>
<td>41.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>34,679</td>
<td>16,839</td>
<td>17,840</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>37,448</td>
<td>21,441</td>
<td>16,007</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>40,448</td>
<td>26,443</td>
<td>14,005</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Population and Housing Census Report

Industry (see also under Industry)
Government-managed commercial operations were abolished, and family-based enterprises began to develop in the aftermath of the Japanese invasions of the late 16th century. However, the introduction of Western technology and Japanese annexation of the country during the early 20th century led to the decline of many of these companies, and only a small fraction remain today, including a producer of folding fans and a traditional papermaking factory in Chônju, and a brassware factory in Ansong. Modern industrialization began during the Japanese colonial period (1910-45), however development was uneven as a result of the subordination of the nation's resources to the needs of the colonial rulers. The division of the peninsula following Liberation in 1945 left the majority of industrial facilities in the northern half of the country, and the few remaining factories in the south were unable to be developed due to social disorder and a shortage of capital and technology. Although an Industry Promotion Plan was established in 1950, the existing industrial facilities were destroyed during the Korean War (1950-53). Following the cessation of hostilities, emphasis was placed on the reconstruction of key industries, including oil, food, cement and electricity, however development was severely limited. Full-scale industrial development was achieved through the implementation of a series of Five-Year Economic Plans from 1962. During the 1970s, Korea was transformed from a nation dependent on primary industry to one in which the secondary and tertiary industrial sectors played a central role. The proportion of the population engaged in secondary industry rose from 17.6% in 1971 to 30.5% in 1980, falling slightly to 28.2% in 1989. These changes were brought about by a rapid expansion in export-based industries during the 1970s. Total exports exceeded $1 billion in 1971, further rising to $10 billion in 1977 and $62.3 billion in 1989, representing a 62-fold increase during a 19-year period. Employment patterns also changed significantly during this period (see Figure ), and there were radical changes in the makeup of the nation's exports. While 80% of exports in 1960 were accounted for by foodstuffs and raw materials, industrial products represented over half of exports in 1966, and this ratio further grew to reach 95% by 1989.

The Korean industrial sector is largely export-led, and is characterized by a high level of dependence on imported raw materials, including oil, iron ore, timber, cotton, wool and rubber. These materials are imported and used in the production of manufactured goods, a large proportion of which are exported, and processing industries therefore play a major role in the economy. Heavy industry is concentrated in coastal regions with convenient access to ports, and includes automobile, steel, machinery and chemical production, in addition to shipbuilding. A shift away from light towards heavy industry during the 1970s has led to the achievement of a balance between these two sectors of the economy.

Rapid industrial development in Korea can be attributed to the availability of a large, highly-educated workforce and the introduction of overseas technology and capital as a result of international economic cooperation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
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<td>4709</td>
<td>5425</td>
<td>4658</td>
<td>3722</td>
<td>3418</td>
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<tr>
<td>(48.5)</td>
<td>(34.0)</td>
<td>(24.9)</td>
<td>(19.5)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary industry</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>2776</td>
<td>4161</td>
<td>3654</td>
<td>4933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17.6)</td>
<td>(30.5)</td>
<td>(24.5)</td>
<td>(28.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary industry</td>
<td>3219</td>
<td>3629</td>
<td>4860</td>
<td>7559</td>
<td>9161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33.9)</td>
<td>(35.5)</td>
<td>(50.6)</td>
<td>(52.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 9636 11830 13679 14935 17512

N.B. Figures shown in parentheses refer to the proportion of the total population.
Formation of the county

Despite its location as a buffer zone between China and Japan, Korea has been able to maintain a distinct identity during a history which spans more than 5,000 years. Archeological evidence shows that the peninsula has been inhabited for at least 20,000 years, and that the earliest inhabitants were probably the Mongoloid ancestors of modern-day Koreans. However, it was not until the fourth century AD that formal state structures were established, with the development of the Paekche and Shilla kingdoms in the south and Koguryó in the north during the Three Kingdoms Period. Shilla succeeded in uniting the country in 668 AD, and leadership later passed to the rulers of the Koryó Dynasty (918-1392). A neo-Confucian government hierarchy was established during this period, and this government structure was consolidated during the Chosen (Yi) Dynasty (1392-1910).

Major attacks from Japan (1592, 1597) and China (1627) led the Chosen rulers to adopt a 'closed door' foreign policy and Korea became known as the "Hermit Kingdom" during the two centuries of self-imposed isolation which followed. During this period, the government showed nominal fealty to China, although Japanese influence became predominant towards the end of the 19th century. Japan's military successes in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) encouraged Japanese expansionist ambitions, and Korea was annexed in 1910. During the following 35 years of colonial rule, the Japanese government suppressed use of the Korean language and attempted to eradicate Korean culture, and this process continued until the country's liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. Following World War II, the northern half of the peninsula was occupied by Soviet forces and the southern half by US forces. Korean political forces also became polarized with the formation of a pro-Communist government in the north under Kim Il Sung and a pro-Western government in the south under Syngman Rhee. The US withdrew its forces from the southern zone in 1949, however northern forces launched an unprovoked attack on the south on June 25, 1950, marking the beginning of the three-year Korean War. At the conclusion of an armistice agreement on July 27, 1953, the entire peninsula lay in a state of devastation, and an armistice line dividing the peninsula was to remain as the boundary between two independent nations which are still technically at war.
Population

The population of Korea during the middle Chosŏn Dynasty is estimated to have been approximately 10 million, and remained relatively unchanged for the following two centuries, rising to approximately 13 million by the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty. At the time of the first modern census in 1925, Korea had a population of 19 million, and between 1920 and 1944 the population doubled in 34 years to reach 25.12 million. At the time of Liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, there were approximately 2.1 million Koreans in Japan, of which 1.5 million subsequently returned to Korea. However the majority of the 1.6 million Koreans in Manchuria and 200,000 in the Soviet Union remained in those areas following Liberation. During the Korean War, the population of the southern part of the peninsula was swollen by the mass influx of refugees from the north, and the first census in South Korea in 1955 registered a population of 21.5 million. Steady economic growth commencing during the 1960s saw the population grow at an annual rate of approximately 2%, slowing during the following decade. In 1995 the population of South Korea was estimated at 44.85 million, and the population density was 451.24 persons per square kilometer. In 1993, North Korea's population was estimated to be 23.05 million, and the population density was 188.36 persons per square kilometer.

Modern Administrative System

From the early part of the Chosŏn Dynasty, Korea was divided into eight provinces, and these were subdivided into 13 provinces in 1896, of which eight now lie in South Korea. (The northern parts of Kangwŏn and Kyŏnggi Provinces lie in North Korea and a group of islands off the south coast of Hwanghae-do now lie in South Korea). The island of Cheju became a province in 1945. Today, South Korea comprises nine provinces (do), one special city (CJKʰyŏl-si) and five metropolitan areas (kwangyŏk-si). The provinces, special city and metropolitan areas all operate at the same level of local administration directly under the central government. The provinces are further divided into 55 cities (shi) and 138 counties (kun).

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and population of major administrative divisions in South Korea(1995)*</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Special city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>605.74</td>
<td>10,776,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusan</td>
<td>749.17</td>
<td>3,802,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taegu</td>
<td>886.67</td>
<td>2,256,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inch'on</td>
<td>954.36</td>
<td>2,203,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangju</td>
<td>500.86</td>
<td>1,236,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taejon</td>
<td>539.85</td>
<td>1,183,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏnggī</td>
<td>10,161.20</td>
<td>7,607,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangwŏn</td>
<td>16,784.21</td>
<td>1,421,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Ch'ungch'ŏng</td>
<td>7,438.30</td>
<td>1,372,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
South Ch'ungch'ong 8,367.65 1,847,000
North Cholla 8,041.76 1,884,000
South Cholla 11,858.21 2,189,000
North Kyongsang 19,020.59 2,729,000
South Kyongsang 11,558.71 3,827,000
Cheju 1,826.57 519,000

Total 99,393.81 44,851,000


Settlement

Korea's rural population declined rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s, falling from 70% of the total population in 1960 to only 42.7% in 1980, however the proportion remains relatively high in comparison to other developed nations. Apart from those dwelling on the outskirts of urban centers, most of the rural population is engaged in agricultural activities, and the distribution of settlement largely corresponds to that of arable land throughout the country. Villages are usually constituted of dense groupings of houses (chipch'on), however spacing of dwellings is more scattered in the case of newer settlements and those found in mountainous areas (sanch'on). The layout of the former type of village is closely associated with the natural and social environment of traditional Korea, reflecting both its aesthetic taste and family system, in addition to a rational approach to land use. Settlements are commonly found backing onto the south side of low hills, as such a location ensures protection from cold northwesterly winds during winter and optimum exposure to sunlight, and allows for maximum cultivation of flat land.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
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<tr>
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<td>26,443</td>
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<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Population and Housing Census Report

Provinces

Cheju-do
Chōlla nam-do
Chōlla puk-to
Ch'ungch'öng nam-do
Ch'ungch'öng puk-to
Hamgyōng nam-do
Hamgyōng puk-to
Hanghae nam-do
Hwanghae puk-to
Kangwōn-do
Kyōnggi-do
Kyōngsang nam-do
Kyōngsang puk-to
P'yōngyang nam-do
P'yōngyang puk-to

Provinces, South Korea (see under each province)

Cheju Province
Chōlla Province, South
Chōlla Province, North
Ch'ungch'öng Province, South
Ch'ungch'öng Province, North
Kangwōn Province
Kyōnggi Province
Territory

The Korean Peninsula thrusts southwards from the north-east Asian mainland, bounded to the north by the Chinese region of Manchuria and Russian Siberia, to the west by the Yellow Sea, to the east by the East Sea (Sea of Japan) and to the south by the Tsushima Straits which separate Korea from the Japanese island of Kyūshū. At its nearest point, China's Shantung Peninsula lies 190 kms. from the west coast of Korea, and the shortest distance from the southern port city of Pusan to the main Japanese island of Honshū is 180 kms. Korea's land boundaries are largely defined by the Amnok (Yalu) and Tuman (Tumen) Rivers, and the boundary with China accounts for all but the last 16 kms. The latitudes and longitudes of the four extremities of Korean territory are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Extremity</th>
<th>Coordinates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Northern extremity of Yup'ejin, Onsong-gun, North Hamgyōng Province</td>
<td>43 00'39&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Eastern extremity of Tok-do, Ulung-gun, North Kyongsang Province</td>
<td>131 52'42&quot; E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Southern extremity of Mara-do, Namjeju-gun, Cheju Province</td>
<td>33 06'40&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Western extremity of Ma'an-do, Yongch'ŏn-gun, North Pyōng'yan Province</td>
<td>124 11'00&quot; E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total area of Korea is 221 764 square kilometers. Korean territory includes the Korean Peninsula itself in addition to over 3 300 offshore islands, of which approximately 300 are inhabited. The total coastline has been estimated to measure 17 300 kilometers, however the peninsula itself accounts for only a little more than half of this total (8 700 kilometers).

Today, the Korean Peninsula is divided into two nations, the Republic of Korea (South Korea), with a total land area of 99 394 square kilometers, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), with a total land area of 122 370 sq kmrs. South Korea is slightly larger than Portugal or the US state of Indiana and a little smaller than Iceland. North Korea is slightly smaller than the US state of Mississippi. The boundary between North and South Korea follows the armistice line demarcated after the Korean War (1950-53), and lies at approximately 38 N. South Korea became a signatory to the International Law of the Sea Treaty in 1985, establishing a twelve-nautical mile boundary for its territorial waters.

Natural Features

Topography and Geology

Although hills and mountains account for approximately seventy per cent of Korea's total land area, only ten per cent of land lies above the elevation of 1 000 metres, with the main ranges lying in the east of the peninsula. Landforms in the western and eastern parts of the peninsula are highly differentiated. The west coast is characterized by a highly indented coastline with numerous islands, especially in the southwest. Much of the nation's arable land lies in the west, where fertile plains are punctuated by low hills and watered by numerous rivers. In contrast, the major topographic features of the eastern part of the peninsula are the Taebaek and Nangnim mountain ranges, which run north-south and form the geological backbone of the peninsula. Several smaller ranges, all lying in North Korea, originate from these two larger ranges, and run in a northeast-southwest direction. The Hamgyōng Range in North Korea and the Sobaek Range in South Korea also have their origins in the main north-south ranges. The east coast is generally unindented, and has few
rivers due to the close proximity of the mountain ranges to the coast.

The Korean landmass is relatively stable, containing no active volcanoes and experiencing few earthquakes. The peninsula is thought to have been an erosional lowland until a period of uplift began during the Mesozoic Era, with this process being most pronounced in the east. Periglaciation and an arid climate contributed to increased erosion during the Pleistocene Era, resulting in the creation of relatively mature landforms with higher relief in the east and lower relief in the west. The highest peak on the peninsula is Mt. Paktu (2,744m) located in the far north at the northwest extremity of the Kaema Plateau. The highest peak in South Korea is Mt. Halla (1,950), a volcanic cone located on the island of Cheju, 100 kms south of the mainland. Mt. Paktu is famous for its large crater lake, while Mt. Sŏrak (1,708m) and Mt. Kŭmgang (1,638m), both in the Taebaek Range, are also renowned for their scenic beauty.

The peninsula contains many examples of Paleozoic sedimentary and pre-Cambrian metamorphic rock, but very few examples from the Cenozoic Era. In common with Manchuria, Siberia and other parts of northeast Asia, Korea's landforms are extremely old. The oldest rock is crystallized gneiss from the Archeozoic Era, followed by granite gneiss from the later part of that era. Granite dating from the Mesozoic Era is widely found in the vicinity of the above two rock types, and these three rock types account for seventy per cent of the total land area of Korea.

The Korean Peninsula contains a relatively large number of rivers in relation to its size, with most rivers flowing into the Yellow Sea. Korea has six rivers with lengths exceeding 400 kms., the Amnok (Yalu in Chinese) (790kms.), Naktong (525kms.), Tuman (Tumen) (521kms.), Han (514kms.) and Kŭmgang (401kms.). All except the Tuman flow into the Yellow Sea, with the Naktong meeting the ocean near the port of Pusan and the point of confluence between the Yellow Sea and the East Sea (Sea of Japan). The Tuman forms part of the border with China and all of the border with Russia, flowing into the East Sea near the North Korean town of Najin. River levels in Korea are low during the drier winter months, when many channels freeze over or become dry. However, heavy rainfall during the summer monsoons of July and August leads to swollen rivers and occasional flooding. Rivers are extremely important for irrigation in Korea, and improved technology has led to seventy-two per cent of rice fields being dependent on river water for irrigation. The construction of dams on all of the main rivers in South Korea has led to a range of benefits, including improved flood control and generation of hydroelectric power.

**Transportation** (see also under Transport)

**Road Transportation**

A system of arterial roads connecting the capital, Hansŏng, to provincial centers was developed during the Chosŏn Dynasty. Built for pedestrian and cattle- or horse-driven vehicles, their routes roughly corresponded to those of present-day expressways and major railroad lines. Roads for automobiles were newly constructed during the period of Japanese occupation, and traffic volume increased rapidly during the nation's industrialization in the postwar period, leading to a road construction boom.

At the end of 1993, there were 61,296 kilometers of roads in South Korea. This total included 11 expressways with a combined length of 1,602 kilometers, metropolitan roads (12,057km), city roads (9,792km), provincial roads (13,337km) and county roads (13,852km). 84.7% of roads were paved.

Domestic passenger transportation volume has increased rapidly during the past three decades, rising from 1.65 billion persons in 1966 to 13.44 billion persons in 1989, and further to 31.90 billion persons in 1994. Road passenger volume first exceeded rail passenger volume in 1965, and the former accounted for 89% of the total in 1989. The
number of vehicles also showed a marked increase during this period, jumping from 30,000 in 1960 to 2.26 million in 1989, and further increasing dramatically to 7.4 million by the end of 1994. Vehicles are concentrated in the large urban centers (Seoul 26.1%; Pusan 7.2%), and it is these centers which also contain the densest road networks. Among inter-city routes, the sector between Seoul and Taegon has the heaviest traffic flow.

Rail Transportation

Railroad development began with the opening of the Kyong'in Line connecting Noryangjin (in southwestern Seoul) with the port city of Inch'on in 1899. Seoul and Pusan were linked by the Kyongbu Line in 1905, and an 'X'-shaped national network was formed with the opening of the Honam and Chung'ang Lines in 1914 and 1942 respectively. There was a total of 2,642 kilometers of railroad in the southern half of Korea at the time of Liberation in 1945, however total length of operational lines had increased to 3,101.2 kilometers by the end of 1994, due to the construction of freight lines, opening of subway networks, and electrification and broadening of trunk lines to double or quadruple tracks. The phenomenal growth of road transport during the postwar period has led to the closure of certain lines, including the Suryo Line, however railroads (including subways) still handle 6.6% of passenger transport (1994) and approximately one-fifth of freight transport. The Kyongbu, Kyong'in and Honam Lines constitute the core of the passenger rail network, while the Chungang, Yondong and Taebaek Lines mainly handle freight transport.

Attempts have been made during the past two decades to alleviate traffic congestion in metropolitan areas through the construction of subway networks. Subway development began with the opening of Seoul's No.1 Line in 1974, and the system had grown to include four lines with a total length of 131.6 kilometers by 1994. The 54 kilometer No.5 Line opened in 1994, and three additional lines are due to be in operation by the end of the decade. Pusan's No.1 subway line opened in 1985, and No.2 Line is due to commence operation in 1997. A new subway system is currently under construction in the southeastern city of Taegu.

Marine Transportation

Inland waterways and coastal shipping routes played an important role in both passenger and freight transportation in Korea until the end of the 19th century. The Han River was particularly heavily used for the transportation of marine products and agricultural produce to Seoul, however use of this waterway became severely restricted after the Korean War due to the proximity of its estuary to the demilitarized zone (DMZ). The growth of road transportation has led to a decline in marine transportation during the postwar years, however routes linking the country's numerous islands to each other and the mainland remain important, particularly in the case of Chejudo in the far south, ullungdo in the East Sea (Sea of Japan) and the archipelagoes in the south and southwest of the nation.

At the end of 1994, South Korea had a total of 49 ports with a combined annual loading and unloading capacity of 275.59 million tonnes. Port facilities at Pusan, Inch'on, Pohang and other centers have been expanded to handle increased import and export volumes, and are home to 4,965 vessels with a combined weight of 6.5 million tonnes.

Air Transportation

Full-scale development of air transportation began with the establishment of Korean National Airlines, later renamed Korea Air Lines (KAL), in 1962. The national carrier recorded an average of 12% growth in passenger volume in the two decades to 1989, carrying 8.9 million domestic passengers and 8.2 million international passengers during that year. KAL has been joined on both domestic and international routes by Asiana...
Airlines, and both operate networks based in Seoul. By the end of 1994, South Korea had concluded aviation agreements with 63 nations, and had air links with 63 cities in 26 countries. There are regular scheduled flights from Seoul's Kimp'o Airport to major cities in South East Asia, the Middle East, the United States, Europe and Australia, and international flights also leave from the nation's two other international airports at Pusan and Cheju. Domestic flights also depart from these three airports, and Kimp'o operates as the hub of the domestic air network. Other domestic airports include those at Kwangju, Taegu, Ulsan, Pohang, Sach'on, Yech'on, Mokpo, Yosu, Kangnung and Sokch'o. Domestic air passenger volume in 1994 reached 18.2 million persons, or 5.7% of the total annual domestic passenger volume. 3.15 million South Koreans traveled overseas during 1994, an increase of 30.3% from the previous year, while the nation was visited by 3.58 million foreigners, a 7.5% increase on the previous year's figure.

Korea Academy Of Industrial Technology

Located in Seoul's Kuro Ward, KAITECH (Saengsan Kisul Yon'guwon) is a hardware-oriented research and development organization established in 1989 to promote the competitiveness of Korean manufacturers. It is operated under the auspices of Korea's Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy (MOTIE). Unlike KIST, which focuses more on basic science and high-risk research, KAITECH undertakes research on the practical development of products and production technologies. In recent years, a number of organizations have merged with KAITECH, including the Industrial Test and Inspection Centre and the Industrial Technology Training Centre. KAITECH employs about one-thousand personnel and has a budget approaching US$250 million, of which about one-third is spent internally with the remainder distributed to industrial organizations and universities. The academy supports between four and five-hundred new projects each year and about seventy per cent of these involve small to medium-sized companies.

In addition to technology management, testing and inspections and industrial technology training, KAITECH has six primary research and development centres: the Mechanical and Material Development Centre; Production and System Development Centre; Electronics and Information System Centre; Textile Technology Application Centre; Chemical Technology Application Centre; and the Production Technology Application Centre.

Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)

KAIST (Han'guk Kwahak Kisurwŏn) was founded as the Korea Advanced Institute of Science (KAIS) by a special enactment on 16 February 1971. On 18 May 1981, the Institute amalgamated with the Korean Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), and changed its name to the present KAIST. In July 1989, it merged with the Korean Institute of Technology (KIT), an undergraduate college established in 1985 for the purpose of educating scientifically-gifted students. In March 1996, the KAIST Graduate School of Techno-Management was established in Seoul, and this was followed by the founding of KIAS (Korea Institute for Advanced Study), also in Seoul. At present, KAIST is under the control of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

The KAIST campus is located inside Taedok Science Town in Taejon. The Institute recruits countrywide, talented high-school graduates. The main focus of the Institute's programs is on graduate studies and research. Unlike some other Korean universities and colleges, the Institute does not require undergraduate students to define their specific majors until they have completed third or fourth semesters. In order to give students some practical experience in a chosen field, they are encouraged to participate in R and D projects with Institute staff. Bachelor, Master and Ph.D degrees are awarded by the Institute.

Within the Institute's College of Natural Sciences are the departments of Biological Science;
Chemistry; Mathematics; and Physics. The College of Engineering has the departments of Aerospace Engineering; Chemical Engineering; Civil Engineering; Computer Science; Electrical Engineering; Industrial Design; Industrial Engineering; Materials Science and Engineering; Mechanical Engineering; and Nuclear Engineering. The Graduate School of Management has the department of Industrial Management and Management Engineering.

**Korea Aerospace Research Institute (KARI)**

The Korea Aerospace Research Institute (Han’guk Hanggong Uju Yŏn’guso) was established in September 1989. The Institute’s primary role is to research and develop aerospace technologies, provide technical support to related industries and assist the government in forming aerospace policies. In particular, the institute conducts research on core technologies for aircraft, scientific sounding-rockets, satellites and related systems. It also performs tests and evaluations and provides technical training to industrial engineers. Since 1992, KARI has been part of the International Astronautical Federation.

**Korea & Her Neighbours**

*Korea & Her Neighbours* is a two-volume travel account of late Chosŏn written by Isabella L. Bird, and published by John Murray in 1898. The work is largely based upon the personal observations of the author made during her four visits to Korea from January 1894 to March 1897. The first volume contains eighteen chapters that record the author’s impressions of Korea; the city of Seoul; the natural landscape; various social institutions such as marriage; and the lives of the Korean people. The second volume contains nineteen chapters and provides a detailed account of the author’s audiences with King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and Queen Min (1851-1895); the tragic death of Queen Min; and various other commentaries on the situation of Korean women; burial customs; education; and Korean shamanism.

Bird’s work is a valuable source of data for the study of late Chosŏn, especially as the author’s commentaries on various aspects of life in Korea are not overly biased by the sense of Western superiority inherent in such works. Moreover, the author had a rather close relationship with the royal family, particularly Queen Min, which provides an interesting insight into the situation surrounding the royal family at the close of Chosŏn. A further point of interest is the author’s understanding of the perilous international situation which then gripped Korea, and her analysis of the future for Chosŏn.

**Korea Atomic Energy Research Institution (KAERI)**

Located in Tŏkch’in-dong in Taegu, KAERI (Han’guk Wŏn’jaeryŏk Yŏn’guso) is engaged in research on nuclear fuel cycle technology, radioactive waste management, nuclear safety, nuclear chemicals and nuclear engineering. In addition, the institute undertakes research and development of radiation applications. It also offers training programs, most of which are of one or two months duration, dealing with non-conventional energy resources, nuclear power plants and nuclear safeguards. KAERI has a Radioactive Waste Management Division and a Spent Fuel Management Division. It employs about 180 researchers, 30 administrative personnel and over 80 support personnel. It is affiliated with the International Cancer Union, International Atomic Energy Organisation and M.D Anderson Cancer Center Hospital of Texas University, in the United States.

**Korea Basic Science Institute (KBSI)**
KBSI (Kich’o Kwahak Chiwon Yŏn’guso) promotes basic science research at universities and in industry. The Institute was founded in August 1988 with Dr. Hyun-Nam Kim as its first president. A year later, its temporary office opened in Seoul and in December 1990 construction of its headquarter in Taejŏn began. In October 1991, the Institute was reorganised under the auspices of the Korea Research Institute of Standards and Science. In 1992, four regional offices were established in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu and Kwangju and its Taejŏn headquarter was completed. In May 1993, KBSI became an affiliate of Korea Research Institute of Standards and Science.

Korea Development Bank

[Financial institutions]

**Korea Development Institute (KDI)**

Located in Ch’ŏngnyangni-dong in Seoul, KDI (Han’guk Kaebal Yŏn’guwŏn) is an autonomous, policy-oriented research organisation founded in 1971 by the ROK government as a think-tank to provide a rigorous academic perspective on the various economic policy issues arising from South Korea’s rapid growth. Maintaining close ties with government bodies and universities, the Institute provides comprehensive analyses and advice on government policy matters, in areas ranging from domestic economic planning to international economic cooperation. Its international activities include policy forums; joint seminars; management training courses; country-specific programs; consulting services; seminar series in host countries; and visiting scholars’ programs.

KDI undertakes research in macro-economic management; financial systems; law and economics; industry; trade and labour; public finance and social development; regional development and the environment; as well as the DPRK economy. The Institute also operates the Information and Computer Centre, which has a large collection of specialised literature, statistical data and other relevant information; while providing library and computer services specific to the needs of its research staff. KDI has about two-hundred and sixty research staff.

The Centre for Economic Education (CEE), established by the Institute in December 1989 as an autonomous non-profit institution, was incorporated into KDI on 27 December 1991. The CEE offers instruction in economics to the general public as well as public servants, entrepreneurs, managers and teachers. Its activities are primarily aimed at promoting economic understanding and eliciting broad-based public participation in the government policy-making processes. CEE also disseminates economic information and conducts public-opinion surveys.

**Korea Educational Development Institute**

KEDI (Han’guk Kyoyuk Kaebarwŏn) is situated in Soch’ŏ Ward in Seoul. Founded in August 1972, the institute is an independent, government-funded research and development organisation engaged in the following activities: (1) formulation of policy alternatives and the development of long and mid-term educational development plans; (2) production of television and radio programs and improvement of teaching through enhanced utilisation of the broadcast media; and (3) dissemination of research findings and information. In addition, the institute conducts research on educational curriculums, text books, education policy, education methodology and the use of computers in teaching.

Korea Electric Power Company

[Industry]

**Korea Electrotechnology Research Institute (KERI)**

KERI (Han’guk Chŏn’gi Yŏn’guso) was established in December 1976 as the Korea Electric
Research and Testing Institute. In January 1981, it amalgamated with the Korea Telecommunications Research Institute to become the Korea Electrotechnology and Telecommunications Research Institute. It has been known by its present name since June 1985. Located in Sŏngju-dong in Ch’angwŏn, the Institute develops and disseminates new knowledge and technologies concerned with the electric industry and electric power.

Korea Employers’ Federation

Korea Food Research Institute (KFRI)

KFRI (Han’guk Shikp’um Kaebal Yŏn’guwŏn) is a non-profit making research institute established in 1988 in order to develop food technologies and improve agricultural income by adding value to farm products. Due to the increasing liberalisation of Korea’s agricultural sector, food technology innovation has become an important method of increasing the international competitiveness of the nation’s agriculture and food industry. KFRI performs basic research into transforming agricultural products into high value-added products; improving the efficiency of agricultural products and processed food marketing; and in providing technical information to farmers. The Institute also supports efforts to commercialise traditional Korean foods.

Korea Foundation

The Korea Foundation (Han’guk Kukche Kyoryu Chedan) is located in Chung Ward in Seoul. Created in January 1992 from the International Cultural Society of Korea, the Foundation promotes international exchanges and understanding between Korea and other nations. It does this by organising and sponsoring various cultural exchange programs, international conferences, seminars and research activities. It also conducts an exchange program under which prominent scholars, professional people and artists from around the world are invited to participate in seminars and conferences, or to conduct research or collaborative projects with their Korean colleagues. Likewise, Korean academics, professionals and artists also receive support for such overseas research activities. The Foundation runs Korean Studies Abroad Program in order to facilitate overseas academic research on Korea. As part of this program, financial help is given to overseas centres of learning and research. The Korea Foundation participates in cultural and artistic exchanges and publishes and distributes a number of works, including the periodicals, Koreana and Korea Focus.

Korea Foundation For Advanced Studies

KFAS (Han’guk Kodŭng Kyoyuk Chaedan) was founded in November 1974, and since 1986 the foundation’s office has been located in Yŏksam-dong in Seoul. The organisation’s main aim is to develop leading scholars in the fields of pure social, liberal and natural sciences. As well as support for academic research, KFAS also runs scholarship programs for undergraduate students; for students studying abroad; undergraduate students majoring in Asian studies; and students undertaking doctoral programs in Asian studies. Foundation employees number about twenty. In 1995, the KFAS had a budget of about 2.5 billion Won.

Korea Ginseng and Tobacco Research Institute (KGTRI)

Located in Shinsŏng-dong in Taejŏn, KGTRI (Han’guk Insam Yŏn’guwŏn) was established in 1937 to carry out government policy concerning ginseng, and tobacco. Today, with its many research interests, and the practical application of research findings, the Institute is mainly concerned with the quantity and quality of ginseng and with the
production of tobacco. KGTRI offers a one-month training program in management and its library emphasises works related to ginseng and tobacco.

The Korea Herald

The Korea Herald is an English language newspaper published in Seoul. It commenced publication on 15 August 1953 under the name of The Korean Republic, with the mission of allowing a better understanding of Korea by those who could not read the language. The name was changed on 15 August 1965, since it (The Korean Republic) was quite similar to the name of the country -- The Republic of Korea. At the time of the name-change, the president was Kim Ponggi, and the managing editor and editor-in-chief Kye Kwanggil. Initially, the newspaper was a four-page tabloid, and its size was expanded gradually over the years until it reached twelve-pages in 1986, a size it has maintained. The Korea Herald publishes twice-weekly four-page supplements for business and weekend activities.

The Korea Herald carries special opinion and news articles from major American newspapers, such as the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post, and it also has new exchange agreements with the Japan Times and the China Daily. The Korea Herald strives to create an appreciation of Korean culture among foreigners through various contests such as the Korean Folk Arts Contest for Foreigners and the Korean Language Speech Contest for Foreigners. Moreover, the Korea Herald is available on the Internet, allowing for quick access to information on Korea.

Korea Housing Bank

Korea Information Society Development Institute (KISDI)

KISDI (Chongbo Tongshin Chongch’ack Yon’guso) was established in November 1987, with the enactment of the Korea Information Society Development Institute Law which called for the expansion and reorganisation of ICR (Institute for Communications Research) to form the KISDI. Dr. Kim Cae-One served as the institute’s first president. As a government-sponsored research institute operating under the auspices of the Ministry of Information and Communications, KISDI conducts specialised research on a broad range of information and communications issues. It collects and analyses domestic and international data on policies, systems and industries related to the information and communications field. In carrying out these functions, KISDI aims to provide stratagems and policy guidelines for the setting up of a modern information society in Korea.

Korea Institute for Economics and Technology (KIET)

KIET (Sanop Yon’gwon) is an autonomous, non-profit making institute of economic research, established by the Korean government in 1976. Originally founded as the Korea Foundation for Middle-East Studies to accommodate Korean firms reaching out to the Middle East, the name changed to KIET in 1982. Since then, the Institute has been the barometer for research into economic trends and it advises the government on industrial, trade, and commercial policies. In particular, KIET specialises in trade studies, industrial studies and forecasts concerning both domestic and international markets. The Institute disseminates industrial and technological information to the private sector through its affiliated organisation, CITI.

Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA)

KIHASA (Han’guk Pogon Sahoe Yon’gwon) was established in July 1971 by presidential decree as the Korea Institute for Family Planning. The Institute’s present name
dates from 1989. Since its founding it has been directly involved with population policy, the health and welfare system and social insurance. The Institute provides the government with information and guidelines with which to formulate policy in these areas. Goals of the organisation include globalisation of the public health and social welfare system, strengthening competitiveness of the health care industry under the WTO system, helping Korea’s health and welfare system utilise modern information networks, construction of a welfare model which is oriented towards the family and community, establishing local and central government roles relating to health and welfare and conducting national surveys on households; health; the disabled; the elderly; low-income earners; and related topics. The Institute is located in Pulgwang-dong in Seoul.

Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)

Located in Yōmgok-dong in Seoul, KIEP (Taeoe Kyōngje Chôngch'ak Yŏn'guwŏn) was established in January 1990 and given the task of advising the government on major international economic policy issues. It is also charged with keeping officials and businessmen informed of significant economic and policy developments abroad. The Institute has about eighty academic staff engaged in research, of whom some thirty-five hold doctorate degrees in economics.

KIEP provides detailed research and analysis of international macro-economic issues as well as international trade and investment rules, while systematically investigating challenges and opportunities faced by the Korean economy in all regions of the world. The Institute also studies those international issues which will flow from the unification of the Korean peninsula.

The Institute maintains a pool of international economists (KOPIE, Korea's Official Pool of International Economists) who cooperate with in-house researchers through regular study groups. KIEP also maintains a pool of regional experts (KOPRE, KIEP's Official Pool of Regional Experts) who meet to discuss international developments. It places particular emphasis on establishing networks of Korean experts on northeast Asia. In addition, KIEP serves as Korea's National APEC Study Centre and sponsors a nation-wide consortium of APEC study centres based in universities. At the same time, it serves as the secretariat for KOPEC and the Korea National Committee for the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC).

Korea Institute of Applied Science

[Science and Technology]

Korea Institute of Construction Technology (KICT)

Founded in 1983, KICT (Han'guk Kŏnsŏl Kisul Yŏn'guwŏn) gained government support in 1988 with the passage of Article 7 of the Construction Technology Management Law. The Institute’s main purpose is to research and develop new construction technologies. It also supplies information on new construction methods, equipment and materials. KICT consists of the Construction Technology Management Centre; Construction Information Centre; Structural Engineering Division; Highway Engineering Division; Geo-technical Engineering Division; Water Resource Engineering Division; Environmental Engineering Division; Architecture Engineering Division; Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Division; and the Construction Engineering and Management Division. As of January 1996, eighty per cent of the Institute’s income came from government contributions, with the remainder from its own sources. In 1996, KICT employed 163 research and 51 administrative personnel.

Korea Institute of Criminology
The KIC (Han’guk Hyŏngsa Chŏngch’ak Yŏng’guwŏn) is a public organisation established under The Korean Institute of Criminology Act (1988) and financed by government appropriations and private research contracts. The institute was set up to assist in policy formulation by analysing the current state of crime in conjunction with changes in crime rates. KIC also conducts research for the development of criminal justice policies. In particular, the institute’s research is concerned with criminal trends, underlying causes and countermeasures as well as criminal law and policy. It also studies crime, criminal law, and criminal policies of North Korea in preparation for the reunification of the peninsula. In addition, KIC conducts seminars and provides research grants to experts and organisations working in the field of criminology.

Korea Institute of Geology, Mining and Minerals (KIGAM)

Located within Taedŏk Science Town in Taejŏn, KIGAM (Han’guk Chawŏn Yŏng’uso) is a research institution devoted to the study of geoscience, geology and material development. About eighty per cent of the Institution’s 460 personnel are researchers attached to one of KIGAM’s eight research divisions. The other twenty per cent are employed in one of the three support divisions. Of late, KIGAM has been researching environmental concerns, such as underground water management, prevention of natural disasters, air pollution reduction and waste utilisation.

Korea Institute of Industry and Technology Information (KINITI)

KINITI provides a nation-wide information system to support industrial and technological development in Korea. The Institute facilitates access and utilisation of information resources, develops on-line information systems and information search tools, promotes public awareness of information services, trains information technology specialists and establishes cooperative networks with both domestic and international information agencies.

Korea Institute of Machinery and Materials (KIMM)

KIMM (Han’guk Kige Yŏng’guwŏn) conducts R and D on machinery, materials, ships and maritime engineering technology. As an integrated government-funded Institute, KIMM provides assistance to small and medium-sized firms. The Institute also provides technical help to Korea’s machine manufacturing industry.

Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety (KINS)

Situated in Taejŏn, KINS (Han’guk Wŏnjaryŏk Anjŏn Kisurwŏn) works to ensure the safety of nuclear facilities in the ROK under the regulatory and licensing provisions of the Atomic Energy Act. In accordance with this legislation, KINS has been entrusted by the Ministry of Science and Technology to perform safety revues and inspections. KINS develops safety standards as well as regulations for the control of nuclear radiation and is responsible for environmental radiation monitoring and regulatory research. It is also equipped to provide technical support in the event of a radiogenic emergency.

Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA)

KIPA (Han’guk Haengjong Yŏng’guwŏn) was established in 1991, with Kang Yŏnghun as chairman. The institute offers ‘think-tank responsibility’ in preparing public administration policies for Korea’s future. KIPA conducts research and seminars on a wide range of issues, including public administration’s changing role amidst social and political change in northeast Asia, responses to internationalisation, and the reunification of the Korean peninsula. The institute also supports seminars and studies on new trends in public administration in other countries.
Korea Institute of Registered Architects (KIRA)

Located in Soch’o-dong in Seoul, KIRA (Taehan Kônch’uksa Hyôphoe) was founded in 1965 and obtained government sanction in the same year. In addition to its registration and accreditation activities, the Institute holds annual exhibitions of architectural works and publishes the monthly magazine Registered Architects. As of July 1995, the institute had fifteen regional branches and over five-thousand members.

Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST)

Located in Pohang in North Kyôngsang Province, KIST is a private-sector institute established in 1987, in order to support Korea’s industrial and technological development by conducting both basic and applied research. In order to disseminate information to people working in the field, the institute also conducts training programs in industrial management and administration. KIST consists of the Divisions of Applied Science; Ceramics; Chemical Engineering; Electronics and Information Technology; Environment and CFC Technology; Mechanical Engineering; Metals and Polymer Research; and Research Planning and Coordination. KIST facilities also include the Biomedic Science Centre; Structural Biology Centre; the Commission for the KIST-2000 Research Program; Korea Research Institute of Bioscience and Biotechnology; and the Science and Technology Policy Institute.

Korean Insurance Development Institute (KIDI)

KIDI was established in November 1989 after a 1988 amendment to Korea’s Insurance Business Law. The revised law included a provision stipulating the establishment, purpose and authority of KIDI. In 1990, the Institute commenced a review of life insurance products and constructed actuarial tables and mortality statistics. KIDI’s principal aim is to promote consumer confidence in the insurance industry. In order to accomplish its purpose, the Institute maintains an extensive research program on various facets of insurance, including the publication of suggested premium rates based on its findings, as well as undertaking other insurance-related research.

Korea Long Term Credit Bank  [Financial institutions]

Korea National University of Education

Korea National University of Education (Han’guk Kyowôn Taehakkyo) is located in Ch’ôngwôn County in North Ch’ungch’ông Province. Founded in March 1984, it opened its doors one year later, with Yi Kyuho as first president. In March 1986, a master’s degree program was commenced, followed by a Ph.D program in March 1988. Today, the university consists of four colleges, the Graduate School and the Graduate School of Education.

Korea Old and New: A History

*Korea Old and New: A History* is a general history of Korea, written by Carter J. Eckert, Ki-Baik Lee, Young Ick Lew, Michael Robinson and Edward W. Wagner. This work was published by Ilchokak Publishers, Seoul, in 1990, and consists of 454 pages, divided into twenty chapters.

The authors sought to improve on what they viewed as the deficiencies of the earlier, *A New History of Korea*, written by Ki-Baik Lee and published in 1984. Lee’s seminal work concludes with the April 1960 Students Revolution and provides scant coverage of the
events from the colonial period forward, while in some respects it is far too detailed for many English language readers. The subsequent work condenses *A New History of Korea* into less than half of its original form and dedicates considerable space to those events of the nineteenth -- twentieth centuries which have had a major influence on Korea and East Asia in general. The three chapters in the work allotted to late Chosôn (from 1864 to 1910) were written by Young Ick Lew; Michael Robinson wrote the section on the Japanese colonial period, and Carter J. Eckert the post-liberation chapters. Thus, this work provides a comprehensive coverage of the events occurring from late Chosôn to 1990.

*Korea Old and New: A History* does not replace Ki-Baik Lee’s *A New History of Korea*, but is a good companion volume to it. The later-published work is highly readable and of great value for students in any field of Korean studies, providing as it does the historical framework for understanding the situation of modern Korea.

**Korea Railway Research Institute (KRRI)**

The government established KRRI in March 1996 to help implement its policies, as well as research core technologies for use in the development of Korea’s railways, and to strengthen Korea's international competitiveness. The Institute participates in a number of important projects including the High Speed Rail, the Seoul Metropolitan Subway (Phase III) and the Twelve-route Light Rail. The KRRI is also researching the practicability of the Maglev system for urban rail networks. The Institute works to maintain maximum safety conditions and quality of service of the nation’s railway system.

**Korea Research Foundation**

The Korea Research Foundation (Han’guk Haksul Chinhŭng Chaedan) was established in 1980 to support and coordinate various types of academic research. To facilitate research related to Korea, it runs an academic information network linking major research institutes and university libraries. The Foundation provides also for the international exchange of scholars, and promotes joint research projects under bilateral agreements with foreign institutes. The major component of international exchange activities is the development of Korean studies at foreign institutes of higher learning. The Foundation also participates in youth exchange programs and cultural events designed to develop better understanding and cooperation between Korea and other countries.

The Korea Research Foundation (Han’guk Haksul Chinhŭng Chaedan) was established in 1980. Pursuant to the Science Promotion Act of December 1979, it had the role of supporting and promoting science research activities and international exchange. On 1 April 1984 the Foundation merged with the Korea Institute for Educational Exchange. Its headquarters are in Jong Ro Ku in Seoul.

Today, the Foundation’s activities are still concerned with support for science research activities.

**Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS)**

KRIHS (Kukto Kaebal Yŏn’guwŏn) is located in the city of Anyang in Kyŏnggi Province. Established in 1978, KRIHS is a non-profit making, independent research organisation established to improve knowledge of the nation's resources in terms of human impact; assisting the government in formulating long-range development plans; cooperating with academic circles in solving theoretical and practical problems concerning human settlement issues and planning; developing and maintaining a data-bank containing current information and statistics on national land resources; and collecting and disseminating significant findings of research on
land management and planning. The KRIHS has a research staff of about one-hundred and twenty and sixty or so administrative personnel. It is funded by the government, but also receives revenue from research contracts (25-50 per cent).

**Korea Research Institute of Bioscience and Biotechnology (KRIBB)**

The Genetic Engineering Centre (GEC) was established as an affiliation of the Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) in February 1985. GEC changed its name to the Genetic Engineering Research Institute (GERI, Saengmyŏng Konghak Yŏn'guso) in December 1990 and then became the Korea Research Institute of Bioscience and Biotechnology in March 1995. The institute works towards a national research and development structure for Korean bioscience and biotechnology, and promotes close links among industry, academic institutions and national research institutions.

**Korea Research Institute of Standards and Science (KRISS)**

KRISS (Han’guk P’yojun Kwahak Y’onguwŏn) was founded as the Korea Standards Research Institute in 1976, in the Taedŏk Science Town in Taejŏn. In 1982, the Precision Instrumentation Centre was established at the Institute. A 1991 reorganisation incorporated the Korea Basic Science Centre (KBSC) and the Institute of Space Science and Astronomy (ISSA), with a name-change to KRISS. In May 1993, the Korea Astronomy Observatory (KAO) and Korea Basic Science Centre (KBSC) became self-governing affiliates of KRISS.

**Korea Rural Economic Institute (KREI)**

The KREI (Han’guk Nongch’on Kyŏngje Yŏn’gguwon) is a non-profit making research institute founded in April 1978 with financial support from the Korean government. The Institute’s predecessor was the National Agricultural Economics Research Institute (NAERI) established in 1967, but which foundered because of funding problems. Under the guidance of a fourteen-member board of directors with members drawn from government, universities, and voluntary organisations, KREI performs research and policy studies on specific issues related to agricultural and rural development. These studies are designed to help farmers, agricultural firms and the government to reach better informed decisions. The Institute publishes several publications in Korean, as well as the Journal of Rural Development which is published biannually in both English and Korean.

**Korea Science and Engineering Foundation**

Located in the Yusŏng district of Taejŏn, KOSEF (Han’guk Kwahak Chaedan) is a governmental institution founded in 1997. The foundation provides support for scientific research and education, conducts training programs and promotes international cooperation in scientific research. KOSEF is associated with a number of foreign institutions including the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

**Korea Silk Research Institute (KSRI)**

The KSRI is located in Chinju in South Kyŏngsang Province, and was established in 1988. The Institute undertakes research into the technological advancement of the silk industry; gives guidance on the practical application of new technologies, the training of technicians, management of model enterprises, testing and analysis. Research areas include dyeing, chemical finishing, weaving and design.
Korea Times, The

The Korea Times is an English language newspaper published in Seoul. Its first printing was on 1 November 1950, under Kim Hwallan. The newspaper's first president was Kim Sangyong, the managing editor Cho Yongman, and the editor-in-chief Yi Sokkon. It was originally launched to provide the United Nations forces in Korea access to news in the English language. The Korea Times started out as a two-page newspaper, but expanded to four pages from 4 December 1952. In the aftermath of the political upheaval of May 1952, and due also to ideological differences among staff, an offshoot paper, The Korean Republic, was published, which would later change its name to The Korea Herald on 15 August 1965. The Korea Times developed over the years to reach a total of eight pages on a daily basis in 1978, with two four-page weekly supplements.

The Korea Times is distributed in about one-hundred and sixty countries and seeks to provide comprehensive coverage of both past and current events to its (English language) readers. Its content includes national and international news; economic and business news; sports; editorial opinion; culture and lifestyle content. The editorial staff has sought to produce a newspaper that meets the diverse needs of an English language audience in Korea and thus features many different topics. Other newspapers published by its parent company, the Hankook Ilbosa, include the daily Hankook ilbo (Hanguk ilbo) a daily general newspaper, and the Seoul Kyungje Shinmoon (Soul kyungje shinmun), which is a daily business and economic newspaper.

Korea Toy Industry Cooperative

Korea University

Korea University (Koryo Tachakkyo) is a private university situated in Anam-dong in Seoul. The university was initially founded in 1905 as Posung College (Posong Chomnun Hakkyo) by Lee Young Ik (Yi Yongik). Lee, who once served as Treasurer to the Royal Household, had been impressed by the schools of higher education he had seen while residing in Japan. After his return to Korea, he wanted to create a modern educational institution that was both founded and managed by Koreans. Initially, the college was a two-year night school offering training in legal studies. In 1907, a law department and economics department were established and the curriculum was extended to three years.

In 1909, there was a severe financial crisis which in the following year led to the school's financial management being transferred to Son Pyonghui (1861-1922), a leader of the Ch'ondogyo church. In 1915, the school's name was changed to Posong Pomyul Sangop Hakkyo, and three-year courses of study in law and business were offered. With the arrest of Son Pyonghui during the March First Movement of 1919, the school again faced insolvency. After some critical changes, the school reverted to its previous name of Posung College, in 1921.

In 1932, the college underwent another financial crisis, prompting another change in management. At this time, Kim Sung Soo took charge of the school, building a new campus in the Songbuk District of Seoul at the university's present location. Under Sung's direction, the school's campus was expanded, as was the library, and student enrolment was increased. In 1946, the complex became Korea University, with Hyun Sang Yoon (Hyon Sangyun) as its first president.

Korea University now has a total of twelve colleges, eighty-five departments and ten graduate schools. At the Seoul Campus are the Colleges of Business Administration, Education, Engineering, Law, Liberal Arts, Medicine, Natural Resources, Political Science & Economics and Science along with the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of
Business Administration, Education, Industrial Science, International Studies, Journalism & Mass Communication, Labor, Legal Studies and Natural Resources. At the Choch'iwön campus in South Ch'ungch'ŏng's Yŏn'gi County, are the Colleges of Economics & Commerce, Humanities and Science & Technology, as well as the Graduate School of Business Administration. In 1995, the Institute of Foreign Language Studies was established at the Seoul campus, where students receive intensive instruction in English, Spanish, French, German, Russian, Chinese and Japanese. Classes are taught by native speakers and students are encouraged to continue their language education for the full four years of undergraduate study, with the emphasis on oral communication skills.

The university employs around 2,000 faculty members including full-time and part-time lecturers and visiting academics. The Korea University Library, which has an extensive network of branch libraries, contains over one-million volumes, including many rare books. The library plans to increase its total holdings to two million volumes by the year 2005.

In addition to its medical college, Korea University incorporates the Junior School of Allied Health and Medical Technology and four university hospitals which offer teaching programs and medical training for students, while providing medical services to the public. The university also runs thirty-nine research institutes including the Asiatic Research Centre and the Korean Cultural Research Centre. Korea University's campuses cover a total area of about 110 hectares (272 acres) The University also owns about 49 hectares (120 acres) of agricultural land for research as well as about 1338 hectares (3,304 acres) of forests.

**Korea's Fight for Freedom**

*Korea's Fight for Freedom* is a history of the loss of national sovereignty and the struggle for independence waged by Koreans during the last days of Chosŏn to the aftermath of the First of March 1919 Independence Movement. The author is Frederick Arthur McKenzie (1869-1931), a correspondent for the London *Daily Mail*, and his work was published by the Fleming H. Revell Company in 1920. It was subsequently reprinted by Yonsei University Press in 1969.

In the preface, McKenzie condemns the brutal reaction of the Japanese to the peaceful uprising of the Korean people in March 1919. He cries out for the international community to redress the crimes of the Japanese in plundering the national sovereignty of Korea and the barbarous suppression of the independence movement conducted by Korean patriots. Moreover, the author denounces the actions of the Japanese to stem the work of missionaries in Korea.

McKenzie's work begins with a description of the situation that surrounded the colonisation of Korea by Japan, including the assassination of Queen Min (1851-1895) by a Japanese named Takahashi Genji, concurrently with the killing of several members of the court by Japanese policemen and their Korean collaborators. His work is poignantly informative, however, about the situation which existed in Korea during the First of March 1919 Independence Movement, and the vicious punishments and tortures that the soldiers and police inflicted on Koreans, regardless of gender, age and class. He includes many first-hand accounts of the brutality of the Japanese police. Hence, this work is of value for gaining an insight of the savagery of the Japanese oppression of the Korean people during this tragic time.

McKenzie had previously written *The Tragedy of Korea* (1908), which had dealt principally with the colonisation of Korea. The stated aim of his works was to draw international support for the plight of Korean nationalism, and accordingly they provided English-speaking readers with first-hand information on the situation in Korea.
Korean Archaeological Society (Han'guk Kogohak Hoe) [Archaeology]

Korean Artist Proletariat Federation (see Korea Artista Proleta Federatio) [Communism]

Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) [Broadcasting companies]

Korean Bureau of Telegraph (Chosŏn Chŏnbo Ch'ongguk) [Communications]

Korean Central Intelligence Agency (Chungang Chŏngbo Pu) [History of Korea]

Korean Communist Party [Communism]

Korean Culture and Arts Foundation

KCAF (Han’guk Munhwa Yesul Chinhŭngwŏn) is located in Chongno Ward in Seoul. Established in 1973, the foundation provides support for Korean artists and promotes international cultural exchanges. In order to develop international awareness of Korean art, the organisation publishes translations from Korean literary works. In addition, it has offered the Korean Literature Translation Award on an annual basis since 1993.

Korean Daily News (see Taehan maeil shinbo)

Korean Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (Han'guk Chŏnja Tongshin Yŏn'guso) [Communications]

Korean Insurance Development Institute (KIDI)

KIDI was established in November 1989 after a 1988 amendment to Korea’s Insurance Business Law. The revised law included a provision stipulating the establishment, purpose and authority of KIDI. In 1990, the Institute commenced a review of life insurance products and constructed actuarial tables and mortality statistics. KIDI’s principal aim is to promote consumer confidence in the insurance industry. In order to accomplish its purpose, the Institute maintains an extensive research program on various facets of insurance, including the publication of suggested premium rates based on its findings, as well as undertaking other insurance-related research.

Korean Language Society (Chosŏnŏ or Han'gŭl Hakhoe) [Language, Korean]

Korean Music: Its History and Performance

Korean Music: Its History and Performance is a 279-page work, written by Keith Pratt and published by Jung Eum Sa in 1987, which describes the basic components of traditional Korean music. The work is divided into three major sections, with illustrations, plates and diagrams that explain the intricacies of Korean music.

The work begins with an introduction that first places Korean music in the larger context of Asian music. It then examines the basics of Korean music and the instruments used in its performance. The second section is devoted to plates, 142 in total, which show Korean musical performances being conducted, both presently or in historic paintings and prints, and the instruments used. The third section comments on the plates and is divided into the categories of contemporary music performance, musical instruments, ceremonial music,
religious music and music for entertainment. There is an extensive bibliography, a glossary of musical names and terms, and a list of Korean temple names.

Keith Pratt’s work is very helpful in understanding the nuances of Korean music and the many illustrations and plates help the visualisation of aspects of Korean music with which a non-specialist may not be familiar. Overall, the work is valuable for students of Korean music and traditional ritual and ceremonial events.

**Korean Musical Instruments: A Practical Guide**

*Korean Musical Instruments: A Practical Guide* is a 288-page work, which explains various traditional Korean musical instruments, written by Keith Howard and published by Se-Kwang Music Publishing Company in 1988. The work is composed of eight chapters, three appendices, and a bibliography.

Howard’s work begins with an explanation of the system for classification of Korean musical instruments, which are divided into chordophones, aerophones, idiophones, and membranophones. Next, he introduces the main Korean musical instruments beginning with the *p'iri*, which is followed by the *tanso, taegûm, changgo, kayagûm, kômûn'go* and the *haegûm*. In each chapter the author describes the instrument in question and provides an extensive historical examination of it; discusses similar instruments; details the construction of the instrument; method of playing; and the specific musical notations for it. Moreover, as the text is supplemented with illustrations, charts, diagrams and photographs, comprehension of the form and use of the various musical instruments is readily achieved by non-specialists. The work is augmented by the useful glossary of Korean terms included in the third appendix.

**Korean Products Promotion Campaign (Chosôn Mulsan Changnyôhoe)**

[History of Korea]

**Korean Provincial Government**

[History of Korea]

**Korean Research Institute for Women and Politics**

[Politics of Korea]

**Korean reunification question** (see also Unification of Korea) [History of Korea]

**Korean Science and Engineering Foundation**

[Science and Technology]

**Korean Socialist Party** (see Chosôn Sahoe Tang)

**Korean War, 1950-1953** (see History of Korea)

**Korean Women's Development Institute**

[Politics]

**Koreans to Remember**

*Koreans to Remember*, subtitled *50 Famous People who Helped to Shape Korea*, is a 242-page work written by Richard Saccone and published by Hollym International Corporation in 1993. The work is composed of nine chapters that divide the personages covered by the author into the categories of politicians; kings and queens; military figures; philosophers; religious figures; businessmen; scholars; artists; writers; publishers and composers; and patriots. The subjects chosen by Saccone range from historic figures such as Queen Sŏndŏk (r. 632-647) of Shilla to contemporary politicians such as Roh Tae Woo (No T’aeu) and
While this work was largely compiled from English language sources, the author has utilised some Korean language references and interviews in his compilation. The biographies in the work are highly readable and informative, but the author's positive appraisal of many of the personages he includes ignores a deal of established fact. For example, in dismissing the authoritarian legacies of the regimes of Park Chung Hee (Pak Ch'onghûi) and Chun Doo Hwan (Ch'ŏn Tuhwan) with single lines, the author instead focuses almost entirely on the positive aspects of their governments. Hence, the value of this work, even to a general audience, is diminished by its one-sided approach. Moreover, since it was undoubtedly written for the general reader, the biographies are rather simple and shallow.

Koryô (see History of Korea)

Koryô chôngch'i chedo sa yŏn'gu (A Study of the History of Koryô Political Systems)

Koryô chôngch'i chedo sa yŏn'gu is a 500-page work that examines the political systems and ideology on both the national and local level in the Koryô period. This work also covers the emergence of the military powers in the mid-to late Koryô period that resulted in a change to the class system. This work was written by Pyŏn T'aesŏp and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1971.

Koryô Communist Party (Koryô Kongsan Tang) [History of Korea]

Koryô kwangjong yŏn'gu (Studies of King Kwangjong of Koryô)

Koryô kwangjong yŏn'gu is a collection of seven studies by different writers that are all either directly or indirectly related to King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) of the Koryô Kingdom. Yi Kibaek was the editor of this 155-page work that was published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1981.

Koryô Kyohyang Aktan [Music]

Koryô pyŏngje sa yŏn'gu (A Study of the Koryô Military System)

Koryô pyŏngje sa yŏn'gu is a 328-page work on the military systems of the Koryô period written by Yi Kibaek and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1983. The author has divided it into the five main chapters of a preliminary investigation, the capital army of Koryô, regional armies, provincial garrison forces and a conclusion.

Koryô sa

The Koryô sa (History of Koryô, 1451), the official history of the Koryô dynasty (918-1392), consists in total of one hundred and thirty-nine volumes. As with the succeeding Chosôn dynasty, the Koryô dynasty had its own annals and a number of histories written by different scholars. But the only existing history is the Koryôsa, which was actually written in the Chosôn dynasty using the previous histories as its sources. It now constitutes the standard account of the history of the Koryô.

The Koryô sa opens with Ch'ong Inji's dedication, dated 1451, and Ch'ong's name appears on the top of the list of compilers. However, the work had been commenced much earlier and had undergone several revisions. The first to undertake the compilation was actually
Chŏng Tojon while the scholar who contributed most to the compilation was Kim Chongsŏ.

In 1392 King T'aejo, the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty ordered Cho Chun, Chŏng Tojon and Chŏng Ch'ong to undertake the task of compiling the history of the previous dynasty. They completed the history entitled Koryŏ kuksa in 137 volumes in 1395. Since the completion of the Koryŏ kuksa, it underwent several revisions. With the 5th and final revision being completed in 1451 during the reign of King Munjong (r.1450-1452), it was retitled as Koryŏ sa and the total number of volumes were increased from 137 to 139.

The Koryŏ sa consists of forty-six volumes of Sega, thirty-nine volumes of Chi, two volumes of Yŏnp'yŏ, fifty volumes of Yŏlchŏn and two volumes of Index, totalling one hundred and thirty-nine volumes in all.

The volumes of the Sega give in chronological form important facts relating to the Kings of the Koryo dynasty from T'aejo to Kongyang.

The Chi, is a kind of encyclopaedic history and is divided into sections on solar eclipses and other astronomical events; natural calamities; products of the provinces; marriages and other rites of passage; music; clothing; officials and official examinations; land, taxes and the economic system; the military and finally, criminal law.

The two volumes of Yŏnp'yŏ give chronological tables of the kings of the dynasty in the sexagenary cycle along with the contrasting table of the dynasties of China.

The Yŏlchŏn in fifty volumes is a biographical dictionary of the Koryo dynasty, and includes records on queens, members of the royal family, princesses, commoners, loyal and disloyal officials, filial sons, artisans, eunuchs, rebels and others.

The Annals of King Munjong lists the compilers of each section. The list does not contain, however, the names of Kim Chongsŏ, Hŏ Hŏ, Pak P'aengnyŏn and Yu Sŏngwŏn. The reason for this is that two years after the compilation, they opposed the dethroning of the young King Tanjong by his uncle Sejo, who ascended the throne himself. King Sejo arrested and executed all four of them. Thus, their names were excluded from the list of compilers. For this reason the work carries the name of Chŏng Inji instead of Kim Chongsŏ as the director and as a consequence, the Koryŏ sais commonly known as Chŏng Inji's History.

The dating system of the Koryŏ sais important. In the Koryo era, the first year of a reign began with the year of the coronation. However, the Chosŏn compilers considered the year after the coronation as the first year. This originally caused considerable confusion when dating the years of the Koryŏ kings.

**Koryŏ sa chŏryo**

The Koryŏ sa chŏryo is a chronological history of Koryo compiled by Kim Chongsŏ and others in 1452.

It is based on earlier chronological histories which are no longer extant, the Koryŏ kuksa and the Sugyo Koryosa. Under King Sejong, the Koryo sa, a history of Koryŏ arranged by subject rather than chronology, was published in 1451.

In the year following the completion of the Koryŏ sa, the compilers, with the permission of the King, undertook the compilation of the Koryŏ sa chŏryo, which again reverted to a chronological arrangement. Thus, the Koryŏ sa chŏryois, in the final analysis, simply a revised and supplemented edition of the Sugyo Koryo sa. The first edition was published in
type about one year after its completion, that is, in 1453.

The work is in thirty-five volumes and contains the historical records arranged in chronological order. It covers the period from 918 to 1392. The work first lists the names of kings, their dates of birth, their parentage and their reign names. Following this is a description in detail of major events which occurred during each reign. Overall, the records are not as descriptive as those in the Koryŏ sa, though they do cover events which are not in the latter work. The Koryŏ sachŏryo provides basic historical material and supplements the Koryŏ sa.

The first edition of the Koryŏ sachŏryo published in 1453 is to be found only in the Hōsa Bunko collection in Japan. It was republished in 1932 as Korean Historical Material Series No.1. The edition presumed to have been published in the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) is to be found in the Library of Seoul National University as part of the Royal Kyujanggak Collection. There are several missing volumes from this set, but a microfilm edition was issued in 1961 with the missing volumes supplemented from the first edition held in Japan.

Koryŏ sahoesa yŏn'gu (A Study of the History of Koryŏ Society)

Koryŏ sahoesa yŏn'gu is a 500-page work written by Hŏ Hwangshik and published by Asea Munhwa Sa. In this work the author bases his analysis on the examination of a census register from the end of the Koryŏ period, and through this document investigates the structure of the family of this period.

Koryŏ shidae sa (History of the Koryŏ Period)

Koryŏ shidaes a is a 1096-page work written by Kim Sanggi and first published by Tongguk Munhwa Sa in 1961. It was republished in 1985 by Seoul National University Press as a 939-page work. It is largely divided into two sections: the first being the period of prosperity in Koryŏ from King T'aejo (r. 918-943) until King Yejong (r. 1105-1122), and the second being the period of social unrest that befell the Kingdom from the reign of King Injong (1122-1146) until its fall in 1391. The author has used a thorough analysis of the Koryŏ sa (History of Koryŏ) to arrive at his conclusions in the work. Koryŏ shidae sa is richly supplemented with photos and appendices including a lineage of the kingdom, tables of invasions, official posts and other information.

Koryŏ shidae ii yŏn'gu (Studies of the Koryŏ Period)

Koryŏ shidaes ii is a 430-page work written by Yi Pyŏngdo and published by Asea Munhwa Sa in 1980. In this work the author examines the history of Koryŏ in connection with the prophecies in the Toch'amsŏl.
Koryŏ sogyo (Koryŏ songs)  [Literature]

Koryŏ taejanggyŏng  (see Buddhist canon, Korean)


Koryŏ t’ojichedo sa yŏng’gu is a study of the various land systems during the Koryŏ period. This work is the result of the author, Kang Chinch’ŏl’s life-long research into this matter. Various aspects of land usage such as soldier’s land (kuninjon), private land (sajŏn) and public land (kongjon) are discussed along with governmental land reform efforts such as the Stipend Land Law (chŏnshikwa). Ilchogak Publishers published a revised version of this 465-page book in 1991. Korea University Press published the original edition in 1980.

Koryŏ Tripitaka (see Buddhist canon, Korean)

Koryŏng County

Situated in the southwest part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Koryŏng County has the town of Koryŏng and the townships of Kaejin, Tasan, Tŏkkok, Ssangnim, Sŏngsan and Ugok. Mt. Misung (734m) and Mt. Pannyong (733m) rise in the west, while the Naktong River flows along the county’s eastern border. The county consists of hilly terrain with fertile plains along the banks of the Naktong River.

About 21 per cent of the county is arable, most of which is used to grow rice, but dry-field crops such as beans, peanuts, watermelon and cucumbers are also cultivated. The Annim strawberries, which are organically grown in the region, are known throughout the country for their sweet flavour. In the Tasan Township area, a variety of medicinal herbs are grown. The area is a longstanding producer of pottery, roofing tiles, ink-stones and Ishibil (Twenty Day) liquor.

There are a number of important historical sites in the area. Prehistoric relics, include a rock carving and dolmens in Kaejin Township’s Yangjŏn-dong. Shards of plain pottery along with stone tools have also been excavated from this site. During the early historical period, the Koryŏng county area, then known as Tae Kaya, was part of the Kaya federation that formed during the Three Kingdoms period. As a result, artefacts from this area are important for the light they shed on Kaya culture. Kaya-era stone fortresses found here include remains of the Tae Kaya Fortress in Koryŏng, Unna Fortress in Unsu Township, Mandae and Ŭibong Fortresses. In Koryŏng’s Koa-dong, there are ten or more old tombs. In the early 1960s, the excavation of one of these revealed evidence of wall paintings. While most of the paintings had deteriorated and were unrecognizable, one of them seems to have been a lotus flower decoration.

Buddhist artefacts include an interesting multi-storey pagoda (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 118) at Panyong Temple and a pair of banner-pole supports that appear to be from the Shilla period in Chisan-dong. Confucian schools in the area include Toam Sŏwŏn north of the Koryŏng interchange, Nogang Sŏwŏn, and Koryŏng Hyanggyo south of Chungu reservoir. A number of modern educational institutions are in the area, including Kaya University in Koryŏng’s Chisan Village.

Kosa ch’waryo

Kosa ch’waryo is a work that chiefly deals with the diplomatic intercourse between Korea
and Ming China and was compiled by the scholar Sukkwon in 1554. The original version of this work is no longer extant, but from the later editions the content and structure of the original can be surmised. There are now several different versions extant and the oldest of these is the Urhae cha type edition that was published in 1568.

The content of this work is centred on the diplomatic relations between Korea and the Ming, which were governed by the principle of sadae, or Korean subservience to the Ming. It covers the history of diplomatic relations between the two countries for a period of over two centuries dating from the Koryo period. In examining this work the structure of diplomatic relations between Korea and China can be understood along with the various items concerning diplomatic protocol and life in Ming China. The work broaches topics concerning various aspects of Ming life such as customs, government organisations and celebrated Confucian scholars. This work is quite valuable for the study of foreign relations of the early Choson period.

**Kosan yugo** (Posthumous Collection of Kosan)

*Kosan yugo* is the literary collection of the middle Choson period scholar-official Yun Sondo (1587-1671). This collection consists of six volumes and six fascicles and is a woodblock-printed work titled after the pen name of Yun, Kosan. It was first published by the governor of Cholla Province, Sô Yurin, at the request of the king in 1791. The work was again published in 1798 to correct errors in the first edition and this edition has been transmitted to the present.

The first five volumes contain various official writings of Yun including memorials to the king, essays, treaties and various other writings. The sixth volume is of particular value for the study of Korean literature as it contains the author’s shijo collection. Among the works that are recorded in this section are ‘Sanjung shin’gok’ (New Songs in the Mountain), ‘Sanjung sokshin gok’ (More New Songs in the Mountain) and ‘ôbu sashisa’ (Fishermen’s Song of the Four Seasons) from a total of seventy-five works.

The historical value of *Kosan yugo* is great for several different reasons. First, the documents that trace the official life of the author reveal much of the intrigue and political machinations that dominated Choson politics during Yun’s lifetime. Yun was exiled repeatedly when his political faction fell out of favor in the government. Second, this work reveals the political turmoil that surrounded Choson with the collapse of the Chinese Ming State and the subsequent rise of the Qing. Yun was strongly opposed to maintaining a subservient relationship with the Qing as he considered them little more than barbarians, and instead advocated maintaining loyalty to the Ming. Third, this work contains some of the most outstanding examples of Korean shijo. In particular ‘ôbu sashisa’, a shijo cycle of forty songs, is praised as one of the finest examples of shijo poetry in the Choson period. Therefore, the literary value of *Kosan yugo* is great also since it records many fine shijo works. It was recently included in *Yljo myônghôn chip* published in 1973 by Sônggyungwan University.

**Kosông County** (Kangwôn Province)

Stretching north of Sokch’o along the east coast of Kangwôn Province, Kosông County is comprised of the towns of Kansông and Kôjin, and the townships of Chugwang, T’osông and Hyônae. The county’s western border runs from Mt. Kûmgang in the north to Mt. Sôrak in the south. Since the Korean War, the county has been divided between North and South Korea. Numerous military installations guard the area around the demilitarised zone.

In the level area near the coast, many of the residents are employed in agriculture. Rice, barley, beans, corn and millet are the region’s main crops. Fishing is another important part of the local economy. Small fishing boats catch walleye pollack, cuttle fish and mackerel
pike. The area’s industry is limited to several small ventures such as the boat repair operation in Kōjin. Forest products are another important part of the local economy. However, the area’s timber industry suffered a setback in the spring of 1997 when a forest fire swept through the area, devastating much of the native growth.

Tourism also makes a significant contribution to the local economy. In the summer, visitors flock to Samp’o and Hwajinp’o Beach. In the winter, numerous ski enthusiasts visit the Chinburyŏng Ski Resort. Although most tourists prefer to go to the famous Mt. Sŏbrak to the south, there are several scenic mountains in the county which are frequented by local residents and hiking clubs. Shinsŏn Peak (1204 metres), accessible from the top of Mishi Pass, offers a panoramic view of the area. To the east of the peak lies the scenic Hwaam Temple.

There are several educational institutions in the area. The Kansŏng Hyanggyo (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 104), was founded in 1420 as a Confucian school for local youth. It was burnt down during the Hideyoshi Invasion of 1592. Reconstructed in 1640 and 1850, the school was destroyed again during the Korean War. In the following decades it was slowly rebuilt to become the complex seen today in Kansŏng’s Kyodong Village. As for modern institutions, Kyungdong University, located in T’osŏng Township, was opened in 1997. Focusing on architecture, design and tourism, the university plays an important role as the only four year university in the area.

Kосŏng County (South. Kyŏngsang Province)

Situated in the southern part of South Kyŏngsang Province, Kosŏng County comprises the town of Kosŏng and the towns of Kŏryu, Kuman, Kacch’ŏn, Tonghae, Taega, Maam, Samsan, Sangni, Yŏngpo, Yonghyŏn, Hai, Hail and Hoehwa. The county covers a total area of 513.1 square kilometres and as of 1986 had a population of 80 621. The region is rugged with numerous mountains over 500 metres in elevation.

The county’s agriculture is centred around the Kosŏng Plain, which lies between the western mountains and the Kosŏng Peninsula. Rice, the county’s main crop, is grown here. Farmers also grow dry-field crops such as barley, beans, sweet potatoes and green vegetables. The area’s speciality crops include cotton, sesame, persimmons, ginseng and yangsongi mushrooms (Agaricus compestris). Fishing is another important source of income. Boats in the calm waters off the coast bring in catches of anchovy, hairtail, sea bream and ray. In Kuma Township, there is a clay quarry and in Samsan Township, there are gold, silver and copper mines. The mines here supply thirty per cent of South Korea’s copper ore. The county’s industry is limited to a small number of marine product processing plants.

With numerous mountain peaks and a long coastline, the county boasts an abundance of scenic attractions. On Mt. Kujol in Tonghae Township, one finds Kujol Waterfall. Left of the waterfall lies Podŏk Cave and a famous mineral spring, and to the right of the fall lies Paekho Cave. On the cliff above the waterfall is a large boulder, so precariously balanced that it rocks to and fro when pushed. Sadu (Lion Head) Temple used to be perched on this cliff, but the building fell into disrepair and was replaced by P’okp’o Hermitage, which now stands on the site.

In Maam Township’s Changsan Village lies Changsan Forest. During the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494), Hŏ Ch’ŏnsu, a disciple of Yi Hwang (T’oegeye), built a pond and pavilion here and planted trees throughout the area. He also constructed a small fishing platform within the pond. Hŏ would invite fellow scholars to come to the pond where they would fish, recite poetry and engage in the pastimes of the refined scholarly class. After Hŏ’s death, the site was gradually neglected until some of his descendants reconstructed the pond and fishing platform.
In addition to scenic attractions, there are a number of historical sites in the area. Ancient Buddhist temples found here include the Munsu Hermitage site south of Highway 33 in Sangni Township, Okch'ŏn Temple in Kaech'ŏn Township and Sangjok Hermitage on the coast in Hai Township. Kosŏng Hyanggyo was founded in 1398 as the area’s first public educational institution. Razed during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), the school was rebuilt by Chŏng Yŏrin in 1607 in Kyosa Village. After several more moves, the building was again set up in Kyosa Village in what is now the town of Kosŏng in 1726. Other Confucian schools in the area include Surim Sŏwŏn, Toyŏn Sŏwŏn (founded in 1854) and Wigye Sŏwŏn (founded in 1844) near Ch'angsan Forest, Tosan Sŏwŏn founded in Kuma Township in 1633, Kalch'ŏn Sŏwŏn founded northwest of Mt. Hangnam (549m) in Taeg'a Township in 1712, Konŭi Sŏwŏn founded in Maam Township’s Sannak Village in 1738 and Yuch’ŏn Sŏwŏn founded in Kosŏng’s Taep’yŏng Village in 1709.

Famous folk customs from this area include the Kosŏng Ogwangdae (Mask-dance Theatre) and Kosŏng nongyo (Farmers’ work songs). The Kosŏng Ogwangdae consists of seven scenes which portray the obang shinjang (protective deities of the five directions), a Buddhist monk, a yangban, a yŏngno (human with a beast's head), a leper, halmi yŏnggam (old woman and old man), and a lion. The Tangsanje (Shaman ritual to worship the guardian spirit of mountains) is the most popular village ceremony observed in this region. Another interesting local ritual is the T'apshinje (Shaman ritual to worship the guardian spirits of pagodas) which is held in Hail Township’s Obang Village.

Kōul (Mirror) [Literature]

Koun Temple

Koun Temple is situated on Mt. Tüngun in North Kyŏngsang Province. Originally called ‘High Clouds Temple’ (Koun-sa) when founded by Ŭisang in 681, the name was later changed to ‘Lonely Clouds Temple’ (Koun-sa) when Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn and the monks Yŏji and Yŏsa constructed Kaun and Uhwa Pavilion at the site.

The temple complex currently contains about twenty-five buildings. In addition, as one of the main temples of the Chogye Order, it administers over fifty branch temples. The temple also houses several ancient artefacts, including an exquisitely-carved seated statue of the Buddha (Treasure No. 246). This 79cm-high stone statue dates from Greater Shilla.

Koyang

Koyang is situated to the northwest of Seoul. Mt. Pukhan (837 metres) rises up to the east and the Han River flows along the city’s border from south to west. Farms in the area primarily cultivate rice, sweet potatoes, potatoes and barley. Dairy farming and stock breeding also contribute to the local economy. Due to city zoning restrictions, the area’s industrial development is limited to a number of small factories. The area’s central tourist attraction is Mt. Pukhan National Park (See Pukhan Mountain), parts of which fall within the city limits.

There are a number of important historical sites in the area. In addition to several Chosŏn period tombs, including the tomb of Ch’olch’ong (r. 1849-1863) and Queen Ch’orin located in Wŏndang Village, there is the Haengju Fortress in Haengju-dong. There are also several Buddhist artefacts here. At T’aego Temple, there is a stupa (Treasure No. 749) commemorating National Master Wŏnjŏng, and in Chich’uk Village, there is the ancient Hŭngguk Temple which was originally founded by Wŏnhyo in 661.

Kubi munhak kaesŏl (An Introduction to Oral Literature)
*Kubi munhak kaesŏl* is an introductory work on the oral literature of Korea. This 310-page work was compiled and edited by a team of scholars headed by Chang Toksun and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1982. The contents of the work include folk songs, shaman songs, *p’ansori* dramas, proverbs and riddles. It also includes discussions on the transition of oral literature to written and various field studies on oral literature.

**Kudŭl**

[Housing]

*Kugŏ munpŏp* (Korean Grammar)

*Kugŏ munpŏp* is a 1910 grammar of Korean written by Chu Shigyŏng (1876-1914) and published by Pangmun Sŏgwan. This work was again published in 1911 and 1913 under the title of *Chosŏn munpŏp* (Chosŏn Language Grammar). There was one substantial difference between these two editions in that the particle ‘*ki*’ used in the former work was changed to ‘*ssi*’ in the latter, and this represents the first time that this was used.

Chu covers many aspects of the Korean language in his work, including pronunciation, differences in the written and spoken language, the use of special nominalisers, and sound alterations among many other facets of Korean. *Kugŏ munpŏp* is notable in the history of the development of the Korean language, not only for being one of the first Korean grammar books published, but also for establishing a basis for future scholarship in this field. Accordingly, it has been included in much later publications such as *Yŏktae han’guk munpŏp taegye* (Outline of the History of Korean Grammar) published in 1977.

*Kugŏ ἀmun sa yŏn’gu* (A Study of the History of Korean Phonology)

*Kugŏ ἀmun sa yŏn’gu* is a work on the phonemic systems of fifteenth c. Korean. This study was conducted by Yi Kimun, and the resultant work has been published twice, first by the Research Institute of Korean Culture at Seoul National University (Seoul Taehakkyo Han’guk Munhwa Yon’guso) in 1972 and then by T’ap Ch’ulp’ansa in 1982. It comprises 167 pages.

This work deals with the phonemic systems of both pre-fifteenth c. and post-fifteenth c. phonemes. Some of the topics the author addresses include the system of initial sounds in *Hunmin chŏng’um* (Correct Sounds to Teach the People), guttural sounds, tensed sounds, initial consonant clusters, palatalization, the system of final sounds in *Hunmin chŏng’um* and the system of vowel harmony among many other topics.

*Kugŏhak charyo nonmun chip* (Theses on Korean Linguistics)

*Kugŏhak charyo nonmun chip* is a five-volume collection of over fifty papers written by professors of linguistics from various universities throughout Korea. This work covers a wide range of Korean linguistic topics ranging from grammar to language development. It was issued by Taejegak Publishing Company over a ten-year span from 1970-1981.

*Kugŏhak charyo sŏnjip* (Collection of Selected Materials for the Study of the Korean Language)

*Kugŏhak charyo sŏnjip* is a five-volume compilation of materials for the historical study of the Korean language. Ilchogak Publishers published this 1400-page work in 1972.

*Kugŏhak kaeron* (An Introduction to Korean Linguistics)
Kugohak kaeron, written by Kim Hyönggu and published in 1949, represents the first modern survey of Korean linguistics. This work was published by Ilsöngdang Sŏjdöm. A revised edition was published in 1954, and a thoroughly revised work was published in 1962 under the title of Kaejong kugohak kaeron (An Introduction to Korean Linguistics, Revised Edition). In 1974 a revised and supplemented edition of this work entitled Chŏngbop' an kugohak kaeron (An Introduction to Korean Linguistics, Enlarged Edition) was published, attesting to both the lasting value and appeal of this work. It is divided into eight chapters that cover topics in Korean linguistics such as phonetics, standard and regional dialects, accidence and archaic language. This work remains a valuable resource in the study of Korean linguistics.

Kugyŏl

Kukchagam

Kukcho pogam (Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns)

Kukcho pogam is a compilation of the chronicles of the kings of Chosŏn that was completed in 1908. It was printed with movable type and consists of ninety volumes in twenty-eight fascicles.

This work was compiled in stages over many years, and began with the efforts of Kwŏn Che and Chŏng Inji who attempted to compile the records from the reigns of kings T'aejo (r. 1392-1398) and T'aejong (r. 1400-1418) by order of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) but never completed the task. The work of compilation was resumed later in the fifteenth century by Shin Sukchu and Kwŏn Nam who put together the chronicles of Kings T'aejo, T'aejong, Sejong and Munjong (r. 1450-1452) in 1457. This represented the first completed portion of the work. It was added to in 1684 by Yi Tanha who completed ten volumes of the work. Again in 1730 under another royal decree, Yi Tŏksu added another fifteen volumes. By 1782 the work included chronologies of all of the kings of Chosŏn with the exceptions of Chongjong (r. 1398-1400), Tanjong (r. 1452-1455), Sejo (r. 1455-1468), Yejong (r. 1468-1469), Sŏnjong (r. 1469-1494), Chungjong (r. 1506-1544), Injong (r. 1544-1545), Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567), Injo (r. 1623-1649), Hyojong (r. 1649-1659), Hyŏnjong (r. 1659-1674), Kyŏngjong (r. 1720-1724) and Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). However, under a decree during the reign of Yongjo, all of these excluded kings were added to the work, and this was completed during the reign of Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). The work at this time was comprised of sixty-eight volumes in nineteen fascicles. In 1847, Cho Inyŏng added the chronicles from the reigns of kings Chŏngjo and Sunjo (r. 1800-1834), and in 1908 Yi Yong'wŏn added the records of Hŏnjong (r. 1834-1849) and Ch'ŏlchong (r. 1849-1863). Finally in 1908, the last two kings of Chosŏn, Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and Sunjong (1907-1910) were added.

This work contains the records of over five hundred years of the kings of Chosŏn and is valuable for study of this period. It is, however, to be contrasted with the Shillok (Veritable Records) of the Chosŏn Kingdom which were compiled without input from the kings or royal family. The Kukcho pogam should be considered as more of a record of the good deeds of the kings and therefore contains facts that are somewhat inconsistent with other historical records. Nonetheless, this work is highly valued for the study of the various kings of this period.

Kukka Anjong Kihoek Pu (see Agency for National Security Planning)
Kukhwa yŏp'eso (Beside a Chrysanthemum)  [Literature]

Kuksa P'yonch'n Wiwŏnhoe (see National History Compilation Committee)

*Kuksa taesajŏn* (Encyclopaedia of Korean History)

*Kuksa taesajŏn* is a two-volume history of Korea compiled by Yi Hongjik and published by Chimun'gak Publishers in 1963. This work represents one of the first comprehensive compilations of Korean history after liberation in 1945. Yi covers many aspects including political, economic, military and legal affairs in this expansive work that covers nearly 3000 topics. In addition, at the conclusion of each entry the author includes bibliographical references, which greatly enhance the research value of this work. Other notable features are the large number of tables, lists of National Treasures and historical sites, family names in Korea and many other features that further add to the substance of this work.

*Kuksa taeyo* (Compendium of Korean History)

*Kuksa taeyo* is an introduction to Korean history written by Son Chint'ae and published by Eul Yoo Munhwasa in 1948. This work reflects Son's beliefs in the unity of the Korean people who had for the past five thousand years lived in the same area of Northeast Asia and shared a common history and culture. This work reveals a very nationalistic interpretation of Korean history and exposes a desire on the author's part to establish a new nationalistic consciousness among the Korean people.

Son traces the development of Korean history from the legendary founder of the first Korean state, Tan'gun Chosŏn, through the transformation of the social systems to the kingdoms of Koryŏ and Chosŏn. In addition, the author also explores the traditional divisions of Korean history from the Three Kingdoms periods to the Chosŏn period. This work is a valuable resource for the study of nationalistic sentiments among Koreans directly after liberation, and provides interesting observations and insights into Korean history. Moreover, *Kuksa taeyo* is also notable for the new nationalistic consciousness that it gave rise to among Koreans.

*Kuksa yoron* (Discourse on Korean History)

*Kuksa yoron* is an introductory work on Korean history that was written by Yi Inyong and published by Min'gyosa in 1954. Originally Yi had prepared this work for publication in 1949, but due to the outbreak of the Korean War it was not published. During the War, Yi was kidnapped and taken to North Korea, but this work was nonetheless published in 1954.

Yi's outlook on Korean history stresses a 'new' nationalism among Koreans in much the same manner that his contemporary Son Chint'ae did in his work *Kuksa taeyo* (Compendium of Korean History) that was published in 1948. The author stressed the need to discard the pretentious isolationist, exclusive and self-righteous forms of pseudo-nationalistic ideology and instead advocated the need for openness and internationalism. He insisted that the study of Korean history should be done from the perspective of an unbiased, new nationalism. Yi's study in Korean history is notable in that it uses new approaches in its interpretation of Korean history and stresses the need to view the history of the Korean people in a new light.

**Kūm River**

The Kūm River flows from Changsu County in North Chŏlla Province to the Yellow Sea. About 401 kms. in length, it is the third longest river in South Korea after the Han and
Naktong. The tributaries of the river’s upper section include Chŏngja Stream, Ponghwang Stream and Namdae Stream from southwest of Yongdong, along with Poch’ŏng Stream and the Kang River. Close to Taegu, the river enters Taech’ŏng Lake, a large reservoir created with the construction of the Taech’ŏng Dam. Tributaries of the river’s middle section include Miho Stream, Pyŏng Stream and Mushim Stream from the Miho Plain to the north, and Kap Stream from the south. After passing through Kongju, the stream is joined by Yugu Stream, Sŏksŏng Stream and Nonsan Stream before entering the ocean at Kunsan Bay.

Like many other Korean rivers, the Kŭm River has sharp rises and falls in volume. Its normal effluence of 1.6 billion cubic metres rises to around 5.2 billion cubic metres when the river is in flood. In particular, when a large increase in volume coincides with high tides a backwash occurs, creating heavy flooding along the river’s lower and middle sections and in the contiguous plains. In 1980, Taech’ŏng Dam was constructed in order to prevent flooding and to provide irrigation water. Until the early twentieth c., boats operated on the river as far as Pugang, but with the advent of modern overland transportation networks the river’s transportation role has disappeared.
Kúmdang Island

Kúmdang Island is part of the town of Kúmil in South Cholla Province’s Wando County. The island’s low mountains contrast with plains and reclaimed land in the south. With its southern location, the winter temperature is relatively mild, with January averaging 0°C., but with August temperatures more in keeping with other regions, at an average of 25.3°C. Kúmdang’s rainfall averages 699mm annually. The island has an area of 15.5 sq. kms. and a coastline of 28.2 kms. Statistics for 1985 show a population of 3,671.

There are three primary schools and one junior high school on the island. There is a regular ferry service between Kúmdang and the town of Toyang in Kohung County.

Kúmgang kyŏng Ᏻnhae

The Kúmgang kyŏng Ᏻnhae is a one-volume Korean translation of the Diamond Sutra (Kor. Kúmgang gyŏng). Undertaken during the reign of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468), the translation project was inspired by Sejo’s dream in which King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) asked him about the Diamond Sutra, and the queen’s dream in which she had a vision of a Buddha statue erected by King Sejong.

The work consists of a Chinese translation of the Diamond Sutra annotated with Korean grammatical particles (t’o) by King Sejo himself, along with Han Kyehūi’s vernacular translation. A group of monks including Haech’o were responsible for proof-reading and revisions. As one of the early Korean texts written in the han’gul script, the text is important for the study of the Korean language during this period.

Kúmgang Mountain

Situated in northern Kangwŏn Province next to Kosŏng, Mt. Kúmgang, (the Diamond Mountains) is world-famous for its spectacular rock formations and sublime beauty. The mountain gets its name from a line in the Avatamsaka Sutra that states, “A bodhisattva resides in the Diamond Mountains to the east of the sea.” Since Korea was the land to the east of China across the Yellow Sea, Korean monks felt that the passage referred to the most otherworldly of Korean landscapes — the Diamond Mountains.

Located on Korea’s east coast, the Mt. Kúmgang area is relatively moist and warm. Forming a transitional zone between the Korean peninsula’s cold northern climate and moderate southern climate, the mountain is home to a wide assortment of animal and plant life. The area contains vast stretches of virgin forests and approximately 700 species of flowering plants. In addition to conifers such as firs, stone pines and Korean white pines, the mountain has numerous broadleaved trees such as Mongolian oaks, evergreen oaks, maples and cherry trees. The Mt. Kúmgang forests teem with wildlife, including 200 bird species and 30 fish species.

Mt. Kúmgang is known as the mountain of ‘twelve-thousand peaks.’ Standing 1,638 metres, Piro Peak is the mountain’s highest point. To the north of the peak lie Yŏngnang Peak (1,601 metres), Ongnyŏ Peak (1,424 metres), Sangdŏng Peak (1,227 metres) and Mt. Obong (1,264 metres), and to the south, Wŏlch’ul Peak (1,552 metres), Ch’ail Peak (1,529 metres), Mirŭk Peak (1,538 metres), Paengma Peak (1,510 metres) Horyong Peak (1,403 metres) and Kuksa Peak (1,385 metres). The areas west and east of these peaks are known as Inner and Outer Mt. Kúmgang respectively. Kúmgang and East Kúmgang Stream flow through Inner Mt. Kúmgang, becoming the headwaters of the Northern Han River. The
Nam River flows down through Outer Mt. Kŭmgang into the East Sea.

With its awe-inspiring natural setting, Mt. Kŭmgang’s importance has been recognised from ancient times. The Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) states that the mountain, during the reign Queen Chindŏk (647-654), was one of four sacred sites where ministers held councils on vital matters of national importance. The mountain is also connected with the story of Shilla’s fall. According to the Samguk yusa and Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), when King Kyŏngsŏn (r. 927-935) decided to seek refuge in the emerging Koryŏ Kingdom, Prince Maŭi urged him to maintain the struggle for Shilla’s survival. When the king ignored his request, Prince Maŭi is said to have retreated to the Diamond Mountains where he built a simple hut and wore hemp clothing (maŭiŭ), mourning the loss of the kingdom. A later, more detailed record states that Prince Maŭi lived out his days in Mt. Kŭmgang’s Yongŏn Hermitage.

Numerous Buddhist temples dot the Mt. Kŭmgang landscape. In addition to Yujŏm, Shin’gye, Changan and P’yohun Temple -- the so-called ‘four great temples of Mt. Kŭmgang,’ there are Chŏngyang, Tosol, Changgyŏng, Chijang and Kwanŭm Temple as well as Anyang Hermitage, Mahayŏn (Temple), and Podŏk Cave. Although some of these temples and monasteries were founded during the Koryŏ Period, most date from the earlier Shilla Period.

From the late Koryŏ Period on, there are frequent references to Mt. Kŭmgang in Korean literature. Writers such as Yi Kok (1298-1351), Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504) and Nam Hyoon (1444-1492) wrote early travelogues describing the area. During the Chosŏn Period, the mountain was often mentioned in shijo poetry or in popular ballads. Mt. Kŭmgang’s countless granite pinnacles were also a favourite subject for landscape painters of this period.

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The Kumgang pany a’aramil kyŏngŏnhae is a Korean version of the Kumgang sutra annotated by Jui-mo-luo (343-414). It is also known as Kumgang kyŏng yukchohae onhae or Kumgang kyŏng onhae, and for many years was used for the government examination for the Buddhist priesthood during Chosŏn.

The work was translated into Korean by Han Kyehŭi, Grand Prince Hyonyŏng and the priest Haech’ŏ by royal order of King Sejo, and published by Hwang Sushin in 1463. This edition is no longer extant. The edition reproduced from it in 1575 has survived and includes postscripts by Han Kyehŭi, Grand Prince Hyonyŏng, Kim Suon and No Sashin.

There have been several other reproduced editions, including one published in 1495 in sixty volumes which is referred to by the priest Hakcho in a postscript to the Simgyŏng onhae, but this edition has not survived. In 1932, a further reproduction of the 1575 edition held by the Anshim Temple in Chŏlla Province was made by Han Yongun through the Chosŏn Pulgyosa. This edition included a preface by Yukcho (the priest Hyenŭng), the memorial presenting the work to the throne, and the postscripts from the 1575 edition.

Two other editions differ somewhat from those above. One was published in 1667 by
Kumi

Situated in North Kyongsang Province to the northwest of Taegu, Kumi is comprised of the town of Sŏnsan, and the townships of Koa, Togae, Muul, Sandong, Oksŏng, Changch’ŏn and Haep’yŏng. The Mt. Kŭmo (977) area, located in the southwestern part of the city, has the distinction of being the nation’s first provincial park. With the Naktong River flowing through the heart of the city and numerous reservoirs in the west and east, the city has an abundant supply of water.

Although rice and other grains are cultivated in the plains around the Naktong River, most of the city’s residents are employed in industry. The area’s industrial development began early. The Kumi Industrial Park had already been established here by 1969. With the Kyŏngbu Expressway and Kyŏngbu Railway Line running through the city, Kumi’s factories have good transportation links to other major cities in the nation. In addition, the city’s excellent infrastructure, legal services and financial services, have helped make Kumi the largest inland industrial area in the nation.

Most of the area’s tourism is centred around Mt. Kŭmo (See Kŭmo Mountain) and the Naktong River. There are also a number of historical sites in the area. Besides the Buddhist sites on Mt. Kŭmo, there are several old Confucian schools, including Tongnak Sŏwŏn and the Indong Hyanggyo to the east of Kumi Bridge. As for modern educational institutions, there is Kumoh National University of Technology Shinp’yŏng-dong.

Kŭmjin River

The Kŭmjin River flows for about 91.0 kms. from South Hamgyŏng Province’s Chŏngp’yŏng County to Hamhŭng Bay on the east coast. From its source around Hwang Peak (1 736m) and Kŏmsan Ridge (1 127m), the river flows southward through Kosan Township and then turns eastward in Changwŏn Township. The Kŭmjin widens and the current lessens as it passes through the fertile Chŏngp’yŏng Plain. In ancient times, the river was known as Saeng Stream or Kŭmi River.

Kŭmo Mountain

Situated west of Kumi in North Kyŏngsang Province, Mt. Kŭmo (977 metres) was originally called Mt. Taebon. Its present name, ‘Kŭmo’ (Golden Crow), is said to come from the monk Ado (fl. 263 C.E.), who, when passing through the area, saw a golden crow flying out of the sunset. Ùisang (625-702), a leading Hwaŏm thinker of the Greater Shilla Period, is also associated with this mountain. He is said to have engaged in spiritual cultivation in Mt. Kŭmo’s Tosŏn Cave. In addition to its links with famous Buddhist monks, the mountain is also associated with Kil Chae (1353-1419) -- a famous neo-Confucian thinker of the late Koryŏ Period. In 1768, the Ch’aemi Pavilion was built on the mountain in his honor. The mountain is popular with tourists who come to see the Myŏnggŭm Waterfall, Haeun Temple and the standing bodhisattva figure that is thought to have been carved during the Shilla Period. In 1970, the area became Korea’s first provincial park.

Kŭmo shinhwahwa (New Tales from Mount Kŭmo)

Kŭmo shinhwahwa is a collection of short novels written in Chinese by Kim Shisŭp (1435-
Generally, this collection of stories is recognised as the first novel in Korean literary history. The original edition of this work has not been transmitted to the present time, but other editions are presently extant. Kim wrote it while he was in his thirties and on a retreat at Mt. Kŭmŏ. He is remembered by historians as being one of the six loyal subjects (saeng yuksin) who opposed the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468). There are five works that are still extant in Kŭmŏ shinhwa, and these are ‘Manbok-sa chŏp’ogi’, ‘Yisaeng kyujang chŏn’, ‘Ch’wiyu pubyŏk-chong ki’, Namyŏm-puju chi’ and ‘Yonggung puyŏn rok’.

The contents of Kŭmŏ shinhwa are noted for their reflection of the author’s Daoist and non-conformist ideologies. The author appears to have been strongly influenced by works in the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), particularly ‘Choshin’, and also by stories in Sui chŏn (Tales of the Bizarre) such as that of ‘Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn’. Moreover, the stories in Kŭmŏ shinhwa are characterized by their close connections with legends and the inclusion of excerpts from mythical biographical pieces. For example, a common element of many of the stories in Kŭmŏ shinhwa is the intervention of divine beings such as Buddhist or Taoist deities. In addition, the works in this collection are also seen as reflections of either the author’s life or his desires for a better life. In particular, ‘Manbok-sa chŏp’ogi’ and ‘Yisaeng kyujang chŏn’ are seen as reflections of Kim’s desires for a romantic interest in his own life. ‘Manbok-sa chŏp’ogi’ features a protagonist who wins a wager with Buddha and is rewarded with a beautiful wife. However, this woman later turns out to be the ghost of a dead woman and returns to the sacred world after a short term as the protagonist’s wife. In ‘Yisaeng kyujang chŏn’ the subject is freedom of choice in love between a young man and woman. After the young couple is granted their wish to marry, they are tragically separated by the death of the young bride. Yet this couple is also reunited as the ghost of the woman returns to her husband and they are able to share their lives again for a term. ‘Yisaeng kyujang chŏn’ reflects not only the desire for freedom of choice in matters of the heart, but also reveals elements of unrealistic and supernatural intervention in the affairs of the secular world and, in the conclusion of this work, an ideology of Buddhistic fatalism requires the departure of the spirit of the wife.

In ‘Ch’wiyu pubyŏk-chong ki’ the influences of the author’s Daoist beliefs are evident as the protagonist of this story meets and falls in love with a heavenly fairy. After the fairy returns to heaven, the forlorn protagonist is summoned by her to come and live in the stars with her. This work also concludes with an unrealistic ending that is influenced by supernatural beings. Moreover, this story contains undertones of Kim’s dissatisfaction with the political affairs of his day in that some view it as reflecting the author’s repugnance towards King Sejo who had usurped the throne from Tanjong (r. 1452-1455), since the father of the love interest in this work also lost his throne under similar circumstances. The final two works in this collection both feature mythical kingdoms where the protagonists of these stories find the solutions to their worldly problems.

Kŭmŏ shinhwa is an extremely important work in Korean literary history in light of the fact that it is not only the predecessor of the novels of the middle and late Chosŏn period, but also in that it broached problems such as freedom of choice in love and righteousness in political behavior long before these issues came to the forefront of popular consciousness. Moreover, this work allows the modern reader to gain some insight into the complex workings of the author’s mind and the political turmoil that surrounded his lifetime.

**Bibliography**


Kŭmsan County
Situated in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province just south of Taejŏn, Kumsan County is comprised of the town of Kumsan and the townships of Kunbuk, Kumsŏng, Nami, Namil, Poksu, Puri, Chinsan, Chewŏn and Ch'ubu. With the Noryŏng Mountain Range running through the northern part of the county and the Sobaek Range in the southeast, the county is characterised by mountains and high altitude basins. Mt. Taesŏng (705m), Mt. Sŏdae (904m), Kuksa Peak (668m), Mt. Ch'ont'ae (715m), Wŏrang (529m), Mt. Sŏngju (624m), Mt. Yanggak (516m), Pet'ul Peak (539m) and Suro Peak (506m) rise in the eastern part of the county, while Mt. Taedun (877m), Mt. Chinak (732m) and Mt. Mai (627m) are situated in the west. Streams flowing out of these mountains converge in the southeast to form the winding Kūm River.

Due to the relatively rugged terrain, much of the area's agriculture is devoted to dry field crops such as potatoes and tobacco. In particular, the county is famous for its ginseng. In the townships of Chinsan and Puri, there are numerous orchards and sericulture operations, and bee-keeping is an important source of revenue for Nami Township. Small mining operations in the area extract lime, coal and flourite. The area's industrial sector is limited to a few small saw mills, manufacturing industries, breweries and processing plants for ginseng.

In close proximity to Taejŏn, the county offers a number of attractions for tourists. Traditionally known as ‘the eight wonders of Kumsan,’ there are four scenic mountains (Mt. Taedun, Mt. Sŏdae, Mt. Chinak, Kuksa Peak) and four scenic river areas (Puri Township’s Chŏkpyŏk River, Nami Township’s Twelve Waterfalls, Puri Township’s Shinch’on Forest and Chewŏn Township’s Kwangsŏk River).

Located east of Ümnae Village, Mt. Taedun is famous for its spectacular rock formations. The mountain scenery is particularly impressive in the autumn when the leaves change colour, and during sunrise or sunset. T'aegeo Temple, founded by Wŏnhyo during the Shilla period, is also found here. Mt. Sŏdae, at 904 metres, is the highest mountain in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. From the peak, one has a panoramic view of Taejŏn to the northwest and Okch’ŏn to the north.

On Mt. Chinak, there are several famous temples, including Posŏk Temple, Yongch’ŏn Hermitage, Sŏng’gong Hermitage and Wŏnhyo Hermitage. According to legend, Kumsan County’s ginseng grew wild on this mountain about 250 years ago. A local man with the surname of Kang, after seeing the wild ginseng in a dream, took the ginseng and developed a cultivated variety. On the mountain, a stele (enshrined in the Kaesamgak) commemorates the site. In the autumn, the county holds the Kumsan Ginseng Festival during which ceremonies are performed at the site. The mountain is also significant as the place where rain ceremonies were traditionally performed in times of drought.

The area contains a number of important historical relics and sites. The county’s Buddhist sites include Taegwang Hall at Shinan Temple (South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 3) and the Main Buddha Hall at T’aegeo Temple. Ancient stone pagodas can be seen in the villages of Chungdo, Ain and Kyejin. There are a large number of sites associated with Confucianism, including the Kumsan hyanggyo (county public school), Chinsan hyanggyo, Sŏnggok sŏwŏn (private school), Choryŏ sŏwŏn and Yonggang sŏwŏn. There are also numerous shrines in the area, such as Kŭnggok-sa, Ch’ŏngp’ung-sa (founded in 1757), Ch’ungnyŏl-sa (founded in 1831), P’yoch’ung-sa (commemorating Cho Hŏn who died fighting against the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions), Sungjŏlsa, Kuamsa (founded in 1883) and Chŏngch’ungsa (commemorating Kim Shimin and Yang Che, who both fought bravely during the Hideyoshi Invasions).

Kūmsan Temple
Situated on Mt. Muak in South Cholla Province, Kūmsan Temple is one of the main temples of the Chogye Order. According to one record, the temple was founded in 600 C.E. There is also an interesting legend that the temple was built on the site of an ancient temple from the time of Kasyapa, the buddha who appeared prior to Sakyamuni. In the eighth c., the famous monk Chinpyō became a monk at Kūmsan Temple at the age of twelve. After undergoing training at other temples, he returned to lead a major restoration (762-766) that transformed the small temple into a large monastery. At this time, a Maitreya statue was set up as the main figure of worship. During this period, the temple belonged to the Pōpsang (Dharma Characteristics) sect. During the Later Three Kingdoms Period, the temple was repaired with support from Kyŏnhwŏn (r. 892-935).

In 1079, when Hyedŏk, the famous Pōpsang sect master, became abbot of the temple, a major reconstruction project was undertaken. Some of the temple’s stone structures are thought to date from this time. In 1598, at the end of the Hideyoshi Invasion, Japanese invaders completely burnt down the monastery along with over forty nearby hermitages. From 1601 to 1635, the temple was slowly reconstructed. During the late nineteenth c., Yongmyŏng repaired the temple, and further repairs were made in 1934 by Sŏngnyŏl.

In addition to Chinpyō and Hyedŏk, a number of famous monks have resided at the temple, including Tosaeng Sûngt’ong and Haewŏn (1262-1340). Tosaeng was the sixth son of King Munjong. Caught up in the political upheavals of 1112, he and others were banished to Kŏje Island. Haewŏn, a scholar specialising in the Mind-only (Vijnaptimatra) teachings, was highly respected by the Yuan royalty. He spent the last years of his life living in Yuan China.

The temple houses many important artefacts, including a five-storey stone pagoda (Treasure no. 25), a stone lotus stand (Treasure no. 23), a stele honouring Royal Preceptor Hyedŏk (Treasure no. 24), and a three-storey pagoda in the courtyard of the Shimwŏn Hermitage (Treasure no. 29). In addition, outside of the Taegokkwang Hall, there is the Kumsan Temple noju (Treasure no. 22), which dates from the Koryŏ Period. The original function of this 2.3-metre high, stone structure is no longer known. There is also a pair of banner-pole supports (Treasure no. 28) from the Greater Shilla Period. Unlike many such supports, the structure is in excellent condition with its base still intact. Perhaps the most impressive structure in the temple is the three-storey Mirük Hall (National Treasure No. 62). Inside the hall, there is a massive figure of Maitreya (the Buddha of the future).

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*HMSTS*, vol. 4.

Kūmsŏng (see Gold Star)

*Kunanhaeng* (Visiting an Exorcism)

[Kulture]

**Kūnch’ogo, King**

King Kūnch’ogo (?-375) was the thirteenth king of the Paekche Kingdom. Kūnch’ogo was the son of King Piryu (r. 304-344) and ruled Paekche from 346 to 375. Kūnch’ogo has also been referred to in Japanese historical documents as King Chogo in the *Nihon shoki* (Kor. Ilbon sŏgi) and as King Ch’ogo in the *Kojiki* (Kor. Kosagi). Kūnch’ogo is acclaimed for strengthening the power of the monarchy in Paekche and consolidating the authoritarian rule over Paekche. Moreover, it is thought that the father to son succession to the throne began with Kūnch’ogo and also that the age of the ‘Chin family queens’ began
with his reign as subsequent Paekche kings continued to select their queens from the aristocratic Chin family.

Kunch’ogo was a formidable warrior and his military prowess helped strengthen the central government of Paekche and also greatly increased the size of the Kingdom. He conquered a sizable portion of the present Korean peninsula during his battles. In 369 he crushed Mahan and took possession of its whole territory, and then in 371 Paekche struck into the heart of Koguryo, advancing as far as modern day P’yŏngyang. In the battle for P’yŏngyang, the Koguryo king, Kogugwon (r. 331-371), was killed. Paekche thus came to control all of the modern-day provinces of Kyŏnggi, Ch’ungch’ŏng and Cholla as well as parts of Hwanghae and Kangwŏn. In addition, Kunch’ogo furthered Paekche’s international standing by initiating contact with the Eastern Jin of China and the Wa of Japan.

During Kunch’ogo’s reign, the contact with Eastern Jin and Japan resulted in the flourishing of trade for Paekche. This trade along with the accompanying cultural transmission resulted in Paekche’s being able to adopt some of the higher Chinese culture. Moreover, the contacts with Japan led to the export of higher Korean culture to Japan such as Ch’ŏnjamun (One Thousand Characters) and Nonŏ (The Analects). It was also during the reign of Kunch’ogo that the Sŏgi (Documentary Records), a history of Paekche, was compiled, which reveals the desire of the King to revel in his expanded royal authority and the strengthened state that he built. The culture of Paekche greatly expanded in this period to a level where records of accomplishments for future generations had taken on a position of importance.

King Kunch'ogo is credited with bringing the Paekche Kingdom to its zenith in territory and in creating a strong central governmental power that strengthened both the monarchy and the control over its subjects. Moreover, Kunch’ogo paved the way for the acceptance of higher Chinese culture through his contacts with Eastern Jin. Kunch’ogo was succeeded on the throne by his son, King Kungusu (r. 375-384).

**Kūndae minjok ūishik ūi maengnak** (The Pulse of National Consciousness in Pre-Modern Times)

*Kūndae minjok ūishik ūi maengnak* is a 410-page work written by Yi Hyŏnjong and published by Asea Munhwa Sa in 1979. This book is a study of the national consciousness of Koreans during the turbulent period of 1896 to 1945. The contents of this work are divided into two main sections with the first of these covering various historical events related to the Righteous Army (ŭibyŏng), and the other dedicated to matters relating to the declaration of independence proclaimed by Koreans during the colonial period.

**Kungmun chŏngni** (Truths of the National Language)

*Kungmun chŏngni* is a brief grammar written in han’gul script by Yi Pongun in 1897. This work is quite succinct, composed of just fourteen pages, and is a woodblock-printed work. It is notable for several items including Yi’s definition of the sound for an old Korean vowel, his new classification for tones, his insistence that double consonants should be written by doubling the initial letter and advocating his concept of grammar in the Korean language. This last item is referred to by the author as ‘Ot’o myŏngmok’ and serves to separate Korean into twenty-one grammatical parts of speech.

This work is significant as not only a historical analysis of Korean, but also for bringing the Korean language and the han’gul script to the forefront of the national consciousness of Korea during a period of great change. Since it is written in han’gul only it emphasizes the functional nature of this writing system.
Kungsŏn Paekp’ā

Kungsŏn (1767-1852; usually called by his pen name, Paekp’ā; known also as Kusan; family name, Yi; born in Chŏnju) was a Sŏn (Zen) Buddhist master, a yulsa (vinaya master; master of monastic rules), and a theoretician of Sŏn. A prolific writer, he helped spark a revival of Sŏn literature during the closing years of Chosŏn. In 1894, the Korean priest Kakan Pŏmhae (1820-1896) compiled the Tongsa yŏljŏn which recorded the biographies of one hundred and ninety-eight eminent priests in Korean history. Although Kakan had been a student of Paekp’ā’s opponent, the Sŏn master Ch’oui ŭisun (1786-1866), he granted Paekp’ā more space than Ch’oui in the Tongsa yŏljŏn.

It is said that his family was distinguished for its filial piety, and although he seems to have became attracted to Buddhism at eleven, he probably decided to become a priest at eighteen while studying Mencius at Sŏnun temple. He heard the saying that one’s entire family benefits when one becomes a priest, but still had lingering fears over disobedience to his parents who expected him to fulfill his filial duties as required by Confucian morality. He eventually overcame his worries after reading the letter the Tang Chinese Zen master Dongshan Liangjie (807-869) had given his parents before leaving home.

By 1790 he met the priest Sangŏn Šōp’ā (1707-1791) who was considered to be one of the foremost experts in Hwaŏm (Ch., Huayan; Jap., Kegon) Buddhist philosophy. Sangŏn was also a Sŏn and a vinaya master, and this brief period was pivotal in Paekp’ā’s intellectual development. Sangŏn recognized Paekp’ā’s talents and immediately introduced him to the essentials of Hwaŏm philosophy and the principles underlying Chosa sŏn (Patriarchical Sŏn) thought. Paekp’ā subsequently addressed the issue of Patriarchical Sŏn in Sŏnmun sugyŏng (Hand Mirror of Sŏn Literature) and thereby instigated a controversy which lasted over a century.

Sangŏn seems to have endorsed Paekp’ā’s succession as a vinaya master sometime during the year prior to his death and may have endorsed directly Paekp’ā’s mastery of Sŏn and Hwaŏm thought. Although some sources say that this happened in 1797 under the direction of one of Sangŏn’s other disciples, Paekp’ā nevertheless was in Sangŏn’s direct line of transmission. Thus, he stood in a line of distinguished masters leading back to Hyujŏng Ch’ŏnghŏ (1520-1604).

At the age of twenty-six, Paekp’ā journeyed to Unmun hermitage at Paengyang temple where he began delivering lectures on Sŏn. These attracted many students, and by 1796 he was invited to become a disciple of the famous priest Yŏndam Yuil (1720-1799). Instead, he went to Kuam temple where he studied with a priest who had succeeded one of Sangŏn’s students. He remained here for the next fifteen years acting as an instructor on monastic regulations as well as expounding on the relationship between scriptural studies of Buddhism and Sŏn.

In 1812, however, he came to the realization that Buddhist truth could not be grasped through verbal explanations and retreated to Yongmun hermitage where he rigorously practiced Sŏn meditation for the next five years. During this period he also formed a society for the practice of Sŏn and began emphasizing the importance of Patriarchical Sŏn. By 1818 he returned to Unmun hermitage where he remained for the next thirteen years devoting himself to research on the principles of Patriarchical Sŏn and attracting scores of students.
eager to hear his views. It is likely that it was in this period he systematized his views on Patriarchal Sŏn in his Sŏnmun sugyŏng.

Between the ages of sixty-four and seventy-four, he stayed at Kuam temple where his lectures are said to have drawn priests from around Korea. He also helped with rebuilding temple buildings and engaged in a variety of projects aimed at raising the level of education among priests. During this time he seems to have written many of his important texts which likely were products of his teaching or meant to be used as aids for his many students. In 1840, he finally decided to devote himself wholly to Sŏn meditation and retired to Hwaŏm temple where he built a small hermitage. It was here that he died twelve years later at the age of eighty-six.

Among his many works are the Yukcho taesa pŏppo tan'gyŏng yohae (The Essentials of the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch), Susŏn kyŏlsamun (On the Association for the Practice of Sŏn), Sŏn yogi (Record of Sŏn Essentials), and the Ojong kangyo sagi (Personal Observations on the Basics of the Five Schools of Buddhism).

Paekp'a wrote the Chakpŏb kwigam (The Paragon of Regulations) in 1826, which was a culmination of his efforts in compiling and editing a variety of sources on Buddhist ceremonial practices. It was composed of two sections, to which he appended a short commentary dealing with the kandang (a ceremony used as an aid for concentration during Sŏn meditation). The first two sections covered thirty-seven topics including prayers to the Bodhisattvas, vows for priests and the laity, ceremonies and regulations regarding food and clothing, and rules governing cremation. Although Korean is not a tonal language, this text was intended for recitation, and to ensure accuracy, he devised a scheme for noting the proper tone of each Chinese character which was meant to be read aloud. In addition, the Korean phonetic script (han'gul) was placed beside the transliterations in Chinese of Sanskrit phrases. Paekp'a thus wrote what is considered the most detailed text on Buddhist regulations and ceremonies within the corpus of such literature in Korean Buddhism.

Nonetheless, it is the lengthy Sŏnmun sugyŏng for which he is most famous. The purpose of this text was to provide a taxonomy for Sŏn, and while the Tang Chinese master Guifeng Zongmi (786-841) had proposed five levels, Paekp'a instead proposed three on the basis of the three phrases of Linji Yixuan (?-866/7) contained in the Linji Ju (Record of Linji). Although Linji’s statements were terse and cryptic, they provided Paekp'a with a scriptural basis upon which to establish his own views. He called these three levels, Chosa sŏn (Patriarchal Zen), Yŏrae sŏn (Zen of the Tathāgata or Buddha), and Uiri sŏn (Zen of principle and reasoning). He also used the concept of kyŏgogoe sŏn which refers to those truths which can be realized through intense meditation but conveyed neither through speech nor writing.

Patriarchal Zen represented the highest attainment and was suitable for those of the highest skill. This is the state of the mind to the transmission of Buddhist truth and is likened to stamping emptiness because all discriminative thoughts are transcended. Zen of Principle and Reasoning was needed by those of the lowest capability, and this he likened to stamping mud because there remain clear traces of discriminative thought. Zen of the Tathāgata was attainable by those between the two extremes, and he compared this to stamping water because discriminative thought quickly dissipates, like ripples on the surface of water. He classified both Patriarchal Zen and Zen of the Tathāgata within kyŏgogoe sŏn but stressed the superiority of the former because only it is free of all thinking. This is the state of the Buddha. Whereas Zen of the Tathāgata partly requires the words of the Buddha, Zen of Principle and Reasoning is entirely dependent upon thinking about the Buddha’s teachings. Consequently, those of the lowest ability are incapable of discovering their innate enlightenment.
Paekp’a also applied this division to the schools of Zen Buddhism and many of the central teachings of the Zen tradition. Ch’o’ii disagreed with his dogmatic approach and proposed another system in which he systematically countered the Sŏnmun sugyŏng. Their views were reviewed over the next century, and it was the distinguished Pak Hanyŏng (1870-1948), a successor in Paekp’a’s line of transmission, who ultimately gave the strongest support to Paekp’a’s position.

Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1856), the noted calligrapher and exponent of shirhak (practical learning), also joined the debate. He sent Paekp’a a scathing response in which he criticized, among other things, the similarities Paekp’a drew between Buddhist and Neo-Confucian thought. Interestingly, Kim also wrote Paekp’a’s memorial and once even compared him to Bodhidharma, the First Patriarch of Zen in China.

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Kungye

[Korea]

Kunsan

Situated in the northwest corner of North Cholla Province, Kunsan is comprised of the town of Okku and the townships of Kaejong, Nap’o, Taeya, Sŏsu, Sŏngsan, Okto, Oksan, Oksŏ, Imp’i and Hoehyon. The city was recently expanded to include the area formerly known as Okku County. Located on the coast of the Yellow Sea between the Kŭm River and Man’gyŏng River, the city is mostly made up of plains and low hills. On the lower reaches of the Kŭm River stands the Kŭm River Dyke. This important dyke, with its 1 841-metre long bulwark and 1 127-metre long drainage gate, protects the area from droughts and floods.

The city’s main agricultural crop is rice, which flourishes in the surrounding fertile plains. In addition to rivers, the Kunsan, Okku and Mije Reservoirs are here, providing the area with an ample supply of irrigation water. Sedge is cultivated here for use in Sutkol mats, one of the local handicrafts. Sericulture and stock breeding also make a significant contribution to the local economy. Fishing boats, operating off the coast or nearby islands, bring in catches of yellow corbina, Spanish mackerel, thornbacks and shrimp.

Kunsan’s tourism is centred around its beaches and islands. The city is home to the Kogunsan Archipelago, a group of about twenty islands. Sŏnyu Island (See Sŏnyu Island), with its famous beach, is the archipelago’s most popular tourist destination. Nearby lies Changja Island, one of the main fishing grounds of the archipelago. At night, the sea in front of the island is illuminated by fishing boats going in and out of the port. Known as the Changja yahwa (night flowers of Changja), the scene is considered one of the eight scenic wonders of the area. The island is linked to nearby Taejang Island by a 113-metre-long suspension bridge. East of Sŏnyu Island lies the larger Shinshi Island, famous as a place where the prominent Shilla scholar Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn once lived. Of the
archipelago's islands, Yami Island is the closest to the peninsula. Due to its abundant chestnut yield, this picturesque island was originally known as Pam Sŏm (Chestnut Island). As for tourist sites on the mainland, there is Un'p'a Resort at Mije Reservoir. Here one can rent floating bungalows, row boats and motor-boats, take a cruise in a ferry or fish for carp, snakehead and eel.

In addition to natural sites, the city contains a number of important historical sites and relics. Buddhist temples in the area include Pulchi Temple, Poch'ŏn Temple and Sangju Temple. In Kaejŏng Township's Palsan Village, there stands a five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 276) that is in relatively good condition. Between the Okku and Kunsan reservoirs, there are three old Confucian schools: Yŏmu Sŏwŏn, Okshin Sŏwŏn and Okku Hyanggyo. The latter was first established at Igok Village in 1403, but was eventually relocated to its present site in Sangp'yŏng Village. This unique Hyanggyo has a shrine in its court dedicated to Tan'gun, the legendary founder of the Korean people.

Kunsan is home to a number of fascinating customs. On the 14th day of the first lunar month, people engage in tŏwi p'algi (selling the heat of the coming summer). At this time, people rise early in the morning, make a wreath with peach tree branches that stretch toward the east, and then hang the wreaths on the necks of dogs and cows. They then approach those to whom they want to sell their heat and call out their name. If the person called answers, the seller exclaims, 'The heat is yours!' and the person who sold the heat will not suffer from the heat of the coming summer. But if on the contrary, his friend utters this phrase first, then he is supposed to have bought his friend's heatstroke that year, instead of selling his!

Kŭnse Chosŏn sa yŏn'gu (A Study of the History of the Chosŏn Dynasty)

Kŭnse Chosŏnsa yŏn'gu is a 420-page work edited by Ch'ŏn Kwanu that was published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1979. This work is a collection of all of the theses and publications that were concerned with research into the Chosŏn period that Ch'ŏn gathered from 1952 through 1969. It is divided into three broad divisions, with the first covering research on military institutions of the early Chosŏn period, the second on the early Chosŏn land systems and the third addressing issues concerning the shirhak (practical learning) ideology of the late Chosŏn period.

Kŭnuhoe (Rose of Sharon Friendship Society) [History of Korea; Japan and Korea]

Kunwi County

Kunwi County located in the centre of North Kyŏngsang Province, covers an area of 613 square kilometres. Poor in natural resources, this county's problems are exacerbated by a poor infrastructure. Situated along the T’aebaek Mountain Range, the area has only a limited amount of arable land. Even the flatland areas, which are covered with gneiss and aqueous rocks, are not very fertile.

Approximately 80 per cent of the county's households are employed in the agricultural sector, and about half of the county's farmland consists of apple orchards. Producing 32 000 tons of apples annually, the county has the highest rate of apple cultivation per arable land in the nation. In Uihung Township, an apple processing factory produces over 20 000 tons of fresh juice annually. In addition, Kunwi has the nation's only institute dedicated to apple research. In flatland areas, rice, barley, wheat, beans, red peppers and garlic are also cultivated.

Kunwi literally means 'military power.' According to tradition, the area was named after the troops of Wang Kŏn, the founder of the Koryŏ kingdom, who marched past here on their
way to conquer Later Paekche. The area contains several other monuments associated with
the military. Kim Yushin, a famous Shilla general, is said to have used the area as a
stopover for his troops. Changgun-dang (Hall of the General) was built in Horyǒng
Township in his memory. Located in Koro Township, Mt. Hwa Fortress, constructed in
1709 by Yun Suk, is another relic reflecting the area’s military past.

The county also has a number of important Buddhist artefacts. On Mt. P’algong, there is an
Amitabha Buddha figure along with two attendant Bodhisattvas (National Treasure No.
109) enshrined in a natural cave half-way up a rock cliff. The stone statues date from the
Greater Shilla period. In’gak Temple, in Kong Township, is important as the place where
the monk Iryōn wrote his famous work Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three
Kingdoms). Other tourist sites include Kunwi hyanggyo (Confucian school), founded in
1407, Chibo Temple’s three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 682) and Uihūng
Township’s Kwangp’ung Pavilion.

Mt. Ami (417.5 metres), situated in Koro Township, is a popular destination for hikers
who come to enjoy the mountain’s bare cliffs and odd rock formations. In addition, Mt.
P’algong Provincial Park, located at the southern tip of the county, is a popular destination
for tourists from neighbouring Taegu.

**Kuri**

Kuri is situated in the centre of Kyōnggi Province to the east of Seoul. Wangsuk Stream
runs along the eastern border, joining the Han River which flows along the southern
border. The city’s topography is flat with most of the land under 50 metres in elevation.
An efficient network of roads links the city with Seoul and cities to the east and south.
Kuri’s good infrastructure has attracted industrial development. Small factories in the area
produce textiles, machinery and chemical products. Only a small portion of the population
still farms, growing crops such as rice, apples, pears and grapes.

Dolmens and other prehistoric relics have been found throughout the area, but many
artefacts have been lost or destroyed during the city’s rapid urbanisation. In the northern
part of the city, there are a number of old tombs including the grave of King Munjong (r.
1450-1452).

*Kūriun namtchok* (Beloved South) [Literature]

**Kurye County**

Situated in the northeast corner of South Chŏlla Province, Kurye County is comprised of
the town of Kurye and the townships of Kanjŏn, Kwangŭi, Masan, Munch’ŏk, Sandong,
Yongbang and T’oji. The county occupies an area of 440 sq. kms. and as of 1986, had a
population of 49,300. The high peaks of Mt. Chiri rise up in the north and east of the
county while the west and south are relatively flat. With an average yearly rainfall of 1
315mm, the area has one of the highest rates of precipitation in Korea.

Due to the area’s rugged terrain, only 16 per cent of the county area is arable. Of this, about
two-thirds grows rice and the remainder dry-field crops. In the higher terrain, chestnut,
mushroom, edible fern, a variety of medicinal herbs are grown and some timber is cut
commercially. In addition, there are rice mills, breweries and saw mills in the town of
Kurye.

The county’s tourism is centred around Mt. Chiri National Park (See Chiri Mountain),
one of the country’s most popular tourist destinations. Kurye County is also home to
Hwaŏm Temple, one of three famous temples in the park. This ancient monastery was
founded by Yŏn’gi in 544 C.E. after his return from China. Phoenix like, the temple has risen from fire and destruction on five different occasions, the last major reconstruction having been undertaken in 1636. Near the temple’s huge, two-storey hall (Kakhwang-jŏn--National Treasure No. 67, is an interesting three-storey pagoda supported by four stone lions (National Treasure No. 35) together with Korea’s oldest and largest stone lantern (National Treasure No. 12).

Yŏn’gok Temple, near the county’s eastern border, also has a number of important relics, including three stone stupas (Treasures No. 53, 54 and 154); a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 151) and a stele commemorating Sŏn Master Hyŏn’gak (Treasure No. 152). West of Hwaŏm Temple lies the ancient Ch’ŏnun Temple and in Munch’ŏk Township, one finds Sasŏng Hermitage, famous as a place where many of Korea’s greatest monks, including Wŏnhyo, Tosŏn, Chin’gak and Uisang, engaged in religious practices.

In addition to the Buddhist sites, a number of buildings here are associated with Confucianism. Kurye Hyanggyo, situated just west of Highway 18 in Kurye, is believed to have been established in 1398. The school was rebuilt at a different site in 1518 and was moved to its present location in 1704. In Hwangū Township’s Suwŏl Village, one finds Maech’ŏnsa, a shrine built during late Chosŏn in honour of the Confucian scholar Hwang Hyŏn.

In order to emphasise the area’s unique cultural heritage, festivals and rituals are performed here on an annual basis. In particular, the Yaksu (Medicinal Water) Festival, held on Mt. Chiri, is one of the oldest and most well-known festivals of its kind. Every Kogu Day (Kogu is the 6th of the 24 seasonal divisions and falls in the spring), a shamanistic rite is performed on Nogodan (1 507m), one of Mt. Chiri’s more accessible peaks. The rite, performed to the mountain spirit (sanshin), is thought to ensure the peace of the nation and an abundant harvest. The origin of the ritual dates back to Shilla when it was customary to hold a Kogu Festival on Mt. Chiri, one of Korea’s five principal mountains. In Shilla times, in addition to local residents, youth from the elite military corps known as the hwarang came here from all over the country. A feast was held, accompanied by archery and Ssin1m (Korean wrestling) competitions. The event became known as the Yaksu Festival because it was the custom for participants to drink the sap of the white birch trees growing on the mountain, as a health tonic.

Kusan (Suryŏn) [Buddhism]

Kusu, King (r. 214-234)

King Kusu was the sixth king of Paekche and ruled from 214 to 234. He is also known as King Kwisu. During the reign of Kusu, Paekche had yet to consolidate its rule and form alliances with its neighbouring states. The lineage and succession to the throne in early Paekche is somewhat problematic, but records reveal that Kusu was the eldest son of the fifth Paekche king, Ch’ogo (r. 166-214), his son was the seventh king, Saban (r. 234), and the eleventh king was Saban’s second son Piryu (r. 304-344). From the thirteenth king, Kunch’ogo (r. 346-375), who was the son of Piryu, the lineage of Paekche is clear. However, it is difficult to place full confidence in the early lineage of the Kingdom.

Kusu was a very large man with a height of nearly seven feet (seven ch’ŏk) and had a presence that was quite unusual and stately. Kusu was of the same lineage as the founding king of Paekche, Onjo (r. 18 BC-28 AD), but it is thought that the royal family had undergone a major change through his reign. According to the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) after the death of Kusu his son Saban ascended to the throne but since ruling the kingdom was difficult he abdicated the throne in favour of the younger brother of Ch’ogo, King Koi (r. 234-286). However, Koi and Ch’ogo are thought to be of different
branches of the royal family. After Kusu died Koi ascended to the throne after deposing Saban, which points to the collapse of the family branch of Ch’ogo after the death of Kusu. The *Sanguk sagi* relates that Kusu’s reign was interspersed by battles with the neighbouring Shilla and Malgal states. At the end of his reign the majority of the battles with these states resulted in crushing defeats for Paekche, and moreover, drought and other calamities marked the same period. Therefore the alliances of the various small states that sprang from this period must have been the result of the collapse of the ruling power of the lineage that passed from Ch’ogo to Kusu. Furthermore, with the accession of Koi to the Paekche throne, the state structure of Paekche began to develop and change. At the end of Kusu’s reign both the succession to the kingship and the political and social systems in Paekche underwent changes. The resurgence of the lineage of Ch’ogo can be seen in the descendants of Piryu, the first two whose names included the suffix ‘kūn’, namely Kūn Kusu (r. 375-384), indicating that they were of Ch’ogo’s lineage.

**Kut** (see Shamanism)

*Kuunmong* (A Dream of Nine Clouds)

*Kuunmong* is a classical novel written by the scholar-official Kim Manjung (1637-1692). It is thought that Kim wrote this work during the period of his second exile in 1688. Moreover, it was written for Kim’s mother who was tormented by illness at this time. *Kuunmong* is a work that intricately blends Daoist, Buddhist and Confucian ideals in a story that takes place mostly in the span of a dream. Given that the author of the work was well-versed in Chinese thought and literature, it is only natural to see close links between this and certain Chinese work. Some Chinese novels that are believed to have influenced this work include *Shiyouji* and *Sanguozhi yanyi*.

The content of the story is as follows: In China during the Tang dynasty a Daoist adept by the name of Lady Wei lived with her eight disciple-fairies in the eastern mountains, while in the west an old monk by the name of Liuguan lived with his disciples. One day, to repay a visit by the Dragon King, Liuguan sent his first disciple, Sōngjin, to the Dragon King’s palace. During his return home he encountered the eight fairies of Lady Wei and they became acquainted and formed a strong bond. After Sōngjin returned to the temple, he could not cleanse his mind of thoughts of the fairies. He reflected that the Buddhist life was one of seclusion and nihility, while the life of a Confucian scholar was one of glory and prosperity in which one could leave a name for his descendants. Due to this development, both Sōngjin and the eight fairies were banished to the underworld where they were brought before the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva, the magistrate of the underworld, for judgment. However, he took pity on the group and allowed them to be reborn into the human world. Sōngjin was reborn as the son of a hermit named Yang in the township of Xiuzhou and named Shaoyou. He was a very gifted young man and easily passed the civil service examination and served the emperor well in subjugating rebellions and governing the outlying districts with distinction. In time he again met each of the eight fairies and took them all as either his wives or concubines. Due to his meritorious service, the emperor appointed Shaoyou as Prime Minister where he prospered in service to the country and his mother. The fairies lived happily with Shaoyou and bore him six sons and two daughters. However, one day Shaoyou felt the vacuity of life while discussing the philosophies of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism with the eight fairies. At this time a monk appeared and debated the meaning of life and existence in this world with Shaoyou, whereupon suddenly Shaoyou awoke from a dream and again was Sōngjin. The eight fairies also returned to their previous existence as Buddhist nuns. Subsequently Liuguan, the head monk, ascended to the Western Paradise and bestowed the temple to Sōngjin. Sōngjin and the eight fairies then devoted themselves to Buddha until they returned to paradise at the end of their time on this world.
The thematic concerns of this work are manifold, and there are features of a fantasy, romance, adventure and religious novel present in this work. However, in the end the main thrust of the work comes down to a novel that revolves around the union of the themes of the heroic-life pattern and dream novel. Specifically, the structure of this novel moves from reality to a dream and then back to reality. However, despite this change of frame for the events of the work, the characters remain united. The dream novel is a very common theme in the history of the Korean novel and is first seen in ‘Choshin’ of the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), and later in works such as Kumo shinhwa (New Stories of Mount Golden Turtle) and Unyōng chŏn (The Tale of Unyong). The heroic life-pattern that is embodied in the protagonist of this work can also be seen in many other classic novels of the Chosŏn period such as Hong kiltong chŏn (The Tale of Hong Kiltong) and Im kyŏngŏp chŏn (The Story of Im Kyŏngŏp). The use of the heroic-life pattern in conjunction with a dream novel, reveals the desire of Kim Manjung to allow his protagonist to enjoy the secular pleasures of the world, love affairs with beautiful women, a luxurious lifestyle, valour in warfare and high social rank, while not violating the Buddhist precepts in actuality. Therefore the inclusion of these two themes can also be said to be a reflection of the desire of the author, to escape from the world of corrupt politics and factional infighting of the Chosŏn court to a world of dreams.

In a religious context, Kuunmong can be viewed as a novel that is based upon the philosophies of the Diamond Sutra, which regards human achievement, glory and material gains as merely an empty dream. The protagonist of the work ultimately realizes this fact as he gains a symbolic enlightenment and awakes from his dream. In a Daoist light, the novel reveals a blending of the realms of the profane and sacred and the inclusion of the heavenly fairies also reveals influences from this belief system.

Kuunmong is highly valued for its literary qualities and is generally viewed, along with Ch’unhyang chŏn (The Story of Ch’unhyang), as one of the two most representative classical novels of Korea. The story presented to the reader is one that is written in a lyrical and well-harmonised manner. There are several versions of this work extant and it is written in Chinese characters, han’gul and mixed script of Chinese and han’gul. Moreover, this work is thought to have been the inspiration for many later novels, such as Ongnumong (Dream of the Jade Chamber), which also displayed similar thematic qualities such as the dream-heroic one displayed in this work.

Bibliography


Kuwŏl Mountain

Mt. Kuwŏl (945 metres) is situated in Hwanghae Province between Sariwŏn and the Yellow Sea. Numerous streams cut through the mountain’s granitite bedrock, creating cliffs and gullies of spectacular beauty. The name Kuwŏl (Ninth Month) is thought to ultimately derive from a phonetically similar Koguryŏ place name. According to folk etymology, on the other hand, it comes from the date (the ninth day of the ninth lunar month) when Tan’gun (Korea’s legendary founder) ascended to heaven and thus gained divinity. According to tradition, Tan’gun moved the nation’s capital from P’yŏngyang to Mt. Kuwŏl. Various holy sites associated with Tan’gun can be found throughout the area. There is an altar area for worship of the three sages connected with the Tan’gun myth:
Hwanin, Hwanung and Tan'gun himself. Tan'gun is also said to have ascended the lookout point called Tan'gun-dae in order to examine the early nation's terrain. In the *Songs of Emperors and Kings* (*Chewang Un'gi*) by Yi Sunghyu (1224-1300), Yi claims that Tan'gun, after his long reign, eventually retired to Mt. Kuwol where he became a mountain god.

Since the Koryo Period, numerous temples have been built on Mt. Kuwol. On the east side of the mountain, there is P'aeyp Temple -- one of thirty-one main temple complexes (*ponsa*) in Korea. On the mountain's west side lies Ch'onggok Temple, thought to have been built during the reign of Koguryo's King Changsu (r. 413-491). In addition, there are Woljong and Myogak Temple and Naksan Hermitage.

**Kwach'ón**

Kwach'ón is situated south of Seoul in Kyōnggi Province. The city is surrounded by mountains, with Mt. Kwanak (631 metres) rising to the west and Ongnyō Peak and Mt. Ch'ŏnggye to the east. Near the centre of the city lies the Kwach'ón Reservoir. Until the mid-1970s, Kwach'ón was a rural area at the edge of Seoul. Situated only 15 kilometres from central Seoul, the area was chosen as an ideal site for a satellite city to accommodate Seoul's rapidly expanding population. After careful planning, massive construction projects were begun in 1979. Measuring 2.4 kilometres from north to south and 1.2 kilometres from east to west, as of 1993 the city had a population of over 80 000.

Due to the area's extensive urban development, few of the residents are employed in the agricultural sector and many commute to jobs in Seoul. Kwach'ón residents tend to have a high educational level. About 91 per cent of the population finished secondary school and 64 per cent hold university degrees. As a result, many work in professions or in government positions.

The city has a number of popular tourist sites, including the National Museum of Contemporary Art, Seoul Grand Park, Seoul Land and the Seoul Racing Course. Seoul Land, a theme park equipped with amusement facilities for children, also has a zoo and a botanical garden. The Seoul Racing Course, opened in 1988 for the Olympic Games, includes Korea's largest race track, a racing museum, riding courses for the public, a golf range and a children's playground. In addition to these sites, Mt. Ch'ŏnggye and Mt. Kwanak are popular with local hikers. Every morning, residents frequent these mountains to exercise and draw water from the natural springs found here.

**Kwagō (Government Service Examinations)**

The kwagō, or government service examination had its origins in China in 587, but was not established in Korea until the Koryo era, nearly four hundred years later. It remained as the standard for taking an official position with the government in Korea, for over nine hundred years.

The rise of the kwagō in the Sui and Tang dynasties of China is attributable to the elevation of Confucian ideology as the state philosophy, and the generation of a class of bureaucrats to man the governing apparatus of the state. The situation in Koryo during the reign of King Kwangjong (r. 949-975), when the government service examination was adopted, was quite similar. Since Koryo represented a break from the aristocratic and hereditary-based bureaucracy of Shilla, the Chinese model of a government service examination, allowing men of merit to enter government service, was adopted. Therefore, in 958, Kwangjong adopted the proposal of the Chinese scholar Shuang Ji to establish a government service examination system. Key to the adoption of this system was the desire to replace military officials who had participated in the foundation of Koryo, with men of letters. So, from then on, the bureaucracy was to be selected on the basis of the government service
examination, and it was intended that this system should serve as the one for establishing a new bureaucratic structure, in order to enhance the power of the monarch.

**Shilla**

In actuality, however, an earlier model of an examination system for government service had been instituted during Shilla. Shortly after the establishment of the Kukhak (National Academy) in 682, which provided a Confucian-based education, a rudimentary examination system was implemented. The *toksŏ samp’umkwa* (examination in the reading of texts in three gradations) implemented in 788, was primarily based on the texts on which the curriculum of the Kukhak was established. Thus, mastery of the *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius); *Xiaojing* (Book of Filial Piety); *Lizhi* (Book of Rites); *Zhuyi* (Book of Changes); *Zuozhuan* (Tradition of Tao); *Shijing* (Book of Songs); *Wenxuan* (Literary Selections); and *Shujing* (Book of Documents); was essential to passing the examination. However, special consideration was given in appointments to the bureaucracy for those who demonstrated even broader knowledge of the texts of the Five Confucian Canons (*Shijing*, *Shujing*, *Zhuzhi*, *Lizhi*, and *Chunqiu* [Spring and Autumn Annals]); and the Three Histories (*Hanshu* [History of the Former Han], *Hou Hanshu* [History of the Latter Han] and *Shizhi* [Records of the Historian])

Despite the implementation of the *toksŏ samp’umkwa*, appointment to official positions in Shilla was primarily determined by a person’s hereditary birthright. Therefore, the *chin’gol* (true-bone) aristocrats monopolised the upper echelons of Shilla officialdom and had little interest in allowing those below them to share power. Accordingly, many of the *yuktup’um* (head-rank six) below the *chin’gol* aristocrats instead went to Tang China, where they sat for the government examination and entered the Tang bureaucracy. The lack of opportunity for members of the *yuktup’um* class became all the more pronounced as the end of Shilla drew closer, and so the collective consciousness of the scholar-class of Shilla on the merits of a government examination system had a major impact during early Koryŏ. Moreover, the introduction of a merit-based government bureaucracy was a means of weakening the power of the aristocracy and correspondingly increase that of the monarchy. From this, the government service examination system came to the fore in early Koryŏ society.

**Koryŏ**

The government examination system in Koryŏ can largely be divided into the Composition Examination (*chesul kwa*), Classics Examination (*myŏngyŏng kwa*) and the Miscellaneous Examinations (*chapkwa*). The Composition Examination and the Classics Examination were combined during Chosŏn to form the *mun’gwa*, or the Higher Civil Service Examination (HCSE), which was the most important of all the government examinations. Initially, however, the Composition Examination tested applicants on their ability to compose poetry, rhyme prose, sacrificial odes and problem essays, but in 1004 this was changed into a three-level examination with the first portion concentrating on the candidate’s knowledge of the Confucian Classics, the second based on the composition of poetry and rhyme prose, and the final step involving problem essays. The Classics Examination was based on a demonstration of knowledge of the contents of Confucian Classics, such as *Shujing*, *Zhuyi*, *Chunqiu*, and *Lizhi* among others. The Miscellaneous Examinations were held in order to staff the government with various specialists in the fields of law, accounting, medicine and geomancy.

Of the three major examinations held in Koryŏ, the Composition Examination was esteemed as the highest, followed by the Classics Examination. The emphasis placed on the Composition Examination is evident during Koryŏ, when some 6700 candidates passed as against 449 in the Classics Examination. From this, it is clear that the Koryŏ scholars considered it far more important to have superior literary skills than to be highly
knowledgeable in the Confucian Classics. Because of the technical nature of the Miscellaneous Examination, it was considered significantly lower in status than either of the literary examinations.

The qualifications for attempting the government service examinations were simple, stipulating that candidates were to be at least of the yangin (freeborn) class level. Those of the ch’ónin (lowborn) class or the children of apostate monks were ineligible to sit for the examinations. In practice, however, the yangin were unable to attempt the examinations and so they became the domain of the upper classes. Other restrictions were imposed regulating those who could apply to take the government examinations. These prohibited persons who had violated the Five Buddhist Injunctions (oyôk); were unfilial; were disloyal; and those who were from one of the special administrative districts such as so (the concentrations of labourers for mining or other manufacturing tasks); hyang or pugok (special farming areas of the lowborn classes; in addition to other prohibitions. While the upper classes of Koryô were not as firmly established as were the Shilla aristocrats, they still held a virtual monopoly on government service positions. Moreover, since the military examination for the selection of military officials was not implemented until Koryô’s waning years, this avenue for social advancement was denied to members of the lower classes.

In 1084, it was established that the examinations would be held once every three years, and so they were called the triennial examinations (shingnyôn shî). This schedule was, however, not inflexible and the examinations were often held at shorter intervals. Initially, they were held in the spring, with the results announced in either autumn or winter. From 1004, the Classics Examination and the Miscellaneous Examinations were held in the eleventh month with the results announced in the third month of the following year, and the Composition Examination was held in the third month with the results announced later in the same month. The system was, however, subject to alteration and was often varied to a considerable degree, depending on the particular circumstances.

Chosôn

During Chosôn the government examinations were divided into the four categories of Licentiate Examination (sogwa); HCSE (mun’gwa); Military Examination (mukwa); and the Miscellaneous Examination (chapkwa). The examinations can also be categorised by when they were held, with fixed examinations (chônggi shî) and special examinations (pujônggi shî). The fixed examinations were represented by the Triennial Examination held once every three years, and the special examinations such as the Augmented Examination (chônggwân shî); Special Examination (pyôl shî); Royal Visitation Examination (alsông shî); Garden Examination (chông shî); and the Ch’undang Pavilion Examination (ch’undang tae shî; taken at Ch’anggyông Palace) were held on other occasions.

The examinations which gave entry to public office were divided into two basic levels, with the Licentiate Examination, or lower level examination, and the upper or HCSE. The former was subdivided into the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwódwôn kwa), which tested candidates on their knowledge of the Four Books and Five Classics, and the Literary Licentiate Examination (chinsa kwa), which tested composition skills in various Chinese literary forms, such as poetry; rhyme prose; documentary prose; and problem essays. The candidates had first to pass a preliminary examination (held in the provinces), and then travel to the capital to sit a further examination. On passing both examinations, the candidate would be awarded the title of either Literary Licentiate (chinsa) or Classics Licentiate (saengwódwôn). He could then enter the Sônggyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy) to study and, at a later date, apply to sit for the HCSE. The HCSE was also divided into primary and secondary stages, and generally there were thirty-three successful candidates. Those who passed the HCSE were ranked, with the one having the highest score being accorded special treatment in being posted to his official post.
The Military Examinations tested such skills as horsemanship, archery and lance skills in addition to knowledge of the Classics and military texts. These examinations began at the end of Koryŏ and while they were continued in Chosŏn, they were given lower status than the civil examinations. The Military Examinations were generally divided into three stages and there were twenty-eight successful candidates at the end of the third stage. The Military Examinations helped to further solidify the yangban-dominated culture of Chosŏn since it incorporated the military into the yangban bureaucratic structure. It is notable, however, that as the yangban culture of Chosŏn began to dissipate in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Military Examination became a means of social mobility for those in the lower classes, including the ch'ŏnin.

The Miscellaneous Examinations were for the selection of professionals such as translators; medical doctors; law clerks; astronomers; and meteorologists. Since the yangban literati regarded these professions as beneath them, members of the chungin (middle people) class primarily sat for the Miscellaneous Examinations and filled these posts in the Chosŏn officialdom. The various Miscellaneous Examinations included the Interpreting Examination (yŏkkwa); Medical Examination (ŭigwa); Cosmic Forces Examination (ŭmyanggwa; this included astronomy, geomancy and meteorology) and the Law Examination (yulgwa). The Miscellaneous Examinations were held every three years and the successful candidate could assume a government post in the lower echelons of the Chosŏn government.

The only class legally excluded from sitting the government service examinations during Chosŏn was the ch'ŏnin. But in practice, the examinations were attempted only by the yangban and chungin classes. Only the yangban and chungin had the opportunity to study the vast amount of material necessary for success in the examination process. The passing of the government service examinations, particularly the HCSE, or the Literary Examination, was the focus of yangban culture, and was viewed as an essential component to leading a filial life, since success in the government equated to filial piety for one’s ancestors. Therefore, a large number of educational facilities of varying levels were created, such as the Sŏnggyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy); the Sahak (Four Schools); hyanggyo (county public schools); and sŏwŏn (private academies) to meet the demands for education by the yangban.

The government service examination system remained a fundamental aspect of Chosŏn society until the final days of the dynasty, when it was abolished shortly following the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyŏngjang). For more than nine-hundred years, the examination system functioned to allow men of talent to enter the bureaucracy. Moreover, it existed throughout as the focus of the country’s educational system. The government examination system was, in principle, relatively fair, even though it can be seen as discriminating against those in the lower orders. In practice, however, it was inherently biased towards the literati, and with the arrival of Chosŏn, was the exclusive province of the yangban and chungin classes. Further, the Higher Civil Service Examination, which acted as the springboard to positions of power within the government, was monopolised by the yangban, and hence served to restrict access to power to only the most privileged class. Thus, while the government examination system represented an improvement from the domination of the government by hereditary rights, it still did not result in the most qualified individuals staffing the bureaucracy of the Korean states.

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Kwagŏ (The Government Service Examination)
Kwagö is a 223-page work written by Yi Sôngmu and others that concerns the civil service examination system. This work not only examines the civil service examination system in Korea, but also looks at characteristics of the Chinese system. Ilchogak Publishers published this work in 1981.

Kwajön pŏp

Kwan'gŭk chŏlgu

Kwan'gwan saŏp pŏp

Kwanak Mountain

Rising 629 metres, Mt. Kwanak’s rugged, granite cliffs and crags make up part of Seoul’s southern border. With fewer springs and sources of water than other mountains in the area, Mt. Kwanak is, according to geomantic theory, a “fire-mountain” (hwasan). With this in mind, King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398), in order to counter the mountain’s fiery influence when he moved the Korean capital to Seoul, had a haet’ae (a mythological lion-unicorn believed to guard against fire) erected in front of the palace, and then had a water-jar buried half-way up the mountain. Every morning, the mountain is covered with hikers from southern Seoul, Kwach’on or nearby Seoul National University. In addition to the numerous hiking trails, there are a number of small Buddhist temples in the area, such as Yongma, Yŏnju, Chaun, Mangwŏl, and Yŏmbul Hermitage and Pusŏng Temple.

Kwanak yŏnsang hoesang

Kwangdae

Kwanggaet’o, King (r. 391-413)

King Kwanggaet’o (374-413) was the nineteenth king of the Koguryŏ Kingdom and reigned from 391 to 413. During his reign he was known as the Great King Yŏngnak, his reign era was entitled Yŏngnak (eternal rejoicing) and posthumously he was honoured with a lengthy eulogistic title that proclaimed his monumental kingly achievements. In addition in Chinese records he is known as An. Kwanggaet’o was the son of King Kogugyang (r. 384-391) and from a young age he was said to have a large and a noble stature. In 386 he was designated as Crown Prince and when his father died he ascended to the throne.

Although there are some differences in the records of Kwanggaet’o’s life recorded in the Sanguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) and on the Kwanggaet’o Stele, judging from his posthumous title it is clear that he made major additions to the territory of Koguryŏ and to the consolidations of the ruling power of the Kingdom. Kwanggaet’o, whose name literally means the ‘broad expander of territory’, in the course of his twenty-two year reign conquered a total of sixty-four fortresses and 1,400 villages. Leading his mounted troops across the territory of Koguryŏ he had a succession of stunning victories. In the west he occupied Liaodong, which had long been an area of contention for many peoples. In the northeast he subdued the Sushen people, a Tungusic tribe, which made Koguryŏ the master of all of Manchuria. In the south he attacked Paekche and extended the frontier of Koguryŏ to the region between the Imjin and Han rivers, and to the southeast he annihilated the Japanese Wa, who had been attacking Shilla. In the end, Kwanggaet’o created a kingdom that covered two-thirds of the Korean peninsula in addition to most of Manchuria.

Kwanggaet’o was also a skilled statesman, as he sought to improve Koguryŏ’s position...
through diplomatic relations with distant Chinese states while still engaging in confrontations with the neighbouring Northern dynasties. In addition Koguryo established ties with the nomadic peoples on the Chinese northern frontier as a further way to hold the Chinese at bay. To the south, Kwanggaeto brought his army to the rescue of Shilla which was under attack from the Japanese Wa who had formed an alliance with Paekche. However, eventually Shilla formed an alliance with Paekche to counter the great power of Koguryo.

Kwanggaeto brought Koguryo to a position of military equality with China during his reign and this was continued during the lengthy reign of his son, King Changsu (r. 413-491), which is considered as the zenith of the Koguryo Kingdom. Kwanggaeto’s tomb is located at the former capital of Koguryo, Kungnae Fortress, which is on the Manchurian side of the Yalu River in modern day Tonggou. The deeds of his reign are recorded on the Kwanggaeto Stele, which is 6.39 metres high and is engraved with nearly 1800 characters that expound the life of the great king.

Kwanggaeto stele

Kwanghae, Prince (r.1608-1623)

Kwanghae (1575-1641), was the fifteenth king of Choson. His reign is characterised by the successful reconstruction of the economy, which was in tatters from the 1592 Japanese Invasion, and intricate diplomatic manoeuvring between the ailing Ming dynasty and the rising Manchurian state.

Born Yi Hon, Kwanghae was the second son of Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) and his concubine. He was designated crown prince in 1592 and, in spite of his very young age, successfully carried out many important missions during the Japanese Invasion, thus gaining his father’s confidence. After Sŏnjo's death in 1608 Kwanghae ascended the throne, though by then Sŏnjo had fathered a son by his second wife.

Since Kwanghae’s legitimacy was dubious because of his mother’s status as a royal concubine, his entire reign was marked by endless feuds between members of the royal family. This family strife was further convoluted by the partisan conflict between rival court factions, with the young king himself being supported by the 'Big Northern’ faction. During his reign, Kwanghae had some of his royal relatives exiled or killed, but eventually lost his power after a successful coup d'état led by another prince, who then took the throne as King Injo (r. 1623-1649), supported by discontented officials from rival, out of power factions. In 1621 a sudden, well-executed attack on the king’s palace resulted in a transfer of power to King Injo and his supporters who were comprised largely of members of the Westerner (Sŏin) faction. Since he had lost in the power struggle, Kwanghae was abhorred by official Confucian historiography and thus did not receive an official posthumous name. Hence, he is referred to as Prince Kwanghae, instead of ‘king’ -- a title used for nearly all other monarchs of Choson.

However, Kwanghae was an able, pragmatic and generally successful (though somewhat of a machiavellian) leader. He played a decisive role in negotiating peace with Japan after the invasions of 1592-1598. His domestic policies contributed in no small way to the eventual recovery of Korean agriculture and trade, both of which were devastated by the prolonged war. In a wider perspective, however, Kwanghae’s biggest successes were on the international stage as he sought to keep Choson clear of yet another devastating conflict, this time with the rising Manchu state to the north. With the decaying Chinese Ming dynasty under pressure from the Manchu, many in the Choson court, particularly those in the Westerner faction, advocated sending troops to assist the Chinese state. But Kwanghae realised the strength of the Manchu and was of the opinion that Choson would not be able to resist their superior forces. Choson could ill-afford yet another devastating invasion.
Thus, when Ming demanded that Chosŏn send troops to her aid, Kwanghae instructed his general, Kang Hongnip (1560-1627) to carefully assess the tide of battle before joining the Ming. Accordingly, when Hong realised that the Manchu were the superior forces on the battlefield, he surrendered his army to the manchu general, firstly gaining an assurance that there would be no punitive action taken against Chosŏn.

Other accomplishments during the reign of Kwanghae include the reinstitution of the hop'ae identification tag system, which ensured that the common people were not able to abandon their land and wander, and a renewed vigour in literary endeavours. The hop'ae system was quite important in that it enforced stability among the peasantry and thus allowed for a quicker recovery from the havoc wrought by the Japanese Invasion. On the literary front, a return to better times heralded such works as Hong Kiltong chŏn (The Tale of Hong Kiltong) and Tongūi pogam (Exemplar of Korean Medicine) to be written. Hence, the reign of Kwanghae represented a brief renaissance for Chosŏn society, which would soon again be plunged into hardship by the Manchu Invasion under the rule of King Injo.

Kwanghae failed to satisfy the charges of serious misrule brought against him in 1623 and was deposed, the Westerners supporting the accession of Injo. After the usurpation, his life was spared, although his son and heir was later put to death. Kwanghae lived out the last twenty years of his life in comfortable exile.

**Kwangjang (Square, The)**

**Kwangjong, King** (r. 949-975)

King Kwangjong (925-975) was the fourth king of Koryŏ and ruled from 949 until his death in 975. Kwangjong was the son of the founder of Koryŏ, King T'aejo (r. 918-943), and a brother to the second and third kings, Hyejong (r. 943-945) and Chongjong (r. 945-949). Chongjong was his full elder brother and Kwangjong assumed the throne after him. When compared to Hyejong and Chongjong, Kwangjong reveals several different features. The most notable feature is the length of rule with Kwangjong ruling for twenty-six years as opposed to two years for Hyejong and four for Chongjong. In addition, Hyejong and Chongjong both had their power supported by powerful retainers, Pak Sulhŭi for Hyejong and Wang Shignyŏm in the case of Chongjong. Kwangjong, on the other hand, used his personal power and struggled continually to strengthen the power of the monarchy in Koryŏ and to free it from the powerful gentry families of the day. Kwangjong's reign is characterised by his ongoing struggle to strengthen the monarchy and can largely be divided into three stages: the first covering the beginning of his reign to the seventh year, the second from the seventh to the eleventh year, and the third from the eleventh year until his death in 975.

Upon assuming power in 949 Kwangjong did not immediately execute any policies to strengthen the power of the kingship. This indicates that Kwangjong did not wish to upset the relatively calm political situation that was at that time prevalent in the country and also that he desired to strengthen his own position. The monarchy of Koryŏ had been under siege since the death of King T'aejo, with a plot to overthrow Hyejong by a royal in-law Wang Kyu. Moreover, the Kingdom and foreign relations with China were closely related and through both domestic and foreign policy it is thought that the new king hoped to consolidate his position through strengthening his political base.

The second period of Kwangjong's reign is marked by his policies to eliminate the political power of the gentry and at the same time increase the hegemony of the monarchy. His first action was the enactment of the Slave Review Act (An'gŏm pŏp) in 956, which was designed to reduce the number of slaves in the gentry households by determining which slaves had originally been commoners and return their freedom. This law was necessitated by the large number of commoners who had been forced into slavery at the end of the later
Three Kingdoms Period, and now were essential to their master's economic and military strength. In 958 Kwangjong adopted the civil service examination system of China on the proposal of the Chinese scholar Shuangji. The purpose of this reform was to employ men of merit in the bureaucracy of Koryō in the place of the old military officials who had gained positions in the government by virtue of their participation in the founding of Koryō. In addition, in 960 Kwangjong instituted a hierarchical system of official dress for the court that strengthened the order in the bureaucratic ranks.

The third period of Kwangjong's reign is characterised by a backlash from the gentry families to the attempts to strengthen the monarchy at their expense, and then the decisive actions carried out by Kwangjong to purge any who were resistant to his policies. The opposition began in earnest in 960 with a group of officials, including Kwŏn Shin, Yi Taesang and Chun Hong, who plotted against Kwangjong and were as a result exiled by the king. After this time Kwangjong was ruthless in his purges of any officials who challenged his policies. The consequence of his thorough eradication of the ruling ranks was that he was able to staff the government with those who were loyal to him, and was also able to assert royal authority over the gentry in the capital of Kaesŏng.

Kwangjong pursued a policy of expanding the territory of Koryŏ and actively pushed towards the Yalu River. While this policy did result in Koryŏ expanding her domain, it did in the end bring about a conflict with the Khitan at whose expense this territory was gained. Kwangjong also conducted diplomatic intercourse with various Chinese states during his reign and also strengthened the position of Buddhism within Koryŏ.

Kwangjong's main achievement was the strengthening of the monarchy during the early Koryŏ period. To do this he relied upon both adopting new systems that allow the gentry to be systematically weakened and through the enforcement of his reforms through authoritarian coercion. However, with his death in 979 many of his reforms were rendered ineffectual and the thorough transformation of the Koryŏ government would be forced to wait until the reign of King Songjong (r. 981-997).

Kwangju

Kwangju, located in South Cholla Province, has been designated Kwangju City since 1949, and has been a directly administered municipality since 1986. The city covers an area of 501.32 square kilometres. Mt. Mudung (1,187 metres) is situated on the eastern edge of the city (See Mt. Mudung). With its location on the southern end of the Korean peninsula, the area is characterised by mild weather. Even so, the area receives a considerable winter snowfall.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth c., the city was often the scene of protests. In 1894, a large number of residents participated in the ill-fated Tonghak Rebellion. During the Japanese occupation, residents rose up against the occupying forces in the March First Movement. Ten years later, on the third of November, students led another large demonstration against the Japanese. The city's students were also involved in frequent protests after Chun Doo Hwan seized power. In May 1980, Chŏnnam National University students held a demonstration calling for greater democratisation. When a contingent of paratroopers was sent to break up the protest, the situation got out of hand, resulting in a full-scale insurrection. On 27 May, regular troops from the ROK Twentieth Division invaded the city and imposed martial law. In less than two weeks, an unaccountable number (reports range from hundreds to thousands) of Kwangju citizens had been killed. A monument has been erected in Mangwŏl-dong to commemorate their deaths.

During Chosŏn, workshops in the area produced a number of traditional items such as paper, furniture, brushes, ink, arrows, quivers and drums. Some of these items are still made in traditional shops for tourists. The city, situated in the remote southwestern corner
of Korea, has until recently been hemmed in by poor transportation networks. As a result, in the twentieth c., its industrial development has lagged behind other regions in the south.

The city serves as the transportation hub of southwestern Korea, and as a result, most of its residents are employed in the commercial or service sectors. The commercial centre of Kwangju is Kumnam Street. Numerous financial institutions, newspaper offices, tourist agencies, etc. line this popular thoroughfare. Below the street, there is an underground market. In addition, there are large outdoor markets in Yang-dong and Ku-dong.

During Choson, Kwangju Hyanggyo (County public school) served as one of the area’s leading education institutions. The academy was originally founded in 1398 on Mt. Sosok, but was later moved outside of the city’s East Gate before being moved to its present location in Ku-dong in 1488. There were a number of other academies in the area, including Unam Sowon (Private academy), Muyang Sowon, Kyongnyol-sa, Changnyol-sa, Hwadam-sa, Sogang-sa and Chisan-sa. Western-style educational institutions were first founded in the area in 1904 by Protestant missionaries. At present, there are a number of institutions of higher learning in the city, including Chonnam National University, Chosun University, Kwangju National University of Education, Honam Theological University and Seminary, Honam University, Kwangju Catholic University, Kwang Ju Women’s University, Kwangshin University and Kwangju Institute of Science and Technology.

Kum-dong Street is the arts and culture centre of the city. The area has numerous galleries, antique shops and traditional tea houses. The Kwangju Cultural Center, Kwangju Public Museum and Kwangju Municipal Folk Museum are also located along this street. In addition, the city holds a traditional art competition called the Namdo Cultural Festival in autumn every year. All forms of art, including folk plays, farmers’ music and even modern art, can be seen at the festival.

**Kwangju County**

Situated in Kyonggi Province to the southeast of Seoul, Kwangju County is comprised of the town of Kwangju and the townships of Namjong, Toch’ok, Shilch’on, Op’o, Chungbu, Ch’owol and T’oech’on. The Kwangju Mountain Range runs along the county’s southwestern sector. In the north, the southern and northern branches of the Han River meet to form P’aldang Lake. With the Chungbu Expressway running lengthwise through the county, the area is easily accessible from Seoul and points further south.

Due to the county’s rugged topography and thick forests, agriculture primarily consists of dry field crops such as Chinese cabbage, red peppers, garlic and potatoes. Stock breeding and small mining operation also contribute to the local economy. Recently, numerous manufacturing firms have been established here in order to take advantage of the city’s proximity to Seoul with its large labour force. Companies which have located here include Doosan Glass, Sammi Enterprises and Shindonga Construction. However, approximately a third of the city falls within the green belt surrounding Seoul, and is therefore not available for industrial development.

The county boasts a number of scenic areas. P’aldang Resort is popular with sports fishermen who come to catch carp, mandarin fish, eels and other freshwater fish. Throughout the year, tourists visit the Namhan Fortress, which has a history stretching back to the Greater Shilla period (See Namhan Mountain). There in 1637, King Injo (r. 1623-1649) and about 14 000 of his troops surrendered to a Manchurian Invasion. In addition, there are several old Confucian schools in the area, including Kwangju Hyanggyo, which was founded during the late Choson period, Sansong Hyanggyo which sits atop Namhan Fortress, Sugok Sowon and Sach’ung Sowon. Buddhist sites include a stone stupa outside of Paengny’on Hermitage, five-storey and three-storey pagodas (Treasure No. 12 and 13 respectively) in Kwanju’s Ch’un’gung Village, a Buddha statue in
Toch’ŏk Township (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 88) and a lovely rock-carving in relief depicting Yaksa Yŏrae (the Medicine Buddha) in Tongbu.

Historically, the area is famous as one of the major producers of pottery during the Chosŏn period. Around 1467 and 1468, official kilns established here were exclusively charged with the production of white porcelain for the royalty. Kwangju was an ideal site for pottery manufacture for several reasons. First of all, it was near the capital (present Seoul) and thus in close proximity to the royal palaces. In addition, the site had an ample supply of fuel woods as well as high quality clay. Remains of the Kwangju kilns can still be seen in Chungbu Township, between Sach’ung Sŏwŏn and Yonghak Temple.

Kwangju National Museum

Located in Kwangju’s Puk Ward, Kwangju National Museum (Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan) was established in 1978 in order to preserve and exhibit artefacts excavated from the local area, along with ceramic pieces recovered from sunken ships off the coast of South Chŏlla Province. From that time, the museum’s collection has grown to include Prehistoric relics, artefacts from the tombs in the Yŏngsan River area, relics from the Paekche kingdom, handicrafts and Buddhist art from Greater Shilla and Koryŏ, Chosŏn paintings, celadon, white porcelain and other pottery. As well as managing its exhibits, the museum conducts research, holds academic seminars and gives lectures for the general public.

Kwangju Student Uprising

[Kwangmyŏng]

Kwangmyŏng

Situated southwest of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province, Kwangmyŏng was designated as city in 1981. As a satellite city of Seoul, the city underwent rapid development in the 1980s. Except for Mt. Kurŭm (237m) which rises in the middle of Kwangmyŏng, the city area primarily consists of low elevations.

As a result of the area’s swift urbanisation, there has been a continuous decline in the amount of land under cultivation. Over half of the city’s residents work in Seoul. Other residents are employed in the service sector or in local factories that produce textiles, chemicals, machinery, electronics and other projects.

The city does not have any major tourist attractions, and has only a few sites of historical interest. In Kahak-dong, there is a stone grave that dates from the prehistoric period. In Ch’ungnyŏn-dong, one finds the old site of the Ch’ungnyŏn Sŏwŏn (private academy) which was founded during the reign of Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800).

Kwangyang

Situated in South Chŏlla Province, Kwangyang City embraces the town of and the townships of Taap, Ponggang, Okkŏk, Ongnyong, Chinsang and Chinwŏl. The city covers a total area of 380.7 sq. kms. and, as 1986 statistics indicate, a population of 74,423. With Mt. Paegun (1,218m), Ttoari Peak (1,120m) and Mae Peak (865m) rising in the north, some 73 per cent of the city consists of mountainous terrain. The Sŏmjin River runs along the city’s eastern border, and from Mt. Paegun, the Tong and Sŏ streams discharge into Kwangyang Bay. Most of the city’s agricultural land and its residential districts are located in the plains area contiguous with these streams. As part of the southern coastal region, the area has a great deal of clement weather, with an average yearly temperature of 13.7c and an annual rainfall of 1,295mm.
Due to the area’s rugged topography, only about 18 per cent of the city area is arable land. Of this, more than two-thirds grows rice and the remainder dry field crops. Greenhouses produce Chinese cabbage, cucumber and radish on a commercial scale. Since 1968, large chestnut plantations have been established in the area, making Kwangyang Korea’s leading producer of chestnuts. Marine products include shellfish and laver which are harvested in Kwangyang Bay, and there are eel farms along the lower reaches of the Sŏmjin River. Mining operations include Kwangyang Mine in Kwangyang’s Sagok and Ch’ŏnam villages and Kwangyang Steelworks on the shores of Kwangyang Bay.

The first stage of Kwangyang Steel was completed in May 1987. This has greatly expanded and has averaged an annual output of 11.4 million tons of steel. It is the largest single steelworks in Korea, even exceeding in size POSCO’s first steel mill in Pohang. The steelworks directly employs about 8,500 people, and if one takes into account the employees of the 70 companies affiliated with the steelworks as well as those of their 22 suppliers, the total number doubles to nearly 17,000.

Although the city does not attract large numbers of tourists, it offers a diverse range of scenic attractions including high mountains, rivers and coastline. In addition, there are a number of historical sites in the area. Near Mt. Paegun lies Ongnyong Temple, where Tosŏn (827-898) is said to have written osŏn pigi (Esoteric Record of Tosŏn). In this prophetic work, Tosŏn predicted with a high degree of accuracy, the establishment of the Koryŏ kingdom. Other important temples in the area include Paegun Temple south of Mt. Paegun; Sŏngbul Temple southeast of Mt. Hyŏngje (861m); Changhŭng Temple in Ongnyong Township; Tŏksŏn Temple south of Mt. Mangdŏk (197m); Mudŏng Hermitage north-east of Mt. Puram (431m); and Sŏsan Temple and Pongyang Temple in Kwangyang. Confucian sites in the area include Kwangyang Hyanggyo (County public school originally established in 1443), and Pongyang-sa (a shrine commemorating Ch’oe Sandu and other illustrious scholars).

**Kwanmae Island**

Located seven kilometres southeast of Hajo Island, Kwanmae Island belongs to the Tokkŏ Archipelago. The island’s name is said to come from the abundant plum blossoms that the banished scholar Cho saw when he paused here c. 1700 C.E. on his way to Cheju Island. Administratively, the island is part of Chodo Township in South Cholla Province’s Chindo County. The island covers an area of 4.08 sq. kms. and has a coastline of 17-km. During low tide, a land bridge forms between the island and the islets of Kakhul and Hang.

Kwanmae Village and Kwanho Village are the island’s two main population centres. Most residents are both farmers and fishers. Slightly less than 1.0 sq.km. is available for rice cultivation, with only a further 0.7 sq. kms. for dry-field crops. Local marine products include yellow corbina, anchovy, and laver. A passenger ferry calls at the island every other day.

**Kwanŭm Temple** [Architecture]

**Kwimŏgŏri sae** (Deaf Bird) [Literature]

**Kwŏn Kŭn** (1352-1409)

Kwŏn Kŭn was a civil official and scholar of the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods. His family’s ancestral home is in Andong, his given name was Chin, courtesy name Kawŏn and his pen name was Yangch’ŏn. In 1368 he passed the higher civil service examination and held a number of educational offices including Diarist (kŏmyŏl) at the Office for Annals
Compilation (Ch’unch’ugwan), Lecturer (chikkang) at the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) and Drafter (nungyo) at the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan). After the death of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374), Kwŏn along with Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) and Chŏng Tojon (1342-1398) risked death by continuing to advocate a pro-Ming, anti-Yuan policy for Koryŏ. Nonetheless, Kwŏn continued to serve in important positions within the government as both Director (chishinsa) and Chancellor (taesasŏng) of the National Confucian Academy, and in 1388 he served as assistant examiner of the government service examination (tong jingga). In the next year Kwŏn served on an official mission to Ming China along with Yun Sungsun in which Koryŏ tried to create friendly relations with the newly established Ming. While in Ming, Kwŏn received a letter from the Ming Board of Rites which caused him a great deal of trouble when he returned to Koryŏ for he was accused of being associated with the faction of Yi Pin and sentenced to death. However, the Koryŏ dynasty shortly fell and the founder of the new Chosŏn dynasty, Yi Sŏnggye (King T’aejo, r. 1392-1398) pardoned Kwŏn.

With the founding of Chosŏn, Kwŏn served in various official capacities before being dispatched to Ming in 1396 on an official mission to correct a misunderstanding between King T’aejo and the Chinese court. Not only did Kwŏn solve the problem between Chosŏn and Ming, but he also used this opportunity to meet with Chinese scholars such as Liu Sanwu and Xu Guan and conduct scholarly discourse on classical writings. At this same time he received recognition from the Ming Emperor for his literary skills and became widely known in China for his talents. Upon his return to Korea he was honoured as a meritorious subject and served as Assistant Secretary (ch’amch’an) along with other official positions.

Kwŏn is also renowned for his studies and propagation of neo-Confucian ideology. He represents part of the link between the neo-Confucianists of the Koryŏ period and those of the Chosŏn period. Kwŏn, along with scholars such as Yi Sungin (1349-1392), Yi Saek (1328-1396), Chŏng Mongju and Kil Chae (1353-1419), helped form a bridge for the neo-Confucian ideology that was to become the dominant force in Chosŏn. Kwŏn’s works such as Ogyŏng ch’ŏn’gyŏn nok and Iphak tosŏl (Illustrated Treatises for the Beginner) are widely acclaimed for their clear elucidation of neo-Confucian principles. In addition Kwŏn’s collected works, Yangch’on chip (Collected Works of Yangch’on), are extant.

Kye

Kyebaek

Kyebaek (? - 660) is probably the most well-known military leader from the Paekche Kingdom during the Three Kingdoms period and also one of the leading historical military characters of Korea. Although his military success was notable it was small in comparison to other great Korean leaders. Kyebaek is most famous for his personal characteristics and virtue. He personified many of the personal qualities Koreans, and indeed people all over the world, regard highly. So even in military defeat he is remembered for his loyalty, dedication, self sacrifice for his nation, leadership and forgiveness of his enemies.

In the context of northeast Asia of the seventh century, the Korean peninsula as well as activities on the mainland of China were relatively unstable. Korea was in the last stages of its Three Kingdoms period with the powerful Koguryo Kingdom occupying the northern part of the peninsula, Paekche to the southwest, and the Shilla to the southeast. The Paekche was the weaker of the three during the seventh century, with the once powerful Koguryo slowly losing its stature and the rising Shilla Kingdom gaining momentum that would ultimately allow it to unite the peninsula under its rule in the later part of that century. The mighty neighbour to the west, China, had itself only relatively recently been united in the late sixth century under the Sui Dynasty. That dynasty had its own problems including those
with the then powerful Koguryo Kingdom of northern Korea, and after some disastrous defeats at the hands of Koguryo forces under the leadership of General Ulchi Mundok (see chapter 19) the Sui Dynasty was replaced by the Tang Dynasty in 618. The Tang Dynasty would assist in shaping the power balance on the Korean peninsula by allying with Paekche's rival, Shilla Kingdom, in a war that would propel Kyebaek into fame and honour.

Relatively little is written about Kyebaek's early life and very little detail, including his birthrate and birthplace, is known about him. We do know when he died however, and from that we can safely assume that he grew up in the Paekche Kingdom during these political changes both on the peninsula and in China. We also know that Kyebaek was fiercely loyal to the kingdom and its king even though the last years of Paekche had seen a disastrous decay in its strength largely due to a king who ignored his kingdom in favour or pursuing his personal pleasures.

The Paekche of Kyebaek's adulthood was ruled by King Uija (641-660) who initially appeared as a strong and able ruler. In 642 he launched some military expeditions against Shilla taking some key fortifications on its northern border. Again in 655, he initiated another offensive that engulfed some thirty Shilla fortresses. After these successes however, he lapsed into disinterest and ignored the counteroffensive that was building against him.

In March 660, Shilla aligned with Tang Dynasty China to attack the Paekche Kingdom with the hope of conquering it then closing the grip on the Koguryo Kingdom to the north. The Tang Emperor, Kao-tsung sent approximately 130,000 troops in 1,900 ships to attack Paekche from the west. Simultaneously, 50,000 Shilla forces under the leadership of the famous general Kim Yu-shin (see chapter 17), set out to attack Paekche from the east. Kyebaek took 5,000 of his best troops and marched out to meet the Shilla forces. He knew his efforts were futile before he set out, and he reportedly stated "I would rather die than be a slave of the enemy." Kyebaek then killed his wife and family rather than allow them to fall into the hands of opposing forces, or allow the thought of them to influence his actions, or cause him to falter in battle. Initially, Kyebaek had some success against Shilla winning four small battles. In one of the battles, Shilla General P'amok sent his sixteen year old son, Kwanch'an, to fight at the front. Kyebaek captured Kwanch'an but was moved because of his great courage. Kyebaek released the young warrior only to meet and capture him again in another battle.

Kyebaek later moved his forces to block the advance of General Kim Yu-shin. They met on the plains of Hwangsan Field, in present day Hamyang, near Chiri Mountain. Kyebaek's forces fought bravely but they were outnumbered ten to one. In the end, Kyebaek and his men were completely defeated. The Shilla forces went on to overcome all of Paekche and then, with the help of Tang forces defeated Koguryo forces and united the entire peninsula in 668.

Kyebaek suffered a great defeat without humility. He set out to defend his country with merger forces, badly outnumbered, confident he would surely die. This did not cause him to hesitate, in fact, he sacrificed his whole family in addition to himself for the sake of his country. He did this even though his king and country had decayed to a point where many did not believe either deserved such devotion. In the midst of battle and in such despair, he still possessed the compassion to recognise courage in the enemy and spare the young boy Kwanch' an. All these honourable attributes Kyebaek exemplified to the very end. He is remembered as a man of honour and national hero of Korea.

R Saccone

**Kyebang Mountain**

Situated just west of Odae-san National Park, Mt. Kaebang, at 1,577 metres, is one of the higher peaks in the area. As the high point of the Ch'ongnyöng Range, the mountain is surrounded by the peaks of Mt. Odæ (1,563 metres), Mt. Paekchôk (1,141 ), Mt. T'aegi
(1,261) and Mt. Pangdae (1,436). Unlike most of the mountains in Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Kyebang has gentle slopes and few of the spectacular rock outcroppings characteristic of Mt. Sŏrak to the north. As a result, it has not been a popular destination for hikers and tourists.

**Kyech’uk ilgi** (Diary of the Year Kyech’uk)

*Kyech’uk ilgi* is an anonymous mid-Chosŏn novel which concerns the events that surround the deposition of Queen Inmok by Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623). The work consists of one volume and is handwritten. There are, however, two editions of *Kyech’uk ilgi*, the Naksonjae and the Honggiwon, the latter having the title *Sŏgung ilgi* (Diary of the Western Palace). From an examination of the two editions it is clear that neither is original since there are differences in the story sufficient to point to another source. Nevertheless, the work is valued for both its account of the intrigue surrounding the reign of Kwanghae and the various political factions vying for supremacy. Also, for its linguistic elements, since it provides a clear record of palace language. The author is thought to have been a court lady, but aside from this there is nothing which might reveal the diarist’s identity.

The narrative line of *Kyech’uk ilgi* begins with rumours that Queen Inmok is finally pregnant in the thirty-sixth year of King Sŏnjo’s reign (1603), and this is perceived as a threat to Prince Kwanghae, who although the issue of the king and a concubine, had been named as Crown prince. Even though the Queen gives birth to a son, Prince Yongch’ang; when Sŏnjo dies in 1608, Kwanghae ascends the throne. Kwanghae moves quickly to consolidate his power and has his elder brother, Prince Imhae, executed. He then confines Queen Inmok to Sŏgung Palace. Eventually, Kwanghae exiles the young prince Youngch’ang to Kanghwa Island where he too, is executed. During the political manoeuvring of Kwanghae and Inmok, the literati become divided, with Yi Ich’om leading the group supporting Kwanghae, and Kim Chenam, the father of Queen Inmok, leading the other, which is behind the queen. In 1623, Kwanghae is dethroned and King Injo (r. 1623-1649) accedes, with Queen Inmok being reinstated.

Information contained in *Kyech’uk ilgi* suggests that the author may have been a palace lady who was perhaps a votary of Queen Inmok. Moreover, the Diary is written in effeminate terms -- a pointer to a well-educated woman author. The Diary is one of three major works of Chosŏn that recount the events of the royal palace, taking its place alongside *Hanjung mannok* (A Record of Sorrow) and *Inhyŏn wanghu chŏn* (The Tale of Queen Inhyŏn). All three works are highly valued for the insight they provide into life at the Chosŏn royal palace.

**Kyehoedo**

[Painting]

**Kyemongsa**


**Kyeryong Mountain**

Situated between Taejŏn and Kongju in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Mt. Kyeryong incorporates Ch’ŏnhwag (845 metres), Yŏnch’ŏn (740 metres) and Sambul (750 metres) Peak. The name Kyeryong (chicken-dragon) comes from the ridge connecting these three peaks, which resembles a dragon with a cockscomb. According to Korean geomancy, the
area's natural elements (water, earth, etc.) and the geographical features are in a particularly harmonious balance. As a result, followers of many diverse religious cults have been attracted to the area. Numerous tourists also flock to Kyeryongsan National Park to enjoy the clear streams, rocky peaks and sights such as the famous Unson Waterfall.

Since the Three Kingdoms Period, temples have been built in the area, and a number of old monasteries of historical interest can still be found. In particular, Tonghak, Kap and Shinwŏn Temple house a great number of Buddhist artifacts, including stone carvings, large bells and stupas. Since the Greater Shilla Period, Mt. Kyeryong, considered to be one of Korea’s five important peaks, was a site for national religious ceremonies. During the Chosŏn Period, three mountains were selected as sites for the important mountain spirit ceremony held in the autumn and spring: Mt. Myohyang in the north, Mt. Chiri in the south and Mt. Kyeryong in the centre.

The mountain is part of the sixty-square kilomere Kyeryong-san National Park. Due to its central location, the area is easily accessible to people living throughout South Korea, who come to appreciate the mountain’s scenic beauty and rich historical heritage.

**Kyewŏn Pilgyong chip** (Ploughing the Cassia Grove with a Writing Brush)

This is an anthology of prose and poems by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (styled Koun, 857-?) , a famous scholar of the Shilla period, who is sometimes called the Father of Chinese Literature in Korea. It is the oldest literary anthology now extant in Korea and consists of twenty volumes in four fascicles. It comprises prose and poems of great beauty which Ch'oe wrote while in China and on his way back to Korea, after studying and serving in the Tang court from the age of twelve until he was twenty-eight. Ch'oe compiled the book on his return in 886 and presented it to King Hŏn'gang.

The essays and poems in the collection cover a wide variety of aspects of the social, political and cultural life of Tang China, but it is valued more for its literary style than its content. Ch'oe was held in high esteem among the Chinese literati of the period, especially by the poets Luo Yin and Gu Guang, and the Kyewŏn Pilgyong chip was recorded in the Tang work Yiwen zhi. Some Chosŏn dynasty scholars such as Sŏng Hyon, Sŏ Kŏjong and Hŏ Kyun later criticised his scholarship, but Yi Chibong gave high praise to his poems, particularly the 'Ch'uya ujung' (In the Rain of Autumn Night) which he regarded as superior to any Tang poem.

**Kyeyul sect**

[Buddhism]

**Kyobo Publishers Incorporated**

Located in Seoul’s Chongno Ward, Kyobo Publishers Incorporated (Kyobo Mun'go Ch'ulp'anbu) is a publishing firm established on 12 November 1981. With Yu Kŏn as editor, the company chiefly publishes works related to technology and foreign languages.

**Kyodong Island**

Located northwest of Kanghwa Island, Kyodong Island is part of Kanghwa County in the Inch’ŏn Metropolitan Area. The island has a total area of 46.24 sq. kms. During the Korean War many refugees fled to the island swelling disproportionately the island’s population. By 1965, the population stood at 12 443, but then declined to 7 853 by 1985. As a partly submerged mountain of the Mashingnyong Mountain Range, about two-thirds of the island consists of extremely low elevations of ten metres or less. The highest point is Mt. Hwagae (259m), and the other peaks are all less than one hundred metres in height. The island lies
two kms. off the coast of Hwanghae Province; so that on a clear day Kaesŏng’s Mt. Songak can be seen. The shallow, turbid waters that surround the island are not good for fishing, and the tidal level fluctuations make it difficult for larger vessels to navigate the area. Although the local climate has relatively mild seasonal variations compared to the mainland, the island experiences unstable weather patterns characterised by strong winds, occasional gales and hailstorms. The average yearly temperature is 10.9 deg. c. and the average annual rainfall 998.6mm.

With large plots of level land, 73.0 per cent is rice paddy, about 10.0 per cent grows dry-field crops and about 10 per cent is wooded. As on nearby Kanghwa Island, ginseng is grown and sedge is cut for basket-making and other handicrafts. From mid-Koryŏ to late-Chosŏn the island served as a place of exile. In addition, Kyodong was subject to invasion because of its strategic location. As a result, there are a large number of historical sites associated with military defence. On Mt. Hwagae, are remains of a fortress thought to have been built in 1173, and those of a fortress built in 1629 can also be seen close to the populated area. On the southern slopes of Mt. Hwagae, are Hwagae Hermitage and Kyodong Hyanggyo (county public school). The latter was founded in 1127 on the northern side of the mountain and was moved to its present location by Cho Hoshin during mid-Chosŏn. Repaired in 1966, the school has been designated Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 58.

Kyŏmik (fl. 526)

In 526, Kyŏmik, regarded as the founder of the Vinaya School of Paekche, went to China, from where he travelled on to India. The journey was related to efforts by King Sŏng (r. 523-554) to elevate the international status of the Paekche Kingdom. In India, Kyŏmik spent five years studying Sanskrit and Vinaya texts at the Mahavinaya Vihara (Temple of Grand Discipline) in Sankisa. After completing his studies, Kyŏmik returned home with the Indian Tripitaka Master Vedatta, carrying copies of the Abhidharma-pitaka and five versions of the Vinaya in Sanskrit. King Sŏng gave them an official welcoming ceremony after which he had them reside at Hŭngnyun Temple. The king then put Kyŏmik in charge of a sutra translation committee consisting of twenty-eight learned monks. Through Kyŏmik’s influence, the Vinaya (Discipline) School flourished in Paekche, and even went on to exert an influence on early Japanese Buddhism.

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Kyŏngbok Palace [Architecture]
Kyonggi minyo [Music]

Kyŏnggi Province

Overview
Kyŏnggi Province occupies the west-central part of the Korean Peninsula, encircling Sŏul.
Special Metropolitan District and adjoining Inch'on Special City. The province is bounded to the north by Hwanghae Province, to the east by Kangwŏn Province, to the south by North and South Ch'ungch'ŏng Provinces and to the west by the Yellow Sea. Due to its close proximity to the national capital, the province has played a central role in Korean affairs since the Chosŏn Period. However the division of the Korean Peninsula in the aftermath of the Korean War led to the northern part of the province (including the ancient capital of Kaesŏng) coming under the administration of the North Korean government.

Geography and Climate
The western section of the province slopes gradually down to the shores of the Yellow Sea, and is characterised by plains and rounded hills, while the eastern part of the province contains the Mashingnyŏng Range (in the north) and the Kwangju and Ch'aryŏng Ranges (in the south). Almost the entire province falls within the catchment area of the Han River, and the two major tributaries of this waterway merge at Yangsu, approximately twenty kilometers east of Soul. Fertile alluvial plains formed by the Han, Imjin and Ansŏng Rivers dominate the west of the province, and the heavily indented Yellow Sea coastline (including approximately 250 islands) measures 1 416 kilometers. The province is relatively strongly influenced by continental climate patterns, and coastal districts enjoy cold winters and warm summers, while mountainous inland districts experience extremely cold winters and hot summers. Annual precipitation averages 1 100mm, making Kyŏnggi Province one of the wetter regions of the peninsula.

Agriculture and Industry
High population density and convenient transportation links are two factors which have contributed to Kyŏnggi Province's status as the principal industrial region of South Korea, and the province contains a particularly heavy concentration of enterprises engaged in secondary industries. Light industry centered on the production of consumer goods during the 1950s was supplemented in the following decades by medium and heavy industries, including the manufacturing of machinery, electrical and electronic goods, paper, paint, rubber, textiles, metals, chemicals, leather and ceramics. Rice accounts for 90% of agricultural production, however the existence of large markets in nearby Soul and Inch'on has led to the development of a flourishing horticulture industry in adjoining agricultural districts. Other agricultural activities include ginseng cultivation, dairy farming and livestock raising. Although its once-prosperous fishing industry is now in decline, the waters around Kyŏnggi Province remain home to numerous varieties of fish and shellfish, and the province also includes the nation's largest saltworks.

Tourism
Its proximity to the national capital has left Kyŏnggi Province with a rich legacy of historical relics and national cultural treasures, and the province also contains numerous areas of scenic beauty. Among its most popular tourist destinations are the city wall and gates of Suwŏn, Pukhansansŏng and Namhansansŏng National Parks, Tobong, Soyo and Kwan'ak Mountains, Shillŭk, Yongju and Yongmun Temples, the armistice village of Panmunjŏm, the Korean Folk Village at Yong'in and Kanghwa Island.

General Information
Area: 10 161 square kilometers; population: 7 607 000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Suwŏn. Other major cities include Sŏngnam, Anyang, Puch'on, Kwangmyŏng and Uijŏngbu.

Kyŏnggi style songs (see Kyŏnggi-ch'e ka) [Literature]

Kyonggi University

Kyonggi University (Kyŏnggi Taehakkyo) is a private educational institution and is located in Iŭi-dong in Suwŏn. It is the successor of Choyang Poyuk Sabŏm Hakkyo (Choyang University)
Kindergarten Teacher’s School) which was founded in 1947. This school became a junior college in 1954 and then Kyönggi Women’s Junior College in the following year. In 1957, the school became coeducational and the name was changed to Kyönggi Junior College (Kyönggi Ch’ogüp Taehak). It became Kyönggi College in 1964. In 1979, a Master’s program was initiated followed by a Ph.D. program in 1981. Three years later, the college became Kyonggi University.

Today, Kyonggi University is comprised of eleven colleges and sixty-four departments with two campuses in Suwon and Seoul. At the former, there are seven colleges: the Colleges of Administration, Economics and Business, Engineering, Fine Arts and Physical Education, Humanities, Law and Tourism Science. At the latter are the Colleges of Economics and Business Administration, Engineering, Humanities, Law and Tourism Science. In addition, the university has nine post-graduate schools: the Graduate Schools of Architecture, Arts and Design, Business Administration, Education, Industrial Technology and Information, International Relations, Public Administration, Reunification and Security, and Tourism and Hospitality Industry. A number of institutions are affiliated, including the Central Library, the Kumhwa Library, the Agricultural Museum, the Computer Centre and the Tourism Development and Research Institute. Publications include the Kyöngdae hakpo (Kyonggi University Gazette) in Korean. Kyonggi University’s motto is ‘Truth, Sincerity and Love.’

Kyönggi-ch’e ka [Literature]

Kyöngguk taejôn (National Code)

Kyöngguk taejôn is a collection of statute laws and regulations that was first promulgated in 1471. Before the drawing up of this code there had been other efforts by the Chosôn government to design a legal code to guide the nation. At the beginning of the Chosôn period the Kyöngje yuakhôn (Six Codes of Governance) was drafted and enacted in 1398, but this code was not comprehensive enough to cover all aspects of government. There were several attempts to modify this work, but it was not until 1460 that work began in earnest for the creation of an all-encompassing code to govern the nation.

The Kyöngguk taejôn was essentially based upon the six codes (yuakhôn) that had originated in Tang China. The six codes are: ijôn, which defined the bureaucratic structure of the government and the system of civil service; the hojôn, which covered national finance, the economy, land surveying, family registration and taxation; yejôn, which included regulations concerning the national examination, education, rituals, ceremonies and foreign relations; pyöngjon detailed various military regulations; hyöngjon covered various tribunals, punishments and penal administration; and kongjon, which regulated public works and craft industries. For items not specified in this code, this document specifies that Ming China law is to be applied as common law.

The last revision of this code was in 1485 and is the so-called Úlsa taejôn (ulsâ being the name of the year 1485) and this is the set of laws and regulations that would remain in place until the Reforms of 1894. The Úlsa taejôn is also the only remaining version of the code that survives to the present day. The Kyöngguk taejôn is an extremely valuable document for the study of Chosôn society.

Kyönghô (1849-1912)

Kyönghô (born in Chônju; given name, Song Tonguk; Buddhist name, Sôngu) was a Sôn (Zen) master who rose to some renown at the end of the Chosôn dynasty. He led a Sôn revitalization movement among the clergy and also encouraged the laity to practice Sôn. During the Japanese colonial period, two of his students, Song Man’gong (1871-1946) and
Pang Hanam (1876-1951), represented the conservative element in Korean Buddhism.

The year that he was born his father fell ill and died in a bout of depression after being forced to pay high taxes. Left alone, his mother decided to send Kyōnghō to Ch'ŏnggye temple in the hope that he might have an opportunity to learn to read and write. At the age of eight he was received by a master, took his vows, and was allowed to conduct Buddhist ceremonies. In 1862, he had his first opportunity to study when a classical scholar came to stay at the temple, and shortly thereafter his Buddhist master decided to leave the priesthood. He recognized, however, the young Kyōnghō's academic attainments and kindly gave him a formal introduction for study at Tonghak temple.

Over the next nine years Kyōnghō studied Buddhist sutras as well as the full range of classical Chinese scholarship, and at the age of twenty-two, in 1871, he was selected to take his teacher's position. In 1879, however, his life came to an impasse when he decided to find his original master. During his journey he came to a village which was experiencing a cholera epidemic, and he spent the night beneath a tree, seized by thoughts of death. As a Buddhist priest who had studied philosophical arguments on non-duality, he was disconcerted by his own fear. Thinking that only intense Son meditation could resolve this problem, he returned to Tonghak temple.

Later that year he overheard a comical exchange in which one novice jokingly said to another, "Even if (master Kyōnghō) turns into an ox, there is no spot on his nose to put in a ring and a tether." The implication was that Kyōnghō was useless, doing nothing but meditating. Upon hearing these words he attained enlightenment.

Now thirty-two, he joined his mother at Ch'onjangam hermitage, where his brother was the abbot. Over the next twenty-four years he spent most of his time travelling and giving lectures on the importance of combining scriptural study and meditative practice. In this way he reasserted a trend in the Korean Sŏn tradition that had begun with Chinul (1158-1210), and in 1899 he journeyed to Haein temple to print sutras and establish a Society for the Cultivation of Sŏn (sulsonsa). This name was the same as a community which Chinul had founded, and it seems to have been then that Kyōnghō compiled the Sŏnmun ch'waryo (The Essentials of Sŏn). This text contained four selections of Chinul's writings and is still widely used by Korean monks.

During these years Kyōnghō also continued to engage in rigorous meditative practice and he was an inspiration to commoners and priests alike. Song Man'gong and Pang Hanam met him in this period, and while they became respectful students, they also became harsh critics.

In essence, Kyōnghō's enlightenment was a release from his earlier fear of death. Through his spiritual awakening he realized that the dissimilitude of life and death was merely an appearance, and to this extent he was much the same as any enlightened Sŏn master. However, Kyōnghō made clear his realization of non-duality. He slept with women, ate meat, and drank liquor. In short, he broke his vows: an iconoclasm which stretched back to the very beginnings of Chinese Ch'ān (Sŏn) itself.

In 1904, he quit his life as a priest and travelled around Korea visiting with rustic scholars. Walking through a small hamlet in 1912, he encountered a group of children at play. He told them he was tired and was taken to the home of one of the children, where he was offered a place to rest. The next morning he awoke, requested a brush and paper, and wrote a short description of Sŏn to which he appended a poem:

the heart, a moon circular and alone
its light swallows all phenomena
light and boundaries forgotten alike
what, again, is there?

Underneath he drew a circle symbolizing the Buddhist idea of the inexhaustible source and his imminent return to it. He then gave the paper to the boy and died.

Hearing of his death, Song Man’gong wrote:

with goodness greater than Buddha, more evil than a tiger
such was Sŏn Master Kyŏngho
wherever death takes him
intoxicated, reclining upon flower’s faces.

In these few lines, he summarized his deep respect and reproach for his former teacher. In 1942, an association of Korean monks printed the Kyŏnghochip (Collected Works of Kyŏngho). The original manuscript was written by Pang Hanam and dated 1931, and although both he and Song Man’gong were members of the committee which prepared the 1942 publication, it was the controversial priest Han Yongun who was asked by Man’gong to write the preface, a short biographical section, and a brief introduction to his poems. Pang had originally written a section of warning to Buddhist priests which furiously condemned Kyŏngho’s breaking of the Buddhist vows. On publication, this was omitted.

Instead, Han’s sections were tasteful, concise, and accurate. Man’gong’s selection of Han was no doubt based as much on Han’s literary skill as his reputation for being rebellious. Man’gong recognized that it was beyond the ken of a priest of impeccable fame to write about Kyŏngho without either ignoring his controversial reputation or becoming mired in pedantry. His astute choice of Han was handsomely rewarded.

In subtly alluding to Kyŏngho’s licentious behaviour, Han praised the Sŏn master’s ability to manifest Buddhist understanding in both word and deed. In this way, he demonstrated an appreciation of Kyŏngho’s true importance within the Korean Buddhist tradition. While Kyŏngho’s metaphysical understanding of Sŏn Buddhism was indebted to the tradition of the ancient Chinese masters and the Korean masters Chinul and Hyujong (Sŏsan Taesa, 1520-1604), his enigmatic actions were deeply rooted in the iconoclastic origins of Sŏn itself. Ironically, what was most traditional about Kyŏngho’s Sŏn was precisely what most troubled the conservative guardians of tradition.

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Kyongin Gallery
Situated in Insa-dong in Seoul, the Kyongin Gallery (Kyŏngin Misulgwan) occupies the former residence of Pak Yonghyo (1861-1939), a famous pro-Japanese official and an exponent for the implementation of reforms for the modernisation of Korea. The guest-house section of Pak’s residence is now the exhibition area for oriental paintings, while the courtyard is used for sculptures. On the site of the house’s main wing (which was destroyed by fire), a two-storey structure has been built to exhibit Western-style artworks. There is also a small annex which serves green tea and other Korean beverages.

Kyŏngje yukchŏn

Kyŏngju

Geography

Situated in North Kyŏngsang Province, Kyŏngju is comprised of the towns of Kamp’o, Kŏnh’ŏn, An’gang and Oedong, and the townships of Kangdong, Naenam, Sannae, Sŏ, Yangnam, Yangbuk, Ch’ŏnbuk and Hyŏngok. About five kilometres east of the central area lies Pomun Lake, a popular resort replete with restaurants, hotels and recreational facilities. Kyŏngju National Park, which surrounds the city, is separated into districts which include Mt. T’oham, Mt. Nam and the Sogûm River.

Economy

About 22.9 per cent of the city’s land is arable. Rice, barley and fruit crops such as pears and apples are common here. There are some medium-sized factories devoted to foodstuffs, textiles, wood products and machine parts, but the mainstay of the economy is the service industry and tourism. With a relatively efficient transportation network, the city is easily accessible from other areas of the nation. Train lines link the city with Taegu, Pusan and the port of P’ohang to the northeast, and the Kyŏngbu Expressway connects the city with Pusan and Taegu. Recently, plans were drawn up for a high-speed railway which would give access to the area, but due to strong opposition by groups concerned about damage to the area’s cultural artefacts, it was decided that the line would not go through the central area.

History

Having served as the capital of the Shilla Kingdom (57 B.C.-935) for nearly a millennium and the capital of the whole peninsula for about 300 years, Kyŏngju is historically the most interesting city in Korea. During the Greater Shilla (668-935) period, the city, with around one million inhabitants, served as the nation’s economic, religious and cultural centre. Originally known as Sŏrabŏl or Sŏbŏl, the city received its present name in 935. With the advent of the Koryŏ period, the city fell into a long period of decline which was further hastened by Mongolian and Japanese invasions. In the 1970s, archaeologist embarked on an ambition project to discover and restore the ancient city’s past glory. With 249 Cultural Properties, 23 National Treasures, 676 ancient tombs, the city has often been referred to as an open-air museum.

Ancient Tombs

In the centre of the city one finds Tumuli Park. Within this huge walled area lie 20 tombs of Shilla monarchs and royalty. Some of the artefacts found in these tombs can now be seen in the National Museum. The Ch’ŏnmach’ŏng (Heavenly Horse Tomb) has been opened up so that visitors can see its interior. Built around the fifth century, this 13m high, 47m in diameter tomb is the only one excavated so far that contains a wooden burial chamber. Copies of jewellery, weapons and pottery found here are now displayed in the
tomb.

In the western part of the city, one finds King Muyol’s (r.654-661) tomb. Outside of the tomb compound, there is a stone tortoise which once held a stele. On Mt. Songhwa is the tomb of General Kim Yushin. Kim was one of the nation’s greatest military heroes who led many military campaigns which resulted in the unification of the three kingdoms. The tomb is surrounded by exquisite carvings of the twelve zodiacal animals.

To the southeast of the city lies Kwae (suspended) Tomb. Believed to have been originally suspended over a pond, this tomb is thought to belong to King Wonsong (r. 785-798). Along the approaches, there are carved figures of civil officials, military guards, monkeys and lions. The military figures, with their wavy hair, large noses and heavy beards, are said to represent Persian mercenaries who served in the Shilla court.

Situated to the north of the Kyongbu Expressway and east of Taman Temple, there are five tombs that are believed to contain the remains of the first, second, third and fifth Shilla king as well as the kingdom’s first queen (Hyokkose, Namhae, Yuri, P’asa and Sondok, respectively). There are countless other tombs found throughout the area, including the tomb of King Mich’u in Hwangnam-dong and the tomb of King T’arhae in Tongch’ön-dong. About half-way between Oksan Sowon and Kyongju lies the tomb of King Húngdok (r. 826-836).

Other Shilla Sites

Chomsôngdae (Treasure No. 31), an ancient stone observatory, stands a few hundred metres from Tumuli Park. Constructed during the reign of Queen Sondok (r. 632-647), there is still a great deal of debate over the original function and significance of this cylindrical stone structure. The twelve stones of the base are believed to represent the months of the year, whereas the twenty-seven layers of the tower and the stone square on top are thought to signify the twenty-eight constellations recognised in East Asia. It has also been pointed out that the twenty-seven layers correspond to Queen Sondok as the 27th ruler of Shilla. The approximately 362 (depending on from where one counts) stones used for the tower’s construction are likewise believed to represent each day of the year. It is also believed that the tower’s square base and round body have symbolic significance, since heaven is traditionally said to be round while the earth is square. There is a window on the southern side, and marks on the stone indicated that a ladder was once used here.

Near Chomsôngdae is Panwolsong (Half Moon Fortress), Shilla’s ancient royal palace. Shaped like a half moon, the fortress had a circumference of about 800 metres. Eight fortress gates and twenty-one buildings once stood here, but all that now remains at the site is an ice storage house (Treasure No. 66).

Anapchi (Duck and Goose Pond) was originally built by King Munmu in 674 as part of the palace complex. The giant Imhaejôn (Beside the Sea Hall) which was also erected here could accommodate up to a thousand people. This beautifully landscaped area was used by the royalty as a place to hold talks and entertain foreign emissaries. Little remains at the site, but more than 14,000 relics were discovered here when the site was excavated in 1975.

Posök-jông (Abalone Stone Pavilion), another Shilla pleasure garden, once stood to the west of Mt. Nam. Although the date of construction is unclear, records indicate that it was in existence by the middle of the ninth century. All that remains of this ancient pleasure palace is a curving stone channel. In Shilla times, the channel was filled with water and wine glasses were set afloat in it. The site is historically linked with the last days of the Shilla kingdom. King Kyongae (r. 924-927), having ignored warnings of invasion when he was recreating at the garden, was murdered here by Kyŏnhwŏn’s invading forces.
Built in 634, Punhwang Temple was one of Shilla’s most important monasteries during the pre-unification period. The temple is no longer extant, but the pagoda at the site is believed to be the oldest pagoda in Korea. Made of stones cut to resemble brick, the pagoda once had seven to nine storeys of which only three remain.

Due to urbanisation and the construction of dams, many of the local relics have been moved from their original sites. These can now be found in the Kyŏngju Museum, which houses one of the best collections of historical artefacts in all of Korea. Outside of the museum hangs the Emille Bell. Legend has it that a child was tossed into the molten bronze when the bell was made; hence, the sound of the bell being struck sounds like a child crying for its mother (emī).

Tourists flock to the area every year in October for the three-day Shilla Festival. At this time, traditional games and entertainment can be seen, and there is a parade with floats portraying Shilla legends. Other popular tourist destinations include the Shilla Folk Village just east of Tŏktong Lake and the Kyŏngju Folk Art Village on Pobul Road. At the Folk Art Village, there are workshops for 18 traditional handicrafts, including pottery, woodcarving and embroidery.

Other Important Sites in the Area

There are a number of famous temples in the area. In addition to the famous Pulguk Temple and Sŏkkuram Grotto, the area’s main Buddhist attractions, there is the picturesque Kirim Temple which was founded in 643. West of the temple at Kolgul Hermitage, there is a rock-cut image of the Buddha.

In Yangnam Township near the coast, one finds remnants of Kamūn Temple. King Munmu (r. 661-681) had this important monastery built as a spiritual bulwark against Japanese marauders who were constantly raiding the east coast. Although the king died before the project was finished, his son, King Shinmun, saw the construction through to completion. The temple was built in the flat-land layout typical of the Three Kingdoms period with its middle gate, pagodas, main sanctum and lecture hall lined up on a south to north axis. The stone steps that once stood here are believed to have inspired those now seen at Pulguk Temple. There are two three-storey pagodas at the site, which are representative of the stone pagoda style perfected in the early Greater Shilla period. The huge bronze bell which once hung here was stolen by the Japanese in 1592, but was lost at sea near Taebon on the Korean coast.

On a small islet about 200m off the coast of Taebon, there is the famous underwater tomb of Shilla’s King Munmu (661-681). At low tide, the tomb can be seen in a pool in the centre of the islet.

On Kŏnh’ŏn’s Mt. Obong stands Poktu Hermitage. Here, one finds a large rock face out of which 19 niches have been recently carved. The three central niches contain carvings of the Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas while the other niches hold carvings of the Sixteen Arhats. Across from Poktu Hermitage lies Chusa Temple, which was founded by ìisang (625-702). East of the hermitage on the foot of Mt. Tansŏk (827m), there is Shinsŏn Temple, famous as a place frequented by General Kim Yushin in the 7th century. Nearby, there is a small grotto with some rock carvings. This is believed to be one of the oldest cave temples in Korea.

In Hŏn’gok Township at the foot of Mt. Kumi (594m), one finds Yongdamjong. This is the main temple of the Ch’ŏndogyo religion, which was founded by Choe Cheu in 1860 as an amalgamation of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. The temple buildings were burnt down after Choe was martyred in 1864. They were rebuilt only to be burnt down
again. The present buildings date from 1960.

East of An'gang next to the An’gye Reservoir lies Yangdong Folk Village. This tranquil Choson period village contains about 150 traditional houses typical of the yangbang (ruling class). Fifteen of these houses are over 200 years old. This was the birthplace of Son So (1433-1484, styled Yangmin), an official who helped quell the revolt against King Sejo in 1467. Song Chungdon (1463-1529) and Yi Onjok (1491-1533) were also born here.

There are several old Confucian schools in the area. To the north of Highway 28 in An’gang, one finds Oksan Sowon (private school). Along with Tosan Sowon in Andong, this was once one of the leading Confucian institutes in the nation. It was established in 1574 by Kyongju magistrate Yi Chemin and other Confucian scholars in the region in honour of the neo-Confucian scholar Yi Onjok, and was enlarged in 1772. This was one of the 47 sowon that survived the nationwide abolition of sowon by Taewon’gun at the end of the Choson period. The nearby Tongnaktang, built in 1516, was the male quarters of Yi Onjok’s residence after he left government service.

In addition to these ancient schools, several modern colleges and universities have been recently established in the area. East of the Hyongsan River near Kyongnam Bridge, one finds a branch campus of Seoul’s Dongguk University. To the south of the university, there is Kyongju Junior College and Kyongju Business College, in the central area, one finds the Korean Broadcasting College, in Hyohyon-dong is Kyongju University and in Kangdong is Uiduk University.

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Kyongju National Museum

The Kyongju National Museum (Kungnip Kyongju Pangmulgwan) is located in Inwang-dong in Kyongju. Its collection dates from 1913 when the local historical association, Kyongju Kojok Pojonhoe was formed. In 1915, the association’s collection of about one-hundred ancient artefacts was moved into a renovated, Choson-era guest house. In 1954, Yun Kyongnyol and Chin Hungsop established an educational centre for children at the museum in order to promote awareness of Kyongju’s ancient heritage. The museum acquired its present name with the construction of a new site and building in Inwang-dong in July 1975. In 1986, Yi Yangson donated his collection of over seven-hundred pieces to the museum.

The museum’s current collection primarily consists of items from the Prehistoric and Three Kingdoms periods. Artefacts excavated from Ch’onmach’ong (Heavenly Horse Tomb), Tumulus No. 98 and Anapji (Duck and Goose Pond) are some of the most prized items in the collection. Korea’s largest bell, best-known as the Emille Bell (National Treasure No. 29), hangs in the pavilion and in the grounds are numerous Buddhist art objects collected from the Kyongju area, including stupas, statues and parts of stone sculptures.

Kyongminpyon (Book of Warning)

Written in the fourteenth year of King Chungjong (1519) by Kim Chongguk, the classical Chinese original was translated into Korean and published well over a century later in
1658. Yi Hu-wŏn, a senior adviser to King Hyojong recommended in 1656 that the king should approve the translation and have the work published.

Kyŏngmun, King

[Mythology]

Kyŏngsan

Situated southeast of Taegu in North Kyŏngsang Province, Kyŏngsan is comprised of the town of Hayang and the townships of Namsan, Namch’ŏn, Amnyang, Wach’ŏn, Yongsŏng, Chinnyang and Chain. Mt. Muhak (593m) rises in the north of the city and Mt. Tonghak (603m) and Mt. Kuryong (675m) stands in the south. The city’s central area consists of numerous small lakes and reservoirs scattered over flat terrain, while Kŭmho River flows through the northern section of the city.

With extensive plains and good sources of irrigation water, the area is well-suited for rice cultivation. With numerous apple and peach plantations, the city also has the highest percentage of fruit orchards per land area in the nation. Taking advantage of the city’s close proximity to Taegu, there are also a number of factories which produce textiles and processed foods.

The city’s tourist industry is primarily centred around hiking, sports fishing and the natural mineral baths found in the region. In Namsan Township’s Sangdae Village, there is the Sangdae Hot Spring. Containing large amounts of sulphur ions, sodium bicarbonate and calcium, this 40 deg c. spring is said to have a curative effect on a number of illnesses, including stomach, liver, nerve, urinary ailments, hardening of the arteries and rheumatism. In Namch’ŏn’s Shinsŏk-dong, there is another mineral bath. This natural spring, discovered by miners digging for gold in 1910, is supposed to cure stomach ailments.

Tourists also visit the city to look at historical relics and sites. Most of the city’s Buddhist artefacts are housed in Kyŏngkhŭng Temple (founded by Hyegong in 659), Pulgul Temple (founded in 690), Sŏnbo Temple (founded by Kŭktal in 491), Hwansŏng Temple and Wŏnhyo Hermitage. In Wach’ŏn Township near Sŏnbo Hermitage, one finds the Kwanbok seated Buddha (Treasure No. 431). Carved out of a rock face, the upper part of the figure is fully three-dimensional, while the lower part gradually blends in with the rock.

There are also a number of old Confucian schools scattered throughout the city, including Kŭmho Sŏwŏn, Kwallan Sŏwŏn, Chogok Sŏwŏn, Hain Hyanggyo, Chain Hyanggyo and Kyŏngsan Hyanggyo (founded in 1390). To the southeast of Hayang Hyanggyo perched over Kŭmho Lake, stands Kuyŏnjŏng, a pavilion built in 1849 as a scholarly retreat for Kim Iktong.

Modern schools in the area include Taegu University in Chinyang’s Nae Village, Kyungil University in Hayang, Yuengnam University in Tae-dong, Youngnam Theological College and Seminary in Chinnyang, Kyungsan University and Taeshin Christian University.

Kyŏngsang Province, North

Overview

Province located in the southwestern part of the Korean Peninsula, bounded to the north by Kangwŏn and North Ch’ungch’ŏng Provinces, to the east by the East Sea (Sea of Japan), to the south by South Kyŏngsang Province and to the west by North Ch’ungch’ŏng and North Cholla Provinces. The province also completely surrounds Taegu Special City, which contains the provincial headquarters, and includes the remote islands of Ullŭng-do and Tok-do in the East Sea. The Taebaek and Sobaek Ranges and their branches clearly separate this province from adjoining regions, a factor which has contributed to the
historical development of a unique and distinctive local Kyongsang identity. The largest province in South Korea, North Kyongsang has the second-lowest population density after Kangwon. The province formed the heartland of the ancient Kingdom of Shilla (668-935) in the Three Kingdoms Period, and its capital of Kyongju retains numerous relics from this period.

**Geography and Climate**

Much of the province lies within a wide basin delineated by the T'aebaek Range which follows the East Sea coastline, the Sobaek Range to the north and west, and smaller ranges to the south, this basin constituting the upper catchment area of the Naktong River which flows in a southerly direction to empty into the Yellow Sea in the vicinity of the port city of Pusan. A narrow coastal plain hugs the coast between the T'aebaek Range and the East Sea. Most of the province experiences a mild continental climate, however marked seasonal variations are found in mountainous inland districts. The central basin has the lowest annual precipitation found in South Korea, while the coastal plain enjoys a mild climate with comparatively small seasonal temperature variations due to the influence of warm ocean currents and the shielding effect of the Taebaek Range.

**Agriculture and Industry**

Agriculture has traditionally formed the foundation of the provincial economy, and despite difficulties presented by the mountainous terrain, the province ranks second in terms of total cultivated land area, and first in production of rice, barley, beans, apples, leaf tobacco and red peppers, and in beef livestock raising and sericulture. Bountiful fishing grounds are found around Ullung and Tok Islands, however the steep East Sea coast contains few natural ports. Principal marine products include squid, seaweed and leatherfish. Mineral resources are concentrated in the T'aebaek and Sobaek Ranges in the north of the province, and anthracite coal and limestone respectively account for approximately half and one-third of provincial output. Other minerals found include copper, lead, zinc and tungsten. Industrial development in North Kyongsang Province is largely concentrated in three districts, Pohang, Kumi industrial zone, and Kyongsan on the outskirts of Taegu, and principal industries include steelmaking, textiles, electronics, beverage and tobacco production.

**Tourism**

North Kyongsang Province contains approximately one-quarter of South Korea's national treasures, of which almost half are found in the ancient Shilla capital of Kyongsu, an extremely popular tourist destination. Other attractions include Mount Chuwang, Kyongsu, Kaya and Songni National Parks, Andong Folk Village, Paegam and Tökkü Hot Springs, and numerous temples.

**General Information**

Area: 19 021 square kilometers; population: 2 729 000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Taegu. Other major centres include Pohang, Kyongsu and Kumi.

**Kyongsang Province, South**

**Overview**

Province located in the southeastern corner of the Korean Peninsula, bounded to the north by North Kyongsang Province, to the west by North and South Cholla Provinces, to the east by the East Sea (Sea of Japan) and to the south by Pusan Special City and the Yellow Sea. The province is separated from the Japanese island of Tsushima by the Straits of Tsushima to the south-west, and has long served as the southern gateway to Korea. Ready access to maritime transportation links has been a major factor in the development of part of the southern coastal region as the nation's principal heavy industrial zone.

**Geography and Climate**
The western part of the province is dominated by the Sobaek Range and its branch ranges, while the southern extremities of the Taebaek Ranges extend into the east of the province. The central part of the province is relatively low-lying and is largely occupied by the catchment areas of the Nakdong River and its tributaries. The steep, rocky eastern coastline contrasts sharply with the highly indented submerged coastline to the south, and the province includes 467 islands of varying sizes which are scattered throughout the Tadohae ('Sea of Many Islands'), a popular tourist attraction.

South Kyongsang Province enjoys the mildest climate in the Korean Peninsula and the least seasonal variation in temperature due to its location in the southeast of the peninsula adjacent to the East and Yellow Seas. However, there are notable regional differences in winter conditions, and average temperatures generally decrease as one moves inland. Although the province shares the record for highest annual precipitation (1200mm - 1600mm) with Jeju, coastal districts generally experience much greater rainfall than inland districts in the northwest. In addition, the province is occasionally battered by typhoons moving northward past the Japanese island of Kyushu into the East Sea.

Agriculture and Industry
Both agricultural and industrial sectors in Kyongsang Province have experienced major transformations during the past three decades. Cultivation of traditional crops such as rice and grains has been supplemented by high-yield commercial activities, including livestock raising, fruit and vegetable growing and horticulture, while rapid growth in manufacturing has radically altered the nature of the local economy and workforce. The province adjoins rich fishing grounds, however industrial growth has accompanied a decline in the fishing population, despite increased yields due to improved technology. Shallow waters along the southern coastline provide an ideal environment for seaweed and shellfish farming, however such activities are threatened by pollution from neighboring industrial complexes and occasional oil spills. Industrial development from the 1960s at Ulsan and from the mid-1970s at Masan and surrounding districts has centered on petrochemicals, shipbuilding and machinery production, and the province also contains important textile and marine product processing industries.

Tourism
South Kyongsang Province is renowned for its beautiful mountains and scenic coastlines, and the existence of numerous historic sites (notably from the ancient Kaya Kingdom) further contribute to its popularity as a tourist destination. Mount Chiri (1915m) is the highest peak in mainland South Korea, and the national park which it contains is a favorite hiking area. Haein Temple, located in Kaya National Park in the far north of the province, is home to the collection of Buddhist scriptures inscribed on woodblocks known as the Tripitaka Koreana, while the Hallyo Waterway in the south of the province contains numerous summer beach resorts. Other attractions include Tojusan National Park, the cherry orchard at Chinhae, historic sites at Miryang, the Puril and Hwanggye Falls located respectively at Hadong and Hapch'on, and the shipbuilding yards at Ulsan.

General Information
Area: 11,559 square kilometers; population: 3,249,000 (1995 est.); provincial headquarters: Ch'angwŏn. Other major cities include Ulsan and Masan.

Kyongsang-do Chiriji (Geographical Description of the Kyongsang Province)

The Kyongsangdo chiriji (1425) is a single-volume work and the first work of its kind compiled in the Choson dynasty.

It is known from the Veritable Record that King Sejong ordered the collection of data necessary to compile a comprehensive work on the topography of Korea and the histories of various local administrative organs. Accordingly, the Ch'unch'ugwan (Office for
Annals Compilation) began the collection of a wide variety of material.

After eight years' labour, the Shinch'an p'alto chiriji (Newly Compiled Geographical Descriptions of the Eight Provinces) was finally completed and presented to the throne. This is believed to be the basis of the national topography included in the Annals of King Sejong which was compiled twenty-two years later. However, the original topographies collected by the central government were all destroyed by fire, together with other Veritable Records of previous kings, during the Japanese Invasion of 1592. The still extant Kyongsangdo chiriji is is regarded as one of the main sources of the Shinch'an p'alto chiriji. It is a copy of the original text submitted to the central government and was preserved in the Kyongju Provincial Office.

The book begins with the introduction to Kyongsang Province in accordance with the twelve provisions which the Yejo (Board of Rites) issued to each province. These twelve provisions were: 1.) Changes in the name of the province, 2.) The history of relations between the subordinate administrative units, 3.) The number of local administrative organizations within the province, 4.) Descriptions, names and measurements of mountains and rivers, together with the sites of fortifications, 5.) The articles of tribute produced in the province, 6.) The inland fortresses or military installations, 7.) The naval garrisons and number of ships, 8.) The royal tombs and Confucian institutes, 9.) The nature of the soil, natural features and the customs, 10.) The islands coming under the jurisdiction of the province, 11.) Taxes of the province and the land and water transportation routes, 12.) The number of houses.

The administrative structure of the province as revealed in the book was four basic jurisdictional districts which in turn were divided into various subordinate administrative units such as pu, mok, chu and hyôn. The book is more of a human geography than a simple topography. It serves as an excellent source for the study of the economic, social and financial conditions of Kyongsang Province during Choson.

By any gauge, the Kyongsangdo Chiriji is a large book, measuring 85.6 cm in length and 43.6 cm in width, with a thickness of 7.8 cm. It is made of heavy, durable Korean paper of high quality. It has ninety-nine leaves (198 pages) and there are twelve missing leaves (24 pages).

A sister work of the Kyongsangdo chiriji is another huge book, Kyongsangdo sokch'an chiriji, which also concerns provincial conditions. It was compiled in the first year of King Yejong (1469), that is, forty-four years after the compilation of Kyongsangdo chiriji. It is the fourth oldest work of its kind of the Choson dynasty.

The Kyongsangdo chiriji and the Kyongsangdo sokch'an chiriji were revised by the Council of the Government-General of Korea and editions of both works were printed in 1938. In 1981 Asea Munhwasa published the photo-reproduction of Kyongsangdo chiriji as a part of volume one of Chön'guk chiri ch'ongsô. (National Geography Series).

**Kyongsun, King (r. 927-935)**

King Kyongsun (?-979) was the fifty-sixth king of Shilla and reigned from 927-935. His family name was Kim and his given name Pu. Kyongsun is notable in that he was the last king of the Shilla Kingdom and that his pledge of loyalty to the subsequent Koryo Kingdom served to legitimise the new Kingdom. Kyongsun assumed the throne of Shilla in 927 after his predecessor, King Kyong'ae (r. 924-927), was killed by Kyŏnhwŏn (?-936) the ruler of Later Paekche. Kyongsun took the Shilla throne with the backing of Kyŏnhwŏn and in actuality ruled in name only. However, in the end the policies of Kyongsun tended more towards the direction of Wang Kön (King T'aejo, r. 918-943) rather than the reckless Paekche king.
In 935 Kyongsun offered his formal surrender to Koryo and in this way guaranteed his own destiny. King T’aejo took a wife from the Shilla royal family and therefore assumed the mantle of the Shilla Kingdom. Kyongsun, on the other hand, was treated with extreme generosity by King T’aejo. He remained in Kyongju and was granted the title of Duke of Changsung (Changsung kong) and a shigup (tax village).

Kyongui, Queen (see Lady Hong)

Kyongumak

Kyongun Palace (see Tōksu Palace)

Kyŏnhwŏn (?-935)

Kyŏnhwŏn was the founder of the Later Paekche Kingdom and ruled it from 892 to 935. Originally his surname was Yi and he was born to a poor farming family in the Sangju area. He began as a foot soldier in the Shilla army and advanced through the ranks as reward for the valour he displayed in various battles along the southwestern coast of Shilla. At the time, the central government of Shilla was greatly weakened and as a result various insurgencies flared throughout the country. This situation became particularly magnified after the accession to the throne by Queen Chinsŏng (r. 887-897) when the feudal lords became quite open in their disdain for the throne. Moreover, the plight of the exploited commoners became markedly worse and bands of thieves and bandits became commonplace. It was in this situation that in 892 Kyŏnhwŏn led a band of followers to seize Kwangju and to proclaim the founding of the Later Paekche Kingdom with the declaration that he intended to avenge the last Paekche king, Úija (r. 641-660).

Kyŏnhwŏn proved to be a despotic ruler and set out on a trail of military conquests, seizing large tracts of land from the seemingly helpless Shilla Kingdom. In 927 he sacked Kyongju and killed King Kyong’ae (r. 924-927) while abducting many high Shilla officials and taking large quantities of treasures, arms and the highly skilled craftsmen of the Shilla capital. If it had not been for the opposition of the ruler of Koryo, Wang Kön (King T’aejo, r. 918-943), Kyŏnhwŏn would have easily taken all of Shilla. However, Wang Kön led his forces and battled Kyŏnhwŏn and eventually drove him from Kyongju.

The battles between Koryo and Later Paekche continued to rage as the two states struggled for the legacy of Shilla. With the local gentry in the former areas controlled by Shilla pledging their support to either Wang Kön or Kyŏnhwŏn in an effort to protect their own well being, the battles between the two states ground to a stalemate. However, in 929 the Koryo forces defeated Kyŏnhwŏn at Koch’ang which turned the tide of the conflict in favour of Koryo. Kyŏnhwŏn was now forced to retreat to the southwest coast where Koryo could concentrate the brunt of their attack. At this same time, Kyŏnhwŏn became a victim of the inner turmoil in his own family. He had named his fourth son Kūmgang as his successor, but his eldest son Shin’gŏm rejected this and imprisoned his father in Kūmsan Temple and took the throne for himself. Kyŏnhwŏn managed to flee from the temple and sought refuge in Koryo where he plotted with Wang Kön to crush his son. In 935 Koryo troops, with Kyŏnhwŏn in the lead, smashed the remains of the Later Paekche Kingdom.

Kyŏnhwŏn’s rise to power and later fall were both reflections of the turbulent times that surrounded the collapse of the Shilla Kingdom. Numerous rebellions and problems plagued the people and thus made it easier for warlords such as Kyŏnhwŏn to appear and take power. However, it is noteworthy that at the end of his life, Kyŏnhwŏn joined forces with Wang Kön who succeeded in bringing a new era to Korea.
Kyung Hee University

Kyung Hee University (Kyŏnghŭi Taehakkyo) is located in Hoegi-dong in Seoul. Its foundation was in 1949 when Paeyŏng Taehakkwan (established in 1946) and Shinhŭng Chŏnmun Hakkwan (established in 1947) were combined to form the two-year Shinhŭng Ch’ogūp Taehak (Shinhŭng Junior College). Development of the new college was delayed by the Korean War, but in February 1952 in Pusan, official permission was finally granted for its re-establishment. From this decision, in December 1952, the school became the four-year institution, Shinhŭng College.

A Seoul campus was built at the school’s present site and in February 1954, a graduate school was established. In 1955, the college attained university status and then consisted of four colleges: Liberal Arts and Science; Law; Physical Education; and Politics and Economics. In February 1960, the college changed its title to Kyung Hee University. In response to the growth of the university in the 1960s and 1970s, the Suwŏn campus was established in Kyŏnggi Province in 1979.

Kyung Hee University has continued to expand, with additions to both its undergraduate and post-graduate programs. Today, the university consists of seventeen colleges and nine graduate schools. At the Seoul Campus are the Colleges of Dentistry; Education; Home Economics; Law; Liberal Arts and Sciences; Medicine; Oriental Medicine; Music; Pharmacology; Political Science and Economics; and Physical Education. Also on the Seoul campus are the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Education; International Legal Affairs; Journalism and Mass Communication; Pan-Pacific International Studies; Physical Education and Public Administration. At the Suwŏn Campus are located the Colleges of Engineering; Foreign Languages and Literature; Industry; Natural Science; Physical Education and Sports; and Social Sciences; as well as the Graduate School of Industry and Information. In addition, the university contains a number of important research institutions including the Han’guk Chŏnt’ong Munhwa Yŏn’guso (Korea Traditional Culture Research Institute) and the Han’guk Choryu Yŏn’guso (Korea Ornithology Research Institute).

Kyung Nam University

A private university, Kyung Nam (Kyŏngnam Taehakkkyo) began its life in a modest way in December 1946. It is located in Masan, South Kyŏngsang Province, but had a number of different locations on its way to becoming a university.

In August 1947, it became Kungmin College in Seoul, and in 1952, under the patronage of Haen Temple, it underwent a further name-change to Haen College. The college was soon moved to Chinju, and later, in 1956, to Wanwŏl-dong in Masan. A further name-change, to Masan College, took place in 1961. For a while during the Korean War, the college found a safe haven in Pusan.

Expansion of the college commenced in 1968 and continued into the 1970s. Another title change, to Kyung Nam College occurred in December 1971, and in 1973 the college moved to its present location. After initiating its own doctorate program in 1979, Kyung Nam was granted university status in 1982.

Today, Kyung Nam University consists of six colleges: (Economics and Commerce; Education; Engineering; Law and Political Science; Liberal Arts; Natural Sciences); an Evening School; the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Education; Industry; and Public Administration.

Periodical publications of the university include, the Kyŏngnamdae hakpo (KNU Gazette)
in Korean and The Kyungnam Times in English.

**Kyunghyang shinmun**

The **Kyunghyang shinmun** (Kyŏnghyang shinmun) is a general daily newspaper published in Seoul. It was first published on 6 October 1946 by the Kyŏngsŏng Catholic Church Foundation, its name being taken from a Catholic newspaper of 1906. Strongly committed to an honest reporting strategy, centred on ethics, the **Kyunghyang shinmun** reached a circulation of 62,000 one year after publication, which is a testament to its integrity. During the Korean War, the **Kyunghyang shinmun** followed the troops in their push northward. It published special ‘battlefront’ editions, and from this came the first Korean war correspondent, Pak Sŏng-hwan. A special edition of the newspaper was even issued amidst the chaos of the South Korean army’s major retreat to Taegu. After the armistice, the newspaper returned to its Seoul offices and resumed activities there. In November 1954, it was published in tabloid form, the first in Korea. From July 1957, it became a two-page morning edition and a four-page evening edition, the total pages per diem being increased to eight by mid-December 1958.

From its inception, the **Kyunghyang shinmun** was staunchly conservative and anti-Communist, but in 1959 its orientation changed to reflect an anti-dictatorship, opposition party-like stance, and this was further strengthened after an incident in which the vice-president, Chang Myŏn, was attacked. With its newly-acquired political leanings, the newspaper was threatened by the Syngman Rhee (Yi Ŝūng-man) government, but at the same time established a new high in its circulation, which had then reached about 200,000. Its frequent attacks on the Rhee government resulted in Chu Yŏhan, a writer for the **Kyunghyang shinmun** and a member of the National Assembly, and Han Ch’ang-ŭ, the president of the newspaper, being formally charged by the police for actions detrimental to national security, on 28 February 1959. On 30 April, its offices were forcibly closed under Order No. 88 of the government’s military law, and production ceased. The closure sparked criticism from every level of Korean society, and the **Kyunghyang shinmun** began a lengthy legal struggle to regain its right to publish. Finally, on 27 April 1960 the wheels of its presses began to turn again. Its struggles with authoritarian governments did not cease, however, with the demise of the Rhee regime, and its constant criticism of Park Chung Hee’s government, also resulted in the imprisonment of some of its staff.

More recently, the **Kyunghyang shinmun** has undergone various changes, including its format, and its enlargement to twelve pages. It includes a wide range of news items, ranging from national and international news to sports and lifestyle coverage. The newspaper has permanent correspondents in Tokyo, Washington D.C., and Paris, as well as in other international locations. Its distribution is about fifty-two per cent metropolitan and forty-eight per cent regional.

**Kyungpook National University**

Kyungpook National University (Kyŏngbuk Taehakkyo) is located in San’gyŏk-dong in Taegu. The university was founded in May 1952 as an amalgamation of three Taegu colleges devoted to medicine, education and agriculture. Along with the creation of Kyungpook National University, an affiliated hospital; School of nursing; high school; junior high school and elementary school were created and in the following year, a graduate school was established.

Today the University consists of thirteen colleges: the Colleges of Agriculture; Dentistry; Economics and Commerce; Engineering; Human Ecology; Humanities; Law; Medicine; Music and Visual Arts; Natural Science; Social Sciences; and Veterinary Medicine; and the Teachers’ College. For graduates studies, there is the Graduate School as well as the Graduate Schools of Agriculture Development; Business Administration; Education;
Industry; International Studies; Public Administration; and Public Health. University publications include the weekly Kyŏngdae shinmun (KNU Newspaper) in Korean and The Kyungpook University Times which is issued eight times each year in English.

Kyujanggak [Library]

Kyung In (Hanhwa Group) [Industry]

**Kyunyŏ (923-973)**

Kyunyŏ was a famous monk and poet who revived the Hwaŏm (Flower Garland) school of Buddhism in the tenth century. Born in Hwangju of the Pyŏn clan, Kyunyŏ’s father died when he was young. Around the age of 14, he went with an older cousin to Puhūng Temple in Hwanghæ Province where he was ordained under the monk Shikhyŏn. He then went to study with Ŭisun at Yŏngt’ong Temple in Kaesŏng.

During the early 10th century, Korea’s Hwaŏm sect was divided between the followers of Kwanhye (Kyonhwŏn’s teacher) and Huirang (Wang Kŏn’s teacher). These two factions were known as the southern and northern schools respectively. As a member of the northern lineage, Kyunyŏ attempted to unify the two factions. In order to secure support from other members of the clergy, he went with the monk Inyu on a tour of major monasteries around the nation.

Kyunyŏ also attempted to establish a theoretical basis for the unity of the school. After reexamining the early works of the school written by Zhiyan, Fazang and Shenxiu, Kyunyŏ developed his own unique interpretation of Hwaŏm doctrine. In his writings, he stressed the interpenetration (yunghoe) of the mind’s nature (sŏng) and characteristics (sang). According to Kyunyŏ, nature (sŏng) was equivalent with emptiness (kong), while characteristics (sang) were equivalent with form (saek). Kyunyŏ thus incorporated the Pŏpsang (Dharma Characteristic) Sect’s doctrines into Hwaŏm thought, and in this way, helped to heal the schisms between the various doctrinal (kyo) schools in Korea.

During his life time, Kyunyŏ’s ideas gained wide acceptance. When a monk examination was instituted at Wangnyun Monastery in 958, Kyunyŏ’s reinterpretation of Hwaŏm teachings was designated as the orthodox view and others were considered collateral. However, his ideas came under criticism a century later by Ûich’ŏn who favoured the approach of the Tiantai school.

As an erudite commentator and populariser of Buddhism, Kyunyŏ composed poems in the vernacular and had his followers chant and memorise them. In particular, he composed a series of eleven poems, modelled on the ten great vows of the Bodhisattva Pohyŏn (Samantabhadra). Although the original vernacular version of these poems is no longer extant, the Chinese translation is contained in Haein Temple’s woodcut edition of the Tripitika.

In addition to his scholarly and missionary activities, Kyunyŏ was active in political circles. As Kyunyŏ’s popularity grew, he became an adviser to King Kwangjong (r. 949-975). Kyunyŏ’s ideology was adopted by Kwangjong in an attempt to consolidate his authority and justify his political reforms.

*Kyunyŏ chŏn* (Life of Master Kyunyŏ) [Literature]

*Kyunyŏ hwaŏm sasang yŏn’gu* (A Study of the Huayan Thought of Kyunyŏ)
Kyunyŏ hwang sosang yŏng’gu is a 373-page study on the life and thought of Kyunyŏ written by Kim Tujin and published by Ilchogak Publishers in 1983. The author examines the ideology of Kyunyŏ, particularly his characteristic Huayan thought and view of the dharma-dhatu (realm of truth), in addition to his significant role in the history of Koryŏ Buddhism.

Labour, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]

Lacquerware

From ancient times, lacquerware has been popular throughout Korea. Even in modern times, the average Korean household is filled with many pieces of lacquerware, from small jewellery boxes to large wardrobes. The dark glossy lacquer finish used on the outside of lacquer boxes contrasts well with the boxes' silver or gold-coloured handles and hinges. Although some pieces of lacquerware are plain, a great number of pieces are decorated with designs. Much of the modern lacquerware is decorated with mother-of-pearl - shiny, multi-coloured pieces of shell.

Lacquerware's Early History

Lacquerware is made by applying a varnish, derived from a lacqure tree (Rhus vernicifera), to wood articles. Uniquely Asian in its origins, lacquerware boasts a long history. In fact, lacquerware pieces dating back to the ancient Yin (?-1122) and Zhou (1122-255 B.C.E.) Dynasties of China have been excavated. In China, the craft went through a great deal of development during the Warring States Period. In Korea, lacquerware from the late Bronze Age or early Stone Age has been recovered. The early Korean pieces include round and rectangular stemmed cups, cylindrical boxes, brush containers, fan handles, handles for axes, hoes and knives, scabbards and bows. These pieces were usually covered with a black lacquer containing ferrous oxide. In some rare cases, a ferrous oxide pigment was combined with crystallized cinnabar to create a green lacquer.

Three Kingdoms Period

Archaeological evidence indicates that lacquerware was produced throughout the Korean peninsula during the iron age. Although little Koguryŏ lacquerware has been found, excavated fragments indicate that technical advances were still being made in the art. Paekche lacquerware has been excavated from sites in the Seoul area and from the Miruk Temple site. As for Shilla sites, many lacquered cups and paintings have been found in the Shilla tombs and at Anap Pond in Kyŏngju. Lacquerware was evidently produced in large amounts during Shilla. According to written records, the government set up special crafts areas to meet the high demand. In addition to plain lacquerware, these shops also produced lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

Koryŏ Period

In Koryŏ, craftsmen continued to produce lacquerware in great quantities, but most of the work of the period was decorated with mother-of-pearl inlay. Koryŏ lacquerware, much like the celadon from the same period, was often decorated with arabesque or chrysanthemum designs. During the tumultuous period following the Hideyoshi invasions (1592-1598), the art of lacquerware went into decline. Mother-of-pearl inlay, in particular, became much cruder.

Chosŏn Period

In early Chosŏn, a greater number of household and kitchen furnishings were decorated
with lacquer. There were some changes in the lacquer craft at this time. Tin and bronze wire were used less; in addition, powdered cattle-bone or shell was mixed into the black lacquer. The symmetrical designs of Koryo gave way to simple floral designs, depictions of birds, bamboo and plums. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Buddhist floral imagery was used, but arabesques and similar designs appeared larger in size. The design motifs also underwent change in Choson. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the two phoenix or two dragons motifs went out of fashion, while there was an increase in the depictions of birds and flowers. In the nineteenth c., on the other hand, depictions of natural scenes gained in popularity. As in Koryo, mother-of-pearl inlay was still the most popular form of lacquerware. Even so, the earlier tradition of plain lacquerware was maintained throughout Choson.

Language, Korean

Korean is spoken by about 70 million people living on the Korean peninsula and adjacent islands such as Cheju Island. Additionally, a sizeable number of people speak Korean outside of Korea: 2.3 million in China; 700 000 in Japan; 1.5 million in North America; and 400 000 in the former USSR. Thus, the Korean language is the eleventh largest in the world.

The Korean language is generally classified as a member of the Altaic family of languages, although some scholars disagree with this view. Scholars also differ in how they classify the various periods in the history of the Korean language. A general outline developed by Lee Ki-Moon in 1961, however, is the most widely accepted and has established the following divisions:

Old Korean - pre-history to the tenth c.
Middle Korean - eleventh c. to the sixteenth c.
Modern Korean - seventeenth c. to the present day

Through these periods, there were many changes in the Korean language as revealed in the following chart which diagrams the changes that vowels underwent during these periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Korean</th>
<th>Middle Korean</th>
<th>Modern Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i u o</td>
<td>i ü u</td>
<td>i ü ü u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऑ</td>
<td>ऑ</td>
<td>e o o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>æ a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The invention of the hunmin ch'ôngǔm (the proper sounds to instruct the people), or han'gul, under the royal decree of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) in the mid-fifteenth c. is the single most important event in the history of the Korean language. Up until this point, various writing systems such as hyangch''al and idu, were used to write Korean phonetically in Chinese characters.

These writing systems were used in addition to classical Chinese, which was written according to the grammatical rules of classical Chinese. Since Korean and Chinese belong to two separate language families and are quite different both syntactically and phonetically, the hyangch''al and idu systems were awkward at best. Very few original sources of information on the hyangch''al and idu writing systems are extant, thus resulting in many differing and ambiguous interpretations of these ancient writing systems.

The earliest period for which there are materials available in relative abundance is the latter half of the fifteenth c. Materials that describe the spoken Korean language before the introduction of han'gul are scant, and such prominent features of Middle Korean, as vowel
harmony and tones, cannot be traced directly to Old Korean. Hence, it is difficult to determine many features of the Korean language in these periods.

Classification of Korean as an Altaic Language

Altaic languages are traditionally listed as Chuvash-Turkic, Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and, according to some scholars, Korean. Korean has, however, only recently been counted among the Altaic languages by scholars, and by other scholars with certain reservations and degrees of reluctance. Thus, there has been a great deal of controversy and scholarly debate concerning the inclusion of Korean in the Altaic family of languages.

Gustav Ramstedt was the first scholar to point out the weakness in the Altaic theory by the absence of numerals common to all the languages concerned. Later however, he considered the numerous sound correspondences based on comparative methodology to be more important than the lack of common numerals in the various languages under discussion. Ramstedt thus emphasised commonalties among the languages concerned rather than the lack of a particular correspondence that existed among languages in the Indo-European language family. Ramstedt was the first scholar to assert that the common elements between Korean and other Altaic languages were large enough to justify classifying Korean as an Altaic language.

Old and Middle Korean are quite useful as data for Altaic linguists. Materials for the study of Old Korean are fragmentary, being confined to names and titles mentioned in Chinese documents. A much larger body of materials exists for the study of Middle Korean: materials compiled in 1103-04 during Koryō, which contain about 350 pure Korean words, and materials written in han'gul in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during Chosŏn. Lee Ki-moon (1968) suggested that Old Korean had many similarities with Old Japanese as well. The presence of these linguistic commonalties seems to bridge the now seemingly impassable gulf presented by the considerable deviations between the modern Korean and Japanese languages and furthermore, helps explain their relationship in greater detail.

Old Korean

The three kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Shilla, and Paekche dominated the Korean peninsula from the first c. BCE to the ninth c. CE. Little is known, however, about the languages spoken in each of these kingdoms. Insofar as the Shilla Kingdom is concerned, there are twenty-four hyangga (native songs) that were written in hyangch'al, a phonetic transcription system using Chinese characters to represent specific phonemes, personal names, place names, and official titles, which can be used by modern scholars to gain some insight into the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of the language. No materials, except for a very few proper nouns, that describe the languages of Koguryŏ and Paekche are extant, thus forcing scholars to make educated guesses about these languages. The sources that do exist represent the language of the time because they are written in the cryptic hyangch'al and idu systems which borrowed classical Chinese, thus making it difficult for scholars to accurately reconstruct the spoken languages of the Three Kingdoms period.

In general, the language of Shilla has much in common with Middle Korean in both its vocabulary and grammar. An example of similarities in vocabulary is seen in the Shilla word 'pat\r' (sea) and its Middle Korean equivalent 'par\r.' A further example is found in the Shilla word 'i<\c \c' (to dislike, to loathe), which is 'to tire' in Middle Korean. These examples show that there had been changes in sound and meaning. Furthermore, many words in the language of Shilla cannot be found in Middle Korean; for example, 'ir' (well, spring), and 'sir' (valley). The word 'ir' can also be found in the language of Koguryŏ as 'or' (well, spring). A derivation of 'sir' can be found in Middle Korean as 'sinayh' (brook); 'sinayh' is most likely a compound word of 'sir' (valley) and 'nayh' (stream).
Because all of the remaining documents from Shilla are written in classical Chinese, it is difficult to analyse the phonological system of the languages at the time. Of the three types of stops and affricates -- lenis, fortis, aspirated -- in modern Korean, it is clear that the fortis sound did not exist and that the aspirated sound was extremely rare in the Shilla language. Even less is known about the pronunciation of vowels, but some scholars contend that a system of vowel harmony existed.

The morpho-syntax of the Shilla language, as it appears in the *hyangga*, shows a strong correspondence with that of Middle Korean in sentence structure and grammatical forms among other areas. The following case suffixes after nouns in the Shilla language have been verified: nominative -i, -Ay; genitive -s, -Ay / iy; accusative -r; and instrumental -ru. The conjugal system of the Shilla language is similar to that of Middle Korean. Verbal noun endings '-r', '-n', converbial endings '-ko', 'a', '-ra,' 'may', '-myǒ', and '-taka' among others have been discovered in the *hyangga*.

One of the most distinctive features of Korean grammar, the system of honorifics, has also been documented in the Shilla language. The honorific form 'si-' and the humble form 'sr' both existed in the Shilla language. Although their exact forms are unknown, it is also known that there were polite suffixes. This appears to be quite similar to the system of polite markers used in Middle Korean.

The lexical items from the languages of Paekche and Koguryo that have been discovered are few in number, but through these items it has been possible to link these languages with the language of Shilla. The language of Paekche appears to be relatively close to the language of Shilla, whereas the language of Koguryo is thought to be somewhat more distant from that of Shilla. This distinction is due to languages diverging at different times. An example of a difference in vocabulary among the three languages is the word for 'castle' ('castle', 'wall of defence'), which is 'cas' in the Shilla language; 'kly' in the Paekche language; and 'Xor' in the Koguryo language. Two words ('sasi' and 'ki') that mean 'castle' in Old Japanese originated from the 'sasi' in the language of Shilla and 'ki' in the language of Paekche. The words for 'king' are similar in all three languages: 'xan' and 'kim' in the Shilla language; 'ki<C' in the Paekche language; and 'kay' in the Koguryo language. The words 'cas' (castle) and 'nimgum' ('king', 'nim' derived from 'master') inherited from the Shilla language are also found in Middle Korean.

**Middle Korean**

Middle Korean (MK) refers to the language used from the tenth c. through the end of the sixteenth c. and can be further divided into two sub-categories: Early Middle Korean (EMK), used from the tenth to the fourteenth c., and Late Middle Korean (LMK) used from the fifteenth c. through the end of the sixteenth c. The use of MK covers a five hundred-year period that includes the Koryo dynasty (918-1392) and the first half of the Choson dynasty (1392-1910). The founders of the Choson dynasty moved the capital of Korea from Kaesong to Seoul, forty kilometres to the south. Because both Kaesong and Seoul are in the centre of the Korean peninsula, the central regional dialect of Korean continued to be the most influential dialect, and thus eventually became the basis for the modern standard in the Korean language.

References to EMK are written exclusively in classical Chinese. The most important source of information on EMK is the Song Chinese record *Jilin leishi* (Memorabilia of Kyerim), published at the beginning of the twelfth c. This work contains a Chinese-Korean glossary of about 350 words, which has been an invaluable source of data on early Korean. Another source of data is the *Hyangyak kugoppang* (Emergency Remedies of Folk Medicine), which is written in classical Chinese, that describes the sound and meaning of some 180 names of plants, animals, and metals used in traditional Korean folk medicine.
Documents concerning LMK are numerous because of the scholarship involved in the creation of han'gul, the Korean alphabet, in 1443. In addition to representing the sounds (vowels, consonants, and even tones) of the Korean language faithfully, han'gul depicted the phonetic composition of each sound graphically. Many books were published in han'gul, and several kings encouraged the translation of important books written in classical Chinese into han'gul in the years immediately following its development. Fortunately, these references are still extant. Some examples of the important references to LMK are as follows: (1) Hunmin ch'ong'ilm (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People; also the first official name for han'gul), the first public explanation of the rationale for and the use of han'gul, published in 1446; (2) Yongbi ôch'on ka (Songs of Flying Dragons), an eulogy cycle on the foundation of the Choson dynasty, published in 1447; (3) Wörin sokpo (The Buddha's Genealogy), published in 1459, a compilation of the Sökpo sangjîl (Episodes from the Life of Buddha), an epic concerning the life of Buddha (1447); (4) Nüngöm kyông ônhae, one of many han'gul translations of Buddhist sutras, published in 1461; (5) the han'gul translation of the Tang Chinese poet Tu Fu's work in 1481; (6) the han'gul translation of basic Confucian texts in the sixteenth c.; (7) margin notes on the sounds and meaning of each Chinese character written in han'gul that accompanied classical Chinese texts such as the Hunmong chahoe and the Sinjông yuhap.

Middle Korean Phonology

The han'gul writing system that was introduced in the Hunmin ch'ong'ilm reflects the phonological system of LMK very closely. There were seven (pure) vowel sounds in LMK (\(\wedge, a, o / \dot{a}, \ddot{i}, u / i\)). The semi-vowel 'y' appeared in four on-glide diphthongs (ya, y\(\dot{a}\), yo, yu; with y\(\ddot{a}\) and y\(\dddot{i}\) also extant in EMK) and in six off-glide diphthongs that combined 'y' after vowels (\(\wedge y, ay, dy, oy, uy, iy\)). Further, there was 'w' that appeared in three on-glide diphthongs (wa, w\(\dot{a}\), wi).

The rules governing vowel harmony were clear in Middle Korean. These rules dictated that yang (male or light) vowels \(\wedge, a, o\) and yin (female or dark) vowels (\(\ddot{i}, \dot{d}, u\)) should not co-occur in a morpheme, but 'i' as a neutral vowel may co-occur with all others. Suffixes that began with a vowel in MK were subject to vowel harmony when they were attached to a stem, but suffixes that began with a consonant were not subject to any of the phonological processes of harmonisation when they were attached to a stem.

Consonants in LMK are classified into the following groups: (1) lenis -- voiceless, slightly aspirated obstruents; (2) voiceless, strongly aspirated obstruents; (3) fortis -- voiceless, unaspirated obstruents. From the available documents, there is no doubt that 's' and 'h' had fortis equivalents in LMK, but there is no proof that 'p', 't', and 'k' had fortis equivalents. There are examples of 'p', 't' and 'k' being written as seemingly fortis sounds with the addition of 's', but how the addition of 's' influenced pronunciation at this time is difficult to determine; (4) non-initial voiced fricative consonants that only appear in an intervocalic environment such as two vowels. 'B' changed to 'w' in the middle of the fifteenth c., 'h' fell out of use around the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and 'z' fell out of use in the middle of the sixteenth c. LMK also had word-initial consonant clusters such as 'pt', 'ps', 'pc', 'pth,' in words such as 'pšit' (intention), 'psì' (seed), 'pc\(\wedge\)' (to weave), and pth\(\wedge\)' (to fill up). These compound consonants were resultant from the weakening of a vowel sound that originally fell between the two consonants. All of these consonants have since changed to fortis sounds in modern Korean.

With the data that has been transmitted to the present age, we are also able to understand the tonal qualities of LMK, and analyse the changes that have occurred in the Korean language since that time. The Hunmin ch'ong'ilm used a system of dots in the left margin (the text
being written vertically) next to each syllable to indicate the appropriate tone. Two tones existed in LMK: low and high, and the latter was indicated by a dot in the margin. There were also those syllables (most likely consisting of two morae) that began with a low tone and ended with a high one. These rising tones were indicated as in the following examples ‘son’ (guest) and ‘son’ (hand); ‘mal’ (a unit of volume) and ‘mal’ (speech/language); ‘kaji’ (kind/variety), ‘kaji’ (branch) and ‘kaji’ (wooden shoes). The nominative forms of such words as ‘putyo’ (Buddha) and ‘tari’ (bridge) changed to ‘putye’ and ‘tari’ respectively since the nominative suffix ‘i’ was a high tone.

**Writing System/Phonology**

The writing system of Middle-Korean shows a highly advanced level of phonology which no doubt contributed to the development of an excellent phonetic alphabet, han'gul, at that time. This is also an important source of material for Altaic linguists because of its phonetic reliability. The Korean people had already developed the hyangch'al and idu systems of transcription by simplifying the written form of various Chinese characters. This process of simplification of Chinese characters was also the precursor of the Japanese katagana system of writing. While its initiators in Korea discarded this system in order to transcribe the various sounds more freely, a Japanese monk adopted and developed it into an indigenous Japanese writing system.

Scientific linguistic studies were established in Korea during the Choson dynasty in the early fifteenth c. In 1443, King Sejong, after brushing aside opposition by certain elements of the Confucian literati in his court, enlisted scholars such as Sŏng Sammun (1418-1456), Chŏng Inji (1396-1478) and Shin Sukchu (1417-1475) of the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyŏnjŏn), and created the first original writing system that described the Korean language phonetically. The basic elements of han'gul remain in their original form, except for four letters that have fallen out of use. Most writing systems are the result of a long period of evolution; han'gul is the only writing system that was not devised on the basis of an imitation of foreign script but developed as a symbolic representation of the actions of the speech organs. The basic consonants - (k), - (n), - (m), - (s) and - (ng) are based on the appearance of the respective organs of speech involved in their articulations. Although 'symbolisation' is attributed as an original idea of the creators of this fascinating alphabet, it is most likely the product of extensive phonological study.

One of the most notable differences between Chinese phonology and the Korean writing system is the fact that in Korean the syllables are divided into three parts -- initial, medial and final -- whereas Chinese uses a bipartite division of syllable-initial and syllable-final. The tripartite division coincides with the modern analysis of the syllable into peak and margins (onset, peak, and coda). Frustrated by the unreliability of the bipartite division in Chinese phonology and the lack of a phonetic alphabet, King Sejong and his court scholars appear to have conducted an independent study of the Korean vowel system and the structure of syllable peaks which left them with no choice but to create a new script based on this study. Their phonemic analysis accomplished over and above Chinese phonology is successful even from the modern point of view, and might very well constitute a unique example in the pre-modern world of the scientific reduction of a contemporary language to writing in terms of a phonemic analysis that closely resembles modern methodology.

**Korean Grammar and Lexicon**

Some of the characteristic features of Korean in the order of lexicon, syntax, and semantics are as follows.

In the Korean lexicon, one is immediately struck by the high proportion of loan words. The majority of these loan words consist of borrowings from Chinese, often referred to as Sino-Korean words. In the *K'un sajŏn* (Great Dictionary) published by Han'gul Hakhoe
(Korean Language Society), nearly fifty-four per cent of the more than 150,000 words are of Chinese origin. Non-Chinese loan words account for a further 2.5 per cent of the Korean lexicon, thus leaving pure Korean words to represent but 43.5 per cent of the entire lexicon.

It is difficult to say whether Korean developed closed syllables on its own, because of a latent internal force, or whether such a phonetic development was externally prompted by loan words from Chinese. It is almost certain, however, that Chinese borrowing contributed to an increase in the amount of closed syllables and to the breathiness of Korean sounds by introducing the heavy use of aspiration. The net effect of this is that Korean has become more harsh and strident than it would have but for the Chinese contribution.

In regards to syntax, the Korean language is characterised by a very richly developed set of derivative and conjugational affixes. These affixes agglutinate one after another and indicate different styles of speech, express every conceivable mood and aspect, and function as honorific markers, case markers, connectives, post-positions, and sentence-type markers among other functions. Nouns, both subject and object nouns, are frequently deleted in Korean even in non-imperative sentences. The subject and object of these sentences remains clear because honorific and sentence-type markers used after nouns and in the verb at the end of the sentence indicate the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

A semantic characteristic of Korean is the ability to express minute difference in nuances with a richly developed system of phonetic symbolism. A highly developed system of kinship words and titles all reflect the strong influence of Confucianism on traditional Korean culture and the importance of the system of honorifics in the Korean language. The various levels of speech found in Korean are used by the speaker to establish the relationship between himself and the addressee. Along with the different levels of speech is a large lexicon of honorific and humble words that express one’s deference to his social superiors.

The net effect of the features discussed so far -- a dual lexicon, an intricate honorific system, different levels of speech, an indefinite concatenation of clauses, a rich set of tense, mood, and aspect markers -- is to make Korean a difficult language to learn as a second language, particularly for learners from an Indo-European language background. Nonetheless, since grammatical rules in Korean are quite straightforward and relatively consistent, acquiring fundamental linguistic skills for the non-native speaker is often simply a matter of practice and time.

In phonology, there has been a tendency to simplify final consonants. Korean is the only language that has three types of stops, which are all voiceless, two of which are distinguished by different degrees of aspiration. The initial occurrence of 'r', however, is a different story. The initial 'r' becomes a Korean phoneme, e.g., rak'et'ū (라켓) 'racket', radio (라디오) 'radio', reink'ot'ū (레인코트) 'raincoat', and so on.

Concerning the Korean lexicon, the outlook is slightly more complicated with the new wave of loan words that has been entering Korea from the West. The dual system of pure Korean and Sino-Korean lexical items will continue to function as it has, but the semantic distinctions associated with the dual system will gradually disappear amidst the revival of pure Korean words and an even greater interaction with the outside world. Aside from a sizeable number of items belonging to the dual lexicon, there is actually little competition between Sino-Korean words and pure Korean words since pure Korean words are largely confined to concrete and emotive words, whereas Sino-Korean words are largely abstract and technical words. Thus, Korean and Sino-Korean words continue their parallel existence. Chinese characters and Chinese loan words became Koreanized in usage and pronunciation when they entered the Korean language and have been used by Koreans over almost two thousand years, and as a result, they are now an integral part of the Korean
language.

There has also been a tendency toward greater simplification in syntax. A complex agglutination of affixes to denote many different styles and levels of speech will gradually be simplified. Today, a student in junior high school can distinguish the precise difference in the level of speech to be used when he is talking to his father about his grandfather from when he is talking about his (the student's) father to his grandfather. Indefinite concatenation of sentences is rapidly disappearing from usage, perhaps because of the strong influence of the heavy use of punctuation marks.

The Korean language will continue to evolve and transform as do all living languages, and this will be most easily seen in changes to the lexicon. The influx of foreign words from Western countries is presently quite notable in the speech of young and well-educated Koreans, and this is expected to increase in the future. Additionally, as Korean society moves towards becoming more egalitarian as relations between the sexes and social classes, the rigid system of honorifics and hierarchical levels of speech will become increasingly less important. This phenomenon has already been manifested in that the honorific level of speech used with the royalty of the Chosön period has largely disappeared from use in modern Korea. Moreover, with the reunification of the Korean peninsula being a distinct possibility in the foreseeable future, the combination of the two forms of Korean spoken in the North and South, which have evolved quite separately over the past fifty years, will likely evoke linguistic changes.

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Early Writing Systems

Before the invention of the han’gul script in the mid-fifteenth c., Korean scholars grappled with the problem of writing the Korean language without having a script specifically designed for the purpose. While classical Chinese was commonly used for writing official and other documents, it could not accurately convey the Korean language. The sound and grammatical systems of Chinese are quite different to those of Korean, and this created many difficulties in communicating unique aspects of Korean. Accordingly, in order to overcome the disadvantages of using a foreign writing system for the Korean language, scholars devised several systems that used Chinese characters for either their meaning or their sound. These had fixed sets of rules and one such system eventually became the origin of the Japanese writing system man’yō-gana. The extant sources on these early writing systems are, however, quite fragmentary and hence difficult to interpret and analyse. Nevertheless, as many of the oldest documents of the early Korean states are written in either hyangch‘al, idu or kugyŏl, an understanding of these writing systems is quite important to present-day Korean studies scholars.
**Idu**

Idu was a writing system created during Shilla which used Chinese characters whose syntax was changed somewhat to reflect the Korean grammatical structure. This writing system was known by various names including ido and isŏ, but was designated as idu in the preface of the Sejong shillok (Veritable Records of King Sejong) in the fifteenth c., and this name has persisted. Idu has been incorrectly used as a generic term for all writing systems that used Chinese characters in the past, but it does have differing characteristics from either hyangch'al or kugyŏl, and so must be treated as a separate writing system.

Unlike hyangch'al, idu continued to be used through the nineteenth c. as a writing system by low-level government clerks in certain specialised areas. Two of the later documents that record various grammatical aspects of the idu writing system are the Kogum sŏngnim (Past and Present Glossaries) compiled by Yi optimism in 1789, and Oju yŏnmun changgon san'go (Random Expatiations of Oju) written by Yi Kyugyŏng in the early nineteenth c. Therefore, modern scholars have been able to analyse many of the qualities of the idu writing system and determine its various grammatical functions and characteristics.

There are many historical documents recorded in idu, going back to the Three Kingdoms. Two examples of these are the Imshin sosokki (Oath of Inscription) carved on a stone tablet in 612, and the Tan yang choksŏng pi, which is a stele, thought to have been carved in 551. Many extant materials written in idu have come down from both Koryŏ and Chosŏn, and so provide modern scholars with a wealth of valuable data for analysis.

**Kugyŏl**

Kugyŏl was a writing system largely used in the interpretation or translation of Buddhist and Confucian Chinese texts. In this system, grammatical particles were inserted into Chinese texts using either special, fixed patterns of Chinese characters for certain grammatical functions, or after the invention of han'gŭl, using han'gŭl grammatical particles. Thus, Chinese characters could be used as nouns or verbs within a text, but with all the supporting grammatical elements written in special characters to allow the text to be read according to Korean grammar.

The use of kugyŏl was quite widespread in Korea, most likely from the time of the introduction of Chinese characters during the Three Kingdoms. The reason for this is that although the meaning of the Chinese characters posed little problem for Korean readers, there were substantial differences in the grammar of the Chinese and the Korean languages, and so in order to better understand the texts. Koreans devised a way to insert Korean grammar. When we read the record stating that the Shilla scholar Sŏl Ch'ong (660-730) read nine Chinese classics in the native Shilla language, it is understood that he used kugyŏl as a means to explicate the text.

Since the use of kugyŏl greatly assisted the reading of difficult Chinese texts, it is not surprising that many of the Confucian Classics and the Buddhist cannon were published throughout Koryŏ and Chosŏn using kugyŏl. There were about one-hundred and ten characters used in kugyŏl, including those for phonetic value and grammatical functions. By the end of the fifteenth c., han'gŭl characters were common in many texts, since their use was even more straightforward than those of earlier times. Kugyŏl remained an important writing system until the end of Chosŏn.

**Hyangch'al**

Hyangch'al is a writing system that used Chinese characters for both their meaning and sound to record the Korean language, before the invention of han'gŭl. Hyangch'al is considered to be a more sophisticated writing system than its predecessor, the idu, and in
general expressed Korean nouns with Chinese characters that carried the same meaning, while verb stems, inflections and other grammatical parts were written by the arbitrary use of Chinese characters that had the desired pronunciation. Perhaps the most notable examples of literature in hyangch’al are the hyangga song-poems recorded in the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). This writing system was largely used for recording lyrical items in Shilla and Koryó, but fell out of use by the fifteenth c.

Extant records in hyangch’al script are quite limited, with the largest being the twenty-six hyangga recorded in the Samguk yusa and the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms). Other works recorded in this system include the thirteenth c. Hyangyak kugüppang (Emergency Remedies of Folk Medicine), which details information concerning the plants, animals and other materials of traditional Korean folk medicine and which used hyangch’al to accurately record the pronunciation of the ingredients.

Bibliography

Learned Societies (see under individual Society, Institute, Association, etc)

Legal System

Historical Development

The legal history can be divided into five periods.

A. Three kingdoms and the Shilla dynasty

According to Samguk sagi [History of the Three Kingdoms], written in 1145, the first promulgation of yul (code) by a Koguryó dynasty (? 37 BCE - 668 CE) king could be dated in 373 and yullyong (code and decrees) were enacted by a Shilla dynasty king in 520. An epigraph written in 924 during the Shilla dynasty commemorates the promulgation of a code.

Despite the existence of these historical records and the chronology of political events between the Shilla and Tang China (618 -907) dynasties, little is known about the contents of codes and decrees that had been promulgated and enforced during the unified Shilla period. In 1933, however, a partial answer to the enigma was offered by the discovery of the so-called Civil Governance Document of Shilla villages (presumably dated 755), which indicates the influence of Tang administrative decrees on Shilla’s management of households and tilled land.

B. The Koryó dynasty

Information regarding legal codes and their functions during the Koryó dynasty (918 -1392) is also sketchy. The Hyóngpóp chi [Treatise on Penal Law] of the Koryósa [History of Koryó], written in 1453, simply lists the headings of seventy-one articles of the code whose texts cannot be found elsewhere. However, a perusal of the list reveals that the organization of the code and the classes of penalties with a grading scale were influenced by Tang and Song China (960 -1279) dynasty codes.

C. The Chosŏn Dynasty

T’aejo (r.1392-1398), the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty established an office to collect,
Koryŏ dynasty down to his own time. The *Kyŏngje yukchon* (Six Codes of Governance) which was the culmination of his efforts, is not extant today. During T'aejo's reign, the *Tae Myŏngnyul chikhae* (Directly Interpreted Great Ming Lü) was promulgated in 1395. The Code written in Idu Korean is one of the oldest extant legal documents. In the process of translating Ming Lü, indigenous Korean elements were incorporated into the Korean text and used as common law to the legal codes throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Kings succeeding T'aejo inherited the codification endeavour. In the annals of the law codification throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, the enactment of the *Kyongguk taejon* (Great Code of State Governance), completed in its final format of six sub-codes in 1485, is an important work, as it became the basic code of state administration. The six sub-codes corresponded to the six ministerial divisions of the government: personnel (i), revenue (ho), rites (ye), military (pyŏng), punishment (hyŏng), and public works (kong). One of six sub-codes on punishment dealt specifically with procedures involving trials, prison administration and status record on slaves and their ownership.

Enactment of the *Kyongguk taejon* was followed by a series of newly supplemented codes honoring the will of the founding father of the dynasty. The last of these, the *Taejon hoet'ong* [The Great Code Comprehensively Supplemented], was completed in 1866.

As a result of the 1894 Kabo Reforms, official gazettes appeared announcing newly promulgated laws. Another significant legal development was the enactment of the 1905 *Hyongpŏp taejon* [Complete Criminal Code], which was based on the traditional law and the 1880 Japanese Penal Code.

During this period, justice was administered by primarily local magistrates, confucian scholar officials, whose duties also included the collection of taxes and administration of corvée labor. According to extant documents, there was litigation among Yangbans over the interpretation of wills, ownership of private slaves and transactions over land and houses.

D. Japanese Colonial Control

The Government-General of Korea functioned through the Japanese Governor-General as a result of the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. All decrees of the Governor-General had to receive the approval of the Japanese Emperor and jurisdiction over finances and legislation on broad policies concerning Korea were in the hands of the Imperial Diet in Tokyo. The colonial government in Korea consisted of the secretariat and seven bureaus (kyoku), one of which supervised the administration of justice. During this colonial period, at least four discernible bodies of law were in force: first, special statutes particularly directed to Korean affairs adopted by the Japanese Imperial Diet; second, applied Japanese codes and statutes *mutatis mutandis* by virtue of the Governor-General's action; third, Korean customary law on family relations and inheritance based on the 1912 Korean Civil Decree; and fourth, other legal measures issued by the Government-General.

The judiciary was built under a three-instance system: the district and the branch courts; the courts of review; and the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, located in Seoul, consisted of a chief judge and nine judges. Attached to the courts of each instance were the prosecutor's offices. Prosecutors exercised wide authority by enjôChosŏnning the same status as the judges in importance and rank. In 1907, the first bar association was formed in Seoul. Subsequently, bar association activities were subject to strict supervision of the Governor-General.

E. The Two Koreas

The peninsula's partition in 1945 led to the creation of the Republic of Korea in the South
and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North. In terms of legal systems, the former adheres to the Civil Law tradition, while the latter follows the Socialist legal system.

Sources and Branches of the Law

A. South Korea

The emphasis on codified laws is one of the principal features of the South Korean legal system. A set of five legal codes (Civil Code, Criminal Code, Commercial Code, Code of Civil Procedure, and Code of Criminal Procedure), plus the Constitution, are collectively known as the Yukpŏp, literally the six codes. These codes are the main body of laws. Laws enacted and promulgated by state authorities pursuant to the Constitution are recognized as the primary source of law and are permeated by the concept that the mission of law is fulfilled best by reliance upon enacted law. Thus a variety of terms are used to designate South Korean laws, usually denoting the issuing authorities. Laws may be divided into four main categories: statutes passed by the legislature; decrees issued by the President of the Republic, Cabinet and various ministries; rules and regulations by other state agencies and local governments; and international agreements. As to the effects of customary law, the Civil Code prescribes that in the absence of a statute, customary law is to be relied upon and if the latter is lacking, sound reasoning is to serve as the basis for deciding civil cases. The Commercial Code also stipulates that in commercial cases, commercial custom applies in the absence of provisions in the code, and in the absence of commercial custom, the provisions of the Civil Code are to apply. This legal formula cannot be applied to criminal cases, however, due to the constitutional requirement of nulla poena sine lege. Judicial precedents are not granted official status as law. Thus every court is theoretically free not to follow the judicial decisions of courts even when they are superior. In practice, however, a judge, in deciding a case, will closely examine relevant previous decisions. Furthermore, the lower courts can be expected to pay a great deal of attention and respect to judgments of superior courts, especially the higher court in their own district.

There are at least ten pedagogically identifiable branches of law.

1. Constitutional and Administrative Law

The first Constitution was adopted in 1948 and has been amended nine times. The present Constitution of 1987 stipulates the directly elected President, the unicameral legislature, and creates the Constitutional Court. Administrative law is a branch of law that controls or is intended to control the administrative agencies and their operations and remedies. The main body of this branch of law is the Government Organization Law, Local Autonomy Law, National Public Servants Law, Administrative Litigation Law, and laws related to land reform. Another important legislative measure of recent origin in the field of Administrative Law is the Foreign Capital Inducement Law, which is designed to induce and administer foreign equity investments, foreign loans, and foreign technology for the development of the economy. This statute and the tax laws are closely interrelated.

2. Criminal Law

Criminal law is a body of legal rules which prescribes crimes and their punishments. The main source of criminal law is the Criminal Code. There are a number of ancillary laws which include the National Security Law and Juvenile Law.

3. The Law of Criminal Procedure

The law of criminal procedure stipulates procedural rules connected with the prosecution of a person charged or to be charged with the commission of a crime. The primary source of
4. Labour Law

Labour law consists of those constitutional provisions on labour's fundamental rights, statutes, executive decrees, and administrative regulations that prescribe labour relations. The basic statutes are the Labour Union Law, Labour Dispute Adjustment Law, Labour Standard Law, and Labour Committee Law.

5. Public International Law

Public international law is the law of the world community which relates to states, international organizations, and private individuals. The sources of public international law are international customary law and international agreements. The present Constitution sanctions that treaties and the generally recognized rules of international law have the same force as domestic law.

6. Civil Law

Civil law is known as a general private law which consists of the Civil Code together with several ancillary laws. In its form, the Civil Code follows the so-called pandect system by dividing into five books. The first three books deal with general provisions, property rights, and obligations in general, while the fourth and fifth books cover family and successions, which base primarily on customs.

7. Commercial Law

Commercial law is the body of special rules of private law applicable only to those legal relations which arise from commercial transactions. The most important source of commercial law is the Commercial Code, which consists of five books: General Part, Commercial Transactions, Commercial Companies, Insurances, and Maritime Commerce. The important ancillary laws are the Enforcement Law of the Commercial Code, the Law on Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, the Cheques Law, and the Corporate Reorganization Law.

8. The Law of Civil Procedure

The Law of Civil Procedure is a branch of law which is concerned with civil litigation to settle compulsorily disputes among private individuals. The main source of law regulating civil actions is the Code of Civil Procedure, which consists of seven chapters: General Rules, Proceedings in the First Instance, Appeal, Retrial, Summary Procedure, Public Notice Procedure, and Compulsory Execution. Main ancillary laws are the Arbitration Law and the Law of Procedure on Non-contentious Matters.

Both laws are designed to encourage the settlement of disputes by means of arbitration or mediation.

9. Private International Law

The main source of private international law is Private Law Involving Foreign Elements, which is designed to "determine the applicable law to the matters involving foreign elements wherein aliens within the Republic of Korea, or the nationals of the Republic of Korea abroad, become parties." This law sets out the choice-of-law rules and is organized into three parts: General Rules, Rules Concerning Civil Matters and Rules Concerning Commercial Matters. The important ancillary laws are Nationality Law, Alien Land
Acquisition Law, Special Law Concerning Adoption of Orphans and the Code of Civil Procedure, which contains rules on international jurisdiction; and recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments.

10. Laws Governing Industrial and Intellectual Property Rights

The law protects the following industrial and intellectual property rights: patent, utility model, trademark, copyrights and design. These rights are recognized and protected only when they are registered upon application. South Korea is a signatory to the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Properties, to the Patent Cooperation Treaty and to the Universal Copyright Convention.

B. North Korea

North Korea uses the Chuch'e idea of the worker's party as its national ideology, being a creative application of Marxism - Leninism to North Korean reality, and adopts command economies under the leadership of the Communist Party. The state is to play a strong role in assuring its citizens the good life. The law in North Korea like any Socialist legal system is highly ideological and is deployed as a political instrument to enhance the proletarian and Communist revolution.

Laws, as used in the generic term, adopted and issued by various state organs pursuant to the 1972 Constitution as amended on April 9, 1992, include laws, ordinances and decisions of the Supreme People's Assembly (S.P.A.), the decisions and directives of the S.P.A.'s Standing Committee; the orders of the President of the People's Republic; the decrees, decisions and directives of the Central People's Committee (C.P.C.); decisions of the Administrative Council; directives of the Central Administrative agencies; decisions of the local people's assemblies; decisions and directives of local people's committees; decisions and directives of local administrative and economic committees; and directives of the Central Court and the Procurator-General.

As for structural and divisional branches of North Korean law, they appear on the surface similar to those of South Korea. However, contents of laws are permeated with Socialist ideology without identifiable public and private law demarcation. The following nine major branches of law are noteworthy.

1. Constitutional Law

The first Constitution of 1948 was patterned after the 1936 Stalin Constitution. It was amended in 1972 and extensively amended in 1992. It stipulates the unicameral S.P.A. which is the highest organ of state power and is the exclusive legislative body. Its standing committee is provided to exercise supreme power in the S.P.A.'s absence and is to interpret currently effective laws and ordinances.

The 1992 amended Constitution still invests considerable power in the President of the People's Republic; and maintains the C.P.C., which carries out an institutional check on the central state bureaucracy by relieving the bureaucracy of policy-making functions and leads judicial and procuratorial activities. One of the unique features of the 1972 Constitution was the abolishment of the tax system as being "a hangover of the old society." However, the 1992 Constitution eliminates this phrase by substituting "non-existence of tax system in our country."

2. Criminal Law

In 1987, North Korea undertook a major revision of its Criminal Law Code. The primary task of the Criminal Law is to protect national sovereignty and Socialist institutions. It is to
guarantee people's self reliance and creative life through the struggle with crimes. The Code maintains the analogy clause and introduces education through labor at the workplace, as a new category of penalty.

3. Criminal Procedure

In 1992, North Korea adopted a newly revised Code of Criminal Procedure without providing clear division of power between the judge and procurator. Its main features are to guarantee human rights in criminal proceedings and to deny the evidence obtained through the third degree confession.

4. Labour Law

The primary source of Labour Law is the 1978 Labour Code which is designed to fully mobilize and utilize human resources, who are armed with the Chuch'e ideology and oriented with the cause of Socialist construction. For this purpose, administration and operation of labour management are subject to strict legal regulations and state control. Special features of the Code include a fourteen-day regular annual vacation for all workers, a seventy-seven-day maternity leave, Sunday as a day of rest, age sixteen to be the minimum work age, and retirement age limit at fifty-five for women and sixty for men. A daily schedule for workers is composed of eight hours of labour, eight hours of indoctrination, and eight hours of rest.

5. Land Law

Land law constitutes a separate branch of law which regulates legal relations involving land use. This uniqueness derives from the fundamental principle that the state is the exclusive owner of all land as one of the basic means of production. As the state is the sole proprietor of land, only the state, through its agencies, is entitled to allocate or withdraw land tenure to natural or judicial persons for the actual use of land. Based on these premises, the 1977 Land Law prohibits selling of land belonging to the state or cooperative organizations. It also prescribes land development and conservation and limits the size of family plot.

6. Civil Code

The S.P.A. adopted the Civil Code in 1991. The Code regulates property relationship entered into between three entities: state agencies, cooperative organizations and citizens. The Code lists extensive categories of state ownership (or monopoly) of property. Property rights exercised by citizens are limited to strictly private use and the consumption needs.

7. Family Law

Following the structural pattern of the Socialist legal system, the Family Law Code was adopted in 1990. The code bases on four principles: sexual equality; monogamy; special protection provided for mother and children; and organic combination of private and state interests and interests of family and society.

8. Civil Procedure

The 1976 Code of Civil Procedure enunciates its raison d'être as a revolutionary ideological weapon for the masses. Following statutory constriction used by other Socialist states, a relatively smaller number of articles (177 articles) is utilized in the Code. In disposing civil cases, judges are expected to follow the President's teachings and directives from the party. Another feature is that only six articles are allocated to deal with the execution of court judgments. Non-recognition of private ownership of real property and
grave consequences of non-compliance of court decisions may be the reasons. The Code has taken a liberal approach to res judicata effects of the final judgment by opening the avenue of extraordinary appeal.

9. Foreign Investment Law

The 1984 Joint Venture Law covers such subjects as guiding principles of joint venture; organization of a joint venture company; board of directors and business operations; audit and income distribution; and dissolution of a joint venture company and settlement of disputes. Implementation of the 1984 Joint Venture Law with accompanying supplementary statutes did not bring the expected foreign investment; thus necessitating the adoption of the new Foreign Investment Law in 1992. It stipulates the establishment of a special economic zone where 100% foreign owned investment is allowed; an extended period of lease on land; and more elaborate tax incentives.

10. International Law

The present Constitution is silent as to the status of international treaties to which North Korea is a party although there are numerous instances of North Korea signing bilateral and multilateral treaties. The present Constitution grants a power to the S.P.A. and C.P.C. who ratify or abrogate treaties concluded with foreign states and the President of the People's Republic promulgates actions taken by these two organs.

Judicial Administration

A. South Korea

1. Organization of Courts

Courts are organized on the three-tier system, pursuant to the 1987 Court Organization Law. District courts, their branch courts, and family courts are courts of first instance. Appellate courts are intermediate, and the Supreme Court is the highest court of appeal. Ten district courts have civil law and criminal law divisions, except in Seoul, where separate Civil District and Criminal District Courts have been created. The Seoul Family Court hears cases related to domestic relations. Four appellate courts are organized respectively into civil, criminal, and special divisions which try administrative cases. The Supreme Court exercises general jurisdiction over military courts. The Supreme Court is composed of a chief justice and thirteen associate justices and exercises rule-making power to supervise judicial administration.

2. The Constitutional Court

The Constitutional Court is composed of nine adjudicators, of whom three are designated by the President, three are chosen from among persons selected by the National Assembly and three from persons nominated by the Chief Justice. The Court adjudicates the following matters: constitutionality of a law when requested by the ordinary courts; impeachment against enumerated high officials; dissolution of a political party; disputes between state agencies, or between state agencies and local governments; and petitions by any person relating to the Constitution.

3. Judicial Proceedings

The South Korean judge is not simply an arbiter between two sides but a seeker of justice who guides the trial, questions the witnesses, and finds facts in the interest of truth. Oral hearings are quite brief since the intermittent system known as the system of piecemeal trials of conducting trials is used. On request, the judge may allow the parties to the action to ask...
supplementary questions. The Code of Civil Procedure sets out a number of general principles related to civil and administrative litigation. Among these principles are representation of both parties, oral presentation, bilateral hearing, immediacy, and free admissibility of evidence. In a South Korean court, it is not the universal rule for witnesses to give evidence under oath. The evidence given by the party, whether as witness or by questioning in the court, is considered a secondary means of evidence. An appellate court exercises exclusive jurisdiction with authority over the place of residence where the defendant is situated. As a prerequisite to initiation of administrative litigation before an appellate court, a person deprived of his/her rights by an illegal or unjust action on the part of an administrative agency has to exhaust administrative remedies in accordance with the 1984 Administrative Litigation Law.

In a criminal action, the judge has no function until a charge has been brought by the prosecutor, who has not only the right but the legal obligation to initiate and conduct an investigation into any complaint with a view to bringing a charge. The onus of proving the guilt of an accused person rests on the prosecutor who may request that a case be referred for summary judgment when a minor offence is involved. The accused may request a formal trial within seven days from the receipt of notification of summary judgment, but if he/she fails to do so, or withdraws his/her request, the summary judgment becomes final. Cross-examination has never been prevalent before South Korean criminal courts. Questioning by the court is preferred, and although the judge may permit supplemental questions to be addressed directly by the prosecutor or defense counsel, questioning does not reach the intensity of the Anglo-American style trials. The accused’s testimony is not sworn. Relatives of the accused do not give testimony under oath. The evidence of a party in a civil action is generally deemed unacceptable. In resolving legal disputes, judges are willing to dispose themselves to use means of alternative dispute resolution including the traditional approach of mediation.

4. Legal Education

The graduates of the law faculty enter diverse occupations. Only a minor portion of them pursue professional legal careers. To become a member of the legal profession, one must pass a highly competitive annual judicial examination and then complete two years of practical training at the Institute of Judicial Training and Research, an organ of the Supreme Court. Upon completion of a two years' apprenticeship, one may be invited to become a judge or a Prosecutor, or may join a bar association.

5. Judges

In South Korea, becoming a judge is not a reward for long and successful practice as a member of the bar. It is only the beginning of a career in the civil service. Under the 1987 Constitution, the tenure of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is six years without renewal, whereas Associate justices whose tenure is also six years, are allowed reappointment. Their appointments are subject to the approval of the National Assembly. All other judges have a limited tenure of ten years subject to reappointment.

6. Prosecutors

To become a prosecuting public attorney is also considered entering a civil service career. The 1986 Law of Prosecution Offices prescribes that prosecutors engage in investigation and prosecution of crimes, bring actions in the name of the public, supervise the execution of penalties, and also represent the public interest in civil cases. The highest-ranking prosecutor is the Prosecutor-General, whose official ranking is next to the Minister of Justice. The Prosecutor-General supervises all prosecutors throughout the country under the principle of so-called unity and indivisibility of the prosecution. Prosecutors are assigned to each court on all levels and perform their function independently of the court.
7. Lawyers

The practice of law requires admission to a local bar association in accordance with the 1982 Lawyers Law. The local bar associations are represented by the national bar association. The activity of the bar association generally tends to be limited to protecting the interest of its members and still it is not completely free from the control of the Minister of Justice. A typical Korean law office is managed by a single lawyer or by two or three persons who share offices and practice. However, there is a recent trend to deviate from the traditional solo-practice arrangement and to form law firms, especially by lawyers specializing in the area of international practices.

8. Military Legal Officers

Military legal officers are recruited through a special examination, and successful candidates go through training at the Institute of Judicial Training and Research. Upon completion of ten years of service as a military legal officer, a license is granted to practice law.

9. Auxiliary Legal Personnel

Any member of the bar can be appointed as a notary public by the Minister of Justice, who supervises and assigns notaries public to the district prosecutor's office. Notaries public prepare notarial deeds, which include the issuance of certificates of self-executing obligation and articles of incorporation. Any non-lawyer who meets special qualifications under the existing statutes can become a patent specialist, a tax accountant, a customs agent or an admiralty counsellor. Patent specialists, for instance, represent their clients in the administrative agency and the court in any matter related to Patent. Such paralegal professionals as judicial and administrative scriveners play an important role in judicial administration. Judicial scriveners, for instance, draft legal documents including court papers. Their training ranges from self-education to a post-graduate university degree.

B. North Korea

The administration of justice is the responsibility of two state organs, the courts and the procuracy. People's assessors and lawyers are also participants.

1. Organization of Courts

Courts based on the 1976 Court Organization Law are organized on the three-tier system: people's courts, the provincial court (or municipality directly under the central government) and the Central Court which is the highest court. Two special courts, military courts and the railroad courts are established and their organization and role are stipulated by the Court Organization Law, the Criminal Procedure Code and Code of Civil Procedure. Arbitration chambers of the provincial and the highest courts engage in settling disputes between state enterprises and/or other Socialist organizations.

2. Procuracy

The procuracy is often characterized as the fourth branch of the government and is a watchdog of Socialist legality. It supervises precise and honest compliance with the laws by all central and local state agencies, enterprises, social cooperative organizations and citizens. The Central Procuracy, headed by the Procurator-General whom the S.P.A. appoints for a term of five years, is responsible for the work of all lower-level procurators' offices through a centralized organization. The Central procuracy is responsible for its work only to the S.P.A., the President of the People's Republic, and the C.P.C.
The procuracy is expected to represent citizens in complaints against government agencies and to look after the public interest in civil cases which might have a significant social impact. It supervises or conducts pre-trial investigation in addition to prosecuting criminal cases and makes sure that trials are properly conducted.

3. Judicial Proceedings

Courts render formal legal support for the protection of state and cooperative property and guard citizens' constitutional rights. They also perform an educational role for the organizations and citizens and execute such bureaucratic acts as notarial work.

In the ordinary court proceedings, a collegiate panel composed of one professional judge and two people's assessors conducts hearings in strict accordance with procedural codes. In principle, cases are to be heard in public, and defendants are guaranteed the right to a defence.

Although the courts are organized on the basis of a three-tiered system, parties are only allowed two trials. An exception to this rule is an extraordinary appeal to the Central Court that could be utilized at any stage of the judicial proceedings. However, the use of this appeal requires the approval of the President of the Central Court and the Procurator General. The essential import of the extraordinary appeal concept is that it provides one way for the Central Court to check at least the most obvious deviations of lower courts. The Central Court fulfills its responsibility of supervising the lower courts by issuing guiding directives and by publishing selected cases, decisions and memoranda.

4. The Socialist Guidance Committee for a Law-Abiding Life

According to available sources, the Socialist Guidance Committees for Law-Abiding Life have been established at all national, provincial, municipal and county levels since 1977. The Committee consists of members representing the procuracy, police and people's committee. Based on the Chuch'e ideology, the task of the committees is to create a revolutionary atmosphere of observing the law. The Committees are empowered to supervise the observance of the law by all the government agencies, organizations and citizens. To promote understanding of law for the citizens, there are designated persons in each unit who entertain questions and provide answers on the subject of law.

5. Legal Education

It has been reported that the Faculty of Law, Kim Il Sung University, engages in training of legal professionals. The faculty consists of three departments: legal studies, state management and international legal studies. The study period is four years and six months. Six months are allocated for the practical training. Further graduate legal study is available for the graduates of the law faculty.

6. Judges and People's Assessors

Judges and people's assessors of the Central Court are elected for a five year term or recalled by the S.P.A., but it is responsible to the President of the People's Republic and the Central People's Committee. Judges and people's assessors of the provincial courts and people's courts are elected or recalled by the people's assemblies at the corresponding levels. The term of office for members of provincial courts and the People's Courts is four years. People's assessors enjoy the same rights as judges and participate in deciding questions of fact and law. It has been reported that professionalism, even among judges, is not fostered under the North Korean system, since the court's political judgment is of primary importance. While judges serve full-time during their tenure, people's assessors are supposed to serve only fourteen days per year. If the trial requires additional time, the
people's assessors are to serve continuously and wage earners are paid their regular earnings during their service. Qualifications to be judges and people's assessors require a worker who is eligible to vote; a firm believer of the Chuch'e ideology; and a candidate who is ready to carry out policies of the Korean Labour Party.

7. Procurators

Appointment or removal of procurators is made by the Central Procuracy. Selection of a procurator is based on a candidate's allegiance to the party and on possession of a politically sound mind indoctrinated with the training of revolutionary activities.

8. Lawyers

The 1948 Regulations Concerning Lawyers prescribes the creation of bar associations in P'yōngyang and each province. They are subject to supervision of the provincial court and of the Central Court. There is the National Central Committee which represents local bar associations. Association activities, salary of association members, and fee payment arrangements are administered by the standing committee of each local association, whose members are elected for a two-year term at the general meeting of the association. Lawyers are expected to know how to protect party policies and also to protect the state interest in lieu of their client's concerns.

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Leisure Activities

Recreation is a fundamental need of all people and for this reason recreation and play are normal expressions inherent in the development of the body, intellect and emotions of humans. Forms of recreation also reveal much about the people of a society and their lifestyles. The development of recreation and forms of play also serve as barometers of a society's advancement, values and spirit. It is not an exaggeration to state that the leisure activities and games of a society reflect its national consciousness and way of living.

Historical Leisure Activities

In the earliest Korean states the lives of the people revolved around agriculture. Accordingly, the most important elements of their lives can be seen in matters that were concerned with the outcome of the harvest. Therefore, a great deal of agrarian rituals were performed with an aim to ensure a bountiful harvest. The periods when the people had the greatest amount of leisure-time were in the spring before planting their crops, and in the fall after the harvest. During these seasons the people would perform sacrificial rituals to the deities they believed governed the success of their crops. However, these rituals were also times when the people gathered and celebrated with one another. Chinese documents record these events, such as the Sanguo zhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) which describes the Yonggo Festival in the ancient state of Puyŏ. This festival, which was held in the first month of the lunar year, was not only a time when sacrificial rites were performed to the gods that governed agriculture, but it was also when the people of Puyŏ gathered to feast, while enjoying song and dance. The magnitude of this festival can be seen in the fact that all of the people of the state joined in the celebrations, and even those who had been incarcerated were released from their punishment to take part. Other like ceremonies were held in early Korean states including the much'don of Eastern Ye and tongmaeng of Koguryŏ, both of which were held after the harvest. The common features of these ceremonies are that they served both religious and secular functions. From the religious aspect, these ceremonies entreated the gods of agriculture for either an abundant harvest or thanked them for the one they had just reaped. As a secular function, the ceremonies enabled the people of the ancient Korean states to gather and celebrate together. The feasts that accompanied these ceremonies were times for the people to relax as a community and participate in group games that encouraged communal harmony.

By the time of the Three Kingdoms, the leisure activities of the people had become rather more formalised than in earlier times. Activities such as dramatic plays and masked dances became part of the recreation of the people, and these performances were incorporated into the entertainment at the royal palaces. Seasonal customs were still the major force in leisure activities, and recreational activities still had the character of supplication to the spirits that governed agriculture, for abundant harvests. One game that displays the duel character of entertainment for the people and as an incantatory ritual for agrarian purposes, is tug-of-war. Generally speaking, tug-of-war competition took place during major holidays such as Tano, New Year and Ch'usŏk, since it required group participation. In playing tug-of-war, two villages would form East and West teams and join together large straw-plaited ropes, with each team endeavouring to pull the other over a demarcation line. The entertainment value of this folk game is seen in the group effort required to make the ropes and to win the contest, and is a method by which the village could maintain social harmony. The incantatory effect of the game is seen in it being an extension of a fertility rite. The West team would commonly be viewed as the female team, and if the West team was victorious, it portended an abundant harvest. The tug-of-war ritual symbolises the sexual union between a male and a female through the coupling of two ropes and the tugging back and forth. This game was most often performed during the New Year's festivities, and on a dormant field.
The adoption of Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms created other holidays and as a consequence, occasions for the people to gather and enjoy leisure activities. On Buddha's birthday during the fourth lunar month, lanterns were put up in every house and temple and yǒnduŋ nori' (festival of lantern-lighting) was celebrated. This was also an occasion in which the people could gather and enjoy merriment together. However, the inclusion of Buddhist holidays did not supplant the performance of traditional, shamanistic holidays. Holidays such as Tano and Ch'usŏk continued to be observed and, along with New Year, were the major holidays. These leisure days and festivals continued to be chiefly centred around farming rituals.

In Koryŏ, the biggest holiday was the national festival known as the p'algwanhoe, which incorporated many of the traditions of the former Koguryŏ tongmaeng festival. Although this festival underwent many changes during the half millennium in which it was held, it still served as an occasion for the people of the kingdom to gather and participate in many large-scale games. Many of the games in this era were much the same as in former times. There were large-scale group games played by men, such as stone fighting, tug-of-war, and torch fighting, among others. Games played among the womenfolk consisted mostly of group singing and dancing activities that embodied incantatory rites for the village. An example of a women's' game is kanggang sullae in which the women of a village would form a large circle and sing songs while dancing.

With the advent of Chosŏn came a clear demarcation between the games enjoyed by the common people and those that the ruling classes took pleasure in. The games of the commoners continued to reflect their beliefs founded in shamanism and their desires for bountiful harvests. Games such as tug-of-war, ssirŭm (a type of wrestling), mask dance dramas, and other large-scale village games continued to be enjoyed by the commoners. However, the upper echelon did not participate in the group games and instead enjoyed kyŏkkŭ (a type of polo); pitching arrows; ssangnyuk (a type of backgammon); changgi (Chinese chess); and paduk (Korean checkers); all of which came to be games reserved for those in the upper classes. A primary characteristic of Chosŏn was the development of a social hierarchy, and this distinction between the classes was evidenced, even in the types of games they played. Many traditional leisure activities continued to enjoy popularity until recent times Games like yut (four-stick game) and hwat'u (flower cards), were played by all people, regardless of age or sex, and they had many different ways of being enjoyed. Children's games such as cheg'i ch'agi (shuttlecock kicking); p'a'engi ch'i'gi (top-spinning); and konggi nori (jackstones); have retained their popularity because of the enjoyment they offer and their simplicity.

Characteristics of Traditional Leisure Activities

The games enjoyed in traditional Korea closely reflected the lives of the people. The folk-games were linked closely with people's work and were passed on to following generations in connection with seasonal customs, ceremonies of passage and sacrificial rituals. These games were not individually created, but were collaborative efforts that evolved over many generations. The discussion of folk games must be linked with seasonal customs, as the two entities cannot be separated. This point can be validated from the fact that the leisure activities associated with a particular seasonal custom disappeared when that custom became extinct.

The leisure activities of traditional Korea can be divided into those enjoyed by children, women and men. Children's games can be sub-divided between the sexes Games that boys enjoyed included the militaristic ones such as stone tossing, stick tossing, shuttlecock kicking and others with a military flavour. These games do not require special implements and are acknowledged as games which are performed through the motions of hitting,
kicking and running, which thereby enabled young boys to develop the skills that led them to manhood. The activities that young girls took pleasure in focussed more-or-less on those that involved the development of hand-eye co-ordination, or jumping. Therefore, games such as jacks, jump rope and swinging were common activities among young girls, and these nurtured the girls for womanhood.

The games of adults in traditional times generally carried the dual characteristic of entertainment and of incantatory rites. Women participated in non-competitive activities such as swinging, seesawing, and group games like kanggang sullae. Women's games served to create harmony among the village group and also carried the function of praying for abundant harvests. Adult male games, on the other hand, stressed large-scale violent competitive activities such as stone fighting, torch fighting, wood-metal fighting and team fighting. These required a larger number of participants and also demanded time for preparation. As a consequence, they were only held in conjunction with major seasonal holidays such as Tano or Ch'usok.

Another strong characteristic of traditional leisure activities is the close relationship they share with work. Fundamentally, the concept of leisure activities and work are diametrically opposed. However, folk games served to transfer the functions of play into work, thereby allowing these two concepts to co-exist. An example of the symbiotic relation between work and play can be seen in the performing of nong'ak (farmer's music) while working in the fields. Traditionally, when farmers were to perform a communal task, they would form a ture (a collective labour group) and then proceed to the fields to work. Accompanying the ture would be a contingent that would perform nong'ak while both in the fields and in transit to and from them. The purpose of the nong'ak was to create a festive environment that would encourage hard work, while at the same time lessening the hardship of field labour. Moreover, the motions of dancing along with the nong'ak emulated the movements involved in working in the fields, and in this manner the work was made easier.

Leisure Activities of the Modern Period

The advent of the Japanese colonial period in Korea marked a major change in the activities of the people in many aspects including their leisure-time pursuits. The Japanese Governor-General regulated many types of folk games in Korea, and in particular banned the large-scale fighting and group games since they feared the harmony and nationalistic consciousness of the Koreans that could be aroused through these games. As a result of this Japanese oppression of leisure, by the end of the colonial period many of the traditional games of Koreans approached extinction.

After liberation in 1945, the traditional games and pastimes of Koreans were no longer suppressed, but faced a new threat in the onslaught of Western culture which swept into Korea. The national movement in South Korea towards modernisation led to the games of the past being pushed rudely aside. New activities began to sprout in Korea and in the common mindset of this period, any activity that was Western in origin was automatically given higher status than those with Korean roots. Along with western leisure-time activities came the concept of commercialisation of games and leisure-time activities. There no longer was a connection between leisure activities and the daily rhythm of life such as there had been in former days. Also, there was no deep-seated relationship between many of the new activities and Korean culture. These were fundamental changes in the way leisure-time activities were thought of in Korea.

Some of the popular leisure activities in Korea today include Western sports such as soccer, basketball, baseball, skiing, cycling, and many other modern sports. Other activities, such as mountain climbing, swimming, and fishing are more akin to traditional pastimes of the past age. There are both amateur and professional sports teams in Korea today and sports such as baseball, soccer and basketball draw large followings, both in person and via the
mass media outlets of television and radio.

Aside from physical activities, Koreans participate in a wide range of hobbies and interests that form a major part of their leisure-time. Hobbies in South Korea are as diverse as in any country in the world and reflect the characteristics of the Korean people. Music, videos, television and cinema form a major part of the interests of many people, while others enjoy reading novels and magazines. New technologies, such as computers and the Internet have also found a great number of devotees in Korea. Other activities include travel in both Korea and abroad, spending time with classmates or co-workers and taking self-improvement courses at private academies to learn skills such as pottery or a foreign language, or in playing *paduk* (checkers played by two persons with black and white stones).

The Present State of Sports

Korea has been making steady progress to join the elite sporting nations of the world, competing under the Korea flag for the first time at the London Olympiad in 1948. A mark of significance of South Korea’s approach to becoming an international name in sport was the hosting of the 1988 summer Olympics in Seoul. In this showcase of the world’s premier athletes, the ROK not only hosted the first boycott-free Olympics in twelve years, but also was placed fourth in the overall medal tally. Since the Seoul Olympic Games, South Korea has consistently performed at high levels in international sporting events.

Professional sports in Korea are major attractions for millions of fans feverishly following their favourite teams. In the summer, the most active spectator sport is baseball, as teams from around the country vie for the pennant. In autumn, professional soccer and basketball draw large crowds. Large contingents of fans follow boxing, field and ice hockey, gymnastics, golf and many other sports. In addition to these Western-type sports, traditional sports such as *ssirum* continue to draw huge spectator support throughout the nation. Another Korean sport that has gained worldwide following is *T’aekwondo*, which now has its place in the Olympics program. Moreover, amateur sports are also thriving and have large followings at all levels.

Today, a great number of sports and pastimes are offered countrywide. Skiing, hang gliding and scuba diving require special places, conditions and equipment in order to be performed. Ice skating, yachting and power boating, are a few of the seasonal activities which are enjoyed in Korea. However, regardless of the season, many Koreans find some outdoors activity in which to participate during their leisure-time. In the more temperate months, the mountains host multitudes of hikers and climbers in the areas accessible from the major urban centres, and likewise, the beaches with sunbathers and swimmers. For those who do not enjoy physical activities, there are cultural events to attend, such as art galleries, antique shops and many historical locales to visit.

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Libraries (see also under individual library)

Libraries have existed in Korea since ancient times. In the Koguryŏ kingdom, *t’aehak* (National Academy primarily attended by aristocrats) and *kyŏngdang* (schools for the common people) served both as educational institutions and textual repositories. With the unification of the Three Kingdoms, an increased interest in Chinese thought led to a greater need for libraries. Consequently, the Greater Shilla kingdom established Chin’gaksŏng as a
During early Koryo, marked advancement in printing technology made written material more accessible. Books and texts continued to be collected in royal archives such as Pisosong during King Songjong’s reign (981-997), and then Mundokchon, Chunggwangjon, Changnyongjon and Yonyongjon during King Sukchong’s reign (1095-1105). Ch’ongnyon’gak, Saru, Ch’onjanggak Imch’ongak and Munch’opso were established during Yejong’s reign (1105-1122) and Sojokso during Injong’s reign (1122-1146). Sukchong’s appears to have taken particular interest in his kingdom’s book repositories. In 1101, he personally inspected the Chunggwangjon and affixed a special seal on works from the collection. Texts were also kept in Buddhist monasteries. For example, copies of the Cho’jo taejanggyong, the first Koryo carving of the Buddhist canon, were stored at forty-four monasteries throughout the kingdom, including the An’guk, Kaeguk and Kukch’ong temples. When the woodblocks for the first edition were lost by fire, a second edition was prepared between 1236 and 1251. Here again, copies were distributed to the principal monasteries. These wooden printing blocks have survived and today are in safe-keeping at Haein Temple.

In early Choson, the royal textual archive, Changsogak, was located in the hall known as Chiphyonjon. Later, a new repository, Tungyonggak, was created inside the hall known as Hongmun’gwan. During the reign of Chongjo (1776-1800), the book repository Kyujanggak was created as part of the king’s encouragement of education.

As Korea opened to the West following the 1876 Treaty of Friendship, the nation’s library system was gradually redesigned along Western lines. Unlike the traditional royal collections or temple repositories which primarily served as archives for specialist study, the modern libraries aimed to make books available to the general public. Early libraries founded at this time include P’yongyang’s Taedong Sogwan as well as Seoul’s Tongji Munyeogwan and Soji Chongnamso. At this time, high schools and colleges were also active in creating modern libraries. With the Japanese occupation of Korea, the royal book collection was redistributed according to colonial policy. Some of the books were moved to libraries, and in 1930, 136 141 volumes were transferred to Keijó Imperial University in Seoul. Today, these works are kept at Seoul National University.

After liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, the steady increase in literacy rates necessitated further expansion of the nation’s library system.

Although there has been rather rapid expansion of libraries, Korean libraries lag behind their Western counterparts in terms of collection size and general availability of books. Primarily, they serve as large study halls for young students. Yet much is being done to give Korean libraries a more active role in promoting education for the general public. In addition to shelf collections of books and magazines, many libraries are setting up special collections for children and library facilities for the handicapped, as well as running book clubs and arranging public lectures.
Life in Corea

Life in Corea is a work which examines the prevailing conditions in Korea at the close of the nineteenth century. Its author is W. R. Carles, a British vice-consul. This 317-page book was published in 1888 by Macmillan and Company. Its content is based on the author’s eighteen-month stay in Korea, and its scope is limited to his experiences while living and travelling there. Aside from a chapter recounting the coup d’etat of 1884 (Kapshin Chōngbyŏn), the book does not elaborate on the way in which the Korean government was structured and operated at that time, and Korean social systems are also excluded. It does, however, give a valuable insight into the customs of the common people.
Literature

Introduction

Korean literature begins with old stories, songs, myths, legends, and history - a great variety of material that has survived from roughly the sixth c., in the Three Kingdoms period. Though the written records commence much later, in the twelfth and thirteenth c., with the History of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk sagi) and the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa) these later records include materials from earlier times that have been lost or destroyed in the centuries since, or materials that were transmitted through performance traditions.

Songs and other materials from the Koryo period, roughly the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, include rather earthy or bawdy examples; but again because the Korean vernacular materials were actually written down considerably later, after the promulgation of the Korean alphabet in the mid-fifteenth c., and most of them even later than that, in the various eighteenth-c. music anthologies, problems of ascription and dating abound. And matters are further complicated by the suspicion that it was precisely the more earthy Koryo songs that were selected by later generations of government officers to demonstrate the depravity of the earlier era. The Koryo period also witnessed more emphatically in terms of an actual written record a rapid increase in the composition of literary works in Classical Chinese, the language for authoritative, formal discourse - like Latin in the comparable period in Europe.

Soon after the founding of the new Choson dynasty in the late fourteenth c., the Korean phonemic alphabet in use today was invented and promulgated by King Sejong. Although the king’s ambitious goal of broad and general use of the alphabet was not realized until the early twentieth c. - in large part because of the solid resistance to the idea put up by the scholar-bureaucrat classes who recognized a threat to their Chinese-learning-based ascendancy - the Korean alphabet nevertheless did have broad and deep impact on the history of Korean literature. Korean prose, including journals and diaries, as well as the two principal vernacular verse forms, the shijo and the kasa, came to represent an alternative to Chinese-language written forms; and, especially for women and others barred customarily from access to Chinese literary training, the vernacular literary forms came to have a political as well as literary dimension.

Officials who, for factional reasons, had been banished from the government, composed shijo and kasa which voiced their complaints; members of the middle level of the official class who, for one reason or another found their careers blocked, might express their frustrations in a bit of allegorical verse, or at more length in a political protest tale such as The Tale of Hong Kiltong, a story about an accomplished male whose status as the son of a concubine made advancement impossible. Women, too, in Korean-language journals as well as such established literary verse forms as the kasa and shijo, expressed the difficulties of their lives in traditional society. The marginalized elements of traditional society employed the Korean language in effect to recover the narrative control of their histories.

Twentieth c. Korean literature has been and continues to be extremely politicized, as it was written on one side or the other of four major political issues: the late nineteenth c. modernization movement, and its questions of collaboration with foreign powers or complete self reliance; the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945, which raised and raises the issue of collaboration; the post-1945 division of Korea into northern and southern ideological regimes; and since the end of the Korean War in 1953, in South Korea the series of dictatorships, both civilian under Syngman Rhee, and military or quasi-military under Generals - later, Presidents - Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, and Roh Tae-woo. In North Korea until his death in the summer of 1994, Kim Il Sung had
continued to hold sway over a highly centralized, authoritarian Communist state which permitted the publication only of works dealing in prescribed ways with officially sanctioned subjects.

This politicization of its literature has created in Korea a shifting cast of heroic and villainous characters, not just on the page, but in the ranks of the authors who wrote on one perceived side or the other of such political positions. The novelist Yi Kwangsu, to cite just one prominent example, was arrested, put on trial, and threatened with jail after liberation for his pro-Japanese writings during the period of the occupation. The government which did this to him was headed by Syngman Rhee, who had spent the entire thirty-five years of the occupation in Hawaii, and had been brought back to Korea and installed as the head of the (southern) Republic by the American Army.

**Characteristics of Korean Literature**

Much as one might describe a new terrain as rocky and hilly, or flat and grass-covered, there are several characteristics of Korean literature that can be described for the reader. While the reader may then experience the satisfaction of recognizing the predicted features of the literary terrain, the process inherently is suspect in that one may see what one looks for, and what one looks for may be to a lesser or greater degree determined by various other considerations. For example, if it is averred that Korean literature displays a relish for the present, for the here and now, an enjoyment of the senses, and an appreciation of humour in many of its manifestations, one has stated something which is demonstrably true and also seems characteristic of Korean culture more generally. While such a formulation suggests at least an indirect relationship between culture and literary expression, at the same time it may provoke the suspicion that 'lively' or 'earthy' are readings of Korean culture constructed from an outside, economically privileged position as between Korea and the West. The colonialist rhetoric of nineteenth c. British discourse on India finds its counterpart in the late nineteenth and twentieth century Japanese discourse specifically intended to denigrate Korean culture vis-à-vis the Japanese modernization project.

Seizing more directly upon the issue of Korea as occupying a subaltern position, it can be noted that Korean literature through the end of the nineteenth c. was engaged in a process of negotiation with Chinese systems of legitimacy and authority. If written in Chinese, Korean literature negotiated its legitimacy in a number of ways: by invoking Chinese reign years, for example, or Chinese place names; or in a form of literary tribute journey, when Korean scholars travelled to China to study, circulate their works, and hope for Chinese recognition and legitimation. When written in the Korean language, Korean literature negotiated either implicitly or explicitly its removal from the Chinese linguistic and cultural system. Such works as the p’ansori narrative 'Tale of Ch’unhyang' make the relationship between the Chinese and Korean vernacular strands in Korean culture the main engine of the plot, as the heroine’s fate is to be caught between the two worlds, owing to her situation as the daughter of a kisaeng woman - the ferociously egalitarian, Mother Korea side of her nature - and a member of the yangban official class which would subject her to its hierarchical domination in the form of the unwanted sexual advances by the provincial governor.

The performance mode of transmission of Korean literature, especially up until the twentieth c. when Korean literature underwent a shift from its oral roots to a consumer-oriented, printed literary mode of production, is an intrinsic feature that is beginning to draw more scholarly attention. The performance mode of transmission shaped certain genres of Korean literature quite directly. The shijo verse form was sung to a standard melody; the kasa was recited; the p’ansori was both sung and spoken; traditional tales were retold; and Chinese texts were memorized and recited to mnemonic patterns that even today can be heard when members of the older generations read the newspapers. A characteristic element in the history of twentieth c. literature has been the exploration of
ways in which to become free of the patterns of performance, as for example in the verse innovations of Sowol Kim Chŏngshik in the 1920s, or the prose narrative experiments of Yi Kwangsu starting with his 'Heartless' published in 1917. At the same time, Korean writers have sought to recover the oral tradition in their work, on their own terms. The short story and novel writer Ch'ae Manshik made brilliant use of the p'ansori narrative style and voice in his works from the 1930s and 1940s, just as the poet Kim Chiha has done more recently in his political satires from the 1970s.

Currently the concept of han has drawn the attention of many of those who are studying Korean literature. The term is variously described as a sad or bitter resentment, a grudge, or regret, and the recurrent tone and subject of sadness and regret that runs through Korean literature from early times to the present is han. This sad, regretful, or resentful tone is said to embody and express the feelings of the Korean people toward the harried conditions in which they have lived - subject to foreign invasions and war, ancient and modern; to oppressive foreign influence and pressure, ancient and modern; and to recurrently oppressive government, historical and modern.

Korean literature has been and continues to be a contested zone. The Chinese side of it was monolithically male, the Korean vernacular side slightly less so. With women's issues currently attracting more attention, with the great changes that are occurring throughout Korean society at the present time, suddenly hundreds of examples of women's writings - personal diaries and court journals, and kasa, most notably - are being discovered, or rediscovered, and studied. The concept of popular culture, or more exactly, of the culture of the non-elites, became a matter of great interest in the 1970s. The study of Korea's past history began to look for more material about the life of the common people, rather than just the governing class. Minjung, the people, became a prefix to many of the movements of the 1970s: minjung religion, literature, history all fed into the stream of broadening democratization, which in turn was propelled at least in part by the growth in the later 1970s - when the per capita income level of South Korea overtook and passed that of the North - and increasingly, in the 1980s, of a consumer economy. Poems and stories about the world of work in the late 1970s were replaced by poems and stories from the world of work in the 1980s - notably the book of poems Dawn of Labour by Pak Nohae. Tremendous energy, challenging diversity of positions and views, and seriously contested struggles are characteristic of Korean literature through all of its span, and in the South, since 1945. The spectrum seems much narrower under the state ideology of North Korea, but much less is known at the present time.

The six articles that follow are intended to provide an introduction to Korean literature: oral literature, classical poetry and prose, modern poetry and prose, and Korean literature written in Chinese. The essays on classical and modern poetry have sought to describe the various genres through relatively brief descriptions of the forms, and then provide in selected translations and interpretive notes a sense of how the genres were used, who the representative authors were, and what are some of the interpretive issues in the study of these genres. The essays in classical and modern prose, oral literature, and literature in Chinese, in contrast, have sought to present a more narrative introduction to their subjects, with names, dates, selected titles and brief illustrative passages providing an overall map of the subject. In part this difference of approach is a reflection of the different materials: specific verse forms are more readily presented through description and representative texts, while prose invites a more discursive presentation. Such, at any rate, is the rationale which the authors have come to for their individual approaches to the task of presenting Korean literature in a few pages that still do some justice to its range and diversity.

(Nota bene: all translations, unless otherwise noted, are the work of the authors.)

David R. McCann
Composition in Classical Chinese

Koreans have written Chinese longer than there has been a Korea and Chinese was the written standard in Korea until the end of the nineteenth c. For close to two thousand years almost every aristocratic Korean male, as part of his normal schooling, studied and memorized exemplary specimens of Chinese prose and poetry and was later judged by his fellows on his ability to compose in such forms, himself. As the modern poet and translator of Chinese poetry by Koreans, Kim Jonggil has said, "Most scholars were poets and most poets were scholars." For these reasons the literary output of Koreans in Chinese until the end of the nineteenth c. far outweighed the volume of their work written in Korean.

We may easily surmise that some portion of the Korean peoples on the peninsula had acquired the use of Chinese during the time of the Four Han Commanderies (108 BCE - 313). In Yonggang-gun, North P'yŏngan Province, there remains a very old stone monument that honours the mountain spirit and offers sacrifice. It goes on to ask for gentle weather, successful farming, and freedom from thieves. A few initial characters of the inscription give the history of the monument and the words of prayer are grouped into four-character phrases. It is a fair semblance of established form for composition in Chinese. This monument is generally thought to have been erected in the year 85 CE. After Koguryŏ (37 BCE-668) drove the Han colonies out of the north, users of Chinese were able to penetrate well into the interior of the country and later, as a secondary effect, their influence reached across national borders to the southern states of Paekche (18 BCE-660) and Shilla (57BCE-935).

The ruling class that built the Three Kingdoms was a warrior aristocracy. They rode horses, shot arrows, and demonstrated superior power as they waged wars of conquest using iron weapons. But they became aware of the need for writing as they consolidated their control and developed a ruling system. Early writing in Chinese emerged as men knowledgeable in Chinese were selected and assigned to non-military tasks but their functions were new yet limited in many respects. Chinese writing was used in technical and practical applications, rather than the expression of ideology or the creation of literature.

As the ancient period of Korean literature came to an end, works of literature written in classical Chinese became the most important means of ideological expression and replaced nation-founding oral narrative poetry. The acts of accepting both a world religion - Buddhism - and the common literary language of an entire civilization - classical Chinese - moved Korea out of the ancient and into the medieval period, making of her - along with other peoples - a civilized country.

Greater Shilla Period (668-935)

Soon after the Three Kingdoms were unified by 668, having arrived at the stage where they had to foster the growth of scholar-officials who could apply Confucian learning to practical administration, Shilla's leaders set up a National Confucian College, which promoted the development of literature in classical Chinese. With the leadership of scholar-officials like the great Sŏl Ch'ŏng (ca. 660-730), the National Confucian College gave instruction in the Confucian classics, with a course of instruction designed to develop an understanding of the underlying principles of the Confucian canon and Chinese composition.

At the same time, other Korean students were going to the source, China, for a classical education. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (857-951?) is representative of those who went to Tang China, passed the government service examination for foreigners, and earned literary fame in China before returning to their Shilla homeland. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, from childhood, was
quick and sagacious and had a love of learning. His father, upon sending him to China at the age of twelve, told him, "If you cannot pass the government examinations there after ten years study, you are not my son." Ch'oe Ch'iwjón passed the examinations in the allotted time and embarked on an official career in China and made a name for himself through his compositions. It is said that his skill at embellishment in the parallel prose compositional style would move the reader to awe. The precedent set by Ch'oe Ch'iwjón's accomplishments inspired emulation by later generations.

For a while, Ch'oe Ch'iwjón did realize his most cherished desire of making a name for himself through writing. Though one might have expected him to find a secure position as a man of letters in Tang China, that was not to be. In works he left to posterity, Ch'oe Ch'iwjón, himself, revealed clearly that an impediment faced even the most talented, in that they could never become as Chinese as the Chinese, in spite of their best efforts. Only one who had lived in Chinese society could actually appreciate their stubborn exclusivity. We find that point expressed in Ch'oe Ch'iwjón's 'An Expression of My Feelings to the Minister of War'.

Who, in his homeland, 
   has pity for the foreigner?
Where is the crossing, I ask, 
   the crossing for me to take?
From the start I sought a livelihood 
   and never thought of profit;
It was only to honour my father 
   and not to benefit myself.

The grief of separation on the traveller's road 
   is the sound of rain upon a river;
The dream of returning to his homeland 
   is a spring too far away.
I crossed the waters and chanced to meet 
   with waves of benevolence and yet
If only I could wash ten years of dust 
   from the worldly chinstrap of my hat.

State of Parhae (698-926)

Shilla's unification of the Three Kingdoms actually left much of the northern territory in the hands of another power, a state called Parhae that extended as far north as the Songhua (Sungari) River in Manchuria. Eleven works by Parhae poets have been preserved in Japan and, with most being poems composed when their authors were visiting Japan, they are the fragmental products of happenstance. But they are, nevertheless, of uncontested value.

Among Parhae poets whose works and names are known to us one is Yang T'aesa. Though a military man, Yang T'aesa was skilled at writing poetry. There remain two poems by him, composed in 759 while assigned to Japan with the rank of vice-envoy. One of them is called 'Sound of Fulling Clothes Heard at Night', a reference to the custom of smoothing out - fulling - starched clothing by beating it with rounded mallets on a block of stone. In all, the poem consists of twenty-four seven-character lines, of which the first eight lines follow.

The moon shines in frosty heavens 
   and the Milky Way is bright;
In the traveller's homeward thoughts 
   lives a special kind of heart.
Weary sitting long at night,
when anxiety begins to fade;
Suddenly I hear the sound of
a neighbour woman fulling clothes.

The sound arrives in fits and starts
as it follows on the wind;
The night grows deep and stars incline
while it never stops for rest.
Ever since I left my homeland
I haven't heard it once;
And now I hear in a foreign land
a sound so much like home.

It would appear that this was written one night not long before Yang T'aesa was to complete his assignment and return home. Perhaps not anticipating the presence of others nearby, he is lost in lonesome heartache as he gazes at the sky beyond his window. Suddenly, the sound of fulling reaches his ears. But fulling is not a Japanese custom. "The sound (of fulling) arrives in fits and starts as it follows on the wind," the poet sings, as he employs both rhythm and imagination. In the section following the one quoted above, the poet lets his imagination conjure up the appearance of the woman, her tender body glowing with sweet perspiration as she does her heavy work.

Koryô Period (918-1392)

Chinese learning came into its own during the Koryô period when the Korean bearers of Chinese culture participated at the highest levels of government, after having been denied such access by the warrior-royalty of Shilla. Now the civil service examination system - the only route to an official career - was fully utilized to staff all levels of administration and was theoretically open to all freeborn men. Since the examinations stressed the classics of Chinese literature and Confucianism, aspirants were motivated to study such subjects; Chinese learning, hence, flourished.

Large works of fiction in Chinese did not appear in Korea until well into the Chosôn period, following, of course, their late appearance in China, itself. Therefore, the major genres of Chinese composition in Koryô times included history, poetry, criticism, essays, anecdotes, and biography. In addition to two histories of the Three Kingdoms period and private collections of miscellanea and belles-lettres, a major source of Chinese composition during the Koryô is the Anthology of Korean Writing (Tongmun_sôn; 1478), a collection in 133 volumes in 45 books (and later twice enlarged) of work from Shilla, Koryô, and early Chosôn.

Let us look at two writers of the early twelfth c., a poet and a historian, whose world views represent a fundamental tension of the Koryô period: a confrontation between the nativist 'P'yöngyang faction' who aligned themselves with the legacy of Koguryô, and the China-oriented 'Kaesöng faction', who were associated with the tradition of Shilla. In the poet Chông Chisang (?-1135) and historian Kim Pushik (1074-1151), we have figures who represent the two sides.

More than anything else, the theme of separation is most heavily emphasized in the songs of Chông Chisang that give voice to the sensibilities of the P'yöngyang people, for whom separation was a salient factor of P'yöngyang life. His 'Parting from Another' (Songin), a memorable quatrain of seven-character lines, sings of such separation.

The rain has passed and grass is lush along the river bank;
I sent you off at Namp'o, choking on a joyless song.
When could Taedong's waters ever be exhausted?
Tears of separation year by year are adding to its azure flow.

While Ch'ong Chisang, on the one hand, demonstrated his fluency in poignant and beautiful poetic language, Kim Pushik, on the other hand, expressed his aristocratic outlook in the structure and content of his History of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk sagi, 1145). While giving greater weight to the Confucian studies and classical Chinese writing that had been established in Shilla than to the independent spirit of the Koguryō nation, Kim Pushik boasted of the cultural level of the hereditary aristocracy of which he, himself, was an exponent.

The most notable section of the History of the Three Kingdoms, from the literary point of view, is its collection of biographies. It had been customary for histories to include biographies ever since the prototypal Historical Records (Shi ji) of China's Former Han dynasty. Kim Pushik chose to follow the Chinese model, which had already established the precedent of presenting a wide variety of human types in the biographies.

Another writer with a critical point of view was Yi Kyubo (1168-1241), whose many works help to define the literature of Koryŏ. Thought by some to have been Koryŏ's greatest man of learning, he is equally well known for both his poetry and his prose. His anthology, Collected Works of Korean Minister Yi (Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip), totals fifty-three volumes in fourteen books and is not only a treasure of literature but also valuable for the study of Korean history.

As an essayist, he wrote numerous brief but thought-provoking pieces that commented on both the world of men and the world of thought. A typical example, 'Of Boats and Bribes' (Churoe sŏl), combines humour and pithy comment on human affairs.

I was crossing over a certain river toward the south and there happened to be some people crossing in a boat beside ours. The size of the two boats was the same, the number of boatmen was the same, and even the number of people and horses on board was very similar. Then, when I looked again after a while, the other boat - speeding as though in flight - had already reached the other bank. But, contrarily, the boat on which I rode hung back and did not make headway.

When I asked the reason for this, someone in the boat answered me, saying, "That's because, in the other boat, they plied the boatmen with wine and so the boatmen rowed with all their might", he said.

I could not help but feel chagrined and sighed to myself,

"Ah, if speed and placement of this little boat depend upon the presence or absence of a bribe, then what of the competition for official appointment? When I think how little money I have to my name, it seems understandable why I have thus far been unable to land even a single low-level post!" I said.

I record this with a mind to future reference.

Yi Kyubo is also well known for his lengthy work of narrative poetry, the Epic of King Tongmỳông. (Tongmỳông-wang p'yŏn), which retells the myth of Chumong, who had become King Tongmỳông, founder of Korguryŏ. Particularly noteworthy are his opening comments, which assert the independent dignity of the Korean tradition.

The mysterious tales of King Tongmỳông are so well known that even ignorant men and simple women can tell them. When I first heard them I laughingly remarked that the sage Confucius did not speak of prodigies, feats of strength, disorders, or spirits, and since the
stories of King Tongmyŏng were obviously exaggerated fantasies, they ought not to be repeated. Later on, in the fourth moon of 1193 I obtained a copy of the old Samguk-sa and saw that the account of King Tongmyŏng given there included more marvels even than the oral tradition. I still could not believe what I thought were false and illusory legends; but after mulling them over several times, I came round to thinking that they were not illusory, but holy; not false, but spiritual; and that if our national history was to be written properly, they could not be ignored. (Translation by Richard Rutt)

Two notable Buddhist monks of the thirteenth c. made lasting contributions to the development of Korean literature. Iryŏn (1206-1289) compiled Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa; ca. 1285) and Ch'ungji (1226-1292) was a major contributor of poetry in Chinese on a wide range for topics from Sŏn (Zen) Buddhism to the sufferings of the peasantry.

While Kim Pushik's History of the Three Kingdoms represents the official view of the Koryŏ court on the history of Shilla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche, Iryŏn's Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms is an unofficial compilation that takes a freer view. Iryŏn covers a longer stretch of history than did Kim Pushik - sometimes extending even into the the Koryŏ period - and incorporates many diverse materials, including legends, folk tales, nation-founding myths, foundation tales of Buddhist temples, and the miracles of noted monks.

Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms, even from its opening, subtly criticizes the History of the Three Kingdoms. Iryŏn questions Confucian rationalism by asking how one can think it reasonable for ancient nation-founding culture heroes of China to receive mysterious tokens and regalia and accomplish great undertakings but, at the same time, reject as tales of 'mysteries, prodigies, perversities, and demons' the colourful founding mythology of the Korean people, as did Kim Pushik.

The elimination of historical references to Buddhism in the History of the Three Kingdoms was another a great dissatisfaction for him. Whereas the cultural stream in which the Koryŏ people took pride began in ancient myth and extended through Buddhism, Iryŏn undertook his own compilation with the attitude that little that is Korean can be left when these two are discarded.

The Buddhist monk Ch'ungji stands apart for his social awareness and is unlike other Buddhist Sŏn poets of the Koryŏ period, who left no significant social commentary. This is expressed in his stinging indictments of the Koryŏ and Mongol (Yuan) governments for their horrific misuse of the Koryŏ peasantry in their frantic campaigns to prepare men and materiel for the two abortive invasions of Japan, attempted in 1274 and 1281, while Koryŏ was under Mongol domination.

Witnessing the impact of these events on the lives of the peasantry, Ch'ungji stepped forward to give voice to his conscience, while other men of letters kept their agony to themselves. The result was a long poem in which he described the wretched scene in 1280 of dragooned corvée labour -worse than 1274 by 'one hundred fold' - as Yfuan officials came parading down to the south to supervise war preparations. As this heavy labour stretched on for three long years, even farmers were pressed into service as boatmen and life was made unliveable for those whose homes were by the coast. And, while survivors were being rounded up as soldiers to be sent off in the expedition, Ch'ungji described the dreadful sight he saw. Nonetheless, political exigencies obliged him to append a final stanza in praise in the Yuan Emperor.

The Wretched Sight of Yongnam in Twenty-four Verses - Written in 1280 During the Construction of Warships for the Subjugation of the East

At the wretched sight of Yongnam,
I try to speak but tears precede my words.  
In southern provinces they make matériel,  
And at three mountain sites, the ships of war.  
Corvées of war increase one hundred fold,  
And heavy labour stretches three long years.

Levies and demands press on them like comets,  
And thunderous commands are sent to them.  
Mongol envoys continue visits without pause,  
And generals are streaming from the capital.  
With all the able-bodied ganged and tied,  
Does any back escape the whip?

While visitors are being welcomed as usual,  
Movement of matériel continues day and night.  
Neither ox nor horse with sound back left;  
And the people, when will their shoulders ever rest?  
At icy dawn they go to pick the mountain arrowroot  
And, treading the moon, return with reeds they’ve cut.

Deckhands are levied from the furrows they once tilled,  
And helmsmen are enlisted in the coastal towns.  
They pick up conscripts and put them into armour,  
Take young braves as porters for their spears.  
They only press them harder all the time;  
How could they forgive a momentary delay?

Their wives fall to the ground in tears  
And parents lift their wails to Heaven.  
Having seen the bounds of this world and the next,  
How can they hope to keep life and breath intact?  
Left behind are just the elders and the children,  
Who struggle on but still are vexed and worried.

In every county, half the houses are abandoned;  
In every village, all the fields lie still.  
Whose house is there that isn't desolate?  
What place is there that isn't cursed?  
The taxes of the yamens are not easy to avoid  
And how can the military draft be lessened?

Sickness and injury only worsen by the day,  
How will they recover from exhaustion and disease?  
Every task they touch can only be endured with wailing  
And as for life itself - how truly pitiful it is!  
Even if they know the harshness of survival,  
How can they appeal? There is no place to remonstrate.

The emperor’s virtue o’erspreads them like blue heaven  
And imperial radiance o’erhangs them like white sun.  
If the untaught people can only wait a little while,  
The imperial benevolence will surely be proclaimed.  
Then go look within the provinces of the south:  
In every house they sleep on pillows of peaceful rule.
Yi Chehyon (1287-1367) is representative of a comparatively productive generation that emerged in Koryo's last century. Yi Chehyon's writings are too voluminous to be described in simple terms but, taken as a whole, they show two orientations - either toward his experiences in Yuan China or toward his home country of Koryo. When King Ch'ungsön went to Yuan to build a library called the 'Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes' in the capital city of Yanjing, Yi Chehyon accompanied him and associated on an equal footing with leading Yuan scholars. He took pride in his ability to write polished and metrically correct poems in Chinese styles that were thought impossible for non-Chinese to master. Nevertheless, his heart was always with Koryo and he was greatly concerned with the changing political situation in his homeland. From time to time in his travels he would reveal in his poetry his keen yearning to get back to Koryo.

Floating around in this tiny boat, I ask
what am I to do about my heart?
Who said that those within the Four Seas
could all be brothers?
Once I hear the cry of wild geese,
I yearn for news from afar;
Whenever I see the homing birds,
I lament my toilsome life.

A distressing autumn rain envelopes
the trees at Qingshen, and
In the falling sun clouds cut across
the Baidi Fortress.
I have learned too well that water-shield soup
is far better than goat's milk gruel;
There is no need for me to ask Jun Ping
whether I shall stay or go!

In this poem called 'Thoughts of Returning' (Sagwi), Yi Chehyon reveals his desire to return to Koryo. He travels up the Yangtze River on a boat that passes the village of Qingshen and arrives in the vicinity of Baidi Fortress, where the last emperor of Shu Han died, a broken man, unable to realize his dream of unifying China. Tormented by thoughts of the ordeals of his own king back home in Koryo Yi Chehyon cannot pass off this scene lightly. The 'distressing autumn rain' and 'falling sun' serve basically to reflect the poet's sad heart. He far prefers the humble soup made back home from a pond weed called 'water-shield' to the goat's milk gruel then popular in Mongolized Yuan and he knows that he has no need to ask a fortune-teller like the famous Jun Ping whether he would remain longer in Yuan or go home to Koryo.

Next came the generation that included Yi Saek (1328-1396). Yi Saek furthered the line of thought adopted by his teacher, Yi Chehyon, and emerged as the teacher to another generation. Not only did his own scholastic and creative writing represent a considerable level of achievement, but he trained many disciples, who were able to establish a new spirit in thought and literature and thus exert a profound influence on later Koreans.

He passed the government examination, became a Literary Licentiate at the age of fourteen, and was then accepted at Songgyungwan, the national Confucian Academy. Later, he went to China, where he passed the Chinese government examination and received official appointment. In his forties, he returned to Korea and participated in the government of Koryo, at the same time promoting the Neo-Confucian philosophy which he had studied while in China. Later critics believed that Neo-Confucianism became strongly established in Koryo on the strength of Yi Saek's teaching.

Among Yi Saek's poems are many that sing of popular customs, such as 'Visiting an
Exorcism' (Kunahaeng) and 'A Rockfight on Tano Day' (Tano sŏkchŏn); and still others make use of popular adages for their materials. In a number of single-stanza poems - like 'Silk-raising Woman' (Chambu), 'Woodcutters' (Ch’odong), 'Farmer' (Nongbu), and 'Fisherman' (sObu) - Yi Saek depicts in concrete terms the hard life of the labouring masses.

Chosŏn Period Literature

The shift in government policy away from support of Buddhism and toward Neo-Confucianism was deeply related to the development of Korean literature written in Chinese. The examination system became the only route to official appointment and aristocrats were encouraged to devote themselves to study in preparation for the examinations. The content of the examinations obliged Confucian students to master the Four Books and Five Classics for the Classics Licentiate Examination and such Chinese literary forms as shī poetry, rhyme prose (tū), documentary prose (biao), and the problem essay (ce) for the Literary Licentiate Examination. These requirements generated a nation-wide infrastructure of preparatory schools ranked in several levels. Following upon this beginning, literature in Chinese in all genres flourished in Korea for the five hundred years of the Chosŏn period and can be organized into the three periods of early (1392-1506), middle (1506-1720), and late (1720-1910).

1. Early Period (1392-1506)

Even though this was a transitional period in the institutional life of the country, literature in Chinese continued to develop unabated with the protection and encouragement of the government. Most representative of literary people during the early period of Chosŏn were Chŏng Tojŏn (1337?-1398), Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409), and Sŏ Kŏjong (1420-1488). The fervently anti-Buddhist Chŏng Tojŏn was a disciple of the great Neo-Confucian Koryŏ scholar, Yi Saek. Although he passed the civil service examinations under the Koryŏ government, he became a close supporter of Yi Songgye, the founder of Chosŏn, for which he was favoured and well rewarded as a 'Dynastic Foundation Merit Subject'. Nevertheless, he was later executed in the course of a power struggle that brought Taejong, the third king, to the throne. Not only was he talented at letters and a leader in the promotion of Neo-Confucian thought, but he also compiled the Administrative Code of Chosŏn (Chosŏn kyŏngguk chŏn) and contributed to the compilation of the Six Codes of Governance (Kyŏngje yukchŏn). Thus, in addition to being a man of literature, this multi-talented person was also a scholar, statesman, and philosopher.

Kwŏn Kŭn was a disciple of the politically powerful late Koryŏ statesman, Chŏng Mongju. He passed the examinations at the age of eighteen in the last years of Koryŏ and accepted official appointment but, on the eve of Koryŏ's collapse, forsook his post and retired to the countryside. Later, at the invitation of Chosŏn founder Yi Songgye, he emerged to serve in a number of posts ending up with the senior rank of Academician. Looking back from his late sixteenth-c. vantage-point, the noted scholar and writer Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618) remarked that the literary accomplishments of Chŏng Tojŏn and Kwŏn Kŭn were so high that they set long-term standards of value.

Sŏ Kŏjong, who held the tenured rank of Academician for twenty-six years, was not only a man of great erudition but was also an exemplar in Chinese composition - so much that men of letters continued to regard him as a model even until the waning years of the dynasty. Among his many works two shining monuments are Remarks on Poetry by Koreans (Tongin shihwa, 1474) and the massive Anthology of Korean Literature (Tongmun sŏn).

The field of literary criticism in this early period was defined by Sŏ Kŏjong's Remarks on Poetry by Koreans. In addition to the anecdotes surrounding the composition of notable poetry, Sŏ Kŏjong's work also contains commentaries on specific works of past poets that
constitute full-blown literary criticism. And his Anthology of Korean Literature, as a collection of the best writing from Shilla to early Chosŏn, is esteemed as a critical consolidation of Chinese literature by Koreans through early Chosŏn.

Prose of this period showed much development over that of previous times. Many works appeared with a considerable range of content including remarks on poetry (shihwa), amusing anecdotes (sohwa), fiction (sosol), and authentic precedents (chŏng'go). However, of all the works composed in this era, the most noteworthy would be New Tales from Mount Kŭmŏ (Kŭmŏ shinhwā) by Kim Shisŭp (1435-1493). The appearance of Kim Shisŭp’s New Tales is considered an epochal event because the work broke away from the limitations of legend and tale and encroached upon the territory of fiction.

2. Middle Period (1506-1720)

Many regard the middle of the Chosŏn period as the golden age of Chinese literature in Korea. In particular, the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) was noted for the number of literary people who poured forth, even in the face of the devastating invasions of 1592 and 1597 by the Japanese warlord Hideyoshi. With a series of monarchs who supported literature as part of an official policy that favoured Confucianism, Chinese learning and literature continued to develop in spite of the unfortunate series of purges that marred the political and cultural scene.

Literary activity during the middle period differed from the early period in several respects. The literary composition of verse and prose became separated from Confucian studies, people began to specialize in either prose or poetry, and the favoured Chinese influence shifted from Song dynasty poetry to that of the Tang dynasty. That this was a period when writers began to specialize in prose or poetry is not to say that earlier men of letters were uniformly proficient at both. But, since most did not emphasize one over the other, the better writers were more likely to be equally skilled at both prose and poetry. Nevertheless, among the most prominent writers of the day, Ch’a Ch’ŏllo (1556-1615) and Kwŏn P’il (1569-1612), were famous for their poetry and Ch’oe Ip (1539-1612) was better known for his prose than his poetry.

Ch’oe Ip was a leading man of letters in his day. He passed first in the examinations at the age of twenty. Because he would never release a composition until he had rewritten the manuscript many times, people would rush to memorize his words when they did appear. Although Ch’oe Ip was also skilled at poetry, the verdict of later critics is that he was, first and foremost, a master of prose.

Ch’a Ch’ŏllo had a formidable talent that earned him critical praise. He once boasted that, if he papered the Great Wall of China and started to write a poem, he would run out of wall before he did poetry. He also claimed that once, on a visit to Japan, he wrote four or five thousand poems in the space of a single day.

Kwŏn P’il never gained rank. By nature unrestrained, he did not fawn before the powerful but satirized the political scene of his day. For this behaviour he was sent into exile, where he died. For him, poetry was not a means of advancement, nor was it a way to enjoy leisure hours: it was a demanding search for the truth in life. He said, "Beauty is not the only thing of value in poetry; in order to create poetry one must understand both basic philosophical principles and the nature of humankind."

Chinese literature in Korea was under the influence of Chinese literature, itself. During late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn the dominant influence came from Song dynasty poetry but this middle period of Chosŏn saw changes in preferences. After two hundred years of modeling their poetry on Su Shi (1063-1101) and his disciple Huang Tianjian (1045-1105) of the Song, a swing toward the Tang dynasty was led by the efforts of poets like Paek
Kwanghun (1537-1582), Ch'oe Kyŏngch'ang (1539-1583), and Yi Tal (1539-1612), who became known as the Three Tang Poets of Korea (samdang p'a shin). The most famous of the Three Tang Poets was Yi Tal. He was a superior poet but, because of his illegitimate birth, he could not rise in the world and, therefore, spent his life a wanderer. Nevertheless, his poetry earned wide praise.

In addition to men of letters known for their prose and poetry, there were also many talented writers among those men who devoted their lives to the worlds of government and scholarship. Four very prominent representatives, known collectively as the Four Great Masters (sadaega), are Yi Chŏnggu (1564-1635), Shin Hŭm (1566-1628), Yi Shik (1584-1647), and Chang Yu (1587-1638).

Yi Chŏnggu (1564-1635) was active throughout and after the period of the Hideyoshi invasions of the 1590s and, taking it upon himself to demonstrate the worth of the pure and correct Chinese composition of the ruling elite, was revered as the eldest of a group known as the Four Masters of Chinese Prose. During the Hideyoshi invasions, when it was mistakenly thought in Ming China that the Koreans had brought the invasions on themselves, Yi Chŏnggu composed a memorial to the Chinese emperor clarifying the facts and arguing that the view was baseless. As a result he earned considerable fame in both China and Korea. Although out of favour for a while during the reign of King Kwanghae-gun (r. 1608-1623), he was brought back because of his diplomatic ability and effective Chinese composition. Yi Chŏnggu was recognized for demonstrating the utility and persuasiveness of prose but critics found him short in native ability and elegant brevity and felt his compositions lacking in organization.

Shin Hŭm was a man who had what Yi Chŏnggu lacked. Shin Hŭm also served in diplomacy during the years of the Hideyoshi invasions, spent a long time in exile during the reign of Kwanghae-gun, and received important appointments under Injo, rising to Academician and then Chief State Councilor. He was highly praised for his exemplary composition in the natural 'ancient style', as opposed to the artificial 'parallel prose' style.

Yi Shik passed the examinations during the reign of Kwanghae-gun but opted for self-rustication until Injo ascended the throne. Like the other Four Great Masters, he also served in major posts including Academician and Minister. Yi Shik specialized in prose composition that was artfully shaped and was praised as the pinnacle of the classic 'ancient style'.

Although Chang Yu could not devote himself wholly to the pursuit of literature, he went further than Yi Shik in his support of the independence and purity of literature. In fact, he believed most firmly of the Four Great Masters that their prose style should be widely accepted as a model of composition.

3. Late Period (1720-1910)

Qualitative improvement of Korean literature in Chinese during the late period was comparatively slow compared to the middle period. Early in the period, the newly-emerged, reality-based school of Practical Learning (Shirhak) attacked Neo-Confucianism as doctrinaire and Chinese poetry as unproductive; and, by the end of this period, new cultural influences from Western Europe were undermining the cultural development of Asia as a whole. Not that Chinese literature in Korea was stagnant at the time, for Chinese learning became more widely disseminated than at any time before and the ability to compose Chinese poetry became a cultural requirement even among the country gentry. Moreover, in a phenomenon difficult to perceive in earlier periods, many talented poets were emerging from the commoner class.

In a social development that had its origins in the middle of the seventeenth c., people of
common origins - technical officials, petty clerks, descendants of secondary wives, merchants, and other commoners - emerged as a distinct social class. These townsmen were called yōhangin or wihangin, terms that refer to people who live 'within the gates' and the people 'of the lanes'. Although the Chinese hansi poetry they wrote was not all that different from the hansi that literati wrote, they called their hansi 'folk songs' (p'ungyo) in the proud belief that they had created a 'townsman literature' that was distinct from literati literature.

Although the townsman earlier had no choice but to suffer lives of suppression, their circumstances changed in the late Choson period. When the literati who were not from politically powerful lineages slipped into ruin and the class system began to come apart as commerce developed, townsman went into commerce and amassed wealth. They were gaining a position that made the fallen literati seem unimportant to them; indeed, some townsman thought themselves scholars and even established direct connections with the ruling lineage elite. These circumstances altered the scope of literature in no small way.

Townsmen not only emulated the literati by publishing collections of poetry but, moreover, they also pioneered new writing based on life's realities. They limited themselves by restricting their interests to literature in Chinese and by making no effort toward a commercial literature that could attract a broad range of readers. However, it is certainly notable that they did justify an expansion in the bearers of literature by arguing that everybody was equipped with the ability to produce literature. They fixed upon a literature that sought meaning in life through personal reflection rather than self-advancement through the examinations.

The movement on the part of townsman to collect and publish their poetry dates from the palace slave Choe Kinam (1586-1665), who edited Miscellaneous Songs of Six Poets (Yukka chabyōng; 1668). It enjoyed much expansion in the next century with the publication of Folksongs of a Peaceful Reign (Sodae p'ungyo), edited principally by Ko Shiōn (1671-1734) and Ch'ae P'aengyun (1669-1731) and published in 1737 with introductory remarks contributed by the literatus and poet O Kwangun (1689-1745) among several others. This book marked the starting point for a series of three such anthologies, published at sixty-year intervals (also in 1797 and 1857), ultimately containing the works of one hundred sixty-two townsman poets.

In his introduction, O Kwangun remarks, 'There are those who say that literati go after fame and townsman go after fortune but the world has changed and now townsman endeavour with poetry, forsaking fortune and valuing fame.' Ko Shiōn, as a translator who specialized in Chinese, was a leader of townsman literature in his day. In his collection he remarks that poems by people of low status are in touch with the songs of the masses and that it is therefore proper to refer to them as 'folksongs'.

The most active men of letters during this period - all exponents of the Practical Learning school - include Pak Chiwōn (1737-1805) and his followers Yi Tōngmu (1741-1793), Yu Tükkong (1749-1807), Pak Chega (1750-1805), and Yi Sōgu (1754-1825). Especially noteworthy for his poetry is Shin Wi (1769-1847).

Pak Chiwōn was born into an illustrious family but did not sit for the government examinations nor receive any useful education in his youth. What made a difference for him was the opportunity to visit Qing dynasty China with an elder relative and see first hand the changes in China resulting from the influence of Western science and technology. He wrote an account of his travels and experiences, called Jehol Diary (Yörhā ilgi). 'Jehol' is the old name for an area of China lying between Korea and the Chinese capital, now called Chengde.

Pak Chiwōn's journal is unlike any other travel journal in both structure and expression.
While maintaining a balance between fact and fiction, his eclectic writing style has long been regarded quite singular for its startling technique that employs a variety of narrative viewpoints. This complex and many-sided work defies literary classification. His travel experiences and the many anecdotes related to his journey include matters of his own direct observation, stories heard from others, and incidents fabricated for needs of the moment. Some of the anecdotes like 'The Story of Master Hō (Hō-saeng chōn) and 'A Tiger’s Rebuke' (Hojil) could stand alone. Introduced as a story Pak Chiwŏn heard from another, 'The Story of Master Hō' is about the attempt by an impecunious scholar to shake up the economy of the entire country; and 'A Tiger’s Rebuke', copied from a manuscript he found on his journey, exposes the hypocrisy of a respected Confucian scholar.

Although he did not devote much energy to the writing of verse, his poetry, like his prose, was stamped with his own peculiar style and expression, earning him recognition for its considerable quality.

An old man, who would shoo the birds,
was sitting on the southern ridge;
From ears of millet that drooped like dog tails
dangled yellow sparrows.
Farm hands, both old and young
were all out in the fields;
From dawn to dusk the farmers’ houses
were latched tight even in the day.

A kite swoops down upon a chick
and makes a grab but misses, then
The flock of chickens fuss and cackle
by the fence where pumpkins bloom.
The young wife, basket on her head,
pauses, about to cross the stream;
And a little child, with his yellow dog,
hurries after her.

This Chinese poem composed in seven-character lines is called 'Farmhouse' (Chŏn'ga). With its life-like description of farm life - as if seen with the eye - his poem brings to mind the paintings of everyday life that were so popular in Korea at the time. However, in his poetry, Pak Chiwŏn does not engage in the same bold experiments that characterize his prose but, rather, takes an approach with just the right degree of eclecticism.

Yi Tŏngmu (1741-1793), Yu Tükkong (1749-1807), Pak Chega (1750-1805), and Yi Sŏgu (1754-1825) followed the lead of Pak Chiwŏn and all became equally famous, particularly for their poetry. When Yu Tükkong’s uncle, Yu Yŏn, went to Qing China in 1776, he compiled a collection of poetry by the still-young four poets and published it there with his introduction recounting praise for the verse of the young Koreans by Qing men of letters. The collection was originally published as Collected_Poetry_from_Korean_Visitors (Han'gaek kŏnyŏn chip) but later became customarily known as Poetry_of_the_Four_Masters (Saga shi), on the basis of a reference in the introduction to the four poets as the 'four masters'.

Since Yi Tŏngmu’s poems bring one close to the heart of Korean land and life and let one see into the hearts of Korean men and women, Pak Chiwŏn dubbed them 'folksongs of Korea'. Yi Tŏngmu's poetry maintains the original rhythm and tone of hanshi and, since it is rich in picturesque expression, it also gets close to the mores of his times. As one example, we have the following 'On a Farmhouse' (Che chŏnsa).

Beside a pile of cast-off bean shucks
the lonely path divides;
A red sun rises and slowly spreads,
scattering the herded cows.
So blue and green they seem as dyed-
the distant peaks that bring us fall;
So fresh that I would drink from them-
the clouds that follow after rain.
Shadows of the dancing reeds
give the watching goose a start;
To sounds of cold wind in the rice,
the spotted bass kick up a fuss.
I'd like to move to the mountain's south
but as for thatch to cut
I'll have to ask the old man farming there
to let me share a half.

Although Yu Tükkong was not so productive as Yi Tŏngmu, he was more significant because of the breadth of his concerns and the range of materials he incorporated in his poetry. He devoted himself to an understanding of the history of the Korean people and, in this spirit, toured the sites of many Korean capitals of the past. The upshot was a forty-three-stanza narrative poem, 'A Poetic Reminiscence of Twenty-one Capitals' (Ishibil to hoego shi). Identifying some twenty-one capital sites from Tan'gun's Old Chosŏn to the state of Koryŏ, he demonstrates his intention to explore every forgotten byway as he covers even minor states of the Three Han and Three Kingdoms periods like Kammun (North Kyŏngsang), Usan (today's Ullu<ng Island off the east coast), and Tamna (Cheju Island). His history is not just the history of the victors. He deliberately breaks away from a point of view that favours only the orthodox and adopts a relativistic appraisal of culture.

Even though the nineteenth c. was a time of social and political disquiet, Korean literature in classical Chinese produced one man whom some critics regard as the best Korean poet in Chinese of all time. The man was Shin Wi (1769-1847). Kim T'aegyŏng (1850-1927) - one of the last great scholar-officials in the orthodox tradition - summed up Shin Wi's accomplishments, saying, "With divine exhilaration, Shin Wi's poetry races like proud steeds that piaffe and curvet; a poet endowed with the stuff of all creation, he was the foremost master of Chosŏn's five hundred years."

Shin Wi composed some four thousand poems, a large corpus of work, and his topics and themes are quite varied. He shows his concern for the hardships of the common people in poetry like his fifty-poem collection, Miscellany (Chapsŏ), and the twelve stanzas of his 'Quatrains Upon Seeing a Drama' (Kwan'gŭk chŏlgu), written after seeing a performance of p'ansori oral narrative, provide valuable materials for understanding the new arts of his day. His forty poems collected under the title, 'Short Popular Lyrics' (So_akpu), being Chinese translations of Korean shijo verse, constitute a representative work of its sort. In 'Critical Quatrains on Korean Poets' (Tongin_nonshi_chŏlgu) he presents thirty-five critical quatrains about Chinese poetry by generations of Koreans. This gives evidence that he raised the edifice of his works on a foundation inherited from the full range of the Korean literature that had preceded him.

Shin Wi centred the world of his works on a core of poetry that reached the very pinnacle of sensual elegance. He equipped himself with all the essentials of the aristocratic arts and was lauded as a triple threat - skilled not only in poetry and calligraphy, but in painting as well. He invests his compositions with a sense of scenery such as that found in great painting. He makes maximum use of antithesis and keeps an eye on the delicate harmonies and contrasts that one sees and feels through the sense of colour. But neither his materials nor his expression is gaudy. An example would be the following 'Watching the Moon at a Fishing Place':

848
Rolling waters, moon above the waves;
    Mottled cover, frost between the leaves:
Frost dazzles like another moon and
    Sinks together into endless seas of mist.
In the fishing place, a single boulder,
    Rests within the middle of the waters:
Not knowing whether night is deep or shallow,
    We slowly watch our shadows lengthen.

But there was more to life in Korea in the middle of the eighteenth c. than simply indulging oneself in poetry that reaches for the utmost in sensual beauty. Those aware of the changes of the times had to be on their guard. The louder the outcry of criticism against the ruling system, the more crucially important it became to secure the norms of classical writing.

Composition in classical Chinese, although based upon a foreign writing system, was used to express the thoughts and feelings of Koreans for more than one thousand years and reached its high-water mark during the reign of King Sŏnjo in the late sixteenth c. But, following upon the introduction of Western European culture, the awakening of the masses, and the growing popularity of Korea’s own alphabetic script, the fortunes of Chinese began to ebb. Over the course of the twentieth c. with industrialization and urbanization, new generations of Koreans have found Chinese increasingly irrelevant in their lives. Korean literature has become a literature in Korean.

Marshall R. Pihl

Classical Poetry

Earliest Native Song, the Hyangga

The earliest examples of Korean vernacular song, poetry, or verse, the hyangga ('native song') were gathered in two major collections from the Three Kingdoms, Greater Shilla, and early Koryŏ periods. There are eleven hyangga collected in the Life of Master Kyunyŏ (Kyunyŏ chŏn) a biography of a Buddhist monk which includes eleven of his devotional hymns. The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa), the thirteenth-c. compilation by the Buddhist monk Iryŏn, contains fourteen examples. All other sources referred to in these two collections and in the twelfth-c. History of the Three Kingdoms, or Samguk sagi, by Kim Pusik, have evidently been lost or destroyed in the intervening centuries. Most notably missing in the Samdaemok, a ninth-c. anthology of songs and poems mentioned in Samguk yusa, and thought to have contained approximately one thousand hyangga texts.

Historical attention to the hyangga was further attenuated by the circumstance of their being Korean rather than Chinese-language compositions. All of the hyangga texts are to be found embedded in Chinese-language narratives, and because the preferred language for formal compositions until the very end of the nineteenth c. was, indeed, Chinese, the hyangga and scholarly study of them remained buried in the Chinese. Not until Ch’oe Namsŏn’s 1928 edition of the Samguk yusa did that particular, folk-oriented compilation reach much of an audience. It should be noted, though, that Ch’oe’s interest was strongly nationalistic, part of the program of cultural nationalism pursued by Korean scholars to recover elements of the Korean cultural past with which to refute Japanese colonialist claims that there was none.

Yet even granted the seemingly pre-eminent esteem given to Chinese culture in pre-twentieth-c. Korea, the very survival of the hyangga may serve to underscore certain
aspects of Korean literary and cultural history. First, despite the privileging of Chinese language and culture, 'Korea' has always exhibited a deliberate selectivity regarding things Chinese which has on repeated occasions made clear the distinction between Chinese and Korean culture, and the consequent, practical need to assess the applicability of Chinese models for Korean adaptive use. At the same time, like any other culture and people, 'Korea' has also displayed a commitment to the view that its own, indigenous qualities as a culture were worthy of attention and preservation.

From such a complex and nuanced attitude came, among other creations, the script known as hyangch'al. Using Chinese written characters, Korean scholars in the ninth c. devised a complex method to write down the Korean language. Some characters were used for their meanings, but spoken as Korean words just, for example, Arabic numerals are used in modern languages. Other characters were used to indicate grammatical meanings, such as the past tense, or the possessive case. Still others were used for their phonetic values only, to represent Korean language syllables having no necessary connection to the Chinese character meaning. This last also happens to be the basis for the Japanese hiragana syllabary, derived from simplified Chinese written characters.

The hyangch'al system made it possible to record Korean-language texts, and it is in this system that we now find Korean-language songs recorded with Chinese characters in the very middle of Chinese language texts, the Samguk yusa and Life of Master Kyuny6. The twenty-five songs so recorded are the hyangga. Among the twenty-five there are hyangga of four, eight, and ten lines in length. The themes of the hyangga range from Buddhist (18 of 25) to the relationship between ruler and subject (2), between man and woman (2), between friends (2), and 'other' (1). The putative composers of these songs include Buddhist monks or believers (18), hwarang knights (3), and others (4).

While the total of only twenty five songs may seem a pitifully small residuum to be called Korea's 'ancient songs', given the exigencies already noted in recording and transmission of the songs, and furthermore, Korea's own precarious history, including the devastating series of major invasions by the Mongols, Japanese, and Manchu peoples (during which the destruction or theft of cultural objects became epidemic practice), the hyangga, few in number yet registering a distinctly Korean voice, and an attitude in several instances of almost saucy savoir faire toward the awesome manifestations of religious, spirit, or ritual power they engage, seem a particularly apt precursor to Korea's literary and cultural history in the ensuing millennium.

A Hyangga Sampler

'Södong's Song'

Princess Sõnhwa
Has found a secret love.
At night she is in the arms
Of Master Mattung.

This four-line love song is recorded in the fifty-sixth chapter, Book Two of Samguk yusa. The chapter describes how King Mu of Paekche sought to marry Princess Sõnhwa of Shilla by going to the Shilla capital, teaching the children of the city to sing this song, and then waiting for the royal family to expel the dishonoured princess. According to the story, the trick worked; Master Mattung, also known as Södong in the story, the childhood name of King Mu, met Sõnhwa on the outskirts of town and took her back to the Paekche capital as his bride.

Like much of the rest of the Samguk yusa, the story of Sõnhwa and Södong is a
fascinating, compressed treasure-trove of cultural and historical information. King Mu ruled Paekche during the seventh c.; Princess Sŏnhwa was the fourth daughter of King Chinp'yŏng of Shilla. A quite different Paekche King, Tongsŏng (479-501) did in fact marry a Shilla princess in 493. Despite what seem to be concatenations of various reigns and events, through all of its curious additional details about sweet potatoes, mountains of gold nuggets, and Sŏdŏng’s trick with the song, the story may well reflect a Paekche effort to shore up its defenses against Shilla by establishing a marriage alliance. The story also reflects a more general pattern of marriage practice in which the groom travels to the bride’s house for the first night, then brings her home to his house where she will live for the rest of her life.

The song works as a clever piece of trickery in the story, but in another context with different names, it might well be any group’s teasing song about someone else who might — or might not — have a secret, sweet affection for someone.

'Distant Air'

We come we come we come
We come, O woe!
Woeful, all of us,
We come to cultivate piety.

Also from Samguk yusa, this song is said to have been sung by men and women labourers separating the clay during the construction of a statue of the Buddha during the reign of Queen Sŏndok. The chapter 'Tangji Wields His Staff' of Samguk yusa Book Four observes that the song is 'still performed when men and women in rural villages pound rice'. The chapter speculates that the song may have been a mortar pounding song, originally, and that the onomatopoeia of the original song’s k’ungdŏk k’ungdŏk for the sound of the pounding was replaced with oda oda, or “We have come, we have come.” All of this speculation in Samguk yusa suggests the compiler Iryŏn’s honest uncertainty about the song’s origins, and his curiosity about etymologies and other historical questions. This in turn reflects Iryŏn’s personal interest in preserving the vernacular folk materials which the Record of the Three Kingdoms as a formal, official historical record, had for the most part ignored.

'Flower Presentation Song'

By the purple cliff’s edge
If you will tell me to let my ox go,
And if you will not be shamed by me,
I will pluck the flowers and give them to you.

A third example of the four-line hyangga, the ‘Flower Presentation Song’ also conforms to the interpretative premise that the hyangga may well include examples of love songs or songs sung by men and women during village rituals. The Samguk yusa chapter in which this song is recorded tells the story of a Lady Suro who was so beautiful, dragons, spirits and other beings would carry her away whenever she approached their domains of lakes, streams, or the ocean. At one point as she was travelling in a procession with her husband, she noticed flowers growing on a cliff by the sea, and asked her attendants to pluck them. They replied that no human could climb the cliff, whereupon an old man appeared leading an ox, who offered to fetch her the flowers.

The late Chŏng Pyŏnguk of Seoul National University suggested that this and other songs and stories from Samguk yusa might reflect village wedding or fertility rituals much like those described by Marcel Granet (Festivals and Songs of Ancient China) in his inferential recreation of prehistoric Chinese village ritual based upon his reading of songs from the
Chinese Book of Odes (Shijing).
The Song of Ch‘oyong

Under the bright moon of the capital
I stayed out late, enjoying it,
but when I returned and looked in my room
I saw four legs.
Two are mine, but whose
are these others?
Once mine, what shall be done
now these others are taken?

The 'Song of Ch‘oyong' is the most well known and intriguing of all the hyangga. Indeed, Professor Cho Dongil of Seoul National University wrote of the song and story associated with it that it seems to have acted like a mirror, for the many scholars who have written about it seem to have discovered their own faces peering back at them from the text. The story in Samguk yusa tells that Ch‘oyong was one of the sons of the dragon king of the Eastern Sea who returned to the Shilla capital, Kyongju, with King Hön'gang on one of his processions. Ch‘oyong was given a beautiful woman as his wife, and an office in the government. The plague demon, however, was so attracted by Ch‘oyong's wife that it changed into human form, and went and slept with her while Ch‘oyong was away. One night he returned unexpectedly, and discovered what the song describes. Instead of showing anger, however, Ch‘oyong went out into the courtyard of the house, where he sang the song and danced. The plague spirit, impressed by Ch‘oyong’s restraint, bowed down to him promising never to enter a house that had even a simple likeness of Ch‘oyong outside. The promise is then said to explain why it was the people of the time put up gate plaques with Ch‘oyong’s likeness on them.

Considerable scholarly energy has been spent upon explaining why it was that Ch‘oyong did behave in so restrained a way. Why, in other words, did he not show anger, and attack more directly the plague spirit intruder? The answer seems an urgent matter in Korea’s cultural history because the Ch‘oyong dance became a significant ritual in Koryo times, and has been revived in the twentieth c. around an identification of Ch‘oyong as a kind of culture hero. Some explanations have it that Ch‘oyong displayed traditional Korean restraint in the face of adversity. Others suggest that Ch‘oyong was actually a shaman healer, who saw that the woman was ill, that her illness was caused by the plague demon, and knew that a ceremony of song and dance was needed to placate the spirit and cure the woman. Cho Dongil sees in the story a kind of program note for a mask dance performance.

Koryo Songs, Kyonggi Songs, and Yi Royal Odes

In the early Choson period, during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) two odes were composed that have considerable historic significance, if not literary merit. These are the 'Song of the Flying Dragons' (Yongbi öch‘ön ka) and 'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters' (Wörin ch‘ön’gang chi kōk). The first was composed by a group of court officials at Sejong’s order, both to celebrate and make first official use of the new Korean alphabet in a paean to the founding of the Choson dynasty. The second, an ode expressing Buddhist themes and images, was composed by Sejong himself upon the death of his wife. (For more on these two odes, see below.)

Partly because of their formal significance as precursors of the royal odes, and in part because of their historic significance as representatives of Korean vernacular expressions from Koryo times, two further types of verse are described here: the twelve anonymous Koryo songs recorded in several fifteenth-c and later music collections; and the six kyônggi - style songs, so named because of the recurring expression, kyônggi ('that sight').
Koryŏ Songs

Twelve songs dated to Koryŏ's early to middle period but recorded only in the fifteenth c. or later music collections are known as Koryŏ folk songs (Koryŏ sogyo). The subjects of the songs include love, the natural world, and separation from a loved one or, in the common trope, from the ruler. One, 'The Turkish Bakery', follows a rather promiscuous individual on her amatory encounters with a shop owner, a monk, and other occupants of the capital. 'The Song of the Green Hills' is said to express feelings of despair at the unhappy or precarious living conditions of the time; or perhaps simply a personal sense of unhappiness:

Let us live, let us live;
   up the green hills let us live.
Eating wildgrape and silvervine,
   up in the green hills let us live.

Yalli yalli yallansŏng yallari yalla

Cry, and cry, O bird;
   sleep, then awake to cry, O bird!
I who am sadder than you,
   I sleep and awake just to cry.

(Refrain)

The song 'Would You Go' (Kashiri) is another example of a Koryŏ song which shows many of the features characteristic of folk song: the repeated phrase patterns within the lines and the repeated lines all assembled into a stanzaic structure that is further marked as a unit by a repeated refrain.

Would you go, would you go, would you;
   Leaving me, would you go, would you?

Wi ch'ungjulga t'aepyŏng sŏngdae

How then am I to go on living?
   Leaving me, would you go, would you?

(Refrain)

There is an often-noted thematic and structural resemblance between 'Would You Go' and the well known poem 'Azaleas' by the twentieth-c. 'folk song poet', Sowŏl Kim Chŏngshik.

The three principal music collections in which the Koryŏ songs were recorded are the Texts of Music Compositions (Akchang kasa) said to have been assembled by the Royal Music Board under kings Chungjong and Myŏngjong (r. 1506-1544 and 1545-1567), the Guide to the Study of Music (Akhak kwebŏm) assembled in 1493, and the Collection of Current Native Music (Siyong hyangakpo) the dates and auspices of which are uncertain, but traditionally ascribed to the same period as the Texts of Music Compositions. Because of the precise system of musical notation used in the collections, and the other supplementary information about musical instruments, performance positions, and other matters, the melodies, rhythmic patterns, and a sense of the performance of these works is recoverable.

Kyŏnggi Songs
The first example of kyŏnggi songs of the Koryŏ period, 'Song of the Scholars' (Hallim pyŏngok) is one of the popular lyrics transmitted in the Music Section of the History of Koryŏ (Koryŏ sa; 1454). Its complete text can also be found in Texts of Music Compositions. The distinguishing features of the kyŏnggi song are so well exemplified in this example that it always appears as the centrepiece of discussions of the form. Because the expression, '...kyŏnggi ŏtŏ hanikko?' ('How about a sight like that?') occurs repeatedly in these songs, they became widely known as 'kyŏnggi' songs.

Texts of Music Compositions states that 'Song of the Scholars' was composed by 'various scholars' serving at court. In view of the fact that the term 'hallim' refers to scholars assigned to the court, such as members of the Academy of Letters, attribution to them would have been fitting. There is a persuasive argument that the work was composed in the year 1216. It is thought that it was composed by academicians in the employ of the government of Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn - the military strongman who controlled the Korean government from 1196 to 1219 - perhaps improvised by them, taking turns, while amusing themselves. The heavily Chinese text given in Texts of Music Compositions is accompanied by a transcription in Korean letters.

The first and last of the eight stanzas that make up 'Song of the Scholars' are:

Yu Wŏnsun's prose, Yi Illo's verse, Yi Kongno's parallel style;
Yi Kyu-bo the chŏngŏn and Chin Hwa of Hallim: Rhyming rivals race
the brush!
Yu Ch'ung-gi's policies, Min Kwang-gyun's exegesis,
Kim Yang-gyŏng's shih and yuē-h-fu.
Oh! The sight of their examination hall! How would that one be?
Scholar Kŭm ī's jade sprouts and disciples,
Scholar Kŭm ī's jade sprouts and disciples.
Oh! Starting with me, how many are they?

Oh! Oh! Oh! Over the walnut and the honey locust trees;
Red swing hanging, tied up on a red rope;
Pull it then push it, young master Ch'ŏng!
Oh! Lest the others go so high!
On the path of two slender hands as fair as jade,
On the path of two slender hands as fair as jade.
Oh! The sight of strolling together hand in hand!
How would that one be?

The first stanza lists the names of famous scholars and their literary strengths. The first line celebrates Yu Wŏnsun, Yi Illo, and Yi Kongno, each outstanding in a specialty - be it prose, verse, or parallel prose. Yi Kyu-bo, who had the rank of chŏngŏn, and Chin Hwa, of the Academy of Letters, were of such talent that they could match rhymes and compose poems almost faster than a brush could take them down. Yu Ch'unggi was as famous for his ability to write policy papers - a staple task at government service examinations - as Min Kwang-gyun was for his exegetical studies of the Confucian classics. Kim Yang-gyŏng was noted for his mastery of the several styles of Chinese poetry. What a scene they would have, the singers of this song inquire, if they could bring all these masters together at a single state examination! The accomplished Kŭm ī, frequently Chief Examiner at state examinations, cared for his disciples like sprouts as precious as jade.

While stanza one deals with literary composition, stanza two deals with books, and stanza three takes calligraphy as its subject. To this point, the subjects introduced are things that are necessary aspects of a scholar's life and are treated as sources of satisfaction. Succeeding stanzas embellish their elegant and pleasant way of life, singing of wine in
stanza four, flowers in stanza five, music in stanza six, and scenery in stanza seven. Finally, stanza eight depicts the sight of a man and woman holding hands and riding a swing. It is thought that they did, actually, enjoy such a pastime, much as the artists and consumers of the eighteenth-c. genre paintings did, with their scenes of ordinary life, of shop owners, wrestling matches, and men and women on excursions together. The eighth stanza intimates that the rigid separation of men and women which became a characteristic feature of upper-class, Chosŏn-era Korea was not necessarily the 'style' of Koryŏ.

Yi Royal Odes

A number of congratulatory odes composed at the time of the establishment of the new dynasty celebrated the occasion, but even the high school literature textbooks in Korea agree that the literary merit of these works is absent; instead the reader finds an overtly promotional literature. These otherwise unremarkable texts, however, in part because their purposes were directed otherwise than toward literary accomplishment, utilized and for a time fixed the form known as akchang, a term which encompasses meanings ranging from music composition to hymn. The sixteenth-c. Texts of Music Compositions is a gathering of the texts of such pieces.

While the congratulatory effusions of several members of the new government order have not drawn much interest, two major works composed in the akchang form some fifty years after the founding of the dynasty are worth noting. These are the 'Song of the Flying Dragons', a paean to the founding of the dynasty commissioned at the order of King Sejong, and 'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters', a long, elegiac composition composed, or at least revised, by King Sejong himself upon the death of his wife. The two make an interesting pair of contrasts. The 'Song of the Flying Dragons' was composed at King Sejong's order, while the other was composed by the king himself upon the death of his wife. The first is a public poem, intended to celebrate the founding of the dynasty, the creation of the new alphabet, and the pre-eminent significance of Confucianism as the state religion and philosophy; the second, based on a research project carried out by Sejong's son into the life and background of the Buddha, is a private poem, expressive of the king's personal grief at his wife's passing, all framed within a Buddhist view of life and its meaning. Both poems, it should be noted, incorporate their Chinese reference-points into the Korean cultural narrative; that is, both the Confucian and the Buddhist references are coopted by their articulation within the Korean vernacular text.

'Song of the Flying Dragons'

The royal odes borrowed their technique and form from several sources. The kyŏnggi-style songs suggest one source for their form of composition and argument, as the assemblage technique in which the stanzas each present a scene or proposition which the reader then compares with a Korean counterpart, and is at last asked to affirm, either directly or indirectly, is reminiscent of the ŏttŏ haniikko phrase of the kyŏnggi song. The song is composed in 125 stanzas, of which a few representative examples follow.

(1)
Korea's six dragons fly in the sky
Their every deed was blessed by heaven,
Their deeds tallied with those of sage kings.

(2)
The tree that strikes deep root
Is firm amidst the winds.
Its flowers are good,
Its fruit abundant.
The stream whose source is deep
Gushes forth even in a drought.
It forms a river
And gains the sea.

(6)
The majesty of Shang lost vigour:
He was about to take charge of the country.
At the stime the shores of the West River
Were as crowded as on a market day.

Fortune deserted the Koryŏ House:
He was about to take charge of the country.
At the time the shores of the Eastern Sea
Were as crowded as a on a market day.

(82)
Upon facing a small scholar
He stood up from his seat.
What do you say about
His reverence for the learned man ?

Upon receiving an old scholar
He knelt down with due politeness.
What do you say about
His respect for scholarship ?

(Translated by Peter H. Lee)

Stanza one represents the auspicious signs of the six dragons, the founder of the Chosŏn Dynasty, his son, and his four ancestors, in a pictorial form that mirrors the first divination hexagram from the Chinese Book of Changes, the Yi ching . That first hexagram comprises six solid lines, the fifth of which, corresponding to Yi Songgye, the founder of the dynasty and the fifth generation of the Yi family presented in the 'Song of the Flying Dragons', predicts the ascension of a great man to authority. That auspicious sign is associated in the Chinese commentaries with dragons flying in the heavens. The sage kings are the kings of ancient china, rulers of Chou, and referred to in the Confucian and later writings by this phrase, or as the former kings.

The second stanza’s first phrase, the tree that strikes deep root , is now a widely recognized, widely taught, phrase symbol for Korea. The phrase was one of President Park Chung Hee’s special favourites for his calligraphy. While the tree and the stream may both symbolize the hoped-for longevity and vitality of the new dynasty, it might also be noted that all of the succeeding stanzas of the 'Song' pair an initial Chinese exemplum with its Korean counterpart, so the tree might be read as China, and the stream, as Korea.

Stanza six gives an example of the paired China-Korea structure of the song stanzas. In this instance, the crowds of people who gathered around the soon-to-be new rulers of Shang China and post-Koryŏ Korea were a kind of portent -cum - opinion poll supporting the legitimacy of the dynastic change.

Stanza eighty-two is interesting because the Chinese event referred to in the first half was a visit in 1290 by two Korean officials to the Mongol court of Kublai Khan (1215-1294), founder of the Yuan dynasty, and ruler at the time of Marco Polo's visits. (Because Polo visited Asia during the Koryŏ period, his later account of his travels gave the West the name for Korea by which it is known today.) The Mongol ruler received the scholar-
officials with proper respect, as did Yi Sŏnggye in the second half of the stanza, one century later, in receiving Yi Saek upon his return from exile. The stanza also illustrates the kyŏnggi-style song use of the refrain, "What do you say about that?"

'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters'

'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters' was composed by King Sejong upon the death of his wife, Queen Sohon, who died in 1446. The King based the poem upon a life of Sakyamuni prepared at his command by his son, Prince Suyang; both works were completed in 1447. The examples that follow are the two opening stanzas of the work, and two stanzas from the scene in which Sakyamuni, after twelve years' meditation, attains enlightenment, and returns to visit his father the king. Only 194 stanzas, comprising Book One of three, are extant.

(1)
Lofty and great, the Buddha Sakyamuni;
How can such boundless virtue ever be fully told?

(2)
In telling of his deeds in life, though they happened
Far away, let them appear as if before our eyes.
In telling of his teachings, though he spoke them
One thousand years ago, let them be heard again in our ears.

(115)
That after endless days passed in arduous practice
His son had attained enlightenment, this Ut'aya (Sakyamuni's disciple)
   reports to the king.
Of missing his son for twelve years and then today
hearing of his attainment, this the father relates.

(116)
As the father tells about his son's youth,
   Ut'aya listens, and the son listens also.
   When he asks about his sons works this day,
   Ut'aya speaks, and the son speaks also.

The 'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters' follows a structural pattern much like that of the 'Song of the Flying Dragons': it begins with a couplet, and then proceeds in quatrains to tell the events in the complex series of rebirths and incarnations that led to the birth of the historic Buddha, Sakyamuni. The narrative includes exchanges among the characters in the story, and uses the apostrophe to the reader or hearer, in the form of direct or indirect questions, that is also characteristic of Korean verse literature, of the p'ansori, and then re-emerges in twentieth c. fiction.

The Shijo

The shijo is a short, three-line verse form, one of two Korean vernacular forms practised during the Chosŏn period and continuing to the present.

The chronological point of origin for the shijo form is obscure, for several reasons. The Korean alphabet, han'gul, was invented and promulgated only in the mid-fifteenth c., so shijo attributions to earlier dates than that are uncertain. Second, the three major collections of shijo from which the traditional canon is assembled are all eighteenth c. and later compilations, which also means that lineages, attributions, and other important matters are traditional or speculative rather than documented. Third, because of the normally higher
status assigned to works composed in the Chinese language during the Chosŏn period, only relatively limited attention was given to the shijo up until Ch'oe Namsŏn's pioneering study and anthology, *Classes of the Shijo* (*Shijo ūyuch'wi*; 1928). Some accounts trace the earliest appearances of the form to the middle and late Koryŏ period, but most scholars agree that the form was established by the sixteenth c.

While new collections of shijo and other materials continue to be discovered in this century (the Pyŏngwa Kagok Collection containing 1 109 shijo texts was discovered in 1956), the three major collections are dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: *Eternal Words of the Green Hills* (*Ch'onggu yŏngŏn*; 998 shijo texts) was compiled by Kim Ch'ŏnt'aek in 1728; *Songs East of the Sea* (* Háedong kayo*; 983 shijo texts) by Kim Sujang, 1763; and the *Headwaters of Kagok* (*Kagok Wŏllyu*; 839 shijo ), by Pak Hyogwan and An Minyŏng, 1876. Two of the modern, standard editions of the shijo are Chŏng Pyŏnguk's 1966 *Dictionary of Shijo Literature* (*Shijo munhak sajŏn*; 2,376 shijo ), and Shim Chewan's 1972 *Collected Shijo from All Generations* (*Yŏktea shijo chŏnjip*; 3,335 shijo ).

The standard, or *p'yŏng shijo* has four rhythmic groups (u<em>mb</em>o ) in each of its three lines, usually with a grammatical division at the middle of the line dividing it into two pairs of rhythmic groups. The rhythmic groups, which generally correspond to the major syntactic divisions of the line, have three or four syllables, with some variation beyond. The third line of the shijo combines an unusual syllable count of 3,5,4,3 syllables for the rhythmic groups with a rhetorical 'turn' at the first group, and resolution in the remainder of the line. Two variant forms, the *ősījo* and the *sasol* shijo, add more syllables or rhythmic groups, respectively, to turn the shijo into a somewhat more discursive form.

All shijo were originally composed to be sung to a standard melody, and considerable appreciation is given to a performance that shows the rich, throaty voicing, extended control of the breath, and expression. Professional singers give a startlingly powerful voice to the modest form, but amateurs also enjoy singing the shijo when a traditional piece is required for a social occasion. The traditional subjects for the shijo are Confucian virtues; nature, though not as a directly experienced world but as an ideal state, often contrasted with the turmoil and anxiety of officialdom; and love, said to be the domain of shijo composed by kisaeng, professional women entertainers. There are also a large number of often anonymous, humorous shijo on a variety of themes.

A Shijo Sampler

The most widely known and admired shijo text has for decades been a song that, like others in the canon, is accompanied by a story - in this case, a story of political virtue and dedication, of steadfast refusal to compromise. The author of the shijo was Chŏng Mongju, one of the most highly regarded statesman-officials of the late Koryŏ, whose endorsement was sought by the rising Yi family faction, which eventually ended the Koryŏ dynasty and founded the Chosŏn. One of the Yi family members, Yi Pangwŏn (1367-1422), a son of dynastic founder General Yi Sŏnggye, offered a shijo to Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) at a banquet. (In the translations, the second half of each line is separated and indented.)

What *would* you do with things this way, 
and what *could* you do with things that way; 
and what’s to be done with the tangle 
of the arrowroot plants on Mansu Mountain ? 
If we could tangle together just like them, 
why, we could enjoy things for a hundred years! 

Chŏng Mongju rejected the invitation to relax his opposition. Instead, he replied with a thoroughly unambiguous song that presumably cost him his life, as he was assassinated
soon after. Chông Mongju:

Though this body dying die,
and dying, die over again;
white bones turn to dust and dirt,
whether the soul exist or not;
there can never be a way to change
this heart devoted to my lord.

It is clear that the admiration for the shijo is very much a measure of admiration for Chông's political stand; in other words, the story which accompanies a shijo song is an important part of its meaning. The story and the song would tend to reassert the values of their time, and in the case of works which made their way into the school curriculum in South Korea in the twentieth c., traditional shijo would reaffirm the patriotic, nationalistic values which the curriculum was intended to instill.

Chông Ch'ol (1536-1593) composed over seventy shijo, and is even more highly regarded for his kasa compositions. Because his political fortunes took so many disastrous turns in the factional conflicts of the later sixteenth c., Chông Ch'ol seems to have been a regular traveller on the road to exile, and wrote a number of shijo about his situation. In the conventions of the age, direct reference to one's situation, and any complaint about the ruler's decision, were eschewed. Instead, a shijo would take its shape around the theme of lovers who had been separated, a literary conceit made possible by the double meaning of the Korean word nim, both lord, as in Chông Mongju's shijo above, and love, in this shijo by Chông Ch'ol:

Snow has fallen in the pine woods,
and every branch has blossomed.
I shall pluck one branch and send it
to the place where my love stays.
As long as he shall have seen it,
what matter, if the flowers melt?

Naturally enough, the situation of exile and the shijo composed in that unhappy state became - or perhaps already was - a literary convention, precisely as lyric poems in any tradition are built upon the premise of separation. In a mirror image of the official's situation, most of the shijo ascribed to kisaeng women are also about the pains of being separated from their loves, who usually turn out to be officials who had been sent into exile. One shijo ascribed to the most well known of the kisaeng, a woman named Hwang Chini who lived in the early sixteenth c., reverses the whole convention by taking the position of the one who had sent the man away. Interestingly, her shijo is also ascribed in one of the anthologies to a king, an authorial switch that, if nothing else, emphasizes the conventionalized nature of the roles occupied by the characters in these literary works.

Alas, what have I done?
Didn't I know how I would yearn?
If I had told him Stay,
how could he have gone? Stubborn,
I sent him away, and now
such longing I do learn!

Hwang Chini's shijo verse is also unusual in the enjambment of the second line. In almost all shijo, the ends of the lines coincide with a full sentence or clause ending grammatical form, but in a deft linguistic analogue to the impetuous act of the poem, the second line runs on through the adverbial form stubborn into the unhappy realization of the consequences of the act in line three.
Yun Sŏndo (1587-1671) was an extraordinarily gifted composer of *shijo*. Like Chŏng Ch'ŏl an official who experienced a full share of political setbacks, Yun is known for *shijo* that express the timeless, stable tranquility of nature and of scholarly pursuits. Yun’s themes were, in this sense, quite thoroughly conventional; but beyond the elegant phrasing of his songs on conventional themes, Yun Sŏndo also carried the *shijo* form itself to a level of broadly acknowledged perfection. The language of his *shijo* is measurably ‘more Korean’ than most other *shijo* composers, having a far lower percentage of words derived from the Chinese language. Yun also changed the formal structures of his *shijo*, relaxing the syllable count of the final lines, for example, or adding onomatopoetic refrains to sequences of songs, as in his Fisherman’s Calendar. Here follows a selection from the 'Spring' section of the 'Calender'.

Tread the flowering grasses,  
pluck the orchids and iris.  
*Launch the boat. Launch the boat.*
What was loaded into  
the leaf-flat boat?  
*Chigukch’ong, chigukch’ong, ḍsawa.*  
On the way out, nothing but mist;  
coming back, the moon.

The final *shijo* in the 'Fisherman's Calendar' sequence provides an example of the ḍssijo, the slightly expanded form that adds a few syllables to the lines, but acknowledges the distinctive syllabic pattern of the final line, in this case 3, 6 (rather than 5), 3,4 (rather than 4,3):

Now that day is ending,  
time for rest after the feast.  
*Make the boat fast. Make the boat fast.*
In ecstasy walk the path  
where red flowers lie scattered on the wind-blown snow.  
*Chigukch’ong, chigukch’ong, ḍsawa.*  
As the frosty moon crosses over the western ridge,  
lean against the pine sill.

The sasŏl *shijo*, the substantially expanded form that came into popular use in the eighteenth c., is represented by huge quantities of anonymous compositions on a very broad range of topics, many of them humorous, and not a few, risqué. One of the most amusing is a hilariously straight-faced send-up of the notoriously tense relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, who usually lived in the paternal home.

How did it happen? However did it happen?  
Oh mother-in-law, what shall I do?  
I was putting rice into the cauldron  
and the handle of the brass ladle broke!  
Oh mother-in-law, how did it happen?  
There, now, girl; don’t fuss so much,  
it often happened to me when I was young.

Translation by Richard Rutt

Chŏng Ch'ŏl, in addition to the many standard *shijo* and *kasa* for which he is known, also composed a drinking song in the sasŏl form. The song echoes Chinese songs on the same subject, but is noted particularly for its use of the Korean language. It also seems to echo, in a peculiarly haunting way, Chŏng Mongju’s bravely defiant song from two centuries before.
Drink a cup, then drink another cup,
and counting flowers to keep the count, drink and endlessly drink.
After this body dies, covered with a straw mat and roped to a pack frame,
or borne on a splendid bier as thousands weep,
it will pass among the reeds and rushes, or willows and oaks;
and when the sun shines golden, and the moon, white,
while the rain drizzles down, or chill winds whirl the heavy snows,
who will there be to say, Drink a cup?
And when some monkey is sadly whistling on your grave,
what good will regrets be then?

Modern practitioners of the shijo form have experimented with it in a number of ways,
sometimes reducing the numbers of syllables, or the number of rhythmic groups in the lines,
deploying the lines and words on the page in various ways, or creating sequences of several shijo. Many modern composers of shijo treat the form in a more conservative way.
Hwang Chini, Chŏng Ch'ŏl, and Yun Sŏndo might find their innovations and practises recapitulated in the modern uses of the form, but one might venture to assume that they would be pleased at the vitality of the tradition. To close with one example, Yi Hou (1912-1970) was a poet who combined a more traditional, formal approach with an unmistakably modern subjectivity.

'Flowering'
The flower blooms, one petal, one petal.
The whole sky is opening.
Finally, with the one remaining petal,
the fern stands trembling at last.
The sun and the wind hold their breath.
I too just close my eyes.

The Kasa

The kasa as a Korean vernacular verse form is commonly paired, and contrasted, with the shijo. Both were developed as verse forms during the Chosŏn period, and both continued to be practised in the twentieth c.; but where the shijo is a short form, the kasa is long; where the shijo form lends itself to short, pithy, lyric statements, the kasa, being of indeterminate length, is sometimes viewed as a form of rhythmic prose taking its shape as a literary work from the events of narrative, the sequence of details of description, or the logical steps in a philosophical argument rather than from the form itself.

While various antecedents of the kasa have been adduced, it is generally agreed that the first true kasa was the 'Song to Spring' (Sangch'un kok) by Chŏng Kūgin (1401-1481), an idealized evocation of the natural world in the established tradition of implicit commentary on the difficulties of public life.

Because the kasa as a verse form lends itself so unobtrusively to balanced prose composition, the number of kasa texts is difficult to assess. Any person who could write with the Korean alphabet could compose a kasa on whatever subject was desired, and many did. The used book stores in the 1970s and 1980s in Seoul and other cities kept cartons of kasa, some in scrolls, and some in books sewn together, which families cleaning out a study or home library had discovered and sold for next to nothing. Kasa were written as travel diaries; they were composed by women who found in the form a way to express their resentment at the confinement of their lives; or by men and women in the form or guise of such complaints. Numbers of such kasa remain hidden in the prose of such notebooks, journals, diaries, and other scraps.
In the late nineteenth c. Enlightenment period, the *kasa* was used to articulate modern ideas in the newspapers, journals, and other publications of the day. The *kasa*’s rhythmic form, the characteristic 4-4 syllabic patterning of paired syntactic phrases, underlies such early examples of modern fiction as Yi Injik’s (1862-1916) *Tears of Blood* (*Hyŏl ŭi nu*). With greater variation in the syllable pattern, the *kasa* also appears in more recent narrative poems in South Korea, while in the North, the form has been used for poems composed on public, state themes such as farm machinery, collectivization, and other officially assigned topics.

Because the *kasa* was recited rather than sung in public performance like the *shijo*, *kasa* texts were not assembled in performance anthologies like the eighteenth and nineteenth c. *shijo* collections. *Kasa* instead tended to have been gathered among individual collections of writings, a few of which, such as Songgang Chŏng Ch’ŏl’s (1536-1593) *Pine River Anthology*, became widely known.

As with the *shijo*, the *kasa* verse line comprises four rhythmic groups corresponding to its major syntactic divisions. Syllabic distribution within the groups very generally follows a three-four or four-four pattern. In the *kasa* of earlier Chosŏn, roughly up until the eighteenth c., the final line of a *kasa* text was marked structurally by the 3,5,4,3 syllable pattern, and rhetorically by the *shijo* - like ‘twist’ or verbal aside in the first group of the line. Later *kasa* do not have this distinctive pattern.

The history of the *kasa* form has been divided into three broad periods. *Kasa* in early Chosŏn were written by members of the ruling class, the *yangban*, and tended to be comparatively short; *kasa* of later Chosŏn are associated with the lives of non-elite members of the society, and were comparatively long. Enlightenment period *kasa* of the decades surrounding the close of the nineteenth c. are characterized by their attention to modern ideas. The more recent *kasa* from North Korea on public themes can be viewed as a continuation of the didactic impulses of the Enlightenment period.

**A Kasa Sampler**

For a number of reasons, Chŏng Kūgin’s ‘Song to Spring’ serves an exemplary purpose as the first example of the *kasa* form. It was written after the promulgation of the Korean alphabet, *han’gul*, and is included in its author’s collected writings so the problems of somewhat murky ascription which attend literary works written prior to the alphabet’s invention are avoided. Although the precise date of its composition is not known, it was evidently written some time during Chŏng’s years of exile, following his resignation from government in 1455 upon Sejo’s usurpation. ‘Song to Spring’ celebrates the life of rural retirement, a frequent theme in the *kasa* that followed in the next century of bitter factional strife. Chŏng Ch’ŏl’s *kasa*, to cite the most famous example from the next century, engage the theme of exile, treating it either in terms of the travel into the place of exile, or through the metaphor of the abandoned lover, as in the many *shijo* on the same theme.

‘Song to Spring’ is relatively short - just thirty-eight lines. The following excerpts will provide a sense of its treatment of its theme, the voice, and the somewhat abstract nature of the descriptions, which in the end sound more like an appreciative commentary on a hanging scroll landscape painting than an account of actual life events.

'Song to Spring'

You who are buried in the dust of this world,
what do you think of my life?
Do I match, or do I not,
the refinement of men of the past?
Though quite alone, the only man
between the earth and sky
Would I still not know joy
buried in these woods?

I build a small, thatched cottage (5)
close by the jade green stream,
and amidst groves of pine and bamboo
play host to the wind and moon.

Winter was gone a few days ago;
as spring returns anew
blossoms of peach and apricot
bloom in the evening light,
while thick grasses and willows glow
green in the misting rains.

Listen to me neighbours! Let us go (17)
view the hills and streams.
Let us walk through the fields today
and bathe in the stream tomorrow;
in the morning gather greens on the mountain,
then fish in the stream at evening.
Let us take the fresh-brewed wine, (20)
strain it through a hat,
and drink, plucking flowers
from a branch to keep count.

The old man grasps his stick; (25)
the boy lifts the wine to his shoulder.
Quietly reciting, I settle down
alone by the side of the stream.
In the clear, bright sand I scour
the cup, fill, and raise it.
Looking down on the clear waters
I see peach blossoms.
Fabled Murung must be near.
These domains must be the place.

Through pines on a narrow path (30)
clasping azaleas in my arms
I reach the very topmost heights
and gaze down from the clouds.
Thousands of hamlets, myriad villages
spread out below, everywhere.
Fog and mist and the sun's brightness
seem to weave a brocade
as fields that lay dark a few days ago
are flooded with colours of spring.

Renown escapes me, (35)
wealth and rank spurn me,
but the clear moon and bright sun -
What other friends would I have?
With gourd, basket, and wretched shelter,
my thoughts are free of confusion.
Tell me then, for a hundred years’ pleasure
what could surpass just this?

The two acknowledged masters of the *kasa* form, Pak Illo (1561-1642) and Chŏng Ch’öl (1536-1593), approached the form in quite different ways, illustrating at least two of the potential directions in Chŏng Kŭgin’s ‘Song to Spring’. One is the capacity of the *kasa* form to absorb or encompass brief lyric sequences, much like the *shijo*, as in the stretches (lines 3-6) ‘Though quite alone, the only man... host to the wind and moon’, or (lines 33-35) ‘Fog and mist and the sun’s brightness... flooded with colours of spring’. Chŏng’s ‘Song to Spring’ nicely balances such lyric segments with equally brief narrative stretches, such as (lines 25-27) ‘The old man grasps his stick... the cup, fill, and raise it’, or with moments of direct spoken address, as it were, directed toward Chŏng’s rustic ‘neighbours’ (line 17), or the imagined audience for oral performance, the ‘You’ of the very first line of the poem. One might imagine, then, a *shijo* strung together like a necklace from a long sequence of highly polished, lyric moments; one would have Chŏng Ch’öl. Conversely, one might imagine a *kasa* that settles in more squarely to a narrative mode of development, even one that incorporates dialogue within the narrative rather than using it as an aside to the reader or listener; one would then have Pak Illo.

Let us look at the ‘Song of Longing’ (*Sa miin kok*) by Chŏng Ch’öl.

‘Song of Longing’

At the time I was born
I had been born to follow my lord.
Our lives were destined to be joined,
as even the heavens must have known.
When I was young
my lord loved me.
There was nothing to compare
with this heart and love.
...

Now that I am older, (6)
for what reason have I been put aside?
A few days ago, serving my lord
I entered the Moon Palace.
How does it happen that since then
I have descended to this lower world?
Three years it has been
since my hair, once combed, became tangled.
I have powders and rouge (10)
but for whom should I make myself lovely?
The cares that are knotted within my heart
pile up, layer upon layer.
It is sighs that build up,
tears that tumble down...

Briefly the east wind blows (17)
and melts away the fallen snow.
Two or three branches have bloomed
on the plum tree outside the window:
a bold brightness,
a fragrance deep and mysterious.
At dusk the moon (25) 
shines by the bedside.
As if sensing him, rejoicing
- is it my lord, or not ? -
I wonder, if I broke off that blossom
and sent it to the place where my lord stays,
what would he think
as he looked at you ?

Blossoms fall, new leaves appear,
and shade covers.
Silk curtains are lonely; (25)
embroidered curtains are opened.
I close the lotus screen
and open the peacock screen...
How can a day be so tedious,
so full of cares ?

... 
Heaven and earth are blockaded
under white monochrome.
Humans, even birds on the wing
have disappeared.
With the cold so intense (45)
here, far to the south,
in the lofty Jade Tower
how much colder it must be!

... 
I tuck my red skirt up,
and roll my blue sleeves halfway,
and as the day declines, by high, thin bamboos (50)
I lean on a staff, lost in thought.
The brief sun sinks swiftly;
the long night settles aloft.
I set the inlaid flute
by the side of the blue lamp
and rest, hoping
to see my lord, even in a dream.
Cold, cold is the quilt!
O, when will night become day ?

... 
I would rather die and become (60)
a swallow-tail butterfly.
I would light upon each flowering branch
one after another, as I went,
till I settled, with perfumed wings
upon the garments of my lord.
O, my lord, though you forget my existence,
I shall attend you.

Ch'ŏng Ch'ŏl's 'Song of Longing' seems assembled as a series of lyrical fragments, held together by the theme of longing for the lord, nim -the ruler -who has dismissed the loved one, or the official, Ch'ŏng Ch'ŏl. While there is a certain modulation in tone, from the more vigorous complaint of lines 6-9, 'Now that I am older, for what reason have I been put aside ?' to the enervated, listless tone of lines 24-27, especially, 'I close the lotus screen and open the peacock screen ...', the overall voice is restrained, indirect, gentle, and the poem uses the details of the physical environment as effective counterpoints to the
speaker's feelings. In other words, the *kasa* is an extended lyric.

Pak Illo used quite different means to achieve a very different effect in his 'Song of a Humble Life' (*Nuhang sa*), also composed on the subject of a life in rusticated exile. In the sequence below, the speaker travels to his neighbour’s home to borrow an ox to plough the field. Most of the scene is developed and carried by the dialogue between the borrower and potential lender, as if Ch'ŏng Kŭgin had extended the dialogue started by “Listen to me neighbours!” to include what the neighbours might have said in reply. In Pak’s *kasa*, the speakers’ thought processes are suggested rather than explained by their dialogue, and in an amusing and deft conclusion, the dejected appearance of the speaker is reflected in his dog’s noisy reaction upon his return.

'Song of a Humble Life' (excerpt)

...On a moonless night I push my steps
to the house where I had a kind of promise
for the loan of an ox.
I stand alone
outside the tight-shut gate,
cough loudly,
and after a while hear
"Well, who is out there?"

"Shameless I."

"What brings you out
at this hour of the night?"

"I am in need like this
every year, I know, but there is no ox at my poor house,
only many debts, so I have come."

"I know I said I would loan it
for nothing, or for a little,
but last night the fellow
from the house across the way
cooked up a red-throated pheasant
all dripping with juices,
and had me drinking fresh spring wine
till I was tipsy.
Thinking I simply had to repay
such generosity
I made him a promise
for the loan of my ox tomorrow.
I would be ashamed to break a promise.
What can I say?"

"Well if that is so
there is nothing to be done."

With shabby hat drooping, in worn-down sandals,
dispiritedly I trace my way home.
At my crestfallen appearance
the dog starts barking.

The dialogue in this remarkable passage seems quite thoroughly normal, colloquial, while
the line divisions and their balanced structure seem characteristics of that natural speech rather than requirements of the verse form. In short, the passage demonstrates that Korean writers who were striving to develop a modern idiom for fiction as well as poetry in the early twentieth c. had an accomplished if largely unacknowledged forbear in Pak Illo.

David R. McCann

Classical Prose in Korean

Extended prose written in the Korean language was not possible until there was a writing system capable of the task. While the orthodox written language of Korea was classical Chinese until the end of the nineteenth c. a pure Korean writing system was devised in 1443 under the aegis of the renowned King Sejong (r.1418-1450) and promulgated in 1446. This innovation - then called 'Correct Sounds for Instructing the People' (Hunmin chʰôngǔm) but now known as han'gāl - made it possible for Koreans to break away from the constraints of earlier, awkward systems - like the idu method favoured by clerks - that were based upon the use of Chinese characters to record Korean and eke out its grammar.

The scholars charged with this historically unparalleled undertaking chose not to improve upon other writing systems then already in use but, rather, carried out the first pre-modern phonemic analysis of any language, according to sophisticated linguistic principles which had their origins in Indian Sanskrit scholarship. Then they created a completely new set of consonant and vowel letters, all systematically related to each other and based upon the shapes of the human organs of articulation as used to utter each sound.

With the creation of hunmin chʰongǔm, many potentialities were created all at once for a transition toward literature in the Korean script, but the new alphabet had to struggle through several stages of history to get to the point where, in competition with Chinese and borrowed character transcription, it could expand the scope of its use and finally force Chinese and idu out of favour, as finally occurred in the twentieth c.

The immediate intent behind the creation of the hunmin chʰongǔm script is still not definitively established. It was not a system to serve the needs of the ruling aristocracy at that time, for they were engaged in sophisticated writing in Chinese; and, even if they might have felt some occasional difficulty with Chinese, it was hardly enough to necessitate the creation of a new script. Since the ability to read and write classical Chinese distinguished them from the common people, many aristocrats were unenthusiastic about a writing system that could be used by high and low alike.

The words of our language, being different from those of China, do not coincide well with Chinese writing. Therefore, there are many ignorant common people who, although they have matters they wish to express, in the end, cannot easily communicate them. Thinking unfortunate, We have newly made twenty-eight letters, only that they be easy for everyone to learn and that they be convenient to use in daily life.

This statement from King Sejong's own Preface to the vernacular promulgation, expresses the intent behind the creation of hunmin chʰongǔm. It clearly reveals the script as meant for ignorant commoners who did not know Chinese. But Sejong's motivation obviously went further than providing commoners with a script they could use by themselves. When answering an argument opposing the creation of the alphabet, Sejong responded that, although clerks in local government offices were already using the idu transcription system among themselves, there were many cases of unjust judgments against commoners who could not effectively petition for themselves but that a new script would rectify the situation. The goal of getting government clerks to use the new system instead of idu was never realized as conceived. These hereditary clerks protected their exclusive status by continuing to use their peculiar idu writing system that used Chinese to record Korean.
However, an even more important function of *hunmin ch'ongum* lay in conveying the court's intent to the common people, who were ignorant of Chinese. A script that commoners could read was needed in order to instruct the lower classes in what was expected of them according to Confucian ethical norms and, in addition to ideological enlightenment, to instruct them in such things as farming techniques and the treatment of disease.

In view of the fact that composition of lengthy poetic works in the new script like 'Song of the Flying Dragons' (*Yongbi 6ch'on ka*; 1447) and 'Song of the Moon in the Waters' (*W6rin ch'on'gang chi kok*; 1449) followed immediately after promulgation of the writing system in 1446, we can surmise that such compositions had been contemplated from the very outset. What is more, they also embarked on a massive program of translation into Korean of major portions of the Confucian and Buddhist Chinese canon soon after the new script had been promulgated.

While aristocrats continued to use Chinese and regard literature in Chinese as their own special province, they also enjoyed writing poetry in Korean and thus promoted the development of the vernacular *shijo* and *kasa* verse forms. This co-existence of Korean with Chinese in aristocratic literature was due to the fact that the poetry in Korean was meant to be sung and it was, therefore, necessary to record the exact wording for later performance.

Whereas aristocratic womenfolk were not given opportunities to become skilled in Chinese, they used the Korean script extensively in their daily lives, thus contributing to conditions that enabled the development of fiction in Korean. When the bourgeoisie and other commoners during the later Choson period came to use Korean writing in their daily lives and sought a literature that was both entertaining and socially realistic, literature in Korean grew rapidly and became a challenge to literature in Chinese. Thereupon, by the early twentieth c., Korea had arrived at the point where the national script was exclusively used and the literature of Korea was a literature in Korean.

The first prose composition of significant length composed in the new vernacular script was a biography of Sakyumuni, the historical Buddha: *Details from the Life of Sakyamuni*. When King Sejong's queen died in 1446, he asked his son, Prince Suyang, to prepare this work as an appeal for Buddhist blessing for the dead queen. The resulting, 24-volume undertaking moved the king to compose a lengthy narrative poem summarizing its main points, called 'Songs of the Moon Shining on One Thousand Rivers.'

Prince Suyang's prose work remains faithful to his Buddhist sources but, at the same time, it is a pioneering example of a dignified and elegant prose style. While the sentences are frequently cast in great length there is no confusion; and, although he works with great volumes of information - both primary and collateral - the digressions are well knit into the main plot line. Of particular note are the natural dialogue and detailed description that make the text an interesting one to read.

In one passage, Sakyamuni is the sage Sŏnhye, who is negotiating to buy flowers from the woman Kui. She is unwilling to sell but finally sets the condition that she become his wife for life after life. When he refuses to be 'tied to destined relationships', she responds, "If you do not follow my wishes, you will not get the flowers." Knowing that he has been bested, Sŏnhye accedes to Kui's wishes.

In addition to stories from the lives of Sakyamuni, there are many collateral tales as well. Particularly notable among them are such stories as those of Prince Inyok, who sacrificed to his father the pupils of his eyes and the marrow of his bones; Lady Nongmo, who was born the daughter of a deer and became queen; Prince Allakkuk, whose mother suffered the
infliction of murder; and Prince Sønu, who became blind because of his younger brother. The last two were later adapted as vernacular novels. But all of these stories demonstrate Buddhist mysteries through events that are not acceptable in the empirical world and thus it was difficult for this kind of writing to merge with a narrative tradition that did not deal in such mystery.

The introduction of a vernacular script made possible the translation of Confucian and Buddhist canon into Korean, something that had been tried without success using cumbersome methods based on the use of Chinese characters. These translations into Korean were called ḏāhæ, 'vernacular explanation'. King Sejong's death in 1450, and two unproductively short reigns that followed, delayed a long-anticipated ḏāhæ translation project until the reign of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468), who had been the former Prince Suyang. Primarily interested in Buddhist scripture, Sejo set up a supervisory office in 1461 and, in the following year, began an effort that produced thirty-four works of prose in Korean translation. This body of work was distinguished by its attempt to use a pure Korean locution and avoid the use of undigested Chinese terms and phrases. However, because of the increasingly anti-Buddhist orientation of government officials and the consequently declining fortunes of Buddhism, the translations never realized their potential in helping to shape Korean vernacular prose style.

The translation of Confucian canon did not get under way until well into the next century and was not completed until 1585. The resulting fifty-four books, comprising the corpus known collectively as the 'Four Books and Three Classics' (1612), were printed in great numbers and distributed widely throughout the country. This initial printing and subsequent reprints over succeeding generations served as the basic medium of instruction for every aristocratic male for more than three hundred years. The style of these ḏāhæ texts, meant only to explicate, was awkwardly faithful to the Chinese originals and a dominant influence on the style of Korean composition until the supple rhythms of oral literature surfaced in the written realm in the early twentieth c.

The work of Korean fiction most commonly offered as the earliest example of classical prose in the mainstream tradition is The Tale of Hong Kiltong by Hō Kyun (1569-1618). Though replete with is own magic and implausibilities, this tale fits comfortably within a tradition of stories that involve Taoist magic. The tale is strongly tied to the real world by its political theme which advocates the civil rights of illegitimate sons, who were then legally disinherited by dint of their birth. While episodically constructed, the tale has plenty of humour and action, recalling Robin Hood of the Western tradition. Stylistically, however, The Tale of Hong Kiltong is wooden, lacking the undulant flow of natural language. It reads as though heavily influenced by the stiff ḏāhæ style which had been introduced with the translation of Confucian classics in Korean.

The Tale of Hong Kiltong heralded the popular fiction which made up the lion's share of written prose until the twentieth c. More than five hundred (some say six hundred) titles of these popular works are known today but only two-thirds them are represented by the books themselves, the others having disappeared with only a passing reference elsewhere to speak for their transient existence. In addition, we can assume that countless others have come and gone without leaving a trace, for none of the existing works can be dated prior to the middle of the nineteenth c.

Except for about thirty, most of the works are anonymous. Two reasons are commonly advanced for this: either the aristocratic authors were avoiding an embarrassing association with vulgar literature or names were dropped in the process of making manuscript copies, then the usual means of reproduction. This phenomenon is paralleled by the situation in shijo poetry, where nearly one-half of the extant poems are of unknown authorship. Whereas we can suspect that many anonymous shijo were the work of professional singers, it is also possible that some of the anonymous popular fiction was produced by
members of a 'middle class' that was emerging in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, made up of technical bureaucrats, petty officials, merchants, and monied commoners.

The breadth and variety of popular fiction in Korean is best suggested by looking at the range of its content. Among the many classification systems put forward over the years that by Kim Kidong is the most highly developed. Based upon his work, there are ten fundamental categories: adventure, romantic love, parable, Taoist, historical, heroic, family, ethical, and satirical. To this some scholars add written works drawn from the oral narrative tradition but we shall treat them separately because they are distinct in form, content, and style. Although written in Korean, many of these works of popular written fiction drew upon Chinese precedents for their inspiration. The student of Chinese literature will immediately recognize titling conventions that identify the type of fiction by the last word of the title: -mong ('dream', Ch. meng), -chôn ('chronical', Ch. -chuan), -rok ('record', Ch. Lu), and -ki ('record', Ch. -ji). Finally, it is notable not only that each work normally has a Chinese version written by a Korean but also that more than two-thirds of them are set in China.

Popular fiction is basically didactic and reflects the Confucian values of the traditional Korean aristocracy. Since the main characters are frequently paragons of virtue presented as exemplars of ideal behaviour, their individual characters are not developed; furthermore, the story as a whole is also usually in the service of ideals, to reprove vice and promote virtue. As we shall see, the wooden style and didactic intent of classical Korean fiction by men contrasts vividly with the personal style of women's court memoirs.

The woman’s court memoir is represented by only three major examples, primarily because of the practice of rinsing and re-using the valuable paper on which they were written but also because of traditional restrictions on the dissemination of news of court politics. The inside stories of the court contained in these memoirs contribute to a larger body of writing, mostly in Chinese, that is known as unofficial histories (yasa). But, at the same time, the memoirs frequently receive separate consideration as an independent form of prose literature because they are written in Korean and present both a personal of a point and an expression of emotional experience.

The royal palace of the Chosön period consisted of an extended family, centred on the king, and it lived as an independent household unto itself. It was the residence of such family members as the Queen Mother, Crown Prince, princes and princesses, and court ladies. Within each of these establishments a public journal was kept by the eunuchs assigned there. But, at the same time, the ladies of the court, for their part, kept their own, independent records of internal events. Among the attendants of the queen and queen mother were women well versed in the classics. Having excellent calligraphy, they transcribed for the royal wives the daily letters of greeting they would send to their original families still living outside the palace.

Letter-writing was a skill expected of well-trained women of literate families. Though a woman was denied the lessons in Chinese and the classics given the men of the family, she was expected to express herself effectively in epistolary form, using pure Korean. This was a skill made necessary by the fact that, when a woman went in marriage to her husband's family, she rarely had an opportunity to return home. Ironically then, because of the discriminatory treatment received by women during the Chosön period, they contributed a unique style of composition to Korean writing.

The foremost example of the woman's court memoir is A Record of Sorrow (Hanjungnok) by Lady Hong of Hyegeyông Palace (1735-1815). Daughter of the prime minister, Lady Hong was selected as the wife of Crown Prince Sado when she was only ten and, from that time on, had no contact with her own family or friends. In spite of what might seem a redeeming and fortunate situation, her life was made a torment by the rage of her father-in-
law, King Yŏngjo, who starved her husband to death in a rice chest when Sado was twenty-eight. Her son Chŏngjo succeeded his grandfather as king in 1776, reigning until 1800.

Lady Hong's single work - variously titled *A Record of Crying Blood, A Record of Sorrow, and Reminiscences in Retirement* - was started in 1795 and completed in 1805 and was written to vindicate her husband's tragic death and give a true account of the deaths of her relatives. Her work is distinguished from the other two extant court memoirs in Korean because Lady Hong speaks in the first person.

In the waning years of the Chosŏn period, a new genre joined classical written prose in Korea as libretti of *p'ansori*, the oral narrative, began to appear in woodblock editions. Unlike other classical fiction, these were not created originally as written literature but, rather, were adapted from a thriving and popular oral tradition. Whereas the texts of the earliest woodblock imprints were drawn more or less directly from the performed tradition, type-set editions of the early twentieth c. were frequently embellished with new openings and other interpolations provided by the editor. Nevertheless, since these works were not closely rewritten, they still retain the rhythmic quality that is the earmark of performed literature. These woodblock and type-set versions of the traditional *p'ansori* oral narrative are frequently called *'p'ansori novels'* to distinguish them from the written literature that makes up the lion's share of classical prose in Korea.

Marshall R. Pihl

**Oral Literature**

Korean oral literature comprises four types: saying (adage, riddle), story (myth, legend, folktale), song (folksong, *kut* song, *p'ansori* song), and nori (shaman *kut_nori*, puppet play, mask drama). A *kut* is the ritual in which a shaman dances and sings in worship of a spirit. The word *nori* means 'play' in its broadest sense, including not only drama but also revelling, merrymaking, and other festivity.

1. Saying: Adage and Riddle

The saying includes both adage and riddle. These are the simplest forms of oral tradition and can be used by anyone in everyday life. While the inner meaning of an adage is characteristically didactic, that of the riddle is not usually so. If the former is a lesson the latter is a game. The riddle is further distinguished from the adage by its essential test of wit ('Do you know why...?') and the necessity of two parties to carry out its unique question and answer format.

The adage attracted scholastic attention early on, about a century after the first English collection, *John Heywood's Proverbs* (1546). Korean scholars like Hong Manjong (1643-1725), Yi Tŏngmu (1741-1793), and Chŏng Yagyong (1762-1836) collected, analyzed, and translated them into Chinese. In his miscellany, *A Fortnight's Record* (*Sunoji*; 1678), Hong Manjong advised that the adage was not to be shunned but, rather, that it could serve to supplement even the knowledge of wise men. The collection and analyses of adages continues to the present day. A standard Korean reference for more than thirty years has been the 7 000-entry *Dictionary of Adages* (*Soktam sajŏn*; 1962) edited by Lee Kimoon. A 1993 collection edited by Kim Tohwan (*Hanguk_soktam_hwaryong_sajŏn*) runs to 665 pages.

Samples of Korean Adages (with English equivalents)

A monk can't shave his own head. (No man is an island.)
To begin is half done. (Well begun is half done.)
A riddle is a word game involving two people, the questioner and the answerer. The question embodies only the outer meaning and it is up to the answering person to discover the inner meaning. Divining the inner meaning is both easy and not easy. But not all riddles yield up their inner meanings with equal ease. Hence, the riddle creates a battle of wits between the questioner and answerer. Not only does a lack of imagination make it difficult to answer the riddle but the question can also be intentionally designed to confuse the answerer and send him off on an inappropriate direction. A good example would be, 'Who is the person who has three bells (sejong)?' The answer is 'King Sejong.'

Although riddles are as old as language, the earliest documented evidence in Korea dates back to the reign of King Soji (r. 479-500). According to the Memorabilia_of_the_Three_Kingdoms, an old man emerged from the midst of a pond and presented a sealed letter that was brought to the king. On the envelope was written, 'If opened, two people will die; if not opened one person will die.' The court astrologer solved the riddle, saying, 'The two people are commoners but the one person is Your Majesty.' When the king opened the envelope, he found a message reading, 'Shoot an arrow into the harp-case.' He did so and, inside, found the dead bodies of his queen and a monk, who had been fornicating.

A major contributor over the years to the study of Korean riddles has been Ch'oe Sangsu, who has edited Korean_Riddle_Dictionary (Chosön susukkekkki sajön; 1948) with more than 4,000 entries and Korean_Riddles (Han'guk üi susukkekkki; 1973) with some 1,400 entries. Another major source - bearing the same title - is Korean_Riddles (Han'guk üi susukkekkki; 1973) by Yi Chongch'ul with about 2,000 riddles listed. A North Korean source is the 1,335-entry Collected_Riddles (susukkekkki chip; 1986), edited by Pak Yongsun.

A Sampler of Korean Riddles

What lives without a body and talks without a mouth? (The wind)
What do ten people pull but five people enter? (Five pairs of stockings)
What is sweeter than honey and more powerful than a lion? (Sleep)
What talks without a mouth and hears without ears? (A telephone)
What waits when empty and walks when full? (Shoes)
What has no tongue but always tells the truth? (A mirror)
What has four legs but can't walk? (A table)

2. Story : Myth, Legend, Folktale

Myth is the legacy of deepest antiquity. At a time when the earliest political entities were just beginning to emerge on the Korean peninsula but they had not yet acquired the structure of states, the age of myth was in its last phase. Such nation-founding myths as the stories of Tan'gun, Chumong, Hyökköse, Suro, and the three founders of Cheju Island are not the first myths. Before nation-founding myths took shape, there were originally myths associated with each social entity. Then, as tribes and clans federated into states and states into nations, there was a need to contend with outside powers and inspire a national spirit; therefore, at this point certain of the original myths were expanded to serve as a nation-founding mythology of an entire people, like the Tan'gun myth.

Tan'gun, the Founder of Old Chosön
In ancient times God, whose name was Hwanin, had a young son whose name was Hwanung. The boy wished to descend from heaven and live in the human world. His father, after examining three great mountains, chose T'aebaek Mountain as a suitable place for his heavenly son to bring happiness to human beings. He gave Hwanung three heavenly treasures, and commanded him to rule over his people.

With three thousand of his loyal subjects Hwanung descended from heaven and appeared under a sandalwood tree on T'aebaek Mountain. He named the place City of God and assumed the title of Heavenly King Hwanung. He led his ministers of wind, rain and clouds in teaching the people more than 360 useful arts, including agriculture and medicine, inculcated moral principles and imposed a code of law.

In those days there lived a bear and a tiger in the same cave. They prayed to Hwanung to be blessed with incarnation as human beings. The king took pity on them and gave them each a bunch of mugwort and twenty pieces of garlic, saying, "If you eat this holy food and do not see the sunlight for one hundred days, you will become human beings."

The bear and the tiger took the food and ate it, and retired into the cave. In twenty-one days the bear, who had faithfully observed the king's instructions, became a woman. But the tiger, who had disobeyed, remained in its original form.

But the bear-turned-woman could find no husband, so she prayed under the sandalwood tree to be blessed with a child. Hwanung heard her prayers and married her. She conceived and bore a son called Tan'gun, who later went to P'yöngyang, set up his royal residence, and bestowed the name Chosŏn upon his kingdom.

There are also shaman myths, village myths, and family myths. The shaman myth is a long story orally transmitted as a narrative shaman song or as a 'spirit's history' (pon_p'uri ). The style of its transmission suggests the maintenance of a very old form and the content has various features in common with ancient nation-founding myths. A village myth is the history of a spirit worshiped in that village. Except for the fact that the protagonist is a village spirit, these stories are made nearly the same as legends. As an example of a family myth there is the story of the family progenitor whose mysterious activities are described in the introduction to a family's genealogy.

Legends, generally speaking, can be divided into legends about people and legends about material objects. The legend, whether human legend or material legend, usually has a historical nature to some extent. The characters are frequently historical personages, kings, ministers or some famous person of a given locality. A legend is also something that is frequently thought to be history, whether by the teller or listener.

The folktale is a story that is meant to be heard with amusement and a characteristic is the fact that the protagonist is easily victorious in his confrontation with the world. Although the legend has a historical nature to it, this is not so of the folktale. The folktale begins, 'Long, long ago there lived a certain man...'. Not only are the characters not specific persons but the time and place are vague.

The folktale is largely divided into three types: animal tales; ordinary tales, and jest or anecdote. The first and last are short stories with simple structures and the middle type is a long story with a complicated structure.

In the ordinary tale the protagonist is a common human being who encounters what at first looks like an utterly insurmountable obstacle but, due to unexpected good fortune, he is able to prevail. Although this type does not necessarily always lead to a happy ending, it does not end in a tragic defeat like we can see in the legend. One might claim that a story
like the tale of Pyolsuni and Talsuni is sad, but they do prevail in the end. A tiger grabs and devours the mother and then it sets about devouring her children as well. But the children are not caught and devoured. A heavy rope descends from the sky and they are rescued.

3. Song: Folksong, Kut Song, P'ansori Song

While the shaman kut (ritual) song is sung by a shaman and p'ansori by a kwangdae, the folksong is sung by ordinary people. Not only is it sung by ordinary people but it is deeply connected with the tasks and events of daily life. The folksong takes a general song form while the other two use specialized forms. While one can hear the folksong everywhere, the other two are restricted as to time and place. Both kut song and p'ansori have incorporated much from the folksong.

Folksongs can be classified according to their functions: There are labour songs sung while working and ritual songs sung while performing ceremonies. In the sense that these songs carry out a fixed function they could be called 'functional songs'.

Among functional songs the most fundamental is the labour song. If one sings a song while working, the task can be more pleasant. The labour song uses words needed for the task at hand and, while expressing the feelings of the workers, can weave a story in song to relieve the tedium of repetitive work. The folksongs that men sing while performing heavy labour are comparatively simple and the folksongs that women sing while performing chores like weaving are comparatively wordy and complicated.

Labour songs can be classified according to the type of labour. Agricultural labour songs are sung while pulling up seedling rice, transplanting rice seedlings, weeding a rice paddy, threshing barley, tilling a dry field, or weeding a dry field. Fishing labour songs are associated with such activities as pulling an oar, drawing in nets, and the work of diving women. Songs for sundry tasks include songs for carrying shared loads, cutting grass, cutting fodder or kindling, working a grain mill, and lullabies. Weaving songs are sung while twining thread, spinning, or working a loom.

Types of the ritual song are not plentiful. Though there may have been more in the past, present-day field research has turned up only a few clear types like the exorcistic 'Stamping Down the Earth Demons', bier-carrying dirges, and gravesite earth-tamping songs. The first is a type that belongs to songs sung at periodic observances and the other two are associated with rites of passage.

Folksongs can also be classified according to the singer: men's songs, women's songs, and children's songs. The distinction between men's and women's songs is particularly clear in the case of their functional songs. But there are some regions where the rice seedling transplanting song is sung by both men and women, taking turns. Women's songs are not only more abundant than men's songs but they also have greater variety in content. Narrative folksongs that tell a story are sung mostly by women. Children's songs are unique in that they are orally transmitted only by children. It is common for these songs to be associated with some game or play, instead of standing alone. The content is typically very simple.

There are a great many songs and variants among folksongs and the full picture of the form is difficult to ascertain. The largest collection of folksongs to date is Im Tonggwŏn's seven-volume Collected Korean Folksongs (Hanguk minyo chip; 1961-92) but much more awaits collection and sorting than has been gathered so far.

The kut song - that is, a shaman song - is an essential of the shaman ritual or kut. There are several kinds of shaman but only the hereditary shaman really knows the shaman songs
well. Regions where shaman songs are particularly abundant include Hamgyŏng, P'yŏngan, Kyŏnggi (including Seoul), the eastern coastal region from Kangnŏng to Pusan, and the island of Cheju.

Shaman songs must be seen in terms of how they fit into shaman kut ritual. In general, shaman kut are divided into a sequence of four events: invoking the spirit, questioning and answering the spirit, entertaining the spirit, and telling the spirit's history. For each event there are songs and dances. And there is also speech that is not sung. Among these events, the one that is most important for its songs is the one in which the shaman conveys the spirit's life story. This song about the spirit's history, presented as a long narrative, is called pon p'uri, after the term used on Cheju Island.

We have already mentioned the pon p'uri in connection with myth since much of its content is mythic. But the spirit who is the subject of the pon p'uri, rather than being so mythically sublime and noble that it is difficult for humans to draw close, exudes an aura of intimacy toward common human beings. Like them, the spirit is poor, humble, and despised. Hence he suffers and overcomes hardship in a process that is reminiscent of what was seen in ancient myth. There is no lack of such songs that use this heroic life pattern, such as the two representative pon p'uri - 'The Maiden Tanggūm' (Tanggūm aegi) and 'Princess Pari' (Pari_kongju).

'The Maiden Tanggūm': Sung as part of a kut for the Chesŏk Deity or for domestic exorcism. Distributed nationwide. The story of a woman who is impregnated by a monk and suffers persecution from her parents. This woman and her three children all become shaman deities.

'Princess Pari': Sung as part of an ogu_kut, which is performed when a person dies. Distributed in such locales as Seoul and provinces of Hamgyŏng, Kyŏngsang, and Cholla. In this story, the heroine, cast out because she was born the seventh princess, later goes to the Other World and brings back medicinal water to revive her father the king. The heroine, Princess Pari, is a shaman deity who resurrects dead people and guides dead people to a comfortable place of repose.

Since the kut song is performed in the course of a kut ritual, the form is represented by limited materials. We can catch a glimpse of the general shape of the kut song by reference to Kim T'aegon’s four-volume Collected_Korean_Shaman_Songs (Hanguk_muga_chip, 1979-80).

It is thought that p'ansori was derived from pon p'uri. While it is a characteristic of p'ansori that the singer weaves his song around changes in rhythmic cycles, such cycles and patterns of change are also found in pon p'uri of the Cholla Province area. Whereas pon p'uri takes a shaman deity as its protagonist and tells us a story of travel to and from transcendental worlds, p'ansori deals with ordeals encountered in reality by common mortals. It is believed that p'ansori was first introduced at the end of the seventeenth c. or beginning of the eighteenth by singers from the shaman milieu in Cholla Province, including the husbands of shamans.

P'ansori was sung by a professional singer who is called a kwangdae. The p'ansori kwangdae would travel about and launch into a performance wherever he found a paying audience, whether in the cities or the countryside. He sang not only for aristocratic audiences but also for lower class people gathered in the marketplace. Since p'ansori had to satisfy the demands of such a variety of audiences, its content differed from earlier oral traditions in which the singer sang simply for his own individual amusement. While p'ansori stressed Confucian ethics and morals to please the tastes of aristocratic audiences, it also criticised the ruling order and called for human freedoms as demanded by low class audiences.
It is said that p'an'ori originally had a repertoire of twelve works but only five of them have survived. The three songs most performed today are the songs of Ch'unhyang, Shim Ch'ong, and Hŭngbu. The 'Song of Ch'unhyang' on the surface presents a Confucian virtuous woman but within is hidden the expression of the desire to break free of constraints based upon social status; the 'Song of Shim Ch'ong' praises the behaviour of a filial daughter but, at the same time, criticizes Confucian ethics; and, while the 'Song of Hŭngbu' emphasizes brotherly love, it also shows that social changes were shaking the moral order from its foundation.

4. Nori : Shaman Kut Nori, Puppet Play, Mask Drama

Shaman kut nori is a play performed by a shaman when carrying out a kut. When the shaman sings the songs of a kut, she also performs dances and makes gestures. But simply singing, dancing, and gesturing alone are not called kut nori. Kut nori is drama, for the shaman becomes one of the characters in the drama and, establishing other characters to play opposite, she advances the plot through the give and take of dialogue. A shaman kut nori can be performed by a single shaman, working alone. The one shaman not only alternates among the roles of the various characters but also will select a member of the audience to play an opposite role from where he sits.

The puppet play (kkoktu kakshi norūm) was performed by members of sadang troupes of itinerant entertainers. These sandang troupes - lowest of all the low class entertainers - made a living by selling their talents, among which was the performance of puppet plays. The word kkoktu kakshi is the name of one of the characters in the play and is also used to desigate the puppets in general. Only one puppet play, 'Kkoktu kakshi', has survived.

Kkoktu kakshi is the shabby-looking old female protagonist and her husband is Pak Ch'omji, who also keeps appearing on the stage to explain the action of the play. In order to present his explanation, Pak Ch'omji trades dialogue with the musicians who are playing accompaniment for the puppet play. In effect, the musicians are participating in action of the play from the point of view of the audience. Involvement of the audience can be seen throughout shaman kut nori, puppet play, and mask dance and, among these, it has a particularly important role in the puppet play.

Mask drama was performed at first by farmers' bands in rural villages. Originally, when villagers performed an annual kut to ensure good farming, one part of the farmers' band that was responsible for the kut would put on masks and satirize the aristocracy. While mask drama, therefore, was at first one part of the village kut, it gradually became an independent drama and, as commercial centres developed in the late Choson period, a distinct urban mask drama emerged that was unlike village mask drama.

Mask dramas, wherever found, share common themes to a certain extent. An old monk called Nojang is brought on stage and used to criticize ways of thinking based on concepts that are out of touch with reality; the aristocracy is satirized; and, as the old man and old woman fight, we are shown an example of male tyranny. In widely scattered regions, mask drama shares such typical examples of the Korean population as the apostate old monk and the servant Ch'wibari, and the feckless aristocrat and the servant Malttugi.

Marshall R. Pihl

Twentieth Century Korean Poetry *

Modern Korean literature has been deeply influenced by two related constellations of events. The first was the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910, a colonial regime lasting until Korea's Liberation in 1945 at the end of World War Two. Immediately following
Liberation, Korea was partitioned at its 38th parallel between the United States and the Soviet Union, an action originally intended to establish temporary zones for the two sides to accept the regional surrender of Japanese forces. In his two-volume study on the origins of the Korean War, historian Bruce Cumings has argued that the social and cultural dislocations caused by the Japanese occupation linked with the political division between the regimes in the north and south to create the explosively unstable situation of 1945-1950, when more than 100,000 Korean people died in clashes between Left and Right. In 1950, a civil war broke out between the northern and southern regimes, eventually drawing the two major powers as well as a host of other participants - notably including the People’s Republic of China - into its wake. Though the war was suspended in 1953, the temporary division became long-term as Cold War rivalries prolonged the confrontation in Korea between the Western powers.

The continued structural division of Korea became one of the major concerns of an influential group of writers in the 1980s. Coupled with the repeated invocation of the North Korean threat, the division also provided the handiest rationale during the Park Chung Hee (1961-1979) and Chun Doo Hwan (1980-1988) regimes for severe repression of political dissent and of literature that in any way articulated it. Only in the relatively recent past, the first years of the decade of the 1990s, has reunification lost its taboo status as a subject, and come to be seen less as the (hidden) object of writing than an accepted premise.

The Japanese occupation of Korea has also exerted its influence on the post-1950 writing scene in a number of ways, both direct and indirect. First and most obviously, the Japanese repressed and then imposed an outright ban on literary or other expression in the Korean language. Nationalists who removed themselves from Korea, or who stayed and wrote in Korea until it was no longer possible and then still kept on, are heroes in the cultural histories of the period. Many other writers accommodated, some completely, others to a few lesser degree. The former - writers like the pioneers Yi Kwangsu and Ch'oe Namsŏn - were vilified during the post-Liberation period, but recently have been offered some degree of literary and ideological rehabilitation.

* This section on modern poetry is a revised version of the author’s ‘Fault Lines: Modern Korean Poetry’, Chicago Review, vol. 39, nos. 3-4.

The latter, writers who cooperated with the Japanese in less obvious ways, continue to occupy a supremely tendentious zone in Korea’s history. A scandal broke out in 1986, for example, with the publication of the first two volumes of Selections of Pro-Japanese Literary Works, among which are essays, poems, and other materials by a number of prominent writers in the South Korean literary world.

As an instance of foreign economic and political power exercised in Korea, the Japanese occupation evokes bitter memories, but also raises questions about the so-called Western democratic powers for their evident neglect, even collusion, at Korea’s status as an occupied territory. The United States did not discourage Japan’s moves leading toward the 1910 occupation, and failed to respond in any significant way in 1919 to the March First Korean Independence Movement, even though the events of 1919 clearly were intended as a Korean response to President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points. The United States did respond to South Korea’s perilous situation in 1950, and for decades after the Korean War, the sense of appreciation for the American intervention was palpable nearly everywhere in the south. More recently, though, it has been noticed in the south that the United States was the initial instigator of the 1945 division; that the U.S. commitment of troops in 1950 was at least as much motivated by anxiety about the supposed Red menace as by concern for the people of (South) Korea; and that lingering American implication in the Cold War was a factor in the continuing division. In 1980, when the citizens of Kwangju, a city in the southwestern part of Korea, were brutally assaulted by Korean government troops, the United States not only failed to intervene, but seemed to have given at least tacit approval to the detailing of the troops to Kwangju.
Such political issues have formed a significant strand in Korean literature throughout this century, one that shapes a reading of even the most 'aesthetic' or purely literary works, and gives a pejorative sense to the term sunsup'a, the pure literary school as contrasted with the ch'amyöp'a or commitment group, writers who have engaged in their works the social issues of the decades of the 1970s and 1980s. The political implications of the division of Korea spill over into the assumption that when one speaks of Korean literature, one normally means either literature written in Korea prior to the 1945 division, or literary works written in South Korea in the years since. Until just a few years ago, South Korea had banned the publication not only of works by North Korean writers - that is, citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea - but even those who wrote and published prior to 1945 but then, for whatever reason, whether freely or not, 'went north.' North Korean literature is almost universally excluded in discussions of 'Korean literature' in South Korea, and in the West. At the same time, it must be noted that in the twentieth c. Korean literature has also shown a full range of engagements with other matters entirely, as well as a cosmopolitan awareness and appreciation of other writers in other countries, including Japan. This is to suggest that there is both far more and less to Korean literature than its conflicted politics.

Korean Poetry to 1945

From the first decade of the century, Ch'oe Namsón's (1879-1961) poem 'From the Sea to Children' (Hae egesö sonyön ege) stands out in the literary histories as the first modern poem. Ch'oe published the poem in 1908 in the premier issue of the journal he had just started publishing, Youth (Sonyön). With rather heavy didactic force, the poem articulated its author's hope to inspire the younger generations of Korea to take up the challenges of the modern age. The first and last stanzas will give a sense of the poem's structure and tone, in several respects reminiscent of the 'Song of the Flying Dragons'.

I
Ch'ölsök , ch'ölsök , ch'ök , sswa-a.
Rolling, smash, demolish.
Mountains high as T'aesan, rocks huge as houses,
What are they to me, what are they?
Know you my strength? Or do you not? Roaring out,
Rolling, smash, demolish.
Ch'ölsök , ch'ölsök, ch'ök, t'yunürung, kwak.

VI
Ch'ölsök , ch'ölsök, ch'ök, sswa-a.
There on earth, the people;
I despise them all. The only ones I love,
Full of courage, the pure-hearted children.
Come then, sweetly to my arms and be embraced.
Come and let me kiss you.
Ch'ölsök , ch'ölsök, ch'ök, t'yunürung, kwak.

Following the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, the literary as well as the political and social modernization movements were engulfed by the Japanese efforts to assimilate, or erase, Korean culture. Still, writers such as the pioneering novelist Yi Kwangsu, whose 1917 'new novel', The Heartless (Mujöng ), articulated a vision of modern enlightenment thought leading to the rebirth of Korean national energies, continued to grapple with the doubled challenges of creating a modern, Korean literature even as Japan's policies seemed to block the very idea of a Korean nation and culture. Chu Yohan's 'Fire Play', published in 1918, is cited as the first free-verse poem, while Kim Sŏk's experiments with traditional
rhythmic and thematic elements, as well as his translations of a broad range of European poetry, excited great interest in the Korean literary world.

In 1919, in direct response to Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, especially the principle of national self-determination, Ch’oe Namsŏn, in consultation with Yi Kwangsu and other leaders, drafted a Declaration of Korean Independence, which was read at Pagoda Park in Seoul on March First. The independence movement spread rapidly throughout the country, despite the concerted and violent efforts of the Japanese government-general to suppress it. But the international community failed to respond, in part because of the difficult negotiations then underway at Versailles to settle the end of World War I, and in part because of American interests in having Japan as a balance to Russian ambitions in Asia.

The Japanese government did alter its policies for a time, however, easing an array of the publishing restrictions, among others. As a result, the decade of the 1920s became a true Renaissance of Korean literature. Poets such as Sowŏl (his sobriquet), Kim Chŏngshik (1902-1934) and Manhae, Han Yongun (1879-1944) exploited both Korean and other resources in recreating a Korean literature. Sowŏl’s famous poem 'Azaleas', published in his only book of poems in 1925, expresses a wistful melancholy to those who read it as a love poem. It echoes a poem by William Butler Yeats, 'He Wishes for the Cloths of Heaven', for those who have read the Irish poet’s work. Like Yeats, Sowŏl deploys in his poem a traditional diction and rhythm that evoke the Korean cultural past, like the Irish Romantic past of Yeats’s early work.

'Azaleas'

When you go away,
weary of me,
without a word, gently I shall let you go.

I shall gather
the beautiful azaleas of Yŏngbyŏn and Yaksan
and scatter them on your path.

Step by step
on the flowers placed before you
tread softly, just lightly, and go.

When you go away,
weary of me,
though I die I shall not shed a tear.

Sowŏl’s melancholic tone was read in the 1960s and 1970s in South Korea as an expression of the Korean national sense of sadness at the Japanese occupation. In the 1980s, a time of intense political concern about literature as a result of the Kwangju uprising and massacre of 1980, Sowŏl was criticized for having a decadent, sentimentally escapist outlook. Sowŏl’s poems can now be read with a less politically mediated sense of appreciation for the language and imagery of the works, but also in the case of 'Azaleas', with an ironic awareness of the convergence of the site of those azaleas with the location of one of the major North Korean nuclear reactors.

Manhae, Han Yongun directly and actively took part in a number of areas in the Korean nationalist movement. Among other things, he briefly joined the so-called 'Righteous Armies' in the 1890s in their guerilla campaign against the Japanese intruders. He became a leader of the Korean Buddhist community during the 'teens, publishing a widely read essay on the revitalization of Korean Buddhism. In 1919 he was chosen to represent the
Buddhists in signing the Declaration of Independence, and wrote three codicils on non-violent protest. Following his arrest and brief imprisonment for participating in the movement, he published his one collection of poems in Korean (he wrote another collection of Chinese poems during his imprisonment) called The Silence of Love (Nim üi ch'immuk ) in 1926. Written in a densely allusive style influenced by his reading of Rabindranath Tagore's poems, on the one hand, and by the Buddhist scriptures on the other, the sequence of sixty-eight poems circles round and provokes the memory of the absent loved one, the nim of the book's title. From one poem to the next, the voice of the poems may be a woman's or a man's, and for a number of the poems the subject may be read as a person, as the Korean nation or people, or the Buddha, or the contradictory, rhetorical centre of a self-reflexive, recursive style of prose-poem. Manhae's 'Ferryboat and Traveller' evokes the image of the traveller, one that later poets used frequently, in the landscape of what might be colonial Korea; the ferryboat may be read as 'Korea'. The term for the traveller, haengin, also refers to a person entering Buddhist practice, while the ferryboat is a symbol for the scriptures. Finally, the poem can also be read as simply being constructed around the subject of itself.

'Ferryboat and Traveller'

I am the ferryboat
You are the traveller.

You step on me with muddy feet.
Holding you, I cross over the waters.
Holding you, I cross over the depths, the shallows, the steepest rapids.

If by chance you do not come I wait for you, night until day,
exposed to the winds, the snow and the rain.
When you cross the water you do not look back on me but just go on.
But I know that you are always about to come.
Waiting for you, day after day I go on wearing older.

I am the ferryboat
you are the traveller.

Despite the increasingly severe restrictions placed upon Korea during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s, Korean writers continued to pursue their craft. The poet, short story writer, essayist Bohemian Dadaist architect tea-house owner Yi Sang (1910-1937), in being the most unusual of Korea's writers then and, in the estimation of many readers, since, can be viewed as the most representative. His novella 'Wings' (Nalgae) published less than one year before his death, combines the literary device of the naive narrator - a man who refuses to realize that his wife is a prostitute - with a remarkably avant garde literary style, filled with numerous references to the cultural products of the west, and constantly doubling and redoubling back upon itself in an infinitely regressive process of introspection. The narrator, as the story progresses, comes to resemble Ch'oyong, or a modern, urban version of him, even to the moment when he stumbles into his wife's room as she is entertaining a client:

No sooner had I got home than I discovered my wife had a guest. I was cold and wet and, in the confusion, forgot to knock. I witnessed a scene that my wife would have liked me not to. With drenched feet I strode across her room and reached mine. Casting off my dripping garments, I covered myself with a quilt. I kept on shivering; the cold became intense. I felt as if the floor under me were sinking. I lost consciousness.

Translated by Peter H. Lee
The narrator becomes sick, and in a reversal of Ch'oyong's story, his wife nurses him - with sleeping pills, rather than cold medicine. Commentators on the story have suggested a correspondence between the narrator's psychic paralysis and the colonized mentality of those who were living in Korea at the time. Yi Sang's poems display a similar combination of intense focus, an almost architectural use of language to create and shape space on the ground of the page, and in those poems which do have some comprehensible story, a double-reflected sense of the absence of the poet's self. Two examples are 'Diagnosis' from Yi Sang's 'Crow's Eye View', a long, proto-post-modernist poem which caused a sensation in the Korean literary world as it was published in serial form in the Chosŏn Central News in 1934, and 'Mirror', published in that same year in Catholic Youth. The first is given in the original, since to translate it would invade the architecture of the poem for no gain.

'Diagnosis' (from 'Crow's Eye View')

October 26, 1931

Yi Sang (Doctor on Duty)

'Mirror'

There is no sound in the mirror; no other world is so still.

In the mirror I do have ears, two pitiful ears that cannot hear what I say.

The I of the mirror is a lefty, awkward left-hander who doesn't know how to shake my hand.

Because of the mirror I cannot touch the I of the mirror, but without the mirror how could we ever have met?

I don't have a mirror with me now but in the mirror there is always the I of the mirror, busy, I suppose, somewhere with his lonely work.

The I of the mirror is just the opposite of me and still is just the same.
I worry about the I of the mirror and feel sad that I cannot conduct a proper examination.

The frustrated diagnostic impulse of the poem sounds an eerily close echo of the ritual core of Ch'öyong's song.

Post-Division, Post-War Korean Literature

For an interval during and immediately after the Korean War, a number of writers grappled either wishfully or realistically with the challenge to national identity, and the vast devastation, caused by a war that quite literally decimated the population of thirty million Korean people. Several prominent writers who 'went north' were dropped from the South Korean literary realm, officially ignored, or worse. The case of Lee In-Soo is a representative, if horrific, example. Educated in Korea, Japan, and England, a truly masterful translator of modern Korean poetry, Lee was 're-captured' by South Korean troops after the cease-fire in 1953, put through a hasty trial on charges of treason, and despite extensive and vigorous protests from the international community, summarily executed by the South Korean government.

The 1950s also saw a return to the modernist experiments of the 1930s most notably started by Yi Sang. The poet Kim Suyŏng (1921-1968) was one of the most influential of the neo-modernists, a group known as the 'Latter Half'. Other writers pursued a more lyrical, traditional poetic practice - notably the poet Sŏ Chŏngju, whose passionate, intense poems continue to inspire and exasperate other writers. Sŏ's 'Beside a Chrysanthemum' (*Kukhwa yŏp'eso*), has been learned by several generations of school children in Korea.

'Beside a Chrysanthemum'

To bring one chrysanthemum
to flower, the cuckoo has cried
since spring.

To bring one chrysanthemum to bloom,
thunder has rolled
through the black clouds.

Flower, like my sister returning
from distant, youthful byways
of throat-tight longing
to stand by this mirror:

for your yellow petals to open,
last night such a frost fell,
and I did not sleep.

The 1960s and 1970s were defined by the increasingly heavy-handed measures of the repressive Park Chung Hee regime, and the concomitantly serious focus in Korean literary works upon social and political issues. Kim Suyŏng came to be even more widely recognized as one of Korea's leading modern poets, and his death in 1968, run down by a bus in the before-curfew rush, was a tragic and ironic urban waste. He was at the time one of Korea's most accomplished and paradoxically most promising writers.

Among those who count themselves as descendants of Kim Suyŏng are the political satirist Kim Chiha, and the rural-urban genre-scene poet Shin Kyŏngnim. Shin and other writers and critics were associated at the time with the influential journal, *Creation and Criticism*.
The 1970s and 1980s, with rapid industrial and economic growth locked in the close embrace of a series of repressive political regimes, seemed to call forth a large number of outright protest poets, such as the former Buddhist monk Ko Un, Kim Chiha, and such metaphorical dissenters as Hwang Tonggyu and Chong Hyŏnjŏng.

The National Literature Movement was organized in the 1980s to refocus effort and attention on the issue that many writers and others believed was the single, defining aspect of Korea's national political life - the continuing division of the country. Many of the writers and critics associated with the movement had come together before in the offices and pages of Creation and Criticism. There have been such bizarre moments in the group's history as the expulsion of Kim Chiha for his urging students not to kill themselves in their anti-government protests, and the even more bizarre twist when the poet protested in turn that he had not known he was a member of the organization in the first place. Nevertheless, the organization has had a profound influence in Korea's literary history, as it marked a point when writers took action as a polity rather than isolated individuals or groups of individuals.

As it drew away from the Kwangju Uprising of 1980, the decade marked a period when writers took unambiguous stands on politics and human rights issues, many against the then current government of Chun Doo Hwan, and a few in support. The latter, or those who simply refused to speak out, were subjected to severe criticism and threats.

Many new voices and subjects began to appear, in the latter years of the 1980s, in writing about the world of the labouring class, then works by the labouring class, especially the poet Pak Nohae, whose Dawn of Labour reached a very wide audience in the late 1980s; in works by and about women; and in works from and about Kwangju. With the substantial changes in the domestic political climate in South Korea giving freer reign to the forces of a voracious reading market, poetry, stories, essays, confessional literature, and novels have flooded from the publishing houses. It can be argued that the variety in all its myriad facets had been a constant presence during this century, though confined by the tectonics of the Japanese occupation and the political division. The tremendous release that has happened in South Korea, and may also, at some time, in the north, is perfectly captured in one of Ko Un's most gloriously political poems, 'Great Springtime':

Warm east winds blow,
the earth is melting.
It's a sight to open
the eyes of the blind.
Kids are clustering
close like chicks,
underground insects
are wriggling restless too.
Just look! The fish rising
from deeper water
are using their backs
to break the ice!
How on earth
can heaven keep silent?
The wild goose fathers
are leading their broods
away towards the Sungari River.
Now in this land
wonders are happening.
One great springtime is coming!

Tr. by YM Kim and Brother Anthony of Taizé
David R. McCann

Barely one century has passed since the first serialized fiction began to appear in late nineteenth-c. Korean newspapers, heralding the emergence of a literature sufficiently unlike what had preceded it and also new enough in content to be called 'modern' in the Western European sense. The unfolding of Korean literature over this reach of time is commonly divided into three main stages, each linked to certain distinct changes in social conditions. The literature of the period from the end of the nineteenth c. through the early years of the twentieth c., frequently called 'enlightenment literature', constitutes the first of these stages. The second stage is the literature of the Japanese colonial period, running from the early to the middle twentieth c. Post-Liberation literature, divided into that of the North and of the South and coinciding with the second half of this century, makes up the third stage.

The most dramatic changes in Modern Korean literature took place over a comparatively short period - the quarter century between the Kabo Reforms of 1894-96 and the independence demonstrations of 1919. These changes were undertaken mostly by a small, elite, and homogeneous class of early modern intellectuals and, for that very reason, could proceed apace.

In the early years of the twentieth c., much material was translated from Chinese, Japanese and other foreign languages into Korean and published in Korea. But, at the same time, modernized expression was also evolving in original Korean composition, as seen in early newspapers, magazines, and books.

Enlightenment literature gave way to colonial literature in the early 1920s after the tumultuous, anti-Japanese March First Movement of 1919 had altered the consciousness of the Korean people and Japan's new Cultural Policy had permitted the opening of several private Korean-language newspapers and magazines for the first time in more than a decade.

In addition to the realism introduced in 1919 by the coterie magazine *Creation* (Ch'angjo) edited by the pioneer Kim Tongin and his friends, there emerged the socialist writing of a generation of young students who had been educated in Japan, where they encountered a wave of European thought that was not well known back home. In 1925 they formed the Korea Artist Prole塔 Federatio (KAPF), and until May 1935, when KAPF was closed down by the authorities, socialist writers added a fresh intellectual edge to Korean writing, although they ultimately failed to contribute many works of lasting importance to literary history.

The 1930s introduced a growing Japanese suppression that drove many writers away from the here-and-now as a subject. This decade witnessed a maturation in modern Korean literature within which the giants of the post-Liberation literary establishment, such as Ch'ae Manshik, Kim Tongni, and Hwang Sunwŏn, serve their apprenticeships.

The most ironic yet formative experience of the twentieth c. for Korean literature began with Liberation on 15 August 1945. Koreans regained a country that had been lost to Japanese imperialism only to lose it again to Russian and American imperialism. What has remained since then are two distortions of Korea - a 'North' and a 'South' - which have been further deformed by war and industrialization. In Korean, the 1945 Liberation is called *Kwangbok*, 'Glorious Recovery', but it was neither glorious nor a recovery and, worse, it was capped by an internecine war of horrifically compressed violence that spared no corner of the country. Of the Koreans who survived, ten million today remain separated from members of their families by the impassable truce-line. These events have so informed contemporary Korean literature in one way or another that some critics define literature since 1945 as the 'Literature of an Age of Division'.
The immediate post-Liberation period - the literary void of 1945-50 - was an ordeal for Korean writers. Pro-Japanese collaborators were being singled out and ostracized, while the decades-old division between left and right - quiescent during the latter days of colonial suppression - asserted itself again as literary groups formed, split, and merged. The rightist administrations of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea and, later, Syngman Rhee, contributed to an increasingly hostile environment for the left. Ideological strife tore the literary world apart, and its ranks were significantly thinned as about one-third of Korea’s writers - more than one hundred - migrated to the North by the early 1950s. At the same time some writers also moved to the South, but it appears that, for each writer who went South, three southerners went North. We have managed to learn something of the fate of literature in the North through fiction carried in official publications issued in Pyōngyang and available outside the Korean peninsula. A discussion of the North Korean short story appears below.

Although no literature worthy of note was produced in the South during the hectic five years of political confrontation between left and right that followed Liberation, the terrible experience of the 1950-53 war demanded, and got, a response from the literary establishment. While many writers, retreating from ugly reality, resurrected the pastoral idylls of the 1930s, some postwar writers tried to deal more directly, though distantly, with the awful world around them.

Mature craftsmen, schooled in the 1930s and tested in war, towered over the literary establishment at about this time, relinquishing their position only when displaced in the 1970s by a new generation that knew nothing of the colonial experience and were only toddlers during the Korean War.

Halfway through the second stage of South Korean literature since Liberation, while the old masters still dominated the scene, thousands of Korean students - elementary, middle, high school, and college - managed something their elders had long been unable to accomplish. Enraged by blatant political malfeasance and fired by the news that police had killed a boy in Masan with a tear gas canister fired at close range, students converged on major cities and downtown Seoul in massive street demonstrations that finally pulled down the deeply corrupt, authoritarian regime of the Liberal Party under President Syngman Rhee. This was a seminal event for modern Korean culture, society, economy, and politics, for it unleashed a new generation upon the scene, one that now leads in every walk of Korean life.

Though a decade older than this new generation, writer Ch’oe Inhun (b.1936) was the first to break the taboo on discussion of the war in creative literature with his novel ‘The_Square’, published in November 1960. His work takes the then popular victim’s view of the war as having been caused by external forces, which contrasts with treatments of two decades later that began to suggest the war was the inevitable result of internal historical factors.

Ch’oe Inhun’s taboo-breaking novel notwithstanding, a more significant breakthrough occurred in modern South Korean fiction when one of the April 19th Generation, Kim Sűngok (b.1941), published his landmark short story ‘Seoul, 1964: Winter’, marking the beginning of the third stage of Literature in the age of division.

‘Seoul, 1964: Winter’ is a bellwether of Kim Sűngok’s generation. His youthful, modern vocabulary of high-frequency words is notable for its distinct and explicit quality and concomitant rare use of the sensory vocabulary that had been an essential attribute of creative writing since the colonial period.

Although Kim Sűngok faded after publishing comparatively few works, the crack he made in conventional literary perceptions was torn wide open in the 1970s as other members of his generation followed his lead. Notable among them is Ch’oe Inho (b. 1945). An ironic and witty writer, Ch’oe made his debut in the 1960s and has since become a huge
commercial success.

The decade of the 1970s, unique in Korean social and cultural history, was characterized by a rapid economic development that spawned social and regional discord, together with a political self-righteousness that invited ideological confrontation. Rural poverty increased as uprooted workers concentrated in the major cities, which were dominated by a burgeoning, materialistic bourgeoisie that sought to amuse itself in the context of commercial culture. At the same time, a national self-awareness began to take shape as part of an effort to surmount the discord and recover a sense of national wholeness. In response, Korean literature began to orient itself toward the new realities and, thus, take part in the cognitive task that faced the nation.

Cho Sehŭi (b.1942) emerged as an important figure in South Korean fiction at this time. His *Small_Ball_Launched_by_a_Dwarf_(Nanjangi ka ssoaollin chagûn kong ; 1978)* is the most notable product of what is now called the 'literature of the 1970s'. It went through thirty-one printings in its first six years and continued to sell 20,000 copies yearly throughout the 1980s.

Cho's best-seller is a series of loosely-connected but realistically-interrelated stories. A fixed set of characters appears freely in the stories, revealing themselves in bits and snatches as Cho builds up the reality of their lives from the discontinuous fragments scattered throughout the work. These characters' lives run parallel, intersect, and collide, summoning up life in the rapidly industrializing Korea of the 1970s.

The many social changes spawned by rapid industrialization in the 1970s created new social forces that informed the literature of the 1980s. At this time, two events hit the country particularly hard, spurring literary responses. The assassination of President Park Chung Hee in October 1979 blew the lid off a pent-up social scene, leading to labour disputes, strikes, and massive demonstrations. These events culminated in the May 1980 civil uprising in the city of Kwangju which involved two hundred thousand people and was put down by military force at the cost of hundreds dead and thousands wounded. The trauma of the Kwangju Massacre had sufficient impact to colour the literature of a generation of young writers who were then in their twenties.

Early in the 1980s the repressive dictatorship of President Chun Doo Hwan clamped controls on writers by forcing the closure of their literary magazines. But, while the older writers, numbed by past events, were no longer as sensitive as they once had been, only a few younger writers were able to grasp the impact of the Kwangju Massacre on the general populace and the resulting changes in popular consciousness.

However, as new writers did appear, they produced work that fell into two major groupings, commonly referred to as 'literature of division' and 'literature of the people'. These dealt, respectively, with problems of the division of national territory and with social issues stemming from the dictatorship of a political elite. In contrast to Ch'oeg Inhun's 1961 *The_Square*, which treated the Korean War as a clash of superpowers, the literature of division of the 1980s began to consider the war as the inevitable result of internal historical forces, such as the class struggle of landlord and tenant. Cho Chŏngnae essayed this approach in his 1981 novella, 'Land of Exile', and again, more forcefully, in his massive saga, *The_T'aebaek_Mountains_(1983-89)*.

The new young mainstream novelists who emerged during the 1980s include Yi Insŏng, Yang Kwija, Im Ch'ŏru, and Ch'oe Such'ŏl - all born in the 1950s. In spite of their shared experiences of the 1980s and tendency to address larger societal issues (labourers, middle class, and social reform; political violence, national division, and the Kwangju Massacre) they nevertheless show considerable individual genius.
Yi Insŏng, well known for his 1983 short story collection, *Into a Unfamiliar Time*, is a writer who writes to change society. He enriches his work with careful research but also draws upon his own personal experience - which he heightens for artistic effect. Yang Kwija, on the other hand, writes in a simple but polished, classical style as she examines the alienation of a weary middle-class. A representative collection of her work is the 1985 *Deaf Bird*.

The work of Im Ch'ŏru, who was born in Kwangju, reveals spiritual scars of the 1980 massacre. The representative 'A Shared Journey', from his 1985 anthology *Beloved South*, exemplifies his uneasy but lyrical style, which projects a gloomy view of the world.

The most thematically wide-ranging of these four representative young writers of the 1980s is Ch'oe Such'ŏl, whose constantly shifting insights examine the failures in human relations, isolation of individuals, and psychological aspects of violence in society. A representative collection of his work, *Pavilion in the Air*, explores inner consciousness and psychology in an imaginary world of unreality.

Literature in the northern Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) developed very differently from that of South Korea. When leftist literary leaders from the southern half of Korea and intellectuals who spent the war years in exile in Yenan, China, flocked to the new regime in the North after Liberation, they discovered a situation quite unlike what they had anticipated. Major literary and intellectual leaders associated with the earlier proletarian school disappeared from sight in the course of a struggle for political control of the North between Kim II Sung's Soviet-oriented Korean Workers Party and the New People's party, whose leaders had spent the last years before Liberation with Mao Tsetung in Yenan.

The leader of the Yenan faction, Kim Tubong, an established literary scholar, was purged during the Korean War. Having eliminated not only non-communist nationalists and domestic communists soon after Liberation but also the Yenan faction by the end of the Korean War, Kim II Sung had a free hand to dictate cultural policy in line with his own anti-intellectual, party-first bias. Clearly impatient with possible criticism by intellectuals from within party ranks, as Mao had been in Yenan, Kim repeatedly expressed a distaste for literary workers as a professional group separate from the party and the people.

In terms which recall the Stalin-Zhdanov cultural policy in Soviet Russia of the 1930s, he characterized writers and artists as 'engineers of the human soul' and stressed that their works should serve the people as a 'powerful weapon and as a great inspiration'. He chided writers and artists for having 'lost touch with life' and 'lagging behind our rapidly advancing reality'. His basic theme was that the writers must serve the people and the party, acting as inspirational conveyors of information who help the readers learn from the 'lofty spirit of ordinary people'.

In November 1960 Kim II Sung announced the formation of a General Federation of Literature and Art, in which writers and other creative artists were to work collectively under the leadership and direct guidance of the party. By the 1970s, Kim appeared satisfied that his writers were under party control and successfully incorporated into the work of the state. Addressing the Fifth Congress of the Korean Workers Party, he reported, "Our literature and art have become the literature and art of the Party, of the revolution, and of the people in the truest sense of the term and are becoming a powerful means in educating our working people along communist lines."

North Korean fiction as it has evolved under party control is less a reflection of social reality than it is a statement of social ideals. There are no villains in North Korean fiction when the story is set in the present-day DPRK. The only inveterate villains are found among landlords and Japanese in stories set before Liberation or American and Korean officials in modern tales that take place in South Korea. In stories set in the DPRK, we find
no interpersonal conflicts involving true enmity but, rather, solvable misunderstandings, such as those between faithful believers and back-sliders. The stance is optimistic, evincing a belief in human perfectibility. Since all people are seen essentially as potential believers susceptible to conversion or correction, there is no character development beyond the individual's recognition of party truth. Therefore, without productive interaction between characters, the only motive force rests with the author, who manipulates his puppet-like characters in obvious and predictable ways.

The typical story consists of five parts: description of physical setting, identification of major characters, introduction of problem to be solved, crisis scene, and resolution. The setting is always identified as a real one, mostly agricultural, taking place in the present-day DPRK. The next most popular type of setting after agricultural is industrial, but typically a rural locale. Most of the agricultural activity is related to change (that is, mechanization, improved fertilizers, more efficient methods, land reclamation, highway and railroad construction), which means that virtually no attention is given to traditional farming and the natural cycle - nature cannot dominate the land, for nature is to be overcome by man's revolutionary struggle. The natural environment is typically beautiful to observe but harsh to encounter: mountains abound, and characters frequently struggle against the cold and snow (often a blizzard).

The major characters, identified at the outset by name and social function, are all local workers. Although the speech of characters reflects their differences in status, as is normal in the Korean language, the authors tend to equalize the characters throughout the narration by referring to them by their first names. The family structure is downplayed and made ancillary to such mainstream, task-oriented groups as work brigades, rural cooperatives, military outfits, factory-worker groups, student circles, and cultural clubs. Interaction of individuals without reference to these groups does not occur, hence ruling out any but the most tangential recognition of family and romantic love.

The problem introduced in the third part of the typical story is commonly a misunderstanding to be resolved, a back-slider to be encouraged, a quota to be met, a new technique to be perfected, or a struggle to overcome an adversary of the group (natural phenomena, Japanese, Americans). There is never any question about ultimate victory, and what doubters there are become converted in the course of the solution of the problem. The crucial meeting of forces in the fourth part gives way to a concluding resolution in which the problems are restated and a suggestion of future happiness and success is unveiled.

The didactic content, manipulative plot, and unconvincing characterization of the contemporary North Korean short story are functions of the same kind of social purpose that motivated the writers of the 'new novel' early in the twentieth c., the two are invested with a serious intent that is a function of the times. Both are valid and useful in terms of their social purposes: the 'new novel' helped to spread literacy and inculcate progressive ideas in early modern Korea and North Korean socialist realism has served to educate citizens of the DPRK along party lines.

Instead of relegating North Korean socialist realism to a marginal category of political propaganda, however, we would benefit by considering its affinities with the nineteenth-c. classical novel, which promoted virtue and reproved vice, the enlightenment's 'new novel', which advocated modern social ideas, and the idealistic realism of passionate left-wing writers of the colonial era. As observed in the section on kasa poetry, above, that form also exhibited continuity in its didacticism both during the Enlightenment period and in modern North Korea. Seen in this light, we can appreciate writing in the DPRK today as the expression of an impulse that runs deep in Korean literature.

Marshall R. Pihl

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M R Pihl
D R McCann
Lunar New Year

The lunar New Year, known as Sol, Wŏndan, Wŏnil or Chŏngch’o, is one of the most important holidays in Korea. During this holiday, there are traffic jams throughout the country as people rush to see their family and relatives. On the morning of Lunar New Year, people don traditional dress (hanbok). Various foods and wine are prepared, and then set in front of an ancestral tablet. The table is meticulously arranged according to Confucian tradition; however, many families also have their own traditions governing details of the arrangement. In general, fish is put on the east, meat on the west, fruit in front, rice and soup behind and liquor on the front table. A ceremony is then held during which the male family members pay respect to their deceased ancestors up to the fourth generation by making three full bows.

Family members also visit the graves of their deceased ancestors. On this holiday, after cutting the grass from around the grave, they make a simple offering and then bow three times. In addition to paying respect to the deceased, each family member is expected to make two formal bows to his or her elders. According to custom, the elders then give the person a gift of money, particularly if the person is a child.

Special foods are prepared for this holiday. In particular, rice-cake soup is typically served instead of rice. For this reason, the question ‘How many bowls of rice-cake soup have you eaten?’ is sometimes used to ask one’s age. In North Korea and China, mandu (dumpling) soup is often eaten instead. Certain games are also associated with the holiday. A stick-tossing game called yut is commonly played. Kite flying is also popular.

The lunar New Year is believed to have been celebrated as early as the Shilla period. It was also an important holiday during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. However, during the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), the holiday fell victim to the colonial attempt to suppress Korean culture. Even after the occupation, Koreans were encouraged to observe the solar New Year. As the government increased vacation time for the solar New Year and decreased it for the lunar New Year, the former holiday became the only time suitable for visiting relatives who lived far away. Then, in 1989 the government altered its previous policy, making the lunar New Year an official three-day holiday. Nowadays, nearly all Koreans celebrate the New Year according to the lunar calendar.

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MacArthur, General Douglas (1880-1964)

Douglas MacArthur was the U.S. general who commanded the Southwest Pacific Theatre in World War II, administered post-war Japan during the Allied occupation that followed, and led United Nations (UN) forces during the first nine months of the Korean War. MacArthur was born in Little Rock Arkansas, the son of Arthur MacArthur a frontier army officer. He graduated from the United States Military Academy (USMA) in 1903, finishing first in his class. His natural leadership qualities came to the fore during his time at West Point and are witnessed in the fact that he was named First Captain, considered the highest honour at the military academy. Upon graduation, MacArthur served in various positions and came into prominence during World War I. He had risen to the rank of Brigadier
General by the conclusion of the war. After the War, he served as Superintendent of the USMA and as Army Chief of Staff in 1930. MacArthur then retired to the reserve list of officers in 1937, but was recalled to active duty and commanded the US forces against the Japanese in World War II in the Far East, eventually being placed in command of all Allied Forces in the Southwest Pacific region. On 2 September 1945 he accepted the unconditional surrender of the Japanese on-board the USS Missouri, and then was appointed Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Japan. MacArthur was serving in this capacity at the time of the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950.

While MacArthur was in Japan he had no direct responsibilities for Korea after the withdrawal of American troops in June 1949, but was responsible for logistical support of the United States Embassy and the Korean Military Advisory Group both in Seoul. Of course, the US military intelligence and the Central Intelligence Agency were aware of a possible North Korean attack, and in February 1950 General Macarthur warned that an offensive was likely in the Spring. However, Washington gave scant regard to his and the other advice it received from the troubled region.

With North Korea's invasion of South Korea on early Sunday morning, 25 June 1950, the United Nations (UN) called for all member countries to aid the South in repelling the attack and in restoring peace to the area. MacArthur received a directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff placing him in charge of all American military operations in Korea, and he then despatched staff to set up a command post in Korea, ready for his arrival. The general arrived in Suwŏn, south of Seoul, on 29 June and met with the President of the Republic of Korea (ROK) Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) and American ambassador to Korea, John J. Muccio. Following his appraisal of the battle then raging in Seoul, MacArthur came to the rapid conclusion that the only hope for the South Korean army was American intervention, and that South Korea would soon face total capitulation unless strong support could be given immediately. This report was despatched to Washington D.C., and President Harry S. Truman convened a meeting of the National Security Council, which authorised General MacArthur to, (a) deploy American troops to provide logistical support to the ROK, (b) establish a secure area around Pusan, and (c) carry out air strikes against North Korea to destroy its military installations. Hence, by nightfall on 1 July, a small advance force of American troops landed in Pusan and prepared to meet the onslaught of North Korean forces, which were now south of the 38th parallel.

By the end of the first week in July, the UN Security Council had issued a directive charging the United States with the unified command of UN forces in Korea, and on 8 July, President Truman appointed MacArthur as commander of all armed forces in Korea. Initially, MacArthur assigned the American ground forces in Korea, the Eighth Army, to Lieutenant General Walton H. Walker, and by 17 July, President Rhee had placed all South Korean forces under Walker. In this early phase of the war, MacArthur concentrated on slowing the North Korean thrust southwards, while trying to assemble a sufficiently strong force to turn the tide. The number of ground troops available to MacArthur was severely restricted, while the South Korean army was poorly equipped and low in spirit after a chain of defeats. Thus, the UN actions in the early days of the war were mostly carried out by its air and naval forces. Air strikes on North Korea from American aircraft carriers had begun by 4 July, and these were soon supplemented by other UN air force sorties. A naval blockade, south of the 41st parallel on the east coast and south of 39 degrees 30 minutes on the west coast, was thrown around North Korea to prevent the easy transport of supplies to its ground forces in the South and the import of supplies from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

MacArthur quickly realised that the best way to drive out the North Korean troops from the South was by way of an amphibious assault deep behind their lines, since a frontal ground assault would result in too-heavy casualties for his relatively small ground force. His plan was to land at the port of Inch'on and divide the North's army, thereby forcing it to engage
in a war on two fronts. MacArthur was made aware that the tides at Inch'ón are among the highest in the world, and that the landing would be extremely difficult. Of the dates considered -- 15 September, 11 October, and 2 or 3 November seemed appropriate. MacArthur decided that 15 September would be best since it would provide earlier relief for the armies in the south. Also, by then the farmers would have harvested their rice crop. He met opposition, however, from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, since the tides at Inch'ón on 15 September would be particularly worrying for the landing craft, at a high of 9.2 metres (30 feet), and also with a rapid ebb within the space of two hours or so, which could leave the small ships and their cargoes marooned on the harbour's mud flats, making them easy targets for the North Korean shore batteries. MacArthur continued to press for a 15 September assault for the reason that as the enemy's high command would not expect an attack under such unfavourable conditions the landing would be successful. He eventually received approval for his plan, and on 15 September the UN forces landed at Inch'ón, taking the North Koreans by surprise and capturing the second largest port in Korea without major opposition. The UN forces forged ahead and liberated Seoul just a week later, and in the process cutting the enemy’s major lines of supply to the south. The forces in Pusan then broke out of their perimeter and by 30 September had pushed the North Korean army north of the 38th parallel, liberating the south within just fifteen days. The North Korean army caught between Seoul and Pusan suffered extremely heavy casualties and many of its fighting units were annihilated. The execution of MacArthur’s plan had been flawless and military strategists count it among the most brilliantly executed operations in the history of modern warfare.

The impressive victory of MacArthur at Inch'ón and his prowess in purging the south of North Korean troops created an air of confidence in Washington and among the UN coalition of the possibility of eliminating the North Korean threat permanently and of unifying the Korean peninsula at the same time. The US then suspended its containment policy and the UN forces were given the go-ahead to cross the 38th parallel into North Korea as a means of eliminating the Communists and reunifying the peninsula under the South Korean government. Thus, some three weeks after securing the southern regions, the UN forces began their northward thrust. MacArthur was not in complete understanding with President Truman over the scope of the UN mission, and this developed as a ‘battle of the wills’ between the soldier and the politician. A main concern was that either Soviet or Chinese forces would enter the war, which would then expand beyond a regional conflict. Initially, the directive was that the UN forces were to advance no further than forty miles (sixty-four kms.) south of the Yalu River (the Korea-China border), but by 24 October, General MacArthur had instructed his battle-commanders to ignore this order and proceed northwards. MacArthur was convinced that the Chinese would not enter the war, and it seemed likely that after the fall of Pyongyang and the attainment of the Yalu river region objective, with almost two-thirds of North Korea in UN hands, victory over the communist forces would be complete. But he was proven wrong, when in mid-October, about 200 000 Chinese 'volunteer' soldiers joined forces with the North Korean army, thus placing a whole new face on the war, and swinging the pendulum in favour of the North Korean forces.

MacArthur’s violation of his directive created much controversy in the United States, particularly as the Chinese-backed North Korean Army pushed southward. MacArthur believed that he needed to take action against Chinese positions in Manchuria to cut the enemy supply lines; the American government, however, did not want to risk the chance of the conflict in Korea spreading to other areas or developing into a full-blown war. Hence, a war of words and positions continued between the Democratic Party administration of President Truman and General MacArthur, who was supported by many Republican Party politicians. At the same time, the North Korean-Chinese troops had pushed well below the 38th parallel and again had the UN coalition cornered around Pusan. MacArthur slowly regained control of most of the south and again announced his plans for advancing beyond
the 38th parallel. Washington, on the other hand, was attempting to reach a peace-accord with China and North Korea, and did not intend to enter into the scale of hostility with China that MacArthur advocated. MacArthur’s persistent challenge to the directives of President Truman led to the inevitable, as on 10 April 1951 Truman dismissed the general from his command, ending his military career and involvement in Korea.

Popular support of MacArthur was extremely high in the United States and his speech to Congress made him even more respected. On his return to the US he was greeted by massive parades and applauding crowds, but he also was the object of persecution by the Truman administration. To the end, MacArthur claimed that the interference of the administration had prevented him from winning the Korean War, which continued to be stalemated until the cessation of hostilities in 1953.

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Maech’ön yarok is an undisclosed history collection of the final years of the Chosŏn period written by Hwang Hyŏn (1855-1910). This work covers the period from 1864 until 1910 and is comprised of six volumes in seven fascicles. It covers the first thirty years of the reign of King Kojong (r. 1864-1907) in just one volume. However, the last seventeen years of the Chosŏn period are covered extensively in five volumes as the author records many of the significant events that occurred in the tumultuous period that witnessed the fall of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

Among the events that are recorded in the first volume are the regency of Hungson Taewŏn’gun, the political strife among members of the royal family including Queen Min, and the treaties between Korea, Japan and other countries. The final five volumes provide a chronological history of the events that surrounded the collapse of the Chosŏn Kingdom. Here the author lists such historically significant events such as the 1894 Tonghak Rebellion, the Sino-Japanese War, the assassination of Queen Min by the Japanese, the Russo-Japanese War, and the treaties and machinations of the Japanese that led to the loss of Korea’s national sovereignty. In all, this work covers some of the most important events in the modern history of Korea making it invaluable in the study of this period.

Maeil shinbo (see Seoul shinmun)

Maeil shinmun

The Maeil shinmun (Daily News) newspaper was the first daily in Korea and began publication on 9 April 1898. At its inception, Yang Hongmok was president, and others involved at that time include personages such as Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman), Ch’oe Chŏngshik, and Yu Yŏngsŏk. Originally, the newspaper was published at the Paekje Academy as the Hyŏpsyŏng hochoebo, but after its relocation to offices in the Namdaemun district of Seoul, it took the title of Maeil shinmun. It was launched with the pledge of contributing in a positive manner to the modernisation of the country and the fostering of a higher culture.

The Maeil shinmun was designed as a newspaper for the people and hence, from its beginning, it used the vernacular han’gul script, in order to reach as large an audience as
possible. Moreover, as the paper of the Korean people, the *Maeil shinmun* was at the forefront of the struggle against the intervention of foreign powers in Korean affairs, and helped spread this message throughout the Korean press. One such issue dealing with the foreign powers in Korea was the demand, on the front page of the 16 May 1898 edition, that the Russian and French governments transfer jurisdiction of their coal-mining interests in Korea to the Korean government.

The newspaper, however, was plagued with financial troubles and operational discord and this forced a temporary closure in July 1898. Upon resuming publication, the strife between the various factions of the newspaper resulted in the dismissal of staff members Syngman Rhee, Yu Yōngsŏk and Ch’oe Ch’ŏngshik and the rise of a pro-Japanese faction which gained control. The newspaper finished publication with its two-hundredth and seventy-ninth issue, after only fifteen months. Nonetheless, the influence of the *Maeil shinmun* was a major one in that it represented the first daily newspaper in Korea, and acted on behalf of the Korean people during its short existence in a period of great change and turmoil.

**Maengbu Mountain**

Surrounded by numerous other peaks over 2,000 metres high, Mt. Maengbu is part of the lofty Nangnim Mountain Range. The gentle slopes on both the eastern and southern side belie the mountain’s high elevation of 2,214 metres. The steep western slope clearly marks the provincial border between Changjin County in South Hamgyŏng Province and Kanggye County in P’yŏngan Province. The rugged terrain and dense conifer forests make access to this area difficult.

**Magazines**

**Introduction**

When Korea came into contact with Western culture at the end of the nineteenth c., among the many areas influenced was literature. This time of great changes in Korea also marked the advent of magazine publishing in Korea. In this period there were basically four types of magazines: those published by religious organizations; those developed by Korean students studying abroad; those that were published by organizations or academic societies; and those that were published in order to bring about the cultural enlightenment of their readers. Of these groups, the first magazines that were published in Korea were for foreign audiences and were published by religious organizations. Specifically, *The Korean Repository* published by F. Ohlinger in January 1892 was the first magazine, in a modern sense, published in Korea.

Of the magazines in Korean and for a Korean reading audience, *Surihak chapchi*, which was published in December 1905, was the first academic magazine in Korea. Shortly thereafter, *Sonyŏn hanbando* (*Korean Peninsula Youth*) in November 1906 marked the first children’s magazine published in Korea. In November 1908 the magazine that is widely credited with being the first modern magazine published in Korea, *Sonyŏn* (*Youth*), appeared. The publisher was the eighteen-year old Ch’oe Namšŏn who aimed his literary magazine at a broad audience. *Sonyŏn* marked a major turning point in the publication of Korean magazines.

**Censorship**

The period after the Japanese seizure of Korea was marked by heavy censorship of magazines and newspapers since media had played major roles in the opposition movement against Japanese encroachments in Korea. In the period of 1910-1919 magazines were limited to those that dealt with religious, technical or literary themes, and
this period saw a total of forty-nine different magazines published. Notable among these are Pulkın chŏggi (Red Jacket) which was the first bi-monthly magazine in Korea and Yushim (Mind Only) the first Buddhist magazine in Korea. After the 1 March 1919 Independence Movement, Japanese policy in Korea changed somewhat and this allowed a broader spectrum of magazines to be published. In this period magazines such as Kaebŏk (Genesis), Ch'angjo (Creation), P'yehŏ (Ruins), Shinh'ŏnji (The New Heaven and Earth), Shin'yŏja (New Woman), Ōrini (Children), and Munyeshidae prospered and made great strides both in their social and literary contributions.

Post World War II

The period after liberation in 1945 is marked by a flourishing of many types of magazines that carried themes ranging from politics and societal problems to literary and children-orientated issues. The audiences that the magazines were geared towards became even more selective. This resulted in the issue of publications that were aimed at general, children and female audiences, various academic disciplines, technical fields, political views and regional concerns of the nation. Some of the most notable magazines of this period include Kŏn'guk kongnon (Nation Building Opinion), Miusŏng (The People's Voice), Munye (Literary Arts) which sold out its first issue of four-thousand copies in ten days in August 1949, Hŭimang (Hope), Sasanggye, Hagwŏn, Hyŏndaehunhak (Modern Korean Literature) and Yŏwŏn.

Current trends

In recent years the number of magazines has continued to increase. In 1946 there were about 140 magazines published in Korea. This number soared to almost 1300 in 1989 including 1073 monthly, 58 bi-monthly, and 139 quarterly publications. The range of topics covered by these publications is extremely diverse and includes politics, social issues, financial issues, fashion, hobbies, literary concerns, academic matters and many other aspects of modern life. Magazines are one of the fastest growing segments in Korean media with the bulk of profits coming from advertising along with comparatively high cover prices. One rapidly-expanding area is that of women's magazines. In 1994 there were nineteen weekly and seventy-six monthly magazines devoted completely to women's issues.

Advertising

Magazines have been able to increase their share of the advertising revenue in Korea through aggressive marketing of their product. Magazines also use investigative reporting techniques that catch the attention of potential readers. Market leaders such as Weekly Chosun use a combination of marketing and aggressive reporting techniques to secure a large readership. Other magazines focus on one segment of the market such as fashion or a particular hobby. In 1995 advertising in magazines came to a total of 176.1 billion won which accounted for 3.6 per cent of the total advertising market.

Sonyŏn hanbando

Sonyŏn hanbando (Korean Peninsula Youth) is acknowledged as the first children's magazine in Korea. The inaugural issue of this magazine was November of 1906 and the last issue was published in April 1907, for a total of six issues. The head of the magazine was Yang Chaegŏn, and the staff was headed by Cho T'aejin and Ch'ŭn Sulwŏn among a total of fifteen members. The magazine in its initial issue proclaimed that it aimed to promote a free and independent spirit, and the equality of all within the Great Han Empire, so that its people could gain enlightenment. Moreover, it sought to illumine educational matters like a lighthouse.
The content of the magazine focused on new education and new literature was also emphasised, with the principle theme of enlightenment for the people. However, the magazine used mainly Chinese characters in its composition and did not break from the styles used in the writings of the past age. The main writings in the magazine include Yi Haejo’s novel *Chamsangt’ae* (*Moss on the Mountain Peak*) that was serialised, Yi Injik’s *Sahoehak* (*Sociology*), Won Yongui’s *Kyoyuk shillon* (*New Education Theory*) and *Taehan munjon* (*Korean Grammar*) by Yu Kiljun. There are presently copies of this publication at both Seoul National University Library and Yonsei University Library.

**Sonyón**

*Sonyón* (Youth) is widely acclaimed as the first modern magazine in Korea. The first issue was in November 1908 and it ceased publication with its twenty-third issue in May 1911. Ch’oe Namsôn was the creative force behind this magazine. In 1906 Ch’oe went to Japan to study and enrolled in Waseda College in the Geography and History Department. However, due to a debate at a mock assembly and the problems arising from this, around seventy Korean students, including Ch’oe were expelled. The nineteen year old Ch’oe then took his remaining school expense money, bought printing equipment and returned home to Korea to publish a magazine.

Initially Ch’oe wrote, edited and published the magazine by himself. The stated purpose of the magazine was: ‘Let our nation of Korea be a nation of young men. For this purpose, they must be educated to be capable of bearing that responsibility’ . However, the readership of the magazine was very small with the first issue having just six, the second fourteen and up until the eighth and ninth issues the number of readers did not exceed thirty. Even after the first year, readership was less than two hundred. From the second issue of the third volume Ch’oe shed his role of independently managing all aspects of the magazine and brought in as writers such as Yi Kwangsu and Hong Myônghŭi. Soon after the publication of the eighth issue the magazine was banned, but after three months publication was allowed to resume. Again, after the first issue of the fourth volume in January 1911, the magazine was again closed down by the Japanese authorities. After four months, in May 1911, the final issue was published.

*Sonyón* was designed to enlighten and inspire the youth of Korea. The charter of the magazine set out in the first issue stated: ‘Since this magazine wishes our young people to be strong, steadfast and thoughtful in character, it will not print words that stimulate minds to be lazy, weak, or false to even the slightest degree. However, if a work is helpful in forming beautiful thoughts and sound discipline to even a small degree, it will be published despite its lightness’. The magazine also served to introduce the so-called ‘new-style’ poetry. In the first issue of the magazine, Ch’oe’s poem *Hae egesŏ sonyón ege* (*From the Sea to the Youth*) marked the first example of this type of poetry in Korea. Moreover, the magazine served to blaze the path for the pure literary magazines that were to shortly follow it such as *Ch’ŏngch’un* (*The Youth*), *Ch’angjo* (*Creation*), *P’yehŏ* (*Ruins*) and *Paekcho* (*White Tide*).

**Pulkŭn chŏgori**

*Pulkŭn chŏgori* (Red Jacket) was a children’s magazine published by Ch’oe Namsôn, and is notable in that it was the first bi-monthly magazine in Korea. It was printed in a tabloid style that was issued by Shinmun’gwan publishing company. In January 1913 the first issue was published and this was followed by bi-monthly publication until June of the same year for a total of twelve issues. However, it is not certain that the twelfth issue was ever published. The purpose of this magazine was given as for both entertainment and as a learning-tool for children. It sought to enlighten children while at the same time providing an interesting atmosphere for them. The magazine contained many interesting stories and drawings for children.
**Yushim**

*Yushim (Mind Only)* was a Buddhist moral training magazine that was first published in September 1918 and ceased publication after three issues in December of the same year. The editor and compiler of the magazine was Han Yongun. Contributors include Ch’oe Rin, Ch’oe Namsŏn, Yu Kūn, Yi Kwangjong and Kim Munyŏn, among others. The works published in this magazine also include those that won literary prizes, such as *Insaeng ū chillo (The Path of Human Existence)* by Kim Sunshŏk and *Kohaksæng* by Han Yongun. The magazine was primarily designed for the enlightenment of Buddhist readers.

**Kaebyŏk**

*Kaebyŏk (Genesis)* was a monthly magazine that began publication on 25 June 1920. It was published by the Kaebyŏksa that was set up under the guise of the National Cultural Realization Movement (*Minjok munhw a shilhyŏn undong*) of the Ch’ŏndogyo Party. It published its last issue, the seventy-second, on 1 August 1926 when it was forced to close due to pressure from the Japanese colonial government. The magazine served as an extension of the views of the Ch’ŏndogyo (the Heavenly Way) religion on the blending of new and old culture and was a part of their anti-Japanese movement. *Kaebyŏk* was a synthesis of various topics such as the arts and sciences, religion and literary arts. At the time of its inception, Ch’oe Chŏngjong was head of the magazine, Yi Tonghwa was the editor and Yi Tusŏng was the publisher. The reason behind the publication of this magazine is given in the inaugural issue as being, ‘In order to introduce the ideology of the world, the spirit of self-determination of people must be instilled, the ideology of Ch’ŏndogyo and nationalism should be elevated, and social reconstruction and scientific enlightenment should be broached...’.

*Kaebyŏk* was roughly divided into three sections and the literature and arts section shared space among novels, *shijo*, dramas, essays, literary theory and pictures. The literary style of the magazine was of mixed *han’gul* and Chinese character script. The magazine, however, was subject to intense censorship from the Japanese government, and eventually, in 1926, the magazine was forced to close due to this. In November 1934, Ch’a Sangch’ŏn began publication of the magazine again for four issues, but the magazine was again closed on 1 March 1935. However, the magazine that was published by Ch’a was not the same as the original *Kaebyŏk*. After liberation Kim Kijŏn revived the magazine and published nine issues beginning with number seventy-three where the original magazine had ceased publication. This effort also failed with the outbreak of the Korean War.

Writers whose work appeared in *Kaebyŏk* include literary critics such as Kim Kijŏn and Pak Yonghŭi. Among the literary men that appeared in this publication, Cho P’osŏk, Hyŏn Ch’ŏnggon, Kim Tongin, Yi Sanghwa, Yŏm Sangsŏp and Pak Chonghwa are notable. The art works of painters such as No Suhyŏn, Kim Ŭnho, Yi Sangbŏm, O Il’ŏng, Kim Ungwŏn and Ko Hŭidong also were published in the magazine. Additionally, the calligraphy of Kang Am, Un Yang, Sŏng Tang, Sŏk Chŏng and Kŭng Che also graced the pages of *Kaebyŏk*. This magazine is representative of publications during the colonial period that struggled against the Japanese and strove to provide enlightenment for the Korean people. Moreover, the magazine also advanced Korean literature during the 1920s by publication of both literary works and criticisms, and also introduced Koreans to foreign literature.

**Ch’angjo**

*Ch’angjo (Creation)* is considered as the first general literary magazine in Korea. Its first issue was in February 1919, and its ninth and final issue came out in May 1921. Within this magazine some seventy poems, nineteen novels, four dramas, sixteen reviews and
forty-nine poems translated from foreign languages appeared. The founding staff of the magazine was Kim Tongin, Chu Yohan, Ch'ŏn Yusŏk, Kim Hwan and Ch'oe Sŏngman. From the second issue they were joined by Yi Kwangsu, from the third Yi Il and Pak Sŏgyun, from the seventh Kim Myŏngsun and O Ch'ŏnsŏk, from the eighth Kim Kwanho, Kim Ok and Kim Ch'anyŏng, and for the ninth issue Im Changhwa joined the staff of the magazine. The editing, printing and publishing of the first seven issues took place in Tokyo, while the eighth issue was edited in P'yŏngyang and printed and published in Seoul. The ninth issue was completely done in Seoul.

Ch'angjo introduced much important literature to the Korean reading public including novels by Kim Tongin such as Yakhan ch'ŏl sihip'um, Mauni yŏt'oun chayŏ and Paettaragi, and Ch'ŏn Yusŏk's Ch'onch'i? ch'ŏnjae? (Idiot? Genius?) among other works. Short pieces include Chu Yohan's Pul nori (Fire Play), Ch'angganho and Pyŏl: mit'e honjasŏ (Alone Under the Stars) among others.

Ch'angjo along with the subsequent P'ye'hŏ (Ruins) and Paekcho (White Tide) served to establish a foundation for modern literature in Korea. It had a particularly strong influence in the settlement of Korean modern literature with the publication of Chu Yonhan's freestyle poetry and Kim Tongin's novels which helped solve the problems with the new novels and establish their form. From its inception Ch'angjo was opposed to a view of literature as 'great words of a moralist', or 'works with which to pass time'. Its import to modern Korean literature is that it helped to define what modern literature was to be in Korea, and this can be seen in its wandering and groping with this huge concept in the works present in the magazine.

P'ye'hŏ

P'ye'hŏ (Ruins) was a literary magazine with an inaugural issue in July 1920 and its second and final issue published in January 1921. The editor and publisher of this magazine was Ko Kyŏngsang, and the staff members were Kim Ok, Namgun Pyŏk, O Sangsun, Hwang Sŏgu and Pyŏn Yŏngno. Novels were written by Yŏn Sangsŏp, Yi Iksang and Min T'aewŏn, and other contributors included Na Hyesŏk, Kim Wŏnju, Yi Hyŏngno and Kim Ch'anyŏng. The maiden issue of the magazine was published by Ko Kyŏngsang's Hoedong sŏgwans publishing company and was one thousand issues. The second volume was published by Yi Pyŏngjo's Shinbandosa company.

In the first issue of P'ye'hŏ a quote from a poem by J.C. Schiller explained the title of the magazine: "Things of the past are destroyed, and the age has changed/ my life comes from the ruins." Before the first issue of the magazine Korea had seen the crushing of the 1 March 1919 Independence Movement by the Japanese and the nation was beset by disenchantment and economic failure. Hope was lost among the people, the volition to stand up was defeated, and at the same time there was an atmosphere of decay. O Sangsun wrote in his Shidaego wa kŭ hŭisaeng (The Bitter Age and the Victims) 'Our Chosŏn is the Chosŏn of desolate ruins; or age is an age of grieving and anguish.' In actuality among some of those who wrote in this magazine, such as Yi Iksang and Kim Ok among others, the ideology of decadence was disavowed. In the end, the ideology of P'ye'hŏ was a mixture of several elements such as decadence, sentimentalism, idealism and romanticism among others.

Shin ch'ŏnji

Shin ch'ŏnji (The New Heaven and Earth) was a general magazine published directly after liberation by the Seoul Shinmunsa publishing company. In January 1946 the former news organ of the Japanese Government General in Korea, the Maeil shinbo changed its name to the Seoul shinmun in an effort to shed its old skin, and to further cleanse itself began publishing this magazine. Most general monthly magazines publish a few issues and then
disappear, but due to the persistence of Seoul Shinmunsa, *Shin ch'ŏnji* remained for ten years and had a major influence on Korean literature in the post liberation period. The various changes in editors and the management of the Seoul Shinmunsa resulted in the ideology of the magazine undergoing periodic changes. This was particularly noticeable in the period during and after the Korean War when the magazine gradually came to be very pronounced in its support of the government and the ruling party. In the period after liberation, *Shin ch'ŏnji* should be remembered as a monthly magazine that made large contributions to the development of democracy in Korea in the course of its ten year publication.

**Orini**

*Orini (Children)* was a literary magazine for children that centred around Pak Chŏnghwăn and was published by Kaebyŏksa publishers. Its first issue was in March of 1923, and its 122nd and last issue was in July of 1934. At its inception the magazine was published twice-monthly but soon changed to monthly publication. However, for various reasons it seemed to always miss about one issue a year. The text in the magazine was a mix of **han'gŭl** and Chinese characters, but the literary items were always in **han'gŭl**. Each issue would have pictures along with articles and averaged about seventy pages. In the beginning of the magazine it was under the direction of the Ch'ŏn'gŏngyo Youth Association and Pak Chŏnghwăn. However, after the death of Pak, the magazine was directed by Kim Okpin, Yi Chŏngho, Kim Kijŏn, Ko Hansŏng, Son Chint'ae and Yun Sŏkchung among others.

*Orini* was divided into sections for children's songs, stories, dramas and other items and helped establish these genres in children's literature. It is also regarded as the birthplace of many songs and stories for children in modern Korean literature. Works such as Ma Haesong's *Œmŏni ŭl sŏnmul* (*Mother's Present*) and Pawinari wa agi pyŏl were very important works in children's literature. In addition songs were created for the magazine such as Pak Chŏnghwăn's *Hyŏngje pyŏl* (*Brother Star*), Yun Kŭgyŏng's *Pandal* (*Half Moon*), Yu Chiyŏng's *Kodŭrim* (*Icicle*), Sŏ Tŏkch'ul's *Pom p'yŏnji* (*Spring Letter*) and Yi Wŏnsu's *Kohyang ŭl pom* (*Spring in My Hometown*) among others. This magazine is also regarded as being very important in the development of children's literature. Some of the individuals who wrote for this magazine include Chŏng Insŏp, Han Chŏngdong, Yun Sŏkchung, Yi Wŏnsu, Pak Mog'wŏl and Yi Kujo.

The magazine was revived after liberation in May 1948 with the publication of issue 123 and continued until issue 137 in December 1949 when the magazine again closed. The man behind this revival was Ko Hansŏng who had worked on the staff of the original magazine. The content of *Orini* after liberation was much the same as it had been before. However, the magazine failed to capture the attention of the Korean children of this age and subsequently ceased publication.

**Munye shidae**

*Munye shidae* (*Era of Literary Arts*) was a literary magazine that was first published in November 1926, and the second and final issue of the magazine was in January 1927. The editor and publisher was Chŏng Inik. The magazine was printed on A5 size paper and the first issue consisted of 118 pages and the second of 206 pages. The inaugural issue stated that the purpose of the magazine was not to be a pure literary art magazine, but instead one that could be read with pleasure and as a hobby. The subtitle on the cover of the first issue reflected this view with the words, 'Pleasure in the Literary Arts'. Accordingly, the magazine did not have characteristics typical of a literary magazine.

The contents of *Munye shidae* included essays, poems, novels, dramas and critiques among other items. The greatest part of the magazine was devoted to essays. Among the
essays included in the magazine were Yang Chudong’s *Susangnok* in both the first and second issues, *Saengjonyok saenghwallywa* by An Chaehong, Sŏl Ŭisik’s *Hwadane sŏsŏ*, Shim Hun’s *Mongyubyŏngja ŏl ilgi*, Chu Yohan’s *Hanmun kilja riŭ opsaesa*, and Hong Nanp’a’s *Shikkūrôn sesang* in a total of sixty-six essays. Poems included Chŏng Chiyong’s *Sanet saekshi tilnyŏk sanwa*; Pak Seyang’s *Nongbu adul ŏl t’anshik* and the *shijo* by Ch’oe Namson entitled *Illamgak chiksa* among a total of nineteen poems. Novels included Ch’oe Sŏhae’s *Tongdaemun*, Yŏm Sangsŏp’s *Chokūman il* and Song Yong’s *Sŏkkong chohap taep’yo* among a total of ten novels. Also included in the magazines were six poems translated into Korean and three critiques including Yi Unsang’s *Hamnijŏgin chamŏn*.

**Munye (Literary Arts)**

*Munye* was a pure literary monthly magazine that was launched in August 1949 and ceased publication with its twenty-first issue in March 1954. The publisher of the magazine was Mo Yunsuk, and the editor was Kim Tongni until Cho Yŏnhyŏn took over from the fifth issue of the second volume. This was a magazine that sought to support pure literature and bring new talent into the literary world. However, during the period of the Korean War publication of the magazine was erratic and some members of the magazine staff were killed.

Through this magazine novelists such as Kang Shinjae, Kwŏn Sŏngun, Im Sangsun, Chang Yonghak, Ch’oe Illam, Pak Sangji, Sŏ Kŭnbæ and Son Ch’anggŏp were introduced to the public. Also poets including Son Tongin, Yi Tongju, Song Uk, Chŏn Ponggŏn, Ch’ŏn Inhŭi, Yi Ch’ŏlgyun, Yi Hyŏnggi, Pak Chaesam, Hwang Kŭmch’ăn and Han Sŏnggi were presented in this magazine along with literary critics such as Ch’ŏn Sangbyŏng and Kim Yangsu.

**Minsŏng (The People’s Voice)**

*Minsŏng* was a general cultural magazine introduced directly after liberation. This monthly magazine sought to delve into the problems of the popular masses. Its first issue was published in December 1945 and Yu Myŏnghan was the publisher and editor. In the vortex directly following liberation this magazine covered many diverse issues and featured writings by well known individuals such as Kim Ku, Shin Sŏgu and Yi Chŏngsun. Also, the magazine featured special issues that covered topics such as the political change in mainland China, matters of general interest such as articles on Picasso, topics on dramas, movies and music and small domestic matters (such as the location of the kitchen in Korean homes). Other issues of special importance include a March 1949 issue on the reunification of Korea with articles written by An Chaehong, Cho Soang, Ham Sanghun, Hyŏn Sangyun and Om Hanggŏp. In the June issue of the same year there were articles by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Im Pyŏngjik, concerning reparations from Japan, and the Vice-Speaker of the National Assembly Kim Yaksu, detailing the achievements and reflections of the National Assembly. This was criticised by the Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) government since equal time was given to both issues, despite the former article serving as the government’s mouthpiece on an important issue. The magazine published its forty-fifth and final issue in May 1950.

**Sasanggye**

*Sasanggye* was launched in April 1953 and issued as a monthly general cultural magazine. The first publisher was Chang Chunha who was followed by Pu Wanhyŏk. At the outset this magazine was published under the auspices of the National Ideology Research Centre (Kungminsasang yŏnguwŏn) under the title of *Sasang*, launched earlier in August 1952. Amidst the turmoil surrounding the Korean War it sought to unify national ideology, help
establish a free democracy and oppose communism. From this magazine that participated in moulding public opinion came the independent Sasanggye that was marketed as a full-scale cultural magazine.

At its inception Sasanggye was about one hundred pages, but later issues averaged around four hundred pages. The fundamental direction of this publication included: 1) national unification issues; 2) cultivation of democratic ideology; 3) economic development; 4) creation of a new culture; 5) the nurturing of national self-respect. In the first issue of Sasanggye the magazine's guiding ideology was outlined as: ‘All ages and countries will be elucidated, and correct world and human views are what we will try and establish in this publication’. The magazine also established several literary prizes including those for categories such as literature, academic thesis or dissertation, translation and newcomer's literary prize.

At the inception of the Third Republic the magazine joined the struggle for freedom of the press, and as a result in 1962 the publisher Chang Chunha received the Magsaysay Prize. Particularly during the Third Republic, the magazine was at the forefront of the struggle to preserve democracy and criticizing the actions of the government. When Chang Chunha entered the political world in 1968, the task of publishing the magazine fell to Pu Wanhyok. However, the magazine continued to suffer from financial difficulties and ultimately closed after publishing its two hundred and fifth issue in May 1970. Sasanggye left behind a wealth of academic and cultural writing. In the 1950s and 1960s the magazine brought about democratic enlightenment and unshackled democracy, and for these reasons it is highly acclaimed among Korean magazines.

Hagwŏn

Hagwŏn (Academia) is a monthly magazine designed for student cultural enlightenment that began publication in the midst of the Korean War. The magazine 20 segi (Twentieth Century) changed its name to Hagwŏn in November 1952, and this date is considered to be the initial publication of the magazine. The publisher was Kim Iktal, president of the Taegu publishing company, Taeyang Ch'ulp'ansa. The publishing company behind the magazine has changed several times but at present it is the Hagwŏn ch'ulp'ansa in Seoul. The magazine serves to provide both academic and leisure activities for junior and high school students. It has had a large influence in shaping the market for magazines that cater to this segment of the market. It has contributed to the development of young literary talent in Korea by having offered the Hagwŏn munhaksang (Hagwŏn Literary Prize) for over twenty years to talented young writers. In addition, the magazine has fostered an appreciation among students in matters of politics, law, education, freedom of speech and other matters through its treatment of these subjects.

Hyŏndaemunhak

Hyŏndaemunhak (Modern Literature) is a representative of a pure literary magazine of Korea that begun publication in January 1955. It is the longest continually-published magazine in Korea and is presently well over its four-hundredth issue. The managing editor at its inception was Cho Yŏnhyŏn and the editor was O Yŏngsu. At its inauguration, the magazine declared that, ‘literature was at the core of culture’ and its mission was to ‘build modern Korean literature’. Accordingly, the magazine established the Modern Korean Literature Prize (Hyŏndaemunhaksang) in 1955, and in 1991 the magazine honoured a total of thirty-six writers in the four categories of poetry, novel, drama and literary criticism.

To mark its thirtieth anniversary, Hyŏndaemunhak in 1985 put together a collection that included about 20 000 works. Following this, in 1988, a collection of the magazine's previous thirty-three years featured some 268 different poets, 100 novelists, eight
playwrights, sixty-two critics and seven essay writers. Contributors include Ch’oe Illam, Pak Kyŏngni, Yi Pomson, Mun Tŏksu, Kim Sŏngok and Son Changsun, among many others.

Yŏwŏn

Yŏwŏn (Women’s Circle) was a general women’s magazine that was published in Seoul and founded in October 1955. The publisher of the magazine was Hagwŏnśa and the person charged with publication was Kim Ikta. By June of 1956 the magazine was published as an independent magazine of Yŏwŏnsa by Kim Myŏngyŏp. The magazine included items concerning culture, amusements, lifestyle information and articles that combined to make this magazine, along with Yŏsŏng, the two most popular women’s magazines in Korea. Yŏwŏn was particularly popular among working and college women. It served to pave the way for later women’s magazine such as Chubu saenghwal, Yŏsŏng tonga and Yŏsŏng chungang, and eventually fell victim to the intense marketing battles among these women’s magazines. In April 1970 it published its one-hundred and seventy-fifth and final issue. This magazine is remembered as the first women’s magazine after liberation and served to elevate women’s cultural enlightenment.

Paekcho

Paekcho (White Tide) was a pure literary magazine founded in January 1922 by Pak Chonghwa, Hong Sayong Na Tohyang and Pak Yonghŭi. Hong was the editor of the magazine and in order to avoid Japanese censorship the magazine used a foreigner as a publisher. The first issue’s publisher was the American missionary Henry Appenzeller, and he was followed by other foreigners in the same capacity. At its inception the magazine was planned to be published every other month, but this process never was carried out smoothly. The second issue of the magazine was in May 1922, and the third and final issue was in September 1923.

The four men who played the most important roles in the creation of Paekcho were all educated in the Western style academies that had been established in Korea around the turn of the century. Pak Chonghwa and Hong Sayong had attended the Hwimun School, while Na Tohyang and Pak Yonghŭi had studied at the Paekje Academy. After the failure of the 1 March 1919 Independence Movement, the country faced a desperate situation. These men wanted to create a magazine where they could gather literary and ideological currents for the nation’s young people. In the end, they met with Kim Tokki, Hong Sajung and other supporters and with their help established a publishing company. This company would first publish the literary magazine Paekcho and then the ideological magazine Hŭkcho (Black Tide).

Paekcho featured a poetry section of the magazine with poems such as Yi Sanghwa’s Na ŭi ch’imshillo, Pak Yonghŭi’s Kkum ŭi nararo and Wŏlgwang ŏro tchan pyŏngshil, and Pak Chonghwa’s Hŭkbang pigok and Sa ŭi yeč’ an. Novels published in the magazine include No Tohyang’s Yŏibalsa, Hyŏn Chin’gŏn’s Halmŏn ŭi chugŭm and Pak chonghwa’s Mongmaeņun yŏja. The literary tendency of this magazine was frequently towards romanticism. However, the novels tended to be aligned with the vogue of the times, which was in the direction of naturalism. The staff of the magazine was tied to the so-called Paekcho Faction, and their literary tendencies reflected an inclination towards Western romanticism. In the aftermath of the 1 March 1919 Independence Movement failure, the Paekcho Faction felt that literature would provide the nation’s youth a reflection of the times. The poetry in particular resonated with emotions of grief, lamentation, desperation, yearning for death and such sentiments. Paekcho along with Ch’angjo and P’yehŏ, helped form the foundation for modern literature in Korea.

Bibliography
Magok Temple

Situated in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province on the southern slope of Mt. T'ae-hwa, Magok Temple is one of the main temples of the Chogy Order. Concerning the name Magok (Flax Valley), there are three explanations. According to one story, the temple was founded by Chajang in 640 C.E. It is said that at the opening ceremony, the crowds of devotees who came to hear Chajang talk were 'as thick as flax fibres.' Other sources say that the name comes from the Ma (Flax) clan who originally lived in this area. According to another story, the temple was founded by the Shilla monk Musŏn, who named the temple 'Magok' in honour of his teacher Magok P'o-ch'ŏl.

For about two centuries around the end of the Greater Shilla Period and the beginning of the Koryŏ Period, the run-down temple was used as a bandit hideout. During the Koryŏ Period, Ch'innul (National Master Pojo) and his disciple Suu received a royal order to reconstruct the temple. According to legend, when Ch'innul first ordered the bandits to leave the site, the bandits tried to attack him. Using magical powers, Ch'innul rose up into the air and with his magical powers, created a large number of tigers who chased the bandits. Terrified, the bandits swore to Ch'innul that they would leave the site and forever mend their evil ways. The monastery complex that was constructed on the site at this time was twice as large as the present-day one, but most of the buildings were destroyed during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). In 1651, Kaksun restored the temple's main buildings. During the Japanese occupation, the monastery served as an important administrative temple.

Magok Temple’s intriguing connection with outlaws and rebels continued right up to recent times. When Kim Ku (1876-1949) assassinated Suchita, a Japanese officer who had been involved in the assassination of Queen Min, he was imprisoned in Inch'ŏn. He later escaped and hid out at Magok Temple, disguised as a monk. In front of the main hall, the juniper tree that Kim Ku planted still stands.

In addition to an interesting two-storey Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 801), Vairocana Hall (Taegwang Pojŏn; Treasure No. 802) and Yongsan Hall (Treasure No. 800), the temple houses a number of important historical relics, including a large bronze bell (South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 62) that was cast in 1654 and an 8.4-metre high stone pagoda (Treasure No. 799). The bronze incense container (South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 20) with designs in silver that was discovered at the temple is now kept at the Dongguk University Museum. In addition, the temple has several old copies of Buddhist sutras.

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Mai Mountain

Mt. Mai (Horse Ears) is situated in Chinan County in North Ch'olla Province. The present name comes from King T'aejong (r. 1400-1418), who likened the two huge granite peaks to horse ears. Nowadays, the eastern peak (678 metres) is commonly referred to as the female Mt. Mai, and the western peak (685 metres) as its male counterpart. Unsu and T'ap (Pagoda) Temple are also found in this area. The latter gets its name from over eighty cairns
that were built there by Yi Kabyong during the 19th century. Yi took irregularly shaped stones and built precariously balanced columns and round cones. In addition, the ancient Kumdang Temple, founded during the Shilla Period, houses a number of important historical objects. In order to better preserve this natural wonder, the area was designated a provincial park in 1979.

malttugi  

Man'gi yoram (Handbook of the Ten Thousand Techniques of Governance)

Man'gi yoram is a work on Choson period finance and military regulations compiled by So Yongbo and Shim Sanggyu in 1808 under order from King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834). This work consists of eleven volumes, six in ‘Chaeyong p’yôn’ which deals with matters of public finance and five for ‘Kunjông p’yôn’ which concerns military questions.

The first volume in ‘Chaeyong p’yôn’ includes regulations on the taxation of the people for the support of the royal family and military offices. The second details the regulations on land taxation and the salaries for various government officials. The third describes matters concerned with the nation’s tax revenues, and the fourth describes public finance policy, payment of taxes in kind and also includes regulations concerning the nation’s mining activities. Volume five covers regulations concerning markets, shops, foreign trade and tributary missions, while the sixth volume describes regulations on various government warehouses.

In ‘Kunjông p’yôn’ the first volume describes regulations on military organisations such as the Five Military Commands (owi) and the police garrison in the capital (P’odoch’ông) among other institutions. The second outlines regulations concerning the Board of Military Affairs (Pyöngjo) and other high military posts, while the third details regulations concerning military posts and encampments of various types. The fourth volume includes regulations on the defence of the national boundaries and coastline and the operation of naval ships. The fifth and final volume contains regulations concerning the Six Garrison Forts (Yakchii) and other national defence matters.

The original hand-written copies of this work have been transmitted to the present time in addition to later printed versions. This work is a valuable source of data for the study of not only the financial policies and regulations of the Choson period, but also for gaining an understanding of the military operations and preparedness of this period.

Man’gyông River

The Man’gyông River flows through the central Honam Plain to discharge into the Yellow Sea. Almost 100 kms. in length, the river is formed from the Kosan, Soyang, and Chôngju streams. It runs westward from Samnye and then south of Iksan before joining with T’ap Stream in Kunsan’s Taeya Township. From this point, the Man’gyông flows into a large estuary on the Yellow Sea.

Before the advent of Korea’s modern transportation network, the stretch of the Man’gyông between Samnye and the coast was used for transport. In the 1920s, Kyôngch’on Reservoir and Taea Reservoir were constructed on the upper reaches of Kosan Stream. In the 1930s, a dike was built across the Man’gyông and in the 1940s, an irrigation canal over 80 kms.in length was built to enable water from the Taea and Kyôngch’on reservoirs to reach the reclaimed areas on the west side of the Okku Peninsula. Current plans for the river focus on developing the area’s industrial, agricultural and tourist potential, as well as using the estuary as an international gateway between Korea and Southeast Asia.
Manchu Invasions, 1627, 1637

Mani Mountain

Mt. Mani (467 metres), situated on Kanghwa Island in Kyŏnggi Province, was actually a separate island before the dykes were built at Karŭng and Sŏndu Port. In ancient times, the mountain was known as ‘Mari-san’ or ‘Mŏri-san’ (Head Mountain). As the tallest point on Kanghwa, the mountain served as the symbolic ‘head’ of the island. Later, due to phonetic similarities, the name was changed to the Buddhist ‘Mani-san’ (Magical Gem Mountain). From the top of the mountain, one looks out over Kanghwa Island, the smaller islets in the Yellow Sea, numerous salt flats and vast stretches of reclaimed land.

On the mountain’s summit, there is an altar for worshipping Tan’gun, the mythological founder of Korea. Made up of stacked stone, the altar is over five metres high. Although the exact date of construction is not known, the structure seems to be over 4,000 years old. During the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods, ceremonies were performed at the altar.

With sites of historical and religious interest, the mountain is becoming more and more popular as a tourist destination. Several hiking trails go up the mountain to the altar. In addition, the ancient Chŏngsu Temple, which was originally founded during the reign of Shilla’s Queen Sŏndŏk (r. 632-647), is found half-way up the mountain. Treasure no. 161.

Manhae (see Han Yongun)

March First Movement (Samil undong)

Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Ministry of

Masan

Situated in the southern part of South Kyŏngsang Province, Masan includes the town of Naesŏ and the townships of Kusan, Chindong, Chinbuk and Chinjon. Mt. Muhak (767m) stands on the city’s western border and Mt. Ch’ŏnju (640m) rises in the north. Due to its location on Korea’s southern coast, the area’s weather is mild with an average yearly temperature of 14c. The city has an annual rainfall of 1,468mm, making it one of Korea’s wettest areas.

In the past, the city developed as one of South Kyŏngsang Province’s major commercial and industrial centres. As a result, 98 per cent of the working population is employed in the commercial and industrial sectors, compared to the nominal 2 per cent in the agricultural and other sectors. In 1969, the Namhae Expressway was built, linking Masan with Pusan and other cities. Then in March 1970, part of the city at the northern tip of Masan Bay was designated the Masan Free Export Zone. As a result, numerous businesses were set up and the area began to attract foreign investment. In 1977, the Kuma Expressway was built, providing the city with ready access to Taegu and other points further north.

Factories in the Masan Free Export Zone produce a vast variety of products including textiles, electronics, electrical appliances, machinery and other manufactured items. This requires a workforce of not less than 300,000. The law requires that all of the goods produced in the Zone must be exported. Possessing an ample supply of high quality water, the area was traditionally famous for its ch’ŏngju (refined rice wine) and soy sauce. In addition, hanji (Korean paper) and ceramics were produced here. Formerly, fishing was an important source of income for local residents, but since the 1970s, pollution from the
city’s industry and a decline in fish stocks has declined commercial fishing.

Tourists come to the area to see the city’s scenic and historical sites and to enjoy the area’s mild weather. From the top of Mt. Muhak, there is a panoramic view of Masan Bay and the city. On a bluff to the southeast of the peak there is a small pavilion known as Kwanhaejong. Nearby, a traditional building houses a stele in commemoration of Ch’oe Ch’iwon who is believed to have taught students here. Northeast of the stele stands Hoewón Sŏwŏn, (private academy), and to the east lies Monggo Well. In the thirteenth c. when a combined force of Mongolian and Koryŏ soldiers set off from here on an expedition against Japan, the well was used to supply drinking water to the troops. Other tourist attractions include the Tot Island Resort in Masan Bay and the Kap’o Resort on the west bank of Yulgu Bay.

Kyung Nam University, in Happo, serves as the city’s leading educational institution.

**Mayang Island**

Situated in South Hamgyŏng Province, Mayang Island serves as a natural barrier sheltering the port of Shimp’o. The island has an area of 7.064 sq. kms. and a coastline of 16.5-kms. It has a relatively cold winter with an average January temperature of -6c. and a more temperate high-summer average of 23c.

During the Japanese occupation, the island served as a whaling base and in 1927, an unexpectedly large sardine catch led to the establishment of more than twenty fish-oil factories. The seas around the island are celebrated as one the leading wall-eye pollack fishing grounds on the east coast.

**McMeavy, Brown, John**

[United Kingdom and Korea]

**Medicine**

**Oriental Medicine**

Medicine, no matter what form it takes, generally has three basic aims: to explain why people become ill, to prevent them from doing so, and to cure them once they fall ill nonetheless. Oriental medicine, known as *Hanlij* in contemporary Korea, for well over a thousand years provided the most sophisticated and effective tools available to the Korean people to achieve those goals. Moreover, it continues to furnish many of the strategies and remedies modern Koreans adopt today to preserve or regain their health.

As long as there have been people on the Korean peninsula, there have been people afflicted by one disease or another there. And as long as there have been ill people in Korea, there have been those who have tried to cure, prevent, or at least explain their illnesses. Korean medicine is thus as old as the Korean people themselves. The earliest attempts at healing and prevention of disease probably involved taboos and the ritual banishing of evil spirits as well as the consuming of herbs and other natural substances which trial-and-error had indicated might have medicinal properties. Such primitive approaches to health and healing are characteristic of all pre-literate societies and there is no reason to believe the Korean people were any different.

It was not until Koreans adopted medical theories and practices from China, sometime before the 7th c., that they finally acquired a sophisticated medical theory which provided a unified explanation of why diseases occurred, how they could be prevented, and, if prevention failed, how they could be diagnosed and treated. Chinese medicine did not replace traditional concepts of health and healing. Instead it supplemented religious
assumptions of a multitude of causes and cures for disease with an underlying unifying role for a cosmic force called \( ki \).

**Ki, the fundamental life force**

\( Ki \) is a difficult term to translate into English, since it functions as both energy and as matter. It is both the fundamental physical material out of which the body and the mind are made as well as the invisible force which gives that material life. A healthy body is one in which \( ki \) circulates freely without impediments and operates in an orderly and harmonious fashion. Disease is the result of some imbalance or irregularity in the circulation or functioning of \( ki \). Health, in the Chinese medical tradition which Korea adopted, could be restored, protected, or enhanced by restoring, protecting, or enhancing \( ki \).

This could be done in a number of ways. Oriental medicine offers many specific prescriptions for specific ailments, usually combinations of various vegetable, mineral, and animal substances which are boiled or mixed together before being swallowed. It also prescribes stimulation of \( ki \) through either acupuncture, the insertion of needles into certain specified points on the body, or moxibustion, the burning of a small amount of vegetable matter on those same points. In addition, it recommends certain physical exercises and breathing techniques for those who wish to remain healthy, as well as encouraging them to be moderate in their enjoyment of food, drink, and sex.

Whether they prescribe pharmaceuticals, acupuncture, moxibustion, gymnastic and respiratory exercises, a more moderate life-style, or, more likely, a combination of two or more of the above, Oriental medicine doctors take a functional and holistic approach to diagnosing and treating their patients.

The main assumption behind Oriental medicine is that human beings are a part of nature and must align themselves with nature in order to be healthy. Practitioners of Oriental medicine believe that the entire natural world is essentially nothing more than a network of interrelated and intertwined processes and events. As they see it, each individual human body is but one node in that universal network, one small integrated pattern of functional interactions within the all-encompassing cosmic web of interrelating and interdependent networks. Such a perspective leads them to pay particular attention to \( ki \), the energizing force both within the body and throughout the natural world, and to whether or not the various manifestations of \( ki \) within the body are harmoniously cooperating with each other as well as with the \( ki \) in the world around them.

Within the body, \( ki \) manifests itself as the energy flowing through certain invisible channels in such a way that an acupuncture needle inserted into one part of the body can affect the flow of \( ki \) to an entirely different part of the body. \( Ki \) also appears as the major organs of the body, though such organs as the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the liver and the spleen are viewed in Oriental medicine more as coordinating centers for five different primary physiological functions than as five distinctive anatomical structures.

**A functional and integrative approach**

Physicians who practice traditional medicine are more concerned with what the heart does, for example, than what it looks like. That is why there are no operating rooms in Oriental medicine hospitals. Instead of removing or refashioning dysfunctional organs, Oriental medicine doctors seek to rectify the dysfunctioning in the overall physiological system. Pharmaceutical correctives and acupunctural stimulation are preferred over structural remedies to restore harmonious functioning to those physiological networks which have somehow become overactive or underactive and are no longer synchronized with the rest of the body.
Moreover, since those doctors are concerned more with how the body as an intertwined network of interacting physiological networks is performing overall than with what is happening in any one part of the body in isolation, the medicines they prescribe are always a mixture of several ingredients, designed to compensate for the effect an ingredient intended to strengthen the liver, for example, might have on the spleen. Practitioners of Oriental medicine would not want to save the liver at the expense of their patient's health in general.

Since the body is perceived as a network of internal functional systems interacting with an external natural world composed of similarly interrelating and intertwined processes and events, when physicians decide which acupuncture points or pharmaceutical prescriptions are most appropriate for a particular patient, they have to take into account the specific external environment in which that patient's body is operating at that time. The *ki*, which forms that external environment interacts with the human body in five distinctive ways, labeled wood, fire, earth, metal and water. Those labels refer, not to physical substances, but to patterns of action and interaction, to phases in an endless cycle of growth and decline.

**The five phases**

Wood, for example, represents increase and growth, which becomes fire, representing peak growth and activity. Peak activity cannot be sustained forever. It is soon replaced by earth, which stands for that neutral point in a process when it has stopped accelerating but has not yet begun to slow down. Once a particular pattern of activity begins to weaken, it is linked with metal, which represents decrease and decline. That leads to water, representing maximum decrease and inactivity. Maximum inactivity cannot last forever, anymore than peak activity can. Water must eventually be replaced by wood, which starts the whole cycle all over again.

In diagnosing and treating a patient, a physician is supposed to take into consideration which one of those five phases is dominant right then. For every calendar year, as well as for particular times within the year, one of those five phases sets the overall tone, determining how normal health and disease should be conceived at that particular time. Both diseases and effective medical treatment when wood is ascendant, for example, are believed to be different from the diseases most prevalent and the treatments most effective when fire is ascendant.

In determining how changes in the natural environment affect medical treatment, these patterns in nature are correlated with particular patterns of physiological functions within the body. For example, the heart is identified with fire, the lungs with metal, the spleen with earth, the liver with wood, and the kidneys with water. Moreover, physicians assume that the way these five phases interact within the body as well as the way the body and its physical environment affect each other is no different from the way these five phases interact in nature.

The five phases interact in two primary ways: either strengthening and reinforcing one another, or restraining and weakening one another. In the cycle of production, already discussed above, wood produces fire, which produces earth, which produces metal, which produces water, which, in turn, returns this generative cycle to its starting point, wood. In the converse cycle of counteraction, wood controls earth, which controls water, which controls fire, which controls metal, which in turn controls wood. When these five phases are correlated with annual and seasonal characteristics as well as with the five primary physiological systems, physicians can then tentatively identify diseases and prescribe remedies in accordance with whichever phase is ascendant at a particular time.

**Holistic correlations**
Physicians of Oriental medicine rely on a system of systematic correlations, which links all pharmaceutical substances and all organs of the body with the five phases, in deciding which substances to prescribe. For example, a physician treating a patient with a liver ailment first determines if the liver is overactive or underactive. If it is overactive, he tries to calm it down with a metal-related ingredient, but if it is underactive he tries to stimulate it with a drug in which a water-related substance is the most powerful ingredient. A water-related ingredient is not necessarily a liquid nor is a metal-related substance necessarily metallic, however. Those correlations with the five phases are determined by the effect those substances have, not by their physical properties. Oriental medicine lets centuries of accumulated experience tell it which medications to use for which diseases. Five-phases correlations are brought in primarily to explain and systematize what clinical practice has already proven effective.

In a further refinement on what experience has taught them, physicians also take into account the six climatic conditions into which each year is divided: windy, cold, hot, moist, dry, and fiery. Both the five phases and the six climatic conditions, as well as their interaction with one another, are taken into consideration when diagnosing, treating, or predicting the course of a disease, since they characterize not only the external physical environment but also the corresponding internal physiological environment of the patient.

That is not all. Physicians must also consider the psychological condition of the person they are treating. A misfunctioning liver, for example, could be the result of excessive anger, or vice versa. And extreme depression could damage the lungs, just as dysfunctional lungs could produce depression. In treating any illness, physicians of Oriental medicine are told to take into account the entire physical and psychological state in which their patient is in, as well as the particular climatic and environment conditions under which that condition has arisen.

Better yet, physicians should work to minimize the chances that such malfunctioning, such disharmony within the body as well as between the body and its surroundings, will occur. Oriental medicine, theoretically at least, is primarily preventive rather than curative medicine. When Oriental physicians classify their drugs into three basic categories, according to the effect they have, they rank those drugs which fortify ki, enhance overall physical well being, and promote longevity in first place, above those drugs which merely attack specific diseases. Those same physicians also encourage their patients to improve the circulation of ki within their bodies by eating right, breathing properly, and exercising frequently before they fall ill, rather than having to rely on medicinal concoctions or acupuncture to restore a physiological harmony they never should have lost in the first place.

Koreanization

This is the basic theory of Oriental medicine and, though its origins are Chinese, it has become thoroughly Koreanized over the centuries. This Koreanization became especially evident during the Choson dynasty, particularly during the reign of King Sejong (r.1418-1450) and in the years following the publication of Tongui pogam (A Treasury of Eastern Medicine) by Hø Chun (1546-1615). Under King Sejong’s direction, several important medical manuals, utilizing Korean as well as Chinese prescriptions and practices, were published in the 15th c. Among them was the 85 volume Hyang’yak chipsongbang (‘The Great Collection of Native Korean Prescriptions’). Completed in 1433, this encyclopedic pharmaceutical guidebook identified 959 different disease categories and described 703 different mineral, vegetable, or animal products available on the peninsula which could be used to treat them.

Almost two centuries later, in 1613, Hø Chun published his Tongui pogam, a medical
encyclopædia which placed this pharmaceutical cornucopia within a comprehensive Korean philosophy of Oriental medicine. Starting off with an explanation of the basic concepts of Oriental medicine, Hô went on to provide detailed descriptions of human physiology and anatomy of the various things which can go wrong with the various parts and processes of the human body. He also included a catalogue of the medicinal substances available in China and Korea, where they can be obtained, how to prepare them for human consumption, and when to prescribe them. His final chapters are a detailed description of when and how to use acupuncture and moxibustion. Hô sprinkles this overview of the basic principles and practices of Oriental medicine with Taoist physical exercises and breathing techniques, encouraging physicians to pay more attention to promoting the health of their patients so that they will not have to pay as much attention to healing them. His physicians' manual was so complete and so well-organized that it has been reprinted many times, not only in Korea but in China and Japan as well. Hô's emphasis on preventive medicine, on fortifying the body before illness strikes, has been a distinctive characteristic of Oriental medicine in Korea ever since. Ginseng, a medicinal root for which Korea has long been famous, is the best known of the many tonics which Korean physicians, reflecting developments in Chinese medical thought since the 13th c. tend to prefer over the purgatives still favoured by some traditional physicians in China.

Oriental medicine today

In contemporary Korea, this focus on preserving health by strengthening the body over the long term, augmenting its *ki* and fostering the continued harmonious interaction of its formative physiological processes, keeps Oriental medicine the medical strategy of choice for many of those suffering chronic rather than acute ailments, as well as for many of those who are healthy but wish to become even healthier and live even longer. Oriental medicine has not been supplanted by Western medicine in the 20th c. On the contrary, Oriental medicine continues to flourish alongside Western medicine, in a complementary rather than an antagonistic relationship.

Koreans who might go to a specialist in Oriental medicine when they feel a little rundown will probably go to a physician trained in Western medicine when ailed with influenza and feel the need for an injection. They will go to a Western-style hospital if they suffer a stroke but will probably seek out an Oriental-medicine clinic to alleviate chronic lower back pain. Oriental medicine remains so popular that the home appliance departments of leading department stores in Seoul sell electrical versions of the clay pots traditionally used for preparing Oriental medicine. Aerobics classes, based on Western medical concepts, are well-attended, but so are institutes which teach physical exercises and respiratory techniques similar to those found in *Tongil pogram*.

Belief in the efficacy of Oriental medicine remains so strong that, in the 1980s and early 1990s, pharmacists trained in Western medicine began adding Oriental medicines to the repertoire of prescriptions they could fill for the patients who visited their pharmacies. When the government of South Korea announced in 1993 that only those who had formally studied Oriental medicine were authorized to dispense Oriental medicines, leading medical schools began adding classes in Oriental medicine to the curricula for students studying Western medicine. In a further sign of the continued vitality of Oriental medicine in contemporary Korea, from 1995 physicians specializing in Oriental medicine are allowed to fulfill their military obligation by serving either as army doctors or as chief physicians in the government's rural health centres, just as doctors of Western medicine have long been able to do.

Traditional Korean medicine is not merely surviving as Korea approaches the 21st c, it is thriving. In 1994 there were eleven accredited colleges of Oriental medicine in the Republic of Korea and almost 14 000 licensed specialists in Oriental medicine. Moreover, the number of both students and practitioners has been growing steadily. As long as Koreans continue
to see plausibility in the explanations Oriental medicine offers for why diseases occur, and find effectiveness in the advice and remedies it provides for preventing or treating those diseases, Oriental medicine will continue to thrive, and medical practice on the Korean peninsula will remain a rich tapestry of both Western and Oriental concepts, practices, and prescriptions.

**Western Medicine**

**History**

Western medicine found its way to the Orient towards the end of the Ming dynasty through Western contacts and the introduction of Western medical books. The early writings on medicine were among those items translated into Chinese and then brought to Korea by the late seventeenth c. The earliest extant records of Western medical documents in Korea are found in the writings of the neo-Confucian scholar Yi Ik (1682-1764). In the fifth volume of his *Sŏngho saesŏl* (Insignificant Explanations) Yi included biological principles and theories concerning the circulatory, respiratory, brain and central nervous system that were found in the works that Johann Adam Schall had introduced into China in 1622. Other works after this included commentaries on the medical technologies and theories of the West. Notable among these are *Yŏrhwa ilgi* (Jehol Diary) of Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805), Chŏng Tongyu’s (1744-1808) *Chuyŏngpyŏn* and Chŏng Yagyong’s (1762-1836) *Ŭiryŏng*, all of which served to introduce many of the Western medical arts to Korea.

Western medical practices began to enter Korea from the time of the Kanghwa Treaty of 1876 (Kanghwa-do Choyak) that served to open Korean ports to foreign powers. Medical knowledge and practitioners came from Japan, America and Europe. In 1877, the Japanese navy established the Chesaeng Dispensary in Pusan for Japanese residents. This dispensary could also be used by Koreans and is considered as the first Western medical facility in Korea. It was followed in 1880 by the establishment of the Saengsaeng Dispensary in Wŏnsan, and in 1883 by a clinic opened by the Japanese at their consulate in Inch’ŏn, together with one at their legation in Seoul.

Western medicine, primarily that of Germany, had begun to reach Japan by the end of the eighteenth c. German medicine was foremost in the world, and by the end of the nineteenth c. the Japanese had directly imported German medical knowledge. Through Japan, the German medical expertise entered Korea, where it had considerable influence in the development of Western medicine.

The American influence in propagating Western medicine in Korea began with Horace Newton Allen who was both a missionary and a doctor of medicine. In September 1884, Allen travelled to Korea from Qing China. He was entrusted with the medical care of the staff at the United States Legation in Seoul, and soon afterwards, that of the other diplomats in Seoul. Allen established the Wangnip Hospital in Seoul in 1885. This hospital was intended not only for the foreign diplomats serving in Korea, but also for the Korean people, for whom it is seen as the beginning of Western health services. After the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyŏngjang), the number of Western hospitals and health services in Korea increased dramatically. In June 1894, in the midst of these reforms, a Hygiene Office (Wisaengguk) was established under the control of the Home Office (Naemun amun), and a laboratory was opened to manufacture vaccines produce blood serum, and undertake bacilloscopic examination. In 1899 a hospital (also under the direct jurisdiction of the Home Office) was established and named the Kwangjewŏn. This hospital served the populace and it included an Oriental Medicine Clinic and Pharmacy. One of its functions was the examination of prostitutes. In 1907, the Taehan ŭiwŏn Hospital was established under the direct supervision of the State Council (Ŭijŏngbu). This hospital took over the administration of the Kwangjewŏn Hospital and also enlarged its educational and hygienic facilities. In December of the same year, the operations of the Taehan ŭiwŏn were divided...
into the three divisions of medical treatment, medical education and hygiene laboratory.

Early medical education was brought about in both the public and private spheres. In 1899, under the Ministry of Education (Hakpu), a school was established, which offered a three-year course in Western medicine. With the establishment of the Taehanuiwon in 1907, this school was placed under its direct control and became the Medical Education Department of the hospital. In 1910, it divided into the two sections of medical education and pharmacology. Around this same time other hospitals with education departments were established in Taegu and P'yŏngyang by the government. Of the private medical schools in Korea, the first was established in 1899 as a part of O.R. Avison's Chejungwŏn Hospital. However, this school never produced graduates. In 1904, after donations by the American Ohio based Severance Hospital, Chejungwŏn was renamed after its benefactor and its medical school became the Severance Medical School. Its first graduating class was in 1908. Severance Medical School is the predecessor of the School of Medicine at Yonsei University.

In the colonial period, medical education and facilities expanded considerably. Keijō Imperial University initially offered a four-year medical training course which was extended to six years in 1932. The department of medicine of Keijō Imperial focussed on Japanese students, and the enrolled Koreans did not fare nearly as well, with a twenty-five per cent, or thereabouts, failure rate. The medical profession was, however, one option for Koreans who wished to pursue a higher education, and those who did graduate came to hold considerable importance in Korean society. It is apparent, though, that the improved medical facilities during the colonial period offered minimal health care to the average citizen, and it was the Japanese living in Korea who received most benefit.

Medical after Liberation

After liberation, medicine in Korea underwent many changes in order to modernise it and to meet the needs of the people. The greatest influence directly after liberation was from the American presence in Korea, which assisted in the provision of basic medical services. Under the authority of the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare, thirteen departments relating to medicine and public health were established, and regional offices of the Ministry were set up in each province. Medical education under the American Military Government adopted many of the features found in the training of medical practitioners in America. For example, the courses span a six-year program of study, followed by a state examination and then a hospital internship. In addition, many Koreans went abroad to study medicine.

With the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, medical care and training became the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Health (Pogŏn pu) and the Ministry of Social Affairs (Sahoe pu), which controlled medical care and training matters in their thirteen departments. In 1955, under the Government Organisation Law (Ch'ongbu chojik pŏp) the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Social Affairs were combined into the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (Pŏgon Sahoe pu) charged with the responsibility of overseeing the various spheres of medicine in Korea.

Part of the health care system in Korea features the research and development of new ways to combat disease and to improve public health. There are many institutes which are funded wholly or partially by the central government in addition to private organisations that conduct research into health-related matters. Some notable accomplishments in the realm of public health include the containment of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and cholera, and the implementation of an effective family-planning program that has witnessed a sharp downturn in the growth rate of the South Korean population. These accomplishments have been both due to the commitment of resources by the Korean government and the interest of international bodies such as the World Health Organization (WHO).
In 1994, general and special hospitals and clinics numbered more than 14,200. There were also over 7,700 dental clinics, 238 health care centres, 1,327 health sub-centres and more than 2,000 primary health care centres. There are more than 180,000 hospital beds available and this figure is supplemented by nearly 40,000 beds in the various clinics. The large university hospitals in Korea are as well equipped as any in Asia and provide excellent medical services to their patients.

Of the problems being addressed in regard to medical care in Korea, the most serious is the imbalance of medical facilities in the urban regions, and in particular in Seoul. In the rural sector, the government has actively promoted the development of local primary health care centres equipped with modern equipment and staffed by trained health care professionals to ensure that communities have adequate services. Other problems that seem to have been resolved include the introduction of a comprehensive medical insurance program and the issuing of clear regulations concerning the role of each type of health care facility. The government is also actively endeavouring to create a modern medical system that will be adaptable, thus allowing it to meet the needs of Koreans in the future.

Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (see Samguk yusa)

Metalwork (see also Science and Technology)

Prehistoric Period

Bronze implements have been in use on the Korean peninsula since about 1,000 B.C.E. The early Bronze age in Korea is characterised by the use of mandolin-shaped daggers and multi-knobbed, coarse-lined mirrors. Although early farming implements made of bronze have not been found, bronze woodworking tools (used to shape wooden tools) did exist, as well as weapons, such as arrowheads and spear points.

Around the fourth c. B.C.E., iron culture was introduced from China. Around the same time, another bronze culture of Scytho-Siberian origin entered Korea. From this period, farming implements such as hoes, ploughshares and sickles were made of iron. Weapons from this period include iron and bronze daggers and spear points. Horse trappings and components of horse-drawn vehicles also existed, evidently for use by the ruling elite. Bronze belt buckles, in the shape of animals, were probably also used by the upper class.

Koguryo

Many of the early metalwork artifacts of the Koguryo Period are from tombs. However, since most of the Koguryo and Paekche tombs have been looted, few artifacts remain. The articles that have been recovered include such things as headgear, earrings, bracelets, weapons and various implements for horse-riding.

The general nature of Koguryo headgear is known through Chinese records and Koguryo wall paintings. However, the gilt-bronze crowns excavated from Koguryo tombs are of a different style. This would seem to indicate that these latter crowns were of a special design used in burials. This may also hold true for the gold crowns of Shilla.

Chinese records refer to the Koguryo custom of wearing earrings, and the discovery of gilt-bronze earrings at grave sites confirms these records. Koguryo earrings are almost all of the thin-ring style. Many of the Koguryo earrings have a metal strip hanging down from the earlobe ring, with an ornamental piece at the end. The mid-section of the metal strip is also decorated.

Weaponry, such as metal spear points, arrowheads and knives, was also made at this time.
In addition to long knives, which could be used in battle, short knives were produced for everyday use.

Paekche

Two Paekche crowns have been discovered, one in Naju and one in Iksan. The Naju crown consists of two sections. Round, flat bronze decorations have been affixed to both crowns. Due to differences between these crowns and those mentioned in historical records, some have suggested that these gilt-bronze crowns were solely used for funerary rites.

Paekche earrings have been found at Kumo Village in Kongju and in the tomb of King Muryōng (r. 501-523). These earrings are all of the thin-ring variety, and the earrings from Kongju, like those of Shilla, have dangling heart-shaped decorations. The earrings from King Muryōng’s tomb are of pure gold. Other Paekche metalwork, such as hairpins, bracelets and bronze mirrors, have been discovered along with various weapons. In addition, an interesting ‘seven-branch dagger’ (ch’ilchido) has been discovered in Tenri City, Japan. The inscription indicates that it was a gift from a Paekche envoy. The branches are thought to represent a sacred tree -- a common symbol in Shamanism.

Shilla

Six pure-gold crowns have been discovered in Kyōngju and another one has been found in Koryōng. These crowns were probably used only for funerals of the most high-ranking royalty. The gold and gilt-bronze crowns worn by Shilla kings or members of the upper class differed from those of Paekche and Koguryō.

Shilla earrings are of both the thin-ring and thick-ring style. They have an earlobe-ring, a dangling link, and a bottom decoration. In addition to earrings, ornate necklaces, belt buckles and bracelets have been discovered, as well as numerous metal eating utensils, gear for horses, and weapons. Shilla metalworkers also produced both short and long coats of armour. The short armour only covered the torso, but the longer armour went down as far as the knees.

Greater Shilla

With the unification of the peninsula, Shilla had greater access to the flourishing art of Tang China. At the same time, Shilla’s burgeoning Buddhist culture signified a greater demand for Buddhist icons and ritual implements. Guilt-bronze statues and sarira containers demonstrate the elegant artistry of this period. Perhaps the most impressive Buddhist artifacts from this era are the large temple bells. At least five large bells from the Greater Shilla Period are extant. In terms of style, these bells differ significantly from those of China or Japan. The girth of the bells gradually widens toward the bottom before slightly narrowing again. The outsides of the bells are decorated with various designs and Buddhist motifs, particularly with graceful pictures of fairies. Designed to hang from a large wooden beam, the bells were struck on the exterior with a large piece of wood hanging from a swinging apparatus.

Since most of the tombs from the Greater Shilla Period have been looted, few metal artifacts have been recovered. The metalwork from this period includes eating utensils, belt buckles and other items of personal attire.

Koryŏ

Large temple bells continued to be made during Koryŏ. The Koryŏ bells tend to be smaller in size, and with the passing of time, the quality of craftsmanship declined. In contrast with the Shilla bells, which were made with an approximate 1 to 1.3 ratio between the top and
bottom, early Koryo bells had only a 1 to 1.2 or 1.1 ratio. After the twelfth century, when the bottom diameter decreased to less than 40 cm., the bottom diameter and height tended to be similar. As the exterior design styles changed, pictures of fairies were replaced by standing images of Buddhas or bodhisattvas.

In addition to bells, numerous gongs were produced for temples. Like the temple bells, these round metal instruments were hung on the temple grounds and struck at different times to announce temple functions. Sarira containers were also produced at this time.

Numerous bronze mirrors were manufactured during Koryo. Most of these were replicas of foreign mirrors from China, Manchuria or Japan. Koryo artists also imitated the styles of earlier eras to produce the classical-style mirrors that came into vogue in Sung China. Numerous articles of personal attire were also produced during this period. For example, belt buckles were made, with designs in relief or intaglio.

Chosön Period and the Modern Era

The metalworkers of Chosön continued to produce numerous items for everyday use. The Koryo tradition of bell manufacture was maintained with several innovations regarding the external designs. There were also innovations regarding the manufacture of knives and swords. Prior to the Hideyoshi invasions (1592-1598), Korean metalworkers learned the Japanese techniques for making high quality knives and swords.

During the twentieth c., Korean metalwork has been influenced by the introduction of techniques from the West. Some attempts have been made to integrate modern methods with traditional metalwork. In addition, some modern artists have attempted to revive Korea's ancient metalworking techniques in order to preserve the vital link to the nation's unique artistic traditions.

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Miam ilgi (Diary of Miam)

Miam ilgi is the diary of Yu Huich'un, styled Miam, covering the period from the tenth month of 1567 until the fifth month of 1577. It is composed of eleven volumes and has been designated Treasure number 260. Originally the work was composed of fourteen volumes but three of these are no longer extant.

This work describes the events that surrounded the official life of the author both while posted to the royal court in offices such as the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwon) and the Office of Special Advisers (Hongmun'gw'an), and while in the provinces. The thoroughness of this work led to it being chosen, along with Yi I's Kyongyon ilgi, to help in the composition of Sönjo shillok (Veritable Records of king Sönjo) since many other records were destroyed in the 1592 Japanese Invasion. This work contains valuable data from the middle Chosön period and is considered by many scholars to be one of the most valuable private diaries written in the Chosön period. This work was published from 1936 to 1938 by the Chosonsa P'yonsuhoe.

Mich'ón, King (r. 300 to 331)

King Mich'ón (? -331) was the fifteenth king of Koguryo and ruled from 300 to 331. He
was also known as King Hoyang, and his names included Þulbul, Þulbulli and Ubul. Mich'on was the grandson of King Sôch'on (r. 270-292) and when his father was executed in 293 by his elder brother King Pongsang (r. 292-300), Mich'on fled and lived as a labourer and salt peddler. However, when Pongsang was deposed in 300, Mich'on ascended to the throne with the help of Ch'ang Chori, the prime minister (kuksang).

During Minch'on's rule, the Chinese Jin State was disintegrating and this had a tremendous effect on the political situation of the neighbouring countries. Minch'on took advantage of the Chinese weakness and in 302 attacked the Xuantu Commandery (Kor. Hyǒndo) taking some eight-thousand prisoners. In 311, his army occupied the western coast of the Liaodong Peninsula. In 313 and 314, after a prolonged struggle, Koguryô captured the Lolang Commandery (Kor. Nangnang) and at this time occupied the whole of the Taedong River region. After this, in 317, Koguryô again attacked the Xuantu Commandery and at this point began to rapidly expand her territory to the west and south. In this process in the early fourth c. the Bayan, part of the Tungus people, began to gradually increase their strength and expand their activities in the Liaodong Peninsula area, which inevitably led to conflicts with Koguryô. In the end, Koguryô with the assistance of Later Zhao, was able to subdue the Bayan by 330.

Eleven years after the death of Mich'on in 342, the Earlier Yan state attacked Koguryô and sacked its capital. During this attack, the royal palace was razed, the queen mother was seized, some fifty thousand people were taken into captivity, and the grave of Minch'on was opened and his remains desecrated. This was indeed a pitiable end for the powerful ruler who had done so much for the Koguryô Kingdom.

Min, Queen (see Myôngsông, Queen)

Min ch'ungjong yugo (The Posthumous Works of Prince Min Yŏnghwan)

Min ch'ungjong yugo (The Posthumous Works of Prince Min Yŏnghwan) is a collection of writings of Min Yŏnghwan (1861-1905) a prince and patriot of the Chosôn Kingdom who gave his life for the nation in the last years of the Kingdom. The author of this work is not only remembered as being a member of the family of Queen Min, but also as an adept statesman and enlightened innovator of the Chosôn period.

The first volume contains sixty-one memorials to King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) including Min’s plea to the King to renounce the 1905 Protectorate Treaty (Ŭlsa Poho Choyak) between Korea and Japan. Volume two, ‘Ch’ō-nil ch’aek’, contains the author’s opinions on matters such as defence of the nation against Japan and Russia, political reforms, financial policy change for the country and educational reform. Volume three entitled ‘Haech’on ch’ubom’ is an account of his world travels that began in 1896 to attend the coronation of the Russian Czar. During this trip, Min visited the United States, Canada, Britain, Russia and Japan. This volume describes the diplomatic relations with the countries that Min visited. ‘Sagu sokch’o’, the fourth volume, is also a record of the travels of the author. This volume centres on Min’s trip to Europe to attend the Sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria’s ascending to the throne in England. Min also visited Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Russia during this trip. The fifth volume is a supplement to the work and describes the events that occurred just before Min’s death. The two essays in this supplementary volume are both anonymous and are complemented by articles from newspapers that detail the situation of Min’s untimely suicide in 1905.

This work provides insight into the disorderly period that surrounded the loss of Korea’s sovereignty to Japan. The author’s unique perspective on the plight of Korea from not only the standpoint of a patriot but also as a member of the royal family adds to the value of this work. Min ch'ungjong yugo was published again in 1971 by the National History
Min Jok Sa

Located in Seoul’s Chongno Ward, Min Jok Sa is a publishing company established on 9 May 1980. Yun Chaesung is editor, and the company publishes general works as well as books on philosophy and religion.

Min Kyōmho

Min Yonghwan (1861-1905)

Min Yonghwan was a royal prince, patriot and civil official of late Choson. His family’s ancestral home is in Yohung, his courtesy name was Munyak and his pen name was Kyejong. He was born in Seoul the son of the Minister (p’ansō) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo). In 1878 he passed the civil service examination and was appointed as Ninth Counsellor (chōngja) of the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmungwan) and later held various posts, before being selected as president (taesasōng) of the National Confucian Academy (Sōnggyun’gwan) in 1882. However, in the same year the Military Mutiny of 1882 (Imo kullan) erupted and his father was killed. In 1884 Min was appointed as Third Minister (ch’amūl) of the Board of Personnel (jjo) and then held disparate positions before being designated as Minister of the Board of Taxation in 1887. In 1888 and 1890 he served as Minister of the Board of War (Pyongjo) and in 1893 he was nominated as Minister of the Board of Punishments (Hyŏngjo).

Min was appointed ambassador to the United States in 1895 but did not proceed to the post due to the Japanese assassination of Queen Min (1851-1895), which deeply affected him. He returned to his hometown and withdrew from political life for several months after this incident. But in 1896 he was appointed envoy extraordinary (t’ŭngmyŏng chŏn’gwŏn kongsā) to Russia in order to attend the coronation of Emperor Nicholas II, and was accompanied on this tour by Yun Ch’iho (1865-1945) among others. On this occasion, Min travelled through Japan, Canada, America, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland and Russia before returning to Korea after ten months. In the following year, he was appointed as envoy extraordinary to England, Germany, Russia, Poland, Italy and Austria, and during his tour of duty attended the sixtieth anniversary of the coronation of Great Britain’s Queen Victoria.

On his travels abroad, Min had gained much knowledge of the political, social and economic systems of the Western powers and he appealed to King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) to introduce western-style institutions to Korea. However, the domestic situation in Korea was in extreme disarray at this time and it was not feasible to implement many changes. Min was appointed to the State Council (Uijŏngbu) and as Minister (taeshin) of the Home Ministry (Naebu) in 1898 but was subsequently dismissed from these positions for his involvement in the Independence Club (Tongnip hyŏphoe), which was directed at establishing a Korean sovereign and a modern state. On being reinstated, Min continued to serve in high positions within the government, but after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the cause for Korean sovereignty was lost. At the conclusion of the war, the Japanese forced Korea to sign the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, which essentially caused the latter to forfeit her sovereignty and any rights for diplomatic intercourse. Min was outraged at this and pleaded with King Kojong to renounce the treaty and have the traitorous ministers who ratified it executed. However, the Japanese police placed Min under house arrest and his final act was to protest the loss of Korea’s independent future. Min committed suicide on 30 November 1905.

The Republic of Korea honoured Min posthumously in 1962 with the Order of Merit for
National Foundation. He is remembered as a visionary who saw that modernisation was the only way for Korea to maintain her independence and also as a patriot who strongly resisted the Japanese encroachments in Korea. Min's literary collection, Min ch’ungjong yugo (The Posthumous Works of Prince Min Yonghwan) has survived and is a record of the many activities of the author.

Ministries, Governmental (see Government and Legislature)

Minjung shinang [Christianity]

Minjung Sŏgwan

Situated in Seoul’s Chongno Ward, Minjung Sŏgwan was founded by Yi Pyŏngjun on 11 November 1945. The company published about twenty foreign language dictionaries, a Korean language dictionary, literary collections, poems and essays, as well as introductory works for various fields of academic study. In March 1977, the company became insolvent, leading to its liquidation in May 1979. Its chief editor and staff were then employed by another publisher -- Minjung Sŏrim. Today, Minjung Sŏgwan remains officially registered as a publishing company, but it publishes only high school textbooks dealing with the study of classical texts.

Minsŏng [Magazines]

Minŭmsa

Located in the Kangnam Ward of Seoul, Minŭmsa is a publishing company established on 20 December 1991. One of its first publications was Taeu haksul ch’ongsŏ, an extensive series of academic books treating a wide range of subjects. Today, the company specialises in philosophy, the social sciences and literature. It also publishes the literary periodical Segye ui munhak. (World Literature)

Minyo [Music]

Miryang

Situated in North Kyŏngsang Province, Miryang consists of the towns of Samnangjin and Hanam, and the townships of Tanjung, Muan, Pubuk, Sannae, Sanoe, Sangsam, Sangdŏng, Ch’ŏngdo and Ch’ŏdong. Mt. Unmun (1 188m), Mt. Kaji (1 240m), Mt. Ch’ŏnhwangleu (619m) and other peaks of the Taebaek Mountain Range rise on the eastern side of the city and Mt. Hwaak (932m) stands in the northwest. The Naktong River flows along the city’s southern border.

With fertile plains on the lower reaches of the Naktong and Miryang rivers, Miryang is North Kyŏngsang Province’s second largest rice producer after Kimhae. Approximately 23 per cent of the city’s area is arable, of which 70 per cent is used for rice cultivation, and the remainder for dry-field crops such as barley, wheat, radish, Chinese cabbage, red pepper, watermelon and strawberry. Orchards in the area produce pear, apple, peach, persimmon, chestnut and jujube. In the city centre there is a research institution which undertakes research into the many farming products and aims at improving the strains of crops. For example, the centre has engineered over sixty improved varieties of barley, including Miryang Number 30, a variety with a natural resistance to insect pests. From earlier times, the area has been famous for its textile and ceramics industries. Textile factories today produce artificial silk, cotton and woollen fabrics and silk. The city also has a number of
mines which excavate iron, zinc, tungsten, felspar and molybdenum.

Tourism is centred around the area’s scenic spots and historical sites. P’yöch’öng Temple, just south of Mt. Ch’önhwang in Tanjang Township, is the city’s most important Buddhist site. This ancient monastery houses numerous important historical relics including the robes worn by Yujöng (Grand Master Samyöng, 1544-1610). Within an extremely narrow rock gorge near the temple, one finds Kúngang and Mujigae (Rainbow) Waterfalls, and to the south lies Ch’úngch’öng Waterfall. On the northern side of Mt. Ch’önhwang is Örümgoł (Ice Valley), which is cold even during the summer. Here lies Shiryeohobakso, a small pond which has formed in a hollow granite basin. The pond is famous as a site where rain ceremonies were once held.

In downtown Miryang next to Miryang Bridge stands Yöngnamnu (Treasure No. 147), which is considered to be one of Korea’s three great pavilions. First built during the Koryö period, the pavilion has been burnt down and rebuilt several times since then. Confucian schools in the city include the picturesque Ch’ilt’an Söwö’n in Tanjang Township’s Mich’on Village, Yerim Söwö’n in Pubuk Township’s Husap’o Village and Miryang Hyanggyo in Kyo Village next to Paegun Temple. As for modern colleges, Miryang Industrial College is next to the farming products research institution in Miryang and Miryang’s Junior College of Sericulture is in Naei Village.

Mo Island

Mo Island is situated just east of Chin Island off the coast of Haenam County. Administratively, the island is part of Ùishin Township in South Chölla Province’s Chindo County. This tiny island covers an area of 0.24 sq. kms. and has a coastline of 2.8 kms. 1987 statistics show that the island had a population of 196.

The island’s topography is characterised by gentle slopes, the highest point being a mere 48.4 metres in elevation. Because of this, almost the entire island is composed of arable land. Residents are employed in agriculture and fishing. Boats operating from the island catch a wide variety of fish including eel, achovy, perch and shrimp. Laver and brown seaweed are also gathered along the island’s shores. During the extremely low tides of the 3rd lunar month, a 2.8-km.-long strip of land is exposed, connecting the island with Hoedong Village on Chin Island. Hundreds of visitors arrive at this time to walk the isthmus.

Mögün chip

This anthology of works by Yi Saek (1328-1396, styled Mogün) consists of thirty-five volumes of poems and twenty volumes of prose. Yi Saek is regarded as one of the two most eminent writers of the Koryö dynasty, the other being Yi Kyubo (1168-1241). The collection includes the author’s biography, monument inscriptions, records, prefaces, memorials to the King, precepts, funeral addresses and essays, and contains much historical material of value for the study of the late Koryö and early Choson periods. Some of the poems are also descriptive of historical events such as the activities of the Red Turbans and the Japanese invasion.

According to Yi Ch’öm’s preface for the Mogün Sönsaeng munji appearing in the Tongmunsön, the Mogün chip was first compiled by the author’s youngest son, Yi Chongsön, in seventy volumes and published about 1404. Some volumes were later lost by fire, and a second edition was published in fifty-five volumes. Sometime later this collection was divided, with poems and prose published separately. Yi Chön, a grandson of the author, published the Mogün shi chöngson (A selection of poems by Mogün) in six volumes, and in 1583 a descendant of the author, Yi Chöng, was instrumental in publishing Mogün mun’go (a collection of prose by Mogün) in eighteen volumes in five fascicles.
Another descendant, Yi Töksu, published the Mogun simun'go (An anthology of works by Mogun) in fifty-five volumes, during the reign of King Injo (1628-1649), and this edition was republished in 1686. This extant authentic edition of thirty-five volumes of poems and twenty volumes of prose, was reproduced by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun'gwan University in 1961, in a reduced photographic version as part of the Yŏgye myŏng hyŏng chip.

**Mohodang chip** (Collection of Mohodang)

*Mohodang chip* is an anthology of Sa Yaga, a naturalized Japanese general who surrendered to Korean forces during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, and then changed his name to Kim Ch'ungsŏn. This work consists of three volumes in one fascicle and is a woodblock-print. It was first published in 1798 and then again in 1842. At the beginning of the first volume there are prefaces written by Kang Seryun, Chŏng Shin and Kang P'ilhyo, and at the conclusion of the work there is an epilogue by Pak Kwangsŏk. The first volume consists of the author's letters to the Korean king, a written oath to the king and other miscellaneous writings. The second contains a chronological record of the author's life, and the third contains tributes written by others praising the life and accomplishments of Kim.

This work is notable in that although there are many accounts of Japanese surrenders to the Korean army during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, this is the sole account that is written by a Japanese. The author, after pledging loyalty to the Korean king, served in defense of Korea with great honor. This work provides a unique perspective on the period surrounding the 1592 Japanese Invasion and the subsequent Manchu invasion of the early part of the seventeenth century.

**Mokp'o**

Mokp'o is a port city situated at the southeastern tip of South Cholla Province. Two-thirds of the city is built on reclaimed land, and the city is continuing to expand through land reclamation. Ùidal, Talli, Nul, Changjiwa, Kohwa and Hosa islands are all included within the city limits. In addition, there are several low mountains in the area. Centrally located in Taeban-dong near the downtown area, Mt. Yudal (229 metres) offers a panoramic view of the city. The area is characterised by mild weather and average yearly temperatures of 13.4 deg. c.

During the Japanese occupation, Mokp'o was an important port for the shipment of rice and cotton to Japan. After liberation, its importance as a shipping centre declined as ports like Pusan and Inch'on expanded. Today, factories in the area produce ceramics and other products. Fishing is another important part of the local economy. Each day, boats bring in catches of skates, octopi, croakers, harvest fish and hair-tails to be sold at fish auctions.

During the twentieth century, Mokp'o's transportation network has undergone continuous improvement. The city is the final stop on the Honam railway line. Ferries operating out of the harbour go to both Hong and Cheju islands. In addition, a car ferry has operated between Mokp'o and Lainyungang, China, since 1997. In order to alleviate Korea's heavy air-traffic problems, an international airport is also under construction.

In addition to its role as a transportation hub, the city has several sites of interest to visitors. The National Maritime Museum displays numerous artefacts, documents and salvaged ships. Across the street at the Folk Museum, various old coins, coral, shells and handicrafts can be seen. At the Namnong Memorial Museum, built in memory of Hô Kôn (styled Namnong), paintings by five generations of Hô's family are on display. Hô Kôn is remembered as one of the most popular painters of the Chinese Southern School tradition.
Many famous artists have come out of Mokp’o. The Western-style painters Kim Hwan’gi and Kim Amgi as well as the oriental-style painter Hŏ Kŏn both hail from this area. Writers such as Pak Hwasŏng and Ch’a Pŏmsŏk, musicians such as Cho Sanghyŏn and Shin Yŏnghŭi as well as the dance innovators Ch’oe Ch’ŏng’a and Yi Maebang are also from here.

The city has a number of educational institutions. The Mokp’o Poetry Fellowship Hall can still be seen in Chukkyo-dong. The hall was built by Chŏng Manjo (1859-1936), a scholar specialising in classical East-Asian literature. In the spring and autumn, hundreds of scholars from around the nation used to gather at the hall for poetry writing examinations. In modern times, the area’s link with ancient artistic traditions has been maintained. At the Municipal Classical Music Institute, operated by the city, traditional music is taught to a wide range of students, from elementary school children to adults. The city is also home to Mokpo National University, Mokpo Technical College, Mokpo Commercial College and Mokpo National Maritime University.

Möllendorff, Paul Georg von

Paul Georg von Möllendorff (1847-1901) was a German diplomat who had a major role in late Chosŏn politics. He was the first official Western adviser to the Chosŏn government, serving from 1882 to 1885. The period in which Möllendorff was active in Korea was one of great change and international competition, and so his activities had important influences on the course that Chosŏn took.

Möllendorff was born into an aristocratic family on 17 February 1847 in the small town of Zedenik in Prussia. When he became eighteen, he entered the University of Halle and studied jurisprudence, and both occidental and oriental languages, among other subjects. He proved so adept at languages that he eventually became capable of research in German, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Polish, Dutch, Serbian, Hebrew, Chinese, Manchurian, Korean, and Japanese, to varying degrees of competency. It is not surprising, then, that Möllendorff came to be acknowledged as one of the foremost experts of Asian linguistics. In 1869, he went to China as an assistant secretary in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs service, and by 1874, had entered the German foreign service, eventually rising to the position of vice-consul at Tientsin. During this period, he developed close relationships with influential men in the Chinese, Russian and Japanese governments, such as Li Hongzhang, Takezoe Shinichirō and Karl Waeber.

Möllendorff left the German foreign service in 1881 and then joined the staff of Li Hongzhang, the Chinese Viceroy. Li thought that if Chosŏn had an adviser such as Möllendorff, his country would never have entered into such an unfair treaty as she had with Japan in 1876. Acting on Li’s advice, Möllendorff began his study of the Korean language. King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) learned of Möllendorff from Kim Hongjip (1842-1896) and Cho Yongha (1845-1884), who had returned from working out new trade regulations with China. While there was some opposition from the Germans, Americans and British to the appointment of Möllendorff as Kojong’s adviser, the opinion of Viceroy Li proved sufficient for the appointment of Möllendorff. The duties attaching to his post were outlined in a contract and stipulated that he was: a) to assist with the foreign affairs of the Chosŏn government; and b) to establish and administer the Chosŏn Customs Service, while this organisation was under the control of the Chosŏn government. Also included in the contract were a salary and accommodation arrangements for Möllendorff, along with clauses allowing for his removal from office. Arriving at the royal court in December 1882, Möllendorff became the first Westerner to meet King Kojong.

Möllendorff adapted well to his position in Korea and soon gained the confidence of Kojong. He was appointed to various positions and quickly rose to that of Vice-Minister
(ch'amp'an) of the Office of State Affairs (T'ongni amun), along with his duties at the Customs Service. Möllendorff remained aloof of Chinese influence in his duties in Korea, and this became a point of contention between him and Viceroy Li, who sought to use the German as a means to increase the influence of China over Korea. Möllendorff recognised the struggle of the Japanese and Chinese for control of Chosôn, and thus sought to bring a third power into Korea. Hence, he worked to convince King Kojong and Queen Min (1851-1895) of the necessity of a Western presence in Korea, and to this end brought Russia to the fore in the Korean court. In 1884, Möllendorff assisted in the negotiation of a treaty with Russia, which was represented by his old acquaintance Karl Waeber, and he became even more pro-Russian in his outlook after the coup d'etat of 1884 (Kapshin Chôngbyŏn).

The Chinese, who saw their influence in Korea on the wane, were not about to relinquish their role as the major power in Korea. Hence, in the aftermath of the coup d'etat, the Chinese stepped up their influence in all aspects of the Chosôn government, and in particular, Yuan Shikai, a Qing general, openly sought to intimidate Kojong with the threat of replacing him. As a result, Möllendorff himself was replaced at the prompting of Yuan by the American Owen N. Denny. Moreover, the heretofore independent Customs Service of Chosôn was subordinated to a like agency in China. Möllendorff then left Korea and returned to China in 1885. He returned briefly to Korea in 1888, holding hopes of again serving as an official adviser to Kojong, but circumstances did not allow him to do so. Once again in China, he worked on the compilation of two dictionaries, one Chinese-German and the other German-Chinese. He remained in contact with King Kojong throughout the 1890s and even as late as April 1900, the Korean monarch sought to have Möllendorff return to Korea as his adviser. The objections of the Japanese and Russians, however, prevented this from occurring. Möllendorff remained in China where he died in 1901 at the age of fifty-four.

Bibliography


**Mongsan hwasang pŏbŏ yangnok ŏnhae**

This work comprises six chapters of excerpts of the precepts of the Chinese Buddhist priest Meng Shan of the Yuan period and one chapter of those of Poje, a high priest of the Koryŏ dynasty who had visited Meng Shan in China. It was translated by the eminent priest Shinmi during the reign of King Sejong (1418-1450) and published by the official publishing office for Buddhist sutras, in which Shinmi was active.

Only one copy of the original wood-block edition of this work is known to have survived and is in the possession of Mr Yi Inyŏng. The date of publication is not known, but from internal evidence such as the quality of the paper and the engraving style it would appear to have been published during the time of King Sejong. The preface was printed with metal type but only one page of it remains and this does not include the date. This edition was reproduced by the publisher Tongmun'gwan in 1954.

Other editions published in the time of King Chunjong (1488-1544) are as follows:

1. Kounsae edition, printed at the Koun temple in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province in 1517 with four other works of Buddhist precepts. A copy is in the possession of Dr. Yi Pyŏnggi.
2. Yujom̃sa edition, published by the Yujom temple in the Diamond Mountains in 1521. A copy is held by Mr. Song Sŏkha.
3. Chungdaeasa edition, published with four other works of precepts by the Chungdae...
temple in Cholla Province in 1543. A copy is held by the Yonsei University Library.

All editions of this work are of interest for the study of change in the Korean language.

Mountains (see under each mountain)

Changsu-san
Ch’ilbo-san
Chiri-san
Chogye-san
Ch’ŏnma-san
Choryŏng-san
Chuhul-san
Chuwang-san
Halla-san
Haram-san
Hwaak-san
Hwangbyŏng-san
Ibam-san
Inwang-san
Kanbaek-san
Kariwang-san
Kaya-san
Kohŏn-san
Kŏmdŏk-san
Kŭmgang-san
Kūmo-san
Kuwŏl-san
Kwanak-san
Kyebang-san
Kyeryong-san
Maengbu-san
Mai-san
Mani-san
Mudŏng-san
Munsu-san
Myhyang-san
Myŏngji-san
Myŏngjido-k-san
Myŏngsŏng-san
Myŏnak-san
Nam-san
Namhan-san
Namp’ot’a-e-san
Nangnim-san
Odae-san
Önjin-san
Paegam-san
Paek-san
Paektu-san
P'algong-san
Pangdae-san
Pohyön-san
Pukhan-san
Pukp'o'ot'ae-san
Puram-san
P'yôngp'ung-san
Samak-san
Shinbi-san
Sobaek-san
Songni-san
Sóraek-san
Suyang-san
T'aeback-san
Taegwallyông
Tobong-san
Tógyu-san
Tongbaengnyôn-san
Turyu-san
Tut'a-san
Wölch'ul-san
Wórrak-san
Yôngmun-san

Muan County

Situated on the coast in the western part of South Chôlla Province, Muan County is comprises the towns of Muan and Illo, and the townships of Mangun, Mong't'an, Samhyang, Unnam, Ch'ônggye, Hyön'gyông and Haeje. The county covers a total area of 427 sq. kms. and as of 1988 had a population of 95 698. The Yongsan River flows along the city’s western and southern border before reaching the Yellow Sea. Narrow land-bridges connect the townships of Haeje and Unnam with the mainland. Within the county, there are two inhabited and twenty-five uninhabited islands. Due to the county’s southern location and low altitude, the local weather pattern is mild, with an average yearly temperature of 13.3c. and an average rainfall of 1 071mm.

Approximately four-fifths of the county’s workforce is employed in the agricultural sector. Of the county’s 181 sq. kms. of arable land, some forty-four per cent is used for rice and fifty-six per cent for dry-field crops, including tobacco. In the coastal waters, high quality shellfish and laver are harvested.

The county offers several scenic attractions. In the summer, visitors from Mokp'o and other nearby cities flock to T'ommôri Beach. This two-kilometre-long white-sand beach is situated next to a delightful grove of two-hundred-year-old pines. Mt. Sŏngdal (318m) in the centre of the county is another popular tourist destination. The mountain is famous for
its picturesque ridges of partially exposed granite. It is home to Pŏpch’ŏn Temple and Mogu Hermitage, two of the area’s oldest Buddhist monasteries. According to records, the monk Yuanming came here from China during the Yuan period and established a hermitage on the mountain. Five-hundred disciples trained under him, achieving enlightenment under his guidance. As a result, the mountain came to be known as Mt. Sŏngdal (Monks’ Attainment).

Buddhist relics found in the area include a standing stone Buddha at Yaksa Temple in Sŏngdong Village, a five-storey stone pagoda in Shin’gi Village and two stone guardian posts at the Ch’ŏngji Temple site in Taech’i Village. Confucian sites found here include Muan Hyanggyo (County Public School founded in 1394) and P’yŏngsansa (a shrine commemorating Ch’oe Ikhyŏn and Ki Uman) in Hyŏng’gyŏng’s P’yŏngsan Village.

In addition to historical sites, the area has a number of unique traditions. The Tongdangi T’aryong, a folk-song, is especially popular. The song is sung on Ch’usŏk Day (the harvest moon festival) or during the first lunar month to the rhythm of musical instruments improvised from household items such as upturned bowls and chopsticks banged together. The song begins with the nonsensical ‘Tongdangida Tungdangida, Tanggidungdangi Tungdangida’ followed by lyrics on the difficulty of living with one’s parents-in-law or of romantic love.

**Much’ŏn**

[Agricultural rites; Dance]

**Mudang Mountain**

Mudung (1,187 metres) is part of the Mudung-san Provincial Park, which is situated in South Cholla Province. During Paekche times, the mountain was called Mujin-ak, during Shilla times, Mu-ak, and during Koryŏ Times, Mt. Sŏsŏk. Except for the exposed rock around the summit, the area consists of gentle, earthen slopes. The mountain supports approximately 900 plant species, 465 of which have medicinal properties. The area’s mild climate also makes it an ideal location for tea cultivation. Chungshim Temple, the mountain’s largest extant temple, houses a number of historical artifacts, including a Pirosana (Vairocana) statue made of iron (Treasure no. 131). Wŏnhyo Temple, another important historical site, was founded by the famous Shilla monk Wŏnhyo. Destroyed during the Korean War, it has been rebuilt on a much smaller scale. With its gentle slopes and clear streams, the mountain is a favourite weekend picnic area for those living in nearby Kwangju.

**Muhak (see Chach’o)**

**Muju County**

Situated in the northeast corner of North Cholla Province, Muju County includes the town of Muju and the townships of Mup’ung, Punam, Sŏlch’ŏn, Ansŏng and Chŏksang. The county has an area of 641.56 sq.kms., and 1988 statistics record a population of 40,905. The Sobaek Mountain Range runs through the entire area of the county with Mt. Tŏgyu (1,614m), the county’s highest mountain, rising in the south, Mt. Taedŏk (1,290m) in the east and Kittae Peak in the north. The county’s terrain is characterised by deep valleys, rocky highlands and elevated plateaus. The weather pattern shows an average annual temperature of 11°C and a rainfall of 1,200 mm.

The area’s rugged topography allows little land for farming, only 12 per cent being arable. Of this, about half grows rice and the remainder dry-field crops and speciality crops such as
alpine vegetables, tobacco, ginseng, medicinal herbs and mushrooms. Orchards produce persimmon and apple. Apiculture is another source of income. Mining operations include iron and zinc in Sŏlich’ŏn Township, molybdenum in Punam Township, and gold, felspar, silica and limestone are mined/quarried in Chŏksang Township. Light industry consists of a small shiitake mushroom processing plant and a raw silk processing plant in the town of Muju.

Since ancient times, Muju County has been famous for its high mountains and clear streams. Mt. Tŏgyu, its key attraction, has been designated a national park (See Tŏgyu Mountain). With an average winter temperature of minus 8°c., the area offers an ideal winter sport venue. The Muju Resort was recently built here to provide ski facilities to the growing number of Korean skiers. Muju has Korea’s longest downhill run, of 3 220 metres. Other tourist attractions include Masan Cave in Chŏksang Township’s Sashin Village, North Cholla Province’s Natural Education Garden and Yongch’u Waterfall in Ansŏng Township’s Kongjŏng Village. On Mt. Chŏksang (1 029 m.), there is a large boulder, from which a panoramic view can be had of Mt. Kaya to the east, Mt. Chiri to the south, the Yellow Sea to the west and Hwa-ak (Blossom Peak) to the north.

Northwest of Annyŏndaes, inside Chŏksang Fortress, lies An’guk (Pacifying the Nation) Temple. Constructed in 1277, the temple received its present name when a special monks’ corps was deployed there. These soldier-monks protected the archive built here in 1641 to store documents of the Chosŏn kingdom. However, the recent construction of an electricity generating station nearby, necessitated the temple’s relocation to the site of Hŏguk Temple. Here there is a scroll painting of a Buddha (North Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 20). Between Mt. Tŏgyu and Highway 37, is the old site of Paengnyon Temple. Artefacts found at the site include a Vinaya platform and the Chonggwandang stupa, (North Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 102).

In Muju’s Tangsan Village is Han’p’ungnu, a two storey pavilion. The structure was burnt down in 1592 during the first Hideyoshi Invasion but was restored in 1599 and remodelled in 1783. Together with Hanbyŏkdang in Chŏnju and Kwanghallu in Namwŏn, Han’p’ungnu is considered to be one of the three great pavilions found in the Chŏlla area.

Village rituals (tongje) still common in this area include the Tangsanje (ritual to worship the mountain spirit); Sanshinje (ritual to worship the guardian spirit of the mountain); Ch’ŏllyangje (ritual to worship the heavenly dragon); Chot’apche (ritual held around a cairn); Chimdaeje (ritual held before a long pole with a grain-filled sack dangling from the top); Changsŭngje (ritual to the guardian poles at village entrance); Tokkaebije (ritual to goblins); P’ungamje (ritual to worship the guardian spirit of wind and rocks); Sushinje (ritual to the guardian spirit of water); Kiuje (ritual of prayer for rain); and the Kamummegije (ritual to get end a period of drought).

Mun’gwa  
[Kwagŏ]

Mun’gyŏng

Situated in the northwestern corner of North Kyŏngsang Province, Mun’gyŏng is comprised of the towns of Kaın and Mun’gyŏng and the townships of Nongam, Tongno, Masŏng, Sanbuk, Sanyang, Yŏngsun and Hogye. Mt. Chuhul (1 106m), Mt. P’oam (962m), Mt. Taemi (1 115m) and Mt. Hwangŏng (1 077m) rise in the north and other peaks between 800 and 1000 metres high in the west. The elevation drops as one approaches the southeast, eventually giving way to the flat terrain of the Sanyang and
Yŏngsun townships.

Due to the region's rugged topography, only 16.3 per cent of the city is arable. Most of the area's farming land is located along Yŏng River and the Kŭm and Choryŏng streams. Rice is cultivated here, along with barley and tobacco. In the mountainous regions, Songi mushrooms are grown and sericulture operations are prevalent. Approximately 82.5 per cent of the city is covered by forest, and there are numerous tree farm operations attempting to meet the growing demand for wood. In particular, timber is needed for rail sleepers in local mines. Of the ninety-three mines presently operating in the area, there are eighty-two coal mines, ten mines that excavate non-metallic minerals and one mine that excavates metallic minerals. Taking advantage of the region's abundance of clay and fuel wood, there are also a large number of pottery kilns in the Mun'gyŏng area.

With Mt. Wŏraek National Park in the northeast, part of Mt. Songni National Park in the west, and the famous pass known as Mun'gyŏng Saejae in the north, the city boasts numerous tourist destinations. Mt. Chuhŭl and Mt. Choryŏng are particularly popular with hiking enthusiasts. On the typical five-hour hike up Mt. Chuhŭl, one walks past the first gate of Mun'gyŏng Saejae, Yŏng Waterfall, Hyeguk Temple, a mineral spring, Mt. Chuhŭl's peak and Mun'gyŏng Saejae's second gate. To better preserve this picturesque region, the area has been designated Mun'gyŏng Saejae Provincial Park. In Nongam Township's Chonggok Village, one finds Taejong (Big Well) Park. Formed around 1918, the park gets its name from a large spring to the north of Chonggok Village. Here, the Songni and Nongam streams flow through thick forests of large pines. Suanbo hot springs is another popular tourist destination in the area.

In addition to beautiful scenery, the area contains a large number of historical sites and relics. Ancient temples in the region include Taešŭng Temple founded in 587, Unam Temple, Shimwŏn Temple and Yun'p'il Hermitage. In Sanbuk Township at the foot of Mt. Undal, one finds the ancient Kinmyŏng Temple. Originally known as Unbong Temple when founded by Undal in 588, the temple gets its present name from a local magistrate by the name of Kim. After giving Buddhist offerings on Mt. Undal, Kim's wife gave birth to a shinnyŏ (divine girl). Soon after, she had a boy whom the couple named 'Dragon' (yŏng). The Kim family then became prosperous, and thus the temple came to be named after the pious magistrate's son. Hyeguk (Kindness to the Nation) Temple is another monastery that has had its name changed. Originally known as Pŏphŭng Temple, it was renamed after King Kongmin, who took refuge here to escape troubles in the capital.

Pongam Temple, located in Kaŭn, houses most of the city's Buddhist artefacts. Here, one finds Grand Master Chijŏng's stupa and stele (Treasures No. 137 and 138), a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 169) dating from the ninth century, a Koryŏ-era pagoda and stele (Treasures No. 171 and 172) commemorating Grand Master Chŏngjin, the Hwanjŏktang pagoda, the Hamhŏndang pagoda and a bell-shaped stupa (North Kyŏngsang Province Cultural Sites No. 133-135). Near the temple complex, there is also a rock carving of a seated Bodhisattva (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 121).

In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a couple of old Confucian schools in the city, such as Mun'gyŏng Hyanggyo founded in 1392 and Kŭnam Sŏwŏn located in Sanbuk Township's Sŏjung Village.

**Mun, King (r. 737 to 794)**

King Mun (? -794) was the third king of the Parhae Kingdom and ruled from 737 to 794. His name was Taehŭmmu and he was the son of King Mu (r. 719-737) the second king of Parhae. The Parhae Kingdom occupied a very delicate international position being bordered by both Tang China and Greater Shilla to the south. However, the founder of the Kingdom, the former Koguryŏ general Tae Chŏyŏng (King Ko, r. 699-719) had managed to carve a kingdom in Manchuria incorporating both refugees from the fallen Koguryŏ
Kingdom and the indigenous Malgal people. The ruling class of Parhae was composed of members of the former Koguryo Kingdom and this is evidenced in their use of the title Kuguk (derived from Koguryo) to refer to their state as recorded in the Chinese history book Xin Tangshu (New History of Tang).

Mun's father had extended the territory of Parhae by attacking the seaport of Dengzhou on the Shandong Peninsula and Mun continued to enlarge the territory of Parhae. He took advantage of the An Lushan Rebellion in Tang to extend the domain of Parhae over the entire Liaodong Peninsula and bringing much of the former lands of Koguryo under his control. Moreover, in order to create a balance of power in the region, King Mun maintained diplomatic ties with Japan and various northern tribes to keep the alliance of Shilla and Tang at bay. Parhae did, however, eventually establish diplomatic relations with Tang and in 762 Tang began to refer to Parhae as the nation of Parhae instead of the fief of Parhae. Moreover, the Chinese recognised King Mun as the sovereign of the nation and at this time Parhae entered into the flourishing of their culture that would extend for another seventy years through the reign of King Sŏn (818-830).

**Munsŏng, King** (r. 839-857)

King Munsŏng (?—857) was the forty-sixth king of Shilla and reigned from 839 until 857. His family name was Kim, his name was Kyŏngung and he was the son of King Shinmu (r. 839). Immediately preceding Munsŏng's accession to the throne in 839, there were major struggles among the chingol (true-bone) aristocracy for the throne.

From the time after King Kyŏngdŏk (r. 742-765), the strength of the monarchy in Shilla deteriorated as the power of the chingol aristocracy increased, despite repeated attempts by the monarchy to check this rise. Upon the death of King Hŭngdŏk (r. 826-836), a large-scale struggle broke out among the aristocracy for control of the throne. At first a cousin of Hŭngdŏk was put forth by his supporters as the heir to the throne, but he was soon killed by his nephew, King Hŭigang (r. 836-838), who took the throne for himself. Hŭigang, however, could not control the machinations of the aristocracy who desired the throne and thus took his own life in less than two years. Hŭigang was succeeded by his cousin, King Minae (r. 838-839) who scarcely held the throne for a year before being usurped by King Shinmu, who was supported by the powerful warlord Chang Pogo (?)—846) and his forces. Munsŏng then ascended to the throne with the assistance of Chang upon the death of his father. Chang, however, was not satisfied with being the power behind the throne, and began to make moves to establish his claim on it. Hence, when he tried to arrange for his daughter to become Munsŏng's queen, members of the aristocracy rose up against the pairing of the king with the daughter of a commoner like Chang and prevented this. Shortly thereafter, Chang was assassinated in 846, and the over 10,000 troops under his command at Ch'ŏnghae Garrison were moved to Pyŏkkol County (present Kimje) where they no longer posed a threat to the throne.

The reign of Munsŏng was marred by continual uprisings by various members of the Shilla aristocracy and prevented the king from ever gaining full control of the decaying kingdom. In 857, the dying king passed the throne on to King Hŏnan (r. 857-861), presumably under pressure to relinquish the throne by the forces around him.

**Munsu Mountain**

Mt. Munsu (621 metres) is situated on the border of North and South Chŏlla Province north of Changsŏng. Along with Mt. Pangjang (734 metres), Mt. Kosŏng, and Mt. T’aech’ŏng, it is part of the Noryŏng Mountain Range. Remains of a fortress can be found about five kilometres south of the mountain. Munsu Temple, from which the mountain gets its name, lies on the northern slope.
Music

Court Music and Music of the Upper Classes

1. Ritual and banquet music of the Chosŏn dynasty court.

Music of the Chosŏn dynasty court was and still remains divided into three main categories based on origins: aak, music taken from China and felt to be performed in an authentically Chinese style; tangak, music from China, but stylistically modified in Korea; and hyangak, music of Korean origin. Written, notated sources for much of this court repertory survive from as early as the 15th c. In the 20th c. an unfortunate habit in Korea of loosely referring to all court music as aak has arisen.

Aak (in the strict definition) arrived in Korea as a gift from the Chinese emperor in 1116 and was soon put to use in court rites, especially state sacrificial rites such as the sacrifices to Royal Ancestors (T'aemyŏ or Chongmyŏ) and to Spirits of Land and Grain (Sajik). This ritual use of aak has continued, with some interruptions and losses, to the present, and the modern descendant of the music is still performed in context in the semi-annual Sacrifice to Confucius (Sŏkchŏn) at the Munmyo shrine at Sŏnggyun'gwăn University in Seoul. The music is preserved by the government-sponsored Korean Traditional Performing Arts Centre (Kungnip Kugagwŏn), the chief institution for preservation of court music and dance.

Aak is slow, stately music performed with a strictly regular beat, each melodic note lasting about four seconds long and ending with an upward rise of pitch. In addition to sixty-four dancers, there are two groups of musical instruments in the Sacrifice to Confucius, a Courtyard Ensemble (hŏng'ga) near the compound entrance and a Terrace Ensemble (t'ingga) on the stone terrace of the shrine building. In modern times, the two ensembles have similar instrumentation, including many instruments of Chinese origin: tuned bronze bells (p'yŏnjong) and stone chimes (p'yŏn'gyŏng), bamboo flutes (yak, chŏk, ch'i), globular earthenware flute (hun), wooden tiger with serrated back (Ŏ), several large drums, etc. Since the 15th c., the aak repertory has consisted of only two short melodies.

In the 15th c. there were numerous pieces of tangak in active court use for banquets and other court ceremonies, but the core tangak repertory has now dwindled to only two short ensemble pieces, both deriving originally from Chinese musical settings of ci poetry imported during the Koryŏ period from the early Song dynasty: Pohŏja (Pacing the Void) and Nagyangch'ŭn (Springtime in Luoyang). Several variant pieces deriving from Pohŏja are also in the repertory, and the characteristic process of modifying extant music in preference to composing new music has meant that the Korean court repertory in general is poor in number but rich in variation. Both Pohŏja and Nagyangch'ŭn are performed in what is felt to be a more Korean style than is aak, and their instrumentation includes double-reed pipes (p'iri) and bowed strings (haegûm and ajaeng) as well as the more formally Chinese tuned bells and chimes.
Hyangak accounts for all the rest of the court repertory, and it was also used mostly during banquets and other celebrations. The term can be used to refer to all native Korean music, but in normal practice it means only the court music of native origin. An important and sizeable part of the hyangak repertory is the set of two suites for large ensembles which are performed at the annual Sacrifice to Royal Ancestors at the Chongmyo shrine in Seoul: Pot’aep’yōng, with song texts praising the civil achievements of the royal ancestors, and Chōngdaep, praising their military accomplishments. The suites, each now consisting of eleven slow and imposing movements, were arranged in the 15th c. by King Sejo from longer suites assembled by King Sejong from then extant pieces of tangak and hyangak. The performing ensembles for the Chongmyo music, like those for the aak of the Sacrifice to Confucius, are divided into Courtyard and Terrace, but they are impressively larger and employ additional instruments such as bowed strings (haegüm and ajaeng), double reeds (multiple p’iri, conical t’aep’yōngso), and a large gong. Another type of ritual music, modelled in the late 18th c. upon the Chongmyo music is that for the Kyōngmo-gung, the shrine of King Chōngjo’s father; it is now performed only in concert.

Other hyangak includes military music such as Ch’wit’a (Beating and Blowing), which uses one of the largest orchestral groups in the repertory; it maintains a comparatively rapid and steady beat, reflecting its marching associations. It is more common nowadays to hear a derivative piece, Tae-Ch’wit’a, which is played on a small group of loud instruments including conical double-reed pipe (t’aep’yōngso), conch shell (nagak), long trumpet (nabal), gong (ching) and brass cymbals (chabara). Surviving examples of music originally performed at banquets and other court ceremonies include: Sujech’ön, a slow fifteen-minute piece in several sections with remarkable drawn-out phrases for bowed string instruments; Yŏnnillak, an orchestral piece deriving from a 15th c. tune which has expanded through decoration, variation, and repetition to a modern length of over eighty minutes; and Haeryōng, a twenty-minute piece with bells and chimes, plus loud wind and bowed string instruments.

2. Music of the upper classes

The generic term for music performed by the upper classes (the ruling yangban and the more clerical chungin) under less formal circumstances than court rites and ceremonies is chōngak. Like the much older term aak, chōngak has in this century been used loosely to refer collectively to all court music and music of upper classes, but the more useful basic definition covers only two main types of music: instrumental chamber ensemble music and elegant vocal music with poetic texts.

A. Instrumental music

The instrumental repertory of chōngak consists of several variations of a single suite of pieces, Yōnsan hoesang. The versions are distinguished by details of instrumentation, number of movements, and technical points of musical construction. Individual movements from the various versions are often used for dance accompaniments and other occasional purposes. A number of the movements are variants of each other, so that the music is interesting from the structural standpoint and possesses a developmental, coherent quality absent in much of the court music. Yōnsan hoesang is felt by many Korean musicians to be the pinnacle of the elegant, restrained aspect of Korean music, as distinct from the rough, individual, and extrovert style of much of the folk music. The historical development of Yōnsan hoesang, from a single short piece to a set of variants and additions, can be traced in notated sources from the 15th c. onward, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries.

(i) The version most often heard is Hyŏnak Yōnsan hoesang (Yōnsan hoesang for string ensemble), a suite of nine movements in which the lead instrument is the six-string long zither kŏmun’go. Other instruments in the mixed ensemble include the 12-string long
zither kayagüm the trapezoidal dulcimer yanggüm, the two-string fiddl haegüm, large bamboo flute taegüm, a gentle double-reed pipe se-p'iri, small bamboo flute tanso, and hourglass drum changgu. In a full performance, which takes about fifty-five minutes, the suite progresses from exceedingly slow to a swaying, dance-like tempo at the end.

(ii) P'yöngjo hoesang is similar to Hyönak Yongsan hoesang, except that it has only eight movements, is irregularly transposed to a different pitch level, and has the rough-sounding double-reed hyang-p'iri rather than se-p'iri, plus a few more instruments, so that the ensemble is somewhat larger and louder. The melodic line is also rather more decorated.

(iii) Kwanak Yongsan hoesang is a wind ensemble version of the suite, again with eight movements. The wind instruments include two double-reed p'iri, the large flute taegum, the two-string fiddle haegum (here classified as a wind instrument as it possesses the same sort of sustaining ability), hourglass drum changgu, and barrel drum chwago. Although the ensemble is smaller than the two previous versions, the resulting sound is quite penetrating.

(iv) Pyolgok is a suite of nine movements which are variants of movements from the more standard Yongsan hoesang versions, strung together as a ‘special piece’(pyolgok). The ensemble is the same as for Hyönak Yongsan hoesang.

B. Vocal music

Three genres of vocal music come under this heading: kagok (lyric songs), shijo (poetic incantation), and kasa (narrative, descriptive poems).

(i) The musical forms kagok and shijo need to be considered together, since both set the same type of poetry, confusingly referred to as shijo. Poems in the form now called shijo have existed in Korea for a number of centuries, though most of the texts (regardless of wishful attribution) appear to be from the 18th c. onwards. Most traditional shijo texts are to be found in surviving notebooks of singers, complete with a shorthand musical notation consisting of memory aids to help a singer attach the text to an already memorized melody, of which there were only a comparatively small number (dozens of different texts being sung to each melody). In the notebook sources, the shijo texts are grouped according to which kagok melody they are sung.

Structurally, the shijo poetic form consists of three lines, each in four syntactic groups of varying numbers of syllables (attempts to describe the form in terms of numbers of syllables are fundamentally misconceived). Kagok and the musical form also known as shijo both are structurally interlocked with the three-line / four-group poetic structure and are unconcerned with syllable counts.

The history of kagok goes back to the Koryö dynasty (918-1392), and it is musically traceable to notated sources as early as the 16th c. As in the court music repertory, kagok consists mainly of variants of a very few original model tunes, and the sources show how the most popular variants of any given time became the models from which subsequent sets of variants were drawn.

The present repertory of kagok consists of forty-one pieces, of which twenty-six are for male voice and fifteen are for female voice. There are several established orders of performance, for male only, female only, and alternating. The final female song, T'aep'yöngga, is often sung as a male-female duet. Kagok is generally sung by a vocalist with a gentle chamber instrumental ensemble of instruments already described above: the flute taegüm, double-reed se-p'iri, two-string haegüm, 12-string kayagüm, 6-string komun'go, the trapezoidal dulcimer yanggüm, and hourglass drum changgu. The style is highly refined and restrained, requiring tasteful performance by the players and cultivated
listening by the audience.

The musical form shijo dates from the 18th c. and is essentially a simplified incantation for the shijo poetic form for those unable or unwilling to undergo the extensive training required for singing the more complex kagok. The correlation to musical phrase and textual group is very straightforward, and basically anyone culture enough to write a shijo poem could also convey it as music. The only essential accompaniment is the hourglass drum changgu, but flutes and fiddle may also be added if available.

(ii) The form of kasa is related to that of the poetic form shijo, having four syntactic groups per line; the difference lies in the number of lines, which in the case of kasa range from several dozen to over a thousand. These long texts typically deal with narratives such as travel diaries, and often contain long passages of lists (of striking geographical features, etc.). Twelve texts are performed in the standard musical kasa repertory. Their musical structure of course corresponds to the four-part line division of the poetry. Performance is by singer with instrumental ensemble typically consisting of double-reed se-p'iri, large flute taegüm, fiddle haegüm, and drum changgu.

Folk Music

Korean discussions of folk music face a dilemma. The most widely appreciated genres, p'ansori (epic story-telling through song), sanjo ('scattered melodies' for solo instrument and drum accompaniment), and Samul Nori (a percussion quartet) are today essentially urban. They comprise a high art canon developed and performed by professional or semi-professional musicians. In contrast, revisionist minjung populism argues the merits of rural and local and amateur oral genres transmitted from the past. Boundaries between the two canons have never been strict, not least because of a long-standing interplay between the musicians themselves.

In Korean scholars' accounts, the term minyo combines two appropriate Sino-Korean characters for the people (min) and song (yo). It defines songs with no recognised composers, a shrouded and timeless history, and few prescribed texts. Minyo vary from village to village and tend to use simple strophic melodies. Minyo are the 'songs of the people', the equivalent of German volkslied, sung in work, for entertainment, and at funerals.

A number of folksong areas are distinguished. Namdo minyo come from the southwestern Cholla provinces (the Honam region). Singers use a tight throat and considerable chest resonance. Emotion comes from the vocal character - aewan ch'ong ('sad voice') - and a characteristic tritonic pitch scheme in which a deep and vibrating dominant (the ttanin mok) is separated from a high falling appoggiatura known as the 'breaking tone' (kkangni mok) by a plain and barely vibrated tonic. The characteristic song is Yukchabaegi, given in a slow and flexible six-beat chinyangjo rhythmic cycle (18/8).

Soda minyo, from Pyongan and Hwanghae provinces, contain comparable, sometimes tearful, emotion. Songs move gradually from a low pitch register to a high climax, then conclude in a series of descending portamento. Nasal resonance is used, coupled to a low sonorous vibrato. The characteristic song is the free-rhythm Sushimga. Excerpts of Sushimga often conclude other songs. There are three common more regular rhythmic cycles, todi ri (6/4), semachi (9/8) and kutkari (12/8). Soda minyo are preserved by migrants around Seoul as the ROK's Intangible Cultural Asset (muhyong munhwajae) no.29. Folk singing in the DPRK is ostensibly based on Sada minyo, but with less vibrato and no nasal resonance.

Kyonggi minyo typify what we would expect to find near the capital city: Kyonggi province surrounds Seoul. Songs tend to be joyful, lyrical and bright, using a relaxed
throat and less nasal resonance. Regular rhythmic cycles such as chungmori (12/4) and kutkori (12/8) feature. Niliria and Norae karak are representative songs. To the East, beyond the Taebaek mountain range, much of the three styles continue, but a distinct and unified pentatonic mode described as menarjo or sanyuhwaje can be discerned. In the south-eastern Kyongsang provinces (the Yongnam region), the irregular and unaccompanied Menari sori is the characteristic song. In the central Kangwon province, versions of Arasongs, notably Kangwondo arriang and Chongsön arriang, are faster and more regular. Once typical throughout the north-eastern Kangbuk region, Orang t'aryông (Shin kosan t'aryông) favours a consistently high pitch range but is lighter and less emotional than Sushimga.

A final region, based on the southern island of Cheju, is also distinguished. Farming songs favour free and expansive rhythmic textures and florid, highly ornamented melodies. Threshing songs and lullabies are built from short, repetitive phrases. Songs reminiscent of Kyongs are still sung around the old administrative centre of Songup.

The term 'minyo' was introduced from Japan as commercial recordings made by professional singers appeared. Recordings tended to feature entertainment songs with widespread provenance. Sometimes known as shin minyo ('new folksongs'), these were popular 'songs for the people' (yuhaeng minyo and t'ongsok minyo are alternative designations). These songs have fixed texts and can combine textual fragments taken from several regions. Examples include Namhansansong, Hanombaengnyong, and many T'aryông. Historical precedents include Chapka ('vulgar songs') and Sonsiri t'aryông or ipch'ang ('standing songs').

Arirang, now Korea's 'national' folksong, has a curious history. Arirang catapulted to fame with a silent film produced by Na Un'gyu in 1926. It became a symbol of the independence struggle. Local versions survive throughout the peninsula, from the archetypal Ch'ongsi5muirang to Chindo arriang and Miryang arriang. The first transcription - in a missionary journal - dates only from the 1890s, but scholars suggest that the song could predate or derive from the Koryo dynasty Ch'ongsan pyolgok, while its curious phrase structure suggests mid-Chosun poetry.

Kayagum pyongch'ang developed both amongst male instrumentalists and as one of the skills fostered by kisaeng (entertainment girls). In pyongch'ang, a singer take texts from p'ansori or folksongs and accompanies him/herself on the 12-string zither.

P'ansori is performed by a singer once known as a kwangdae with two props - a fan and a handkerchief - and a drummer. P'ansori mixes song (sori), narration (anari), and drama (pallim) and is long: a complete madang (story) may take five or six hours to tell. The earliest documented source is a 1754 text by Yu Chinhan of one madang, Ch'unchyangga (Song of 'Spring Fragrance'). Eight great singers are known from the late 18th c., and twelve stories are listed in a poem, Kwanuhui, by Song Manjae (1788-1851). P'ansori achieved its greatest popularity in the 19th c., when the government official Shin Chaehyo (1812-1884) collected texts for six stories. Five of these remain: Ch'unghyangga, Shimch'ongga (Song of Shimch'ong), Hungboga (Song of the Two Brothers), Sugungga (Song of the Underwater Palace) and Chokpyookyoka (Song of the Red Cliff).

Attempts to create a Korean version of western opera based on p'ansori, ch'angguk, began in Seoul around 1908 and has continued in the ROK with recent productions of the Kungnip ch'angguk tan (National Traditional Opera Troupe) directed by Hō Kyu and others. In the DPRK, the elitist nature and raspy vocal character of p'ansori has been rejected, replaced since the 1970s by multi-composer operas performed by the Pi pada kagük tan (Sea of Blood Opera Troupe). In the ROK, decline was countered by the appointment of p'ansori as Intangible Cultural Asset no.5 in 1964. Recently, popularity has increased through a p'ansori hakhoe (p'ansori study association) and the 1993 film,
The best p'ansori singers are said to come from Cholla province. Two vocal styles are distinguished, Tongp'yŏnje (said to be 'majestic, expansive, like sunrise') and the rarer Sŏp'yŏnje - 'sad and touching, like sunset'. Tone colours include chŏlsŏng (iron voice), ch'ŏngsŏng (clear voice), and surisŏng (tough voice). Singers talk about 'acquiring the voice' (t'ugŭm), of 'breaking the voice' through solitary '100 day' sojourns in mountains where they compete against waterfalls. Seven melodic types are delineated, from the typical of Nand'o minyo to the court-based ujo used for songŏnmok, in character close to Kyŏnggi minyo, are used in bright, cheerful, and peaceful scenes. Sŏllŏngje comes from the shout of the attendant who once preceded a king or high official, while the restrained and level sŏkhwaje is used for reportage. There are seven basic rhythmic cycles that underpin songs: slow chinyangjo (18/8), walking-paced chungmori (12/4), fast chungjungmori (12/8) and chajinmori (12/8), 'rushing' hwimori (12/8), and the irregular ônmori and ûchungmori.

Shamans vocalisation, particularly amongst the hereditary practitioners in Cholla, is similar to p'ansori. Vocational ties notwithstanding, shamans use two tone colours deplored by the myŏngch'ang (great singers) of p'ansori: hoensŏng, the so-called 'yellow voice' and hamsŏng, a veiled voice without clear enunciation. Shinawi denotes instrumental ritual music, though since the mid-20th c. it has also identified a professional folk music ensemble. Shinawi involves improvisation around set melodic cells. It is living music, with each player working off of others as they generate a state of hung (elation). Depending on the region, shinawi may be given as a shaman dances or as she rests. In central Korea the shaman may join in, vocalising textless phrases. Salp'uri (6/8+6/8), tosalp'uri (6/4) and tŏngdŏngungi (12/8) are the most common rhythmic cycles.

Sanjo is thought to have developed from a combination of shinawi, p'ansori and minyo. Many believe it was invented by Kim Ch'angjo (1865-1920) for the kayagŭm zither. Sanjo was codified into a series of 'schools' (ryu, a loan-word from Japan) named after founders, amongst them Ch'oe Oksan, Kang Taehong, Kim Yundok, Pak Sanggŭn, Sŏng Kŭmyŏn and Kim Chukp'a. This century, sanjo has been adapted for the kŏmun'go (zither), p'iri (oboe), haegŭm (fiddle), taegŭm (flute), ajaeng (bowed zither), and hojŏk (shawm). In the ROK it is considered the basic solo instrumental form. A sanjo ensemble has also been developed. In the DPRK, short sanjo such as that developed by a teacher of Kim Yundok, Chŏng Namhŭi, are still taught.

Sanjo comprises a sequence of movements, passing from a slow and concentrated opening chinyangjo (18/8) to a fast quadruple hwimori or tumach'i (12/8 or 4/4) resolution. In between, the sequence gradually increases in tempo. Sanjo can last for up to an hour, and often include an integral tuning piece tasi1ri1m. Once taught entirely by rote, scores have been used for teaching since 1960. This, and the respect accorded 'schools', has curtailed any improvisation beyond the ordering of chunks of pre-composed melodic material.

Rhythm is well developed in Korea. Nongak provides a case in point. Nongak is deeply rooted in Korean history; today’s bands mix village rites with military drills, work support and pure entertainment, all overlaid with either the world of travelling troupes or isolated farming villages. 'Nongak' is an all-embracing term, but local terms suggest a multiplicity of uses: Kut indicates a general performance. Maegut, a term which abbreviates characters for 'stamping on the spirits', prescribes a village rite typically given at New Year. Kŏlip indicates fund raising activities while kunak and kŏlgung suggest military processions and palace links. Pungmul, p'ungjang and ture are associated with work teams in farming and, occasionally, fishing, and rites to ensure a good harvest. Pan'gut implies an entertainment event in an open space.

The music of rural bands divides into three basic styles: Kyŏnggi, chwado and udo. As
with Kyŏnggi minyo, the first prescribes a repertory geared to an urban fringe. Chwado and udo are applied as if looking southwards from Seoul, so that udo (right) specifies the western rice plain and chwado (left) the central and eastern hills. Udo bands are said to favour slow rhythms, performers keeping together in the spirit of egalitarianism. Chwado bands are said to feature solo segments, to emphasise superior playing techniques and virtuosity, and to favour fast patterns. Chwado and udo bands employ a set of rhythmic patterns known as shibi ch‘a or shibi ch‘ae. These are identified by ching (large gong) strikes and include the simple il ch‘ae (‘one strike’: a single beat repeated over and over) and the common sam ch‘ae (‘three strikes’: similar to ch‘ajjinmori). Others such as ch’il ch‘ae (‘seven strikes’) and shibi ch‘ae (‘twelve strikes’) accompany specific dances. Some are complex: the processional o ch‘ae ch’il kut (‘five strikes processional’) in North Ch‘olla presents a sequence of 10+14+10+9+6 beats.

The four basic nongak instruments are the lead kkwaenggwari (small gong), the pulse-keeping ching, and two drums: the changgo (double-headed hour-glass drum) is used to imitate both large and small gongs while the puk (barrel drum) adds a solid bass. Dancers hold small sogo drums. In addition, a nabal trumpet often announces the band and a soaenap shawm adds an improvised melody. Local ritual performances may last several days, but rural bands are in near-terminal decline. The genre is sustained in the ROK through local and central government sponsorship. However, student groups have since the 1970s gathered under the p’ungmul label to recreate local bands on many a university campus.

Itinerant troupes, Sadang p’ae, Namsadang p’ae and Kŏsa p’ae, were active until the 1960s, performing music, dance, acrobatics and juggling for payment. Since 1978, professional bands have had a sure future. In that year, four professional musicians led by Kim Tŏksu (b.1952) performed for the first time under the name Samul Nori. Samul Nori have given their name to a genre, and Seoul now has some 25 professional teams. The basic Samul Nori repertory comprises Pinari (a prayer for blessing), P’ang’ut, a drum ensemble Samdo sŏl changgo and pieces representing each nongak style: Honam nongak from the Ch‘ŏngu area in North Ch‘olla, Yongnam nongak from Samch‘ŏnp’o in South Kyŏngsang, and Uttari p’ungmul from the central Ch‘ungch‘ŏng provinces. Samul Nori is distinct from both amateur nongak and the music of itinerant troupes. Local bands stood and danced, but Samul Nori sit, concentrating on rhythmic development. Rituals and work allowed the endless repetition of simple patterns by local bands, but the concert stage on which Samul Nori function requires rigid successions of rhythms in a pre-timed programme.

Samul Nori have not discarded the past. The performers insist they play old music from an indigenous tradition. Yet Samul Nori have provided a new momentum for Korean folk music to break free from the dying and 'outmoded' to appeal to an increasingly internationalised, primarily middle-class urban audience. New directions have been explored. Samul Nori have combined with traditional orchestras in compositions like Pak Pŏmhun’s Shin mŏdum (1988) and with jazz musicians such as Bill Lazwell and Shankar. Sanjo has become the basis for orchestral music by Yi Kangdŏk (Sanjo Fantasia, 1972), and Paek Taeng (Sanjo for Orchestra). New p’ansori adaptations have emerged such as Yesujŏn (The Story of Jesus) by Pak Tongjin and an adaptation of the dissident poet Kim Chih’a’s Ojŏk (Five Enemies, 1993) by Im Chint’aek.

Western music

Many Koreans trace the introduction of western music back to American Protestant missionaries active in Korea after 1884. A handful of hymnbooks appeared quickly after the first, Chăngsŏngga, was published in 1893. Three strophic vocal genres emerged early in the 20th century: kagok (lyric songs, usually with patriotic texts, but distinct from older Korean songs because of diatonic harmony) and tongyo (children’s songs) took over the
mantle of popular expression, while *yuhaengga* (popular songs, after Japanese *enka*) reflected new recording technologies. Electronic and acoustic *Kyöng ümak* ('light music') and *ppongtchak* (a derogatory onomatopoeic reference to the fox-trot rhythm), still the staple music of ROK tea houses and DPRK popular songs, are descendants.

An imperial brass band was established in 1900, which soon replaced traditional ensembles in state ceremonies. Founded on German-Japanese practice, it was directed from 1901 by Frans Eckert (1852–1916). Korean instrumental composition, accordingly, was modelled on 18th and 19th c. European styles favoured in contemporary Japan.

Western music (*yangak*) was easier to listen to than the refined court and functional folk genres of traditional music (*kugak*). *Yangak* soon dominated, although assimilation was never simple. The weakness of monarchy and state meant that few fought to retain *kugak*. Hymns and vocal music matched appealing texts to singable melodies. They became music for the masses. Missionary schools and the Japanese administration saw *yangak* as part of enlightenment and development. So did early independence fighters. Consider the early *Aegukka* (National Anthem). After an experiment setting Korean words to the British national anthem, 1896 saw *Auld Lang Syne* adopted as the foundation stone was laid for *Tongnip mun*, the Independence Gate.

Public and subscription concerts developed - with the exception of *ch'angguk* - around western music, after the first piano recital at the Seoul YMCA in 1911. Composers emerged, following the western example. Consider Hong Nan'pa (Hong Yonghu, 1898-1941), the revered composer of the song cited as the first truly Korean composition, *Pongs6nhwa* ('Balsam Flower'; 1919). Hong entered the western music section at the *Choyang ch6ngak ch6nsupso* (Korean Classical Music Institute) in 1915. He later studied in Japan and America. In 1922, he founded the *Y6nakhoe* to research western music. He taught western music in three Seoul schools that later became major universities - Chungang poyuk hakkyo, Ihwa haktang, and Ky6ngs6ng poyuk hakkyo. In 1936 he founded the Seoul Radio Orchestra. And he wrote two books on western music: *Umak manp'il* and *Ch6t mudae ëi kiak*.

Many other musicians followed Hong and went abroad to study. Some have settled abroad, notably the composers Eaktay Ahn (1906–1965), Isang Yun (b.1917), Nam June Paik (b.1932) and Younghui Pagh-Paan (b.1945), and performers such as the Chung family—the conductor Chung Myung-whun (b.1953), the violinist Kyung-hwa Chung (b.1948) and the 'cellist Myung-hwa Chung (b.1944). (1993 saw the beginning of an initiative to train local performers in Seoul, with the admission of 98 freshmen to a new National School of Music.)

After 1945, political factors split local composers into functional and aesthetic camps. The former were essentially expressionists and socialists, and many settled in the DPRK. Kim Sunnam (1913–1983) is representative. He composed proletarian pieces such as *K6n'guk haengjin'gok* (Foundation March for the Nation), *Sanyuhwja* (Mountain Flower) and *Imjin haengjaengga* (Song of Resistance). Yet Kim's life in the DPRK was far from smooth. He went to the USSR to study under Khachaturian in 1952. Ordered back a year later, he was purged and sent to Shinp'o, South Ham'gyongs province, where he was forbidden to compose until 1965. Rehabilitated, he became chairman of the composition section at the Pyöngyang Music and Dance College and vice-chairman of the Choson Musicians' League.

The aesthetic camp settled in the ROK. Influential composers included La Un-yung (Na Unyöng) (b.1922) and Yi Sanggün (b.1922). 1952 saw the founding of the Korean Contemporary Music Society, 1955 the Korean Composers Club, and 1957 brought membership of the ISCM (International Society for Contemporary Music). Entrenched conservatism remained unchallenged until after Isang Yun's 1967 abduction by the ROK
regime. Sukhi Kang (b.1934), Kim Chonggil (b.1934) and Paek Pyeongdong (b.1936) followed Yun back to Germany, but returned to Seoul, converted to European formal and structural techniques. In 1969, Kang set up a festival to showcase contemporary music, known since 1975 as the Pan Music Festival. Kang composed the first electronic music in Korea. Kim toyed with aleatoric devices and Paek with pointillism. The 1980s saw a 'Third Generation' led by Yi Konyong who attempted to redefine 'Korean music' by rejecting servitude to the West and reinstating a national identity.

The Sŏal kyohyang aktan (Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra) was established in 1945 as the Koryŏ kyohyang aktan (Korea Symphony Orchestra); by 1991 it had given almost 3 500 concerts. The KBS kyohyang aktan was set up in 1956, tied to the state broadcasting company (as the Kyŏngsŏng pangsŏng kwanghyŏn aktan had been since 1934). A Kungnip kyohyang aktan (National Symphony Orchestra) began in 1969. A new Korea Symphony Orchestra began as a private concern in 1985 which, based at the Seoul Arts Centre, now gives 80 annual concerts. Korean productions of opera began in 1948 with Verdi's La Traviata staged by the Kukche op'erasa. Since 1962, opera has centred around a national opera group based at the Kungnip kûkch'ang (National Theatre).

Western music still reigns in contemporary South Korea. In 1991 there were 619 traditional and 2 598 western music concerts. Of the western concerts, 80 were recitals of new compositions, 1 137 instrumental and 661 vocal, 68 opera and 632 other events. 1 234 (47.9 per cent) were given in Seoul. The state radio, KBS, tells a similar story. In 1989, FM1 devoted 78.6 per cent of air time to western classical music, 2.4 per cent to kagok, and 14.2 per cent to traditional music, while FM2 gave 47.6 per cent of air time to Korean pop, 38.1 per cent to American and European pop, and 14.3 per cent to kyŏng ŭmak. Again, in 1988, 16.7 per cent of record sales were of Korean music - traditional music, kyŏng ŭmak and Korean pop - while 83.3 per cent were western recordings, imported or produced locally under licence. After liberation, Korean songs and the western classical canon quickly replaced Japanese songs in school books. Only in the 1970s was it made mandatory to proportion some classroom teaching to kugak. But in 1987, the balance remained strongly in favour of western music, for 1 711 university students were registered to study kugak and 16 792 yangak.

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Musical Instruments

Systems of Classification

Koryo scholars classified instruments for use in the court as _tangakki_ (from Tang and Song China; _Tang_ defines the repertory) and _hyangakki_ (indigenous; _Hyang_ defines the repertory). _Tangakki_ arrived at various times, but particularly as part of gifts sent by the Chinese Northern Song emperor Hui Zong. _Koryo_ (History of the Koryo Dynasty; 1452) tells us that 167 instruments came in 1114 to support _Dasheng xinyue_, music for banquets, and 428 in 1116 to support _Dasheng yayue_, the source of Korean _aak_ ritual music. Many of the surviving 60 or so Korean instruments arrived as part of these gifts. By the early 15th century, classification also considered historical association and timbre, absorbing the Chinese _p'al um_ distinction of eight materials: bamboo, wood, metal, silk, skin, stone, gourd, and clay. This system was never precise. The _yanggūn_ (dulcimer), for example, tends to be placed within the silk category though it has metal strings, and there is no category for the _nagak_ (shell trumpet). The _saenghwang_ (mouth organ) is classified as a gourd, reflecting the windchest used several centuries ago, though windchests are now wood, metal, or lacquer. The _saenghwang_ is, because of mythical associations, separated from both _hun_ (ocarina) and _so_ (bamboo panpipes). Similarly, although both the _t'aep'yōngso_ ("great peace pipe") and _p'iri_ (oboe) are double reeds, the first is classified as wood and the second as bamboo.

_Akhak kwebŏn_ (Guide to the Study of Music; 1493) adopts a division into three types of music, reflecting King Sejong's (1418-1450) reconstruction of ritual music undertaken in 1430. Thirty-seven instruments are listed as _abu akki_, instruments for ritual music, and 13 as _tangbu akki_, a generic term for anything from Song and T'ang China. Seven are given as _hyangbu akki_, native instruments for indigenous music. Korean folk classifications remain varied but distinct. Typically, _melodic_ instruments imitate the voice or attract spirits in shaman rituals and are talked about in terms of relaxed and smooth-sounding verbs such as _nolda_ (to play) and _hada_ (to do). _Percussive_ instruments, described in terms of the brash and hard verb _ch'ida_ (to hit), provide the quintessential _changdan_ rhythmic cycles that underpin virtually all genres, generating an atmosphere for dance and entertainment.
Chordophones

The kayagüm, in its traditional form a 12-string half-tube plucked zither, resembles the Chinese chéng the Mongolian yaiça, the Japanese koto, and the Vietnamese dan tranh. Two distinct traditional versions survive. The larger, associated with court and literati ensembles, is known as the pöpkum, p'ungyu kayagüm or ch'öngak kayagüm (pöp = law; p'ungyu = elegant music; ch'öngak = "upright" or "correct" music) and has a body made from a single piece of paulownia wood. Twelve wound silk strings are held by pegs (tolgwae) above a fixed hardwood bridge (hyönch'im) near the top and pass over movable bridges known as anjok or "kirogi pal (wild geese feet)". The strings are tied in coils behind cord loops at the lower end, and the cords (pudiül) are secured around characteristic sandalwood "yangidu ("ram's horns") at the base. The smaller instrument, called the sanjo kayagüm after a popular folk genre, has a similar soundboard but sides and back of a harder wood such as chestnut. The backpiece typically has three soundholes - a new moon (ch'osaeng tal) above a stylized character for happiness (hŭi) and the full moon (porûm tal).

Pottery artefacts show that a similar instrument existed prior to the 4th century, and four 8th century instruments survive as Shiragi koto ("zithers from Shilla") in the Shosoin repository at Nara, Japan. Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), tells of a 5th century development. King Kashil of the Kaya tribal federation heard a Chinese chéng and commented that since countries do not share languages they should not have the same music. U Rûk, a musician from Sŏngyŏl prefecture ( ), was ordered to compose music for a new instrument. He wrote twelve pieces which, after he had fled to Shilla in 551, were reconstructed as five new court works.

Recently, kaeryang kayagüm have appeared. First, the now-defunct chogûm was devised in the 1940s, replacing cords with pegs and mounting the kayagûm body on a stand. In South Korea at the end of the 1980s, Hwang Pyŏngju developed a 17-string instrument which, with a range of 3 octaves, allowed an overlap between the traditional low court scale (E♭–B♭), sanjo (A♭–E♭), and the higher range needed to accompany singing (B♭–F♯). String cords were replaced by anchming pegs and wound silk has given way to nylon strings. In North Korea a 21-string version has been standard since the 1960s, with metal tuning pegs and nylon strings. This keeps the old range but fills in diatonic pitches, allowing for the introduction of harmonic and heterophonic structures. Back in South Korea, Yi Sŏngch'ŏn commissioned two new versions, one a scaled-down version of the sanjo kayagûm designed for small children, and the other a 21-string instrument with a 4-octave range.

The kômun'go is a six string half-tube zither with 16 fixed frets (kwae) and three movable bridges (chu). The six twisted silk strings are plucked by a bamboo stick (sultae or shi) above a leather cover described as a hawksbill (taemo) or deer (sasuŏl). In construction, bodies resemble sanjo kayagûm. Bridges sit beneath the outer strings while the three central strings run across frets. Only strings 2 and 3, yuhyŏn (played string) and taehyŏn (big string) play melodies. In court use the open strings are tuned E♭, A♭, D♭, B♭, B♭. The kômun'go is often called the hyŏngûm a name derived from hyŏnghakkûm (black crane zither). Samguk sagi quotes a legend from the earlier Shilla kogi (Old Record of Shilla) which explains this: "A Chinese qin was kept in the northern Koguryŏ court. Nobody knew how to play it, so the king offered a reward that persuaded Wang Sanak to remodel it as the kômun'go." As Wang played the new instrument a black crane flew into the room and danced. Possible dates given by scholars vary, though the end of the 4th century is favoured. The kômun'go became the favoured literati instrument, so featured in countless paintings. Most old scorebooks include kômun'go tablatures. In North Korea, partly reflecting its aristocratic heritage and partly its percussive sound, it is no longer used. The ajang, a bowed half-tube long zither with movable bridges, has also disappeared in the North. In South Korea it survives as both a court instrument with seven silk strings tuned to encompass a 9th, and as a folk version with an eighth string, a second
soundboard, and a much wider range. The former is bowed using a rosinied stick of forsythia, but the latter a ‘cello bow. In Koryŏ times the ajang was labelled as a tangak instrument, but by the late 15th century played in some hyangak ensembles.

Three further zithers were imported. The 7-string lacquered kūm employed a narrow pentatonic scale. The 25-string sil was tuned to a chromatic scale in which the 13th string remained mute and, unique amongst Korean zithers, had a painted paulownia soundboard decorated with a bird motif. Forty-two sil and seventy-three kūm arrived from China in 1116, but Koreans lost the playing technique. Although placed in the orchestra for the Rite to Confucius, they were only restored in the 1970s. The final zither, the 15-string taejaeng, remains obsolete. Four were imported in 1114.

The haegüm is a 2-string spike fiddle with Chinese roots. First mentioned in the 13th century Korean song, Hallim pyogok, Akhak kwebôm describes how the haegüm contains all eight materials: a bamboo resonator and neck, wooden pegs, rosin (earth), a metal base plate, silk strings, a gourd bridge, leather on the bow, and a resonator coated with crushed stone. Today, hard wood tends to replace bamboo, and the soundboard is paulownia. Haegüm play in most of the court repertory, where they are perceived to bind sustained wind sounds to plucked zithers. Although in decline, perhaps because of their peculiar nasal sound, they were once key instruments in folk and shamanistic ensembles. The haegüm is normally played while seated, with the resonator supported by the base of the right foot above the left knee. The bow, tensed by the hand, passes between the strings. The strings are tuned a fifth apart and there is no fingerboard.

North Koreans have redesigned the body. Like Western violins, the soundboard is now hardwood. Four metal strings run over a raised fingerboard and the separate bow is tensed mechanically. Four sizes are employed, approximating the four Western orchestral strings: so haegüm (range f-f’”), chung haegüm (B♭-g””) and tae haegüm (B♭-g””) have strings tuned in fifths, each sounding a tone beneath violin, viola and 'cello equivalents; the large chọ haegüm, like the double-bass, is tuned in fourths: D’, G’ C, F.

Three obsolete long-necked lutes are preserved in Seoul. The tang pip’a has 4-strings, a long neck bent back at the pegbox, 4 large frets on the neck and 8 thin frets on the soundboard, and was included in the 1116 gift. It was played with a fan-shaped wooden plectrum (palmok) or three artificial nails (kajogak). The hyang pip’a, which survived amongst literati until the 1930s, was one of three string instruments in the ancient Shilla court. It has a straight neck, five strings, and 10 wooden frets glued to the soundboard. A wooden stick (sulta) was used as a plectrum. The third lute is the 4-string wögüm with 13 frets. Its name (wöl = moon) reflects the round soundbox and seems to derive from Yuan Xian, one of the 2nd century Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in China. Koguryŏ tomb paintings from the 4th to 7th centuries attest to its use in Korea.

Three harps brought from Beijing in 1937 are also preserved: sugonghu, a vertical harp with 21 strings and a soundbox, wagonghu, an arched harp with 13 strings and integral soundbox, and sogonghu, a vertical harp with 13 strings but no soundbox. All three are obsolete and, indeed, apart from Chinese Sui sources, there is little evidence for any except the sogonghu in Korea. A relief on a bell dated to 721 at Sangwŏn temple in Kangwŏn province depicts the sogonghu, and two similar instruments, apparently from the southwestern Paekche, are preserved in Nara.

The dulcimer, yanggūm ("western zither") was likely brought to Korea in the late 18th century, several centuries after Christian missionaries imported it to China. An 1817 score book, giving the alternative name kurach’olsa kūm, suggests European origins. Flat and trapezoid, the yanggūm is still struck with a single bamboo beater in South Korea. Two choirs, comprising seven sets of four metal strings, pass over two bridges that alternate raised edges with gaps. Since strings can be tuned on both sides of the raised bridges, this gives a potential 28 pitches of which 21 are tuned to give the range eb to ab’”. In North
Korea, two beaters are used, achieving a fluency akin to contemporary Central European dulcimers.

The final chordophone is the *ongnyugum*, a North Korean box zither reflecting Kim Chongil's decree that instruments should be modernized to compete with Western music. Developed in 1973, alterations continue to be made. The *ongnyugum*, with a single row of between 29 and 33 strings tuned diatonically, has a maximum range of four octaves plus a fifth ascending from C. Chromatic alteration is achieved by a pedal and pulley mechanism adapted from the orchestral harp. Strings, colour coded for 5ths and octaves, pass across fixed bridges resembling the *anjok* of *kayagum*. The *ongnyugum* play *kayagum* -like ornaments by pushing and stretching strings to the left of the bridges, and a complex of melodic and harmonic material is fashioned on the right. The large range ensures that the *ongnyugum* features prominently in ensembles.

**Aerophones**

The large transverse flute, *taegum*, is perhaps the best-loved of Korea's wind instruments. Made from a length of yellow bamboo (*hwang chuk*), this was one of three flutes in the Shilla *sanjuk* ensemble, the other two being the similar but shorter *chunggum* and *sogum*. The *taegum* alone has a mirliton created from bamboo or reed tissue (*kaltae*) which gives the instrument its characteristic, buzzing sound. Good instruments are said to be made from five years' growth of bamboo, and should have ducts running along either side between prominent nodes. The top is sealed with wax above a large blowing hole (*ch'wi kong*). Beneath the mirliton's oval hole (*ch'ong kong*) there are six finger holes (*chi kong*) and between two and five "Big Dipper" holes (*ch'ilsi5ng kong*) drilled to define the sounding length. Court instruments employ a range from bb' to eb'' and the slightly shorter *sanjo* instruments c' to g^5''. The *taegum* overblows at the octave, giving three distinct ranges. Three tone colours are distinguished: clear and highly vibrated soft blowing (*chi5 ch'wi*), elegant and strident medium blowing (*p'yung ch'wi*) and triumphant hard blowing (*yok ch'wi*). The *taegum* is considered ideal for solos and ensembles, and it features widely in court and folk genres.

A legend in *Samguk yusa* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) accounts for its invention. King Shinmun (r.681-692) heard that a mountain was floating in the Eastern Sea near Kamun temple. An astrologer told him that his father had returned as a dragon along with a general to give him a treasure to protect the realm. A servant reported that there was a bamboo plant on the mountain peak that split into two during daylight but fused as a single shoot each night. The king crossed to the mountain, where he cut the bamboo and made a flute from it. Whenever the flute was played, enemies retreated, illnesses were cured, and the sea remained calm. Hence, it was called the *man p'ashik chok*, the "flute to calm 10,000 waves."

In North Korea, based on the *sanjo* instrument, the *taegum* now has metal keys designed to produce a chromatic scale and is made from a smooth hardwood. Similar modifications have been made to the *tanso*, once a vertical notched pipe made from old dark *ojuk* bamboo with a base cut from the root bulb. A posterior thumb hole and four anterior fingerholes produced a two octave range stretching upwards from g'. Old examples have been uncovered made from jade and, reflecting the perception that the *tanso* is an easy instrument suitable for school use, many plastic instruments are now available. In the North, the hardwood lacquered or varnished two-piece tube now has six anterior finger holes and metal keywork. The *kaeryang tanso* is able to imitate much of the *taegum* repertory, and three comparable registers are now distinguished, again based on octave overblowing.

The history of the *tanso* is virtually unknown prior to the 19th century, when King Sunjo (r.1801-1834) is said to have imported it. This merely indicates it was not used in court
ensembles. Similar vertical flutes have existed for many centuries in China and Japan and, perhaps more significantly, Koreans in the rural countryside still refer to any blowing instrument as p'iri, even the tanso. A related Korean instrument, t'ungso, has six fingerholes and was once part of the Rite to Royal Ancestors; Akhak kwebom describes a range of just over two octaves. Less standard t'ungso still exist in the countryside. One, in the mask drama Puckch'ong saja norum, has a mirliton (described as the t'ungae) and only four fingerholes.

One transverse flute, chi, and two vertical flutes, yak and chok, arrived from China in 1116. They are retained only for the twice annual Rite to Confucius, where they contribute a peculiarly Korean rising inflexion at the end of each melodic tone. All three are made from yellow bamboo though the chi, which may have been used in Paekche, tends to employ older, darker wood. The yak has 3 finger holes and a major 7th range, c-b. The chok, made from a similarly plain tube with 5 finger holes and a posterior thumb hole produces a major 10th range, c to eb'. The chi duplicates this range an octave higher. It features a raised mouthpiece and five finger holes, the first of which is placed on the side, covered by the left thumb. A cross-shaped opening at the base can also be stopped. The tangjok was a transverse bamboo flute, now obsolete. With six or seven finger holes, it was imported to play Chinese music in Koryo times.

Panpipes, so, are confined to the Rite to Confucius. Received as gifts from China in 1114, 1116, and 1406, contemporary instruments are little changed from 15th century illustrations. Sixteen notched bamboo pipes are arranged in a row moving from the shortest (highest pitch) at the centre to the longest (lowest pitch) at each end. The pipes are held in a wooden frame said to resemble the unfolded wings of a phoenix. Folded phoenix wings give shape to the 17 pipes of the mouth organ, saenghwang or saeng. Arranged around a gourd, metal or wood windchest, each pipe has a finger hole near its base and is slit near its top. Sixteen pipes have internal free metal reeds which sound when the finger hole is closed. One pipe is mute. The range is eb' to c''. A stone relief of Deva musicians and a bell at Sangwon temple demonstrate Shilla use of the saenghwang, and Chinese sources state it was known in Paekche. In 1114, Hui Zong sent 10 mouth organs; others arrived in 1116. The Ming emperor Taizu sent two in 1406, and more were purchased from the Qing capital in 1657. There is no evidence to show that saenghwang were ever successfully produced in Korea. The limited repertory today consists of rites and a single duet with the tanso, Chajin hanip, although the saenghwang has been used by modern composers. The hun, a tear-shaped globular flute or ocarina, shares the same limited court repertory. Made from baked clay it has a blowing hole at its apex, two posterior thumb holes and three anterior finger holes. Akhak kwebom describes how 12 weak chromatic pitches can be produced, some by partially covering holes.

Much more common, the p'iri is a small pipe typically constructed from a length of bamboo pipe with a large bamboo double reed (kaltae). Pillyul and sagwan were alternative names used in the past. There are three traditional versions. Hyang p'iri (indigenous oboe) and se p'iri (slender oboe) are cylindrical and have eight fingerholes. Both produce a range of a 10th without overblowing, ascending from bb' with extensions of a further 3rd possible by embouchure adjustment. Hyang p'iri feature in court pieces such as Sujech'on and Sanhyon yongsan hoessang, in p'iri sanjo, and in folk ensembles, while se p'iri are restricted to vocal accompaniments and to the suite Kwanak yongsan hoessang. Chinese documents state that precursors formed part of Koguryo music ensembles invited to the Sui (518-618) court, and Ch'o Chiwon (b.857) suggests oboes were present in the five dramatic forms of Shilla, hyangak 'chabyong osu. The tang p'iri is slightly conical and tends to be made from old and dark bamboo with prominent nodes. Twelve were included in the 1114 gift, with seven anterior fingerholes and two thumb holes. Sejong shillok (Annals of King Sejong) records that King Sejong "improved" the instrument, arguing that the lower thumb hole was redundant. Tang p'iri overblow at the 11th, giving a range from c' to a''", and are used in the remaining tangak and hyangak.
The *kaeryang p'iri* in North Korea comes in two sizes, both made from hardwood with metal keywork. The *tae p'iri* has a double reed placed over a tube (*ridu ryögyölgwan*) held by a cork washer atop the instrument body. The range is almost three octaves (c–bb	extsuperscript{5}). The *chö p'iri* has a long doubled-back body ending in a conical bell, with the reed attached to a curved metal pipe. The range is B	extsubscript{b}–bb	extsuperscript{5}. Throughout Korea, stripped-bark pipes, typically called *hodugi*, were made until the 1970s from a single piece of bark detached from its core by twisting. A further variant is the leaf. Akhak kweböm calls this a *ch'ojojok*. Usually, leaves of mandarin and citron trees are folded in two to create a double reed, but a leaf rolled into a tube is also described.

Three aerophones have antecedents in Asian battlefields, all of which play in a military processional, *Taech'wit'a*. The *nabal*, also used by folk bands, is a long trumpet made of several lengths of brass tube. The *nagak*, with alternative names such as *na* and *sora*, is a conch shell mentioned in records from early Koryó. The *t'ae*p'yöngso ("great peace pipe") is a double-reed shawm thought to have come from North Asia in Koryó times, but first mentioned as a *tangbu akki* in Akhak kweböm. Apart from processions, the *t'ae*p'yöngso plays three melodies in the annual Rite to Royal Ancestors and, under other names such as *hojok*, *soenap* and *nallari*, improvises melodies for many folk bands. In South Korea, the conical tube is still made from Chinese date (jujube), with 7 finger holes and a posterior thumb hole. A small double reed sits atop a metal pipe, and a metal bell completes the base. The reed makes this a difficult instrument, a feature now overcome in North Korea where the *kaeryang soenap*, in medium (*chung soenap*) and large (*tae soenap*) versions, uses a reed similar to an orchestral oboe. Boehm-style metal keys are added to a hardwood body cons-iderably longer than the traditional 32cm.

**Idiophones**

A Korean director’s clappers, *pak*, comprise six rectangular wooden slabs bound with cords through holes cut near their top. The outer slabs are cracked together, once to begin and three times to finish a piece. In the Rite to Royal Ancestors, they also signal changes. Three idiophones based on Chinese models are retained solely in the Rite to Confucius. The *ch'uk* is a green trapeziform wooden box with a thick stick inserted through a central hole. Struck three times against the base, the stick signals the start of a piece. The *o* is a wooden tiger whose backbone has a prescribed 27 notches. A split bamboo stick is dragged down the backbone three times to signal the end of a piece. The *pu* is a baked clay vessel. A split stick used on the rim marks the beginning of each melodic note. Rural Koreans have used a variety of *pu* - like idiophones to accompany songs, including gourd or pottery water vessels such as the *hobök* in Cheju and the *mul pagaji* in Cholla. A development of the latter, in reality a chordophone, adds the bow used to tease cotton into strands (*hwal*) above the resonating vessel to produce sounds such as "tungdöngi."

Small and large gongs are described by today's folk bands with the onomatopoeic *kkwaenggwari*, *kkwaengma*, etc, and *ching* or *kümjing*. The small gong is the instrument of a leader, *sangsae* ("leading iron"). Akhak kweböm recalls that they once played in the first and second wine offerings in the Rite to Royal Ancestors. Described in terms of metal as *sogum* and *taegum*, they were allied within a Chinese system of elements to Autumn, the colour white, and the direction West. The *taegum* used a stick wrapped in deerskin; a soft beater is preferred for *ching*. The *sogum* was held in a frame sumounted by a dragon's head; *kkwaenggwari* are held by the hand, fingers damping sounds at the back of the body.

*Ulla*, a set of 10 plate gongs mounted vertically in a wooden frame, were used at court banquets during the 18th and 19th century. Now obsolete, the gongs are preserved, arranged in three rows tuned to give diatonic tones from a	extsuperscript{b} to c	extsuperscript{4}. References to cymbals,
as chabara, para, and chegûm, are found from the 11th century onwards. They feature in shaman rituals and Para ch'um, a Buddhist dance, and also play in the processional, Taech'wit'a. Korea has long produced and used bronze bells for civil functions and at Buddhist temples. Shamans, too, use many bells, from small single instruments in Cholla, through bowl gongs in Kyongsang, to panggal bell trees further north. Additionally, Buddhist temples bristle with wind chimes and small brass fish plaques, while temple blocks known as mokta'ak are still played to signal prayers and ask for alms.

Splendid sets of clapperless bronze bells (p'yôn'jong) and stone chimes (p'yôn'gyông), housed in magnificently decorated frames with animals and birds carved on cross-pieces and at each foot, came to Korea in 1116. The 16 elliptical bells are tuned to give a chromatic c to eb scale. The 16 lithophone chimes, carved from calcite quarried locally since the 15th century at Namyang, sound an octave higher. Along with single clapperless bells (t'ükchong) and stone chimes (t'ükkyông), they survive in the Rite to Confucius, though in single pairs rather than the massive numbers prescribed back in the 12th century. The two large sets also play in the two extant Tangak pieces, Nagyangch'un and Pohója, where they appear to have replaced a set of 16 iron slabs, the panghyang. Panghyang were used in Korea by 1076, and five sets came as part of the 1114 gift. Now they are played only in the Rite to Royal Ancestors.

Membranophones

One drum is ubiquitous to virtually all Korean music genres. This is the changgo or changgu, a double-headed barrel drum. Some historical sources refer to it as seyogo, "narrow waisted drum". This, and an additional name for the body, chongmok, confirm the characteristic hourglass shape, seen from Koguryo tomb painting onwards. Wooden bodies are most common, nowadays turned on a lathe from a single piece of paulownia wood. Pottery bodies still survive and the 13th century Wenxian tonggao, cited in Akhak kwebôm, states that both pottery and wood were used for ancient Chinese instruments. In Cholla and Ch'ungch'ong provinces some bodies are now made from two interlocking alloy bowls, while the Arirang company produces plastic bowls in Seoul. One recent development in North Korea is a drum kit based on the changgo model which includes pedalled bass drums, standard changgo, and tiny single bowed instruments.

Changgo in the court tend to be large and have red lacquered bodies. They are played while seated. Lighter bodies, oiled or varnished but rarely painted, are needed for folk use, where the instrument tends to be carried. Akhak kwebôm prescribes horseskin for the heads (p'yôna), but cow, goat or pig often suffices. The left head is struck by the hand whenever the drum is used in accompaniment, to give a low thud. The right head, struck with the yôl ch'ae, a thin whip-like stick, produces a higher pitch. It requires a tight, thin skin, nowadays typically goat or dog. Each skin overlaps the circumference of the bowls and is stretched around a metal ring. The heads are laced together with cords known as chihongsa, and tension can be increased by tightening leather or plastic thongs (karak chi or ch'uksu). It is now common for two sticks to be used in folk bands, supplementing the thin stick with a mallet (the kunggul ch'ae or k'ung ch'ae). The flexible stem of the mallet allows players to produce virtuosic passagework.

An obsolete variant of the changgo, the kalgo, is mentioned in Akhak kwebôm. This had double lacing and two sets of thongs so that each skin could be separately tightened. Two other drums are essential to folk bands. The puk, named with a generic and onomatopoeic term, is a shallow double-headed barrel drum also used to accompany p'an'ori. It was once made from a single trunk, but now tends to comprise interlocking slats. It is struck variously with a single stick, a stick and the hand, or in Miryang and Chindo with two sticks. A more decorated version, the yonggo, is hung at the waist in Taech'wit'a, and beaten on the upper skin with two sticks. Sogo, small double-headed frame drums with handles are also common. There are instances where sogo have been
made from cloth rather than skin, a practice which parallels the Irish bodhrán. Various alternative names exist: maegu puk specifically relates it to agriculture, while "the way" in pŏpku implies a Buddhist connection.

Fourteen additional drums were once used in the court. Most are barrel drums, and some are obsolete. The large chwago is hung vertically in a simple frame and was first pictured in an 18th century depiction of dance. The similar kyobanggo, supported in a cross-frame so that one head is vertical, was described in the 1452 Koryōsa, and today is retained only in one royal dance, Mugo. The larger chunggo was used during Sŏngjong's reign (1469-1494) in sacrifices to the god of war. The sakko and small yŏnggo (sak = start; yŏng = respond) were held vertically in frames decorated with dragons and tigers, but fell into disuse in the 19th century. The huge 150cm-deep kŏn'go (kŏn = build) had two skins over 100cm in diameter. Elaborately decorated, it was used alongside sakko and similarly fell into obscurity. References to it go back to the 12th century Hui Zong gifts.

Four drums are still employed at the Rite to Confucius. The chŏlgo plays with the terrace ensemble and the chin'go with the courtyard ensemble. Both have red bodies and are mounted with skins vertical. The ching'o is the largest drum still used, with skins 110cm in diameter. The nogo and nodo each consist of two red drums mounted at right angles to each other. Nogo are suspended on a pole inside a decorated wooden frame; only one head of each is struck. Nodo are pierced by a wooden pole with tigers at the base. Knotted thongs attached to each side of the body strike the heads when the instrument is rotated. Both play part of the starting signal for each piece of music, and the nogo additionally punctuates each 4th melodic note.

Four related drums became obsolete when the Japanese forced Korea to abandon rites to heavenly and earthly spirits. The noego and noedo were painted black to symbolize their use for heavenly spirits: noe means thunder. The yŏnggo and yŏngdo were painted yellow: yŏng signifies spirits. The noego had six and the yŏnggo eight conical drums arranged in a ring within a wooden frame and played like the nogo. The noedo had three and the yŏngdo four barrel drums mounted on a pole like the nodo and played similarly.

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K Howard

Composers

The concept of 'composer' is in Korea intimately tied to the introduction of Western music. Korean music is considered part of an oral tradition with few known composers, despite legends that describe how U Rūk wrote for the kayagŭm in Kaya and Shilla and Wang Sanak for the kŏmun'go in Koguryŏ.

Early in the 19th c., Yi Kyugyŏng's travel diaries brought news of western musical theory, but western music began to appear only after Protestant missionaries became active. Mission hymns were duplicated at the Ewha (Ihwa) school in 1888, and a hymn book, Ch'ansŏngga, was published in 1893. Early compositions were consequently, and almost
without exception, vocal. Indeed, Hong Yonghu’s (Hong Nan’pa, 1900-1940) song, *Pongsŏn̓hw̄a* (Balsam Flower, 1919), is often cited as the first truly Korean composition. Compositions until liberation in 1945 also had little harmonic or structural excitement, as *Pongsŏn̓hw̄a* and the surviving corpus of Japanese-influenced *kagok* (lyric songs, often with patriotic texts, always distinct from the traditional literati song due to diatonic harmony), *tongyo* (children’s songs) and *yuhaengga* (‘popular’ songs) demonstrate.

Western music was also experienced through brass bands, and the German Franz Eckert (1852-1916), who arrived in 1901 to direct a court band modelled on German-Japanese practice, trained a number of early composers, including Chŏng Sain (1881-1958), Paek Uyong (1880-1950) and Kim Inshik (1885-1963). Others typically went abroad to study. An Ik’t’ae (1907 or 1911-1965) went to America in the 1920s, to Budapest in 1930 to work with Kodály and Dohnányi and to Germany in 1933. An became trapped in a romantic time-warp, and his *Aegukka* (National Anthem; used in South Korea since 1948) seems influenced by Richard Strauss. Reputed to imitate a German folksong, it premiered as part of his *Symphonic Fantasia: Korea* (1938). Kim Sunam and Yi Kŏnu went to Japan, where they embraced Expressionism. Hyŏn Chemyŏng (1902-1960) returned from studies in America in 1928 and Chi’ae Tongsŏn (1901-1953) returned from Germany in 1932. After liberation, Isang Yun (b.1917) left for Paris in 1956 then moved to Berlin to work with Boris Blacher. Nam June Paik (Paek Namjum; b.1932), known for his experimental works, went to Japan in the 1950s and then to Cologne to work with Stockhausen.

The conservatism remained, despite affiliation to the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) from 1956 onwards, and the establishment of a Contemporary Music Society in Seoul in 1958. In the latter Society, a group of Seoul National University alumni were particularly active: Kim Talsŏng and Yi Sŏngjae had studied further in Vienna and Kim Yongin spent time in America. Chŏng Hoe-gap, a fellow alumni, stayed in Korea writing, for instance, a *Symphony* (1957), *Concerto for Kayagŭm and Orchestra* (1960) and a *Korean Dance Suite* (1967; an orchestral transcription followed in 1970).

Kim Sunam and Yi Kŏnu were amongst those who emigrated to the North. There, state dogma, partially based on Zhdanov’s 1930s socialist realism, but filtered through Mao Zedong’s 1942 talks at Yan’an, favoured popular compositions. Tonality was to remain highly rated, alongside metrical regularity and simple melodies, as can be seen in orchestral works from the period 1970-1986 by the *Inmin yesulga* (People’s Artists) Kim Yong’gyu, Kang Kich’ang, Kim Rinok, Kim Kilhak, Ri Chŏngŏn and Kim Yunbung printed in *Chosŏn úmak chŏnjjip 8* and *9* (1991). Given the requirement of the self-reliance philosophy promoted by Kim Il Sung-juče (chuch’e), that music must reflect the Korean heritage, many compositions include parts for *kyaeryang akki* (‘improved’ traditional instruments). Students of such instruments play a repertoire of newly-composed solo pieces, published in workbooks alongside exercises and arrangements, which couple westernized melodic and harmonic constructs to simple and compound metres that have little connection to old court and folk music. Songs remain a favoured genre, witness the prodigious output of Ri Myŏngsang and Kim Oksŏng (both have now died) and the 536 songs dating from 1949-1980 published in *Chosŏn úmak chŏnjjip 5* (1987). In addition, the ideology surrounding chipch’e yesul (collective art) led in 1971 to the development of *Pi pada* (Sea of Blood). This was a ‘revolutionary’ opera written by a group of composers including Kim Wŏng’gyun, Kang Kich’ang and Rim Taeshik. *Pi pada* is claimed as a unique Korean development, despite parallels in Chinese revolutionary opera, and incorporates *pangch’ang*, songs sung by an off-stage chorus that meet the populist requirement.

Kim Wŏng’gyun (b.1917) is perhaps the North’s most senior composer. He claims to have been a farmer, self-trained in music when in the 1940s he wrote the song *Kim Ilŏng changgŭn ʻŭi norae* (Song of General Kim Il Sung; 1946) and the *Aegukka* (National
Anthem; 1947). Subsequently he studied in Moscow, where his graduation piece in 1960 was the symphonic poem *Hyangt'o*.

Since the early 1980s, Expressionism has begun to stretch tonal structures in works such as Pak Minhyok's *Sahyangga* for violin and orchestra, Kim Yŏng-gyu's *Munnijul Samilp'o ôi meari* for violin and piano, and Kang Yonggol's *Nöüblikkin padaga* for violoncello (all published in 1985). Signs are emerging that modern European music is being studied by younger composers at the *Yun Isang umak yŏn'guso* (*Isang Yun Music Institute*). Earlier, and following Yun's 1967 abduction and subsequent imprisonment in South Korea, Seoul discovered the avant garde. By 1967 Yun had an international reputation, cemented through works such as the orchestral *Reak* (1966) and the chamber pieces *Loyang* (1962), *Gasa* (1963) and *Garak* (1963). A petition signed by, amongst others, Stockhausen, Stravinsky, Boulez and Otto Klemperer encouraged his release. A number of composers followed him back to Germany. Sukhi Kang (b.1934) worked at the Stadtlische Hochschule für Musik, Hanover in 1970-1971 and at the Technische Universität, Berlin between 1971-1975. Kim Ch'ŏnggil (b.1934) left for Hanover in 1970, Paik Byung-dong (Paek Pyŏngdong, b. 1936) studied at the same Stadtlische Hochschule between 1969-1971, Younghui Pagh-Paan (Pak Yonghŭi, b.1945) and Yi Manbang (b.1945) studied under Klaus Huber in Freiburg. These brought back a new - and urgently needed - concern for structure and formal development procedures.

Much sterile argument has concerned whether composers for Western instruments write Korean or Western music. Many - Yun Isang, Sukhi Kang, and Paik Byung-dong among them - would say they are individualistic, neither Western nor Eastern. Yun's compositions from the 1960s typically take inspiration from Korea, either in historical illusion or in respect to percussion or melody, yet are governed by structural techniques, particularly serialism, learnt in Europe. From *Reak* through the *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra* (1976) to the 1990 *Kammerkonzert I and II*, Yun's orchestra is divided into three blocks: soft and steady strings, brash and thrusting brass, and fluttering woodwind. A balance of East and West remains in works such as *P'iri* (1971), where the imprisoned soul is heard in flurries of ornamentation on the solo oboe. Here and elsewhere long, elastic melodies counter cellular structures surplant serialism as if balancing *yin* and *yang*. Yun states he taps into the endless cosmic flow of music, and this is particularly the case in the five *Symphonies* composed between 1983 and 1987. Yun says these can be played end to end in a kind of mega-structure.

Kang Sukhi is more eclectic in both approach and design. His output spans the first electronic music in Korea (composed on primitive equipment), *The Feast of Id* (1970), the 'rationalistic' and highly structured orchestral work *Calena* (1975) and chamber music inspired by his native land such as *Nong* (1973) for flute and piano. In the latter, traditional ornaments (*nonghyŏson*) become the focus as melody retreats into the background. *Manp'ŭ* (1982) for flute orchestra liberally interprets a legend about the invention of the Korean bamboo flute, while *Buru* (1976) turns to Buddhist philosophy and Korean shamanism as it builds a long melody crafted from the typical southwestern tritonic folksong mode, *kyemyŏnjo*. The orchestral *Dalha* (1978) is based on the old piece *Sujech'ŏn*, echoing the world of the court in stident sound blocks and elaborate ornamentation.

Paik Byung-dong is more academic, as his early *Un-I* for oboe and piano (1970) and *Un-II* for piano (1972) confirm. Both use serial techniques, subsuming vertical harmonic structures beneath a concern for counterpoint, complex melodic flurries, and flexible rhythms. Both reflect Paik's study of Sino-Korean philosophy. He is rarely particularly strict, witness the free parallel octave sequences and tone clusters in *Sonata-Sonore* for piano (1985) and the aleatoric vertical (harmonic) and horizontal (melodic) mix of *Guitariana* for two guitars (1984). His favoured melodic and rhythmic indeterminacy was successfully transposed to traditional Korean instruments in the ensemble *Un-rack Ollak*.
Paik remains at the forefront of Seoul's composition scene together with Kim Chônggil. Kim, however, is more active in the international arena. Kim Chônggil, for Kayagüm trio.

It is impossible to list all worthy Korean composers: in 1989, 1539 undergraduates in 13 colleges majored in composition in South Korea. This represents a potential pool of massive proportions. One group who have taken advantage of the increased opportunities afforded by the South's increasing affluence is women, and a Korean Society of Women Composers (Han'guk yŏsŏng chakkokka hoe) was formed in 1981. Lee Young-ja (Yi Yongja) is the most senior member. She studied in Seoul, Paris, Brussels and New York, and her works retain French influence. Her Sonatina (1972) starts with a fluid Andantino that quickly develops oscillating bass ostinati and blocks of descending chord clusters. Her Self-Portrait for Harp and Piano (1990) couples similar clusters to glissandi and rapid melodic flurries that explore two non-complementary six-note scales. Other representative works include the Piano Trio (1970), Piano Concerto (1973), Violin Concerto (1975), and a piano Sonata (1985). Suh Kyungsun (Sŏ Yongsun, b.1942) favours small ensembles. An Illusion (1977) for two flutes and percussion and Phenomenon I (1982) for two pianos are representative. Monody coupled to elaborate serial techniques feature in the seven section, arch-shaped Concerto for 9 String Instruments and the five-section solo violin piece, Pentastich (1988). Again, many others ought to be mentioned, amongst them Lee Chan-Hae (Yi Ch' anh a e), Oh Sook-ja (O Sukj a), Hurh Bang-ja (Hŏ Pangja) and Hong Sung-Hee (Sŏnghŭi) in Korea, and the German residents Pagh-Paan Youngh ee and Chin Unsuk.

The development of shin kugak or ch'angjak ŭmak, 'new' or 'creative' music for traditional instruments, has been trapped by the nostalgia boom. Respect for the past does not readily permit escape from the tradition. Kim Kisu (1917-1986), who began as a kŏmun'go student and rose to become director of the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Centre (Kungnip kugakwŏn) is normally considered the first shin kugak composer. Now often criticised, and thus awaiting a thorough examination, his works were common concert items until the early 1980s. His first acknowledged piece, Hwanghw a mannyŏn chi kok (Ten Thousand Year Chrysanthemum; 1939) established his style: it sets a text by the nationalist Yi Nungwha (1868-1945) to music reminiscent of the court piece Yŏmilla k, presenting broad melodies without harmony through a large-scale, strident orchestra. Western influence is clear: a conductor replaces the old director with his clappers, ornaments are written out rather than assumed, and Western staff notation replaces the traditional mensural chŏngganbo score. The blend remains in Kim's later, often more overtly patriotic compositions, except that Western meters regularly replace Korean rhythmic cycles. Examples include Kohyangso (Birthplace; 1944), Ch'ŏngbaek hon (Pure White Spirit; 1952) Tashi on Sŏul (Return to Seoul; 1953) and Pabungsŏn (Breaking the Bonds; 1954). Composers such as Yi Sanggyu (b.1944) have kept Kim's style. Yi has won at least seven prizes for his compositions, and was the founding music director and conductor of the KBS Traditional Music Orchestra (KBS Kugak Kwahyŏn Aktan). Traditional music is always behind his works. Chajin hanip (1972) for oboe and orchestra sets as its basic melody a movement from the court suite Yŏngsan hosesang. Folksongs appear, for instance in Um (Sound; 1980) for chorus, and the epic sung storytelling, p'ansori, becomes the basis for two operas, Hŭngbo ka (1977) and Kwangdŭc ka (1979). Whereas traditional ornaments can be quite dissonant, Yi builds more open, consonant structures. Western triads are ignored in favour of vertical harmonic structures built on fourths and fifths. Byung-ki
(Pyon'gi) Hwang's first acknowledged piece, *Kukhwa yop'eso* (Beside a Chrysanthemum Tree; 1962) was likewise entirely traditional, but *Sup* (Forest; 1963) initiated a series of works for *kayagum* which explored new realms. The four movements—'Green Shade', 'Cuckoo', 'Rain', and 'Moonlight'—combine court melodies and rhythmic cycles taken from the folk genre *sanjo* with descriptive painting, lyricism, and new techniques such as octave alternations and intricate ostinato-plus-melody patterning. This blend of old and new reached its zenith in *Ch'imhyang mu* (Dance to an Indian Perfume; 1974), a piece that explored Buddhist art of the Shilla period. There are three movements linked by common A and E tonal centres. The first employs melody and rhythm reminiscent of *sanjo*, while the ternary second introduces new ideas that echo Japanese *koto* compositions: arpeggios, 'micro-tonal shading' where a common pitch is produced on two adjacent strings, flicked tones, and left-hand melody (traditionally, only the right hand plucked the strings). Fireworks in the third movement ensure that *Ch'imhyang mu* will remain a favourite with performers. All of Hwang's pieces except the modernistic *Migung* (Labyrinth; 1975) keep this comfortable style. Given the controversy surrounding recent works such as the 1988 Olympic commission, *Pyoogul nomoso* (Beyond All Barriers), Hwang has become an establishment figure more than an evolving composer.

Yi Sôngch'on (b.1936) was roundly criticized for his suite *Norit'o* (Playground; 1965, for piano but revised for *kayagum* in 1966). Yi trained under Chong Hoegap and Kim Talsong in Western composition and employed a more contemporary grammar: despite echoes of Hwang's earlier *Sup*, his music did not fit the fingers of traditional performers. Fallow years followed before Yi turned his attention to education, producing the Britenesque *Ch'ongsongyon ul wihan kugak kwanhyonak immun* (Young Person's Guide to the Traditional Orchestra; 1974) and a set of children's songs with Korean melodic contours and traditional instrument accompaniments (published, for example, in *Kugak tongyo*; 1989). Yi also set about developing a new zither, the 21 string *kayagum*. This essentially enlarged the old instrument, retaining the basic form but enlarging the range. The result, witnessed in *Pada* (Sea; 1986) was melodies that mixed bass and treble contours with almost orchestral textures filled with triadic harmony.

Two other approaches have been attempted. Kim Young-dong (Kim Yongdong, b.1951), after training at the Traditional Music High School and Seoul National University, became dissatisfied with mere imitation of the old. During the 1970s he turned to popular genres, producing influential student songs and receiving prizes for drama, dance, film and theatre music. Kim employs Western instruments and Western music structures with little concern for clichés: Kim's audience is Korean. In the 1980s he superimposed this populist approach on concert pieces for traditional ensembles. *Maegut* (Shaman Ritual to a Falcon; 1981) and *Tan'gun shinhwa* (The myth of Tan'gun; 1983) were the results. *Maegut* opens with a solo male singer intoning in standard modes then suddenly gliding upwards to a thin falsetto: the falcon rises. *Tan'gun shinhwa* matches old percussive punctuation with mysterious and new ocarina chords and resonant gong clashes. A different approach has developed with Baek Dae Woong (Paek Taung, b.1943), Park Bum Hoon (Pak Pomhun, b.1948), Yi Pyonguk (b.1951) and others. Increasingly centred on Chungang University, this group takes its inspiration both from the folk tradition and from performers. They decry the staid approach of those who argue the past must be respected. In the 1990s, both Yi Pyonguk and Kim Young-dong have embarked on a series of recordings of what they describe as 'meditation music' (*myongsang umak*). Yet the results sound curiously simple in their popular appeal: it is difficult to believe that such compositions will stand the test of time.

**Bibliography**


K Howard

Musical Instruments

Systems of Classification

Koryŏ scholars classified instruments for use in the court as tangakki (from Tang and Song China; Tangak defines the repertory) and hyangakki (indigenous; Hyangak defines the repertory). Tangakki arrived at various times, but particularly as part of gifts sent by the Chinese Northern Song emperor Hui Zong. Koryŏsa (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty; 1452) tells us that 167 instruments came in 1114 to support Dasheng xinyue, music for banquets, and 428 in 1116 to support Dasheng yayue, the source of Korean aak ritual music. Many of the surviving 60 or so Korean instruments arrived as part of these gifts. By the early 15th century, classification also considered historical association and timbre, absorbing the Chinese p’al ijm distinction of eight materials: bamboo, wood, metal, silk, skin, stone, gourd, and clay. This system was never precise. The yanggŭm (dulcimer), for example, tends to be placed within the silk category though it has metal strings, and there is no category for the nagak (shell trumpet). The saenghwang (mouth organ) is classified as a gourd, reflecting the windchest used several centuries ago, though windchests are now wood, metal, or lacquer. The saenghwang is, because of mythical associations, separated from both bun (ocarina) and so (bamboo panpipes). Similarly, although both the t’aepp’yŏngso (“great peace pipe”) and p’iri (oboe) are double reeds, the first is classified as wood and the second as bamboo.

Akhak kwebŏm (Guide to the Study of Music; 1493) adopts a division into three types of music, reflecting King Sejong’s (1418-1450) reconstruction of ritual music undertaken in 1430. Thirty-seven instruments are listed as abu akki, instruments for ritual music, and 13 as tangbu akki, a generic term for anything from Song and T’ang China. Seven are given as hyangbu akki, native instruments for indigenous music. Korean folk classifications remain varied but distinct. Typically, melodic instruments imitate the voice or attract spirits in shaman rituals and are talked about in terms of relaxed and smooth-sounding verbs such as nolda (to play) and hada (to do). Percussive instruments, described in terms of the brash and hard verb ch’ida (to hit), provide the quintessential changdan rhythmic cycles that underpin virtually all genres, generating an atmosphere for dance and entertainment.

Chordophones

The kayagŭm, in its traditional form a 12-string half-tube plucked zither, resembles the Chinese chêng the Mongolian yatga, the Japanese koto, and the Vietnamese dan tranh. Two distinct traditional versions survive. The larger, associated with court and literati ensembles, is known as the pŏpkŭm, p’unγnyu kayagŭm or chŏngak kayagŭm (pŏp = law; p’unγnyu = elegant music; chŏngak = "upright" or "correct" music) and has a body made from a single piece of paulownia wood. Twelve wound silk strings are held by pegs (tolgwae) above a fixed hardwood bridge (hyŏnch’im) near the top and pass over movable bridges known as anjok or "kirogi pal (wild geese feet)". The strings are tied in coils behind cord loops at the lower end, and the cords (pûudiantes) are secured around characteristic sandalwood "yangidu ("ram's horns") at the base. The smaller instrument, called the sanjo kayagŭm after a popular folk genre, has a similar soundboard but sides and back of a harder wood such as chestnut. The backpiece typically has three soundholes - a new moon (ch’osaeng tal) above a stylized character for happiness (hŭi) and the full moon (pori1m tal).

Pottery artefacts show that a similar instrument existed prior to the 4th century, and four 8th century instruments survive as Shiragi koto ("zithers from Shilla") in the Shosoin repository at Nara, Japan. Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), tells of a 5th
century development. King Kashil of the Kaya tribal federation heard a Chinese chêng and commented that since countries do not share languages they should not have the same music. U Rûk, a musician from Sûngyûl prefecture ( ), was ordered to compose music for a new instrument. He wrote twelve pieces which, after he had fled to Shilla in 551, were reconstructed as five new court works.

Recently, kaeryang kayagûm have appeared. First, the now-defunct chogûm was devised in the 1940s, replacing cords with pegs and mounting the kayagûm body on a stand. In South Korea at the end of the 1980s, Hwang Pyongju developed a 17-string instrument which, with a range of 3 octaves, allowed an overlap between the traditional low court scale (Eb–bb'), sanjo (Ab–e b'), and the higher range needed to accompany singing (Bb–f'). String cords were replaced by anchoring pegs and wound silk has given way to nylon strings. In North Korea a 21-string version has been standard since the 1960s, with metal tuning pegs and nylon strings. This keeps the old range but fills in diatonic pitches, allowing for the introduction of harmonic and heterophonic structures. Back in South Korea, Yi Sôngch'ôn commissioned two new versions, one a scaled-down version of the sanjo kayagûm designed for small children, and the other a 21-string instrument with a 4-octave range.

The kûmun'go is a six string half-tube zither with 16 fixed frets (kwae) and three movable bridges (chu). The six twisted silk strings are plucked by a bamboo stick (sultae or shi) above a leather cover described as a hawksbill (taemo) or deer (sasum). In construction, bodies resemble sanjo kayagûm. Bridges sit beneath the outer strings while the three central strings run across frets. Only strings 2 and 3, yûhyôn (played string) and taehyôn (big string) play melodies. In court use the open strings are tuned Eb, Ab, Db, Bb, Bb, Bb'.

The kûmun'go is often called the hyôn'gûm a name derived from hyôn'akkûm (black crane zither). Samguk sagi quotes a legend from the earlier Shilla kogi (Old Record of Shilla) which explains this: A Chinese qin was kept in the northern Koguryô court. Nobody knew how to play it, so the king offered a reward that persuaded Wang Sanak to remodel it as the kûmun'go. As Wang played the new instrument a black crane flew into the room and danced. Possible dates given by scholars vary, though the end of the 4th century is favoured. The kûmun'go became the favoured literati instrument, so featured in countless paintings. Most old scorebooks include kûmun'go tablatures. In North Korea, partly reflecting its aristocratic heritage and partly its percussive sound, it is no longer used.

The ajaeng, a bowed half-tube long zither with movable bridges, has also disappeared in the North. In South Korea it survives as both a court instrument with seven silk strings tuned to encompass a 9th, and as a folk version with an eighth string, a second soundboard, and a much wider range. The former is bowed using a rosined stick of forsythia, but the latter a 'cello bow. In Koryô times the ajaeng was labelled as a tangak instrument, but by the late 15th century played in some hyangak ensembles.

Three further zithers were imported. The 7-string lacquered kûm employed a narrow pentatonic scale. The 25-string súl was tuned to a chromatic scale in which the 13th string remained mute and, unique amongst Korean zithers, had a painted paulownia soundboard decorated with a bird motif. Forty-two súl and seventy-three kûm arrived from China in 1116, but Koreans lost the playing technique. Although placed in the orchestra for the Rite to Confucius, they were only restored in the 1970s. The final zither, the 15-string taejaeng, remains obsolete. Four were imported in 1114.

The haegûm is a 2-string spike fiddle with Chinese roots. First mentioned in the 13th century Korean song, Halim pyogok, Akhak kwebôm describes how the haegûm contains all eight materials: a bamboo resonator and neck, wooden pegs, rosin (earth), a metal base plate, silk strings, a gourd bridge, leather on the bow, and a resonator coated with crushed stone. Today, hard wood tends to replace bamboo, and the soundboard is paulownia. Haegûm play in most of the court repertory, where they are perceived to bind sustained wind sounds to plucked zithers. Although in decline, perhaps because of their
peculiar nasal sound, they were once key instruments in folk and shamanistic ensembles. The haegum is normally played while seated, with the resonator supported by the base of the right foot above the left knee. The bow, tensed by the hand, passes between the strings. The strings are tuned a fifth apart and there is no fingerboard.

North Koreans have redesigned the body. Like Western violins, the soundboard is now hardwood. Four metal strings run over a raised fingerboard and the separate bow is tensed mechanically. Four sizes are employed, approximating the four Western orchestral strings: so haegum (range f-f”’), chung haegum (Bb-g”’), and tae haegum (Bb’-g”) have strings tuned in fifths, each sounding a tone beneath violin, viola and ‘cello equivalents; the large cho haegum, like the double-bass, is tuned in fourths: D’, G’ C, F.

Three obsolete long-necked lutes are preserved in Seoul. The tang pip’a has 4-strings, a long neck bent back at the pegbox, 4 large frets on the neck and 8 thin frets on the soundboard, and was included in the 1116 gift. It was played with a fan-shaped wooden plectrum (palmok) or three artificial nails (kajogak). The hyang pip’a, which survived amongst literati until the 1930s, was one of three string instruments in the ancient Shilla court. It has a straight neck, five strings, and 10 wooden frets glued to the soundboard. A wooden stick (sultae) was used as a plectrum. The third lute is the 4-string wogum with 13 frets. Its name (wol = moon) reflects the round soundbox and seems to derive from Yuan Xian, one of the 2nd century Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in China. Koguryo tomb paintings from the 4th to 7th centuries attest to its use in Korea.

Three harps brought from Beijing in 1937 are also preserved: sugonghu, a vertical harp with 21 strings and a soundbox, wagonghu, an arched harp with 13 strings and integral soundbox, and sogonghu, a vertical harp with 13 strings but no soundbox. All three are obsolete and, indeed, apart from Chinese Sui sources, there is little evidence for any except the sogonghu in Korea. A relief on a bell dated to 721 at Sangwŏn temple in Kangwŏn province depicts the sogonghu, and two similar instruments, apparently from the southwestern Paekche, are preserved in Nara.

The dulcimer, yanggum ("western zither") was likely brought to Korea in the late 18th century, several centuries after Christian missionaries imported it to China. An 1817 score book, giving the alternative name kurach'olsa kilm, suggests European origins. Flat and trapezoid, the yanggum is still struck with a single bamboo beater in South Korea. Two choirs, comprising seven sets of four metal strings, pass over two bridges that alternate raised edges with gaps. Since strings can be tuned on both sides of the raised bridges, this gives a potential 28 pitches of which 21 are tuned to give the range eb to ab”. In North Korea, two beaters are used, achieving a fluency akin to contemporary Central European dulcimers.

The final chordophone is the ongnyugum, a North Korean box zither reflecting Kim Chŏngil’s decree that instruments should be modernized to compete with Western music. Developed in 1973, alterations continue to be made. The ongnyugum, with a single row of between 29 and 33 strings tuned diatonically, has a maximum range of four octaves plus a fifth ascending from C. Chromatic alteration is achieved by a pedal and pulley mechanism adapted from the orchestral harp. Strings, colour coded for 5ths and octaves, pass across fixed bridges resembling the anjok of kayagum. The ongnyugum play kayagum-like ornaments by pushing and stretching strings to the left of the bridges, and a complex of melodic and harmonic material is fashioned on the right. The large range ensures that the ongnyugum features prominently in ensembles.

Aerophones

The large transverse flute, taegum, is perhaps the best-loved of Korea’s wind instruments. Made from a length of yellow bamboo (hwang chuk), this was one of three
flutes in the Shilla samjuk ensemble, the other two being the similar but shorter chunggūm and sogūm. The taegūm alone has a mirliton created from bamboo or reed tissue (kaltae) which gives the instrument its characteristic, buzzing sound. Good instruments are said to be made from five years' growth of bamboo, and should have ducts running along either side between prominent nodes. The top is sealed with wax above a large blowing hole (ch'wi kong). Beneath the mirliton's oval hole (ch'ŏng kong) there are six finger holes (chi kong) and between two and five "Big Dipper" holes (ch'ilsong kong) drilled to define the sounding length. Court instruments employ a range from bb¹ to eb² and the slightly shorter sanjo instruments c' to gb''t. The taegūm overblows at the octave, giving three distinct ranges. Three tone colours are distinguished: clear and highly vibrated soft blowing (cha ch'wi), elegant and strident medium blowing (p'yŏng ch'wi) and triumphant hard blowing (yŏk ch'wi). The taegūm is considered ideal for solos and ensembles, and it features widely in court and folk genres.

A legend in Samguk yusa (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) accounts for its invention. King Shinmun (r.681-692) heard that a mountain was floating in the Eastern Sea near Kamûn temple. An astrologer told him that his father had returned as a dragon along with a general to give him a treasure to protect the realm. A servant reported that there was a bamboo plant on the mountain peak that split into two during daylight but fused as a single shoot each night. The king crossed to the mountain, where he cut the bamboo and made a flute from it. Whenever the flute was played, enemies retreated, illnesses were cured, and the sea remained calm. Hence, it was called the man p'ashik chak, the "flute to calm 10 000 waves."

In North Korea, based on the sanjo instrument, the taegūm now has metal keys designed to produce a chromatic scale and is made from a smooth hardwood. Similar modifications have been made to the tanso, once a vertical notched pipe made from old dark ojuk bamboo with a base cut from the root bulb. A posterior thumb hole and four anterior fingerholes produced a two octave range stretching upwards from g'. Old examples have been uncovered made from jade and, reflecting the perception that the tanso is an easy instrument suitable for school use, many plastic instruments are now available. In the North, the hardwood lacquered or varnished two-piece tube now has six anterior finger holes and metal keywork. The kaeryang tanso is able to imitate much of the taegūm repertory, and three comparable registers are now distinguished, again based on octave overblowing.

The history of the tanso is virtually unknown prior to the 19th century, when King Sunjo (r.1801-1834) is said to have imported it. This merely indicates it was not used in court ensembles. Similar vertical flutes have existed for many centuries in China and Japan and, perhaps more significantly, Koreans in the rural countryside still refer to any blowing instrument as p'iri, even the tanso. A related Korean instrument, t'ungso, has six fingerholes and was once part of the Rite to Royal Ancestors; Akhak kwebôm describes a range of just over two octaves. Less standard t'ungso still exist in the countryside. One, in the mask drama Pukch'ŏng saja norûm, has a mirliton (described as the t'ungae) and only four fingerholes.

One transverse flute, chi, and two vertical flutes, yak and chok, arrived from China in 1116. They are retained only for the twice annual Rite to Confucius, where they contribute a peculiarly Korean rising inflexion at the end of each melodic tone. All three are made from yellow bamboo though the chi, which may have been used in Paekche, tends to employ older, darker wood. The yak has 3 finger holes and a major 7th range, c-b. The chok, made from a similarly plain tube with 5 finger holes and a posterior thumb hole produces a major 10th range, c to eb¹. The chi duplicates this range an octave higher. It features a raised mouthpiece and five finger holes, the first of which is placed on the side, covered by the left thumb. A cross-shaped opening at the base can also be stopped. The tangjok was a transverse bamboo flute, now obsolete. With six or seven finger holes, it
was imported to play Chinese music in Koryǒ times.

Panpipes, so, are confined to the Rite to Confucius. Received as gifts from China in 1114, 1116, and 1406, contemporary instruments are little changed from 15th century illustrations. Sixteen notched bamboo pipes are arranged in a row moving from the shortest (highest pitch) at the centre to the longest (lowest pitch) at each end. The pipes are held in a wooden frame said to resemble the unfolded wings of a phoenix. Folded phoenix wings give shape to the 17 pipes of the mouth organ, saenghwang or saeng. Arranged around a gourd, metal or wood windchest, each pipe has a finger hole near its base and is slit near its top. Sixteen pipes have internal free metal reeds which sound when the finger hole is closed. One pipe is mute. The range is eb' to c''''. A stone relief of Deva musicians and a bell at Sangwŏn temple demonstrate Shilla use of the saenghwang, and Chinese sources state it was known in Paekche. In 1114, Hui Zong sent 10 mouth organs; others arrived in 1116. The Ming emperor Taizu sent two in 1406, and more were purchased from the Qing capital in 1657. There is no evidence to show that saenghwang were ever successfully produced in Korea. The limited repertory today consists of rites and a single duet with the tanso, Chajin hanip, although the saenghwang has been used by modern composers. The hun, a tear-shaped globular flute or ocarina, shares the same limited court repertory. Made from baked clay it has a blowing hole at its apex, two posterior thumb holes and three anterior finger holes. Akhak kwebôm describes how 12 weak chromatic pitches can be produced, some by partially covering holes.

Much more common, the p'iri is a small pipe typically constructed from a length of bamboo pipe with a large bamboo double reed (kaltae). Pillyul and sagwan were alternative names used in the past. There are three traditional versions. Hyang p'iri (indigenous oboe) and se p'iri (slender oboe) are cylindrical and have eight fingerholes. Both produce a range of a 10th without overblowing, ascending from bb', with extensions of a further 3rd possible by embouchure adjustment. Hyang p'iri feature in court pieces such as Sujech'on and Samhyŏn yŏngsan hoesang, in p'iri sanjo, and in folk ensembles, while se p'iri are restricted to vocal accompaniments and to the suite Kwanak yŏngsan hoesang. Chinese documents state that precursors formed part of Koguryŏ music ensembles invited to the Sui (518-618) court, and Ch'oe Chiwiin (b.857) suggests oboes were present in the five dramatic forms of Shilla, hyangak ʂchabyiŋ osu. The tang p'iri is slightly conical and tends to be made from old and dark bamboo with prominent nodes. Twelve were included in the 1114 gift, with seven anterior fingerholes and two thumb holes. Sejong shillok (Annals of King Sejong) records that King Sejong "improved" the instrument, arguing that the lower thumb hole was redundant. Tang p'iri overblow at the 11th, giving a range from c' to a'''', and are used in the remaining tangak and hyangak repertories.

The kaeryang p'iri in North Korea comes in two sizes, both made from hardwood with metal keyword. The tae p'iri has a double reed placed over a tube (ridu ryolgyolgwan) held by a cork washer atop the instrument body. The range is almost three octaves (c-b'''''). The chŏ p'iri has a long doubled-back body ending in a conical bell, with the reed attached to a curved metal pipe. The range is Bb-Bb'''''. Throughout Korea, stripped-bark pipes, typically called hodugi, were made until the 1970s from a single piece of bark detached from its core by twisting. A further variant is the leaf. Akhak kwebôm calls this a ch'ojoš. Usually, leaves of mandarin and citron trees are folded in two to create a double reed, but a leaf rolled into a tube is also described.

Three aerophones have antecedents in Asian battlefields, all of which play in a military processional, Taech'wit'a. The nabal, also used by folk bands, is a long trumpet made of several lengths of brass tube. The nagak, with alternative names such as na and sora, is a conch shell mentioned in records from early Koryǒ. The tae p'ongso ("great peace pipe") is a double-reed shawm thought to have come from North Asia in Koryǒ times, but
first mentioned as a tangbu akki in Akhak kwebŏm. Apart from processional, the t'aeop'yŏngso plays three melodies in the annual Rite to Royal Ancestors and, under other names such as hojŏk, soenap and nallari, improvises melodies for many folk bands. In South Korea, the conical tube is still made from Chinese date (Uujube), with 7 finger holes and a posterior thumb hole. A small double reed sits atop a metal pipe, and a metal bell completes the base. The reed makes this a difficult instrument, a feature now overcome in North Korea where the kaeryang soenap, in medium (chung soenap) and large (tae soenap) versions, uses a reed similar to an orchestral oboe. Boehm-style metal keys are added to a hardwood body considerably longer than the traditional 32cm.

Idiophones

A Korean director's clappers, pak, comprise six rectangular wooden slabs bound with cords through holes cut near their top. The outer slabs are cracked together, once to begin and three times to finish a piece. In the Rite to Royal Ancestors, they also signal changes. Three idiophones based on Chinese models are retained solely in the Rite to Confucius. The ch'uk is a green trapeziform wooden box with a thick stick inserted through a central hole. Struck three times against the base, the stick signals the start of a piece. The striction 3 times against the base, the stick signals the start of a piece. The striction 3 times against the base, the stick signals the start of a piece. The ch'ung or kŭmjing. The small gong is the instrument of a leader, sangsoe ("leading iron"). Akhak kwebŏm recalls that they once played in the first and second wine offerings in the Rite to Royal Ancestors. Described in terms of metal as sogûm and taegum, they were allied within a Chinese system of elements to Autumn, the colour white, and the direction West. The taegum used a stick wrapped in deerskin; a soft beater is preferred for ch'ung. The sogûm was held in a frame surrounded by a dragon's head; kkwaenggwar, are held by the hand, fingers damping sounds at the back of the body.

Ulla, a set of 10 plate gongs mounted vertically in a wooden frame, were used at court banquets during the 18th and 19th century. Now obsolete, the gongs are preserved, arranged in three rows tuned to give diatonic tones from a♭ to c". References to cymbals, as chabara, para, and chegûm, are found from the 11th century onwards. They feature in shaman rituals and Para chŭm, a Buddhist dance, and also play in the processional, Taech'wit'a. Korea has long produced and used bronze bells for civil functions and at Buddhist temples. Sharnans, too, use many bells, from small single instruments in Chŏlla, through bowl gongs in Kyoŏngsang, to pangul bell trees further north. Additionally, Buddhist temples bristle with wind chimes and small brass fish plaques, while temple blocks known as mokt'ak are still played to signal prayers and ask for alms.

Splendid sets of clapperless bronze bells (p'yŏnjong) and stone chimes (p'yŏn'gyŏng), housed in magnificent decorated frames with animals and birds carved on cross-pieces and at each foot, came to Korea in 1116. The 16 elliptical bells are tuned to give a chromatic c to e♭ scale. The 16 lithophone chimes, carved from calcite quarried locally since the 15th century at Namyang, sound an octave higher. Along with single clapperless bells (t'ükchong) and stone chimes (t'ükkyŏng), they survive in the Rite to Confucius, though in single pairs rather than the massive numbers prescribed back in the 12th century. The two large sets also play in the two extant Tangak pieces, Nagyangch'un and Pohŏja,
where they appear to have replaced a set of 16 iron slabs, the panghyang. Panghyang were used in Korea by 1076, and five sets came as part of the 1114 gift. Now they are played only in the Rite to Royal Ancestors.

Membranophones

One drum is ubiquitous to virtually all Korean music genres. This is the changgo or changgu, a double-headed barrel drum. Some historical sources refer to it as seyogo, "narrow waisted drum". This, and an additional name for the body, chorongmok, confirm the characteristic hourglass shape, seen from Koguryo tomb painting onwards. Wooden bodies are most common, nowadays turned on a lathe from a single piece of paulownia wood. Pottery bodies still survive and the 13th century Wenxian tonggao, cited in Akhak kwebôm, states that both pottery and wood were used for ancient Chinese instruments. In Cholla and Ch'ungch'ong provinces some bodies are now made from two interlocking alloy bowls, while the Arrang company produces plastic bowls in Seoul. One recent development in North Korea is a drum kit based on the changgo model which includes pedalled bass drums, standard changgo, and tiny single bowled instruments.

Changgo in the court tend to be large and have red lacquered bodies. They are played while seated. Lighter bodies, oiled or varnished but rarely painted, are needed for folk use, where the instrument tends to be carried. Akhak kwebôm prescribes horseskin for the heads (p'yôn ), but cow, goat or pig often suffices. The left head is struck by the hand whenever the drum is used in accompaniment, to give a low thud. The right head, struck with the yôl ch'ae, a thin whip-like stick, produces a higher pitch. It requires a tight, thin skin, nowadays typically goat or dog. Each skin overlaps the circumference of the bowls and is stretched around a metal ring. The heads are laced together with cords known as chihongsà, and tension can be increased by tightening leather or plastic thongs (karak chi or ch'ûksu ). It is now common for two sticks to be used in folk bands, supplementing the thin stick with a mallet (the kunggul ch'ae or k'ung ch'ae ). The flexible stem of the mallet allows players to produce virtuosic passagework.

An obsolete variant of the changgo, the kalgo, is mentioned in Akhak kwebôm. This had double lacing and two sets of thongs so that each skin could be separately tightened.

Two other drums are essential to folk bands. The puk, named with a generic and onomatopoeic term, is a shallow double-headed barrel drum also used to accompany p'ansori. It was once made from a single trunk, but now tends to comprise interlocking slats. It is struck variously with a single stick, a stick and the hand, or in Miryang and Chindo with two sticks. A more decorated version, the yonggo, is hung at the waist in Taech'wit'a , and beaten on the upper skin with two sticks. Sogo , small double-headed frame drums with handles are also common. There are instances where sogo have been made from cloth rather than skin, a practice which parallels the Irish bodhrán. Various alternative names exist: maegu puk specifically relates it to agriculture, while "the way" in pôpku implies a Buddhist connection.

Fourteen additional drums were once used in the court. Most are barrel drums, and some are obsolete. The large chwago is hung vertically in a simple frame and was first pictured in an 18th century depiction of dance. The similar kyo banggo, supported in a cross-frame so that one head is vertical, was described in the 1452 Koryósa, and today is retained only in one royal dance, Mugo. The larger chunggo was used during Songjong's reign (1469-1494) in sacrifices to the god of war. The sakko and small inggo (sak = start; ùng = respond) were held vertically in frames decorated with dragons and tigers, but fell into disuse in the 19th century. The huge 150cm-deep kôn'go (kôn = build) had two skins over 100cm in diameter. Elaborately decorated, it was used alongside sakko and similarly fell into obscurity. References to it go back to the 12th century Hui Zong gifts.
Four drums are still employed at the Rite to Confucius. The chōlgo plays with the terrace ensemble and the chin'go with the courtyard ensemble. Both have red bodies and are mounted with skins vertical. The chin'go is the largest drum still used, with skins 110cm in diameter. The nogo and nodo each consist of two red drums mounted at right angles to each other. Nogo are suspended on a pole inside a decorated wooden frame; only one head of each is struck. Nodo are pierced by a wooden pole with tigers at the base. Knotted thongs attached to each side of the body strike the heads when the instrument is rotated. Both play part of the starting signal for each piece of music, and the nogo additionally punctuates each 4th melodic note.

Four related drums became obsolete when the Japanese forced Korea to abandon rites to heavenly and earthly spirits. The noego and noedo were painted black to symbolize their use for heavenly spirits: noe means thunder. The yŏnggo and yŏngdo were painted yellow: yŏng signifies spirits. The noego had six and the yŏnggo eight conical drums arranged in a ring within a wooden frame and played like the nogo. The noedo had three and the yŏngdo four barrel drums mounted on a pole like the nodo and played similarly.

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K Howard
Myoch’ông (?-1135)

Myoch’ông was a Buddhist priest famed for his abilities at prognostication and geomantic theory. He wielded considerable influence over King Injong (r. 1122-1146) and in 1135 led a rebellion. He is thus often referred to as ‘an evil priest’. He came from the subsidiary capital, Sŏgyŏng (Western Capital; now P’yŏngyang), which had its own alternate governmental offices. Nevertheless, the primary capital, Sanggyŏng (now Kaesŏng), was the seat of power, and its civil bureaucracy was composed of powerful yangban who championed Confucianism as the means of statecraft. The leading member of the Sanggyŏng elite was Kim Pushik (1075-1151), a historian and court-official, who was descended from the highest ranks of the Shilla nobility. Kim was Myoch’ông’s greatest foe.

At the time Myoch’ông rose to power within the court, Confucianism and Buddhism were political competitors, and Myoch’ông’s prestige was a symptom of the throne’s weakness. While Yi Chagyŏm’s attempted coup d’etat in 1126 highlighted the instability of the throne, Myoch’ông’s promise of magical insight was anodyne to Injong’s sense of insecurity. His appeal to Injong was further strengthened by the Sŏgyŏng faction’s role in countering Yi.

Yi was willing to make Koryŏ a tributary state of the Chin, and the Sŏgyŏng faction was bitterly opposed on the ground that such an acknowledgement was humiliating. Having successfully checked Yi, they turned to the question of national safety. In 1127 Myoch’ông and his disciple, the official court geomancer Paek Suhan, convinced the king to make geomantic theory the basis for preventing the outbreak of natural calamities. It was on this basis that he would advise making Sŏgyŏng the centre of government.

The following year he petitioned the king to erect a royal palace at the site of a military barracks in Sŏgyŏng; he unctuously pronounced the site so auspicious that ‘the Chin will of their own capitulate and be reduced to a tributary state [of Koryŏ]’. The king ordered its construction. In 1131, he also ordered, on Myoch’ông’s request, the construction of a citadel as well as a hall dedicated to the worship of the Eight Divinities in which native, animimistic deities were included among Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. In short, Myoch’ông saw native divinities on a par with those of Buddhism.

Upon completion of the construction projects in Sŏgyŏng, Myoch’ông petitioned the king to change his title to ‘emperor’ and subjugate the Jurchen-Chin rulers to the north in Manchuria. Myoch’ông also argued that the rebellion of Yi Chagyŏm proved Sanggyŏng was no longer a favourable site for government and advocated moving the capital to Sŏgyŏng. This would have effectively made the Sŏgyŏng faction dominant and was thus a challenge to the Sanggyŏng elite.

In 1132 Myoch’ông devised an ingenious strategy which crystallized all his political intentions into a single act. During King Injong’s visit to Sŏgyŏng, he had large rice cakes filled with hot oil, pierced, and then submerged in the Taedong river. Little by little the oil seeped to the surface of the river, giving off a bright multi-coloured sheen. He said this was the saliva of the Spirit Dragon which proved Sŏgyŏng’s geomantic strength, and he had his other confederates petition the king to adopt the title ‘emperor’ and attack the Jurchen-Chin.

His strategy was uncovered, and shortly thereafter King Injong’s father-in-law wrote a petition: “We pray that Your Highness will execute Myoch’ông [and the Sŏgyŏng faction], thereby removing these sprouts of evil.” In spite of this, the king’s feelings seem to have changed little. In 1134, however, the kingdom was ravaged by a variety of weather disturbances which were seen to indicate disharmony between natural and human affairs.
Lim-wan, a Sung Chinese professor at the Koryŏ Confucian Academy, wrote a petition which named Myoch’ŏng as the source of disharmony and accordingly demanded the heads of Myoch’ŏng and his co-conspirators.

Just at this time King Injong was preparing to go to Sŏgyŏng. Kim Pushik managed to dissuade the king from leaving, and Injong subsequently ended all royal visitations to Sŏgyŏng. With few exceptions, the court rallied around Kim Pushik and called for punitive action against Myoch’ŏng and the Sŏgyŏng party.

In January 1135 Kim, Chogwang, Yudam, and other leaders stormed the government buildings in Sŏgyŏng. They imprisoned those with direct ties of allegiance to Sanggyo and founded a country, Taewi, in which petty officials from Sŏgyŏng were elevated to positions of great authority. They then set-off for Sanggyo. Although it does not seem that they had any intention of harming the king’s person, they were determined to force Injong to accede to a single demand — that Sŏgyŏng be made the primary capital.

In the meantime, King Injong had made preparations for war, and Kim Pushik, then sixty-one years old, was selected as field marshall of the government force. His first course of action was to assassinate Myoch’ŏng’s disciple, Paek Suhan, Chŏng Chisang, and another Sanggyo official who formerly had been sympathetic towards the idea of Koryo’s independence from the Jurchen-Chin.

After being outflanked by Kim’s troops, Myoch’ŏng’s erstwhile confederate, Chogwang, was convinced of the impossibility of victory. Two weeks after the start of the rebellion he beheaded Myoch’ŏng, Yudam, and Yudam’s son, and despatched an envoy, presumably, to gain exomeration for his role in the uprising. The envoy was imprisoned, whereupon Chogwang resolved to continue the rebellion. In the following February, Kim’s troops finally made a decisive attack, and Chogwang and the remaining leaders committed suicide.

Kim Pushik was celebrated for his military deeds and given three high positions within the court. He was, nevertheless, not immune from criticism, and some officials accused him of wasting time in quelling the rebellion. His motives in assassinating Chŏng Chisang were also suspect given that neither he nor Paek Suhan had had any opportunity to take part in what was a spontaneous and desperate uprising. His envy of Chŏng’s poetic skill was widely known, and some believed that he used the rebellion as a pretext to give vent to his personal grudge against Chŏng.

What seemed to be primarily a factional struggle between Sŏgyŏng and Sanggyo was, in fact, a conflict with deep historical roots. Myoch’ŏng’s insistence on making Sŏgyŏng the primary capital recalled the glorious former state of Koguryo whose capital was Sŏgyŏng and from which the name Koryo derived. Kim Pushik, on the other hand, was descended from the royal house of Shilla: the very state which had vanquished Koguryo. Myoch’ŏng’s plan for moving the capital thus represented to Kim the danger of losing his political base of power and a challenge to the historical lineage on which that power rested.

The uprising also represented a newly emerging intellectual conflict between the Buddhists and the Confucians. This was brought into relief by the argument over changing the title of king to emperor which was requisite for any offensive military strike against the Jurchen-Chin. In essence, the use of emperor would have clearly indicated a change in self-consciousness among the Koryo elite, and seeing themselves as an independent and autonomous state, Myoch’ŏng felt, was the necessary step.

It is recorded that Myoch’ŏng had the support of roughly half the kingdom for his plan that the king take the title ‘emperor’ and subjugate the Jurchen-Chin. In the court, he was supported by nine out of ten officials. If true, Kim Pushik’s real victory was less military than intellectual.
Writing in the early part of this century, the Korean historian Shin Ch’ae-ho addressed this victory and called it the single most important event in the previous thousand years of Korean history. With Myoch’ong’s defeat, the Koryo rulers no longer questioned their status, and the system of Sadae (serving the great) as espoused by Kim Pushik became an unquestioned political doctrine. In turn, this doctrine was adopted by the subsequent Choson dynasty which perforce disdained both Buddhism and animism as it made Neo-Confucianism the state ideology. Shin Ch’ae-ho keenly observed in Kim’s victory the end of Korea’s willingness to assert an individual religious, political, and cultural heritage and poignantly saw in this the origin of Japanese colonial rule.

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Myohyang Mountain

Situated just south of Huich’on on the border of North and South P’yongan Province, Mt. Myohyang (1909 metres) is traditionally considered to be one of Korea’s ‘four mountains of great renown’ (sadae myongsan). These four mountains are situated in each area of the nation, with the Diamond Mountains (Mt. Kumgang) in the east, Mt. Chiri in the south, Mt. Kuwol in the west, and Myohyang in the north. The name ‘Myohyang’ (Wondrous Fragrance) is a Buddhist term describing an extraordinary incense which has a fragrance that can be smelled even though one is upwind of it. This appellation evidently comes from the large amount of aromatic trees on the mountain, such as the spindle tree and the Chinese juniper.

Mt. Myohyang is important, not only for its scenic beauty, but also for its early connection with Korean foundation myths. According to the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms, an older record states that in ancient times, a figure called Hwanin was residing in heaven. Aware that his son, Hwanung, wanted to descend to the world of humans, Hwanin made him three heavenly seals and sent him to govern the world of men. Hwanung therefore gathered together a retinue of 3000 followers and descended to the summit of a “Mt. T’aebaek.” Iryon (1206-1289), the author of the Memorabilia, claims that this was, in fact, Mt. Myohyang; hence, the mountain has been linked to the Tan’gun story from at least the mid-Koryo Period, if not earlier. Even now, there is Tan’gun Cave at the site where Tan’gun is believed to have appeared.

In addition to its association with Korea’s foundation stories, the mountain has often been the site of important historical events. In 1174, Cho Wich’ong led a rebellion that almost succeeded in toppling the government in Kaesong. Two years later, when he was killed, the remnants of his forces retreated to Mt. Myohyang where they continued to harass government forces. During the Koryo Period, Mt. Myohyang also served as the battlefield for numerous clashes between the Koryo and the invading Khitan.

During the Hideyoshi Invasion (1592-1598), the mountain served as the stronghold of the monk armies led by Hyujong (1520-1604), styled Sosan. Hyujong called on monks throughout the nation to join in the fight against the Japanese. Along with Yujong, who led
forces based in the Diamond Mountains, and Ch’o’yōng, who led force based in Mt. Chiri, Hyujōng successfully led a direct attack on the Japanese forces occupying the capital. In his final years, Hyujōng went back to Mt. Myohyang, passing away at the famous Pohyon Temple.

Due to the mountain’s scenic splendour, it is sometimes referred to as ‘the Diamond Mountains of the west.’ Piro Peak is the mountain’s highest point, followed by Ch’ilsŏng (1,894 metres), Kangsŏn (1,613 metres), Hyangno (1,600 metres) and Pŏbwang Peak (1,391 metres). Crystal clear streams trickle through the high valleys before passing over large granite cliffs to form Yongyŏn, Pison and Ch’ŏndae Waterfall. One of these rivulets, Wŏlim Stream, cuts through Yongam Valley to form spectacular cliffs over 400 metres high.

Mt. Myohyang’s striking beauty has made it a favourite site for temples. Since Koryŏ times, Pohyŏn, Anshim, Wŏnmyŏng and Kwangje Temple have been in existence along with Yun’i’il Hermitage and Kŭmgang Cave. The Pohyŏn Temple gets its name from the tradition that the bodhisattva Pohyon (Samantabhadra) once resided there. With its picturesque scenery, links to both ancient myths and history, and rich Buddhist heritage, Mt. Myohyang is one of Korea’s favourite tourist destinations.

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Myong Ji University

Located in the city of Yongin in Kyŏnggi Province, Myong Ji University (Myŏngji Taehakkyo) was established in Seoul’s Pukch’ang-dong as the women’s school, Sŏul Kodŭng Kajŏng Hakkyo, in August 1948. In July 1952, the school was reorganised as Kŭnhwa Yŏja Ch’o’gŭp Taehak with Chŏn Hodŏk as dean. In March 1955, its name was changed to Sŏul Yŏja Ch’o’gŭp Taehak. The school faced a financial crisis in 1956, and Yu Sanggŭn assumed control. Under Yu’s guidance, the school was transformed into Sŏul Mulli Sabŏm Taehak, a two-year, co-educational institute for secondary-school teachers. At this time, the school moved to a new campus in Seoul’s Chung Ward.

In 1962, Sŏul Yŏja Ch’o’gŭp Taehak was reorganised into Sŏul Mulli Shilgwa Taehak. It aimed to give young people the technical skills being demanded by Korea’s rapid industrialisation. A year later, it became the four-year Myong Ji College, and in 1967, a graduate school was established. After merging with Kwandong Taehak in February 1972, the college took on a Christian inclination. In 1974, the college transferred to Namgajwa-dong in Seoul and five years later, another campus was built at Yongin.

In September 1983, the college became a university with Pak Ilgyŏng as president. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, an expansion program was under way. Today, there are six colleges. At the Yongin campus, are the Colleges of Arts and Physical Education; as well as Engineering and Natural Science; and at the Seoul campus, there are the Colleges of Business Administration; Humanities; and Law and Political Science. For postgraduate studies, there are, in addition to the Graduate School itself, the Graduate Schools of Adult Continuing Education; Distribution and Logistics; Education; Engineering; Local Autonomy; Industrial Technology; International Business and Trade; Securities and Insurance; and Transportation and Tourism.

University publications include the Myŏngdae Shinmun in Korean and The Myong Ji
Myongch’ŏn County

Myongch’ŏn County extends to the coast in the southern part of North Hamgyŏng Province. This large county covers a total area of 2,080.43 sq.kms. Topographically, the county consists of rugged terrain with defined plains running along Myonggan Stream in the northeast and Hwadae Stream in the south. Kamt’o Peak and other peaks of the Hamgyŏng Mountain Range rise in the northwest, while the Ch’i’lbo Mountain Range runs from the northeast to the southwest. Famous for its extraordinary rock formations, Mt. Ch’i’lbo (906m) is often called ‘the second Kŭmgang (Diamond) mountain.’ As a mountainous region, the county’s climate is characterised by sharp seasonal fluctuations, with an average January temperature of -9.6°C, an average August temperature of 22.1°C, and an average yearly rainfall of 667mm.

A number of ancient historical artefacts have been found in the county. In Changdŏk Village, mammoth bones have been discovered and in the Hago Stream area, there are more than five-hundred ancient tombs. Earth mounds mark the old military site of Myonggan Fortress in Ibam-dong, and in Hau’s Myongch’ŏn Village, there is the Myongch’ŏn Town Fortress. Measuring 1.0 km. in circumference and standing 3.0 metres high, Myongch’ŏn Fortress was built in 1517 to block Jurchen invasions and was expanded during the reign of King Injo (1623-1649). Other fortresses in the area include Taesadong-bo, twelve kms. west of the town of Myongch’ŏn; Sosamadong-bo, twelve kms. to its north, and Kalma Fortress, seventy-four kms. to the southeast.

During the Japanese occupation, local residents were often in confrontation with the occupying forces. In March 1919, a market-day in Haga Township was used as the occasion to gather over two-thousand people for an ‘independence’ protest. This was followed by spontaneous uprisings in the Sangu, Sanggo and Sŏ townships. One of the most famous participants was Tong P’ungshin. Affected after burning down a Township Hall and the houses of several politicians who were sympathetic to the Japanese, Tong eventually committed suicide while in prison.

Myongji Mountain

Situated in Kap’yŏng County in Kyŏnggi Province, Mt. Myongji (1,249 metres) is part of the Kwangju Mountain Range. To the north-east, lies Mt. Hwaak (1,468 metres), to the south Mt. Taegŭm (704 metres) and Mt. Ch’ŏng’u (619 metres), to the west Mt. Kangssi (830 metres) and Mt. Ch’ŏnggye (849 metres), and to the east Ch’oktae Peak (1,124 metres). With its picturesque terrain and dense forests, the mountain is frequented by visitors from both Seoul and Chunch’ŏn.

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Myongjidŏk Mountain

Mt. Myongjidŏk (911 metres) is situated on the border between Hwanghae Province’s Koksan County and Kangwŏn Province’s Ich’ŏn County. Along with Mt. Idŏk (1,298
metres), Mt. Ponghwang (1,250 metres) and Mt. Ibam (1,107 metres), the mountain is part of the Mashingnyŏng Mountain Range. The area near the summit is characterised by exposed rock. Although scattered conifers cover the mountain, most of the soil lacks vegetation. Graphite and copper mines operate throughout the area.

**Myŏngjong, King (r. 1170-1197)**

King Myŏngjong (1131-1202) was the nineteenth king of Koryŏ and reigned from 1170 to 1197. His given name was Ho, childhood name Hŭn, and his courtesy name Chiden. He was the third son of King Injong (r. 1122-1146) and the younger brother of King Ŭijong (r. 1146-1170). His queen was the daughter of Kim On, the Lord of Kangnŭng, and when her son Kangjong (r. 1211-1213) became king she was elevated to queen dowager Ŭijong. In 1170 when the military revolt led by Chŏng Ch'ungbu (1106-1179) broke out and his brother was deposed, Myŏngjong was placed on the throne.

The reign of Myŏngjong was a period in which the throne was totally dominated by the military, and he was no more than a figurehead for the military leaders. A junta led by Chŏng, Yi Ŭibang (?-1174), and Yi Ko (?-1171), ruled through the Chungbang, or supreme military council, which they had established. These men, however, strived for personal power and eventually Yi Ko was assassinated by Yi Ŭibang, who was in turn killed by Chŏng. Chŏng was then able to rule alone for several years before being killed by an ambitious young commander, Kyŏng Taesŭng (1154-1183), in 1179. Kyŏng only managed to hold power for a few years before his death from illness, and once again control of Koryŏ was thrown into chaos. Yi Ŭimin (?-1196), originally of slave status, seized power and ruled with brutal ferocity for over a decade until he too was killed in 1196 by the brothers Ch’ŏe Ch’unghŏn (1149-1219) and Ch’oe Ch’ungsu (?-1197). The rise to power of the Ch’oe brothers marked the end of the chaotic struggles of military commanders for supremacy, as the Ch’oe’s and their descendants effectively controlled Koryŏ until the mid-thirteenth c. Shortly after seizing power Ch’oe Ch’unghŏn further consolidated power by replacing Myŏngjong with his brother King Shinjong (r. 1197-1204).

Quite clearly, Myŏngjong was only a token king who was completely dominated by the powerful military figures of his day. The Koryŏ court remained under military control until the Mongol invasions of the mid and late thirteenth c., being then replaced with Mongolian equivalents. The Koryŏ monarchy did not regain control until the reign of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374), in the waning years of the kingdom.

**Myŏngnang (fl. 635)**

Myŏngnang was born the aristocrat son of the sagan Chaeyrang and Lady Namgan, and the nephew of the famous monk Chajang. In 632, he went to Tang China to study Tantric doctrines. According to legend, in 635, as Myŏngnang walked along the coast of the Yellow Sea on his way back to Korea, the Dragon King beckoned him to visit his underwater palace. In the palace, the Dragon King gave Myongnang one thousand gold coins. More importantly, he transmitted esoteric teachings to the monk. Myŏngnang received the coins and tried to head back to land, but found that the Dragon King’s castle was surrounded by water. Myŏngnang finally reached dry land by burrowing through the ground under the Dragon King’s palace. After much digging, he came up through the well of his own house. Myŏngnang made his old residence into a temple and used the gold that he had received to decorate the pagoda and Buddha statues of the temple. The temple glittered with such brilliance that it came to be known as Golden Brilliance (Kumgwang) Temple.

In Korea, Myŏngnang founded Shilla’s Shinin (Divine Seal) sect. This sect, later based at Kŭmsan Temple, was associated with miracles and state-protection Buddhism (hoguk pulgyo). Thus, at the end of the Three Kingdom’s Period when Shilla and Tang forces
turned on one another, Myŏngnang and twelve other monks received royal support to build Sach’ŏnwang (Four Heavenly Kings) Temple as a spiritual centre protecting the nation. In the Samguk Yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), it is said that the monks called on the spirits of heaven and the sea after which a mighty typhoon arose and sank the attacking Tang vessels. In 671, the Tang forces mounted another attack which was again sunk through Myŏngnang’s magical powers.

Bibliography


Myŏngsŏng Mountain

Situated on the border of Ch’ŏrwŏn County in Kangwŏn Province and P’och’ŏn County in Kyŏnggi Province, Mt. Myŏngsŏng (923 metres) is part of the Kwangju Mountain Range. The mountain is surrounded by Mt. Kwangdŏk (1,046 metres) to the east, Mt. Paegun (904 metres) to the south-east, and Mt. Sahyang to the south. At the south-west base of the mountain lies the Sanjŏng Lake resort area and Chain Temple. To the north lies the Yonghwa Reservoir. Mt. Myŏngsŏng is also known as Mt. Urŭm. Both names are thought to come from a legend about Kungye, the leader of Later Koguryŏ, who purportedly fled to the area around 929 C.E. only to be killed a year later. It is said that upon Kungye’s demise, the birds in the area made crying sounds (myŏngsŏng or urŭm).

Myŏngsŏng, Queen (1851-1895)

Queen Myŏngsŏng (Queen Min) was the queen of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). Her family’s ancestral home is in Yŏhung. But she was orphaned at eight years when both parents died. After Kojong’s accession in 1863, his father Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898) sought a queen for his son. He did not want to become a victim of the royal in-law families that had dominated Chosŏn since the start of the nineteenth c., and accordingly looked for a queen from a family without strong political connections. Upon the recommendation of his wife, he selected the young Min as queen for his son. The young queen was exceptionally bright and furthered her knowledge by reading works such as Ch’unch’u (Spring and Autumn Annals) in her leisure time.

The conflict between Queen Min and the Taewŏn’gun began with the birth of Prince Wanhwa by a palace lady and the favouritism that the Taewŏn’gun showed towards this child coupled with desire to name it crown prince. Behind this incident were the factional politics that surrounded the late years of Chosŏn and Queen Min’s involvement with the Noron (Old Doctrine) Faction that opposed the Taewŏn’gun. Moreover, time was on Queen Min’s side since as Kojong became older, he began to show the desire to escape from the regency of his father and establish his own rule. Therefore, in 1873 when the Taewŏn’gun was driven from power by the combination of the Confucian officials that he had antagonised and the newly emerging power of the Min family, Queen Min seized this opportunity to solidify her political power. At this time, although Kojong was king in name, it was Queen Min who chiefly controlled the destiny of the government.

The policies of the Min-led government were not popular with many and as a result of corruption among the clerks at the Sŏnhyeche’ong (the Office of Revenue Raising and Disbursement), the military was not paid. As an outgrowth of this, a mutiny broke out. The brunt of the Military Mutiny of 1882 (Imo Kullan) was aimed at the Japanese and the Min family whom the soldiers blamed for the corruption of the government and the
encroachment of the Japanese. Thus when this broke out, Min Kyŏmho, the superintendent of the Sŏnhyech’ŏng, was killed and Queen Min was forced into hiding for fear of her life. In addition, the Japanese legation was burnt to the ground and a Japanese military officer was killed. The result of this uprising was a shift in power in Chosŏn as the Taewŏn’ŭng once again took control of the government.

It was during this period that Queen Min began to reveal her adroit political skills. In 1885 the Kŏmundo Incident (the British occupation of Kŏmun-do Island) occurred and the German adviser to the Chinese Government, P.G. von Mollendorff, along with the Chinese diplomat, Ma Qian-chang were dispatched to Japan to appraise the situation and reach a settlement with the British. At this time diplomatic contacts with Russia, Qing and other foreign powers became increasingly important as these nations strove for hegemony over Korea. It was Japan, however, that revealed the most influence in Korea and pushed the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyŏngjang) into law in Chosŏn. These reforms attempted to circumvent the political authority of Kojong, Queen Min and the Taewŏn’ŭng. Therefore, Queen Min sought an ally for herself and her clan in the Russian forces in Korea that were vying with Japan for control. Queen Min knew that in order to drive the Japanese from Korea she would need the aid of the Russians and therefore made overtures to the Russians for support. The pro-Japanese faction within the Chosŏn government sought to rid themselves of their political enemy and plotted to have the queen dethroned. However, Queen Min discovered this plot and was able to purge many of the pro-Japanese elements from the government and replace them with pro-Russian men such as Yi Pŏmjin and Yi Wanyong, thereby giving the government a pro-Russia slant. The Japanese sought to regain their lost influence and targeted the Queen as their greatest obstacle. Therefore, the Japanese minister, Miura Gore, authorised an attempt on the Queen’s life and this was carried out on October 8, 1895. Queen Min was savagely beaten to death by the Japanese and this event served to hasten the fall of Korea into the treacherous hands of the Japanese.

The assassination of Queen Min caused a great outrage among the Korean people and can be said to mark the beginning of the armed insurrections against the Japanese imperialists. However, with her death the pro-Japanese forces with the Chosŏn government were unchecked and thus Chosŏn soon fell under the colonial domination of the Japanese. Therefore, the Queen is not only remembered for her political skills, but also as being the last obstacle to the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea.

**Myŏrak Mountain**

Situated west of Namch’ŏn, Mt. Myŏrak (816 metres) is the main peak of the Myŏrak Mountain Range which runs through the middle of Hwanghae Province. To the south-west of the mountain lie Mt. Undal (600 metres) and Mt. Changsu (747 metres). The mountain is characterised by rough terrain with steep slopes on its southern side. At the foot of the mountain to the west, beans, millet and other grains are cultivated. The forests are made up of pines, firs and silver firs.

**Mythology**

**Introduction**

Myths represent an expression of a religious system or ceremonies with supernatural beings as their main focus. A large variety of myths pertain to the origin of the universe; the birthplace of mankind; the life history of a deity; the rationale for the establishment of social systems; and the formation of a society’s culture. By and large, myths should be differentiated from legends, the latter being mostly concerned with human beings and their secular activities, while myths are most often based on supernatural beings or activities originating in the sacred realm.
In Korea there are essentially four types of myth: 1) foundation myths that retell the origins of the founders of the various Korean kingdoms; 2) clan-founder myths that retrace the founding father of a clan to supernatural origins; 3) village myths concerning the tutelary deity of a given village; and 4) shaman myths that provide a history of various deities in the shamanistic pantheon and the rationale for the perpetuation of shamanist practices and beliefs. The common feature of the four categories of Korean myths is the belief in supernatural intervention in the profane realm, and hence, the necessity of mortal man to pay homage to these sacred powers.

Another division used for the classification of myths is that of the subject of the myth. Essentially there are two types of subjects: those that centre on a protagonist of humble origin and recount the process in which he or she became a deity through the accomplishment of some extraordinary proceedings; and those that recount a being of the supernatural realm performing some phenomenal task that has resulted in it being highly venerated by man. The model of the former case is quite often manifested in shamanist myth, or ponp'uri, which essentially narrates the origin of shamanist deities. Examples of these origin myths of shamanist deities are found in Pari kongju shinhwa (The Myth of the Abandoned Princess) and Chesŏk ponp'uri (The Tale of Chesŏk). Conversely, the latter category of myth is revealed in the foundation myth of the Koguryŏ Kingdom, the Tongmyŏng wang shinhwa (The Myth of King Tongmyŏng). Moreover, myths concerning the founders of given clans often have a similar form as those recounting the foundation of a kingdom.

Korean myths commonly reveal a strong relationship with the origins of the concept of ancestor worship, and are often thought of as the beginnings of religions and religious practices based upon ancestor worship. Myths with their base in ancestor worship are manifested in the form of lineage records of generations of ancestors. For example, the Tan' gun shinhwa (Myth of Tan'gun) is a record of the founders of Kochosŏn and provides a record of three generations of the founders, while the Tongmyŏng shinhwa is a record of the founding lineage of the Koguryŏ kingdom and gives an account of four generations. Shamanist and clan founder myths also are structured in much the same manner, with the Pari kongju shinhwa providing an account of some four generations of the protagonist's lineage and clan founding myths similarly formed.

A further characteristic of Korean myths is, (with the exception of shaman myths) a close relationship with historical events. Foundation myths are also the retelling of the historical events that led to the foundation of various Korean kingdoms, and thus represent the coexistence of mythology and history. Those who founded the early Korean states are said to be either heavenly beings or their progeny, and these possess both human and divine qualities. Most often these beings are descended from the heavens, manifest human form, and establish a kingdom. This process of the humanisation of supernatural forces reveals a desire on the part of the composer groups of these myths to be able to exert control of the powers of the sacred realm. Hence, in past times the recitation of a founding myth acted as a means to supplicate the forces of the supernatural, which indicates the religious function of these myths.

Foundation Myths

Iryŏn (1206-1289) tells in his Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) the story of Tan'gun, Lord of the Tan (Birch) tree, portrayed as the founder of Kochosŏn, traditionally translated as (Land of) Morning Calm. Iryŏn relates, 'A bear and a tiger were living in the same cave. They used to pray to the Crown Prince of Heaven, seeking to change into human shape. The Prince gave them (each) a bunch of mugwort and twenty corns of garlic, telling them that if they ate this and hid from the sunlight for a hundred days, they would obtain a human form. (In this way), after twenty-one days, the bear
obtained a woman's shape, but the tiger, being unable to practise such control, was consequently unable to transform. So the bear-woman constantly prayed beneath the Tan tree that she might produce a child. The Crown Prince of Heaven wedded her, and as a result she became pregnant and bore a son who was called King (Wanggŏm) and Lord of the Tan tree. He established his capital at P'yŏngyang, and for the first time the land was called Chosŏn.' (SGYS i, pp.1b-2a)

We may note in passing that, in the author's view, the transformation of the bear into a woman represents a later development, since in the earliest stage of the evolution of Korean legends it is the animals themselves which are alleged to have given birth to human ancestor figures. This is illustrated in the instance of the wife of Pak Hyŏkkŏse, the founder of Shilla, who is said to have been born from the left flank of a dragon (see Sanguk sagi {History of the Three Kingdoms} i, p.1a; SGYS i, p.13a). In other instances it is the earth itself which gives birth to the mythical hero: thus the first three inhabitants of Cheju Island are said to have sprung from the soil (Koryŏsa xxxvi). In the northern kingdom of Puyo, a male baby shaped like a frog but golden in colour (and hence called Kŭmwa 'Golden Frog') was discovered under a stone and taken by a childless king to become crown prince (SGSG xiii, p.1a; SGYS i, p.8a). Not infrequently in such stories the birth-place itself is indicated by some sort of heavenly message -- a mysterious voice, a ray of sunlight (as in the Koguryŏ legend at SGSG xiii, p.2a, SGYS i, p.8b), or the neighing of a horse (SGSG i, p.12b). We should also note that, in this stage of development, certain animals seem to be venerated. Thus, in the third c. Chinese text, San Guozhi we read that, '(The Ye people) regard the tiger as a god and offer worship to it' (San Guozhi, Wei zhi xxx, p.36a in San Guozhi jijie). The same text states that others venerate the cockerel as a spiritual being.

In any case, as we have just seen, it is not until what may be termed the second stage in the evolution of Korean legends that a woman appears as the mother of the hero, as the following legend illustrates very well.

'Koguryŏ is sprung from Puyo. They themselves say that their ancestor was Chumong, whose mother was the daughter of a river god. She was confined in a room by the King of Puyo. When the sunbeams shone in upon her, she withdrew to avoid them, but the rays pursued her. Soon she became pregnant, and gave birth to an egg. The King of Puyo had the egg thrown to the dogs, but they would not eat it; so he fed it to the pigs, but likewise, they rejected it. So he had it abandoned on the road, but the horses and oxen avoided it, and when he had it left in the fields, the birds came down in flocks and covered it with their feathers. The King (tried to) break it, but was unable to do so, and at last he returned it to its mother, who wrapped it with cloths and put it in a warm place. (At last) a little boy broke through the shell and came out.' (This is the sixth c. Weishu (History of the Wei Kingdom) version (WS c, p.1a) of a legend, which is first found as the origin legend of Puyo itself in the first c. Lunheng, ii, p.81).

In this Weishu version of a Korean story we find a completely evolved cosmogony: here are the three worlds of Creator-Heaven embodied in sun-rays, Earth represented by the various animals, and the Waters incarnated in the figure of the River God's daughter. It is worth noting that this third world of the Waters symbolises at one and the same time death and resurrection. Thus in this same legend of Chumong as retold in the later 'Old Samguk-sa' version preserved in the notes to Tongguk Yi sangguk chip (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea) iii, p.6b, we read, 'As he was resting under a great tree, a pair of doves came and perched together. Chumong said, "In my time of need, here are the envoys of my divine mother bringing me the wheat grain." Then he took his bow and shot at them, hitting the two with one arrow. Opening their crops, he discovered the wheat grains; then he spat water onto the birds and they came back to life and flew away.'

Chumong indeed creates his own 'world' upon earth and, in order that it may come about,
his putative father, Haemosu, the Crown prince of Heaven, is obliged to embody himself in animals which represent the three worlds -- Heaven, Earth and the Waters -- appropriating their respective energies and their physical and spiritual properties, thus, 'Then the River God transformed himself into a carp, and swam off into the waves flowing before his courtyard. Then the Prince turned himself into an otter and caught him. Consequently, the River God changed again, this time into a stag, and fled (by land); the Prince, however, assumed the shape of a wolf and pursued him. The River God then changed into a pheasant, but the Prince turned into an eagle and struck at him.' (Tongguk Yi sangguk chip iii, p.4a).

Anthropomorphism and Tutelary Animals

Among the ancestors of the Korean people, a bond was perceived to exist between the human being and the animal that was his or her tutelary spirit or alter ego. This connection is clearly shown in one of the panels of a Shilla vase where a man and a woman copulate alongside animals. Significantly, this familiarity between animals and humans led to the appearance of anthropomorphism amongst the ancient Koreans. Thus the account of a girl born from a dragon in SGYS i, p.13a continues, 'She was extremely beautiful, but her lips were like a chicken's beak. So they took her and bathed her in the river to the north of Talsŏng, and her beak fell away.' So also, the second ruler of Koguryŏ, 'Hunting in the country around Mount Ki, he found a strange man with feathers beneath his armpits. He brought him back to court and, giving him the surname U ('Feathers'), married him to his daughter.' (SGSG xiii, p.8b; note that in ancient China those who had obtained the secret of immortality were often depicted with feathers on their bodies).

The same sort of connection between an individual and a particular animal appears in a legend about the Shilla king Kyŏngmun (r.861-875), as told in SGYS ii, pp.16b-17a: 'Uncountable numbers of snakes gathered every evening in the king's bedroom. Startled at this, the women of the palace were going to drive them away, but the King said, "Without these snakes I could not sleep peacefully; don't stop them!" Every time he lay down to sleep they used to creep over his chest with their tongues protruding.'

Other legends show tutelary animals such as these in the service of the hero, who in turn is aware that he can acquire the sacred powers of such animals with celestial help. Again, we turn to the legend of Chumong in WS 100: 'Chumong left Puyo and fled south-eastwards until a great river barred his way. He wanted to cross, but there was no bridge, and the pursuers from Puyo were close behind. Then Chumong addressed the water, saying, "I am the son of the sun, and maternal grandson of a river god. Today I am escaping from my enemies, yet now they are almost upon me. How shall I cross over?" Then the fish and the turtles rose to the surface of the river to form a bridge, and Chumong was able to get across. Afterwards the fish and the turtles drifted apart, and the horses of his pursuers could not cross over.'

Subsequently, Chumong goes on to set up a capital and found the kingdom of Koguryŏ. Another version of the Chumong saga shows the hero not merely making use of the help of animals, but also dominating them, if necessary by threats. 'Chumong went hunting in the west and caught a snow-white stag, which he then hung upside down on Haewŏn ('Crab Plain'), vowing that, unless Heaven sent down rain to flood the capital of the (his rival Song-yang) King of Piryu, he would not release it, and (telling the deer) to invoke Heaven if it wished to escape its plight. The deer cried so loud and bitterly that the sound reached Heaven. (Then) it rained in torrents for seven days, flooding Songyang's capital. In the sixth month, Song-yang came to offer the submission of his kingdom'. (Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip iii, p.7a).

Here we see that the hero has succeeded in gaining control over the natural world with the help of an animal, a deer, which was especially considered as the messenger of Heaven.
Other legends show the central character, with increasing self-confidence, rejecting the power of the shams who were believed to be capable of communicating with the three worlds of Heaven, Earth and the Waters. Thus, SSGS xv, p.8b tells a story of the Koguryŏ king Ch’adae (r. 146-165; traditionally regarded as a tyrant): 'As the king hunted at P’yŏngyu-wŏn, a white fox followed him and barked; when the king shot at it, he missed. The king then consulted the chief shaman, who said, "A fox is an ominous creature and no good sign; moreover, this one is white, which is even more uncanny. Yet, Heaven cannot reiterate its words -- this is why it manifests itself in such ominous portents, with the object of making the ruler of men, through fear and trembling, examine himself and thereby reform. If my lord will cultivate virtue, then he can change this misfortune into blessings." The King retorted, "Unlucky is unlucky; lucky is lucky. Once you have already seen it as ominous, then you go on to take it as fortunate. What lies are you fabricating?" And he had the man put to death.'

Even more eloquent of a change of attitude is the following anecdote concerning an ancestor of the founder of Koryŏ, Hogyŏng (whose name incorporates the word for tiger). In a document quoted in the preface to the Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ), he is said to have taken shelter in a mountain cave along with nine companions. When a tigress appeared and roared loudly the men decided to throw their caps out of the cave; whoever owned the one which the animal seized would go out and face it. This happened to be the one belonging to Hogyŏng, but when he came out to fight the tigress the animal suddenly disappeared, while the cave collapsed, burying the other nine men. Hogyŏng went back to get the people of his village to come and bury the men who had perished; but before doing so they offered worship to the mountain deity who then appeared and announced that, being a widow, she had (as a tigress) encountered Hogyŏng and now wished to marry him and share the administration of the spirit realm with him, "I beg you to accept appointment as Great King of the Mountain."

Having spoken, she disappeared, along with Hogyŏng. His fellow villagers then erected a shrine to Hogyŏng as Great King (of the Mountain). Because of the nine men who had perished simultaneously, they renamed the mountain Nine Dragons. However, Hogyŏng could not forget his former wife, and came each night to sleep with her as if in a dream. Consequently, she gave birth to a child...

The important point here is not the marriage of the human hero to an animal, but his evident preference for his original human wife; in turning away from the path marked out for him by the will of the deity he rejects the sacred powers of the animals. The story shows a new era opening in the spiritual development of the people, one in which human beings, moving away from the natural world of the animals, themselves become deities, while alongside them appear imaginary creatures.

Li Og
Tr. by K H Gardiner

Nabuk Stream

Beginning in the vicinity of Mt. Kosŏng and Mt. Taeyŏnjūk, Nabuk Stream flows about 43.0 kms. through North Hamgyŏng Province’s Kyŏngsŏng County before entering Ch’ŏngjin Bay on the East Sea. The stream’s upper and middle sections, which run down the steep eastern slopes of the Hamgyŏng Mountain Range, have not developed flood plains. Between the stream’s lower section and Susŏng Stream to the north lies Susŏng Plain, the largest plain in North Hamgyŏng Province.

Nach’ŏl [New religions]

Naeam sŏnusaeng munjip (Collected Writings of Master Naeam)

Naeam sŏnusaeng munjip is a literary collection of the middle Chosŏn period civil-official
Chŏng Inhong (1535-1623). It is of fifteen volumes in seven fascicles and titled after the pen name of Chŏng. This woodblock-print work was compiled and edited by a descendant of Chŏng in 1911, and does not contain a preface or postscript.

The first volume of Naean sŏnsaeng munjip contains twenty-three poems, and the second to tenth volumes contain various memorials to the throne and other official writings. In the eleventh volume there are miscellaneous writings and in the twelfth various epitaphs and funeral odes are included. Volume thirteen contains fourteen epigraphs while the final two volumes are supplements to the work and contain poetry and other writings of Chŏng.

This collection provides valuable data for the study of the political factionalism and turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was republished in 1984 by Asea Munhwa Sa.

Nagan Village [Architecture]

Najin

Situated in the northeastern part of North Hamgyŏng Province, Najin is the northernmost of Korea’s large ports. Surrounded by Kyŏnghŭng County, Chongsŏng County and the East Sea, the city has an area of 136 sq.kms. It consists of coastal plains, but has Mt. Songjin (1 146m) and other peaks of the Hamgyŏng Mountain Range in the north. The city’s climate is relatively mild, with an average yearly temperature of 7.0°C and an annual rainfall of between 800 and 900mm.

Najin’s port opened to foreign trade in 1921. Beginning in 1932, as the city became an important transportation point for goods going into and out of Northern Manchuria, the port facilities were upgraded and a central business district was constructed. With Soch’o Island and Taech’o Island serving as natural breakwaters, Najin Bay is navigable by large vessels. As a result, fisheries and shipyards have developed. Because of its strategic location to both Russian and Chinese borders, the city also serves as an important military base.

There are prehistoric artefacts on Ch’odo Island and in Najin-dong, but relatively few from later eras. On Yŏndu Peak, there are remnants of a fire signal platform.

Naju

Situated in the western part of South Cholla Province, Naju embraces the town of Namp’yŏng and the townships of Kongsan, Kŷmsŏng, Tado, Tashi, Tonggang, Munp’ŏng, Pŏnnam, Ponghwang, Sanp’o, Seji and Wanggok. Recently expanded to include the areas formerly known as Naju County, the city now covers a total area of 592.61 sq. kms. Kuksa Peak (440m) and Mt. Pongch’ŏn (336m) are at the city’s southeast corner and Mt. Kŭmsŏng (452m) is to in the north. Most of the remaining land is undulating. The Yŏngsan River, which flows from the north to the southwest, and Naju Lake in the east are the city’s main sources of water. Naju Lake was formed in September 1976 with the completion of Naju Dam along the Taech’o River. The dam is 31 metres high, 496 metres long and supplies irrigation water to over 11 000 hectares of rice fields.

Naju has mild weather, with an average yearly temperature of 13.2°C and an average annual rainfall of 1 245mm. With its good water supply and the extensive Naju Plain along the Yŏngsan River, the city is well-suited for agriculture. Of Naju’s total area, about 26 000 hectares are arable, with over two-thirds of this used for rice and the remainder dry-field crops. Naju also produces peaches and grapes, and enjoys the distinction of being Korea’s leading producer of pears. Introduced by the Japanese, Naju pears (also known as Arirang pears) taste best in the winter after they have been stored for several months. In addition to
frums, there are mines/quarries in the area that excavate pagodite, gold, silver and clay. The city is also well known for its woven mats made from hare’s-foot fern (*Davallia mariesii*).

The Naju area contains many historical sites. Buddhist artefacts found here include a stone lantern in Namp’yŏng’s Tongsan Village; a five-storey pagoda in Seji’s Songje Village (South Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 78); a two-storey pagoda at Pugam Temple in Tashi’s Kaun Village; a standing Buddha figure in Naju’s Ch’ŏlch’ŏn Village; and a standing Buddha figure in Manbong Village. Other artefacts can be seen at Chungnim Temple in Namp’yŏng; Purhoe Temple in Tado; Unhŭng Temple in Tado; Tabo Temple just south of Mt. Kŭmsŏng; and Shimhyang Temple in central Naju.

Since Naju was one of the major cities of the Chŏlla region, a large number of educational institutions were set up here during Chosŏn. Confucian schools from this time include Naju Hyanggyo (founded in 1398); Namp’yŏng Hyanggyo (founded in 1420 and moved to its present location in Namp’yŏng’s Kyoch’on Village in 1534); Wŏlch’ŏng Sŏwŏn at the foot of Mt. Wŏlch’ŏng (founded in 1659); Changyŏn Sŏwŏn near Chungnim Temple in Namp’yŏng; Pongsan Sŏwŏn in Namp’yŏng (founded in 1541 in honour of Paek In’gol); Sŏlche Sŏwŏn and Könyŏhyŏn Sŏwŏn in Noan; and Pan’gye Sŏwŏn in Pŏnnam (founded during the reign of King Sukchong [r. 1674-1720]). In terms of size, Naju Hyanggyo is one of the three largest Hyanggyo in Korea. The school’s architectural layout resembles that of the national Confucian shrine in Seoul. Unlike most Hyanggyo, this school’s shrine is in the foreground and Myŏngnyundang, the lecture hall, is situated to the rear. Modern schools in Naju include Dongshin University in Taeho-dong and Kwang-ju Arts College in Namp’yŏng.

Village festivals and rituals are still commonly held in this area. At most villages, the *tangsanje* (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountain) is held in front of an old guardian tree or trees where the village’s tutelary spirit is believed to reside. During times of drought, a *kiuje* (ritual of praying for rain) is held at an altrum in the mountains, at which time a grave is opened as an act of desecration. It is believed that the mountain spirit (*sanshin*) will then send down rain to purify the area.

Naksan Temple

**[Architecture]**

**Naktong River**

With its source on Mt. Hambaek (1,573m) in the city of T’aebaek, the Naktong River passes through the lowlands of southeastern Korea on its way to the Southern Sea. The Naktong is 525 kms. in length, making it the longest river in South Korea and the second longest on the Korean peninsula. The river is referred to as the Nak-su (Nak River) in the *Tongguk yŏji sŏngnam* (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea) and is called the Naktong-gang (Naktong River) in the *Taengni chi* (Ecological Guide to Korea) which was written during the reign of King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776). The name Naktong (East of Nak) is said to refer to the river’s location east of the ancient Karak (Kaya) Kingdom.

The river has an average yearly effluence of approximately 11 billion cubic metres, but this amount can double, or decrease by more than half, during particularly wet or dry years. Since two-thirds of the yearly effluence occurs between the months of June and September, land along its banks is subject to periodic flooding. Due to heavy erosion along its western location, the Naktong transfers an estimated 10 million tons of sand and silt to the ocean each year.

In 1973, following a five-year developmental study of the Naktong River system, thirty sites were proposed as possible locations for dams. Of these, eighteen were deemed economically feasible, with the Andong, Imha and Hapch’ŏn dam sites being designated the most suitable. Since the remaining fifteen sites were on the river’s tributaries, even if all...
the sites were developed according to plan, it is estimated that only 31.5 per cent of the total river system and 22.4 per cent of the total effluence would be utilised. In terms of capacity and hydro-electricity, the river system’s most important dams are the Nam River Dam built in 1970 in Chinyang County and the Andong Dam built in 1976 in Andong. In addition to dams, a dyke was built on the lower reaches of the river in 1987 in order to prevent seawater from backing up the river during neap tides. Previously, overflow of salt water had caused damage to rice crops as well as tainting Pusan’s water supply.

Archaeological finds indicate that people have lived along the Naktong River since prehistoric times. One of the key palaeolithic sites is in Sŏkchŏk Township in North Kyŏngsang Province’s Ch’ilgok County. At this site, across from the Kumi Industrial Area, stone hammers and other stone implements have been discovered. The area’s prehistoric culture began to form in earnest during the Neolithic period and flowered during the Bronze and early Iron Ages. Most of the artefacts from these latter periods are concentrated in the Taegu, Yŏngch’ŏn and Kyŏngju areas. Land contiguous to the Naktong was also home to the Chinhan and Pyŏnhan, two of the Three Han states that came into being prior to the Three Kingdoms. In early first c. C.E., the walled-town state Saro began to expand in this area, and eventually developed into the large Shilla kingdom.

With its ancient history and picturesque scenery, the Naktong River has often been eulogised in Korean literature. During the reign of King Myŏngjong (r. 1170-1197), Yi Hyŏnbo wrote the poem ᴬḇu sa (Fisherman’s Song) which is about leaving his government post and coming to the river in order to escape sectarian strife of the time. The poem was actually a modified version of a regional folk song that existed prior to the reign of King Ch’ungmok (r. 1344-1348). In modern literature, the river has served as a symbol of the ancient heartland of the nation. In 1938, Kim Yongho published his long poem Naktong-gang in which he describes the sorrow of farmers forced off their land during the Japanese occupation. This was followed by poems bearing the same title by Yi Tarhŭn and Ch’oe Han’guk, whose poem was first published in Japan while Ch’oe was living there. In the mid-1950s, Yu Ch’ihwan wrote his poem Kyoreui Ōmōniyŏ, Naktong-gang iyŏ (Naktong River, Mother of Our People). The river also forms the background of a number of famous novels, particularly those of Kim Chŏnghan.

Nam Cheju County

Nam (South) Cheju County is split into two areas which are situated to the west and east of Sŏgwip’o on the southern part of Cheju Island. With beautiful natural wonders and numerous sites of historical interest, the county is a popular destination for tourists visiting the island. On the eastern edge of the county stands Mt. Sŏng’s sunrise peak. South of the peak, lies the popular Shinyang and P’yŏsŏn beaches. Located on one of the most remote sections of the island, P’yŏsŏn Beach was relatively undeveloped as a tourist site until the 1970s, when a newly constructed road reduced the travel time from Cheju City to an hour. Inland from P’yŏsŏn Beach, lie the Sŏng-ŭp Folk Village. Here, tourists can see an entire village constructed in the traditional Cheju style.

Many historical relics are located in the county. In the Taejong Township, excavations have unearthed signs of dwellings dating from the Bronze Age. Several dolmens have also been discovered in this area. There are also several buildings dating from the Chosŏn period, including the Chonggŭi Hyanggyo (County public school) and Ilgwanhŏn, a government office. These two buildings have been designated Cheju Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 5 and No. 7 respectively. In Nam Cheju County, there is also a monument to Hendrik Hamel. In 1653, Hamel along with other Dutch sailors was shipwrecked on the Cheju Island coast. The crew was subsequently detained in Korea for thirteen years. After repeated attempts to go back to their homeland, some of the seamen finally managed to return via Nagasaki, Japan. When he reached Europe, Hamel eventually published an account of his experiences.
Agriculture plays an important role in the county’s economy. Sweet potatoes, rape, beans and barley are all grown here along with a number of warm weather crops such as tangerines. Livestock and poultry also play an important role in the local economy. In addition, numerous fishing boats operate out of small harbours such as Songsan and Mosul port. Except for several food processing plants, there is relatively little industrial development in the area.

**Nam Mountain (Nam-san)**

**Kyŏngju’s Mt. Nam**

Mt. Nam is situated south ofKyŏngju in North Kyongsang Province. During the Three Kingdoms Period, Kyŏngju, then known as Sŏbŏl or Sŏrabŏl, was the Shilla capital. The small chain of mountains known as Mt. Nam formed a natural barrier protecting the southern approach to the city. The mountain’s two highest peaks are Suri Peak (494 metres) and Kŭmo Peak (468 metres). The areas to the west and east of Mt. Nam are called Western and Eastern Mt. Nam respectively.

In total, the Mt. Nam area has over forty valleys, and of these, only a few lack sites of historical interest. The area contains relics from the stone age, dolmen dating from the bronze age, and countless historical artifacts. Although many of these have been moved to the Kyŏngju or National Museum, many can still be seen *in situ*.

In particular, the mountain has a great number of historical sites associated with both Shilla and Greater Shilla culture. There is the Na Well (Najong) where Shilla’s first king, Pak Hyŏkkŏse, is said to have been born, and near the site of the ancient palace, one can still see the old foundations of an armory and provisions storehouse built during the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681).

Since Mt. Nam was considered a sacred mountain by Shilla Buddhists, there are also approximately 78 Buddha statues as well as evidence of about 61 stone pagodas. In Ponghwa Valley, there is the famous Ch’ilbul (Seven Buddha) Hermitage. Among the numerous Buddhist artifacts found at Nam-san, the relics at this site are the greatest in both scale and design. The site gets its present name from the carving of seven Buddha images, dating from the Shilla period. Countless other carvings, full-figure, in intaglio, and in relief, are found throughout the area.

With such a large number of important historical objects, Mt. Nam has sometimes been called an open-air museum. Numerous tourists and historians frequent the area to learn about Korea’s ancient historical heritage. Knowledge of Mt. Nam’s history continues to grow as archaeological excavations continue to uncover further clues to Korea’s past.

**Seoul’s Mt. Nam**

Seoul’s Mt. Nam (*Nam-san*), also known as Mt. Mongmyŏn, is situated north of the Han River. This 265-meter high mountain has traditionally served as a popular resort for people living in the capital. It has now been made into a park. A cable car runs up to Namsan Tower. From here, visitors can get a panoramic view of the city.

**Bibliography**


**Nam River**
The Nam River is a tributary of the Naktong River which flows south from Mt. Tögyu in South Kyongsang Province’s Hamyang County to Chinju before turning northeast to meet the Naktong in Haman County’s Taesan Township. On its 186 km-long course, the river joins with the Tōkch’ōn River as well as the Im, Wi, Yang, Pinyŏng and Haman Streams. During summer, the river’s flow receives heavy rainfall when low pressure fronts from the southwest meet the Sobaek Mountain Range to the north. As a result, the area was previously subject to periodic flooding, but river levels were contained with the construction of the Nam River Dam in 1970. As well as its main function of flood control, the dam provides irrigation water to the surrounding area and generates electricity for use by Chinju and the Chinsam Industrial Area.

Nam Yangju

Situated in Kyŏnggi Province northeast of Seoul, Nam Yangju is comprised of the towns of Oebu, Chinjŏp and Hwado, and the townships of Pyŏllaе, Sudong, Choan, Chŏng’ŏn and T’oegeyewŏn. Located at the southern end of the Kwangju Mountain Range, the city contains several peaks including Mt. Ch’ŏlma (711m), Mt. Ch’ŏnma (812m) and Mt. Yebong (683m). The northern and southern branches of the Han River converge at the southern end of the city.

Due to the city’s rapid urbanisation, there has been a steady reduction in cultivated land. In addition to rice, barley and other grains are grown here along with some vegetables and fruits. In the mountainous areas, chestnut and pine nuts are also harvested. Dairy farming, chicken, pig and deer breeding are other important sources of income for local residents.

Centred around Oebu, the city’s factories produce a number of items including textiles and electronics; however, in the greenbelt areas of the city that border Seoul, development is restricted. On the Han River at Oebu’s P’aldang Village, there is the P’aldang Dam, which provides electric power and water to the Seoul metropolitan area.

Easily accessible from Seoul, the city has an active tourist industry. In the winter, Seoul residents frequent the Ch’ŏnma Ski Resort. In the summer, the area’s mountains are popular weekend destinations for hiking and picnics. In Chinjŏp Township’s Pup’yŏng Village, one finds the Kwangnung Spring. Believed to have medicinal effects, the water is said to be especially good for women and children. On the Han River, there are several popular resorts. The P’aldang Resort is popular with sports fishermen who come to catch carp, mandarin fish, eels and other freshwater fish. The Pam Island Resort, located in Chinjŏp Township, has boats and other recreational facilities.

There are a number of important historical sites in the area. Dolmens have been found in the eastern part of the county and remains from prehistoric dwellings have been discovered in Oebu Township near the Han River. As for Chosŏn period sites, there are numerous important graves including the tombs of Tŏkhŭng Taewŏn’gun (King Sŏnjo’s father), Master Yuryang, Master Chŏng Yagyong (1762-1836, styled Tasan) and Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898) who acted as de facto ruler when Kojong ascended the throne at the young age of 11. Buddhist artefacts include the bronze bell (Treasure No. 397) at Pongson Temple, which was cast in 1469 and the stone stupa at Sujong Temple. In addition, there are numerous Confucian shrines and monuments scattered throughout the county.

Namdae Stream (Ch’ŏrwŏn County)

Beginning at Suri Peak (642m), Namdae Stream flows for about 44 kms. through Ch’ŏrwŏn County. The stream widens after passing through Kimhwa and then turns north at T’osŏng Village. At Chŏngyŏn Village, it joins the Hant’an River. Part of the Namdae gorge was formerly used to provide access to Mt. Kŭmgang (Diamond Mountains region).
and a railway to the mountain ran along the stream’s banks.

**Namdae Stream (T’aebaek Mts.)**

Namdae Stream flows some 51 kms. from the eastern slopes of the T’aebaek Mountain Range to the East Sea. The Namdae runs from south to north, close to Highway 35 in Kangnung and joins Wangsan Stream just east of Mt. Chewang (842 m.) to form the Kangnung Reservoir. The stream’s course then changes to the northeast near the Yongdong Expressway to pass through suburban Kangnung. It enters the East Sea at Anmok Beach, at the southern end of Kyongpo’o Provincial Park. Much of the beach is of alluvial sand deposited by the stream. The Namdae’s lower section, originally known as Nam Stream, is renowned for its clear water, freshwater fish and eel. It is also the site of the famous Kangnung Tano Festival.

**Namdae Stream (North Cholla Province)**

As a tributary of the Kûm River, Namdae Stream flows for about 10 kms. from Mt. Minjuji, Mt. Taedôk and other peaks of the Sobaek Range, through the northeastern part of North Cholla Province’s Muju County. Because of the rugged terrain through which it passes, almost no flood plains have developed along the stream’s banks. During the Three Kingdoms era, the stream ran along the border separating the kingdoms of Shilla and Paekche. Even today, there are dialectical differences between the residents of Mup’ung Township (which belonged to Shilla) and Sôlch’ón Township (which belonged to Paekche). With clear water and picturesque surroundings, Namdae Stream attracts large numbers of local visitors. The section of the stream between Naep’o Village and the Kuch’ôndong Valley is an important habitat for Korea’s marsh snail (*Semisulcospira libertina*).

**Namdae Stream (North Hamgyông Province)**

Namdae Stream flows 99 kms from the Mt. Kud’ area in North Hamgyông Province to the East Sea. The upper section of the stream is dotted with oddly-shaped rocks and runs through a heavily-forested area. Without deviating, the stream flows down the steep slopes of the Hamgyông Mountains, and its force erodes the area along its course, depositing large quantities of sand and silt. In Kilchu County, however, the Namdae has created a fertile plain. The Hyesan Railway Line, which is used to transport forest products from the region, runs parallel to the stream.

**Namdae Stream (Kangwôn Province)**

With its origin in the northwest part of Kangwôn Province’s P’yônggang County, Namdae Stream (also known as the Shinch’ôn River) flows north through Anbyôn County before entering the East Sea. Some 82 kms long, its tributaries include Yongji Stream, P’ungnam Stream and Namsan Stream. On its upper reaches is Kujo Valley, a popular resort area containing Sambang Waterfall, Ko’ûm Waterfall and the Sambang Mineral Spring. On the stream’s lower reaches lies the Anbyôn Plain. With its efficient irrigation system and blessed with fertile soil, the plain is famous for the production of high quality rice.

**Namdae Stream (South Hamgyông Province)**

With its origin in Pukch’ông County in South Hamgyông Province, Namdae Stream runs south for 65 kms. before entering the East Sea. As it descends the steep slopes of the Hamgyông Mountain Range, it joins with T’ôngp’al and Kósô streams. With its rapid descent, it picks up large quantities of silt. Along its lower reaches, the stream widens as it merges with Munsông Stream. In this confluence is the Pukch’ông Plain. Apples are one of
the main agricultural products grown in this region.

Namdaemun (Great South Gate)

Namdo minyo

Names, Korean

Names (irūm) are the means by which people distinguish themselves from others. There is an old Korean proverb concerning names, which runs, 'Heaven does not conceive a person without providing a stipend, and the earth does not produce a solitary blade of grass without giving it a name'. Like the objects of nature, all people have names. Moreover, a name transcends a mere label, acting as an extension of the person; the importance of a name is also reflected in the Korean proverb, 'A tiger dies and leaves behind its hide, while a person dies and leaves his name'. Hence, it is arguable whether a name in itself conveys individuality.

In Korea, there are various types of names. There are those that are officially registered and can thus be labeled an 'official' name. Then there are childhood names, nicknames, pen names, and courtesy names that were traditionally given to a male at his coming of age ceremony. Official names are generally composed of a surname, or sŏng, and a given name that has two Sino-Korean characters. A pen name (ho) was traditionally acquired when a person's scholarship or virtue had risen above a certain level, and therefore, represents the achievement of a specified level of respect. The use of courtesy names (cha) was designed to prevent the careless use of a person's given name, and childhood names and nicknames were used for young people. In former times, women were generally given only a childhood name, with no official name. After marriage, however, women were referred to by their in-laws using a taekho, which was derived from the woman's family home, and this would serve as their title. A woman who displayed an extraordinary level of virtue would be awarded a tangho, which was similar to the pen names of men.

History of Names

The oldest extant Korean histories are the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). Both works begin with the introduction of characters and an interpretation of names, which bespeaks the importance of names. The founder of Koguryŏ was Chumong, a skilled archer, and accordingly the word 'chumong' means to be skilled in archery in the colloquial language of Puyo. Pak Hyŏkkŏse was the founder of Shilla, and his surname Pak was derived from the fact that he was born of a large, gourd-like egg (with 'pak' meaning a 'gourd'). Moreover, the name Hyŏkkŏse has been interpreted as meaning the 'one who governs the world with light', which alludes to the benevolence with which the king ruled. The surname Kim was taken from the fact that the family founder was born of a money chest. Hence, it is clear that names were not chosen by coincidence even in the earliest days of the Korean kingdoms and that they were imbued with much meaning.

While Chinese characters were introduced to the Korean peninsula about 1,500 years ago, pure Korean words were used for all people's names, regardless of social position, until about the seventh c. By Greater Shilla, however, the aristocracy came to be heavily influenced by Chinese culture, and thus Sino-Korean character names began to appear. Heretofore native Korean names for official positions, place names and names of people were changed to Sino-Korean names. One notable example is the title for king, which in the early days of Shilla had been designated with native Korean words such as 'kŏsŏgan,' 'ch'ach'aung,' 'isagŭm,' and 'maripkan' before the Chinese term 'wang' was adopted in the early sixth c. Shortly after this time, the people of Shilla also began to use Chinese-style names, meaning not just Sino-Korean character names, but also a family name (sŏng). The
present style of names such as Kim Yushin or Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn came into use during Greater Shilla. Of course, the use of Sino-Korean character names was limited to those in the upper class and the commonalty continued to use native Korean names.

Koryŏ

The adoption of Sino-Korean style names that had begun in Greater Shilla was further consolidated during Koryŏ. King T’aejo (r. 918-943), the founder of the kingdom, awarded those who had assisted him in its establishment, with family names. Also, by Kwangjong’s reign (949-975) and the implementation of the government service examination system in 958, Chinese culture had permeated Koryŏ society thoroughly, and it is safe to assert that there were few members of the upper class who did not use Sino-Korean names. With the promulgation of a law in 1055 which required all who desired to sit for the government service examinations to have a Sino-Korean name, the predominance of the Chinese style names over native Korean ones was complete among the upper class. The adoption of this regulation would seem to indicate that the commoners of this period still retained native Korean names.

Chosŏn

With the fundamental policy of the Chosŏn government focussed on the elevation of Confucianism and the suppression of Buddhism, Chosŏn society became increasingly based in Chinese civilisation. It was the upper class, however, that adhered to Chinese culture, while the lower class continued to use native Korean names. From examinations made of military registers and records preserved at temples, it is known that women and lower society men continued to have native Korean names, with only those in the upper-class using Sino-Korean names. The use of Sino-Korean character names, which were more esteemed, and the retention of Korean names by those at a lower level of society, reflects the social status of the classes. Thus, the phenomenon of the widespread adoption of Sino-Korean character names by Koreans is seen as a comparatively recent event. Testimony to this is a census conducted by the Japanese Government General in Korea in 1910, which reveals that over fifty per cent of the population did not have family names. From this, it is evident that having a Sino-Korean character name was directly related to a person’s status, and that many commoners or lowborn members of Chosŏn society had no need for a Sino-Korean character name.

During the colonial period one of the harshest impositions on the Korean people was a requirement that they adopt Japanese names as part of the obliteration of Korean culture. Thus, those Koreans who wished to have any dealings with the government or official agencies were forced to take Japanese names. Naturally, one of the first acts of the Koreans after liberation was to abrogate their Japanese names and once again assume their age-old names.

Korean Surnames

Korean surnames are quite unique in several respects when compared to those of neighbouring China and Japan. The form of Korean surnames is generally one Sino-Korean character like those in China, although there were twelve two-character names recorded in the 1985 national census, with Namgung and Hwangbo being the most common of these. Perhaps the most notable feature is the very small number of surnames in Korea compared to those in use in other countries. Where China can provide nearly two-thousand six hundred Chinese-character names and Japan almost one hundred thousand different surnames, Korea has a relatively small number of around two hundred and seventy surnames, as of the mid-1980s. Five alone of the Korean surnames (Kim, Yi, Pak, Ch’oe and Chŏng) account for more than fifty per cent of the population. As a result, there are various proverbs concerning the commonality of these names and the competition
between them as reflected in sayings such as, “The surnames of the lowborn class are not Kim, but instead Yi”, or vice versa.

While the number of surnames in Korea is unusually small, this is not to imply that all who bear the surname of Kim or Pak are of the same family. Surnames are further differentiated by family origin, or *pon’gwan*, which indicates the location of a person’s ancestral home. Thus, while there were over 8,700,000 individuals with the surname Kim in 1985, there were also some 285 different *pon’gwan* for these people. In all, there were 3,435 different *pon’gwan* recorded in the census of 1985, so in reality the number of different surnames and *pon’gwan* is actually quite substantial. Other surnames with the largest number of *pon’gwan* are, predictably, Yi with 241, Pak with 128, Ch’oe with 127 and Ch’ong with 122. The five largest lineages then, are the Kim family of Kimhae with over 3,800,000 members; the Miryang Pak family with 2,700,000; the Ch’ŏnju Yi family with 2,300,000; the Kyŏngju Kim family with 1,500,000 and the Kyŏngju Yi family with 1,200,000, as shown by 1985 statistics. Of course, the degree of consanguinity among the various branches of these large lineages is quite vast, and naturally, there are many sub-branches within them.

**Aesthetics of Names**

Since a person’s name represents a life-long appellation and is also an extension of the person, the selection of a name for a child is not a trivial affair. Moreover, in former times the selection of a name was also thought to be of the utmost importance in determining the fate of the child. In both past times and present there are Koreans throughout the country who offer their services in selecting a name, which is indicative of the importance given to this task. Accordingly, a whole system of beliefs and practices has developed around the selection of names.

With surnames being inherited from a person’s ancestors, naming in Korea implies the selection of the two Sino-Korean characters that form the given name. Further, since the first of the two Sino-Korean characters is often a generational character, the process of naming involves the selection of a single character. The generational character is shared by all members of a lineage in a single generation, and this is considered an age-old practice, with records of this custom extending to the Koryŏ period. The single character, then, is chosen in respect to its harmony with the other two, more or less, fixed characters of the name.

The first characteristic of selecting a good name is that it sounds soft and clear. If the name has a harsh sound, the impression of the listener may be the same. And since the Korean language has many phonological sound changes that are the result of various morphemes coming into contact with each other, these possible changes must be considered when selecting a name. The second characteristic of a good name is that it is harmonious in regard to its components. Thus, the vowel harmony of the name is quite important to avoid names that are overly bright or heavy. Third, it is essential that commonly used Sino-Korean binomials be avoided, in order to not create a trite sounding name. In selecting a name, the meaning should be as impartial as possible. Fourth, the visual balance of the characters is also important and should be neither too complicated in writing nor obscure in meaning. Hence, the fundamental ideologies of selecting names lie in the quest for harmony in both meaning and sound.

**Namhae County**

Located on islands just off the coast in South Kyŏngsang Province, Namhae County is comprised of the town of Namhae and the townships of Kohyon, Nam, Mijo, Sangdong, Sangju, Sŏ, Sŏlch’ŏn, Idong and Ch’angson. Made up of seventy-nine uninhabited islands and two inhabited islands, the county covers an area of 354.31 square kilometres.
and as of 1988, had a population of 80,641. Influenced by warm currents of the southern coast, the county's weather is mild, with an average annual temperature of 14.2°C. The county receives an average yearly rainfall of 1,452mm, making it one of the wettest areas in Korea.

Approximately twenty-five per cent of the county’s total area is arable. Of this, about sixty per cent is used for rice growing and the rest for dry-field crops such as barley and other grains, legumes, sweet potatoes and garlic. About fourteen per cent of the population is employed in fishing and related industries. There are eighteen or so factories in the area, and a shipyard in the town of Namhae that builds small craft. Since the Namhae Grand Bridge opened in 1973, access to the mainland has become much easier. Express and ordinary passenger ferries are in service between Noryang Village in Sólch’ón Township, Yŏsu, T’ongyŏng and Pusan.

With its numerous islands and high mountains, the county boasts a large number of scenic attractions. Sangju Beach, located about twenty kilometres south-east of Namhae, is one of the areas top tourist spots. Made up of fine sand, the beach is two kilometres long and sixty to one hundred and fifty metres wide. Mature pine trees form a dense belt along the coastline. Popular in the summer as a swimming spot, the beach is also used by sports-fishermen and hikers. Other popular tourist destinations include Songnam Beach in Mijo Township, Yongmung Temple, Hŭibang Temple and Pori Hermitage Situated on Mt. Kām (701m), Pori Hermitage is surrounded by spectacular rock formations. From the temple, there is a commanding view of the southern coastline. Within the temple compound lies Chwasŏndae, a rocky bluff where Grand Master Wŏnhyo is said to have meditated. Nearby, there are two rock caves. The hermitage is famous as one of Korea’s major prayer retreats.

The area has a number of interesting traditions. Sŏksa nori (stone-throwing) has been handed down in this region. Also called sŏkchŏn, it is played mainly on Ch’usŏk (the 15th day of the 8th lunar month) along with a Ssirum (Korean wrestling) tournament. In this simple game, contestants throw fifteen fist-sized stones at a target on a vertically-set two-metre long log (ten-fifteen centimetres circumference), from a distance of about fifteen metres. Each contestant throws the set of stones five times and the one who records the most hits is the winner.

The most common village ritual in this region is the Tangsanje (Shaman ritual to the guardian spirit of the mountain). In addition, a P’ungŏje (Shaman ritual to pray for a bountiful catch of fish) is observed on the shore in Kach’ón Village. The entire village performs this ritual on the 23rd day of the tenth lunar month at the site of two large boulders which symbolise a man and a woman.

Namhan Mountain

As the counterpart of Pukhan (North of the Han) Mountain, Mt. Namhan gets its name from its location south (nam) of the Han River which flows through Seoul. Rising 460 metres, this granite mountain has historically served as a natural barrier protecting the Seoul area from invasion. In 672, after Shilla had unified the Korean peninsula, a few stone fortifications were built on the mountain. In 1621, during the Chosŏn Period, a much larger network of stone fortifications were built, remains of which can still be seen today. The mountain has a long history as an important battleground. During the Manchu Invasion of 1636, King Injo (r. 1623-1649) fled to the fortress and held out for over forty days before finally surrendering. The victorious Manchu armies burned down the buildings of the fortress. In 1744, the stone walls were repaired and temporary palace quarters were built. Buddhist monk armies (sŭnggun) were also stationed on the mountain, and nine monasteries were constructed to meet their needs. However, the fortress suffered further damage during the Korean War. In order to protect the mountain’s important historical
heritage, the area was designated a provincial park in 1971.

Namjin (Southerners) [History of Korea]

Nammyŏng chip (Collected Works of Nammyŏng)

Nammyŏng chip is a literary collection of Cho Shik (1501-1570, styled Namyŏng) a scholar of the Chosŏn period. The work was published by Cho’s disciples in 1604 but this first edition, save for the preface to the work which is recorded in Sŏae chip (Collected Works of Sŏae), is no longer extant. Once more in 1622 Cho’s cortège led by Chŏng Inhong published this five volume, three-fascicle work using woodblock print. The work was republished for the third time in 1636 by another of his followers, Pak In, and this time was comprised of nine volumes. In 1640 the original collection was reissued as a five-volume, five-fascicle work, and a supplement of nine volumes in three fascicles was also published. Then in 1764 these two editions were combined into fourteen volumes in eight fascicles.

This work contains a wide variety of writings by the author including poetry, odes, theses, personal letters, memorials to the throne and many other writings that expound the author's theories concerning the universe and laws of nature. Cho was keenly interested in the behaviour of men and how they progress towards cultivation of their minds and knowledge on the ways of the universe. He is often highly critical of Daoism and Buddhism in his writings and advocates self-discipline. The photo-reproduction of this collection has been printed in recent years by Asea Munhwa Sa, and a modern translation of the original text by Turyu Munhwa Yŏngusŏ.

Namp'o (see Chinnamp'o)

Nam P’ot’ae Mountain

Situated in Hyesan County in South Hamgyŏng Province, Nam P’ot’ae Mountain (2,485 meters) is part of the Mach’ŏllyŏng Mountain Range. To the north of the mountain lies Puk P’ot’ae (2,289 metres), to the west, Mt. Sobaek (2,174 metres), and to the south, Changgun Peak (2,108 metres) and Paeksan Peak (2,099 metres). Nam P’ot’ae is characterised by steep slopes; however, it has a relatively flat summit made up of seven peaks of roughly the same height. As with the other high peaks near Mt. Paektu, this mountain was formed through volcanic action.

Namsan Public Library

Namsan Library is situated on the western edge of Namsan Park in the centre of Seoul. The library has a wide coverage of subjects in its holdings, and the building has reading rooms for students and researchers. Facilities include a multi-media room (second floor), a language and literature room (third floor), a natural science room (fourth floor) and a room devoted to liberal arts and sociology (fourth floor). For the disabled, the library offers a special service, with books, computerised indices and internet access. After a disabled user has registered with the library, she or he can telephone or fax the library to request items by mail. On the second floor, there is also a facility which provides employment information and internet access for job searches. In addition, the library has set aside rooms where it runs special classes and seminar of interest to the public.

Namwŏn

Situated in the southeast corner of North Chŏlla Province, Namwŏn is comprised of the town of Unbong and the townships of Kŭmji, Tŏkkwa, Tong, Taegang, Taesan, Pojŏl,
Samae, Sannae, Songdong, Suji, Ayŏng, Ibaek, Chusaeng and Chuch’on. The present city was formed when Namwŏn was expanded to include those areas previously known as Namwŏn County. Panya Peak (1,728m), T’okki Peak (1,534m) and Myŏngsŏn Peak (1,586m) rise in the southeast corner of the city, Mt. Ch’ŏnhwang (910m) stands in the north, and Mt. T’aedu (775m) in the south. The area has an average temperature of 11.8°C and receives 1,250mm of rain each year.

Most of the area’s agriculture is devoted to rice cultivation, but some dry-field crops are grown including tobacco, green vegetables, medicinal herbs and sansongi mushrooms. Chestnuts and walnuts are also grown here. As for industry, there are raw silk processing plants, cigarette factories and rice-hulling operations.

The area has a large number of tourist attractions. In the southeast corner of the city lies part of Mt. Chiri National Park (See Chiri Mountain), perhaps the nation’s foremost hiking area. Just southeast of the city centre is the Namwŏn Tourist Complex. From here, one can visit Kwanghallu (Treasure No. 281), a famous pavilion originally called Kwangt’ongnu when established by Hwang Hui in 1419. Next to the pavilion is Kwanghallu Garden. The spot is famous as the place where Ch’unhyang, the heroine of the novel Ch’unhyang chŏn, met her lover. Nearby one finds Ojak Bridge and Ch’unghyangsa, a shrine dedicated to Ch’unhyang. Built in 1920, the shrine houses a painting portraying the legendary Ch’unhyang. Within the area, can be seen the ancient Taebok Temple, as well as the Manbok Temple site.

Historically, the area’s most important monastery is Shilsang Temple in Sannae Township’s Ipsŏk Village. The temple was founded by Hongch’ŏk in 828 as one of the ‘nine mountain’ Sŏn (Jap. Zen) centres (Kusan Sŏnmun). Within the temple complex, there are ten or so artefacts of historical significance. In Chuch’on Township’s Yongdam Village can be found the Yongdam Temple site. The temple which stood here was founded during the reign of Paekche’s King Song (r. 523-554). Legend has it that a large serpent, which lived in a pond near the site before the temple was built, destroyed crops and killed local villagers. The monk Tosŏn built a temple here naming it Yongdam (Dragon Pond) Temple. From this time, the serpent was never seen again. The standing stone Buddha (Treasure No. 42) found here dates back to the early Koryŏ Kingdom. There is also a slender seven-storey pagoda at the site. Built during the late Koryŏ period, this 9.95-metre-high structure has been designated North Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 11. Other important Buddhist artefacts in Namwŏn include an interesting Koryŏ-era Buddha figure carved out of a large rock in Taesan Township’s Shin’gye Village.

Confucian schools in the city include Unbong Hyanggyo (founded in 1410 and moved to its present location in 1640), the extensive Namwŏn Hyanggyo (founded in 1410 and moved to its present location in 1443), Ch’angju Sŏwŏn founded in 1579, Unbong Sŏwŏn (founded in 1639), Yogye Sŏwŏn (founded in 1692), Yongam Sŏwŏn (founded in 1635), Tugok Sŏwŏn founded in 1766 and Iho Sŏwŏn founded in 1837.

The Namwŏn Sŏdang (village schools), unlike most Confucian private schools, is still active. Run by the Kaengjong Yudohoe, an association of modern Confucian scholars, the school serves as the headquarters for the nations sŏdang. The students are male and wear traditional Korean clothing and long braided hair. The school’s curriculum covers the Ch’ŏnjamun (One Thousand Character Classic), the Four Books (Sasŏ) and the Three Works of Confucian Canon (Sanggyŏng). Namwŏn has, of course, its modern schools, as well as Seonam University in Kwangch’i-dong.

The region’s folk culture, is promoted by various festivals and rituals that are held on a regular basis. On 8 April, the Ch’unhyang Festival is held in memory of Ch’unhyang, a woman remembered for her unswerving faithfulness to her lover. The festival includes visiting the tomb of Ch’unhyang, a memorial service for Ch’unhyang, folk music and
games, poetry recitals and a Miss Ch'unhyang pageant.

**Nangnim Mountain**

Situated on the border of North and South P'yŏngan Province, Mt. Nangnim (2,104 metres) is part of the Myohyang Mountain Range which extends south-west from the Nangnim Mountain Range. The mountain is surrounded by Mt. Ungŏsu (2,099 metres) to the north-east, Hyangni Peak (1,987 metres) to the south-west and Hwang Peak (1,736 metres) to the east. Three gentle ridges run down from the summit. The streams flowing down the mountain's western slope feed into Chiktong Stream, while the run-off from the eastern and southern slopes form the headwaters of the Taedong River.

**Nanjangi ka ssoaollin chagûn kong** (Small Ball Launched by a Dwarf)

**Nanjung Channok** (Miscellaneous Records of Times of Turmoil)

*Nanjung Channok* is an unofficial historical account of the disturbances that beset the country from 1582 until 1610 written by Cho Kyŏngnam, a member of the volunteer corps in Namwon. This work is comprised of four volumes in two fascicles and is hand-written. It includes accounts of the events surrounding the 1592 Japanese Invasion from the author's perspective as a participant in the volunteer corps, and other important occurrences throughout the nation are also detailed. Volume one of the work covers the period from 1582 until the seventh month of 1592, volume two from the eighth month of 1592 until the sixth month of 1593, volume three from the seventh month of 1593 until the end of 1598, and the fourth volume from 1599 until the second month of 1610.

This work provides insight into the activities of the people and defence forces during the Japanese invasion, and therefore is valuable for research on this time in Korea. Moreover, the book also provides useful data concerning the politics, social conditions, economic activities, military organization and culture of Korea during this period.

**Naro Island**

Situated off of Korea’s southern coast, Naro Island is actually two islands, known as the Inner (nae) and Outer (oe) Naro islands, separated by a narrow strait. Administratively, the islands belong to Pongnae Township in South Cholla Province’s Kohŏng County. 1986 statistics show the islands as having a population of 11,341. The region’s topography is characterised by low hills of between 100 - 200 metres in elevation with Mt. Mach’i (380m) and Mt. Changp’o (360m) at the southern end of Outer Naro Island.

The island’s agriculture is generally limited to garlic and barley fields situated on reclaimed land along the coast. From 1966, the island was developed as a commercial fishing centre and fishing remains the main source of employment. Over time, a shipyard, freezer facilities and marine product processing plants have been built here. Local fishing boats bring in catches of anchovy, sea bream, filefish, hairtail and harvest fish (*Pampus argenteus*). However, the fishing industry in the islands is now in decline as a result of depleted fish stocks and competition from Yŏsu, Pusan and other large ports.

Tourism is centred around Narodo Beach which is located on Outer Naro Island. This 1.5-kilometre-long white sand beach is ideal for young children since the water remains shallow for about 100 metres from the high-water mark. Next to the beach, there is a pine forest with trees of 250 to 300 years old. During the summer, visitors flock to the area to swim, fish and buy marine products at wholesale prices. To the west of the beach, is Pongnae Temple. Outer Naro and the southern coast of Inner Naro have been designated as part of Tadohae National Marine Park.
There are several sites of historical interest on the island In Shin’gum Village on Outer Naro Island, plain pottery and carved bone implements have been excavated from a shell mound. In Pongnim Village, there is a stone fortress (2 metres high and 504 metres in circumference).

The islands are well served with schools -- five primary, two junior high and one high school.

Narye

[Customs and Traditions]

National Academy of Arts

Located in Seoul’s Sŏch’o Ward, NAA (Taehan Min’guk Yesurwŏn) was established in July 1954 with Ko Hŭidong as chairman. The Academy exists, inter alia, to increase institutional support for the development of the nation’s cultural heritage; to enhance the status of artists; and to promote both domestic and international exchanges in the field of art. As part of its promotional activities, the Academy offers awards to those who have made significant contributions to the advancement of Korean art, or performed outstanding research, as well as to artists who have produced notable works. It also serves in a consultative capacity to the government concerning issues that affect the development of traditional culture and art. NAA publications include Yesurwŏn bo (The NAA Gazette); Han’guk yesul chi (Journal of Korean Art); Yesul nonmun chip (Collection of Art Treatises); and Han’guk yesul ch’ongjip (Comprehensive Collection of Korean Art).

National Academy of Science

The National Academy of Science (Haksurwŏn) is located in Sŏch’o ward in Seoul. It is established in 1954 in order to renew institutional support for the development of the sciences and enhance the status of scientists in Korea. The academy serves as a consultant to the Ministry of Education regarding scholarly works, science, language and culture. In addition, it awards scientists and writers who have produced outstanding works of scholarship.

National Agricultural Cooperative Federation

[Financial institutions]

National Assembly Library

The National Assembly Library (Kukhoe Tosŏgwan) was founded on 20 February 1952 in Pusan, the provisional capital of the nation during the Korean War. The library initially housed a modest collection of 3,604 volumes, and was managed by four staff members. In 1975, it was moved to the National Assembly Building in Seoul’s Yŏido and then transferred to new accommodation in 1988. The library was reorganised in 1994, at which time the staff roll was two-hundred and seventy-six.

Today, the library acquires, processes, analyses and manages information in support of the legislative processes and the oversight of state affairs by National Assembly Members in accordance with Chap. 11, Article 1 of the National Assembly Library Statute. Administratively, it comprises the Legislative Research and Analysis Office; the Acquisition and Processing Bureau; the Reference Service Bureau; the Information Technology Management Bureau; the Office of Planning, Budgeting and Auditing; and the General Services Division.

The library’s total collection is in the order of 1280,000 volumes, including 14,350...
periodicals, 820 newspaper subscriptions, 370,000 Korean master's and doctoral dissertations, 1,700 maps and over 500 art pieces. In addition, bound newspapers, microform materials, audio and video tapes and CD-ROMs are available. The library also has about 700 computer terminals, which are connected to the National Assembly Total Information On-line Network (NATION) via a local-area network (LAN) system, making it possible for users to obtain information from library databases and commercial information services while working in their own offices.

National Conference for Unification

National Defence

History

The first Korean states such as Ko Chosôn, Puyô and Samhan defended themselves against an increasing number of northern invaders, without a systematic organisation of their military forces. However, these states developed locations that were conducive to the defence of the people, such as hillside plateaus. They surrounded their central territory with earthen walls to provide protection from attack. The hostile engagements among the small states that dotted the Korean peninsula were characterised by frequent alliances of the ruling classes so as to increase their societal foundations. The first consciousness about 'national defence' occurred when battles moved away from the hub of the state to its outer reaches, thus minimising damage to the actual foundation of the state. Hence, examining the structure of the military systems of, say, Puyô and Koguryô, it is seen that the presence of military outposts and other fortifications on the outer boundaries of the state become increasingly prevalent. It was this awareness of the importance of keeping invaders at a safe distance from the centre that allowed early states such as Saro and Karak to develop into the early Shilla and Paekche kingdoms.

Three Kingdoms

By the time of the rise of the Three Kingdoms, the structure of government had developed into a centralised apparatus that focused on a monarch and an aristocratic ruling class. National defence consciousness thus gave prominence to the protection of the rulers. The importance of military fortifications such as fortresses also became increasingly significant as war between Koguryô, Paekche and Shilla intensified in the struggle to gain control of larger pieces of territory. The importance of properly administering military outposts can be seen in their incorporation in the structure of the early states. Consequently, in Koguryô the fortresses were under the jurisdiction of the pu, in Paekche the pang, and in Shilla the chu. Conscription of peasants living near the fortresses became commonplace.

Of the Three Kingdoms, Koguryô was best able to merge society with the military, as reflected in the large territory that it controlled in northern-most Korea. Under King Kwanggaet'o (r. 391-413) Koguryô greatly expanded its domain, to encompass the northern part of the Korean peninsula, as well as most of modern-day Manchuria, and the Liaodong Peninsula in present-day China. Indeed, Koguryô rivalled the Chinese kingdoms for supremacy in all of northeast Asia, from the fourth through the early seventh centuries. In 612, the Chinese Sui dynasty launched a massive attack on Koguryô with a force said to exceed a million men. The attack on Koguryô's first line of defence, the fortress at Liaodong, failed and the Sui army was forced to try a frontal assault on the Koguryô capital of P'yöngyang. The Sui sent a force of about three-hundred thousand troops for this attack but they were lured into a trap at the Salsu River (now Ch'öngch'ö'n River) by the Koguryô general Úlchi Mundok, and were virtually annihilated. In the aftermath of the battle, less than three-thousand troops stood to be counted. The Sui was forced to cease its attack, and crippled by its losses, it was soon overthrown by the Tang dynasty. Koguryô
was then forced to contend with invasions by the Tang. It repelled these attacks until the Tang allied with Shilla and eventually subdued Koguryo. However, the fact that Koguryo was able to hold out for a period of nearly fifty years, although outnumbered by attacking Chinese forces, indicates its achievements in military organisation and national defence.

The military organisation of Shilla prior to unification of the peninsula, was centred around six garrisons (ch'ong), each commanded by a member of the Shilla aristocracy. The troops in each of the ch'ong were carefully selected and highly motivated elite forces The number of ch'ong increased to ten after the defeat of Paekche and Koguryo. They were supplemented by nine units of the sŏdang (oath banne1men similar to personal retainers who had pledged their services to a particular commander). In addition, there were the hwarang (Flower of Youth) of Shilla. These were companies of young men from aristocratic families who were trained in military and cultural affairs. They supplemented the elite troops of the ch'ong and sŏdang. Thus, with the aristocracy participating in military affairs to a high degree, the cohesion of the military and the central ruling aristocracy of Shilla was very strong. This together with the alliance with Tang China, allowed Shilla to eventually defeat its two rivals in the mid-seventh c.

After the unification of the Korean peninsula, the structure of the Shilla military forces was further transformed. The nine sŏdang, which had previously been composed only of men from the Shilla capital, were expanded to include those from other areas including Paekche, Koguryo and the Malgal. By the reign of King Shinmun (r. 681-692), the sŏdang had supplanted the ch'ong as the core of the Shilla military, and pledged their loyalty directly to the monarch. Additionally, they were stationed in the capital while the ch'ong were now located in important defensive locations throughout the kingdom, with at least one ch'ong in each of Shilla's nine provinces. Lesser military units provided defence and most likely police services, in the five secondary capitals of Shilla.

Koryŏ

From the very beginnings of Koryŏ, there were territorial battles with Later Paekche to the south and the Khitan to the north. National defence and military preparedness thus became important priorities. The founding king T'aejo (r. 918-943) led the assault of Later Paekche himself, and his personal army became the core of the national army of Koryŏ. In the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 981-997), the army had been reorganised into the Two Guards (kun) and Six Divisions (wi). The Six Divisions were formed first, and were composed of the Division of the Left and Right (ch'wau wi), Divine Tiger Division (shinho wi), Elite Striking Division (hàngwi wi), Internal Security Division (kâmo wi), thousand Bull Division (ch'ŏn wi), and Capital Guards Division (kammun wi). The first three of these were the best of the nation's combat troops and were charged not only with the protection of the capital, but the frontiers as well. The Internal Security Division functioned as the capital's police force; the thousand Bull Division was utilised during state ceremonies, and the Capital Guards Division stood watch at the palace and gates to the city. The Two Guards, formed after the Six Divisions, were the highest-ranking armies of Koryŏ, and acted as the king's personal bodyguards. In addition to the Two Guards and the Six Divisions, there were also provincial armies that were formed from the private troops of the gentry families and brought under government control as the Resplendent Army (kwanggun). This army was later reorganised into provincial garrison forces and stationed at various locations along the northern border of Koryŏ.

King T'aejo viewed his new kingdom as the successor of Koguryo and thus sought to regain the domain that the earlier kingdom had enjoyed. Therefore, Koryŏ had a policy of northern expansion from its inception and this brought the kingdom into constant conflict with the peoples of the northern regions. The Khitan, for example, who had overrun Parhae in the northern reaches of the peninsula and Manchuria but were now an obstacle to an expansionist Koryŏ. Inevitably the two states collided. After Koryŏ built six garrisons
to the south of the Yalu River, the Khitan launched a number of attacks. These were
initially successful and Khitan demanded various concessions from Koryŏ while occupying
territory as far south as Kaesŏng. The Khitan, however, withdrew from Koryŏ before the
desired settlement was obtained. In 1018, a third major Khitan invasion force was
annihilated at Kuju by a Koryŏ army led by General Kang Kamch'an (948-1031). The two
nations then entered into a state of coexistence and their relations were conducted in a
mostly peaceful manner.

Other states to the north of Koryŏ caused problems for the Korean kingdom such as the
Jurchen people's who came to power in the early twelfth c. Koryŏ had sought to prevent
attacks from the north by constructing a wall from the mouth of the Yalu River in the west
across the peninsula to the East Sea at present-day Yŏnp'o. This massive construction
project took some twelve years to complete (1033-1044) and required the labour of
thousands of men. It was not, however, entirely effective in keeping at bay foreign
incursion and was breached on several occasions. Relations with the Jurchen never
culminated in an invasion, as Koryŏ acknowledged the suzerain power of the northern
kingdom after it had defeated Sung China in 1127. Hence, it was the submissive posture
of Koryŏ that served as its best defence against the Jurchen.

The greatest challenge to the national defence of Koryŏ came with the rise of the Mongol
Empire in the thirteenth c. The Mongols had actually assisted Koryŏ with its defeat of a
Khitan army in 1219, and they looked on Koryŏ as a tribute state. This view was not,
however, shared by Koryŏ and discord between the two nations eventually led to a series
of devastating invasions by the Mongols, beginning in 1231. The military-dominated court
of Koryŏ fled to Kanghwa Island, and because of their aversion to crossing stretches of
water, the Mongols would not attack. The Koryŏ court refused to surrender, while in the
meantime the Mongol army pillaged the countryside.

The main element of the Koryŏ army under the military rule of the Ch'oe house was the so-called
Three Elite Patrols (samb'yölch'o), which had supplanted the government armies with
the rise of the Ch'oe military rulers, and now constituted the main source of resistance
against the Mongol invasion. The Mongol forces, however, were too powerful and the
guerrilla resistance of the Three Elite Patrols proved to be futile in the face of the immense
Mongol army. Thus by 1270, with the will to resist of the Koryŏ government broken, and
with the termination of the Ch'oe military rule, Koryŏ petitioned the Mongols for an
armistice.

Even after ties with the Mongols were broken in the late fourteenth c., Koryŏ never
recovered full control of its own destiny or territory. The final years of the kingdom were
marked by an increasing number of peasant uprisings, and struggles among the gentry
families and military trying to seize power. The gentry families controlled large tracts of
land and also had private armies that were designed to protect the interests of the families
against any intrusion. Consequently, the foundations of Koryŏ were weakened beyond the
point of repair and the kingdom came eventually into the hands of Yi Sŏnggye (King
T'aegŏ, r. 1392-1398) in 1392. He then founded Chosŏn.

Chosŏn

The northern policies of Koryŏ were inherited by the new Chosŏn dynasty, which also had
to contend with the general disarray of the country's defences. Accordingly, King T'aegŏ
directed much of his attention to consolidating Chosŏn's defences. He was unable,
however, to centralise control of the military forces of the country due to the prevalence of
private armies belonging to members of the royal household. It was left to King T'aegong
(r. 1400-1418) to abolish all private armies in 1400, and attach them to the Three Army
Headquarters (Ŭihŭng Sangunbu), charged with the supervision and control of Chosŏn
military apparatus. The military were again reorganised by King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) in
1464 with the establishment of the Five Military Commands (Owi Toch'ongbu), Each consisted of five divisions of troops based in the capital.

The Five Commands (Owi) refers to the five military commands of North, South, East, West, and the Centre. Each of these divisions was charged with the defence of its respective region of the country. The troops in each of the Five Commands were composed of a core of professional soldiers who had successfully passed the military part of the civil service examination. Conscripted soldiers from the commoner class supplemented this well-trained core; but the conscripted portion of the Chosŏn army was relatively small and inconsequential to the overall defence of the nation.

Each province had its own land and sea commands, something that proved to be of greater importance than the centrally-located Five Commands. Also, strategically located areas of national defence concern had additional commands. For example, Hamgyŏng Province, important in defence against the Jurchen to the north, had two army commands, as did Kyŏngsang province, to fend off Japanese invasions. Chŏlla province had two naval commands to safeguard the lengthy coastline that was vulnerable to raids by Japanese pirates. Garrisons established under the authority of the provincial land and sea commands were composed of commoners who served fixed terms of military duty.

As a means for rapidly communicating messages or information to or from the capital, a system of signal fires was established throughout the nation. In the event that more detailed information was required, Chosŏn also had a nationwide post station system that could transport documents quickly.

The threat of invasion from the north and the incorporation of the area up to the Tuman River into the Chosŏn domain was accomplished by King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). He established six garrison forts in the northern areas and secured the area as a permanent part of Chosŏn. At the same time, an expedition was launched against the Yain in the Yalu region and four outposts were established there, thus securing the area up to the Yalu River as part of Chosŏn. The new territory gave Chosŏn not only additional land for cultivation, but also made the northern boundary a natural defence line of two rivers. The Yain people were placated by establishing trading posts in the northern areas where they could barter their furs and horses for cloth, farming implements and grains. Moreover, as an additional policy, they were encouraged to settle in Chosŏn after pledging allegiance to the Chosŏn government. Despite these concessions, the Yain rose up against Chosŏn in the late sixteenth c. under the leadership of Nit'anggae and sacked several of the northern Chosŏn garrisons. This uprising, quickly repressed by Chosŏn government forces, marked the end of the conflicts with the Yain.

Mid-Chosŏn experienced two invasions that had disastrous consequences for the Chosŏn government and the populace. The 1592 Japanese Invasion, which lasted until 1598, touched nearly every part of Chosŏn and soaked up huge national resources. It was only repelled with the assistance of the Chinese Ming dynasty. During this period, however, there were some military innovations that proved to be effective defences against the invaders. The most notable was the so-called 'turtle ships' (kŏbukson), developed by Admiral Yi Sunshin (1545-1598). These ships gave the Chosŏn navy a decisive edge in the sea battles. The turtle ships had cannon mounted at all stations and were protected by what is thought to have been iron-plated cladding, protruding with many iron spikes, designed to prevent an enemy from boarding. Yi's complete dominance in the sea battles led to the Japanese troops on the Korean peninsula being hampered by poor lines of supply. This resulted in their advance being confined to the south-eastern Kyŏngsang Province. Overall, however, the Chosŏn army performed poorly in the defence of the nation and many of the victories of the war were secured by volunteer armies or bands of Buddhist monks, who figured prominently in national defence.
The fall of the Ming dynasty and rise of the Qing in China presented another national tragedy for Choson, and eventually resulted in invasions by the Manchu nation in 1627 and 1636. The dynastic change in China presented a difficult issue for Choson, which had pledged loyalty to the Ming. Under the adroit foreign policy of Prince Kanghae (r. 1608-1623), Choson managed to stay clear of the potentially dangerous situation in China. Kanghae directed his efforts to enhancing the military and defensive capabilities of the nation. Political turmoil in Choson, however, resulted in Kanghae’s dethronement and his replacement by King Injo (r. 1623-1649), who was supported by the Westerner Faction (sōin). As a result, Choson adopted a pro-Ming, anti-Manchu policy that proved disastrous. The Manchu were alarmed at the change in the Korean posture and launched their first invasion in 1627, advancing as far south as P’yŏngsan in Hwanghae Province before Choson sued for peace. The Choson government, however, refused to honour the peace accords and was subjected to a second invasion, led by the Qing emperor, in 1636. Injo then personally surrendered to the Qing emperor and Choson entered into a tribute relationship with the Chinese state.

By the late seventeenth c., a great deal of Western technology had entered Choson through China, and this contributed to the development of small arms, such as muskets. In 1628, a Dutchman, Jan Janse Weltevree, who had been shipwrecked off the coast and was detained at the will of successive Choson kings for the remainder of his life, contributed greatly to national defence. He imparted to Korean artisans his expertise in the casting of metal for ordnance purposes, principally cannons. The isolationist policy of Choson combined with the resistance to change by many in the entrenched ruling class, however, did not permit the realisation of many of the technological advances that had been introduced to Korea. Hence, the defence posture of Choson remained largely unchanged from the sixteenth c. forward, a significant factor in the fall of the dynasty to foreign powers towards the conclusion of the nineteenth c.

In the late nineteenth c. incursions into Korean waters by foreign vessels increased, prompting a renewed interest in the establishment of more effective defence measures. The Hungson Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898), the father of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907), tried to improve the nation’s defence by increasing armouries for casting cannon and building further defence emplacements. In this period, Choson vigorously pursued an isolationist policy, which was in stark contrast to the modernisation of Japan. This resulted in the Korean nation falling significantly behind Japan in the constantly-changing field of military technology. When Japan decided it wanted its ships to enter Korean ports for trading purposes it used the pretext of the Unyŏ Incident to land a military contingent, backed by two warships, and forced Choson to enter into a treaty that opened its ports to trade with Japan. The realisation of the need for modernisation came too late to prevent the imperialist designs of Japan and the Treaty of Kanghwa (Kanghwa-do Choyak) marked the downfall of Choson.

The final thirty years of Choson witnessed many ‘catch-up’ attempts at the modernisation of military and defence capabilities. King Kojong wished to modernise and reform the military and sought advice from a wide range of foreign military experts, including Russian, Japanese and French. Kojong reorganised the former Five Commands of the capital into the Palace Guards Garrison (Muwiyŏng) and the Capital Guards Garrison (Changgŏyŏng), and created a special military force trained in Western military tactics known as the Pyŏlgigum. However, the political turmoil resulted in the new units being abandoned as Kojong lost power to his father. Adding to the disarray in Choson was the increase in popular uprisings. The most notable was the Tonghak Uprising of the mid-1890s. It led to great social instability, and in the increased presence of Japanese and Chinese troops on Korean soil. After the Sino-Japanese War over Korea in 1894, defence measures were subject to Japanese intervention and Choson had quite simply lost its ability for national preservation, thus ushering in the colonial period, from 1910 - 1945.
Modern Period

Introduction

At the end of World War II, Soviet troops occupied the northern half of Korea, and United States troops the southern half, thus dividing the peninsula into north and south. This divide was tested in 1950 during the Korean War when the North Koreans invaded the south. The war ended in 1953 with a truce agreement re-establishing the de facto division of Korea.

Despite the end of the Cold War and its effects elsewhere in Asia, the Korean peninsula still contains one of the world’s greatest concentrations of opposing military forces. North Korea’s army of about one million is stationed along a narrow, demilitarised zone (5 kms. wide x 250 kms. long). On the other side are well-armed South Korean forces that number 750 000. The South Korean capital, Seoul, which accounts for thirty per cent of South Korea’s population and fifty per cent of its GNP, is only forty kms. south of the demilitarised zone and within eight minutes of take-off by North Korean combat aircraft. These forces remain in place. Until recently, North Korea was seen as unpredictable, combative and more unmanageable than it was at the height of the Cold War when its large communist neighbours, China and the former USSR, were in a position to exercise their economic influence to restrain its behaviour.

Defence expenditure

Defence expenditure in both halves of the Korean peninsula remains relatively high. North Korea has the heaviest burden as it has a smaller economy (1988 GDP $US23 billion), a smaller population (23 million) and fewer resources than South Korea (population 45 million; 1992 GDP $US321 billion). While South Korea spends around 4.0 per cent of its GNP on defence compared to 22.0 per cent for North Korea, the South still spends roughly twice as much as on defence as the North. This disparity has contributed to North Korea’s interest in a nuclear option, a relatively cheap but powerful capability.

Armed Services - Republic of Korea

South Korea’s armed forces are quantitatively inferior to those in the North. South Korea has an armed force of 820 000, divided into 700 000 in the army, an airforce of 55 000 and a navy of 65 000. Between 1965 and 1973 about 300 000 Korean troops gained combat experience in Vietnam serving under us operational command.

South Korea’s military forces are structured for defence. It has fewer mobile forces than North Korea and less than half the number of North Korea’s tanks and armoured vehicles. North Korea has a 2.6 : 1 superiority over the South in artillery and multiple rocket launchers. South Korea’s navy has a technological edge over the North but is quantitatively inferior. South Korea’s airforce consists of about 1 000 aircraft including 480 tactical aircraft and 500 helicopters. It is considered superior to North Korea’s airforce in quality and capabilities.

Armed Services - Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

North Korea has an armed force of 1 050 000 personnel. Of the total, about 920 000 are in the army. The army is divided into 144 divisions and brigades including 55 infantry divisions, 23 mechanised infantry brigades, 14 tank brigades (with 3 700 tanks and 2 500 armoured vehicles), 30 artillery brigades (with 10 000 guns) and 24 special forces brigades (with 100 000 personnel). The structure of the North Korean forces shows a bias towards commando, mechanised, armoured and artillery forces (comprising 62 per cent of the total). North Korea maintains a highly trained river crossing-engineering force with over 500
amphibious vehicles and more than 2 300 demountable pontoon bridges.

North Korea's navy is divided into the East Sea Fleet and the Yellow Sea Fleet. It has a strength of 45 000, with 25 relatively old diesel attack submarines, (the second largest submarine fleet in Asia), 48 midget submarines, one frigate, 450 patrol boats, missile boats, torpedo boats and fire support ships. There are also another 270 support vessels, including 100 high speed hovercraft each capable of carrying 30 battle-ready personnel.

North Korea's airforce has a strength of about 82 000 with over 1 600 aircraft including 760 combat aircraft and 290 helicopters. Most of the fighter aircraft are MiG-15/17/19/21s of 1950s and 1960s vintage but there are two regiments with 46xMiG-23s and 1 regiment with 30xMiG-29s. North Korea also has 80 bombers and about 300 light transport aircraft.

North Korea's armed forces are limited by economic bottlenecks caused by a primitive infrastructure, a lack of fuel, a shortage of skilled labor and a lack of access to modern defence technologies. North Korea is, however, continuing to research and develop what the South perceives as offensive weaponry, such as MiG-29s, improved tanks, chemical weapons and short range Scud and longer range Nodong and Taepodong missiles.

Arms Reductions

North and South Korea signed an Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchanges and Cooperation in December 1991. It was the first official document governing relations between the two Koreas. Both sides undertook to discuss and carry out steps to build military confidence and realise arms reduction, including the mutual notification and control of major movements of military units and military exercises, the peaceful utilisation of the DMZ, exchanges of military personnel and information, phased reductions in armaments including the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and attack capabilities, and verifications thereof.

Numbers of us personnel in Korea have been reduced by 7 000 since 1991 as the US shifts its strategy from a leading role to one of providing support for the South Korean armed forces. Further withdrawals of US forces have been suspended pending improved cooperation from North Korea on the nuclear issue (see below). The US has withdrawn its tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea.

North Korea has called for the reduction of military forces on both sides down to a level of 100 000 each. It claims to have reduced the level of its armed forces with a unilateral reduction of 100 000 in 1987 and a further 150 000 in 1988. Reductions in manpower are a logical step for North Korea which is desperately short of skilled manpower. Most of the demobilised soldiers have been assigned to economic construction battalions and according to South Korean sources, they can be easily re-mobilised.

Posture

For Pyongyang, it is the US that threatens a surprise attack against the North and it is the US and South Korea jointly that present a forward-based offensive posture near the demilitarised zone. According to North Korean officials, South Korea is constantly upgrading the quality and quantity of its air, naval and ground attack weaponry. From the North Korean perspective, the annual combined US/ROK ‘Team Spirit' military exercises were provocative and intimidating. The exercises were seen as part of a plan 'to launch a first strike on the north' or an assault on Pyongyang, using 'huge forces from the American mainland and the Pacific' and tactical nuclear weapons carried on submarines offshore or stored in South Korea.

Meanwhile, North Korea's armed forces, mechanised vehicles, tank formations and
artillery are deployed within 100 km. of the DMZ, mostly in underground facilities and tunnels. Two thirds of North Korea's airforce are located at forward airfields close to the DMZ. There were reports that North Korea had prepositioned military supplies in hardened underground sites near the demilitarised zone, trained special river-crossing units and deployed new mechanised army brigades near Kaesong to the west of Panmunjom. US assessments concluded that North Korean forces were so deployed in forward assembly areas and were ready to strike at such short notice that warning time was as low as four hours. North Korea was seen as 'perched on the starting blocks with a capability to surge and scramble in a hurry' in a classic blitzkrieg across the demilitarised zone towards Seoul, using heavy fire-power and armoured and mechanised units.

The United States rejects the view that North Korea's forces are postured for defence and that they need to dig in close to the DMZ because of vulnerability to air attack.

**Military Aid**

South Korea's armed forces have been armed, trained and equipped by the United States. The US has provided large quantities of military equipment and defence technology to South Korea as either grant aid (the total between 1950-1988 was around $US5.64 billion); or, after 1974, foreign military sales under concessional finance ($US6.48 billion). American training of around 36,000 South Korean military personnel has also helped transform the South Korean armed forces into one of the best equipped in Asia with modern aircraft like the F-16, M55-1 light tanks, and the Stinger air-defence system. US technological assistance has been instrumental in establishing the South Korean defence industry. Today, South Korea is almost self-reliant in the production of arms and military equipment, including modern frigates, helicopters, missiles, self-propelled artillery and tanks. US military and financial aid for South Korea since the end of the Korean War has been one of the major reasons why the military and economic balance in Korea has tilted in favour of the South.

Today, it is South Korea that is contributing to the costs of the US military presence in Korea and it now pays up to one third towards the overall costs.

North Korea's allies have been unable to match the resources of the US. North Korea has depended on the former Soviet Union and China for much of its more modern military equipment, such as fighter aircraft. But the flow from both has virtually ceased, unless North Korea pays with hard currency which it doesn't have. Russia and China have indicated that they will supply North Korea with spare parts for existing weapons and defence equipment but will not provide sophisticated military equipment. North Korea, therefore, is likely to fall even further behind South Korea's superiority in conventional weaponry and capabilities, hence its temptation to acquire a nuclear deterrent capability. North Korea, however, has been able to produce most of its basic ground force equipment since 1970, including tanks, multiple rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, howitzers and transport vehicles. More recently, it has developed the capability of manufacturing Taepodong surface-to-surface missile systems with a range sufficient to reach southern Japan.

**National Service**

The regular forces in North Korea serve for five years in the army and three to four years in the navy and airforce. They are backed up by reserves of six or seven million civilians between the ages of 14 and 60, (equal to nearly one third of all North Koreans).

In the South, there is a system of universal military service (conscription) for two to three years, for all eligible youths aged 19. After completion of their service, most become members of South Korea's Homeland Reserve Forces (totalling about 4.5 million).
Paramilitary Forces

North Korea has a commando force of 100,000. This force could be sent through tunnels under the demilitarised zone or carried by light transport aircraft and helicopters for operations behind South Korean defences. North Korea has a fleet of midget submarines, about 300 AN-2 aircraft and up to 100 Hughes 500-C helicopters that could be used for insertion of commando forces behind South Korean lines.

History and United Nations Role

Korea, once part of the Japanese colonial empire, became the focus of Cold War rivalry between the United States and the USSR immediately after the defeat of Japan in World War II. In May 1948, elections were held in South Korea but not in the north of the country, where the United Nations was denied access. In August 1948, the Republic of Korea was proclaimed as the only lawful government in Korea. In September of that year, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) under President Kim Il Sung was established in the north. Both governments claimed to represent Korea and each denied the legitimacy of the other. On 25 June 1950, the North launched a surprise attack that overran ninety per cent of the South. On 26 June 1950, the UN Security Council approved a resolution describing the attack as ‘a breach of the peace and an act of aggression’. It was pushed through the Security Council by the United States in the absence of the Soviet representative. The People’s Republic of China was not then a member of the UN. The resolution called on UN members to render all assistance to restore peace. UN forces from sixteen nations, led by the US, counter-attacked behind the North Korean frontline at Inchon on 15 September 1950. The UN forces then swept north towards the Yalu River. This drew a Chinese response and on 16 October 1950, a force of over one million ‘volunteers’ from the Chinese People’s Liberation Army intervened. A stalemate ensued, roughly along the lines of the 38th parallel where the DMZ in Korea is today. After two years of negotiations and 500 meetings, the war ended with an Armistice Agreement on 27 July 1953. The armistice is a truce, not a peace treaty and no political accord has yet been reached to terminate the UN role in Korea. The US has maintained the UN presence in Korea ever since. The sixteen nations involved in the Korean War (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) are, theoretically, committed to helping South Korea in the event of a resumption of hostilities. According to the sixteen nation declaration that they signed after the war on 27 July 1953, they agreed that, ‘in the event of a renewal of armed attack from the North, the signatories should be again united and prompt to resist’. In practice, however, the security of South Korea depends primarily on the United States.

China withdrew its forces from North Korea in 1958 but maintained a close ‘lips and teeth’ relationship with North Korea during the 1950s, the 1960s and the early 1970s.

Both Koreas joined the United Nations in September 1991 in a move hailed as opening up the possibility of normalisation of relations between the two Koreas, and the ultimate reunification under UN auspices.

United States armed forces in Korea

The US has supported South Korea since the Korean War when US personnel based in Korea exceeded 350,000. The foundation of the military relationship is the 1954 ROK-US Mutual Defense Treaty which provides for collective defence against external armed aggression.

Article II of the Treaty provides that:
The parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of either of them, the political independence or security of either of the parties is threatened by external armed attack. Separately and jointly, by self-help and mutual aid, the parties will maintain and develop appropriate means to deter armed attack and will take suitable measures in consultation and agreement to implement this treaty and to further its purposes.

Article III provides that:

Each party recognises that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the Parties, or in territories now under their respective administrative control, would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Article IV provides that:

The Republic of Korea grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea as determined by mutual agreement.

In 1955, the number of US forces in Korea was reduced to 73 000 and in 1960 they were cut to 60 000, comprising two divisions and support personnel. The 7th Infantry Division (20 000 men) was withdrawn in 1971 by President Nixon in the era of detente with China. This and the collapse of Vietnam in 1975 forced South Korea to implement a series of programs to modernise its armed forces, even to the point of considering nuclear weapons (a shortlived plan that was abandoned after strong US pressure).

As part of the means for deterring an armed attack on South Korea, the US and South Korea have, since 1968, held annual Security Consultative Meetings of the US and ROK Defence Ministers and Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to discuss common security issues. A ROK-US Combined Forces Command was established in 1978 to coordinate the US and South Korean preparedness for an attack from the north. Large-scale military exercises (called 'Team Spirit') have been held annually since 1976 to both prepare for and to deter an attack from the North. These combined forces exercises have involved up to 100 000 South Korean troops and 40 000 Americans.

In 1977 President Carter announced plans for the withdrawal of the remaining US forces in Korea. He changed his mind in 1979 after revised intelligence estimates suggested the North was much stronger (by up to 30 per cent) than had been previously assumed.

Today, the US retains in South Korea one division of about 36 400 troops (the Second Infantry Division of the 8th US Army), 134 M-60 and M-55 medium tanks and 250 fighter aircraft, including F-16s, A-10 ground attack aircraft and OV-10 counter-insurgency helicopters. The American ground forces are equipped with some of the most advanced weaponry, including anti-tank and air defence missile systems in the US inventory. There are also substantial US military forces in the Pacific including warships and fighter aircraft based in Japan.

US forces are in Korea under the command of the United Nations Command, Military Armistice Commission, and the ROK-US Combined Forces Command (UNCMAC). In 1991, a South Korean Army Major General was appointed as senior member of UNCMAC. The Combined Forces Command (CFC) plans and directs the defence of South Korea, including the deployment of South Korean forces. While the CFC is today controlled by an American officer, command is being handed over to a South Korean four-star general appointed as Combined Ground Component Commander in 1992.

US involvement
If North Korea attacked the South, North Korean forces would immediately encounter the US Second Infantry Division. US involvement, as a consequence of this so-called trip-wire arrangement would be instant. The 1954 ROK-US Mutual Defence Treaty and the 1982 US Joint Chiefs of Staff Posture Statement means that several hundred US Marine Corps and carrier-based aircraft in the Pacific, as well as B-52 bombers from Guam could be committed to action in Korea. Contingency plans envisage the use of nuclear armed missiles aboard US warships or carried on US aircraft based in the Western Pacific.

The US response, given its Persian Gulf experience, would be massively destructive of North Korea's infrastructure, cities and military capabilities. Pyongyang must be very conscious of this risk.

North Korea's survival strategy in the late 1980s and early 1990s began to shift towards the development of a nuclear option. From Pyongyang's perspective, that would ease the heavy burden of a huge conventional military capability; it would secure North Korea against attack from the United States; it would solve North Korea's loss of support from China and Russia and it would provide a cheap source of energy. North Korea developed a complete nuclear fuel cycle and a plutonium product capability at the Yongbyon Nuclear Research Centre, located about ninety kms. north of Pyongyang. This move, however, provoked a crisis in Northeast Asia, with the United States contemplating a pre-emptive air strike at the facilities in Yongbyon.

**North Korea - the nuclear issue**

North Korea signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1985. In November 1991, South Korea's President Roh Tae Woo announced that there were no nuclear weapons in the South, a statement endorsed by US President George Bush. In December 1991, North and South Korea signed a bilateral agreement (the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula) to neither possess, build, use or store nuclear weapons, or reprocess spent uranium fuel into fissionable material. In January 1992, North Korea signed the safeguards agreement in Vienna permitting inspections of nuclear facilities as required by the NPT. However, after inspections of North Korea's nuclear research and power generation facilities in June 1992, as required under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards regime, the IAEA claimed there were inconsistencies between the information provided by North Korea and the results of its own investigations. The IAEA's request for special inspections of two additional sites in North Korea was refused by Pyongyang on the grounds that the IAEA was engaged in espionage on behalf of the US. In May 1993, Pyongyang renounced its membership of the NPT, raising fears of a nuclear armed North Korea, a prospect with serious implications for the region. Pyongyang demands that before it considers rejoining the NPT, the US must address its fears of a US nuclear threat, the future of the US-ROK combined military exercises, the question of inspection of US nuclear weapons in South Korea, assurances about the IAEA's impartiality and the application of US negative security assurances to North Korea (regarding non-use of nuclear weapons). The US, however, demands that North Korea must remain in the NPT, cooperate with the IAEA and implement the North-South Denuclearisation Declaration.

By October 1994, with the intervention of both China and Russia, North Korea agreed to dismantle its suspect nuclear reactors at Yongbyon in exchange for two light-water reactors that cannot produce weapons grade plutonium. The light-water reactors, costing over $US 5.2 billion, are to be paid for mainly by South Korea and completed by the year 2003. In addition, the United States agreed to provide North Korea with 500 000 tonnes of heavy fuel oil each year until 2003 to compensate for the loss of energy production at the Yongbyon and associated nuclear facilities.
North Korea has sometimes threatened to resume the Yongbyon programme if the United States delays the supply of fuel oil as its part of the Nuclear Framework Agreement. But it has, so far, adhered to its part of the agreement and has, with one or two aberrations, generally behaved in a rational and responsible manner. It has committed itself to abide by the terms of the 1953 Armistice Agreement that ended the Korean War and has joined South Korea, the United States, China and Russia in four-party talks to try and establish a lasting peace on the peninsula. North Korea has also agreed to resume high-level military talks with the US and it is helping America account for the remains of US servicemen missing in Korea since the war.

**North Korea's former friends and allies**

There is now a great power consensus between China, Russia, Japan and the United States on maintaining peace and stability on a non-nuclear Korean peninsula.

Previously, the situation in the Korean peninsula was complicated by rivalry, misperception and tension between these great powers. China felt threatened by US bases in South Korea and elsewhere in the Western Pacific. China also saw the USSR as a socialist-imperialist power seeking bases on China's periphery. This perception of threat from the USSR strengthened China's inclination to support North Korea.


The perception of being encircled by hostile forces comprising China, Japan, the US and South Korea in the Pacific and by NATO in Europe led Moscow to value a close alliance with Pyongyang. Even up to the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union was prepared to supply North Korea with new tanks, anti-aircraft and long range artillery, modern combat aircraft and various missile systems. In return, the Soviet Union gained access to North Korean ports at Wonsan and Chongjin and overflight rights for intelligence collection by Tu-95 BEAR-D naval reconnaissance aircraft.

However, North Korea's relatively favourable strategic circumstances changed after the deaths of Mao Zedong and Leonid Brezhnev. North Korea's only allies reassessed their strategic and national economic priorities.

China gradually came around to accept the US presence in South Korea as a significant contribution to regional stability. Washington and Beijing came to see that they had a shared strategic interest in preventing war in Korea.

China began to share the same strategic interest with the USSR during the process of Sino-Soviet rapprochement that culminated in the Gorbachev/Deng summit in May 1989. The USSR for its part, acted with restraint in the quality and quantity of military equipment that it has been willing to provide and it has ceased joint naval exercises with North Korea.

North Korea's ability to exercise strategic leverage between China and the USSR has therefore evaporated. Improved relations between the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev's USSR completed the circle around North Korea. The USSR chose to normalise relations with South Korea in September 1990.

For Russia, North Korea now has no strategic value. It is, rather, a piece of ideological baggage left over from history. Moscow's predominant interest lies in developing economic relations with South Korea and avoiding conflict in Northeast Asia. Russia's President Boris Yeltsin re-affirmed this policy on North and South Korea.
For its part, China regards North Korea as irrelevant to its plans for developing a Northeast Asian economic zone with South Korea, the Russian Far East and Japan. China’s vital geo-economic interests are in trade and economic cooperation with South Korea, and not support for an impoverished, stubbornly communist North Korea. China has retained its ties with North Korea, but successive Chinese leaders have also made it clear to Pyongyang that China’s PLA will not support the North in an attack on the South (according to remarks made by Zhang Xiangshan of the PRC’s International Liaison Department, reported in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Tokyo, 25 June 1984, p.2.). China is reported to have made clear to the US that it would not support North Korea except in the event that the latter is first attacked (*Sankei Shimbun*, reported by South China Morning Post, 8 January 1988).

China and South Korea are natural trading partners just one day apart by ship across the Yellow Sea. China is already South Korea’s fifth largest trading partner and some of South Korea’s biggest multinationals such as Kia, Hyundai, Samsung and Daewoo have set up joint ventures in China’s Northeast. As Shandong’s Governor Jiang Chunyun remarked, “the geography is obvious to everyone”. (South China Morning Post, 21 July 1988). China normalised relations with South Korea in August 1992.

In many respects, however, it might be said that peace in the Korean peninsula is now at hand after decades of hostility, tension and the threat of war. The decline of communism in neighbouring China, planning failures in North Korea’s agricultural sector and the death of Kim Il-song have contributed to Pyongyang’s new directions. Meanwhile, the US, Japan, China and South Korea have maintained massive food aid and fertiliser programmes to North Korea after the country was devastated by extensive flooding in 1995 and 1996, and a severe drought in 1997. More importantly, a more magnanimous policy towards North Korea has evolved. President Kim Young Sam’s more conciliatory policy has been followed by President Kim Dae Jung.

Bibliography


It is often said that the Korean national flag is the only philosophical flag in the world, a reference to the ideas embodied in its design. But while the design draws on ancient precepts, the idea of having a national flag arose only towards the end of the 19th c., at a time when the notion of a nation-state was beginning to gain the attention of Korea's national leaders and scholars. As elsewhere, it was considered that a national flag would, along with other things such as a national anthem, serve as a concrete symbol of Korea's distinctness as an independent entity among other nations.

However, the idea was first mooted by a Chinese legation officer in Japan, Huang Zunxian, in his Zhaoxian Celié (Policy for Korea), a book which the Korean envoy Kim Hongjip brought back from Japan in August 1880. In this book, Huang suggested that Korea consider using the dragon flag of the Ch'ing as both their army and national flag. Later, as a high official in the negotiations for the April 6 1882 Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, Kim Hongjip discussed possible designs and colours with the Chinese emissary, Ma Chien-chung. It was during these discussions that the idea of using the t'aeguk symbol arose.

In August 1882, Korea's emissary to Japan, Pak Yonghyo (Prince Kŭmnŭng), enlisted the aid of the British captain of the vessel by which he returned to Korea in preparing some three designs for a flag, all of which had the blue and red t'aeguk motif in the centre. Pak presented one of these to the Korean authorities, who on 27 January 1883 ordered that it be used throughout the kingdom as the official flag.

Although the flag was banned by the Japanese between 1910 and 1945, it was treasured by nationalists and other Koreans as a symbol of their nationhood, and was sometimes waved during demonstrations. On 15 October 1949, this flag, called the T'aegëukki, was proclaimed the official national flag of the Republic of Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea adopted a different flag around the same time.

Design

The earliest example of the t'aeguk design is found on a stone sculpture at the Kamiinsa
temple built in 628 C.E. in Kyōngju. But the ūmyang (Ch.yin and yang ) philosophy represented by the t'aegük can be traced even further back in Korean folk myth, traditional medicine and art.

The flag has a white background with a t'aegük circle in red and blue at the centre and three black bars on each of the four corners.

White background

This represents purity and peace, values prized by the Korean people, who traditionally favour white clothing, even for mourning attire.

T'aegük circle

In much East Asian philosophy, including schools of Confucianism, the t'aegük pictures the origin of the universe and human life and expresses the truth about them. The eminent 16th c. Korean philosopher Yi Hwang described the t'aegük as "the ultimate being that will rule everything but will not be ruled by anything." Identical with the universe, the t'aegük principle is present in each being; the ultimate human virtue therefore is the t'aegük principle.

This principle, found in Buddhism, Confucianism and many other areas of Korean tradition, prescribes harmony and the balance between opposites. Yang, depicted in red on the upper part of the circle, represents the sky. ūm, in dark blue at the lower part represents the earth. Betwixt the sky and the earth exist humans, societies and nations. With the continuation and harmony of ūm and yang, all things grow and prosper. ūm and yang, also regarded as female and male principles, are opposite yet inseparable components: they contrast yet complement each other.

Four black bars

The broken and solid bars also derive from classical philosophical precepts, and in this case represent the variety of forms and possibilities in the universe, a diversity which is generated and held together by the t'aegük. Kŏn at the upper left corner, represents heaven and justice. Kon at lower right represents the earth and abundance. Kam at upper right represents water and wisdom. I at lower left represents fire and energy.

National Folk Museum

The National Folk Museum (Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan) is located in the Kyōngbok Palace grounds in Seoul. The museum’s collection was established in 1945, with items donated by Song Sokha, a leader in folk culture studies. Destroyed during the Korean War, the museum was restored by the Cultural Property Preservation Bureau (Munhwajae Kwalliguk) in Kyōngbok Palace in 1966. In order to find a home for the expanding collection, the museum, under the name Han’guk Minsok Pangmulgwan, was moved to a refurbished building within the palace complex in 1975.

The museum’s collection comes from private sources; from folklore articles preserved in the Ch’angdŏk Palace; and by way of new acquisitions. As well as these, over a thousand traditional lamps were donated by the Korea Electric Company, and material related to printing was transferred from the National Museum of Korea. The museum contains numerous exhibits showing the Chosŏn lifestyle and customs as well as items in everyday use, with explanatory notes accompanying many of the exhibits. Other exhibits include farming implements; handicrafts; pottery; lacquerware; apparel; shaman implements; and a
traditional Korean house from Andong in North Kyongsang Province.

National History Compilation Committee

NHCC (Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwonhoe) is situated in the city of Kwach’ŏn in Kyŏnggi Province. The committee was established as the Kuksagwan (National History Office) in August 1945 in Seoul’s Kyŏngbuk Palace. It acquired its current name in 1949 and moved to its present location on the outskirts of Seoul in 1987. NHCC’s administrative structure is composed of three offices: the General Service Division, the Historiographic Office and the Research Office. Operating under the direct control of the Ministry of Education, the committee conducts research on national history, compiles and publishes Korean history-related materials and collects various types of data and materials related to national history. The staff of NHCC is composed of fifteen experts on Korean history. These historians decide on matters related to the compilation of national history and data collection. In order to support their research activities, the committee’s library houses an extensive collection of historical works including approximately twenty-thousand old books and fifty-thousand manuscripts.

National Institute of Agricultural Science and Technology (NIAST)

Located in Suwŏn in Kyŏnggi Province, the NIAST was established in December 1994 with the merging of the Agricultural Sciences Institute, Agricultural Biotechnology Institute and the Agricultural Chemicals Research Institute. The newly-formed Institute became responsible for the standards and inspection of fertiliser and agricultural chemicals, a task previously performed by the National Agricultural Materials Inspection Office. The Institute’s activities are concerned with management of the environment in the agricultural context, as well as research and development related to bio-resources and crop protection. Through its activities, NIAST aims to elevate agricultural incomes while developing agricultural management systems that are both economically and environmentally sustainable.

National Institute of Health and Social Affairs

Located in Seoul, the NIHASA (Han’guk Pogŏn Sahoe Yŏn’guwŏn) is a governmental organisation established to promote the health and welfare of the Korean people. The institute’s thirty-four researchers undertake surveys and conduct research into health issues -- disease, disease vectors, food, and food additives, et al. NIHASA also offers a diverse range of training programs. The institute is affiliated with WHO (World Health Organization).

National Livestock Cooperatives Federation [Financial institutions]

National Museum of Contemporary Art

The National Museum of Contemporary Art (Kungnip Hyŏndae Misulgwan) is located in Kwach’ŏn in Kyŏnggi Province. Founded by presidential decree in 1969, the museum’s collection was first exhibited at Kyŏngbok Palace in Seoul. In order to find places for an increased number of items, the museum was moved to Tŏksu Palace in 1973. In August 1986, it transferred to a newly-constructed building in Kwach’ŏn.

The museum’s collection ranges from the early twentieth c. to the present-day. In particular, the curators have collected works representing the modern evolution of art. The museum also has a library with a collection of over 6 000 books and 3 000 research theses, all of which are available to both specialists and the general public. There is also a data library with videos, slides, and a wealth of other information on 4 000 or so Korean artists.
In addition to its exhibitions, it conducts research programs and promotes international exchange.

**National Museum of Korea**

The National Museum of Korea (Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan) came into being as the Yi Royal Household Museum (Iwangga Pangmulgwan) which was opened in Ch'anggyöng Palace in 1909. In 1915, the museum was reorganised as the Japanese Government-General Museum (Ch'ongdokpu Pangmulgwan) and the collection was moved to Kyongbok Palace. On Korea's liberation in 1945, the museum was restored as the National Museum of Korea (Kungnip Pangmulgwan), with a collection exceeding 13,000 exhibits.

By 1950, the collection had grown to 20,000 items. However, several days after the commencement of the Korean War on 25 June 1950, the North Korean forces took Seoul in a lightning thrust southwards, and part of Kyongbok Palace and several thousand pieces in the museum were destroyed by bombs or artillery shells. The officials were unable to move the collection to a safe haven and were forced to abandon it. Fortunately, when Seoul was retaken on 28 September, the 18,000 or so pieces remaining were found intact in Toksu Palace. In November 1950, just two months before the see-saw assaults of the opposing armies placed Seoul in Chinese and North Korean hands, every single piece of the museum's collection was transferred to Pusan.

At the end of the war in 1953, the collection was brought back to Seoul and was again kept at Kyongbok Palace. It stayed there for only a short while, however, soon being transferred to Nam Mountain, and then to Toksu Palace. In 1972, the National Museum was constructed within the Kyongbok Palace compound. In August 1986, the collection was moved into the former Japanese Government-General Headquarters located directly in front of Kyongbok Palace. With the ROK government's decision to demolish the building, the museum was moved to the former Socio-Education Centre, in December 1996.

Today, the National Museum is in 1, Sejong-no, Chongno-ku, Seoul. Its building consists of two storeys and a basement exhibition area (in all 18,346 sq. m. of floor space), which contains in all more than 140,000 artefacts and art treasures. Of these, 4,500 artefacts are exhibited in eighteen permanent galleries, which include laser-disk and touch-screen audio-visual guides. In the basement, items of Buddhist sculpture; metal art objects; paintings; historical texts; blue-and-white porcelain; the Dongwon Collection; the Iuchi Collection; and artefacts from other countries are on display. The first floor galleries exhibit Koryo celadon; Chosön punch'öng ware; Chosön white porcelain; a replica of a typical male abode (sarangbang) and a model of the original Kyongbok Palace. The second floor exhibits relics from the Prehistoric era and the Three Kingdoms. The National Museum assists the preservation of Korea's cultural heritage, not only through its vast collections, but also by its conservation and research programs; in providing educational programs to the public, in publishing academic reports, and in its promotion of international exchange programs.

**National Puyo Museum**

The Puyo National Museum (Kungnip Puyo Pangmulgwan) is located in Puyo in South Ch'ungch'öng Province. The museum's collection was initially formed through the efforts of the local historical association, Puyo Kojok Pojonhoe. In 1945, the Puyo branch of the National Museum was founded, with Hong Sajun as chief curator. Unlike many other Korean museums, both the museum and its collection escaped serious damage during the Korean War. In 1965, a new museum with a modern exhibition hall and facilities was constructed. Today, most of the museum’s collection consists of Paekche relics recovered from the Puyo area, with earthenware vessels accounting for over half of the museum’s
Total collection.

National Science Museum

The National Science Museum (Kungnip Kwahakkwan) is situated in Yusong District in Taejon. Established in Seoul in 1945, it was reduced to ashes during the Korean War. In 1970, the museum was re-established in a five-storey building in Waryong-dong in Seoul. This was followed by the construction of the Industrial Exhibition Hall in 1979. Between 1985 and 1990, new facilities for the museum were built within the Taeduck (Taedŏk) Science Town in Taejon at its present location.

The National Science Museum promotes public awareness of science, with the special aim of fostering an interest in science among Korean youth. Museum facilities include the Permanent Exhibition Hall, Space Theatre, film theatre, seminar rooms, laboratories, open-air theatre and collection rooms. The Permanent Exhibition Hall (8,570 square metres) contains over six thousand pieces. Items on exhibition include over two thousand natural history pieces, some two thousand history of science and technology items, over five hundred natural science items, nine hundred and sixty technological displays and thirty-five ‘hands-on’ items. In addition to these exhibits, the National Science Museum conducts educational programs, which include lectures, film shows, nation-wide science exhibitions, and there is a computer education program, as well as an inventions contest for students.

National treasure

Natson shigan sŏgūro (Into an Unfamiliar Time)

Natural Resources

Natural resources in a narrow definition can indicate metals, non-metals and fossil fuels, but in a wider interpretation can include underground and other water resources, marine resources, forest products, thermal springs and geothermal heat. Some natural resources such as granite are not generally thought of as such, yet they have many uses in construction. The Korean peninsula, while being relatively small, has many natural resources that have contributed greatly to the economic development of the Korean economy.

Energy Resources

While energy resources such as oil and natural gas have not yet been discovered, nor are thought to be present on the Korean peninsula; geological and seismic surveys and drilling on the continental shelf surrounding the peninsula from 1963 to 1976 did reveal a small, but not economically viable, amount of crude oil. Explorations off the Cholla coast exposed deposits of Mesozoic Era oil, shale and semisolid oil. However, investigations into the procedure for extracting an economically sufficient amount of this oil have yet to prove fruitful. On the other hand, the Korean peninsula is richly endowed with various coal resources, primarily anthracite from the later Palaeozoic Era in the P’yŏngan Group and the Mesozoic Era in the Taedong Group. The P’yŏngan Group reserves are particularly rich and account for some eighty-five per cent of the peninsula’s total. There are some coal reserves in the southern part of the peninsula, which were estimated at about fifteen billion tonnes in 1981. Much of the reserves in the south, however, are of rather low quality sub-bituminous coal, and have not yet been developed.

Nuclear Fuel Resources

Domestic reserves of uranium are found in Pre-Cambrian Era black slate metamorphic rock,
along with reserves of pegmatite and other minerals in locations such as those around Taejŏn; Kŭmsan; P'o'ın; Miwŏn; and Yongyu Village; as well as elsewhere. In the Okch'ŏn Group surrounding the Taejŏn area, low-quality uranium is found embedded in various slate formations. If technical advances permit the economical extraction of this ore, it will prove to be an extremely valuable natural resource. Technical difficulties exist at present in extracting the thorium content from the uranium ore, thus making it unusable; but it is thought that technology will eventually solve this problem. The thorium content results in the presence of monazite in large quantities in alluvial fans, so much so that Korea is considered to have some of the largest monazite reserves of any country. Riverbeds such as on the Han, Yŏngsan, and Sŏmjin rivers, and the seashores of the East Coast are major sites of monazite deposits. Moreover, monazite found on the ocean floor is also an important national resource. Reserves of monazite and other rare-earth elements are estimated at 150,000 tonnes.

Iron Ore Reserves

Various ores that are mined in Korea have been crucial to economic growth, including iron, tungsten, nickel, molybdenum, and cobalt as well as others. Among these metals, only tungsten and molybdenum are extracted in quantities that exceed national needs, and are thus valuable exports. Most of the prominent iron ore reserves are found in Musan and Sŏngjin counties of North Hamgyŏng Province; Iwŏn and Tanch'ŏn counties of South Hamgyŏng Province; Kaech'ŏn and Chunghwa counties of South P'yŏngan Province; Ŭnyul, Hwangju and Chaeryŏng counties of Hwanghae Province; Yangyang County of Kangwŏn Province; and Chungwŏn County of Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. The highest quality iron ore is found in the western parts of Hwanghae and South P'yŏngan provinces. Iron ore extraction in the southern part of the peninsula includes operations in Chŏngsŏn and Samch'ŏk counties of Kangwŏn Province; and Chungwŏn County of Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. The southern half of the peninsula holds important reserves of manganese, with the largest being located in Ponghwa County of North Kyŏngsang Province. Additionally, significant reserves of zinc and lead are being mined in Ponghwa County. Production of manganese peaked in 1975 at 3,500 tonnes, down to a low of 39 tonnes in 1979. Tungsten and molybdenum reserves are also important in the south, with mines located in Kangwŏn, North Ch'ungch'ŏng and North Kyŏngsang provinces. In 1978, reserves and potential reserves in the south were estimated to be in excess of 370,000 tonnes, which represented about seven per cent of the world's reserves, but South Korea's annual production stands at over ten per cent of global production. Other important reserves in the south include nickel, cobalt, niobium, tantalum and vanadium.

Metal Resources

Metals mined in Korea include copper, lead, aluminium, and some others. Copper reserves are primarily found in South Kyŏngsang Province, with the total of known and estimated reserves thought to be nearly fifteen million tonnes. Lead and zinc are important minerals in the South, with major mines located in the Kangwŏn and North Kyŏngsang provinces. While aluminium and bauxite production is not today important, during the colonial period both were extracted in fairly significant quantities. Magnesite reserves in Tanch'ŏn and Kilju of North Hamgyŏng Province are substantial. Gold and silver reserves are relatively insignificant, with gold production being less than one tonne a year in the South. The combined North-South production of silver has exceeded one-hundred tonnes annually, with a ratio of about 6:4 between South and North Korea.
Industrial Raw Materials

Important natural resources in Korea utilised by the chemical industry include fluorite, limestone, feldspar, and dolomite. Other natural resources are used in the chemical industry on a smaller scale. Silicon dioxide and silica exceed the amount needed by the electronics industry and the excess is exported. Mica and mercury are among other natural resources used by the electronics industry.

Natural Resource Exports

Important raw materials exported by Korea include kaolin; agalmatolite; talc; and graphite. Kaolin is chiefly mined in the Hadong and Sanch’ông areas of South Kyŏngsang Province, and graphite is found in Kyŏnggi and South Ch’ungch’ông provinces. Agalmatolite is primarily produced in the Haenam and Wŏndo regions of South Chŏlla Province, as well as Tongnae and Yangsan in South Kyŏngsang Province. Production of talc in the South is primarily in North Ch’ungch’ông Province.

Building Stone Resources

Korea has abundant supplies of various building stone such as granite; andesite; tuff; sandstone; slate; marble; gneiss; and ophiolite, and this is by no means a complete list. These resources are widely utilised in construction work.

Non-renewable Marine Resources

Marine resources of Korea can largely be divided into renewable and non-renewable resources, with the former consisting of marine life and the latter of minerals. The mineral resources in the seas surrounding the peninsula are abundant with non-metallic substances such as sulphur; halite; potassium; and coal present; and metallic minerals including copper; zinc; lead; iron; nickel; gold; silver; mercury; fluorite; beryllium; tin; and tungsten are among others also found. Moreover, the sea also distributes additional resources such as precious metals, sand, pebbles and lime. The shallow seabed around the peninsula contain minerals such as apatite. The deep seas off the peninsula hold major reserves of manganese nodules; iron; nickel; cobalt; and copper. Hence, the peninsula’s seas are guardian to rich reserves of minerals that have many applications in industry and manufacturing.

Renewable Marine Resources

Marine creatures have long provided an essential part of the Korean diet and continue to do so. Fish such as the Alaskan pollack; tuna; mackerel; and anchovies together with marine creatures such as squid; crustaceans; and various types of seaweed are always in demand. The fishing industry can be divided into coastal, deep-sea and cultivation fisheries, with each segment of the industry fulfilling a different need. Coastal fishing is historically the most common type and remained the major fishing operation until the mid-1970s. The Korean peninsula is surrounded by both cold and warm-water currents, which attract many different fish. In 1992, this segment of the marine industry brought in a total catch of 1.3 million tonnes, which accounted for 43.6 per cent of the South’s total catch. Deep-sea fishing provides large catches of many fish that are not always caught in Korean waters, and in so doing it has, of course, to obey many international regulations and restrictions. Nonetheless, deep-sea fishing is of great importance to Korea. Fish cultivation is considered a vital branch of marine resource management, where fish are spawned and developed in captivity, with a proportion released into open water, thus providing a renewal of marine resources. Additionally, there are other forms of aquaculture practised in Korea, such as the cultivation of shellfish and seaweed beds - operations that allow for the thorough utilisation of the extensive Korean coastline to meet the demand of the people for marine products. South Korea’s total catch in 1994 approached 3.5 mill. tonnes, with 1.48
milled tonnes coming from coastal operations, 1.10 mll. tonnes from cultivation fisheries and almost 900 000 tonnes from deep-sea fishing. Not only does this industry provide Korean consumers with a wide range of marine fare, it is also a major export outlet, with a value exceeding 1.7 billion US dollars.

Neo-Confucianism and Choson Society (see Confucianism)

New Democratic Republican Party [Politics]

New History of Korea, A

A New History of Korea is a comprehensive overview of the various developmental processes that Korea has passed through during its long history. This work, written by Ki-Baik Lee (Yi Kibaek) was translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz, and published in 1984 by Harvard University Press. Lee's original work in Korean was entitled Hang'guksa Shil' (A New History of Korea) and was published in 1961 before its revision and re-issue in 1967 and 1976. The translated work, consisting of 474-pages, is comprised of sixteen chapters and covers the history of Korea from the Palaeolithic period until the April 1960 Student Revolution.

Lee's work set the standard for all subsequent works on Korean history in the English language, and it remains as a most comprehensive and authoritative Korean history. While there were earlier efforts, such as those by Homer Hulbert in 1905 and James Scarth Gale in 1927, there was no expansive history published to take advantage of the vast amount of Korean scholarship from the 1960s forwards. Hence, A New History of Korea filled an acute need for an academically suitable, English language history on Korea for contemporary scholars.

A New History of Korea shows Lee's depth of scholarship, with his detailed explanations of the reasons for the occurrence of various events in Korean history, and his intricate weaving of political, social, cultural, religious and economic factors that have so often altered the course of his country's history. Particularly notable is the fact that the author has shown the various cultural and religious developments in Korean history as a consequence of history, and explained in a straightforward manner the rationalisation for these occurrences. Hence, this work is not only valuable for students of Korean history, but for all students of Korean studies, regardless of their field.

Insofar as the contribution of the translation of this work by Wagner and Shultz is concerned, it has provided the present generation of Korean studies scholars with a much needed standardization of terminology concerning historic Korea. This is of no small importance since before the publication of this work there existed no such standardised glossary for official positions, major literary works and and historical events in Korean history. Moreover, the work also contains numerous maps that help the student new to Korea to picture the locales where historical events occurred and the territories concerned. Other appendices to this work include charts outlining the the dynastic lineages of the Korean kingdoms and a select bibliography that provides commentary on various, more specialised, works in Korean studies.

While A New History of Korea ends with the Student Revolution in 1960, it is nevertheless a comprehensive and useful book, especially for the study of pre-colonial Korea. Lee's scholarship is at its best in dealing with the traditional Korean kingdoms, and his work continues to be a yardstick for other works concerned with these particular periods in Korea's history.

New Korea Association (Shin'ghanhoe) [Japan and Korea]
New Korea Democratic Party (see Reunification Democratic Party)

New Korea Society (see Shin'gan Hoe)

New Korea Youth Association (Shin Han Ch'ôngnyŏn Tang) [History of Korea]

New Religions

_Shin chongyo_ or _shinhăng chongyo_, terms for what in the Chosôn Dynasty were called perverse teachings or heresies, and during the Japanese occupation and later by established religions, _yusa chongyo_ (false or quasi-religion). The terms, applied to religions that emerged since 1860 when Tonghak was founded, contrast with institutionalized religions supported or tolerated by government. New religions are distinguished from diffuse shamanism or folk belief by claiming an identifiable founder, a religious organization, doctrine and/or scriptures. However, the borders between a new religion, a reformist sect of an established religion, and shamanist or welfare associations are unclear.

Estimated numbers of new religions range from around 160 to 404 (most agree 250 to 300 presently exist, and over 400 or 500 since 1860), as many are virtually extended families, extremely unstable and short-lived. The current number of believers in South Korea is conservatively estimated at 1.6 million, and generously up to 3.5 million. North Korean numbers are unknown.

Before 1860, new religions were suppressed or incorporated into existing religions. With the collapse of court authority, savage exploitation by the elite, epidemics and natural calamities, foreign threats, the prohibition of Catholicism, and the unresponsiveness and corruption of existing religions, marginalised intellectuals pursued new values. On the basis of shamanist possessions or revelations they formed new religions, attracting believers desperate for an alternative.

In late Chosôn the fundamental themes of most new religions appeared with Tonghak (1860), the _Chŏng yŏk_ thought of Kim Hang (Ibu, 1880s), Kang Il'sun's Ch'ungsan'gyo (1902), Na Ch'o'il's Taejong'gyo (1909), and the predictions in the _Chŏnggammok_ of a new dynasty. These promised a utopia and salvation of the nation.

Oppressed by the Japanese colonialists, the new religions fragmented Ch'ungsan'gyo (reportedly into over 100 'sects'), or newer religions formed, their themes more nationalistic. Some were exploitative or secret societies; others were reforms of existing religions. Second generation organizers emerged, disputes erupted after the founders died, and the Japanese authorities gaol many for subversion or scandal, and so new religions rapidly flamed and disappeared. Most went underground when the colonial administration ordered the 'dissolution of quasi-religions' in 1936, surfacing only after Liberation in 1945, which brought an unprecedented religious freedom. New religions suddenly proliferated; some were imported, and Christian-based new religions flourished. The crises experienced ever since late Chosôn continued during the Korean War, and then rapid economic growth brought alienation for the disadvantaged. The founders and followers of the new religions now tended to be poor and ill educated. Ofen mudang created their own religious bodies in the 1970s because the Saemaül Movement (New Village) pressured them in an anti-superstition campaign.

Classifications of new religions vary, for most overlap. The earliest groups were Tonghak and its epigones, Ch'ŏndogyo (1905) and Shich'on'gyo (1906) - some 25 'sects'; Confucianistic adaptations of the views of Kim Hang (1826-1898), who reinterpreted the Chou Yi as the _Chŏng yŏk_ or correct symbolic analysis of the new order of the universe
initiated in Korea, and the largely defunct Confucianistic revivals of the 1920s and 1930s; Ch'ungsan'gyo groups (from 1902) - over 60 'sects' active; Tan'gun or national ancestor worshipping Taejonggyo and some 45 'sects'; Buddhist (70+ groups), many reformist Buddhism for laity or shamanistic; Taoistic, especially Kaksedo (1915) - the other 11+ groups weak; Pongnam or water-cure groups (around 16) stemming from Kim Pongnam (1898-1950), popular among women divers (sea harvesters); Protestant-based, numbering over 100 bodies, with Ch'ondo'gwan and Tong'ilgyo (Unification Church) the largest; shamanistic (first in 1902, latest 1988) or spirit-worshipping, centred around influential mudang; the unclassifiable due to complex content (16+ groups), the largest Chongilgyo; and foreign new religions from China (especially Ilgwando), Japan (10+ groups, especially Sōka Gakkai and Tenrikyō), and America (Jehovah's Witness, Mormons, etc). Some 'sects' shift across classifications over time and many are transient.

Historically syncretic, borrowing elements of established religions (Taoistic or folk shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity), these new religions are nationalistic. Based on the Confucian mandate of Heaven theory legitimating dynastic change, distressed people believed the geomantic predictions of the Chōnggannok that a new dynasty and earthly paradise was nigh in southern Korea. The promises of the Christian Messiah's second coming, and the Buddhist surety that the future buddha, Maitreya would rescue all from the evil last days, suggested that a saviour would appear in Korea to herald the new age or Korean utopia. That saviour or harbinger would be Korean, as the Koreans were believed to be a chosen people who would be rescued from their tribulations. That saviour's powers could be manifested in shamanistic possession, ecstasy, faith-healing and magical incantations, or in leading the faithful to overcome Korea's enemies, first the Japanese and later godless communism.

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J Jorgensen

News Agencies

Bureau Network

The North Korean national news agency - known as the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) - which was founded in 1946, is the primary agency for gathering and spreading news in that country. It operates bureaus throughout North Korea and in several Asian countries as well.

South Korea contains two indigenous news agencies. One of them is the North Korea-watcher, the Naewoe Press, which was founded in 1974, and the other is the national news agency, Yŏnhap T'ongshin, which was established in 1980 when the Hapdong News Agency and Orient Press were combined. Yŏnhap operates bureaus throughout South Korea and around the world - including its bureaus in London, Paris, New York,
Foreign News Agency Agreements

KCNA has information exchange agreements with many foreign news agencies - including Informatsionnoye Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Rossii-Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Suverennykh Stran (or ITAR-TASS, from Russia); Rossiyskoye Informatsionnoye Agentstvo-Novosti (or RIA-Novosti, also from Russia); and Xinhua (New China) News Agency (from the People's Republic of China). All three of these agencies have bureaus in North Korea.

Yonhap has news exchange contracts with 40-plus worldwide and regional agencies, including the Associated Press and United Press International (or AP and UPI, U.S.A.); Reuters (United Kingdom); Agence France-Presse (or AFP, France); Xinhua (China); AAP Information Services (Australia); Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata (or ANSA, Italy); Kyodo Tsūshin (Japan); Deutsche Press-Agentur (Germany); and TASS (Russia).

'Infomax' Services

Yonhap Tongshin (or Yonhap News Agency) originated an on-line, real-time computer information service near start of the 1990s that provides economic stories and business statistics to more than 300 clients in South Korea. The biggest share of its clients are businesses, banks and other financial institutions, and government agencies. Among the bits of data that flow to Yonhap's clients are trade figures, interest rate fluctuations, currency exchange rates, and commodity prices. The agency's Infomax Department (employing 30 full-time staff and using 20 computer terminals) is assisted in its work by Yonhap's Foreign, Economic, and Editorial news departments. Infomax goes hand-in-hand with the satellite transmissions and other up-to-date technologies utilized by that agency. No other news service on the Korean peninsula is outfitted as well to transmit news to its clients, and Yonhap takes great pride in being fully-computerized.

Information Distribution

In North Korea, news agency information is distributed by wire and computer, as well as via a daily newspaper (the Korean Central News or Chosŏn Chungang Tongshin), a photographic periodical (Photographic News or Sajin Tongshin), and a yearbook (Korean Central Yearbook (Chosŏn Chungang Yŏnbo). KCNA also issues daily press releases in English, Russian, French, and Spanish.

In South Korea, Yonhap's information used to be received and distributed by wire (the practice has existed in Korean news agencies since liberation from Japan in 1945; previous to 1945, the Japanese news agency Domei operated in Korea); now it is done almost exclusively by computer, as well as via newsletters (feature and news), a yearbook (Korea Annual), and a monthly photo magazine (Segye, or The World). Meanwhile, the Naewoe Press uses wire, computer, and periodical publications to transmit its news. Vantage Point is its monthly journal of news on North Korea, and that is distributed free-of-charge to interested parties.

International Communication

KCNA relies on its sources, correspondents, and clients in 'friendly countries' to pass along and receive news on international subjects. Foremost among those friendly countries are Russia and China. But other countries are involved as well. For instance, in 1981 representatives of 23 news agencies met in Malaysia to form the Asia-Pacific News Network (ANN), a long-time goal of UNESCO. Seven news agencies from Communist countries - Xinhua (China), Tass (the-then-Soviet Union), Vietnam News Agency, Korean
Central News Agency (North Korea), Khaosan Pathe Lao (Laos), Bakhtar (Afghanistan), and Montsame (Mongolia) - were admitted to membership. South Korea's newly-formed Yönhap Tongshin was not included in that organization.

More recently with Yönhap, though, as a result of improvements in its transmitting facilities, it has become possible for that news gatekeeper not only to provide a foreign and domestic news service to about 500 domestic clients through a computerized system using the Korean alphabet and Chinese characters, but also to transmit an English news service of 5,000 words daily to its 110 overseas subscribers through a relay of communication satellites.

Newsletter and Photo Journal

KCNA issues newsletters and/or press releases daily in English, Russian, French, and Spanish. It also offers the newspaper, photo journal, and year-book mentioned above.

The Naewoe Press issues its monthly newsletter, Vantage Point, which takes long, hard looks at North Korea, its practices and policies. Meanwhile, Yönhap issues weekly 'hard-news' newsletters and twice-monthly feature newsletters, in addition to the monthly picture magazine mentioned above. That magazine, Segye, is a glossy, attractive picture journal written in Korean. It displays fine photojournalistic pictures, taken most often by Yönhap's photographic staff, but sometimes by free-lancers. Yönhap also publishes a photo annual, which presents many of the best news pictures taken by South Korean photojournalists.

Resident Correspondents

It is impossible to obtain an accurate count of the staff of KCNA. However, it is certain that members of its staff operate in every major city of North Korea, as well as in the friendly countries already mentioned.

Yönhap News Agency recently expanded both its domestic and foreign news coverage, with a staff of more than 300 reporters, writers and editors in its head office in Seoul, and more than 100 correspondents throughout the rest of the country. It maintains 11 overseas bureaus with a total of 13 correspondents in the cities mentioned above.

Bibliography


D J Marcou

Newspapers (see also under each Newspaper)
Newspapers

History of Newspaper Development

The first newspaper in Korea was around the 15th c., when the court issued the Chobo (Court Gazette) which was distributed among the ruling class and government officials. However, it was not until 1883 that the first newspaper approaching modern-style appeared. At this time, the thrice-monthly Hansŏng sunbo, written in Chinese characters, was published by the government. It was followed in 1896 by the first genuinely modern newspaper, the Tongnip Shinmun (The Independent) established by Sŏ Chaep'il. This newspaper started in a small way (300 copies) as a four-page tabloid issued three times a week, with three pages in Korean and one in English. In commemoration of the first edition on 17 April 1896, a national 'Newspaper Day' was declared and 17 April each year is observed as a holiday by the Korean press.

Japanese colonization between 1910-1945 inhibited the independent development of mass media, due to draconian controls exercised by the authorities. Only a few Korean newspapers were allowed to be published. The Korean War and major political upheavals in Korea, since 1945, have singly and collectively, depressed, biased and transformed this industry.

Oligarchical control over the dissemination of information has been monopolised by the government and a few media moguls. The latter are closely associated with chaebol (family-owned corporations). Government changes now under way in the industry are characterized by three general strands: deregulation, liberalization and internationalization of the media, with effectiveness and competitiveness as the desired result.

While government media policy leans towards deregulation, foreign media and their products hinder development of the Korean media market. The media are under pressure to keep down costs, and the rather gloomy forecast is one of intense competition, with viable profit margins increasingly difficult to attain. Internationalization of the media forces the industry to cope with the changing international market. Driven on by a fierce profit-oriented market structure, the mass media clings to the unhealthy philosophies of sensationalism and commercialism to sell their products.

The Dailies Market

Daily newspapers are among the most important media in Korea. Due to the country's rapid economic development and achieved higher living standards, newspaper sales have steadily increased. (Table 1.)

Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Copies</th>
<th>Single Issue</th>
<th>Per-capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3,100,000</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6,100,000</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>8,390,000</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>10,429,000</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The oldest continuously published newspapers in Korea are the Chosun Ilbo and the Dong-A Ilbo, both were established in the early 1920s. Now, metropolitan and provincial newspapers offer a wide range from which to choose (Table 2).
While major dailies remained profitable throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s, there is a growing fear of decreasing profit margins in the face of fierce market competition. Of the many elements that have caused a transformation of the newspaper industry from a seller's market to a buyer's market, the most important were political and industrial liberalization. The terms 'liberalization and competition' can be applied right across the mass media spectrum.

Technological improvement has dominated the newsprint industry and has drastically shortened the production process, primarily to meet deadlines and thereby win the 'speed game' over competitors. Prototype has been replaced by computer type-setting (CTS). The national dailies have introduced a fully-computerized production system and in a more modest way, local newspapers, such as the Pusan Daily, have followed suit in order to be competitive. The industry's captains believe, however, that unless the more conventional and resource-wasting individual delivery systems are replaced or at the minimum 'fine-tuned', newspapers cannot hope to win in the competition with the electronic media.

Four dailies, the Chosun Ilbo, the Dong-A Ilbo, the Joong-ang Ilbo, and the Hankook Ilbo control 60 per cent of the Korean newspaper market. Two English-language dailies are also in production. They are the Korea Times, a sister paper of the Hankook Ilbo, and the Korea Herald, which is owned by the Korea Traders' Association. Each of these papers publishes around 100,000 copies a day. Of total industry revenue, the four major companies absorb 70.7 per cent. The newspapers are heavily dependent on advertising which accounts for more than 80 per cent of total earnings, but which also consumes about 55 per cent of total space in each newspaper produced.

Advertising

Between 1981 and 1991 media advertising grew from revenue earnings of 218 billion won to 2,000 billion won. Remarkably, Koreans spent 3,000 billion won in 1993 supporting the media, which accounted for just over 1.0 per cent of the GNP.

Several hundred advertising agencies operate across Korea, but of these only 115 are permitted to engage in radio and TV advertising. In a consumer-oriented economy, advertising expenditure is led by electronic equipment, and food and beverages. Table (3) provides a breakdown of the distribution of advertising sales by the various media outlets.

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**Table 2.**

Growth of the Korean Dailies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1987</th>
<th>1993</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dailies</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation (millions)</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising revenue (Snill.)</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>1,657</td>
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---

**Table 3**

Distribution of Advertising Sales-1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>31.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Journalists and Censorship
Although now diminishing in their stringency, media control laws can be said to still seriously threaten journalism's autonomy. Numerous statutes, including the Publication Law, Broadcasting Law, National Security Law, National Secrecy Act and so forth, inhibit critical journalist practice, a fundamental element of democracy. It is only from 1987 that the people's movements have been able to voice their independent opinions. In newspaper reporting, journalists have been hampered in their tasks by direct censorship and by indirect controls.

Journalists in Korea have long been favoured with higher than average salaries. However, there is growing concern about the stressful conditions under which they have to work, particularly with super-level competition arising since the liberalization of the media. Journalist associations have taken to advertising their members' grievances, by regular full-page notices in the dailies. Many think that true and honest reporting has had to be sacrificed to the sensational and commercial, for the sake of company profit. Table (4) shows media employment in selected years between 1980 and 1993.

Table 4
The number of journalists and reporters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Broadcasting</th>
<th>News Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>10,210</td>
<td>7,065</td>
<td>1,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>8,849</td>
<td>7,297</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>18,714</td>
<td>11,944</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>20,934</td>
<td>12,308</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>22,661</td>
<td>12,981</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>22,870</td>
<td>12,981</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nim ū ch'immuk (Silence of Love, The) [Literature]

1988 Olympics in Seoul (XXIVth Olympiad) [History of Korea]

No Ch'ŏnmyŏng (1911-1957)

No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, a leading modern female poet, is best known for her poem "Sasum" (Deer). She is commonly referred to as the "deer poet." She was born in 1911 in Changyŏn, Hwanghae Province. After her father's death in 1919 her family moved to Seoul where she entered Chinnmyŏng Elementary School. In her fifth year she was promoted by examination and advanced to the Chinnmyŏng Girls' Middle School. In 1934 she graduated from the English literature department of the present Ewha Women's University. During her university years, before No took active part as a member-contributor in the Shiwŏn (Poetry Garden) magazine, she published seventeen of her poems in magazines such as Ewha, Shintonga, and Shingajŏng.

No was active in the Dramatic Arts Society, playing the role of Anya in Anton Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard" alongside Mo Yunsuk, who was also a notable woman poet and a member of the Poetry Garden magazine. For three years No worked as a reporter for the arts section of the Chosŏn chungang ilbo newspaper. She then travelled through North Jiandao before returning to Seoul to work for the publications section of the women's journal Yŏsŏng and the arts section of the Maeil shinbo newspaper. After Liberation in 1945 No worked as senior editor at the Panyŏ shinmun and the Seoul shinmun newspapers. When the North Korean army occupied Seoul in the early stages of the Korean War, No was unable to flee the city. She was afterwards imprisoned by the South Korean authorities for her association during this time with Im Hwa's left wing Writer's Federation. In the later years of her life she lectured at Sŏrabŏl School of Arts and worked for the publications office of Ewha Women's University. In 1957 she died of cerebral
No Sashin (1427-1498)

No Sashin was a scholar-official of the early Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Kyoha, his courtesy name was Chaban, and his pen names were Pojinjae and Ch’ŏnündang. His father, No Muljae, was the Third Deputy Director (tongjisa) of the Royal House Administration (Tollyŏngbu).

In 1451 No passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (Saengwŏn shi) and in 1453 the Civil (mun’gwa) and the Military Service (pyŏnggwa) examinations and was selected as a scholar at the Hall of Worthies (Chipyŏnjŏn). After this time he held various other posts including Lecturer (chikkang) at the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) and Draftsman (ŭnggyo) at the Royal Office of Decrees (Yemun’gwan). By 1460 he was Fourth Inspector (chip’yoŋ) at the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). In 1463 No was appointed as Second Counsellor (chikchehak) at the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan) and at this time he supplemented Yŏhae, commentary to the Yŏkhak kyemong. In 1465 he was appointed as Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo) and also compiled Kyŏngguk laeŏn (The National Code) together with Ch’oe Hang. Later in the same year he moved from the Board of Taxation to the position of Governor (kwanch’alsa) of Ch’ungch’ŏng Province where he investigated and rectified the injustices present in his domain. In 1469 he held various positions in the State Council (Ŭijŏngbu), eventually being promoted to Fifth State Councillor (uch’ansŏng). In 1470 he was promoted to Fourth State Councillor (chwach’ansŏng) of the State Council and simultaneously held office as Minister (p’ansŏ) at the Board of Personnel (Ijo). In 1476 he was director (yŏngsa) of the Royal House Administration and also gave lectures at the National Confucian Academy on matters such as the Four Classics. He also helped King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) with the civil administration. In 1485 he was appointed as First Minister (yŏngsa) of the Office of Ministers-without-Portfolio (Chungch’ubu) and helped P’yŏngan and Kyŏnggi provinces recover from various calamities. In 1487 on the occasion of a new emperor to the Ming throne, No travelled to China as part of an official congratulatory mission sent by Chosŏn. In 1492, he served as Second State Councillor (chwaiŭijŏng) and in 1495 as Chief State Councillor (yŏngŭijŏng). However, due to an incident involving the success of his wife’s relatives in the government service examination, No was censured and he then resigned from his post. During the Purge of 1498 (muo sahwa) No was among the neo-Confucian literati who were expelled and he died of disease.
on his way to his place of exile.

No’s literary works include the aforementioned Kyŏngguk taejŏn, which served as the basis for the legal code of Chosŏn until the late nineteenth century and also works such as Samguksa chŏl’yo (Abridgement of the History of the Three Kingdoms) that he compiled along with Sŏ Kŏjong (1420-1488) and Yi P’a. In addition also with Sŏ, he edited and compiled Tongguk t’onggam (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom). Tongguk yŏji sŏngnam (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea) is another work of No’s that he wrote in collaboration with Sŏ Kŏjong, Sŏng Im, and Yang Sŏngji.

No T’aeu (see Rho Tae-woo)

Nodong kijun pŏp [Tourism]
Nodong Shinmun [Russia and Korea]
Nodong ŭi saepeyŏk [Literature]
Nogŭp (stipend village) [Taxes]

Nogye chip (Collected Works of Nogye)

Nogye chip is the literary collection of Pak Illo (1561-1642), styled Nogye, a Chosŏn period poet. This work consists of three volumes in two fascicles and is woodblock printed. There are a total of three editions of this work with the first having been published in 1800, the second in 1904 and the last in 1959. The second edition is much like a supplemented version of the first edition while the 1959 edition is very similar to the first edition.

The first volume contains various discourses and several types of poetry in both five-syllable and seven-syllable quatrains. The second volume contains other miscellaneous writings including various essays and biographies. The third volume of this work is the most famous and contains around sixty shijo and several examples of kasa. The literature in the third volume is highly acclaimed for its literary merit and valued for research into Korean literary history.

Nojang [Literature]

Non’gyae (? –1593)

Non’gyae was an official kisaeng (female entertainer) who lived in the Chinju region of South Kyŏngsang Province. She is remembered for her patriotic martyrdom at the time when the Japanese had overrun Chinju during the 1592. During the time of the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Chinju Fortress was sacked by the Japanese troops, and it is widely circulated that Non’gyae seduced a Japanese general and then plunged to her death along with him from a cliff overlooking the Nam River. The record of this event was passed on by word of mouth and does not appear in official records until 1620. In Ōu yadam (Ōu’s Unofficial Histories) it is recorded that this kisaeng, for whom society had little more than disdain, sacrificed her own life for the good of the nation. On the other hand, the people of Chinju hold the patriotic actions of this heroine in great esteem and the rock from which she is said to have plummeted to her death, is known as the ‘Rock of Righteousness’ (uiam).

However, despite the degree of reverence that the people of the Chinju hold Non’gyae in,
an account of her life is not included in *Tongguk shinsok samgang haengshil to* (New Supplement to the Illustrated Guide to the Three Relationships). This records the lives and deeds of virtuous women, filial sons and loyal retainers. The omission is probably due to the fact that the compilers of this work were steeped in the Confucian ideology that would not give official recognition to the virtuous conduct of a lowly kisaeng. Nonetheless, the citizens of Chinju honoured the actions of Nongyae in erecting an altar at the river side where she gave her life and in offering sacrificial rights to her righteous spirit. On a nationwide level, there are religious rites offered to Non'gyae in many locales and this bespeaks of the undying admiration the people have for her.

In the nineteenth c. many different aspects of Non'gyae's life were revealed, such as her being born in Changsu of Chôlla Province, being of a yangban (upper class) family, her surname being Chu, and that she was either the lover of Hwang Chin or Ch'oe Kyônghoe. However, none of this conjecture is confirmed by historical documents and there are no real facts known concerning the birth or early life of Non'gyae. Nevertheless, she is still venerated by the Korean people as a true heroine who put her country before her own life. Presently, at Chinju Fortress there is a monument marking the spot where Non'gyae is said to have jumped to her death, together with a statue of her likeness.

*Nongak*  
[ Dance ]

*Nongga chipsŏng* (Compilation for Farmers)  
[ Agriculture ]

*Nongjong ch'waryo* (Essentials of Farm Management)  
[ Agriculture ]

*Nongjong shinp'yon* (New Approaches to Farm Management)  
[ Agriculture ]

*Nongp'ŏ mundap* (Dialogue of Nongp'ŏ)  
[ Agriculture ]

*Nongsa chiksŏl* (Straight Talk on Farming)  
[ Agriculture ]

**Nonsan**

Situated in the southeastern part of South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Nonsan consists of the towns of Kanggyŏng, Nonsan and Yŏmnun, and the townships of Kayagok, Kwanggŏk, Nosŏng, Tumia, Pŏlgok, Pujŏk, Sangwŏl, Sŏngdong, Yangch'ŏn, Yŏnsan, Unjin, Ch'aen and Haji. Formerly known as Nonsan County, the city covers an area of 604.63 square kilometres and as of 1988, had a population of 182 000. Mt. Kyeryong (845m) rises on the county's northeastern border, and Mt. Taedun (878m) is on the southeastern border. Nonsan has an average temperature of 12.4 deg.c. and annually receives 1 234mm of rain.

Except for the mountainous areas along the eastern border, most of the city consists of level terrain suitable for farming. Approximately 230 sq. kms. of the city area are arable land. Of this, 161 square kms. grow rice and 69 square kilometres cultivate dry-field crops such as barley and other grains, tobacco, vegetables, ginseng and flax. Factories in the city include refineries, breweries and textile mills.

Tourists are drawn to the area's mountains, Buddhist temples and other historical sites. Scenic attractions include Mt. Kyeryong National Park in the northeast and Mt. Taedun Provincial Park in the southeast. Nonsan Reservoir (also known as T'apjong Reservoir) is popular with anglers who come to fish for carp. Built during the early 1940s, the reservoir holds 31 610 000 tons of water and provides irrigation to 5 197 hectares of rice paddies.
Kwanch'ok Temple is one of the city’s most visited Buddhist monasteries. Situated in Unjin’s Kwanch’ok Village, the temple was founded during the early Koryŏ period. In the temple grounds is the 18-metre-high Maitreya statue (Treasure No. 218) that was carved in 968 C.E. The statue was built with three large blocks of granite: one piece for the head and body and two pieces for the arms. The figure wears a cone-shaped hat with two square, flat sections near the top which serve to prevent rain from eroding the structure. Other important Buddhist sites include Ssanggye Temple in Kayagok’s Chungsan Village and the old site of Kaet’ae Temple (founded in 936) in Yŏnsan.

A large number of Confucian schools exist in the area, such as Unjin Hyanggyo (founded in 1380) in Unjin’s Kyoch’on Village, Nosŏng Hyanggyo (founded in 1398) just west of Highway 23 in Nosŏng, Yŏnsan Hyanggyo (founded in the mid-Chosŏn period) in Yŏnsan’s Kwandong Village, Ch’unggok Sŏwŏn (founded in 1692) in Pujŏk’s Ch’unggok Village, Tonam Sŏwŏn (founded in 1634) in Yŏnsan’s Im Village, Chungnim Sŏwŏn next to the Kŭm River in Kanggyŏng, Haengnim Sŏwŏn south of the Honam Expressway in Kayagok, Hyoam Sŏwŏn just north of the Honam Expressway in Kayagok, Kŭmgok Sŏwŏn, Nogang Sŏwŏn (founded in 1675) in northern Kwangŏk and Ponggok Sŏwŏn. Kongyang University in Nonsan’s Naedong Village is a modern educational institution.

North Korean Society (see Society)

North Star (Puksŏng Hoe)

North Wind Society (Pukp’ung Hoe)

Northern Learning (pakhak)

Northernners (Pugin)

Nosa chip (Collected Works of Nosa)

Nosa chip is the anthology of the late Chosŏn period scholar Ki Ch’ŏngjin (1798-1876, styled Nosa). It was published by the disciples of Ki in 1882 and consists of twenty-two volumes. Subsequently in 1890 another fifteen volumes were published using movable type. The work was reissued in 1902 as a woodblock-print work.

The work is notable for the ideological views of the author, which revolve around the dualistic relationship between i and ki. I is a patterning or formative element that accounts for the behavior of all things in the universe, while ki is the concretising and energising element. These two concepts were viewed as inseparable and mutually dependent since neither could exist without the other. Various schools of neo-Confucian thought advocated the supremacy of one of these concepts over the other, and the author of this work is conspicuous by advocating the supremacy i over ki.

In addition to the author’s philosophical views, this work also contains many essays on the various aspects of Confucian thought which display the great knowledge of the author. However, the work is most noteworthy for the ideological concepts of the author, which were in marked contrast to others in his time. This collection was included in the 1976 Nosa sŏnsaeng munjip (Literary Collection of Master Nosa) published by Asŏng Munhwa Sa, the 1982 Ki Ch’ŏngjin chŏnjjip (The Complete Works of Ki Ch’ŏngjin) published by Asea Munhwa Sa, and Nosa sŏnsaeng munjip (Literary Collection of Master Nosa) published in 1983 by Pogyŏng Munhwa Sa.

Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok (Nosongdang’s Japan Travelogue)
The Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok is an account of travels in Japan by Song Hūigyōng, who was sent as an envoy to the Japanese court by King Sejong of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1420.

Chosŏn rulers often dispatched envoys to Japan and many accounts have been written, but this is the earliest of such accounts and the journey had an important bearing on events during the reign of King Sejong.

In Chosŏn's early years diplomatic relations with Japan were sensitive as a result of, among other things, a Korean attack on a pirate base at Tsushima. After this assault, at the end of which Korean forces had to withdraw, the Muromachi Shogunate sent a Buddhist Monk, Ryōgei, to Korea for the purpose of ascertaining the political situation and to sound out Korea's intentions regarding another attack on Tsushima. The priest was sent under the pretense of requesting the Taedjanggyŏng, the Tripitaka Koreana. For its part, Korea realized the difficulty sending another expedition against Tsushima and decided to employ conciliatory policies toward Japan. It therefore sent Song Hūigyōng in an attempt to establish peaceful relations.

The author departed from Seoul on the fifteenth day of the first month of 1420. He reached Hakata in Kyushu and was officially received there and in Akamazeki (Shimonoseki). He then proceeded to Kyōto. When the envoy's party arrived in Kyōto, Shōgun Yoshimochi was still hostile toward Korea and refused to receive the Korean. Though conceding nothing, Song Hūigyōng's skilful diplomacy eventually led to a meeting with the Shōgun who at last consented to receive the royal message from Korea as well as a copy of the Tripitaka Koreana. The envoy then returned to Korea and reported the establishment of friendly diplomatic relations between the two countries to King Sejong.

The journey took Song Hūigyōng nine months and ten days and his observations on various Japanese social institutions, customs and scenery, as well as the account of his diplomatic experiences are expressed in 224 poems and supplementary essays in the Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok. There are two records in the Annals of King Sejong of this diplomatic journey, but none in Japanese historical material and for this reason alone the work is considered an important historical source. Among important matters described by Song Hūigyōng are the political relationship between the Shōgun and the feudal lords, the economic situation as a whole, shrines and temples and the daily life of the common people of Japan. He also noted that Japan had established a monetary economy and developed three-crop farming. Reflecting his own deeply-felt, scholarly Confucian values, Song Hūigyōng stated that Japan would be an important nation, provided its people knew humanity and righteousness.

The oldest of the extant editions of the Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok is that published during the reign of King Chŏngjo in 1800. This edition was based on a version copied from a text taken to Japan during the Japanese Invasion of 1592. Another edition was copied and published in Japan. In 1889, the Asian Association carried the extracted text of this work in the Sixth Collection of Kaiyōroku, thus introducing the work to the academic world. In 1933, Taiyōsha published Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok under the title Kōchū Rōshōdō Nihon gyōroku.

Nŏul

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (Haek kwangsan kŭmji choyak)

Nuhang sa (Song of a Humble Life)
O Kwangun (1689-1745)

O Kwangun was a late Chosŏn period civil-official. His family's ancestral home is in Tongbok, his courtesy name was Yŏnghaek and his pen name was Yaksan. His father, O Sangsun, was the First Secretary (tojŏng) of the Royal House Administration (Tol'yŏngbu). In 1719 he passed the augmented civil service examination (ch'unggwang shi) and then served as the Fifth Tutor (sŏlsŏ) for the future King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). After this in 1728 he served at the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun 'gwan), first as Sixth Counsellor (such'an) and then as Fifth Counsellor (kyori).

At about the time that the Yi Injwa Rebellion of 1728 broke out, Yongjo implemented his t'angp'yŏng ch'ae (policy of impartiality) that sought to appoint men from each of the four colours (sasaek), or factions to an equal amount of positions in the government. O was instrumental in the implementation of this policy. By the appointment of an equal number of officials from the Old Doctrine (noron), Young Doctrine (soron), the Southerners and the Northerners, the government achieved a state of balance that it had not experienced for some time. This served to greatly enhance royal authority and provide political stability through the long reign of Yongjo and the subsequent reign of Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). However, even this far-sighted policy was not able to eradicate the roots of political factionalism.

O continued his rise in the Chosŏn government and was appointed as Inspector (anhaeksa) of the Yŏngnam region in 1729 and then as Inspector-General (taesahon). In 1737, he was appointed as Censor-General (taesagan). In 1740, along with Wŏn Kyŏngha and Chŏng Uryang of the soron faction, O issued the statement: 'if the political factionalism were to disappear, then there would be a resultant reverence for moral obligations and justice.' In 1743 O was appointed to the Board of Rites (Yejo) as the Second Minister (ch'amp'an) and in 1744 was appointed as Governor General of Kaesŏng.

Extant literary works of O include the preface in Yu Hyŏngwŏn's Pan'gye surok (Pan'gye's Treatises) and a collection of his own writings,Yaksan man'go. He was posthumously conferred the rank of Minister (p'anso) of the Board of Rites and Director (taejehak) of the Royal Office of Decrees (Yemun'gwan).

Ö Yunjung (1848-1896)

Ö Yunjung was a politician of the Enlightenment Movement of late Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Hamjong, his courtesy name was Sŏngjip and his pen name Iljae. He was born in Po'in of Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. He passed the civil service examination at twenty-one and was appointed as Recorder (chusŏ) in the Royal Secretariat (Sŭngjongwon). After this he held a variety of positions including Fifth Counsellor (kyori) at the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan), Fourth Inspector (chip’yŏng) at the Office of the Inspector General (Sahŏnbu) and Magistrate of a large county (kunsu) in Yangsan. In 1877, he was appointed as Secret Inspector (amhaeng oša) in Chŏlla Province and for nine months he investigated diverse matters in each of the districts throughout Chŏlla and then reported to the court on cases of official graft, corruption, or illegal use of conscripted labour. Ö proved to be quite conversant with the problems confronting the farmers of the region and he proposed a number of reforms including the abolition of miscellaneous taxes, reform, of the land tax system and the elimination of the samsup’o (grain and cloth tax for the military). Although King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and the court deliberated on these measures, they did not become law. It was not until the Reforms of 1894 (kapo kyŏngjang) that Ö himself personally brought in these and associated measures.

In 1881, some sixty Koreans were sent to Japan on the so-called ‘gentleman’s sightseeing tour (shinsa yuramdan)’ that was, in reality, a fact-finding mission on the progress and effects of the Japanese modernisation. Ö Yunjung, Cho Chun'yŏng, Pak Chŏngyang and
Hong Yongshik were among those who were on this journey that had a profound impact upon the members. At this time, Kim Hongjip, the ambassador to Japan, received some books from the counsellor to the Qing delegation in Japan, Huang Zunxian. One of these, entitled Chaoxian celile (A Policy For Korea) and written by Huang himself, stressed that Korea should adopt Western institutions to strengthen herself against foreign aggression and form treaties with China, Japan and even America to keep Russian imperialism at bay. Before returning to Korea, Ō travelled to Shanghai to study the Chinese situation. After his stay of more than a year in Japan and China, he returned to Korea with a clear vision of the reforms that were necessary for Chosŏn in order to improve her situation both domestically and internationally.

Upon his return to Korea, Ō was appointed as Inquirer (munŭigwan) and he again travelled to China. During his stay there he had frequent contact with Li Hongzhang for the purpose of concluding a friendly commercial treaty with the United States. However, before Ō could finish this mission, the Military Mutiny of 1882 (imo kullan) erupted in Korea and he returned to Korea with the Qing army. Once the mutiny had been quelled, Ō again returned to China and at this time concluded the Chosŏn-China Land and Sea Trade Accord (Choj-Chung suryŏk muyŏk changjiŏng) which somewhat reformed the former unequal trade treaties that had existed between Qing and Chosŏn. In 1883 Ō was appointed as Northwestern Area Diplomatic Commissioner (sŏbuk kyŏngnyaksa), subsequently completing the Chunggang Trade Regulations (Chunggang muyŏk changjiŏng) and then the Hoeryŏng Trade Regulations (Hoeryŏng t'ongsang changjiŏng).

After the Coup d'Etat of 1884 (kapshin ch'ongbyŏn), in which Ō played no part, and the subsequent government that centred on the political faction of Queen Min (1851-1895), Ō's role in the government was unimportant. However, with the outbreak of the Tonghak Rebellion in 1893, he was sent to Po'n County as the Military Commander of Ch'olla and Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces (yangho sunmusa) where he attempted to persuade the Tonghak army to disband. The Tonghak were particularly outraged at the corruption of the Min government and demanded that changes be made. Ō, however, was not successful in breaking up the Tonghak Army.

With the enactment of the Reforms of 1894 (kapo kyongjang) Ō joined the new government led by Kim Hongjip as the Minister of Finance (t'akchi taeshin). Here, he sought to enact sweeping tax and fiscal reforms for the new government. However, with the backlash that followed from the Japanese assassination of Queen Min in 1895, the pro-Japanese government of Kim Hongjip was ousted by the pro-Russian faction. At this time, Ō was among the members of the Kim Hongjip government killed in the power struggle.

Among the writings of Ō that are extant, Chongjiŏng yŏnp'yo covers his life in government service and his views on many of the important events that surrounded the final years of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

Ōbu sashisa (Fisherman's Calendar) [Literature]

Odæ Mountain

Situated east of Kangnung in Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Odæ (1,563 metres), along with Mt. Sŏrak to the north, is part of the Taebaek Mountain Range. Piro Peak, the mountain's highest point, is surrounded by Horyŏng, Sangwang and Turo Peak. To the south-east of Piro Peak stand Mt. Tongdae (1,434 metres), Noin Peak (1,338 metres) and Mt. Hwangbyŏng (1,407 metres).

Unlike Mt. Sŏrak to the north, Mt. Odæ is characterised by round summits and relatively few areas of exposed rock. With its deep layers of soil, the area supports abundant plant life. In addition, the mountain is home to approximately 17 mammal species, 35 bird
species, 474 insect species and 20 species of fresh-water fish. In the winter, many hikers are attracted to the area because of its gentle terrain. Even when it snows, the trails are passable, and there is little danger of avalanches.

From earliest times, the mountain has been associated with Buddhism. According to the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk yusa*), the monk Chajang went to China’s Mt. Wutai (Kor. Mt. Odae) in 636 C.E. in order to see the Munsu Buddha. Chajang received a Sanskrit verse in a dream, which was later interpreted by a mysterious monk (who was actually the Munsu Buddha). Chajang was told to return to Mt. Odae in Korea which ‘ten thousand Munsu Buddhas make their permanent abode.’ Following the monk’s advice, Chajang returned to Mt. Odae where he indeed met with the Munsu Buddha. Years later, Wŏlchŏng Temple was founded on the site of Chajang’s old hermitage. Still active, the temple houses a number of important historical artifacts. Sangwŏn Temple, located just east of Mt. Odae’s main peak, was also founded by Chajang. In addition, Šaja, Kwanôm, Sujŏng, Chijang and Mirŏk Hermitage are also located in this area.

To the east of Mt. Odae, the gentle terrain gives way to the rocky crags and picturesque gorges of the Sogŭmgang Valley. The area gets its name from the Chosŏn Confucian scholar Yi I (1536-1584), commonly known by his penname Yulgok. In his travelogue *Ch’ŏnghak san’gi*, Yulgok described the area as a miniature (so) version of the Diamond (kŭmgang) Mountains. This scenic valley contains many famous sites, including Shipcha Pool, Shiktang Rock and the lovely Kuryong (Nine Dragons) Waterfall. Remains of Ami Fortress lie near the waterfall, marking the site of a battle between Koguryŏ and Shilla troops. In order to preserve the area’s pristine environment and important historical heritage, Mt. Odae, along with Sogŭmgang Valley to the east, was designated Odae-san National Park in 1975.

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**Odong Island**

As part of Yŏsu in South Cholla Province, Odong Island occupies an area of 0.12 sq. kms. This tiny island consists of hilly, forested terrain with foreboding sea cliffs. At times during Chosŏn, Odong served as a naval training base. In 1935, a 768-metre-long, 7-metre-wide causeway was built connecting the island to the mainland. There is a lighthouse on the island’s south coast. In order to preserve the area’s natural beauty, Odong Island was designated part of Hallyŏ National Marine Park in 1968.

**Office-land tax (chikchŏn)** [Taxes]

**Ogamdo (Crow’s Eye View)** [Literature]

**Ogyo kusan sect** [Buddhism]

**Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san’go** (Random Expatiations of Oju)

*Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san’go* is an encyclopaedic work of late Chosŏn *shirhak* (practical learning) scholar Yi Kyugyŏng (1788-?). This huge collection consists of sixty fascicles in a like number of volumes and is handwritten. This work is valued highly by scholars of Korean history and philosophy for the vast array of information it contains, under some 1
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400 topics. These include astronomy, calendars, mathematics, history, geography, economics, literature, phonetics, the Confucian classics, Western literature, religion, metallurgy, medicine, land surveying techniques, flora and fauna. The subjects discussed the depth of Yi’s scholarship, and show the breadth of shirhak learning.

Shirhak scholarship played an important role in the latter part of Chosŏn after it had been transmitted from China and propagated in Korea. The importance placed on empirical learning vis-a-vis the heretofore neo-Confucian scholarship that stressed vague theoretical issues can be seen in works such as Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san’go, which represents the culmination of shirhak learning. During the colonial period Ch’oe Namsŏn reproduced an edition of this work, which is now kept at Kyujanggak Library. In 1958, Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san’go was republished by Dongguk Munhwasa in a two-volume set.

Okch’ŏn County

Situated in the southern part of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Okch’ŏn County consists of the town of Okch’ŏn, and the townships of Kusuk, Kunsŏ, Tongi, Annam, Annae, Iwŏn, Ch’ŏngsan and Ch’ŏngsŏng. The county covers an area of 535 sq. kms. and as shown by 1989 statistics, had a population of 73 301. Located where the Noryŏng Mountain Range splits from the Sobaek Range, the county’s terrain is mountainous with Mt. Kumjok (652m) rising in the north, Mt. Ch’ŏng’ŭm (465m) and Mt. P’arŭm (762m) in the east, Mt. Wŏri (551m) and Mt. Mani (640m) in the south and Mt. Hwan (581m) and Mt. Masŏng (497m) in the west. Mountain winds make for sharp fluctuations in daily temperatures during both early summer and early autumn. In general, the local climate is characterised by sharp season fluctuations, with January temperatures averaging -3.8c., and an August average of 26.0c. The county receives an annual rainfall of 1 135mm.

About 11 600 hectares of the county area are arable. Of this, almost half grows rice and half grows dry-field crops such as barley, bean, potato, sweet potato and red pepper. Cotton is also grown. Stock breeding and sericulture also contribute to the local economy. Mineral resources found in the area include alluvial gold, graphite, anthracite, silica and feldspar. The city’s industrial sector, overshadowed by that of nearby Taejon, is limited to ko-hemp wallpaper, wig-making, tie-dyed fabrics, silk mills, and tobacco drying plants.

The county has a number of scenic and historical attractions. From Mt. Masŏng, there is a commanding view of the Okch’ŏn basin and the city. On the summit can be seen remnants of Masŏng Fortress. Fragments of earthenware from the Three Kingdoms suggest that the fortress dates from this time. Southeast of the mountain in Samch’ŏng Village lies Yongun Temple. Founded by Ŭishin in 552, this ancient monastery houses a magnificent rock carving of a standing Buddha, a pair of stone pagodas and two altar paintings. In Chŏngsŏng’s Changsu Village, is Kangjŏl Cave. Discovered in 1975, this limestone cave is believed to have formed around six hundred million years ago. A short distance from the entrance is a twenty-one sq. metre chamber with a sandy floor. Just metres past the chamber stalagmites can be seen, together with a small pond. Bowing to safety considerations, this ancient cave has not been opened for tourism.

Old Confucian schools found in the area include Okch’ŏn Hyanggyo in Okch’ŏn’s Kyodong Village and Ch’ŏngsan Hyanggyo in Ch’ŏngsan’s Kyop’yŏng Village (both founded in 1398) and Samye Sŏwŏn (founded in 1621) in Iwŏn’s Kangch’ŏng Village. As for shrines, there is Samch’ŏngsa in Okch’ŏn’s Samch’ŏng Village built in honour of the scholar Kwak Shi and Wŏndŏksa in Iwŏn’s Yongbang Village built in honour of the progenitor of the Miryang Pak clan.

Ondol

Ongjin County
Administratively part of the Inch'on Metropolitan City, Ongjin County consists of 37 inhabited, and 98 uninhabited islands. The county covers an area of 204 sq. kms. and has a population of about 22,000. With a maritime climate, the county's weather is relatively mild with an average annual temperature of 12.1 deg.C. and an average annual rainfall of 1090mm.

Since most of the islands that make up the county are mountainous, only 6000 hectares or so are arable, but this is offset by high soil fertility. Of the land under cultivation, some 3000 hectares grow rice, while slightly less is used for dry-field crops. Local marine products include yellow corbina, skate, blowfish, flatfish, shrimp, crab, clam and seaweed. In addition, the area's extensive salt pans are commercialised.

There are several historical sites within the county. On Taeyŏnp'yŏng Island in Songnim Township, is Ch'ungminsaa, a shrine dedicated to General Im Kyongop (1594-1646, styled Ch'ungmin). In former times, the shrine was used for periodic rituals when the seafaring villagers would pray for an abundant catch. Other important sites include Ssanggye Temple on Taebu Island and a stele commemorating the March First Movement of 1919 in Chin Village on Tŏkch'ŏk Island.

**Ônjin Mountain**

Situated in Hwanghae Province in Suan County, Mt. Ônjin is the main peak of the Ônjin Mountain Range which runs along the provincial border between Hwanghae and South P'yŏngan Province. Although the mountain's summit is flat, the terrain of the area is characterised by steep cliffs and bare rock faces. The mountain has abundant mineral resources, including gold, silver, molybdenum and copper. However, the area's irregular rock formations prevent easy access to the area. The famous Buddhist monasteries, such as Sujŏng, Pulgak and Panya Temple, that once stood here, have all gone to ruin.

**Ônmun chi** (Record of the Korean Language)

Ônmun chi is a comparative study of han'gul and hanmun (Sino-Korean writing) and was written by Yu Hŭi in 1824. The work is titled after the popular designation for the Korean script 'ônmun,' in the early nineteenth century. It was not published as an independent book, but included as part of the author's collected works Munt'ong. Yu's work began at the end of Chosŏn, cited and criticised the scholarship of many of his predecessors, such as Shin Sukchu, Ch'ŏe Sejin and Yi Yongik, in establishing his own theories concerning the Korean language. The work is written in Sino-Korean and is quite short. The contents consist of an introduction, the fifteen initial sounds in Korean, explanations of the changes in the sounds of Korean, a list of the fifteen vowels in Korean, and various explanations of the differences of vowel sounds, among other items.

In 1937, the Society of Korean Language Research (Chosŏn Hakhoe) reproduced Ônmun chi and this served as the basis for the 1958 version of the work that was translated by Yu Ch'angdon and published under the title of Ônmun chi chuhae (Record of the Korean Language, with Annotations). The original work is presumed to have been destroyed during the Korean War. Ônmun chi is prized by present-day scholars of the Korean language as both a record of the language during the early nineteenth century and for the linguistic theories that the author advocates.

**Onyang Folk Museum**

Situated in Onyang in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, the Onyang Folk Museum (Onyang Minsok Pangmulgw'an) was established by Kim Wŏndaе in October 1978 with Kim Hongshik as chief curator. The museum's collection consists of more than seventeen...
thousand items contained in three regular, and two special exhibition halls. The first hall contains items associated with coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, ancestral rites and funerals. In the second hall are work implements that were used for agriculture, fishing, hunting, weaving and livestock breeding. The third hall contains items related to handicrafts, folk beliefs, recreation and academic studies. The museum’s two special halls are set aside for exhibitions of folk paintings and Buddhist art.

Örang Stream

Örang Stream flows 103 kms. from the southern part of North Hamgyŏng Province to the East Sea. With its source on Kwesan Peak (2 277m) in the Hamgyŏng Mountain Range, the Örang joins Myŏnggan Stream near Ponggang Railway Station before entering Kyŏngsŏng Bay. At first, the stream flows southwards but its mid-section changes to an easterly direction. Topographically, the upper-reaches flow through granite while the middle and lower sections are contained by basalt formations. In Örang Township, the stream has formed the Örang Plain, an area used for rice, barley, wheat and corn cultivation, as well as sericulture and cattle breeding. Along the middle section of the stream is Samp’o Hot Spring and on the lower section are Changyŏn and Mugye lakes.

Örini (see Magazines)

Oryun

Osan

Osan is situated in southern Kyŏnggi Province. The area’s terrain is generally flat, but has a number of low hills. Hwangguji Stream flows past the city in the northwest and Osan Stream flows to the southeast. In addition, there are a number of reservoirs, the largest of which is Sŏrang Reservoir north of Nojŏk Peak (160m).

With numerous reservoirs for irrigation and approximately 40 per cent of the area of arable land, the city has ideal conditions for agriculture. Rice and grains used to be the main crops, but emphasis is now placed on dry-field crops, fruit-growing and garden plants. In addition, a number of poultry and dairy farms exist. Located on the Kyŏngbu Expressway on the way from Seoul to Taejŏn, Osan has recently undergone development as an industrial centre. Factories produce textiles, manufactured goods, electrical appliances, electronics and chemical goods (including perfume). As for education, Tertiary education needs are met by Hanshin University in Yangsan-dong.

The city has a number of important historical relics. In Chigot-dong, there is Tok Fortress, which is believed to date from the Three Kingdoms period, and next to the fortress stands Pojŏk Temple. Confucian sites include Kwŏllisa in Kwŏldong. This shrine was originally founded as a library and lecture hall by Kong Sŏrin, who was sixty-four generations removed from Confucius. Legend has it that there was a drum hanging from the gingko tree in the courtyard that Kong would strike to keep his students alert during lectures. In 1792, King Chŏngjo changed the name to Kwŏllisa and had a memorial portrait of Confucius enshrined. Rites are still held here in the autumn and spring. In the northern area of the city near Panwŏl Peak (118m), there is a memorial stele commemorating the first battle of U.N. troops in the Korean War. The battle was fought here on 5 July 1950, just 10 days after the beginning of the war.

Oship Stream (Kangwŏn Province)

With its source on Mt. Paekpyŏng (1 259m) on the border of Samch’ŏk and T’aebaek in
Kangwŏn Province, Oship Stream flows for 52 kms. to the East Sea. Until late-Chosŏn, the Oship was fringed by a dense forest catchment, but during the Japanese occupation, wholesale felling was carried out for timber needed by regional coal mines, and consequently it became heavily polluted, chiefly by waste from the mines. The name Oship (Fifty) comes from the numerous bends on the stream’s lower section. More recently, work has been done to straighten the stream’s course. Since 1969, the Oship has been stocked with salmon fingerlings from the Samch’ŏk fish hatchery. The Chuksŏru Pavilion is a local scenic attraction and is located close to Chuksŏ Bridge in central Samch’ŏk.

Oship Stream (North Kyŏngsang Province)

From its source on Mt. Taedun (905m), Oship Stream flows through the centre of North Kyŏngsang Province’s Yŏngdŏk County into the East Sea. Its tributaries include Shinan, Kwandong and Taesŏ streams. For most of its 40-kms. the Oship is followed eastward by Highway 34. On the west side of the town of Yŏngdŏk, the stream gradually widens as it turns southward to accompany Highway 7. At Kanggu Village, where it discharges into the sea, is Kanggu Beach. In earlier times, large quantities of sweetfish were caught at Kanggu Port, but today the stocks of this fish are greatly depleted.

P’ahan chip (Jottings to break up idleness)

The P’ahan chip by Yi Illo (1150-1220), is an anthology of literary essays, historical narratives, Chinese verses, and accounts of ancient and contemporary life and customs, especially of the western capital, now P’yŏngyang, and of Kaegyŏng, now Kaesŏng. It was written in 1260 and comprised three volumes and one fascicle.

The volume of P’ahan chip was published in photostat during the Japanese occupation of Korea by Kosŏ kanhaehoe (Association for the publication of old books).

P’aju

Situated in northwest Kyŏnggi Province, P’aju is comprised of the towns of Kŭmch’on, Munsan, Pŏbwŏn and P’aju, and the townships of Kwang’tan, Kyoha, Wŏllyong, Chŏksŏng, Chori, Chindong, T’anhyŏn and P’ap’yŏng. Mt. Kamak (675m), Mt. Nogo (401m), P’aril Peak (464m) and Aengmu Peak (622) rise along the city’s eastern border, while the Imjin River flows through the city before joining the Han River in the southwest.

The low plain along the lower reaches of the Han and Imjin rivers is one of the nation’s key grain producing regions. Of the P’aju area, about 34 per cent is arable and most of this is devoted to rice cultivation. With two large rivers, numerous streams and a number of small reservoirs, the area has an extensive irrigation system. Dry-field crops such as legumes, Chinese cabbage, cucumber, and watermelon, along with orchard crops of apple, pear and peach are also harvested here, while the area’s speciality crops include hot peppers, garlic and ginseng.

P’aju’s industrial development has lagged behind other areas of Kyŏnggi Province; however, a number of medium-sized factories have been set up, producing wigs, sweaters and electronics for export. The Kyŏngŭi Railway Line and Highway 1 link the city with Seoul.

The demilitarised zone (DMZ), separating North and South Korea, cuts through the northwest corner of the city. Many tourists come to visit the truce village of P’anmunjŏm, since this is the only location in the DMZ where visitors are permitted. From 25 October 1951 until the end of the Korean War, peace talks were held here. In the years following the conclusion of the war, P’anmunjŏm has continued to be the centre of a number of historical events. In 1968, the kidnapped crew of the American warship USS Pueblo were
sent to South Korea via the village, and in 1976, two American servicemen, while attempting to chop down a tree in front of an observation post, were hacked to death by North Korean soldiers. An American soldier defected to North Korea from here in 1983, and a year later, a Russian tourist defected to the South, triggering a battle that left three North Koreans and one South Korean dead. In 1989, this was also the place where the Hanguk University student Lim Soo-kyong and Catholic priest Moon Gyu-Hyon came back to Korea after an illegal visit to the North. Both were immediately arrested and charged with violating the national security law. On the southern side, foreigners are permitted to visit the village, but Koreans are not allowed unless they have special permission. Similar tours are also run by North Korea on the northern side.

P'aju also has a number of historical relics and sites. In Kwang't'an Township’s Punsu Village, there is an interesting 17.4-metre high rock carving of two Buddhist figures (Treasure No. 93). The carvings show similarities with others at Andong’s Ich’ŏn-dong and Ich’ŏn’s Yŏngwŏl Hermitage. Built during the Koryŏ period, the figures wear round and square hats, a Koryŏ period innovation used to prevent the rain and elements from damaging the faces. According to local legend, the figure on the left is male and the one on the right is its female counterpart. Other Buddhist artefacts can be seen at the Pogwang and Yongsang temples.

There are several Confucian schools in the area, such as Chaun Sŏwŏn in Pŏbwŏn’s Tongmun Village, P’asan Sŏwŏn in P’ap’yŏng Township’s Nullo Village, Kyoha Hyanggyo in Kŭmch’on’s Kūm’nŭng Village, P’aju Hyanggyo in P’aju, Yongju Sŏwŏn in Wŏllong Township’s Tŏgŭn Village and Chŏksŏng Hyanggyo in Chŏksŏng Township’s Kuŭp Village.

P'alcho pŏp (Eight-article Law) [Society]

P’algong Mountain

Situated north of Taegu in North Kyŏngsang Province, Mt. P’algong is part of the T’aebaek Mountain Range. Piro Peak, the mountain’s highest point, rises up 1,193 metres between West (Sŏ) Peak and East (Tong) Peak. In ancient times, Mt. P’algong was called Mt. Kong or Puak. The mountain gets its present name from historical events surrounding the fall of Greater Shilla. In 927, Kyŏnhwon, the leader of Later Paekche, stormed Sŏrabol (present-day Kyŏngju), the Shilla capital. Wang Kŏn, the leader of Later Koguryŏ, led a force of 5,000 soldiers south to attack Kyŏnhwon. When the two armies met in the Mt. P’algong area, Kyŏnhwon’s forces managed to surround Wang Kŏn’s army. However, a general by the name of Shin Sugyŏm, disguised as Wang Kŏn, suddenly drove his horse carriage into the enemy lines. During the pitched battle that ensued, Shin and seven other generals were killed. Wang Kŏn, who barely managed to survive the ordeal, later become the first King of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Thereafter, the mountain was named after the eight ministers (p’algong) who valiantly gave their lives to save the king.

The mountain is also connected with the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). At that time, the monk Yujong, responding to Hyujong’s call to rise up against the Japanese invaders, gathered together a monk army which he commanded from Tonghwa Temple. Nowadays, the monastery is one of the main temples of the Chogye Order. The temple contains many cultural relics including a seated Buddha figure (Treasure no. 243) carved onto the face of a rock at the temple’s entrance. Other famous temples, such as Ŭnhae, Songnim, Puin, P’agye and Kwanŭm, are located on the mountain, as well as numerous hermitages. Due to its historical importance and value as a tourist destination, the mountain has been designated P’algong-san Provincial Park.

P’algwanhoe [Agricultural rites; Buddhism; Dance]
**P'alman taejanggyŏng** (see Buddhist Canon, Korean)

**P'alsea** (For the Instruction of Eight-Year Olds)

*P'alsea* is a primer for Manchus that was compiled in Chosŏn during the early eighteenth c., and was a one-volume wood-block print. The content of *P'alsea* is quite similar to that of *Soaron* and *Ch'ŏngŏ nogoldae*, and was designed to teach Manchu for use by Korean envoys. The original editions of this work are no longer extant, but many copies exist of the 1777 revised version that combined *P'alsea* and *Soaron*, and was edited by Kim Chinha and Chang Chaesŏng. The title of this work is derived from the story within that concerns an eight-year old boy who answers a series of difficult questions posed to him by the emperor.

It is a valuable resource for the study of the Manchu language. Copies are now kept at the Kyujanggak Library and The British Library among other places. In 1956 Tongbanghak Yŏn'gu reissued this book.

**P'anmunjŏm** [National Defence]

**P'ansori** [Music; Literature]

**P'o** [Clothing]

**P'och'ŏn County**

Situated in Kyŏnggi Province, P'och'ŏn County is comprised of the town of P'och'ŏn, and the townships of Kasan, Kunnae, Kwanin, Naech'ŏn, Sohŭl, Shinbuk, Idong, Ildong, Yŏnbuk, Yŏngjung, Ch'angsu and Hwahyon. Branches of the Kwangju Mountain Range run along the north, east and south. As some of the area's highest peaks, Mt. Kwangdŏk (1046m), Mt. Paegun (937m) and Kungmang Peak (1168m) rise on the county's northeastern border.

Agriculture is hindered by the county's rugged terrain and poor quality soil. As a result, farming is primarily centred around dry field crops such as beans, barley, potatoes and green vegetables. There are also a large number of dairy farming and stock breeding operations, while sericulture is common as a supplementary source of income. Industrial development in the area is limited, but there are some factories producing foodstuffs for the military forces and liquor. P'och'ŏn is especially famous for its makkŏlli (unrefined rice wine) which is made with water from the Paegun-dong Valley.

With high mountains and picturesque valleys, the county boasts a large number of tourist attractions. Throughout the year, visitors come to see the lovely Paegun-dong Valley. Considered one of the county's 'eight wonders,' Mt. Paegun has several oddly-shaped rocks as well as Yang Pongnae Cave, which is said to have been frequented by the calligraphy master Yang Soŏn (styled Pongnae) in the early Chosŏn period. Mt. Hyŏndŭng (936m), located in Hwahyon Township, is another scenic mountain popular with hikers. With its interesting rock formations and clear streams, this mountain has been referred to as the 'Lesser Diamond Mountains' (Sŏgŭmgang). Among its sights, Hong (Rainbow) Waterfall is considered to be one of the county's 'eight wonders.' The mountain also contains remnants of a fortress wall that is said to have been built by Kungye (?-918, founder of Later Koguryŏ) in his struggle against Wang Kŏn (r. 918-945, founder of Koryŏ kingdom). On the mountain, one also finds Hyŏndŭng Temple, which was rebuilt by National Master Pojo (Chinul, 1158-1210), and a three-storey stone pagoda.
There are a number of other historical sites and relics scattered throughout the county. In Kasan Township’s Kŭmhyŏn Village, there is a giant dolmen, and other dolmen have been found throughout the area. Several old shrines can also be seen here. Ch’ŏngsŏngsa (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 64), in Shinbuk Township’s Kach’e Village, commemorates the great Shilla scholar Ch’ŏe Ch’iwŏn, while Ch’ŏnghaesa, in Ch’angsu Township’s Ch’udong Village, was built in honour of Yi Chiran who helped Yi Sŏnggye found the Chosŏn dynasty.

There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including Kasan Township’s Hwasan Sŏwon, Kunnae Township’s P’och’ŏn Hyanggyo (founded in 1173) and Shinbuk Township’s Yongyon Sowon. Modern schools in the area include Daejin University and Pochon CHA Medical University.

P’ohang

Situated in North Kyŏngsang Province, P’ohang is comprised of the towns of Hŭnhae, Kuryongp’o, Och’ŏn and Yŏnil, and the townships of Chukchang, Ch’ŏnga, Kigye, Kibuk, Songna, Shin’gwang, Taesong, Taebu and Tonghae. The present city was formed by combining P’ohang city with Yŏngil County. Hyangno Peak (930m), Mt. Ch’imgok and other peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range run through the northwest part of the city and the Hyŏngsan River flows south of the central area into Yŏngil Bay.

Rice is the area’s major crop. In addition, green vegetables, tobacco, peaches, grapes and mushrooms are grown in the area. Fishing is another important source of income. Fishing boats, operating out of Kuryongp’o and other ports, bring in large catches of mackerel, pike, cuttle-fish, octopus, gizzard shad, yellowtail and filefish. In addition, there are abalone and seaweed farming operations in both Kuryongp’o and Yangp’o.

P’ohang Port is the largest on the east coast and it was the first port in Korea to be able to accommodate cargo ships of over 100 000 tonnes. Taking advantage of the city’s modern port facilities, a number of industries have been set up in the area. Most notably, the city is home to POSCO (P’ohang Iron and Steel Company), the world’s second largest steel maker. Founded in 1968, the company employs over 200 000 workers.

This heavily industrialised city has attracted a number of important research projects. In Hyoja-dong, one finds Pohang University of Science and Technology, a premier Korean research institution. At the university, there is the P’ohang Accelerator Laboratory, a project that was started in 1988 and finished in 1994. This is the largest scientific project in Korean history. Pohang Iron and Steel Company and the Korean government funded the project, with a total investment of about US $180 million. In addition to the university, there are Pohang Junior College in Hŭnhae’s Chukchŏn Village, Handong University in Hŭnhae’s Puk District and Pohang Industrial College near the city centre.

Local tourism is centred around the city’s numerous beaches. Located just north of the central area, Songdo Beach is particularly popular. Pukpu Beach, located to the north, is 1.7 kilometres long, making it the longest beach on Korea’s east coast. Visitors also come to the area to see historical sites such as Pogyŏng Temple in Songna Township. Founded by Ilcho during the reign of King Sŏngdŏk (702-737), the monastery houses a number of artefacts including a stupa and stele commemorating National Master Wŏnjin (1171-1221) and a five-storey pagoda. In the valleys around the temple, there are twelve spectacular waterfalls, and Mt. Naeyŏn (710m) and Hyangno Peak (930m) rise to the west. South of the central area, lies Honggye Waterfall, Oŏ Reservoir and Mt. Unje’s Oŏ Temple, which was founded by Chajang during the Shilla period. Other Buddhist artefacts include ten ancient niche-carvings which were recently discovered in a natural cave in Chihaeng Township’s Imjung Village.
A number of Confucian schools exist in the area, including Kokkang Sŏwon, Samnyŏng Sŏwon, Sŏsan Sŏwon, Haksan Sŏwon in Songna Township, Ibam Sŏwon in Chukchang Township, Kwangnam Sŏwon in Kuryongpo’s Sŏngdong Village, Och’ŏn Sŏwon in Och’ŏn’s Wŏn Village, Chungnim Sŏwon in Ch’inhaeng’s Ŭnmae Village, Changgi Hyanggyo in Ch’inhaeng Township, Yŏngil Hyanggyo just south of P’ohang Industrial College on the Hyŏngsan River and Hŭnghae Hyanggyo in Hŭnghae’s Oksŏng Village.

In Taebo Township stands the Changgigap lighthouse. Built in 1903, this 26.4-metre structure was the first lighthouse to have been built in Korea. In 1984, a lighthouse museum was constructed at the site. Since P’ohang was the scene of intense fighting during the Korean War, there are also a number of war memorials in the central area.

Near the central business district in Yonghŭng-dong, is Yŏn’hwah Peak. Also known as Mangbu-san (Watching for Her Husband Mountain), the peak is associated with a legend going back to Shilla times. It is said that in the years leading to Greater Shilla’s fall, the kingdom’s monarchs and officials had become extremely decadent. At this time, there lived a man named Sorang who had a wife famous for both her looks and virtue. The king, hearing rumours of the wife’s outstanding beauty, thought up a plot to have his way with her. Since a Japanese envoy was then visiting the Shilla court, the king order Sorang to go back with the visitor as an envoy to Japan. During Sorang’s absence, the king brought Sorang’s wife to the palace and tried every form of enticement to get her to sleep with him, but she adamantly refused. Furious, the king finally confiscated all of the couple’s belongings and sent her away. The wife wandered until she came to Mt. Mangbu which overlooked the East Sea. There she built a hut and waited for her husband to return. However, Sorang’s ship sank on the return voyage, and the wife, unaware of the mishap, spent the rest of her days on the peak, patiently waiting. After she died, a shrine was built (which is not extant) and the peak’s name was changed to Mt. Mangbu.

P’ohang Steel Company
P’ungeo (Distant air)
P’ut kut
P’yehŏ (see Magazines)
P’yŏhace rok
P’yŏngch’ang County

Situated in Kangwŏn Province, P’yŏngch’ang County is comprised of the town of P’yŏngch’ang, and the townships of Toam, Taehwa, Mit’an, Pangnim, Pongp’yŏng, Yongp’yŏng and Chinbu. Encompassing 1 460 square kilometres, P’yŏngch’ang is the largest county in Kangwŏn Province. As the area where the T’aebaek and Ch’aryŏng mountain ranges meet, most of the county’s terrain is mountainous with Mt. Hwangbyŏng (1 407 metres), Mt. Parwang (1 458 metres) and Mae Peak (1 173 metres) rising in the northeast, Mt. Kariwang (1 561 metres) in the east and Mt. Hŭngjŏng, Mt. T’aegi (1 261 metres) and Mt. Paektŏk in the west. In the northeast, the Yŏngdong Express Way, built in 1975, crosses the 830-metre high Taegwallyŏng Pass to link the Kangnung area with Seoul. In the south, the mountains give way to lower elevations.

Due to the area’s rugged terrain, a mere ten per cent of the county’s area is arable and only two percent of this is used for rice cultivation. In the remaining area, dry field crops such as potatoes and garlic are grown. Corn, which was previously one of the area’s main crops,
is now being replaced by alpine vegetable farming. In particular, the county provides nearly all of the nation's seed potatoes.

With cool summer temperatures that do not dry out pastures, the Taegwallyŏng area is ideal for stock breeding and dairy farming. Several of the nation's largest cattle breeding operations are located here, including the Samyang Taegwallyŏng Cattle Station as well as Hanil Nongsan. Taking advantage of the area's Alpine climate, a number of research agencies such as the National Animal Breeding Institute, the Kangwŏn Province Potato Seed Research Station and the Alpine Experiment Station of the Rural Development Administration have been established in this area. Numerous alpine vegetable crops, including radishes, cabbages, lettuce and carrots, are also grown in Taegwallyŏng's high altitudes.

The county's tourism is centred around Mt. Odae National Park (See Odae Mountain) in the north and the Yongp'yŏng Ski Resort, which opened in 1974 in Toam Township. The resort, also known as Dragon Valley, is covered with snow throughout the winter. Hoenggye Village, just north of the resort, is famous for its dried pollacks. Brought in from Chumunjin on the east coast, the pollacks are soaked in Hoenggye Stream for a night and then hung on racks to dry throughout the winter. Much of the county's remote mountainous area has not been touched by industrial development or tourism. As a result, this is one of the few remaining places in South Korea where deer are still occasionally seen in the wild.

In addition to natural wonders, there are a number of old historical sites in the region. Besides the numerous Buddhist artefacts enshrined in Mt. Odae's Sangwŏn Temple and Wŏlchŏng Temple, there are a number of relics in P'yŏngch'ang, including three five-storey stone pagodas, in Chung Village, Sang Village and Yudong Village (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 30) and a seated stone Buddha figure in Pangnim Village. In Chinbu Township, there is a three-story stone pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 29).

There are also several ancient stone fortresses, including remnants of the No Fortress at P'yŏngch'ang's Chung Village, remnants of the Mt. T'aegi Fortress in Pongp'yŏng Township and the Taehwa Fortress in Taehwa Township. Examples of Chosŏn architecture include the P'yŏngch'ang Hyanggyo (county public school, Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 101), founded in 1658, and the Pongsan Sŏwŏn (private academy) in Pongp'yŏng Township.

Pyŏnghwa Broadcasting Corporation (PBC)  [Broadcasting companies]

P'yŏngjo hoesang  [Music]

P'yŏngp'ung Mountain

Situated east of Maengsan on the border of South Hamgyŏng and South P'yongan Province, Mt. Pyŏngp'ung (1,353 metres), along with Mt. Säsŭ (1,747 metres) and Modo Peak (1,833 metres), is part of the Nangnim Mountain Range. Numerous ridges extend out from the mountain's flat summit, and the entire area is covered with broad-leaved trees. The east side of the mountain gives way to cliffs and deep gorges, whereas the western slope is relatively gentle.

P'yŏngt'aek

P'yŏngt'aek is situated in Kyŏnggi Province, to the south of Seoul. With the Kyŏngbu Expressway running through the eastern sector of the city and a train line running through
the western sector, the city is easily accessible from Seoul or other major cities. P'yöngt'aeok is characterised by flat terrain and elevations around sea level. In fact, tidal waters from the Yellow Sea occasionally used to flow into the area creating large reservoirs. However, after dykes were built and the Asan Seawall was completed in 1973, the flooding was stopped, making the area suitable for agricultural production.

With its flat terrain, the area is ideally suited for rice cultivation. In hilly areas, there are numerous orchards, which grow apples, pears, plums and other fruits. Since goods are easily transported to the Seoul metropolitan area, the city also has a large number of factories. In spite of its location near Seoul, the area receives relatively few tourists. It has few mountains or lakes and few important historical sites. On Mt. Samgak, there is the Hyöngch'ung Memorial and a large pavilion. At the foot of the mountain, there is Myöngbop Temple, a monastery run by Buddhist nuns. In Sosa-dong, there is a stele (Kyönggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 40) commemorating the Law of Uniform Land Tax (taedong pödp), which was implemented in 1608. The stele was erected in 1659.

P'yöngyang

Situated between South P'yöngan Province and North Hwanghae Province, P'yöngyang is the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (North Korea). Most of the city area consists of plains and low hills. It has an average yearly temperature of 9.4°C with sharp fluctuations between summer and winter temperatures, and it receives 924mm of rain annually. The Taedong River flows through the city before reaching the port city of Namp'o and the Yellow Sea.

Along the Taedong River lies the P'yöngyang Plain. This limestone plain mostly consists of terra rosa, a type of soil that retains moisture. As a result, rice grows well here in spite of the area's fairly low rainfall. Local farms also grow beans, millet, apple, garden plants and green vegetables. Sericulture and stock breeding operations also exist in quantity in P'yöngyang.

Mines and quarries in the region produce coal, gold, graphite, clay and limestone. Coal was originally mined in small quantities for use as a household fuel, but during the Japanese occupation, large-scale operations were established to provide coal principally for the Japanese navy. Factories in the city, taking advantage of the water and land transportation network, ample power supply and large work-force, produce a wide array of items among which, steel, sugar, flour, clothing, machinery, liquor, cement, rubber and ceramics.

P'yöngyang was traditionally one of Korea's top commercial centres, and after it became an open port in 1898, it actively traded with China. During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese developed the city as a strategic base for their advance into China. As a result, large numbers of Japanese moved here to work in the city's developed commercial sector.

Nowadays, P'yöngyang is a very clean and quiet city with little traffic, even though a thirteen-lane boulevard links the city centre with the suburb of Kwangbok (only about three kilometres distant). Public transport includes a bus service and a tram and subway system. In the Taedong River there are two fountains that lift their water jets 150 metres into the air. There are also a number of parks in the city, such as Moran Park near Mt. Kumsu and Mt. Sögi Park. However, many of the city's tourists centre on the various monuments and sites praising the late leader Kim II Sung (Kim Ilsong) and his son, the present head of state, Kim Jong II (Kim Chöngil).

On the east bank of the Taedong River, is a 170-metre high monument known as the Tower of the Juche (Chuch'e) Idea. From the top, one can get a panoramic view of the city. Across the river at the end of Moranbong Street stands the Arch of Triumph which marks
the spot where Kim Il Sung made his first rallying speech after the departure of the Japanese at the end of World War II. Northeast of the arch lies Kim Il Sung Stadium, one of the world’s largest sports stadiums, and south of the gate stands the Ch’ollima Statue, a bronze Pegasus commemorating North Korea’s rapid economic development. Next to the statue, stands the Grand Monument, a giant bronze statue of Kim Il Sung with his right hand forward, flanked by his followers.

Behind the monument is the Korean Revolution Museum, founded on 1 August 1948, and on Yōngung Street to the east lies the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum. Built in 1953, the latter museum houses displays covering anti-Japanese guerilla activities and the Korean War. Between the two fountains on the west bank of the Taedong River, stands the Korean Central History Museum, which houses artefacts of Korean history from prehistoric times to the present. Other museums in the city include the Metro Museum and the Revolutionary Museum.

P’yongyang is also home to Kim Il Sung University, North Korea’s top educational institution and Mansudae Assembly Hall where the DPRK state assembly meets. Other famous sites include the Students’ and Children’s Palace, the P’yongyang Embroidery Institute, Revolutionary School, P’yongyang Movie Studio, Central Zoo, Kwangbop Buddhist Temple, the Central Botanic Garden and the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery.

The city lays claim to a large number of artefacts going back to prehistoric times. Excavations in 1966 at Sangwŏn uncovered stone tools and fossilised faunal remains from dietary debris of early men of the Lower Paleolithic Age. These artefacts are thought to date from 400 to 600 thousand years ago making them some of the oldest signs of human habitation on the Korean peninsula. In addition, Neolithic artefacts have been excavated from over ten sites in the area.

As for Koguryŏ artefacts, a number of tombs have been found, especially in the Taedong River area. These tombs are distinctive for their elaborate wall paintings. The diverse subject matter of the paintings provides archaeologists with important information on everyday life in the Koguryŏ Kingdom. In Mujin Village, another group of ancient tombs has been discovered. During the reign of King Tongch’on (r. 227-248), construction was begun here on a royal palace and fortress. Úlmsu and Mansudae fortifications were erected at this time., as was Kujezburg, a royal villa near Kirin Cave, but little remains of the structure. According to one theory, this villa was originally the royal palace of King Tongmyŏng (r. 37-19 B.C.E.), the founder of the Koguryŏ Kingdom. Here one also finds the Changan and Taesŏng fortresses. In terms of both length and size, the latter is one of the largest stone fortifications found in Korea.

During the reign of King Kwanggaet’o, nine temples were built here. Of these, Yŏngmyŏng Temple is famous as a place where the monk Ado once resided. In 1109, the temple was moved to a site below Kirin Cave. Burnt down during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, only Ch’ilsong‘ang (Seven Stars Hall), a stone lion and an octagonal five-storey pagoda remain. Koguryŏ-era Buddhist artefacts have also been discovered at the Taewang Temple site in Tongdaewŏn Village and at Kŭmgang Temple, which was founded in 497.

During Koryŏ, P’yongyang served as the kingdom’s ‘western capital.’ In 922, Chae Fortress was constructed followed by Na Fortress in 938. These two stone fortifications came to be known simply as P’yongyang Fortress. When the palace of the Western Capital was repaired during the reign of Sŏngjong (r. 981-997), six large gates were built. Of these, Taedong Gate was reconstructed at the beginning of Chosŏn and in 1575, the gate was refurbished as a three-storey structure which can still be seen today.

During the reign of Injong (r. 1122-1146), the monk Myoch’ŏng urged the king to move the capital to P’yongyang, claiming that the latter was geomantically more auspicious. In
response to Myoch’ong’s influence, the king built Taehwa Palace near P’yǒngyang in
1129. Eventually Myoch’ong and his faction, in opposition to the pro-China Kaesŏng
faction, gathered together an army in P’yǒngyang and established a short-lived state known
as Taewi (Great Accomplishment), but the rebellion was quashed in 1136 by government
forces led by Kim Pushik.

Chosŏn-era artefacts in the area include Puk Fortress built around Moran Peak in 1714 and
nearby Minch’ungdan, an altar built in memory of Chinese soldiers who died fighting in
Korea’s defence against the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). Confucian
schools in the city include Yonggok Sŏwon, Sosan Sŏwon, Ch’anggang Sŏwon and
Sohyŏn Sŏwon. In 1993, the North Korean government announced the discovery of
the tomb of Tan’gun, the mythological founder of Korea. Bones which purportedly belong
to Tan’gun and his wife are on display in the grandiose tomb at the site.

P’yǒngyang chi (History of P’yǒngyang)

P’yǒngyang chi is a collection concerning the history, geography and customs of
P’yǒngyang that was compiled in 1590 by the then governor (puyun) of P’yǒngyang, Yun
Tusu (1533-1601). This wood-block print work consists of nine volumes in two fascicles.
The first volume of this work detailed many items concerning P’yǒngyang including its
territory, boundaries, historical records, castles and districts. The second volume relates
matters concerning the educational, military and postal systems of the city, while the third
includes inter alia the location of schools, post stations and temples along with population
numbers etc., of the city. The fourth volume is chiefly devoted to historical facts about the
city and the fifth includes literary matters, supernatural occurrences and miscellaneous
affairs. The sixth through eighth volumes are devoted to literary works such as poetry and
the ninth contains essays.

This work along with Yŏnan ĩpch’i (1581) and Hamju chi (1587) are the oldest descriptive
geographies of Korea and therefore are quite valuable for the study of the late sixteenth
century. However, of these three works, only the original edition of P’yǒngyang chi has
survived to the present day, making it all the more precious. Given this work’s historical
significance, it is not surprising that it has been included in many contemporary collections,
most notably the 1990 Chosŏn shidaesach’an ĩpch’i that was published by Han’guk Inmun
Kwahagwŏn.

Paegam Mountain

Situated on the border of Wiwŏn and Kanggye County in North P’yŏngan Province, Mt.
Paegam (1,823 metres) is a peak on the Chŏgyuryŏng Mountain Range that runs from east
to west through the middle of North P’yŏngan Province. The upper elevations of the
mountain are only covered with small shrubs, while the lower elevations support a forest of
conifers interspersed with broad-leaved trees. The deep valleys on the south-side of the
mountain have undergone erosion.

Paegoin sagŏn (Case of the One Hundred Five) [History of Korea]

Paegyang Temple

Paegyang Temple is located in South Chŏll’a Province on Mt. Paegam. Founded in 632 by
Yŏhwon, its name was changed to Chŏngt’o Temple when Chun’gyŏn reconstructed the
monastery in 1034. In 1350, National Master Kakchim once again led a restoration of the
temple, which was followed by Hwanyang’s restoration in 1574. According to legend,
when Hwanyang recited the Lotus Sutra, white sheep, mesmerised by the melodic sound of
the chanting, would wander over to the temple. Because of this, the monastery’s name was
changed back to Paegyang (White Sheep) Temple and Hwanyang received his name which means, 'Calling to Sheep.' The temple was again reconstructed by Hwansŏng in 1786, by Toam in 1864 and by Song Manam in 1917. During the thirty years that Song served as the temple’s abbot, he founded a seminary and acted as the headmaster of the Chun’gang Buddhist Technical School.

As one of the main temples of the Chogye Order, Paegyang administers twenty-six branch temples. On Mt. Paegam, there are several affiliated hermitages, including Yaksa Hermitage, Yŏngch’ŏn Cave, Ch’ŏngnyyu Hermitage (founded in 1351), Ch’ŏnjin Hermitage and Muroe Hermitage. The latter serves as a centre for monastic retreats. Several other hermitages dating from Koryŏ were burnt down during the Korean War (1950-53). Paegyang Temple houses several important artefacts, including a stone stupa that contains the remains of T’aenfing (Grand Master Soyo), a famous Chosŏn period monk.

Paek Ijong (1247-1323)

Paek Ijong was a Confucianist of the Koryŏ period. His family’s ancestral home is in Namp’o, his courtesy name was Yakhon and his pen name Ijae. His father, Paek Munjŏl, was a scholar at the Pomun Pavilion and Ijong was a disciple of An Hyang (1243-1306) who founded the neo-Confucian school in Korea.

In 1275 Paek passed the civil service examination and entered Koryŏ officialdom. In 1298 he accompanied a mission to Yuan to bring the crown prince back to Korea. After returning to Korea, he was again sent to Yuan by King Ch’ungsŏn (1308-1313) to Yanjing where he remained for ten years. During this period he conducted deep study into the neo-Confucian theories of Zhu Xi, and when he returned to Koryŏ he brought many books on this philosophy including Jiālì (Kor. Karye, Family Rites) by Zhu Xi. After his return to Korea, Paek concentrated his efforts on the cultivation of the next generation of neo-Confucians, and his many disciples include notable scholars such as Yi Chehyŏn (1287-1356), Pak Ch’ungjwa (1287-1349) and Yi Kok (1298-1351).

The study and development of neo-Confucianism that Paek is directly responsible for had a major impact on the ruling ideology of Korea. His mentor, An Hyang, was the first to bring the neo-Confucian ideology to Korea, and Paek is largely responsible for its development and further propagation. The lineage of the transmission of the neo-Confucian ideology in Korea can be traced from An Hyang to Paek who then passed it on to his disciple Yi Chehyŏn who trained Yi Saek (1328-1396), who in turn transmitted it to Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409). After the inception of the Chosŏn period, the ideology flourished and helped form the guiding philosophy of the state. Paek’s extant literary works include Yŏng’ŏ shi, Yŏngdangyo and Yŏhongae chipku.

Paek Kwanghun (1537-1582)

Paek Kwanghun was a poet of the mid-Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Haemi, his courtesy name was Ch’anggyŏng and his pen name was Okpong. He was the disciple of Pak Sun (1532-1589) and at thirteen travelled to Seoul to study under Yang Ungjong (1519-?) and No Sushin (1514-1590). In 1564 Paek became a literary licentiate (chinsa) but instead of striving to enter officialdom, Paek went to Hohae and concentrated on his poetry and writings. In 1572 when his teacher No Sushin travelled to Ming China as a part of an official mission, Paek went along and earned acclaim from the Chinese for his literary skills and was given the name Master Paekkang.

In 1577, for the first time, Paek entered government service as a Assistant curator (ch’ambong) in such places as the National Daoist Temple (Sogyŏksa). He became well known in literary circles and along with Yi Tal and Ch’oe Kyŏngch’ang (1539-1583) was one of the so-called Three Tang Talents of Korea. These Poets preferred the Tang-style
poetry to the later Sung-style writings. For them that it was only through Tang-style poetry that the true self could be expressed. Accordingly, in his poetry, Paek endeavoured to produce works that were faithful to the Tang tradition. Paek’s literary collection Okpong chip (Collected Works of Okpong) has been transmitted to the present time.

Paek Mountain

Situated in the northwestern corner of North Korea, Mt. Paek (1 875 metres) is the main peak of the Chŏgyuryŏng Mountain Range that runs from east to west through Chagang Province and North P’yŏngan Province. The mountain is characterised by rugged terrain and many bare granite outcroppings. Ch’ŏnghaktae, the mountain’s highest peak, is surrounded by Mt. P’albong (1 457 metres) to the north and Moktan Peak (1 606 metres) and Mt. Kagwi to the west. There is a graphite mine in the area south-west of the mountain. In South Hamgyŏng Province, there are three other mountains of the same name.

Paek Pyŏngdong  (see Paik Byung-dong)

Paek Yongsŏng  (1864-1940)

Yongsŏng (Buddhist name, Chinjong; given name, Paek Sanggyu) is a towering figure in Korean Buddhism’s modern history. Admired for his political courage and unwavering attempts to enforce the traditional vow of celibacy, he is now considered something of a modern patriarch within the Chogye Order. His traditionalism was, however, augmented by a modern consciousness. He expressed this in his emphasis on modern educational methods and the necessity of the vigorous propagation of Buddhism within Korea by Korean priests. One of the primary means he employed was the translation of sutras from Chinese into vernacular Korean.

Yongsŏng’s early life showed a predisposition to the protection of all life formally emphasized in Buddhism, and it is said on fishing trips as a child he would stealthily release his father’s catch into the water. A more serious story recounts his efforts to feed and comfort a young worker on his family’s property who, having fallen ill, could not work for his food.

By the age of seven Yongsŏng began studying the Chinese classics in the village school, and at the age of thirteen he ran away and went to a temple with the intention of becoming a monk. His parents quickly brought him home, but two years later he fled to Haein temple where he took the formal vows. During this period he experienced an initial enlightenment which focussed his Buddhist devotion.

In 1884 he arrived at T’ongdo temple where he took the two-hundred-fifty vows of a celibate and the two-hundred-fifty vows of a Bodhisattva. While the former set of vows relate to the keeping of monastic discipline, the latter set embody the most profound aspect of Mahayana Buddhism: the promise to strive for the salvation of all sentient beings. Throughout his life he would strictly adhere to both.

In 1885 while reading the Chŏndŭng nok  (Transmission of the Lamp) at Songgwang temple he again experienced enlightenment, and the next year he had another awakening while wading across a river. He subsequently succeeded his teacher and became a yulsa (master monastic rules; vinaya master), studied sutras and commentaries, engaged in Sŏn meditation, and travelled widely around Korea.

Between the ages of 39 and 42 Yongsŏng began actively working on behalf of Korean Buddhism. He established Sŏn meditation assemblies at various temples, and in 1906, returned to Haein temple where he started the arduous task of restoring the eighty-thousand
wood printing blocks of the *Tripitaka Koreana*.

In 1907, Yongsōng travelled through China where he visited temples and met with Chinese priests. It is said that one queried whether Korean monks took only the minor vows associated with novices. Yongsōng, having taken all the vows, sternly informed the offensive fellow that the way of Buddhism was not limited to China.

In 1911 he finally became convinced that Korean Buddhism needed to be thoroughly restructured. As he walked through the streets of Seoul he was shocked to hear the ringing of church bells and to see the activities of the various religions, especially Christianity. Consequently, he resolved to propagate Sŏn. He built a temple called Taegak, and in 1912 erected another hall dedicated to spreading Sŏn.

Yongsōng's efforts seem to have attracted many followers, and in 1913 he published *Kwiwŏn chŏngjong* (Returning to the Source of the True Teachings), a long polemical work which detailed his conviction of the superiority of Mahayana Buddhism. Yet he felt that any drastic change would require considerable funds, and so at the age of fifty-three he returned to China where he worked in the mining industry.

In 1919 Han Yongun asked Yongsōng if he would be willing to sign the Korean Declaration of Independence. He simply said, "Yes" and entrusted to Han his seal. Han was nonplussed by the speed of his response to such a weighty matter, and he returned the following day to receive confirmation. During the ensuing trial his responses to the court were firm and brief. He stated that, given the chance, he would participate in future agitations, and when asked why, he simply said that he liked the idea of independence.

During his year and a half in prison Yongsōng began studying vernacular translations of the Christian Bible. On gaining his freedom in 1921 he established a translation society, and by the time of his death he had translated some thirty of the most important sutras and commentaries.

Like Han Yongun, Yongsōng believed that the traditional reliance on alms from the laity had made Buddhist monks social parasites. In 1922 he returned to Manchuria where he purchased land and attempted to put into practice the cornerstone of his Buddhist thought: *sŏnnong ilch’i* (the unity of Sŏn and farming).

Yongsōng had returned to Seoul by April 1924, where he continued his translation work and wrote for Buddhist journals. At this time the Korean Buddhist community was riven by dissent over the prevalence of married monks, and in May and September of 1926 he wrote two separate petitions to the Japanese Governor General. He urged the government to enforce the monastic prohibition against the 'eating of meat and the taking of wives' in order to ensure both the moral and physical purity of the monasteries. In December 1926, however, the government made it legal for Korean monks to marry.

The following year Yongsōng obtained a considerable amount of land and put into practice his central idea for the renewal of Korean Buddhism. He planted over ten-thousand persimmon and chestnut trees and attracted a community of monks who divided their days between farming and Sŏn meditation. This community remained vital for some fifty years.

The final thirteen years of Yongsōng's life were spent in writing and translating. In addition to magazine articles, he continued making vernacular translations of Buddhist scriptures in the hope that the principles of Buddhism would be more accessible to monks and the laity alike. In this vein, he also wrote various Buddhist hymns based on passages from the sutras.

Yongsōng was an eccentric individual. From the early 1920's he did not use the word
Buddhism, but rather taegakkyo (teaching of the great awakening) to describe what he taught. In 1922, he established a hall for the dissemination of the taegakkyo, but this was forced to disband by the colonial government in 1938. He seems to have taken this as a hard knock. On 23 February 1940 he bathed, changed his clothes, and called his students together. After thanking them for their efforts, he announced, “I’m leaving.” He then sat down and died. After his cremation, a funerary relic was found amongst his ashes, and this is now enshrined in a pagoda at Haein temple.

Bibliography


Paekcha ware [Ceramics]

Paekchong class

The term ‘paekchong class’ represents two diverse groups of people in Korean history. During Koryo it referred to the freeborn peasantry, and in Choson it denoted the lowborn or outcast portion of the population.

In Koryo

The paekchong of Koryo were the freeborn peasantry who did not reside in one of the special administrative districts assigned for the lowborn. Paekchong refers to the lack of a fixed role to the state for this class of people, and accordingly, they were not eligible to receive a land allowance (from the state). The paekchong were farmers, many of whom worked state-owned lands called ‘people’s lands’ (minjön), and they were required to pay one-fourth of their annual harvest to the government as rent. If they worked land owned by the gentry families of Koryo, the rent was substantially higher, often reaching one-half of their harvest. Moreover, the paekchong were liable for special tribute taxes paid in cloth, and in some areas were further obliged to pay special product taxes which might consist of fruit or other crops, based on the specialised produce of an area. Further, all adult paekchong males, aged between sixteen and sixty, were liable for military and corvée labour service.

The lives of the paekchong were difficult, but the lack of rigid social-class stratification in Koryo provided them some social mobility. The most prominent path for social betterment was in military service. While the army was staffed mostly by a hereditary class of soldiers, when the prescribed levels of staffing dropped, new recruits were sought from among the paekchong and even from the ch’onin (lowborn) class. Gaining a position in the military aided the paekchong family considerably, as it would be assigned an allotment of ‘soldier’s land’ (kuninjon), and two families to work it. Moreover, they would then be designated as a military household, thus ensuring the well being of their descendants as well. Examples can be cited of members of the paekchong class advancing into the officer ranks by virtue of their meritorious service.

The paekchong served as the foundation to the agrarian-based Koryo economy, and
although they were heavily tax-burdened and often exploited by the landed gentry, their situation was considerably better than the classes beneath them. Since the upper class relied upon the paekchöng to farm their estates, there were various legislative attempts to keep the paekchöng tied to the land. Thus, the Koryô government implemented relief programs such as the ‘righteous granaries’ (úich’ang), designed to provide relief in times of famine, and special medical offices to care for the sick. Nonetheless, as the upper class and the Buddhist temples increased their exploitation in late Koryô, large numbers of the paekchöng abandoned the land and many joined roving bands of marauders.

In Chosôn

With the transition of Korean society from the end of Koryô to early Chosôn, the term ‘paekchöng,’ which had broadly encompassed all the free peasantry of Koryô, was replaced with various other appellations for the freeborn class, such as p’yôngmin, yang ‘in, ch’ommin and paeksông. On the other hand, ‘paekchöng’ came into use to designate those that performed hereditary occupations such as butchers, tanners and wicker-workers, all of whom were considered as being beyond the pale. The origin of the term and its use for indicating those engaged in the lowborn hereditary occupations, is thought to date to 1423, when King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) issued an edict concerning this class of people. In earlier times, these workers had been labelled as chaein or hwach’ok; names often applied also to nomadic immigrants, such as the Malgal or Khitan, who had been absorbed into Korean society.

The paekchöng class not only included the aforementioned low-class category, but also hunters, vagabonds, thieves, stock breeders and even those who had been removed from family census registers. Also included were travelling entertainers (kwangdae) and shamans (mudang). These individuals were abhorred by society and were expelled from the capital. They were even forced to live in separate hamlets away from the commoners (yang ‘in.). During Sejong’s rule, attempts were made to assimilate these ostracised people into the peasantry and they were granted land and instructed in farming techniques. Hence, they became known as the ‘paekchöng’ since this was the term traditionally used for freeborn farmers. This attempt to transform the paekchöng into farmers did not, however, take root and they continued to engage in their hereditary occupations. Although in a legal sense the paekchöng were accorded the same right as other commoners, this did not remove the discrimination they faced in almost every aspect of their lives. Among the many prohibitions, were those banning them from living among the freeborn peasantry, or marriage with anyone in a higher class.

With the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyôngjang) the class system of Chosôn was officially abolished, and officially the paekchöng ceased to exist. To the people of Korea, however, who had observed this social distinction for centuries past, those engaged in the traditional occupations of the paekchöng continued to be treated as pariahs. Thus, there still existed prejudices concerning intermarriage or living close-by these outcasts. Additionally, discrimination against the paekchöng existed in almost every other facet of society, for example, in education and employment opportunities. Thus, at the end of Chosôn and the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the social class of paekchöng still existed. A census conducted by the Japanese Government General in the first years of colonisation, revealed that there were 7 538 paekchöng households, with a total of 33 712 people. In fact, there are solid reasons to think that there were many more than recorded by the census.

During the colonial period, many attempts were made by those of the higher classes to eliminate the discrimination against those of the former paekchöng class. Thus, through educational opportunities and economic success, many lowborn members of society were able to elevate their status. Moreover, as the remnants of hierarchical Chosôn society continued to disappear, the distinction between those of the former paekchöng class and the
peasantry diminished dramatically. As the gradual process of social equality widened after liberation in 1945, discrimination against members of the former paekch’ŏng class receded still further. Nonetheless, even today there remains a social stigma attached to those that engage in many of the former paekch’ŏng occupations, and their children are discriminated against..

Paektu Mountain

Straddling the border between South and North Hamgyŏng Province, as well as the border between Korea and China, the 2 744-meter high Mt. Paektu is Korea’s tallest mountain. Mt. Paektu is actually part of a cluster of high mountains situated in Korea’s remote north-east region. The Mach’ŏllyŏng Mountain Range, which runs to the south-east of the peak, includes numerous other peaks over 2 000 metres in elevation, such as Taeyŏnji Peak (2 360 metres), Mt. Kanbaek (2 164 metres), Mt. Sobaek (2 174 metres), North P’ot’ae Mountain (2 289 metres), South P’ot’ae Mountain (2 435 metres) and Paeksa Peak (2 099 metres). Mt. Paektu is actually a volcano. Although it is presently dormant, records indicate that the volcano has been active in the recent past. According to the Chosŏn wangjo shillok (Annals of the Choson Dynasty), the volcano erupted as recently as 1597, 1668 and 1702. The caldera is now filled with water, forming the lake known as Ch’ŏnji. This picturesque lake, made up of stream run-off and melted snow, averages about 200 metres in depth, but is over 300 metres deep in some places. The lake’s excess water flows over the rim to form the 68-meter high Piryong Waterfall. This waterfall is the source of the Songhwa River. The waterfall dries up during times of drought or when the lake freezes during winter. Due to the 400 to 500-meter high walls of the caldera, Ch’ŏnji Lake can only be accessed via Pyŏngsa Peak or Tal Gate.

Due to the area’s sharp variations in temperature and elevation, the plant and wildlife that inhabit the mountain are very diverse. In elevations between 500 and 1,050 metres, there are conifers, such as larches, silver firs and white poplars, as well as broad-leaved trees such as white birches and poplars. From 1 050 to 1 750 metres, there are large virgin forests of conifers. Above this is the tree line; consequently, the area from 1 750 metres to 2 100 metres is characterised by the growth of low-lying bushes and shrubs. The area above 2 100 metres is hit by heavy winds and is overcast over 300 days a year. Moreover, the winter temperatures can drop as low as -45C in the winter. Of the plants that grow above the permafrost at this high elevation, one-third are varieties native to the Arctic Circle.

Mt. Paektu has been known by many different names. The earliest reference to the mountain is in the Sanhaijing, which calls it Mt. Buxian (Kor. Mt. Purham). In the MSamguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), on the other hand, the mountain, called Mt. T’aebaek, is referred to as the site where Hwanung descended to earth with a retinue of 3 000 followers to become the progenitor of the Korean race. After the Chinese Han Dynasty, the mountain was known by many other appellations, but almost all of the names incorporated the Chinese character for white (in Korean, paek), evidently a reference to the summit which was capped with snow almost year around. In recent times, North Korea has used the mythological associations of the mountain for propaganda purposes. Kim Chŏngil, Kim Ilsong’s son and successor, is said to have been born on the mountain, and the cabin where he was born has become a North Korean tourist site.

Despite its inaccessible location, Mt. Paektu draws large numbers of South Korean pilgrims every summer, who come to see the lake from the Chinese side. Across the border, many North Koreans also visit the mountain. In addition to beautiful scenery, there are hot springs around the lake that run year around. The temperature of each spring varies from a scalding 82C to a lukewarm 37C. The mineral-rich water of these springs is thought to have therapeutic effects.
Paengnyŏng Island

Situated just below the 38th parallel in the Yellow Sea, Paengnyŏng Island is part of Ongjin County in the Inch’ŏn Metropolitan Area. Geologically, the island is made up of limestone, shale and quartzite. With an elevation generally between 50 and 100 metres, most of the streams dry-up outside the summer monsoon season. The island has an average January temperature of minus 4.5 deg. c. an average August temperature of 25 deg. c. and an average rainfall of 755.8mm. As Korea’s fourteenth largest island, Paengnyŏng has an area of 45.38 sq. kms. with a 56.75 km. coastline. With the coast of Hwanghae Province’s Changsan Point only 17 kms. distant, it is South Korea’s northernmost island. In spite of its remote location, however, over five-thousand people inhabit the island. Most of the island’s families are originally from North Korea.

Until the early 1970s, fishing was the key source of income, but residents had to convert to agriculture due to the frequent seizure of fishing boats by North Korean authorities. About 30 per cent of the island is arable, with almost 5 sq. kms. used for rice cultivation and 8.86sq. kms. for dry-field crops such as barley, beans and sweet potato. Prices of consumer items are relatively high, reflecting the cost of transporting goods by boat from the mainland. Nearly all of the island’s residents are Christians. In Chunghwa-dong, there is a church which was built in 1896, making it one of the oldest in Korea. To meet the educational needs of the residents, there are two primary schools and two primary school branches, one junior high school and one high school. This remote island invites visitors to a number of scenic venues. For example, the extraordinary rock formations of Tumujin are particularly sought out by tourists.

Paengnyŏng (White Feathers), the name of the island, is said to derive from legend. It is said that a scholar and a young lady who once lived in nearby Hwanghae Province made a vow to marry. The father, who did not approve of the union, sent his daughter away to live on the remote Paengnyŏng Island. The scholar searched in vain for his lover until one night, he dreamed that a white crane came to him carrying a white slip of paper. He woke to find a slip of paper inscribed with the girl’s whereabouts. After finding the girl on the island, the two married and lived happily.

Painting

History

Our knowledge of Korean painting of periods earlier than the Chosŏn dynasty is fragmentary. From the Three Kingdoms Period, murals are extant in Koguryŏ (37 B.C.E. - 668 C.E.) tombs of the 4th to 6th centuries. They show portraits of the deceased and give some insights into the daily life and religious thought of the period. Remains from the kingdom of Shilla (57 B.C.E. - 935 C.E.), such as the ‘flying horse’ in Tomb No. 155 in Kyŏngju, and square tiles with relief designs of stylized animals, flowers or landscapes from Paekche (18 B.C.E. - 660 C.E.) suggest that both areas were influenced by Koguryŏ styles. According to historical records, Paekche painters, sculptors and brickmakers were involved in the construction of temples in Japan.

A Bureau of Painting was established at the Royal Court in Kaesŏng during the Koryŏ period (918-1392) in order to promote Buddhist painting and sutra copying. Renditions of the Buddha Amitabha and of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara are preserved in Japanese temples, such as the ‘Avalokitesvara Holding a Willow Branch’ at Sensōji, Tokyo, dated 1313, by Hyeheo. A lacquer screen, dated 1307, of Buddhist figures in a landscape scenery by No Yong suggests an influence of the landscape style of the so called Guo Xi tradition, which dominated Northern China from the 11th to 14th centuries.
The most famous landscape painter was Yi Nyong. When he went to China in 1124, Emperor Huizong ordered Chinese study under his guidance. Contacts with Yuan China were especially close during the time of King Ch'ungsŏn (r. 1309 - 1313) who abdicated the throne and lived in the Chinese capital for most of his life. He was acquainted with Zhao Mengfu, a high official, painter and calligrapher and other literati painters.

Painting theory of the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods was strongly influenced by the Northern Song literati painters Su Dongpo and Mi Fu, while painting itself seems to have been related with styles of literati painters of the early Yuan who painted in the Guo Xi and Mi Fu traditions. A rare example is a painting of pine trees, bamboo and plum blossoms, called 'Three Friends in the Cold', by Haeae at Myŏmanji temple in Kyoto.

The earliest extant dated and signed Korean landscape painting is 'Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land', done in the style of Guo Xi by the court painter An Kyŏn in 1447 on the request of Prince Anp'yŏng. The prince was famous for his collection of Chinese paintings. Well known literati painters of the period were the brothers Kang Huian (1419-1465) and Kang Hŭimaeng (1424-1483). Probably depending on Koryŏ traditions, their paintings show some connections with Yuan period Zen Buddhist painting and with works of the Chinese literati circle around King Ch'ungsŏn. Eminent Japanese master of the Muromachi period, Shubun and Reisai, came to Korea in 1423 and 1463 respectively and received inspiration for their ink painting. Ties were so close that the national identity of Munch'ŏng (Jap : Bunsei), whose works are preserved both in Korea and Japan, is still unclear.

An Kyŏn had many followers in the 16th century. A major work of the An Kyŏn school is an eight-fold screen, 'Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers', taken from Korea to Japan by a monk of the Daiganji monastery in the Hiroshima prefecture in 1539.

Around 1500, a new style was introduced from Ming China, the so-called Zhe school. Originally an academic style it was adapted to Korean taste by two scholar painters, Kim Che (1524-1593) and Yi Kyŏngyun (1545-1611). Kim Che's 'Boy Pulling a Donkey' which can be viewed at the Hoam Art Museum and Yi Kyŏngyun's 'Album with Figures and Landscapes' at the Horim Art Museum are masterpieces of the 16th c. Besides, the An Kyŏn school still flourished, with Yi Kyŏngyun's son, Yi Ching (b. 1581), as a prominent follower. Around 1600, a new literati style, later to be called Southern school painting (namjongwha) was introduced to Korea. The earliest extant example is a landscape by Yi Kyŏngyun's brother Yŏn'gyun (1561-1611), imitating the late Yuan dynasty master, Huang Gongwang.

Due to the 1592-1598 invasions of Korea by the Japanese warlord Hideyoshi and by Manchu forces (1627 and 1636), painting of the 17th c. is mainly in the form of small album leaves on coarse paper or hemp. The Zhe school still prospered, with Kim Myŏngguk as the great master. Kim Myŏngguk travelled to Japan twice, in 1636 and 1643, as a member of an embassy. Later, in the 18th c., Ch'oe Puk (1712-1786) and Kim Yusŏng (b. 1725) brought Korean Southern school painting to Japan.

Typical for the transition between the Zhe school and the Southern school style are the works of Yun Tusŏ (1668-1715) and Chŏng Sŏn (1676-1759). Chŏng Sŏn became the most famous Korean landscape painter because of his 'true views' (chimgyŏng) renditions of actual Korean scenery. Besides various portfolios of sites in the Diamond Mountains, the hanging scroll 'Mount Inwang' of 1751 in the Hoam Art Museum is one of his masterpieces. The 18th c. was dominated by literati painters like Cho Yongsŏk (1686-1761); Shim Sajŏng (1707-1769); Kang Sehwang (1713-1791); Yi Inyang (1710-1760); and professionals like Ch'oe Puk; Kim Hongdo (1745-post 1814); Yi Inmun (1745 1821); and Shin Yunbok (prominent around 1800). Kim Hongdo and Shin Yunbok are famous for
their genre scenes.

In the early 19th c. the scholar, calligrapher and painter Kim Chŏng-hŭi (1786-1857) brought new inspiration to Korean Southern school painting. Orchids were his favourite subject, often combined with his virtuoso calligraphy. His students Yi Chaegwan (1783-1837) and Cho Hŭiryong (1789-1866) - a lover of plum blossoms - are well known for their landscapes. Kim Such'ŏl (19th c.) produced highly decorative landscapes and pictures of flowers and butterflies. The last great master of the Chosŏn dynasty was Chang Sŭngŏp (1843-1897), who took up styles of the Chinese eccentrics of the Qing period.

During the period of Japanese occupation Western style oil painting was introduced to Korea. Most successful in combining traditional ink painting with Western elements were Hŏ Paengnyŏn (1891-1977), Yi Sangbŏm (1897 1972), Pyŏn Kwanshik (1899-1975) and No Suhyŏn (1899-1978).

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Ink Painting

Favourite subjects of Korean ink painting were the 'Four Gentlemen'(being the orchid, chrysanthemum, bamboo and plum blossom); grape vine; flowers and insects; horses and oxen; Buddhist and Daoist figures; and of course, landscape scenery. In China, ink painting is usually associated with the literati, who practised the so-called 'Three Accomplishment' - poetry, calligraphy and painting, for leisure, but in Korea, scholars and professional painters alike followed Chinese literati models.

Though painting in ink on paper was probably produced much earlier, the earliest extant works date from the Koryŏ period. Literati painters of the early Chosŏn dynasty, such as Kang Hŭian (1419-1465) and Kang Hŭimaeng (1424-1483), followed Koryŏ and Yuan traditions. Their powerful brushwork, strong contrasts between dark and light ink tones and a tendency towards geometric simplification are typical Korean features. Kim Che (1524-1593) and Yi Kyŏngyun (1545-1611) combined the Zhe school style with elements of the style of the Kang brothers. Famous for his ink bamboo was Yi Chŏng (styled T'anun, 1541- post 1625), while O Mongnyong (b. 1566), a son-in-law of Yi Kyŏngyun, excelled in plum blossom painting. Lady Shin (styled Saimdang, 1504-1559), and Hwang Chipchung (1533-1593) became well-known for their grape vines; Yi Am (b. 1499) for his dogs and cats under flowering trees, and Cho Sŏk (1595-1663) for his birds on trees. Around 1600, a new literati style was introduced to Korea and light colouring became popular, but the heritage of the Kang brothers, namely a powerful brushwork and free inkplay remained typical for Korean ink painting.

Influence of China

Besides the legend of Tan'gun, Korea has another Chinese foundation legend. According to the record Shiji by Sima Qian (ca.145-190 B.C.E.), Jizu (Kor. Kija), a prince of the Shang dynasty in China, established a kingdom in Korea when his royal house was overthrown towards the end of the second millennium B.C.E. In 108 B.C.E. the Han empire founded a colony in Luolang, (Kor. Nangnan, present-day P'yŏngyang) and gave great impulse to the development of Korean culture. A lacquer basket with fine figure painting, dating from this period, is still preserved at the Museum of Korean Fine Art in
Pyŏngyang. Murals from Koguryŏ tombs, located by the Yalu River and near Pyŏngyang show the influence of wall painting of the Han dynasty and later periods. Koguryŏ took over Chinese script and, in 372, founded a National Confucian academy (T'aehak) and officially introduced Buddhism. Paekche and Shilla mainly received Chinese culture via Koguryŏ. However, the tomb of the Paekche king Munyŏng (r. 501-523) and his wife strongly suggests direct contacts with the Southern Chinese Liao kingdom (502-557). According to Japanese historical records, a Paekche king sent Buddhist scriptures and statues to Japan in 552, thus functioning as intermediary between his neighbours. After conquering Koguryŏ and Paekche and unifying the peninsula in 668, Shilla had close contacts with Tang China. The remains of a palace and garden area, called Anapchi 'The Pond of Wild Geese and Ducks', constructed in 674 (restored in the 1980s) and the Buddhist sculptures of Sokkuram Grotto are impressing examples of this period. During the Koryŏ period (918-1392) contacts were close with Northern Chinese dynasties and North Asian tribes, Northern Song, Chin and Yuan. The famous Koryŏ celadon was inspired by Song ceramicst, but a Chinese traveller reports in 1123 that he also found forms and designs he had never seen in his homeland. When the Mongols conquered China and in 1280 founded the Yuan dynasty, they forced even closer ties with Koryŏ through marriages between Korean kings and Mongol princesses. Yuan and Koryŏ literati assembled around king Ch'ungsŏn (1275-1325) who retired to the Chinese capital after a short reign and was acquainted with such eminent painters and calligraphers as Zhao Mengfu. Chinese styles of the literati arts then entered Korsa, and while late Yuan masters changed styles in China, Korean painters remained faithful to early Yuan traditions even after the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Yi Sŏnggye, the founder of the new dynasty and its first king, Taejo, remodelled state and society according to Chinese Neo-Confucian principles. The painting academy at the royal court, Tohwasŏ, had bamboo as the main subject for entrance examinations. Bamboo, as a symbol of uprightness, was especially favoured by Confucian literati, and the academy's organisation surpassed similar Chinese contemporary institutions. Chinese styles in painting, calligraphy, architecture and applied arts continued to inspire Korean art, but Korean artists and craftsmen retained their own taste for pureness and natural beauty, as can be seen in the white ceramics of the 17th and 18th centuries.

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B Jungmann

Genre paintings

Genre paintings in the strict sense of the word - paintings of people engaged in the activities of daily life, painted for their own sake - are not found in substantial numbers for most of Korea's historical periods. Yet, there are not a few pictorial representations that give information on aspects of daily life in different ages, as part of paintings of an entirely different kind, created with purposes having little to do with genre painting as it is generally understood. The oldest examples of such pictures date from the Bronze Age or even earlier: engravings in a rock depicting hunting and fishing scenes, and a bronze object showing agricultural activities. Wall-paintings in the tombs of Koguryŏ, dating from the 4th through the 6th c., present a variety of scenes from daily life: pictures of men and women in procession, lords and servants, hunters, wrestlers, pugilists, dancers, horsemen and bullock carts, houses and their interiors, a kitchen, butchers shop. These pictures created for the dead a familiar environment similar to life in this world.

But beginning with the 7th c., for a period of over 500 years, very little is left to document the visual aspects of daily life. In the later Koryŏ period depictions of daily life appeared in
some paintings of the future Buddha Maitreya preaching in this world, which include, in the
deeper part, scenes of farmers tilling the soil. Also, about the same time, special events at
court and scenes from the life of the upper class were chosen as subjects to be painted, but
very little has been preserved. In most cases, we only know from literary sources that such
paintings existed.

A great deal more has survived from the Chosŏn-period, especially from its second half.
Following a tradition begun in the Koryŏ period (but that had its roots in China) important
events, banquets and visits of foreign envoys, were painted to commemorate and document
these occasions. Royal palaces were depicted in an exact, descriptive manner and paintings
called kyehoedo (pictures of association meetings) represented gatherings of members of
the upper class. When the occasion depicted was a meeting of elderly gentlemen of high
status, these pictures were called kirohoedo; (pictures of a gathering of those of venerable
age). The first known kirohoedo was painted during the previous dynasty, in 1203, but has
not survived. Kyehoedo would be made in multiple copies, one for each of the
participants. Until about 1550, kyehoedo depicted the participants in a vast landscape, but
from that time onwards the persons receive more emphasis.

Confucian ideology stressed the importance of the people and their productive labour, and
this led to the depiction of the toil of those engaged in agriculture, the raising of silkworms,
spinning and weaving (kyongjikto). Originally the intent of these pictures, for which there
were Chinese models, was to remind the courtiers of the plight of the hard-working
commoners and admonish them not to waste the fruits of such labour. In the second half of
the Chosŏn period, however, this theme was widely used for screens and, becoming ever
more popular, finally came to be part of the folk-painting repertoire.

The 18th c. witnessed important developments in genre painting. So far it had been
executed for ritual or religious purposes, or to document and instruct, now it came to be
more highly appreciated for its own sake. Yun Tuso (1669-?) and Kim Turyang (1696-
1763) were among the first representatives of the new trend. In their work human figures
are generally represented within a natural setting which receives at least equal attention, so
that these paintings may be regarded as a compromise between landscape and genre
painting. This changed with Cho Yŏngu, (1686-1761) who in some of his work shifted the
focus completely to human activity. Consequently his works, such as his depiction of two
craftsmen working a lathe, have greater documentary value. The most outstanding genre
painters of this period were Kim Hongdo (1745-1816?) and Shin Yunbok (18th c., exact
dates unknown). Kim Hongdo painted important episodes from the life of the yangban, but
also showed a special interest in the life of the common people. Shin Yunbok preferred
scenes with an amorous flavour - such as men of the upper class dallying with kisaeng - set
against a carefully drawn background which provides much information with regard to
daily life in his day. Another important genre painter was Kim Tukshin (1754-1822), who
was influenced by Kim Hongdo and whose work is remarkable for its humour. Kang
Hŭiŏn (1710-1764) and Yi Insang (1710-1760) also deserve to be mentioned for their genre
paintings.

In this period, too, scenes from daily life found a place in Buddhist painting. Occasionally
they may be seen in the lower part of paintings devoted to the Ten Kings of the Underworld
or the Buddha Amitabha, to whose Pure Land it was hoped the souls of the dead would go,
thanks to the prayers and offerings of their surviving kin. In style, these depictions of
scenes from worldly life (people drinking, playing chess, quarrelling and dancing,
shamans, itinerant artists, etc.) are extremely close to the genre paintings made for non-
religious purposes.

Of great importance for the knowledge of late 19th c. Korea is the work of Kim Chun'gün
(dates unknown), who is better known under his pen-name Kisan. He may not have been a
great artist, but for its documentary value his work is unsurpassed. Although he followed in
the tradition of the Korean genre painters of the 18th c., he seems to have worked mainly for the first westerners who came to Korea (among them P.C. von Moellendorff and the daughter of Admiral Shufeldt) who took sets of his work home. For James Gale's translation of Pilgrim's Progress he made illustrations in Korean style. Altogether, hundreds of his paintings and sketches are preserved in museums all over the world, in Seoul, Washington, Leiden, London, Vienna, Copenhagen and Moscow, constituting an invaluable source for getting to know the physical aspects of Korea at that time. Few subjects were left untouched by Kisan. He depicted seasonal customs, weddings, funerals and judicial procedures, mask plays, acrobats, jugglers, singers, beggars, monks, shamans and exorcists, hunters, farmers, miners, noodle makers, merchants of every description and craftsmen of all kinds, women fetching water, launderng, ironing, spinning and weaving, wine houses and markets, a bathhouse, hot springs and what not. Kisan was not the only one to produce such sketches, although he seems to have been the most prolific. Notable is the work of Kim Yunbo (early 20th c.), who painted scenes of country life and a series depicting punishments current in the Chosŏn period.

Bibliographies


Paji

[Clothing]

Pak ch'omji

[Literature]

Pak Chega (1750-1805)

Pak Chega was a late Chosŏn shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Miryang, his courtesy names included Ch’asu and Sugi, and his pen names included Ch’ojong and Chŏngyu. As a boy, Pak excelled in his studies -- poetry, composition and painting. At the age of nineteen or thereabouts he was attracted to the School of Northern Learning (pukhakp’a), which was comprised of men such as Pak Chiwon (1737-1805), Yi Tôngmu (1741-1793) and Yu Tükkong (1749-?). Since Pak was an illegitimate son, his options in government service were strictly limited. His excellence in scholarship, however, was widely recognised after the publication of a poetry collection, Könyûn chip, which included his work together with that of other writers, such as Yi Tôngmu and Yu Tükkong.

In 1778, Pak travelled to China as part of an official envoy headed by Ch’ae Chegong. On this journey, he and Yi Tôngmu became acquainted with Qing scholars such as Li Tiaoyuan and Pan Dingyun. Pak was able to witness the high culture of Qing, which was at its high point at this time, and was able to have discussions with Chinese scholars. It was then that Pak wrote perhaps his most famous work, Pukhagû (Discourse on Northern Learning). This consists of two sections; the so-called ‘Inner Chapter’, which contains information on the physical structures of China such as roads, bridges, commerce and medicine, and the ‘External Chapter’ which covers the political and social systems of Qing.

Pak enjoyed a close relationship with King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) which allowed him to have greater influence in the government than someone of his status would normally have had. He served in the Kyujanggak Royal Library and in 1789 presented a summation of his
work *Pukhagüi* to the King as a proposal for reform of Chosŏn. This advocated a modern and progressive economic policy that would enhance and facilitate domestic trade by improving the means and routes of commerce. However, this was far too liberal for the staunchly conservative neo-Confucian ruling class that viewed merchants as the lowest of the four classes of Chosŏn. After the death of King Chŏngjo, Pak was involved in an incident in 1801 and was exiled. He was released from exile in 1805, but died shortly afterwards.

Among his other extant works are the aforementioned *Pukhagüi*, *Chŏngyu chip* (Collected Works of Chŏngyu) and *Chŏngyu sigo* (Poetry Collection of Chŏngyu).

**Pak Chiwŏn** (1737-1805)

Pak Chiwŏn (styled Yŏnam) was a leading 18th c. writer and thinker of the shirhak (Ch. *shih hsüeh*, Practical Learning) school. The work of Pak Chiwŏn is widely recognized, both for its stand against the social ills of Chosŏn and for its satire.

Of yangban lineage and a descendant of Prince Kŭmyang (1562-1635), Pak Chiwŏn, of the Pannam clan, apparently did not prepare himself well in his early childhood for the state examination. His first opportunity to study seriously and methodically in preparation for it arose only after his marriage, at the age of fifteen to a member of the Chŏnu Yi family. His father-in-law and uncle were both respected neo-Confucian scholars and Pak Chiwŏn owes much of his scholastic learning to them. He passed the Minor Government Service Examination with the highest honours in 1770 and sat for the follow-up Combined Examination in the same year, but inexplicably did not hand in his examination paper. Following this incident, he deliberately by-passed the higher civil service examination, the most important institution in a literati's life, in consequence of which he was destined to spend many years in poverty.

This did not deter Pak from writing and his talent made him a celebrity in literary circles by his early twenties. As he honed his literary skills he lost all interest in attempting the government service examination. In 1768 he moved to a location near Paekt’ap and there became closely associated with Pak Chega (1750-1805), Yi Sŏgu (1754-1825), Yu Tūkkong (1749-?) and other scholars.

In 1780, Pak travelled to China with his cousin Pak Myŏngwŏn, who was a member of the official embassy sent by Chosŏn to mark the seventieth birthday of the Qing emperor. This occasion provided Pak an excellent opportunity to observe the advanced culture of Qing, as well as Western civilisation that was already preponderant in Qing. This visit was to have a lasting impact on his thought and writings. During the journey, he kept a diary which gives details of the many institutions and customs of the places he visited. The *Yŏrha ilgi* (Jehol Diary) provides a thorough commentary on a range of topics concerning the Qing State. It discusses the political and economic systems of Qing, along with matters concerning customs, the Chinese people, poetry, history, religion and nature. This work is widely upheld for its frankness, which was a rare quality of the day since many scholars feared censure for writing anything that could be construed as inflammatory in the slightest degree.

In 1786 King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) was told of Pak’s financial troubles and appointed him as a Junior Ninth Rank official (*son’gong kamyok*). From this time, Pak held a number of minor government posts. He was appointed as Magistrate (*unsu*) of Myŏnch’ŏn County in 1797 and Town Magistrate (*pusa*) of Yangyang in 1800, a position which marked the end of his government service.

Pak’s views on the yangban and the social structure of Chosŏn are well represented in his works, especially *Yangban chŏn* (Tale of a Yangban), which is a consummate piece of social satire. It is a damning indictment of the yangban society of the time, which Pak
manifested by satirizing the economic ethics of the idle, unproductive and pretentious way of life of the Confucianist yangban as hopelessly impractical. He condemned the system by virtue of which the yangban existed as, 'an ethic of worms, thieves and robbers'. He was acutely aware of the country's need to modernize, and attached much importance to the practicality of commercial and manufacturing activity, including agricultural work - which he saw as the salvation of the masses.

Yangban chon does not, however, deny or even fundamentally depart from the social value system or order of the upper class. On the other hand, in Hosaeng chon (The Story of Mr. Hŏ) Pak was quick to criticize the merchant class and others involved in commerce. From this, one may construct that although he disapproved of the upper class and the literati, it is not a denial per se of the social systems of the former, but rather a suggestion that the upper class should adapt to the changing times. Another work, Hojil (A Tiger's Rebuke), satirizes the two faces of a treacherous scholar and a chaste woman by combining reality and fiction.

Pak was critical of neo-Confucianism as well as the Wang Yangming (1472-1529) school for what he saw as empty and useless metaphysical speculation. He always gave his strong support for the development of commercial and manufacturing enterprises and had a deep interest in both agricultural system reform and technical growth.

In his preface to the Yangban chon Pak explains his motive for writing the work as, 'A scholar occupies an official position that is bequeathed by heaven. The mind of the scholar should not seek benefit, should not sway from propriety although he is established in life, and should not relinquish its scholarly duties even if he becomes destitute. However, since the scholars of the present-day do not cultivate their moral obligations and seek justice, instead idly believing in their family power, and buy and sell the nobility of their family, what is the difference between them and the merchants? I am writing Yangban chon since I wish to reveal my feelings on this subject.'

Pak’s scholarship made a great contribution to the development of shirhak thought and through this movement he helped prepare Korea for the country’s eventual acceptance of reform. After he retired from government service he continued to live in Seoul and died there in 1805. There are many extant works by Pak including Yŏnам chip (Collected Works of Yŏnам) and the aforementioned Yŏrha ilgi. Pak’s short stories such as Yangban chon and Hosaeng chon continue to be popular with readers to the present-day.

Pak Chŏnghŭi (see Park Chung Hee)

Pak Hanyŏng (1870-1948)

Hanyŏng (Buddhist name, Chŏngho; most often called himself by the pen-name, Sŏkchŏn. Yŏngho and Hanyong were two other pen-names he used; he was often called Hanyŏng by others) was the pre-eminent leader in the founding of Korea’s modern Buddhist educational system. Although he was in many respects a traditional Buddhist priest and scholar, he recognized fully the necessity for modern learning and begrudgingly expressed his respect for the educational advances of Christian missionaries. Under his direction, Korean monks were encouraged to undertake mathematics, science, and liberal arts courses which he considered an essential part of their religious training. He saw Buddhism in competition with Christianity and stressed that only educated Buddhist priests could effectively spread the Buddhist teachings and gain converts. In spite of his emphasis on modern education, he was a strict proponent of the traditional vows, especially that of celibacy, and he does not seem to have supported any major changes to the traditional Korean monastic rules.

Although there are various problems with the dates regarding the chronology of his life, it
seems that he entered the priesthood at around the age of twenty and had distinguished himself by the age of twenty-two. He succeeded his master in 1895 and was thus given the distinction of being called Sŏkchŏn. It is said that this name, meaning 'rocky mountain summit', had been transmitted from the priest Paek’pa Kŭngsŏn (1767-1852) as a favour to the scholar Ch’usa Kim Chonghŭi (1786-1856). Ch’usa had sent to Paek’pa a piece of writing bearing the words 'sŏkchŏn' and had requested that it be handed down as a name to his ablest students and in turn, their ablest students.

In 1895 or thereabouts, Hanyŏng wrote a collection of essays and other literary pieces in a text he titled Sŏngnim sup’il. Ch’oe Namsŏn, himself a brilliant Korean scholar, wrote that no matter how hard he tried, his intellectual achievements would never match those of Hanyŏng. Reading this book, one senses that Ch’oe’s praise was warranted. The wide scope of his intellectual interests is daunting enough, but even more surprising considering his age. He addressed topics as diverse as the tea ceremony, Buddhist metaphysics, and the relationship between Sŏn (Zen) Buddhism and poetry composition. His broad interests in traditional aesthetics seem to have marked him as a rare scholar among his contemporaries in the early twentieth century.

Interestingly, he also dealt explicitly and implicitly with the long-standing intellectual dispute between the priest Ch’ŏnl Ŭlsun (1786-1866) and Paek’pa, from whom he traced his lineage as a priest. This was an argument over an obscure point of Sŏn Buddhist metaphysics regarding the means of spiritual enlightenment in Sŏn Buddhism. Ch’ŏnl and Paek’pa each graded Sŏn into different levels commensurate with the spiritual ability of the practitioner, but they vehemently disagreed over the number of levels as well as what to call these different levels.

Ch’usa Kim Chonghŭi had also taken part in the argument and had criticized the stance taken by Paek’pa. Hanyŏng, however, defended Paek’pa while vigorously criticizing the famous Ch’usa, and in one essay he even stated that the letters Ch’usa had written to Paek’pa during the course of the dispute and the memorial tablet he had written after Paek’pa had died, ‘seemed to be thoroughly inconsistent’. Hanyŏng’s special interest in this debate seems to have lasted his entire life, and it can be assumed that this was partly of a personal nature, since it was through Paek’pa that he traced his lineage as a Sŏn master and a yulsa (vinaya master, or master of monastic rules of conduct).

In 1896, Hanyŏng began lecturing at monasteries throughout Korea, and it seems he gained recognition for his oratory. After his arrival in Seoul in 1908 or 1909 he rose to national prominence. From 1623 Korean Buddhist monks were officially banned from entering the capital, and after the lifting of this ban in 1895, there had been a flurry of Buddhist activity in Seoul. Like Han Yongun, Hanyŏng had come to the capital with the intention of beginning a Buddhist reform movement, and in 1911, he and Han joined forces in countering Yi Hoegwang’s attempt to merge the Korean Buddhist community with the Japanese Šōtō Sect. It seems that in 1913 he expressed his anger against Han’s proposal that monks be allowed to marry. But notwithstanding their dispute, the two men remained as friends.

From this time, Hanyŏng was engaged mainly in Buddhist educational programs and in writing for Buddhist journals. Despite his status as a Sŏn master, he had been greatly influenced by Hwaom thought (Ch.Huayan), and he criticized much of contemporary Sŏn. He was particularly disturbed by the anti-intellectual attitude of many Sŏn priests, and he warned that the traditional Sŏn definition of itself as 'not relying on words or letters', was both dangerous and wrong.

Hanyŏng believed that the future of Korean Buddhism rested on the creation of an educated community of priests who were as comfortable with sutra studies as with modern educational pursuits. To this end, he emphasized the worth of all spheres of human
knowledge, and in 1930 he was awarded a position in the Chungang Pulgyo Chŏnmun Hakkyo (Central Buddhist College), the predecessor of present-day Donguk University in Seoul. In this capacity he was able to directly influence the first generation of Korean Buddhist priests who would combine a traditional monastic education with Western-style academic courses of study, within a university setting.

Bibliography


G N Evon

Pak Hŏnyŏng (1900-1956)

Prominent communist leader, North Korean statesman. Pak was born in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, in 1900 in the family of a rice merchant, he received modern education. In his youth, he was greatly influenced by Christianity and contemporary Western ideas. In 1920 Pak moved to Shanghai where he established contacts with nationalist emigration and with early Korean followers of the Communist theory. There he became a member of Irkutsk faction, one of the first Korean Communist organizations. After returning home he began to spread Communist ideas in Korea.

In April 1924 Pak and some other activists tried to create a Communist Party organization in Korea, but failed. Soon, Pak was arrested by the Japanese police. After his release (January, 1924) Pak founded the 'Tuesday' faction, a Marxism study group. In 1925 this group as well as Pak himself played the major role in establishing the Korean Communist Party in Seoul. However, this organization was soon crushed by the police and in 1925-1927 Pak was imprisoned once more. After 1927, Pak who had been released from the prison as a mentally ill (he simulated insanity), left Korea for the Soviet Union and China. In Moscow he studied Communist theory and had close contacts with Comintern, but was not deeply involved in its inner politics and soon left for China. In 1933 he was arrested by the Japanese in Shanghai and imprisoned for 6 years. In 1939-1945 he stayed in Korea (sometimes illegally, under borrowed names) and continued his underground Communist activity.

By 1945 Pak had become the most prominent Communist leaders of Korea. He has got an image of a martyr, who spent almost 10 years in Japanese prisons, and never denied his ideals. He was also an energetic and highly ambitious person, skillful manager, brilliant writer and speaker. In August, 1945 Pak returned to Seoul and after some minor clashes among various rival Communist factions emerged as a chairman of the re-established Communist Party.

Under his leadership, the Communist Party became a major political force in the South Korea. Initially, its Central Committee claimed authority over the North Korean communist organization as well, but in early 1946 an independent party was established in the North under the Soviet tutelage. However, Pak remained to be one of the most influential persons among Korean leftist. After the merger of 2 Marxist parties - the Communist Party of the South Korea and the New People's Party - into the South Korean Workers' Party Pak was elected as its chairman.

In autumn, 1946 Pak, facing the real imminence of a new arrest, left the South for the North. He continued to direct underground actions of the South Korean leftists, but his real influence was diminishing, mainly because of the policy of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) who did his best to establish himself as the only supreme leader of the Korean
communists and did not tolerate any rivals. In the North Pak became a leader of the so-called 'domestic' faction inside the Korean Workers' Party. This faction consisted of former underground Communist activists who fled to the North.

After the declaration of the D.P.R.K. Pak became the foreign minister in the North Korean government. He also held some other official positions, but by 1953 he had lost any real political influence. In the spring of 1953 leaders of the domestic faction fell victims of purges. Pak himself was arrested in August 1953 and after a mock trial (15 December 1955) was executed as an American spy.

Bibliography


\[\text{A Lankov}\]

**Pak Hyogwan**

Pak Hyogwan was a songwriter of late Chosön. Little is known of Pak and even the date of his birth or death are not recorded. His courtesy name was Kyŏnghwa and his pen name Unae. He is known for his part in the compilation of *Kagok wollyu* (Sourcebook of Songs) along with An Minyŏng. This work, along with *Haedong kayo* (Songs of Korea) and *Ch'onggu yǒngon* (Eternal Words of Green Hills) are considered as the three most special songbooks of Chosŏn. Pak was favoured by the Taewŏn’gun (father of King Kojong, r. 1863-1907) and even received his pen name from him. Included in *Kagok wollyu* are thirteen of Pak’s *shijo*.

**Pak Hyŏkkŏse** (r. 57 BCE- 4 CE)

Pak Hyŏkkŏse (69 BCE-4 CE) was the first king of Shilla and reigned from 57 BCE to 4 CE. He is also the founder of the Pak family of Shilla. The foundation myth of Shilla is recorded in both the *Sanguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Sanguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). The story concerning the founding of Shilla and the origins of Pak Hyŏkkŏse begins in 69 BCE when the village headmen of the Six Villages of Saro gathered on the banks of the Al Stream to discuss the founding of a kingdom and the establishment of a capital city. At this meeting of the headmen, a mysterious light from the heavens shone on a white horse kneeling before a large egg in the roadway. The horse then flew skywards and the egg opened, revealing a male child, who was both handsome in appearance and just in countenance. The headmen took the infant to the Tong Stream and bathed him, causing his body to shine and the birds and beasts to dance. This child was none other than Pak Hyŏkkŏse, and he was given the name Pak since the egg that he had come from was as large as a gourd (also *pak* in Korean). The headman of Kohŏ Village, Duke Sobŏl, took the infant to his home and raised him. When the boy reached thirteen years of age, the headmen declared him king of the Six Villages of Saro. The area formed by the confederation was known as Sŏrabŏl, Shilla and Saro among other appellations. In the fifth year of his reign, Pak Hyŏkkŏse took Aryŏng as his queen, and together they ruled the kingdom until 4 CE.

The foundation myth of Shilla concerning Pak Hyŏkkŏse reveals that the Six Villages of Saro were unified through his reign of Hyŏkkŏse, and thus this myth can be viewed as a legitimisation of the rule of the king. Since Hyŏkkŏse is shown to have divine origins, his rule over the people of Saro can be justified as the will of heaven, or of a supernatural power. Moreover, it is also argued by some scholars that the rule of Pak Hyŏkkŏse over Saro represents the subjugation of the indigenous people of the Saro Villages by migrant forces, and thus the legend of Pak Hyŏkkŏse evolved in order to create a ruling hierarchy, along with the rationale for their rights to the throne. It is also noted that the creation of
foundation myths was one matter in which the concept of ancestor veneration was perpetuated among the common people, and through this vinculum, the status of the ruling class was further elevated.

Other records of Pak Hyŏkkŏse reveal that in 37 BCE he established Kŭmsŏng Fortress in the Seoul area, and that five years later he built a royal palace in this location. This shows that Shilla was now expanding beyond the Kyŏngju plain and forming alliances with other small states that dotted the Korean peninsula. These early states needed both sufficient population and territory in order to survive in their struggles with neighbouring states, and thus the ruler able to offer guarantees of personal safety and ample resources for farming would attract new population on the fringe of his kingdom, and thus enabling it to grow in strength. The fact that Shilla was able to expand and absorb neighbouring states reveals that its early kings, including Pak Hyŏkkŏse, could attract and increase their populations through their personal talents. This differs considerably from the monarchs of the centralised aristocratic states which developed in the second and third centuries. Pak Hyŏkkŏse bore the title of kŏsŏgan, which is widely interpreted as ‘chief’. This fact points to his role as the leader of a confederation of clans, his appointment being perhaps by virtue of his ability to control the forces that affected agriculture or his role as a shaman. This view is substantiated by the fact that Pak Hyŏkkŏse’s successor Namhae (4-24), was designated as ch’ach’’aung, which means shaman.

**Pak Illo (1561-1642)**

Pak Illo was a mid-Chosŏn civil-official who also participated in the 1592 Japanese invasion as a soldier. His family’s ancestral home is in Miryang, his courtesy name was Tŏgong, and his pen names were Nogye and Muhaong. Pak is reputed to be a forty-third generation ancestor of the founder of the Shilla Kingdom, Pak Hyŏkkŏse (57-4 BCE). Pak’s life of eighty-two years can largely be divided into two parts: the first encompasses his military activities carried out in the defence of Korea during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, and the second entails his activities as a Confucian scholar during his later life.

When Pak was thirty-one years old the Japanese invaded Korea and he was involved in the military operations of the so-called ‘righteous army’ (ūbyŏng) in areas such as Tongnae, Ulsan, Kyŏngju and Yŏngyang County. In addition, in 1598 he served as a naval commander and carried out many meritorious deeds. In 1599 he passed the military service examination (mukkwa) and served as Officer of the Guard (sumunjang) and as a herald (sŏnjŏn’gwan). He was later appointed as Commander (manho) of Chorap’o on Kŏje Island and charged with military affairs there.

Pak’s career as a scholar began when he reached the age of forty. As he pursued academic pursuits, he became acquainted with many moralists and in particular, he held similar views with Yi Tŏkhyŏng (1561-1613). Upon his meeting with Yi and thereafter on several important occasions such as Yi’s retirement from official life, Pak wrote short poems (shijo) for his friend. Among these, Saje kok (Song of the Sedge Bank) and Nuhangsa (In Praise of Poverty), both written in 1611, are praised for their excellence. In 1612 Pak attended a ceremony in honour of Yi Hwang (1501-1570) at the Tosan Sŏwn (private school) and here he became acquainted with many other literati including Cho Chisan, Chang Yŏhŏn and Chŏng Han’gang. Pak continued to be a prolific writer throughout his life and his other notable works include: Yŏngnam ka (Song of the Southeast) written in 1635 and Nogye ka (Song of Nogye) written in the following year. His literary collection, Nogye chip (Collected Works of Nogye) was compiled and published posthumously, and is praised for its literary excellence.

**Pak Maria (1906-1960)**

Pak Maria was an educator and social activist. Her family’s ancestral home is in Miryang
and she was born in Kangūng of Kangwŏn Province. In 1923 she completed her studies at Hosudon Girls’ High School and in 1928 graduated from the English Literature Department of Ehwa Women’s College. She returned to Hosudon and served as a teacher. From her time at Ehwa, Pak participated in various social movements such as those advocating the abolishment of licensed prostitution, and the prohibition of alcohol and tobacco.

Pak travelled to the United States for further study and graduated from Scarlet College in Tennessee in 1932 and in the same year received her Masters Degree from the Peabody College of Education. She returned to Korea and took up a lectureship at Ehwa Women’s College, teaching ethics. In 1935 she married Yi Kibung and at this time became director of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), a position she would hold for the next ten years. After Korea’s liberation in 1945, Pak’s husband held the office of secretary to Syngman Rhee (Yi Siingman) and so he and Maria were introduced to the political arena. Moreover, Rhee adopted the eldest son of Pak and her husband as a way to mirror the bond between the two families. Pak was active in international organisations and attended the World Conference of the YWCA held in China and further served as the Korean representative to the Girl Scouts movement. In 1954 she was appointed as head of the English Literature Department and deputy head of the Ethics Department at (what is now) the Ehwa Women’s University.

Pak and her family continued to be very close to Syngman Rhee and his Liberal Party (Chayu Tang). With the fraudulent elections of March 1960, however, the Korean people had grown weary of Rhee’s dictatorship and rebelled in what has become known as the April Students Revolution (19 April 1960). The main target of the rigged election was Pak’s husband who was running as Rhee’s vice-president. As a result, Rhee was forced to step down from the presidency and with this loss of political power, Pak and her entire family committed suicide at their home on 28 April 1960.

Pak Ûnshik  
Pak Yŏnghyo (Prince Kŭmnŭng)  
Paksu  

Pan’yŏn surok (Pan’yŏn’s Treatises)

Pan’yŏn surok is a twenty-six volume, thirteen fascicle work written by Yu Hyŏngwŏn (1622-1673). Titled after the pen name of Yu, it is a collection of treatises on diverse matters such as, land distribution and taxation, the national examination, the bureaucratic structure of Chosŏn and even broaches such topics as national rituals, customs and language. Upon his retirement from official life, Yu returned to his hometown in North Ch'ŏlla Province and compiled this work over a twenty-two year period. Pan’yŏn surok was not published as an independent work until nearly a c. after the death of the author, when in 1770 a woodblock-print edition was published.

The work (which has a modern version in print) contains a series of proposals for reform of the declining Chosŏn Kingdom, including a return to more benevolent governing of the nation’s farmers. Yu believed that the increased tax burden placed on the farmers in the aftermath of the 1592 Japanese Invasion was immoral and contributing to the ills of the nation. Moreover, this work details plans for reform of the land system of Chosŏn that enabled only the wealthy to own land instead of those who worked it. The exploitation of the farming class was presented as a key to the afflicted state of the country. The author also stressed the need for moral education among the people that would help stem the social deterioration that he saw as a plague upon the country.
Pan'gye surok displays the ideology and calls for reform by one of the great scholars of Choson. The called-for reforms were not well received in Yu's lifetime, as they were far ahead of their time. It provides invaluable data for research of Choson politics and societal problems.

**Bibliography**

**Pang Chöng-hwan (1899-1931)**

Pang Chöng-hwan was a scholar in the field of children's literature. His pen name was Sop’a and he was born in Yajugæ. In 1909 he entered Maedong Primary School and in the following year transferred to Midong Primary School, graduating in 1913. In the same year he entered Sollin Vocational School, but in the following year dropped out due to his family's straitened circumstances. In 1917 he married Son Yonghwa, and at that time became active in a youth movement. In 1918 he entered Posông College, and in the following year after the March First Independence Movement, was arrested by the Japanese police for distributing leaflets bearing the independence proclamation. For this he was imprisoned and tortured for about one week before being released. In 1920 Pang entered the Philosophy Department of Toyo University and began his study of children’s literature and art.

In 1921, Pang, Kim Kijon and Yi Chöng-ho, formed the Ch'ondogyo Youth Association. This is heralded as the inauguration of the youth movement in Korea. On 1 May 1922, Pang suggested the notion of a 'Children's Day' (orini na) and in March 1923 year he published the first children's magazine in Korea, Orini (Children). Orini was compiled in Tokyo and then published in Seoul. Pang continued to press for a 'Children’s Day' and also contributed to worldwide efforts for the development of children’s literature.

Despite his untimely death at the age of thirty-two, Pang has left behind many literary works. Sarang üi sŏnmul (Love’s Gift) was published during his lifetime, but there are some posthumously published works, including Sop’a chŏnjip (Collected Works of Sop’a, 1940) and Sop’a adong munhak chŏnjip (The Complete Children’s Literary Collection of Sop’a), among a total of eight works. Pang is remembered for his unwavering devotion to the cause of children’s literature and his desire to elevate the status of children.

**Pangdae Mountain**

Mt. Pangdae (1 436 metres) is situated to the south of Sŏrak-san National Park in Inje County. Surrounded by Mt. Chŏmbong (1 424 metres) and Kach’il Peak (1 165 metres) to the north, Kama Peak (1 192 metres) to the west, Maenghyŏn Peak (1 214 metres) to the south and Kuryongdŏk Peak (1 388 metres) to the east, the mountain is part of the Chungang Mountain Range. The north-west slope of the mountain is relatively flat, in contrast with the steep terrain to the south and east. On the summit, there is a television relay antenna, helping to improve broadcast transmissions to this remote area.

**Pangmun Sŏgwan**

Pangmun Sŏgwan was a publishing house established in Seoul in April 1907 by No Ikhyŏng. It was relocated to Seoul’s Pongnae-dong, and then to Chongno Street in 1925. The company’s publications were aimed at the general public and included translations of foreign novels as well as works by famous Korean authors such as Hyŏn Chin’gan, Yi Kwangsu, Yi Sanghyŏp and Yŏn Sangsŏp. In the 1930s, the company published Yi Kwangsu’s acclaimed work Sarang, a ten-volume collection of literary masterpieces and a five-volume collection of historical novels. Beginning in 1939, it also published Pangmun Mun’go, an eighteen-volume collection of key writings from both East and West, covering a wide range of subjects. The business remained active in the 1940s with publications which included works by Pang Chöng-hwan and Yang Chudong, and further works by Yi
Kwangsu.

Paper, hand-made (see Hanji)

**Parhae** (see History of Korea)

**Parhaego** (Treatise on Parhae)

*Parhaego (Treatise on Parhae)* is a history of the Parhae Kingdom written by Yu Tükkong in 1784. The author of this work consulted many documents in the compilation of this work including Chinese and Japanese sources. This work traces the history and accomplishments of the Parhae Kingdom from the founding king, Ko Wang (r. 698-720), to the collapse of the Kingdom in 926. Included in this work are a series of eighty-three biographies of famous Parhae literati and scholars, and geographical features of the kingdom such as descriptions of the five capitals, fifteen districts and the sixty-two states. The author also includes reports on the official positions of Parhae, foreign relations and its tributary states. *Parhaego* also includes descriptions of the regional products of Parhae.

The compilation of this work was an effort by the author to create an official history of Parhae much like those that had been created for the Three Kingdoms and for Koryō. Certainly in examining the time period in which this work was written, after the disastrous Japanese and Manchu invasions of the prior century, it can be surmised that this work was designed to bolster national consciousness of the past traditions of Korea. *Parhaego* is notable in that it sought to authenticate the history and traditions of Parhae as the successor of the Koguryō Kingdom. In addition, this work contains much valuable data that is essential for the study of the Parhae Kingdom.

**Pari kongju**

[Animism; Literature]

**Park Chung Hee** (1917-1979)

Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghui) was a soldier, politician and president of Korea who served terms of office as fifth to ninth (1961-1979) presidency. His family's ancestral home is in Koryong and his pen name was Chungsu. Park was born in Sangmo Village of North Kyongsang Province and graduated from Taegu Normal School in 1937. For three years after this he served as an instructor at Mun'gyŏng Elementary School. In 1940 he entered the Manchurian Military Academy, and after two years graduated at the head of his class. He then entered the Japanese Imperial Military Academy and in 1944 when he graduated he was stationed in Manchuria as a second lieutenant. In 1945 when Japan surrendered he was stationed in Manchuria. He entered the Manchurian Military Academy and in 1944 when he graduated he was stationed in Manchuria as a second lieutenant. At the conclusion of World War II, Park returned to Korea and entered the Korean Military Academy. He was in the second graduating class of the Academy and was commissioned as captain. He is said to have been involved in a military revolt in 1948 along with other junior officers who opposed the partition of Korea. As a result he was sentenced to death, but later was pardoned and had his rank reinstated. During the Korean War he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and after the signing of the Armistice in 1953, he travelled to the United States where he attended courses at the US Army Artillery School in Fort Sill, Oklahoma. After returning to Korea further promotion followed and by 1958 he held the rank of major-general.

After the April 1960 Student Revolution that significantly assisted the down fall of the dictatorial regime of Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman), the Democratic Party, led by Chang Myŏn, took over the South Korean government. The newly instituted regime put into effect greatly liberalized policies and ensured many democratic freedoms that heretofore had been severely restricted by Rhee’s regime. However, the result of these reforms was widespread
chaos and the inability of the Democratic Party to overcome their own factional divisions did little more than compound the situation.

Against the backdrop of the disordered situation that South Korea found herself in, the military was also experiencing factional problems. The junior officers of the Korean military were disloyal to their seniors who were both financially and politically corrupt and this led to calls for reform. The main advocate of these calls was a lieutenant colonel, Kim Jong Pil (Kim Chongp'il) whose attempt to persuade the Chang government of the necessity for military reform led to the abrogation of commission in February 1961. Thus three months later, Kim and Park, his uncle by marriage executed a relatively quiet coup that put the Korean military in command of the South Korean government. Although it was Kim who had planned this coup, it was Park who emerged as the central player in the new government, and he would remain so for the next eighteen years.

The Park era of Korean government can be largely be divided into three periods: the first from 1961 to 1963 was ruled through a military junta called the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR); the second from 1963 to 1972 represents a period of democratization of Park’s rule; and third, from the implementation of the Yushin Constitution in October, 1972 until his assassination in October, 1979 was a period of increased authoritarianism by the Park regime. The initial period provided Park with the chance to restore order to South Korea through the implementation of harsh autocratic laws that resulted in the arrest of thousands, severe restrictions on the press, and the enforcement of puritanical regulations that resulted in the closing of dance halls and bars along with the breaking up of prostitution rings. The SCNR quickly enabled Park to consolidate his political base. Moreover, SCNR created the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), headed by Kim Jong Pil, which came to be an important tool in Park’s suppression of various elements in the South.

The second period of Park’s rule came about with his resignation from the military and election as Korea’s president. Park formed the Democratic Republican Party (DRP), which served much the same purpose as had the SCNR. Park won the 1963 election with a total of 47 per cent of the vote. During this term Park continued the implementation of his economic reforms that were to have a great impact on Korea, and additionally succeeded in ratifying a normalization treaty with Japan that provided both capital for economic reforms and much-needed technology. As South Korea underwent massive social changes that arose due to the rapid industrialization process, the polarization between the wealthy and the poor became extreme. This process resulted in severe criticism of Park and his ruling methods. Moreover, the opposition parties during this period began to combine their efforts to oust Park. In 1970 a new opposition party emerged, the New Democratic Party, led by two young leaders, Kim Young Sam (Kim Yōngsam) and Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), who were highly critical of Park. The result was the popular support for Park was rapidly eroding and in the 1971 election he only narrowly defeated Kim Dae Jung to retain power.

In addition to his dissipating domestic power, changes on the international scene caused concern for Park. The Vietnam War was escalating and causing the United States to reevaluate her Asian goals, and the Nixon administration was establishing policies of détente with the Soviet Union and dialogue with China (PRC), all of which seemed to herald a new age of American global diplomacy. Park was further troubled by the Nixon administration’s decision to withdraw a combat division from Korea. In the face of mounting domestic criticism and international uncertainty, Park declared a state of emergency in December 1971.

The third period of Park’s rule is characterized by the enforcement of the Yushin Constitution that harshly limited the democratic rights of the Korean people. His Yushin (revitalizing) reforms were aimed at eliminating political opposition to his regime and at
securing power for the remainder of his life. The Yushin Constitution stipulated that the president was to be elected by the National Council for Unification (NCU) that was easily manipulated by Park, thus creating a legalized dictatorship for him. This system was to remain in effect until 26 October 1979 when Park and his chief bodyguard, Ch’a Chich’öl were assassinated by his KCIA chief Kim Chaegyu.

The accomplishments of Park are many: he provided stability for South Korea that enabled economic growth; the normalization of relations with Japan proved to be a major diplomatic coup that also enabled economic growth in Korea; under his leadership South Korea consolidated her relationship with the United States by sending troops to Vietnam and supporting their international policies; and most of all it was Park’s economic development plans that allowed the so-called ‘Miracle on the Han’ to occur and usher in an era of economic prosperity for South Koreans. Park also instituted major social changes in Korea through his rural revitalization program the New Village Movement (Saemaul undong) and allowed the quality of life in rural areas to approach that in the cities. However, despite his many accomplishments, many remember Park for his brutal suppression of democratic liberties and an overwhelming desire to retain political office. Moreover, it was his regime that served as a model for the ensuing Chun Doo Hwan (Chon Tuhwan) regime and its authoritarian rule, along with the seemingly systematized corruption that plagued South Korean politics in the decades that followed.

Parker, Sir Harry
Party for Peace and Democracy
Patriots’ and Veterans’ Affairs, Ministry of
People, Korean
Biographies (see under individual name)
Cultural Asset System
Cultural properties
art galleries (see also under each art gallery)
libraries (see also under individual library)
museums (see also under individual museum)
Culture (see Society)
Names (see Names, Korean)
Population (see Population)

In order to determine the origins and descent of a race, it is necessary not only to consult relevant documentary records, but also to collate the findings of scholars in a wide range of fields, including anthropology, archaeology and linguistics. However, difficulties remain in clarifying the origins and descent of the Korean people due to insufficient research in these areas. The Korean race belongs to the Mongoloid group, whose unique characteristics (including high cheekbones and double eyelids) are thought to have developed as adaptations to the cold climate in the region around Lake Baikhal in Siberia. The original Mongoloid group can be further divided into two subgroups which are both physiologically and linguistically differentiated. The first of these two groups is variously known as the Palaeo-Siberians, Palaeo-Asiatics or Palaeo-Mongols, while the second is known as the Neo-Siberians or Neo-Mongols. However it remains unclear when this division occurred. What is known is that these groups further divided into numerous races, and that the Neo-Siberian group later came to comprise two broad linguistic groups, the Ural and the Altai. It is considered probable that the Korean language belongs to the latter group, due to certain features which are common to Korean and other languages in the Altai group, such as vowel harmony, agglutinative grammar, and the absence of consonant clusters. Although Korean possesses certain structural differences from other languages in this group, such as
its honorific forms, it is thought that these constitute unique developments which probably occurred after the language had branched off from its Altaic roots. It can therefore be concluded that the Korean people constitute a branch of the Altaic subgroup of Neo-Siberians.

The regions to the south of Lake Baikal are characterised by forest and grassland which extends through Inner and Outer Mongolia as far as the Great Wall of China and eastward into Manchuria. The forests of north-eastern Manchuria continue south into the Korean Peninsula. It is considered that similarity in ecological conditions facilitated early southward movement of various Mongoloid peoples, and it is estimated that this movement took place during the period between the latter part of the Fourth Ice Age and the following ice age, leading to the spread of Neolithic and Bronze Age culture throughout the above regions. It appears that Neolithic culture was introduced into the Korean Peninsula through two routes, one extending into the western and southern parts of the peninsula from southern Siberia and western Manchuria and the other extending into the north-eastern part of the peninsula from eastern Siberia via the Amur basin and eastern Manchuria. Ceramic artifacts of the former type are characterised by pointed or rounded bottoms and by a half-egg shaped structure, while those of the latter type are identified by this flat bases. Although it is estimated that Palaeo-Siberians introduced Neolithic culture to the Korean peninsula, almost no fossil evidence has been found to confirm this hypothesis.

Bronze Age culture subsequently spread throughout Mongolia, Manchuria and the Korean peninsula during the Karasuk period. Daggers, spears, chisels, bronze buttons are among the artifacts that have been discovered, which date from both the Mongolian and Manchuria-Liaoning (Yoryŏng) Bronze Ages, however, differences exist between items from these two regions. These differences, such as the development of a lute-shaped dagger in Manchuria, are thought to be a result of the different living patterns of peoples in each region, nomadic in Mongolia and agricultural in Manchuria. The Korean Bronze Age was a direct extension of that of Manchuria.

Although belonging to the same Altai group, the physical characteristics of the Koreans differ in certain respects from those of the Mongol or Tungus peoples. The short, high skull of the Koreans is less rounded than that of the Mongols, and differs markedly from the medium to long skull of the Tungus, the latter thought to be a product of interbreeding with the Palaeo-Siberians during the period of southward migration from Siberia. Branching off from the Altai group, the Korean people moved south to settle in the region around the north-eastern part of the Great Wall, and in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula, coming to form a distinct ethnic unit. Farming activity commenced along the aluvial plains of numerous river basins; increased agricultural activity led to the further development of Bronze Age culture; and village-based state structures came to be established. The most prosperous among these, Ko Chosŏn (Ancient Chosŏn), succeeded in creating an alliance of several states. Korean mythology and folk rituals are derived from the traditions of Siberian shamanism, and similarities between Korean folk culture and those of the numerous races of Siberia represent evidence of historical links between these peoples.

**Philosophy**
- Confucianism (see Confucianism)
- Early philosophers (see Confucianism)
- Shirhak School (see Shirhak)
- Tonghak (see Tonghak)

**Photography**
Photography was introduced to the Korean peninsula c.1870, by American, British and French soldiers, engineers, and cultural missionaries. Lieut. J.A. Bull (USN), Percival Lowell, Isabella Bird-Bishop, Constance Tayler, and Leonie Cuvillier were among the
earliest mentors to Korea's own photographers.

Korea's earliest photographers include Kim Yongwŏn, Chi Unnyŏng and Hwang Ch'ŏl. The name of Chi Unnyŏng is particularly significant for the period, as he was commissioned in 1884 by King Kojong to take the royal portraits. Outside the court circle, cameras, equipment and film were too expensive to be in regular use. Portrait photography began to flourish, however, from 1895 following the enactment of legislation to force Korean males to remove the traditional topknot. Portraits were in demand to record their traditional appearance, before the barber's scissors were applied. In early 1900, several hundreds of people visited the Ch'ŏnyŏn-dang Photo Studio to have their photos taken.

When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, many Japanese photographers came into the country as well, and significant photos were taken by these early contributors, too. It is still unknown, however, who took two crucial photos used in A Century of Japanese Photography. The photo of the Korean crown prince in 1907 standing reverentially next to the Japanese Resident-General is one of these; the other is the image of several hanged Korean demonstrators from the March 1st Independence Movement of 1919.

After Korea's liberation in 1945, more Western photographers went to Korea - especially during the Korean War (1950-1953). Joining American photojournalists like David Douglas Duncan and Margaret Bourke-White in Korea, were 'photo legends' like Britain's Bert Hardy, who captured the only images of the Battle of Inch'ŏn, on 15 September 1950, to be published (by Picture Post Magazine). ROK Army photographers also served meritoriously during that conflict, as did North Korea's soldier-photographers.

Since 1960, the best photographers of Korea have made names for themselves at home and abroad. One of the leading photographers ever to work in Korea, and a native of Seoul, is H. Edward Kim. Mr. Kim worked for 'National Geographic' from 1967 to 1985, during which time he became the first America-based photojournalist to be allowed into North Korea in the post Korean-war era. He also contributed to, or singlehandedly wrote and photographed essays on South Korea for that magazine. Mr. Kim has won a number of prestigious awards, including various honours from the University of Missouri, 'Pictures of the Year' competitions and the White House competitions. Today, he publishes 'Seoul Magazine', a picture journal similar to America's 'Life Magazine'. He also has published a number of excellent photobooks - including 'Korea: Beyond the Hills', 'The Family of Dolls', 'The Korean Smile', and 'Decade of Success'. Other recent native-born photographers of note are: Joo (Chu) Myŏng (who was born in North Korea and whose book 'Korean Traditions - As Seen Through Paper Windows' is a landmark of documentary photography in Korea); T'aewŏn (Tony) Chŏng (formerly chief photographer for the UPI and Reuters news agencies in Seoul); Yim (Im) Hyangja (a great abstract pictorialist as well as being president of Time Space Inc. in Seoul); and Young-im (Yŏngim) Kim, a leading abstract photographer and exhibiter in Korea during the 1980s (and now a leading documentarian in New York City at work on a series of photobooks, entitled The Korean Community in New York), to name only a few of the most prominent since 1960.

Other leading photographers who were born in Korea and have worked there include: Limb Eung-Sik (Im-Ungshik) - the renowned Korean architectural photographer; Edward B. Adams (the grandson of missionaries and the head of an international school in Seoul, as well as the author of several exemplary photobooks on Korea); and Dr. Bong-Oh Cha (erstwhile Professor of Political Science at the University of Ulsan and an exhibiting Korean-American photographer).

Although very little has been written about the earliest Korean photographers in the English-language media, documentary trends from the late nineteenth c. have been reinforced over
the years, with a good sampling of abstract work added-in more recently. The influence of
Russian and Japanese photo-artists has been most profound in the latter case; while the
influence of Western academic, governmental, and news-gathering organisations has been a
leading influence in the documentary outlook of many Korean photographers, especially in
South Korea, down to the present day.

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Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok (Records of the Border Defence Council)

*Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok* is a massive chronological record of the *Pibyŏnsa* (Border Defence
Council) of the Chosŏn period. This work encompasses the years from the reign of
Kwanghae (1608-1623) to 1892 in the reign of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). There are 273
volumes in this hand-written work.

The *Pibyŏnsa* was established in 1510 during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544)
and was designed to defend the nation from foreign invasions. Originally, the Council
focused on the defence of Korea’s northern border, but this changed as the situation
surrounding Korea transformed over the years. The records before 1616 are not extant as
many were lost in the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Further records were lost in the subsequent
Manchu Invasion of 1636. Each volume in this collection represents a chronology of one
year. However, many individual volumes have been lost and since only one copy was
made each year, it was not possible to replace these.

*Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok* is a valuable record from the Chosŏn period that reveals many aspects
in the structure, operation and activities of the Pibyŏnsa. This military organization played
a crucial role in the defence of Chosŏn, and therefore this historical record provides much
data concerning events in the nearly three-hundred years that it covers. This work was
converted to standard ‘block’ Chinese characters and re-issued as a twenty-eight volume
work in 1959-1960 by the Kuksa P’ŏynch’an Wiwŏnhoe (National History Compilation
Committee). The original version of this work is presently stored at the Kyujjanggan Library.

Piryu [Mythology]
Pisŏsǒng [Library]
As a result of the Korean peninsula's north-south orientation and the topographical variations, there are major differences in temperature and precipitation which result in a considerable variation in the types of flora. The mean temperature variation in the course of the year is from 5 deg. C to 14 deg.C, with precipitation ranging from 500 to 1500 millimetres. From sea level to the 2744 metres of Mt. Paektu on the northern border of Korea, a diversified floral region exists. Consequently, there are some 4200 kinds of plants growing in Korea, with 407 of these not found outside the peninsula and the islands of Korea. Of these 407 endemic species, eleven are of the fern family, sixteen are gymnosperms and the remaining 380 are angiosperms.

**Sub-Tropical Zone Flora**

The area in which sub-tropical flora is present in Korea is restricted to the southern coastal regions and the many islands in this region, including Cheju, Ullung and Sókhúksan. In particular, Cheju Island is home to a large number of species including some seventy broad-leaved evergreens, like *Camellia japonica* L. (*tongbaek namu*); *Cinnamomun camphora* Sieb. (*nok namu*); *Quercus myr sinaefolia* Bl. (*kashi namu*); *Neolitsea aciculata* (Bl.) Koidz. (*saedogi*); and *Citrus aurantium* var. *daidai* Makino (*kwang kyul*). Cheju has unique herbal plants such as *Pollia japonica* Thunb. (*nado saenggang*) and *Crinum asiaticum* var. *japonicum* Bak. (*munjuran*), as well as broad-leaved deciduous trees like *Elaeagnus submacrophylla* Serv. (*k'un pori chang namu*). The southern coast of Cheju and the southern slopes of Mt. Halla are home to an even greater number of sub-tropical plants. Some of Cheju Island's flora is also found on other Korean islands, including *Elaeagnus submacrophylla* Serv. (*k'un pori chang namu*).

Ullung Island, which is located at 37° 30' north latitude, also has a considerable number of sub-tropical plants, including small plants such as *Daphniphyllum macropodum* Miq. (*kulgori*); and broad-leaved trees like *Ilex integrata* Thunb. (*kamt'ang namu*); and *Aucuba japonica* Thunb. (*shik namu*). The temperate conditions which prevail on the Korean islands, allow for the distribution of sub-tropical species as far north as Taech'ong Island, which is off the coast of Hwanghae Province These plants, whose seeds are distributed largely by sea currents, include *Camellia japonica* L. (*tongbaek namu*); and *Neolitsea sericea* (Bl.) Koidz. (*ch'amshik namu*).

**Temperate Zone Flora**

The temperate zone accounts for the largest portion of the Korean peninsula. The mountainous terrain of Korea provides excellent locations for the deciduous broad-leaved trees such as *Quercus acutissima* Carruth. (*sangsuri namu*); *Quercus aliena* Bl. (*kalch'am namu*); *Quercus serrata* Thunb. (*cholch'am namu*); *Carpinus tschonoskii* Max. (*kaeso namu*); and *Fraxinus rhynchopylla* Hance (*mulp'ure namu*). There are also many bush-like species including *Forsythia koreana* Nakai (*kaenari*); *Rhododendron mucronulatum* Turcz. (*chindallae*); *Rhododendron dauricum* L. (*san chindallae*); and *Rhododendron yedoense* var. *poukhanense* (Lev.) Nakai (*sanch'oltchuk*). Herbaceous plants found in Korea include *Miscanthus sinensis* Anderss. (*ch'amoksae*); *Calamagrostis arundinacea* (L.) Roth (*silsae p'ul*); *Chrysanthemum zawadskii* var. *latilobum* Kitamura (*kujol ch'o*); *Platycodon grandiflorum* (Jacq.) A. DC. (*toraji*) and *Melampyrum roseum* Max. (*kkotnyoniri pap p'ul*). Endemic to Korea are *Abelophyllum dictichum* Nakai (*misôn namu*); *Hylomecon hylomeconoides* (Nak.) (*maemi kkor*); *Aconitum chiisanense* Nakai (*chiriba kkor*), and others.
Arctic Zone Flora

At the higher elevations, quite a broad range of flora exists. Typically-found species in the mountain ranges include needle-leaved varieties such as Abies nephrolepis Max. (punbi namu); Abies koreana Wils. (kausang namu); Thuja koraiensis Nakai (nunch'ukpaek); Pinus pumila Regal (nunjat namu); Juniperus chinensis L. (hyang namu); and Taxus cuspidata S. et Z. (chumok). Deciduous plants found at the higher levels include, Quercus mongolica Fisch. (shin'gal namu); Quercus dentata Thunb. (ttokkal namu); Chosenia bracteosa Nakai (ch'aeyang podUl); Betula platyphylla var. japonica Hara (chajak namu); Salix myrtilloides L. (chinp'ori podUl); and Syringa dilatata Nakai (susu kkotn tari). The bush-like Echinosophoro koreensis Nakai (kaenusam) is endemic to areas of high elevation in Hamgyong and Kangwon provinces, and Sasa coreana Nakai (shinidae) is found in the northern regions of Hamgyong Province, and this represents the northern limits for members of the bamboo family. Endemic herbal plants include, Hanabusaya asiatica Nakai (kumgang ch'orong kkot) found in the northern areas of the country and Rheum coreanum Nakai (changgun p'ul) in the Mt. Paektu area in the northernmost reaches of Korea. Major species of the northern forests are Picea koraiensis Nakai (chongbi namu); Pinus koraiensis S. et Z. (chat namu); Abies holophylla Max. (chat namu); and Picea jezoensis Carr. (kamunbi namu).

An examination of the plants of some areas reveals changes in past climatic and geographical conditions. One such plant is the Vaccinium uliginosum L. (tUltchuk namu) which only grows on the summits of Mt. Halla on Cheju Island and the highest mountains in Kangwon Province, thereby revealing that it is a relic species which has remained in these locations from earlier, and colder, times. Empetrum nigrum var. japonicum K. Koch (shiromi) is found only on the peaks of the northernmost Korean mountains such as Mt. Paektu and the southern summit of Mt. Halla on Cheju Island, which tends to support the claim of some scholars that the mainland and Cheju Island were connected in the distant past. Moreover, Diapensia lapponica var. obovata Fr. Schm. (tolmaehwa namu), is present only on Mt. Halla and some Japanese mountains, which suggests the Japanese archipelago and Cheju Island may have once been part of the same land mass.

Flowering Periods

July, being the hottest month, is the peak of the flowering season for most plants, although there are many that bloom at different times in either the spring or autumn. Spring-flowering plants include Forsythia koreana Nakai (kaenari); Rhododendron mucronulatum Turcz. (chindallae); Lonicera praeflorens Batal. (olgoebul namu); Fraxinus rhynchophylla Hance (mulp'ure namu); Gingko biloba L. (unhaeng namu); Iris rossii Bak. (kakshiput kkor); Pulsatilla cernua (Thunb.) Spreng. (kanunip halmi kkot); and Viola mandshurica W. Becker (chebi kkor). Summer-flowering plants include, Paeonia japonica Miyabe et Takeda (paek chagyak); paeonia lactiflora Pall. (chōk chagyak); Paeonia suffruticosa Andr. (moran); Iris ensata var. spontanea (Mak.) Nakai (kkot ch'angp'o); Lilium concolor var. partheneion Bak. (hanũl nari); Lilium hansonii (Leichtl. (sommal nari); and Anemone narcissiflora L. (param kkor). There are many others. Plants that flower in the autumn include, Miscanthus sinensis Anderss. (ch'amóksae); Miscanthus sacchariflorus Benth. (muróksae); Sedum aizoon L. (kanũn kirin ch'o); Gentiana scabra var. buergeri (Miq.) Max. (yongdam); Elsholtzia splendens Nakai (kkot hyangyu); and Chrysanthemum zawadskii var. latilobum Kitamura (kucholi ch'o). The winter-flowering Camellia japonica L. (tongbaek namu) grows on Cheju and other southern islands.

Bibliography

Pogak Kukchon (see Iryŏn)

Pogil Island

Pogil Island is situated off Korea's southwestern coast, about 18 kms. southwest of Wando Island. Administratively, the island is part of Nohwa Township in South Cholla Province's Wando County. The island covers a total area of 33 sq kms. and has only a small population (5,481 in 1985). Due to the warm currents off the coast, the area’s weather is characterised by mild temperatures. The temperatures swing considerably, from an average of 0.1°C in January to 25.3°C in August. Annual rainfall averages 1,398mm, but the island’s snowfall is minimal.

Only 12.4 per cent of the island is arable land. Most of this grows rice, barley, bean, sweet potato, garlic, radish, and other vegetables. The island has a commercial fishing fleet of the order of 225 boats. Fish catches include anchovy, Spanish mackerel and sea bream. Divers bring in abalone along the coast and there is also oyster farming.

Dolmen on nearby Nohwa Island indicate that Pogil Island was probably inhabited during the early Iron Age. In later times, however, the island was desolate due to frequent attacks by Japanese pirates. In 1667, Yun Sōndo (1587-1671), styled Kosan, moved to the island along with his family and retainers. Yun built a residence as well as landscaped ponds and gardens, naming the new settlement Puyongdong (Lotus Village).

Yun had earlier raised an army to fight the Qing invaders. When he learned that the king had surrendered to the enemy, he was deeply disappointed and thus decided to abandon all worldly concerns and to leave for Cheju Island. After two days on the water, Yun’s ship anchored at Pogil Island, where he rested and acquired fresh drinking water. Impressed with the great beauty of the Pogil, Yun decided to stay.

Yun gave poetic names to many of the island’s famous spots such as Misan (Beautiful Mountain), Oundae (Five Clouds Hill), Toktūngdae (Solitary Lamp Heights) and Sūngnyongdae (Rising Dragon Heights). He constructed his residence, Naksojae, on the northern side of the island. One kilometre from the area, he created a grotto which he named Tongchën Sŏksil (Eastern Heaven Stone Chamber). Much of the information about Yun and the early history of the island comes from his work Kosan Yugo (Posthumous Manuscript of Kosan).

Pohanjae chip (Collected Works of Pohanjae)

Pohanjae chip is the collected works of the Chosŏn scholar-official, Shin Sukchu (1417-1475). This work, which is titled after the pen name of the author, consists of seventeen volumes in four fascicles and is a wood-block printed work. It was first published in 1487 by the Royal Library but this edition is no longer extant. The oldest edition presently surviving is the one published in 1645. It has also been reproduced in recent years.

The contents of this work are quite varied and include various types of writing, poetry, records of the author’s travels and memorials to the throne. Pohanjae chip also contains prefaces written by such prominent literati as Sŏ Kŏjong, Hong Ŭng and Kim Chongjik among others. This work is historically significant since the author was a high ranking government official during the cultural zenith of Chosŏn, and therefore his writings provide insight into the composition of the upper classes and the court at this time. A copy of the 1645 edition of this work is now kept at the Kyujanggak Library.
Pohyon Mountain

Situated in North Kyongsang Province on the border of Yongch’ŏn and Ch’ŏngsŏng County, Mt. Pohyon (1,124 metres) is part of the Chungang Mountain Range. Since the mountain actually consists of a set of ridges, it is also known as the Pohyon Mountain Range. The area supports a large number of rare plant species. Many chestnut trees once grew here, but these were all cut down during the Second World War. Pŏnmyŏng Temple lies to the south of the mountain. An interesting legend surrounds the founding of the temple. A woman’s husband was dying of a terminal illness. In desperation, the woman gave her husband some wild ginseng that she had found on the mountain. When her husband was miraculously cured, the woman donated her entire fortune to have a temple built on the very spot where she had found the rare herb. In addition, the Pophwa and Chŏnggak Temple sites are located at the mountain’s western base.

Politics (see also History of Korea)

Constitution

The ROK has a democratic political regime based upon a separation of powers, and a presidential system of government. The constitution provides for the independence of the executive, legislature and judiciary, and a framework of checks and balances. Presidential elections must be free and competitive, and the president's term of office is limited to a single period of five years. The constitution guarantees the right of all citizens before the law, freedom from arbitrary detention, and freedom of residence. The constitution also establishes certain economic and worker rights, including the right to own property, the right to work, freedom of choice of occupation, the right to a fair wage, fair compensation, and free collective bargaining.

There have been nine amendments to the constitution since it was initially promulgated by the first session of the National Assembly on 17 July 1948. The first two amendments occurred during the First Republic, on 7 July 1952, giving the legislature the right of no-confidence in both a cabinet system and a bicameral legislature; and on 27 November 1954, abolishing any limit on the presidential term of office. During the Second Republic, there were two more amendments: on 15 June 1960, providing for the introduction of a bicameral legislature and a cabinet system of government to replace the presidential system; and on 23 November 1960, to provide for an exception to the principle of no retrospective punishment. (This amendment was aimed at allowing punishment for those found responsible for rigging the previous presidential election).

In the period covered by the Third Republic, amendments five and six took place. These occurred on 17 December 1962, when the presidential responsibility system was resurrected; and on 21 October 1969, when the two-term limit on President Park Chung-hee's presidency was abolished, allowing him to stand for a third term, and the National Assembly was extended and its members permitted to serve on the cabinet concurrently. During the Fourth Republic, there was the seventh amendment, of 27 December 1972, which provided a legal foundation for the introduction of the Yushin system. The eighth amendment was introduced on 27 October 1980, to lay the legal foundations for the establishment of the Fifth Republic. It called for a reduction in the President's powers in favour of a strengthened National Assembly and judiciary, and for limits on the President's term of office to one seven-year term. On 27 October 1987, the ninth amendment was made, giving birth to the Sixth Republic.

The revised constitution of 1987, meant that the President would be elected by direct popular vote, and would serve for a single term of five years. The President no longer has the powers to dissolve the National Assembly, nor to take emergency measures, unless of a financial nature. It stipulated that the National Assembly sessions be extended from ninety
to one hundred days, and that the legislature should have the right to examine all aspects of state affairs on a regular basis. The Assembly was also given the right to pass a non-binding motion calling for the dismissal of the Prime Minister or any member of the State Council, and to approve the appointment of the Prime Minister. With regard to the judiciary, the Chief Justice has to be appointed by the President with the approval of the National Assembly. Justices of the Supreme Court are now appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Chief Justice, with the approval of the National Assembly. A Constitution Court was established by the amended constitution, whose task it is to rule on the constitutionality of a law upon request of the courts, and to rule upon impeachment, jurisdictional disputes between the different arms of government, and other matters prescribed by law.

Guarantees of freedom of the individual, speech, the media, and of assembly have been reinforced through the prevention of censorship of these activities. As far as criminal cases are concerned, victims may attend court hearings in person to present their cases; and victims, or their families, may receive compensation from the state for injuries received, if the offender is incapable of paying. Workers' rights were guaranteed in relation to no gender discrimination, the terms and conditions of work, the payment of a minimum wage, and free, collective bargaining. Improved welfare for women, senior citizens and the young was also demanded by the revised constitution.

Political Crises

There have been a number of political crises facing the ROK in recent years, of varying impact, intensity and duration. Many of these crises have their origins in political party instability and an absence of democratic legitimacy. The elections in April 1988 for the 13th National Assembly resulted in the ruling Democratic Justice Party gaining only forty two per cent of the votes cast, with fifty five per cent taken by the opposition. The opposition included the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) of Kim Dae-jung, the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) of Kim Young-Sam and the New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP) of Kim Jong-pil. This furnished the opposition with power, for the first time in the life of the ROK, to oppose government legislation, leading to a legislative impasse which almost paralysed the government, and hindered political and economic progress. This blockage paved the way for a revolutionary change in ROK politics when, on 22 January 1990, President Roh Tae-woo and the two opposition leaders, Kim Young-Sam and Kim Jong-pil, joined forces to create a new ruling party, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP). Thus the 'one-Roh, three-Kim' four-party system was abruptly disbanded in favour of an unequal 'one Roh, two-Kim' potent alliance, versus a weak 'one Kim' opposition. This meant that the new ruling DLP had a three-quarters parliamentary majority, and the opposition's influence was suddenly decimated. Beneath this dramatic development there lurked potential sources of instability which included, first, the possibility that the democratic process might be impeded by such a conservative alliance; secondly, that the alliance might not be able to function effectively because it bore no signs of any deep-rooted unity, either ideologically, politically or strategically; third, it had the potential of bipolarising ROK politics by radicalising what opposition there was.

Throughout 1990 and 1991, the ruling DLP displayed signs of internal instability, factional infighting, and disarray, which adversely affected its operational effectiveness. In February 1991, the government was faced with the Suso housing scandal which revealed a case of extensive bribery and corruption, that led to a cabinet reshuffle and a personal televised apology from the President. In May 1991, the ROK experienced the worst popular unrest since Roh became President as thousands of students participated in street demonstrations throughout the country. This was provoked by the beating to death of a student demonstrator by riot police. The protests included demands for the resignation of Roh's government, and combined with the traditional demonstrations commemorating the Kwanju massacre. The protests were accompanied by eight recorded cases of self-immolation, some
of which led to death, thus fuelling more protests. The President was forced to replace the Prime Minister in view of the mounting disorder, and when his successor, Chung Won Shik, was assaulted by students in June, the government decided to take a much tougher line. Unlike the disturbances of 1987 which ended the Fifth Republic, those of 1991 did not have the support of the middle class. Although the DLP won a clear victory at the local elections of June 1991 for the metropolitan and provincial assemblies (564 out of 866 seats), the result confirmed the growing regionalism in ROK politics, with the DLP gaining no ground in the south west of the country.

The fragmentation and feuding within the DLP led to growing disillusionment among the electorate, with opinion polls showing a majority of the public disenchanted with politics and the political parties. This disenchantment, particularly with the ruling DLP, deepened in 1992. In January, the local elections were postponed on the grounds that National Assembly elections were due in March, and presidential elections in December. The main opposition parties, including Kim Dae-jung's newly named Democratic Party (DP) and the recently formed United People's Party (UPP), were enraged at what they regarded as Roh's moves to erode the ROK's democracy in this way. Public opposition to the DLP was made apparent at the legislative elections in March, when the ruling party suffered a humiliating reversal, losing its overall majority. From this time, the National Assembly was brought to a standstill as the opposition parties disrupted normal functioning as a continuation of their campaign against the decision to cancel the local elections. This campaign continued until August when agreement was reached over the postponed elections, and President Roh announced he was resigning from the DLP and was forming a neutral cabinet, to make the presidential election contest a fairer one.

The factionalism within the DLP was manifested in 1991 and 1992 in regard to the presidential succession crisis. At the end of 1991, Kim Young-sam's bid to become the DLP's presidential candidate appeared precarious in view of the strained relations between him and President Roh, and the latter's preference for the candidate to be chosen by a party convention without any candidate being formally endorsed by the current President. Roh found it politically inexpedient to support Kim's candidature because Kim's years as a dissident made him highly unpopular with those in the DLP who were formerly associated with old DJP. This unpopularity existed in at least two of the factions within the DLP. Conflict within the DLP over the nomination of Roh's successor was exacerbated following the party's collapse in the March elections, for which Kim Young-sam was widely blamed. Although Kim Young-sam secured the DLP presidential election nomination in May, gaining 66.6 per cent of the vote, the decision triggered violent demonstrations in Seoul and elsewhere as thousands of students castigated Kim as being a traitor, and demanded democratic reforms and the dissolution of the DLP. In addition to popular opposition, Kim's rival for the candidature, Lee Jong-chan, declared that the vote had been rigged, and announced that he would stand for the presidential elections as an independent candidate. He later changed his mind about becoming a candidate, but announced that he had formed a new organisation called the National Alliance for New Politics. This declaration made the prospect of a split in the DLP's conservative vote, already likely because of the proposed candidature of Chung Ju-yung of the UPP, even more so. On the left, Kim's main opponent would be Kim Dae-jung. More problems of instability for the DLP were to arise in September 1992, when a group of its legislators left the party and formed the New Korea Party, which allied itself with the UPP.

In the wake of the inauguration of Kim Young-sam as President, on 25 February 1993, Kim's campaign to eradicate corruption in political and military life, has led to resignations and dismissals among top appointments made by the new President. On 8 March, President Kim was forced into making a partial cabinet reshuffle to replace ministers whose corruption had led to their departure. The December presidential election brought chaos and disorganisation to the opposition parties, as Kim Dae-jung, leader of the DP resigned; and as Chung Ju-yong later quit politics, and the UPP was dissolved.
Political Culture

The political culture of the ROK reveals an amalgam of the Chinese Confucian, native Korean, and western liberal democratic, traditions. The western democratic input is arguably stronger now than at any time in the ROK's brief history. Although the ROK officially adopted a western democratic constitution, modelled on the American formula, when it became independent in 1948, any real commitment to democratic values was noticeably lacking for many years. The institutions that formally attended the implementation of the first ROK regime never really took root in Korea, until recently. The Confucian culture predominated in ROK political thinking, and was reinforced by the Korean indigenous tradition, the key features of which were aristocratic rulers, a hierarchical societal structure, and a notable individual independence. Many of the characteristics of the Confucian and the Korean native cultures were alien to those of western democratic doctrine.

The Confucian emphasis on paternalism and authoritarianism, and on deferential relations towards others, especially superiors, based upon politeness and restraint, instead of on personal advancement and material gain, did not accord well with the notion of popular political participation and an assertive citizenry willing to challenge the system. It thoroughly opposed the idea of adversarial relations in the legislature, and in political and election campaigns. Indeed, it frowned upon opposition that challenged established rule altogether. The absence of popular opposition, helped to prevent the ROK's democratic institutions from becoming securely established, and enabled successive leaders to continue ruling in a bureaucratic authoritarian manner. This, in turn, hindered legitimacy. In addition, the ROK's precarious international political circumstances, originating in the Korean war, and manifested mainly in a continuing confrontational relationship with the communist DPRK, meant the long-term maintenance of a vast military establishment, facilitating a direct leadership role for the military in the political arena. The ever-present external military threat, combined with a perceived need to modernise and industrialise rapidly, provided successive governments, particularly under President Park, with the justification of arming themselves with extensive bureaucratic powers.

However, in more recent times, domestic economic and social advancement and increased contact with the west, have combined to give new weight to the individualistic and competitive traits inherent in the Korean native tradition. The emergence of a large and more forthright middle class, and a successful capitalist business category, has brought with it a set of values not entirely compatible with Confucian ethics, demanding equality, fairness, justice, individual freedoms, material acquisition, personal advancement, and a right to be heard. It was in response to demands such as these, that Roh Tae-woo offered his reform package in June 1987 in recognition of the need for enhanced popular participation.

These reforms are being extended and deepened under the current leadership of Kim Young-sam, in response to the changes in Korean society that have taken place since 1987. These changes have come about as the result of domestic economic difficulties, industrial maturity, and labour shortages, which have helped to increase public political awareness and interest. This heightened political interest has been accentuated by the fall of communism in eastern Europe, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, which have altered the ROK's international environment and given her a new role to play in the world, and a new confidence. With improved popular political participation, has come a gradual public interest in the institutions of democracy. More accommodating rulers are emerging with this trend, and gradually the ROK is developing a more integrated political culture, and her democracy appears to be acquiring a degree of legitimacy.

Politics and Economic Growth
In 1962, the ROK was a backward country, with an agrarian society, experiencing extreme poverty. She had no export trade and had to rely on imports of raw materials and manufactured goods. In the period from 1962 to 1989, the ROK's economy grew at an astounding pace, from a GNP of $2.3 billion to one of $210.1 billion. During the same period, the manufacturing sector increased its share of GNP from 14.4 per cent to over 31.6 per cent; domestic savings rose from 3.3 per cent to 37.7 per cent; and the ROK labour force went from a 79 per cent engagement in the primary sector to a 70 per cent engagement in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In 1986, the ROK achieved a surplus in her balance of payments for the first time.

This spectacular economic success story was not accompanied by a similarly remarkable advance in the institutionalisation of democracy in the ROK. Indeed, the opposite was the case, with economic development spearheaded by a determined and ruthless authoritarian elite, under the leadership of President Park Chung-Hee, which took over management of the mobilisation and allocation of capital, supervised the apportioning of projects to private businesses, and kept the work force under tight control. The state did not, therefore, itself assume ownership of the means of production, but it was able to promote the export-led economy that it intended through the deft use of incentives, the granting and withholding of resources and capital, and state guidance. In these circumstances, the ROK underwent rapid economic advancement unhindered by labour problems, and in the absence of any middle-class pressure to liberalise or democratise. The lack of an assertive independent bourgeoisie willing to challenge the regime, arose because the business and managerial stratum of ROK society was located in the government-supported chaebol. The success of the ROK form of state-planned development was assisted by the presence of a number of factors, such as, a homogeneous social structure and a work force keen to achieve economic advancement; a single-minded and resolute leader; a relatively well educated society and, capital.

However, as a consequence of this, the ROK experienced a high degree of imbalance in its societal development, with stunning economic progress, unattended by any commensurate political and social advances. By the mid-1980s, the ROK had a pluralist, well-educated society, that sought individual freedoms, rights, and political participation, commensurate with its economic achievements. The Roh Tae-woo constitutional and other reforms of June 1987 were made in response to opposition demands for change, and with the establishment of the Sixth Republic, authoritarian governments came to an end in the ROK. As a consequence of the Roh reforms which gave the work force greater freedoms and rights, and in view of the American pressure on the ROK to liberalise her economy, and open it up to competition, the ROK economy began to slow down after 1989. It experienced slower growth, high inflation and deteriorating balance of payments as imports grew. The GNP fell to 6.7 per cent in 1989 from the 12 per cent level of previous years. The growth rate of the manufacturing sector dropped from 18.8 per cent in 1987 to 3.7 per cent in 1989, and the export growth rate dropped from 36.2 per cent in 1987 to 2.8 per cent in 1989. In 1991, economic growth showed some signs of recovery, but most of it was attributable to a growth in domestic demand. That year, consumer prices rose by 9.3 per cent, compared with an average of 2.5 per cent between 1984 and 1987. The balance of payments deficit was $8.7 billion compared to a surplus of $4.6 billion in 1989. In 1992, GNP dipped to 5 per cent, the balance of payments deficit was $4.5 billion. and the consumer price index rose by 4.5 per cent.

The gradual implementation of democracy in the ROK since 1987, has not had a directly beneficial effect on the economy. Import liberalisation and market deregulation have not combined to sharpen the competitiveness of ROK products, as was anticipated. It has been widely felt that the moves towards democracy and the higher levels of per capita income, have together contributed to an erosion of the ROK's competitiveness in global markets before new institutions could be created to promote competitiveness using a highly-skilled and sophisticated work force. To address the recent problems of rising inflation and wages, and growing consumerism, the current ROK administration is attempting to control internal
demand; and to stimulate investment in technological innovation, plants and equipment, both to make ROK products more competitive, and to enable the ROK to manufacture the goods that she currently imports; and to encourage foreign investment in hi-tech industries. These aims are set forth in the government's recent 100-day economic-revitalisation scheme.

Politics and Integrated Rural Development

When the ROK came into existence, until the early 1960s, agriculture was the most important sector in the ROK economy. There were two land reform programs in 1948 and 1950, and these were followed by the establishment of cooperative movements and community development programs. Under the first land reform program, implemented by the US Military Government, farmland covering 199,000 hectares was taken from the colonial Japanese and sold to 505,000 tenant farmers, fairly cheaply. Under the second reform program, implemented by the ROK government, 601,000 hectares of farmland was purchased from landlords and sold to 1,166,000 farmers. These reforms had a marked impact on land distribution and altered the class structure in the countryside, as the landlord class disappeared and the number of owner-farmers increased greatly. This restructuring provided a suitable foundation for the agricultural renovation of the 1960s and 1970s. However, the government of the ROK did not give the necessary support to the new owner farmers to enable them to maintain their new ownership; many then fell into poverty and this impeded the agricultural renovation programs of the 1980s.

In the ensuing years, after 1962, successive ROK governments concentrated on achieving economic growth through development strategies that focused upon the manufacturing sector. As far as the rural sector was concerned, the policy was to try to maintain the rural population at an optimal level, by encouraging development of the countryside, and by improving the agricultural economy. In particular, ROK governments strove for rice self-sufficiency. The rural transformation program of the 1970s, initiated by President Park Chung-hee, concentrated on rural mobilisation, the provision of agricultural credit, through cooperatives, a guidance system associated with agriculture and extension services under the Office for Rural Development, and the New Community movement (Saemaül Undong) aimed at implementing extensive farm and village improvements, all under very rigid bureaucratic control. The program did help to improve the lot of the countryside, much of it through self-help schemes, but the large degree of government pressure, political interference, evidence of widespread corruption by those administering the program, and the fact that rural incomes actually declined in the 1970s and 1980s vis-a-vis those in the urban areas, engendered much opposition to the program in the countryside, and it had to be dropped in the late 1980s. It also helped to contribute to the pronounced degree of rural alienation in regard to government policies that still exists because of the perception that governments have not focused their activities and resources upon the welfare of the rural sector in a committed way, that the people in the countryside have been discriminated against, and that no governmental effort has been made to discover rural attitudes to its policies. It was not until 1986 that the Tenancy Management Act was eventually passed. This legislation, and accompanying support schemes were really only designed to help expanding farms, and did not address the welfare needs of the poor and the retired. Other wider support plans to alleviate rural poverty have been proposed but never implemented.

Despite the agricultural restructuring programs over the past three decades and the rise in farm household income in the same period, relative poverty is a matter of growing concern in the early 1990s, with the rural sector still suffering from relative under development, and with the slowing down of the growth of the farm sector. Much of this recorded poverty is to be found amongst the landless rural poor, or those with land under one hectare in size. Although poverty in the agricultural sector has been reduced since the 1960s, its continuing
prevalence has much to do with the relative neglect of the countryside compared to the urban areas, under ROK regimes, and the fact that a huge development gap now exists between the rural and urban areas, as a consequence of the unbalanced development strategies of the 1960s and 1970s. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, agricultural and rural restructuring was used to bolster industrialisation by providing cheap food and labour for the cities and towns. Once this was achieved, support for the agricultural sector was largely withheld. This policy of giving preferential treatment to the urban population over the rural population has meant that people in the rural areas now often suffer from poor housing and road and transport facilities, a lamentable sewage and water supply system, a defective secondary education system, and an inadequate agricultural infrastructure. All of this has led to a mass migration of youngsters from the countryside to the urban areas, leaving a serious employment problem in the agricultural sector. While farm productivity has increased in recent decades, the agricultural industry is now finding sustainability hard and this is not helped by increasing foreign pressure on agricultural markets.

The rural sector now badly needs a sustained development program if it is to thrive. The extent of political alienation in the countryside resulting from the authoritarian, inflexible, and corrupt rural reform programs of the 1970s and 1980s suggests that the government would be foolhardy to adopt that approach again. In order for it to promote a program that attracts widespread support from the countryside, it will have to be one that encourages political allegiance and trust and popular participation, and it will have to be much more democratic in nature than before.

**Political Parties**

In the period from 1948 to 1986, the ROK had experienced over a hundred political parties. Most of these, and their successors have not enjoyed longevity, or made much of a political impact. Their ephemerality has often been due to the fact that they have sprung up as the result of a personal following. Those that have lasted longer have frequently been constrained by their restricted constitutional role and because institutionalisation of the party in the political system has been weak.

Between the April 1988 parliamentary elections and January 1990, the ROK had a competitive four-party political system for the first time its history, as the elections bestowed on the opposition collectively, the power to block government legislation. The four parties consisted of the conservative, Democratic Justice Party (DJP), which was the ruling party; the centrist Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD), led by Kim Dae-jung, the centre-right Reunification Democratic Party (RDP), led by Kim Young-sam, and the right-wing conservative New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP), led by Kim Jong-pil. However, the strength of the opposition rendered the National Assembly's legislative powers impotent and, following a period of political manoeuvring, a new ruling party, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), came into being in January 1990, after the leaders of the former DJP, RDP and NDRP agreed to a merger into one single party. This gave the new ruling party three-quarters of the seats in the National Assembly. It also radically altered the traditional format of deeply hostile government versus opposition relations. In fact, the opposition was drastically emasculated by this development, and following the poor showing of the opposition PPD in the local elections, when it only gained nineteen per cent of the votes, and the DLP won forty nine per cent, its leader Kim Dae-jung decided to try to unite all elements of the antiwar opposition. In April 1991, the PPD merged with the small New Democratic alliance, to become the New Democratic Party (NIP). In September 1991, the NIP merged with the small Democratic Party, to form a new group called the Democratic Party (DP), led by Kim Dae-jung and Kim Eui-taek.

In January 1992, a new party was launched, the United National Party (UNP), which later was renamed the United People's Party (UPP), presided over by the chairman of the Hyundai industrial group, Chung Ju-yung. This was a conservative party created to defend
the interests of big business in the face of attempts by Roh's leadership to reduce its
powers. This introduced the three-party system and set the stage once again for pluralistic
competition, especially given the poor showing of the ruling DLP in the National Assembly

With Roh Tae-woo's announcement that he was resigning from the DLP, and forming a
neutral cabinet, in September 1992, members of the two factions of the DLP that were
opposed to Kim Young-sam's presidential candidacy, began leaving the DLP. By this time,
Kim Young-sam's rival in the DLP for the presidency, Lee Jong Chan, had set up his own
conservative party, known as the National Alliance for New Politics, and some of those
who had recently resigned from the DLP, joined this new party. At the presidential election
on 18 December 1992, Kim Young-sam won forty two per cent of the votes cast. The
failure of the opposition candidates led Kim Dae-jung, leader of the DP to resign, and the
UPP leader to leave politics. The UPP was subsequently disbanded. The ROK now has
two main parties. Thus, political party stability still remains somewhat illusive.

Origins of the Political System

The Japanese surrender in 1945 did not bring Korea the independence she had so long
desired. Instead, it was the prelude to a divided peninsula in political and ideological
conflict with itself, as the 38th parallel divided North Korea, under Soviet occupation, from
South Korea, under American occupation. In the three years from 1945 to 1948, South
Korea was ruled by the US Army Military Government. On 15 December 1945, Korea was
placed under the trusteeship of the four major powers, the US, the USSR, Britain and the
PRC, supposedly as a provisional step to unite the country under democratic rule.
However, the division between the two countries on the Korean peninsula was only
accentuated as the Soviet Union and America each imposed her own political system on the
area under her control. In 1948 two ideologically opposed governments were established
in North Korea and South Korea. The Republic of Korea was given a democratic presidential
system of government, founded upon the US model, based upon the separation of powers.
On 10 May 1948, the ROK held her first general election. The first National Assembly
began functioning on 31 May, and by 17 July, a constitution had been drawn up. On 15
August, the government of the ROK was officially established, and Syngman Rhee was the
ROK's first President. However, the strong emphasis placed upon democracy was soon
found to be much too optimistic for a country that had never experienced democratic
institutions or values, that had to come to terms with the remaining vestiges of Japanese
colonial rule and a ravaged economy, together with the close proximity of an extremely
hostile state which was continually threatening to undermine the ROK's existence.

The withdrawal of the American occupation forces in 1948, and the ensuing communist
inspired Cheju and Yŏsu-Sunch'ŏn rebellions in the ROK, in the same year, in which 30,
000 people were killed, helped to smother democracy in the ROK, and provided
considerable ammunition to the new President's growing autocratic rule and to the
suppression of democracy. During the course of the First Republic, almost all democratic
principles, such as the freedoms of assembly, the press, speech; and individual rights, were
all suppressed. The executive dominated the judiciary and the legislature; the Prime
Minister's position was abolished; all opposition was eventually silenced as the result of the
extension of the pernicious and pervasive National Security Law. This ruthless
authoritarianism only increased with the turmoil, emanating from the severe social and
economic dislocation as a result of the Korean War (1950-1953). In the face of mounting
hostility from the public, the President indulged in further corrupt and despotic practices to
maintain his autocratic military rule.

Present Day Political System

Under the present political system in the ROK which was established in February 1988
when the Constitution of the Sixth Republic was adopted, the ROK comes much closer to the democratic ideal that was intended for her in 1948. Until now many of her formal democratic institutions have looked fragile, and as though liable to be breached. The separation of powers has now been strengthened, as have the checks and balances, and the executive's power has been curtailed as that of the legislature has been increased. Democracy has been enhanced by the restoration of the freedom of the press, amnesty for political criminals, and respect for the autonomy of local governments and universities. New workers rights, including the right to collective bargaining, a fair minimum wage, and just conditions of employment, did lead to substantial conflict between management and workers initially, and to increased strikes and some violence, and the government responded by replacing some of the controls that it had removed. However, this situation has now settled down, as both sides in industry have accommodated to these reforms, and the government has attempted to distance itself from industrial relations.

Other evidence of the growing legitimacy of the democratic system in the ROK includes the fact that for the first time, the country has a truly civilian government; also, the National Security Law has been greatly scaled down, and restructured to enable it to concentrate its activities more on the movements of individuals and organisations overseas, rather than on monitoring closely the actions of the domestic population as it did previously. Also, the anti-corruption campaign mounted this spring by President Kim has been designed to make the behaviour of leading political and other figures more accountable and visible to the nation at large. As far as various aspects of economic, political and social life in the ROK are concerned, President Kim Young-sam has called for reforms on the basis of openness and self-regulation, with which the entire citizenry of the state will become totally involved. The emphasis is now on the participation of all to help implement changes, rather than on the government solely deciding policy and imposing reforms upon the nation from above.

With respect to the holding of political elections and the question of political parties, these matters still pose some problems for the ROK's democratic political process. The decision not to hold an election when pledged to do so, as happened in January 1992, when President Roh announced the cancellation of the local elections, indicates a continuing residual misuse of democratic powers. Also, the degree of corruption and fraud that accompanies most political elections, is illustrative of the fact that certain democratic institutions still tend to remain something of an alien concept among leaders and led alike. Again, the party system is not a stable one. Parties do not tend to become consolidated and firmly established. The ROK's political history is awash with instances of parties forming, merging, and withering away, with ever shifting alliances and allegiances, and this is still happening. The whole concept of a healthy opposition and adversarial politics is one with which the ROK still has difficulty in coming to terms.

Reunification of the Two Koreas

During most of the 1980s, while the cold war was still under way, the two Koreas each put forward a host of proposals for achieving territorial reunification and national unity. Both sides attempted to make use of the reunification question for domestic propaganda purposes, and there was little real incentive or desire to make progress on this score. However, a combination of events, beginning in the late 1980s, helped to put new vigour into the reunification issue. The two most important of these were these. First, President Roh Tae-woo's 'Nordpolitik', initiated in 1987, which sought to improve ROK relations with the communist countries situated to the north: the PRC, the Soviet Union, and eastern Europe. Second, the demise of communism among the Soviet satellite states in Europe, and the collapse of the Soviet Union, leading to the end of the cold war. These developments paved the way for improved relations with the ROK's former adversaries, and eventually the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and Russia in 1990, and between the ROK and the PRC, in 1992. In addition to this, the reunification of the two Germanies and the two Yemens, focused attention on what should be done regarding the
continuing division on the Korean peninsula. These developments gave a boost to inter-Korean dialogue, and especially to the reunification issue, with Russia and the PRC reportedly urging the DPRK to engage in meaningful talks with the ROK to try to resolve the problem.

Progress in the inter-Korean high level talks between both sides' Prime Ministers led, in the sixth round, to a signed 'Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation', on 19 February 1992. A 'Joint Declaration of the Denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula' was also signed on the same day. These agreements were designed to lay the foundation for joint efforts to build mutual trust and understanding, in order to proceed thereafter to establishing peace and unity, without external interference. The South-North Basic Agreement represented an important milestone on the road to unity, because it was constructed on the mutual understanding that unification was essential for the future prosperity of the Korean peninsula, and it provided a basic formula for improving South-North relations and for achieving unification by peaceful means. However, the progress made in inter-Korean dialogue in 1991 and the beginning of 1992, was halted later in 1992 because of hostile disputes between the two Koreas regarding the matter of inter-Korean nuclear inspections, the DPRK's subsequent notice of withdrawal from the NPT, and the ROK’s resumption of the Team Spirit exercise with the US, in 1993. In recent months, therefore, the reunification process has not advanced far. Other deeper problems, however, are hindering the reunification negotiations. Developments in the international political environment, particularly the DPRK's growing isolation, compounded by her economic troubles, and the problems associated with Germany's reunification, have caused P'yongyang to distance herself from meaningful talks on unity for fear that she might be absorbed as East Germany was. For Seoul, the most worrying problem is the likely cost she will have to bear if the DPRK collapses and she has to assume the burden of unifying the two countries. The signs are that Seoul will have to foot a much larger bill, relatively speaking, than the former West Germany has had to do.

In addition to what has been discussed above, both Koreas have on offer incompatible and problematic schemes for reunification. The ROK government announced the 'Korean National Community Unification Formula' on 11 September 1989. This called for an interim stage, a North-South coalition, to manage unification affairs between the two sides before unification was finally achieved. In that time both Koreas would recognise each other despite their different political systems, and work together in the interests of cooperation and common prosperity. The main problem with this formula is that it presupposes that the South will absorb the North, and it fails to give due recognition to the DPRK's current chronic difficulties.

The DPRK formula was originally for unification based upon a confederation system as a transitional measure, until full reunification was achieved. This was first put forward in August 1960, but when the plan was updated in October 1980, the ultimate establishment of a democratic confederal republic of Koryo meant that a confederation was to be, not a transitional arrangement, but the final form of a unified state. In March 1990, Kim II Sung has added a related 10-point policy to the 1980 formula. The central idea behind the DPRK plan, is that a confederation should be set up initially while the present political systems of North and South remain intact. Once set up, the 10-point policy would be implemented to increase cooperation between the two separate sectors of North and South. However, the DPRK lists a number of preconditions which must be met by the ROK before the confederal public plan can be put into effect. These, in effect, mean that the South must renounce its present regime in favour of the form of regime prevailing in the DPRK. This suggests that P'yongyang has still not abandoned her strategic goal of a revolution in the ROK followed by the South's communisation. This can never be acceptable to the ROK. Apart from this drawback, it is impossible to see how two countries can become a unified state when both retain diametrically opposed political systems, ideologies and values.
Politics and Women

The first ROK constitution of 1948 conferred upon women the franchise and equal rights with men. But despite these legal provisions, access to higher education, and occupational successes, women in the ROK are still the victims of sexual inequality and discrimination. The basic problem is the pervasiveness of the Confucian culture which requires that women be totally submissive to men. The patriarchal nature of this culture both discriminates against women and oppresses them as well, and this practice has become more visible with the ROK's industrial and economic advances. The response of women has been somewhat ambivalent, a mixture of spirited opposition and meekness. This ambivalence has been well illustrated by the recent campaign to highlight the grievances of those involved in the 'comfort women' scandal, and to receive compensation, which gained publicity in the media, beginning in 1991. This concerned the exploitation of the women who were seconded as sex slaves to the Japanese Army during the Second World War. The fact that this issue was submerged for so long was due to women's subservience to men in Korean society, and because men in power did not wish to draw attention to the general problem of women who today are still victims of a patriarchal society's customs and mores, often experiencing low-wages and oppressive social and work practices. In a sense the 'comfort women' issue is still being played out in the sex industry that is attendant upon the American military presence in the ROK.

The 'comfort women' question was brought to the surface by three women's organisations which petitioned Roh Tae-woo before his official visit to Japan in June 1990. Before the Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu's visit to Seoul in October 1990, ten women's organisations sent letters to Kaifu demanding a confession, an apology, and compensation. Although the Japanese government played down the issue, the ROK media kept up the pressure, and in 1991, a number of documents came to light revealing details of the atrocities committed against some of these women. One of the main impediments to the demands for a full investigation however, was the acquiescence of the victims themselves, very many of whom were too ashamed to come forward. This has much to do with Confucian ethics which demand that a woman must only have sex with her husband, and that the loss of virginity by other means is considered to be a worse fate than death.

In terms of political representation, women have made very little progress. Between 1948 and 1991, only sixty one were elected to the National Assembly. Once there, women have never achieved leadership posts enjoyed by male members. For instance, none has ever been chosen to chair a standing committee where the main legislative business is conducted. When women are assigned to committees, these are ones generally associated with women's work. Although women have occasionally run for the highest offices in the land, they have not fared well. In the ROK's history, only eight women have attained cabinet positions, and on each occasion, they have been given posts associated once again with women's work, such as education, health and social welfare. In contrast, women have done much better when it comes to representation on executive branch committees which have the task of uniting government officials and civilian leaders, to assist the executive in the decision-making process.

The existence of a strong women's political movement which includes the Korean Women's Development Institute, the Korean Research Institute for Women and Politics, and the Centre for Korean Women and Politics, has worked to enhance the status of women in the political sphere. One of the main concerns of this movement is to increase the numbers of women in government. Their leaders believe that it is imperative to extend female representation to help overcome the political passivity which is given added impetus by women acquiescing in their traditional submissive role. An increase in their numbers would assist in influencing policy affecting women, and would provide role models for aspiring female candidates.
As the result of the campaigning by women's organisations, measures have been taken by the government to improve the position of women in the ROK. In 1987, a Ministry of Political Affairs II was set up specifically to look into women's status and needs, but it lacked the formal powers granted to other ministries. This ministry acts as the secretariat for the Women's Policy Review Board, deciding policies affecting women, and coordinating women's groups which represent a variety of views. In addition, reforms were made to the Family Law, in December 1989, which aimed to upgrade the woman's position in the family as a wife and mother, and to overcome some of the legal inequalities between men and women in the family relationship. In 1993, President Kim Young-sam has promised improved equality and welfare for women. However, male dominance is a continuing reality in the Korean culture, and this is mirrored in all areas of society, including the political sphere. It is very hard for women to attain positions of high responsibility, not only because of male opposition, but because aspects of the Korean culture conspire to prevent women from realising their aspirations.

Politics and the Workforce

The work force in the ROK was for many years quiescent in the face of highly authoritarian regimes which kept it under rigid control. This prevented both the growth and development of the labour movement, and the emergence of trades unions as a viable interest group capable of campaigning for workers' rights. However, the package of reforms announced by Roh Tae-woo on 29 June 1987, dramatically altered this situation, giving a dynamic impetus to the whole labour movement subsequently freed from government controls, thus facilitating a transformation of its structure and the birth of a plethora of organisations. The number of union members increased from 1,050,201 in 2,742 unions in June 1987, to 1,267,457 in 4,103 unions six months later. At the same time, union power has been extended from its location in manufacturing industry, into the domain of office workers and white collar sectors. The Federation of Korean Trades Unions (FKTU) expanded into many areas, such as telecommunications, insurance, taxis, and others, which were prohibited until the Labour Law of November 1987. With the government reforms, workers came to support actively trades unions which promised to campaign for better workers' rights and benefits, and which aimed to enhance their political participation.

Government policies have altered markedly since 1987 in the business sphere. Government interference has been reduced, and state corporatism has been abandoned. Governments now aim to foster an equidistant relationship between management and labour, encouraging both sides to compromise with one another in a spirit of harmony, thus avoiding if at all possible the tense, confrontational relationship that has been inclined to prevail between the two sides in the past. When considering the provisions of the Labour Law of 1987, the government took soundings from both sides of industry, as well as from other groups.

In the wake of the 1987 reforms, the trades unions asserted their new found freedoms, and a wave of strikes took place, accompanied by some violence and illegal actions, which disrupted industry, and subsequently led to spiralling wage costs. The government responded by clamping down on some of the disputes, arresting the union leaders responsible, and then by reinstating certain controls which are still in place today. Since that time, management-labour relations have settled down. The position of the labour force has improved, and labour organisations seek to participate in politics in a more positive manner. In 1993, after three years of economic slump, management and labour have been involved in unprecedented cooperation over negotiations for this year's wage levels, with the KFTU and the Korea Employers' Federation (KEF) reaching a rare agreement in March on this matter, free from government intervention. Both organisations understand that unless they work together, economic prosperity will elude both of them.

President Kim Young-sam's 100-day economic revitalisation scheme calls for a diminished role for government in business relations. He would much prefer that management and
labour resolve their own differences, rather than having government resort to its former authoritarian methods to resolve them. He believes that it is not desirable for a civilian-led government to interfere in this way. However, the government is retaining some control over wage negotiations, by laying down its own wage guidelines for government employees and workers at state-owned businesses. It has also imposed limits on those chaebol currently paying their employees 1.5 times or above, the national average wage. The government wants to streamline wages of employees throughout industry to reduce upward pressure on wage demands.

S Kirby

Pohyŏn Temple

[Architecture]

Pōmŏ Temple

Pōmŏ Temple is situated on Mt. Kūmjŏng in Pusan. As one of the main temples of the Chogye Order, this large temple complex serves as a major monastic training centre for Korean monks. According to the Pōmŏsa ch'anggŏn sajŏk (Record of the Founding of Pōmŏ Temple), the monastery was founded during the reign of King Hŏungdŏk (r. 826-836). The king, concerned about an imminent Japanese invasion, called on Ùisang, the famous Hwaŏm master, for spiritual guidance. After the two spent seven days chanting to the Hwaŏm Dharma protectors, the enemy ships suddenly turned and fought with each other until the entire fleet was destroyed. In gratitude, the king is said to have ordered the construction of Pōmŏ Temple.

Since Ùisang died in 702, this early record is clearly mistaken. Since the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa) also mentions the temple in connection with Ùisang, the claim that the temple was founded in 678 by ìisang after he returned from China is probably accurate. In spite of some disagreement concerning dates, the historical records and legends all indicate the temple’s early connection with the Hwaŏm Sect and its function as a spiritual bulwark against Japanese invasion.

According to early records, the monastery had extensive land and slave holdings during the Greater Shilla Period. When it comes to the Koryŏ Period, records of the temple’s history are strangely silent. Concerning the Choŏn Period, it is known that the temple was burnt down during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598) and rebuilt in 1602 only to burn down again. In 1613, the temple was again reconstructed. In the years that followed, the monastery continued to expand, recapturing its earlier splendour.

At present, the temple houses a number of important artefacts. In addition to the Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 434) and the famous Ilchu Gate, there is a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 250) from the Greater Shilla Period, a 2.62-metre-high stone lantern from Shilla and an altar painting of Vairocana Buddha that dates from Choŏn . Accessible via the Seoul-Pusan Expressway, the temple is a popular destination for tourists throughout the nation. In past years, the temple has also been the site of the national ordination ceremonies for Chogye monks.

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Ponghwa County

Situated in the northern part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Ponghwa County is comprised of the town of Ponghwa and the townships of Myŏngho, Murya, Pŏpchŏn, Pongsŏng,
Due to the area’s rugged terrain, only about 12 per cent of the land is arable. Of this, two-thirds is used for growing dry field crops such as millet, corn, beans, potatoes, red peppers, ginseng, jujubes and alpine vegetable varieties. In the mountainous areas, medicinal herbs and mushrooms are cultivated. In Sŏkp’o Township’s Taehyon Village, there is Korea’s largest lead and zinc mine, and another mine in Soch’ŏn Township’s Punch’on Village produces high-quality is mined in Popchŏn Township, gold in Ch’unyang Township and there is a zinc refinery in Sŏkp’o Township’s Sŏkp’o Village.

With both the T’aebaek and Sobaek mountain ranges running through the area, the county boasts a large number of scenic areas. Mt. Ch’ôngnyang Provincial Park is one of the county’s top tourist destinations. With gneiss cliffs and picturesque gorges, the mountain attracts visitors throughout the year. Within the park, one finds eight caves and the scenic Kwanjang Waterfall. There are a number of Shilla-era temples in the park, such as the Ch’ôngnyang, Kakhw, Ch’wisŏ and Hongje temples. Pyŏkch’ŏn Valley in Sŏkp’o Township is another beautiful area, which is famous as a habitat of the yŏlmogŏ (Brachymystax lenok), a fresh water fish of the salmon family. Other popular tourist sites include Ojŏn mineral springs in Murya Township, P’yŏngch’ŏn Cave in Soch’ŏn Township and Hoegok Cave, a lime-stone cave located in Chaesan Township.

As well as natural beauty, the area boasts a number of interesting historical sites. In addition to the Buddhist relics on Mt. Ch’ôngnyang, there are a number of stone statues and pagodas scattered throughout the county. In Ponghwa’s Sŏdong Village, there is a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 52). Inside the structure, 99 clay replicas of the pagoda were discovered. There are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including In’gye Sŏwŏn, Munsan Sŏwŏn, Och’ŏn Sŏwŏn, Tan’yŏe Sŏwŏn, Togyŏ Sŏwŏn, Tongmyŏng Sŏwŏn, Munam Sŏwŏn, Mun’yŏe Sŏwŏn, Toyŏn Sŏwŏn and Sangye Sŏwŏn, which was founded in 1588 in Ponghwa. All of these schools were closed down when Taewŏn’gun abolished all but 47 of the nation’s sŏwŏn in 1871. The area’s first modern educational institution was Kwangsong School, built in Ch’unyang Township’s Uiyang Village in 1910.

Pongjŏng Temple

Pongsŏn Temple

Pongsŏn Temple, one of the main monasteries of the Chogye Order, is located in Nam Yangju in Kyŏnggi Province. Tanmun (National Master Pŏbin) founded Unak Temple at the site in 969; however, by the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450), the dilapidated temple had to be demolished. When King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) died, he was entombed near the site. In 1469, Queen Chŏnghŭi therefore built another monastery there to look over the king’s grave, calling it Pongsŏn Temple. The large bronze bell (Treasure No. 397) still found at the temple was also cast at this time. In 1551, the monastery was designated a head temple of the Doctrinal sect (Kyojong). During this time, the temple served as a leading educational institution for monks and laity until 1592 when it was completely burned down in the Hideyoshi Invasion (1592-1598). In 1593, the temple was rebuilt by Nanghye, only to be burnt down again during the Manchu Invasion of 1636. A year later, Kyemin rebuilt the monastery. Further repairs were made in 1749 by Ujŏm.
In the following years, Pongsŏn Temple continued to function as a leading administrative centre. When Korea’s temples were reorganised in 1790, the temple was put in charge of all the temples in Hamgyŏng Province. In 1848, the temple was once more repaired. In 1902, when Korean temples underwent another reorganisation, the monastery became responsible for all the temples in Kyŏnggi Province. A decade later under the temple regulations announced in 1911, the monastery was designated as one of Korea’s thirty-one main temples (*ponsa*). At this time, the monastery continued its tradition as a leading educational centre. In 1926, the abbot Wŏlch’o restored the temple and built the Samsŏng-gak (Three Sages Shrine). However, the entire temple was once more destroyed by fire during the Korean War. Beginning in 1956, the temple was slowly rebuilt, becoming the monastery that is seen on the edge of Seoul today.

The temple has continued to be a leading force in making the Buddhist teachings accessible to the common people. The present Main Buddha Hall was the first in Korea to use Korean letters (*han’gul*) on its plaque. In addition, both a *han’gul* and Chinese character edition of Lotus Sutra has been embossed on bronze tablets which line all four walls of the Main Buddha Hall. In spite of its tragic history, the temple still has several important artefacts, including an altar painting of the Seven Stars which was done in 1903 and a newly constructed, five-storey stone pagoda. The pagoda houses some of the Buddha’s sarira which were brought from Sri Lanka in 1975. There is also a stupa, set up in 1981, that contains remains of the monk Uhhŏ.

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**Ponp’uri**

[Shamanism, Literature]

**Pŏpchu Temple**

[Architecture]

**Pŏpsang sect**

[Buddhism]

**Popsŏng (Haedong) sect**

[Buddhism]

**Popular (folk) belief**

Ancient (see Animism)

Fortune telling (see Fortune telling)

Geomancy (see Geomancy)

Shamanism (see Shamanism)

**Population** (see also Korea)

South Korea had a population of 45.2 million in 1996 and a density of 455 persons per square kilometre. Anticipating moderate growth South Korea's population is expected to reach 46.8 million in 2000 and 49.7 million in 2010. By 2020 South Korea's demographic transition will have been completed — 100 years after it commenced. (North Korea had an estimated population of 23.9 million in July 1996.)

Demographic transition — Mortality:
Korea's transition from high to low mortality commenced around 1920 and proceeded until the 1940s. (Between 1909 and 1944 Korea's population increased from 10 million to 25 million.) Although disrupted by liberation from Japan, political separation and the civil war (1950-53) the transition has continued in South Korea since 1960. Increasing life expectation at birth has stemmed from improvements in mortality stemming from the extension of primary health care to rural areas, increases in the quality and accessibility of medicare, better nutrition, and provision of clean water. The death rate has declined from 12.1 per thousand in 1960 to 6.7 in 1980 and 5.9 in 1996. The targets for life expectancy in 2000 is 70 years for males and 74 years for females. Infant mortality is expected to be 15 per thousand. (North Korea's death rate in 1996 was 5.5 deaths per thousand the infant mortality rate was 25 per thousand.)

Fertility

The transition from high to low fertility has been much more rapid than mortality. Until 1960 the birth rate was stable at 40 births per thousand people every year because there was little or no population control.

The successful incorporation of population control into five-year economic planning since the introduction of the National Family Planning Program in 1962 led to a decline in the birth rate to 30 per thousand in 1970 and 16 per thousand in 1985. Measures included financial incentives to encourage a one-child family and sterilisation after the first delivery, mobile family planning clinics targeting high risk groups (e.g young people with limited education, the urban poor and remote rural residents). Exemption from the education allowance tax is limited to the first two children. The success of these measures resulted in the total fertility rate declining from 6.0 births per woman in 1960 to 2.1 births per woman in 1985. Thus, by the mid-1980s population had reached replacement level. By 1996 the total fertility rate has declined to 1.6 births per woman. (North Korea's fertility rate in 1996 was 2.3 births per woman.)

South Korea's population growth has declined from 3 per cent in 1960 to 0.88 per cent in 1996. Assuming the current level of fertility between 1.5 or 2 per cent Korea has reached below replacement level. Zero population growth will not be attained before year 2020 because of the dynamics of age-structure effects. (North Korea's population growth rate in 1996 was 1.74 per cent)

The proportion of those 14 and under declined from 42.3 per cent in 1960 to 22.6 per cent in 1996 and will continue to decrease with declining fertility levels. The share of those between 15 and 64 has increased continuously from 54.8 per cent in 1960 to 71.6 per cent in 1996. A peak of 72.2 per cent is expected in year 2000 after which the proportion of those between 15 and 64 will decline slowly. Conversely, the proportion of those over 65 have increased from 3.8 per cent in 1970 to 5.8 in 1996. In 2000 those over 65 will account for 6.8 per cent. By year 2020 those over 65 will have tripled to 20 per cent. (In North Korea 30 per cent of the population was aged between 0-14 years; 66 per cent between 15 and 64 years; and 4 per cent over 65 years.)

Measures have been implemented to assure the long-term care of the aged include a national pension system implemented in 1988 to cover all those between 18-60 years not previously covered. Although there has been a gradual decline in the extended family in South Korea the elderly still turn to their family for support. Living arrangements for the elderly reflect available economic resources dictated primarily by the cost of housing. Often their resources have been depleted by spending on their children's education, extravagant weddings and early retirement.

International migration
Before the Second World War when Korea was part of the Japanese Empire, Koreans emigrated predominantly to Manchuria and Japan. After the war these destinations were superseded by the United States. Before 1965 the number of Korean-Americans, however, was negligible. After the Immigration and Naturalisation Act 1965 there was an influx of Korean immigrants to the United States.

There are now an estimated 5 million Koreans living abroad (2.7 million in Asia, 1.7 million in North America and 0.5 million in Europe). Permanent Korea residents in China total 1.7 million, Japan 700,000, Russia 500,000 and the United States 1.5 million. Most of those in China are concentrated in the three north-eastern provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning; those in Japan in Osaka, Nagoya and Kobe; and those in the former Soviet Union in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan having being forced there from Vladivostok by Stalin's regime in the 1930s.

Since 1988 emigration from the Republic of Korea has been factored into population projections at 40,000. During the 1980s there was an outflow of temporary workers to work on construction sites in the Middle East but these activities have tapered off. The government has been concerned about a 'brain drain' and has required trainees to return home for a specified period. Immigration has not been a major concern in the Republic of Korea (though illegal Chinese immigrants are increasingly seen as a problem). There are no significant ethnic minorities in the Republic of Korea.

During the 1990s the absence of surplus labour in rural areas led to the introduction of 100,000 guest workers from Bangladesh, China and the Philippines. An estimated 50 per cent are staying illegally in Korea. Most guest workers are Koreans from China engaged in low paying work in factories and restaurants. (No international migration was recorded for North Korea in 1996.)

Spatial distribution

Rapid industrialisation since the 1980s has brought about marked changes in the distribution of settlements. In 1960, 28.0 per cent of the population was urban. Following further rural-urban migration the urban population had doubled to 57.8 per cent in 1980 and further increased to 74.4 per cent in 1990 — a trend leading to an increase in one-person households in rural areas. The number of cities had increased from 12 in 1945 to 74 in 1996. Of these, 68 were local cities and six were metropolitan areas — Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Kwangju and Taejon.

Metropolitan growth has been focused on Seoul and Pusan. Seoul city increased from 2.4 million in 1960 to 10.8 million in 1994 (approximately 25 per cent of the national population). Its 600 sq. km area had a density of 17,836 per sq. km making it one of the densest cities in the world. Although population has continued to increase in Pusan there has been an absolute decline in Seoul — a reflection of high real estate prices. However, Seoul's sixteen satellite cities have experienced marked population growth as have those around Pusan. Seoul's daytime population is probably between 14 and 15 million. Metropolitan Seoul has more 40 per cent of South Korea's total population and Pusan and Kyongsang has 18 per cent. Thus, almost three-fifths of the population is concentrated in the two major metropolitan areas.

The primacy of Seoul and the imbalance between urban and rural areas have led to government initiatives to curb the growth of both Seoul and Pusan and to stabilise the urban hierarchy. Tax incentives have been offered industries to relocate from Seoul; satellite cities created (including Pudang and Ilsang on the outskirts of Seoul); new industrial centres planned as part of the Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1992-2001; educational facilities improved in non-urban areas and services in smaller cities; and government offices relocated away from Seoul. Greater employment opportunities have
been provided in regional centres and resettlement allowances offered the urban poor. Net migration to the metropolitan areas has declined sharply since the 1980s. Most inter-provincial migrants, however, have been attracted to the Kyŏnggi province surrounding Seoul.

A relatively new phenomenon has been recognition of an urban corridor between Seoul and Pusan. Besides Seoul and Pusan, three of Korea's four other cities with populations over one million are located in this Kyŏngbu Corridor — Inch'ŏn, Taejŏn and Taegu. Another fifteen cities have populations over 200,000. Stretching 400 km, this corridor has an urban population of 26 million. The backbone of this corridor is provided by the Seoul-Pusan expressway. This will be strengthened when the fast rail system is completed. (Most people in North Korea are concentrated on the plains and lowlands with the least-populated regions being the mountainous Chagang and Yanggang provinces adjacent to the Chinese border.)

Status of women

Improvements in the status of women have been recognised by government as part of its policies to meet its demographic targets. Traditionally, preference for male children has been prevalent in Korea. Coupled with ultrasound techniques, female abortion has created a social problem as there is now a significant gender imbalance in rural areas. Reduced preference for sons has been one of the government targets to enhance the status of women.

Women with one child who accept sterilisation are eligible for welfare assistance and housing loan priorities. Since 1983 job opportunities have been made available to women under the Labour Standard Law that were previously reserved for men. Provisions have been made for maternity leave, more nurseries are being provided and the family law has been revised to enable women to become head of the family and eliminate discrimination against women in property inheritance. Twenty years is the minimum legal age for women at marriage.

North Korea

Little is known either about the population dynamics of North Korea or its urban system. There is evidence of a high rate of urbanisation and a high proportion of non-agricultural population. Pyŏngyang has a population of over one million and eight small and medium-size cities are located in an embryonic corridor development between Kaesŏng and Shinŭiju.

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P.J. Rimmer

Port Hamilton (see Kŏmun Island)

Poryŏng

Situated in the southwestern part of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Poryŏng is comprised of the town of Ungch’ŏn and the townships of Namp’o, Misan, Sŏngju, Och’ŏn, Chugyo, Chusan, Chup’o, Ch’ŏnbuk, Ch’ŏngna and Ch’ŏngso. Recently formed by combining
Taech’ŏn City with Poryŏng County, the city covers an area of 559.71 sq. kms. The southwestern tail of the Ch’aryŏng Mountain Range runs through the area, and near the coast, these mountains give way to plains. Within the city’s boundary are over 80 small islands including Wŏnsan Island and Oeyŏn Island. Administratively, most of these are part of Och’ŏn Township.

The city area has about 17 400 hectares of arable land. Over half of this grows rice, and the remainder dry-field crops. Fishing also makes an important contribution to the local economy. Boats operating out of local ports bring in catches of yellow corbina, hairtail, sea bream, shrimp and shellfish. Salt flats are established along the coast. In the south and northwest, there are many coal mines which produce over 1.4 million tons of coal annually.

Poryŏng offers a diverse range of scenic attractions including both coastal areas and mountains. The most popular beaches are Much’angp’o Beach in Ungch’ŏn and Wŏnsando Beach on Wŏnsan Island. Mt. Osŏ (791m) in the northeast and Mt. Sŏngju (680m) in the east are two of the most visited mountains. Mt. Sŏngju (Sage Residence) gets its name from the ancient spiritual adepts who once lived there. According to records, Muyŏm (799-888) returned to the area in 845 after 30 years of training in Tang China. After Muyŏm died on the mountain at Ohap Temple, the temple’s name was changed to Sŏngju Temple, after which the mountain is named. This famous temple was one of the ‘Nine Mountain Sŏn Centres’ (Kusan Sŏnmun) of Greater Shilla and early Koryŏ. Although the temple is not extant, there are several relics at the site including a stele commemorating Nanghye (National Treasure No. 8); a five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 19); three three-storey pagodas (Treasures No. 20 and 47 and South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 26); a stone lantern (South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 33); a stone staircase and a standing Buddha image. Paegun Temple and the Sŏngju Coal Mine are also located on the mountain.

Other Buddhist relics in the area include a stone stele holder exquisitely carved into the fanciful shape of a tortoise in Poryŏng’s Subu Village; a five-storey pagoda in Poryŏng Village; a three-storey pagoda in Kyosŏng Village; and a stupa at Tanwŏn Temple. There are several Confucian schools in the county, such as Namp’o Hyanggyo south of Mt. Ongma (602m); Och’ŏn Hyanggyo in Och’ŏn; and Shinan Sŏwŏn in Namp’o next to the Talshin Village Fortress. Namp’o Hyanggyo was founded during the reign of T’aegjong (1400-1418), repaired in 1530 and later moved to its present location. Och’ŏn Hyanggyo was established in 1901.

Local traditions are maintained by the Manse Poryŏng Cultural Festival which is held on 30 September and 1 October every year. Events at this time include the Kwangsanje (a ritual for safe and successful mining), P’ungnyŏnje (a ritual to pray for a good harvest) and P’ungŏje (a ritual for a bountiful catch of fish) at Och’ŏn Harbour; a costume parade; a folk-tradition contest and athletic events.

Posŏn

Pośong County

Posŏng County is situated in the southern part of South Cholla Province. Consisting of two towns (up) and ten townships (myŏn). The county comprises 662 sq. km of land, of which 65 per cent is mountainous and 27 per cent is flat. Branches of the Sobaek Mountain Range traverse the region which contains several mountains and numerous hills.

A number of famous nationalists hail from this area. Na Ch’ŏl (1863-1916), founder of an indigenous religion called Tan’gun’gyo, and Sŏ Chaep’il (Philip Jaison Suh, 1863-1951), founder of the nationalist Independence Club, were from this area. An Kyuhong (1879-
1084

1909) established a rebel army here in 1908 and fought against the Japanese, but was captured and died in prison.

During the Japanese occupation, the county was famous for its stubborn resistance to the colonial occupation. In 1922, an incident at a local hyanggyo (county public school) nearly led to a rebellion. When the Posŏng community brewed rice wine for use in Confucian rites at the local hyanggyo, a Japanese tax official ordered the wine confiscated since it represented a violation of the colonial liquor tax law. The official was seized and the community leader, Pak Namhyŏn ordered that he be killed on the school grounds. After apologies by the local police head, he was released. The next day, however, Pak and the other scholars involved were arrested. This led to a rally by locals calling for a national uprising. The Japanese, afraid of a repetition of the March First Movement of 1919, released the detained scholars and changed the liquor law to allow wine brewing for rites at hyanggyo throughout the nation. The hyanggyo, originally founded in 1397, can still be seen in the town of Posŏng.

A large portion of the county’s residents are engaged in agriculture. The area produces both rice and barley. The rice cultivated in those areas adjacent to the ocean is well known for its quality. Besides these staple crops, the area is famous as a major centre for the cultivation of Korean tea. With a climate and soil ideally suited for tea plantations, Posŏng produces 80 per cent of Korea’s total tea output. Red peonies are another local specialty crop. The roots of the flower are used as a traditional herbal medicine. The area also produces beans, sweet potatoes, persimmons, chestnuts, cotton and hemp. Fishing contributes to the local economy. Boats, operating out of the area’s small harbours, catch shrimp, oysters and anchovies, and collect seaweed.

Although the area has a number of scenic areas, the local tourist industry is relatively undeveloped. The county has several old Buddhist monasteries, including Mt. Ch’ŏn’bong’s Taewŏn Temple. Originally founded during the Shilla period, the temple houses several regional cultural assets including Kŭngnak (Paradise) Hall and a stupa commemorating National Master Chajin. There are several other important Buddhist relics in the area, including a seated stone Buddha figure (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 122) in Pungnae Township, and a five-storey pagoda (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 141), a seven-storey pagoda, and the Wŏllim Temple site (founded in the Koryŏ period) in Nodong Township. Near Hoech’ŏn Township, there is Yulp’o Beach - the county’s only beach area.

**Pou**

Pou (1301-1382), styled T’aego, was born Hong Pohŏ in Hongju. He was ordained when he was about twelve years old, becoming a disciple of Kwangji at Hwaŏm Temple. In his later teens and twenties, Pou travelled around Korea, visiting famous teachers. Through his twenties, he meditated on the Sŏn (Zen) case, ‘The myriad things return to one. What does the one return to?’ He pursued the case for a decade until he achieved awakening around 1338. Five years later, he achieved great enlightenment as he contemplated the enigmatic response ‘No’ to the question, ‘Does a dog have Buddha nature?’ Three years after his great enlightenment, Pou went to Chunghŭng Temple in Hanyang (modern-day Seoul) and began to teach. He was a popular Sŏn master who drew large crowds of students.

In 1346, Pou went to Daguan Temple in the capital (modern-day Beijing) of Yuan China. A year later, he headed for South China to meet famous masters who were residing there. He had hoped to meet the famous Zhuyuan, but the master died before Pou arrived. Pou therefore went to see another well-known Sŏn master, Shiwu. When Pou showed him some of his writings, Shiwu was greatly impressed. After a detailed dialogue, Shiwu formally recognised Pou’s enlightenment. Pou stayed with Shiwu for another month
before returning to the Yuan capital where the emperor recognised his accomplishments by giving him a golden robe.

Pou returned to Korea in 1348 where he lived for four years by farming. In 1352, King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) ordered Pou to the capital. After giving the king advice on cleaning up government and restoring Buddhism, Pou eventually returned to Mt. Sosol. Another royal invitation came in 1356. At this time, Pou was invested with official regalia and was designated Royal Preceptor. During this period, Pou, while fulfilling his role as leader of the Buddhist establishment, attempted to unify the various Sŏn sects. As a standard for Sŏn communities, he advocated the Pure Rules of Baizhang, which, among other things, advocated that monks engage in self-supporting labour.

In 1357, Pou asked for permission to leave the capital. When he was refused, he secretly left. However, King Kongmin summoned Pou again in 1362. After four years of service, Pou requested, and was granted, permission to leave. A few years later, the monk Shindon became close to King Kongmin. Shindon used his position to amass a great deal of wealth while attacking his enemies.

In 1368, Pou travelled to Ming China. Shindon, claiming that Pou was plotting sedition, persuaded the king to take away all of Pou’s honorary titles and have him defrocked. However, the king pardoned Pou in the following year, allowing him to return to Korea. With the demise of Shindon in 1371, Pou again rose to the rank of National Master. In 1382, Pou returned to Mt. Sosol where he died.

Through his example as a Sŏn Master who refused to be moved by fame or politics, Pou has had a tremendous influence on Korean Buddhism of the Chosŏn and modern period. In fact, virtually all later lineages of Korean Sŏn claim to descend through his branch of the Linji Lineage. Pou wrote several works and letters. Many of his sermons and poems are recorded in the T'aego chip. His stele stands at the site of T'aego Temple on Mt. Samgak.

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Po'ın chip

Po'ın was the style of Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392), the author of this collection of poems and other literary works. It consists of about 300 poems and ten other prose works. Some of the poems throw light on the diplomatic relations of his day. The original collection was in four volumes and included poems, miscellaneous writings, calligraphy, and annals. An additional collection was in three volumes. The whole collection was published nine times during the Chosŏn dynasty, between 1533 and 1900, and was included in the Yŏgye myŏnghyŏn chip published in 1961 by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun'gwan University.

Po'ın County

Situated in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Po'ın County has the town of Po'ın, and the townships of Naebuk, Naesongni, Maro, Sanoe, Samsŭng, Suhan, Oesongni, T’anbu, Hoenam and Hoebuk. Covering an area of 599.66 sq. kms., the county had a population of 66,031 as given by 1988 statistics. Po'ın County consists of a mountain-locked basin surrounded by the Sobaek and Noryŏng mountain ranges. Poch'ŏn Stream, a tributary of the Kŭm River, flows through the area, and Taech’ŏng Lake occupies the county’s southwest corner. With an average temperature of 11.2c. there is a wide seasonal variation,
from an August average of 23.6c. to a January average of minus 6.3c. The county has an average average rainfall of 1 249mm.

Of the county’s 13 000 hectares of arable land, slightly more than half grows rice and the remainder dry-field. The marked differences between day and night temperatures makes the county ideally suited for jujube cultivation, with more than 3.5 million tons of this date-like fruit produced each year. Other products include tobacco, persimmon, edible fern, mushroom and sericulture.

With a minimum of industrial development, the county’s natural environment has remained relatively free from pollution. The key tourist attraction is Mt. Songni, which was designated as a national park in 1970. With its picturesque hiking trails and the magnificent Pópchu Temple, the park is visited by more than a million people each year. The temple houses numerous ancient artefacts including an exquisite stone lamp supported by two lions. Carved in 720, the lamp has been designated National Treasure No. 5. Other relics found here include a large bronze bell, a seated Buddha in relief and an enormous iron cauldron, cast in 720 C.E., which was used to cook rice for the 3000 monks who resided at the temple during its heyday. In the middle of the temple grounds, one finds the five-storey P’alsang-jón (Hall). The prototype for this spectacular structure was first built in 553 when the temple was founded, and the present structure was built in 1624, making it one of the temple’s oldest wooden buildings. Until 1986, a 27-metre-high concrete statue of Maitreya overlooked the monastery, but the statue began to crack and had to be demolished. It has been replaced with a 33-metre-high bronze statue made of the cast metal. Sitting atop a gigantic stone base containing a ground level shrine, this new statue was completed in 1989, at a cost of about US$4 000 000. There is a 5-kilometre-long hiking trail leading from the temple to the 1 033-metre-high peak known as Munjangdae. From here, a commanding view of the surrounding area can be had.

The county has a number of historical sites associated with Chosŏn. At the southwest entrance to Mt. Songni National Park, there is a 600-year-old pine tree known as the Grade Two tree. Legend has it that the tree raised its limbs to allow King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) to pass under. The king honoured the tree by giving it an official appointment. Other important sites include Paekpongsa (a shrine in honour of Yi Ch’ŏn’gye) in Pōun’s Sansŏng Village and Sanghyŏngsa (a shrine in honour of U T’ak, U Kilsaeng and U Hyŏnbo) in Hoebuk’s Aegok Village. In Pōun’s Kyosa Village, is Pōun Hyanggyo, a Confucian school founded during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450).

Practical Learning (see Shirhak)

Printing (see Publishing and Printing; see also Science and Technology))

Protectorate Treaty, 1905 (Ülsa chayak) [Japan and Korea; Economy]

Proverbs

Proverbs are found all over the world and Korea is no exception. They are part of the spoken language and provide an insight into the effects of cultural conditions, language and local variations on expression. Speakers of a language use its proverbs -- like its phrasal idioms, collocations, and lexical items proper -- in certain regular ways with certain meanings. Proverbs are consistently described as self-contained sayings with the following elements: pithy or pregnant in meaning; traditional expressions or items of knowledge which arise in recurring performances; didactic tendency perhaps expressing an injunction in social behaviour or transmitting facts of experience; and the notion of a fixed form recognisable as such to members of the linguistic community.

It was from the compilation of Ōu yadam (Ōu’s Unofficial Histories) or Tongmun yuhae
in mid-Chosŏn that the word for proverb, sŏktam, came to be used in Korea. But it is known that proverbs were spoken and heard well before mid-Chosŏn and this can be seen in historical records such as the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms).

Korean proverbs occur in either of two basic instances. First, from a description of an historic incident, and second, as a portrayal of a general, frequently-occurring, event. The following three examples are cases that have become established as proverbs in which expressions concerning a special event and which contain proper nouns have changed their meaning to now refer to a general event:

Like Prime Minister Hwang’s family sharing a skirt between a mother and two daughters
Like Cho Charyŏng using an old sword.
One cannot be forced to become governor of P’yŏngyang.

A proverb comes to reflect the true countenance of a society’s language only after it has moved from an individual position to its conclusion as a social, literary and general expression. While in the process of social settlement a proverb will often partially change its meaning, or evolve into a completely different phrase. The proverb of ‘Minister Hwang’s spoiled egg’ evolved from the Chinese phrase of, ‘The egg has bones’, which then changed to, ‘There is a bone in the egg, too’. The proverb of, ‘Kulwŏn dances with himself’ went through the middle stage of, ‘As a serpent (kurŏngi) dances with itself’ and then became a completely different expression, ‘As a serpent goes over the wall’. The first example occurred when the Chinese character for ‘bone’ (kol) was transcribed by the phonetic han’gŭl writing system, and in the second example the change happened when the name of the ancient Chinese poet Ju Yuan (Kor. Kulwon) changed into a lexical item with a similar pronunciation, kurŏngi.

It was commonly thought that proverbs were produced only in times long past, and nowhere near the present-day, since they reflect former lifestyles and ways of thinking and expression. The English proverb, ‘Possession is nine (or eleven) points of the law’ is a good example of this, having an obsolete legal-like origin so lost in antiquity that it defies explanation. However, there are popular sayings in Korea that have become, or are on the way to becoming proverbs. In the early part of the twentieth century, the saying

Doctors and lawyers are thieves produced by the country

was prevalent, and this is now settled as a proverb. The often-used expression, ‘Half-matchmaking and half-dating’, has the distinct possibility of becoming a proverb, since it describes a common event that is a mixture of a person’s indiscriminate behaviour and another’s will, and is a happening experienced by many in Korean culture.

The structure of proverbs

Korean proverbs can be divided into long and short forms. The short version is a phrase or simple sentence which conveys a complex notion, while the long form is a compound sentence. The external shape of a proverb thus reveals a rhythmic or accidence harmony. Rhythmic harmony is accomplished by the use of rhyme, and there are many Korean proverbs that possess this quality. Here are two:

Ai ch’ire, songjang ch’irie. (Taking care of a child, taking care of a corpse.)
Param punŭn taero, mulgyŏl ch’i’nŭn taero (Blowing with the wind, flowing with the tide)

Other simple proverbs display the fundamental shape of traditional Korean prose. Some examples of these are:
Those Korean proverbs displaying accidence harmony are in the form of compound or complex sentences, and which, because of their structural stability, take the so-called 'standard form'. Two examples are:

What is said in the daytime is overheard by birds, and what is said in the night is overheard by rats.
The words that come in are fine only when the words that go out are fine.

Although proverbs are often very short consisting only of three or four words, they can have a discordant structure in their meaning that is confrontational and caused by the employment of metaphor. An example is the proverb,

A monk’s comb

where the components create a discordancy, and from such discord arises a figurative (metaphorical) meaning. Here, the proverb is expressed to meet a given situation. The literal meaning, of course, is a comb owned by or in the possession of a monk, but the figurative meaning is of something that is of no use although one has it or owns it. Figurative meaning can be established for many proverbs, indeed, some authorities exclude the literal statements from the class of proverbs proper, preferring traditional saying as the term covering both literal and figurative sayings.

The aggravating feature of discord in Korean proverbs is seen in the following examples,

After losing money, one gets slapped (loss 1) and (loss 2)
Whipping a galloping horse (speed 1) and (speed 2)

These proverbs have a characteristic of gradual addition that becomes magnified in their further interpretation. This characteristic of adding is coupled with relativity, and these two are important aspects of meaning discord. However, although there is discord in meaning, further meaning from the expressed words cannot be extracted, and thus the surface meaning as it stands becomes the basic meaning of some proverbs:

No child is good fortune (-happiness) is (+happiness)
The words make the speech (language 1) is (language 2)

If no meaning function is added, then such statements exist simply as statements but cannot be considered as proverbs since the figurative function is absent. However, the proverb ‘No child is good fortune’ carries an implied meaning of, ‘there is no need to envy the children of others’ in usage and ‘The words make the speech’ is considered to be a proverb in light of its implied meaning of, ‘One should watch what he says’.

The figurative function of a proverb gains its meaning by the implication that it generally receives from society. A proverb can be said to carry its figurative function continuously because of the implied meaning of the language society that commonly uses it. In other words, when it is based on a figure of speech, it is interpreted in a surface meaning that is taken from the base meaning. Moreover, it carries a secondary additional meaning.

Korean proverbs may be seen as having two functions: that of instruction and that of satire. An example is the proverb,

Under the lamp is dark
which can be interpreted with a basic meaning of ‘things that are close are not known’. This basic meaning can be thought of as an indirect expression that implies an order, indication or warning depending on how it is used. Therefore, the eventual implied meaning of this proverb can be viewed as one of instruction. However, some proverbs cannot be used as instruction and as such have the function of satire. The proverb,

To have twelve kinds of skills but no food for dinner

illustrates this point. The basic meaning here is that having many skills does not necessarily enable one to support one’s self. Yet this proverb can carry an instructional quality if, for example, it is used to caution a young person who is attempting too many hobbies. Contrary to this, if a friend who is acknowledged for his many talents asks to borrow money, the use of this proverb to indicate the friend in his absence has a sarcastic ring to it. Other proverbs, such as,

Would a single hand make a noise?
Would a chimney not make smoke?

are more likely to be used for their sarcastic function than for anything else.

Other central features of Korean proverbs are voluntariness and convenience. Popular usage is judged from the fact that the basic meaning of a proverb must surely be veracious. Since proverbs are often used, however, with the intent of being able to rationalise and adapt to daily circumstances, when comparing two proverbs side by side it is possible to express basic or implied meanings that are completely opposite:

Flour becomes finer the more it is beaten, words become tougher the more they are used
Meat is tasty when chewed, words are tasty when spoken
There is no cute part of a crippled child, getting filial devotion from a crippled child

These pairs of proverbs have different views on the same situation or circumstance, and thus each clause can be said to provide a completely opposite meaning to the other.

Commonsense and sarcasm are established qualities in Korean proverbs. Logic is disputed with ease, because of the fact that many contradictions co-exist in human society, and they act as paradigms of this. This can be reflected in the view of the nation or of religion, thus:

If he wins he is a loyal servant, if he loses he is a traitor
If he is good he is a loyal servant, if he becomes bad he is a traitor

These proverbs premise that the common people in traditional times had an objective view of political power. Accordingly, they were sarcastic, as in the following examples:

An improper yangban shouts in the marketplace
The calf of a great vassal’s house does not know how frightening the butcher is

These two proverbs show also that the common people placed the rulers before them as a fait accompli.

Religion, too, has its place in Korean proverbs. With Buddhism, the negative view held of this religion since late Koryŏ is evident in these:

Like a monk who is kicked in the scrotum runs away
A monk soaked by the rain
One does not offer a ritual to Buddha
The deduction is clear that monks were the objects of blame and ridicule rather than respect throughout Chosŏn. If there were extant proverbs concerning monks from Shilla or early Koryŏ, they would likely show the important influence that Buddhism had on the cultural development of these kingdoms. However, by late Koryŏ, Buddhism was decadent and viewed by the people as a corrupted and degenerate faith.

Data and research

The compilation of proverbs in Korea seems to have begun in the late seventeenth century with Hong Manjong’s Sunoji, which contained one-hundred and twenty-four proverbs that were translated into Chinese characters. Other early collections include, Yi Tŏngmu’s Ch’ŏngjanggwan chŏnso and Cho Chaesam's Songnam chapchi. These early collections were all compiled in Chinese characters.

The collection of proverbs in modern times, and in han’gul, began in 1913 with Ch’oe Wŏnshik’s work, Chosŏn iŏn, which lists over nine-hundred proverbs. Following this, in 1922, Kim Sanggi published his Chosŏn soktam which included all of the proverbs in Ch’oe’s 1913 work and a further six-hundred. The first ‘complete’ collection of proverbs in Korea was in 1940; the result of a collaboration by Pang Chonghyŏn and Kim Sayŏp. This work contains over four-thousand proverbs, and bears the title, Saktam taesajŏn (Encyclopaedia of Proverbs). It served as the foundation for proverb research until the 1960s. In 1962 Yi Kimun compiled Sokdam sajon (Dictionary of Adages) which contains over 7000 proverbs and is considered to be the embodiment of the subject since it also includes their origins and provides examples of usage. Soktam sajon is the authority for recent studies and research into proverbs and their origins. The study and research of proverbs and their usage continues to be an area that attracts much scholarly attention in Korea.

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Hamgyŏng Province, North
Hamgyŏng Province, South
P’yŏngan Province, North
P’yŏngan Province, South

Provinces, South Korea (see under each province)

Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, North
Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, South
Cheju Province
Chŏlla Province, North
Chŏlla Province, South
Kangwŏn Province
Kyŏnggi Province
Kyŏngsang Province, North
Puan County

Puan County is situated in the western part of North Cholla Province on the coast of the Yellow Sea. The county consists of the town of Puan and the townships of Chinsŏ, Chulp'o, Chusan, Haengan, Hasŏ, Kyehwa, Paeksan, Poan, Pyŏnsan, Sangsŏ, Tongjin and Wido. The county borders Kimje to the north, Chŏngţŭ to the east and Koch'ang County to the south. It covers a total area of 484.78 square kilometres, and as of 1988, the population stood at 104,602. Most of the county consists of the Pyŏnsan Peninsula. The county's eastern area is made up of level terrain and hills under 100 metres in elevation. Kisang Peak (509m), Ongnyŏ Peak (433m) and Mt. Sŏkpul (288m) are to the west and in the north lies Ch'ŏngho Reservoir. West of the peninsula is Wi island as well as several smaller islands.

Most of the county's arable land is devoted to rice cultivation, but dry-field crops such as wheat, beans, green vegetables, sweet potato, tobacco and ramie are also grown. Fishing is another important source of local revenue. Local fishermen bring in catches of yellow corbina, sea bream, hairtail, shrimp, octopus and clam. Salt flats are to be found along the coast.

Extensive efforts have been made to reclaim the long tidal flats along the outer edge of the Pyŏnsan Peninsula. The Kyehwa Island Project in particular deserves mention as the largest reclamation project ever undertaken in Korea. This project was originally undertaken as a means to compensate the thousands of people whose homes were submerged by water after a multi-purpose dam was constructed on the Sŏmjin River in the early 1960s. Requiring sixteen years to complete, the project created 3,968 hectares of new land. The paddy-fields built on this land produce up to 11,000 tons of rice and 3,600 tons of other grains annually.

With several popular beaches and some interesting hiking areas, Puan County offers scenic attractions to suit many visitors. Pyŏnsan Beach and Kyŏkp'o Beach are two of the area's top tourist destinations. Kyŏkp'o Beach, the second largest on the Pyŏnsan Peninsula, was the site of the provincial naval headquarters during Chosŏn. The beach is surrounded by picturesque cliffs made of sedimentary rock and thus called Ch’aesŏk-kang (Painted Rock River).

In addition to its natural attractions, the area contains a number of important historical sites. In Kuam Village, there are thirteen dolmens. These are unusual in that their stone props are tall and some have as many as eight. The largest capstone of these dolmens measures 6.5 metres across. Buddhist temples in the area include the picturesque Naeso Temple (founded as Sorae Temple in 633), Wŏlmyŏng Hermitage (founded by Sŏn Master Pusŏl in 692) and Kaeam Temple in Sangsŏ Township. Old Confucian schools found here include Puan Hyanggyo (established in 1414 and moved to its present location in Sooe Village in 1608), Todong Sŏwŏn (established in 1534), Yuch’ŏn Sŏwŏn (established in 1652), Ongjong Sŏwŏn (established in 1694), Ch’ŏnggye Sŏwŏn (established in 1707) and Tongnim Sŏwŏn.

There are old kiln sites at Yuch’ŏn Village in Poan Township and next to Highway 30 in Chinsŏ Township’s Chinsŏ Village. Though technically unsophisticated, works from these kilns are now thought of as valuable antiques. Pottery produced at the Chinsŏ kilns featured diverse patterns and shapes. Bowls, dishes, wine bottles and other vessels with plain patterns have been found here along with inlaid or underglazed pieces bearing peony, chrysanthemum, crane and cloud designs.

A number of traditional rituals are still performed in this area. Tae Village on Wi Island
holds the county’s most elaborate Tangsanje (a ritual to worship the guardian spirit of the mountain). The ritual begins with a Sanshinje (mountain spirit rite) on the 3rd day of the first lunar month, followed by another ritual at a shrine on a nearby cliff. The participants then descend to the village where they participate in tug-of-war and other games. Later, a Yongwangje (ritual to the Sea King) is held, and this is followed by the final event called ‘casting off misfortune.’ At this time, the village’s ‘misfortune of the previous year’ is put on a small boat, which is put out to sea and burnt.

Publishing and Printing

History

The history of Korean printing and publishing traces back to the Greater Shilla period and then made tremendous progress in both the subsequent Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. In the Shilla period printing and publishing developed as a means for reproducing Buddhist literature when the propagation of Buddhism was spreading throughout the kingdom. It is through this cultural context that Koreans are thought to have adopted their basic knowledge of printing and publishing from China.

The first stage of printing in Korea is found in making print copies from engraved stone. This process eventually led to printing with wooden blocks with raised mirror-image letters or drawings which made the process of printing more efficient. There have been various discoveries of stone plates such as those that were carved for the sixty-volume Avatamsaka Sutra (Yukship hwaŏm kyŏng) that was completed in 667 CE by the Buddhist priest Ùisang at the behest of King Munmu (r. 661-681) of Shilla. These plates were stored at Hwaŏm Temple in the Chiri Mountains of Kurye County, South Cholla Province. Other items that were used for printing in this age included the making of various types of seals and stamps that were inscribed with various symbols, personal names, names of government posts and so on.

Wood block printing, or xylography, is thought to have begun in China during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Wood block printing presented the Chinese, and later the Koreans, a way in which to spread the teachings of Buddhism to mass audiences. Although the exact date of the first wood block printings is not known, the oldest extant example of printed material in the world is found in Korea. The Dharani Sutra (mugu chŏnggwangdae tarani kyŏng) was found in October of 1966 inside the second story of a pagoda at Pulguk Temple during renovation work on the site. It is a small scroll of 6.5 cm wide and 4.0 cm in diameter, and is thought to have originally been about 7.0 metres in length although only about two-thirds of this is extant. The date of this work is thought to be sometime before 751 CE when the temple was completed. The authenticity of the date of this document is confirmed by both the use of new style characters created by the Sung Dynasty Empress Wu (r. 684-705) that were in vogue during this period, and the fact that the container in which it was sealed was undisturbed and in the pattern of this era. As for other printings of the Shilla period, there are records of the making of a Tripitaka at Haein Temple during the reign of King Aejang (r. 800-809) and in addition there are records of the scholar Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (b. 857) having his poetry printed. However, these works are not extant today.

By the subsequent Koryŏ period, wood block printing had become further developed. Since Buddhism was the official religion of the Koryŏ Kingdom, many temples were built and sutras were printed in order to propagate the religion widely. However, this period was a turbulent one and there were numerous invasions by the Khitan, Jurchen and Mongols, and as a result many works are no longer extant. The oldest existent work from this period is also a dharani which is entitled Pohyopin tarani kyŏng and dates from 1007.

The major publication of the Koryŏ period was the carving and printing of the Koreana
Tripitaka (P’alman taejang kyŏng) which was undertaken to ward off attacks of the Khitan by invoking the powers of Buddha. The first attempt to carve and publish this mammoth work was in 1011 during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r.1009-1031). This work continued for many years and was finally completed in 1087. However, it was destroyed by the Mongol Invasion in 1231. The second edition of the Koreana Tripitaka was begun in 1236 and completed in 1251. This work consists of about 81 000 wooden blocks and is presently stored at Haein Temple.

Wood block printing in Koryŏ also included other Buddhist sutras such as the Great Wisdom Sutra (Taebanya kyŏng), Three Renditions of the Avatamsaka Sutra (Sambon hwadŏm kyŏng) and the Golden Light Sutra (Kūmgwang myŏng kyŏng), the wood blocks for all of which were carved at Hyŏnhwa Temple under decree from King Hyŏnjong. There were also books other than Buddhist scriptures produced in this age. With the implementation of the civil service examination during the reign of King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) the demand for the Chinese classics began to increase. When the demand became great enough, the government sponsored printings of various classics. In 1045 seventy copies of the Book of Rites (Yegi) were printed in addition to other classics.

The major innovation in the history of printing in the Koryŏ period was the development of movable metal typefaces. Movable type printing was first developed in China when a man named P’i Sheng of Sung China developed a method of using clay-baked type for printing in the years between 1041 and 1048. However, this type did not become widespread due to the painstaking method required for making it and the fragile nature of the type. The use of movable metal type is thought to have originated in Koryŏ and the first records point to this happening in the middle of the thirteenth c. The collection of the great scholar Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) entitled Tongguk Yisangguk chip (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea) mentions that twenty-eight copies of his Sangjŏng yemun palmi (Compendium of Rites and Rituals), which consisted of fifty chapters, were printed in 1234. This is over two hundred years before Johann Gutenberg invented movable metal type in Germany in 1440.

The use of movable metal type in Korea was quite widespread, and at the end of the Koryŏ dynasty an office was established by the government to supervise this and it was continued on in the Chosŏn dynasty. The use of movable metal type was undertaken in a major way in this period as a type-casting office (Chujoso) was established and cast hundreds of thousand of pieces of type in a style called kyemi cha which was named for the year in which it was made (1403). Several books were printed using the kyemi cha type and these are extant at the present time such as Tongnæ sŏngsaeng kyojŏng puksa sangjŏl and Shipch'il sach'an kogŭm tongyo. In 1420 a new type was created to replace kyemi cha, and this was also named after the year. Kyŏng cha was made of copper and was of a smaller size and better defined that its predecessor. This was followed by the kabin cha type in 1434 which was used as the standard type of the Chosŏn dynasty until late in the sixteenth c. There were a great many books printed in this period using movable metal type.

The use of metal type in Korea was far greater than in China and this can probably be attributed to the limited resources of Korea. China needed to print a great number of books so the expense of carving wood blocks, which could be used for a prolonged period of time, was justified. However, Korea needed to produce a far smaller number of copies of a given book, so the expense and resources required to make wood block carvings was hardly warranted. Instead, the metal type could be rearranged many times to create a great number of works. The time and expense of producing the metal type was borne by the government, but since it was a long-term investment the cost was not too great.

The Japanese Invasion of 1592 was devastating to Korea’s publishing and printing industry. The Japanese destroyed or plundered most of the existing metal type in Korea.
The Koreans created wooden type that was used until 1668 when the first casting of metal type after the invasion took place. Various other castings followed this until the end of the nineteenth c. when lead type was introduced from abroad in 1883. This type was used until the colonial period and the last work published with this type was Ch’ônggu shich’o (Ch’ônggu Poetry Collection) in 1914.

Modern Period Printing and Publishing

In 1883 the first Western printing presses were brought into Korea. In the following year Kwanginsa Inswae Kongsa was the first modern press established in Korea. Some of the first works that it turned out include Ch’unghyogyong chip and Nongjong shinp’yôn (New Approaches to Farm Management). These works and the printing company have great cultural and historical significance since they represent the first Western-style printing in Korea.

The greatest initial impact in the development of a modern style publishing industry in Korea was through the medium of newspapers. The first newspaper in Korea was the thrice monthly Hansông sunbo which was published by the government’s Office of Culture and Information (Pangmun’guk) beginning in 1883. However, this newspaper ceased publication in the next year. In 1896 Sŏ Chaep’il founded The Independent (Tongnip shinmun) which is the first modern newspaper published in Korea. Initially, this newspaper was published three times a week, but soon became a daily, and since it was published in han’gŭl it provided information concerning the situation of Korea to her citizens at a time when the nation was undergoing tremendous turmoil. In 1898 another newspaper, Capital Gazette (Hwangsong shinmun), followed and continued the tradition of opposing the Japanese manoeuvres in Korea and this newspaper became known for its opposition to the Japanese and the incompetent Korean government. Other prominent papers of this pre-colonial period include the Korean Daily News (Taehan mail shinbo) which began publication in 1905, the Independence News (Mansaebo: 1906), and Korea People’s Press (Taehan minbo) of 1909.

After the advent of the colonial period, Japanese censorship on publications was suffocating and many newspapers and magazines were closed down. However, newspapers played an important role in that they served as not only a means to provide information to their readership, but also to introduce new literature to readers in the form of serialised novels. Works such as Hyŏl ui nu (Tears of Blood) and Ch’iaksan (Pheasant Mountain) of Yi Injik, An Kukson’s Kŭmsa hoeul rok (Proceedings of the Council of Birds and Beasts) and Yi Kwangsu’s Mujŏng (The Heartless) introduced the reading public to new concepts such as free love, freedom of expression and new notions from the West in the form of these so-called ‘new novels’ (shin sosŏl) that were serialised in the newspapers of Korea.

In the period just before the colonial period and after its advent, publishing in Korea ran under full steam. Many publishing houses sprang up in Korea, with the majority of them located in Seoul, but also houses in Taegu and P’yŏngyang opened. This new age of publishing saw a great many novels from the Chosŏn period republished. Among these works Ch’unhyang chŏn (The Story of Ch’unhyang), Yuch’ungnyŏl chŏn (The Story of Yu Ch’ungnyŏl), Choung chŏn (The Story of Cho Ung) and Ongnu-mong (Dream of the Jade Chamber) proved tremendously popular with the readers of this period and all were published over twenty times. Of course, publishing did not only mean the reissue of classical era works. Many new novels also were printed and thereby acquainted the audiences with writers such as Yi Injik, Yi Haejo, Yi Sanghyŏp, An Kuksŏn and Yi Kwangsu. A main feature of this new age of publishing was the newly created relationship
between the writers, the publishers and the reading public. Works of this period were
directed at the tastes and interests of the readers, and those that were successful in this
aspect were published. Unlike in the previous age, one’s social standing did not
necessarily equate to success in writing: writers now had to attract their audience.

Another major impact on publishing in this period can be found in magazines. Before the
turn of the century there were very few magazines in Korea, and none that can be
considered as such in the modern sense of the word. However, with the publishing of
Sonyŏn (Youth) by Ch’oe Namsŏn in 1908, many magazines with various themes
appeared in Korea, despite heavy censorship by the Japanese government after 1910. The
period of 1910-1919 saw forty-nine different magazines published. Notable among these
are Pulkŭn chŏgŏri (Red Jacket) and the Buddhist magazine Yushim (Mind Only).
After the First of March 1919 Independence Movement, Japanese policy changed somewhat and
magazines flourished. In particular, this period witnessed many diverse publications such as
Kaebyŏk (Genesis), Ch’angjo (Creation), P’yeho (Ruins), Shinch’ŏnj (The New
Heaven and Earth), Shin’yōja (New Woman) and Arini (Children). These publications
introduced readers in Korea to a wide spectrum of writers in many different forms such as
poetry, essays, short stories and short novels.

Towards the end of the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese implemented their
assimilation policy that was designed to completely purge Korea of her identity. This
policy started in about 1935 and was into full swing by the late 1930s. The Japanese
banned all forms of cultural expression in Korea that could be considered nationalistic in
even the slightest degree. Therefore, newspapers published in Korean were banned
including the Tonga ilbo and the Chosŏn ilbo in 1940, along with all other Korean
language newspapers. This was followed in 1941 by the prohibition of the magazine
Munjang (Literature) and all other magazines published in Korean. At this same time the
leading members of the Korean Language Society (Chosŏnhakhoe) were jailed on
charges of trying to inspire a nationalist movement, and as a result of the imprisonment and
subsequent torture by the Japanese police, Yi Yunjae and other Korean linguists died in
prison. Novelists, poets and other writers were forced to write in Japanese if they wanted
their works published, and many of these individuals were gaoled, with some dying while
incarcerated, for opposing the oppressive colonial policies of the Japanese.

The extent of the Japanese desire to obliterate Korean culture can be seen in different
aspects. First, their prohibition on the Korean language not only extended to printed
material, but also the language used in society, education and the home. Second, they
wished to supplant Korean culture with their own and as a result propagated their own
myths concerning the founding of Japan, such as Amaterasu omikami, in Korea in an
attempt to replace indigenous Korean culture with that of Japan, or reveal that the two
countries were of common origin. In short, the Japanese sought to erase the essence of
Korean national consciousness and destroy the identity of the Korean people..

After being freed from the colonial yoke of Japan in 1945, the importance of the ability to
freely publish and write was of the utmost significance. This freedom to publish materials
of many types without the fetters of colonial oppression witnessed an explosion in the
number of publishing houses in South Korea. As many as two hundred new publishers
would register in a single year, and nearly an equal amount would close their doors due to
intense competition and poor management. It can be surmised that of the many publishers
that opened after liberation, for each one hundred companies that opened their doors, only
one per cent of these managed to survive. The number of books published yearly in Korea
is presently about 30,000 titles a year. Of the 29,564 titles published in Korea in
1994, books with a literary theme were the largest group (6,054), followed by reference
books (4,691), children’s books (4,389) and those concerning science and technology (3,
890). In 1995, the numbers were slightly lower at a total of 27,407 titles, again led by
literature (4,771), reference books (4,691), children’s (4,163), social sciences (3,502) and
Publishing Industry Structure

At the root of the publishing industry structure is the relationship between the writer and the publishing company. There are many publishing companies in Korea that range from small companies to university presses, and ultimately to large publishing companies that control a significant share of the market in Korea. However, the process of finding a new writer who will appeal to a large audience is not an easy one. In order to encourage new writers, the publishing companies of Korea offer many literary prizes as incentives to aspiring writers to produce and submit their works for publication. The bulk of the literary prizes in Korea are offered by the publishing companies, although there are some that are sponsored by other organisations which do not have a financial stake in the publication of the work.

After a publishing company decides to publish a particular work, it then undertakes the task of editing the work, marketing it and finally printing and distributing it. The marketing of works has taken on increasing importance in recent years with the intense competition within the book industry. Therefore, books are often heavily promoted before they are actually delivered to bookstores through newspaper advertisements, the distribution of advertising flyers in other publications by the same company and through methods such as the dispersal of advertising in the form of free book marks and the like. All of these items create interest in a book and therefore help its saleability. Meanwhile the book is printed and distributed to a network of bookstores throughout the nation.

The publishing companies treat each book in a different manner. Books designed for the mass market are naturally heavily promoted and distributed in large quantities. However, reference, technical and academic works are not promoted in this manner. The promotion that these books are given, if any, is limited in scope to their target audience. Books are also distributed to bookstores that specialise in certain types of books. Large bookstores carry a diverse range of titles, of course, and most types of books can be found in these locations. However, smaller specialised stores do not offer the scope of works that their larger counterparts do, and instead specialise in a particular area. An example of this can be found in the bookstores often located in the vicinity of university campuses that feature many books of a political nature, yet not many general titles.

With the number of books published each year in Korea, not to mention newspapers, magazines and journals, the importance of this market is quite large from a financial aspect. Nevertheless, the impact of electronic media such as television, radio and computers has yet to be fully assessed on the publishing industry. Historically, Koreans have read a large number of books, and this can be seen in the large numbers of both publishing companies (7,381 at the end of 1992) and the number of bookstores which numbered 5,371 in the same year. However, the increased interest in electronic media among the young people of Korea today may have a negative effect on these numbers in the future.

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Buddha Land Company Ltd.
Eul Yoo Publishing
Hanso Ch'ulp'ansa
Hanson Toso Chushihoesa
Hollym Publishing Co
Ichogak Publishers
Imundang
Jungeumsa
Kaebyoksa
Kumsong ch'ulp'ansa
Kyemongsa
Kyobo Publishers Incorporated
Min Jok Sa
Minjung Sogwan
Minumsa
Namam Ch'ulp'ansa
Pangmun Sogwan
Pulchisa
Puril Ch'ulp'ansa
Samseong Publishing Co
Shinjin Ch'ulp'ansa
Shinmun'gwan
Shinyong Ch'ulp'ansa
Sisa Yongosa
Yongch'ang Sogwan
Puch’ŏn

Puch’ŏn, situated in Kyŏnggi Province, was upgraded to a city in 1973. Since that time, it has developed into one of the nation’s most populated metropolitan areas. Positioned between the port city of Inch’ŏn and the Seoul Metropolitan area, the city is ideally suited for industrial development. Today, its factories produce numerous items, including machinery, metalwork, electronics, chemicals, textiles, food products and glass.

In the area around Pŏmbŏk-dong, there is a large religious community formally known as the Taehan Yesu Puhŭng Hyŏphoe (Korean Community for Christian Revival). In 1957, the group erected numerous factories and schools along with over 300 houses in a rundown section of the city. Over 10 000 members of the group then moved into the newly built community, which is commonly referred to as Shinang-ch’ŏn (Faith Village). The residents make various products including soy sauce, caramels and blankets, bearing the trademark ‘Shion.’

In the southern part of the city, there are several educational institutions, including Sŏngshim Women’s College, Seoul Theological Seminary, Puch’ŏn Industrial College and Yuhun Industrial College. In addition to its colleges, the city has a total of 86 parks. In order to encourage interest in traditional culture and the arts, the city has held the Poksagol Arts Festival annually since 1985. Many art forms are displayed at the festival, including photography, traditional dance, choir music and plays.

Puk Cheju County

Puk (North) Cheju County is split into two areas which are situated to the west and east of Cheju City on the northern part of Cheju Island. With beautiful natural wonders and numerous sites of historical interest, the county is a popular destination for tourists visiting the island.

Several important historical artefacts are located in this area. Neolithic remains have been found in the Pille Cave in Aewŏl Township. In particular, a jawbone of a deer and a brown bear were discovered here in 1973, suggesting that humans may have lived on Cheju Island as long ago as 70 000 - 80 000 years. Other prehistoric remains, including Dolmen, have been found scattered throughout the area. As for remains from the historical era, there was once a number of stone fortresses in this area, including the Choch’ŏn, Myŏngwŏl, Aewŏl, Susan, Ch’agwi and Hwanhae fortresses. Little remains of most of these stone fortifications. In addition, there are several old buildings in the area, including the Yŏnbuk Pavilion and the Shrine to Layman Ch’uja. These have been designated Cheju Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 3 and No. 9 respectively. There is also an ancestral shrine commemorating General Ch’oe Yong.

In addition to tourism, agriculture plays an important role in the county’s economy. Sweet potatoes, rape, beans, sesame and barley are all grown here along with a number of warm weather crops such as tangerines. Livestock and poultry also play an important role in the local economy, and there are several cattle breeding operations on the foothills of Mt. Halla. Fishing is another important source of income for local residents. Numerous small fishing boats operate out of Hallim and Ch’uja harbour.

Puk P’ot’ae Mountain

Situated on the border of North and South Hamgyŏng Province, Puk P’ot’ae Mountain rises to a height of 2 289 metres, making it the highest point of the Mach’ollyŏng Ridge.
To the south lies its counterpart, the 2435-metre high Nam P’ot’ae Mountain. To the north-west lies Mt. Sobaek (2,174 metres) and to the south-east, Mt. Amu (1,803 metres). Due to its high elevation, Puk P’ot’ae’s summit consists of bare rock and steep precipices covered with low-lying shrubbery. The surrounding area contains Korea’s highest mountains. This region, along with the Mt. Paektu region, was formed through the third or fourth phase of volcanic activity that occurred during the early Cainozoic era. Because of its rugged terrain, high elevation and remote location, the mountain slopes remain largely untouched by development.

**Pukhagüi** (Discourse on Northern Learning)

*Pukhagüi* is a discourse written by the *shirhak* (practical learning) scholar Pak Chega (1750-?) that discusses the customs and institutions of Qing China and promotes the so-called Northern Learning (*pukhak non*). It consists of two volumes in one fascicle and was written in 1778. Northern Learning is a part of the larger *shirhak* ideology that advocated the acceptance of economic reforms and enrichment and derives its name from the contemporary trends in Qing China.

This work is also a journal of the travels of Pak to Qing and details many of the sights that he encountered while in China. Pak notes many of the modern features of the Chinese nation such as the use of tile roofs, bricks, the types of bridges and roads in addition to the structure of the Qing markets and commerce systems. The work also features the opinions of the author on how to improve the dire economic situation prevailing in Korea, namely his advocating the implementation of a variety of reforms that would allow Korea to advance both culturally and economically.

**Pukhagüi** contains descriptions of the Qing nation and its institutions under thirty separate headings, and also contains seventeen treatises of the author on what improvements Korea needs to make and how to implement these. The work is valuable for both the study of the late Chosŏn period and the ideologies of the progressive thinkers of this period. The ideological position of Pak was not popular in his own time, as the *yangban* class of Chosŏn did not, for the most part, desire any change to the status quo. Moreover, the acceptance of culture from Qing, who many deemed little more than a barbarous tribe, was also rejected wholly by this class. This work has been recently republished under the same title, first in 1962 by the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe) and then in 1971 by Eul Yoo Publishers (Ŭlyu Mun’go).

**Pukhak** (Northern Learning)  

*Pukhak* (Northern Learning) D [History of Korea]

**Pukhan Mountain**

Mt. Pukhan (837 metres) is situated on the border of Seoul and Kyŏnggi Province. Paegundae, the highest point, lies in close proximity to the steep Insu Peak to the north and Man’gyŏngdae to the south; hence, the mountain is also called Mt. Samgak (Three Horns). It is also called Mt. Han or Mt. Hwa (Flower), and in Shilla times, it was called Pua-ak. Many of the peaks on the mountain, such as Sŏkka (Shakyamuni), Pohyŏn (Samantabhadra), Munṣu (Munjusri), Nahan (Arahants), and Wŏnhyo Peak, have names associated with Buddhism. Over thirty Buddhist temples are found here, including Sangun, Chin’gwan, Sŏngha, Hoeryong, Kwangbop, Munṣu, Wŏnt’ong, Hoegye and Tosŏn Temples and Wŏnhyo Hermitage. In addition, the large Kugira seated Buddha in relief (594 metres high) daily draws crowds of Buddhist pilgrims who pray and chant in front of the figure.

In addition to its religious associations, the mountain has both ancient and recent links to Korean history. Pi (Stele) Peak gets its name from a stele (National Treasure no. 3) erected during a royal tour by the Shilla King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576). At the start of Chosŏn, the
monk Muhak (1327-1405), impressed by the geomancy of the mountain, convinced King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398) that the Seoul area was a suitable site for the founding of the new dynasty. Mt. Pukhan offered numerous advantages for the building of a capital. In addition to the area’s geomantic advantages, the mountain had many large granite precipices and steep, rocky gorges, making it an ideal barrier to invasions. In 1711, the Chosŏn government decided to fortify this natural defence by building Pukhan Fortress - an eight-kilometre stone wall running along the ridge connecting Nahan and Wŏnhyo Peak. Of the wall’s original fourteen gates, Taesŏ, Taenam, Taesŏng, Poguk, Taedong and Yongam Gates still remain.

Easily accessible, the mountain is a favourite tourist destination for Seoul residents who come to picnic in the valleys, hike the rugged trails, or rock climb on steep granite cliffs like those of Insu Peak. From the top, it is possible to get a good view of Seoul and the mountains that surround it. In order to preserve Mt. Pukhan’s natural resources, the area, along with the adjacent Mt. Tobong, was designated Pukhan-san National Park in 1983.

**Puksŏng Hoe** (North Star Society) [History of Korea]

**Puktae Stream**

With its origins on Mt. Turyu on the border of North Hamgyŏng and South Hamgyŏng Province, Puktae Stream flows 118 kms. to the south before entering the East Sea to the east of Tongp’ŏng Village in Namduil Township. In the Shinjŏng tongguk yŏji stûngnam (Newly Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea), the stream is referred to as Imai Stream, while it is called Puk (North) Stream and Puktae (Northern Large) Stream in the 1782 work Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo (Enlarged Bibliography of Korean Materials).

The Puktae is formed from the convergence of two small creeks, one flowing down the Kanji-dong Valley southeast of Mt. Turyu, the other down the Nongsang-dong Ravine to the southwest of the mountain. After reaching Kwangch’ŏn Township, the stream widens and sandy islets are formed. The water’s swift current means that few level areas border the Puktae. Along it, are minerals sources, including lead, magnesium and zinc.

**Pulchisa** (Buddha Land Co. Ltd.)

Situated in Changch’ung-dong in Seoul’s Chung ward, Buddha Land Co. Ltd. (Pulchisa) was established on 28 August 1992. With Kim Hyŏnggyun as editor, the company specialises in works related to Buddhism, Eastern philosophy and liberal arts.

**Pulguk Temple** [Architecture]

**Pulgŭn chogŏri** [Magazines]

**Pulssi chapyŏn** [Buddhism]

**Punch’ŏng ware** [Ceramics]

**Puram Mountain**

Located on the border of Nam Yangju and Seoul, Mt. Puram (Buddha Rock) gets its name from the rock on its peak which is thought to resemble a Buddha wearing a pointed cap. Mt. Puram’s 508-metre granite peak is connected with a lower 420-metre peak. On the upper peak, there are remains of a stone fortress. Between the two peaks lies Puram Temple accompanied by several hermitages on the mountain’s south side. Hikers frequent
the mountain to enjoy the view of Mt. Pukhan to the west of the mountain and Mt. Surak to the north.

**Puril Ch’ulp’ansa**

Situated in Tong Ward in Kwangju, Puril Ch’ulp’ansa is a publishing company founded on 20 June 1984. The company specialises in works of religion and philosophy.

**Pusan**

Pusan, South Korea’s largest commercial port and second largest city, is situated on the southeastern tip of the peninsula. The city covers an area of 749.17 square kilometres and as of 31 December 1996, had a population of 3,866,000. Mt. Kŭmjŏng (802 metres), Mt. Paegyang (642 metres) and Mt. Kowŏn’gyŏn run from north to south, dividing the city proper in half. The Nakdong River flows past the western slopes of these mountains into the ocean. The area is warm in winter and breezy in summer, with an average annual temperature of 14 degrees centigrade.

Pusan has a long history as an international port. In 1423, it was one of the three ports opened to Japan. During the centuries that followed, the port was opened and closed several more times in accordance with the political climate between Japan and Korea. With the signing of the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876, the port was again forced open. As the city came under increasing Japanese control during the decades that followed, the Japanese colonial administration set to work modernising the port. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, construction of a railway was also begun in order to transport troops to fight the Russians. In the following decades, the Japanese also built wharves and further modernised the port.

When the Korean War broke out in June 1950, South Korean forces retreated to the ‘Pusan perimeter’ while U.N. forces were brought into the peninsula via Pusan’s harbour. The combined forces then successfully launched a counter-attack. During the three years that the war lasted, Pusan served as the nation’s temporary capital. Deceased soldiers from sixteen U.N. allies are now honoured in a cemetery on the outskirts of Pusan. In 1963, one decade after the war, Pusan became a directly administered municipality. The city’s new status reflected its growing importance as a key industrial centre.

The backbone of Pusan’s economy is its giant port which handles 95% of Korea’s container cargo and about 58% of all incoming and outgoing cargo. Numerous manufacturing firms have been set up in Pusan in order to take advantage of the harbour facilities. Many of these firms are located in the Sasang and Changnim Industrial Complexes. Steel, textiles and processed marine products are three of the city’s largest industries.

The Pusan Cooperative Market is the largest fish market in Korea. Every day, fish and other marine products are auctioned off to be sold in markets throughout Korea. Stretching from Ch’ungmu-dong to Namp’o-dong, the Chagalch’i Market is famous as a retail fish market catering to both local residents and tourists. The original market was much larger than it is now, but its area had to be reduced to make way for expansion of the harbour. Boats from Pusan’s port go to Cheju Island, along the coast to Ch’ungmu, Namhae Island or Yŏsu, or even to international destinations such as Shimonoseki, Fukuoka or Osaka in Japan.

With its international port, the city hosts a large number of sailors and tourists. The commercial Ch’oryang-dong street has become especially popular as a shopping district catering to the needs of foreigners. Haeundae and Tadaep’o Beach also draw large crowds of tourists throughout the summer months.
There are several stone fortresses in the area. Of these, the Paesan Fortress site is the oldest such fortress in Pusan while Kŭmjŏng Fortress (Historical Site No. 215) has the distinction of being the longest fortress in Korea. There are also a number of Buddhist artefacts in the area. In addition to the numerous cultural treasures at Pŏmŏ Temple (See Pŏmŏ Temple), there is a pair of banner-pole supports at the Mandŏk Temple site, a five-storey stone pagoda (Pusan Tangible Cultural Asset No. 9) situated outside of Pusan National University, and a three-storey stone pagoda (Pusan Tangible Cultural Asset No. 10) outside of Tonga University.

Pusan has a large number of educational institutions. The Korea Maritime University was founded in Pusan in order to train the next generation of young people to work in the maritime business. All of the school’s students receive scholarships covering both room and board. In their junior year, students undergo a two-month training course on board a training ship that visits various international ports. The city is also home to Dong-A University, Dong-eui University, Kosin University, Pusan National University, Pusan Womens University, Pusan Catholic College, Dongseo University, Pusan University of Foreign Studies, Pusan National University of Education and Kyungsung University.

**Pusan Municipal Museum**

Situated in Taeyŏn-dong, Pusan Municipal Museum (Pusan Shirip Pangmulgwan) was established in 1978. The museum’s collection is comprised of more than two thousand relics, including earthenware, metalware, clothing, articles from ancient tombs, and shell-mound relics. As well as holding exhibitions, the museum provides educational services for the community. It has held special summer vacation seminars for students since 1985, and seminars for the general public since 1988. The museum also publishes an annual report for specialists engaged in historical research.

**Pusŏk Temple**

[Architecture]

**Puyŏ (see History of Korea)**

**Puyŏ County**

Situated in the southwestern part of South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Puyŏ County comprises the town of Puyŏ, and the townships of Kuryong, Kyuam, Nam, Naesan, Sŏksŏng, Sedo, Yanghwa, Oksan, Oesan, Ōnsan, Imch'ŏn, Changam, Ch'och'on, Ch'unghwa and Hungsan. The county covers a total area of 668 sq. kms. and has a population of about 124 000 (1988 statistics). Mt. Sŏngdae (631m), Mt. Munbong (600m), Mt. Mansu (433m) and other peaks of the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range run along the northwest border of the county while the Kŭm River flows through the east. Influenced by coastal winds from the nearby Yellow Sea, the area has an average yearly temperature of 12c., an average January temperature of minus 3c., and an average yearly rainfall of 1239mm.

Arable land forms about 232 sq. kms. of the county. Of this, 160 sq. kms. grows rice and 72 sq. kms. dry-field crops such as barley, vegetables, ginseng and tobacco. The area’s tradition of ginseng cultivation began when refugees from Kaesŏng came into the area during the Korean War. Adjacent to Sŏch'ŏn County, ramie (*Boehmeria frutescens*) is grown, and watermelon and melon are cultivated commercially in the vicinity of the Kŭm River. The area’s coal mines are centred around the Oesan and Naesan townships. Local industry is limited to a few small plants such as a red ginseng processing factory and a match factory in Puyŏ.
In 538 C.E., the Paekche Kingdom moved its capital to the Puyŏ area. As a result, the county has a large number of important historical sites. In Ch’ŏch’ŏn Township, there is the Songguk Village Prehistoric Site (Historical Site No. 249), which dates from Korea’s Bronze Age (c.1000 - 400 B.C.E.). Seven archaeological excavations of the site have revealed wooden palisades, moats, jar coffins and thirty-three Bronze Age rectangular and circular dwellings of the subterranean pit type. Carbonated rice grains found in the dwellings indicate that rice was cultivated in the region at this time.

One of the area’s key tourist attractions is the Puyŏ National Museum in the town of Puyŏ. Here are a large assortment of ancient artefacts such as bronze spearheads, daggers, pottery, musical instruments, embossed roof tiles, celadon, funeral urns and bronze bells. In addition, three Chosŏn buildings -- a county magistrate’s office, his residence and a guesthouse for government officials, have been relocated to the museum’s grounds. Behind the museum stands Mt. Puyŏ, the site of the ancient Paekche palace. With its pleasing temples and pavilions, the mountain is now a park. Legend has it that when Paekche fell, King Uija along with 300 court ladies leapt to their deaths from Nakhwaam (Rock of Falling Flowers), a high cliff above the Paengma River, to avoid capture by the invading Chinese and Shilla armies. A pavilion named Paekhwajong now stands on top of the rock to commemorate this tragic event. In Nungsan Village, a group of large mounds are thought to be the tombs of Paekche kings and royalty. The tombs date from 538 to 600 C.E. At the site, there is a modern reconstruction of a tomb (developed from an ancient tomb painting), and a small museum with scaled-down reproductions showing the method of construction of the various tombs.

Important Buddhist sites in the area include the Chŏngnim Temple site next to Highway 4 in the town of Puyŏ, Muryang Temple in Oesan and Taejo Temple to the east of Highway 29 in Imch’ŏn. Outside Taejo Temple, there is a 10-metre-high Maitreya image which was carved circa twelfth c.. The temple’s Amitabha Triad is one of the largest seated Buddha images in Asia. Confucian schools found here include Hongsan Hyanggyo in Kyowon Village next to Highway 4, Puyŏ Hyanggyo just south of Highway 40 in Puyŏ, Sŏksŏng Hyanggyo just east of Sŏksŏng Stream, Imch’ŏn Hyanggyo just east of Highway 29 in Imch’ŏn, Tonggok Sŏwŏn in Sedo, T’oesu Sŏwŏn just west of Highway 29 in Imch’ŏn and Ch’ilsan Sŏwŏn (established in 1687) near the Kūm River in Imch’ŏn.

In Ŭnsan Township’s Ŭnsan Village is a hillock known as Mt. Tang. On this are the remains of an earthen fortress and on the southern slope, there is a shrine. The Pyŏlsŏnjje, the province’s most important traditional ceremony, is held here every year during the first lunar month. This attracts large crowds of between 50 000 and 100 000 spectators. For three days before the ceremony, officiants abstain from eating meat or fish and cleanse their houses by installing taboo ropes containing slips of paper. These ropes are also hung over Unsan Stream from which the water to cook the offerings is taken. The offered food is prepared only by men. Lasting two weeks, the Pyŏlsŏnjje involves the cutting of trees for camp posts; a day of rest; acquisition of flowers; a second day of rest; the calling down of the spirit; a parade and invocation lasting four days; a farewell to the pyŏlsŏn and a Hadang exorcism; a third day of rest; a Toksan rite performed solely by the chief officiant, and the erection of new changsŭng (guardian posts) at the village entrance. Although the origins of the ceremony are obscure, some claim that Unsan was a battlefield in ancient times and by consoling the soldiers who died in battle there, the rites prevent outbreaks of epidemics in the area. In 1966, the ceremony was designated an Intangible Cultural Property.

Pyŏkp’a

Pyŏlgok

Railway Museum
The Railway Museum (Ch’öldo Pangmulgwan) is situated in the city of Üiwang in Kyönggi Province. In 1981, items from the museum’s present collection were displayed at the Railway High School (Ch’öldo Kodung Hakkyo) in Yongsan Ward in Seoul. In December 1988, the collection was moved into a newly-built museum at a transportation and railway educational complex in Üiwang’s Ùiam-dong. By 1991, the collection of almost four thousand items had filled seven exhibition halls. The Railway Museum holds periodic exhibitions and also operates a theatre where visitors can watch films on the history of Korea’s railways.

Rank land law (kwajón pôp)  [Economy]
Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyöngjang)  [History of Korea; Japan & Korea; Society]

Regional planning

History

Regional development planning in Korea (then Chósen) originated during the Japanese Occupation. Several land surveys and sectoral plans were undertaken by the Japanese to manage the Peninsula’s land use and develop its resources. The Japanese thrust was to develop the north as the industrial area and the south as the agricultural base. During Japan’s Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere in the early 1950s the role of Korea was recast as a longitudinal north-south structure to provide a bridge from Japan to other parts of its Empire. After the liberation of Korea the emphasis was on rebalancing the lop-sided structure developed under Japanese control. Before progress could be made the industrial plants, electricity generating plants and transport and communications infrastructure were destroyed during the Korean War (1950-1953). The rest of the decade was spent on restoring them in the now bifurcated country. It was not until the 1960s that regional planning was resumed in South Korea and key developments launched.

Since 1961 South Korea’s highly-centralized government has controlled and monitored the country’s export-oriented, economic growth which has transformed a poor, agricultural country into an industrialized nation. The policy has channelled benefits to people in particular regions and to large conglomerates (chaebóls). A recurrent theme is how development trends have generally favoured the Seoul-Pusan axis, and the Kyöngsang provinces in particular, at the expense of the central-western provinces, the Ch’ungch‘öng and North and South Cholla provinces. Once the disbenefits of this pattern of regional development became pronounced regional planners sought to reshape South Korea’s spatial structure.

Four significant phases can be traced between the 1960s and 1990s which reflect attempts by regional planners to shift South Korea’s key development axes. Four major changes can be traced: the initial reinforcement of the northeast-southwest axis during the 1960s; the creation of a southern axis during the 1970s; the addition of a western axis together with a proposed northwest-southeast axis as a step towards the creation of a radial-circular transport network during the 1980s; and the inclusion of west-east and eastern axes and strengthening of the original northwest-southeast trunk axis as part of a grid-type network during the 1990s with the northwest-southeast axis still in a planning stage (Figure 1).

(Bring in Figure 1)

Northeast-Southwest Axis, 1960s: Regional development under the military government of Park Chung-hee centred on a series of individual plans focused on specified regions and a few sectors. In particular, the military government was preoccupied with industrialization along the Seoul-Pusan axis reflected in a bid to maximize economic
growth. As industrialisation progressed in the late 1960s large-scale industrial estates were established in Seoul, Inch’on and Ulsan which were complemented by expressways and multipurpose dams.

One consequence of concentrated development was that previously prosperous agricultural activities within the central-western provinces were neglected. In particular, inattention to upgrading rail services, and poorly-connected roads, disadvantaged the North and South Cholla provinces. Renowned as Korea's 'rice bowl', their farmers were handicapped by their adherence to wet-rice cultivation. Initially, South Korea's agricultural economy was devastated by the introduction of farm products from aid-givers and the government's policy of pegging locally-grown items to control inflation. This problem was compounded by the small share of national investment afforded agriculture and the lack of reliable access to growing urban markets. Not surprisingly, the North and South Cholla provinces were unattractive to investors.

**Southern Axis, 1970s.** During the 1970s regional development was undertaken under the *First Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1972-81.* The focus of regional development remained fixed on the Seoul-Pusan Corridor but was expanded to incorporate a series of export ports. These included the string of port-industrial towns created in the 1960s— notably Ulsan and Pohang. In 1973 Pohang was the site of Korea's first, large iron and steel mill. The new port-industrial towns of Onsan and Ch'angwón were added as part of the development of the Southeastern Coastal Industrial Belt. As these economic activities spilled over the border of South Cholla, both the Yŏch'on Industrial Complex and Kwangyang were included in the Industrial Belt. Offering relative security from North Korea and low transport costs, the Industrial Belt's major ports were those closest to Japan which provided the major market for the products of the heavily-subsidized, capital-intensive, export-oriented, heavy and chemical industries (e.g. steel, shipbuilding and petrochemicals). These industries were encouraged to make South Korea's defence industries self-reliant — a move prompted by US President Carter's decision to withdraw military bases during a deterioration in North-South relations. The ports, therefore, largely determined the location of industries in South Korea during the initial promotion of high volumes of heavy industrial exports and imports.

Also in fashion were export industrial estates. They included the free trade zones at Masan (1970) and Iri (1971). Masan was attractive to Japanese corporations which controlled almost 80 per cent of its firms. Local industrial estates were intended to attract industry from Seoul. The inland centre of Kumi was also selected as the base for a large-scale industrial estate for electronics. This had more to do with the fact that it was the birth-place of President Park than any intrinsic locational advantages (it was also designated a heavy industrial complex!). Complementing these export-oriented industrial initiatives was heavy expenditure on the seaports of Inch'on and Pusan.

These new regional initiatives bypassed South Korea's west coast. Without a revival in agriculture, and in the absence of compensating developments in manufacturing and service employment, the North Ch'ungch'ŏng, Kangwŏn and both Cholla provinces experienced net population losses. The losses from the Cholla provinces were more serious. Migrants from the area moved to Seoul, where surveys showed they constituted a disproportionate number of the urban poor (and presumably a smaller share of an emerging middle class) Alienated from the mainstream of South Korean life, people from the Cholla provinces aligned themselves with the Peace and Democratic Party led by Kim Daejung (Taejung) to protect their regional interests. The Kwangju incident in 1980 reinforced their resentment.

**Western Axis, 1980s.** During the early 1980s attempts were made to counter the side-effects of a bi-polarized, regional development pattern. This was reflected in the over-concentration of population on Greater Seoul (9.7 million in 1985) and Pusan (3.5 million in 1985), which together monopolized central managerial functions, and the progressive
The Second Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1982-1991 was activated in a bid to still the discontent and promote a more balanced regional development. This has meant dispersing industry from Seoul and Pusan and improving accessibility to the North and South Cholla provinces. Simultaneously, the government is seeking to mitigate the Cholla provinces' alienation from the country's booming economy and to capitalize on South Korea's new geopolitical position brought about by China's 'open door' policy.

In 1988 the Prime Minister's Office established the Standing Committee for West Coast Development. Its main strategy has been to designate six areas for capital-intensive agricultural, industrial and high-technology development (Figure 2). Connections between existing coastal and inland urban centres were to be upgraded to create two agglomerations — the Kunsan-Iri-Ch'ongju-Ch'ongju T-shaped Axis and the Kwangju-Naju-Mokpo Axis — in a bid to provide higher-level central management services. These attempts to redress this imbalance, and to capitalize on cheap industrial land in the Cholla provinces and the opportunities of trade with China, have sent land prices skyrocketing.

(Bring in Figure 2)

The problems associated with South Korea's regional structure have been compounded by the political power structure of the Korean government. President Park Chung-hee drew heavily upon the Kyongsang provinces for army officers and high-ranking bureaucrats. Reinforced by educational and social ties in Taegu, this preferment was intensified by the heads of nine of the top twenty chabôl families coming from Kyongsang. Drawing on government privileges available for export activities since the early 1960s — unlimited imports and preferential loans from foreign banks — economic power has been highly concentrated on a few chabôls headed by Kyongsang (or Taegu) families. In turn, this web of influence, was heightened by the recruitment of ex-officers into corporations and government (including Cabinet). These regional antagonisms stemming from the regional political structure were further aggravated by the realignment of the former opposition leaders, Kim Young-sam (from the southeast) and Kim Jong-pil (from the Ch'ungch'ong provinces), with the ruling Liberal Party under Roh Tae-woo.

Northwest-southeast axis, 1990s. A fresh set of directions for tackling the perennial problems of regional disparities including the overconcentration of economic activities in Seoul with its attendant infrastructure deficiencies and environmental problems. These were embodied in the Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1992-2001.
Constraints have been imposed on the location and expansion of manufacturing activities in the Seoul Metropolitan Area. A new north-east-southwest axis is proposed to create more balanced regional development (though most activity is likely to be concentrated in the central and southwestern parts of the axis). Simultaneously, existing industrial zones in the southern will be restructured through R&D and the promotion of high-tech industries. Following the implementation of local autonomy in 1995 local governments are likely to take a more active role in regional development.

Another new feature is the incorporation of plans for the development and management of the demilitarised zone between North and South Korea. Although the timing and method of unification is uncertain a new set of regional planning ideas will have to be entertained when it is agreed. Clearly, the South is the industrial base while the North has rich mineral and energy resources.

Already trade relations have been established. These are likely to intensify given the North's need for food and consumer goods and the South's requirement for cheap and plentiful labour. As the German experience has highlighted, the costs of merging the two separate societies will be great. North Korea's population is larger relative to South Korea compared with East Germany and West Germany; North Korea's economy and infrastructure is in worse shape that East Germany; South Korea's per capita income is less than half that of West Germany; and the two Koreas have had little contact since 1948. If unification proceeds, the reconnection of severed transport arteries between the North and South will give the new Korean Commonwealth the opportunity to capitalise on its geopolitical position.

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**Research Centre for Ocean Industrial Development (RCOID)**

With its location in the National Fisheries University of Pusan, RCOID was founded in 1990 as a non-profit, non-governmental institute. Today, with support from the Korea Science and Engineering Foundation, RCOID works to develop technologies to improve coastal fishing grounds, as well as fish and shellfish farming operations around the Korean Peninsula. In particular, it aims to provide unified and systematic research in the areas of fisheries, oceanography, aquaculture and marine environment. The Research Centre offers a training program in aquaculture and fishing technology.

**Research Centre of Technology and Industrial Manpower (RCTIM)**

Located in the city of Ch'ŏnan in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, RCTIM is a government organisation conducting research and training programs in the fields of vocational training, national technical qualifications and human resource utilisation. RCTIM also works to promote domestic and international cooperation on research projects.

**Research Institute of Industrial Science and Technology**
Founded as the Pohang Iron and Steel Company’s Technical Research Laboratory in 1977, RIST acquired its present title in 1987. By the end of 1994, more than 2,000 projects had been completed or were under way. In 1995, the Institute was granted KOLAS (Korea Laboratory Accreditation Scheme) accreditation. Present-day research is in environmental and industrial fields, including iron and steel-making, advanced materials, and automation.

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Research Institutes (see under each Institute)

Academy of Korean Studies (AKS)
Architectural Institute of Korea
Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (ETRI)
Korea Academy of Industrial Technology (KAITECH)
Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)
Korea Aerospace Research Institute
Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute (KAERI)
Korea Basic Science Institute
Korea Development Institute (KDI)
Korea Educational Development Institute (KEDID)
Korea Electrotechnology Research Institute (KRI)
Korea Food Research Institute (KFRI)
Korea Ginseng and Tobacco Research Institute (KGTRI)
Korea Information Society Development Institute (KISDI)
Korea Institute for Economics and Technology (KTIET)
Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KHASA)
Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)
Korea Institute of Construction Technology (KICT)
Korea Institute of Criminology (KIC)
Korea Institute of Geology, Mining and Minerals (KIGAM)
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Korea Railroad Research Institute (KRRRI)
Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS)
Korea Research Institute of Bioscience and Biotechnology (KRIBB)
Korea Research Institute of Standards and Science (KRISS)
Korea Rural Economics Institute (KREI)
Korea Silk Research Institute (KSRI)
Korean Insurance Development Institute (KIDID)
National Academy of Arts (NAA)
National Academy of Sciences (NAS)
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National Institute of Agricultural Science and Technology (NIAS)
National Institute of Health and Social Affairs (NIHASA)
Research Centre of Technology and Industrial Manpower (RCTIM)
Rhee Syngman (1875-1965)

Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman) was an independence fighter, politician and the first president of the Republic of Korea. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his given name was Sŏngnyŏng and his pen name was Unam. Rhee was born in P’yŏngsan of Hwanghae Province and was the son of Yi Kyŏngsŏn. When Rhee was nine years old he was stricken with smallpox that blinded him. His family tried many traditional cures but with no success. At last Rhee’s father took him to Horace Allen, a doctor and Presbyterian minister, who cured the boy within a few days. This is said to have sparked Rhee’s interest in the West. In 1894 he entered Paejae Academy and in the next year became an English teacher at the Academy.

It was during Rhee’s time at Paejae Academy that he met Sŏ Chaep’ŏl (1866-1951) who had studied in America. Sŏ formed the Hyŏpsŏnghoe, which would later become the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe), which sought to bring about enlightenment and reform to Chosŏn. Rhee was very active in the Independence Club and this eventually resulted in his being arrested for anti-Japanese activities that caused him to be incarcerated from 1898 to 1904. During his imprisonment, Rhee was subjected to all types of torture and abuse from the Japanese and this certainly played a major part in his lifelong distrust of the Japanese.

After being released from prison, Rhee travelled to the United States where he attended George Washington University in 1905. After graduating in 1907 he entered Harvard University where he received his Master’s Degree in 1908. He then entered Princeton University to pursue his doctorate. After the completion of his dissertation he graduated in 1910, making him the first Korean to receive a PhD from an American university. 1910 is also the year in which Japan officially colonised Korea, and when Rhee returned to Korea in the following year he began his anti-Japanese activities. In 1912 he was implicated in the so-called ‘Case of the Imprisoned One Hundred Five’ (paegoin sakkŏn) and in order to escape imprisonment, he fled to the United States with the help of an American missionary.

Rhee travelled to Hawaii where he operated the Korean Academy (Hanin Hagwŏn) and also launched the Han’guk t’aep’yŏngyang (Korean Pacific) in 1914 and the monthly magazine, T’aep’yŏngyang (Pacific), which continued publication until 1939. Rhee remained active in the United States throughout the Japanese occupation lobbying for the support of the United States. He was elected president, in absentia, of the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min’guk Imshi Chŏngbu) formed in Shanghai in 1919 and retained this position for nearly twenty years before losing it to reformers in Shanghai. However, the greatest part of Rhee’s energies were devoted to his lobbying efforts in the United States, and this is where his greatest import was.

At the conclusion of World War II and Korea’s liberation from Japan, Rhee returned to his homeland in October 1945, and was promptly selected as chairman of the Korean Provisional Government (KPR). The KPR was largely responsible for the dismantling of the Japanese colonial apparatus throughout the southern parts of Korea. This was a group that was participated in by many different factions and encompassed a broad spectrum of political ideologies.
Rhee's ability to speak English fluently and the fact that the Americans knew of him played a major role in his rise to power in post-liberation Korea. He was staunchly anti-Communist and it is perhaps this quality that enabled him to become the favourite of the conservative forces that were present in Korea at the time. Rhee's chief rival, Kim Ku (1876-1949), sought a middle ground that preferred the incorporation of groups from both the right and the left into the Korean government, while Rhee was against not only the communists but also any group that showed a willingness to work with the communists. At the time the commander of the United States of America Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), General John R. Hodge, needed to put the support of the United States behind a candidate who would garner the greatest support. Accordingly, despite his personal dislike of Rhee, he came to acknowledge the popularity of Rhee who thus became the front runner for taking power in Korea.

With the failure of the United Nations (UN) to convince the Soviet Union to allow general elections throughout the Korean peninsula, South-only elections were held in May 1948. At this time Rhee was seventy-three years old and his political behaviour is more easily compared with that of a late Choson period king than of his Princeton University professor, Woodrow Wilson. Rhee's ambition for personal power is seen in the political system that he was forced to accept in order to continue to receive support from the Americans and resulted in his accepting an elective democracy with constitutional safeguards against unchecked executive power. However, once Rhee assumed power he quickly moved to emasculate this system in order to strengthen his grip on power.

A key tool that Rhee utilised for acquiring additional power was the National Security Law (NSL) that was passed by the National Assembly in 1948. This law was in theory to be used in cases of national emergency, but in fact Rhee wielded it as a club to bludgeon any opponent who dared to challenge his power. During the Korean War and after, Rhee carried out systematic purges of the government ranks to strengthen his grip on power. He also used the NSL to intimidate the National Assembly to pass laws that increased his power. In 1952 when he was up for reelection he used the threat of the NSL to coerce the National Assembly into allowing a popular vote for the election of the president. The assembly-men who opposed this law were simply incarcerated by Rhee until after the vote was taken, thereby ensuring the passage of the law and tactically his reelection to a second term.

In 1954 Rhee again altered the Constitution to allow for a special exemption to the two-term limit for the president of the Republic. At this time he formed his own political party, the Liberal Party (Chayu Tang), which was a group of opportunists who were loyal only to Rhee and their own desire for power. After the formation of the Liberal Party, the National Assembly became little more than a rubber stamp operation for Rhee's political whims. Moreover, virtually all of his political opponents had been eliminated. Some such as Kim Ku were assassinated, probably with Rhee's involvement, while others such as Kim Kyushik had been kidnapped by the North during the War. Others had died from illness and the balance were arrested for violations of the NSL. Therefore little stood in Rhee's way and he was elected for a fourth term as president in the March 1960 elections. His desire for complete power and total disregard for the democratic process in this election brought about his downfall.

For the 1960 elections Rhee chose Yi Kibung as his vice-president and ensured the success of his ticket by committing wide-scale election fraud. The reaction to the fraudulent election was overwhelming as students throughout the country rose up in protest at the virtual dictatorship of Rhee. The outbreak of the April Student Revolution, which was eventually joined by the general Korean population, caused demands for the resignation of Rhee to grow. At this time US policy towards Korea shifted from toleration of Rhee's tactics to public condemnation of the regime. Moreover, the demonstration by 300 university
professors for Rhee’s resignation revealed that the upper class of Korea was also demanding a change. The final element that contributed to the resignation of Rhee was the refusal of the Martial Law Commander, General Song Yoch’ an, to fire upon demonstrators. Thus, Rhee’s power had been stripped, and on April 26 Rhee resigned.

After resigning from office Rhee, and his wife Francesca Donner, returned to Hawai’i where Rhee died in 1965. Rhee is remembered not only for his independence activities, but also his staunch opposition to the communist regime in the North. In this aspect, and his dogmatic quest for unification of the peninsula by force, he well represented the ideology of the conservative Cold War forces of the right, which also gained much strength after the conclusion of World War II. While Rhee was far from a democratic president of the South, he did institute policies that saw educational opportunity become widespread and the literacy rate of the South nearly triple in the fifteen years after liberation. This increase in education, ironically, helped bring about his downfall, as the students demanded a change to a truly democratic system.

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Righteous Armies (ǔibyŏng)  [History of Korea]

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Susŏng ch’ŏn
Taehwa kang
Taedong kang
Taeryŏng kang
Roh Tae-woo (1932- )

Roh Tae-woo (No T'aeu) is a soldier, politician and former president of the Republic of Korea. Roh was born near Taegu in Kyongsang Province and after liberation he was sent to the prestigious Kyongbuk High School where he made political connections that would follow him for the rest of his life. It was at this time that he met Chun Doo Hwan (Chon Tuhwan) who would become his close friend and political ally. When the Korean War broke out, Roh joined the army and later was admitted to the Korean Military Academy along with Chun. The two men were in the infamous eleventh class of the Academy that was the first to complete the full four-year program.

Roh served in various capacities in the military forces even travelled to Fort Bragg in the United States for special training. In addition in Vietnam he was promoted to commander of a battalion in the famous Tiger Division that served with great distinction in that conflict. After returning to Korea, Roh continued to work his way up the ladder of the military hierarchy and by 1979 was a Major General in command of the Ninth Division. It was also at this time that President Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghii) was assassinated, throwing the once stable nation into a period of turmoil.

After the death of Park, Choi Kyu Hah (Ch'oe Kyuha) became acting president and promised to implement democratic reforms. Choi was elected president by the National Council for Unification (NCU) and stated that there would be a constitutional referendum within a year. However, instead of political reform there emerged a fierce power struggle between various political players of the day, namely Choi, Kim Young Sam (Kim Chongp'il) and Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), for control of Korea's destiny. It was at this time that certain elements in the military forces, namely Chun, Roh and Major-General Chong Hoyong began to plan their seizure of the government. Their taking of power was prolonged over ten months and entailed three phases.

First, the trio plotted a mutiny within the army itself to gain control. Over the evening of December 12-13 (the 12-12 Incident), Chun, Roh and Chong carried out a bloody insurrection that enabled them to seize control of the military forces. Roh's Ninth Division guarded the approaches to Seoul and occupied strategic positions throughout the city and after a seven-hour battle at the ROK Army Headquarters and the adjacent Ministry of Defence, the army was subdued. Yi Huisong was appointed as Army Chief of Staff and Martial Law Commander, Roh was the head of the Capital Garrison Command and Chong was charged with the Special Forces. Chun next took control of the Korean Central intelligence Agency (KCIA), which triggered massive protests throughout the nation. After this martial law was extended and the National Assembly was dissolved, paving the way for Chun to take the reigns of government. It was at this time that the Kwangju Massacre occurred in which military forces harshly suppressed an uprising against Chun. Shortly thereafter, Chun took control of the government with his election as president.

For Roh's role in helping his friend Chun illegally seize power, he was appointed head of the Defence Security Command and was promoted to a four-star general. He retired from the army in 1981, and entered politics and held key posts in the Chun administration. In 1981 he was appointed Minister of Political Affairs and later was named the head of the Seoul Olympic Organising Committee. By 1985 he was the head of the ruling Democratic...
Justice Party (DJP) and was clearly the heir to Chun. In 1987 massive demonstrations by broad segments of Korean society were commonplace, as the people had grown weary of the Chun regime. Therefore with the announcement of elections in 1987 the opposition parties rallied against the Chun regime, but Roh deflated their protests by announcing an eight-point program on June 29 that promised direct presidential elections, broad human rights guarantees, and the restoration of Kim Dae Jung’s political rights. Chun approved this and Korea readied herself for presidential elections.

Roh narrowly won the presidential election on December 17, 1987 with 36.9 percent of the vote. The opposition was unable to compromise and put forth a single candidate and this resulted in Roh continuing the legacy of military rulers in South Korea. Roh proved to be a much gentler president than his friend Chun and his Sixth Republic brought about many changes to the face of Korea. Democratic rights were greatly enhanced under Roh and in addition his so-called ‘Northern Policy’ made great headway in the development of relations with both the Soviet Union (later the Russian Federation) and the People’s Republic of China. In this light Roh can be seen as an excellent diplomat who helped ease the Cold War tensions that had gripped the Korean peninsula for four decades.

Roh also peacefully stepped aside at the end of his term and allowed the South Korean government to be turned over to the first true civilian leader since the early 1960s. However, the very reforms that Roh brought about came back to haunt him. In September 1995, Roh admitted to public prosecutors that he had received kickbacks from the heads of the large business conglomerates during his term in office. In addition the South Korean government conducted an investigation into the illegal seizure of power by Chun and Roh in December 1980 and the subsequent Kwangju Massacre in the following year. As a result, Roh faced the death sentence but due to leniency on the part of the prosecutors, he was only sentenced to life in prison.

Roh is chiefly remembered for the great amount of wealth that he accumulated during his rule and for his role in the bloody events that followed the death of Park Chung Hee. However, it should be remembered that he brought about many events that have helped Korea become a stronger nation. Without the democratic reforms that Roh initiated, his own prosecution would never have been possible. Moreover, during his term the economy of Korea reached new peaks and relations with the Soviet Union and the PRC were improved, which served to greatly improve the international situation surrounding Korea. Furthermore, these reforms helped put pressure on North Korea to enter into diplomatic relations with other nations, somewhat altering its isolated stance. Finally, it was on Roh’s watch that South Korea successfully hosted the 1988 Summer Olympics, which garnered much positive publicity for Korea.

Rose of Sharon Friendship Society (Kīnūhoe)  [Japan and Korea]

Ross, John  [United Kingdom and Korea]

Russia and Korea

Early relations

The first contacts between Russia and Korea can be traced to mid-17 c., when the Russians appeared on the Pacific Coast. At that time, Korean merchants made sporadic deals with Russians. Korean riflemen (100 in 1654 and 200 in 1655) were sent at the request of Beijing to fight in the ranks of the Chinese army against Russians during the Albazin conflict. In the 17th and 18th cc., Russian officials and missionaries in China sometimes met members of the Korean missions to Beijing. However, until the mid-1860s all these contacts were episodic events and had no serious consequences. The real Russo-Korean
relations began only in the 1860s when, according to the Aigun Treaty of 1858 and the Beijing Treaty of 1861, Russia established her control over the lower River Amur region (Manchuria) and thus appeared on the Korean border.

The period of establishment 1861-1894.

The Russian local authorities in the Far East established connections with their Korean counterparts as early as 1861, when the border line was demarcated, but until 1884 these contacts were mostly connected with border problems and ever-increasing Korean emigration to Russia. The Russo-Korean trade was mostly local and its scale was much less than the scale of Korean trade with Western countries and Japan. Cloth was the main import, cattle the main export. The trade was conducted by Korean merchants, with the role of the Russians being insignificant.

After the opening of Korea in 1876, when Korea signed treaties with Japan and the western powers, Russia also took some steps to penetrate to Korea. On 7 July 1884, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed in Seoul. The Treaty was mainly modelled upon the Korean-British Treaty of 1884 because Russia wanted to get advantages in Korea at least comparable with those its main rival already had. The Treaty declared Pusan and Inch'on as ports open for Russian trade. Russia also obtained the status of a most favoured nation. These regulations were secured in 1888 by the Convention of Land Trade.

In the 1870-80s the Russian Naval Command was in urgent need of an ice-free base on the Far East coast and several times studied the possibility of occupying a suitable Korean port. These projects were only discussed, however, and not really supported in government circles. Generally speaking, in the 1860-1880s period, Russian diplomacy did not aspire to establish domination in Korea. It was absolutely unrealistic since there seemed to be no military or economical potential in this distant region. The main goal of Russian policy in Korea was to ensure its neutrality and thus to counteract Chinese and British influence. Such an approach was demonstrated during the Kōmundo Incident. On 15 April 1885, British warships occupied the Korean island of Kōmundo to control the main Russian navigational route on the eve of possible war. Russia began to prepare corresponding measures (the occupation of a Korean port or the establishment of a Russian protectorate were discussed). However, as soon as Britain withdraw her troops in 1887 these projects were also abandoned.

Russia in search for domination, 1894-1904.

At the beginning of the 1890s, Russian policy in Korea changed considerably. This was the time when the Far East instead of the Near East became the main object of Russian colonial expansion. This reorientation become possible after the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway had begun in 1891.

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Korea and Manchuria become the main object of Russian claims. This resulted in rivalry with Japan, which Korean patriots tried to exploit to attempt to secure Korea. In the 1894-1904 period, Russia was the main force standing in the way of the increasing Japanese expansion on the Peninsula. Russia was especially popular among the conservatives, including King Kojong himself.

The Russian influence grew gradually from 1891, but it increased dramatically in 1895, when King Kojong, who after the assassination of Queen Min in October 1894, and who had been placed under full Japanese control, suddenly escaped from his palace to the Russian legation. For 375 days he ruled the country from this asylum. A new government consisting mostly of pro-Russian statesmen was formed. This incident marked the beginning of Russian domination in Korea. It was recognized by the Japanese in a special
Russo-Japanese memorandum (Seoul, 14 May 1896) and in the Moscow Protocol (Lobanov-Yamagata Agreement, 9 June 1896).

In Spring 1896, a special envoy, Min Yonghwan was sent to Petersburg and Moscow to attend the coronation of Nicholas II and to seek military and financial aid. He returned to Korea in October with numerous promises from the Russian government and the first group of military advisers (Colonel D.Putiata, with 13 officers and sergeants). For a year these advisers trained a special battalion of king's guards as well as a few dozen officers and senior NCOs. On 5 November 1897, K. Alekseiev, a former official from the Russian Ministry of Finance, was appointed as the main financial adviser of the Korean government and Commissioner of the Korean Maritime Customs Service (the latter post was not really occupied by him as the existing Commissioner, an Englishman, Brown, refused to retire). In December 1897 the Russo-Korean bank was established to promote Russian economical penetration into Korea.

However, increasing Russian expansionism disturbed Korean nationalists, who, not without foundation, thought it may be dangerous for Korean independence. The Independence Club launched an active campaign against Russian advisers and concessions. A new minister, A. de Speyer who replaced the clever and tactful K.Waeber in September, 1897, also contributed to a decline in Russian influence. In Spring 1898, Kojong, being pressed by both public opinion and Japanese diplomacy, had no option but to dismiss Russian military and financial advisers. The Russo-Korean Bank also had to cease operations only a few months after its beginning (it was formally liquidated in 1901). Yet Kojong and the bulk of Korean conservatives retained their pro-Russian orientation.

The decline of Russian influence in Korea was confirmed by the Tokyo Protocol (Rosen-Nishi Agreement, 25 April 1898). According to the Protocol, Russia and Japan agreed not to appoint advisers to Korea. Russia, practically, recognized the Japanese dominative role on the Peninsula.

One of the main reasons of Russian failure in Korea in the 1890s was economic weakness. The scale of Russian trade with Korea was approximately 30-40 times less than Japanese-Korean trade. Thus, searching for ways to increase their influence, Russian authorities after 1894 had actively supported Russian business in Korea. The mining concession of M. Nishchensky and Bryner's timber concession were the biggest Russian projects. However, both projects were economically fruitless.

In the early 1900s, an increasing role in the Russian government was played by the so-called Bezobrazov group. It consisted of court aristocrats who dreamed about more aggressive imperialist policy in Manchuria and Korea. Between 1900-1904 this group, having good personal contacts with the Tsar, bypassed S.Witte and other moderate politicians and succeeded in establishing full control over policy in the Far East.

In 1903, the Bezobrazov group used some economic projects (mainly Bryner's concession) as a tool to cover a military presence in Korea. At the same time, Russia tried to establish a naval base in Yong-amp'o. All these steps resulted in conflict with Japan, which aspired to make Korea its colony. Attempts to solve the conflict peacefully failed and open confrontation become inevitable. War began in February 1904 and Russia was defeated.

Russian withdrawal from Korea, 1904-1921.

After the disastrous Russo-Japanese war Russia was swept out of Korean politics. Until 1911, Russian local authorities in the Far East, in spite of the central government's pro-Japanese orientation, sometimes supported guerrillas and anti-Japanese emigration. Such conduct was forbidden by the Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1911, but the local administration was not too active in observing these restrictions. The Annexation of Korea, World War
and Russian Civil War, however, stopped political contacts of two countries.

**Inter-war period, 1921-1945.**

Russian policy in Korea in the 1920-1930s was also passive. Its main goal was to create and strengthen the Communist movement and to use the Korean independence movement to weaken Japan - the main Russian enemy in the Far East. In the 1920s, Russia promoted the unification of small, rival left-wing groups into the Korean Communist Party (1925). These attempts were not especially successful since the new-born Party was dissolved by a special decision of the Komintern in 1928 because of endless factional struggle. Many Korean communists lived in Russia and some of them later become victims of Stalin's purges. In the 1930s, Russia supported the Korean guerrillas in Manchuria.

A Lankov

**Soviet-Korean and Russo-Korean Relations 1945-1993**

Loyal to the promises given to the Allied powers, the USSR entered the war against Japan on 9 August 1945. Korea was thus liberated from her colonial yoke; a result of the allies' joint war effort against the Japanese aggression. In Korea proper only the Soviet army was fighting and its 25th Army, which operated there under Colonel-General I. Chistyakov, suffered heavy losses, in Korea itself and on the way to it. More than 4 700 soldiers were killed or severely wounded. The Pacific Fleet and the Air Force of the USSR also had losses. The US Army landed in Korea with no significant troop losses on 8 August 1945.

Marshall Stalin’s directive of 20 September 1945 stated that, 'The Soviet Army entered North Korea in order to defeat the Japanese invaders and has neither the purpose of establishing Soviet order in Korea nor that of acquiring the Korean territory'. Nevertheless, the emerging 'Cold War' quickly told on the policies of the USSR and the USA in Korea. Soviet and American troops remained in the territories of their respective occupation being to the north and south of the 38th Parallel which was the dividing line between them, after the task of accepting the Japanese capitulation was fulfilled. Military powers spared no efforts to establish the influence of their respective countries and to help the formation of the friendly regimes in their zones of occupation.

In the north of Korea the Board of Soviet Civil Administration was established, headed by General A. Romanenko and from 1947 - General N. Lebedev. Provincial affairs were supervised by the advisers drawn from the ranks of highly-positioned political officers from the divisions stationed at a given place. There were 113 military headquarters in the towns and larger villages. This system of the Soviet military administration was supposed to rule North Korea and to provide for all sides of the people’s lives, including leisure and work. The general supervision of the Soviet policies in Korea was entrusted to Colonel-General T. Shytkov. From the first days of liberation, throughout Korea democratic organs of local self-government were emerging. Unlike the US administration which ignored and gradually wiped them off, (in the South), the Soviet Command in the North immediately recognized the People’s Committees and widened their participation in supervising economic and cultural life. In October 1945, the representatives of the People’s Committees from all five provinces of North Korea met in P’yŏngyang to determine a general structure and set urgent tasks of the newly-born bodies of power. The necessities of further centralization and improvement of the administrative system led to the establishing of the Administrative Bureau of the Five Provinces (November 1945) under which 10 departments were formed to supervise over different branches of the economy, culture, and social order. Only Koreans worked there while Soviet specialists were their advisers.

In these administrative bodies the nationalist leaders at first prevailed, with the well-known political figure of Cho Manshik, at the head. Soviet military bodies helped the Communists to squeeze them out. Favourable circumstances for this appeared when the guerrillas of Kim
Il-sung, who spent several years in the Soviet Far East, and the participants of the anti-Japanese struggle headed by Kim Tubong, along with a big group of Koreans, party and economic officials from the USSR, arrived in Korea. On 10 October 1945, the North Korean Organizing Bureau of the Korean Communist Party was established, which occupied a foremost position in the political system emerging in the North. Two months later, Kim Il Sung occupied the leading position in this body, with the support of the Soviet administration. In August 1946, through the merger of the Communist and New People's Party (leader Kim Tubong) the Korean Workers' Party was formed, which remains as a major force in North Korea today.

After the liberation, out of 1,034 large and medium-sized industrial plants, 1,015 were moribund. Transport and communication systems were ruined, and the supply of foodstuffs and other goods deteriorated. Soviet administration along with the People's Committees spared no efforts to revitalize the economy. In November 1945, the Command of the 25th Army helped in putting some of the factories into operation, offering trophy materials and equipment, financial support, transportation, food and specialists. By mid-1946, 228 factories had resumed work, to be followed by others. The railway regiment sent by the USSR revived the North Korean railway system. Efforts were taken to educate the national cadres, to organize trade and to prevent epidemics.

At the same time in North Korea (like in the South) a military-police apparatus was being formed — people's police and security organs were established; with defence squads stationed along the seashore and near the 38th Parallel. For the national cadres of the army, the P'yongyang School was opened in November 1945, and the Central School of Security Workers in July 1946. The Soviet Army appointed teachers and supplied these schools with trophy and Soviet-made armaments, barracks and munitions. With the help of the Soviet Army, police and security forces suppressed, at the end of 1945 several civil disturbances by protestors against economic hardship and the emerging political system of the North.

In Moscow, in December 1945, Foreign Ministers of the USA, USSR and UK met, to discuss the Korean problem and other important matters. The United States delegation proposed a draft resolution suggesting a long (five to ten years) trusteeship over Korea. According to this plan the country was to be ruled at the first stage by the joint military administration headed by the army commanders from the USA and the USSR. After that the administration was to be entrusted to the joint rule of the four nations (USA, USSR, UK and China), with the participation of Koreans only as advisers. After prolonged discussion the Soviet draft was accepted, which supposed that the International Trusteeship over Korea (understood as a system of measures aimed at assisting Korea's progress and building an independent statehood) was limited by the period of 5 years, and with the formation of the Korean democratic government declared a top priority. A joint commission uniting the representatives of the USA and USSR military commands, was to prepare recommendations for the formation of the government on the basis of consultations with the Korean democratic parties and public organizations and with the help of this government to work out proposals for the future agreement of the four powers on the trusteeship.

The decision of the Moscow meeting played a tragic role in the fate of Korea. It ignored the fact that Korea had a centuries-old tradition of statehood, that its people were just fresh from the Japanese colonial yoke and that they reacted very painfully to every possibility of further foreign domination. The trusteeship was looked upon by many people as a protectorate similar to the one forced upon Korea by Japan in 1905. The attitude towards the trusteeship counterposed the national political forces and sharpened the struggle between them which to a great extent predestined the split of Korea.

In the North the Communists and allied organizations favoured the decisions of the Moscow meeting and supported all Soviet steps aimed at their realization. But Cho Nan-
shik and his followers openly opposed these decisions. As a result Cho Manshik was placed under house arrest and soon disappeared from the political scene. His Democratic party changed leadership and offered loyalty to both Soviet administration and Communist Party.

The situation thus changed allowed definite steps to be carved in the formation of North Korean statehood. In February 1946, the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea was established as a central organ of power with Kim Il Sung as its head. During 1946 agrarian reforms which wiped out landlords’ rights, together with the nationalization of industry, communications and banks were implemented, labour laws and other important statutes were passed. Elections of candidates for the local People’s Committees were held in November 1946 and February 1947. The Congress of these local elected bodies (February 1947) formed the People’s Assembly of North Korea under the chairmanship of Kim Tubong, and its executive body -- the People’s Committee of North Korea, headed by Kim Il Sung. At the same time the economic development plan for 1947 was formulated. In essence, each and all of these measures enforced North Korea’s transition to Soviet-style socialism.

In cognizance of the fact that North Korea was under Soviet military control, all significant steps of the government were undertaken only with the approval of Moscow. Soviet specialists consulted the preparation of all necessary documents, participated in their realization and helped to solve concrete problems of Korean factories and offices, sharing their experience with the Koreans. In October 1946, the Soviet Command handed-over to the Korean government the industrial and mining enterprises, power stations, banks and means of communications which had formerly belonged to the Japanese state, as well as to private owners. Trade was developing between Korea and the USSR. With Soviet assistance, P’yŏngyang University opened in 1946 and a network of cultural and educational bodies emerged. From 1946, Korean specialists of high and medium qualification level were studying in the USSR, with fifty per cent of the cost met by the latter. Also, the Soviet Red Cross opened seventeen fully-equipped hospitals in North Korea and sent four sanitary-epidemiological groups.

From 16 January -- 5 February 1946, representatives of the Soviet and American military administrations met in Seoul to try to resolve urgent economic and administrative problems. The sides failed to reach agreement, hence the natural economic links between the industrial North and the agrarian South were severed and the aspirations of the Koreans to get rid of the 38th Parallel border, which was becoming more and more impenetrable, diminished.

Further rift between the Soviet and American position was connected with the activities of the Joint Soviet-American Commission on Korea which was supposed to prepare the way for the formation of the Provisional Democratic government in Korea. The commission’s meetings in March-May 1946, and in May-September 1947, resulted only in discussions on the criteria of the estimate and number of the democratic parties and organizations which were to participate in consultations on the future government. The Soviet side opposed the participation of all those who were against the trusteeship, which meant that practically all right-wing parties were denied participation in the consultations. The uncompromising position of the sides disrupted the work of the Joint commission, which helped only to aggravate the political differences in Korea.

The impossibility of fulfilling the decisions of the Moscow meeting brought about new initiatives which changed the Korean situation drastically. On 17 September 1947, the USA informed the USSR about its decision to hand the Korean question to the United Nations (UN) for consideration. Opposing this, the USSR made a counter-suggestion. This was to pull out all foreign troops simultaneously from the North and South and to allow the people of Korea independently to form their own government. The Socialist forces of Korea
approved this plan and declared themselves ready to guarantee civil peace if the foreign
troops were withdrawn. But right-wing forces, with Rhee Syngman at the head, who had
previously insisted upon the withdrawal, now opposed it on the grounds that South Korea
would be unable to maintain its security.

Despite Soviet opposition, the UN put the Korean question on the agenda. Having refused
to support the Soviet troop withdrawal proposals, the UN (following the American
initiative) formed a Provisional Commission on Korea which was supposed to organize
elections to the National Assembly in both parts of Korea and thereby establish the
government of Korea. This Commission was ignored by both Soviet and North Korean
sides, and was thus blocked from fulfilling its tasks in the North. On the rebound, and
when the UN had given its approval, the Commission decided to hold the elections, but
only in South Korea, on or before 10 May 1948.

The USSR and North Korea rejected this latest decision of the Provisional commission.
Left forces and even some rightist leaders of the South also opposed it. They insisted (and
were proved correct) that separate elections would bring about the split of the country.
Faced with such a calamity, all supporters of the country’s unity cast aside partisan
discussions and tried combining their efforts. From 20-25 April 1948 a united conference
of fifty-six parties and organizations from North and South was held in P’yŏngyang,
which called for the boycott of the separate elections, and for the withdrawal of the UN
Commission and all foreign troops from Korea in order to allow the Koreans to organize
free elections. The USSR supported this program. But it was too late: on 10 May 1948,
elections were held in the South and on 15 August, the Republic of Korea (ROK) was
founded.

At the same time North Korean statehood was established. In all spheres of this process,
between the Constitution or the formation of the Korean People’s Army (KPA) North Korea was
assisted by the USSR. On 9 September 1948 the session of the Supreme People’s
Assembly declared the establishment of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
(DPRK).

The ROK and the DPRK refused to recognize each other and both claimed supremacy. On
12 October 1948, the Soviet government informed Kim Il Sung that it was ready to
establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK, and at the beginning of 1949 the two
countries exchanged ambassadors. By the end of 1948, the USSR, at the request of the
DPRK, withdrew its armed forces from Korea. The USSR refused to recognize the ROK
and for the next forty years ignored its very existence.

In March 1949, Moscow was visited by Kim Il Sung as the head of the DPRK’s state
delegation, and economic and cultural agreements, as well as some auxiliary documents,
were signed by Soviet and Korean leaders (17th March 1949). Kim Il Sung had talks with
Stalin and other leaders of the USSR, when the Korean problem was actively discussed -
as well as the means of solving it, including, supposedly, the use of force. Some
information about the secret talks on this matter between Stalin and Kim Il Sung has come
to light, but which is not yet verified by documents.

Both Korean states made quick preparation for uniting the country by military means, each
aspiring to do so under its aegis and with the help of its respective allies. The DPRK and
the USSR seemed to be the more active in this regard, since by June 1950 the KPA
substantially outnumbered the South Korean army and airforce (1.4 x personnel; 1.5 x
artillery and heavy mortars; 8 x tanks and 4 x aircraft). Rhee Syngman, never tired of
threatening the North, assured everyone that the people there were ready to rise against the
Communists. In his turn, Kim Il Sung repeatedly talked about ‘liquidation of the
treachery Rhee Syngman clique’, expressing his full conviction that the people in the
South would rise against the government and its American patrons.
From 1949 through the first half of 1950 there were many conflicts on the 38th Parallel, with increasing-scale operations launched by both sides. There is a suggestion that one such conflict, inspired by the South (25 June 1950) transgressed into full-blown war. Accepting the fluid situation that existed on the 38th Parallel, one cannot deny the opinion of those scholars who say that this day Korea saw the transition not from peace to war, but from limited engagement to total war. The USSR immediately backed the DPRK and declared the ROK and those who stood behind it responsible for the war. At the end of June 1950 and the beginning of July, during the period most crucial for peace in Korea, the USSR, fighting for the spokesperson of the People's China to occupy the seat of the representative of Nationalist China in the UN, boycotted the deliberations of the UN Security Council. Its action in so doing, allowed the USA and its allies to pass through the Security Council a resolution declaring the DPRK as the aggressor, urging all UN members to support the ROK and to commit their troops to the UN United Command, where American representatives were at the head. Thus, the short-sighted and non-effective step of the Soviet government (the Soviet delegation returned to the Security Council soon after) helped to transform the contained civil war in Korea into a dangerous international conflict.

The development of military activities, at first successful for the DPRK, got an opposite turn by the counter-attack of the UN forces with the simultaneous landing operation at Inchon behind KPA lines. The KPA suffered heavy losses and retreated. In some places the UN forces reached the Sino-Korean border and came close to the Soviet border. P'yongyang was occupied by UN forces. In case of further deterioration of the situation, the USSR held ready to send five tank divisions into the DPRK. Intensive talks were held with Peking (Beijing) and as a result, on 25 October 1950, an army of Chinese volunteers crossed the Korean border. Together with the reformed KPA they succeeded in ejecting the UN forces from the DPRK, and the front stabilized for some time along the 38th Parallel.

The USSR was offering the DPRK all kinds of help. KPA and Chinese volunteers got tanks, aircraft, guns, munitions and transport from the USSR. Soviet military advisers worked in headquarters and in front-line units. Because China was being frequently bombed by the US air force, the Soviet air corps was despatched to China, from where it shielded Korea, including P'yongyang, supported by Soviet anti-aircraft units. These caused heavy losses to US aircraft. Though the USSR was not a declared participant in the war, over three-hundred Soviet officers and other ranks died in it. Apart from military assistance, the DPRK received from the USSR fuel and chemical goods, many types of machines and equipment, foodstuffs, drugs and other commodities. In Spring 1952, when the DPRK suffered severe food shortages, on the order of Stalin fifty-thousand tonnes of wheat flour was despatched with priority, 'As a gift to the Korean people'. In the DPRK, a huge Soviet hospital was established and an anti-epidemic group worked; with Soviet doctors deployed in Korean hospitals. Thousands of Soviet specialists helped to reconstruct North Korean cities and factories; and some personnel fell victim to US bombing raids.

Together with its allies, the USSR unleashed an active propaganda campaign in support of the DPRK, using the UN rostrum and other international forums. The protracted character of the war -- the threat of escalating it to a world atomic conflict, - helped to spread in many countries, including those who fought against the DPRK, a mass movement, initiated by the Soviet public, for stopping the war in Korea and the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from there.

In such an atmosphere, on 23 June 1951, Mr Y.Malik, the Soviet spokesman in the UN security Council, addressed the UN and the world by radio. He called for a peaceful solution of the Korean problem, proposing as a first step a cease-fire and armistice with both sides pulling their troops back from the 38th Parallel. His plea was heard, even though the fighting continued. Talks began on 1 July 1951, and against the background of ongoing
hostilities, with changing fortunes for both sides, the talks continued for two years. An agreement was finally signed on 27 July 1953 for an armistice in Korea, which still exists in the absence of a comprehensive peace treaty.

The three years of war brought great losses and devastation to North Korea. In order to secure help from the allies a state delegation led by Kim Il Sung visited the USSR, China and other countries. The USSR offered a gift to the DPRK of 292.5 million roubles (new currency), and widened the network for deliveries of machines, building materials, equipment and foodstuffs. It also sent specialists and expanded the educational opportunities for North Koreans. Gigantic efforts by the Korean people assisted by friendly countries, allowed the DPRK to restore its potential in a time-span of only 3-4 years and to lay the basics for future development.

When the Korean war ended, the USSR undertook some unsuccessful efforts to renew the collective search for ways to a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. After the Soviet initiative the Korean question was put on the agenda of the Geneva International Conference (April 1954) in which for the first time both DPRK and ROK delegations participated. But the protracted discussions brought no results and it proved to be the last effort to solve the Korean problem internationally.

When the military regime of Park Chung-hee came to power in the ROK (16 May 1961), and military cooperation with the USA grew, the reactions of the DPRK and USSR were predictable. During Kim Il Sung’s visit to the USSR (6 July, 1961) the Treaty of Peace, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed. A similar treaty was signed by the DPRK and China. Passing decades have verified the positive significance of these documents as instruments of peace in the Far East.

From the beginning of the 1960s, relations between the USSR and DPRK cooled. The cause was in the growing differences within the world Communist movement as well as in the formation of the DPRK’s self-sufficiency course. Political contacts dwindled. Economics and technical cooperation continued, but fewer opportunities were utilized. The USSR practically withdrew from its independent constructive line on the Korean question, limiting itself only to formal declarations in support of the DPRK.

This state of affairs continued up to May 1984, when Kim Il Sung again visited the USSR and other countries, being pressed by the DPRK’s economic hardships to do so. The agreement on the improvement of relations between the two countries, reached during this visit, was re-affirmed during the 1986 visit of the DPRK leader to the USSR. After this the contacts between the two countries gained new impetus. Agreements were signed on the border issue, on economic and technical cooperation, including the construction of an atomic power station in the DPRK with Soviet assistance, while trade relations also grew rapidly.

At the end of 1988, USSR policy in Korea underwent a historical about-turn, when Soviet leadership stopped the unreasonable non-recognition policies towards the ROK. This decision was based on the new political thinking proclaimed by President M. S. Gorbachev and on the realised fruitfulness of the cooperation with the quickly developing neighbour. Since the end of 1988, the USSR and ROK have established direct economic ties, a year after consulates were opened, and in September 1990 official diplomatic relations were established. Summit meetings and talks between Gorbachev and Roh Tae-woo in 1990 and 1991 were further milestones in this process.

Though the Soviet leadership assured the DPRK that the normalization of its relations with the ROK was not aimed against the interests of the North, the ruling circles of the DPRK looked at these events negatively, considering it a ‘treason’ of the USSR, which was accused of ‘selling its loyalty to its North Korean ally for US dollars'. From 1990, all
spheres of contact between the USSR and DPRK dwindled. This process further developed after the dissolution of the USSR.

In the Korean policies of today’s Russia, the tendency of further alienation from the DPRK and alliance with the ROK is more and more visible. The ROK has become Russia’s main trading partner in the Asia-Pacific region. The Russian president, B. Yeltsin, put special stress on this during his visit to Seoul in November 1992. The treaty on the Basics of Relations between Russia and the ROK is supposed to strengthen this cooperation. Political contacts are firm, trade has grown rapidly and a score or so of joint ventures have been established, together with expanded technical and scientific cooperation. Some hundreds of Russian scientists and engineers have worked in research centres and in project departments of South Korean firms. The possibilities for military-technical cooperation also exist, and cultural links have developed. However, the process is not without its difficulties; the main obstacles being Russia’s internal instability, together with its bureaucratic problems and legal discrepancies.

The level of Russia’s relationship with the DPRK is now very low. Political contacts have been minimized. Russia has not renounced the 1961 treaty but insists on significant changes to it. During his visit to Seoul, Yeltsin declared total withdrawal of Russia’s military assistance to the DPRK. Along with other countries, Russia has reacted negatively to the DPRK’s alleged nuclear plans. Trade has been drastically diminished (-10x) compared to the late 1980s, to a low of US$200 million (1992 figures). The disruption of traditional economic links has told heavily on the DPRK’s economy. It faces problems in paying its debts to Russia and in paying back the Russian deliveries.

The national interests of Russia suppose a balanced policy in Korea, a policy free from ideological bias and presuming mutually beneficial and good-neighbourly relations with both the Korean states. Along with other concerned countries, Russia has the capability to assist the liquidation of military tension in Korea, of encouraging the drawing closer and eventual unification of the two states, and their active participation in the joint efforts to establish peace and stability in North-East Asia.

Y V Vanin

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Ryu Kwansun Memorial Hall

The Ryu Kwan-sun Memorial Hall (Yu Kwansun Kinyŏmgwan) is situated in the grounds of the Ewha Girls High School in Chung Ward in Seoul. The hall was established in 1974
as a memorial to Yu Kwansun (1904-1920), a student of the high
school who was imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese police for her role in the March
First Independence Movement. With a seating capacity of 2,023, the hall is used primarily
for concerts and other musical performances.

Sa miin kok (Song of Longing) [Literature]

Sach’ŏn

Situated in the southwestern part of South Kyŏngsang Province, Sach’ŏn embraces the
town of Sach’ŏn and the townships of Konmyŏng, Konyang, Sanam, Sŏp’o, Yonghyŏn,
Chŏngdong and Ch’uktong. With a total area of 395.98 square kilometres, the city
combines the areas previously known as Sach’ŏn County and Samch’ŏn-p’o. Mt. Waryong
(799m) rises in the southeast while Mt. Imyŏng (570m) stands in the west. As a southern
coastal area, Sach’ŏn has warm weather, with a yearly average of approximately 14°c and an
annual rainfall of 1,400mm.

About twenty-five per cent of the city area is arable land, which is used for rice cultivation
and other crops including barley, beans, wheat, grapes, tobacco, hemp and cotton.
Orchards in the area grow peaches, pears and persimmons. Sweet potatoes, potatoes and
barley are also cultivated here as ingredients for hard liquor and beer. Fishing is another
important source of local revenue. Boats operating out of Sach’ŏn Bay bring in catches of
filefish, anchovy, hairtail, gizzard shad and mackerel. In particular, the city accounts for
approximately eighty per cent of the nation’s file-fish production. As for industry, there
are tobacco processing plants centred around Ch’uktong Township, farm product
processing plants and textile mills.

With lakes, reservoirs and streams as well as the picturesque Sach’ŏn Bay, the city has a
number of scenic attractions. Located in the town of Sach’ŏn just east of Highway 3, one
finds Sansŏng Park. Within the park, there is an archery range. Originally founded by Kim
Chuyŏl and seven of his friends in 1918, the range was refurbished in 1963. The park is
situated within Sach’ŏn Sansŏng, a stone fortification built during the Hideyoshi Invasions
(1592-1598).

There is another famous fortification in Yonghyŏn Township’s Sŏnjin Village. This
fortress was the scene of heavy fighting at both the beginning and end of the Hideyoshi
Invasions. In 1592, General Yi Sunshin destroyed twelve Japanese vessels in Sach’ŏn
Bay using his iron-clad kŏbuksŏn (turtle ships). Then in 1598, another big battle was
fought here between the Japanese and the allied Chosŏn and Ming Chinese forces. Today,
the one-thousand or so cherry trees planted in the castle grounds provide visitors with a
spectacular sight at cherry-blossom time.

Historically, the most important Buddhist monastery in the area is Tasol Temple. Located at
the foot of Mt. Pongmyŏng in Konmyŏng Township, the temple was founded by Yŏn’gi in
503 C.E. The lovely area around the temple is surrounded by bamboo thickets and pine
trees. Chaksŏch’a, a choice variety of green tea, is grown here. At a cave near the temple,
stones have been used to build Pongan Hermitage (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible
Cultural Asset No. 39).

At Hŭngsa Village in Konyang Township stands the Sach’ŏn Maehyang Stele (Treasure
No. 614). The stele marks the spot where local residents buried incense in a rite to secure
peace for the nation and pray for the appearance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. A
204-character invocation has been inscribed on the stele.

In addition to Buddhist sites, a number of Confucian schools exist in the area, including
Sach’ŏn Hyanggyo in Sach’ŏn’s Sŏnin Village, Konyang Hyanggyo in Konyang
Township’s Songjŏn Village and Kugye Sŏwŏn in Sach’ŏn’s Kuam Village. Other artefacts to be seen include stone changsŭng (guardian figures) in Chuktong Township’s Kasan Village. These interesting changsŭng were set up during Chosŏn to ensure the safety of the trading lanes along local streams and Sach’ŏn Bay, and to protect the local grain warehouse. Ceremonies are still held on the site each year at one-o-clock in the morning on the first day of the first lunar month.

Sach’ŏnwang Temple

[Sach’ŏnwang Temple, Architecture]

Sadae mun’gye

Sadae mun’gye is a compilation of diplomatic correspondence between Ming China and Chosŏn that covers a period from 1592 until 1608. This work is comprised of twenty-three volumes in twenty-three fascicles and was compiled by the Ch’anjip Ch’ŏng (Office of Compilation) and printed with woodblocks. Originally, this work was much larger, consisting of fifty-four volumes in a like number of fascicles, but many have not survived. The correspondence in this collection covers a great number of topics, but is chiefly focused on the turbulent times that had swept into Korea. The 1592 Japanese Invasion is a frequent topic of these official documents as is the rise of the Houjin, an early name of the Qing. Some of the important events that are contained in this collection include the pleas by Chosŏn for Ming intervention against the Japanese invaders, the particulars of the Ming instructions to King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) concerning the assignment of his second son, Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) as commander of the Cholla and Kyongsang provinces during the Japanese Invasion, and later negotiations between Ming and Chosŏn concerning Kwanghae’s ascension to the throne. Therefore, this work is valuable in the study of Chosŏn foreign policy of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Sadae mun’gye is kept at the Kyujanggak Library. In 1925 the Chosŏnsa P’yŏnsuhoe (Korean History Compilation Committee) included an annotated version of this work along with an index under the title of Chosŏn saryo ch’onggan.

[Sadaejuŭi, China and Korea]

Sadang

[Confucianism]

Sado, Crown Prince (see Changhŏn, Crown Prince)

Saemaül Undong

The 1970 Saemaül undong (New Community Movement) was a concerted effort by the government of the ROK to develop and regulate rural society. This movement, launched by President Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi), was designed to solve major problems such as:

1) an unacceptable low rate of increase in agricultural productivity and an extremely sluggish rural economy that could not keep up with the growing food requirements of the burgeoning urban population, and which resulted in large amounts of foreign exchange being used for grain imports;

2) the extremely large number of rural dwellers who were migrating to towns and cities, which added to the administrative burdens and increased the potential for social discord;

3) the growing economic inequity between the rural and urban populations; and
4) to counter the results of the 1971 presidential election which showed that Park had lost much of his support in the predominantly rural areas of southwest Korea.

**Backdrop and Implementation**

Although the ROK was well on the way to industrialisation by 1970, and urban centres were developing in a modern and methodical manner, the conditions in the rural areas remained largely backward, with the standard of living far below that of city dwellers. Therefore, as a way of rectifying these social inequalities, *Saemaul undong* was conceived and put into operation. Fundamentally, it was one of self-help, as the government sought to create an awareness among the rural population of their own ability to make positive community changes. While *Saemaul undong* was not implemented until 1970, the concept of self-help in rural areas is not new and has historically been manifested in such agricultural co-operative activities as the *ture*, which was a communal labour pool in former times. Hence, *Saemaul undong* sought to bring about the betterment of rural living conditions through the utilisation of community co-operation, pride and self-help.

The elimination of poverty in the countryside was a basic aim of *Saemaul undong* and this was brought about by both community improvements and the modernisation of farming practices. Insofar as community improvement projects are concerned, a major accomplishment was the building of some sixty-five thousand bridges of varying span, between 1971 and 1975, which allowed virtually all villages and some of the more outlying farmsteads to be accessed by motor vehicles. Along with the building of bridges, government buildings in villages and often the villages themselves were also modernised. Thus, the appearance of rural communities was greatly improved through the provisions of *Saemaul undong*.

The modernisation of farming practices had a two-fold effect, viz.,

1) with the use of modern fertilisation, planting and mechanisation techniques, farmers increased their per-acre yields and thus elevated their living standards through increased farm income;

2) the increased yields enabled the ROK government to terminate the flow of substantial amounts of foreign exchange on rice and other staples, and to redirect this expenditure towards industrialisation and infrastructural improvement.

These aims was met partly by the introduction of high-yield rice varieties, which resulted in the average per hectare yield increasing from 3.5 long tons in 1971 to 4.9 long tons in 1977. Other manifestations of *Saemaul undong* included the increased use of chemical fertilisers and the introduction of modern agricultural machines. These steps not only ensured increased crop yield, but also a substantial reduction in manual labour on the farms.

An essential feature of *Saemaul undong* was its core of educational programs. Without an improvement of levels of education in rural areas, the initial impetus of the movement could not be sustained. Therefore, in *Saemaul undong* planning, rural educational programs preponderated. In 1972, training institutes were established to mould new leaders for the rural communities and thus to continue the momentum of the movement for years to come. Educational efforts were not only aimed at improving farming and stockbreeding practice, but also at a general improvement of rural life through hygiene; household budget management; community involvement; eradication of disease; and political involvement programs. The scope of *Saemaul undong* was thus quite broad and it sought to bring qualitative improvement to the lives of people who lived in the rural areas.

**Outcome of the Saemaul undong**
In practical terms, *Saemaul undong* had tremendous consequences on rural communities and standards of living. Aside from marked improvements in crop yields and mechanisation, the movement also contributed to improving the lifestyles of those in the countryside. It was considered so successful in the rural areas that the government extended it to urban centres, in the hope of creating the same dynamic force of self-improvement and self-help. The spirit of self-help and co-operation was kindled in urban areas in manifold neighbourhood projects, such as children’s playgrounds, and the development of areas for leisure activities.

The educational aspects of *Saemaul undong* have remained the strongest legacy of the movement, and still contribute to the fostering of community spirit and co-operation. While the initial education efforts were directed only to those living in the rural areas, this was soon extended to include urban dwellers. Even government employees were required to attend ten-day training sessions. Through *Saemaul undong*, the same spirit of self-help, so effective in transforming rural Korean society, was harnessed to factories and other industrial units, and used to instill feelings of fraternity and occupational pride among the workers. However, the educational role of *Saemaul undong* extended beyond the industrial scene, as many housewives and elderly people joined in the various programs sponsored under its banner.

While the outcome of *Saemaul undong* has been, by and large, positive and has resulted in a substantial improvement in the lives of both rural and urban Koreans, there have been some negative consequences. One has been the discontinuation of former traditions of rural communities, such as the erection of shrines to tutelary deities, under the cloak of ‘modernisation.’ The main focus of the movement in the 1970s and 1980s was modernisation, and hence, traditional aspects of Korean culture were often seen as being inherently inferior, especially to Western culture. Although there has been a revival of interest in traditional society and for many an appreciation of its special qualities, a great deal was lost in South Korea’s rush to industrialise, and this cannot be regained.

**Saengwon**  [Education; Government Service Examination]

**Saga shi** (Poetry of Four Masters) or Han’gaek kyŏnŏn chip (Collected Poetry from Korean Visitors)  [Literature]

**sagŭk**  [Film and film making]

**Sagwi**  (Thoughts of Returning )  [Literature]

**Sajiktan**  [Architecture]

**Samak Mountain**

Situated in Kangwŏn Province's Ch'unsŏng County, Mt. Samak (645 metres) is one of the most popular tourist destinations for people living in the Ch'unch'ŏn area. From the top of the mountain, one can get a panoramic view of Uiam Lake and Ch'unch'ŏn City. The main hiking trail up the mountain winds along a clear stream through a narrow gorge of spectacular beauty. The area has a number of sites of religious and historic importance. In addition to temples such as Taewŏn Hermitage, Sangwŏn, Hŭngguk, and Pongdŏk Temples, there are still remnants of the Samak Fortress, which is said to have been built by the Maek people.

**Samashi**  [Government Service Examination]
**Sambong chip** (Collected Works of Sambong)

The Sambong chip, consisting of fourteen volumes, is a compilation of poems, essays and articles by Chŏng Tojon (?-1398). The most widely disseminated edition is that printed by woodblock in accordance with the orders of King Chŏngjo in 1791 (Chŏngjo 15). The original copy of the second edition of 1465 is now in the possession of Hōsa Bunko in Tokyo.

The work begins with two prefaces, an introduction and a table of contents. The fourteen volumes can be described according to their subject content:

- **Volumes 1 and 2** cover all the author's poems and verses.
- **Volumes 3 and 4** comprise various memorials to the throne, records and theories.
- **Volumes 5 and 6** deal with a wide range of political matters and public administration, comparing the Korean systems with the pertinent Chinese institutions.
- **Volumes 7 and 8** are the most important part of the collection. They are entitled 'Chosŏn Kyŏngguk chŏn' and following their drafting by the author, they became the principal source of the code for the legal and administrative practices of the newly established Chosŏn dynasty.
- **Volume 9** is a criticism of the doctrines of Buddhism from the Confucian point of view.
- **Volume 10** has two chapters, which deal with religion and philosophy respectively.
- **Volumes 11 and 12** are supplementary volumes to the political and public administration matters discussed in Volumes 5 and 6.
- **Volume 13** is in two parts. The first is a compilation of writings on military science, which reveals another aspect of the wide-ranging interests of the author. Part two is a posthumous anthology of the author's additional poems and essays.
- **Volume 14** is the author's autobiography and includes as well, prefaces which contemporaries wrote for the anthology. Chŏng Tojon was one of the most loyal aides of King T'aegjo and his works are truly representative of the times. For this reason they are important source material for the study of the late Koryŏ dynasty and early Chosŏn dynasties.

**Samch’ŏk**

Situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province to the south of Tonghae, Samch’ŏk is comprised of the towns of Togye and Wŏndŏk, and the townships of Kukdŏk, Nogok, Miro, Shin’gi and Hajang. Mt. Tut’a (1 353 metres), Mt. Chungbong (1 284 metres), and other high peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range run along the eastern section of the city. These high peaks and ridges block the cooling winds from the northwest, creating relatively mild winters. The city has a population of approximately 130 000.

With much of the city’s land occupied by mountains, the area has limited amounts of arable land. Rice is cultivated in the narrow coastal plain and in the Oshipch’ŏn Valley. The remaining areas cultivate dry field crops such as corn, potatoes, garlic and beans. In addition, orchards in the region produce persimmons - the area’s largest fruit crop.
There are also several hundred small fishing boats operating out of small ports. These boats catch cuttle fish, walleye pollack and mackerel pike. In the winter, walleye pollack are dried—a process that allows the fish to be stored for long periods of time.

In the early twentieth century, a large number of coal mines operated in the area, but with a recent decrease in the demand for coal, many of these mines have shut down. In modern times, most of the mining operations are centred around the area’s rich lime deposits.

With its high mountains and beautiful coastline, the city has excellent tourist resources. Beaches in the area include the Maengbang, Kungch'on, Yonghwa, Changho, Wól'mido, Imwŏn and Hosan beaches. Numerous historical relics scattered throughout the city serve as a further attraction to tourists.

There is evidence that the Ku Samguksa (Old History of the Three Kingdoms), which existed before the Samguk sagi, was used extensively by Kim Pushik, but it is known to
have been significantly modified to conform more closely to the Chinese style, which was much admired by Kim. Much of the first half of the *Samguk sagi* is considered by modern scholars to be fictitious tales added at a later period, although some of these are traditional legends which throw light on the beginnings of ancient Korean society. It has also been shown that the dates given for the founding of Koguryŏ and Paekche are incorrect. The most important parts are the *Ji* and the biographies. The *Ji* deal mainly with ceremonies, rituals and customs, geography and official ranks, and are a useful source of information on the daily life and conditions of Shilla society. The geographical sections provide a key to the original method of transliteration of Korean names in Chinese characters, and thus are an important aid to the study of the old Korean language. The biographies include a number of stories of the famous Shilla general Kim Yushin and fifty other men distinguished for their courage, loyalty or literary skill.

The *Samguk sagi* was most probably published in the reign of King Injong of Koryŏ. Chinese sources record reference to it in the year 1174, indicating that it had reached China by then. No copies of the first edition are extant, and the oldest edition remaining today was probably printed in 1512 by Yi Kyebok with woodblock type. The first movable type edition was published during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r.1659-1674). In recent times it has been published a number of times in Korea and also in Japan. The Institute of Far Eastern Studies of Yonsei University (Tongbanhak Yŏn'guso, present Kukhak Yŏn'guso) published a detailed index to it in 1956.

**Samguk sagi** (History of the Three Kingdoms)

*Samguk sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*) translated by Yi Pyŏngdo in 1983 is the definitive modern translation of the twelfth century work by Kim Pushik. This two-volume work provides a modern translation of the classic work along with annotations in order to aid understanding. Eul Yoo Publishing Company published this work in 1983.

**Samguk yusa** (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)

The *Samguk yusa* by the Buddhist priest Iryŏn (1206-1289) is an unofficial compilation of records about the Three Kingdoms, Shilla, Koguryŏ and Paekche, and it complements the *Samguk sagi*, which represents the official view of the Koryŏ dynasty on the history of the Three Kingdoms. The *Samguk yusa* is based on material from popular sources, such as folklore, myths, legends, ballads and beliefs, and takes a broader, freer view of history. The word *yusa* (in Ch. *yishi*) is frequently used in book titles for unofficial compilations.

The *Samguk yusa* is in five volumes, two fascicles, and its contents are divided into six sections as follows: Book 1: I 'Wonder 1 (The founding of the Kingdoms)'; Book 2: II 'Wonder 2 (United Shilla)'; Book 3: III 'Rise of Buddhism'; IV 'Pagodas and Buddhist images'; Book 4: V 'Anecdotes of renowned monks'; Book 5: VI 'Miracles'; VII 'Tales of devotion'; VIII 'Seclusion'; XI 'Filial piety'. Included at the end are chronologies of kings and queens of the Three Kingdoms and Karak, and of the Three Kingdoms and Karak with contemporary sovereigns of China.

Book 1: I 'Wonder 1' contains chronological records of the royal families of Shilla, Koguryŏ and Paekche, and among these are a number which are different from those in the *Samguk sagi*, and which are thus of particular interest. Book 2: II 'Wonder 2', contains thirty-five chapters relating to the history of ancient Korea, including important records of the kings of Shilla. It also includes an account of the Tan'gun myth, which is not mentioned in the *Samguk sagi*. Book 3: III and IV, in thirty-eight chapters, relates to the introduction of Buddhism into the Three Kingdoms, in particular to Shilla. Book 4: V gives an account of the experiences of Wŏn'gwang Pŏpsa during his studies in China, and contains biographical notes on the distinguished scholar-priests and high priests of the Shilla period. Book 5: VI, VII and VIII contains chapters on Esoteric Buddhism, spiritual
communion with Buddha achieved by pious believers, and biographical sketches of high priests. Book 5: IX contains five stories of filial virtue. The fourteen hyangga (ancient Korean poems) included in the collection are among the most important works for the study of the form and content of ancient Korean poetry and the idu (ancient Korean transcription system) method of reading it.

Iryŏn is believed to have written the Samguk yusa in his seventies, and it includes a supplement written after his death by Mugūk, one of his disciples. The exact date of publication of the earliest woodblock edition is not known, but it is thought to have been during the Koryŏ dynasty. The oldest extant woodblock edition was published in 1512. It was republished in separate parts by Yi Kyebo, and a copy of this edition was held by An Chŏngbok, a distinguished scholar of the late Chosŏn dynasty. The present edition is a photographic reproduction of this copy, which was taken back to Japan by Professor Imanishi Ryū. Several incomplete versions were later found which were apparently earlier than the 1512 edition. The oldest movable type edition in Japan was published in 1904 by the College of Literature, Tokyo University. Several modern editions have been published in Korea, one of them being translated and annotated by Dr. Yi Pyŏngdo in 1956 (revised ed. 1977), and enjoying wide popularity. An index was published as a supplement to Yŏksa hakhop, v.5, in 1954, and another entitled Samguk yusa saegin was published by the Academy of Korean Studies.

**Samgyo Stream**

With its source on or near Kain Peak in Kusŏng, Samgyo Stream flows for about 129 kms. through the plains of North P'yŏngan Province before joining the Yalu River to the south of Shinŭiju. Where the stream merges with the Yalu, there is a delta known as the Shinŭiju Plain. The Ch'ŏnma and Taeha reservoirs have been constructed here to provide irrigation water to local farms. Historically, the stream formed a natural barrier to invasions from Manchurian tribes. Remains of an ancient fortress can still be seen on the summit of Mt. Paengma, to the north of the stream.

**Samjinnal**

*Songch'un kok* (Song to Spring)  
**Sangch'un kok** (Song to Spring)  
*Songch'un kok* (Song to Spring)

**Samseong Publishing Company**

Located in Seoul's Sŏch'o Ward, the Samseong Publishing Company (Samsŏng Ch'ulpansa) was established on 23 March 1964. Children's books and poetry works are prominent in its productions.

**Samsŏng Munhwa Chaedan** (see Samsung Foundation of Art and Culture)

**Samsung Foundation of Art and Culture**

The Foundation (Samsŏng Misul Munhwa Chaedan) is a private organisation sponsored by a consortium of Samsung companies. Established in order to promote Korea's cultural heritage, the Foundation supports academic activities related to Korean studies. In 1992, the Foundation also took over responsibility for the Ho-Am Art Museum with its large collection of artwork and historical relics.

**Samsung Group**

Samul nori
Samyŏngdang (see Yujŏng)

Sanch’ŏn County

Situated in the western part of South Kyŏngsang Province, Sanch'ŏn County includes the town of Sanch’ŏn and the townships of Kŭmsŏ, Tansŏng, Samjang, Shindŭng, Shinan, Saengbiryang, Saengch’ŏ, Obu, Shichŏn and Ch’a’hwang. The county has a total area of 794 square kilometres and as of 1988, its population was 55,770. A spur of Mt. Chiri runs north-south through the west of the county, making a natural border with Hadong County and Hamyang County. Mt. Kalchŏn (764m), Mt. Parang (797m) and Mt. Hwangmae (1,108m) rise along the county’s northern border. The Kyŏngho River runs through the middle of the county.

Because of the area’s rugged terrain, only fourteen per cent of the county is arable. Nearly three-quarters of this land is used for rice cultivation, and the remainder for dry-field crops such as barley, beans, millet and tobacco. Of the non-arable portion, much is taken up by sericulture and the many cattle stations. Clay from the Tansŏng and Taemyŏng quarries is used in the ceramic factories. In addition to ceramics, other types of manufacturing companies are represented here.

With part of Mt. Chiri National Park (See Chiri Mountain) in its western area, the county offers a large number of scenic attractions. Situated just outside of Mt. Chiri National Park in Shich’ŏn Township, Koun Valley is well-known for its serene beauty and gentle slopes. Along the valley are thick forests, clear pools and waterfalls. A popular hike takes one through the valley beginning at Panch’ŏn Village and continuing up to Pae Rock. Mt. Ungsŏk (1,099m), located in the centre of the county, is famous for Sonjang Cave. During the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), three brothers of the Miryang Son clan gathered together irregular forces to fight against the Japanese invaders.

A large number of ancient Buddhist temples exist in the area, including Naewŏn Temple, Pŏpkye Temple and Taewŏn Temple in Samjang Township, Yulgok Temple in Shindŭng Township, Chŏnggak Temple in Shich’ŏn Township and Songdŏk Temple in Tansŏng Township. In addition to these active temples, there is the Tansok Temple site northwest of Mt. Sŏktae in Tansŏng Township. Here one finds two three-storey pagodas (Treasures No. 72 and 73). Other Buddhist sites in the county include a group of Buddha carvings in relief on a rock face at Saengbiryang Township’s Tojŏn Village and a nine-storey pagoda at the Taewŏn Temple site in Samjang Township’s Yup’yŏng Village.

In addition to Buddhist sites, many Confucian schools are to be found in the area, such as Sanch’ŏn Hyanggyo and Sŏgye Sŏwŏn next to Highway 3 in Sanch’ŏng, Tugok Sŏwŏn in Shindŭng Township, Tansŏng Hyanggyo next to Highway 3 in Tansŏng Township, Tŏkchŏn Sŏwŏn next to Highway 20 in Shich’ŏn Township and Paesan Sŏwŏn next to Manghae Peak (257m) in Tansŏng Township. In Shinan Township’s Shinan Village, one finds Nosan Chongsa, an ancestral shrine commemorating Mun Ickhŏn (1329-1398) who died here. As an envoy to China, Mun obtained cotton seeds which he brought back to Korea for cultivation.

Cultural awareness takes the form of several festivals and celebrations held annually in the area. In October or November, the Mt. Chiri Peace Festival is held. The festival features twenty-five to thirty events, including the Mt. Chiri Mountain Spirit Festival (a Shaman ritual to worship the guardian spirit of Mt. Chiri), a nongak (farmer’s music) contest, a Sino-Korean poem composition contest, a writing contest, sports events and presentation of the Peace Award to persons of distinguished achievement in regional development, security, social service, education and culture.
Sangju

Situated in the western part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Sangju is comprised of the town of Hamch’ang, and the townships of Chungdong, Hwabuk, Hwadong, Hwanam, Hwasŏ, Ian, Konggŏm, Kongsŏng, Naeŏ, Naktong, Modŏng, Mosŏ, Oenam, Oesŏ, Sabŏl and Únch’ŏk. The eastern half of the city is characterised by flat terrain, whereas high peaks of the Sobaek Mountain Range run along the western half. A portion of Mt. Songni National Park lies within Hwabuk Township in the northwest.

The fertile Sabŏl and Hamch’ang plains in the northeast make the city North Kyŏngsang Province’s second greatest producer of rice. Other important crops include apples, persimmons, sesame and tobacco. Chŏngch’ŏn Village in Hamch’ang has been famous since Shilla times for its silk. Even today, there are a large number of silk larvae production centres in the townships of Hwasŏ, Hwabuk, Naktong and Únch’ŏk. As for mining, in Konggŏm Township one finds the Kirim, Hamwŏn and Sangwŏn mines and in Mosŏ Township, there is Wŏlmyŏng mine which excavates graphite. There are also a number of coal mines in the southwest and north.

With the Naktong River on the east coast and mountains in the west, the city boasts numerous scenic areas. In Hwabuk Township, one finds the Changgak and Ongnyang waterfalls, Munjangdae Peak and the picturesque Hwayang-dong Valley. The Yonghwa Hot Spring, located near Unhŭng, is particularly popular with weary hikers coming down from Mt. Songni’s rugged peaks. Situated in Naktong Township, Kyŏngch’ŏndae Peak is another important tourist attraction. From here, one can get a panoramic view of the Naktong River and the surrounding area.

There are also a number of historical sites in the area. In Hwabuk Township’s Changam Village, one finds a stone fortress believed to have been built by Kyŏnhwŏn (?-936), leader of the shortlived Later Paekche kingdom. In addition, there is the Kŭimdol Fortress on Mt. Paekhwa in Modong Township, the Mt. Nam Fortress to the north of Oesŏ Stream and the Pyŏngp’ung Fortress on Mt. Pyŏngp’ung (366m) near the Naktong River. Ancient Buddhist artefacts are found throughout the area, especially at Yŏnghwa Temple in Hamch’ang’s Chŏngch’ŏng Village and Namjang Temple to the south of Mt. Noŏm. Old Confucian schools in the area include Tonam Sŏwŏn just west of the Naktong River, Hŭngam Sŏwŏn southwest of Mt. Ch’ŏnbong (436m), Sangju Hyanggyo south of central Sangju, Yŏnak Sŏwŏn in Yangch’ŏng-dong, Hamch’ang Hyanggyo in Hamch’ang’s Kyŏch’ŏng Village and Oktong Sŏwŏn in Modong Township’s Subong Village.

In Konggŏm Township’s Yangjŏng Village, there is a stele marking the old site of Konggal Pond. An interesting legend is told in connection with this pond. In ancient times, a man by the name of Kim is said to have been walking back from Kyŏngju when he was joined by a gorgeous young lady on the road. That evening, when the two arrived in Taegu, they stayed together in the same inn. The young lady, having gone out to get some water, came back and tossed it on the floor after which she transformed into a dragon. She then told Kim, ‘I am a female dragon from Kyŏngju’s Dragon Pond (Yŏngdam) and I have come to wed the male dragon of Konggal Pond. However, there is another dragon in the pond who prevents our wedding.’ The dragon then beseeched Kim to help her, saying that when he went to the pond at the appointed hour, there would be a battle between a white, blue (her lover) and yellow dragon (herself), and he was to kill the white one. Kim did as she asked, but in the commotion of the fight, he accidently killed the blue dragon. Weeping, the female dragon told him, ‘As I am now a widow, you will have to live with me.’ On his way home, Kim grew sick and died, and on the advice of a Shaman, his body was tossed into the pond, whereupon the female dragon immediately embraced his corpse and dragged it beneath the water.
Sangmyung University

Sangmyung (Sangmyŏng) University is located in Hongji-dong in Seoul. It was founded as the women's educational college Sangmyŏng Yŏja Sabŏm Taehak in January 1965, with Pae Sangmyŏng as president, and in September of the following year, the college was moved to its present location. In 1978, a night school and graduate school were established. As the college transformed from a dedicated educational college to a general college (from 1983), its name was changed to Sangmyung Women's College. In 1986, it became a university.

At present, the university consists of eight colleges and five graduate schools in two locations. At the Seoul campus are the Colleges of Arts & Physical Education; Education; Humanities, Social Sciences and Natural Sciences; the Graduate School; the Graduate School of Education; and the Graduate School of Computer and Information Science. At Ch'ŏnan Campus in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, are the Colleges of Arts; Design; Industry; Languages & Literature; and the Graduate School of Design.

University publications include the Sangmyŏngdae Hakpo in Korean and The Sangmyung Star in English.

Sanjo

Sansu Library

Sansu Library was opened in Kwangju on 14 November 1997. It has a varied collection of Korean and foreign books. Its activities include lecture programs and reading groups for members of the public.

Sariwŏn

Situated in Hwanghae Province, Sariwŏn was designated a city (shi) in June 1947. The city is presently the provincial capital of North Hwanghae Province and serves as an important transportation hub for the region.

Both the agricultural and industrial sectors of the city's economy are well developed. Rice, corn and beans are grown here, and there are a number of factories in the city with textiles as the prominent industry. The area is linked to other major cities by the Hwanghae Ch'ŏngnyŏn, Unp'a and Sŏsariwŏn railways. The Kyŏngŭi highway runs parallel to the Nambuk Kwant'ong road, and Kilsŏngp'o, a river port links the city with the Yellow Sea.

Schools in the area include Sariwŏn Farming College, Sariwŏn Geology College, Sariwŏn First College of Education, Sariwŏn Second College of Education and Sariwŏn Medical College.

Sarye (four rites)

Saryujae chip (Collected Works of Saryujae)

Saryujae chip is the literary collection of Yi Chŏngam (1541-1600), a Chosŏn period scholar-official. This work, titled after the pen name of the author, consists of twelve volumes in five fascicles and was published by a fifth generation descendent of Yi's in 1736. It is a woodblock-print work.

In the first four volumes of this collection are 557 poems of the author and in volume five
there are additional poems in ancient forms (koshi). In the sixth are the author’s memorials to the throne, the seventh volume contains miscellaneous works and the eighth holds genealogical records and a diary of the author entitled ‘Haengnyŏn ilgi’. The ninth volume contains ‘Haesŏ kyŏrŭi rok’ and ‘Ŭibyŏng yaksok’, both of which contain much data concerning the 1592 Japanese Invasion. The tenth consists of the ‘Waebyŏn nok’ which is also an account of the 1592 Japanese Invasion. The final two volumes of the collection consist of materials about the author that were added to the collection by his descendants and contemporaries.

Saryujae chip contains much data concerning the 1592 Japanese Invasion from the perspective of the writer who served as a commander of various Korean forces during this period. In particular, ‘Waebyŏn nok’ is highly valued as a chronology of Japanese invasions and skirmishes with Korea from the time of Shilla. Moreover, ‘Haesŏ kyŏrŭi nok’ and ‘Ŭibyŏng yaksok’ both hold much information concerning the structure of Korean defence forces, the composition of the volunteer armies and their activities during the Japanese Invasion. Therefore, this work provides a copious amount of data concerning this invasion and is invaluable for the study of this period. There are copies of this work at the Kyujanggak, Korea University and National Central libraries among other places.

Sasanggye [Magazines]

Sashi Ch’anyo

The Sashi ch’anyo was a Chinese book on agriculture compiled by Han E of the Tang dynasty. References are made to it in the Xin Tang shu and a number of other traditional Chinese works, one of which states that it was published in 1020. It appears to have been regarded as an important guide to agriculture in the Sung dynasty, but was lost during the Ming period.

Some time before this the Sashi ch’anyo was brought to Korea, where there is evidence that it was highly valued. There are some ten excerpts from it in the Úibang yuch’wi (Classified Collection of Medical Prescriptions) and an abridgement of it is found in the last volume of Nongga chipsŏng (Compilation for Farmers). Several other traditional works make reference to it, indicating that it was a significant influence in agricultural matters at that time. However, the full text of the work was not known until recently, when a copy of the Korean edition published by Chwa byŏngyŏng (Left Army Command) in Kyŏngsang province in 1590 was found in Japan. It was apparently taken to Japan during the Hideyoshi invasion in 1592.

The Korean edition is an old style book and is similar in size and shape to Chinese books of the late Ming period. It has ninety pages and is divided into five sections for different times of the year. It describes farming practices, customs, divination and other aspects of Chinese folklore, as well as techniques for building, burials, brewing, and other daily activities. The Sashi ch’anyo is an important source for the study of the agricultural history of China in the Tang dynasty, for which few sources were available until the recent rediscovery of this Korean edition. While the Sung government published the work in 1020, it is now known, from a postscript attached to the Korean edition, that an earlier edition was privately published in Hangzhou in 995. It is therefore assumed that the Korean edition is a reprint of the Hangzhou edition. There are two additional postscripts to the Korean edition; one is by Yu Hŭijam, an official in the time of King Sŏnjo, and the other is by Pak Son, his successor. Yu had tried in vain to have it reprinted and finally gave it to Pak Son in 1517. Pak also was unable to republish it until 1590, when he paid printers himself to produce it.

In 1961 it was reproduced in a hardbound format by Yamamoto Bookstore in Tokyo, with
an explanatory note by Professor Mitsuo Moriya, an authority on agricultural history.

**Sasŏng t'onghae** (Explanation of the Four Tones)

*Sasŏng t'onghae* is a rhyming dictionary of Chinese characters compiled in 1517 by Ch’oe Sejin (1473-1542), a renowned scholar of the Chinese language. This wood-block print work is composed of two volumes in two fascicles It acted as a supplement with tones to *Hongmu chŏng’ün yŏkhun* (Translation of the Hung-wu Correct Rhymes) that was published in 1455, and to *Sasŏng T’onggo* that included the pronunciation of the Chinese characters but lacked any explanation as to their meaning. Therefore, *Sasŏng t'onghae* acted as both a rhyming dictionary for the pronunciation of Chinese characters and also as guide to their meaning.

This work provides very useful data for modern day studies in several aspects. First, it is helpful for the study of the standard pronunciation of Chinese characters in the sixteenth c., as it is one of the few works that indicates pronunciation with a phonetic value. Second, the work provides data for research of the Chinese writing system at this time. Finally, it is also essential for the study of the sixteenth c. Korean language. Presently the original edition of this work is not extant, but there is an edition that was printed with movable-metal type before the 1592 Japanese Invasion that is presently kept at Japanese National Congress Library, and a 1614 movable-wooden type edition that is at Seoul National University.

**Sassi namjong ki** (Record of Lady Sa’s Trip to the South)

*Sassi namjong ki* is a novel written by Kim Manjung (1637-1692). There are several editions of this work extant including a han’gul woodblock edition, a hand written edition and one that was printed with movable-metal type. Titles of this work also include *Namjong ki* (Record of the Trip to the South) and *Sassi chon* (The Tale of Lady Sa). It is set in Ming China and is a story of family conflicts. However, many scholars contend that this a satirical work that comments on the political realities of the time, in particular the conflicts that arose from the numerous love affairs of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720).

The content of the work is as follows: the protagonist is Yun Hallim who marries Lady Sa. Together they lead a blissful life for nine years except that they have no children. In order to preserve her husband’s lineage, Lady Sa convinces her husband to take a concubine. Yun does not relish this prospect and initially rejects the advice of his wife, but eventually accedes to her request. Yun takes Lady Ko, who has a jealous and wicked nature, as his concubine. Lady Ko despises Lady Sa, who as the first wife of Yun is given an exalted position and honour. Lady Ko bears Yun a son and then proceeds to slander Lady Sa in every way conceivable. Yun does not believe these lies at first, but eventually succumbs to them and ousts Lady Sa enabling the concubine Ko to assume her position as the official wife. However, Lady Ko then begins an affair with a retainer of Yun’s by the name of Tongch’ŏng. She then schemes to have Yun exiled in a political manoeuvre and takes up residence with Tongch’ŏng. However, by chance Yun discovers her intrigues and is returned to his rightful political position. He then has Lady Ko executed and restores Lady Sa to her legitimate position and they live a happy life from that time forward.

This work is clearly a satire that is based upon the intrigues in the Chosŏn court that arose when King Sukchong deposed Queen Inhyŏn in favor of the concubine Lady (hŭibibun) Chang. The plot line of the story and the actual circumstances in the Chosŏn court are nearly identical except that *Sassi namjong ki* was written before Queen Inhyŏn was returned to her legitimate position as Queen. Some scholars contend that it was after King Sukchong read this novel that he regretted his behaviour towards Queen Inhyŏn and had her reinstated as Queen. However, this remains speculation, as there is no concrete evidence for it.
On a superficial level, *Sassi namjong ki* is a didactic work that features the evils of the concubinage system that created many social woes in the Chosŏn period. Kim Manjung presents a female protagonist in this work that perseveres through all of the hardships and tribulations that she is presented with and still remains loyal to her husband, and in the end is rewarded by being vindicated. The fantasy-like ending of this work is, however, somewhat different from the actualities of the period when the position of women was very tenuous and they had little choice in accepting their husband’s desires for taking concubines. Therefore, this work can be viewed as a desire on the part of Kim for a more reverent society that was not driven by lust and greed. This aspect of the novel must be viewed as being the result of the strong influence that the author’s mother had on his education and moral development.

*Sassi namjong ki* holds an important position in the historical development of Korean literature not only in its didactic aspects, but also in the fact that this work was written in *han’gul* at a time when there were few works in the Korean vernacular script. Kim advocated the idea that Korean literature should be written in the Korean language, and his use of this form helped pave the way for others to do so. *Sassi namjong ki* also was influential on later novels, and remains a popular work of the classical period.

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**Science and Technology**

**Introduction**

Korea has been blessed with a profusion of traditions in science and technology throughout its long history. Unfortunately, however, they have seldom been noticed by scholars and laymen alike, for two reasons. The first and major one perhaps is that Korean science and technology are often seen as much less significant because of the giant civilization of China behind them. The other reason for the neglect is that the history of science and technology of Korea has been the most underdeveloped field of all the accepted historical studies.

A brief survey of Korea's scientific and technological traditions can be made with descriptions of several major topics in the traditional developments - astronomy in the ancient period; bronze tools and bell-making; Korea's influence for the rise of science and technology in early Japan; printing technology both in the wood-block method and in movable metal types; medicine; astronomy and calendrical developments, during King Sejong’s reign (r.1418-1450) in the early 15th c. This survey gives a descriptive introduction of Korea's absorption of modern Western science through China since the 17th c. with due emphasis on the different characteristics of the absorption among the three East Asian countries. It will be followed by a brief comment about science and technology after Korea's liberation from the Japanese yoke in 1945.

**Astronomy**

**Astronomy in Ancient Korea**

One of the best known artifacts of Korean history of science is Ch’ŏmsŏngdae, or the Star-Gazing Tower, an observatory built in 633 C.E. in the Three Kingdoms period. This stone-built observatory is one of the earliest of its kind in the world, and reputed to be the oldest remaining observatory in East Asia. It has been preserved in its original form for over 1
350 years. The bottle-shaped stone tower is full of symbolism, of which few contemporary explanations are preserved in history. The main body is constructed of about three hundred and sixty pieces of brick-shaped stone in twenty-seven courses, and the structure is just over nine metres high overall (actually 9.1 m.). It is situated near Panwŏlsŏng Fortress and Kyerim Grove in the ancient Shilla capital, Kyŏngju.

The tower was built at the command of Queen Sŏndŏk (r.632-647) the twenty-seventh monarch of the Shilla Kingdom. And that may explain why there are twenty-seven courses of stonework. The tower has a south-facing window in the middle, which divides it into twelve layers of stonework above and below, obviously symbolizing the twelve months of a year. When we add the square-shaped apex, the total layers of the tower become twenty-eight, denoting the twenty-eight basic constellations of traditional astronomy. Adding the base stretches this number to twenty-nine, even thirty with some licence, which corresponds to the number of days for a month in the lunisolar calendar.

From the symbolism of Ch'omsŏngdae we can reach the conclusion that by the time of its construction the Shilla people had reached a full understanding of the Chinese astronomical system. Indeed, the Koreans' knowledge of Chinese astronomy in the Three Kingdoms period is well-witnessed by the numerous astronomical records chronicled in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms). All the abnormal natural phenomena, including those in the heavens as well as the earthbound, are meticulously recorded in the history of the period, the records numbering about one thousand. The record includes sixty-six incidents of solar eclipse and other astronomical observation.

The tradition was handed down through Korean history, about 6500 such records being preserved for the next period, the Koryŏ Dynasty - from early 10th c. to the end of the 14th c., in the official history for the period, the Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ). For the next five hundred years of the Chosŏn Dynasty, we do not yet have a completely compiled list of the natural phenomena recorded in the Shillok (Annals) for succeeding reign periods. But a preliminary compilation shows that records for the first one hundred years exceed eighty thousand.

**Bronze tools, bell-making and ceramics**

Analysts have found that the bronze developed during the ancient period and the later years in the Three Kingdoms period was quite different in its chemical composition from that of China. With the development of metallurgical techniques the Koreans had developed their weapons and utensils from the prehistoric period. Furthermore, this Korean bronze was widely utilized in making bells as well as Buddha statues, particularly after Korea had been heavily influenced by the newly-introduced Buddhism in the mid-Three Kingdoms period.

One of the most beautiful bronze bells made was the King Sŏngdŏk Bell, better known as the Emille Bell, which today is preserved at the National Museum of Kyŏngju, where it is hung in the front court. Measuring almost 4.0 metres high, with a diameter of 2.3 metres at its rim, this bronze bell shows the typically Korean bell shape, and the tonal tube on top is a Korean invention to control the accoustical effect of the bell, a method which is not found in the bronze bells of China. While information on the technical details of Korean bell-moulding is sparse, this same bronze technology was utilized in late Koryŏ (c. 1240) as the first example of metal type printing in the world.

High praise for Koryŏ ceramics is noted by Xu Jing, a member of the Chinese embassy in 1123, in his travelogue Gaoli dujing. He had seen Korean ceramics during his travels and was struck by their cobalt-blue colour as well as the exquisiteness of the pieces. Many examples of later Koryŏ and early Chosŏn ceramics are still being uncovered from old kiln sites in several areas of the Korean peninsula.
Korean science and technology in ancient Japan

Up to the 8th c. the Japanese had very close relations with Koreans. There was continuous open access across the East sea and Koreans were able to convey to the Japanese their superior knowledge of science and their advanced skills in various scientific techniques. The Korean version of Chinese civilization was gradually passed to the Japanese through the good offices of the Koreans over the extensive Three Kingdoms period. Particularly close were the Paekche people from the south-west of Korea who maintained brisk relations with their Japanese counterparts.

Japanese sources, including the Nihon shoki (Chronicles of Japan), indicate that Wangin (Jap. Wani) and Ajikki were the first Koreans from Paekche, who brought higher learning for the first time to Japan in the mid-4th c. Some 200 years later, in 554, the Paekche government dispatched scholars of medicine; calendrical science; divination; and herbal science. According to the Japanese record, this was done at the request of the Japanese government, and indicates that the flow of Korean science and technology into Japan had been a continuous enterprise existing over many centuries.

In 602, the Pakche monk Kwalliük was sent to teach the Japanese many areas of science and technology, including astronomy. According to the Japanese historiographer, Kwalliük had actually brought with him to Japan many books about calendrical science; astronomy; geography; and divination. In 690, Japan's imperial order announced its adoption of a calendrical system called Genkareki, which seems to be the one Kwalliük had brought to Japan and in which he had trained the Japanese astronomers, in preparation for its adoption. The original form of the Genkareki was the Yuan jiali, which was adopted by the Chinese in 445. This particular calendrical system was in use in Paekche for some time before 500.

Japanese records show that the first water-clock was built in 660 and the first observatory in 675, followed by the establishment of a bureau for astronomical sciences in 718. These developments in astronomy and its related fields and the training of Japanese to specialize in them, were made possible through the assistance of Paekche astronomers then in exile following the unification of the Three Kingdoms in Korea.

In 610, the Koguryo monk/artist Tamjing (579-631) was dispatched to Japan to deliver paper, ink, colour paints, and stone mills. Records also show that many Korean technicians in the various areas of Buddhism were sent to Japan, including those specializing in temples and pagodas; Buddhist sculpture; tiles; etc. As late as 984, the Japanese book of medicine, Isinthe, quotes many Korean prescriptions, denoting the lingering influence from Korea.

Geomancy

Perhaps the most typically Korean development in the traditional knowledge of nature we can find today is the field of geomancy. Basically, this is a concern with the development of knowledge and decision on where one should live propitiously and where a deceased person should best be buried. It was said that a man could not develop to his full stature intellectually or emotionally without nature's help and that only nature could bestow on him good fortune. This area of natural knowledge is today considered more or less as a sort of pseudo-science. The legendary founder of Korean geomancy was the highly-esteemed Buddhist monk Tosôn (827-898), who was actively concerned with temple planning towards the end of the Greater Shilla period. Legend has it that it was Tosôn himself who had predicted the rise of a new dynasty, Koryô (918-1392), under the leadership of the rebel leader Wang Kôn. The official history of the Koryô period shows that Wang Kôn (T'aejo), the founder king of the new dynasty, relied heavily on Tôson's
prophesies in defining good sites for the temple buildings.

In practical terms, however, geomancy in Korea cannot be said to have started with Monk Tōson - for we can surely tell it existed in the early Three Kingdoms period. As with other areas of traditional science and technology, Korean geomancy came under the influence of China. But a distinguishing feature is that the geographical differences between the two countries were so great that the Koreans had to somehow develop their own system of divinations for their own land features in order to meet their geomantical interpretations.

The theoretical differences in geomancy in Korean history have not been sufficiently analysed to provide a reasonable understanding for us today. Nevertheless, the fact is that geomancy was a powerful element in politics in the Koryŏ period, and it held a similarly important role in the later Chosŏn period in the decisions of ancestors' burials for the Korean ruling class. Monk Myoch'ŏng's Revolt in the 12th c. was under the great influence of geomantic ideas of a new capital and national prosperity. Similar debate about the relationship between a new national capital and national rejuvenation was continued throughout the later Koryŏ period.

**Printing**

It is widely known that Koreans made significant contributions to the development of printing. Particularly well known is that movable metal type printing was in use by the Koreans in the early 13th c., roughly about two hundred years before Johann Gutenberg had started a similar process of printing in Germany for the mass production of the Bible.

New evidence was discovered in 1966 when a scroll of Buddhist scripture from wood-block printing was found at the reconstruction of a pagoda in Pulguk Temple. The paper scroll is believed to be one produced in the early 8th c. and therefore significant as the earliest surviving piece of wood-block printing. However, this discovery per se does not mean that it was the Koreans who had started wood-block printing. But it is established that they were one of the earliest developers of the process, and this fact seems to be strongly reinforced by the 80,000 extant pieces of wood block used for printing the massive collection of Buddhist scriptures (Koryŏ Tripitaka) in the earlier Koryŏ period.

From the early years of the Koryŏ Dynasty, Koreans had diligently collected all kinds of Buddhist writings from China and Japan as well as within Korea. Craftsmen carved the collected items into wood-blocks to show the Korean people's profound dedication to Buddhism. The 80,000 plates of the Koryŏ Tripitaka are now preserved in the Haein Temple. These surviving wood-block plates are those carved between 1236 and 1251 after the destruction of several previous collections.

It was through these series of efforts that Koreans finally reached the stage of having their movable metal-type ready at about the same time as the wood-blocks were being assembled in preparation for the printing of the Tripitaka in the mid-13th c. In exact terms, the first use of movable metal-type printing is recorded to have occurred in 1234. But the earliest surviving piece of metal-type printing in Korea is the Pulcho chikchi shimche yojol, another Buddhist scripture, printed in 1377. Metal-type printing was actively developed in the early Chosŏn period with the successive moulding of new type for characters. Though we have many samples of the printed books from those days, movable metal-type printing was never fully utilised thereafter in Korea. The main reasons were that Korea did not have a large enough market for books chiefly because of the small number of educated people, and because the Korean printing technique was never accompanied by the supportive development of the printing press.

**Medicine**
From the early Three Kingdoms period Koreans adopted Chinese medicine to develop their own healing arts. Their findings were also handed over to the Japanese. Also, during the Koryo period Korean medicine was widening its scope with the introduction of medical knowledge from the Middle East. Occasionally, Koryo practitioners were even invited by the Chinese court.

From the historical records on contemporary medicine, we can tell that Koreans from the late Koryo period had endeavoured to build their own system, particularly in the use of herbs for medicinal treatment. Partly because of the high cost of the imported herbs, Koreans had tried their best to identify similar trees, shrubs and herbs growing in Korea with those imported ones with established medicinal qualities. This kind of movement for indigenous medicine had continued on and off for generations until early Choson times, when the massive collection of Korean medicine was successfully compiled as the Hyangyak chipsông Pang (Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions) in 1433. Material for this work was gathered through a nation-wide search for all kinds of medical herbs, with the main goal to find easy and economic substitutes for expensive and hard-to-come-by imported herbs. Concurrently, another huge medical reference was compiled by King Sejong entitled Uibang yuch'wi (Classified Collection of Medical Prescriptions). The collection comprised 365 volumes, which had proved too big for immediate printing at the end of its compilation. It was only after thirty-two years, in the reign of King Sŏnjong (r.1469-94), that it was finally printed into book form, but limited to thirty sets.

A further landmark in the field of Korean medicine was the Tongŭ pogram (Examplar of Korean Medicine) by Hŏ Chun (1546-1615). The book, in preparation over twelve years by the court doctor, was completed in 1610 and is composed of five parts - 'the internals', 'the externals', 'the miscellaneous', 'medicine', and 'acupuncture-moxabustion'. Medical practitioners seem to have found this book invaluable and even today it is in constant use by Oriental doctors in Korea. Its contribution to traditional medicine is apparent from its many reprints, not only in Korea, but also in China and Japan.

The last significant contribution to Korean traditional medicine is the Tongŭ susebowŏn completed in 1894 by Yi Chema (1838-1900). In this ambitious venture the author uses the human physiology to classify people into four distinct physical types to meticulously distinguish them and thereby to satisfy diagnosis and prescription. It is unclear where this idea of dividing the human form into four types came from. Perhaps Yi Chema arrived at the idea under the influence of the Yijing - there is even a slight possibility that he was agitated by the idea of the four humours theory of Hippocrates. In a nutshell, he propagated the importance of different cures for different types of patients in medical practice, a message which is loudly acclaimed by present-day Korean traditional doctors.

**Astronomy and calendrical sciences in King Sejong's reign**

The reign of King Sejong is widely recognized as the apex of the development of science and technology in Korean history. It is remembered today for many reasons, but astronomy and calendrical sciences had made a remarkable advance in the period, together with other notable developments in printing, agriculture, and medicine. Also, Korea's introduction (from the end of the Koryo period) of Chinese and Arabic astronomy from Yuan Dynasty China (1280-1368), had given Korean astronomers a sound platform from which to develop and refine their own findings.

Of all the astronomical and calendrical advances, most impressive were the scientific instruments, ranging from the simplified armillary sphere to rain gauge. Several kinds of armillary spheres were constructed at the northern bank area of the Kyŏnghoe-ru Lake in the Kyŏngbok Palace, the main royal palace. The large size star-observing instrument, the so-called 'simplified instrument', was built on a large platform to allow five royal
astronomers to make their nightly observation. A bronze gnomon almost ten metres high stood next to the platform, for the purpose of measuring the length of its shadow on the Winter Solstice. Next to that were two sets of self-propelled armillary spheres for demonstrating the stellar phenomena to visitors, even during the daytime.

A building opposite to the armillary spheres, in the south of the lake, was set-aside for the celebrated water-clock made by Chang Yongshil. This was a water-propelled self-striking device, and as a time-piece was used as the national standard clock. A similar device, the so-called Jade Clepsydra, also by Chang Yongshil, was placed on the eastern side of the lake, to demonstrate seasonal changes, stellar movements (diurnal and nocturnal), along with the usual time annunciation. However, none of them have survived the vicissitudes of time, except only through record.

Many of these instruments, often as smaller models, were also made and used by astronomers in the National Observatory outside the palace. This period of Korean history is also remembered for the invention of the rain gauge, the first of its kind in the world, and the scientific measurement of the seasonal level of flow-discharge in rivers. Actually, it was from this period that the Koreans recorded the level of water both in the Han River and in the Ch'onggye Stream, the main creek which runs through central Seoul.

The painstaking efforts made in the period ultimately Koreanized the then well-established Chinese calendrical sciences. The final product of the first Korean system of astronomical calculations, or the calendrical system, was the *Ch'ilchōngsan*, the Calculations of the Motions of the Seven Celestial Determinants. Completed in 1442 by Yi Sunji (?-1465), Kim Tam (1416-1464) et al., the book is made of two parts respectively on the traditional Chinese method and on the Arabic method. It was as a result of this endeavour that the Japanese astronomer Shibukawa Shunkai (Harumi) (1639-1715) perfected the Japanese system with his Jokyo Calendrical System, in 1682. Shibukawa acknowledged in his writing his indebtedness to a visiting Korean astronomer who helped him to develop the Japanese system.

**Western Influence**

Korea opened its doors to foreigners officially in 1876. However, for almost three centuries before this sanctioned intercourse with the West began, Koreans had been in intermittent contact with Western contemporary science. The resulting influence was particularly strong among the politically estranged scholars of the time, from whom Korean historiography coins its term, *shirhak* (Practical Learning) scholars. This new breed had started a search for new methods and many of the *shirhak* scholars became influenced by the intellectual trends in China.

One of the early *shirhak* scholars was Yi Ik (1682-1764), who had frankly confessed the superiority of Western science, especially astronomy. His philosophy was that as far as astronomy and calendrical science was concerned, Confucius would adopt the Western method over the traditional Chinese way. Yi Ik emphasized that all nations could proclaim themselves as the centre of the world, because every place could be a centre-point on a spherical body, such as the earth. Thus, he no longer allowed China prominence as the 'The Middle Kingdom'. The sphericity of the earth had definitely served as the agitation for the Korean intellectuals toward cultural relativism, thus strongly denying time-honoured Sino-centrism.

Relativism concerning different countries of the globe was extended to the cosmos by Hong Taeyong (1731-1783), when he announced the denial of man's unique position in the universe. Not only had he denied the superiority of man over other living things, he professed the possibility of the existence of other intelligent beings on other stars in the
universe. Though the Catholic father-scientists active in China at the time had denied any motion of the earth in space, Hong Taeyong had no doubt about the correctness of his reasoning on the daily rotation of the earth. He can be considered as the first East Asian who, in the 1760s, had most clearly explained the diurnal rotation of the earth.

Towards the end of the 18th c. it was becoming fashionable for the younger Korean scholars to read more about the West. It followed, therefore, that a scholar such as Pak Chega (1750-1805) with his strong interest in Western commercial techniques, proposed to invite Western missionaries into Korea to learn more effectively from them about the advanced Western science and technology. Even Ch'ong Yagyong (1762-1836), the celebrated scientist who had designed the fortifications of Hwasŏng as Korea's emergency capital, recalls that one of his elder brothers had successfully passed the government service examination with an answer based upon Western theory.

A pendulum swing in the political atmosphere at the beginning of the 19th c. resulted when King Sunjo (r.1800-1834) was enthroned. Violent persecution of the Christians had started with this shift of political power, and it was a sure sign for the shirhak scholars to distance themselves from the Western sciences, too. However, even within this closed-door period and in the gloomy suppressive atmosphere which prevailed in the first half of the 19th c., we can still discover some remarkable records of the Koreans' efforts to incorporate the new Western science. They include the immense work of Yi Kyugyong (1788-?), and Ch'oe Han'gi (1803-1879). From their writings we can tell also that some of the Japanese efforts were being absorbed by the Koreans in the early 19th c., and that many Chinese renditions of the Western sciences were close at hand to Ch'oe, even in this period.

Though impressive, the valiant efforts for the introduction of Western science and technology into Korea in the 17th c. and thereafter, they were only partially successful. The reason for this is easily explained. Unlike the Japanese and the Chinese, who had been having constant interaction with the visiting Westerners on their own soil, Koreans were denied any chance of meeting with Westerners in Korea to learn directly from them.

Due to the northward separation of Korea from the main route taken by Western navigators from the 16th c., missionaries and merchants seldom came to Korea. Of course, there were occasional visitors from the West when unfortunate sea-goers were blown off-course and shipwrecked during the seasonal typhoons. So it was very natural that the Korean scholars had to learn about Western science and technology through the importation of Chinese books about Western learning, which they had the opportunity to bring to Korea via the annual delegation to the embassy in China. Thus, Koreans' absorption of Western science was very slowly developing through these indirect contacts with the West, in contrast to its direct assimilation by Chinese and Japanese scholars in the same period.

This unhappy background meant that Koreans had to satisfy themselves only with piecemeal knowledge about Western science, whereas there were hundreds of books prepared in neighbouring countries. Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit father from Italy, had settled down for missionary work in Beijing in 1601, and dozens of Western missionaries followed. The missionaries learned Chinese, not least to allow them to translate or narrate about science and technology to the Chinese scholars. But none of the Chinese scholars had troubled themselves to learn any of the Western languages for the translation, although they gave editorial help. The result was that many books on Western science and technology were prepared or published in China, from the time of Ricci, but not a single one was prepared by a native Chinese.

In Japan, matters were totally different, with scholars willing to learn a Western language essential so as to actively absorb Western science and technology for themselves. The first successful translation of a Western science book by Japanese scholars was the Kaitai
When the giant upheavals took place on the Korean peninsula from the turn of the 20th c., the difference in the levels of scientific and technological development between Japan and Korea was so vast that Korea was no match for its neighbour in the military sense, and the colonization of Korea was the inevitable result. During the colonial period from 1910 to 1945, the Japanese were especially suppressive in their science-technology policy in Korea, with all establishments being built in Japan. It was not until 1941 that Japan allowed Korea to have its first college of science and technology.

**Industrialisation**

Korea had to start to build its modern science and technology from the barren-land of learning left after the Liberation in 1945. The number of college graduates in natural science and technology amounted to only some dozens, while those with doctorates were a mere handful. Even this inadequate amount of manpower in science was placed in two camps, due to the immediate North-South division of Korea. Poorly-trained and under-qualified scientists and engineers suddenly became college professors and research leaders of the nation on both sides of the 38th Parallel.

When the bloody civil war ravaged Korea for three years from 1950, scientific research and technological advance came to a standstill. It was only after the Armistice Agreement in 1953 that the two Koreas managed to get under way with scientific and industrial training and research. This they did largely through their political affiliations with the superpowers - South Korea from the United States and North Korea from the Soviet Union.

Under the strong authoritarian political leadership of the Communist Party, in the 1960s the South seemed to be lagging behind the North. South Korea, on the other hand, had been plagued by serious social unrest under the less authoritarian leadership of its American-trained President, Rhee Syngman. It was during his term in office that Korea created a highly-placed government bureau in charge of the nation's science and technology program. Though it bore the name of the Office of Atomic Energy, (which had opened officially in 1959) it was meant to be the national hub for science and technology. External financial support was forthcoming from the Atoms-for-Peace program of the United States under President Eisenhower.

It was largely through this program that many young Koreans found their way to America and some European countries to study modern science and engineering, practically the first such venture in Korean history. The total number of Korean students participating (1956-63) under the government scholarship was 189. This was more ambitious than the earlier 'Minnesota Program', which had enabled some Seoul National University professors in the applied sciences to receive modern training at the University of Minnesota from 1954.

At the time of liberation Korea had only one formal university - Seoul National - with science and engineering departments. It was only after the end of the Korean War in 1953 that the many newly-created universities offered training in the natural science disciplines. The transition was slow and it was many years before Korean universities began to show a comparative level in science and technology with the West, even so, some are still below this level today.
In 1966 the Korean government established the Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), a research institute oriented for industrial development. The next significant change affecting science and technology was the realignment of policy-making mechanisms and administrative machinery in the inauguration in 1967 of the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST). It was from this time that many Korean scientists and engineers domiciled in America from the Korean War era decided to return to their homeland to seek new opportunities. The Korea Institute of Applied Science (KAIS), established in 1971, was originally meant to be an elite graduate school in the applied sciences, but which after some internal changes in recent years has developed an undergraduate structure, to make it another independent university in science and technology, under the auspices of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

The Korean Science and Engineering Foundation (KOSEF) from its inception in 1977, has played a major role in financing scientists, engineers and graduate students to complete research projects, both on the campuses of Korean universities and overseas. As well, KOSEF subsidises research projects jointly undertaken with foreign scientists and engineers. A mammoth 'Science City' has been under construction from the early 1970s in Taejŏn, where many national and private research centres are located today.

Science and technology in its many forms has become a most popular field of study among the Korean youngsters, who aspire to become the nation's scientists and engineers. Almost all the necessary infrastructure for modern science and technology seems now to be in place in Korea. However, except in some of the applied areas, the level of Korea's science and technology seems to lag behind in comparison to the advanced institutions elsewhere in the world.

S R Park

Science and Technology, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]  
Scranton, M.F. [Education]

Screens

In Korea, screens have been a popular piece of furniture in both palaces and private houses. Screens are used to prevent draughts, to create a separate space in a room, or solely for decorative purposes. To make a screen, a painting, calligraphy or embroidered pictures or designs are put on paper, silk or cloth, which is then applied to rectangular frames. The frames are joined together so that they can be folded up if necessary. Screens usually consist of two to twelve panels. Since twelve panel screens are difficult to manage, two six-panel screens are often used instead.

Screens are thought to date from the Chinese Zhou Dynasty (1122-249 B.C.). A Zhou emperor used a screen to decorate the palace's back wall. Korean textual sources indicate that screens were in existence since Shilla times. The Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) mentions prohibitions against the use of embroidered screens by those of true-bone (chingol) lineage or head-rank six. Screens are also mentioned in the Koryŏ togyŏng (Treatise on Koryŏ Paintings). Although few early examples remain, there are still many extant screens from late Chosŏn.

Screens are classified according to their content as follows:

1. Sun and Moon Motif: Besides a simple portrayal of the sun and moon, these screens often contain the ten symbols of longevity. These screens were used in the palace.

2. Pot or Bell Motif: On the black background of these screens, a bronze cauldron or bell is embroidered using gold or silver-coloured thread. These screens are usually used in
libraries or in the emperor's bedroom.

3. Longevity Motifs: There were several longevity motifs used on screens. The ten symbols of long-life (deer, crane, mountain, turtle, water, clouds, pines, bamboo, the sun and the magic fungus of everlasting life) commonly appeared on screens in homes in order to promote the longevity of the parents. In addition, there were Daoist motifs showing Daoist hermits, deer or a "heavenly peach." The peach symbolised the Daoist adept, whereas a deer, especially a white deer, symbolised long life. In the palace, these screens were used when a prince was born or for the prince's first birthday. Lastly, creative variations of the characters for long life and good fortune were sometimes repeated on a screen.

4. Fertility Motifs: Screens showing pictures of children playing in the water, and such-like scenes, were put in the rooms of infertile women to encourage conception.

5. Famous Writings: Poetry, expert calligraphy or famous sayings were often used on screens. Since it was believed that constant exposure to classical wisdom from a young age was an important aspect of early education, these screens were placed around the living quarters of the royalty and the upper class.

6. Marital Harmony Motifs: Screens showing flowers or pairs of birds or fish were used in bedrooms in order to promote a happy married life.

Numerous other motifs were also used. Some screens showed the books and paraphernalia associated with the pursuits of the scholarly gentleman. On other screens, seals representing historical rulers were used as a design. Landscape paintings were also popular, and from the late eighteenth c., genre paintings often appeared on screens. These paintings, showing scenes from everyday life, were often rich in humour. There were also plain white, undecorated screens which were used in funerary rites. Screens are still used in Korea for decoration and in some Confucian and Buddhist rites.

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Sculpture, Buddhist

Buddhist sculptures have existed from the days when Buddhism was first introduced to the Korean peninsula. From those times, Korean sculptors have used stone to produce a diverse range of works, including statues, stupas, stone lanterns, banner-pole supports, decorative panels for earthen tombs and stairs. In addition, sculptors have utilised Korea's mountainous terrain to produce numerous sculptures, in intaglio or in relief, on rock faces. Although the models for these Buddhist art forms generally came from China, Korean artists quickly developed their own indigenous styles.

Koguryŏ

Situated on the border of China, Koguryŏ was the first of the Three Kingdoms to officially recognise Buddhism. In 372 when the former Qin sent an envoy to Koguryŏ, the envoy brought statues, Buddhist texts and monks. These represented the triple gem (the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) respectively. It is believed that early Koguryŏ sculptures were modelled after statues brought from China, which in turn were closely modelled after Indian prototypes. Throughout Koguryŏ history, its sculpture continued to be influenced by that of China. In the early sixth c., this influence came from Northern Wei (386-533). During the late sixth c., on the other hand, sculptures became more ornate and refined due to influence from China's Northern and Southern Dynasties. In the seventh c., as Koguryŏ
came into conflict with the Sui and then the Tang Dynasty, sculptures became more realistic.

**Paekche**

According to records, the monk Malananda introduced Buddhism to Paekche in 384. Early Paekche sculptures are thought to have been imports from China or sculptures based on Chinese works. Buddhism especially flourished in Paekche after the capital was moved to Sabi (modern-day Puyo). The sculptures from this period tend to be elegant and highly refined. A large number of statues were sculpted during the reign of King Wang Widok (554-598). Although these pieces show influence from China's Northern Qi (550-577), Northern Zhou (557-588) and early Sui (581-617) Dynasties, a distinct Paekche style was already developing by this time. Representative works from this period include the Kunsu Village Buddha and Bodhisattva sculptures, the Shin Village Bodhisattva statue and the Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas that was carved in relief (Treasure no. 84) in Sosan County, South Ch'ungch'ong Province. During Paekche's final years, its sculpture came under the influence of China's Sui and Tang (618-907) dynasties. The works from this period tend to be somewhat sensual and realistic. Even after the fall of Paekche, artisans living in the area of the former kingdom continued to develop the art. These artists thus exerted an influence on the artistic styles of the Greater Shilla Kingdom.

**Shilla**

Shilla did not officially recognise Buddhism until 527. In spite of its late introduction, Buddhism soon flourished in the Kingdom. Since Shilla was introduced to Buddhism at a relatively late period, its early sculpture was heavily influenced by that of Koguryo and Paekche. Pieces from early Shilla tend to have bold features rendered in a somewhat abstract style. Shilla Buddhist art underwent rapid development during the construction of the Hwangnyong Temple (begun in 553) - an extensive monastic complex in the Shilla capital (present-day Kyongju). Although few intact sculptures from this site have been recovered, it can be surmised that the images in the complex were of the same large dimensions as the buildings in which they were enshrined.

In the late sixth c., Shilla sculptors fully developed a unique style. By this time, Shilla no longer had to import or imitate foreign works. In fact, it was able to export Buddhist images to Japan. During this period, the bold features of the earlier works gave way to softer lines and idealised depictions of Buddhist figures. In the early seventh c., Shilla artisans came under the influence of the abstract style of China's Northern Qi, Northern Zhou and early Sui Dynasties. However, this style was soon eclipsed by the semi-realistic style of the late Sui and early Tang dynasties. The Sŏnbang Temple Buddha and Bodhisattvas Triad and the Samhwa Ridge Maitreya and Bodhisattvas Triad are representative works from this period.

**Greater Shilla**

In the mid-seventh c., Shilla allied itself with Tang in its war with the Paekche and Koguryo kingdoms. The increase in diplomatic missions along with the large number of Shilla monks studying in China led to an increase in the influence of Tang artistic styles on Shilla. In particular, Shilla was influenced by both the Indian Gupta style and the realistic style that was then popular in Tang China. This highly refined and somewhat sensual style can be seen on works such as the twelve zodiacal figures surrounding Kim Yushin's grave mound or the depiction of the Four Heavenly Kings on the sarira container from Kamun Temple.

Although the Greater Shilla period was characterised by the development of its own unique style, many conservative artists, especially those living outside of the capital, continued to
produce works in the previous abstract style. The Buddha figures carved in relief at Kahūng Village in Yŏngju and on Kyŏngju’s Mt. Sŏndo are examples of this conservative trend. In addition, the artists from the former areas of Paekche and Koguryŏ continued to develop the styles of the two former kingdoms. By the eight c., however, almost all works were done in the new realistic style.

The eighth c. is generally considered to be the golden age of Greater Shilla sculpture. During this time, a stable government, along with increasing contacts with India, Persia and Central Asia via China, created an ideal climate for artistic creativity. Stone sculptures from this period continued to be made in a realistic manner. Many of the figures, especially the Bodhisattvas and asparas, are portrayed in a very sensual way.

Sculptures from the early ninth c. were still characterised by realism, but there was an increased use of standardised designs. The situation worsened in 842 as Buddhism underwent a period of severe persecution in China, an event that naturally hindered contacts with Korea. Around this time, numerous Korean monks were at work introducing Chinese Chan (Kor. Sŏn) to Korea. Since Korean Sŏn was initially based on Hwaŏm (Chin. Huayan) thought, the Vairocana Buddha was enshrined as the main figure in most of the Sŏn temples. Many Vairocana figures from this period are extant. In addition, the Sŏn sect placed a great deal of importance in the personal attainment of Sŏn masters. As a result, stupas were increasingly constructed in order to commemorate the death of accomplished Sŏn masters. The master’s sarira (jewel-like remains after cremation) were often enshrined within these stupas. Buddhist sculptures from this period tend to be realistic and often ornate. In general, by the middle of the ninth c., Shilla sculpture had fallen into decline. Works from this period characteristically lack vitality.

Koryŏ

During Koryŏ Buddhism continued to serve as the leading ideology of the state. As a result, sculptors continued to receive generous government support for projects. There was a great diversity of sculptural styles during this period. In the kingdom’s central areas, artisans imbued the Greater Shilla style with a fresh naturalism. In the Yŏngnam area, on the other hand, artisans continued to produce works in the classical Shilla style, but as they were no longer able to imitate the technical dexterity of their predecessors, their work degenerated into a rigid, moribund style. Sculptors, influenced by Song and Yuan artisans, also started producing smaller statues. After the Mongol subjugation of the peninsula (early 13th c.), Koryŏ sculpture went into sharp decline. The style of this later period is extremely rigid.

Chosŏn

During the Chosŏn period, the Korean government instituted a policy of promoting neo-Confucianism while opposing Buddhism. Even so, Buddhism survived through support from the common people and from intermittent support from pious Buddhists among the royalty. During the Hideyoshi Invasions, 1592-1598, and the Manchu Invasion of 1636, the country’s temples were ravaged. As temples were reconstructed throughout the nation in the years that followed, sculptors throughout the kingdom set to work on the monumental task of producing works to be enshrined in these temples. The sculptors from this period often did works based on those of the Koryŏ or Shilla periods. Their works also show some influence from the Chinese Qing Dynasty.

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Sejo, King (r. 1455-1468)

King Sejo (1417-1468) was the seventh king of Chosŏn and reigned from 1455 to 1468. His given name was Yu and his courtesy name was Suji. He was the second son of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) and the younger brother of King Munjong (r. 1450-1452). In 1445 he was enfeoffed as Grand Prince Suyang and at this time was charged by his father with the establishment of a Buddhist shrine within the royal palace. Moreover, he, along with two court retainers, was given the task of translating Buddhist texts, local songs and other lyrics into han'gul. In 1452, Sejo was appointed Controller (chejo) in the Bureau of Music (Kwansūp togam). In the fifth month of the same year his brother Munjong died and the young King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455) acceded to the throne. From the seventh month of that year, Sejo (along with his loyal attendants Kwŏn Nam and Han Myŏnghoe) planned decisive action to consolidate his political position and in the tenth month of 1453 they commenced the Purge of 1453 (kyeyu chŏngnan). This was a violent affair and one that enabled Sejo to fully grasp political power in the kingdom. After this event, Sejo continued to consolidate his political power and finally with the backing of many disaffected elements among the literati, he disposed of his nephew Tanjong, eventually killing him, and took the throne for himself.

In the process of usurping the throne, Sejo carried out a bloody purge of all of those who stood in his way, including his own younger brother and the officials in the Hall of Worthies (Chipyŏnjŏn). The scholars who were killed in this purge include the ‘six martyred ministers’ (sa yuksin) who refused to accept Sejo’s usurpation of the throne. After eliminating all of the elements that stood in his path, Sejo then began to enact revisions of the legal code that would strengthen and further define the government of Chosŏn. Among the major changes he made was the abolition of the Hall of Worthies and the transfer of its functions to the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan). Symbolically he also strengthened the monarchy of Chosŏn by linking the current lineage of kings to ancient kings such as Tan’gun and Kija. Moreover, it was in 1457 under Sejo’s rule that the offering of rites to the heavenly spirits at the Wŏn’gudan Altar became incorporated into the events marking the lunar new year.

Sejo took other measures to strengthen and aggrandise the government and its control over the populace. In 1458 he re-enacted the Hop’aepŏp (a law requiring all commoners to wear hop’aes, identification tags that recorded their place of residence, occupation, class status and other information), which was designed to tie commoners to their social position and prevent wandering. In the same year he ordered the compilation of Kukcho pogam (Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns) that was an unofficial history of the preceding reigns of Chosŏn, and later he also ordered the compilation of Tongguk t’onggam (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom) a history of Korea. Sejo also directed his attention to the legal codes of Chosŏn and ordered the revision of Kyŏngje yuksŏn (Six Codes of Governance) and it was also under his rule that the compilation of the Kyŏngguk taejŏn (National Code), which would serve as the basis for the legal code for the duration of the Chosŏn period, was undertaken.

Other reforms of Sejo include the reorganisation of the military into the Five Military Command Headquarters (Owi Toch’’ongbu) in 1464. This revision allowed the military command of the country to be divided into five regions and these in turn could be more easily controlled by the central government. Sejo also changed the mode for payment to officials. In 1466 he revoked the Rank Land Law (Kwa’ŏn pŏp) and implemented in its place the Office Land Law (chikchŏn pŏp), which stipulated that land only be provided to incumbent officeholders, unlike the prior law that also provided land to former officials. Sejo also contributed mightily to the encouragement of farming, irrigation projects and scholarship in agricultural methods that helped establish a foundation for his successors.
Sejo died in 1468, after an acute illness. Despite his scheming and purges, he can be thought of as contributing much to the consolidation of royal power in Chosŏn and to the strengthening of the overall ruling structure of the Chosŏn government.

**Sejong Cultural Center**

The Sejong Cultural Center (Sejong Munhwa Hoegwan) was established in 1978, six years after its predecessor the Seoul Citizens Hall was completely destroyed by fire. Situated on Sejong Street in the heart of Seoul, the centre is comprised of six stories and three basements with a floor space of 54,500 square metres. Major facilities include the main and secondary auditoriums, a stage set construction room, three exhibition halls, conference rooms, a banquet hall and rehearsal rooms for the nine performing art groups affiliated with the Seoul Metropolitan City Government (Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra, Seoul Metropolitan Choir, Seoul Metropolitan Dance Company, Seoul Metropolitan Korean Music Orchestra, Seoul Metropolitan Musical Company, Seoul Metropolitan Opera Company, Seoul Youth Philharmonic Orchestra, Seoul Metropolitan Boys & Girls Choir and Seoul Metropolitan Theater Company). In addition to serving as a performance hall for music, drama and dance, the hall is used for movies, exhibitions and international conventions.

**Sejong Institute**

Located in Seoul, the Sejong Institute (Sejong Yŏn'gusŏ) is an independent, non-profit organisation devoted to research on South Korea's international and domestic affairs. The institute was originally founded as the Ilhae Foundation in December 1983, in the aftermath of the Rangoon Incident, in which seventeen members of the South Korean president's entourage were killed. After establishing a fund to assist the families of the victims, the institute's founders believed that a greater response to the tragedy was necessary and they envisioned the creation of a research institute dedicated to research on policies conducive to the promotion of lasting peace on the Korean peninsula. Renamed the Sejong Institute in May 1988, the organisation's research activities are focused on the Asia-Pacific region. Its research is divided into five areas: the Area Studies Program, the Foreign Policies and Security Studies Program, the International Political Economy Studies Program, the Inter-Korean Studies Program and the Policy Studies Program. Publications include the biannual *Kukka chŏll'yak* (The Journal of National Strategy Studies). In 1998, the Institute had twenty-six researchers and fifty administrative staff.

**Sejong shillok chiriji** (Annals of King Sejong on Geographical Descriptions, 1454)

The *Sejong shillok chiriji*, in eight volumes in eight fascicles, is a geographical work to be found in Volumes 148 to 155 of the *Annals of King Sejong*. It can be described as a work on human geography for it is not limited to the physical features of Korea, but describes the politics, finance, economics and other social aspects of the eight provinces and two capitals, Kaesŏng (capital of Koryŏ) and Seoul (capital of Chosŏn).

The volumes on the provinces delineate the provincial administrative structure, the provincial government posts, mountains, rivers, ferries, boundaries, size of lands, number of households, soldiers, bodyguards, naval forces, persons of eminence, as well as listing the local products, tributes, fishing-grounds, salt fields, potteries, places of historical interest and other features.

The *Sejong shillok chiriji* provides a detailed insight into the condition of Korea at that time and marks the first appearance in the country of this type of geographical work.

The work was one of the noteworthy results of the cultural policy implemented by King Sejong of the Chosŏn dynasty. He had ordered the compilation of a geography of his
country and this resulted in the *Shinch’an p’alto chiriji*. (Newly Compiled Geographical Descriptions of the Eight Provinces). While only a part, the *Kyongsando chiriji*, of this early work is considered to be extant, nevertheless the *Sejong shillok chiriji* is closely connected with the *Shinch’an p’alto chiriji*.

It was re-published by the Central Council of the Government-General of Korea in 1937 and later by the Research Institute for Oriental Culture of Gakushūin University in Tokyo.

**Sejong, King** (r. 1458-1450)

King Sejong (1397-1450), often called ‘the Great’, is regarded as the most remarkable of the Choson kings. He put the Choson dynasty on such a firm foundation that it lasted for over five centuries. Most notable among his many achievements was the invention of the *han’gul* script, still in use in Korea today.

Sejong was the third son of Prince Chongan, the fifth son of King T’aegujo, founder of the Choson dynasty. His father became king on the abdication of his uncle, Prince Chongjong, and took the name T’aegujo. Having observed his promising early development, Sejong’s father named him Crown Prince at the age of twenty-one, and less than a year later abdicated in his son’s favour.

Sejong was the first Choson monarch to have been influenced in his early years by Neo-Confucianism, which was introduced by An Hyang (1243-1360) of the Koryo dynasty. Throughout this reign, King Sejong worked tirelessly to implement his Neo-Confucian vision of a world in which men lived in harmony with each other, and mankind in harmony with nature. Many of his accomplishments and innovations in the fields of science, technology, agriculture, medicine, law, literature and the arts, were the outcome of his philosophical values and assumptions. In his world view, the rules governing both natural phenomena and human society were manifestations of *lii* (Kor. i, sometimes translated as ‘principle’) which regulated interactions both within and between the human and natural worlds.

One of Sejong’s first significant acts as king was to establish the *Chiphyŏnjŏn* (Hall of Worthies), in the royal palace in 1420. An institution with this name had existed in Korea since the 12th century, but it did not come into prominence until the time of King Sejong, who greatly enhanced its effectiveness by supervising the selection of scholars and officials from the most talented men passing the state examinations and putting them to work on many different research projects. During the period of Sejong’s reign scholars working in the *Chiphyŏnlŏn* were responsible for the compilation of numerous works deemed important to the state, such as *Nongsa chiksŏl* (Straight Talk on Farming, 1429), *Hyangyak chipsŏngbang* (The Great Collection of Native Korean Prescriptions, 1433) and *Hunmin chŏngum haerye* (Explanations and examples of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People, 1446)

The *Sejong Shillok* (Royal Annals), from which much of the information about King Sejong’s life and work is derived, states that the *Chiphyŏnjŏn* was the principal source of advice and expertise upon which he drew in undertaking his many projects and innovations aimed at the betterment of the state and the welfare of the people.

By the time Sejong had ascended to the throne in 1418, Confucianism was well established as the official ideology, and a number of reforms were carried out as a result. Mastery of the Confucian classics became mandatory for the official civil service examinations and they were taught at all levels of education. Confucian rites and ceremonies largely replaced those of Buddhism in virtually all aspects of society, including rituals for marriage, death and ancestor worship. King Sejong arranged for the publication and wide distribution of *Hyohaeng kyŏng* (The Classic of Filial Piety) and *Samgang haengsil to* (Illustrated Guide
to the Three Relationships) and fostered the gradual Confucianization of Korean society. Strict adherence to hierarchical and patrilineral relationships introduced in Sejong’s time is thought to have contributed to centuries of political stability and cultural achievement.

The Korean alphabet, or *han’gul* as it is now known, is regarded as the crowning achievement of King Sejong. It is not known precisely when he invented the alphabet, but its completion was officially announced in 1443. The dynastic record states: ‘His Highness has personally created the twenty-eight letters of the Vernacular Script (*önmun*)’. There is no evidence that others collaborated in the preparation of the alphabet and it is generally acknowledged that it was entirely Sejong’s work. In 1446, it was promulgated in the work *Hunmin ch’ongum*, which was the original name given to the script by King Sejong, and it means literally ‘The Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People’. This basic text was supplemented by a commentary entitled *Hunmin ch’ongum haerye* compiled by a group of scholars commissioned by Sejong. In traditional times the script was usually called *önmun* (vernacular/vulgar script), indicating the low esteem in which it was held by a Sinocentric world. In 1912 the term *han’gul*, with the ambiguous meanings ‘great writing’ and ‘Korean writing’, was coined by Chu Shigyong to give it a status it had not been accorded before. Modern linguists have recognized the unique features of the script and have acknowledged the sophisticated understanding of phonology it revealed which was not equalled in the West until recent times.

There has been much speculation about Sejong’s reasons for inventing the alphabet. One group of Korean scholars believes that he intended the alphabet to replace Chinese characters as the medium of literacy. Another group believes that it was intended as a means of teaching and reforming the pronunciation of Chinese characters. It seems likely that Sejong meant it to serve both as a simple method of writing which could be used by the common people and also as a vehicle for teaching Chinese characters. While Sejong’s achievements in other fields were numerous and impressive, it is the alphabet which is regarded as the most important by the Korean people. Its universal use by Koreans today is clear evidence of its enduring value.

Sejong realized that *han’gul* alone was not enough to achieve his goal of promoting scholarship and educating the people. More efficient printing techniques were needed, and he turned his attention to the improvement of movable metal type printing, which had been developed in Korea in the 12th and 13th centuries, but was still relatively inefficient. He encouraged his technicians to develop a better designed type which could be used to produce many more copies than had been possible previously, and improved the metallurgical methods used to produce type metal. Sejong enhanced the technology for producing high quality paper and experimented with the production of paper from rice straw, cotton, bamboo and hemp. He insisted on the highest standards in printing and proofreading. Both woodblock and movable metal type printing were used in Sejong’s reign, the former for long runs and the latter for shorter runs, usually between 100 and 300 copies.

Sejong’s contribution to the growth and development of Korean literature was considerable. In 1437 he ordered work to be commenced on the gathering of accounts of deeds in the veritable records and popular traditions relating to the four ancestors and the first and third kings of the Choson dynasty. This was in preparation for the compilation of a monumental work entitled *Yongbi och’on ka* (Songs of Flying Dragons, 1445-1447) a cycle of 125 cantos comprising 248 poems. These were written by literary men in the Hall of Worthies and use mostly themes of praise found in the classics and histories focussing mainly on Yi Sŏnggye, founder of the Chosŏn dynasty. King Sejong ordered this work partly to test the use of the Korean alphabet in conjunction with Chinese.

Sejong had a keen interest in music and was responsible for significant changes in the music performed in court rites and ceremonies. He composed a number of sizeable pieces
of music himself, some of which are still performed today. During his reign the emphasis gradually shifted from music derived from China to a more nationalistic Korean music. One of the major cultural achievements of his reign was the composition of four complete musical settings to the *Yongbi och'ón ka*, which were appended to the *Sejong shillok* and which contain precise rhythmic information, something unprecedented in East Asia. The treatise *Ak hak kwebom* (Guide to the Study of Music) of 1493 makes clear that its contents are largely the result of research undertaken at King Sejong's command. This treatise has been the standard work on Korean music for five centuries and is still consulted today.

Under the auspices of King Sejong painting achieved unparalleled status. Both court painters and scholar officials practised the arts of painting and calligraphy and their works testify to the diversity of styles which were evident as well as to the high levels of mastery achieved in the rich cultural atmosphere which prevailed at that time. The field of ceramics also reached a peak of development under King Sejong, particularly *punch’ŏng* ware and white porcelain. The most highly valued ceramics during the Chosŏn period were the white porcelain items, some of which were ordered by a Chinese envoy for the Ming emperor Ren Zong.

King Sejong greatly influenced the development of agriculture in Korea, in particular by ordering the treatise on agricultural theories and practices, *Nongsa chiksilsol* (Straight Talk on Farming) to be written by Chong Ch'ŏ and Pyŏn Hyomun, published in 1429. The invention of the rain gauge was a significant development, as were certain astronomical instruments constructed in Sejong's time. He promoted the use of dykes, the water wheel and other irrigation equipment, and ordered the drawing up of an accurate agricultural calendar based on the improved astronomical instruments designed by his officials.

Growth in medical knowledge culminated in the compilation under King Sejong's direction of several major collections collating prescriptions from both Chinese and Korean sources, as well as other works on medical practice. King Sejong made it possible for everyone to obtain access to medical care through the establishment of clinics and a medical school and through sending government doctors to various parts of the country. He also appointed female physicians to care for female patients, thus overcoming the social taboos of a Confucian society, and arranged for proper health care of prison inmates. He contributed to the establishment of independent medical science in Korea by encouraging the study and use of Korean medicinal herbs and the eventual compilation of *Hyang' yak chipsŏngbang* (The Great Collection of Native Korean Prescriptions, 1433) in 56 volumes and *sŏubang yuch'ui* (Classified Collection of Medical Prescriptions, 1445) in 365 volumes, both of which played an important role in the history of medical science in East Asia. Sejong also contributed to the development of forensic medicine and had guidelines prepared for the conduct of autopsies.

The first legal code in Korea had been proclaimed by T'aeto, the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, in 1397, and revised by the third king, T'aetong, in 1413. When Sejong ascended to the throne, he assigned officials to work on further revision of the code. After several revisions and redrafts, they produced the code known as the second *Sok Yukchŏn*. It is generally acknowledged that no other king had such legal knowledge or did so much to implement the rule of law in Korea. He personally supervised and approved each article of the code and encouraged discussion of each draft. He was said to be concerned 'always to keep in mind the comfort and well-being of the people', and to guard against corruption by those making the laws. Sejong was responsible for reforming the criminal justice system by changing the kinds of penalties and punishments given as well as improving the appeal system. He also strengthened the Confucian family system by adopting the prescribed rules contained in Zhu Xi's book on family ritual. These customs, established firmly in Sejong's time, were to remain in place for many centuries.

King Sejong died at the age of 52. His thirty-two year reign is regarded as a kind of
'golden age' by Koreans today, which is not surprising in view of his remarkable record, not only in the history of Korea, but of the world.

Seo Jung-joo (1915- )

Seo Jung-joo (Sŏ Chŏngju) was born in Kojang, North Chôlla Province. In 1929 he moved to Seoul and entered Chungang High School but was expelled soon after for taking part in a nationwide anti-Japanese movement. He transferred to Kojang High School in the following year but was also subsequently expelled. He then studied Buddhism and entered a Buddhist college but did not graduate.

Sŏ began his poetic endeavours in the mid-1930s and published his first collection of poems in 1941. Hwasa chip (Flower Snake) was an immediate critical success and Sŏ was hailed as one of the most talented young poets in Korea. His works were frequently mixed with Western literary ideals and for this reason many consider his literary origins to be Western. His poems also reject the traditional class structure of Korea and the concept of ‘low’ or ‘high’ births. This period of Sŏ, however, did not last for long as the turbulent days of World War II took him away from poetry. After Korea’s liberation in 1945, Sŏ’s poetry began to reveal a tendency towards an affirmation of the traditional way of life, while still being cognizant of the larger world. His poetry then began to address a myriad of subjects such as the Shilla Kingdom, folktales, and a Buddhist philosophy intermingled with traditional shamanistic beliefs.

Sŏ has a number of collections available including two collections that have been translated into English. Unforgettable Things (trans. David McCann, Si-sa Young-o-sa, 1986) and Selected Poems of Seo Jung-joo (trans. David McCann, Columbia University Press, 1989) provide non-speakers of Korean access to the works of Sŏ. Other Korean language collections include Tŏdori ü shi (Poems of a Wanderer) and Sanshi (Mountain Poems) are among his many poetry collections.

Seoul Arts Centre

Located in Sŏch’o District in southern Seoul, the Seoul Arts Centre (Yesurūi Chŏndang) is an extensive complex with 120 951 metres of floor space, located in a 234 385-square-metre area. Established in the late 1980s and early 1990s in order to promote art and multi-disciplinary cultural activities, the centre is comprised of the Seoul Opera House (established in 1993), the Concert Hall, the Calligraphy Hall, art galleries, an art library and a cultural theme park.

As the centre’s main venue, the Seoul Opera House includes, Towol Theatre, Chayu Theatre, an opera hall, and other facilities. Containing state-of-the-art technical equipment, the opera hall has the capacity to stage five-act operas. With 2 340 seats and three supplementary stages, it can hold simultaneous rehearsals, even during a ticketed-performance.

The Towol Theatre, with 710 seats, is used mainly for plays, but is also available for dances, musicals and operettas. Although of smaller-scale, its stage facilities almost equal those of the opera hall. Chayu Theatre, which has an adjustable seating capacity ranging from 300 to 600 seats, is primarily designed for the production of small-scale and experimental projects. Since there is no fixed separation between the stage and auditorium, the theatre can be easily reconfigured into an arena, proscenium, a typical apron or any other arrangement, in accordance with the director’s wishes.

The Concert Hall was opened in February 1988, with the aim of presenting a wide range of musical performances, including symphony orchestras, choral concerts and chamber music groups. Its main auditorium seats 2 600 people while its recital hall can seat 400. Its
practice rooms, instrument areas and dressing rooms can simultaneously accommodate two full-size orchestras.

With 15,642 square metres of total floor area, the art gallery area has three different types of galleries. Nearby, is the arts library. Consisting of 11,719 square metres of floor space, the library contains reference material, audio-visual facilities, a film archive and two small cinemas, as well as its books on art.

Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) [Broadcasting companies]

Seoul City University

Seoul City University (Sŏul Shirip Taehakkyo) is situated in Tongdaemun Ward in Seoul. Founded in 1918 as the agricultural school Kyŏngsŏng Kongnip Nongŏp Hakkyo, the school became the two-year technical college Sŏul Nongŏp Ch’ŏgŭp Taehak in June 1950. In March 1956, its status was raised to the four-year Sŏul Nongŏp Taehak. In December 1973, the school was transformed from its agricultural role to an industrial college, and was renamed Sŏul Sanŏp Taehak. The college began its master’s degree program in November 1980 and three years later, a doctoral program was instituted. In October 1981, further renaming took place and the college became Sŏul Shirip Taehak (Seoul City College). Following expansion, the college became gained university status in 1987.

Today, the university consists of five colleges (the Colleges of Economics and Business Administration; Engineering; Law and Public Administration; Liberal Arts and Natural Sciences; and Urban Studies), together with four graduate schools (the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Engineering; and Urban Studies). The school’s motto is ‘Truth, Creativity and Service’.

Seoul Metropolitan Museum

Seoul National University

Seoul National University (Sŏul Taehakkyo) is located in Shillim-dong in Seoul. The university was founded by government order on 15 October 1946 as an amalgamation of Keijō (Kor. Kyŏngsŏng) Imperial University and nine public and private colleges. With H. B. Ansted as first president, the new university opened with 4,500 students and 491 faculty members.

Initially, there was a deal of controversy about the creation of a new university, with some dissenters claiming that the government had hastily set up the university without adequate consultation with affected colleges and institutions. However, by 1947, the argument had all but dissipated. In that October, Yi Chunho became the university’s second president. Between 1950 and 1960, the university expanded rapidly, with the addition of six colleges, three professional graduate schools and eleven research institutes. Doctoral programs began in 1957. In 1975, the main campus was transferred from Tongsung-dong in Chongno Ward to the university’s present location in Kwanak Ward.

Today, Seoul National University consists of sixteen colleges, four graduate schools and seventy-one research institutes, together with support facilities. The Kwanak campus, at the foot of Mt. Kwanak, is the university’s main site, while the Yŏn’gŏn Campus in central Seoul contains the colleges and facilities concerned with medicine and health subjects. The colleges of Suwŏn Campus, in Kyŏnggi Province, are devoted to teaching and research in agriculture and associated subjects.

From its inception, the Seoul National University was coeducational. Today, the
The university’s total enrolment is around 28,000 (20,000 undergraduates and 8,000 graduate students) with a 4:1 ratio of male to female students. There are about 1,400 members of faculty. Admission to the university favours strongly those who have performed exceptionally well in their high school studies. The university’s motto is *Veritas Lux Mea* (Truth is My Light).

Seoul National University has the following colleges: agriculture and life sciences; business administration; dentistry; education; engineering; fine arts; home economics; humanities; law; medicine; music; natural sciences; nursing; pharmacology; social science; and veterinary medicine. For postgraduate study and research there are dedicated schools, viz, the Graduate School of the University; the Graduate School of Public Health; the Graduate School of Public Administration; and the Graduate School of Environmental Studies.

The Seoul Metropolitan Museum of Art (Sŏul Shirip Misulgwan) is located in Kyŏnghŭi Palace in Seoul’s Chongno Ward. Established in 1988, the museum has an area of 992-sq. m., in which there are six exhibition halls and an outdoor area for sculpture exhibitions. In addition to its exhibitions, the museum offers general art courses to the public.

**Seoul Nori Madang**

Situated near Olympic Park in southeastern Seoul, Seoul Nori Madang is a traditional amphitheatre established in an effort to preserve and promote Korean folk plays. The amphitheatre consists of an arena and a traditional Korean-style pavilion for musicians, as well as dressing and rehearsal rooms. Performances include traditional music, dance, drama and martial arts.

**Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra (Sŏul Kyohyang Aktan)** [Music]

**Seoul shinmun**

The *Seoul (Sŏul) shinmun* newspaper is a national daily, published in Seoul. It was founded directly after liberation in 1945 and took over the offices and printing facilities of the *Maeil shinbo*, the press organ of the Japanese Colonial Government. It ran its first copy on 23 November 1945, with issue no. 137,381. a number which represents the continuation of a long history of publication reaching back through the *Maeil shinbo* to the *Taehan maeil shinbo*. On the establishment of the *Seoul shinmun*, the president was O Sech’ang, the managing editor Yi Kwan’gu and the editor-in-chief Hong Kimun. Following Korea’s liberation, the *Maeil shinbo* had a decided left-wing orientation, but with the establishment of the American Military Government, an ideological conflict arose. Eventually, a compromise was achieved and the newspaper, renamed the *Seoul shinmun*, was allowed to begin publication with the 23 November edition. After some months, however, publication was temporarily suspended with the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. But by April of the following year, it was again being published as a ‘front-line’ newspaper. After the armistice, the *Seoul shinmun* continued to grow and its management experimented with publishing in a variety of formats, such as the vernacular han’gul script. By October 1958, its editions had increased in size to eight pages, and from 23 March 1959 the publication numbers were changed to reflect the independence of the *Seoul shinmun* from its predecessors. As a result, the issue number of the inaugural edition (23 November 1945) was given the number ‘1’. A fire at the time of the April 1960 students’ uprising caused the loss of many valuable materials in the newspaper’s offices, and in the rebuilding the *Seoul shinmun* was forced to suspend publication for about six months in late 1960. However, with the support of the military government which had seized power in May 1961, the newspaper was able to resume publication on 22 December 1961, with a thirty-six-page edition. The *Seoul shinmun* continued to undergo changes, such as the December 1980 move from an evening to a morning newspaper. Many changes in printing technology have
included the use of CTS (Cold Type System) in 1985, and the computerisation of the printing and editing processes.

Over the history of its publication, the Seoul shinmun has had various sister publications such as the magazine Shin ch’önji (New Heaven and Earth), which was published from 15 January 1946 to May 1951; the weekly magazine Söndeisoul (Seoul Sunday) published from 22 September 1968; and the sports newspaper Chugan süp’och’ú (Weekly Sports) published every week since 30 March 1975. Other innovations included a weekly television guide and a daily sports coverage.

Today, the Seoul shinmun is involved in many community events and it also makes literary awards. It is an established, prominent, and well-liked newspaper, and one which plays a part in many facets of Korean society.

Seoul Special City

History

The origins of Seoul (Hansǒng, Hanyang) can be traced to the Three Kingdoms period of Koguryǒ (37 B.C.-668), Paekche (18 B.C.-660) and Shilla (57 B.C.-935). Originally, the small settlement located in a basin protected by mountains and bisected by the Han River settlement had been the capital of Paekche—before it shifted its capital to Puyǒ. When Paekche fell to the Greater Shilla, the latter set up Hanyang county (Hansan-ju) there in 755 and secured Shilla a gateway through which it could communicate with China across the Yellow Sea. This move contributed greatly to the unification of the peninsula in the next c. Under King Sǒngjong (r.981-997) of Koryǒ (918-1392) its importance was increased when it was designated Yangju-mok, one of the dynasty’s twelve major provinces (983). In 1067 its status was upgraded when it became the Southern Capital (Namgyǒng) - P’yǒngyang being the Northern Capital (Pukkyǒng) and Kyǒngju the Eastern Capital (Tonggyǒng).

Yi Sǒnggye (King T’aejo) who founded Chosǒn in 1392, moved his capital from Kaesǒng to Hanyang (present Seoul) in 1394. Its site not only provided a central position but offered an easy river crossing and possessed auspicious geomantic characteristics. Following Chinese patterns of urban design, Seoul was transformed through King Taejo’s mobilisation of 197 000 men into an eighteen km. walled city encompassing sixteen sq. kms., which became the main site for the shrines of royal ancestors, royal palaces and government offices (Figure 1). When completed in 1394 King Taejo moved his capital to Seoul. In 1396 the administrative district included a circular 4 km. (10-li) no-development zone in and outside of the city walls from which lumber, construction and grave-digging were excluded. The entire area was designated into five districts (bu) — north, south, east, west and central. These were subdivided by King T’aejo into 52 subdistricts (bang). Later they were reduced to 49 districts by King Sejong.

Subsequent developments in the city between the mid-seventeenth c. and the mid-nineteenth c. occurred largely within the fortified area. In 1669 Seoul had a population of 200 000 inside and outside the walls. Most palaces and mansions of the ruling class were built north of a tributary of the Han River; residences of some professional and the working classes were built on the south side. In the central area lived the chungin (middle-class people), comprising translators-interpreters, astronomer-astrologers, accountants, statute law clerks, scribes, government artists or doctors, all of which positions became the virtually hereditary. Remnants of the city’s pre-industrial city are still evident in old palaces, alleys, narrow roads and dead-ends in the city centre.
Seoul's growth in the late nineteenth c. was spurred by the opening of the treaty ports of Pusan (1877), Wŏnsan (1882), Inch'on (1883) Mokp'o (1899), Yongamp'o (1904), Ch'ŏnjin (1908) and Sinŭiju (1910) and the completion of the railways with Inch'on and Pusan. Under Japanese rule (1910-45) a small amount of light industry developed in the Seoul area which attracted migrants from impoverished rural areas. Seoul was one of twelve Korean cities recognised by the Japanese. Indiscriminate growth of Seoul and other Japanese cities led to urban planning regulations being promulgated in 1934.

When Seoul was liberated from the Japanese in 1945 it had a population of 900 000 and an area of almost 135 sq. km. Subsequently, Seoul’s population was inflated by Koreans returning from Japan, Manchukuo and Southeast Asia where they had been drafted by the Imperial power as soldiers, miners and prostitutes. In 1946 Seoul was re-designated as 'Seoul Special City' and separated from Kyŏnggi Province. By 1948 the newly-established government of the Republic of Korea had created Seoul Metropolitan city with a population of 1.42 million and an expanded jurisdiction of almost 270 sq. km. On 25 June 1950 the invading communists from the North reduced the city to rubble. After the 1953 ceasefire Seoul again grew rapidly as relief efforts (including food from the US) attracted 1.2 million people from the north including entrepreneurs, intellectuals and landlords. Without adequate controls over urban development the influx of population led to the development of squatter housing on public and private land. Much of Seoul's workforce was engaged in tertiary activities.

**Population**

Between 1953 and 1966 Seoul's population increased twofold to 3.6 million and by 1975 had reached 6.8 million. As the flow of displaced people to Seoul decreased after 1960 much of the increase stemmed from migrants from impoverished rural areas seeking work in the new factories. Mechanization of agriculture accelerated the flow. After the mid-1970s migration slowed but there was still an inflow of 3 million rural migrants during the 1970s attracted by Seoul’s bright lights and educational opportunities. This influx as accelerated by the growth in real income and development of and development of international trade.

Progressively, population and manufacturing activities have been dispersed to satellite cities within the Seoul Metropolitan Area, notably Anyang, Ûijŏngbù, Inch'on, Puch'ŏn, Sŏngnam and Suwŏn (Figure 2). These satellites are marked by the mass construction of residential housing. Workers employed in Seoul are able to commute from these dormitory areas by subway or bus. Within increased car ownership some of the upper and middle class have moved to the suburbs to take advantage of better living environments. By 1983 Seoul's city population was 9.2 million, the Metropolitan Area was 12.1 million and the Capital Region (Seoul and Kyŏnggi province) 14.7 million. During the 1980s Seoul received a further 2.3 million rural migrants though there was also a net outflow of 120 000 to the neighbouring metropolitan areas of Inch'on Metropolitan Area and Kyŏnggi province. By 1995 Seoul city’s population was 11 million. Its daytime population is estimated at 14-15 million. Many Seoulites are still trying to adjust to city life as 50 per cent of the population came from rural areas and 90 per cent are migrants or their immediate descendants.

**Economy**

Seoul's economy benefited from the switch in government policy in the mid-1960s from an emphasis on basic industries and the development of social overhead capital to export orientated manufacturing which promoted light manufacturing industries. After the mid-1980s the Capital region's share of labour-intensive manufacturing (textiles, apparel,
footwear and rubber products) has declined below that of South Korea as a whole. Its concentration in Seoul city has remained high and heavily dependent upon flexible labour strategies (e.g. performing subcontracting for other firms). Seoul city is still the centre of the garment industry. Assembly-line products such as electronic equipment, furniture, machine assembly and machinery are located in the Capital region where their degree of intensity is above the national average. The electronics industry is not concentrated in Seoul city but in Inch'on and Kyonggi where the government originally initiated its development. Secondary industry’s overall share in Seoul and the Capital Region declined during the 1980s whereas tertiary industries have expanded (Table 1).

Marked developments have occurred in producer services (including wholesaling, finance, insurance and real estate) and high-tech and R&D. Seoul city’s major functions are now international trade, finance, insurance and real estate, and telecommunications. The agglomeration economies offered by Seoul and the Capital Region have also attracted more than half of South Korea’s high-tech and information-oriented industries. The highest rate of growth in employment and number of services has been in business services. More than 80 per cent of technical and computer services are located in Seoul. Some business services have deconcentrated to the adjacent areas of northern Kyonggi and some R&D activities have moved to southern Kyonggi, especially along the Seoul-Pusan Expressway. This overall pattern correlates with the high number of higher educational and corporate research institutes in Seoul and the Capital Region.

Seoul and the Capital Region account for two-fifths of the nation’s population, 44 per cent of capital assets, 61 per cent of managerial personnel and 96 per cent of the top 50 corporate headquarters. Also Seoul and the Capital Region attract most of the international banks, consultants, media and diplomats and a disproportionate amount of foreign direct investment. Although Seoul is the world’s fourth largest urban agglomeration its level of globalization is not commensurate in terms of corporate headquarters, banks and international conferences compared with rival centres.

Much effort is being devoted by its planners to deconcentrating Central Business District activities into a multi-polar structure to provide the basis for Seoul’s status long-term internationalization. Great emphasis is placed on attracting the offices of UN-related activities and on Seoul becoming a major centre of regional cooperation in the Far East. Before Seoul can aspire to global city status improvements in transport, housing and other infrastructure is required.

Infrastructure

Since the 1960s Seoul has enjoyed a significant improvement in water supply, solid waste disposal and transport services. Water supply has kept pace with population; solid waste disposal has benefited from a plant at Inch'on; and traffic management has been good and an efficient bus, subway and commuter rail system has been established to create sub-centres within the Central Business District and to promote dispersion to satellite towns. Progress has been made in tackling the pollution of the Han River by relocating offending industries. Air pollution has been reduced by the change in household fuel from coal to natural gas and imposition of controls over automobile emissions. The collapse of the Söngsu Bridge over the Han River, however, is a timely reminder of the poor quality of infrastructure built during the period of rapid growth during the 1960s and 1970s.

Rising levels of automobile ownership have reversed some of these benefits and created traffic and parking problems, particularly in narrow side roads. Seoul has 1.95 million vehicles and the number is increasing by 200,000 vehicles annually. The Seoul Metropolitan Government is investing heavily in constructing additional subways and urban
expressways to relieve traffic congestion. When completed the subway system will total 278 kms. Forty kms of inner beltways totalling and 186 kms. radial road system are also projected. The operation and management of existing facilities has also been improved through measures for facilitating traffic flow and bus-only lanes. Little attention has been paid to the needs of pedestrians.

The prime infrastructural problem has been the inability of housing construction to keep pace with rapid population growth. This situation has been aggravated by the emergence of the nuclear family, the demolition of older housing units and lower levels of construction than anticipated. About 50 per cent of the population do not own their homes. Often sub-standard houses are redeveloped to house poor migrants and squatting has become a social problem. Squatter housing conditions in Taltongnae (Moon Village) have become a serious political issue. Environmental improvement programs have been extended to include substandard housing projects located in hilly areas which have attracted low income earners.

Culture

Much emphasis is always afforded Seoul's economy and infrastructure but its political and cultural roles are often neglected. Previously, decisions on these matters were made by administrative elites. In 1995 the first democratically elected mayor was installed for a three-year term.

The city is divided into 25 autonomous districts (ku) which are subdivided into 527 sub-districts (dong) (Figure 3). Administration of Seoul, however, is no longer a local matter as its growth affects that of Korea as a whole and is inextricably linked with the fortunes of Northeast Asia.

(Bring in Figure 3)

The new sophisticated national government and financial centre has been located south of the Han River in Yŏūi-do — the ‘Manhattan of Seoul’. It is home to the National Assembly, the Korea Stock Exchange, broadcasting stations and many corporate headquarters. The Daehan Life Insurance Building is 63 storeys high.

Old palaces and museums in central Seoul are important as repositories of Korean culture. Since the 1988 Olympics Seoul has been developed as an important international tourist centre. Its appeal has been broadened by the creation of theme parks including Seoul Dream Land.

Planning

Since the early 1960s the recurrent theme in the Capital Region's planning strategy has been to reduce its growth because Seoul's location was within artillery range of North Korea. A range of growth management strategies have been deployed in an attempt to disperse economic and activities and population from the Central Business District and the city as a whole. Prevention measures were also introduced to curb in-migration. Until the mid-1970s the policies were ineffective and the Capital Region's population was augmented by thousands of new migrants.

After the mid-1970s a raft of new policy instruments were introduced to control the growth of Seoul and the Capital Region. They involved the Population Dispersal Plan for Seoul (1975), the Population Redistribution Plan for the Capital Region (1977) and the Restriction on Construction of Large and Public Buildings in the Capital Region (1982) and the Capital Region Readjustment Plan (1984). Measures included: a green belt to encourage new economic activities to move to satellite cities; an industrial location policy offering both tax
incentives to movers and direct controls on stayers; the development of local industrial estates and Panwol new town; controls on the expansion of educational institutions; designation of a relocation promotion area, the development promotion area, the growth management area, the environment preservation area and the development reservation area; and the use of public transport investment (Figure 4).

(Bring in Figure 4)

These policies have enjoyed limited success because of the difficulties of controlling the movement of population and the persistence of agglomeration economies in Seoul. Given the panoply of measures used, it is difficult to determine if the changes have occurred spontaneously or have been induced by government policy. Direct regulatory measures, however, have been conspicuously unsuccessful. Government regulation and the idealism of planners have been outweighed by the Korean preference for face-to-face contact.

These changes during the 1970s were accompanied by a reorganisation of Seoul city's internal structure. There was a shift of population and functions from the Central Business District (Chongno-ku) south of the Han River. A polynuclear system has resulted. As noted, insurance and finance services have concentrated in Yŏŭido while corporate headquarters and producer services (e.g., technical and computer services) have been attracted to Kangnam. This polynuclear development has aggravated north-south traffic movement.

During the 1980s Seoul’s development was focused on the 1988 Olympics which led to the construction of subways and projects for enhancing the Han River. Redevelopment occurred north of the Han River and the new urban districts of Mok-dong, Kaep'o and Kodŏk were created. Land prices have skyrocketed and housing problems worsened.

The pronounced housing shortage prompted the government to adopt a new strategy contrary to the long-standing policy of deconcentrating activities and exercising growth control in Seoul. Permission was given for the development of five new town developments with 20 km of Seoul's Central Business District — Ilsan and Jungdo'ng to the west and Pundang, Pyŏngchon and Sanbŏn to the south. Covering an area of 294 sq. km their collective population is expected to reach 1.2 million. All towns have been linked to Seoul by an electric commuter railway system. A criticism of this policy was that it did little to assist the poor and homeless.

Since 1990 this planning strategy has been pursued further. While the goal of regional balance in South Korea has been maintained direct economic measures will be employed to generate economic growth in provincial areas. The agglomeration economies of Seoul and the Capital Region will be maintained to support the international competitiveness of Korean industries. Rather than attempting to disperse economic activities from Seoul and the Capital Region to economically backward areas the thrust is to encourage the growth of Seoul and other large cities. This new policy offers tacit recognition of Seoul's role as an international gateway located two hours by air from Tokyo and Beijing. This symmetry has led to speculation that there could be a new urban corridor linking Beijing, Tokyo and Seoul known as BESOTO (Figure 5).

(Bring in Figure 5)

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Source: Hong, 1996: 158.
Fig. 1 The city outline of Seoul showing two distinct areas — the walled city and the surrounding area (Source: Kim and Yoo, 1988: 225).
Fig. 2 Seoul and its satellite cities and new towns (Source: Chung, 1995: 39).
Fig. 3 A map of Seoul showing the 27-ku.
Fig. 4 The Capital region and the five strategic areas (Source: Hong, 1996: 171).
Fig. 5 BESOTO ecumenopolis (*Source*: Choe, 1996: 508).
The term shamanism is widely used to refer to the native religion of the inhabitants of the Korean peninsula before Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism were introduced, as well as to later forms of Korean religion in which the religious specialists commonly referred to as mudang play a pivotal role. The use of the terms shaman and shamanism for these phenomena is surrounded by contention. Part of the problem is the lack of a universally accepted definition of what is a shaman. If, as Mircea Eliade argued, the true shaman is one who has mastered a technique of ecstasy that allows his soul to ascend to heavenly realms, the mudang, who typically is possessed by gods and spirits, cannot be designated as such. A less restrictive definition of the shaman, as a socially recognized religious specialist who has acquired the ability to enter into direct communication with gods and spirits through ecstasy or voluntary possession, and who employs this power for the benefit of others, may include the mudang. The problem remains that, as will be explained below, the term mudang may refer to different types of religious specialist, with different claims to be called a shaman. The term 'shamanism' is also problematic because it may suggest a greater continuity and unity than is warranted. It is questionable whether the oldest and more recent phenomena referred to as shamanism, in spite of fundamental changes in the social status of shamans and the functions of shamanic ritual, have enough in common to be classified within one and the same category. The word shamanism also suggests the existence of a well-defined and institutionalized system of thought, belief and practice, clearly differentiated from other religions. Although in the twentieth century certain associations of mudang have been created (mainly to defend common interests), there never has been a true ecclesiastical organization, nor has there been anything like explicit doctrines or a theology. In fact, some scholars have argued that shamanism, rather than a religion, is a religious phenomenon, which does not necessarily manifest itself as a separate entity, but may exist within the context of another religion, such as Buddhism. In Korea, shamanic patterns may especially be observed in some of the New Religions. On the other hand, in shamanic rituals in Korea an abundance of Buddhist elements can be detected, while Confucian values, too, have influenced the rituals of the mudang. It cannot be denied, however, that in comparison with China and Japan Korean shamanic practices demonstrate a large measure of autonomy vis-à-vis the other religious traditions.

In Korean, shamanism is often referred to as musok, 'shamanic customs'. Alternatively, it is regarded as part of minsok shinang, 'popular beliefs', or called mugyo, 'shamanic religion', or shin'gyo ('religion of the gods'). In spite of these last two appellations, it is rarely regarded as a religion comparable to Buddhism or Christianity, and it is not included in official religious statistics. An exact count of the number of those who believe in shamanism would in any case be impossible, as shamanism is not institutionalized and does not have formally registered, and exclusive, adherents.

Premises

In spite of significant differences according to period, region and person, generally Korean shamanic rituals are based on a number of fundamental premises. Human life is thought to be influenced by gods, ancestral spirits and invisible forces, with whom one may enter into direct contact to improve one's lot. There is no great divide between man and the numinous powers which man may appeal to as a source of spiritual force. Although anyone can pray
to the gods or make simple offerings by him or herself, the shaman's special power to approach, or even incorporate, numinous powers, is for many purposes indispensable.

Metaphors of attaching and loosening structure ritual action: the clients are brought into physical contact with blessings (or their symbolic representations), while impure and harmful influences are dislodged and removed. The grudges of the spirits (a potential source of affliction) are 'untied'. Related are the concepts of 'inside' and 'clean' (positive) and 'outside' and 'unclean' (negative). What is good/clean is brought (or kept) 'inside' (e.g. inside the walls of the family home), what is bad/unclean has to be thrown out.

After death the soul of a person is supposed to live on, either as a potentially beneficent ancestor, or as a restless spirit whose unfulfilled desires and lingering resentments pose a threat to the living. Exceptional personalities after death may become gods.

Shamans

*Mudang* is a general appellation, but there is a great number of regionally determined terms. In Seoul, for female shamans *manshin* (which has a honorific connotation) is used, and *paksu* for male shamans. *Munyo* is another term for female shamans. In the South–West, hereditary shamans are called *tan'gol* (which also may refer to the collectivity of regular clients). On Cheju Island, where male shamans are much more numerous than on the mainland, the term *shimbang* is used. Recently the media have begun to use the term *musogin* ('shamanic customs people) to avoid the pejorative connotations traditionally attached to the word *mudang*.

Korean shamans, like their clients, are predominantly women. Men who act as shamans in central Korea symbolically change themselves into women before they perform a ritual, by putting on a woman's skirt over their own clothes (over which, in turn, the clothes of the deity worshipped are worn). Within her own household the female *mudang* tends to be the dominant figure, rather than her husband, contrary to the traditional Korean pattern. Until the twentieth century to become a *mudang* was one of the very few possibilities for a woman to have a professional career, and the only one that gave her real independence.

*Mudang* can roughly be divided in two types, the inspired shaman (*kangshin mu* or *naerim mudang*, literally 'shaman in whom the gods descend') and the hereditary shaman (*sesup mu*). The inspired shaman, who has the best claim to be called a true shaman, suffers an initiatory illness (*shinbyŏng* or *mubyŏng*), which is interpreted as a divine summons to become a *mudang*. As long as this calling is refused, the illness continues, while the gods even may cause relatives of the sufferer to die. Thus, the decision to become a shaman is not voluntary; the gods force someone to become a *mudang*, whether she wants or not. This pattern, which is very similar to the initiatory process of Siberian shamans, contributes to the personal charisma of the inspired *mudang*, because it implies that her actions represent the will of the gods. Once she accepts her vocation, the new *mudang* spontaneously begins to predict the fortunes of people she happens to meet, some of whom will come to belong to her circle of regular clients (*tan'gol*). At this stage of her career her divine inspiration is at its strongest, but she will not yet be able to sing shaman songs (*muga*) and dance as a full–fledged *mudang* should be able to do, nor does she possess the necessary knowledge of ritual minutiae. To make up for this, she seeks the help of an established *mudang*, who will preside over an initiation ritual (*naerim kut*), where the aspiring shaman has to demonstrate her newly acquired powers, and over a number of years will coach her in the various ritual skills she needs. The established shaman and the novice are called 'spirit mother' (*shin ǒmŏni*) and 'spirit daughter' (*shin ttal*). In recent years, this relationship is less frequently found, and numerous *mudang* learn their craft in different ways, for example in a newly established 'mudang school' in Seoul, or by reading books. Inspired *mudang* usually have one god acting as a special guardian deity, the *momju* ('master of the body'), but worship many more in a special room in their homes.
called shindang, which is adorned with pictures and other representations of the deities, such as brass mirrors and statues.

During the rituals the momju and other gods and spirits possess the mudang, but this possession is strictly controlled. When the right moment comes the mudang makes the gods descend into her body so that they may speak directly to her clients, who as long as she is possessed treat her with the reverence due to the deity. The mudang all the time remains conscious of what happens. Because she maintains control, one should not regard the mudang as a maladjusted, unstable, neurotic personality, as sometimes has been done. In fact, a successful mudang, apart from the ability to sing, dance and make music, needs more than average social skills.

Hereditary shamans do not experience shinbyōng and possession and consequently have a less immediate relationship with the gods, who do not speak directly through their mouths. A large part of their authority is drawn from their superior skills as performers (which they have learned from infancy). In fact, they may be regarded as priestesses rather than shamans, but the distinction is not always easy to make. Even among hereditary mudang, a particular personal disposition, comparable to the vocation of the inspired shaman, is often thought to be needed, and in practice one may observe that in certain regions (particularly along the East Coast) possessed and hereditary mudang perform rituals together. (For major rituals mudang work together in teams, in which each takes turns, making music, dancing and singing.) Although the hereditary shamans do not get possessed themselves, possession still is part of some of the rituals they perform. In rituals for the dead, relatives of the deceased may act as spirit mediums.

Hereditary mudang are typical of southern Korea, while inspired mudang are said to be dominant in the central and northern regions. All over the country, however, one finds a type of inspired shamans (son mudang ('half-done/inexperienced mudang') without ritual skills, who perform very simple rituals or concentrate on fortune-telling. Among such shamans, those who are possessed by the ghost of a dead child are often called myōngdu.

Traditionally the social status of the mudang is extremely low, a factor inhibiting easy acceptance of the vocation of the possessed shamans. Because a mudang in the family lowers the status of the family as a whole, relatives often fiercely oppose one of their number becoming a shaman. Among hereditary shamans, social discrimination has encouraged intermarriage between families of shamans. The husbands of hereditary shamans often take part in the rituals as musicians. On the East Coast these are called hwaraengi.

Gods, spirits and invisible influences

Nearly all the gods worshipped by Korean shamans are represented as anthropomorphic and approached as if they were (very powerful) human beings, with a human predilection for good food, drink and beautiful clothes. When, during a ritual, the gods address the believers, they often adopt the tone of a human superior who upbraids his subordinates for their shortcomings, or in a fatherly tone tells them not to worry as long as he is on their side.

The shamanic pantheon is open and at any time may accommodate new additions. Thus, during the past hundred years, mudang have included Jesus Christ, General Douglas McArthur, and General Park Chung-Hee among the deities they worshipped. An exhaustive enumeration of the hundreds of gods is impossible, but certain major categories may be outlined, such as the gods related to the house and the family, and gods of certain localities. Sōngju is the guardian deity of the house and its master. Samshin (often referred to as 'Grandmother Samshin') is a deity related to childbirth and the raising of children. Samshin is often identified with Chesōk, a deity of Indian origin (Sakra devanam Indra),
who came to Korea with Buddhism. Chishin is the deity of the earth, who is closely linked
to the mistress of the house. Also classified under the house gods are the Taegam
('Excellencies') who bestow wealth. Bringers of good luck are the $\delta p$, who appear in the
shape of certain animals. Individual families may also have particular ties with certain gods.

Mountain gods (Sanshin) take a prominent place among the local gods. They are often
represented as white--haired old men, accompanied by a tiger. According to some scholars,
originally the tiger itself was the mountain god. To the shamans mountains are numinous
places where, after thorough purification, they go to pray. Another type of local god,
Sŏnghwang (or Sŏnang), takes its name from the Chinese City God (Ch'enghuang), but in
Korea Sŏnghwang is associated with mountains rather than with cities. Most likely the
veneration of Sŏnghwang is a variation of the worship of mountain gods as local tutelary
deities. In the Chosŏn period the Confucian government also worshipped mountain gods
and Sŏnghwang, but such worship should not be regarded as shamanic, although in some
cases the distinction may have become somewhat blurred. The people would attach the
name of Sŏnang to village gods (often represented by an old tree or a heap of stones) who
had no place in the official ritual codes.

There are also numerous gods who do not fall in the two categories mentioned above.
Remarkable are the many martial deities, often deified heroes and generals from Korean or
Chinese history (Gunung, Shinjang). Most of them have extraordinary valour and a tragic,
untimely death in common. Examples are General Ch'oe Yŏng (1316–1388), who was
killed by the founders of the Yi dynasty, and the Chinese general Kuan Yu (?–219), who
also was widely venerated outside the context of shamanic rituals. Pyŏlsang are the spirits
of princesses who died of smallpox, or kings and princes who came to a tragic end.
Ch'ilsŏng (literally 'Seven Stars', i.e. the constellation Ursa Major) is a deity with both
Taoist and Buddhist connections who grants (new) life and longevity. The Dragon King
(Yongwang) is a god of water (seas, rivers, ponds, wells etc.). Sonnim (literally, the
'Guest') is the deity of small-pox, who as long as the disease was common in Korea,
would be received with great courtesy in homes where children were ill with smallpox, in
the hope that he would leave without inflicting death. Grandmother Taeshin ('Great Spirit
Grandmother') is a deified mudang who leads the ancestors to the place of the ritual,
making possible the reunion of the living and the dead, as a the mudang who performs the
ritual does.

Ancestral spirits (chosang) play an important role in shaman rituals as well as in
Confucianism, but the concept of what makes achosang is different. Whereas
Confucianism only honours patrilineal ancestors who through marriage have produced
descendants, the shamanic concept of chosang includes matrilineal ancestors and the spirits
of unmarried relatives, and even of children who during their life were junior to those who
during the ritual treat them as 'ancestors'. In practice, the chosang who in rituals make an
appearance by possessing the shaman, mainly are those of persons whom the participants
knew personally.

There is also a multitude of smaller spirits and gods (chapkwi and chapshin) who, although
less significant, receive some attention in the opening and closing parts of rituals.

Shamans also recognize various kinds of noxious influences that may attach themselves
to humans, threatening their life and well--being. Examples are the pollution that arises from
death ($sangmun$), unexpected misfortune that happens to cross one's way ($hoengsu/hongsu$, $hoengaek/hongaek$), and baleful influences ($sal$) that strike when people
are polluted or in a dangerous transitional period.

Rituals and Other Activities of the Shamans

Divination may be called the most fundamental of the activities of the mudang, because it
allows her to diagnose the situation of her clients and prescribe appropriate action in the form of simple or elaborate rituals. The most important functions of the costly large-scale shamanic rituals (kut) are to obtain good luck (chaesu kut) in one form or another (success in business, a good catch for the fishermen, etc.), to heal (p’yang kut or uhwan kut), and to conduct the souls of the newly dead (especially of those who have died an unnatural, gruesome death) to 'a good place' (chinogwi kut or ogu kut).

Kut for good luck may be held for a family, but also for larger communities, such as a group of fishermen, the inhabitants of a village, the shopkeepers of a particular market, or residents of an urban neighbourhood.

Healing kut are based on the idea that disgruntled spirits, angry gods and noxious influences are the cause of ill-health. At present, the mudang mainly conduct such rituals for patients whose complaints cannot satisfactorily be treated through western or Chinese medicine.

Rituals for the dead try to take away the grudges and frustrations that make them a danger for the living and make it possible for them to become proper ancestors, who help their relatives rather than harm them. Specific forms of such rituals are designed to bring back the souls of those who have died at sea, and to join the spirits of dead bachelors and girls in posthumous wedlock. When the spirits of the dead (chosang) appear during a ritual and, through the medium of the mudang, talk with their next of kin, very strong emotions (feelings of guilt, anger or grief) may be unleashed, making the ritual a cathartic experience.

Music, dancing and singing, intended to entertain the gods, are indispensable elements of all major rituals. The music marks the different parts of the ritual and, more generally, helps to create a sacred space in which the limitations of the normal, everyday world can be overcome and life changed for the better. For the possessed mudang, possession comes while she is dancing and is indicated by a change of rhythm and dance movements. Once she is possessed the mudang begins to jump up and down to an insistent beating of the drum. At a certain point of the ritual, the clients, too, are invited to dance in the robes of one of the gods, a way to become one with the deity for a few moments and thus directly receive his blessing. Such dancing is called mugam.

Within a kut, separate sections (köri) are devoted to individual deities or groups of deities or spirits. The rituals generally begin outdoors for minor spirits, then move inside the house or shrine for the sections for the major deities, and finish outdoors again with a section for the lesser spirits. The sections, too, have a common structure: an invitation to descend to the site of the ritual, the offering of food, drinks and entertainment (music, dance and song), prayer and the relaying of the messages of the gods through the mouth of the mudang (kongsu; not, however, with the hereditary shamans), and finally sending the gods on their way after these have promised protection and support. The possessed mudang of central Korea for each köri don the clothes that belong to the deity who is venerated, expressing the identification of the mudang with the god that takes place during the ritual.

From a psychological point of view, too, there is a fixed pattern in the rituals. First the wishes and desires of the believers are made explicit and the circumstances specified that might stand in the way of their realization. Then, in the special atmosphere created by the ritual, where the oppressive restrictions of mundane daily existence recede in the distance, it is made plausible that the difficulties will be overcome with the help of the gods. In this respect, various kinds of divination during the ritual that aim to establish whether it has been successful also contribute to its psychological efficacy. A similar function have certain feats performed by the mudang, such as standing on razor-sharp knives or lifting heavy brass objects, holding them between the teeth, acts that the mudang only is supposed to be capable of when possessed.
Mudang also may prescribe simpler and less expensive rituals *(pison, pinyŏm, sonbim or ch’isŏng)* after they have established what is the cause of a client’s problems. Together with the client the *mudang* will pray, —that a mother will have enough milk for her baby, or a husband cease his philandering, for instance—, or she will exorcize noxious influences. Furthermore, *mudang* determine lucky days for certain actions and manufacture talismans *(pujŏk)*. Contacts of this kind, which are cheaper and much more frequent than the *kut*, are of great importance in maintaining the relationship between a shaman and her regular clientele. If the health of children is weak, clients may conclude a fictive adoption contract with the *mudang*, whereby the child becomes a 'grandchild' of the gods and receives divine protection. This practice (which has parallels in other Korean religions) is called *myŏngdari* (literally 'life-bridge').

For the musical accompaniment of shaman rituals, drums (usually the hourglass-shaped *changgo*, sometimes the cylindric *puk*), gongs and cymbals are the most basic instruments. The drum, in particular, is the shamanic instrument *par excellence*. The *mudang* who dances and sings sometimes holds a set of small bells in one hand. A peculiar instrument is the *koritchak*, a wicker basket that is rhythmically scratched. For more elaborate *kut*, the Korean shawm (*p’iri*), the transverse flute (*taegŭm*), the two-string fiddle (*haegŭm*) and the double-reed oboe (*hojŏk*) are also used, but they are usually played by shamans’ husbands or professional musicians.

For many rituals the only clients present are women, they but usually act for the benefit of the whole family, the men included, assuming important ritual responsibilities. Even in village rituals households often are represented by the women. A rare example of a kind of ritual where male believers predominate are the rituals fishermen sponsor for a good catch and safety at sea.

**Historical Development**

According to records from the Koryŏ period, shamans were active at the courts of the Three Kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Shilla. The second king of Shilla, Haenam, used a title *(ch’ach’aung)* that carried the meaning of 'shaman', but it is uncertain whether this implied that he actually performed shamanic tasks. There is no doubt that the governing elite often put trust in shamans. Surviving records suggest that shamans practiced divination, healed illnesses, and transmitted the words of gods and ancestral spirits who descended in their bodies. In the Koryŏ period, the government continued to employ shamans, to pray for rain for instance, but there were increasing signs of tension between the elite and shamans and of the social decline of the latter. The scholar–statesman Yi Kyubo (1168–1241) in a long poem (*The old mudang*) mocked the ritual of a female shaman and expressed satisfaction that the government had ordered the expulsion of all shamans from the capital.

With the advent of Neo–Confucianism as the official orthodoxy in the Chosŏn period, shamanic rituals, together with other forms of popular religion and Buddhism, were even more strongly disavowed and suppressed by the government, although it took some time before even the elite accepted the new values. In the early 15th c., *yangban* would still entrust the tablets of their ancestors to *mudang*. Yet the hostility of Confucians towards the shamans grew, and sometimes they would violently disrupt rituals or destroy shrines. Socially, shamans were relegated to the lowest stratum of society, the so–called 'base people' *(ch’ŏnmin)*. In spite of all repression, it was only in the 17th c., however, that the shamans completely lost their public function in rituals of the central government. They continued to serve the women of the elite (including the royal court), with private rituals. In this way they might gain an influence incongruous with their low formal status. For men, participation in shamanic ritual came to be seen as incompatible with *yangban* status. By the end of the 19th c. the clients of the shamans typically consisted of women of all classes and of non–elite men.
After the opening of Korea in 1876, shamans also became a target for scathing criticism from progressive reformers and Christian missionaries. After they gained power in Korea, the Japanese colonial overlords, too, attempted to suppress what they, together with many educated Koreans, regarded as 'superstition' (mishin). They commissioned studies of shamanism in order to devise the best policy to deal with it. At the same time, however, certain Korean intellectuals began to recognize shamanism (or some aspects of it) as part of their ethnic identity, and made it into an object of serious study. The two most prominent scholars of this kind were Yi Nung-hwa (1869–1945) and Son Chint'ae (1900–?). Elements of shamanism were also used as motifs or symbols in literary or artistic creations. The short story 'Portrait of a Shaman' (Munyodo) published by Kim Tongni in 1936 is a famous example.

After Liberation the fate of shamanism was different in the North and the South. In the North, it was uniformly regarded as reactionary superstition, and—as far as we know—completely eradicated. Many shamans from the northern part of the Korean peninsula managed to escape to the South, however, where they remained active, catering to the needs of other refugees from the North. In the South, rejection and more positive evaluations of shamanism continued to coexist. In the 1970s the New Village Movement targeted shamans as exponents of superstitious practices, but around the same time the government officially began to recognize certain shamans as keepers of authentic traditional Korean culture. Scholars had already provided an academic basis for this by tracing the origins of various forms of Korean music and literature back to shaman rituals. In the 1980s the dissident minjung movement emphasized the function of shamanism as a repository of the sensibilities and culture of the oppressed masses. Shamanic symbolism became part of student demonstrations. Certain shamans began to perform in urban theatres and at universities, or travelled abroad to confront foreign audiences. Some of them appeared on television and acquired 'superstar' status. In the 1990s, this trend continued, while a few shamans published books about their lives and their rituals, shattering the ancient, stereotypical image of the shaman as illiterate and totally uneducated.

South Korea's rapid urbanization as a consequence of economic development and great progress in the general level of education have not resulted in the disappearance of shamanism, which often had been considered as a rural phenomenon typical of backward, under-developed corners of the country. The shamans have successfully managed to adapt to the needs of a fast-changing society and are active in the metropolis of Seoul in sizeable numbers. One of the factors that seems to keep the shamans in business is the uncertainty due to the vagaries of the market in a capitalistic system. As a consequence of new life styles the form and functions of the rituals have changed. When private cars became more common, for instance, mudang began to perform blessing rituals for newly bought automobiles (ch'akaosa). Better transportation has made it possible for mudang to perform rituals far away from their home. Conversely, many shamans from the countryside have migrated to the big cities, where they sometimes cooperate with shamans from other areas. A blurring of regional differences has been the result. Increased mobility has also dealt a blow to the tangol system that linked a mudang and her successors to several generations of regular clients.

Modern rituals are usually much shorter than those of the past, which might last for several days. The number of people attending nowadays is often very small, in contrast to the rural rituals which all the neighbours would come to see. The exception to this are the rituals that take place outside their traditional setting, when kut are presented to large audiences in theatres or stadiums as folkloric performances.

**Bibliography**


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Shaman Songs

The songs sung by the Korean shamans, the mudang (both of the possessed and of the hereditary type), are usually referred to as muga; mudang songs. Alternative appellations are mudang sori (same meaning) and shin'ga ('divine songs'). These terms cover a great variety of songs and chants used during rituals to invite down gods and spirits, to sing their praise, to ask them for blessings, to entertain them and, when they possess the shaman, to transmit their words (kongsu). Some of this is, in fact, spoken rather than sung. For each part of the ritual (kori) and for each of the deities to whom such a kori is devoted, there are separate muga. These may be very short, or they may take hours to sing in their entirety. There are simple invocations, descriptive passages, narrative songs explaining the origins of deities (ponp 'uri), and lyrical songs as well as comic dialogues and other pieces of a dramatic nature (nori). In the style of singing and content there is considerable regional differentiation, although certain motifs and plot types are found almost nation-wide. Singing is usually accompanied by percussion instruments (drum, cymbals, gong) or, in more elaborate rituals, by wind instruments like the p'iri (the Korean oboe) and the flute, or by the two-stringed fiddle (haegum).

There is no canonical version of the muga and the texts are not completely fixed. One and the same mudang may sing the same song in different ways on different occasions, adapting it to the demands of the audience and the circumstances. In this way, the retelling of an old tale may serve to express the concerns of the moment. Changes in the text may also occur when muga are handed down from one generation of mudang to another. Because the songs are part of the means for conducting a ritual rather than the explicit expression of dogma or doctrines, there is considerable leeway to introduce new motifs and tales, as long as these fit the general tenor of the ritual and enhance its performance. For these reasons the texts are in constant flux, but the mudang tend to use the same kind of formulaic phrasing in their continuous recreation of the songs.

The transmission of the songs has been mainly oral but, from at least the early part of the 20th c., written texts - manuscripts as well as printed books - have been used, too. Of late, the latter have increased in importance, while more modern means to learn the songs, such as tapes, have also become available. The effect of these recent developments seems to be a
greater standardization. Shamans of the East Coast, for instance, in their rendering of the Tale of Shim Ch’ŏng nowadays follow a commercially published version of the story almost word for word.

Although muga are assumed to have been in existence as long as there have been mudang, the texts at our disposal, but for a few exceptions, all were written down in the 20th c. One example of an older text by some regarded as a mugais a song from Shilla, the hyangga ‘Ch’ŏyong ka’, but it remains uncertain whether it ever was really used in shaman rituals. With some of the songs in the Shiyŏng hyangakpo a ('Korean Musical Scores for Periodical Events,' presumably 16th.) one is on firmer ground. In the 19th c., fragments of muga were recorded in p’ansori libretti. The first modern collection of muga was published by Son Chin’‐tae in 1930, and after the Japanese Akiba Takashi and Akamatsu Chijo put together a second volume in 1937, many other collections followed, most of them in the period between 1970 and the present, resulting in a voluminous corpus of songs from every region, including the North, from where, after 1945, many mudang fled to the South.

In spite of the fact that almost all of the muga known to us were recorded quite recently, they are often supposed to be one of the oldest forms of Korean literature, if not the oldest, and to have influenced various later genres. In the absence of a substantial body of older muga this is difficult to prove. The mugado, however, contain certain elements already present in the oldest historical writings of the peninsula. Thus in the muga of Cheju-do one finds many of the motifs found in the Koryŏsa account of the origin of the three foremost families of the island, and the plot of the Cheju-do muga called Samgong ponp’uri is, in part, similar to that of the story about King Mu of Paekche as told in the Samguk yusa. Yet it must be assumed that the muga have been subject to constant change. In fact, in their present form they show the influence of genres of vernacular literature that flourished during the later Chosŏn period (shijo, kasa, ko-sosol, p’ansori), rather than the other way around.

Most of the interest in the muga has focussed on the ponp’uri, the narrative songs which explain the origin of a deity and may be regarded as a kind of myth. A review of the stories told in these songs reveals a great and varied number of correspondences with other genres. Some are of the same type as well-known folktales (from Korea and elsewhere), others contain Buddhist elements, or are based on Chinese or Korean traditional novels. Although predominantly an oral genre, there is ample evidence of influences from written literature on the muga, possibly mediated by the husbands of the mudang, who often were musicians in the service of the government and as such had opportunity for contact with upper-class culture.

The best known examples of ponp’uri, widely distributed and recorded in numerous variants, are devoted to Pari kongju or Paridegi, the Abandoned Princess (who was the first mudang and guides the spirits of the dead to Paradise), and to the deity of childbirth (often referred to as Chesŏk). In the latter resemblances have been detected to the myth of the founder of the ancient state of Koguryŏ. Different from this and other ancient myths or tales, the muga put greater emphasis on the exploits of female protagonists, not surprising in view of the predominance of women among both mudang and their audiences. Other ponp’uri (e.g. Ch’angse ka) are unique in Korean tradition as myths describing the origin of the universe and mankind, and of suffering and evil. These songs belong to a type of tale that is distributed from Central Asia and Siberia to China and South-East Asia and has possible cognates even further afield. This alerts us to the fact that the muga, although undoubtedly highly typical of Korean culture, also deserve to be examined in a much wider context.

Bibliography
Situated to the south of Inch’ŏn in Kyŏnggi Province, Shihŭng was designated a city in 1989. Except for Suam Peak on the southeastern border, most of the city is under 200 metres in elevation. The city’s topography is characterised by low hills and areas of heavy erosion.

As part of the Kyŏngin industrial district that stretches from Seoul to Inch’ŏn, the city has recently experienced a huge increase in population. Taking advantage of the city’s proximity to Inch’ŏn’s port and the Seoul metropolitan area, factories in the area produce a wide range of goods including textiles, chemicals, metalwork, machinery, electrical appliances and electronics.

Agriculture is another important source of local revenue. Rice cultivation is common in the plains or on the reclaimed land along the coast. Dry field crops, such as turnips, Chinese cabbage, spinach and leeks, along with fruit crops such as peaches, grapes and pears are transported from here to nearby Seoul and Inch’ŏn. Coastal products include crabs and shrimp. In addition, the area has the most extensive salt flats in Korea.

The city’s tourist industry is primarily centred around sports fishing along the coast and in the Kyesŏ, Toch’ang and Murwang Reservoirs. Visitors also come to see the city’s historical sites and relics. Comb-style pottery has been discovered in Chongwang-dong and eight dolmens have been found Mokkam-dong. Buddhist relics include a 14-metre high standing Bodhisavattva etched on to a rock face on the eastern side of Mt. Sorae. Believed to date from the late Koryŏ or early Chosŏn period, this is one of the largest such engravings in all of Korea.

In Hwajŏng-dong, one finds Ojŏnggak. This shrine was built in honour of Kim Mun’gi (?-1456), who sought to restore the deposed King Tangjong (r. 1452-1455), and the following five generations of Kim’s male offspring. On nearby Mt. Maha (246m) is Mangwŏl (Gazing at Yŏngwŏl) Rock. Kim Mun’gi’s grandson Ch’ungju, lamenting Tangjong’s banishment to Yŏngwŏl, is said to have come up here every day and wept as he looked out in the direction of Yŏngwŏl. Legend has it that where his tears fell, a pine tree withered and died. Kosong-jŏng (Withered Pine Pavilion) was erected at the site to commemorate the event.

Shihŭng

1177

Shiyo

[Shïgup (tax villages)]

Shihŭng

Shilla kolp’umche sahoe wa hwarang do (The Shilla Social Bone-Rank System and the Way of Hwarang)

Shilla kolp’umche sahoe wa hwarang do, written by Yi Kidong, discusses the political and social structures of the Shilla Kingdom. It was first published in 1980 by the Han’guk Yŏn’guwŏn and then reissued in 1984 by Ilchogak Publishers. In this work the author examines the rise and decline of the kolp’um (bone-rank) system of Shilla, emphasising its...
political, social and cultural implications and developments. Moreover, the kolp'um system is examined in its relationship to the Hwarang to (The Way of Hwarang). This work is largely divided into three main sections. The first examines the formation of the kolp'um system and the structure of the ruling classes of Shilla, and the second analyses the social, political and cultural implications of the kolp'um system. In the third section the author explores the relationship between the kolp'um system and the hwarang to and the social implications of the hwarang to within kolp'um society. This work is valuable for understanding the structure and role of the kolp'um system and the hwarang to, the two most notable social institutions of Shilla.

Shillük Temple [Architecture]

Shimch'öng chön [Literature; Music]

Shimch'öng ka [Literature]

Shimwôn Temple [Architecture]

Shin Ch’aeho (1880-1936)

Shin Ch’aeho was a historian, public figure and an independence fighter. His family’s ancestral home is in Koryông and his many pen names included Ilp’yŏn tansaeng and Tanjae. Moreover, Shin was given names such as Muaesang and Kömsim and used aliases such as Yumyŏngwŏn. He was born in Sannae in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province and raised in Ch’ŏngwŏn in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. Shin studied the classics under his grandfather’s tutelage until he was eighteen, at which time he entered the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) and began formal studies. While at the National Academy, Shin was fortunate to receive special attention from Yi Chongwŏn, who was director of the school, and he also studied under such renowned scholars as Yi Namgyu. Moreover, while at the Academy he became associated with such men as Kim Yŏnsŏng, Pyŏng Yŏngman, Yi Changshik and Yu Inshik among others. It was also at this time that Shin embarked upon his independence activities.

When Shin was twenty-two he returned to the area of his hometown and took a position as an instructor at the Mundong Academy and together with Shin Kyushik carried out educational enlightenment activities in the area. Three years later Shin, Shin Kyushik and Shin Paegu established the Sandong Academy in this same region, and it was here that they endeavoured to carry out the so-called ‘new education’ activities. In February 1905, Shin was appointed as an instructor at the National Academy and at this time also began his activities with the Hansŏng shinmun Newspaper. However, the authorities indefinitely suspended the paper in November of the same year. In the following year Shin was recommended for a position with the Taehan maeil shinbo (Korean Daioly News) and he then began to write articles in this newspaper for both the enlightenment of the common man and also to expound on various historical documents.

It was through Shin’s love of history that he was able to instil a sense of national pride in the Korean people. This was his way of countering the negative impact that the Japanese influence and domination of Korea was having on the national self-esteem of the Korean people. Therefore when he wrote works such as Yi Sunshin chön (Biography of Yi Sunshin) Ŭlji Mundŏk chön (Biography of Ŭlji Mundŏk), he did so not only for his love of history, but also as a means to create a sense of honour among the people for their past national heroes. However, after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, Shin’s literary activities and flair for nationalism caused him a great deal of trouble with the Japanese authorities and eventually caused him to flee to China for his personal safety.
Shin participated in several of the anti-Japanese groups that sprang up during Japan’s encroachments on Korea. He participated in the New People’s Association (Shinmin Hoe) with such patriots as An Ch’angho, Yi Hoeyong, Yi Kap and Yi Sängeun, and also in a branch organisation of the New People’s Association, the Young Students Association (Ch’ôngnyón hakhoe) with An Ch’angho, Yun Ch’ilho and Ch’oe Namsŏn. While in China, Shin continued to both participate in anti-Japanese groups and write for various publications. He wrote in the Pukkyŏng ilbo (Beijing Daily News) and the Tongnip shinmun (The Independent) which was the organ of the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min’guk Imshi Chongbu). Shin also had his critiques and theses published in papers in Korea such as the Tonga ilbo and the Chosŏn ilbo. Accordingly, his fame as a writer grew while he was in exile. Shin’s writings also drew the attention of the Japanese and in 1928 he was arrested for a piece that called on Koreans to attack the Japanese and their establishments. He was sentenced to ten years in jail and sent to Lushen Prison where he died from illness in 1936.

Shin is widely acclaimed as one of the finest historians of his day. His many works cast Korean history in a new light and popularised many Korean historical figures. Not only was he an excellent historian, but he also was a great patron of traditional Korean arts. This can be viewed in his encouragement of p’ansori (dramatic one-man storytelling) at a time when this art was looked down upon by many in the upper classes. However, Shin recorded p’ansori performances and even tried his hand at writing these. For this reason Shin’s works are highly valuable data in many fields including history, literature and musicology.

Shin ch’onji

Shin Hŭm (1566-1628)

Shin Hŭm was a scholar-official of the middle Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in P’yŏngsan, his courtesy name was Kyŏngsuk and his pen names included Hyŏnhŏn, Sango’on and Pangong. His father Shin Sŭngsŏ was an Inspector (tosa) of Kaesŏng and his mother, of the Unjin Song family, was the daughter of the Sixth State Councillor, Song Insu. The young Shin studied under the tutelage of his mother’s father and Yi Chemin.

In 1585 he passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwŏn shi) and in 1586 he also passed the Special Examination (pyŏlsi). After passing the civil service examinations, Shin assumed a post at the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) as a Third Proctor (hagyu). From 1589 he held a variety of posts such as First Diarist (pongyo) at the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan) and Bailiff (kamch’al) at the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). With the outbreak of the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Shin found himself ostracised by the Eastern faction that held power at the time, and was appointed as Superintendent of the Post Stations (ch’albang), but due to the war he was not able to take office. He continued carrying out official activities and as a result was promoted to Fourth Inspector (chip’yŏng) due to his service. In 1593 he was appointed as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of Personnel (Ijo) and after this time held a succession of government posts.

The times that Shin was active in the Chosŏn government were very turbulent with not only the Japanese invasion, but also the political infighting that eventually resulted in Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) being deposed. Shin was not immune to these struggles and was exiled in 1616 due to his role in the degradation of the Queen Mother, but was pardoned in 1621. In 1623 at the same time that King Injo (r. 1623-1649) took the throne, he was appointed as Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of Personnel and he also served as Director (taeje’akh) of the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan) and the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan). In addition, later in the same year he was selected as Third State
Councillor (uūijong). With the outbreak of the 1627 Manchu Invasion he was selected as Second State Councillor (chwaūijong) and also fled the capital with the crown prince to Chŏnju for safety and in the next year he served as Chief State Councillor (yŏngūijong) before his death.

Shin is also remembered for his literary accomplishments and is praised along with his contemporaries such as Yi Shik and Chang Yu for his contributions to the Sino-Korean literature of the day. Among the extant literary works by Shin, Sangch'on chip (Collected Works of Sangch'on) and Yaŏn are highly praised.

**Shin Ikhūi (1894-1956)**

Shin Ikhūi was an independence fighter and a politician. His pen name was Haegong and he was born in Kwangju, Kyŏnggi Province. When Shin was young he studied the Chinese classics before eventually attending Waeseda University in Japan. When he returned to Korea in 1913 he took a position as an instructor at Chungdong School, but after learning of the doctrine of self-determination being espoused by the American president Woodrow Wilson, Shin joined the independence movement with vigour. He participated in the March First Independence Movement in 1919 and as a result led the life of a fugitive for the next twenty-six years.

While a refugee, Shin roamed through many parts of China. He joined the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan min'guk imshi chongbu) and helped draft the Constitution of this government in exile. He also served the provisional government in a variety of capacities including in the Office of Foreign Affairs and the Home Office. Shin’s approach to independence for Korea began as a peaceful one, but this soon changed to a philosophy that advocated the use of force to win back Korea’s sovereignty. Accordingly, Shin travelled throughout China and tried to enlist Korean youth into a resistance army. Towards the end of the colonial period, Shin managed to combine his resistance army with the Chinese revolutionary army to form a united front against the Japanese. However, the impact of this army was not major.

After liberation in 1945 Shin returned to Korea and formed the Korean Citizens Independence Fostering Association (Taehan Tongnip Ch’oksŏng Kungmin Hoe) and acted as its vice-chairman. During this time he also served as dean of Kungmin College and as president of the Chayu Shinmun Company, which published the Chayu shinmun newspaper. In 1947 he formed the Korean People’s Party (Taehan Kungmin Tang) and in 1950 merged this party with the Korean Democratic Party (Han’guk Minju Tang), which created the Democratic Nationalist Party (Minju Kungmin Tang) of which he served as chairman. In 1956 he was selected as the opposition party presidential candidate to oppose Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman) in the upcoming presidential elections. However, while campaigning in Chŏlla region, Shin suffered a heart attack and died. He is praised for both his independence and political activities that helped shape the early days of the Republic of Korea.

**Shin Kyŏngnim (1936- )**

Shin Kyŏngnim is a poet who was born in Chungwŏn of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. He graduated from the English Literature Department of Dongguk University in 1967. His literary career began in 1955 with the publication of his poem Nattal in the monthly magazine Munhak yesul. However, his work was sporadic at first and he did not begin to publish in earnest until the late 1960s. Shin has been honoured with several literary awards including the Munhak yesul Commendation in 1955, the Manhae Literary Prize in 1973, the Korean Literature Prize in 1981 and the Isan Literature Prize in 1990.

Shin’s main literary interest is found in rural lifestyles and is characterised by a deep
affection for those whose lives are rooted in the soil. The various rural scenes that are portrayed in his works reveal a consciousness of the farmer and his life that has been trampled by the processes of industrialisation. His poetry is written with an epic lyricism in which the personal emotions of the poetic subject are fused with the third-person narrative of the activities that are described in the work. Shin has incorporated many traditional forms of Korean lyricism into his work such as that found in traditional genres such as kasa, folksongs (minyo) and shaman songs (muga). This has expanded his poetic realm and also has tied his work closely to the culture of those whom he chiefly writes about. Moreover, the metre of his works is closely tied to that of traditional Korean oral literature, which adds authenticity to the works.

Shin has many publications including poetry collections such as Nongmu (Farmer's Dance, 1973), Kananhan sarang norae (Love Songs of the Poor, 1988), Sshikkim kut (Cleansing Rite, 1987) and Yörüm nal (Summer Day, 1991). He has also published literary criticism collections such as Urishi üi ihae (Understanding Our Poetry, 1986) and prose collections like Minyo kihäen 1, 2 (Journeys in Search of Folksongs 1, 2; 1985, 1989).

Shin Kyushik

Shin Saimdang (1504-1551)

Shin Saimdang is a representative female painter and poet of the mid Choson period. Her family's ancestral home is in P'yongsan, her father was Shin Myônghwa and her mother was the daughter of Yi Saon. In addition she was the mother of the famous scholar and statesman Yi I (1536-1584). Her pen names included Saimdang, Shiimdang and Imsajae. Shin was the second of five sisters and was educated during her early years by her parents. She displayed excellent talents in the arts from an early age and also was trained in the Confucian classics. When she was nineteen she married Yi Wonsu, but shortly after she married her father died so she observed the traditional three years of mourning period to mark his passing. She lived with her husband's family in Yulgok Village but still travelled to visit her mother as often as possible. She had seven children, four sons and three daughters. Her son Yi I was the third son and she contributed much to his education by training him in the Confucian classics at an early age. In 1551 her husband was appointed as a tax official and had to travel to P'yongan Province. While he was away, Saimdang suddenly became ill and died at the age of forty-seven.

Saimdang's extant literary works are limited to two complete works, and yet these do reveal her writing skill. Moreover, she is also known for her talent in calligraphy, but there are not many examples of her work extant. It is her paintings that have survived in the greatest number to the present day. Among her representative works, Ch'och'ung to (Flowers and Insects) and Sansu to (Hills and Streams) are both praised for their excellence in artistic technique and the vivid images that they portray. She is sometimes overshadowed by her famous son Yi I, but her ability as an artist and poet demands praise in its own right. Many Koreans honour her as an exemplary woman as she is the model of a devoted daughter and mother in addition to her outstanding individual talents.

Shin Sukchu (1417-1475)

Shin Sukchu was an early Choson period scholar-official. His family's ancestral home is in Koryông, his courtesy name was Pömong and his pen names were Hühyyöndang and Pohanjae. His father, Shin Chang, was the Second Minister (ch'amp'an) of the Board of Works (Kongjo). In 1438 he passed the samayang government service examination and at this time became a classics licentiate (saengwön) and a literary licentiate (chinsa). In the following year he passed the ch'insi mun'gwaw (a civil service examination held on special order from the king) and began his life in Choson officialdom. In 1441 he was appointed to the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyonjón) and in the following year he travelled to Japan as
Shin Wi (1769-1845)

Shin Wi was a late Choson period official, calligrapher and painter. His family’s ancestral home is in P’youngsan, his courtesy name was Hansu and his pen names included Chaha and Kyongsudang. His father, Shin Taesung, was Inspector General (taesahon) at the Office of Inspector General (Sahonbu) and his mother was the daughter of Yi Yongnok. In 1799 he passed the Royal Visitation Examination (alsong mun’gwa) and was selected as ch’ogye munshin (lower third rank official). Shin travelled to Qing China as part of an embassy in 1812 and it was at this time that he increased the breadth of his appreciation for scholarship and literature. In 1814 he was appointed as Fourth Minister (ch’amji) of the Board of War (Pyongjo) and in the following year he was appointed as Magistrate (pusa) of Koksan. At this time Shin saw the plight of the impoverished peasants and sought to remedy this situation by petitioning to have their tax debts written off. Shin’s devotion to his duties was rewarded in 1818 with a promotion to Magistrate of Chunch’on. It was here that Shin tried to subjugate the wealthy landowners but as a result was removed from office for opposing them. In 1822 he was appointed as Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of War. However as a result of factional strife within the government he was yet again dismissed from his post. In 1828 he was named as Commandant (yusu) of Kanghwa Island, but after only two years he grew weary of the factional politics that centred around...
Yun Sangdo and retired to private life at Chaha Mountain in P'yongan Province. He returned to official life but was exiled for involvement in the presentation of a memorial to the king. After he was reinstated Shin served as Second Minister (ch'amp'an) of the Board of Personnel (Ijo) and also was again appointed as Second Minister of the Board of War.

There are many extant examples of Shin’s writings, poetry and paintings that reveal his excellent talents. His poetry, although it is written in Sino-Korean characters, is characterised by the ‘Korean-flavour’ that abounds in it, and in particular, Shin is known for his skill in composing the akpu style poetry (ballads) and is considered one of the masters of this poetic style in Korea. Shin’s poetry was expressed freely in his ch’ŏnjŏng mansang (one-thousand feelings, ten-thousand forms) style, and this resulted in his being proclaimed one of the greatest masters of Sino-Korean poetry of the Chosŏn period. Shin’s influence also helped develop the masters of Sino-Korean literature in the late Chosŏn period, and such literary luminaries as Kim T’aegyông (1850-1927), Kang Wi (1820-1884) and Hwang Hyŏn (1855-1910) developed their styles while being heavily influenced by Shin. Extant literary collections of Shin’s works include Kyongsudang chŏn ‘go (Literary Collection of Kyongsudang) and Chaha shi ji p (Collected Poems of Chaha).

Shin is also renowned for his talent in painting and is considered as one of the three great masters of ink bamboo paintings along with Yi Chŏng (1541-?) and Yu Tŏkchang (1694-1774). Shin learned painting from Kang Sehwang (1713-1791) and in turn influenced later painters such as his own sons Myŏngjuin and Myŏngyŏn, as well as Cho Hŭryŏng (1757-1859). Representative paintings of Shin that have been transmitted to the present include Pangdae to and Mukchuk to. In addition to his paintings, Shin’s calligraphy is also praised as being among the finest of the Chosŏn period.

Shin yoja

[Magazines]

Shin yŏsŏng

[Magazines]

Shin Yunbok (1758-?)

Shin Yunbok was a painter of the late Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Koryŏng, his courtesy name was Ippu and his pen name was Hyewŏn. He was the son of the court painter (hwawŏn), Shin Hanp’yŏng. It is known that the younger Shin entered officialdom as a court painter in the Office of Paintings (Tohwasŏ) and also served as an Associate Commander (ch’ŏm’jolsa), but little else is commonly accepted with certainty. It is thought that Shin’s style in landscape paintings was fundamentally influenced by Kim Hongdo (1745-?). However, he is most famous for the paintings that centre on the relationships between men and kisaeng and include elements of Korean folk culture. His seizure of the subject, composition mode and way of expressing humanity express the objects that he selected for his folk paintings quite differently from Kim Hongdo. Shin’s works effectively radiate a romantic ambience of sentiment that is expressed between a man and woman and this is visually displayed with elegant and delicate brush strokes and a beautiful use of colour. The overall effect of Shin’s paintings leaves the viewer with an impression of refinement and elegance.

Shin and Kim Hongdo are considered as the two folk-painting representatives of late Chosŏn period. Moreover, both of these men had a tremendous influence on the painters of later generations. Many of Shin’s paintings have been transmitted to the present time and are in the possession of both public and private galleries. His representative works include Tano to (Tano Festival), Mumu to (Dance of the Shaman) and Sŏnyu to (Boating Excursion).
Shinan County

Off the southwest coast of the Korean peninsula in South Cholla Province, Shinan County consists of 111 inhabited, and 719 uninhabited islands. The largest of these are the islands of Anjwa (44 sq. kms.); Aphae (44 sq. kms.); Toch’o (40 sq. kms.); Imja (38 sq. kms.); Amt’ae (35 sq. kms.); Chung (25 sq. kms.); Changsan (25 sq. kms.); Haüi (23 sq. kms.); and Taehüksan (22 sq. kms.). Administratively, Shinan County is comprised of the town of Chido; and the townships of Toch’o; Pigiim; Shiniii; Anjwa; Amt’ae; Amhae; Amja; Chaün; Changsan; Chüngdo; P’algüm; Haüi; and Hüksan. The county covers a total area of 629 sq. kms. and has a population of about 110 000.

The islands’ terrain is mainly rocky and uneven, but there are also some level areas created through the reclamation of tidal land. The sea between the islands is mostly shallow, averaging eight fathoms, and the seabed is uneven; consequently, it is difficult for larger ships to navigate the area. Another problem for sea-going vessels is the heavy fog that occurs here from April to July. The area’s climate is mild with an average yearly temperature of 14 deg.c. and an annual rainfall of 1 126mm.

An estimated 211 sq. kms. (33.6 per cent) of the islands are cultivated. Of this, 91 sq. kms. are sown with rice and 130 sq. kms. are sown with dry field crops such as barley, sweet potato, rape, cotton, onion and garlic. Most of the county’s residents supplement their farming income with the sale of marine products. Boats operating out of local ports bring in catches of eel; hairtail; harvest fish, mackerel, shrimp; skate; and yellow corbina. In addition, there are oyster and cockle farms along the coast. Other marine products include laver (kim), brown seaweed (miyök) and salt. Mineral resources include clay which is mined on Chi Island and silica (for glass making) is found on the islands of Imja, Pigiim, Amt’ae, Chaün, Anjwa and Toch’o.

Hong Island (Hong-do) is the county’s most popular tourist destination. With steep cliffs and scenic forests, this 6-kms long, 2.5-kms wide island is a nature reserve. The ferry ride from Mokp’o to the island takes about 2 hours and 15 minutes. To the east of Hong lies a small group of islands known as the Hüksan Islands. Taehüksan Island, the largest of the group, is more populated than Hong Island. The residents use the island’s abundant stones to build walls and windbreaks enclosing their fields. By tradition, stone-weighted ropes are thrown over house roofs to prevent their dislodgement during stormy weather. Ye Village, the island’s largest population centre, has a good harbour which previously served as a whaling post. Nowadays, the village’s sheltered water is haven to a fleet of fishing vessels.

As well as its scenic splendour, the county has a number of historical sites. In Chi-do’s Taech’on Village, is Yôn’gyesa, a small shrine commemorating Kim Yushin (595-673), the general who led Shilla’s forces in their victorious campaign against Paekche and Koguryö. Originally established in 1896, the shrine was rebuilt in 1933 by the Kimhae Kim clan. A ceremony in honour of Kim Yushin is held here every year on the 3rd day of the 3rd lunar month.

Shinbulul Mountain

Situated in Ulsan in South Kyōnsang Province. Mt. Shinbul (1 209 metres) is easily accessible via the Kyōngbu Expressway which runs from Seoul to Pusan. In close proximity to the famous T’ongdo Temple, the mountain is a popular tourist destination. In particular, the Chakkwae Stream entrance to the mountain is famous for its scenic beauty. Here, cherry trees stand in front of broad, white pillars of granite. The area’s Confucian
scholars frequently came to this picturesque valley and rested in the pavilion that sits above the clear streams which flow down from the mountain. Half-way up the stream at Túngŏk Village, there is the ancient Kanwŏl Temple site and a stone carving of a seated Buddha (Treasure no. 370). In addition to its scenic sites, the mountain has deposits of high-quality amethyst in its eastern foothills.

Shinhung Temple

Shinhung Temple, one of the main monasteries of the Chogye Order, is located in Kangwŏn Province at the main entrance to Sŏrak-san National Park. Originally called Hyang’sŏng Temple, the monastery was founded by the monk Chajang in 652 along with Kyejo and Nŭngin Hermitage. At this time, Chajang is said to have erected a nine-storey pagoda in which he deposited sarira from the Buddha. In 698, Hyang’sŏng Temple and Nŭngin Hermitage were destroyed in a fire. In 701, Uisang reconstructed the monastery at the Nŭngin Hermitage site calling it Sŏnjŏng Temple. The monastery grew and prospered for the next nine-hundred years until the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598) during which the nine-storey pagoda was demolished. Fifty years later in 1642, the entire complex was destroyed in a fire.

Two years later, as Hyewŏn, Unso and Yŏnok set about reconstructing the temple, the three monks dreamt that a divine sage appeared and told them that if they built another temple, it would prosper for tens of thousands of years. Inspired by the dream, they selected a spot about four kilometres below the old Sŏnjŏng Temple site, and called the new monastery Shinhung (Divine Arising) Temple. In 1647, the Main Buddha Hall was built, and in 1661, wooden printing blocks for the Lotus Sutra were enshrined in a newly-built sutra repository. In 1717, the Sŏlsŏn Hall, which had burnt down two years earlier, was reconstructed. Further construction projects took place in 1725, 1737, 1801, 1813, 1821, 1858 and 1909. In 1910, Ungjin Hall burnt down. Two years later, the monastery was designated a branch temple of Konbong Temple. In 1924, the temple underwent further reconstruction.

In recent years, the monastic complex has been expanded. In addition, a giant bronze seated Buddha statue has been placed along the path leading to the temple. The temple houses many important old buildings and historical artefacts including a collection of wooden printing blocks (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 15) which were carved in the 17th century. Situated at the main entrance to one of the nation’s most popular parks, the temple draws large crowds of tourists throughout the year.

Bibliography


Shinjŏng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam (Newly-Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea)

Shinjŏng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam is the supplemented version of the Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea) that had initially been undertaken during the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494). The team of scholars that contributed to this monumental undertaking after a royal decree by King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) included Yi Haeng; Yun Unpo; Shin Kongje; Hong On’il; and Yi Sagyun. The work was completed in 1530 and consists of some fifty-five fascicles in twenty-five volumes. It is
considered the representative cultural geography of Chosŏn.

The first three fascicles of this work are devoted to the capital of Hansŏng (present Seoul) and its surroundings, with the fourth and fifth fascicles covering the former Koryŏ capital of Kaesŏng. The sixth to thirteenth cover Kyŏnggi Province; the fourteenth to twentieth discuss Ch’ungch’ŏng Province; and the twenty-first to thirty-second deal with Kyŏngsang Province. Chŏlla Province is analysed in the thirty-third to fortyieth; Hwanghae in the forty-first to forty-third; Kangwŏn in the forty-fourth to the forty-seventh; Hamgyŏng in the forty-eighth to fiftieth; and P’yŏngan Province is examined in the last five fascicles. Each of the provinces is further subdivided into smaller administrative divisions such as prefecture (pu), county (kun) and regional military command (tohobu) et al. The discussion under each category includes a brief history, a listing of prominent families and individuals; mountains and rivers; pavilions; signal fire posts; castles; bridges; warehouses; royal tombs; Confucian shrines; Buddhist temples; and educational institutions et al. Maps show the location of given points of importance and interest.

The importance of this work during Chosŏn is evident in the attempts to revise it, which continued through the reign of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). There have also been modern-day efforts to preserve and further propagate this important work, the first of which was in 1906, when the Japanese scholar Fujigami printed it using movable type. Another edition using modern typesetting was published by the Chosŏn Kosŏ Kanhaeng Hoe in 1912. Subsequently, an edition was published by Tongguk Munhwasa in 1960, and in 1969 a han’gul edition was published by Minjok Munhwasa Ch’ujinhoe. Shinjung tongguk yŏji sŏngnam is highly esteemed as a work that gives an insight into conditions during Chosŏn, and thus provides important data for scholars in a broad range of fields.

Shinmin [Magazines]

Shinmun’gwan

Shinmun’gwan, a publishing company, was founded by Ch’oe Namson (1890-1957) in 1912. Ch’oe, who had studied at Waseda University, purchased modern printing equipment before leaving Japan. Using this in Korea, his company became the first to publish new-style magazines, such as Sonyŏn (Youth) and Ch’ŏngch’ŏn (Young Years). Shinmun’gwan also promoted awareness of Korea’s heritage with its modern versions of classical texts.
Shintonga

[Magazines]

Shinŭiju

Shinŭiju is located in the southwestern part of North P’yŏngan Province. The Yalu River forms the city’s western border with China while Samgyo Stream is to the city’s south.

With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War on 10 October 1904, the Shinŭiju area assumed strategic importance. The Japanese, without approval from the Chosŏn government, urgently built the Kyŏngŭi Rail Line from Hansŏng (modern-day Seoul) to Uiju in order to send military supplies. The rail line construction was completed on 28 April 1905. The new city centre which developed at the Uiju end of the line came to be known as Shin (New) Uiju. Many Japanese came to live in the city, which was to be the base for Japan’s invasion of China. By November 1911, the Japanese had built a steel bridge from Shinŭiju across the Yalu River into China. From 1923 to 1929, the downtown area and port facilities were modernised. By 1930, Shinŭiju had expanded into a city of 45 000 people, and by 1940, 43 298 Koreans, 9 431 Japanese and 7 712 people of other nationalities lived there. By May 1943, the city’s population had more than doubled, reaching 127 535.

After Korea’s liberation in 1945, Shinŭiju became an important gateway for trade between China and North Korea. The city’s population continues to expand and is now well over 300 000. Locally manufactured goods include machinery, chemical products, textiles, shoes, leather goods, pharmaceuticals, foodstuffs, household goods and building materials. Approximately half of the city’s arable land grows rice, while the other half grows dry-field crops, such as sweet-corn and beans. Marine products include Spanish mackerel, gizzard shad, anchovy, grey mullet, perch, oyster and cuttlefish.

With Shinŭiju’s location at the northwestern tip of Korea, the weather pattern moves from a cold January average of minus 9.3 deg. C. to a hot August average of 24.2 deg. C. The influence of the Yellow Sea can and does moderate temperatures, however. Shinŭiju averages 1 049mm of rainfall each year.

Ship’a

[History of Korea]

Shirhak

The concept of Shirhak

The term Shirhak, most commonly translated into English as ‘practical learning’, was popularized in the 1930s by Korean historians such as Chŏng Inbo (1892-?), Ch’oe Namsŏn (1890-1957) and Mun Ilp’ŭng (1888-1939), referring to an intellectual trend in the Late Chosŏn period, extending from the 17th to 19th centuries, that was regarded to be an important part of Chosŏn dynasty scholarship in general.

In recent years, and particularly the last decade, few introductory books on Korean history have been written without mention of the term Shirhak. The very popularity of the term has resulted in its application to the work of a wide variety of late Chosŏn thinkers. The main tendency that these figures are regarded to have shared was their interest in concrete affairs, evidenced by bold and detailed proposals for political, economic or social reform, in response to the prevailing inertia and apathy of government.

Nearly all the so-called Shirhak thinkers were literati who no longer had access to office due to the political dominance of rival factions. Nonetheless, it is clear that they did not share a particular doctrine or comprise a single lineage of scholars bound by master-disciple
relationships.

One problem presented by the usage of the term *Shirhak* to indicate a Korean intellectual trend is that the same term was previously used - in a more philosophical, ethical sense - by Zhu Xi and other orthodox Chinese Neo-Confucians, referring to the relevancy of their teachings for the daily task of self-cultivation, compared with what they saw as the speculative teachings of Buddhism and Daoism. Some Korean scholars such as Yun Chung (Myŏngjae, 1629-1714), who used the term *Shirhak* more often than most, saw the relevancy of their teachings in these terms rather than in an overtly political or utilitarian sense. Many *Shirhak* scholars placed emphasis on practical ethics, in response to what they saw as a lack of moral integrity among the ruling scholar bureaucrats, as well as on concrete reform.

The distinction between *Shirhak* thinkers and their predecessors is further obscured by the fact that the Neo-Confucian reformers of the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn were also galvanised by dynastic decline and the need for a new order to involve themselves in practical affairs, including the cultivation of moral leadership as well as proposals for concrete institutional reform. Furthermore, the reform-minded Confucians of the late Chosŏn lived over a span of almost three centuries, and were inspired by a variety of contrasting schools of thought filtering in from China, from the orthodox cosmology of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi to the idealistic teachings of Wang Yangming and the *kaozhengxue* or 'evidential learning' of the Qing.

In recognition of the broad spectrum of interests and ideological inclinations exhibited by the *Shirhak* proponents, a number of efforts have been made to classify their diverse approaches into sub-categories. One of the most popular analyses, made by Yi Usŏng, subdivided *Shirhak* thought into three schools:

- School of Practical Administration and Practical Usage (*Kyŏngse ch'iyong p'a*), which was founded by Yi Ik, concentrated on institutional reform with particular emphasis on government administration and the land system;
- School of Profitable Usage and Popular Benefit (*lyong husaeng p'a*) centering on Pak Chiwŏn, which focussed on technological reform, advocated the expansion of commercial activities and improvement of the means of production;
- School of Verification based on Actual Facts (*Shilsa kushi p'a*), which became a fully-fledged movement through the influence of Kim Chŏnghŭi's scholarship, used Qing evidential methodology in epigraphy and the study of the Classics.

A weakness of the above schema is that the first two categories are based on areas of study whereas the third is based on a mode of research, and it is precisely this philological methodology, derived from the *kaozhengxue* or evidential learning movement of the Qing, that thinkers in all three categories relied upon to various degrees in their studies.

Bearing in mind the above mentioned problems encountered by attempts to categorize *Shirhak* scholarship, it is still possible to discern two relatively distinct 'schools' of thought within *Shirhak* in terms of lineages of master-disciple relationships or closely-knit groups of scholars. These include the school of Yi Ik, whose members were all associated with the political faction known as the *Namin* or Southerners, and the so-called *Pukhak p'a* or School of Northern Learning, whose thinkers were associated with a splinter group of the *Noron* or Old Doctrine faction. Yet even within the school of Yi Ik, for example, great disparities existed such as the contrasting attitudes towards orthodox Neo-Confucianism shown by An Chŏngbok and Chŏng Yagyong. This article will examine the work of the principal scholars who are usually included in treatments of the *Shirhak p'a*, including the key members of the two groups mentioned, the School of Yi Ik and the School of
Northern Learning. The work of most of these figures was encyclopaedic in scope, covering numerous fields in both the humanities and natural sciences. In this article we will focus on what is deemed to be their distinctive contributions to ‘practical learning’ and its philosophical foundations.

Yu Hyongwŏn

Yu Hyongwŏn (Pan’gye, 1622-1673), has been referred to as the ‘pioneer of a new intellectual trend’ and the ‘founder of Shirhak’, particularly on account of the unprecedented emphasis he placed on the need for institutional reform. Pan’gye spent his youth preparing to follow in the footsteps of his father and serve as a government official, but in 1653, having failed the qualifying examinations, moved to Puan in Chŏlla province where he spent the rest of his days absorbed in scholarship. The encyclopaedic nature of his writings, which included such varied subjects as politics, economics, history, geography, phonetics, military strategy, literature, traditional Neo-Confucian metaphysics and Daoist magic, sets him off from most of his predecessors. Unfortunately nearly all of his writings were lost except for the Pan’gye surok, his magnum opus dealing with the land system, economy, commerce and industry, government structure and administration, national defence, and Confucian ritual, which took him over twenty years to complete. In this work he systematically proposed wide-scale reform of government institutions, appending to each chapter citations of historical sources to support his arguments. By the 18th c. the P’angye surok had already earned him a reputation as an unsurpassed master in the field of statecraft.

A large portion of the surok is devoted to the land system, a subject on which he placed great importance, considering it to be the basis of social order and harmony and consequently national policy. This emphasis on land reform as the basis of good government was inherited by many of Pan’gye’s Shirhak successors and especially Southerner faction thinkers such as Yi Ik and Chŏng Yagyong. The starting point of his reforms was the concept that ‘land is the great root of the world.’ If the nation’s independent farmers were weakened financially the whole nation was weakened, because as taxpayers they represented the source of its income. Pan’gye pointed to the weaknesses in the Rank Land System (Kwajŏn pŏp), resulting in the accumulation of land by the descendants of officials and consequently in a growing chasm between rich and poor. To remedy this he propounded a modified version of the ‘Uniform Land System’ (Kyunjŏn pŏp) of the Tang dynasty, itself an adaptation of the classic ‘Well-field’ system mentioned in the ancient Chinese classic on government, the Zhouli (Rites of Zhou). Pan’gye’s proposal for land reform was quite radical, being based on the principle of distributing land to those who tilled it and taking away the right of owners to levy taxes on their land. Designed to suit the conditions of the Chosŏn dynasty, it sought to prevent the monopolization of land by particular classes and enable a fairer distribution of farmland, the source of wealth.

Pan’gye’s practical inclinations did not deter him from taking an interest in Neo-Confucian philosophy, including the two concepts of li and ki, the building bricks of Zhu Xi’s metaphysics. He wrote several works on the relationship between li or principle, the ultimate source of order in the universe, and ki or material force, the cosmic ‘stuff’ with which the myriad things are made. Unlike Zhu Xi, and like a number of his successors in the Shirhak movement, including Chŏng Yagyong and Ch’oe Han’gi, he tended to regard principle simply as the pattern of material force, rather than treating it as a distinct metaphysical reality. The implication was that moral and natural principles could only be grasped through an appreciation of their reflection in concrete affairs. Yu clearly stood apart from many of his Neo-Confucian predecessors who assumed that practical affairs would sort themselves out if the moral order were treated as a separate priority.

The School of Yi Ik
Yi Ik (Songho, 1681-1763), widely recognised as another giant in the field of administrational reform, was greatly influenced by the work of Yu Hyŏngwŏn.

Yi Ik was born in 1681 in Unsan, Py'ongan Province, where his father Yi Hajin, a leading member of the Southerner faction, had been exiled after his opponents in the Old Doctrine faction had seized power. Although Yi Ik spent his youth studying hard to enter public office, he failed to qualify for the civil service examinations, and retreated to Ansan in Kyŏnggi Province where he devoted himself to the study of the large collection of books left behind by his father. Among these, several thousand volumes had been acquired in Beijing in 1678, and provided Yi Ik with information on new developments in Qing scholarship and 'Western Learning', including western technology and Catholicism.

Yi Ik took a great interest in statecraft, as evidenced by his K'wagurok (Record of Concern for the Underprivileged) which spelt out the various social ills of his time and proposals for their resolution. In his pursuit of institutional reform he was influenced by Yi I (Yulgok, 1536-1584), the 16th c. philosopher and political reformer, and especially Yu Hyŏngwŏn, claiming that from the foundation of the dynasty only Yi (Yulgok) and Yu Hyŏngwŏn can be said to have understood practical affairs. Like Yu Hyŏngwŏn he placed great emphasis on land reform, and considered this to be the foundation of a strong monarchy, without which the ideal of sagely government could not be realised. He proposed the so-called 'Limited Field System' (Hanjong pŏp), which was designed to curb the steady accumulation of land by the families of wealthy scholar-bureaucrats. Recognising that it would be impossible to redistribute land already in the possession of politically powerful figures, the new system sought to prevent further monopolization of land. Yi encouraged the scholar-bureaucrats to engage themselves in productive activities, arguing that it was perfectly acceptable for them to support themselves through commercial pursuits such as agriculture, as long as they did not compromise their moral standards in doing so.

Another characteristic that Yi Ik's work shared with Yu Hyŏngwŏn was its encyclopaedic nature. This covered an equally vast range of subjects, with the addition of a detailed treatment of western scientific developments and Catholicism, in which he took an unprecedented interest.

A remarkable aspect of Yi Ik's practical scholarship was his analysis of the cause of factional disputes primarily in terms of socio-economic circumstances rather than ideological affiliations. In a ground-breaking work entitled, 'A Study on Factionalism' (Pundang non) Yi attributed the prevalence of factional disputes in Chosŏn Korea to the competition between an increasing number of Civil Examination graduates for a very limited number of government positions.

In the field of philosophy, Yi Ik espoused orthodox Neo-Confucian thought and particularly the metaphysics of Yi Hwang (T'oegye, JS01-1570), the highly influential Korean thinker who was a devoted follower of Zhu Xi. Nonetheless, Yi Ik was also influenced by his Southerner faction predecessors Hŏ Mok (1595-1682) and Yun Hyu (1617-1680), in the respect that he took a poor view of blind dependence on the interpretations of Zhu Xi. In this context he called his scholarship susahak or Classical Learning, and encouraged the direct study and reappraisal of the Six Confucian Classics as opposed to dependence on commentaries.

Yi Ik cultivated a considerable number of influential followers, whose opinions, especially regarding orthodox Neo-Confucianism and Catholicism, sharply contrasted. An Chŏngbok (1712-1791), a key figure of the so-called 'anti-western faction' of Yi Ik's school, criticized Catholic teachings and strongly defended the orthodox teachings of Zhu Xi. Nonetheless he looked askance at the attitude of many Korean followers of Zhu Xi.
who developed a one-sided interest in his metaphysics of principle (ihak) at the expense of practical ethics. In his collection of writings (Sunamjip), he drew attention to Confucius’ emphasis on “Studying the mundane to attain the sublime,” claiming that the primary object of philosophy should be the study of human relationships rather than speculative metaphysics.

Another reason why An Ch'ôngbok is regarded as a proponent of ‘Practical Learning,’ is that he did not limit himself to Neo-Confucian philosophy but gained repute in many other practical areas, and particularly the study of history. The Tongsan kangmok (An Annotated Account of Korean History) systematically dealt with history up to the end of the Koryŏ, and based on rigorous corroboration with sources, criticized existing historical and geographical studies, while the Yolcho t'onggi (Comprehensive Record of Reigns) provided a chronological account of the Chosŏn dynasty.

On the other hand members of the ‘pro-western’ faction took a religious interest in Catholicism that contrasted with Yi Ik’s purely intellectual, critical position. Kwŏn Ch’ŏlshin (Nogam, 1736-1801), one of Yi Ik’s later followers, and Chŏng Yagyong (Tasan, 1762-1836), a second generation member of Yi Ik’s school and one of the most creative minds of the Chosŏn dynasty, both belonged to this group. Although previous figures such as Yun Hyu (Paekho, 1617-1680) and Pak Sedang (Sŏgye, 1629-1703) had questioned Zhu Xi’s interpretations of certain philosophical concepts, Kwŏn Ch’ŏlshin and particularly Chŏng Yagyong took such trends an important step further by challenging the relevance and orthodoxy of Zhu Xi’s metaphysical system itself. Although Kwŏn’s works are no longer extant, the bulk of Chŏng’s voluminous work was handed down to posterity. These writings place him in the ‘practical learning’ category not only in terms of his extensive and detailed proposals for political and economic reform, but also in terms of his strong emphasis on practical ethics as the basis for self cultivation.

Quoting an expression coined by Zhu Xi, Tasan often referred to Confucianism as ‘nothing but self cultivation and the ordering of society,’ and indeed he tried to achieve a balance between these two goals in his voluminous work on both areas. He addressed the former goal in his extensive commentaries on the Confucian classics, where he used the evidential learning of the Qing to re-examine key philosophical concepts of Classical Confucianism and, on that basis, to challenge Zhu Xi’s interpretations. Although Tasan praised Zhu Xi for having ‘revived the Confucian way’ by drawing attention to the central importance of self-cultivation, he strongly criticized him for developing what he regarded to be a speculative cosmology tainted by Buddhist metaphysics that encouraged introspection and obscured the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius. In particular Tasan rejected Zhu Xi’s ontological interpretation of human nature (inxiong) as li, a universal principle which linked man and the cosmos, and proposed a novel and dynamic interpretation of human nature as moral and physical inclinations.

Tasan addressed the other principal goal of Confucianism, ‘ordering society’ or good government, in his two celebrated works, the Mongmin shimsŏ (On Leading the People) and Kyŏngse yap’yo (Treatise on Government), where he set out detailed proposals on central and local administrative reform. His vivid descriptions of the excesses of local administration and their impact on the general populace contained in the Mongmin shimsŏ make this valuable reference material in the study of Late Chosŏn socio-economic history.

Tasan’s emphasis on the concept of compassion as the foundation of good leadership, an emphasis evident in both his classical commentaries and his work on institutional reform, reflect the classical political humanism of Mencius. Nonetheless some of his writings, and particularly the T’angnon (Treatise on Ideal Government), which hinted at the need for radical structural change based on the principle of ‘those below choosing those above’ represent an important transition in the development of Korean political thought.
The School of Northern Learning (Pukhak p’a)

Aside from the school of Yi Ik, there is one other clearly definable group among the Shirhak thinkers worthy of the term ‘school’; the Pukhak p’a or ‘School of Northern Learning’. Whereas the members of Yi Ik’s school were associated with the Southerner faction and mostly raised in Kyonggi province, the key figures of the Northern Learning School, including Hong Taeyong, Pak Chiwon and Pak Chega, belonged to a sub-faction of the ‘Old Doctrine’ faction that had been displaced from power, and were based in the capital. The school of Yi Ik gleaned its information on Qing civilization through literature, but members of the school of Northern Learning had direct contact with Chinese culture through consecutive visits to Beijing. Here they became acquainted with outstanding Qing scholars with whom they exchanged rare editions and new publications. Furthermore, whereas the followers of Yi Ik excelled in their analysis of philosophical questions as well as practical affairs, the scholars of Northern Learning showed great expertise in the use of new literary forms. Rather than using classical exegesis to challenge orthodox Neo-Confucian philosophy, the proponents of Northern Learning used allegory in skilfully woven satirical narratives to attack what they saw as the narrow-minded attitudes and nebulous thinking of orthodox Neo-Confucian scholars.

Hong Taeyong (Tamhon, 1731-1783), a pioneer of Northern Learning, was able to directly experience Qing civilization when he accompanied his uncle on an official visit to Beijing in 1765. This visit, during which he learnt about Western scientific thinking and technology introduced and developed in China, had an enormous impact on his intellectual outlook. The bulk of his masterwork Tamhonsô (writings of Hong Taeyong) was written during the ten year period following this visit. In addition to commentaries on the Chinese classics, poems and letters, these writings include Yon’gi (Beijing Diary) a detailed account of his travels and personal encounters in the Qing capital, writings on mathematics and astronomy, correspondence with Chinese scholars, and his groundbreaking satirical account, ‘Dialogue on Mount Iwulu’ Uisan mundap). In this humorous tale, which reflects the essence of his world view, a certain ‘Mr. Void’ (read ‘Orthodox Neo-Confucian’) is given a hard time fending off the challenge of ‘Old Man Substance’ (read ‘practically-minded individual’), who has little patience for sophisticated metaphysical speculation that has no bearing on practical affairs. Hong was very much influenced by the scientific spirit of ‘Western Learning’ which he considered to be based on the exact science of mathematics as well as detailed observation. Scientific observation was more than a passing curiosity for him, as evidenced by the astronomical instruments he built and used. Furthermore, his knowledge of the achievements of Western scholarship and technology led him to reject facile distinctions between ‘civilized’ and ‘barbarian’ societies.

Hong Taeyong exerted great influence on Pak Chiwon (Yonam, 1737-1805), now known as a leading member of the Northern Learning School and a literary giant of the Chosön Dynasty. Through Hong, Pak Chiwon was introduced to new ideas from the West, including the startling discovery that the earth rotated on its own axis. In 1768 Pak moved to the same area as two younger scholars with similar interests, Pak Chega and Yi Tôngmu (1741-1793), and the continuing exchanges between them led to the formation of the school of Northern Learning. In 1780 Pak was able to accompany a Korean embassy to China, and his famed work Yehe Diary (Yorha ilgi) reveals how deeply impressed he was by the state of development of Qing civilization and the ideas that had given it momentum. In this work Pak set out detailed comparisons between his own country and the Qing, claiming, for example, that the lack of wheeled transportation in Korea was due more to the scholar bureaucrats’ lack of interest in technology than environmental factors. Aside from the importation of Qing science and technology he argued for foreign trade with other countries in general, the reform of the social system, and a ‘limited field system’ to prevent the expropriation of land by the ruling class.
 Pak's practical philosophy was symbolized by the expression *iyong husaeng*, or 'profitable usage and public benefit.' His Neo-Confucian predecessors had regarded the 'cultivation of virtue' to be the essence or root of good government, and the pursuit of practical benefits to be the 'branches.' Pak also regarded the 'cultivation of virtue' to be the goal of human endeavour, but he broke with convention by claiming that 'only after profitable usage is achieved can the people be benefited, and only after the people receive benefits can virtue be cultivated.' For many orthodox Neo-Confucians who refused to debase themselves in the pursuit of a better material environment, Pak's practical philosophy was revolutionary, and two generations later even Pak's grandson Kyusu (1807-1876), who became Third State Councillor, was not able to publish his grandfather's works.

Among Pak's ten or so pieces of fiction, two devastating satires, 'Tale of a Scholar-bureaucrat (Yangbanjon) and Tiger's Rebuke' (*Højil*) stand out as landmarks among critiques of the Neo-Confucian ruling class. 'Tale of a Scholar-bureaucrat' represented a sharp criticism of the empty ritual of the scholar-bureaucrats, who are also portrayed as doing nothing much except defending their status. In addition to satirizing the hypocrisy of pseudo-Confucian scholars', Tiger's Rebuke' encourages the reader to see the world from the point of view of the animal kingdom and reflect on the misbehaviour of the human species in general.

A follower of Pak Chiwôn, Pak Chega (Ch'oǹg, 1750 - ?), had already begun to learn of Qing culture under his instruction at the age of eighteen. Together with three young fellow students of Northern Learning, Yi Tôngmu, Yu Tükpong (1749-?) and Yi Sôgu (1754-1825), Pak Chega became known as one of the 'Four Literary Masters' on account of his skills at composition. In 1778 he had the opportunity to accompany an embassy to Beijing, where he established lasting ties with outstanding Qing scholars including the proponent of *kaozhengxue* or evidential learning, Ruan Yuan (1764-1849) and the bibliophile Huang Beilie (1763-1825). Soon after his initial visit to Beijing he set to work on his masterpiece *Pukhagui* (Treatise on Northern Learning), after which the *Pukhak p'a* or 'School of Northern Learning' was named. The so-called 'Inner Chapter' of this work dealt with such practical topics as housing construction, agricultural implements, stock farming, methods of transportation, roads and bridges, and pointed out how Qing developments in these areas could greatly improve the quality of life in Korea. The 'Outer Chapter' proposed broad institutional changes such as the development of international trade, the reform of the national economy, agricultural policies, civil examinations, and the social system, including the status of the children of concubines, a class to which Pak and other young members of the Northern Learning School belonged. A distinctive feature of Pak's work was its strong emphasis on commerce and trade. Whereas Pak's predecessors such as Yu Hyöngwôn, Chông Yagyong and to a certain extent Pak Chiwôn, had encouraged commerce to the extent that it did not interfere with agricultural production, which they regarded as the foundation of national wealth, Pak Chega was unreserved in his encouragement of commercial activities, and strongly encouraged the development of means and routes of transportation for this purpose. He emphasised that all classes of society, including the unproductive scholar bureaucrats, could benefit through involvement in commerce and trade.

By 1801 Pak had visited China four times, and on the basis of these visits he claimed authority to strongly criticize his fellow countrymen for their narrow minded disdain of the Qing as barbarian Manchu culture, which prevented them from assimilating and using its advanced technology. Whereas Pak Chiwôn emphasised the distinctive nature of Korean culture and had criticized the History of the Three Kingdoms (*Samguk sagi*) for obscuring this identity, Pak Chega argued for a more thorough emulation of Chinese culture, suggesting that the Chinese language itself could be adopted in place of Korean without many drawbacks.
Kim Chŏnghŭi (Wandang, 1786-1856), a follower of Pak Chega, became known as the greatest Korean exponent of Qing evidential learning, which he enthusiastically learnt in Beijing from several of its chief exponents, including Ruan Yuan and the renowned epigrapher Weng Fanggang. He made ‘Seeking the truth through actual facts’ (shilsa kushi), a slogan which epitomized the spirit of evidential scholarship, the foundation of his philosophy, and wrote an essay on its methodology. He applied this approach to the many fields of scholarship in which he excelled, including epigraphy, the study of Classical Confucian and Buddhist literature, calligraphy, black ink brush painting and Chinese script.

Whereas Qing proponents of Evidential Scholarship such as Dai Zhen had used the new methods of textual corroboration to strongly criticise the speculative philosophy of Song Neo-Confucians such as Zhu Xi and his followers, Kim Chŏnghui argued for an eclectic approach that combined the strong points of Han and Qing philology on the one hand, and Song Dynasty moral philosophy on the other. He thought that the rigorous philology of the Han and Late Qing served as an important means of clarifying the moral teachings of the early sages, but he frowned on the tendency of many Qing scholars to treat philology as an end in itself. On the other hand he respected the concern shown by Zhu Xi and other Song thinkers for moral self-cultivation, but implied that their scholarship had not been objective enough. Nonetheless, Kim and his predecessors in the School of Northern Learning were more reluctant than Southerner faction thinkers such as Chŏng Yagyong to directly question the authority of Zhu Xi’s speculative metaphysics based on the new philological methods, and like his Chinese acquaintance Weng Fanggang, he frowned on those that did so. In this context it is noteworthy that Kim and the Pukhak p’a thinkers were all affiliated with the Old Doctrine, a faction that had strongly defended Zhu Xi’s doctrines as the exclusive ruling ideology of the dynasty.

Kim’s application of evidential learning to the field of epigraphy led to important discoveries. In a work entitled ‘An Examination of Two Stone Inscriptions’ (Kumsŏk kwaan nok), Kim analysed the inscriptions on steles erected by King Chinhŭng of the Shilla dynasty. On the basis of such detailed research he could prove that a stele on Pukhan mountain had been erected by King Chinhŭng, and not by the eminent monk Muhak on the foundation of the Chosŏn dynasty.

Ch’oe Han’gi

Ch’oe Han’gi (Hyegang, 1803-1879), who is regarded to be the last of the outstanding Shirhak thinkers, was hardly known by his Korean contemporaries, although curiously a collection of his philosophical writings was published in Beijing. Yi Kyugyŏng (1788-?), another outstanding Korean proponent of evidential learning, recorded that Ch’oe was a prolific writer, and that he owned a large number of recent publications imported from China. Of the eighty or so juan or volumes that remain of Ch’oe’s works, many are devoted to the study of the natural sciences, including treatises on agricultural technology, geography, mathematics, astronomy and medicine. Although his scientific works mainly serve to introduce new developments and discoveries originating in the West and described in Qing literature, the scientific reasoning underlying these developments stimulated other fields of his research. Ch’oe’s systematic philosophy, contained in two works, the ‘Record of Inferential Thinking’ (Ch’uchung nok) and the ‘Operations of Vital Force’ (Shin’git’ong) mark him as one of the most creative minds of the Late Chosŏn. Although he greatly respected Confucius, Ch’oe Han’gi’s innovative philosophy is characterised by a rigorous empiricism that would make it hard to define him as Confucian even in the loosest sense of the term. Although Ch’oe based his philosophy on the idea of ki or material force, a term borrowed from orthodox Neo-Confucian metaphysics, he endowed it with a very different significance. According to Ch’oe, the accumulation of knowledge is entirely based on a *posteriori* experience acquired through the sensory faculties. All beings including humans are endowed with...
what he referred to as shin’gi or ‘vital force’, and the extent to which the human ‘vital force’ is revealed and comes into contact with the ‘vital force’ of other beings depends entirely on the extent and variety of sensory contact achieved. Once knowledge is accumulated in this way it can be extended by analogy, and more knowledge can be inferred through induction and deduction on the basis of the memories of prior experience. Ch’oe consequently argued that the four virtues of Classical Confucianism, humanity, integrity, propriety and wisdom, could only be obtained on the basis of prior sensory experience.

This practical philosophy formed the basis of another pillar of Ch’oe’s scholarship, a massive work which he wrote towards the end of his career entitled Injŏng or ‘Government’, which dealt with four areas of professional life - ‘assessing people’, ‘educating people’, selecting people’, and ‘employing people’, and where his principle of inference based on concrete experiences and observations played a major role.

Although Ch’oe Han’gi is generally treated as the last of the great Shirhak thinkers, there are significant links between Shirhak thought and a successive intellectual trend of the late 19th c., the Kaehwa or ‘Enlightenment movement’, whose proponents called for such measures as participation of all citizens in the political process, the end of autocratic government, expansion of trade with foreign countries, and the development of a modern economy. Consequently the impact of 18th c. Shirhak thinkers such as as Ch’ŏng Yagyong and Pak Chiwŏn on outstanding Enlightenment proponents such as Pak Kyusu, remains an important object of research for scholars of Late Chosŏn intellectual history.

Bibliography


Shiyong hyangak po (Collection of Current Native Musics)

Shiyong hyangak po is a music book of the middle Chosŏn period of which neither the compiler nor date of compilation are known. This work is a woodblock-print that consists of one volume and has been designated as Treasure number 551. There is some debate as to when it was actually compiled, but many scholars now believe that it was this work which was first published during the reign of King Sonjo (r. 1567-1608). However, there is still much controversy surrounding this. The various genres of literary styles that are present in this work include musical texts (akchang), lyrics, short songs (tan’ga), kasa, ch'angjak kasa, folk songs (minyo) and shaman songs (muga). It is notable in that it records Koryŏ kayo (Koryŏ songs) a genre that is not recorded in Akhak kwebom (Guide to the Study of Music) and Akchang kasa (Music Texts and Songs), the other two major music collections of the Chosŏn period.
This work contains a total of twenty-six songs with both lyrics and musical scores recorded for each work. The contents include the following: ‘Napssi ka’ written in 1394 by Chŏng Tojŏn, ‘Yurim ka’ from the early Chosŏn period of an unknown writer and ‘Hwoengsalmun’ of an unknown writer and period. There is also ‘Samogok’ (‘Maternal Love’), ‘Sŏgyŏng pyŏlgok’ (‘Song of the Western Capital’) and ‘Sanghwajŏm’, popularly known as ‘Sanghwajŏm’ (‘Dumpling Shop’). The seventh work in the collection is ‘Narye ka’ (‘Song of Exorcism’), a song of an unknown date that was part of the palace narye ceremony that was performed to drive away noxious spirits at year's end. Other notable works include ‘Ch’ŏngsan pyŏlgok’ (‘Song of Green Mountains’), a Koryŏ period sogak, and ‘Kwihogok’ which was popularly known as ‘Kashiri’ (‘Would you Go?’) and was another Koryŏ period sogak. This collection includes several works that were derived from muga including ‘Sŏnghwang pan’, ‘Naejang’, ‘Taewang pan’ and ‘Chap ch’ŏnyŏng’ among others. This is an important feature since the official policies of Chosŏn held shamanistic practices in disdain and therefore few muga from these periods were ever recorded.

Of the twenty-six works recorded in Shiyong hyangak po, sixteen are not recorded in any other collections. The collection holds songs recorded in Chinese characters and some that are written in han’gŭl. This work provides a valuable record of songs from the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, in particular in the number of folk and shaman songs that are included in this collection. The fact that shaman songs are included bespeaks the ceremonial roles that these individuals must have played during the Koryŏ Kingdom. Thus, since their works were in some way preserved in this collection helps maintain this valuable cultural legacy.

Shufeldt, Commodore Robert W.  
Shufeldt Treaty (Chemulp'o choyak)  
Si-sa-yong-o-sa Incorporated

Located in Seoul’s Chongno Ward, the publishing house of Si-sa-yong-o-sa (Shisa Yongŏsa) Inc. was established on 28 March 1964. The company’s main interest is in the publication of textbooks, dictionaries, periodicals and works for English language study. It also publishes English translations of Korean novels.

So akpu (Short Popular Lyrics)  
Sŏ Chaep’il (1864-1951)

Sŏ Chaep’il was a man of the age of enlightenment in Korea and also a politician and independence activist. His family’s ancestral home is in Taegu, his pen name was Songjae and his English name was Jason. Sŏ was born in Posŏng of South Chŏlla Province and was the second son of Sŏ Kwanghyo. From an early age he lived in Chinjam Township of Ch’ungch’ŏng Province with his father’s second cousin, Sŏ Kwangha, who adopted the young Sŏ. When he was seven he moved to his maternal uncle’s house in Seoul where he began his study of the Chinese classics. In 1882 he passed the Special Examination (pyŏlsŏn) and was appointed as Copyist (pujŏngja) in the Office of Editorial Review (Kyosŏgwon). At this time he became associated with such men as Kim Okkyun (1851-1894), Sŏ Kwangbŏm (1859-?), Hong Yongshik (1855-1884) and Pak Yonghyo (1861-1939). As a result, he became indoctrinated into the enlightenment ideology and began to participate in this movement.

After the unsuccessful Military Coup of 1882 (Imoullan) the need for a better trained
national defense force became evident and So, upon the counsel of Kim Okkyun, travelled to Japan in the next year and entered Toyama Military Academy. At Toyama, So and fourteen others completed an officer’s training course. He then returned to Korea in the next year and assumed a position in the military training bureau. So also participated in the planning for the Coup d’Etat of 1884 (kapshin chǒngbyǒn) which was led by Kim Okkyun. So was initially charged with the military aspects of the coup and commanded the troops that seized King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and held him under guard while the new government tried to enact reforms. However, the coup was poorly planned and So’s small command was quickly overwhelmed by the superior Chinese forces thereby enabling the Chosǒn government to recover. As a result of this coup attempt, So was forced to flee to Japan to avoid persecution.

After a brief stay in Japan So travelled to America with So Kwangbǒm. So had many experiences in the United States that began in San Francisco with a job passing out handbills. While doing so, So met a man who helped him enter a boy’s school and take college preparatory classes. In September 1886 he entered the Harry Hilman Academy in Pennsylvania and began his studies. He graduated in June 1886 and three months later entered Lafayette College, but after he ran short of money for school expenses he went to Washington, DC, to find another solution. Eventually he entered Columbia Medical College (present day George Washington University) where he graduated in 1895. So was the first Korean to receive a medical degree from an American university. In 1894 He married an American woman, became an American citizen and began to practice medicine.

In the same period that So was obtaining his medical degree, Korea was slowly losing her sovereignty to Japan. By 1894 when Japan had defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War, So could return to Korea without fearing for his safety. When he returned in 1896 he was warmly received and soon began publication of the Tongnip shinmun (The Independent) newspaper which was printed entirely in han’gul to secure a broader readership. Shortly after beginning the Tongnip shinmun, So founded the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyǒphoe). This political group was initially composed of high government officials, but the composition of the organisation began to change radically, as the group became increasingly critical of the government and the lack of meaningful reforms. The Tongnip shinmun served as the media organ for the group and presented the ideals of the group that were designed to educate the public, encourage modernisation and spur reform of the government. However, many forces within Korea were not ready for the seemingly revolutionary reforms of So and the Independence Club and thus, in 1898 So again was forced to leave Korea for America.

After returning to America, he devoted himself to his medical practice until the time of the March First Independence Movement in 1919. So now felt that he needed to convey the cry for Korean independence to the world, and as a result began his publishing activities again. He began publishing The Evening Ledger that addressed issues concerning the plight of Korea and also formed the Friends of Korea (Hanin Ch’iu Hoe) that was designed to bring together the Koreans in America with Americans and stimulate cooperative independence activities. After Korea regained her independence in 1945, So returned to his homeland and participated in the founding of the new Korean government and further served as an advisor to the US Military Government. However, when Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) defeated him in the 1948 presidential elections he returned to America where he died in 1951.

So is remembered for the many contributions that he made to Korea and her independence movement and the enlightenment of the people. His statue is presently located next to Tongnip mun (Independence Gate) in Seoul.

So Chǒngju (see Seo Jung-joo)
Sŏ Kŏjong (1420-1488)

Sŏ Kŏjong was a literati official of the early Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Talsŏng, his courtesy names included Kangjung and Chawŏn, and his pen names were Sagajong and Chŏngjŏngjŏng. His great-grandfather was the Minister (chŏnsŏ) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo), his father was a Magistrate (moksaa) and his mother was the daughter of the Confucian scholar Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409). In addition, his elder sister’s husband was Ch’oe Hang (1409-1474), one of the inventors of han’gŭl. Sŏ studied under Cho Su and Yu Panggŏn and the areas that he mastered were quite diverse and covered astronomy, geography, medicine, divination and geomancy among other areas. As to literary talents, Sŏ was particularly adept at writing poetry.

In 1438 Sŏ passed various civil service examinations and in 1444 he was appointed to a position in the Office of Royal Household Provisions (Sajaegam). After this time, Sŏ served in the Hall of Worthies (Chiphŏnjŏn) and also as First Secretary (sagyŏng) in the Office of the Royal Lecturers (Kyŏngyŏn). In 1447 he was appointed as Junior Sixth Counsellor (pusuch’an) in the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan) and by 1451 had been promoted to Junior Fifth Counsellor (pugyori) in the same office. In the following year he accompanied Grand Prince Suyang (King Sejo, r. 1455-1468) on an embassy to Ming China and in 1455 he was designated as Fourth Tutor (up’ilson) for the Crown Prince. In the next year he served at the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) as the Second Assistant Master (saye). At this time he also gathered some works of the Yuan poet, Zhou Mengfu (1254-1322) and published these in the form of ch’iron cholgu (seven-character quatrains). The quality of these poems was said to have even been held in wonderment by King Sejo.

Sŏ continued his rise through officialdom in Chosŏn and aided by his successful passing of additional civil service examinations in 1457 and 1458 he was appointed as Third Minister (ch’amŭi) of the Board of Rites (Yejo). At this time he was ordered by King Sejo to compile Ohaeng Ch’ŏnngwal (Summary of the Five Elements) which provided a scientific explanation of the five elements, those being fire, water, soil, air and metal, that were thought to compose all matter of the universe. In 1460 he transferred to the Board of Personnel (Ijo) as the Third Minister and in the same year travelled to China on the Saunsa (embassy of gratitude) where his poetic genius was acknowledged and praised by Chinese scholars. In 1465 Sŏ was promoted to Second Minister (ch’amp’an) at the Board of Rites and in the next year he participated in the compilation of the Kyŏngguk taejŏn (National Code). In 1467 he held the posts of Minister (p’anma) of the Board of Punishments, Director (taejehak) of the Office of Royal Decrees and as Director (chisa) of the National Confucian Academy. In 1470 Sŏ was appointed as Second State Councillor (chwaǔijong) and in the following year he was bestowed with the title of Duke Talsŏng. In 1476 he again travelled to China on an official embassy and in the same year helped with the compilation of Samguksa chŏlgyo (Abridgement of the History of the Three Kingdoms).

In the last years of his life, Sŏ became quite prolific in his writings while continuing to hold high official positions. In 1478 he headed the team of scholars that compiled the 130-volumes of Tongmunsŏn (Anthology of Korean Literature), which was a record of Korean literature since the time of the Three Kingdoms. In 1480 he supplied annotations to Oja (Five Masters) and under royal order also compiled Yŏktae yŏnp’yo. In 1485 Sŏ compiled perhaps his best-known work, the 57-volume Tongguk t’onggam (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom), which served as one of the main histories of Korea until the modern era. 1486 saw the publishing of Sŏ’s literary collection P’ilwŏn chapki (Writing Brush Garden Miscellany).

The many accomplishments of Sŏ bespeak his talents as both an official and a scholar. He served under six kings and obtained the highest posts in the Chosŏn government. He published, either individually or as a collaborative effort, a tremendous body of literature.
that served as the basis for government reform and future scholarship for the remainder of
the Chosŏn period. Many of his literary works have survived until the present day
including his poetry collection, Saga chip (Collected Works of Saga), the aforementioned
Tongguk t'onggam, Tongmunsŏn and P'ilwŏn chapki among others, and other works of
great historical value such as Tongguk yeji sŏngnam (Augmented Survey of the Geography
of Korea).

Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1489-1546)

Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk was an early Chosŏn scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Tangsŏng,
his courtesy name was Kugu and his pen names were Pokchae and Hwadam. Sŏ is said to
have had a very auspicious birth as his mother had a dream foretelling it after she had
visited a sadang (ancestral shrine) dedicated to Confucius. As a young boy, Sŏ was noted
for his intelligence and when he was fourteen he mastered Shujing (Book of Documents)
and when he was eighteen he read Daxue (Great Learning), a work which caused him to
ponder deeply about the forces of the universe. In 1531 to fulfil his mother’s wish he sat
for the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwŏn shi) and passed with the highest mark.
However, he did not take an official position and instead resolved to devote greater effort to
his continuing studies in neo-Confucianism. In 1544 he was recommended as an assistant
curator (ch’ambong) yet he declined this appointment to devote his full attention to his
pursuit of scholarship. In particular, he devoted the focus of his studies to questions of
decorum and propriety.

Sŏ came to be at the van of the neo-Confucian school of thought that gave priority to the
role of ki over the function of i in the order of the cosmic forces that governed the
universe. His view of the universe was fundamentally opposed to that of men like Yi
Hwang (1501-1570) who stressed the role of the formative nature of i that had a dominant
influence over the stabilising element of ki. In neo-Confucian philosophy, all matter in the
universe was thought to be regulated by these two inseparable components: i was the
normative element that accounted for what things were and how they behaved while ki gave
the objects the energy to exist. Sŏ was the pioneer of the ki primacy school and viewed i as
no more than the laws of motion or activity inherent in ki. Thus, those who adhered to this
philosophy were able objectively to grasp the laws that governed things in the material
world.

After his death Sŏ was honoured with the posthumous title of Third State Councillor
(uuijong) in 1575 and the name of Mun’gang. Additionally, the Sungyang Academy
(sŏwŏn) was established to propagate his teachings. His literary collection Hwadam chip
(Collected Works of Hwadam) is also extant.

Sŏae munjip (Collected Works of Sŏae)

Sŏae munjip is the literary collection of the middle Chosŏn period scholar-official Yu
Sŏngnyong (1542-1607). This woodblock-printed work is composed of twenty-seven
volumes in fourteen fascicles. Of the twenty-seven volumes, twenty are of the original
edition, four are supplements and three serve as a chronology of Yu’s career. This work
was compiled and published by Yu’s youngest son in 1633.

The contents are varied and include a large number of poems by the author, various essays,
memorials to the throne, records of events and documents that the author compiled while
carrying out his official duties. In particular, this work is valuable for the study of the 1592
Japanese Invasion along with Chingbi rok (Record of Timely Warning) also written by Yu.
Sŏae munjip allows an examination of the diplomatic relations between Chosŏn and Ming
during the time of the Japanese invasion since Yu drafted several memorials on behalf of
the Korean King to the Ming Emperor. The work also contains many of the author’s
proposals to the King on various military and administrative measures during this same
period.

This work has recently been reissued in an annotated version along with *Chingbi rok* by Sŏnggyun'gw'an University. Original copies are presently kept at the Kyujanggak and National Central libraries, in addition to a copy at the offices of the Kuksa P'yŏch'an Wiwŏnhoe (National History Compilation Committee).

**Soaron** (Treatise of a Young Boy)

*Soaron* is a text book for instruction in the Manchu language that was compiled for the training of Manchu language translators (*Ch'ŏnghak yŏkkwan*) in the early eighteenth c. This work, along with *P'alsea* (An Eight-Year Old Child), were the primary instructional books in Chosŏn for learning the Manchu language. Specifically, these works were most often utilised by those studying for the national examination for translators. *Soaron* was published along with *P'alsea* in a combined edition in 1777 by Kim Chinha and Chang Chaesŏng. There are many extant copies of this woodblock-printed work, including copies at Kyujanggak Library.

*Soaron* is notable in that it presented the Manchu Language with han'gŭl phonetic transcriptions for each entry. It is, therefore, quite valuable to linguists for the study of both the Manchurian and Korean languages. Moreover, since the two languages are said to belong to the same Altaic language family, *Soaron* is helpful in the study of the genealogical history of both languages.

**Sobaek Mountain**

Situated on the border of North Ch'ungch'ŏng and North Kyŏngsang Province, Mt. Sobaek (1,440 metres) is part of the rugged Sobaek Range that includes Kungmang Peak (1,421 metres) to the north-east and Yŏnŏhwa Peak to the south-west. The gentle terrain of the mountain's north-western area contrasts with the steeper slopes of the south-western sector.

In order to preserve the mountain's scenic beauty and historical heritage, the area was designated as Sobaek-san National Park in 1987. Hŭibang Temple is situated south-west of the mountain's peak. This famous temple, founded in 643, lies next to the 28-metre-high Hŭibang Waterfall. Besides Hŭibang Temple, the park contains many sites associated with Buddhism, including Poguk, Ch'ŏam, Kuin, Piro, Sŏnghŏl and Pusŏk Temples. Possessing a large number of artifacts, Pusŏk Temple is one of the most important Buddhist historical sites in Korea.

In ancient times, the mountain lay at the border of the Three Kingdoms. As a result, it was the site of numerous battles and historical incidents. Remains of numerous rock fortresses are evident. On the trail from Ch'ŏam Temple to Kungmang Peak, one can still see the walls of Ch'ŏam Fortress. There are also traces of a fortress on Mt. Ponghwang, the mountain behind Pusŏk Temple.

The Chinese characters making up the name Sobaek literally mean 'small white.' However, the syllable 'paek' may have come from the pure-Korean word (*park*), meaning 'bright,' 'lofty,' or 'sacred.' The syllable 'so' (small, lesser) in 'Sobaek' was probably used to distinguish the mountain from taller mountains of the same name. There are two other mountains called Mt. Sobaek on the borders of South Hamgyŏng Province.

Mt. Sobaek is traditionally famous for wild ginseng. Herb gatherers still frequent the mountain in order to gather the numerous medicinal plants that grow wild on the slopes. The mountain is also popular with hikers. In addition to its role as a tourist destination, the mountain also furthers scientific research with the national observatory that has been
constructed between Yŏnhwa Peak no. 2 and Chungnyŏng Ridge.

**Soch’i shillok** (Records of Soch’i)

*Soch’i shillok* is the literary collection of the late Chosŏn scholar and painter Hŏ Ryŏn (styled Soch’i, 1809-1892). The work was written while he was aged between fifty-eight and seventy-two. The accounts in the collection are in the form of stories told to his guests. The narratives contained in this collection cover a wide range of topics such as Hŏ’s experiences when growing up in the country, his relationship with his mentor Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1856), the process in which he successfully sat for the civil service examination through the good offices of King Hŏnjong (r. 1834-1849), and also why he decided not to enter Chosŏn officialdom but instead to choose the life of a rural painter. The work is also noted for providing the theory of art in Chosŏn society and how this transformed as the nineteenth century neared its end. Accordingly, this is a valuable work for the study of the ideology of the scholar-painters of the nineteenth century.

**Sŏch’ŏn County**

Situated on the southwestern tip of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Sŏch’ŏn County consists of the towns of Sŏch’ŏn and Changhang, and the townships of Kisan; Masan; Maso; Munsan; Piin; Sŏ; Shich’o; Chongch’ŏn; P’an’gyo; Hansan; and Hwayang. The county covers a total area of 364 sq. kms. and a population of about 100 000 with the Yellow Sea to the west, Poryŏng County to the north, Puyŏ County to the east and the Kŭm River to the south. Sŏch’ŏn County’s topography is made by hills and numerous reservoirs. Both a passenger vessel and Highway 29 link the county with Kunsan to the south. As a coastal area, the county has a relatively mild climate, with an average yearly temperature of 12.5 deg. c. and an annual rainfall of 1 113.2mm.

The area’s fertile soil and ample irrigation facilities make the county ideal for farming operations. Approximately 42 per cent is arable land, with 115 sq. kms. growing rice and 37 sq. kms. for dry field crops such as barley, beans, red pepper, ginger, garlic, ramie, hemp, apple and tobacco. There are numerous sericulture operations around Munsan. Although the county has a 72 kilometre-long coastline, it is not a major fishing centre. As for mineral resources, coal, gold, silver, copper, iron and lead are found here in small quantities. The county area has also undergone some industrial development.

The county is famous for its fine ramie cloth. Ramie weaving was a major cottage industry throughout the county until the late 1960s, but it fell into decline due to the introduction of cheaper synthetic fibres. However, as natural fibres regained popularity, the area’s ramie industry has revived and is now around Hansan Township. The Hansan Moshigwan (Ramie Museum) in Chihyon Village was established to preserve the tradition of high-quality ramie and to provide information about the fabric to tourists. The museum contains a ramie weaving education centre, a workroom, a folk-craft room, a traditional restaurant and a ramie shop. A weaver at the workroom explains to visitors the entire process of producing ramie cloth. Hansan is also home to Na Sangdŏk, a renowned ramie weaver who has been designated a human cultural asset.

The county has a number of scenic water attractions. In Sŏ Township’s Todun Village, is Ch’unjangdae Beach. With shallow water and a gentle slope, this quiet beach is ideal for families with young children. The beach stretches 1.5 kms. and is 200 or so metres wide. Other popular tourist attractions include Piin Beach to the north of Piin Bay and Hŭngnim Reservoir on the border of P’an’gyo and Chongch’o.

Sŏch’ŏn County also contains a number of important historical sites. The Confucian scholar Yi Saek (1328-1396, styled Mogŭn), was born in Hansan. Yi is renowned for both
his contribution to neo-Confucian thought and his unbending moral character. When Chosŏn was founded, Yi chose to commit suicide rather than betray his loyalty to the fallen Koryŏ kingdom. Local artefacts associated with Yi include his grave and stele and his father’s grave and stele just to the northwest of Mt. Kŏnji. Old Confucian schools located in the area include Piin Hyanggyo (established in 1398) just west of Mt. Wolmyŏng, Sŏch’ŏn Hyanggyo (established in 1414) in Kunsan Village, Hansan Hyanggyo (established in 1518) in Chihyŏn Village, Muhnŏn Sŏwŏn (established in 1594) in Kisan Township’s Yongmo Village and Kŏnam Sŏwŏn (established in 1662) in Munsan Township next to Ch’angdŏk Temple.

In Hansan’s Chongji Village is the house where Yi Sangjae (1850-1927) was born. A theologian and a leader of the March First Independence Movement (1919), Yi served at various times as the chairman of the YMCA, as president of the Chosŏn Ilbo newspaper, and as chairman of the Shin’ghanhoe (New Korea Society), a united nationalist organisation which included both nationalists and communists. The house is a thatched, wooden structure which contains separated women’s and men’s quarters. The women’s quarters and fence were restored in 1981. In front of the house, there is a memorial where Yi’s personal effects are on display.

Society

Pre-History

Although there is little direct evidence of what form the earliest societies in Korea took when the peninsula Korea was first inhabited, from the fact that the dwellings unearthed are generally clustered in groups we can ascertain that some form of communal life was practised. Moreover, the fact that early man was communal can also be demonstrated in the agrarian lifestyle that was in place by the Neolithic period. Remains of decan grass, foxtail millet and sorghum have been excavated, and it is thought that these early Koreans relaxed in the winter season after the harvest. Thus, it is to be expected that the society in this age centred on agriculture and ritual activities concerning agriculture.

Neolithic man also is thought to have had animistic beliefs that permitted an explanation of the events that occurred in the world around him. All the objects of nature, animals, mountains and celestial bodies, were held to have influence on man’s life, and were thus venerated by ancient men. Accordingly, it was necessary for those in the ancient Korean societies to attempt to influence these forces through the use of incantatory rituals and actions. These rituals came to be somewhat standardised over time and formed the basis for the shamanistic practices that constituted the religious and societal customs of this age.

By the subsequent Bonze Age (BCE 1000-300) man had perfected the living skills necessary for the cultivation of more advanced crops such as rice, millet and barley, which was made possible through the development of metal culture. Resultant from the improved agrarian skills was the formation of the earliest states of Korea. In this age, Ko Chosŏn flourished and this state was succeeded by first Kija and then Wiman Chosŏn. These ancient Korean states are thought to have been headed by a ruler who was at not only the political apex of society, but also the religious centre. In examining the foundation myth of Ko Chosŏn, the Tan’gun shinhwa, it is recorded that Hwanung descended from heaven bearing three heavenly regalia that permitted him to control the wind, rain and clouds. Clearly, the society of Ko Chosŏn centred on a ruler who was vested with political authority and further charged with the control of the natural phenomena that affected agriculture.

Metal technologies permitted ancient men to not only create farming implements and weapons, but also further to fashion ritual devices that were used in his religion. Thus from this age there are presently extant elaborately ornamented bronze mirrors, swords and
bell clusters among other items. These ancient religious implements are now seen as the predecessors of the metal implements such as mirrors, broadswords and bell-clusters that are used in the performance of present day shamanistic rituals. Moreover, the fact that the bronze religious implements are far more ornate than those for everyday usage in ancient society reveals the high status of the heads of these societies, who were charged with control of both political and theocratic society.

The earliest records of Korea are found in Chinese historiographies that contain many references to the small states of the Korean peninsula, and through these fragmentary accounts, we can ascertain some elements present in these ancient societies. One such example concerning Ko Chosŏn is found in the Hanshu (History of the Former Han Dynasty) and reveals that there was a legal code in place during this time. This code, known as the Eight-Article Law (P'alcho pŏp), exhibits the societal beliefs that were stressed by these people. Presently there are three of these laws preserved: ‘A person that kills another will be executed;’ ‘One who injures another will compensate him with grain;’ and ‘One who steals from another will be a servant of that house, or if he wishes a pardon will pay them 50 000 nyang as compensation.’ In examining these three articles, it becomes readily apparent that Ko Chosŏn society respected human rights and property, and that the state guaranteed the well being of its people.

Another record of an early Korean state is found in the Sanguo zhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) and concerns the Puyo Kingdom. Here it is noted that these people would execute or otherwise replace their king if there was a poor harvest, thus revealing the paramount importance of agriculture in this society. Additionally, it is recorded that these people produced hemp cloth and also practised sericulture, which exhibits that this society had developed beyond providing mere necessities to the people, and further produced luxurious goods for the upper classes. This can be interpreted as a manifestation of the development of a rudimentary class system in this early kingdom. The Sanguo zhi further notes that the people of Puyo held a national annual festival known as the yŏnggu, which was held in the first lunar month. During this celebration all of the people of the country gathered and joined in food and drink. Even those who had been incarcerated were released in order for them to join in the festival. This festival clearly reveals that the people of Puyo highly valued social harmony that was fostered through this community ritual.

In these early Korean states, agriculture remained the most important activity of the people and all else was subordinate to it. The development of agrarian based rituals and customs during this period reveals the central role that agriculture played in the lives of these early people. A common feature of many of these states was the conducting of some type of harvest festival in the tenth lunar month. Some examples of this include the much’ŏn ceremony of Ye and the tongmaeng festival of the early Koguryŏ state. These harvest festivals are generally thought to be the ancient antecedents to modern day harvest festivals such as Ch’usŏk (Harvest Moon Festival) that still remain central in the lives of Korean people. Agrarian festivals not only serve as thanksgiving rituals to the deities that govern agriculture, but also foster community harmony and goodwill, thus facilitating co-operation among farmers.

As the early states of Korea developed into larger walled-town states and then into confederated kingdoms, legal, political and social institutions became more clearly defined and all encompassing. Moreover, it was at this time that monarchical authority began to be differentiated from religious authority, thus creating religious and political specialists. Hence the ruling elite concentrated on secular duties and in solidifying their political authority, while the religious leaders of these early kingdoms transformed from practitioners of magic and incantations to those that officiated over ritual ceremonies as a mode to supplicate the gods. In addition to these distinctions at the top of these societies, it is thought that during this period gradations among the ruled classes also developed resulting in the beginnings of hereditary occupations.
Three Kingdoms Period

After the development of confederated kingdoms, the early states of Korea underwent a continual process of forming alliances, conquering neighbouring states and increasing their territorial domains. As a result, by the early fourth century CE, there emerged the three dominant kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche and Shilla on the Korean peninsula, and although these kingdoms would undergo periodic fluctuations in territory and relative strength, they would remain the principal powers on the Korean peninsula until the mid-seventh century. During this period the administrative and ruling hierarchies of these kingdoms became consolidated, and moreover, their respective cultures became heavily influenced by the increasing introduction and acceptance of Chinese culture.

1. Koguryo Kingdom

 Of the three kingdoms, it was Koguryo that formed the earliest and quickly established the political and social systems that allowed the survival and rapid expansion of the state. The early culture of Koguryo was dominated by militaristic folk games that are thought to be a reflection of the warlike and warrior dominated character of the state. Records in the Chinese histories Suishu (History of the Sui Dynasty) and Beishi (History of the Northern Dynasties) provide accounts of group contests such as sôkchönp’yôn ssaum (stone fighting game) and ssirum (a type of wrestling) that were often the centre of communal activities. These games can be viewed as stemming from the precarious position that Koguryo existed in, as it occupied an area north of the Korean peninsula and was engaged in constant skirmishes with the Chinese, central Asian and Korean states that surrounded it.

Religious culture of the early Koguryo Kingdom remained dominated by various shamanistic practices that centred on fertility and agrarian rites. In Chinese documents such as the Beishi and Zhoushu (History of the Zhou Dynasty) there are accounts of a national ceremony held in the tenth lunar month named tongmaeng, which centred on rituals offered in supplication to a female deity that resided in a large cave. Such religious practices indicate beliefs based in earth-mother goddesses and are thought to have been primarily perpetuated as fertility rites. Moreover, Koguryo also conducted agrarian rituals to the spirits deemed responsible for the success of a crop at both the time of sowing seed and the harvest, which reveals the importance of agriculture to these people. It is most likely that ritual games such as the aforementioned ssirum and sôkchönp’yôn ssaum were held in conjunction with the agrarian rites and fulfilled not only a religious function but also a social capacity.

The political and governing structures of Koguryo were established fairly early as the right to ascend to the throne was permanently secured by the Ko clan during the reign of King T’aeho (r. 53-146), and the solidification of monarchical authority and the centralisation of political structures was well underway by the reign of King Kogukch’on (r. 179-196). The strengthening of the administrative and governing apparatuses of Koguryo was partly accomplished by restructuring the five tribal enclaves that had survived from earlier times into the five pu (provinces) that controlled the five directions. Secondly, succession to the throne ceased to be passed from elder brother to younger brother, and instead was handed from father to son; this orderly transmission of the throne is viewed as being resultant from the strengthening of the kingship. Additionally, queens began to be selected from a single house, which reveals that these two families, the royal family and the royal in-laws, came to be the dominant aristocratic families of Koguryo, and further had placed restraints on the ability of other clans to become to powerful within the upper classes of the Kingdom. The consolidation of political organisations as such allowed Koguryo to militarily oust the Chinese Lolang Commandery and seize its territory by 313. This enabled Koguryo to occupy a large area extending to the Liao River in the west and to the Taedong River in the south, and even rival the Chinese states for supremacy in the region.
Koguryo had various social institutions that were designed to both meet the needs of the state and to provide for the welfare of its people. Its need for warriors was filled by the kyöngdang, which was a training institution for unmarried males and developed the military and moral qualities of these youths. Farmers of Koguryo are thought to have often owned their own land, although there also appears to have been a landless class of tenant farmers. There was further a government sponsored grain-loan system (chindae póp) that provided loans of grain during times of famine from state storehouses.

The greatest impact on Koguryo society was by the culture that entered the kingdom from China. Particularly, Buddhism is thought to have been accepted by the aristocracy of Koguryo in 372 and Confucianism was also well established by this time. The T’aejak (National Confucian Academy) was founded in 372, and this school for aristocratic children provided a Confucian education based upon a similar Chinese institution. These two belief systems certainly contributed to the growth of the Koguryo Kingdom, as Buddhism provided the nation with spiritual unity, and Confucianism reinforced social mores and supplied the bureaucrats necessary to manage the administrative apparatuses of the expanding Kingdom. However despite the acceptance of these belief systems from China, it is thought that the culture of the common people continued to be dominated by shamanistic-based cultural and religious systems.

2. Paekche Kingdom
The early history of Paekche has not been clearly transmitted to the present age, but it is thought that Paekche emerged as the dominant state among the Mahan confederation in central and southwestern regions of the Korean peninsula. The founder of Paekche is generally given as King Onjo (r. 18 BCE-28CE) who is further said to have been the son of the founding king of Koguryo, King Tongmyöng (r. 37-19BCE). Thus there was a shrine honouring Tongmyöng in Paekche where sacrificial rites were conducted according to records in the Chinese Xin Tang sou (New History of Tang). Additionally, this Chinese history further records that the people of Paekche enjoyed ch’ukkuk (a ball game) and paduk (a board game) in their leisure time. It is thought, however, that the culture of the upper classes of Paekche and that of the common people differed vastly since the upper class was not indigenous to the area. Therefore, in the customs of the common people beliefs based in shamanistic practices designed to bring about abundant harvests and prevent misfortune are thought to have been prevalent.

Paekche underwent much turmoil in her confrontations with Koguryo and Shilla, and accordingly her territorial domain also fluctuated. During the late fifth and early sixth centuries Paekche did reorganise her administrative systems into twenty-two districts (tamno) and place a member of the royal family in each one as a way to solidify her national unity. National cohesion was a problem throughout the history of Paekche as the conquering ruling class was not indigenous to the area of Paekche and thus was in constant conflict with the customs and practices of their indigenous subjects. An attempt to institute a national ideology can be seen in the efforts of King Sŏng (r. 523-554) to propagate Buddhism as a national religion, and thereby provide the nation with spiritual unity.

Paekche’s culture and society were furthered influenced by contacts with Chinese states. Although there are no extant records concerning the educational institutions of Paekche, the fact that a national history, Sŏgi (Documentary Records), was compiled in 375 reveals that Chinese ideology and writing systems were well established by this time. Moreover, the advanced metal culture of Paekche was transmitted to Japan along with the Chinese writing system and Confucian classics such as the Lunyu (Analects of Confucius). This demonstrates that the culture of Paekche was sufficiently advanced to transmit higher culture and civilisation to the Japanese at this time.

3. Shilla Kingdom
Shilla lagged behind Koguryo and Paekche in many aspects due to her relative weakness
when compared to her neighbours and her geographical location. The Kingdom itself was formed from the alliance of six clans into the confederation of Saro, which was one of the twelve walled-town states of Chinhan. As time passed, Shilla consolidated her power and began to first form alliances with neighbouring states, and then forcibly incorporate them into her domain. The first rulers of Shilla were almost certainly shaman-kings, and this can be viewed in the use of titles such as ch'ach'aung (shaman) to designate the monarch. By the time that Shilla had begun to rapidly expand, however, the duties of the king were political in nature and religious specialists were charged with control of the supernatural.

The social structure of Shilla is best viewed through the ‘bone-rank’ (kolp'um) system that was used to establish a hereditary hierarchy among the ruling classes of the Kingdom. The kolp'um system granted certain privileges, ranging from a prescribed manner of dress, housing or the official position one could obtain, based upon one’s hereditary bloodline. The highest rank was that of sŏnggol (sacred bone) and this was followed by chin'gol (true bone). Originally, only those of sŏnggol rank were entitled to occupy the position of king and were of the royal house of Kim; however, with the death of Queen Chindok (r. 647-654) the sŏnggol rank ceased to exist and from this point forward the kingship was held by members of the chin'gol rank. The chin'gol rank was originally used to designate those from the Kim royal house yet not qualified to ascend to the kingship, but were otherwise entitled to occupy the highest positions in the government. This rank also included members of the royal consort house and members of the aristocracy of states that had been incorporated into the Shilla Kingdom. Following these two ‘bone ranks’ were six grades of ‘head ranks’. Head ranks six, five and four composed the general aristocracy, and below these ranks three, two and one, are thought to have been composed of the general freeborn populace. Based upon one’s ‘bone rank’, certain privileges were either granted or withheld, most notably these ranks represented limitations on how high one could rise in the government bureaucracy.

The culture of early Shilla was dominated by agrarian-centred, shamanistic rituals such as the kaui festival recorded in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms). Kaui was a group-weaving contest that was held from the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month until the fifteenth day of the following month. At the conclusion of the contest a large feast would be held with the women enjoying song and dance. This festival is understood to be the origin of the Han'gawi (Harvest Festival) presently held on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month.

The importance that shamanism held in early Shilla society is seen in the gold crowns of Shilla monarchs. These ornately fashioned gold plate crowns were certainly not suitable for daily use and are thus thought to have been reserved for state rituals at which the king acted as chief officiant. The shape of the crown is argued to be based upon a Siberian model, and its design includes the shapes of deer horns, trees and the feathers of an eagle. The relationship between the Shilla crown and its Siberian counterpart is much deeper and more fundamental than this, as the Shilla crown reflects the beliefs of Siberian shamanism concerning the composition of the universe. Hence, the presence of a tree-like shape on the crown is thought to represent the ‘World Tree,’ and the deer and eagle feathers are manifestations of beliefs in the ability of shamans to journey between the realms of the sacred and the profane.

Early Shilla society was by necessity quite war-like, and as a result of this need the hwarang (youth corps) was devised. This group is thought to have originated in the clan-based communal groups that were present in the formative stages of Shilla. The hwarang was composed of the sons of aristocratic families and they were trained in military skills, moral righteousness and the fine arts. Additionally, this group also had a religious function as they made pilgrimages to sacred mountains and rivers where they prayed for the nation’s prosperity. The most important function of the hwarang, however, was military skills and from this group came many of Shilla’s finest warriors such as the great general Kim Yushin.
As the higher Chinese culture began to reach Shilla, social systems such as Confucianism came to hold greater importance in the administration of the state, and Buddhism came to be promoted as the official state religion. Confucianism contributed positively to the creation of a code of conduct that fostered national unity, and this can be witnessed in the adoption of the 'five secular injunctions' (sesok ogye) by the hwarang in the early seventh century. Buddhism is thought to have been officially recognised by Shilla during the reign of King Pophung (r. 514-540), although forms of the religion had long been propagated among the common people. Buddhism was recognised as being better suited than indigenous shamanistic beliefs as a support system for the ruling classes, and thus this religion was officially promoted as the 'state' religion. The concept of a single body of believers devoted spiritually to serving Buddha, and at the same time serving the king in secular matters, surely played a major role in the adoption of this religious system.

Greater Shilla and Parhae

1. Greater Shilla Kingdom

After the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Shilla in the seventh century, the culture of Shilla came to be heavily influenced by Tang China. The cultural influence of Tang can be broadly characterised in the two areas of economic exchange and cultural borrowing. Economically, Shilla benefited from exchanges with Tang through tributary missions, and this is seen in the increased consumption of luxurious imported goods among the Shilla aristocracy. More important to the development of Shilla society, however, was the large-scale cultural borrowing from Tang. This borrowing was present in the importation of large numbers of Chinese books and artworks, and in travel to Tang for the study of Buddhism or Confucianism. In particular, scholars who travelled to China to study Buddhist of Confucian precepts had a major impact on Shilla society upon their return to Korea.

The fundamental structure of Shilla society was still founded in the kolp’um system, although without the sŏnggol rank there came to be more challenges to the throne, since the highest rank aristocrats were of the same class (chin’gol) as the monarch. Moreover, the period of Greater Shilla was marked by an increasing number of conflicts between the monarchy, which was attempting to strengthen the power of the kingship, and the chin’gol aristocrats who desired to protect their status and gain more power. Nonetheless, despite the struggles among the chin’gol for power among themselves, other classes were kept out of the higher echelons of Shilla society by the kolp’um system. This situation of conflict between the throne and the highest aristocrats, however, permitted those of the head-rank six (yuktup’um) to gain greater power. By aligning themselves with the throne they came to hold power as advisors and confidants to the monarch. Additionally, the head-rank six class represented those educated in Confucianism and thus their influence continued to increase, at the expense of the chin’gol aristocracy, throughout the Greater Shilla period.

In contrast to the opulent lives led by the chin’gol aristocracy, the common people of Shilla were impoverished. Certainly the years of warfare that led to the unification by Shilla resulted in many peasants losing their property, and many of these people who could not repay their debts were conscripted as slaves. It is thought that slavery was prevalent during this period, and that this represented a substantial portion of the Shilla population. Those commoners who had managed to escape enslavement did not necessarily fare much better as detailed government censuses were conducted every three years to ensure that taxes were levied on lands, livestock, mulberry and other trees, and human resources. In addition to their tax burdens, the peasants were further subject to corvee labour duties. There were also administrative units such as hyang, so and pugok that were inhabited by unfree people whose status was essentially that of slaves. These individuals represented either criminals or subjugated peoples who were assigned to one of these special settlements and then
required to labour at farming, stockbreeding or other manual work. These work units were widely spread throughout every region of Shilla, and therefore reveal the various forms of slavery as a distinguishing characteristic of Shilla society.

It was during the Greater Shilla period that Buddhism and Confucianism became firmly entrenched in Korean society. Buddhism, in particular the Pure Land Buddhism, spread rapidly throughout Shilla after its introduction and thousands of peasants are said to have walked away from their lives to join temples. Pure Land was a simplified Buddhist sect and only required the uttering of Buddha’s name to gain salvation; thus, this religion was well suited for the uneducated peasants of Shilla. Certainly the chief attraction of this religion among the poor peasants of Shilla was the hope for release from the hardships they suffered under the increasingly unjust and authoritarian rule of the Shilla aristocracy.

Confucianism enjoyed a similar surge of popularity during this period, although this ideology was mainly adhered to by minor aristocracy such as the head-rank six. In 682 Shilla established the Kukhak (National Academy), which provided a Confucian education to members of the lower aristocracy. As an outgrowth of Confucianism, a type of state examination system (toksŏ samp’umgwa) was inaugurated in 788, and this reveals the desire to emphasise Confucian scholarship instead of one’s bone-rank lineage. Despite the implementation of an examination system and an educational institute to propagate the Confucian ideology, Shilla society would remain dominated by the chin’ gol aristocracy until its demise. The men of the head-rank six would continue to be frustrated by the limitations placed on their rise in the Shilla officialdom, regardless of their qualifications. Many Shilla Confucianists successfully sat for the Tang civil service examination and even served in the Tang government; however, they were not allowed to rise to positions of true influence in the Shilla government due to the entrenched kolp’um system, and thus their talents were wasted. It is noteworthy that many highly regarded Shilla scholars, men such as Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (857-?), simply retired from government service upon realisation that the system would not allow their skills to be used.

2. Parhae Kingdom
Parhae was founded by immigrants from the former Koguryŏ Kingdom and occupied the territory north of the Taedong River extending over most of the area of Manchuria. There were actually two components to Parhae society; the first was the ruling class that was composed of refugees from the former Koguryŏ Kingdom, and the second were the indigenous Malgal people who had been subjugated by the Koguryŏ refugees. The Kingdom was founded in the late seventh century and prevailed until being defeated by the Khitan in 926. The relationship between Parhae and Shilla was not always amicable, but these two states clearly viewed each other as being of the same people. This is evident in the fact that Shilla referred to Parhae as the ‘northern country’ and Parhae designated Shilla as the ‘southern country.’ Thus, it is apparent that the people of Parhae and Shilla viewed one another as being of the same ethnicity. Parhae is further notable in a historic sense in that it is the last Korean state to exercise political and cultural dominance over the Manchurian region.

Once Parhae had established peaceful diplomatic relations with Tang, she embarked on the rapid introduction of Chinese culture. Parhae sent many students to Tang for study and some of these students successfully sat for the Tang civil service examinations. The influence of Tang on Parhae culture was major and many governmental institutions were modelled after those in Tang. Additionally, Parhae also instituted diplomatic relations with Japan, Shilla, and the Khitan and Türkit peoples, indicating the wide spectrum of international contacts it enjoyed. It is clear in examining the documents that Parhae sent to Japan that this Kingdom considered itself to be the successor of the Koguryŏ Kingdom.

The former Koguryŏ people dominated the ruling structures of Parhae, although they were numerically inferior to their subjects. A Japanese history, Ruishu kokushi (Collection of
National History), notes that Parhae ‘had many Malgal people who composed the common classes, while there were few Koguryo people’ and further that ‘the Koguryo people were all village headman,’ thus indicating that positions of political power were dominated by the Koguryo refugees. The kingship was first held by the Tae house and then by the Ko house, both of which were of the nobility of Koguryo. There were some members of the Malgal, however, that succeeded in entering the ruling elite of Parhae and it is thought that these individuals were most likely among those who supported the first Koguryo immigrants in establishing political control of the area. Thus despite the fact that the Parhae upper classes had accepted and implemented Tang social institutions, the vast majority of the Malgal people did not realise benefit from this and were instead relegated to forced labour and unfree status in the service of their masters.

Although Parhae accepted many aspects of Tang culture and incorporated these into their cities and administrative structures, there were also many features that revealed their heritage in Koguryo. For example, the administrative structure was based upon the five-capital system that was used in Koguryo, the palace used an ondol (under floor) heating system, and the structure of the royal tombs was also quite similar to that in Koguryo. Despite the amount of remains of Parhae being numerically small, it is clear from examining those that are extant that the principle roots for Parhae culture are found in Koguryo.

The cultural level of Parhae at her zenith was quite advanced, and this was even acknowledged by Tang who referred to Parhae as the ‘flourishing land in the east.’ With the population of Parhae being composed of two disparate elements, however, this state was flawed with an inherent weakness that would eventually lead to its demise. This can certainly be viewed as a key to the collapse of Parhae when attacked by the Khitan in the early tenth century. The cultural legacy of Parhae was not continued for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the ruling classes of the Kingdom sought refugee in the newly found Koryo Kingdom after their defeat. Moreover, since the Parhae ruling culture was not indigenous to the subjugated people, they also did not preserve it. It should be noted, however, that when the Malgal people formed their own state in the early twelfth century (the Jurchen dynasty), much of the area of the former Parhae Kingdom fell under their domain.

The period of the Greater Shilla and Parhae kingdoms is often only viewed as being the period of the former kingdom, with Parhae overlooked. This is due in part to the dearth of records concerning Parhae and the limited role that the Parhae people had in the ensuing Koryo Kingdom. The Parhae Kingdom, however, existed for nearly the same length of time as Greater Shilla and certainly occupied a larger territory. Moreover, Parhae’s social and cultural systems were as advanced as Shilla’s, and thus the ‘northern country’ should be viewed favourably in this aspect.

Koryo Period

As Greater Shilla disintegrated towards the end of the ninth century, there was a resurgence of the former Paekche and Koguryo (T’aebong) kingdoms. For a period of nearly half a century the Shilla, Later Paekche and T’aebong states struggled for supremacy on the Korean peninsula, and this was a time of great social upheaval and the massive displacement of the common people. The peasantry of this period were subjected to not only taxation by the kingdom whose domain they fell under, but also by the powerful gentry families that dominated the outlying areas of the kingdoms. Thus, burdened with unmanageable tax and corvee labour encumbrances, many of the peasantry abandoned their land and joined roving brigand bands. Therefore, this period was not only marked by the conflicts for control of the peninsula by the later Three Kingdoms, but also by frequent peasant uprisings and attacks by rebel armies.

After Wang Kön (King T’aejo, r. 918-943) solidified his power base and founded the
Koryo Kingdom in the early tenth century, he took immediate measures to establish ties with the powerful local gentry families that had assisted him in his rise to power. He therefore instituted marriage bonds with over twenty such regional gentry families in a hope to create alliances that would prevent future uprisings and power struggles. Additionally, the Koryo founder took a wife from the Shilla royal family in a bid to legitimise his Kingdom as the successor of Shilla. Despite his connection with the Shilla royal family, however, Wang Kon did dismantle the kolp'um system of Shilla and attempt to bring a wider range of families into the ruling structure of Koryo.

A notable achievement of the Koryo period is the establishment of a civil service examination in 958 based on a Chinese model. This represents the desire of the ruling powers of Koryo to replace the military families who had participated in the founding of the Kingdom with a system that selected officials based upon their merit. Hence the enactment of a civil service examination system represents a rudimental effort on the part of the Koryo government to create a bureaucratic structure, staffed by qualified scholars, that would strengthen royal authority. A consequence of the implementation of the civil service examination was the increasing influence of the Confucian ideology on the Koryo State.

The Confucian ideology was disseminated in Koryo with the establishment of a multi-level educational system. At the apex of the system was the Kukchagam (National University), which was supported by other governmental educational institutions such as the capital academies (haktang) and the county public schools (hyanggyo). Additionally, there were a large number of private educational establishments during this period including the Twelve Assemblies (Shipbi to) and the primary level sodaeng, or private village schools. On the basis of the education provided by these Confucian-orientated institutions, Confucianism came to have widespread influence during the Koryo period.

The import of the Confucian ideology can also be seen in the popular culture of the people. While Buddhism continued to enjoy widespread governmental support and popularity during most of the Koryo period, the same cannot be said for the shamanistic religion of the people. In the rationalistic eyes of the Confucian scholar, shamanistic practices were no more than hollow superstitions, which were propagated to deceive the people. Thus, it is during the Koryo period that criticism directed at the official sanctioning of shamanistic rites at the palace began to appear. However, the Confucian disdain for shamanistic rituals and beliefs did not prevent many shamanistic ceremonies from being carried out at the highest levels of Koryo society. Some examples of these practices being sponsored by the central government include rain ceremonies (kiuje) and the narye (exorcism ceremonies) rites that were held at year's end to purge the palace and nation of any baneful spirits. It is also notable that the chief agrarian ceremony of Koryo was not Chusok (Harvest Festival) that was the dominate Shilla agriculture ceremony, but instead the Tano Festival. This indicates that the chief cultural influence on Koryo society came from the cultures of the northern region of the Korean peninsula since the Tano Festival is primarily a festival of the northern region. Tano is held during the fifth lunar month a slack time in the northern area's farming cycle, the fifth month, however, is a very busy farming season in the southern regions revealing the northern orientation of this holiday.

The Koryo period came to be dominated by the Buddhist religion to a greater extent than any other ideology, and this domination extended beyond religious significance and also encompassed many aspects of daily life. For example, in a bid to secure peace and prosperity King Taejo built many temples, and this practice was followed by his successors. The belief in the power of Buddhism to protect the State can best be witnessed in the monumental task of carving some 81 000 woodblocks of the Palman taejjang kyong (Koryo Tripitaka) to ward off attacks from the Khitan. Even though this massive work was destroyed in a subsequent Mongol invasion in 1231, the Koryo government sponsored a second carving of this work in 1236 to petition Buddha for protection. In addition to building temples and reproducing the Buddhist cannon, the Koryo period is also noted for
the large Buddhist festivals that were sponsored by the State. Two prime examples of these are the Yongdusung hoe (Lantern Lighting Ceremony) and the P’algwan hoe (Festival of the Eight Vows. The Yongdusung hoe, which was originally performed on the first full moon of the new year but later moved to eight day of the fourth lunar month (Buddha’s birthday), was performed not only in the Koryŏ capital but also in villages throughout the country. The P’algwan hoe, on the other hand, was only performed in the two capitals of Sŏgyŏng (modern day P’yŏngyang) and Kaegyŏng (Kaesŏng). While the P’algwan hoe had many Buddhist elements, it can primarily be seen as a successor of ancient heaven-worship rituals. The importance of the P’algwan hoe can be witnessed in the fact that to mark this largest of the Koryŏ festivals, all public officials were given three days leave for the occasion.

Insofar as the lives of the people during the Koryŏ period, agriculture remained the foundation of the national economy of this period. The freeborn peasantry of Koryŏ was called the paekchŏng and they worked public land (minjŏn), paying some one fourth of their harvest to the State as tax. Additionally, some of the paekchŏng worked lands held by gentry families and in this instance paid even higher rents of up to one half of their harvest. Moreover, the peasantry was subjected to various tribute taxes and corvee labour duties that further increased their obligations to the government. The plight of the paekchŏng, however, was markedly better than that of the lowborn peoples who resided in special administrative districts such as hyang, pugok, so, and yŏk among others. The peoples in these areas were required to perform farming, mining, handicraft, transportation and lodging services for the government; however, this vestige from the Shilla period eventually disappeared as these peoples merged with the freeborn population. At the bottom of Koryŏ society were those in the slave class. Slaves were possessed by governmental institutions, members of the ruling classes, temples and the royal household. They performed tasks of every variety and were treated as any personal property in that they could be freely bought and sold. Slaves could, however, ‘buy’ their freedom and then rise in class to the status of a commoner. Those engaged in the hereditary lowborn occupations such as butchers or entertainers, although freeborn, were socially treated the same as slaves.

The tax and labour burdens placed upon the peasantry of Koryŏ resulted in, quite naturally, a large number of peasants fleeing their land and joining roving bands of thieves. Thus with the agricultural underpinnings of society threatened, the Koryŏ government was forced to implement various social welfare systems that would keep the people tied to the land. One such innovation were the so-called ‘righteous granaries’ (ŭich’ang) that provided grain loans to farmers in poor years. Additionally, there were public infirmaries that provided medical services to the sick, and even a few Buddhist temples that provided food for beggars. However, in times of extreme hardship such as invasions, even these meagre governmental relief agencies failed.

Towards the middle Koryŏ period problems arising from the discrimination against military personnel led to various military factions seizing control of the Koryŏ government. This change, while proving to be disastrous for many of the Confucian literati who were executed in the resultant purges, had little effect on the lives of the common people, who were still overburdened with taxes. The result of this was the increase in the frequency of popular uprisings in the twelfth century, and these revolts certainly contributed to the instability of the nation that permitted the Ch’oe house, led by Ch’oe Ch’ungkŏn (1149-1219), to take firm control of the nation. The Ch’oe family would continue their grip on Koryŏ power until the Mongol Invasions of the next century forced them out.

The Mongol Invasions of the early and mid thirteenth century were certainly among the most devastating events in the long history of Korea. While the royal family and ruling classes avoided the Mongols by fleeing to Kanghwa Island, the common people faced the wrath of the Mongols as they pillaged, burned and ravaged Koryŏ. Initially, the peasantry
joined with the government forces to oppose the Mongols, but after a series of crushing defeats and the loss of property and lives, the spirit of resistance among the common people was bridled. Moreover, the actions of the central government did little more than provoke the anger of the Mongols, who in turn increased their attacks against the peasantry. Thus, by the time of the eventual surrender of Koryŏ to the Mongols, the ruling class had completely alienated the peasantry who had bore the brunt of the Mongol attack.

Ruling class society in Koryŏ after the Mongol Invasion came to be thoroughly dominated by Yüan influences. While some of the powerful families retained their influence to a certain degree during this hundred year period, their emerged a new class of family who owed their power to the Mongols. These families came to possess enormous economic, political and military power in the late Koryŏ period, and through their illegal and strong-armed methods of acquiring land, came to threaten the economic foundations of the Kingdom. Not only were peasants confronted with an even higher tax burden, but the government of Koryŏ was also jeopardised by lack of revenue. Hence, by the conclusion of the Yüan dominated period, Koryŏ society had been irreparably damaged by the corruption of the powerful, Yüan-allied families. Moreover, compounding the situation were the Buddhist temples that had also acquired massive landholdings at the expense of the state and people.

The period at the end of the Koryŏ Kingdom is further notable by the rise of a new class of literati, or sadaebu. In contrast to their predecessors in the Koryŏ government, these men were not only educated but also skilled in the administrative matters required for efficient management of the state. With the collapse of the military regime, the political influence of these men rose dramatically, and they further served as a balance to the power of the gentry families. The sadaebu tended to come from backgrounds of small landholding families and were generally men of high personal morals and honesty; these qualities were certainly in contrast to those in the gentry families where corruption was rampant. The sadaebu were key to the enacting the reforms of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) that sought to externally rid Koryŏ of the influence of the Yüan by establishing relations with the Ming, and internally to reduce the power of the gentry families. Domestically, land reforms were attempted that would have greatly changed the balance of power in Koryŏ. These reforms, however, were met with harsh opposition by the large landholders and eventually resulted in the assassination of King Kongmin. Shortly thereafter, the Koryŏ Kingdom itself was usurped by Yi Sŏnggye.

Chosŏn Period

1.) The Confucianisation of Chosŏn Yangban Society

The late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods mark a fundamental change in Korean social structure that was chiefly brought about by the rise to political power of the neo-Confucian literati. Although reforms were attempted under King Kongmin of the Koryŏ period, the unyielding opposition of the large landowners ultimately ensured the failure of these measures. Thus the royal authority of the Koryŏ crown was irreparably damaged, which was further compounded by the questionable succession practices by the last Koryŏ kings, and the military again emerged as the dominant force in Koryŏ society. Yi Sŏnggye (King T'aego, r. 1392-1398), a military leader, formed an alliance with the neo-Confucian literati, and through this union was able to found the Chosŏn dynasty.

An important element in the reforms that enabled the new dynasty to make sweeping changes throughout Korean society were the land reforms carried out in 1390, even before the founding of Chosŏn. After destroying all existing land registers, the Rank Land Law (kwajŏn-pŏp) was enacted and this system stipulated a certain amount of stipend land be allocated to government officials depending upon their rank. Thus, the newly rising class of neo-Confucian literati were provided an economic underpinning, while at the same time the powerful landowners were stripped of their hegemony. Another group that was
adversely impacted by the land reforms were the Buddhist temples, which had amassed huge estates at the expense of both the people and the central government. Moreover, the land reforms of this period also secured the economic foundations of the new Chosŏn dynasty.

Members of the new class of literati included men such as Chŏng Tojon (1342-1398) and Cho Chun (1346-1405), and the neo-Confucian philosophy that they advocated would come to dominate Choson society. They were fundamentally opposed to Buddhism not only for ideological reasons, but also due to the corrupt nature of Buddhism in the Koryó period. Consequently these men advocated a suppression of Buddhism, which became increasingly pronounced as the Chosŏn period unfolded. Moreover, many aspects of society in the Koryó period came under attack such as marriage practices, Buddhist funerary rites, shamanistic practices and incorrect social mores. The resultant culture of the Choson period is often referred to as the yangban society; the term ‘yangban’ (two classes) is broadly used to designate the status group in Choson that was privileged to occupy either civil or military posts in the government bureaucracy.

The conduct of the king, according to the neo-Confucian philosophy, was crucial to the correct governing of the state. Therefore, the king had to be trained thoroughly in Confucian principles in order to become benevolent, righteous and morally capable of providing proper direction of the nation. The task of assisting the king with governing the people fell to the literati, whose primary role as morally superior men was to lead the ignorant masses.

The essence of the Confucian principles is found in the three cardinal human relationships (samgang) that provided society with a fundamental and immutable framework, and the five moral imperatives (oryun) that guided interpersonal relationships. The samgang were the relationships between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife, and the oryun consisted of the righteousness between ruler and subject, proper rapport between father and son, separation of functions between husband and wife, proper recognition of order of birth between junior and senior, and faithfulness between friends. All of these relations were governed by the concept of ye, proper ritual behaviour, and it was this concept that was at the core of the educational process. Additionally, ye was fostered through the observance of the four rites (sarye): coming of age ceremonies, weddings, mourning practices, and ancestor worship. These four rites were instituted by the Confucian sage kings to properly control human passions and to permit the proper governance of the people. Hence, the four rites along with the samgang and oryun stabilised society and human relations while at the same time creating an orderly society.

Educational institutions in the early Choson period for the most part succeeded those in place at the end of the Koryó period. The Sŏnggyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy) was the highest educational institution and located in the capital where it was joined by the Sahak (Four Schools) that provided a secondary level of education. In outlying areas the government-sponsored hyanggyo (county public schools) also provided a secondary education. In addition to the governmental institutions, private schools such as sŏwŏn (private academies) and sŏdang (private village schools) provided secondary and primary instruction respectively. The educational institutions were essential to the propagation of the neo-Confucian ideology that was offered at all of these schools. The focus of the secondary educational institutions was on successfully preparing their students to sit for the civil service examinations that provided entry into Choson officialdom. For the most part these schools featured an education that was dominated by the study of the Chinese classics, although some Korean works such as the Kyŏngguk taejŏn (National Code) were also the focus of study. Additionally, schools were charged with providing an education to their students that would cultivate social and moral righteousness; thus works such as Kyŏngmong yogyŏl (The Secret of Striking Out Ignorance), Tongmong sŏnsüp (Children’s First Learning), Samgang haengshil-do (Conduct of the Three Bonds with
Pictures), and Oryun haengshil-do (Illustrations of Stories Exemplifying the Five Confucian Virtues) were presented to students in order to correctly imbue them with Confucian principles.

The Choson government further sought to propagate the neo-Confucian ideology and its accompanying social mores by enacting legal codes that enforced compliance with this ideology. One such example is the legislation of the obok, or the five mourning clothes, system in the early fifteenth century to specifically designate required periods of mourning and mourning costume depending upon the degree of consanguinity. The mourning system put primary emphasis on agnatic kin and assigned non-agnatic relations, such as the mother’s kin and the wife’s kin, peripheral positions. Another example is the institution of a system to distinguish between primary and secondary wives (chôkch’ôp chi pun) that came to have far-reaching impact on the social systems of Choson. Not only did this system create a hierarchy between women in the same household, but it also created a distinction between the children born to the primary wife and those of the secondary wife. Naturally the only possible legitimate heirs and successor of a family line were born of the primary wife; sons born to secondary wives were thus ineligible to take higher official office and also could not offer ancestral rites to their ancestors, since they were considered as illegitimate sons (sôdl).

The standing of women during the Choson period declined markedly when compared to the Koryô period. This can be seen in practices surrounding inheritance, marriage and social status. During the Koryô and early Choson periods, there was no discrimination between sons and daughters concerning inheritance rights. The change in inheritance rights in the early Choson period was focused on lowering the inheritance rights of the children of secondary wives, and this change was fully in place with promulgation of the Kyôngguk taejôn (National Code) in the late fifteenth century. However, even from the outset of the Choson period legislative inroads were made on women’s economic independence, a strong feature of the Koryô period, and by the mid-sixteenth century a wife’s property came to be indivisible from that of her husband. Moreover, inheritance documents of the late Choson period reveal that son-in-laws were designated as heirs in place of daughters and thus the male controlled the property. The end result of the change in woman being able to control their property was that they became increasingly dependent upon their husband’s estate, and were thereby no longer financially independent.

The regulations concerning marriage also underwent a major transformation in the transition from the Koryô to Choson period. An early focus of Choson neo-Confucianists was the elimination of uxorilocal residence that was a feature of the Koryô period, since this was viewed as both unnatural and being conducive to the formation of bonds with matrilineal relatives. The impact of the legislation aimed at the elimination of uxorilocal residence was, in effect, to eliminate the inheritance rights of daughters in favour of sons. Since a daughter was now compelled to move to her husband’s house upon marriage, she could not take with her an inheritance of ancestral land; instead daughters were given a share of inheritance in slaves or other transferable property, which came to function as a dowry in the hands of her husband’s family and was no longer in her control. The consequence of the elimination of uxorilocal residence was to make women dependent upon their husband and his family, and this is well illustrated by the enforcement of the ch’ilch’ul, or the seven grounds for expulsion of a wife, that came to be practised in the Choson period: disobedience towards the parents-in-law, failure to produce a son, adultery, theft, excessive jealousy, chronic illness, and extreme talkativeness. For a woman whose only social standing was through her husband’s family, the ch’ilch’ul coupled with her lack of economic independence, proved to be an extremely effective means in making her obedient and submissive through the threat of expulsion.

One of the most distinguishing features of Choson society was the creation of an ancestral worship cult. The principle of patrilatiation was offered by neo-Confucian society as the
most fundamental human bond, and ancestor worship provided a means to extend this to a
generational concept. Ancestor worship clarified lines of descent, denoted kinship
boundaries, and created solidarity among agnates. Ancestral rites helped bring forth an
ideological corporateness that, separate from political or economic conditions, functioned as
a chief impetus in the formation of patrilineal decent groups in Chosŏn. Ancestor worship
further defined an individual’s position in a family through his ritual role in the performance
of ancestor rites, and correlated to ritual status were rights of inheritance and obligations of
mourning. Moreover, since Confucian ideology viewed the public realm as a direct
extension of the domestic sphere, one’s chances for success in public life often depended
upon his status with in his family. The fact that ancestor worship functioned as a social
ordering system is clearly illustrated in the fact that women and secondary sons, who had
no role in the ancestral rituals, were not allowed to fully participate in the public domain of
Chosŏn society.

2.) Popular Culture of Chosŏn
The early period of Chosŏn represented a time of relative prosperity for the peasants who
worked the land. Technological improvements such as use of improved fertilisers and
irrigation systems resulted in improved crop yields, and thus permitted some members of
the Chosŏn peasantry to extend their landholdings and even employee hired hands to work
their fields. Another improvement to the situation of farmers was the 1444 Tribute Tax
Law (kongpŏp) that lowered the tax rate from one-tenth to one-twentieth of their harvest.
There were, however, other tax burdens on the peasantry of Chosŏn including local
tributes, military service and corvee labour service. At the same time peasants were tied to
their land by the hop’ae (identification tag) system that required them to carry at all times a
hop’ae recording their name, status, and county of residence along with other information
that kept them from abandoning their land. Additionally, there was also legislation of the
early Chosŏn period that bound groups of five households together and made them
mutually responsible for ensuring that members of the unit did not flee from their place of
residence. Hence, while there were improvements in the lives of freeborn peasants in the
early Chosŏn period, there were also many restrictions on their freedom.

As in prior periods, Chosŏn also had a significant proportion of her population that was
either of the lowborn or slave classes. Slaves can be largely divided into government and
private slaves, with these classes further divided by out-resident and in-resident slaves.
Out-resident slaves formed separate households and paid a set fee to their owners, and thus
their economic status was not greatly different from freeborn farmers. Slavery was
hereditary, and by law a child was the same status as its mother; therefore, slaves could be
bought and sold like livestock at government set prices. Similar in status to slaves were the
lowborn of Chosŏn who engaged in largely hereditary occupations such as butchering and
tanning, and although they were legally commoners they were in no way treated as
members of the freeborn peasantry. Additionally, travelling entertainers (kwangdae),
shamans (mudang), and female entertainers (kisaeng) were classified as lowborn, and in
general held in disdain by society.

In examining the folk customs of the Chosŏn period, what must be presupposed are the
atrophy of Buddhist events and the predominance of Confucian-orientated events. Hence,
the major Buddhist festivals of the Koryŏ period such as the p’algwanhoe were abolished
by the Chosŏn government due to the official policy of suppressing Buddhism in favour of
Confucianism. In place of Buddhist rituals, Confucian ancestor rites were promoted by the
government as the principle rituals of society; however, this transformation of replacing
rituals that had been conducted for generations was not a rapid one. The seasonal customs
that were observed in the latter part of the Chosŏn dynasty are recorded in the Tongguk
seshiği (Seasonal Customs of Korea). However, this work reveals the neo-Confucian bias
of its author and excludes many folk customs, such as shamanistic rituals like the tongje
and pyŏlshin kut, that were observed by the common people, and in place of these popular
customs are records the customs of the yangban class.
The fundamental beliefs of the common people of the Chosŏn period remained strongly tied to shamanistic and Buddhist practices, despite the government’s attempts to regulate or eliminate these practices. Thus, we can observe regulations in the Kyŏngguk taejon (National Code) that call for women of yangban families who participate in shamanistic rituals to be flogged, and these ordinances were continued throughout the Chosŏn period. Moreover, shamans and Buddhist monks were classified among the lowborn, and socially ostracized. Despite these official regulations against shamanistic and Buddhist practices, however, they continued to be perpetuated throughout the Chosŏn period, and even by members of the royal family. Shamanistic rituals such as the kiuje (rain ceremony) continued to be sponsored throughout the Chosŏn period, as did the narye (exorcism) ritual. Shamans were even employed by members of the royal family, and particularly the women of the palace often adhered to shamanistic beliefs. A notable example is Queen Min (1851-1895) who attempted to elevate the status of shamans at the end of the Chosŏn period by creating a national shaman organisation. Ironically, however, the minimal role that women were permitted to perform in Confucian rites by Chosŏn society resulted in their adherence to the shamanistic religion as it represented their only religious outlet.

As agriculture continued to be the chief occupation and focus of the common people of the Chosŏn period, it is not unexpected to find that agrarian rites directed at securing a bountiful harvest were at the centre of their lives. Therefore during the Chosŏn period, agrarian festivals such as the Tano Festival and p'ut kut continued to be observed by the common people and represented important festive occasions that not only petitioned supernatural forces for a successful crop, but further promoted solidarity and harmony among the people. After the fall harvest, Ch’usŏk (Harvest Festival) represented a chance to thank the spirits for an abundant harvest and to celebrate with members of one’s family and community. Thus, despite the importance placed upon Confucian ancestral rites by the yangban society and the eventual acceptance of these practices by members of the common class, they never fully supplanted the age-old agrarian rites and festivals that had been observed in Korea for millennia.

3.) Foreign Influence in Chosŏn Society

The Chosŏn dynasty began with the formation of strong ties with the Ming dynasty of China. Through this vinculum, much of the culture of this state was incorporated into the Chosŏn government, society and ideology. In the realm of government, many of the basic structures were taken from Ming and adapted to Korea. For example the roots of the education system, structure of the governmental bureaucracy and even the basis for the Chosŏn legal code were all adapted from Ming institutions. Chosŏn society was thereby heavily influenced by Ming institutions, although these were often adapted substantially to the Chosŏn situation. This is not to say, however, that Chosŏn and Ming agreed on all matters and the former followed the latter blindly. In particular, the Chosŏn government was long at odds with Ming over an erroneous entry in an official Ming history stating that Yi Songgye, the founder of Chosŏn, was the son of a notorious anti-Ming rebel, and it was nearly two hundred years before this error was rectified.

Cultural exchange between Ming and Chosŏn most often took the form of embassies that were generally sent to China thrice yearly and marked occasions such as the New Year and the emperor’s birthday. These missions provided an opportunity for not only cultural and political exchange, but also for economic intercourse between the two nations. Given the official disdain for merchants and trade in general in Confucian ideology, the embassies provided a chance to obtain a wide range of Chinese goods such as furs, ginseng and horses.

The relations between Chosŏn and Japan were quite different than with Ming, and although there was some economic activity between the two nations, for the most part, the relations were hostile. One of the events that had the most prolonged and devastating impacts upon
Chosŏn was the 1592 Japanese Invasion, from which Chosŏn never fully recovered. The affect of this seven-year war fought on Korean soil upon the Korean people and their society was one of complete ruin, pillage and tremendous loss of life. During the course of this extended conflict, nearly all of Korea's territory became the stage for battles with the southeastern Kyŏngsang Province most heavily damaged. The Invasion led to a decided population decrease, wholesale destruction of villages, widespread famine and epidemic disease throughout the nation. To compound matters, the peasantry in the face of starvation and extreme hardships rose up in rebellion in many areas causing further destruction of land and other resources. The ruin and turmoil resultant from the Invasion marked an end of the prosperity of the early Chosŏn period and ushered in a long period of decline and hardship for Korea.

Closely following the 1592 Japanese Invasion were the Manchu Invasions of 1627 and 1636. With dynastic change in China the Ming was supplanted by the Manchurian Qing dynasty, and due to the anti-Qing posture of the Western faction (sŏn) under King Injo (r. 1623-1649), the Manchu launched invasions to force Chosŏn to acknowledge their suzerainty. The damage to Chosŏn compared to the prior Japanese assault was minor, with most of the damage occurring in the northern areas of the peninsula. From a societal viewpoint, however, the impact of these two invasions was quite acute as the Koreans considered the Qing to be little more than 'northern barbarians' and thus, harboured hostile sentiments towards them after the forced capitulation.

Subsequent relations with Qing did result in a steady stream of new ideologies and belief systems being introduced to Korean scholars. Notable among the new ideological systems entering Korea is the shirhak (practical learning) ideology that was to have a profound influence on the development of Korean scholarship. Scholars such as Yu Hyŏngwŏn (1622-1673), Yi Ik (1681-1763) and Ch'ŏng Yi-g'yŏng (1762-1836) helped develop the shirhak thought that advocated a course of study that originated in the actual manifestation of things and their reality. Unlike neo-Confucian scholars who focused on theoretical research based in paradoxical relations between the abstract primal forces of nature, the shirhak scholars focused on pragmatic learning centred on social science, natural science and technology. The shirhak scholars then put forth their models for societal change in Chosŏn; in a fundamental aspect, these changes essentially revolved around the reform of agriculture and the development of a national economy predicated in independent and self-employed farmers.

Closely linked to the shirhak ideology was Catholicism that also entered Korea at about the same time through China. However, while some shirhak scholars such as Yi Ik were intellectually curious about the Catholic doctrines and even wrote about it, they were not converts and even criticised the religion. The religion did find a number of converts among certain political factions such as the Sip'a faction of the Southerners (namin), who had long been out of power, and the technocrats of the middle class (chungin). The period of the mid-eighteenth century was beset by a wide array of social ills such as rampant corruption by government officials, factional politics, and the oppression of the people by wealthy merchants and farmers. Thus in this social milieu the doctrines of Catholicism offered new hope and the promise of a more righteous society on this earth and in the next world. The new religion was, however, brutally persecuted by the Chosŏn government, and in particular during the reign of King Sunjo (1800-1834) there were frequent persecutions of Catholics.

Western science and technology also entered Korea during this same period along with the shirhak ideology. Even as early as the seventeenth century Western books on astronomy and science entered Korea and stimulated interest in these areas. Moreover, members of the official embassies to Qing also brought implements from the West such as telescopes, firearms, and maps to Korea. It should be noted, however, that development in importing and understanding Western technologies was greatly impeded by the neo-Confucian literati...
who sought to prevent the so-called Western heresies from entering Chosón. Thus, by the end of the Chosón period, Korea lagged behind China and Japan in the adoption and understanding of Western technology.

4. Social Institutions and New Religions of Chosón

In addition to the yangban culture of the ruling classes of Chosón that dominated society of the upper class, there were also those organisations that served Koreans of the common classes. On such group were the pobusang who were professional merchants that served as intermediaries for economic exchange between producers and consumers by selling their wares at markets, and further acted as go-betweens for commission agents of market brokers, coastal brokers, merchants and consumers. This group of merchants had long been organised in Chosón and is even credited with supporting Yi Sŏnggye in founding Chosón. By the end of the nineteenth century they had formed a national organisation and even published a national charter, the Hansŏng puwanmun, by 1879. The pobusang performed many services beyond mere trade, and in exchange for their special services to the government such as providing labour and military services, they were granted trade monopolies on certain commodities. This group continued to remain influential until the advent of the colonial period.

By the middle part of the Chosón period their came to be an increased awareness of the social limitations imposed by society on those not of yangban descent. Particularly cognate of their lack of social mobility and the discrimination that they were confronted with were those in the middle class (chungin), who were mostly technical specialists in the capital. These men represented the educated commoners of Chosón and they held occupations such as physicians, astronomers, and artists, and also filled the lower administrative positions of the Chosón government. As such they represented the technical elite of Chosón and by the nineteenth century came to possess considerable influence. Additionally, illegitimate sons of yangban families (sŏl) also began to be accepted somewhat in this period, and were appointed to minor governmental positions as a result. These two groups when coupled with the economic power of the rising merchant class, represented a challenge to the yangban-dominated society, and the first indication of the breakdown of traditional yangban society.

The development of the Tonghak Religion by Ch’oe Cheu (1824-1864) in the mid-nineteenth century was more than the founding of a new religion, but also represented a social movement concerned primarily with improving the lives of the peasants. The religion was explained by Ch’oe as possessing the best elements of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, and additionally contained doctrines from Catholicism and indigenous shamanistic beliefs. This amalgamation of religious thought was particularly attractive to the peasant class of Chosón since it espoused a doctrine of equality among all men. Moreover, since Tonghak incorporated shamanistic incantatory practices, talismans, and worship of mountain deities, it was easily understood and accepted by the peasantry of Chosón.

Insofar as a social movement, Tonghak stressed the betterment of the lives of the people through the elimination of the corrupt governmental oppression that plagued the people. Tonghak rejected the increasing foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Chosón and sought the establishment of a just society for all men. Thus in this aspect the Tonghak Movement was very much a millenarian movement, and for this reason caused great trepidation in the Chosón government when it began to spread. Ch’oe was arrested for inciting rebellion and executed in 1864, and at this time the Tonghak Religion was declared illegal. However, the religion did not disappear and continued to attract converts from the disaffected peasantry of Chosón.

By the 1890s the Tonghak Movement was fuelled to action again by the increasingly blatant exploitation of the peasantry. In 1892 several thousand Tonghak activists gathered at
Samnye in Cholla Province and demand that Ch’oe Cheu be exonerated and that the persecution of their religion be stopped. Although the local officials rejected the demands, the local functionaries did cease their efforts to persecute members of the Tonghak faith. The movement continued to attract disaffected members of the common class until 1894 when outright rebellion broke out in Kobu County of Cholla Province. The Tonghak armies swelled and towns throughout Cholla Province fell under their control. With the slogans of the eliminating the despot, salvation for the people, destruction of the Japanese, extinction for the aristocracy, they defeated the government troops, and Chönju fell. Thereafter, the Tonghak executed various reforms and established local directorates (chipkangso) to carry out the changes that were designed to eliminate governmental and societal abuses. However, by the middle of July 1894, government forces supported by a Japanese contingent defeated the Tonghak and shortly after this in another battle captured or killed many of the Tonghak leaders, thus ending the uprising.

The Tonghak Movement can be interpreted as popular-based, widespread revolutionary movement that was chiefly directed at the oppressive and corrupt yangban society of Chosôn. The Tonghak religion provided the members of this movement with direction, and the collective experience of the peasantry that formed the greatest portion of the Tonghak ranks gave the group solidarity in intention in their struggles. Moreover, the Tonghak wished to expel the destructive influence of the Japanese who were also quite active in exploitation of the Chosôn peasantry. The movement, however, lacked the military sophistication to confront the combined Chosôn and Japanese troops, and in the end the Tonghak Movement indirectly led to the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and the eventual increased Japanese presence in Korea.

Enlightenment Period

The enlightenment period, generally given as the interval from the opening of Korean ports in 1876 until the commencement of the colonial period in 1910, was one that witnessed tremendous changes to the fabric of Chosôn society and was heavily influenced by both foreign powers and foreigners in Korea. The desire for change among Koreans of this new age can be seen in the attempts to forcibly change the Chosôn ruling structure and implement sweeping reforms that were aimed at transforming Korea into a modern society. These changes, however, were opposed by many who held power and hence this period is marked with many confrontations and contradictory objectives for Chosôn society.

One of the initial changes in the aftermath of the 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa (Kanghwa-do Choyak) that opened Korean ports for international trade was the rapid increase in foreign trade and commerce strategies. The Korean merchants who responded with the most vigour to the new business environment were the kaekchu and yŏgak, wholesale commodity brokers, who aggressively collaborated with foreign merchants to expand their fortunes. Many of these wholesale brokers were able to accumulate vast fortunes, which enabled them to transcend class barriers and gain considerable economic power. These merchants also adapted many Western-style business practices that enabled them to compete successfully with the foreign traders. Additionally, modern industry in this period was generally owned and operated by private entrepreneurs.

On an intellectual front, the introduction of the so-called 'enlightenment thought' of this period was to have a profound influence on society. The focus of Korean intellectuals changed from the previous China-orientated outlook to one that sought knowledge and innovation from the West. There were many technological advances in Korea resultant from this new knowledge in varied spheres such as military armament production, Western medicine and farm management. The most radical changes, however, were in the political and institutional realms of society, and changes in these areas proved to have the greatest impact of the transformation of Chosôn society.
Koreans who travelled abroad returned to their homeland with their observations of Western society, which surely seemed greatly superior to that in Korea at the time. Most notable among those Koreans who visited Western nations is Yu Kilchun (1856-1914) who recorded his commentary on various Western cities, political systems and institutions in his work _SCHEDAE_kyongmun (Observations on a Journey to the West). This 1889 work records Yu’s comments on many elements in Western society and advocated that Korea adopt a Western model for modernisation. Yu’s work proved to be important in introducing Western society to a large segment of the Korean intelligentsia. There were other works in a similar vein as Yu’s, and conspicuous among these is Kihwa_kiensa (Contemporary Korea and Japan), written by Kim Okkyun (1851-1894), that compared development in Korea and Japan with the situation in Western nations.

Beginning in the 1870s there were many attempts to modernise the educational system in Korea, and many new Western-style schools were established. Particularly after the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyongjang) the desire to implement various reformations throughout Korean society was very strong, and moreover, the awareness of the crisis concerning national autonomy and the accompanying longing to increase national strength in the face of intensifying foreign encroachments was greatly heightened. Thus, movements to establish educational institutions of various levels were not just pursued by the government, but also by individuals and private organisations. Although the educational institutions that emerged from this chaotic situation can be characterised as unorganised, common features can be said the focus on a ‘modern’ education, and the inclusion of members of the commoner classes in these schools. Educational institutions became the fountainhead for many of the new ideologies and nationalist movement of this tumultuous period.

One social organisation that had considerable impact during this period was the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyophoe) that was founded in 1896 by Sǒ Chaep’i1 (1866-1951). Sǒ had spent time in the United States and he sought to bring about modernisation through education to Korea. He was joined in his endeavours by men such as Yun Ch’iho (1865-1945) and Yi Sangjae (1850-1927) who represented the new intelligentsia that advocated the adoption of Western social and political institutions for Korea. The Club served as a public forum for debating social and political issues and in this way carried out a campaign of public education. Moreover, the Club published a newspaper, the Tongnip shinmun, which was written entirely in the native Korean script of han’gul in order for it to be read by greater segments of the Korean populace. Among the issues that the Club advocated for the strengthening of Korea were the establishment of a ‘modern’ school in each village, to develop textile, paper and iron plants to further Korea’s industrialisation, and to ensure the nation’s security by building a modern defence force.

Another aspect of Korean society that underwent great change during this period can be found in the literature that developed under the influence of modernisation. For example, new literary genres such as shin_sosǒl (new novel), modern dramas and new forms of poetry were all introduced in this period and had tremendous impact in elevating the consciousness of the audience. Of note are the shin_sosǒl, which broached topics of free love, nationalism, enlightened educational philosophies, and the international intrigue that surrounded Korea. The first novel designated as a shin_sosǒl was Hyǒl üi nu (Tears of Blood) written by Yi Injik (1862-1916) in 1906. This novel brings subjects of enlightenment thought to its readers such as self-independence, new education and free marriage, and established a standard for the literature of this period. The literature of the enlightenment period was fundamental to introducing new ideas to the Korean reading public and represented a major change in the focus of literature in Korea, which heretofore had been centred on the upper classes and largely in the form of Chinese character literature.

Due to the massive influence from Western thought and religion in this period, traditional
Korean popular culture underwent massive changes. The significance of the shamanistic religion, which had survived five hundred years of persecution by the neo-Confucian Chosôn government, suffered greatly in this period, particularly due to the propagation of Western religions by missionaries and the introduction of Western medicine. The medical function of the shaman was greatly diminished with the appearance of Western 'scientific' medicine, and at the same time the religious capacity of the shaman was attacked by the missionaries as being primitive superstition. Moreover, with the influx of Western culture and education the role of various folk beliefs and community rituals also became greatly abated during the end of the nineteenth century.

**Japanese Colonial Period**

The colonial period was one of great change for Korean society, displacement of large sections of the population and of a concentrated effort by the Japanese authorities to obliterate Korean culture. This period also witnessed a great amount of technological and industrial development in Korea, which is seen as the beginnings of Korea's transformation from an agrarian to an industrial society. A focal point of Koreans during this period was attempts to regain national sovereignty and to bring about a new political system. The changes sought by Koreans were not, however, agreed upon and there was much internal confusion between which political system was best for Korea and her circumstances. Hence, a major characteristic of this period was social and political turmoil, which did not always provide a unified effort against the Japanese colonialists.

A primary tool in the Japanese control of Korean society was the educational system that she implemented in her colony. The focus of the system was to create obedient and useful subjects for Japan, and thus the goal of the educational system was on vocational education and the propagation of Japanese culture in Korea. Indicative of the Japanese educational policies in Korea is the designation of the Japanese language as the 'national' language of the school system, and the degradation of the Korean language. Moreover, many private schools that had provided nationalistic education to their pupils were closed during this period under regulations imposed by the Japanese. Consequently, the number of Korean children who attended school was minuscule when compared to the Japanese children in Korea.

The Japanese Governor-General also carried out other measures to increase its control over Korean society such as land reform and the introduction of various restrictive policies in many spheres. The land reforms that the Japanese carried out had the end effect of reducing an increasing number of Korean farmers to tenant farmers living in poverty, and while the overall production of rice increased remarkably during the colonial period, most of the increase was earmarked for export to Japan and actual Korean per capita consumption declined. Japan also was interested in exploiting the natural resources of Korea and worked feverishly to develop mines and production facilities. These technological developments, however, were not realised by Koreans or Korean industries and only were directed at Japanese gain. The development of resources in Korea for Japanese use is characteristic of the Japanese development of Korea. The same can be said for other technological advances such as railways, communication networks and financial systems, as despite the fact that there were many advancements in Korea, few Korean realised any benefit from the changes.

The zenith of the independence movement against Japan was the March First Independence Movement of 1919. The impetus for the movement was in the doctrine of self-determination that the American president Woodrow Wilson put forth at the conclusion of World War I. A group of Korean patriots drew up a Declaration of Independence and publicly announced it, and over two million Koreans joined in peaceful demonstrations across the nation. This movement, however, was met by brutal force from the Japanese and thousands of Koreans lost their lives in the Japanese suppression. The Movement did
bring about change to Korea as the Japanese relaxed the harshness of their rule in what is known as the period of ‘enlightened rule.’ Hence although the Independence Movement ended in failure, it did bring the Korean people a time that was somewhat more relaxed in social liberties.

Foremost among the Japanese liberalisation of this period were the expanded freedoms of the press and the augmentation of the educational system. Han’gul newspapers such as the Tonga ilbo and the Choson ilbo were allowed to be published, but were at the same time subject to strict Japanese censorship. Nonetheless, these papers allowed the Korean public to read news, literature and other items in the Korean language. Moreover, the newspapers provided a needed outlet for the literary activities of a new generation of writers such as Ch’oe Namsŏn (1890-1957), Yi Kwangsu (1892-?) and Kim Tongin (1900-1951), and thus allowed the quality and scope of Korean literature to expand greatly during this period. The educational system was expanded and with a greater number of schools more Koreans than ever before were able to attend school. This change, however, was largely superficial as Koreans continued to receive an education that was focused on creating loyal and obedient Japanese subjects.

As the Japanese increased her territorial expansion activities and became involved in a full-scale war with first China and then the United States, her colonial policy transformed to reflect this change. The period of 1938 to 1945 was a period of forced Korean assimilation to Japanese culture, and the effect that this had on Korean society and culture was devastating. Under the slogan of ‘Naisen Ittai’ (Japan and Korea are One Entity), Japan embarked on the complete annihilation of Korean culture and the forced acceptance of Japanese culture by Koreans. The Japanese policies were thorough and touched every aspect of Korean society. First, all literature that could be considered even slightly nationalistic was banned and thus han’gul newspapers and magazines were banned. Writers were forced to produce their works in Japanese, and the Japanese language was used exclusively in schools and government offices. Second, all Koreans who wished to attend school, work for the government or even have dealings with public offices were forced to adopt a Japanese-style personal and family names. Third, worship at Japanese Shinto shrines was required, and many who refused to do so lost their lives. The policies of this period were designed to erase all traces of Korean culture and to completely transform Korean society into a Japanese model.

Also having tremendous impact on Korean society and culture was the forced mobilisation of millions of Koreans for labour, military service, or even as sex slaves for the Japanese army as in the case of the ‘comfort women.’ Many Koreans were conscripted for labour in munitions factories, mines or as support personnel in forward areas. By the time of liberation in 1945, it is estimated that some 1.2 million Koreans were working as labourers in Japan. Additionally, other Koreans were forcibly relocated from the southern to northern areas of the Korean peninsula in order to work in mines or for other Japanese enterprises. Conscription into the military service for Korean students and others was also common with nearly 250 000 Koreans serving in the Japanese armed forces by the conclusion of the Pacific War, and an additional 200 000 Korean women who were forced to serve the Japanese army as sex slaves. In all, by the time of liberation in 1945 it is estimated that some four million Koreans, about one fourth of the entire Korean population, were living outside of Korea. This massive population drain and relocation had tremendous impact on such institutions as family and community.

During the colonial period traditional popular culture was subjected to severe censorship and persecution by the Japanese authorities. The Japanese did not approve of large gatherings such as were common for the village tongje rituals in which an entire community would participate in, and thus these ceremonies were prohibited. Moreover, large shamanistic rituals such as the pyŏlshin kut were also the object of Japanese censorship and as a result declined greatly. Other changes of the traditional aspects of Korean society
include the adoption of a solar calendar in 1895, a prohibition against men wearing their hair in a traditional topknot, design of women’s pants called ‘mompppe’ that allowed for the mobilisation of a female workforce, and the wide-scale destruction of village shrines to tutelary deities. In all, by the conclusion of the colonial period in 1945 the very foundations of Korean folk culture and popular society were all but destroyed as a result of the Japanese policies.

**Society in the Post-Liberation Period**

Directly after liberation Korea was partitioned into a Soviet-dominated north and a south that was heavily influenced by the Americans, and accordingly the respective ideologies of these two nations came to the forefront in these divisions. The first few years after liberation were also marked by a tremendous influx of Koreans returning to their homeland from abroad, with some 3.3 million relocating to the southern part of Korea alone. Although many of these Koreans had returned from Japan, China and Manchuria after the defeat of the Japanese, there was also a large contingent, put at over 800,000 by some estimates, of Koreans from the northern areas of the peninsula who did not wish to live under the communist regime being established there. Korean society in the early period after liberation was characterised by general confusion and change, and particularly was a time when Koreans were seeking to establish their national identity despite the influences of the omnipresent foreign powers on Korean soil.

The period from 1945 to 1948 in the southern half of the Korean peninsula is the time of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) and the initial establishment of many democratic institutions in the south. The governing of the USAMGIK was essentially carried out by American military personnel who had little experience in establishing a government and even a smaller degree of knowledge concerning Korea or her people. Thus, the focus of the military regime was on establishing American-style democratic institutions, and further in promoting an anti-Communist ideology in the south. Key to the policies of the USAMGIK were land reform and various labour reforms aimed at reducing child labour. The reforms, however, were not sweeping and did little to alleviate the source of many problems in the south. In the case of land reform, the American initiatives were strongly opposed by their Korean advisors in the Korean Democratic Party, many of whom were large landowners, and in the end only resulted in the lands held by Japanese interests being turned over to the tillers. Insofar as labour reforms, aside from the policies aimed at limiting the scope of child labour, the American policies were generally aimed towards business and discouraged activity by labour unions and strikes. Hence improving the situation of the workers in this period were not the focal point of the USAMGIK policy.

This early period was also one of great political turmoil as the sudden gain of political freedom led to an explosion of factional political parties and social organisations in the south. While the Soviet policies in the north led to the rapid rise of a communist party and the elimination of its competitors, the south allowed a wide range of political parties to compete for popular support. However, as the Soviet-backed regime began to take shape in the north, the Americans also made preparations for a rightist government in the south. After a call by the United Nations (UN) for all-Korea elections in 1948 was rejected by the Soviets, the south held their own elections and the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established with Syngman Rhee (Yi Siingman) as its first president. Shortly thereafter, the north held its own elections and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) emerged with Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) as the head of state. Therefore, from this point in 1948 separate societal transformations began in the south and north, shaped by their respective political ideologies and the foreign powers that supported them.

**Society in the Republic of Korea, 1948-1961**
The early years of the ROK are notable for reform of land, political and social policies, and moreover, for the widespread destruction caused by the fratricidal Korean War of 1950 to 1953. The government of Syngman Rhee was staunchly anti-communist in both its external and internal policies and quickly moved to eliminate the communist presence in the southern half of the Korean peninsula. It can certainly be argued that Rhee’s provocations against the communist regime in the north contributed to the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. Internally, the Rhee regime can be characterised as becoming increasingly authoritarian in its attempts to remain in power. A key tool in Rhee’s stranglehold on power was the National Security Law (NSL) passed by the National Assembly in 1949 that allowed Rhee to ruthlessly crackdown on any perceived threats to his rule.

Rhee did enact sweeping land, industrial and social reforms in the south that markedly improved the lives of the people. One such measure was the Farmland Reform Act (*Nongji kaehyŏkpŏp*) in 1949, which resulted in much of the land in the south being held by those who tilled it. The Rhee government also enacted other reforms aimed at improving the agricultural production of the south and the welfare of her farmers. The Korean War, however, brought attempts for agrarian reform to an end in the south. Rhee’s industrial policies also were brought to a halt by the Korean War and would not regain momentum until the 1960s. In the sphere of social reforms, most notable were the literacy campaigns and adult education programs that sought to bring educational enlightenment to large segments of the Korean population. These policies too, were halted by the Korean War, but upon the conclusion of hostilities continued and achieved a reasonable level of success.

The first decade of the ROK is one that was beset by tremendous poverty and hardship for the Korean people brought on by not only the outbreak of the Korean War, but also by the inconsistent and self-preserving policies of the Rhee regime. The face of Korean society was undergoing gradual change during this period and this is witnessed in the large increase in the number of Koreans living in urban areas (rising from 15 percent to almost 30 percent), and an explosion in the number of educational institutions. Moreover, during this same period the press expanded greatly and with the number of literate Koreans reaching nearly 70 percent by 1959 (from 12 percent in 1945), Koreans became a much better informed and educated people. Thus the Korean people, while realising their nation’s independence, did not gain a high degree of political and personal freedoms, and thus grew increasingly opposed to Rhee. It was in this situation that the Korean populace rose in protest to Rhee’s blatant rigging of the 1960 elections, and forced Rhee to resign as president.

The so-called April Revolution that brought down the Rhee government was a widespread movement led by disaffected college and university students. In the face of this huge popular uprising, Rhee had no choice but to resign, and this brought about the short-lived Second Republic led by Prime Minister Chang Myŏn (1899-1961). This period is characterised by the sudden profusion of political organisations, publications and social groups since all of the restrictive measures of the Rhee administration were removed. Resultant from the abrupt change to a very open political society was increased economic insecurity, leftist activities and radical student activities. To the majority of the Korean population, which still held vivid memories of the Korean War, these activities seemed to jeopardise their confidence that the government would ensure their well being. Also alienated in this process was the military that had grown into one of the world’s largest under the Rhee regime and the aid provided by the United States. Thus, in a relatively bloodless coup in May 1961, General Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi) seized control of the government of South Korea and shortly thereafter established the Third Republic.

**Korean Society, 1961-1992**

The rule of Park Chung Hee is the subject of much controversy among scholars and the Korean people today. On one hand, this nearly two-decade period brought about
tremendous improvements in the processes of Korea's economic growth, health care, educational systems, communications and foreign relations. On the other hand, Park's rule was authoritarian, and personal freedoms and other basic rights were denied to large sections of the Korean populace. It is this period, however, that fundamentally shaped modern Korea.

The rapid industrialisation of Korea brought about a correspondingly swift urbanisation of Korea, which resulted in the establishment of not only a large working middle class, but also an underclass that existed on the fringe of Korean society. Urbanisation in itself led to many changes in the structure of Korean society with the smaller nuclear family becoming more prevalent in place of the traditional extended family that often saw three, or even four, generations living under one roof. Furthermore, the exodus to the urban centres led to a disparity in the relative prosperity of those in urban areas compared to rural regions. The urban areas became not only the centres for economic activities, but also for educational, medical and cultural functions. Thus, it was in this period that the traditional agrarian-based society of Korea was displaced by an industrialised and urban-centred society.

The period of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed a near complete extinction of the agrarian-based rural society of traditional Korea. The popular culture that had survived for thousands of years was now replaced, almost overnight, with imported foreign culture that was viewed by the masses of Korea as being inherently superior to Korean indigenous practices. Compounding the decline of popular culture was the New Village Movement (Saemaul Undong) of the 1970s, which sought to bring about equality in the living conditions of the rural areas. The New Village Movement, while seeking to improve the lives of those in rural areas, greatly contributed to the destruction of popular culture under the guise of modernisation and beautification. Consequently, shrines to village tutelary deities were destroyed and age-old communal events such as the tongje ritual ceased to be perpetuated. Increasingly, the sense of community that had long dominated in farming society was replaced with individualistic pursuit of profit and personal gain, and as a result widespread social groups such as the communal labour pools like the ture have all but disappeared from rural communities.

The rapid growth of urban areas led to another series of social problems such as economic disparity, labour unrest, environmental pollution and over-population. Moreover, social movements such as those led by labour unions and groups seeking democratic reforms became increasingly pronounced as this period continued. After the assassination of Park and the subsequent military dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan (Chon Tuhwan), labour and social unrest became increasingly violent as these groups sought to bring about justice. The bloody 1980 Kwangju uprising came to be symbolic of the brutality that the Chun regime would pursue to continue its rule. As the decade of the 1980s drew to an end, student demonstrations became commonplace, and were joined by members of the middle class, bringing about democratic elections in 1987. The inability of the opposition parties to field a single candidate, however, led to the election of yet another military strongman.

Korean society by the early 1990s had become economically prosperous, well educated and democratised. On a global level, Korea was recognised as an economic power and a rapidly advancing nation. The 1988 hosting of the Summer Olympics established Korea as an international destination with a modern infrastructure. Internally, Korean society continued to progress in an increasing individualistic mode with patterns of conspicuous consumption, social discrimination and hierarchical divisions becoming increasingly prevalent. Despite attempts to increase the standard of living in rural areas, these lagged behind urban centres and moreover, the rural population became increasingly aged as young people fled to the cities. Poverty in the urban areas continued to rise, as traditional social safety nets were not adequately replaced by the government's social welfare programs. Additionally, as the price of housing soared throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, housing shortages became acute and problems like overcrowding were widespread.
Traffic problems became epidemic in urban centres as personal automobiles became a status symbol for the increasingly affluent Korean middle class. Hence, despite the many gains of Korea the actual living conditions had begun to deteriorate due to environmental and social problems.

**Present Day Korean Society**

In 1992 Korea elected its first civilian president in over thirty years. Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsam), a former opposition leader, promised to bring Korea to a new era of prosperity and to enable all members of society to join in the affluence that modernisation had brought to Korea. During this period the Korean economy continued to flourish with the GNP (gross national product) exceeding the US $10 000 per capita mark in 1996, making the Korean GNP the eleventh largest in the world. Koreans enjoyed modern and affluent lifestyles on a par with any society in the world. The major cites of Korea had modern mass transit systems, television and radio broadcast stations, sports facilities and parks that permitted the populace to enjoy their increasing leisure time. Korean society was, however, plagued by numerous problems that prevented many from realising a substantially better life. The widening gulf between the rich and poor, excessive and wasteful conspicuous consumption, financial mismanagement in both the public and private sectors, public and private corruption, pollution, and overcrowding are just some of the problems that came to the fore in the mid-1990s.

Particularly damaging to Korean society was the prevalent corruption in both government and business practices. Directly after Kim Young Sam took office allegations directed at former presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo (No T’aeu) revealed that the two had received hundreds of millions of dollars in illegal bribes from Korean business groups, and eventually resulted in their incarceration. Moreover, a series of disasters in the early 1990s, such as the collapse of the Sampoong Department Store that killed over one thousand people, revealed that the pursuit of profit had become paramount in the eyes of many Koreans. The 1995 failure of a major business group, Hanbo, was attributed to not only to poor business practices but also to illegal payments to those closely linked to the government such as President Kim’s son, and this revealed the extent of the corruption that beset Korean society. Additionally, conspicuous consumption among Koreans reached new levels, as trips to foreign countries became commonplace, as did expensive imported foreign goods and extravagant wedding ceremonies. Coined the ‘Korean disease’ corruption, conspicuous consumption, greed, lack of concern for other members of society and other social evils became hallmarks of Korean society.

In the final few months of 1997, the Korean economy collapsed as inefficient and corrupt business and governmental practices finally caught up with the nation. At the same time Koreans went to the presidential polls and elected Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taegung) as their next president. Kim, the first true dissident to hold the presidency in Korea, began to implement a series of recovery measures even before officially taking office in February 1998. The reforms that Kim put forth included creating a more transparent business and governmental structure, and a return to the values that permitted the meteoric growth of the Korean economy in past times.

Koreans of the 1990s have also rediscovered their traditional culture and this has resulted in bringing about a revival of many traditional folk customs, at least in a performance aspect. Thus, there are classes held to teach arts such as traditional ceramics and calligraphy, and also those that teach nongak (farmer’s music) and t’alch’um (masked dance dramas). This has resulted in a surge of popularity in the traditional folk culture of Korea and a new appreciation for indigenous Korean practices. Moreover, other facets of Korean society of past times are being re-examined such as the need for harmonious communities, communal gatherings and community self-help programs. This is helping to imbue a new generation with the fundamental values that were perpetuated in Korea for thousands of years.
North Korean Society

Since the division of the Korean peninsula shortly after the conclusion of World War II, the political ideologies, social systems and lifestyles of the two Korean nations have diverged on many points. Initially, the societies of the two nations strongly mirrored that of their mentors. In South Korea, the USA had the greatest impact on society, while in North Korea the USSR influenced societal development. Accordingly, the Korean peninsula, which had largely shared a common culture since the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Shilla over thirteen hundred years ago, now became home to two distinct societies. Since the mid-1980s, with the waning of outside influences on Korean culture, particularly in the North, society has further evolved of its own accord.

In establishing a terminology to adequately describe the society and social systems in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK), a number of terms can be brought to mind. Those of 'communist' or 'socialist' may have been applicable to North Korean society at some point in the past, but today they do not seem to reflect the social situation present there, nor are they used by the North Korean government to describe its own society. Moreover, it has been argued that the form of USSR socialism introduced to the North in the 1940s was specifically 'Stalinism', which meant the complete integration of political organisations, social reforms and anti-imperialist nationalism, thus forming a new civilisation for the DPRK. From this basis of Stalinism, North Korean society has further evolved and through the process of a digestion of the principles of Stalinism, along with the creation of the personality cult that surrounded Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) and perhaps his successor, Kim Jong Il (Kim Chongil), thereby developed a unique society. Additionally, such distinctly North Korean social systems as the Juche (chuch'e; self-reliance) ideology and the ultra-nationalism espoused in the North, along with the tightly controlled access to outside information, have significantly influenced the development of North Korean society.

History

Formative Period

If North Korea is to be politically defined by the mass-membership base of its political parties, then from a social point of view it must be characterised as one of mass participation in various social organisations. Membership in social and political organisations, which cannot always be clearly differentiated, was a key feature in the many mass mobilisation projects that enabled the fledging North Korean State to complete its many reforms and the country's industrialisation in the 1950s and 1960s.

Key among the social organisations was the North Korean Peasants League (NKPL; Pukchosön Nongmin Tongmaeng), which was established on 31 January 1946 and which
absorbed the various northern portions of extant peasant unions. Even before the establishment of the DPRK, the NKPL led efforts for the redistribution of lands held by Japanese and Korean landlords, as well as other reforms. The NKPL acted as a crucial link between the central government and the local peasant committees, and served the developing central government in the propagation of ideology among the people and the collection of taxes from the farmers. While in its early days the NKPL was semi-autonomous, by the formation of the DPRK in late 1948 it had become closely linked with the central government and supported its aims entirely. Although it is highly questionable whether the peasants of the North fully supported the desires of the ruling elite in the initial stages of the political consolidation of the state, it is clear that social organisations such as the NKPL assisted the state in organising and controlling the peasants. Therefore, when the state announced plans for the collectivisation of the North Korean economy, the mass-based organisations, such as the NKPL, were essential in ensuring compliance throughout the country.

Running parallel to the social organisations for the peasants were those that sought to organise North Korean workers. The situation of industrial workers in the north of the peninsula, at the end of the colonial period was quite different from that of Europe or even the USSR when socialist ideology was incorporated. The working population engaged in industrial occupations at the conclusion of the colonial period has been estimated to be about five per cent of the total population. Besides, these industrial workers were not far removed from the peasantry in that the creation of an industrial working class was a relatively recent phenomenon. As with the social organisations for the peasantry, North Korea utilised existing workers' organisations, and subsequently reorganised these many groups into the North Korean Labour Council (NKLC; Pukchosŏn Chigŏp Tongmaeng). The NKLC played an essential role in the early reforms carried out in the industrial sector, such as those concerning the implementation of an eight-hour working day, equal pay for both sexes, and the creation of accident and health insurance, even before the formation of the DPRK.

Since the industrial working class was new to Korea and had very little opportunity to even think of diverse ideologies, yet alone adopt them, the North Korean state wholly controlled this sector of the population from the outset. The North Korean government established wage guidelines and acted as arbitrator in labour disputes. Furthermore, as the 1950s progressed, the government established department stores with excommodity prices at fixed levels, and built housing projects for the workers where rent, furnishings and utilities were all controlled by the government. The worker became the central theme of the DPRK and held the supreme role in North Korean society, insofar as literature and art were directed at workers, and their exploits were celebrated as being exemplary of patriots. North Korea proclaimed its society as a ‘Worker’s Paradise, where the good of the nation is put before that of the individual, and where all are equal and guaranteed the right to lead a happy and productive life.’

Kim Il Sung, and Juche Ideology

As Kim Il Sung tightened his grip on power and control in the North, cultural and political influence from the Soviet Union began to wane. While Kim proved adept at playing the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Soviet Union against each other, as the 1960s progressed the DPRK became increasingly independent in its political outlook and social organisation. Compounding the situation were the political changes that occurred in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev and the Cultural Revolution in the PRC in the late 1960s, both of which caused a distancing from the DPRK. Consequently, while the North still enjoyed generous economic aid from its chief benefactors, it began to develop a unique society. The most important factors at this time were the development of the personality cult surrounding Kim Il Sung and the expansion and elaboration of the Juche ideology.
The development of the personality cult founded in Kim Il Sung was first manifested in the early 1950s, as he was elevated to become the supreme ruler of North Korea. This was greatly expanded, however, throughout the 1960s and 1970s as histories were re-written to reflect the greater role and deeds of the leader of the state. Insofar as this impacted society, Kim Il Sung gradually supplanted all else as the focus of North Korea society. This is clearly instanced in the shift of state holidays from international events such as May Day, to those that clearly honoured Kim, including his birthday. Moreover, his title changed to ‘suryŏng’ (great leader), one formerly reserved for Stalin, and Kim became the main focus of current and past events. Not surprisingly, the nation’s top university was named after Kim Il Sung and many monuments and statues were erected in his honour. Additionally, his birthplace, former deeds, his mother, economic thought, and political ideology became the loci of North Korean society in a gradual process over the span of twenty years or thereabouts.

Along with the elaboration of the Kim personality cult, was the elevation of the accomplishments of the DPRK, which became an extension of its leader. Thus, the liberation of Korea from the Japanese was no longer a feat of the Soviet Union, but instead that of the Korean guerrilla movement. References to the Korean War either diminished or avoided mention of the role of the Soviet Union and the PRC, and instead praised the efforts of the North Korean troops in driving out the imperialist forces. The economic accomplishments of the North were attributed to the heroic efforts of its people and not to the generous amounts of aid received from the Soviet Union. Key to the aggrandisement of the State was the Juche ideology which came to dominate North Korean society.

The Juche ideology permeates every aspect of North Korean society, from the production of industrial goods to agriculture. North Koreans are imbued with the importance of self-reliance, and a person’s work is a reflection of his or her devotion to the state. The Juche ideology was bolstered by the ‘on-site’ inspections of Kim Il Sung, in which he provided instructions to workers and farmers on how to better perform their tasks. Other manifestations of Juche include the many slogans and programs designed to spur production, such as the Chollima (Ch’ollima) movement, which was aimed at increasing both industrial and agricultural output. Kim’s speeches carefully avoided the mechanical imitation of foreign cultures, and instead adapted technology, production, and agricultural methodology to the particular conditions of the North. Therefore, North Korean society became increasingly introverted during this period, as the state shifted from an external to an internal focus.

Another important aspect of Juche ideology that has permeated North Korean society is the concept of national self-defence. Defence of the nation is the mandatory task of every citizen and this has been promoted since the early 1960s in various programs designed to create an ‘all-people’s, all-state system of defence’ and to ‘arm the entire population’, thereby turning the country into a fortress. The role that all North Koreans play in the defence of their country is quite crucial as propaganda frequently features reports of the plots of the USA-led forces, just south of the border, which are allegedly aimed at toppling the DPRK government. Accordingly, the integration of the civilian and military sectors of North Korea is unqualified, and a militaristic outlook predominates in both social and political organisations.

**Contemporary Period**

In recent years, North Korea has become increasingly isolated from official foreign contacts as its one-time allies have discarded their previous political systems, and/or downgraded the importance of maintaining close diplomatic ties with the DPRK in a changing global environment. Accordingly, society in the North has developed an even greater degree of introversion, and the emphasis on its leaders has intensified. The ideology of the DPRK
continues to be based in Juche and on Kim II Sung's thoughts and sayings on a variety of topics that are quoted in the media with regularity.

The death of Kim II Sung did little to tarnish his image in the eyes of the people and the succession to the head of state by his son served to perpetuate the personality cult surrounding the two leaders. The state funeral of Kim II Sung, followed by a three-year mourning period, seemed to have put many aspects of North Korean society on hold, but in fact was most likely a time when Kim Jong II consolidated his power base. North Korean society has not visibly changed from its stance under Kim II Sung Kim, and even the hardships wrought by the years of natural disaster and consequent famine have not markedly altered the fabric of North Korean society. The DPRK is still an inward-focused society, and one which draws its main impetus from its leader. The potential for change, however, may well rest in the economic hardship that troubles the DPRK.

In mid-1997, the DPRK government implemented changes to its agricultural sector in the hope of bringing some relief from the famine which gripped the country. For the first time, peasants were granted small plots of land for private cropping. Up to five per cent of the holdings of state and collective lands have been so distributed, even though the government cautions that it is a measure of expediency and the allocated land may revert to the state. Nonetheless, individual land-holdings and the profits that these can bring are fundamental changes to North Korean society, in that the government has always stressed the need to put the welfare of the state before that of the individual. Therefore, peasants will now reap some personal reward, outside the state system, which is a substantial departure from the previous situation.

A manifestation of personal land-holdings is the appearance of 'peasant markets' throughout the country. Some of these are officially sanctioned, but for the most part the markets are simply tolerated by the government. At these markets, state and collective farms and individuals can buy and sell whatever commodities they wish. Moreover, people from towns and cities also support the markets, not only as consumers, but as vendors of manufactured goods. And so these markets have become 'hubs' of the DPRK economy, with almost any type of consumable or non-consumable goods available. While prices are theoretically set by the state, in actuality it is the market forces of supply and demand which govern prices. It is clear, therefore, that the seeds of capitalism, long condemned by the government, have been planted in the North, primarily as a means of overcoming economic hardship. As well, North Koreans resident close to the Chinese and Russian borders are permitted to engage in cross-border barter for foodstuffs. This has the effect of both opening the borders, albeit in a limited way, and in an increasing amount of foreign culture seeping into the long-sealed North Korean society.

The issues that now confront North Korean society seem to centre on the possible undermining of the foundations of the social system constructed by Kim II Sung, by the gradual introduction of foreign culture and economic systems. While the economic hardships have undoubtedly caused some in the North to question the leadership of their government, the fact remains that the majority of the population is ill-informed of the situation outside the DPRK borders and is therefore not positioned to bring about social change. Moreover, the authority and control of the military is still unchallenged and an insurrection would be quelled, quickly and decisively. Accordingly, it is possible that the gradual introduction of market reforms, along with the increase of information from foreign countries, will bring about change to the isolated and inwardly-focused North Korean society. Of course, the government of the DPRK realises that change will probably bring about its downfall and it has laboriously guarded against this. There are, however, an increasing number of foreign contacts with North Korea and their influence presages societal change.

Bibliography
Society for Research in the Korean Language

The Society for Research in the Korean Language (Chosŏnŏ yŏn'guhoe) was formed by the disciples of Chu Shigyŏng (1876-1914) shortly following the March 1919 movement. Responding to Japanese colonial efforts to replace the Korean language with Japanese, this dedicated group promoted the study and use of han'gul (the Korean alphabet). In 1926, the society designated the anniversary of the promulgation of han'gul as Han'gul Day (now celebrated on 9 October) and in 1927 began its publication of Han'gul, the first scholarly journal for the Korean language. By 1931, the society had changed its name to the Korean Language Society (Chosŏnŏ hakhoe). Accomplishments of the society include the standardisation of han'gul spelling in 1933; a dictionary of basic vocabulary in 1936; and the laying-down of rules for the spelling of foreign words in 1940. In 1942, the Japanese authorities, claiming that the association was a subversive organisation devoted to plotting Korea's independence, arrested twenty-nine linguists of whom about a dozen were convicted and sentenced. In 1949, the organisation became the Han'gul Society (Han'gul hakhoe).

Sodae p'ungyo (Folk Songs of a Peaceful Reign) [Literature]

Sŏdang (private village schools) [Education]

Sŏdo minyo [Music]

Sŏdong yo (Sŏdong's song) [Literature]

Sogang University

Sogang University (Sŏgang taehakkyo) is located in Shinsu-dong in Seoul. Founded as Sogang College in 1960 by the Society of Jesus (the Jesuit Order) with Kenneth E. Killoren, S.J., as president, the college comprised six departments: Economics; English Language and Literature; History, Mathematics; Philosophy; and Physics. In 1967, the Research Institute for Natural Sciences and the Research Institute for Humanities were added. A year later, the Mass Communications Department opened and Master's degree programs were commenced. In 1970, the college became Sogang University, with Father J.P. Daly as president. Doctoral programs began in 1973.

Today, Sogang University consists of the Colleges of Liberal Arts; Social Sciences; Natural Sciences; and Engineering. In 1998, the enrolment was 7 277 students, made up of 5 257 male and 2 020 female.

School festivals are held in May and October of each year. University news publications include the Sŏgang hakpo (Sŏgang Gazette) published in Korean and the Sogang Herald published in English.

Sŏgwang Temple [Architecture]
Sŏgwip'o

Situated on Cheju Island’s southern coast, Sŏgwip’o is Korea’s southernmost city. Mt. Halla (1,950 metres) marks the city’s northern boundary. Numerous streams run down the mountain through the city and into the sea. With Mt. Halla blocking the wind, Sŏgwip’o is the warmest area in all of Korea.

With its mild climate, Sŏgwip’o is well suited for cultivation of warm weather crops such as fruit and bananas. Sweet potatoes, barley, rape and beans are also grown here. Commercial fishing is another important part of the local economy. Boats operating out of Sŏgwip’o catch mackerel, Spanish mackerel, sea bream, jade bream, hairtail and anchovies. Fish farming is also common in the area. Except for several food processing plants, the city has few industries.

Due to the island’s undeveloped infrastructure, tourism did not begin to develop in Sŏgwip’o until the 1960s. At this time, regular boat and airline services were opened and a road was built linking Sŏgwip’o, in the south, with the port services of Cheju City to the north. At present, the city has more than a dozen large tourist hotels. Tourist boats operate out of Sŏgwip’o’s harbour, and there is even a 48-man mini-submarine that takes visitors on undersea tours. In Sangnye-dong, there is a hunting ground containing ten hunting courses. The area is stocked with pheasant, quail, pigeons and rabbits. In addition to the hunting ground, there is a shooting range and golf course. In Sanhyo-dong, there is the Tonnek’o Resort. The resort is located near a gorgeous valley, covered on both sides by subtropical evergreen trees, with a waterfall and a pond. The Halla Orchid and winter strawberries, both indigenous to Cheju Island, grow in this area.

The city has a number of waterfalls. Located just east of Sŏgwip’o harbour, Chŏngbang Waterfall is one of the city’s most popular tourist destinations. This picturesque 23-metre high waterfall, descends directly in the sea. Many unique animal and plant species are found in this area. Nearby Ch’ŏnjijŏn Waterfall cascades through a valley full of many curious rock formations. The pools of water at the foot of the falls are home to the Mut’ae eel. Off the coast near Sammae Peak, there is the 20-metre high Oedolgoe Rock, a lone column jutting up out of the ocean. There are also several interesting islands nearby including Pŏm (Tiger) Island and Sae (Bird) Island.

There are several important historical sites and relics within the city limits. Relics dating from the Palaeolithic Age have been discovered near the Ch’ŏnjijŏn Waterfall. In addition, several dolmen can be seen in the vicinity of Yerae-dong. As for Buddhist sites, there is Pŏphwa Temple, founded in the late Koryŏ period. The temple once housed a set of statues depicting Amitabha and attendant Bodhisattvas. This exquisite triad was famous as far away as Ming China. The present temple was reconstructed in 1961.

Sŏhak (Western Learning) [History of Korea]

Sŏin (Westerners) [History of Korea]

Sŏjŏng ilgi

Sŏjŏng ilgi is a diary written by an army officer, Pang Ujong, at the time of the Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion in 1811. There are two volumes in this hand written work. It is a record of the events that surrounded the subduing of the Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion that broke out on the eighteenth day of the twelfth lunar month in 1811. This record actually starts four days later when Pang headed into battle against the rebel forces and ends early in the fifth month of 1812 when Pang returned triumphantly through Namdaemun Gate in Seoul.
This work details many of the battles that were waged between the government forces and the rebel army, including the defeat of the rebels at Songnim Village, which was the first time the government forces were victorious against the insurgents. It is vivid in its descriptions of the battlefield scenes and also in its portrayal of the bitter winter weather of the northern provinces of Korea where most of the events took place. Sojong ilgi is helpful in understanding the events that surrounded the actual conflicts in the Hong Kyôngnae Rebellion and the military tactics employed by the government forces. It is now kept at the Kuksa P'yônch'an Wiwônhoe (National History Compilation Committee).

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Sojong ilok

Sojong illok is a diary of the 1592 Japanese Invasion written by the commander of the volunteer forces in Hwanghae Province, Yi Chôngam. It covers the period from the twenty-eighth day of the fourth lunar month in 1592 until the seventh day of the tenth month in the same year. The beginning of the diary is an account of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) fleeing the oncoming Japanese army by escaping to P'yôngan Province and the author records the reaction of the court and their conduct while taking refuge. The later half is an account of the activities of the volunteer forces under the command of Yi as they campaigned against the invading Japanese armies. Of note is the account of the volunteer army crushing the Japanese army under the command of the general Kuroda.

Sojong illok is one of many diaries that recount the events of the 1592 Japanese Invasion. It is praised for its accurate accounts of the events of the war and is valued for its precise record of the activities during the Invasion. The original hand-written copy of this work was translated and published in 1977 by T'amgudang Publishers.

Soju [Food and eating]

Sok changgyông (see Buddhist canon, Korean)

Sok mujông pogam

Sok mujông pogam is the record of both the domestic and foreign troubles that occurred from the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) to that of King Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567). This work in five-volumes and two fascicle was compiled in 1548 by Hong Ônp'il, Yun Ingyông, Yi Ki, Chông Sunbung and others upon receiving a royal decree. The name was derived from the 1469 Mujông pogam.

The contents range from negotiations with the Japanese to the internal conflicts of Chosŏn. Notable among the domestic troubles are the Purge of 1545 (Ülsa sahwa) and the details that surrounded the dethronement of Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506). This work provides a supplemental history to the Chosŏn wango shillok (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty) and therefore renders additional insight into this period of Chosŏn. Thus it is a valuable document for the study of both internal and external conflicts during this period.

Sok taejŏn (Supplement to the National Code)

Sok taejŏn is a set of revisions to the Kyŏngguk taejŏn (National Code), that was published in 1746. These two works are the most comprehensive sets of codes and regulations in
Chosŏn. The latter work is comprised of six volumes in four fascicles.

Since there had been many revisions and new codes issued since the Kyŏngguk taejŏn was promulgated in 1471, King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776) ordered this work compiled by selecting the relevant contents from existing legal codes. Therefore, Sok taejŏn is the product of the many legal codes that had been issued from the printing of the Kyŏngguk taejŏn. Thus, the work is valuable for study of the legal systems of Chosŏn.

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Sokch’o

Situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province, Sokch’o borders Kosŏng County to the north, Inje County to the east and Yangyang County to the south. Sokch’o’s downtown area hugs the coast. The main business area is situated between Yongnang and Ch’ŏngch’o Lake; however, a great deal of new construction is taking place in the area south of Ch’ŏngch’o Lake. Two winding highways run westward over Mt. Sŏrak. The northern highway crosses Mishi Ridge, while the southern highway crosses Han’gye Ridge. Highway 7 runs north to south along the coast. The city receives heavy rainfall during the winter and autumn months and tends to be windy during the spring.

Due to the high passes of Mt. Sŏrak, Sokch’o’s location poses difficult transportation problems. The roads over Mishi and Han’gye Ridge become icy in winter and are sometimes covered with fallen rocks. Moreover, although the city’s small port is suitable for fishing vessels, it is not big enough to handle large amounts of cargo. A small airport has been built just south of the city, but the flights are frequently grounded because of the area’s heavy winds.

Due to these limitations, the city has had to rely on tourism as one of its main sources of income. The eastern section of Mt. Sŏrak National Park falls within the city limits (See Mt. Sŏrak). As one of the most popular tourist destinations in the nation, the park attracts a constant flow of visitors throughout the year. During the summer months when students are on vacation, the Sokch’o area is packed with tourists who come to enjoy both the mountains and beaches. Ferries also operate from the area, taking people on tours of nearby islands or even as far away as Ullung Island.

The fishing industry also provides work for many of the residents. During the summer months, boats with lights attached catch cuttlefish at night. In the winter, wall-eye pollacks are caught, while numerous other types of fish are caught year around. Some of the boats bring their catch directly into fish markets, such as the one at Taep’o Port. These markets are popular with both Japanese tourists and Koreans who especially come to eat fresh raw fish (hoe), the area’s specialty.

Sŏkkuram Grotto [Architecture]

Sŏkpo sangjŏl (Details from the Life of Sakyamuni)

The Sŏkpo sangjŏl is a long prose biography of Sakyamuni written in han’gŭl by Prince Suyang in 1447-1448. Sakyamuni was a prince of King Suddhodana of the Kapilavastu Castle in India.

This Buddhist work was composed on the orders of King Sejong, as an act of mourning for the death of his Queen, Sohŏn. Prince Suyang was the second son of King Sejong. On
the basis of two earlier biographies by Chinese priests, Prince Suyang wrote the Sŏkpo sangjŏl in Chinese over a period of sixteen months, later translating it into Korean for wider dissemination. Kim Suon was a collaborator with the Prince on the work.

While it is known that it was written in 1447-1448, only 15 out of 24 volumes are still extant. They are volumes 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21 and 23.

The importance of the Sŏkpo sangjŏl lies in the fact that it is the first prose work written in Korean. As the first biographical work in Korean, it is also of rare significance. It is a rich source for the study of fifteenth c. Korean language, containing, as an extensive work of prose, a rich vocabulary and segments of dialogue revealing contemporary spoken Korean. It provides many examples of the use of the Korean characters soon after the invention of the han'gŭl system and it is useful for an understanding of the contemporary pronunciation of Chinese characters.

Furthermore, the Sŏkpo sangjŏl is an important source book for the study of Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures.

In the volumes of the first edition the han'gŭl was printed with the newly devised wooden type, while the Chinese characters were printed with copper type. The size of the one-lined frame of each page on which the text is printed is 22.2cm in length and 15.8cm in width, each consisting of eight lines of fifteen characters each.

The four original volumes were photographed and published serially in the journal Han'gŭl of the Korean Language Society (Chosŏn Hakhoe) and in July 1961 were published in book form.

_Soktam sajŏn_ (Dictionary of Adages)  [Literature]

**Sŏl Ch’ŏng (660-730)**

Sŏl Ch’ŏng was the son of Wŏnhyo, an eminent Buddhist monk, and Princess Yosŏk. After the birth of his son, Wŏnhyo returned to the laity, styling himself as Sosŏng Kösa (a small layman).

Sŏl Ch’ŏng received early training in the Buddhist classics but later became a Confucian scholar and played a major role in importing Chinese civilization to Korea. He is chiefly remembered for his work in codifying a system of writing known as _idu_ (ancient Korean transcription system). With this system, Chinese characters were used to express Korean sounds as well as grammatical particles and inflections, thus enabling Chinese texts to be read as Korean. The system had been in use before Sŏl Ch’ŏng’s time, but his role in standardizing it was significant, as the development of _idu_ was an important factor in disseminating Confucianism in Korea. Imperfect though the _idu_ system was as a method of rendering Korean, it remained in use in the form devised by Sŏl Ch’ŏng until the fifteenth century, when the han’gŭl script was invented by King Sejong.

Sŏl Ch’ŏng was the first to be admitted to the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy. His contributions included drafting diplomatic papers and functioning as a political adviser, as well as transcribing Chinese texts. Traditional records such as _Samguk sagi_ indicate that Sŏl Ch’ŏng was an accomplished writer, but that none of his works survives, other than certain inscriptions on monuments which are incomplete.

_Sŏllal_  [Customs and Traditions]
Sömjín River

Flowing about 212 kms. from its origin on Mt. P’algong (in North Cholla Province’s Chinan County), to the South Sea, the Sömjín River is the ninth longest in Korea. After leaving Mt. P’algong, the Sömjín flows north to Kangjông Village where it unites with Chinan Stream. Known as Chowŏn Stream at this point, the river then winds sharply on its course to the southwest through the townships of Sŏngsu and Shinp’yŏng. From Unam Township in Imshil County, it forms the extensive Okchong Lake, a reservoir created in 1965 with the construction of Sömjín Dam. Below the dam, the Sömjín flows east of the town of Sunch’ang before turning east itself, where it joins Yo Stream. From its parallel course with Highway 17 towards Kurye, the river runs along the border between South Kyŏngsang and South Cholla Province before discharging into Kwangyang Bay.

Legend says that when Japanese pirates invaded the lower reaches of the river in 1385, thousands of toads cried out, thus causing the Japanese to flee to Kwangyang. After this time, the river is said to have been known as the Sŏmjin’gang (Toad Port River). The account of the river in the eighteenth c. work T’aengni ji (Ecological Guide to Korea) indicates that the section between the present-day Kuryegu railway station and Kwangyang Bay was used for transport. Although this 40-km.-long stretch of river is still navigable, it has not been used since the development of modern roads and railways.

Son Pyŏnghŭi

[History of Korea]

Sŏn Sect

[Buddhism]

Sŏnam Temple

Sŏnam Temple is situated in South Cholla Province on Mt. Chogye. Although there is a legend that the monk Ado founded Piro Hermitage at the site in 542, most scholars now believe that the first temple built here was under the auspices of Tosŏn in 875. In 1088, the famous monk Úich’ŏn led a reconstruction of the monastery. A picture of Úich’ŏn is still kept in the temple in commemoration of his efforts. During the second wave of the Hideyoshi invasions, some of the temple buildings were burnt down, but the temple was again reconstructed in 1660.

In the following years, Ch’imgwang and others continued to make repairs. When Ch’imgwang took charge of the monastery, he encouraged strict observance of the monastic precepts. Previously, the monks had celebrated New Year’s Eve by playing games and drinking. Disgusted with such wanton behaviour, Ch’imgwang had the monks do all-night chanting. Ch’imgwang’s disciples, Hoam and Ch’ihyon are particularly well-known. In 1699, new buildings were added to the temple complex. In 1819, the temple, ravished by fire, was rebuilt by Sangwŏl only to catch fire again in 1823. A few years later, a major reconstruction was undertaken. In 1911, the Japanese Governor-General proclaimed the ‘Temple Regulations’ according to which Sŏnam Temple was one of Korea’s thirty main temples (ponsa) in charge of the smaller temples within its district. However, the extensive Sŏnam Temple complex was burnt down during the Korean War. At present, only around twenty buildings remain.

The temple is famous for its beautiful setting and numerous artefacts. On the way to the temple, there is the picturesque Sŏnsgŏn Bridge (Treasure No. 400). This 14-metre bridge is made up of stacked stones. The inner-section consists of rectangular cut stones that have been fit together without the use of mortar. In the P’alsang (Eight Scenes) Hall, also called the Kuksa Hall, there are pictures of the eight major scenes of Shakyaamuni’s life. In addition, there are pictures of various famous masters as well as thirty-three patriarchs of Korean Buddhism. In front of the temple, there is a 4.7-meter high stone pagoda (Treasure
No. 395). The temple also houses several old altar paintings, including a painting of the
Vulture Peak Congregation (Yŏngsanhoe) done in 1765, a painting of the Fifty-three
Buddhas done in 1702, a painting based on the Hwaŏm Sutra done in 1780 and a painting
of the Seven Stars done in 1895.

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Sŏndŏk, Queen (r. 632-647)

Queen Sŏndŏk was the twenty-seventh ruler of Shilla. Her given name was Tŏngman, which, upon her ascension to the throne, became taboo in all speech. She was the eldest
daughter of King Chinp'yŏng. Her Mother was a concubine of the king, Lady Maya of the
Kim family. Under her reign, Buddhism enjoyed widespread propagation, and many
magnificent Buddhist temples were constructed. The only remaining monument from her
reign, and the only evidence of Shilla architecture from the Three Kingdoms period is a
multi-story stone astronomical observatory, which still stands in Kyŏngju.

When King Chinp'yŏng died without a son, she became one of the few female leaders on
the Korean peninsula by decision of a conference of the Council of Nobles (Hwabaek), the
chief decision-making body in Shilla government. Her ascension to the throne marked the
end of a line of kings of purely royal sŏnggol (hallowed-bone) lineage. Her first task upon
ascending the throne in 632 was to conduct a survey of her country. She commissioned
Ŭije to the task of observing the conditions of the people and administering relief. In 633,
she implemented a series of administrative and economic policies, such as eliminating
regional taxes for an entire year, which won her popular favor. In 634 she constructed the
Punhwang Temple, and took the title of her reign Inp'yŏng, following her father. While
taking such a name seemed to indicate that the queen was intent on maintaining the
autonomy of the medieval royal household, she found herself increasingly dependent upon
Tang China for protection from attacks by Paekche to the west and Koguryŏ to the north.

Hoping that strong ties with China would discourage encroachments from her neighbors,
Queen Sŏndŏk sent annual tributary envoys to the Tang capitol. In 635, she was officially
recognized by the Tang emperor as the ruling monarch of Shilla, and in the same year
constructed the Yŏngmyo Buddhist Temple. During her short reign, the Queen
encountered increasing friction with the ancient states of Paekche and Koguryŏ. Her forces
were able to repel attacks by Koguryŏ in 638 and 642, but an attack by Paekche in 642 cost
some forty cities deep inside Shilla's western border. When attempts at diplomacy with
Paekche proved fruitless, Queen Sŏndŏk appointed Kim Yushin as military commander,
and petitioned Tang China for assistance. At this time, the queen was advised by her envoy
to construct the famed nine-story wooden pagoda at the Hwangnyong Temple. According
to then popular State-protection Buddhism, devout adherence to the sutras would insure
divine protection of the country.

In response to the queen's request for help, the Tang emperor offered his opinion that the
attacks on Shilla came because the country was ruled by a queen. He sent envoys to
Koguryŏ, but all efforts at a diplomatic solution were rejected. Under the leadership of
Kim Yushin, Shilla was able to retake seven cities in 644 but, by the following year, seven
other cities in the west were lost in subsequent attacks. In the meantime, aristocrats such as
Pidam and Yŏmjŏng from the Council of Nobels took advantage of the Tang emperor's
assessment of the situation in Shilla to instigate a revolt against the queen in the first month
of 647. These high-ranking aristocrats claimed to be of partly royal lineage. Their revolt
was quelled by Kim Yushin and Kim Ch'unch'u. Amid this whirlwind of insurrection,
Queen Sŏndŏk died in her sixteenth year of reign. She was given the posthumous title Sŏndŏk and was buried in a royal tomb in Nangsan. With the support of her appointees, including Kim Yushin, Kim Ch'unch'u, and Al Ch'ŏn, Queen Sŏndŏk is said to have been a wise and fair monarch.

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**Sŏng Hyŏn** (1439-1504)

Sŏng Hyŏn was an early Chosŏn scholar-official. His family's ancestral home is in Ch'angnyŏng, his courtesy name was Kyŏngsuk and his pen names included Yongjae, Hŏbaektang, Puhuyu and Kugo. His father, Sŏng Yŏnmjo, was a magistrate. After passing various civil service examinations, Sŏng, at twenty-seven, was appointed as Ninth Counsellor (ch'ŏngja) of the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun'gwan) and continued his climb in the government hierarchy with subsequent appointments such as First Draftsman (kyogam) at the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sŭngmunwŏn). When in his late twenties, Sŏng accompanied his older brother Sŏng Im to Beijing and during this journey kept a travel diary that was later published as *Kwang'wang nok* (Sightseeing Record). In 1474 he was appointed as Lecturer (chikkang) of the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan) and in the following year again travelled to Beijing. In 1485 he was named as a part of the *ch'ŏnch'usa* (an embassy to China to celebrate the birth of a prince) and then after returning to Chosŏn held a variety of posts such as Sixth Royal Secretary (tongbusungji) of the Royal Secretariat (Sŭngjŏngwŏn), Second Minister (ch'amp'an) of the Board of Punishments (Hyŏngjo) and Governor (kwanch'alsa) of Kangwŏn Province.

Sŏng continued to gain fame both within Chosŏn and in Ming China to which he often travelled as part of official embassies. He is also known for his many literary works that have been transmitted to the present time. Sŏng, along with Yu Chagwang, compiled *Akhak kwebom* (Guide to the Study of Music) in 1493. This work is praised for containing many of the Koryŏ period *kasa* such as *Ssanghwajom* (Dumpling Shop) and *lsanggok* (Treading Frost) that provide valuable data for the study of this period. In addition, before his death in 1504 he completed *Yongjae ch'onghwa* (Assorted Writings of Yongjae) that contains a wide variety of materials such as historical narratives and various scholarly discourses on geography and customs. Accordingly, this work is also valuable for the study of early Chosŏn. Other extant works of Sŏng include *Hŏbaektang chip* (Collected Works of Hŏbaektang) and *Puhuyuja tamnon* (Discourses of Puhuyuja).

**Sŏng Sammun** (1418-1456)

Sŏng Sammun was a civil official of early Chosŏn and is known as one of the so-called six martyred ministers (*sa yukshin*). His family's ancestral home is in Ch'angnyŏn, his courtesy name was Kŭnbo and his pen name was Maejukhŏn. His father, Sŏng Sŭng, was a Commander (toch'onggwăn) in the military forces and his mother was the daughter of Pak Ch'ŏm. Sŏng was born in Hongsŏng of Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and in 1438 passed the *shingnyŏn shi* (triennial examination). After this he also sat for the *mun'gwa ch'ongshi* (special civil service examination held every ten years) in 1447 and passed with the highest score. Sŏng then entered officialdom and would stay there, holding a variety of positions, until the end of his life.
Sŏng was a renowned scholar of his day and participated in many of the major events concerning the development of the native Korean script han’gŭl. He was among the team of scholars that King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) assembled to compile Hunmin chŏngŭm (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People, 1446), which expanded on the pronunciation and orthography of the new script. Sŏng also participated in providing annotations to the first poetic work written in han’gŭl, Yongbi ŏch’ŏn ka (Songs of Flying Dragons), thus further elucidating the usage of the new script. Moreover, his linguistic talents did not stop with han’gŭl as he also participated in the compilation of Tongguk chŏng’un (Dictionary of Proper Korean Pronunciation, 1448) which is a six-volume dictionary of Chinese characters arranged by rhyme. Sŏng’s participation in these monumental projects bespeaks his scholarly ability and reputation.

King Sejong had created the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyŏnjŏn) as an institution where the top scholars of Chosŏn would create a more efficient government through organisation and adaptation of various Chinese systems. Sŏng was one of the leading scholars in the Hall of Worthies and this institution came to hold great political power by the end of Sejong’s rule. This, of course, created resentment among those members of the government who felt that they were losing political power to the Hall of Worthies. It was against this backdrop that King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) usurped the throne from his nephew King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455) and then carried out a bloody purge against all of those who opposed him. Therefore, when the scholars of the Hall of Worthies vehemently condemned the illegal seizure of the throne by Sejo, they also became the objects of his wrath. Sŏng, and with his fellow Hall of Worthies scholars Pak P’aengnyŏn, Ha Wiji, Yi Kae, Yu Êngbu and Yo Sŏngwŏn, were all executed by Sejo and subsequently became known as the six martyred ministers for their steadfast commitment to their principles even in the face of death. The punishment was not limited to these scholars, and Sŏng’s father, three brothers and his sons were all also executed at this time. Sejo’s consolidation of power represents one of the bloodiest episodes in the history of the Chosŏn royal family.

Sŏng is praised not only for his loyalty to his king, but also for his many contributions to the development of the han’gŭl script and linguistics in general. His literary collection, Maejukhŏn chip (Collected Works of Maejukhŏn) has been transmitted to the present.

Song Shiyŏl (1607-1689)

Song Shiyŏl was a late Chosŏn scholar-official. His family’s ancestral home is in Ênjin, his childhood name was Sŏngnoe, his courtesy name Yongbo and his pen names Uam and Ujae. His father was a Curator (pongsa) in the Bureau for Overseeing Ceramic Production (Saongwŏn) and his mother was from the Sonsan Kwak family. Song was born in Kuryong Village of Ch’ungch’ŏng Province and remained there until he was twenty-six years of age. He trained under many scholars including his father, and then in 1625, studied Neo-Confucian philosophy under Kim Changsaeng (1548-1631). At twenty-seven, Song passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (saengwŏn shi) with high marks and two years later was appointed tutor of Grand Prince Pongnim (King Hyojong, r. 1649-1659). In the year or so that he tutored the future king, Song and his pupil developed a strong bond that would influence his future in government service. However, with the outbreak of the 1636 Manchu Invasion, Chosŏn was thrown into turmoil, with the Manchu seizing Grand Prince Pongnim and his brother Crown Prince Sohyŏn. They were taken to Manchuria as hostages to ensure Chosŏn’s submission to Qing. For the next ten years, Song refused any official appointment and concentrated on his scholarship.

In 1649, Hyojong assumed his father’s throne and this also marked the return to official life for Song. He served as First Tutor (chinsŏn) at the Crown Prince’s Tutorial Office (Seja Shigangwŏn) and as Third Inspector (changnyŏng) at the Office of the Inspector-General (Saĥŏnhu). The politics of Chosŏn at the time were laden with factional strife and Song was at the centre of this. His close relationship with Hyojong permitted his faction, the
Westerners, to gain the political upper-hand against both Northerners and Southerners. Hyojong’s reign served as a period in which the Westerners consolidated their power base. Song continued to advance in the government hierarchy and in 1654 held the position of Second Inspector (chibui) at the Office of the Inspector-General. In the following year, his mother died and he spent several years in mourning. On his return to official duties he served as Minister (p’anso) of the Board of Personnel ([jo] in 1658, and was then involved in Hyojong’s plan to mount an attack against the Manchu. However, after Hyojong’s sudden death in 1659, a controversy arose about the length of the mourning period to be observed by the dowager queen Cho. As a result of this dispute, the Westerners lost their grip on political power. Song then resigned from public life and returned to his birthplace.

King Hyonjong reigned from 1659 to 1674, and for some years his polite offers of official appointments to Song were all rejected. However, in 1668 Song became Third State Councillor (uaijong), and in 1673 was appointed Second State Councillor (chwauijong). Shortly after accepting the latter position, Song decided to leave the court, but even so did not stay out of office for long. In 1674, with the death of Hyonjong, arose the matter of the proper period of mourning for his queen. The result of this struggle over propriety was the removal of the Westerner faction from power, and the exile of Song. Nevertheless, as a result of another political disturbance, the Westerners resumed power in 1680 and this resulted in the termination of Song’s exile and his return to the government. This time, his stay was also quite short as he found himself once more embroiled in controversy concerning decorum. When King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720), who had long been without an heir, desired to have the first-born son (the future King Kyôngjong, (r. 1720-1724) of his concubine Lady Chang installed as crown prince, the Westerner faction, led by Song, vehemently protested this breach of protocol. As a result, the Southerner faction was again able to wrest political power from the Westerners and Song was exiled to Cheju Island in the first month of 1698. Later that year he was sentenced to death and forced to drink a lethal dose of poison.

Song is remembered as a neo-Confucian scholar who strongly advocated his own interpretation of Confucian philosophy. After his death, he was honoured by having his particular form of neo-Confucianism continued through the Hwayangdong Academy (sowon), which was established for him. Song was of the Westerner faction, but in this were included the subdivision of the Noron (Old Doctrine) and Soron (Young Doctrine), that further divided the ideology of its members. It was under Song’s leadership that the Noron became the principal sub-faction which garnered most of the political power. From this aspect, Song can be viewed as an extraordinary political strategist who consolidated the power of his faction. However, his power struggles typify the factional politics that gripped late Choson and where the blame can be attached for many of the social ills and turmoil that plagued the period. The neo-Confucian literati had lost their ability to understand the plight of the common people and instead were immersed in their own personal power struggles.

Many of the literary works of Song are extant, including his Uam chip (Collected Works of Uam), which in its first publication (1717) totalled 167 volumes. This work was revised and published again in 1787, in a total of 215 volumes in 102 fascicles.

Sŏngbul Temple [Architecture]

Sŏngch’ŏl (1912-1993)

Sŏngch’ŏl was born in 1912 in Kyŏngsang Province. From an early age, he had a precocious mind and an avid interest in books. After mastering the classics of East Asian thought, he went on to read a great number of Western-language works. In his early youth, he had a weak constitution -- a fact that probably led him to reflect on the transient character of human existence. As a young man, Sŏngch’ŏl married and the couple had a daughter. By this time, Sŏngch’ŏl was already regularly listening to sermons at Buddhist temples and
learning meditation from the monks. At the age of twenty-four, he made the difficult decision to leave his wife and daughter to become a monk.

Thus in 1936, Sŏngch’ŏl went to Haein Temple and ordained under Hadongsan. After he received his precepts, he went to Pŏmŏ Temple where he joined the summer retreat. This was to be the first of a continuous series of meditation retreats for this young monk who single-mindedly devoted himself to intense meditation practice. During this time, Sŏngch’ŏl resolutely broke off all ties with the world, refusing to see even his previous family when they visited the temple. After three years of arduous training, Sŏngch’ŏl achieved awakening.

With his personal practice complete, Sŏngch’ŏl turned his attention to the general conditions of the monastic community. During the Japanese annexation and occupation of Korea, there had been a concerted effort to wipe out all vestiges of Korean culture and institutions. As part of this effort, Japan had attempted to replace Korea’s tradition of celibate monks with its system of married monks (taech’ŏsŭng). Consequently, after unification, the married monks monopolised control of many of Korea’s temples. Sŏngch’ŏl worked with other monks at this time to rid the Buddhist order of what he felt to be decadent influences. In 1947, he and other monks formed a purification movement based at Pongam Temple. The movement temporarily lost momentum during the Korean War, but was active again after the armistice.

Among his peers, Sŏngch’ŏl became famous as an exemplary Sŏn (Zen) monk. In 1955, he was nominated as abbot of Haein Temple, one of Korea’s leading training monasteries; yet, he refused the appointment so that he could continue leading the life of a recluse. However, when he was nominated as the temple’s resident Sŏn Master (Pangjang) in 1967, he accepted. During his first winter retreat, he held a ‘hundred-day dharma lecture.’ In these early lectures, which were later published, Sŏngch’ŏl propounded his vision of a revivified Buddhism - a practice-oriented tradition based on the Sŏn patriarchs.

In 1976, Sŏngch’ŏl published a definitive study of Korean Sŏn lineages. Three years later, he published his famous book Sŏnmun chŏngno (Correct Path of the Sŏn Approach), in which he systematically set forth his theory of sudden-enlightenment sudden-cultivation (tono tonsu) and vehemently criticised Chinul’s sudden-enlightenment gradual-cultivation (tono chŏmsu) theory. Since the modern Chogye Order considered Chinul to be its founder, this denunciation by Sŏngch’ŏl stirred up an intense debate in both monastic and scholarly circles. The controversy became even more heated after Sŏngch’ŏl became Supreme Patriarch (Chongjong) of the Chogye Order in 1981. In the following years, Sŏngch’ŏl did a series of Korean translations and commentaries of the seminal works that embodied, in his opinion, the essential teachings of Sŏn. Sŏngch’ŏl died in 1993 as one of the most celebrated yet controversial Korean figures in modern times.

**Bibliography**


**Songgang chip** (Collected Works of Songgang)

*Songgang chip* is the literary collection of the middle Chosŏn period scholar-official Chŏng Ch’ŏl (1536-1593, styled Songgang). This woodblock-printed work consists of eleven volumes in seven fascicles was first published by Chŏng’s son between 1633 and 1635. There are, however, several different editions of this work extant.
The contents are quite varied and range from many works of poetry written by the author to essays, memorials to the king, memorial addresses, funeral dirges and other writings that had been included in other works. All of the works in this collection are composed in Chinese characters. Chŏng Ch’ŏl is renowned as one of the excellent literary men of the Chosŏn period and his writing skill is evident in this work. He is perhaps better known for his kasa poetry that is chiefly included in his collection Songgang kasa (Kasa of Songgang). Nonetheless, Songgang chip includes many documents that reveal much historical information of the Chosŏn period, including the factional infighting that marred Chŏng’s lifetime. In 1964 Songgyun’gwan University published a combined version of Songgang chip and Songgang kasa under the title of Songgang chŏnjip (Complete Works of Songgang).

Songgang kasa (Kasa of Songgang)

*Songgang kasa* is the kasa and shijo collection of the mid-Chosŏn period scholar-poet Chŏng Ch’ŏl (1563-1593), styled Songgang. There were at least five editions of this work including the ‘Hwangju-pon’, ‘Ūisŏng-pon’, ‘Kwanbuk-pon’, ‘Sŏngju-pon’ and the ‘Kwansŏ-pon’ editions, all named after their place of publication. The ‘Hwangju-pon’ is the oldest among these works, having been published between 1690 and 1696 by Yi Kyesang. This version contains twenty-six pages in which five kasa and fifty-one short songs are listed. The kasa in this work include *Kwandong pyŏlgok* (Song of Kwandong), *Samiin kok* (Song of Longing), *Sok samiin kok* (A Sequel to *Song of Longing*), *Sŏngsan pyŏlgok* (Odes to Sŏngsan) and *Changjinju sa* (A Time to Drink). This edition is also known as the ‘Isŏn-pon’ edition. The ‘Ūisŏng-pon’ and ‘Kwanbuk-pon’ editions were published between 1696 and 1705, but these two versions are no longer extant. The ‘Sŏngju-pon’ is a two-volume work that holds the same kasa as the ‘Hwangju-pon’ edition in its twenty-four page first volume and seventy-nine shijo in the twenty-page second volume. This work was published in 1747 by a fifth generation descendant of the author. The final edition is the ‘Kwansŏ-pon’ which holds much the same content as the ‘Hwangju-pon’ and was published in 1768.

This work is praised as one of the best kasa collections in Korean literary history. Chŏng is regarded by Korean scholars as one of the most highly skilled poets in the history of Korea. In particular, works such as *Samiin kok* and *Sok samiin kok* display gracefully written descriptions of natural beauty that are seldom rivalled in Korean literary history. Therefore, *Songgang kasa* provides a wealth of literary resources for the study of the literature of the middle Chosŏn period. This work was combined with *Songgang chip* (Collected Works of Songgang) and published under the title of Songgang chŏnjip (Pine River Anthology) by Songgyun’gwan University in 1974.

Songgwang Temple [Architecture]

Songgyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy) [Architecture, Education]

*Sŏngho saesŏl*

*Sŏngho saesŏl* is a work of the late Chosŏn period shirhak scholar Yi Ik (1681-1763). It was the end result of forty years of scholarship by Yi who would jot notes or essays about books that he had read or other matters that he had encountered in his studies. There were many different hand written copies of this work extant in the Chosŏn period, but despite this it was never printed. In 1915 An Chŏngbok consolidated this work into two volumes and published it through the Chosŏn Koso Kanhaenghoe under the title of *Sŏngho saesŏl yusŏn*. Again in 1929 it was revised by Chŏng Inbo and published through Mun’gwang Sŏrim Publishers under the same title as the 1915 edition. Other editions of this work have
been subsequently published in various forms and with supplements.

The contents of *Songho saesol* are quite broad and cover an extensive range of subjects. The original work was divided into five main sections: the first covering matters of heaven and earth (*Ch'onji mun*), the second all creation (*Manmul mun*), the third human affairs (*Insa mun*), the fourth the classics and history books (*Kyöngsa mun*) and the fifth poetry and literature (*Shimun mun*). Under these five broad headings, the work broached some three thousand topics. However, the topics under the various headings were not strictly adhered to. In the first section of ‘*Ch'onji mun*’, there are 223 topics covering matters such as astronomy, geography, various meteorological phenomena and the calendar. In ‘*Manmul mun*’, the second section, there are 368 topics that discuss items that are both directly and indirectly related to daily life such as dress, food, family and cultivation techniques for various plants. The third section, ‘*Insa mun*’, introduces 990 issues that concern politics, social institutions, society and economic matters. ‘*Kyöngsa mun*’ contains over one thousand entries that discuss the Confucian Classics and both Chinese and Korean historical documents. In the fifth and final section of ‘*Shimun mun*’, there are 378 entries that evaluate the merits of the works of both Chinese and Korean literary men.

*Songho saesol* is highly valued as being a representative work of one of the foremost *shirhak* scholars in the late Choson period. Yi’s manner of thinking breaks from the traditional bounds of the Choson period that interpreted all matters from a neo-Confucian perspective, and instead approaches the human world and society from a fresh standpoint of objective inquiry. Since this work also introduced various Western scientific theories in fields such as astronomy and geography, it can also be viewed as the precursor to the introduction of much Western scientific thought into Korea. This work is often associated with Yi’s *Kwaqu rok* (Record of Concern for the Underprivileged) which outlined the author’s proposals for social reform. Together these works established Yi at the forefront of the *shirhak* movement that sought to fundamentally alter Korean society. Therefore, *Songho saesol* is an essential work for the understanding of *shirhak* ideology.

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**Songin**

|Literature|

**Sŏngjong, King** (r.1469-1494)

King Sŏngjong (1457-1494) was the ninth king of Choson and reigned from 1469 to 1494. His personal name was Hyŏl and he was the grandson of King Ŭejo (r. 1455-1468). His queen, Konghye, was the daughter of the Chief State Councillor (*yŏngŭijŏng*) Han Myŏnghoe. Following her death, he married Chŏnghyŏn, his second queen, who was the daughter of Yun Ho, the Third State Councillor (*uŭijŏng*). Sŏngjong enjoyed a close relationship with his grandfather and thus was favoured for various positions. Upon the death of Yejong (r. 1468-1469) who had no heir, Sŏngjong became king. Since he was only thirteen years old, the dowager queen Chŏnghŭi acted as regent for the next seven years.

During King Sŏngjong’s reign, many noteworthy accomplishments enabled Choson’s foundations to be cemented. In 1485, the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (National Code) was completed, and thus the basic foundations for the legal code of Choson were established. Also, in 1492, the *Taejŏn songnok* (Supplement to the National Code) was promulgated and this further strengthened the political authority and control of the top echelon. Sŏngjong was a great patron of the scholars at the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyŏn Chŏn), and during his reign there were many compilations of historical and scientific data. Those publications that sought to raise the levels of agricultural knowledge and skills are prominent. Other works
published under Sŏngjong’s patronage include Tongguk yŏji sŏngnam (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea), Tongguk t’onggam (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom), and Samguksa chŏryo (Abridgement of the History of the Three Kingdoms), all of which have contributed greatly to historical and cultural studies in Korea. Moreover, works such as Tongmunsŏn (Anthology of Korean Literature) and Akhak kwebŏm (Guide to the Study of Korean Music) provide valuable data for modern-day scholars for the study of Korean literature and music.

Sŏngjong also concentrated his energies on the suppression of Buddhism, which had been first advocated by early Chosŏn literati, such as Chŏng Tojon (1342-1398). In Sŏngjong’s reign, a strong policy of suppression was adopted, including abolition of the registration system for monks that was heretofore in use, and a complete prohibition on entering the priesthood. This was further strengthened under the reign of his son, Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1496-1506), which led, in 1507, to the abolition of the examination system that had been used to fill positions in the administrative hierarchy of the Buddhist church. Hence, the official relationship between Buddhism and the Chosŏn government was severed during the reign of Sŏngjong, and this was further consolidated by his successors.

Sŏngjong married a third time, and his three queens and eight official concubines produced, between them, a total of nineteen sons and eleven daughters. Two of his nineteen sons later ascended the throne -- Prince Yŏnsan, who was the tenth king of Chosŏn, and King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) who took the throne after Yŏnsan was deposed.

Sŏngjong, King (r.981-997)

King Sŏngjong (960-997) was the sixth king of Koryŏ. His personal name was Ch’i and his courtesy name On’go. He was the grandson of the founder of Koryŏ, King T’aejo (r. 918-943). In 981, when King Kyŏngjong (r. 945-981) abdicated, Sŏngjong became king of Koryŏ at the age of twenty-one.

Sŏngjong’s reign was marked by many reforms that were directed at consolidating the central governing apparatus of early Koryŏ. The views of the young king were greatly influenced by the Confucian scholar Ch’oe Sŏngno (927-989), who sought to establish an aristocratic society with a strong central government. Ch’oe did not favour an overly-powerful monarchy that ruled without the consensus of the aristocracy, but aimed at a strong central government, that ruled through consensus. He submitted his views in a twenty-eight point memorial to the king in 989. Sŏngjong relied heavily on the views of the Confucian scholars in formulating his policies. He is said to have been quite well versed in the Confucian classics, and consequently was receptive to the opinions of his officials. He, for the first time, despatched officials from the capital to head provincial administrative units, and this revision of the local government structure had the effect of diminishing the power of the local gentry families. Yet at the same time, he also sought to bring the youth of the local gentry families into the central government and thus stressed education in his policies.

One of the first tasks for Sŏngjong was to enact land reforms that would help the central government increase its authority over the outlying areas. In 983, the twelve provinces (mok) were established, and at this time officials from the capital were sent to head the provincial governments. Sŏngjong was also determined to create an educational system based upon the Chinese model and in 992, he established the National University (Kukchagam), which functioned as the highest educational institution in the kingdom. The National University was composed of six colleges, and while the entrance requirements for each college differed, this Confucian institution offered the opportunity of education for both aristocracy and commoners. Sŏngjong sought also to increase educational opportunities in the countryside, but when his plan to bring young men to the capital for training failed, he ordered scholars go to the provinces. To each of the twelve provinces a
Classics scholar (*kyönghak paks*$) and a medical scholar (*uihak paks*$) were assigned, in an attempt to improve the level of education in the outlying areas.

Sŏngjong also led vital reforms to the military structure, which had remained largely unaltered since the reign of T'aejo. Under Sŏngjong, however, the organisation changed greatly and was focused on the Two Guards and Six Divisions. The Six Divisions were the first-formed and consisted of the Division of the Left and Right (Chwauwi), Divine Tiger Division (Shinhowi), Elite Striking Division (Hwangwi), Internal Security Division (Kumowi), Thousand Bull Division (Ch'ŏnuwi), and the Capital Guard Division (Kammunwi). These divisions are thought to have been in service by 995, with the first three divisions charged with both the defence of the capital and the border regions. The Internal Security Division held major responsibility for police duties in the capital; the Thousand Bull Division was used for ceremonials and the Capital Guard Division carried out guard functions at the palace, city gates and government buildings. The Two Guards were formed later and acted as the king's personal bodyguard.

Sŏngjong's reign also marked a shift in the orientation of Korean society and represented a clean break from the previous hierarchical society transmitted from Shilla. While in Shilla, a man's political and social mobility were directly linked to the class in which he was born, in Koryŏ, from the reign of Sŏngjong, the individual was part of a more merit-orientated society. Further, Confucian philosophy now came to the fore in the political and educational spheres. Hence, the status of Confucian literati in Koryŏ was dramatically improved from that of their predecessors -- the scholars of the Shilla head-rank six (*yuktup’um*). The increased emphasis on a Confucian education is a clear manifestation of a shift from a hierarchical society to one that was based on merit and scholarship to a greater degree.

During Sŏngjong's reign, the northern expansion policies continued and these, naturally, led to conflict with the peoples in the areas north of Koryŏ. In particular, it was the Khitan people who felt the most threatened and this eventually led to their invasion of Koryŏ in 993. Sŏngjong sent his general, Sŏ Hŭi (942-998), as truce-maker to the the Khitan in the hope of avoiding a costly conflict. Sŏ proved to be quite adept, as he not only convinced the Khitan to withdraw from Koryŏ, but to concede hegemony over all land south of the Yalu River to Koryŏ. Thus, it was during the reign of Sŏngjong that the essentially-modern territorial dimensions of Korea were defined.

In the tenth month of 997, Sŏngjong became critically ill and abdicated in favour of his nephew, King Mokjong (r. 997-1009), dying shortly thereafter. Sŏngjong is highly praised as an enlightened monarch who understood the need for social, political and educational reforms in the fledging Koryŏ kingdom. The reform process that began during his reign continued after his death and led directly to the zenith of Koryŏ.

**Sŏngju County**

Situated in the southwest part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Sŏngju County is comprised of the town of Sŏngju and the townships of Kach’ŏn, Kŭmsu, Taega, Pyŏkchin, Sŏnnam, Suryun, Yongam, Wŏrhang and Ch’ojŏn. Mt. Kaya (1,430m) and other high peaks rise up in the southwest area of the county, while Mt. Paengma (716m) and Mt. Yŏngam (782m) stand in the north. The Naktong River flows past the county's eastern border.

The county's agriculture is primarily devoted to rice cultivation, which is centred around the lowland areas abutting the Taega and Paek streams. In the mountainous northwestern area, dry field crops such as barley, wheat, red peppers, garlic, peanuts and lettuce are grown, as well as fruit crops such as pears, grapes and apples. In addition, during the winter months, local farmers use green houses to produce water melons and cucumbers. In Suryun Township, there are both clay mining and sericulture operations.
As one of the county’s key tourist attractions, the Mt. Kaya area was made into a national park in 1972. In the summer, tourists from nearby Taegu flock to the picturesque Yongsa Valley which runs north from the peak. Mt. Sōjin (742m) in Wŏrhang Township is another popular tourist attraction. Made up of gneiss rock formations, the mountain contains lovely valleys and clear streams. At the southwest base of the mountain, one finds Sŏnsŏk Temple which was founded by Grand Master Naong during the Koryŏ period.

In ancient times, this area was home to the Kaya federation which was eventually absorbed into the Shilla kingdom. As a result, the area’s artefacts and historical sites are important for the light they shed on Kaya and Shilla history. Over 270 old tombs from the Three Kingdoms period can be seen scattered throughout the county.

In Sŏngju’s Yesan Village, there is a seven-storey pagoda (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 61). This stone structure is located at the old site of Tongbang Temple, a monastery said to have been founded during the reign of Shilla’s King Aejang (r. 800-809). The pagoda, which originally consisted of nine-storeys, is said to have been built here in order to protect the vital force (ki) of the earth (chi) in the Sŏngju area. For this reason, the structure is known as the Chigi Pagoda. In Suryun Township’s Paegun Village at the foot of Mt. Kaya, one finds the old site of Pŏpsu Temple, an old monastery from the Greater Shilla period. Relics at the site include a large three-storey pagoda and stone banner pole supports (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 61 and 62 respectively). On Mt. Yongch’uk, one finds Kamŭng Temple which was founded during the Shilla period.

In addition to Buddhist temples, there are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Mun’gye Sŏwŏn in Ch’ojŏn Township, Ansan Sŏwŏn and Ch’ŏn’gok Sŏwŏn in Pyŏkch'in Township, Tosan Sŏwŏn in Sŏnnam Township, Sŏngju Hyanggyo in Sŏngju and Hoeŏn Sŏwŏn (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 165) in Suryun Township.

In Wŏrhang Township next to Sŏnsŏk Temple, stands T’aе Peak. During the Chosŏn period, the peak was thought to possess the features of a myŏngdang, an auspicious site according to the laws of geomancy. As a result, the peak was used to enshrine the placenta from the sons of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) as well as that of Tangjong (r. 1452-1455). On the peak, there are two rows of small stone chambers and stone markers. The site has been designated North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 88.

**Sŏngnam**

Sŏngnam is situated in Kyŏnggi Province on the southeast border of Seoul. Located between the rugged Mt. Kŏmdan (535m) and Mt. Ch’ŏnggye, the city’s topography is characterised by undulating hills. There is a strip of flat land along T’an Stream which flows through the city on its way to the Han River. There are two reservoirs in the area: Taewang in Sujŏng ward and Pundang in Pundang ward.

In the 1960s, the area was a sprawling shanty town. In 1968, Seoul Mayor Kim Hyŏnok, in an effort to do away with the numerous slum dwellings in Seoul, demolished 50 000 dwellings and relocated the inhabitants to settlements in Kwangju County’s Chungbu Township. A massive protest by residents on August 10, 1971, pressured the government to improve the living and working conditions in the area. As a result, a long-term development plan for the settlement was formed and incentives were offered to encourage industries to set up here. In 1973, as the area became Sŏngnam City, numerous factories were set up as the population rapidly expanded. In 1989, the city was divided into the wards (ku) of Sujŏng and Chungwŏn, and Pundang ward was added in 1991.
Previously a farming area, most of the present agriculture is limited to vegetable crops in Shihung-dong and Kodong-dong. The city is linked to Seoul and the surrounding area by the Kyongbu Expressway, P’an’gyo-Kuri Expressway and two new subway lines. These transportation networks along with the large work force have made the city an ideal location for industries. Centred in Shihung-dong and Sangdae won-dong, the city’s factories produce a wide range of goods including electronics, chemicals, precision machinery, pharmaceuticals, textiles and furniture.

In order to meet the needs of the large population, the city has a well-developed service sector, including large department stores and markets. The Moran marketplace in Sujeong-dong opens as a lively traditional market once every five days. Since most of the vendors are either producers or wholesale dealers, the prices of goods here are relatively low.

A large number of schools have been set up in the area in order to accommodate the city’s rapidly expanding population. In addition, Shin’gu Junior College, Kyungwon University and the Academy of Korean Studies have been established here. Set up in 1978, the Academy of Korean Studies promotes in-depth research into Korean culture and heritage. In order to facilitate research, the academy has an extensive library of over 322,000 books.

The city is named after its location south (nam) of Namhan Fortress (song). In addition to Namhan Fortress (See Namhan Mountain) on the city’s northeastern border, there are several historical sites in the area. In Taep’yong-dong, one finds Pongguk Temple. The monastery’s Taegwangmyong Hall has been designated Kyonggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 101. At Manggyong Hermitage in Pokchong-dong, there is a rock-carving of a seated Buddha. Carved out of a natural stone face on the western side of Namhan Fortress, this 1.2-metre high Buddha is surrounded by a number of old inscriptions. The carving, designated Kyonggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 102, is thought to date from the late Koryo period. Near the carving, two steles provide records of the hermitage’s reconstruction. Other sites of historical interest include the tombs of Yi Myongwön and Yi Kyongsök (1595-1671).

Sôngnam Island

Lying between the islands of Chin and Sangjo, Sôngnam Island is administered by Chodo Township in South Cholla Province’s Chindo County. The island occupies a total area of 1.33 sq. kms. and has a coastline of 4.5 kms. With an average January temperature of 2.0°c. and an August temperature of 26.0°c., the island’s climate is relatively mild. The rainfall average is 927.5mm and the island has only a light snowfall.

Sôngnam’s population, as given by 1987 statistics, is 112. Most of the islanders make their living both by farming and fishing. With fifteen per cent of the island arable, farmers grow dry-field crops such as beans, rape and garlic. Local marine products include anchovy and laver (kim). The islanders live mostly close to the southern coast, where there are docking facilities and an elementary school branch. In order to preserve the island’s scenic value, Sôngnam has been included in Tado National Marine Park.

Songni Mountain

Situated east of Ch’ôngju on the borders of North Ch’ungch’'ông and North Kyongsang Province, Mt. Songni is part of the Sobaek Mountain Range. The mountain consists of granite bedrock interspersed with areas of metamorphic sedimentary rock. The latter has suffered heavy erosion, leaving behind sharp granite pinnacles and deep gorges. The mountain has eight famous peaks. Ch’ónhwang Peak, the highest at 1 058 metres, is surrounded by Piro, Kilsang, Munsu, Pohyon, Kwanum, Myo and Sujón Peaks.

The mountain has had a number of names, including Kwangmyông-san (Mt. Bright
As its name suggests, the mountain has strong connections with Buddhism. The large Pópechu Temple is found here along with numerous hermitages. The temple is famous for its historical artifacts and beautiful setting. With numerous hiking trails, the mountain is popular with both hikers and herb gatherers who come to pick the měrū (wild grapes) and songi mushrooms (Armillaria edodes) native to the area. In order to preserve the area’s natural environment and historical heritage, the area was designated Songni-san National Park in 1970.

**Songp’yŏn**

[Songp’yŏn] [Food and eating]

**Sŏngúp Folk Village**

[Architecture]

**Sŏnjo, King** (r. 1567-1608)

King Sŏnjo (1552-1608) was the fourteenth king of Chosŏn and ruled from 1567 to 1608. His given name was Kyun and later he was called Kong. He was born in 1552 on the eleventh day of the eleventh lunar month in Hansŏng (present day Seoul). The grandson of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544), his father was the Tŏkhŭng Taewŏn’gun and his mother came from the Chŏng family. His first wife, Queen Ùiin, was the daughter of Pak Ungsun, and his second, Queen Inmok, was the daughter of Kim Chenam. Sŏnjo assumed the throne in 1567 when King Myŏnˇjong (r. 1545-1567) died without an heir. Even after his accession, he continued his learning in Confucian classics and was tutored by the most renowned scholars of the time.

Sŏnjo is credited with being the monarch of Chosŏn when the factional strife that would continually plague the kingdom made its appearance. This was in 1575, when a confrontation between two segments of the literati occurred. Shim Ùigyŏm and Kim Hyowŏn had a personal quarrel over the appointment of officials to a powerful post on the Board of Personnel (Ijo). The two officials carried on an antagonistic relationship that soon split the court into two opposing camps known as the Easterners (Tongin) and the Westerners (Sŏin).

A further calamity during the reign of Sŏnjo was the 1592 Japanese Invasion that continued until 1598. Although there had been sporadic attacks by Japanese marauders since Koryŏ, the government of Chosŏn did not take decisive action and the situation worsened. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi succeeded in unifying Japan, after a bloody civil war, he directed his energies towards the conquest of Chosŏn as the first step of his grand plan to subjugate the Ming. In the spring of 1592, Japanese forces landed in Pusan and quickly overwhelmed the Chosŏn defences. The invaders then launched a three-pronged attack northwards towards the capital. Sŏnjo saw his forces crushed and took flight accompanied by most of his court. The populace was rightly outraged by the incompetence of the government and its lack of concern for the people’s welfare. As Sŏnjo fled north, his passage was blocked by bands of people, who cast insults at him. Moreover, after the king had fled the city, slaves in Seoul set fire to the office where the slave registers were kept and also razed some government offices. Meanwhile, the Japanese marched northward with little opposition, since the Chosŏn government was unable to raise an army to oppose them.

Chosŏn, however, was saved by several factors. One was the naval force under the command of Yi Sunshin (1545-1598), the naval commander of Chŏlla Province, which
proved immensely superior to the Japanese and cut their supply lines. Another was the emergence of volunteer units throughout the country, which used guerilla tactics to harass the Japanese army. These fighting units often had the combination of yangban, commoners and slaves and they played a major role in wearing down the Japanese forces. Finally, through the diplomatic appeals of Chosŏn to Ming, fifty-thousand Chinese troops entered the conflict and this served to tilt the scales in Chosŏn's favour. Thus, in 1598, the Japanese withdrew from Korea and peace returned to the peninsula.

Sŏnjo's rule during the invasion is denoted by inaction and poor command of the Chosŏn forces. The country was devastated by the Japanese and throughout the invasion the activities of the monarch and his advisers still revolved around self-preservation and personal power. The victorious naval commander, Yi Sunsin, was even removed as head of the Chosŏn naval forces temporarily because of the factional politics of the government. Although he was eventually reinstated, the fact that Sŏnjo’s court would even consider removing such a competent admiral who commanded a naval force so clearly superior to anything Japan could throw against it, is indicative of the incompetence of the Chosŏn ruling hierarchy.

Sŏnjo's died in 1608, after almost forty-one years as king. The period towards the end of his reign is witnessed by an increase in the intensity of factional politics in the court, including problems in the succession to the throne by Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623). Sŏnjo's burial mound is located in Kuri of Kyŏnggi Province and has been designated as Historical Site no. 193.

Sŏnu Temple

Sŏnun Temple, a monastery of the Chogye Sect, is located in North Chŏlla Province on the northern slope of Mt. Tosol. According to one legend, the temple was founded by the Shilla King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576), while another legend states that it was founded by the Paekche monk Kŏmdan. The temple was repaired in 1354 and underwent major restorations that took over ten years in 1472. As a result, Sŏnun Temple was restored to its ancient glory with approximately 189 buildings and 53 altar paintings. This glory was, however, short lived. In 1597, with the second wave of the Hideyoshi Invasion, virtually all the buildings were burnt down. From 1608 to 1619, beginning with the meditation halls, the buildings were gradually restored. In the 17th century, the temple once more functioned as a major monastic center. By 1698 there were over 260 monks living at the temple. In addition, in the vicinity of the temple, there were over fifty affiliated hermitages up until the first half of the nineteenth century.

Nowadays, the temple houses numerous important artefacts, including the Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 290), two gilt-bronze statues of Chijang (Ksitigarbha) Bodhisattva Bodhisattva (Treasure No. 279 and 280), two large bronze bells (North Chŏlla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 31 and 32), two altar paintings painted in 1840 - one of Vairocana and one of Amitabha's Pure Land, and a six-storey stone pagoda (North Chŏlla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 29). Near the temple lies Tosol Hermitage, and outside of the hermitage, there is a carving of a seated Buddha figure on the face of a rock. The carving dates from the Koryŏ Period.

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Sonyŏn [Magazines]
Sonyōn Hanbando

[Soyon Island]

Sōnyu Island

Sōnyu Island is located in Kunsan’s Okto Township in North Chōlla Province, about forty-three kilometres from central Kunsan. It is one of the twenty islands of the Kogunsan Archipelago. Famous as one of Kunsan’s key scenic attractions, the island is home to the picturesque Sōnyu Beach. Near the beach one finds Mangju Peak and the Mangju Waterfall (a series of ten cascades). Bridges link the island to nearby Munyō Island and Changja Island. In addition to a thriving tourist industry, the island has a fleet of commercial fishing vessels which bring in catches of yellow corbina and anchovy.

Sookmyung Women’s University

Sookmyung Women’s University (Sungmyŏng Yŏja Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Ch’ŏngp’a-dong in Seoul. Founded at its present location as Sungmyŏng Yŏja Chŏnmun Hakkyo in December 1938 it was reorganised in May 1948 as a college, with the divisions of literature and science, the former containing the Departments of Korean Literature, English Literature, Art and Music, and the latter the Departments of Science and Home Economics. In March 1955, the college gained university status, with four colleges and a graduate school. Im Sukchae served as the university’s first president. In March 1963, a doctoral program was established.

Since the 1960’s, the university has expanded considerably both its undergraduate and post-graduate curriculum. Today, it contains eight colleges -- the Colleges of Economics and Commerce; Fine Arts; Home Economics; Liberal Arts; Music; Pharmacology; Political Science and Law; and Science. For postgraduate students, Sookmyung has the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Clinical Pharmacology; Design; Education; International Relations; Management; Music Therapy; and Public Policy. The university’s museum was established in 1971, and contains an extensive collection of objet d’art, women’s garments and accessories, as well as items of furniture from the Chosŏn period. University publications include the Suktae shinbo and Sungmyŏng T’aimsū.

Soong Sil University

Soong Sil University (Sungshil Taehakkyo) is a private university situated in Sangdo-dong in Seoul. The school was founded in October 1887 in a private residence in P’yŏngyang by the American Presbyterian missionary, W. M. Baird. In 1901, funds were provided for the construction of a traditional two-storey building for the school, which on completion was named Shungshil Haktang. In 1912, accreditation was received from the Japanese colonial government, making Soong Sil College the first college in Korea. However, educational regulations enforced in 1925 led to the restructuring of the college as Sungshil Chŏnmun Taehak, with a four-year curriculum limited to the Department of Liberal Arts. In 1938, Soong Sil College, as well as the Soong Sil Middle School and High School were closed. Korea’s liberation from the Japanese in 1945 saw Soong Sil graduates working to re-establish their college. The college finally received official accreditation in 1954 and opened a year later in the Yŏngnak Church complex. In 1957, a campus was built at the school’s present location in Tongjak Ward in Seoul. With Han Kyŏngjik as its first president, the college consisted of five departments. In September 1970, it merged with Taejŏn Taehak, and in 1971, the new school’s name was changed to Sungjŏn Taehak. In December of that year, Sungjŏn Taehak became a university, with Kim Hyŏngnam as president. A year later, a master’s program was installed, followed by a doctoral program in 1974. In 1983, the Taejŏn campus separated, becoming Hannam University, and three years later, the Seoul
campus reverted to its former name, to become Sung Sil University.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the university's undergraduate and post-graduate curriculum continued to expand. Today, the university consists of seven colleges (the Colleges of Economics and Commerce; Engineering; Humanities; Information Science; Law; Natural Sciences; and Social Science); and eight graduate schools (the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Education; Industry; Information Science; International and Regional Studies; Labor & Industrial Relations; Small & Medium Enterprises; and Unification Policy). The university has a number of attached facilities, including a museum housing artefacts related to the history of Christianity in Korea. The museum was founded in 1967 after receiving an extensive collection from the archaeologist and minister Kim Yangsŏn. University publications include the Sungshil Taehak Shinmun in Korean and The Soong Sil Times in English.

Sŏp'ŏ manp'il (Jottings of Sŏp'ŏ)

Sŏp'ŏ manp'il is a collection of essays and social criticism written by Kim Manjung (1637-1692, styled Sŏp'ŏ). This hand written work is composed of two volumes in one fascicle, and the exact date when it was written is not known. However, it is thought that it was after Kim's exile to Sŏnch'ŏn in 1687. The first volume contains 102 items and the second 161. The greater part of this work is devoted to criticism of Korean literary works. In the second volume there are many instances where Kim's Buddhist beliefs are manifested and this is the reason why it was not published during the Chosŏn period. Kim was highly critical of the neo-Confucianists who did not, in his view, understand Buddhist thought yet still condemned it. This work is also notable in that Kim advocated the use of han'gul for Korean literature. He felt that Korean thoughts and sentiments should be addressed in their native tongue, not the Chinese language. These sentiments of Kim's were far ahead of their time.

This work is highly valued for Kim's opinions on Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, his literary criticism and views advocating the use of han'gul. Therefore, for research into the thought of Kim Manjung, this work is an essential document. In 1971 it was combined with Kim's Sop'ŏ chip and published by T'ongmun'gwan Publishers.

Sŏrak Mountain

Situated between Sokch'ŏ and Inje in Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Sŏrak is famous for its fabulous rock formations, clear streams and awe-inspiring vistas. Mt. Sŏrak is actually a series of majestic peaks that lie along the mid-section of the T'aebaek Mountain Range. Taech'ŏng Peak, Mt. Sŏrak's highest point, is the third highest in South Korea, after Mt. Halla (1 950 metres) and Chiri (1 915 metres). Running north of the peak lies Madŭng Ridge and Mishi Ridge, and running south, Han'gye Ridge. The eastern section of the park, which receives more tourists, is called 'Outer Sŏrak' (Oesŏrak), whereas the less-frequented western section is known as 'Inner Sŏrak' (Naesŏrak).

With high levels of precipitation, the area supports numerous varieties of rare plant specimens. The area around the peak, in particular, supports high elevation plants such as the windflower (Anemone narcissiflora). The area also harbours around 500 animal species including several species of cold-water fish. For this reason, the area was designated as a natural preservation area in 1965. In 1982, UNESCO followed suit, designating Sŏrak as an area for the protection of world plant and animal life.

It is said that one must see Sŏraksan National Park in each of the four seasons to fully appreciate its beauty. In autumn, as the maple trees change colour, the forest is on fire with deep reds and yellows. In winter, heavy snowfall covers the craggy peaks and twisted pines while intricate ice formations line the brooks. With some of the coldest temperatures
in South Korea, the area is known for its heavy snow. In fact, the name Sŏrak literally means ‘snowy peaks.’ Seen from the coast near Sokch’o in winter, the mountain’s snow-capped peaks form a majestic backdrop to the East Sea’s deep-blue waters. Azalea, chrysanthemum and cherry blossoms announce early spring. In late spring and summer, bright green foliage reappears on the trees.

Near Sokch’o, on the eastern side of the park lies Sŏrak Village, the most popular entrance to the park. Since it is possible to view the jagged Dinosaur Ridge (thought to resemble the spikes on a dinosaur’s back) from this side, this entrance is a favourite among those who do not have the time or ambition to venture up the mountain’s rugged trails. From here, there are several short walks, such as the one leading up to the Piryong and T’owangsŏng waterfalls. If one goes past the giant bronze seated-Buddha figure and then turns right, one comes to Shinhŭng Temple. Originally founded in 652 C.E., the temple houses a number of ancient Buddhist artifacts. Past the temple lies Kyejo Hermitage, which sits in front of the Rocking Rock (Hŭndŭl Pawi) - a gigantic boulder that moves back and forth when pushed. Further up the trail, one comes to the spectacular granite formation known as Ulisan Pawi. This large white column of rocky pinnacles can be seen best from the winding road connecting Mishiryoŏng Pass with Sokch’o.

Turning left on the main trail, leads to Pisŏndae, a giant rock pillar that juts up from cliffs that line a picturesque gorge. From here, a trail leads up to Kŭmgang Cave. Perched on the face of a granite cliff, the cave contains a small Buddhist shrine. From Pisŏndae, another popular trail leads up through the gorgeous Chŏnbul-dong (Valley of a Thousand Buddhas) to the peak. For those who do not wish to make the climb, a cable car runs from Sŏrak Village to a nearby peak.

On the south side of the park, there is the popular Osaek Spa. The mineral water from this spring here is thought to have medicinal qualities. In the local bath-houses and saunas, one can bathe in the bubbly water, and at local restaurants, one can even have rice that has been cooked with the water. The steep trail from Osaek is the most direct route to Mt. Sŏrak’s peak. There are also countless waterfalls in the southern section of the park, such as Paegam, Sŏrak, Tokchu, Ongnyŏ, Mumyŏng, Onch’ŏn and Shibi (Twelve) waterfalls.

On the park’s western end, numerous creeks and streams flow down into Puk (North) Stream. A trail follows the T’angsu-dong Valley past the Twelve Fairy-maiden Pools (Shibi sŏnyŏ t’ang). To the south, from Changsu-dae, tourists hike up to the lovely Taesŏng Waterfall. A 1430 metre peak called Mt. An (An-san) rises up between the T’angsu-dong Valley and Changsu-dae. Between Inner-Sŏrak and the park’s relatively undeveloped northern sector, lies Paektam Temple. During the Japanese occupation, the monk Han Yongun went into retreat at this temple in order to plan his program of reform for Buddhism and the nation. This small Buddhist monastery rose to national prominence when President Chun Doo Hwan and his wife retreated to the temple in 1988 amid allegations of improprieties during his administration.

Due to its spectacular beauty, Mt. Sŏrak is a favourite tourist destination throughout the year. During the summer break, countless students come to the mountain to hike and camp out in the lodges near the peak. With its jagged peaks, the mountain is often called ‘a second Diamond Mountains.’

**Sŏsan**

Formerly known as Sŏsan County, Sŏsan is located in northwest corner of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. The city consists of the town of Taesan, and the townships of Kobuk; Pusŏk; Sŏnggyŏn; Umsan; Umam; Ini; Chigok; P’albong; and Haemi. Sŏsan covers an area of 1 071 sq. kms. and as of 1986, had a population of 231 407. Topographically, the area is made up of low hills, the highest point being Mt. Kaya (678m) on the eastern
border. Located on the Yellow Sea, the city’s coastline is broken up into numerous peninsulas and narrow inlets. There are also 26 inhabited, and 137 uninhabited islands within the city’s boundary. Colder winds from the northwest make for an annual average temperature of 11.8 deg. C., and an average January temperature of minus 2.7 deg. C. The annual rainfall is 1 155mm.

The area’s fertile soil, ample water supply and mild climate make it ideal for agriculture. About 36 000 hectares are arable, with half of this growing rice cultivation and the other half crops such as sweet potato, bean, sesame, ginseng and garlic. There is an active fishing fleet, and boats operating out of local ports brings in catches of perch, hairtail and croaker. Oyster and other shellfish are harvested here and there are also numerous salt flats on reclaimed areas along the coast. Since 1969, large areas of pasture land have been established on hilly areas, for two large-scale cattle farms.

Local tourism is centred around the city’s scenic coastline. Ten or more popular beaches are now part of Sōsan National Marine Park, which runs along the city’s west coast. Hagamp’o Beach in Wŏnbuk’s Panggal Village is particularly well known for its clear water and fine white sand. Behind this six-km.-long beach is an acacia woodland, and nearby there are spectacular rock formations such as Hak (Crane) Rock and Yongam (Dragon Rock) Cave.

Buddhist sites in the Sōsan area include the Powŏn Temple site, Munju Temple in Unsan and Illak Temple in Haemi. Located in Yonghyŏn Village, the Powŏn Temple site contains an exquisitely-carved Buddha triad in relief (National Treasure No. 84). In this intriguing carving, the central Buddha figure is standing while the Bodhisattva to his right is seated with his right leg resting upon his left knee in the ‘contemplative’ posture. Along the valley from the temple site can be seen a 4.7-metre-high pagoda (Treasure No. 105) and a 9-metre-high five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 104), both dating from Koryŏ. Other artefacts include a pair of banner-pole supports (Treasure No. 103) from Greater Shilla, a stele (Treasure No. 106) carved in 978 in honour of National Master Pŏbin and a giant stone water basin (Treasure No. 102) built during Koryŏ.

Aside from its Buddhist sites, the city contains a number of Chosŏn Confucian relics and buildings. Confucian schools found here include Sŏsan Hyanggyo (established in 1412) just east of Highway 29; Haemi Hyanggyo in Ohak Village; T’aean Hyanggyo just south of Highway 32; Sŏngam Sŏwŏn (established in 1719) in Sŏsan’s Ŭmnae Village; and Songgok Sŏwŏn. Modern educational institutions include Hanseo University located in Haemi.

Sŏsan Taesa (see Hyujŏng)

Sosu Sŏwŏn
Soswaewŏn Garden

Sŏul (see Seoul Special City)

Sŏul, 1964 nyŏn, kyŏul
Sŏul Kyohyang Aktan
Sourcebook of Korean Civilization

The Sourcebook of Korean Civilization is a two-volume, 1324-page work, which provides translations of primary source materials on Korean social, literary, religious and intellectual traditions. It was compiled and edited by Peter H. Lee; with Donald Baker; Yongho Ch'oe; Hugh H. W. Kang; and Han-Kyo Kim. Volume one extends to the sixteenth c. and the second volume from the seventeenth c. to the modern period. The first volume was published in 1993 and the second in 1996, both by Columbia University Press.

The first volume is divided into nineteen chapters that trace the origins of Korean society to mid-Chosŏn. Chapter One explores various foundation myths of the ancient Korean states and the view of the early Korean states as formed by Chinese dynastic histories. The second chapter presents materials on the development of the Three Kingdoms; the third on ancient customs and rituals, the fourth on the consolidation of the state; the fifth on the rise of Buddhism; the sixth chapter covers literary developments and the seventh intellectual occurrences. The second part of the first volume focuses on Koryŏ and includes chapters on the political structure of the kingdom; its society; developments in Buddhist thought; the period of military rule; popular beliefs; and the rise of the class of Confucian literati. The third section of the volume includes chapters on the founding of Chosŏn; political thought in early Chosŏn; its culture; society; economy; ideology; and the transformation of Buddhism in this period.

Part four, in the second volume, covers late Chosŏn issues, with chapters on politics; reform proposals; the introduction of Western culture and thought; society; national identity; and Confucianism. The fifth part covers the modern period and includes chapters on the internal reforms of late Chosŏn; the rejection of Western thought; enlightenment thought; the Tonghak Uprising; the Independence Club; patriotic movements; the nationalist movement; the communist movement; and national culture during the colonial period. In all, the second volume contains fifteen chapters.

Each chapter of the work is introduced with commentary to explain the historical situation at that particular time, and this is followed by translations of various representative writings, including a small introduction of the historical significance of the writer. The work provides a vast quantity of material in English, and is a valuable reference for scholars in the various fields of Korean studies.

Southerners (Namin) [History of Korea]

Sŏwŏn (Private Academy) [Architecture; Confucianism; Society]

Sŏyu kyŏnmun (Observations on a Journey to the West)

Sŏyu kyŏnmun is a travel diary written by Yu Kiljun (1856-1914) about his experiences while travelling to the West. Kyosunsa Publishers published this 556-page work in Tokyo in 1895. Yu initially left Korea in 1881 as a part of the Shinsa Yuram Tan (Gentlemen's Sightseeing Group) that visited Japan on a fact-finding mission. Yu felt that the success that Japan had had in modernising was due to their imitation of Western culture, and thus decided to record what he had seen and learned in the West as a means of enlightening his fellow countrymen. After returning from Japan, Yu left for study in America in 1883 as part of the mission of Min Yŏngik, the ambassador to the United States. Yu also travelled to Europe in 1885.
The contents of this travel diary are divided into twenty parts. The first two sections include descriptions of the geography of Europe and America, including the major rivers, mountains and boundaries of the nations. The next sixteen chapters cover various social institutions of the Western nations including such matters as governmental institutions, political systems, social systems and educational matters. The author also relays information concerning Western technology, religion and customs. The final two chapters of Sŏyu kyŏnmun introduce the major cities of America and Europe in detail.

This work is noteworthy in that it reveals the West from the eyes of a Korean at the time of Korea’s opening to Western culture. It is also a highly praised work from the aspect that it served to introduce a generation of Koreans to various concepts of Western society. It therefore had a great impact upon the acceptance of Western culture during the Enlightenment period in Korea.

Speyer, Alexis de  [History of Korea]
Spinners and Weavers Association of Korea  [Industry of Korea]
Sports  (see Leisure activities)

Ssanggye Temple

Ssanggye Temple, situated at the southern base of Mt. Chiri in South Kyŏngsang Province, is one of the main temples of the Chogye Sect. The temple was founded in 723 by Sambŏp, a disciple of Ŭisang. When studying in China, Sambŏp had a dream in which Hui-neng, the famous sixth patriarch of the Zen sect, instructed him to take his portrait to the spot where flowers bloom above snow-covered valleys. Returning to Korea, Sambŏp wandered the country looking for such a place. Eventually, he came to Mt. Chiri where a tiger led him to the site mentioned in the dream. Sambŏp founded a monastery there, calling it Okch’ŏn Temple. In 840, National Master Chin’gam brought back tea seeds from China and planted them throughout the area. Chin’gam also led a major reconstruction project. During the reign of King Chŏnggang (r. 886-887), the name of the monastery was changed to Ssanggye Temple.

Burnt down during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), the temple complex was reconstructed by Pyŏgam in 1632. Many of the buildings erected at this time are still standing. The temple houses several important cultural artefacts, including the Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 500), Hall of the Arahants (Nahanjŏn), the Vajra Gate (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 127), a stone reliquary from the Greater Shilla Period (Treasure No. 380), a 2.4-meter high stone lamp (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 28), a stele honouring Zen Master Chin’gam inscribed in 887 C.E. and wood-blocks for printing sutras and Buddhist texts (South Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 185). There are also numerous old altar paintings, including the Vulture Peak Congregation done in 1687, King Kamno (Amra-raja) done in 1728, congregation in Amitabha’s Pure Land done in 1781 and Eight Scenes of the Buddha’s life done in 1728. In addition, there is a stele inscribed by the famous scholar Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (857- (?). In the vicinity of the temple lie Kuksa Hermitage and Puril Hermitage. The latter is famous as a place where both Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang underwent spiritual practice. The hermitage is named after Chinul, styled Puril, who is also believed to have resided there.

Ssangyong (industrial organisation)  [Industry]
Ssirŭm  [Customs and Traditions]
Sudŏk Temple

Situated on Mt. Tŏksung (580 metres) in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Sudŏk Temple is one of the main temples of the Chogye Order. According to the Sagi (Temple Records), the temple was originally founded during the later years of the Paekche Kingdom. Some sources claim that it was constructed by Chimyông in 599 and later repaired by Wŏnhyo (617-686). The temple is also said to have been repaired by Naong (1320-1376); however, the exact chronology of the temple's history is not clear.

In recent times, a number of famous monks have resided at Sudŏk Temple and nearby Chŏnghye Temple, including Kyŏnghŏ (1875-1939) and his disciple Man'gong (1872-1946). Renowned for their eccentric and irreverent behaviour, these two masters maintained the tradition of Korean Zen during the Japanese occupation. Man'gong, in particular, flagrantly ignored the monastic precepts, taking pleasure in both wine and women. Outside the temple, there is Man'gong's stupa and a rock carving of Maitreya Buddha that dates from the time Man'gong resided here. Chŏnghye Temple still serves as a monastic retreat centre, and in recent years, it has also been a meeting place for younger monks who are seeking to reform the Chogye Buddhist Order to make it more responsive to the needs of the people.

Kyŏnsong Hermitage, situated within walking distance of the temple, is well-known as one of the country's leading meditation centres for Buddhist nuns. In recent times, many famous meditation masters have resided at the hermitage. The famous poet Kim Iryŏp (1896-1971) also stayed here. As the daughter of a Christian pastor, Kim went to study in Japan where she became active in the feminist movement. Later, after her marriage failed, she entered the Buddhist monastic order. Her reflections on her experiences can be found in her essay collections Ch'ŏngch'un āl pulsarūgo (Having Cast Youth to the Flames) and ŏnŭ sudoin āi hoesang (Reflections of an Ascetic).

In spite of its recent history, Sudŏk Temple's role as a leading training centre has been eclipsed by larger monasteries such as Songgwang and Haein Temple in the south. The temple has lately undergone a major reconstruction in which a long stone staircase leading up to the temple has been built. With the exception of the Main Buddha Hall (National Treasure No. 49), which was built in 1308, and a stone pagoda (South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 103), which dates from the Greater Shilla Period, the temple does not have a large number of ancient artefacts.

Sukchong, King (r. 1674-1720)

Sukchong (1661-1720) was the nineteenth king of Choson and reigned from 1674 to 1720. While his reign was one of intense political infighting between rival factions, it was also characterised by steady economic progress, and fresh ideological and philosophical trends.

Sukchong was the only son and heir of King Hyŏnjong (r. 1659-1674), and he ascended the throne at the age of thirteen. Such an early access to almost unfettered power seems to have contributed to his often reckless and capricious behaviour. His unsettled disposition and frequent changes of mind were almost unpredictable, even to his closest advisers. These detracting features of the young king’s personality undoubtedly contributed to the development of feuds between political factions in the first decades of his reign, although later, Sukchong did attempt to control such intensive rivalries.

Sukchong ruled at a time when antagonism between the factions was reaching its zenith. The main task of every faction was to have as many members as possible in official positions, the ideal being a virtual monopoly, especially in the upper echelon. This was often accomplished by persuading the king that the other factions and/or their prominent leaders were either plotting against the crown, or alternatively were responsible for serious irregularities.

Therefore, the factional strife led to mutual accusations, slander and intense intrigue. Consequently, there were frequent arrests, exiles and occasional executions of prominent officials. While the traditional term is ‘The Four Factions’ (Sasaek), the actual number and names of the various factions were not constant through the many decades of their existence. In the 1660s three factions were of special importance: the Westerners (Sŏin), the Southerners (Namin) and the Northerners (Pugin), with the last-named being of only marginal importance. These factions had existed for decades, and were coercive and mutually hostile.

In 1674, the Southerners pushed aside their Westerner rivals and until 1680 enjoyed almost complete representation in official positions. In 1680, the Westerners, led by the charismatic and inflexible Song Si-yŏl (1607-1689) turned the tables, but in 1689, the Southerners again took power, only to lose it in 1694. From this point forward, Sukchong relied chiefly on the Westerners, which had by this time split into the two mutually-hostile sub-factions of the Soron (Young Doctrine) and Noron (Old Doctrine). These sub-factions later transformed into independent factions. All of these changes were facilitated by the fact that the young king was easily influenced and could change his opinions and convictions on impulse. Moreover, the situation was further compounded with the queen and the king’sconcubines being participants in this intense rivalry. The most noteworthy and often recounted anecdote (and later often fictionalised) is the fierce and deadly competition between Queen Inhyŏn and the king’s favourite concubine, Lady Chang (who was also briefly queen). In 1689, when Sukchong proposed to make the son of Lady Chang his heir (since Queen Inhyŏn was childless), there was great opposition by the Westerner faction who supported Queen Inhyŏn. The will of Sukchong prevailed in this instance, as the son of Lady Chang was named crown prince and the Westerners were ousted, with their leader, Song Shiyŏl, being executed. This strife was fuelled not only by the personal jealousy of both women, but also by the deliberate actions of Westerner and Southerner factions, which backed Queen Inhyŏn and Lady Chang respectively, and hoped to use their influence
to strengthen their faction’s standing.

In the ensuing period, the king himself obviously became uneasy with the outcome of factional strife, which eventually claimed the lives of Song Si-yol, Lady Chang amongst many others. After 1705, Sukchong made some half-hearted attempts to relieve the tensions, but he achieved only limited success. In the second half of Sukchong’s reign, from 1705 onwards, court politics proved less turbulent than before, but the structure of the factions remained unchanged and their existence still posed a constant and grave danger to political stability.

In spite of all the fierce and deadly intrigues in the Court, however, the economic and international policy of Sukchong was sound, reasonable and moderately successful. Internationally, he recognised the supremacy of the new Qing dynasty in China (it was the only sensible choice) and this provided a peaceful environment for his country’s development. Sukchong enjoys a reputation as a promoter of Confucian education, and he vigorously supported the establishment of private Confucian academies (sŏwôn -- nearly three hundred were established during his reign). He also presided over a period of considerable economic success, in both agriculture and industry, which enabled Chosŏn to recover partially from the disastrous results of Japanese and Manchu invasions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth c. Under Sukchong, the newly-introduced copper coin gradually replaced barter in kind, and with official encouragement, coins were increasingly used for payment and taxation instead of the traditional rice and cloth. Hence, Sukchong’s reign coincided with the dawn of a money-based economy in Korea. Insofar as changes in ideology are concerned, the reign of Sukchong was a time when, in spite of official adherence to the neo-Confucianist ideology, the Shirak (Practical Learning) movement came to have an increasingly important role among Chosŏn intellectuals. While Sukchong did not directly contribute to all of these developments, they enabled his reign to be a period of moderate success and laid the foundation for the ambitious reforms later launched by his son Yongjo (r.1724-1776).

Sunch’ang County

Situated in the southern part of North Cholla Province, Sunch’ang County includes the town of Sunch’ang and the townships of Kurim, Kŭmgwa, Tonghye, Pokhŭmng, Ssangch’i, Chŏksŏng, In’gye, P’aldŏk and P’ungsan. The county covers a total area of 494.66 square kilometres, and as of 1989, its population stood at 491,077. The area’s topography is characterised by sharp contrasts, from the Noryŏng Mountain Range rising in the northwest to the plains along the tributaries of the Šomjin River in the southeast. The area has an average annual temperature of 12.5°C and an annual rainfall of 1,300mm.

Approximately 87 per cent of the area’s residents are employed in agriculture. Rice is the main crop, but other crops such as barley, red peppers, nutmeg, chestnuts, persimmons and mushrooms are also grown. In the mountainous northwestern region, alpine vegetables, grapes, tobacco and medicinal herbs are also cultivated. Other sources of income include cattle raising and sericulture. The county is praised for its koch’ujang (red peppered soy paste), which was a local item of tribute to the royal house during Chosŏn. Mt. Kangch’ŏn honey and sweet fish are other well-known products of the region. The area’s industrial sector is relatively undeveloped, but there are a number of cottage industries that produce silk embroidery.

Sunch’ang County offers a variety of tourist attractions. Mt. Kangch’ŏn (584m), situated in the western part of P’aldŏk Township, is one of the county’s most scenic areas. The mountain contains deep ravines, picturesque waterfalls and dense forests. Here one also finds Kangch’ŏn Temple, which is said to have been established in 887 C.E by National Master Tosŏn, and in the temple grounds, there is a five-storey pagoda. In order to preserve the mountain’s natural setting and historical heritage, the area has been designated
a county park.

Other ancient Buddhist monasteries in the area include Manil Temple which was founded during the reign of Paekche’s King Mu (600-641), and Kuam Temple, founded in 634 by the monk Sungje. At one time, Kuam Temple contained twelve hermitages and housed one-thousand monks, but most of the buildings were burned down during the Hideyoshi Invasion of 1592. During the Korean War, the temple was again destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1959. The monastery is famous as a place where Sölp’a (1701-1791), a leader of the Hwaöm sect, resided.

In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a number of old Confucian sites in the area. Sunch’ang Hyanggyo, situated in Okch’ón-dong, was founded as the area’s first school during the reign of Koryö’s King Kongyang (r. 1389-1392). Other old Confucian schools found here include Hwasan Sŏwŏn (established in 1607), Mui Sŏwŏn (established in 1788), Namsan Sŏwŏn (established in 1800) and Ŭam Sŏwŏn (established in 1827).

Assisting preservation of the county’s cultural heritage, festivals and rituals are held throughout the year. On 15 October, the Okch’ón Festival is held to ensure the good fortune of residents and an abundant harvest. Village rituals are also still common here. On the 13th day of the first lunar month, the residents of Ssangam Village in In’gye Township perform rituals to the ‘grandfather’ tree behind the village and to the ‘grandmother’ tree to the west of the village. During the first lunar month, the residents of In’gye Township’s T‘ap Village perform a tokkaebi (goblin) ritual in front of the guardian tree at the entrance to the village and in front of a cairn to the south of the village. The T‘ap Village ceremonies are unique in that only women are allowed to participate.

Sunch’ón

Situated in South Cholla Province, Sunch’ón includes the town of Sŏngju, and the townships of Nagan, Pyöllyang, Sangsa, Sŏ, Songgwang, Oesŏ, Wŏldŭng, Chuam, Hwangjŏn and Haeryong. Recently expanded to include the area formerly known as Sŏngju County, the city now covers an area of 904.79 square kilometres. The Noryŏng Mountain Range branches off to the south from the Sobae Mountain Range which runs from east to west through the area. On the city’s western side, Sŏngju Lake was created with the construction of Chuam Dam, and in the centre of the city lies Sŏngp’yŏng Lake. Sunch’ón Bay lies to the southeast.

Because of the rugged terrain, only a small portion of the city area is arable. Of this, about thirteen hectares is used for rice cultivation and about six hectares for dry-field crops. Speciality crops grown here include tobacco, cotton, hemp, tea, ginseng and cut-flowers. There is a fleet of fishing boats that operate out of Sunch’ón Bay. The boats bring in catches of anchovy, filefish, gizzard shad and octopus. Along the coast, there are shellfish farming operations. Local industry is limited to rice mills, breweries and sawmills. Tertiary education needs of the residents are met by the Sunchon National University in Maegok-dong

Mt. Chogye Provincial Park is one of the city’s most important tourist attractions (See Chogye Mountain). Here one finds Songgwang Temple, one of the main monastic training centres in Korea, and Sŏnam Temple, which is famous for its gingko trees and for its 300-year-old Japanese apricot tree. There is a popular hike over the peak that separates the two temples. Other important temples in the area include Chŏngbye Temple in Sŏ Township and Tonghwa Temple in Pyöllyang Township.

Tourists also come to the area to see the various historical sites. Nagan Fortress, built during Chosŏn, is a popular attraction. This 4-metre-high, 1385-metre-long stone fortification was built as a defence against Japanese invasions. Within the fortress, there is
a traditional village with pottery workshops. Another popular site is Dolmen Park. Prehistoric relics which would have been submerged with the construction of Chuaam Dam have been relocated here. Opened in 1993, the park contains more than 140 dolmens. The park also provides information on how dolmens were made as well as information on ancient graves and Paleolithic and Neolithic dwellings.

On Mt. Kūmjōn, one finds the Nagan Fortress Folk Village which contains 108 households living a traditional lifestyle. A number of interesting artefacts are found here, including dolmens and a town wall, which was reconstructed in 1424. In order to preserve the village’s traditional atmosphere, the government has designated the village an historical site.

A number of festivals and celebrations are held in Suchʻon throughout the year. In April, the city has a Cherry Blossom Festival and in October there is the Namdo Food Festival. During the latter, cultural events are held and about 300 kinds of Korean food are on display.

**Sung Kyun Kwan University**

Sung Kyun Kwan (Sŏnggyun’gwan) University is a private university located in Seoul’s Myŏngnyun-dong. The university descends from Sŏnggyun’gwan (National Confucian Academy), which was a school of higher education founded at the beginning of Chosŏn. Students who passed examinations given at the hyanggyo (county public schools) or Sahak (the Four Schools in Seoul) became Classics Licentiates (saengwŏn) or Literary Licentiates (chinsa) and were eligible to enter Sŏnggyun’gwan, the highest educational body in Korea. Students were required to live within the confines of the academy, and their tuition and lodging fees were paid by the government. Throughout Chosŏn, the academy produced many statesmen and other leading figures. Myŏngnyun-dang, a traditional wooden structure which can still be seen today in the centre of the campus, was the classroom building where most of the lectures and classroom activities took place. Chonggyŏng-gak, the hall at the rear of the building, served as the library. Four gingko trees, which were reputedly planted by the students of the first class in 1398, are still growing in the university grounds.

In 1895 Sŏnggyun’gwan radically reformed its administrative and educational system, introducing many aspects of modern education, such as terms and final examinations. Confucian textual studies still accounted for the core curriculum, but history, geography and mathematics were added in order to provide a comprehensive education. However, with the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the school’s elite status came under attack. Aware of Sŏnggyun’gwan’s symbolic importance as an important cultural institution, the Japanese degraded it to a junior college for studies of the Chinese classics, in 1911. In 1944, its status was further reduced to a school offering refresher courses in Confucian studies.

After liberation in 1945, Sŏnggyun’gwan re-emerged as the technical school, Myŏngnyun Chŏnmun Hakkyo. In 1946, a national convention of Confucian scholars recommended the re-establishment of Sŏnggyun’gwan as a centre for Confucian studies. As a result, in that September, Myŏngnyun Chŏnmun Hakkyo was incorporated into the newly-formed Sung Kyun Kwan College, with Kim Ch’angsuk as president. In 1953, the college became a university consisting of three colleges and a graduate school. Rapid expansion during the late 1960s and early 1970s led to the establishment of the Natural Sciences Campus in Suwŏn (1978). In 1996, the university obtained the approval of the Ministry of Education to set up a medical school on the Natural Sciences area, and the Samsung Medical Centre was designated as an affiliated training hospital.

At present, Sung Kyun Kwan University has twenty-thousand full-time students who
attend thirteen colleges and ten postgraduate schools. On the Seoul campus, are located the Colleges of Confucian Studies; Economics & Business; Education; Humanities; Law; Physical Education; and Social Sciences; as well as the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Confucian Studies; Education; Foreign Trade; Information & Communication; International Cooperation; Mass Communication and Journalism; and Public Administration. At the Suwon campus in Kyonggi Province, are the Colleges of Engineering; Euthenics; Life Sciences and Natural Resources; Medicine; Pharmacology and Science; as well as the Graduate School of Industrial Science. In the tradition of Choson’s Sŏnggyun’gwan, the university continues to be a leading centre for Confucian studies.

Other facilities include thirty research institutes, two affiliated educational facilities, a botanical garden and a museum. Founded in 1964, the museum has in its collection over ten-thousand pieces, stone; pottery; bronze and iron artefacts; porcelain and celadon ware; paintings; and books. It specialises in materials related to Confucianism and traditional music. University publications include the vernacular Sungdae Shinmun (Sung Kyun Kwan University Newspaper) and The Sung Kyun Times in English.

Sŭngjong’wŏn ilgi (Diary of the Royal Secretariat)

Sŭngjong’wŏn ilgi is a compilation of a wide variety of daily events and documents that were handled in the Sŭngjong’wŏn, or the Royal Secretariat, during the Choson period. The documents in this collection cover a period from the third lunar month of 1623 to the end of the Choson Kingdom in 1910. There are a total of 3,245 fascicles in this hand-written collection. Originally this collection was composed of 3,047 fascicles that ended in 1894, but after the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyŏngjang) additional works were added to the collection that brought the total up to 3,245.

The Sŭngjong’wŏn was the office that recorded all of the official affairs of the Kingdom and delivered the orders of the king to his ministers. The office was staffed by six Royal Secretaries (sŏngji) and two Recorders (chuso) who were responsible for duty at all hours. In theory each month of the year would constitute one volume of this work. However, depending upon the volume of material covered in a given month, there were often two volumes for a single month. This record was compiled throughout the Choson period, but the records prior to 1623 were destroyed in the invasions and uprisings of those turbulent years. The works before 1592 were destroyed in the Japanese Invasion of the same year, and the records that were compiled between 1592 and 1623 were destroyed in the Yi Kwal Uprising of 1623. There were various attempts during the reigns of King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776) and King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) to either repair damaged volumes or replace those that had been lost or destroyed by fire over the centuries. However, the earliest volumes were never replaced.

The contents of this work include items such as royal decrees, various reports to the king from his ministers and their Boards, and records of any conversations or discussions in the King’s presence. During the Choson period, all matters conveyed to the King by the Boards or through memorial were required to pass through the Sŭngjong’wŏn. In addition, members of this Office recorded any discussions held in the presence of the king. Therefore, this collection from the Choson period contains an immense amount of valuable data concerning the affairs of the Choson court. However, the original works in this collection are written in cursive Chinese characters, which makes reading quite difficult. To make these works more accessible, the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe) published them in standard ‘block’ Chinese characters. The original copies of Sŭngjong’wŏn ilgi are presently stored at the Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University.
Sungnye Gate (Namdaemun)

Sungshin Women’s University

Sungshin (Sŏngshin) Women’s University is a private university situated in Tongsŏn-dong in Seoul. Founded as the women’s school Sŏngshin Yŏhakkyo by Yi Sukchong in 1936. It was moved to its present location in 1944. In March 1945, it became the commercial school Sŏngshin Yŏja Sŏngŏp Hakkyo, but reverted to its former name and status after liberation. In 1963, the school became a two-year junior college, and in 1965, it developed into Sŏngshin Yŏja Sabŏm Taehak, an educational college for women. In 1972, a post-graduate program was launched and from 1979 the school was known as Sungshin (Sŏngshin) Women’s College. Four years later, it was afforded university status.

Today, the university consists of seven colleges (Education; Fine Arts; Human Ecology; Humanities; Music; Natural Science; and Social Sciences) and four graduate schools (the Graduate School; and the Graduate Schools of Education; Management & Information Science; and Plastic Arts).

University publications include the vernacular Sŏngshin Hakpo and The Sungshin Mirror in English. The university’s motto is ‘embrace sincerity and faith, strive for new knowledge and act autonomously.’

Sunjo, King (r. 1800-1834)

King Sunjo (1790-1834) was the twenty-third king of Chosŏn and ruled from 1800 to 1834. His given name was Kong, his courtesy name was Kongbo and his pen name was Sunjae. He was the second son of King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) and took the throne in 1800 upon the death of his father when he was but ten years old. Initially, the power behind the throne was the Queen Dowager Chongsun, but after his marriage in 1802 to the daughter of Kim Chosun, the boy king was completely dominated by his father-in-law’s family. Thus, the reign of Sunjo is known as the beginning of the so-called in-law government (sedo chŏngch’i), which would continue until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Sunjo had little real power during his reign, and this is particularly true in the earliest days of his reign when he was under the regency of Queen Dowager Chŏngsun. Hence, the political aims of the Queen Dowager were foremost at the beginning of his reign. The Queen Dowager saw this an opportunity to increase the political power of her faction, the Pyŏk’pa clique of the Noron (Old Doctrine) faction over their chief rivals the Sip’pa clique of the Namin (Southerners) faction. Thus ensued the Catholic Persecution of 1801 in which over two hundred Catholics were killed, including many who were also of the Sip’pa clique of the Namin faction. Subsequently, there were further persecutions of Catholics under the reign of Sunjo, although these diminished once the in-laws of the king took control of the court.

Sunjo’s reign, however, can largely be defined by the complete domination of the monarchy by his father-in-law’s clan, the Andong Kim family. Kim Chosun was a moderate member of the Sip’pa clique of the Namin faction, and thus had little interest in persecuting Catholics. Instead, he endeavoured to concentrate as much political power as possible for his clan and faction. Thus, members of the Andong clan, such as Kim Iik, Kim Ido, Kim Talsun, and Kim Myŏngsun, all quickly secured powerful positions in the Chosŏn government that allowed the family to further solidify its power base and to increase their economic strength as well through corrupt governing practices. Not surprisingly, the blatant corruption of the Andong Kim family in their quest for economic and political gain led to social unrest among the people and uprisings. Most notably is the 1811 rebellion in P’yŏngan Province led by Hong Kyŏngnae, which at one point had
successfully liberated all the territory north of the Ch’ôngch’on River before finally being subdued by government forces. Even after this rebellion was put down, popular discontent deepened as the exploitation of the people became even more pronounced. Sunjo had no means to prevent the corruption of the Andong Kim clan, as he was little more than a figurehead on the throne.

During the reign of Sunjo, there were notable accomplishments in literary and scientific fields, but these should be viewed as being achieved despite the inept rule of the monarch. Sunjo’s reign marked the onset of an over sixty-year period in which the kings of Chosŏn were simply powerless titular monarchs, and the nation was being plundered by the powerful royal in-law families such as the Andong Kim clan. Thus, at this crucial point in Korean history when enlightened rule was necessary, the monarchs of Chosŏn were powerless puppets under the control of their in-laws who were only concerned with personal wealth and power accumulation. Sunjo died at the age of forty-five and passed the throne on to the equally incompetent King Hŏnjong (1834-1849).

**Sunjong, King (r.1907-1910)**

Sunjong (1874-1926) was the twenty-seventh and last king of Chosŏn, reigning from 1907 to 1910. His given name was Ch’ŏk, his courtesy name Kunbang and his pen name Chŏnghŏn. He was the second son of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and Queen Myŏngsŏng, and was born in Ch’angdŏk Palace in Seoul. When his father was tricked into relinquishing the throne by the Japanese in July 1907, Sunjong became king. It should be noted that Sunjong was technically Emperor of the Great Han Empire as this new state had been proclaimed in 1897, as a means to show the independence of Korea from China.

Sunjong was not an effective monarch as by the time of his accession to the throne all real political power was in the hands of the Japanese who by this time, had all but colonised Korea. The Protectorate Treaty of 1905 between Japan and Korea had essentially given Japan hegemony over Korea in all matters, and thus by the time of Sunjong’s enthronement he was a monarch in name only. Subsequent treaties with Japan resulted in a further disintegration of Korean sovereignty, and by the formal annexation in 1910 little true power remained in the hands of the Korean royal family. This loss of sovereignty was hastened by the perfidious actions of men like Yi Wanyong, who sought to increase their personal positions through collaboration with the Japanese. However, even after Yi had worked out an arrangement to make Korea a Japanese colony, it was not directly announced to the Korean public out of the Japanese fear of large-scale uprisings. First, sweeping arrests were made of Korean nationalistic groups and then on 29 August 1910, Sunjong was forced to issue a proclamation yielding the throne and his country to Japan. So, after a period of more than five hundred years the Chosŏn dynasty ended.

Sunjong then lived in Ch’angdŏk Palace and bitterly lamented the loss of the kingdom to the Japanese. Upon his death in April 1926, plans were made by members of the nationalist movement to use the opportunity of Sunjong’s state funeral for an uprising against the Japanese, similar to the one that had accompanied the funeral of King Kojong in March 1919. The Japanese had learned the extent of Korean feelings from the 1919 Independence Movement and they reacted accordingly in making sweeping arrests in the days leading up to the June ceremony, to quell possible insurrection. Nonetheless, on 10 June many demonstrations took place. Two hundred or so students were arrested by the authorities in an incident known as the 10 June Independence Demonstration (Yukship Manse Undong).

Sunjong was a powerless and ineffectual monarch, although he was never given the opportunity to rule on his own. As a youth he was dominated by his mother, who feared that he would be removed as crown prince in favour of other sons of Kojong. Historical accounts of Sunjong in the writings of Western travellers to Korea relay stories of an awkward child who was not allowed to wear spectacles, although badly in need of them,
and who was probably mildly intellectually-handicapped.

Bibliography


*Suño chi* (Fortnight’s Record)

*Suño chi* is the literary miscellany of the middle Chosŏn period scholar Hong Manjong (1643-1725). This hand-written work is comprised of two volumes in one fascicle. The title is taken from the fact that it was completed in just two weeks, and it is thought to have been published in 1678.

The first volume contains historical anecdotes, myths and techniques for preserving one’s health. The second contains essays concerning the Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist sages along with the author’s syncretic views of the three belief systems of Confucianism, Buddhism and Sŏn (Zen) Buddhism merged together. Also in the second volume are comments on literary figures, literary collections and even a list of proverbs and their interpretations. Given the breadth of material that is covered in *Suño chi*, its value as both a historical and literary document is widely acclaimed. It also provides a unique view of Korea at the time of writing. In 1971 Eul Yoo Publishing Company issued a translated version of this work, and in 1980 it was included in *Hong Manjong chŏnsŏ* (The Complete Works of Hong Manjong) published by T’aehaksa Publishers.

Suŏng (see Ch’adae, King)

Suŏng Stream

With its sources on Mt. Ch’ayu, Samji Peak and Minsa Peak in the Hamgyŏng Mountain Range, the 67.4 km.-long Susŏng Stream flows east to Ch’angp’yŏng and then turns south to pass through Ch’ŏngjin before entering Ch’ŏngjin Bay. In the vicinity of Puryŏng, the stream forms the Puryŏng P’aldam (Eight Pools), a celebrated scenic attraction. The mid-section of the stream runs through a long, narrow plain which expands into a broad delta along the stream’s lower section. The latter, known as Susŏng Plain, is one of the region’s key rice-producing areas. The Hamgyŏng Railway Line runs next to the stream from Mt. Komu to Susŏng. The area near Ch’ŏngjin is industrial.

Suwŏn

Suwŏn is situated just south of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. Mt. Paegun (567 metres), Mt. Kwanggyo (582 metres) and Hyŏngje Peak (448 metres) mark the northern edge of the city. In the central area, there are several hills, including Mt. P’altal (143 metres), Mt. Yŏgi (105 metres) and Mt. Sukchi (123 metres).

The city contains a large number of historical artefacts. In the area around Mt. Yŏgi, various relics from the early iron age have been excavated. Since the area is situated on the old route to the Chosŏn capital of Hanyang (present-day Seoul), there are also numerous historical sites related to the Chosŏn period. In 1789, King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) moved his father’s grave from Yangju’s Mt. Paebong to Mt. Hwa. The town of Suwŏn was then moved from Mt. Hwa to the foot of present-day Mt. P’altal.

A 5.4-kilometre long fortified wall, along with various buildings and gates, was built around the new town. The walls were made of cut stone and brick, while the buildings
were made of pine. At the fortress, there were also signal-fire posts which were used to send flames or smoke signals to warn of invasions. The present posts are reconstructions based on the originals. In Changan District, stands P'al tal Gate (Treasure No. 42). King Chŏngjo originally undertook this costly project both as expression of filial piety and as a means of reasserting royal authority. The Suwŏn Fortress has been designated Historical Site No. 3.

The city has a number of sites associated with Buddhism. In Maehyang-dong, there is a stele (Treasure No. 14) commemorating National Master Chin'gak, the personal instructor of King Chŏngjong (r.1034-1046). There are also a number of Buddhist temples in the city, including Pongnyŏn, P'al tal, Myosu, Tosŏn, Pŏphŭng and Sŏnbul temples. To the east of Mt. Yŏgi, there is the picturesque Hangmi Pavilion. The city has, in addition to these historical sites and temples, a number of important tourist areas. On the eastern side of the city next to Wŏnch'ŏn reservoir lies the Wŏnch'ŏn Resort. There are also P'al tal Park and Changan Park.

During Chosŏn, there were several Confucian academies in the area. In modern times, Kyonggi University, Ajou University and Dongnam Nursing College as well as branches of Seoul National University and Sung Kyun Kwan University have been established in the city. Suwŏn’s train line is connected with the Seoul subway system, making it possible for a large number of students and workers to commute to and from the capital.

Since goods can easily be transported to Seoul, the role of agriculture in the local economy has been eclipsed by that of industry. In particular, the city contains a great number of factories that produce a diverse range of products, including electronics, textiles, manufactured items, metalwork and machinery.

**Suyang, Prince** (see Sejo, King)

**Suyang Mountain**

Mt. Suyang (899 metres) is situated in Hwanghae Province at the juncture of the Myŏrak and Mashingnyŏng mountain ranges. The mountain links up with Mt. Undal (581 metres) and Mt. Myŏrak (816 metres) in the north-east and Kŭm Peak (513 metres) to the south. With numerous temples and historical sites, the area is popular with tourists from nearby Haeju. In the valley on the western side of the mountain, one finds Pokhŏ Waterfall, Anyang Temple, Unsu Heritage and Shin'gwang Temple. To the south, there is the historically important Chŏnggak Temple, while on Mt. Puksung (675 metres), to the north-west, one finds the famous Chamyang Waterfall. The mountain is characterised by exposed granite and steep drops in elevation. As a result, there is relatively little plant or wildlife; however, orchards have been planted on some of the gentler slopes.

**Swaemirok**

*Swaemirok* is a diary of a refugee during the 1592 Japanese Invasion written by O Hŭimun (1539-1613). This hand-written work consists of seven volumes. The diary begins on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh lunar month in 1591, shortly before the Invasion, when the author left the capital to return to his hometown. The final entry is the twenty-seventh day of the second lunar month in 1601. The first volume of this work is not a daily diary, but instead records just the important events of the Japanese Invasion up to the sixth month of 1592, and the second volume has no entries for the nearly three months that the author was ill. Aside from these two cases, this work is a daily diary up to the author’s return to Seoul in 1601.

*Swaemirok* contains both official records of this time, such as letters and decrees, in addition to the author’s personal observations of the havoc brought on by the war. This
work is particularly notable in its treatment of the hardships inflicted upon the common people by this devastating event. It recounts scenes of fathers abandoning their children and fleeing, mothers forsaking their children for their own safety, children wailing at the breasts of their dead mothers, and the destruction of entire communities by the savagery of the war and plagues that swept the countryside. Therefore, the true value of this work lies in the treatment given to the plight of the common people during this tumultuous period.

This work is also of much merit for its details on the economy of Korea during this period. In particular, items concerning the lives of slaves (nobí) such as their taxation and sale are well represented. Other economic matters concern the tributary system and the local systems of government. Also covered here are the customs and special products available in the various regions of Korea. In 1962 the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe) included this work in the fourteenth volume of Han'guk saryo ch'ongs'o.

Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman, see Rhee Syngman)

T'aean County

Located in the northwest of South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, T'aean County includes the towns of Anmyŏn and T'aean, and the townships of Konam, Kŭn'hŭng, Nam, Sŏwŏn, Wŏnbuk and Iwŏn. The county covers a total area of 467 sq. kms. and as shown by 1989 statistics, had a population of 84,929. Bordering Sŏsan to the east, the county has a jagged coastline with numerous indentations.

About seventy per cent of the county's workforce is engaged in the agricultural sector. Crops include rice, barley, garlic and ginger. The amount of arable land is constantly expanding as coastal land is reclaimed. With the longest coastline in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, the marine products industry also makes an important contribution to the local economy. Commercial fishing vessels operating in the Yellow Sea bring in catches of yellow corbina, hairtail, anchovy, Spanish mackerel, blowfish and blue crab. Part of the crab yield is exported to Japan. There are also numerous salt flats along the coast, particularly in Anmyŏn.

Tourism centres on the numerous beaches. Most of these beaches, along with several nearby islands, have been included in T'aean National Marine Park. From Mt. Paekhwa, at 284m one of the area's highest peaks, there is a panoramic view of the coastline and the hinterland. On the peak are remains of an old fire signal station, and below this are remains of the Paekhwa Fortress, as well as a five-storey pagoda, T'aean Hyanggyo (county public school), T'aebul Hermitage and a Buddha triad in relief (Treasure No. 432). Carved during Paekche, the Buddha triad consists of a 1.3-metre-high seated figure in the centre, a 2.07-metre-high standing figure on the left and a 2.09-metre-high figure on the right. Unlike typical triads, the two outer figures are Buddhas whereas the central figure is a Bodhisattva. The artistic style of the work is believed to have been directly influenced by the late period of China's Northern Wei (386-533).

T'aebaek

T'aebaek is situated in the south-eastern part of Kangwŏn Province. The city was created in 1981 by combining the towns of Changsŏn and Hwangji. The newly designated city took its name from the 1,567-metre-high Mt. T'aebaek, which is situated on the south-western corner of the city. With a yearly average temperature of 11.2 degrees C., the area is characterised by a cool climate and long winters.

Several Buddhist temples are located in the city, including the Changmyŏn, Hŭngbok, Yuil and Kwanŭm temples. As for Buddhist artefacts, there is an earthen Buddha statue at
Shimwon Temple, a Vairocana Buddha figure at Paektan Temple and a Maitreya figure on Mt. T'aebaek. In Sodo-dong, there is a pavilion housing the stele of Tanjong (r. 1452-1455). Both the front and back of the stele bear an inscription written by the monk T'anhô. In 1457, Tanjong, who had ascended the throne at a young age, was banished to Yongwol and then assassinated. According to tradition, after he died his spirit rode a white horse to Mt. T'aebaek where he became the T'aebaek mountain spirit. The present stele was erected in 1965 after the previous one was destroyed during the Korean War. On Mt. T'aebaek, there is also an altar dedicated to Tan'gun, the legendary founder of Korea.

Since T'aebaek City is located in a mountainous region, the area's agricultural activities are limited. However, the area is suitable for some dry field crops, such as potatoes and corn. Livestock, including dairy cattle and pigs, are also raised here. In addition, there are large deposits of high grade coal in the area. The numerous mines around the city provide an important source of employment for city residents. Local tourism is centred around Mt. T'aebaek.

T'aebaek Mountain

Modern-day Mt. T'aebaek

Situated on the border of T'aebaek in Kangwŏn Province and Ponghwa County in North Kyŏngsang Province, this 1,567-metre high mountain gives its name to the famous T'aebaek Mountain Range which begins at Mt. Hwangnyong, south of Wŏnsan, and passes through Mt. Kŭmgang, Mt. Sŏrak, Mt. Odae and Mt. Tut'a. The mountain is surrounded by other high mountains including Mt. Hambaek (1,573 metres) to the north, Mt. Chang (1,409 metres) to the west, Mt. Kuun (1,346 metres) to the south-west, Mt. Ch'ŏngok (1,277 metres) to the south-east and Yŏnhwa Peak (1,053 metres) to the east. In spite of its high elevation, the mountain is characterised by relatively gentle terrain.

The area is important as a nature preserve. Mt. T'aebaek is home to around 90 bird species, about 50 of which are varieties of sparrows. The average yearly temperature of the area is around 10°C and the area receives about 1,000mm of rainfall yearly. These conditions support a forest of primarily deciduous, broad-leaved trees. The mountain is also important for its mineral wealth. Mt. T'aebaek and the neighbouring Mt. Hambaek contain the largest coal deposits in South Korea. As a result, most of the area's population centres have been built around mines. In order to preserve the mountain's natural habitat, the area was designated T'aebaek-san Provincial Park in 1989.

Due to its name, the mountain presently known as Mt. T'aebaek is sometimes associated with the 'Mt. T'aebaek' mentioned in the early Tan'gun myths (vide infra). On Mt. T'aebaek, there is even a stele and shrine hall commemorating Tan'gun.

Mythological Mt. T'aebaek

In early times, high mountain peaks throughout Korea were considered as the sacred sites where heaven met earth. Thus, many of the high mountains in Korea, such as Mt. Paektu, Mt. Sobaek and Mt. Paek, contain the word paek which means 'bright' or 'sacred.' Thus, the term T'aebaek may have once been a generic term for sacred mountains throughout Korea.

In addition, early accounts of the Tan'gun story, Korea's chief foundation myth, claim that Tan'gun's father, Hwanung, descended from heaven to a mountain called T'aebaek. Evidence indicates that Mt. Paektu was the prominent sacred mountain of the people living in Manchuria and Korea in ancient times; therefore, it is clearly the Mt. T'aebaek referred to in the early Tan'gun story. However, the location of the mythological 'Mt. T'aebaek' of the Tan'gun story has changed throughout Korean history. As Korea's borders shifted
southward, the location was moved to more central locations. The Koryŏ monk Iryŏn (1206-1289), in his *History of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk sagi)*, claims that the Mt. T'aebaek of the earlier records is actually Mt. Myohyang. By Iryŏn's time, the Mt. Paektu area had been lost, so it was only natural that the site of Korea's mythological foundations should be moved to a mountain closer to the Koryŏ dynasty's capital. Other high mountains have also been linked to the Tan'gun story, including Mt. Kuwŏl, Mt. Mani, and even modern-day Mt. T'aebaek.

**Bibliography**


*T'aebaek sammaek* (T'aebaek Mountain, The)  
*Taego Sect*  
*T'ageukki* (*see* National flag)  
*T'aehak* (National Confucian Academy)  

**T'aehewa River**

The T'aehewa River flows 41.5 kms. from Mt. Kohŏn (1 033m) in Ulsan's Sangbuk Township to Ulsan Bay on the East Sea. Ulsan Plain lies on the lower reaches of the river where it joins with Tong Stream. Sayŏn Dam, Taeam Dam and Sŏnam Dam, constructed on the upper section of the river, provide irrigation water to the region, while the Ulsan Industrial Area has formed along river's lower section. Scenic and cultural attractions along the river include Mt. Kaji Provincial Park, Sŏngnam Temple and the engraved rock at Ch'onjon Village. The famous T'aehwaru (Great Harmony Pavilion) which once overlooked the mouth of the river, no longer exists.

**T'aego, King** (Wang Kŏn, 877-943))

Wang Kŏn, also known by his posthumous title, T'aego, meaning 'Great Progenitor', was the founder and first king of the Koryŏ dynasty. He is chiefly remembered for having unified the southern part of the peninsula and established the basis for central government of the dynasty, which lasted for 475 years.

Wang Kŏn came from a prominent family in the Kaesŏng area of central Korea. In the declining days of the Shilla dynasty, he became a rebel leader and joined forces with Kim Kungye. Together they gained control of the central part of the peninsula and formed the Kingdom of Later Koguryŏ in 901 with Kungye as its leader. As one of Kungye's leading military commanders, Wang Kŏn had had some great successes, particularly against the Later Paekche Kingdom, and Kungye recognised his ability by making him the chief minister in his government. When Kungye proved to be a despotic and abusive leader, however, Wang Kŏn led disgruntled followers in a revolt, resulting in the defeat of Kungye and the founding of Koryŏ in 918, with Wang Kŏn as its leader. He then established his capital at Kaesong, his home area, with the aim of enlisting support among the local gentry to further his plans for reunifying the Korean peninsula. To do this, he needed to gain supremacy over the areas still controlled by Shilla and also the Later Paekche Kingdom under Kyŏnhwŏn. Shilla surrendered to Koryŏ in 935, and the Later Paekche forces were finally defeated in 936.

Following unification, Wang Kŏn still needed to consolidate his right to succession. He recognised the importance of gaining the support of his conquered subjects and made a
grant of large land holdings to the former Shilla king as well as appointing him to a high government position. He also married a woman from the Shilla royal clan and gave land grants to former Shilla and Later Paekche officials who pledged loyalty to him. He was successful in quelling incursions from Jurchen and Khitan tribesmen and in maintaining peace in the border areas. When Parhae had been defeated by the Khitan, many people from its ruling class fled to Koryo and were warmly welcomed by Wang Kŏn, who generously gave them land. However, the castle lords still retained power in their regions, and the military commanders of local gentry background remained a powerful force. To obtain their cooperation and support, Wang Kŏn established marriage ties with more than twenty local gentry families. He also endeavoured to strengthen his position as leader by careful selection of officials and by such humane policies as the freeing of slaves and providing tax relief for farmers.

Wang Kŏn recognised the importance of respecting widely-held native beliefs, geomancy and Taoism, as well as Buddhism and Confucianism in formulating his approach to government. His choice of Kaesŏng as the central capital of Koryo was partly for geomantic reasons, as were the other capitals of Pyŏngyang, Seoul and Kyŏngju. He regarded Buddhism as essential to the life of the people, but took steps against abuses of power in temples and monasteries and warned subsequent kings and ministers against privately establishing temples.

At the same time, he was convinced of the need to foster Confucian social values and promote the study of the Chinese classics. He was strongly attracted to the idea of state examinations to select officials of varying backgrounds on the basis of skills and ability rather than the existing 'bone-rank' system, but was not able to introduce reform of this system during his short reign. One of his most important legacies was the document entitled 'Ten Injunctions', in which he attempted to set out for his descendants and successors clear instructions aimed at ensuring the prosperity and continuation of the dynasty. It dealt with the position of Buddhism, royal succession, native beliefs and customs, the need for benevolence towards loyal subjects and vigilance against other elements, proper rewards for labour, and the need for the study of history and the classics as a guide to good government. This document exerted a strong influence throughout the Koryo period as well as providing an insight into the intellectual climate of early Koryo.

Wang Kŏn was an able leader who achieved much in unifying the state, and he treated his conquered subjects with compassion and generosity. He enlarged his territory toward the north and initiated many military and public works projects, as well as attempting to introduce reforms of various kinds, but did not live long enough to see the completion of much of what he had begun.

T'aejong, King (r. 1400 to 1418)

King T'aejong (1367-1422) was the third king of Chosŏn and reigned from 1400 to 1418. His given name was Pangwŏn, his courtesy name Yudŏk. He was the son of the founding king of Chosŏn, King T'aegu (r. 1392-1398) and Queen Shinŭi, and the brother of King Chongjong (r. 1398-1400). Towards the end of Koryo, T'aejong studied at the Sŏnggyun'gwan (National Academy), and after finishing there, furthered his scholarship under the tutelage of the renowned Confucian scholar Kil Chae (1353-1419), who lived in the same village. In 1383, T'aejong successfully sat for the civil service examination (mun'gwa) and for the next few years served the Koryo kingdom in various capacities, even as a member of the official embassy to Ming China, under the leadership of Yi Saek (1328-1396).

In 1392 when Yi Sŏnggye (King T'aejo) had seized control of Koryo and was taking the first steps towards the establishment of Chosŏn, T'aejong became heavily involved in the
current political turmoil. His father had taken military control of Koryŏ and was in effect already the real power, but his desire to establish a new kingdom was opposed by powerful opponents. Of these, the most formidable was the revered Neo-Confucian scholar-official Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392), who was assassinated by Taejong, thereby removing the final obstacle to his father’s establishment of Chosŏn. With the elimination of his last powerful opponent, the faction that supported T’aejo forced King Kongyang (r. 1389-1392) to abdicate the throne and then placed their leader on the throne of the new Chosŏn state. T’aejo’s power in the new kingdom was supported by the Dynastic Foundation Merit Subjects (DFMS) (Kaeguk Kongshin) who had supported him, and thus shared hegemony with him. The DFMS ruled through the Privy Council (Top’yongūisasa), and T’aejo simply sanctioned the decrees of this council. Hence, it is clear that in the early years of Chosŏn the power of the monarchy was quite weak and the power wielded by the Privy Council had estranged many of the literati.

A major problem of the new dynasty was that of accession to the throne. King T’aejo had designated his youngest son, Pangŏk, as his heir, and this was supported by Chŏng Tojŏn (1342-1398) who was a powerful member of the Privy Council. T’aejong was not only ambitious, however, he was also extremely resourceful, as he first assassinated Chŏng Tojŏn and then Pangŏk, at which point he placed his brother, King Chŏngjong, on the throne. While Chŏngjong was in name king, T’aejong was the real power in Chosŏn and began to implement measures designed to strengthen the monarchy, even before taking the throne for himself in 1400.

Among the initial actions that T’aejong took to strengthen the monarchy was the abolition of private armies and the institution of a centralised military control. Also, in a move designed to greatly weaken the power of DFMS, he reorganised the Privy Council into the State Council (Ŭijŏngbu), which was endowed with less authority than its predecessor. Along with the State Council, he established the Six Ministries (Yukcho), which managed most of the day-to-day business of the government and which had the right to directly approach the throne. Other measures taken by T’aejong include the promulgation of various legal codes such as the Wŏn yukchŏn (Basic Six Codes) and the Sok yukchŏn (Supplemental Six Codes), both of which consolidated the power of the monarchy.

Under the reign of T’aejong, Chosŏn underwent changes in regional and land administration, as well as the military, tax, and slave systems, in addition to other policies that promoted agriculture and education. The changes implemented were of tremendous importance to the development of Chosŏn society, and they had a major influence on the dynasty to its conclusion. The development of regional military commands, under the direct control of the central government, enabled the protection of border areas during early Chosŏn and the changes in the land, tax and slave systems ensured that the young dynasty would have a solid economic foundation. Particularly notable are the sweeping changes that T’aejong implemented in regards to Buddhism, the results of which provided a major economic boost to the kingdom. In 1406, even while his father was still alive, T’aejong began the severe oppression of Buddhism that is such a strong characteristic of Chosŏn. He closed temples throughout the country and confiscated their lands and slaves for the state, leaving a relatively small number (232 temples) untouched. The forcibly-removed lands provided an important means of revenue for Chosŏn in its early stages.

T’aejong abdicated in 1418 in favour of his second son, Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Taejong had realised that the turbulence surrounding the succession to his father’s throne was detrimental to the well-being of the kingdom, and thus hoped to avoid a repetition by allowing his son to assume the monarchy while he was still alive. Sejong proved his father’s faith in his ability and is claimed by many as the most able king throughout Chosŏn. T’aejong himself, however, provided many of the foundational changes that would be undertaken during Sejong’s and subsequent reigns. T’aejong implemented major changes in the social, governmental, military and administrative apparat that would remain
as powerful forces until the end of Chosŏn. His reign saw the new Chosŏn dynasty consolidated and his capabilities enabled it to flourish under King Sejong.

**T’aengni chi** (Ecological Guide to Korea)

*T’aengni chi* is a descriptive geography of Korea written by the late-Chosŏn shirhak scholar Yi Chungwan (1690-?). This one volume, hand written work was published in 1751. This work has been known by several different titles over the years including ‘P’alyŏk chi’, ‘P’alyŏk kagŏchi’, and ‘Tongguk sansu rok’ among others. The work had been transmitted as a manuscript until 1912 when the Chosŏn Kwangmunhoe printed it using movable type.

The contents of *T’aengni chi* are divided into the four broad headings of ‘Samin ch’ongnon’, ‘P’alto ch’ongnon’, ‘Pokko ch’ongnon’ and ‘Ch’ongnon’. ‘Samin ch’ongnon’ describes the history of the four different professions such as the development of class-consciousness and different classes of people such as military and civil officials, farmers, artisans and merchants P’alto ch’ongnon’ outlines the geography of the eight provinces of Korea. In this section the author discusses not only geography but also the history and administration of the provinces. In ‘Pokko ch’ongnon’, Yi describes geomantic practices in Korea in regards to geography, locations, human nature and the natural features of the topography. In the final section ‘Ch’ongnon’ the author lists the family names in Korea and then provides his views on the then contemporary state of Korea.

*T’aengni chi* is a valuable document for the study of late Chosŏn shirhak thought. It also provides considerable data for geographical research and social customs of the period. The work is further notable for the extensive discussions of geomancy and its effect on the lives of the people and ultimately, the nation.

**T'akchu** [Food and eating]

**T'al nori** [Literature]

**T’al ch’um ŭi yoksa wa wŏlli** (The History and Principles of the Masked Dance)

*T’al ch’um ŭi yoksa wa wŏlli* is a 406-page study on the history and principles of *t’al ch’um* (masked dance) written by Cho Tongil. This work systematically explains the traditional masked dances, which had been transmitted from ancient times and have gradually disappeared due to the recent infatuation with foreign culture. The work also explains the psychological import of the mask danced dramas and their role in the traditional discharging of conflict through comedy. Kirinwŏn Publishers issued this work in 1991.

**T’amjin River**

With its source on Kuksa Peak (613m) in South Chŏlla Province, the T’amjin River flows through the Yongpan, Pusan, Changhung and Kangjin plains on its way to Toam Bay on the South Sea. Much of the river consists of sharp bends and rapid descents. As a result, it carries large amounts of sediment down to its mouth during floods. This causes the lower stretches of the river to rise in elevation, leading to further flooding. Much of the river’s lower section has been restructured through land reclamation projects. Legend has it that during the reign of Shilla’s King Munmu (r. 661-681), envoys from the T’amna state (modern-day Cheju Island) landed in the area on their way to the Shilla court. In memory of their visit, the first syllable of T’amna was combined with the second syllable of Kangjin to form the name of the river.

**T’oegye chŏnsŏ** (Collected Writings of T’oegye)
T'oegey chonsŏ is the literary collection of the mid-Chosŏn period scholar-official Yi Hwang (1501-1570), styled T'oegey. This work contains many separate works by Yi and was published as a single collection in 1958 by Songgyun'gwan University. It includes the fifty-one volumes of T'oegey sonsaeng munjip (The Collected Works of Master T'oegey) which was originally published in 1600 and T'oegey sonsaeng sok chip (Supplementary Collection of Master T'oegey) that consists of eight volumes published by Yi Suyŏn in 1746. Also included in this collection are the eleven volumes of T'oe tosan sonsaeng chasŏngnok, Sasŏ sŏgūi, Kyemong chŏnŭi and Songgye Wŏn Myŏng ihak t'ongnok ponjip. In addition to the above works, six other collections are included. The entire work was published as a two-volume set.

Yi is regarded as one of the great scholars of Chosŏn and his Tosan School produced many noteworthy disciples. This collection is only a part of the many works written by Yi, but no longer extant. This work includes many of the lectures that Yi delivered while training his disciples and theoretical discussions on matters such as i and ki. Yi followed the writings of the Chinese neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi who saw the world as divided by two forces that constitute the universe. Yi took a dualistic view of these inseparable forces, but he stressed the formative or normative element of i that he saw as the regulating force for ki. Thus, he determined that i was clearly the dominant of the two forces, and in this framework Yi stressed that an understanding of i as the determining pattern of the universe was more important than being cognisant of the principles that govern individual substantive manifestations. Applied to human nature, Yi emphasised that through the cultivation of one’s i, spiritual essence and personal righteousness would be realised.

The works of Yi continue to be studied for an understanding of the neo-Confucian philosophy that dominated Korea during the Chosŏn period. Yi was the foremost neo-Confucian scholar in the Chosŏn period and heavily influenced the ideology of later generations. Therefore, T'oegey chonsŏ is highly praised as a window to understanding the social and ideological institutions of the Chosŏn period.

T'okki chŏn (The Tale of a Rabbit)

T'okki chŏn is a classical novel of which neither the composer nor the date of composition are known. This is an allegorical work that uses personified animals as its characters and is considered to be a novel in the p'ansori genre that was orally transmitted among p'ansori singers until the late Chosŏn period when it was finally put to paper. Presently there are over fifty versions of this work which can be largely divided into those of the p'ansori style and those of the novel style. Of the novel versions, there are han'gŭl, Chinese-character and mixed script editions when analysed by script usage. It has also been transmitted under many titles including Top'yŏl ka and Sungung ka, both of which are of the p'ansori style, and Pyŏljubu chŏn, T'ogong chŏn and Tosaeng chŏn which are of the novel style. This work has also been printed with woodblocks and movable metal type, in addition to hand written versions.

The content of the work is as follows: When the Dragon King of the seas became ill a Taoist appeared and told him that if he ate the liver of the rabbit that lived on the land he would be cured. The Dragon King gathered all of his ministers in his underwater palace and ordered that one go ashore and find the rabbit’s liver that would cure him. However, the ministers simply bickered among themselves and could not decide who would go on this mission. At about this time a terrapin appeared and volunteered for this mission. The terrapin brought a picture of a rabbit with him since he had never seen one and went ashore to where all the animals were gathered. The terrapin boasted to the gathering of animals of the splendor and wealth of the Dragon King’s underwater castle, and he tricked the rabbit to follow him there by offering him a high position and a beautiful woman. The gullible rabbit eagerly followed the terrapin to the underwater palace, but upon hearing the Dragon King’s order to
remove his liver realized that he had been deceived. However, even in the heat of the moment the rabbit kept his wits and cleverly told the Dragon King that he had left his liver on land. The Dragon King was fooled by the rabbit’s scheme and treated him to great hospitality and told him to go ashore and bring back his liver. The rabbit returned to land with the terrapin and then asked him ‘how can anybody live without their liver?’ cursed him and bound off into the forest. The terrapin, depending upon the version, either dies on the shore or returns to the palace empty handed.

*T'okki chŏn* has its roots in a Buddhist legend that can be traced to an Indian legend. It would seem that this tale was transmitted to Korea through China where it eventually became settled as first a folktale and then a novel. The path from India to Korea can be divided into four steps. First, the Indian tale is *Jataka*, a Buddhist tale of Buddha’s previous incarnations. There are different versions of this tale including *Jataka 57*, *Jataka 208* and *Jataka 342*. In addition, this tale also appears in other Indian literary works. The second step is the translation of the Indian tale into Chinese. In China this tale can be seen in literary works such as *Liudu jijing*, *Shengjing* and *Fobenhang jijing*. The third stage of the transmission process is the tale entering Korea either orally or in the written form. Of course, there are no extant records of an oral transmission of this work into Korea. However, as a written transmission there is the *Kut'o sŏrhwga* (Legend of Kut’o) transmitted in the *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms). The final stage of this work’s transmission to its present form was its adaptation as a *p'an'ansori* work in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is at this stage that the work was further embellished and expanded, after which it was recorded as a novel.

There have been many changes in the story of *T'okki chŏn* in its transformation from an Indian legend to the present story in Korea. The monkey and crocodile of the original tale were transformed into the rabbit and terrapin in the Korean story, which can be seen as manifestations of the story gaining Korean indigenous qualities. Moreover, the original didactic nature of the Indian tale passed through a stage of holding religious import in the Buddhist tale to holding a satirical gist in the Korean tale.

In analysing the content of *T'okki chŏn*, the fact that this work uses animals in an allegory reveals the intent of the composer group to reflect critically upon social issues. In this work there are two worlds represented: that beneath the sea of the Dragon King, and the world on land which the rabbit and other animals inhabit. These two worlds can be viewed as respectively being metaphors for the ruling class and the governed. The foolish Dragon King who gave himself to wine and pleasures of the flesh and became ill as a result before being deceived by the rabbit, along with his ministers who could do little more than quarrel, can be seen as representative of the composer groups’ perception of the corrupt and incompetent political leaders of Chosŏn society. On the other hand, the rabbit who sought the ease and wealth of life in the palace can be said to represent the powerless and poverty stricken farming class of the Chosŏn period. The rabbit desired to escape the harsh realities of his life on land through the lure of easy riches and was thereby easily fooled by the terrapin. The peasantry of seventeenth and eighteenth century Chosŏn, when this work was formed, were subject to the whims of the corrupt and hypocritical ruling class that exploited and oppressed them. During this period the hardships of the peasantry grew worse, and they are well represented by the rabbit of the story. By examining the conclusion of *T'okki chŏn*, it is clear that the composer group of this work was of the peasantry since the victory of the rabbit over the Dragon King can be viewed as an extension of their desire to escape the oppressive heel of the Chosŏn ruling class. Accordingly, this work can be viewed as an expression of the resistant social consciousness of the peasantry of this period. The work serves as a satire of the corruption and social realities of its formation period and by doing so reveals the sanctimony and incongruities of the Confucian based morality that dominated the Chosŏn period.

*T'ongdo Temple [Architecture]*
T'ongyŏng

Situated in the southern area of South Kyŏngsang Province, T'ongyŏng comprises the town of Sanyang and the townships of Kwangdo, Tosan, Saryang, Yokchi, Yongnam and Hansan. The city was recently created when Ch'ungmu City and T'ongyŏng County were amalgamated. Geographically, T'ongyŏng is made up of a peninsula, an irregular piece of land connected to the peninsula by an isthmus, and over 140 islands. Highway 14 crosses a narrow strait to link the city with Kojé Island to the east. Because of its location on the southern coast, T'ongyŏng has a mild climate with an average temperature of 14.1°C. The city receives an average annual rainfall of 1358mm.

About twenty-four per cent of T'ongyŏng's land is agricultural. The area's rugged terrain requires that most farming activities are devoted to dry-field crops such as garlic and sweet potato. In 1961, however, an experimental tropical fruit farming operation was started in Kwangdo Township. Taking advantage of the temperate climate, farmers now use greenhouse cultivation for fruits pineapple, banana, papaya and avocado. With over thirty-three varieties of tropical fruit trees in its orchards, the former experimental farm is now one of Korea's key producers of tropical fruit.

The waters off the coast of T'ongyŏng are, in most places, only five to fifteen metres deep, which makes for good fishing. Local fishermen catch mackerel, sea bream, cod, yellowtail and anchovy. In particular, dried anchovy from Sanyang Township and the Hansan and Yokchi islands are acclaimed for their excellent flavour. Protected by islands which serve as breakwaters, the sea is usually placid and the water is unpolluted. As a result, the area is also suitable for marine-product farming. Eels, sea squirt and laver are all cultivated here, and there are also a number of cultured-pearl farms. Oysters grown here meet eighty per cent of the country's table-oyster demand. The city's industrial sector is small, with a few factories producing machinery, chemical products and textiles.

With its clear blue waters and numerous picturesque islands, T'ongyŏng is one of Korea's top seaside vacation spots. In summer, visitors flock to the city to swim off the beaches or to go sailing, boating and windsurfing. In order to protect the area's scenic wonders, T'ongyŏng's islands have been designated Hallyo National Marine Park.

The city is famous as the place where Admiral Yi Sunshin (1542-1598) defeated the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). Yi invented the kŏbuksŏn (turtle ship), the world's first ironclad warship, and in a classic naval battle, defeated a much larger Japanese armada. Yi's naval base was on Hansan Island. In fact, 'T'ongyŏng' is an abbreviation of samdo sugun tongje young -- the naval headquarters of the three southern provinces. Ch'ungmu, the former name of the town of T'ongyŏng, comes from 'Ch'ungmugong' (Lord of Loyalty and Valour), a posthumous title conferred on the admiral by the king. Northwest of City Hall, one finds Ch'ungnyŏlsa, a shrine commemorating Yi's naval exploits. The shrine houses eight objects that Yi received as gifts from the Ming royal house. Every October, a festival is held celebrating the victory of Hansan Island. The event includes a parade of men dressed in Chosŏn naval uniform. At night, regional folk performances such as the Ogwangdae dance drama and sword dances are held.

Other historical sites in the area include Yonghwa Temple just north of Mt. Yonghwa (461m), Anjŏng Temple in Kwangdo Township and T'ongyŏng Hyanggyo, a Confucian school founded in 1901 in Kwangdo Township's Chungnim Village,
Tae Choyŏng (?-719)

Tae Choyŏng, also known as King Ko, was the founder of Parhae, and ruled from 699 to 719. Parhae’s people were immigrants from the fallen Koguryo kingdom and they settled in the northern part of the Korean peninsula and in Manchuria. Tae had been a general in Koguryo, and was among those taken prisoner and forcibly removed to the Yingzhou area of Manchuria. However, on an insurrection by the Khitan people, Tae formed an alliance with the Malgal leader Kôlsabiu and led a band of followers to Dongmou-shan, where he founded the Chin kingdom, declaring himself king. The name Parhae was not adopted until 713. In addition to refugees from the former Koguryo, Parhae included a large number of the Malgal people.

Parhae was in a difficult international situation from its inception as it had both the Shilla and Tang states to contend with, and thus its relations with the peoples to the north of China were quite important. With its territorial foundations established during the reign of Tae, Parhae came eventually to occupy large portions of the former Koguryo domain, extending as far as the Liaodong Peninsula. The power structure of Parhae was dominated by a numerically small group of Koguryo emigrants, and the ruled class was largely composed of the Malgal people. Parhae considered itself the successor of the Koguryo tradition, and this can be seen in the official correspondence with Japan, which includes reference to this. Also, Parhae did not see its people as being a separate people from Shilla, and the two kingdoms often referred to each other as the Northern and Southern nations. Hence, it is clear that Parhae was a Korean kingdom and moreover, a continuation of Koguryo.

King Ko was succeeded by his son, King Mu (r. 720-738), who largely consolidated the territorial extent of the kingdom that his father had founded. He also expanded Parhae’s international contacts to include Japan and the Tujue (Eastern Turk) people, thus countering the Tang-Shilla alliance.

Tae Myŏngyul chikhae

[Tae Choyŏng chikhae]

[Taebong Library]

Taebong Library is located in Taebong-dong in Taegu’s Chung Ward. This library was originally named Kyongsang Pukto Hakaeng Tosŏgwon and was opened in May 1971. It acquired its present name on 25 March 1991. Today, the library consists of six reading rooms, a room for general works (first floor), a children’s collection (second floor), a room for reference materials and periodicals (third floor), a public lecture hall and multi-media facility (fourth floor), and a cafeteria. In 1998, the library’s collection comprised approximately 121,000 general works, 81,000 works of reference, 8,000 children’s books and nearly 5,000 theses. The Taebong library also offers classes for the general public on diverse subjects, such as oriental philosophy and calligraphy.

[Taeborum]

[Taedong pŏp (Uniform Land Tax Law)]

[Taedong River]

The Taedong River flows from the western part of the Nangnim Mountain Range to the Yellow Sea. About 438 km long, the river is the fifth largest in Korea. During Koguryo, it was known as both the P’ae River and the Wangsŏng River, while its present name has been used since Koryŏ. With its source on Mt. Tongbaek and Mt. Sobaek, the river’s main
flow is to the southwest, where it joins the Mat’an River near Tŏkch’ŏn. In the vicinity of Pukch’ang, the Taedong turns south, and after combining with the Changsŏn River near Sunch’ŏn and the Piryu River near Sŏngch’ŏn, it changes direction again to the southwest, where it is joined by the Nam River. From this point, it widens and expands in volume as it passes through extensive plains in the area around P’yŏngyang. It is then joined by Hwangju Stream and Chaeryŏng River before entering the Yellow Sea at Kwangnyang Bay near Namp’o.

Humans have lived near the river since Neolithic times. On Mt. Sŭngni in Tŏkch’ŏn County, the skull of a young girl with both Homo erectus and Homo sapiens neanderthal features has been discovered. Neolithic era pottery has been found in Onch’ŏn County’s Kungsan Village and Ch’ŏngho Village. Fishing-net sinkers from the late Neolithic period have been found at P’yŏngyang’s Kŭmt’ăn Village, indicating the importance of fishing at this time. Also, the indication of square and rectangular huts has been noted in this area. As evidence of early agriculture, carbonised millet has been discovered in P’yŏngyang’s Namgyŏng Village. Artefacts from the early Iron Age found near the river, include bronze daggers, decorative mirrors, iron weapons, farming implements and other tools.

Throughout history, the river’s depth along with its gradual decline has made it important as a means of transportation. The lower reaches, from Kwangnyang Bay to Songnim are navigable by large seagoing vessels (4-5 000 ton), while ships of about half this size can navigate the extra sixty-three kms. upstream to Posanp’o. Much smaller ships, limited to about thirty tons displacement can reach P’yŏngyang, while smaller boats still can safely go on to Tŏkch’ŏn, some two-hundred and sixty kms from the mouth of the river at Kwangnyang Bay. Thus, sixty per cent of the river is navigable, depending on the size of the craft. Before railways and roads were built, the Taedong was the primary means of transport of goods for barter and trade. Nowadays, the river is particularly useful as a way of transporting timber from the upper section of the river to P’yŏngyang and Namp’o.

The riverain of the Taedong is well-suited to the growing of dry-field crops such as barley, wheat, corn and sweet potato. In addition, the fertile Chaeryŏng Plain has, since ancient times, been famous as a producer of high quality rice. In the hilly areas found along some stretches of the river, apples and chestnuts are grown, and in the mountainous regions, there are cattle farms and sericulture is common. Tobacco and cotton are also grown. The riverain contains more than ninety per cent of North Korea’s total coal deposits. Iron, tungsten, gold, silver, clay, lime, apatite, lead, zinc, molybdenum, asbestos and copper are also mined or quarried.

**Taedong Sŏgwang**

**Taedong unbu kunok** (Encyclopedia of Korea, Arranged by Rhyme)

*Taedong unbu kunok* is an encyclopaedia of Korea that was compiled by Kwŏn Munhae (1534-1591) during the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608). This woodblock-printed work consists of twenty volumes in twenty fascicles. The compiler used Chinese and Korean historical documents to record items concerning Korea from the time of Tan’gun Chosŏn up until the reign of Sŏnjo. The work encompasses areas such as history, geography, personages, literature, flora and fauna and is arranged according to rhyme. Kwŏn began the compilation work on this encyclopaedia when he was magistrate of Taegu in 1589. It was modelled after the *Yunfu chunyu* compiled during the Chinese Yuan dynasty.

The contents of this voluminous work are quite varied and contain descriptions of many different natural objects such as the names and descriptions of trees, grasses and flowers, geographical features of various regions and country names. The accounts of historical personages include filial sons, virtuous women and loyal retainers. Other entries of note
include the history of the Korean states, and linguistic aspects such as proverbs, colloquial language and slang of the common people. This work is also valuable in that it includes references to many books that predate the 1592 Japanese Invasion and were destroyed in the conflict. Therefore, the legends that it preserves from the *Sui chŏn* (Tales of the Bizarre) are also highly valued.

A photocopy of *Taedong unbu kunok* was reissued in the 1950s by Chŏngyang Sa Publishing Company. The original wooden printing blocks for this work are presently preserved at the home of the author’s descendants.

Taegak Kuksa (see Ùich’on)

**Taegu Metropolitan City**

Situated in the southern part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Taegu covers an area of 885.57 square kilometres. With a population of 2,479,000 (as of Dec. 31, 1996), it is Korea’s third largest city. Although Taegu was previously a major city, most of the city’s population growth occurred after the Korean War. Mt. P’algong (1,193m) rises in the northwest and Mt. Shinsŏng (653m) stands in the south of Taegu. The built up area of the city is located in a flat basin between these mountains. Local weather is characterised by sharp seasonal fluctuations. Since radiated heat rising from the city cannot easily escape the basin, summers here are especially hot. On August 1, 1942, a temperature of 40°C was recorded, this being the highest temperature ever recorded in Korea.

Due to the city’s rapid urbanisation, only about 1.5 per cent of the population is employed in the agricultural sector. The city is traditionally famous for its apples, but most of the area’s apples are now grown in nearby Kunwi or Ùisŏng counties. About half of the city’s factories produce textiles, and there are also a large number of factories producing machinery and metal goods. Small and medium-sized factories in the city produce food stuffs, machine parts and prefabricated metal. As a regional transportation hub, the city has six bus termini, a subway, a railway line and an airport. With its extensive transportation network, the city serves as an important commercial centre for the area. There are a number of wholesale markets here. Sŏmun Market is particularly important as a major outlet for textiles. About one kilometre south of the Taegu train station lies the Herbal Medicine Market, one of the largest such markets in the nation.

There are a number of parks and resorts in the city. At Taegu’s southern end is Mt. Ap Park. A cable car runs 800m to the summit of Mt. Ap. Near the cable car base, one finds the Memorial Museum of Victory of the Naktong River, which commemorates a victorious battle in this area during the Korean War. The Taesŏng and Taedŏk temples are also found here. Taegu Tower rises in the southwest part of the city. Here one finds Turyu Park and various recreational facilities including a swimming pool, roller skating rink, Cultural and Arts Hall, and a baseball field. In Talsŏng-dong lies Talsŏng Park. Residents come here to enjoy the thick forest, see the zoo and attend cultural exhibitions and lectures in the park’s cultural hall. In Susŏng ward (*ku*), there is a children’s park and Susŏng Resort. At the resort is Susŏng Reservoir which serves as a giant ice-skating rink in the winter.

In addition to its parks, the city also boasts a large number of historical sites. Historically, the most important Buddhist temples in the area are Tonghwa Temple and P’agye Temple at the foot of Mt. P’algong (See *P’algong Mountain* and *Tonghwa Temple*), and also Pukchijang Temple. In addition, there are a number of old pavilions in the area. Kwan’ungnu, in Talsŏng Park, was first built in 1601 and was moved to its present location in 1906. Hwansŏngjŏng, in Sobyŏn-dong in Puk ward, was built in honour of Yi Chu, a leader of irregular forces fighting against the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). The characters on the pavilion’s plaque were written by Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898). There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area,
such as Ch’ilgok Hyanggyo in Puk ward, Taegu Hyanggyo in Chung ward, Kuam Sŏwŏn in Chung ward, Och’ŏn Sŏwŏn near Mt. Yongji (629m) and Yongyŏng Sŏwŏn to the west of Mt. Munam (431m). Modern schools of higher education include Kyungpook National University in Puk ward, Keimyung University in Shindang-dong, Shinil Junior College in Susŏng ward, Taegu Nursing College and Taegu Junior College in Puk ward, Taegu National University of Education in Nam ward and a branch of Taegu University in Nam ward.

Taegwan Ridge (Taegwallyŏng)

The Taegwan Ridge (832 metres) is situated in Kangwŏn Province, south-west of Kangnung. The ridge connects the T’aebaek Mountain Range with the Coastal Range. Streams on the east of the mountain flow down into Oship Stream, then past Kangnung and into the East Sea. On the western side, run-off forms Song Stream which flows into the southern branch of the Han River. The area’s weather is characterised by cold temperatures, high precipitation and heavy snowfall during the winter. The area is now accessible via the Yŏngdong Expressway which runs from Seoul to Kangnung.

Taehan Chaganghoe (see Korean Association for Self-Strengthening)

Taehan kyenyŏnsa (The Last Years of Chosŏn)

*Taehan kyenyŏnsa* is a history of the last forty-seven years of the Chosŏn period written by Chŏng Kyo (1856-1925). This work covers the period from 1864 until the Japanese annexation in 1910 and is composed of a total of nine volumes. *Taehan kyenyŏnsa* chronicles the major events of the last years of the Chosŏn period, and in particular gives much attention to the activities of the Tongnip hyŏphoe (Independence Club), of which the author was a member. Other notable records in this work include the intrigues of the foreign powers that were vying for supremacy in Korea and the corruption of the Korean government.

This work is of particular value in understanding the activities of the Tongnip hyŏphoe, which played a major role in the politics of Korea during the waning days of Chosŏn. The original manuscript is presently in the possession of Seoul National University Library.

Taehan maeil shinbo

The *Taehan maeil shinbo* was a newspaper published at the end of the Great Han Empire by Ernest T. Bethell. Published in both Korean and English, it was launched on 18 July 1904, in Seoul. Others on the early staff of the newspaper paper include Yang Kit’ak who directed business affairs; chief editor Pak Ŭnshik; Shin Ch’aeho; Ch’oe Ik; and Chang Talsŏn. The *Taehan maeil shinbo* initially had six pages, two in Korean and four in English. The staff sought to create a newspaper to embrace the entry of modernisation and reform to Korea, and one which upheld the rights of the Korean people. The newspaper was also published entirely in English, not only to inform the English-speaking public of news and events, but also to present the plight of the Korean nation to an international audience. It was called the *The Korea Daily News.*

The *Taehan maeil shinbo* was borne of turbulent times and as Korean sovereignty was gradually usurped by Japan, the Japanese authorities were wary of the power of the Korean press. Hence, a law regulating the publication of newspapers was enacted in 1907 by the Residency-General, and the Korean press was soon brought under strict control by the Japanese. Nevertheless, to keep the newspaper away from Japanese censorship, editorial control was transferred to foreigners in Korea who were beyond the grasp of the Japanese. While Bethell’s action helped his newspaper remain out of Japanese reach, such was the
combative nature of the newspaper’s staff, that they posted a sign over the entrance to the newspaper’s office proclaiming, ‘No Entry to Japanese’. Their action soon resulted in Bethell eventually having to relinquish his post. Not discouraged, though, the staff sought a succession of other foreigners to nominally act as publishers, beginning in October 1907 with the British Consul General, Cockburn. After annexation, however, such technicalities became pointless and the Japanese seized control of the newspaper, renaming it the Maeil shinbo.

The Maeil shinbo was published continually throughout the colonial period and served as the official mouthpiece for the Japanese Government-General. After Korea’s liberation in 1945, it was renamed the Seoul shinmun and it is still being published today.

Taehan munjŏn (Korean Grammar)

Taehan munjŏn is a grammar of Korean written by Yun Kilchun in 1909. It is of one volume and printed with movable type. Through the introductory remarks in this book, we are told that the contents represent some thirty years of research and many revisions by the author. It is thought that this work was written during the time of Yun’s exile in Japan from 1896 to 1907 and represents a revision and reworking of the author’s Chosŏn munjŏn (Choson Grammar) that was written in 1895. Additionally, it is thought that the Taehan munjŏn published by Ch’oe Kwangok in January 1908, is also the work of Yun as it is essentially the same as Chosŏn munjŏn. On the other hand, the 1909 Taehan munjŏn represents a new work that is much larger and more detailed than the earlier works.

The contents of Taehan munjŏn are divided into three main sections of an introduction, speech and syntax, and the book itself is designed as a textbook of the Korean language. Moreover, the 1909 work corrects some errors made in the classification of parts of speech made in Chosŏn munjŏn and the 1908 Taehan munjŏn. Yun’s work is still of rich value to scholars of the Korean language, for its concise explanation of grammar, and is still useful for an historic examination of the Korean language and its systematisation.

Taehan pulgyo ch’ônghwa-jong

Taehan pulgyo ch’ônghwa-jong is a Korean Buddhist order. Its beginnings can be traced to the dispute, which intensified after the Korean War, between those who advocated a married Buddhist clergy and those who insisted that the clergy be celibate. In 1966 monks from Paegyang Temple and other monasteries attempted to reach a comprehensive accord (ch’ônghwa) between the feuding factions. Ideologically, the Paegyang monks et al based their position on the syncretic thought of Wŏnhyo (617-686), the patriotic ideals of Hyujŏng (1520-1604) and the Buddhist reforms advocated by Han Yongun (1879-1944). Unable to bring its mediation to a successful conclusion, the group, headed by Ch’oe Tügyŏn, became a separate organisation known as the Ch’ônghahweohoe, on 15 May 1969. Ten years later it was officially registered as Taehan Pulgyo Ch’ônghahweohoe.

At present, the order has its headquarters in Chongno District in Seoul. It pays homage to Sakyamuni Buddha, regards Pou (1301-1382, styled T’aego) as its founding patriarch (chongjo) and accepts the Heart Sutra (Kor. Panya shim gyŏng) as its fundamental scripture. In the mid-1990s, the order had 885 monks and about 670 temples.

Taehan pulgyo ch’ŏnt’ae-jong

Taehan pulgyo ch’ŏnt’ae-jong is a Buddhist order founded by Pak Sangwŏl on 24 January 1967. The order’s headquarter is at Kuin Temple, a large monastic complex built in 1945 along a narrow valley in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province’s Tanyang County. Basing itself on the Ch’ŏnt’ae (Ch. Tiantai) teachings, the sect regards the Saddharma-pundarika sutra (Kor. Pŏphwa kyŏng) as its chief scripture and Uich’ŏn (Grand Master Taegak, 1055-
1280

1101) as its founding patriarch (chongjo). From details given in 1992, the order has 450 ordained monks and over 200 temples.

**Taehan pulgyo chin’gak-chong**

Taehan pulgyo chin’gak-chong is a Korean Buddhist order founded on 14 June 1947 by Son Kyusang in Sōngsŏ, North Kyŏngsang Province. In December 1949, the organisation was named Shimin Pulgyo and in the years that followed, centres called Shinindang were set up in Kyŏngju, P’ohang and Taegu. In August 1953, the order acquired its present name, with Son assuming formal leadership under the title Taejongsa. With the death of Son Kyusang in October 1963, Son Taeryŏn became head of the order and in 1966, the order’s headquarters transferred to Hawŏlgok-dong in Seoul’s Sŏngbuk Ward.

The Taehan Pulgyo Chin’gak-chong is based on the Shininjong (Divine Seal Sect) which was founded by Myŏngnang during the reign of the Shilla Queen Sŏndŏk (632-647). As a Tantric sect, members of the order pay homage to Vairocana Buddha (Kor. Pirojanabul). In mid-1992, the order had 103 temples, 161 monks and 600 000 lay members. As well as its religious activities, the order operates middle and high schools in Seoul and Taegu.

**Taehan pulgyo chinŏn-jong**

Taehan pulgyo chinŏn-jong is a Korean Buddhist order which began as a group of Buddhist centres established in P’ohang by Son Haebong in 1948. With the setting-up of a centre in Ulсан in 1954, the organisation was officially registered as the Taehan Pulgyo Ch’amhoedang Kyodohoe. After several more name changes, it was registered under its present name in 1972.

The order regards the Shilla monk Hyet’ong as its patriarch (chongjo). Hyet’ong studied esoteric Buddhism in Tang China and founded the Ch’ongjijong (Dharani Sect) when he returned to Korea in 665. Doctrinally, the order mainly pays homage to the Buddha Taeil (Mahavairocana). Members are encouraged to undertake religious practices for both personal development and the betterment of the nation. A principal practice involves recitation of a Sanskrit mantra (e.g. ‘Om mane padme hum’) in order to purify the karma of body, speech and mind, and develop the virtues known as the six perfections (Kor. yuk parami). The order considers Mahayana tantric texts such as the *Dapiluzhena chengfo jing* (Kor. Taebiroch’ana sŏngbul kyŏng) to be the most authoritative Buddhist scriptures. As of 1992, the order consisted of some twenty temples and twenty-three monks.

**Taehan pulgyo chŏngt’o-jong**

Founded in Seoul in 1965 by Shin Tonghwan, Taehan pulgyo chŏngt’o-jong is a Korean Buddhist order based on the Pure Land (Kor. Chŏngt’o) Buddhist tradition which originated in India and China and was introduced into Korea during the Three Kingdoms. Doctrinally, the order regards the *Wuliangshou jing* (Kor. Muryangsu kyŏng) as its basic scripture. It officially registered its present name in 1972. Today, its headquarter is located at Pulsŏng Temple in Seoul’s Pulgwang-dong.

**Taehan pulgyo hwaŏm-jong**

Taehan pulgyo hwaŏm-jong is a Buddhist order founded in 1920 at Yaksa Temple on Inch’ŏn’s Mt. Manwŏl with Han Chunhae as its first leader. The order was revived in the 1960s, when Han Yŏngsŏk took possession of a former Japanese monastery in Inch’ŏn’s Shinhŭng-dong, calling it Haegwang Temple. In 1973, the order was officially registered under its present name. By 1988, it had 74 temples, 96 monks and 56 000 followers.
Doctrinally, the order is based on the Avatamsaka Sutra (Kor. Hwaöm kyöng) and the Bodhisattva ideal. As to spiritual practice, it advocates the dual cultivation of calmness and insight (Kor. chigwan; the two fundamental aspects of Buddhist meditation). But it also recognises yömbul (recollecting the Buddha) as an equally valid approach.

**Taehan pulgyo ilsüng-jong**

Taehan pulgyo ilsüng-jong is a Buddhist order founded at Seoul’s Wön’gu Temple (present Ilsüng Temple) by Ch’oe Hyejong on 10 February 1968. The order is based on the ‘one-vehicle’ (Kor. ilsüng) teachings of the Saddharma-pundarika Sutra (Kor. Pôphwa kyöng). Its present name, which was adopted in 1973, comes from a line in the Sutra: ‘Within the hundred-thousand realms of the Buddhas, there is only one vehicle [leading to awakening], not two or three.’ In the early 1990s, the order had 380 temples and nearly 700 monks.

**Taehan pulgyo mirük-chong**

The Taehan pulgyo mirük-chong is a Korean Buddhist order devoted to Maitreya (Kor. Mirük), the future Buddha. The order has an oecumenical outlook, adopting elements of Confucianism and Daoism. Founded by Kim Kyeju in South Cholla Province on 9 September 1942, the sect was initially called Mugyo, but was renamed Muülgyo in 1946. On Kim’s death in 1959, Kim Honghyön assumed leadership. Some five years later, the order was officially registered under its present name. Its headquarter is in Koch’ang County in North Cholla Province. At the end of the 1980s, there were 107 temples, 119 monks and more than 150 000 followers.

**Taehan pulgyo pomun-jong**

Taehan pulgyo pomun-jong is a Korean Buddhist sect founded by the Bhikkhuni (Buddhist nun) Yi Kungt’an on 20 April 1972, at Pomun Temple in Seoul. The sect is unique as the only Buddhist order in the world with an exclusively female clergy. The order bases itself on the fundamental teachings of Sakyamuni Buddha and the soteriological ideals of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Kor. Kwanseum Posa). In practical terms, the order emphasises both personal cultivation leading to awakening and social welfare projects such as schools and nursing homes. The Pomunjong considers Mahaprajapati (the Buddha’s aunt and step-mother who became the first Buddhist nun) as its founding patriarch (chongjo); the Qin (221-207 B.C.E.) Chinese Bhikkhuni Jingjian as the patriarch who transmitted the Dharma (chönbōpcho); and the Shilla Bhikkhuni Pönnyu as the patriarch who revived the order (chunghüngjo). With the arrival of the 1990s, the order had 33 temples, 172 nuns and 46 743 lay members. The order’s clergy, like those of the Chogye order, are strictly celibate and abstain from eating meat.

**Taehan pulgyo pôpsang-jong**

Taehan pulgyo pôpsang-jong is a Korean Buddhist order founded on 15 March 1969 with Chôn Yôngdong as its first Grand Patriarch (Chongjöng). The order was modeled on the Maitreya Buddhism of Kim Hyŏngnyŏl, the chief disciple of Kang Ilsun (styled Chungsan). Regarding the Shilla vinaya master Chim’yo as its founding patriarch (chongjo), the order worships Maitreya, the future Buddha, and advocates a lay form of Buddhism based on compassion, the ‘ten benevolent forms of conduct’ (shipsŏn) and service to society. Through these teachings, the order aims to manifest paradise on earth. Pôpsang-jong temples generally have a world map enshrined on the altar. The Taehan Pulgyo Pôpsang-jong has its headquarters in P’yŏngch’ang-dong in Seoul. In the early 1990s, the order had of 242 temples, 390 monks and 147 721 lay members.

**Taehan pulgyo purip-chong**
Taehan pulgyo purip-chong is a Korean Buddhist order founded by Yi Yongi (styled Hongsohn) on 8 December 1965. The order regards Uich'on (Grand Master Taegak, 1055-1101) as its patriarch (chongjo). Its headquarters is at Myogak Temple in Sungin-dong in Seoul. Ideologically, the sect is based on the philosophy of the Lotus Sutra (Kor. Pophwa kyong). For religious practice, it advocates the dual cultivation of calmness and wisdom. In the mid-1980s, the order consisted of 48 temples, 76 monks and 18,000 lay members.

Taehan pulgyo wonhyo-jong

Taehan pulgyo wonhyo-jong was founded by Kim Kyongtaek on 10 July 1963 in Kyongju. In 1967, the order adopted Mangwol Temple in Kyongju’s Pae-dong as its headquarters and ten years later, it acquired its present name. Today, its headquarters is located at Anyang Hermitage in Seoul’s Ch’angshin-dong.

With the Korean monk Wonhyo (617-686) as its patriarch, the order advocates a practical lay form of Buddhism based on Sakyamuni Buddha’s teachings and Wonhyo’s doctrine of the harmonisation of disputes (hwajaeng). Through these teachings, the order aims to transform society, so as to manifest the Buddhist Pure Land (Kor. chongto) on earth. The order’s key scriptures are Wonhyo’s works: Kungang sammae kyong non (Treatise on the Diamond Samadhi Sutra) Kishin non haedong so (Kor. commentary on the Treatise on the Sraddhotpada Sastra); Awakening Faith) Pophwa kyong chongyang, (Essentials of the Lotus Sutra); Yorhan kyong chongyang (Essence of Nirvana Sutra); Muryangsu kyong chongyang (The Essentials of the Infinite Life Sutra); and Palshim suhaeng chang (Treatise on Awakening Faith and Practice).

Wonhyo’s work Posal kyebon chibom yogi (Essentials Concerning the Maintaining and Violating of the Bodhisattva Precepts) sets the ethical standards of conduct for members of the order; but some of the tenets have been reinterpreted so as to accord with more modern forms of lay Buddhist practice. As of 1992, the order had some 300 temples and about 320 monks.

Taehan pulgyo yonghwa-jong

Taehan pulgyo yonghwa-jong is a Korean Buddhist order founded in 1931 by So Paegil and Cho Chesung. The order regards the Indian monk Asanga (Kor. Muchak) and the Chinese monk Xuanzang (600-664) as its founding patriarchs (chongjo); and the Shilla monk Chinpyo as the founder of the order in Korea. Initially established at Kusong Temple in Kurye (South Cholla Province), the order expanded with the creation of a mission in Hadong (South Kyongsang Province) in 1935, followed by the construction of Sangbul Temple, the order’s training headquarters. In 1947, the temple facilities were transferred to Wibong Temple in Wanju. At the new site, the monks practised a regimen combining formal sitting meditation with farming. In 1955, Yonghwa Temple was founded in Kimje, and in December 1963, the order was registered as Taehan Pulgyo Yonghwa-jong. Today, the order’s centre is at Won’gak Temple in the city of Chonju in North Cholla Province.

According to the order, each devotee should strive for enlightenment, so as to bring forth the enlightened epoch of Maitreya, the future Buddha. Although nominally Buddhist, the sect is ideologically related to Chungsan Taedogyo, an indigenous religion founded by Kang Ilsun. In the early 1990s, Taehan Pulgyo Yonghwa-jong consisted of 23 temples, 61 monks and 26,185 lay members.

Taehuksan Island

For its administration, Taehuksan Island is part of Huksan Township in South Cholla
Province’s Shinan County. The island covers an area of 19.7 sq. kms. and as of 1985, had a population of 5,138. Most live in the villages of Chin and Ye. With Kittae Peak (378m) in the west, Sŏnyu Peak (300m) in the south and Sangna Peak (227m) in the north, the entire island consists of rugged mountainous terrain. Taehŭksan has an average annual temperature of 13.9 deg. C. and an annual rainfall of 843 mm.

Ye, the largest village, has a safe harbour which earlier served as a whaling post. Nowadays, it berths a fleet of fishing vessels. Fish catches and other marine products include harvest fish, yellow corbina, abalone, scallops, brown seaweed and underwater stone moss. Skate from the island’s waters are considered especially good. Cultivated land is generally limited to small household plots. On the 1.71 sq. kms. of arable land on the island, sweet potato; barley; varieties of bean; garlic; and sesame are the usual crops.

The island was first settled in 828 C.E. when Chang Pogo (?-846) established Ch’ŏnghaejin on Wan Island as a base for trade with Tang China. The 2,300-metre-long Panwŏl (Half Moon) Fortress in Chin Village was purportedly built by Chang Pogo to repel Japanese pirates. Although less of a tourist destination than nearby Hong Island, Taehŭksan offers many scenic attractions. Mt. Ch’illak’s summit affords an excellent vantage point. There is also the fifty metre-high Ch’ottae (Candlestick Rock), which has a large cave at its base. The rock is also called Tottae (Sail Boat Rock) because of its triangular shape. The island is included in the Tadohae National Marine Park.

Taehŭksan Island has a number of interesting customs. As on Cheju Island, the residents use the island’s numerous stones to build walls enclosing their fields. Traditionally, stones are also attached to ropes placed over house roofs to prevent damage from the strong winds. The villages have shrines where the local tutelary deity is worshipped. On each lunar New Year in Chin Village, an elaborate three-day ceremony is held to ensure the safety of fishermen and a bountiful catch.

**Taehŭng Temple**

[Architecture]

*Taejanggyŏng* (see *Buddhist canon, Korean*)

**Taejŏn hoet’ong** (Comprehensive Collection of the National Code)

*Taejŏn hoet’ong* which was compiled and promulgated in 1865, is a collection of legal codes from the beginning of the Chosŏn period. This woodblock-printed work is composed of six volumes in five fascicles. It was designed to simplify all of the various legal codes of the Chosŏn period by placing them all into one comprehensive work. The text was classified into the six codes (*yukchŏn*) beginning with *ijŏn*, which defines the regulations for the government bureaucracy, *hojŏn*, which covers items relating to the national economy and finance and *yejŏn*, which dealt with national rites, educational systems and customs concerning marriage and death. The other codes are the *pyŏngjŏn*, which outlined military regulations, *hyŏngjŏn*, which presented regulations concerning the justice system and the *kongjŏn*, which covered matters concerning roads, measurement, handicraft industries and mining.

*Taejŏn hoet’ong* covers many aspects of Chosŏn society in a comprehensive manner. The various codes contained in this work permit understanding of the diverse systems that regulated different spheres of life in this period. To denote which legal code that laws had originally been established under, this work uses the Chinese character *wŏn* (original) to indicate those regulations that originated in *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (National Code) of 1471 and *sok* (continuance) to indicate the regulations first put forth in *Sok taejŏn* (Supplement to the National Code) of 1746. In addition, the character *chŭng* (supplement) is used to clarify those items that were added after the *Sok taejŏn*, and *po* (repair) to mark the regulations that
first appeared in this work. Therefore, Taejón hoet’ong is quite valuable for studying the changes and progression of the legal code in the Chosŏn period.

Taejón Metropolitan City

Situated in the border of South and North Ch’ungch’ŏng Provinces, Taejón is comprised of the wards (ku) of Taedŏk, Tong, Sŏ, Yusŏng and Chung. Having recently been expanded to include the areas previously known as Taedŏk County, the city covers an area of 539.87 square kilometres and has a population of 1,298,000 (as of Dec. 31, 1996). Taejón sits in a basin surrounded by Mt. Kyeryong to the west, the Noryang Mountain Range to the east, Mt. Kŭmbyŏng (364m) to the north and Mt. An’p’yŏng (470m) and Mt. Manin (537m) to the south. In the northeast lies Taech’ŏng Lake, a large reservoir that was created with the building of Taech’ŏng Dam.

Most of the city’s farms are located in the outlying areas previously known as Taedŏk County. Rice is the area’s main crop, but barley, wheat, green vegetables, tobacco, ginseng and fruit crops are also common. Taejón is best known as a key industrial and commercial centre. Located in the centre of South Korea, the city has excellent road and railway links to other major cities. About 18 large companies have set up here, but the city’s industrial sector is dominated by medium and small-sized enterprises. Factories here primarily produce textiles, machinery, chemical goods and food stuffs.

Due to its central location, the city attracts visitors from around the nation. Typical tourist destinations within the city include Wŏndong Market in Tong ward, Taejón Tower, Yusŏng Hot Spring in Sŏ ward, and Mt. Pomun Park. Located in the southern part of the city, Mt. Pomun Park contains fifteen Buddhist temples as well as an amusement park for children. On the northern border of the city just east of the Kyŏngbu Expressway, one finds the Shint’anjin Swimming Resort. Situated on the Kŭm River, this picturesque spot boasts clear water and about half a kilometre of sandy beach.

Tourists also come to see the city’s historical relics and sites. Buddhist artefacts include a stone carving of a standing Bodhisattva figure (South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 59) at Pongso Temple and a stupa at Chungam Temple. There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Chinjam Hyanggyo in the southwest corner of the city, Hoedŏk Hyanggyo next to the Kyŏngbu Expressway, Sunghyŏn Sŏwŏn to the west of Kam Stream and Tosan Sŏwŏn to the west of Yudong Stream. Namgan Chŏngsa in Kayang-dong, was a lecture hall built by the neo-Confucian scholar Song Shiyŏl (1607-1689). It is also where Song’s disciples published his work Songja Taejón.

There are a large number of colleges and universities in the area, to including Ch’ungnam Electronics College in Yusŏng ward, Ch’ungnam Medical College in Chung ward, Ch’ungnam National University in Yusŏng ward, Chungyung Industrial College in Tong ward, Hannam University in Taedŏk ward, Korea Baptist Theological University Seminary in Yusŏng ward, Mok Won University in Chung ward, Pai Chai University in Sŏ ward, Taejon University in Tong ward and Ulji Medical College in Chung ward.

Taejonggyo (see New Religion)

Taenanji Island

Situated at the mouth of Sŏsan Bay, Taenanji Island is part of Sŏngmun Township in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province’s Tangjin County. Almost one km. southeast of the island lies the smaller Sonanji Island. Taenanji is 3.05 sq. kms.in area and has a 9-km.-long coastline. The island’s topography is mainly low hills, the highest point being 119 metres. Due
mainly to cold winds from the northwest, Taenanji experiences severe winters. The island has an average yearly temperature of 11.4°C and an average rainfall of 1180mm.

Most of Taenanji’s residents live in the centre of the island and work the land. Local crops include rice, barley, beans and sweet potato. Marine products include sea-salt and shellfish. Visitors are attracted to the beautiful beaches on the island’s west coast. There is a twice-daily ferry service between the island and the mainland.

The island’s name is said to come from a local legend. According to this, a man with the surname of Ha lived shipwrecked on the island. In a dream, an enlightened man (a Daoist sage) appeared and said, ‘I am the yellow dragon that protects this island. Tomorrow I will fight a blue dragon. At this time, you must take the arrow I give you and slay the blue dragon.’ Ha did as he was told, but when he shot the arrow he missed and killed the yellow dragon instead. Orchids (nan) grew where the dragon died and after Ha passed away, a strange grass (chich’o) grew from his tomb. As a result, the island came to be known as Taenanji (Greater Orchid Grass) Island.

Taeryŏng River

As a tributary of the Ch’ongch’ŏn River, the Taeryŏng River flows 150 kms. through North P’yŏngan Province. The river’s main branch begins at Kyeban Ridge in Sakchu County and flows south through the Chŏgyuryŏng Mountain Range to merge with Kamun Stream, Honggyŏngnae Stream and Illi River. In Sakchu County’s Oenam Township, the river turns to the southeast where it joins the Ch’ongch’ŏn River and flows then flows into Sŏthan Bay. On the lower reaches of the river, there is an extensive plain. Totalling nearly 6 000 hectares, the plain is an important grain-producing region. Although the river’s lower section contains a high volume of water, its descent is too gradual for efficient hydro-electric power generation. As a result, the river is chiefly used for irrigation. The river is navigable up to Pakch’ŏn County. During the area’s harsh winters, the river freezes over making it possible for both humans and farm animals to cross. In ancient times, the river was known as Chin River, Kaesa River and Pakch’ŏn River. According to legend, when Chumong (King Tongmyong, r. 37 to 19 B.C.E.) fled south from Puyo, the fish in the river formed a bridge so that he could walk across on their backs.

Taewŏn’gun (see Yi Haŭng)

Taft-Katsura Agreement (1895) [History of Korea]

Talsŏng County

Administratively part of Taegu, Talsŏng County is comprised of the townships of Kach’ang, Kuji, Non’gong, Ta'an, Okp’o, Yuga, Habin, Hoewŏn and Hyŏnp’ung. Mt. Pislil (1 084m) rises in the east and the Naktong River snakes along the county’s eastern border.

Approximately three quarters of the county’s arable land is used for rice farming. In addition, the area produces a number of specialty crops for sale in nearby Taegu. In Kuji Township’s Taeam Village, Chinese cabbage is grown, while radishes are grown in Hwawŏn, watermelons in Non’gong, mushrooms in Okp’o, peanuts in Habin and onions in Kuji and Yugi townships. In recent times, pig and poultry breeding operations have been set up here, and the townships of Kach’ang and Okp’o have a large number of dairy farms. As for industry, in Yuga Township’s Kŭm Village there is the Hyŏnp’ung Industrial Park which produces farming implements, and other industrial areas are now being set up.

Located next to Taegu, the area attracts large numbers of local visitors. Mt. Pislil has
numerous natural attractions, as well as the Yuga, Sojae, Yongch‘ón, Yongmun and Yongyón Temples. The latter is particularly famous as an ancient monastic complex originally founded in 912 by National Master Poyang. On the temple grounds, one finds the Hongdung mineral spring. There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area such as Todong Sŏwŏn in Kuji Township, Inhung Sŏwŏn in Hwawŏn, Noktong Sŏwŏn in Kach‘ang and Nakpin Sŏwŏn in Habin. Other historical sites include Sŏngmun Fortress in Kuji Township’s Todong Village. This stone fortification was built by Kwak Cheu during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). In addition, in Hyŏnp’ung Township, there is an old stone chamber (Treasure No. 673) which was used for ice storage.

On Mt. Pisül, there is a cave known as Sahyogul (Cave of the Four Filial Sons). Legend has it that during the Hideyoshi Invasions, an old man named Kwak fled to the cave with his four sons. Unfortunately, the old man had a chronic cough. Japanese soldiers, hearing the coughing as they passed by, ordered the person in the cave to come out. To save his father, one of the sons stepped out, only to be killed. When the old man uncontrollably coughed again, the soldiers repeated the order. This was repeated until only the old man remained. When he finally came out and told the soldiers about how his sons had intentionally sacrificed themselves to save him, even the hardened Japanese soldiers were deeply impressed with the children’s filial devotion. Instead of killing the old man, they wrote the words ‘father of filial sons’ on his back so that wherever he went he would be spared, and the cave became known as Sahyogul from this time on.

Tamhŏnsŏ (Writings of Tambŏn)

Tamhŏnsŏ is the literary collection of the late Chosŏn shirhak scholar Hong Taeyong (1731-1783). This work consists of fifteen volumes and is a hand-written manuscript. The title is taken from the pen name of the author. The collection consists of an analysis of the Confucian Classics, historical accounts of Korea and China, writings by the author that appeared in other works and his poetry.

Tamhŏnsŏ is also a notable work for the shirhak ideology of the author that is revealed in the section entitled ‘iisan mundap’ (‘Dialogue at Úisan’). This section contains a debate between two imaginary scholars of this time: Hŏja who represented the conservative Confucian scholar of the day, and Shirung who embodies the writer’s ideology. The two scholars debate matters concerning the formation of the cosmos, in which Shirung rejects the orthodox view of the universe and reveals his vision of a heliocentric universe. Another noteworthy section of this collection is ‘Yŏngi’ which is a travel diary of the author’s trip to Beijing. In this section the author recounts many of the features of the Chinese capital including famous locales, folk customs, governmental institutions and the state of industry. This section is valuable for an understanding of Chinese society of this period.

In 1939 this work was published using movable type by a fifth generation descendant of the author. It included four volumes in the ‘inner’ section and ten volumes in the ‘outer’ section. There was also a supplement to the work. In 1970 it was published in two fascicles by Kyŏngin Munhwasa Publishers. Again in 1974 it was published, as an annotated work by Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe.

Tamyang County

Situated in South Chŏlla Province, Tamyang includes of the town of Tamyang, and the townships of Kosŏ, Kŭmsŏng, Nam, Taedŏk, Taejŏn, Mujŏng, Pongsan, Šubuk, Yong, Wŏlsan and Ch’a’ngp’yŏng. The county covers a total area of 456 sq. kms. and population of 88 417 (1988 statistics). In the 1990s, the population has steadily declined by several thousand residents per year. The area is surrounded by Mt. Ch’uwŏl (731m) in the north, Mt. Pyŏngp’ung (822m) in the west, Mt. Šŏam (450m) in the east and Mt. Tŏkpong in the south. Being an inland region, the county’s weather is subject to sharp seasonal variation,
with a yearly average temperature of 12.7°C and an annual rainfall of 1295mm.

Rice cultivation flourishes in the area’s fertile plains. Of the county’s 12,517 hectares of arable land, three-quarters is used for rice growing and one-quarter for dry-field crops. Greenhouse cultivation is well established in Pongsan and Wolsan, and this produces strawberries, tomatoes, roses and chrysanthemums. The county also enjoys the distinction of being the nation’s leading grower of bamboo and this employs almost two-thousand people, growing the plants and manufacturing bamboo baskets and other commodities. In the town of Tamyang, is the Bamboo Crafts Museum, which contains three floors of exhibits. Founded in 1981, the museum displays a diverse range of products including trays, cosmetic accessories, mourning hats, looms and rice wine strainers. In addition, a bamboo products market opens in Tamyang on the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 22nd and 27th day of each month. Over two-hundred vendors come to the market to sell winnows, baskets and trays. In recent years, the local bamboo product market has been in decline as a result of cheaper imports from Vietnam and Taiwan. Other manufacturing industries in the county include a leather-goods factory and a knitwear factory in Tongun Village in Kumsong.

With picturesque scenery, Tamyang County attracts visitors from the surrounding areas, especially from nearby Kwangju. Mt. Ch’uwŏl in Yong Township is one of the most beautiful mountains in the province. Spectacular rock formations encircle the mountain, and the highest peak offers a panoramic view of Tamyang Lake. As one of the four man-made lakes built in the Yongsan River Project, the massive Tamyang Lake can store up to 66,700,000 tonnes of water. The lake’s clear water and tranquil surroundings attract anglers who come to fish for smelt, catfish, mullet and carp.

In addition to its scenic attractions, there are many historical sites scattered around the county. On the border of Kumsong and Yong townships, is a two to seven metre-high stone fortification that may date from the Three Kingdoms period. This was rebuilt in 1409, destroyed during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598) and rebuilt on numerous occasions since. The wooden buildings and gates which once stood here were burned down in 1894 during the Tonghak Uprising.

Important Buddhist relics found in the county include a stone lantern (Treasure No. 111) on the Kaesŏn Temple site in Haksŏn Village; a pair of stone banner pole supports (Treasure No. 505) in Kaeksa Village; a five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 506) in Chich’im Village; a large bronze bell at Yonghŭng Temple; a stupa containing sarira at Yongch’u Temple; a stone pagoda at the Ön’gok Temple site in Pongan Village; a Buddha image at the Hyangjŏk Temple site in Haksŏn Village; a stone Buddha at Haengjŏng Village; and a Maitreya image in Punhyang Village.

Confucian schools in the county include Ch’ang’’yŏng Hyanggyo in Kosŏ and Tamyang Hyanggyo in Hyanggyo Village. The area also has a large number of pavilions such as Sŏnggangjŏng in Kosŏ’s Wŏn’gang Village and Myŏnangjŏng in Pongsan’s Chewŏl Village. The former is famous as the place where the poet Ch’ong Ch’ol, styled Songgag, spent his last days. The latter was founded by Song Sun in 1533 after his retirement from government service.

Several rituals are still performed in the area. A T’angsanje (Shaman ritual to worship the mountain spirit) takes place here in front of a guardian tree. Held on the 15th day of the first lunar month, it is performed much like a Confucian family ritual. It is said that local residents have consistently held the ritual ever since a local tutelary deity appeared in a dream of a lady with the surname of Nam during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720). The deity told her that the villagers would prosper as long as they continued to hold the ritual. After the ritual is over, people share the rice cake offerings as it is believed that partaking of this food brings good fortune.
Tan’gun (?- c.190 B.C.E.)

As the first king of Ancient Chosôn (Ko Chosôn), Tan’gun is considered to be the mythological progenitor of Korean civilisation. The earliest references to Tan’gun are in the Chinese Weishu (Book of Wei) and the Old Record (Kogi), both quoted by Iryôn (1206-1289) in the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguk Yusa). The Tan’gun story is also mentioned in the Rhymed Records of Emperors and Kings (Chewang Un’gi) by Yi Sùnghyu (1224-1300).

According to Iryôn’s quotation from the Old Record, Hwanin’s son Hwanung wanted to descend from heaven and live in the human world. Hwanin sent his son to Mt. T’aebaek and Hwanung descended to earth with 3 000 loyal subjects. Along with his ministers of wind, rain and clouds, he taught the people a number of useful arts, including agriculture, medicine and moral laws. At that time, there was a bear and a tiger who wished to transform into human beings. Hwanung gave them each a bunch of mugwort and twenty corms of garlic and told them to remain in a dark place fora hundred days. However, only the bear faithfully observed the instructions and was transformed into a woman. Hwanung and the woman married, and she gave birth to a son which they called Tan’gun Wanggôn. Tan’gun went to P’yöngyang and established the Ancient Chosôn Kingdom. Later, Tan’gun moved his capital to Asadal on Mt. T’aebaek, where he ruled for 1 500 years after which he became a mountain god.

In the Rhymed Record of Emperors and Kings, Yi quotes a work referred to as the ‘Pon’gi.’ The Pon’gi account is essentially identifiable to the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms, but does have some important differences. The Memorabilia records the ‘tan’ in Tan’gun with the Chinese character for ‘altar,’ whereas the Rhymed Records uses the character for ‘birch.’ In the Rhymed Records Tanung Ch’önwang gives his grand-daughter a magical potion that transforms her into a human being. She is then married to the birch-tree spirit (tansushin), and the couple give birth to Tan’gun. Moreover, Yi, in the Rhymed Records claims that Mt. Asadal, where Tan’gun retired to become a mountain spirit, is Mt. Kuwol, while Iryôn associated Mt. T’aebaek with Mt. Myohyang.

In addition to these early references to Tan’gun, scholars have analysed a number of data in an attempt to understand the Tan’gun myth. It has been pointed out that many of the ancient peoples living throughout East Asia have associated ‘brightness’ (Kor. park) with the sacred. Other scholars have pointed out how an ancient stone carving at the Wu Clan’s shrine in Shantung Province seems to depict elements from the Tan’gun myth. However, other scholars have recently claimed that the carving is unrelated to the Tan’gun story. Others see the Tan’gun myth as a fusion of a sun-worshipping and a totemistic mythology. It is believed that the myth thus served to bring together the mythological orientations of two diverse societies. In addition, some scholars have looked at Shamanistic elements such as the descent of spirits, bear worship and the cosmic tree, as evidence that the myth comes from a Paleo-Asiatic culture. Similar elements are found in the Shamanism of Siberia and other parts of east Asia.

In modern times, Tan’gun is associated with a number of mountains in Korea, including Mt. Paektu, Mt. Myohyang, Mt. Kuwol, Mt. Mani and modern-day Mt. T’aebaek. At most of these mountain sites, ceremonies in honour of Tan’gun are still held. In addition, many of Korea’s new religious movements, such as Taejonggyo, have been based on the Tan’gun myth. Taejonggyo celebrates Tan’gun’s accession as National Foundation Day (Kaech’önjol). After liberation, the government officially designated the day (3 October) as a national holiday.

Bibliography

Tangjin County

Situated in the northern part of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Tangjin County comprises the towns of Tangjin and Haptok, and the townships of Kodae, Taehoji, Myŏnch’ŏn, Sŏngmun, Songsan, Songak, Sunsong, Shimp’yŏng, Chŏngmi and Ugang. With the Yellow Sea to the north, Asan Bay to the east and the smaller Taehoji Bay to the west, the county covers an area of 589.11 sq. kms, and as indicated by 1988 statistics, had a population of 136,064. As part of an ongoing land reclamation project, a dyke has been built along the northwest border of Sŏngmun. Exposed to winds from the northwest, the area is relatively cool with an average yearly temperature of 11.4°c. and a yearly rainfall of 1,180.6mm.

Three-quarters of the county’s workforce is engaged in agriculture. With a reasonable amount of level terrain, about two-fifths of its arable land and over two-thirds of this area grows rice. As land reclamation goes ahead, the amount of land available for agricultural purposes is expected to increase. Dry-field crops such as turnip, Chinese cabbage are grown, and apple and chestnuts are produced commercially. In addition, hemp is grown in Kodae and ginseng in Shimp’yŏng. Sericulture is an industry in Chŏngmi and Songak. Cattle and pig breeding are other sources of farm income. Commercial fishing brings catches mainly of hairtail and grey mullet. Minerals found in the area include lime in Chŏngmi and Songak, pagodite in Sŏngmun and felspar in Kodae and Songak. In Haptok there are several burlap and farm machinery factories.

The county’s leading tourist attraction is Nanji Island Beach in Sŏngmun. Located in the northwest part of the county, this crescent-shaped beach is favoured for its clear water and scenic beauty. Due to its difficult access, however, the beach is relatively less crowded than many other Korean beaches.

The county has a number of historical sites. In Chŏngmi’s Sudang Village lies the site of An’guk Temple, which is thought to date from Koryŏ. At the site is a stone pagoda (Treasure No. 101) and three interesting standing figures (Treasure No. 100) which were carved during Koryŏ. The tallest (4.9 m.) of these clumsy figures wears a large square ‘hat’ which sheds off rain. In Myŏnch’ŏn to the southeast of Mt. Ung (254m) stands Yongt’ap Temple, a monastery that underwent restoration by the famous monk Chinul (National Master Pojo, 1158-1210). Here is a gilt-bronze Buddha triad (Treasure No. 409); a Yaksa Yŏrae (Bhaisajyaguru) statue (South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 111); a seven-storey pagoda and a large bronze bell. In Kodae’s Chin’gwan Village is Yongnang Temple. It is said that this monastery’s main Buddha hall was constructed by Ado in 648.

In addition to Buddhist sites, the county has Confucian schools, such as Tangjin...
Hyanggyo (established in 1407), Myŏnch’ŏn Hyanggyo in the northeast part of Myŏnch’ŏn Township; and Tongak Sŏwŏn just north of National Road 630 near Songak Fortress. The last-named was founded in 1706 in honour of the scholar Yi Annu (styled Tongak, 1571-1637). There are also several old Confucian shrines in the area. In Taehoji’s Chŏksŏ Village, one finds Osan Sadang built in honour of the scholar Ch’a Ch’ollo who was styled Osan. Southeast of the shrine in Tora Village lies Ch’ungjang-sa, a shrine commemorating Nam Yihûng, a revered official during the reign of King Injo (r. 1623-1649). Hanwŏn-sa, a shrine built in honour of Yi Manyu, a famous general of late Chosŏn, is in Shinpyŏng’s Kŏsan Village.

**Tangūi**

**Tangūi t’ongnyak**

*Tangūi t’ongnyak* is a political exposition written by the late Chosŏn period scholar Yi Kŏnch’ang (1852-1898). This hand-written manuscript consists of two volumes in one fascicle. In 1910 this work was published using the new movable type by the Kwangmunhoe, a society for publishing classical works headed by Ch’oe Namson. It covers the period from 1575 until 1755 and traces the history of the leading political factions of this period.

*Tangūi t’ongnyak* provides an accurate portrayal of the political factionalism that gripped the Chosŏn Kingdom from its middle period onward. The author presents in a fair and impartial manner the turmoil among the various factions who were contesting for power. There are numerous accounts of the political strife and the resultant chaos and purges that marred the Chosŏn period.

The author’s impartial presentation of the political anarchy of the middle and late Chosŏn period is valuable in that it offers one of the few non-partisan records of this period. Most other writings concerning the political factionalism of Chosŏn are biased by the ideology of the writer. *Tangūi t’ongnyak*, however, provides an objective appraisal of the political strife, which is the greatest value of this work.

**Tano**

**Tano sŏkchŏn** (Rockfight on Tano Day, A)

**Tanyang County**

Situated in the northeast corner of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Tanyang County is comprises the towns of Tanyang and Maep’o, and the townships of Kagok, Taegang, Osangch’ŏn, Yŏngch’un and Chŏksŏng. The county covers a total area of 770 sq. kms and a population of 54 969 (1988 statistics). The present town of Tanyang is often called Shin (New) Tanyang while the original town, most of which was submerged when the Ch’ungju Dam was built in 1985, is known as Ku (Old) Tanyang. As a planned city, Tanyang’s streets are straight and wide. The Namhan River flows through the county from the northeast to the southwest. To the east of the river, is Shinsŏn Peak (1 389m), Kungmang Peak (1421m), Mt. Sobaek (1440m), Tosol Peak (1 314m) and other peaks of the Sobaek Mountain Range. As part of an inland basin, local weather is characterised by sharp variations of summer and winter temperatures. The area has an average yearly temperature of 11.6°C and an average annual rainfall of 1,072.5mm.

The preponderance of mountainous terrain means that there is relatively little arable land (approx. 8 600 hectares). Of this, about one-quarter grows rice, and over 6 000 hectares
devoted to dry-field crops, including grains, legumes, ginseng, peanuts, sesame, medicinal herbs and cotton. In addition, the county is a leading producer of garlic and red pepper. Tanyang garlic is famous for its tangy flavour and its keeping qualities. Mineral resources found in the area include limestone, coal, mica, fluorite and talc. Many cement plants have been established in the region, taking advantage of the county's considerable limestone deposits. Hanil Cement, Hyundai Cement and Songshin Chemicals together produce around 6 million tons of cement annually. As for specialty products, the area produces inkstones which are renowned for their quality and fine craftsmanship. The red stone that is found in the area is ideally suited for this purpose, with its fine grain and its highly-impervious quality.

Surrounded by the ridges of the Sobaek Mountain Range, Tanyang County is widely acknowledged for its scenic beauty. Throughout the year, tourists flock to Mt. Sobaek National Park to hike the numerous trails and visit scenic spots such as Yongdam Waterfall or the mountain's many caves. Ch'ungju Lake is another popular destination which offers a wide range of sightseeing activities including both power-boat and open-deck cruises. On the lake's eastern shore is Kosu Cave, one of Korea's best-known limestone caves. Formed about 500 million years ago, this cave was designated as a Natural Monument following the government's speleological survey in 1973. With its dramatic stalactites, stalagmites and limestone formations, the cave attracts large crowds of visitors. Unfortunately, the sites have suffered from both heavy tourist traffic and vandalism. About four kms. from Kosu Cave is the smaller Ch'ongdong Cave. Discovered in 1977, this 300-metre-long cave consists of a vertical gallery. Not far from here lies Nodong Cave, a recently discovered cave of about one km. in length. Notwithstanding its awesome beauty, Nodong is less frequented by tourists than the famous Kosu Cave.

In addition to its numerous scenic attractions, the county has a number of historical sites. The Koryo scholar U T'ak is said to have gone into retreat near Sain Rock (one of the area's eight scenic wonders) in order to restore his flagging health, and Yi Hwang (T'Oegye, 1501-1570), Korea's leading Confucian scholar, was once posted here as magistrate. Confucian schools found in the area include Yongch'un Hyanggyo in Yongch'un's Sang Village; Tanyang Hyanggyo, just south of Chungnyông Stream in Tanyang; and nearby Togye Sowon in Tanyang's Pukha Village. The first-named was founded in 1399 and was moved to its present location near the Namhan River in 1791. Tanyang Hyanggyo was founded by the Tanyang county magistrate Yi Chak in 1415 and was moved to its present location by Yi Hwang. Togye Sowon, on the other hand, was reconstructed in 1971 from Top'o Sowon which stood on the banks of Soyang River in Ch'unch' on and Tan'ge Sowon which was located in Chiha Village. The new sowon took its new name from the first syllable of the former, and the second syllable of the latter school.

The county also has a number of important Buddhist sites. Within Mt. Sobaek National Park in Yongch'un Township's Paekcha Village lies the picturesque Kuin Temple. Sangwol Wôn'gak, who revived the Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae (Ch. Tian-tai) sect, founded the temple here in 1945. In 1966, the temple was expanded to become the large monastic complex found at the site today, and a year later, the Ch'ŏnt'ae Order was officially registered, with Sangwol as its leader. As the main monastery of the order, the temple serves as the administrative centre for one-hundred and eight branch temples. Whereas most Korean monasteries are situated in broad valleys at the foot of mountains, the Kuin Temple complex stretches out along a narrow valley. The complex contains over fifty buildings, including the thirty-three-metre-high, five-storey Great Dharma Hall and at the temple entrance, giant bronze figures of the Four Heavenly Kings. Resident monks are engaged in agriculture, making the temple self-sufficient in terms of food. Unlike the Chogye Order which insists that its monks remain celibate, the Ch'ŏnt'ae Order allows its monks to marry.
Taoism (see Daoism)

**Tchigae**

[Food and eating]

Team Spirit Joint Military Exercises

[USA and Korea; National Defence]

**Temples, Buddhist** (see under individual temple)

Chikchi-sa
Chogye-sa
Chöndung-sa
Chöngnim-sa
Haein-sa
Hüngguk-sa
Hwawŏm-sa
Koun-sa
Kumsan-sa
Kwanum-sa
Magok-sa
Naksan-sa
Paegyang-sa
Pohyon-sa
Pŏmŏ-sa
Pongjŏng-sa
Pongsŏn-sa
Pŏpchu-sa
Pulguk-sa
Pusŏk-sa
Sachŏnwang-sa site
Shillŭk-sa
Shinhŭng-sa
Shinwŏn-sa
Sŏgwang-sa
Sŏkkuram Grotto
Sŏnam-sa
Sŏngbul-sa
Songgwang-sa
Sŏnun-sa
Ssan'gye-sa
Sudŏk-sa
T'ongdo-sa
Taehŭng-sa
Tonghwa-sa
Ŭnhae-sa
Wŏlc'hŏng-sa
Yongju-sa

**Theatre**

The history of the theatrical arts in Korea may be said to have begun with the mask dance-dramas and puppet plays, known variously as t'alch'um, t'alnorŭm, or kamyŏn kŭk, whose roots reach far back in time to village shrine ceremonials, called sŏnang je and to a form of Buddhist ceremonial mime dance-drama that was didactic in nature called Kiak which was imported from Central Asia through China during the Three Kingdoms.
More than ten genres of mask dance-drama are known throughout the Korean peninsula today. Though differences can be found in costumes, masks, dance movements, songs, musical accompaniment and dialogue, in accordance with regional characteristics. The dance movements of the masques from the north, for example, are, generally speaking, wide and gruff in movement. Whereas those from the central and southern regions are more petite and gentle by comparison. The northern masks are more grotesque in appearance than their central and southern counterparts, which tend to be more realistic in nature. The majority of the mask dramas are fairly homogeneous in content. That is, they almost all consist of a string of unrelated acts, an omnibus type of drama, that forms a humorous satire on the malpractices of Chosŏn upper classes, along with that of apostate Buddhist monks and the triangular relationship between husband, wife, and concubine prevalent in the society of the time.

This cycle of folk plays, which also includes the puppet drama (called kkoktu kakshi) that was performed by roving, itinerant minstrels call namsadang, found throughout Korea during Chosŏn, is referred to by folklorists as the Sandae Togami tradition.

The Sandae is believed by some to be the descendant of the Kiak, mentioned previously, which was introduced into Paekche from China and continued to be performed throughout Koryŏ (918-1392). Other scholars assert, however, that it was derived from a mask play called the Narye which originated in China and was introduced into Korea at least by early Koryŏ. Featuring grotesque masks it was given on the last night of the year to exorcise evil spirits so that the new year would remain free of trouble and misfortune. By mid-Koryŏ this form had developed into the Sandae, which was sometimes presented in combination with the Ch’ŏyong mu (Dance of the Son of the Dragon King of the East Sea), a mask dance-drama derived from a ninth century lyric poem, (The Song of Ch’ŏyong) called a hyangga that is recorded in the Sanguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), which was employed as an exorcismal to ward off disease. The Ch’ŏyong mu remains as the only court mask dance in existence in Korea today.

The Sandae, along with the Ch’ŏyong, was to have been performed at court until about 1634, when the players suffered extreme hardships because the Neo-Confucianists disdained the traditional art that used the native language instead of the refined Chinese classics. It was then that the king withdrew it from the official functions, and the players were banished from the court. And so the Sandae and the Ch’ŏyong parted ways, the former to journey from the court in Seoul to the countryside of Kyŏnggi and other outlying provincial areas, thereby becoming the domain of the common folk, while the latter was to continue within the confines of the palace walls until the last days of Chosŏn. It is small wonder then that this once highly formal and religious dance-drama was to become a bitter satire against the Confucian-dominated ruling class and the Buddhist monks, a grotesque comedy that gave vent to the grievances borne by the subjected masses in an oppressive feudal society.

Henceforth, the Sandae players were to become entertainers who performed at village festivals on such occasions as the birth of Buddha, held on the 8th day of the 4th lunar month, and Tano (the 5th day of the 5th lunar month). The Tano festival was held at a relatively slack period in the busy agricultural calendar, just before the arduous work of summer rice-planting began. As part of the festival, a performance of mask dance-drama would be held to expel evil and invoke blessings for a good harvest in the coming year.

The colours of the masks -- made of gourd, paper, or wood according to region -- used in the drama are symbolic of the four points of the compass: blue-East, red-South, white-West, black-North and the pivot, the yellow-Centre. Thus, as is seen in some of the Sandae-type dramas such as the Yangju pyŏl sandae of Kyŏnggi Province, the Pongsan t’alch’um of Hwanghae Province, and the T’ongyŏng ogwangdae and Suyŏng yayu, both of South Kyŏongsang Province, when the old monk (nojang), who wears a black mask, is
defeated by the young prodigal (ch'wibari), who wears a red mask, and also when the old woman (halmi), who wears a black mask, is defeated by the young concubine, it is symbolic of the 'Battle of Winter and Summer' held at seasonal festivities.

Aside from the Sandae Togam tradition, there were two categories of Korean mask dance-drama; one which originated at the village shrine ceremonies, called the sonang je, and the other the Lion Dance-Drama of Puch'ong in Hamgyong Province. The masque of the sŏnang je, which can still be seen today at the Kangnúng (Kangwŏn Province) Tano Festival and the Pyŏl'shin ritual drama of Hahoe (North Kyŏngsang Province), possesses characteristics of a seasonal ritual drama and suggests a prototype of the original masque. The Lion Dance-Drama, which originated from Central Asia, is a folk play that was performed as part of lunar new year festivities. The dance of the lion takes up the greater part of this masque.

The puppet drama, which was already known in the Three Kingdoms through the Koguryŏ ak (Music of Koguryo), is believed to have been either introduced into Korea through China or brought directly, via the northern route, from the west Asian continent together with the music and dances. Thus it is thought that the mask dance-drama and music of Koguryo, which also originated in west-central Asia, probably have some connection with that of the puppet drama.

Theatrical arts in Korea may also have originated in part from the p'ansori, a long form of vocal music in which a kwangdae (singer of tales) sings a work of narrative literature to the accompaniment of only a single drum. The subject material of the narrative is usually taken from time-honoured folktales, though recent times have seen the creation of new works based on both historical and religious elements as well.

Sources differ somewhat as to the etymology of the word p'ansori, but it is generally thought that the prefix p'an indicates a place or area where various types of folk arts were once performed, often referred to as a norip'an (performance area). The suffix sori means sound, but a sound that can either be spoken or sung. In the case of the p'ansori it is both, the singer alternating sung passages (ch'ang) with recitative (aniri). Therefore, when the two parts of the word are combined, it can be translated roughly into a 'song sung at a place of entertainment'.

In the past, this 'place of entertainment' was more often than not to be found at the village square on market days and traditional festive holidays, at wedding ceremonies, the gardens of wealthy aristocrats, or, on rarer occasions, even the royal court itself. Today, however, p'ansori is almost always performed on the stage of a modern, Western-style theatre and occasionally for television audiences.

Whether it be at a village market-place or on a theatrical stage, the performance style is essentially the same. The singer stands on a straw mat, called the sorip'an (singing place), while the drummer sits to the singer's left. A fan and handkerchief are employed as props - and in summer as cooling devices too - as the performer sings and speaks, often acting out the story with gestures (norim sae) and an impromptu dance (pallim) as well.

Though sources vary also on the origin of the p'ansori, the general consensus is that its melodic roots lie largely in the shamanist ritual songs of the south-western part of the peninsula, the resemblance of which may be borne out even today. In this area, the religious practitioners are always female, the role of the males being solely to provide the musical accompaniment. It is believed that some of these male musicians abandoned their religious function to become what is known in Korea as kwangdae which accounts roughly to wandering minstrels, bards, troubadours, or jongleurs, gradually evolving into the role of professional entertainers. Their repertoire came to include not only instrumental and dance performances, but also tightrope-walking, tumbling, and juggling. In between their acts,
they engaged in a kind of story-telling employing both song and recitative, the story material being drawn from well-known folktales with the melodic structure of the songs stemming from shamanistic ritual music and regional folksongs. Having no formal education, their repertoire was simple and told entirely by rote. Here then, lie the beginnings of the p'ansori, which scholars estimate to be somewhere during early period (c. 15th -16th c.). A vestige of the primordial style of p'ansori can still be found at some village ritual ceremonies, although it is gradually disappearing.

By mid-Choson (18th c.), p'ansori had developed as an art-form, both in quality and quantity, to the point of sophistication, wherein its proponents dissociated themselves from the acrobatic-type repertoires of which it once was a part. Eventually, p'ansori text and music came to appeal to the aristocratic class, who, in earlier times, found it repugnant and regarded it as being fit only for the lower classes. From the 19th c. a great number of famous p'ansori singers were patronized by the nobility, and, because of the wide variety of social audiences, a greater breadth of linguistic expression was inevitably needed. Accordingly, many vulgarities of the original texts were dropped in favour of quotations from Chinese classics, the standard literary media of the gentry and scholarly class, although folk proverbs were still included.

During King Sunjo's reign (r. 1800-1834), the p'ansori, which then consisted of a total of twelve songs, was put into written form by a man named Shin Chaehyo (1812-84). He became the most notable patron of the p'ansori. Shin was also a specialist, educator, and compiler of p'ansori texts. His talent was not limited to the work of researcher and compiler alone, however. He also refined and polished the p'ansori texts, sometimes rewriting whole sections, and influenced the way in which it was performed by arranging the texts with proper rhythmic and melodic patterns. In addition, he improved singing techniques and placed particular emphasis on the norumsae and dialogue technique, thus attempting to establish a stronger unity in the work as a drama in the modern sense. Also, before his time there were no known female p'ansori singers, and he was the first to break with this tradition by himself training a woman. His greatest accomplishment, however, was the reorganization and codification of five of the twelve original songs into the so-called Five Great P'ansori as they are known today.

Shin Chaehyo was thus, in addition to everything else, a reformer who turned the p'ansori toward the path of becoming a stage art - an opera in the Western sense of the word - which it eventually did, around the turn of the 20th century, in the form of what is known today as ch'ang'gük (a sing-spiel or 'singing play', so to speak), a kind of Korean traditional folk opera.

In ch'ang'gük, the dramatic roles are performed by different singers in costume and makeup along with theatrical trappings such as stage props, scenery, lighting, and sound effects as in Western and Chinese opera, and Japanese kabuki theatre. It is accompanied by a full instrumental ensemble.

As annexation, war, and the introduction of modern forms of entertainment spelled the near death of mask and puppet drama, as well as the p'ansori and ch'ang'gük until about the early 1970s when the Korean government, at the urging of concerned scholars and folklorists, decided to designate these art-forms as Intangible Cultural Treasures, to be protected and preserved for posterity. Also, their living exponents as Human Cultural Treasures, who were able to receive government subsidies so that they might pass on their knowledge to future performers.

Though the history of modern theatre in Korea is officially recognized as beginning on 26 July 1908 with the opening of the Wön'gak-sa Theatre in Seoul by the novelist-playwright Yi Injik (1861-1916), the first modern theatre was actually built in 1902 as part of the ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of King Kojong's coronation. This was a small
amphitheatre with a capacity of 500 to 600 and in which kisaeng (female entertainers), p'ansori singers, and kwangdae held stage rehearsals. The first performance at the Wŏn'gak-sa theatre in July 1908 was given by renowned kisaeng and male singers of the capital. Modern drama was actually not performed until November of that year when Yi Injik dramatized his novel 'The Silver World' and performed it on the Wŏn'gak-sa stage on 15 November 1908. It became the first 'new (modern) drama' (shin'guk) performance in Korea, and laid the foundation for drama performances in the modern sense that have continued up until the present time.

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Tobong Mountain

Situated at the north-eastern edge of Seoul, Mt. Tobong is part of Pukhan-san National Park. The mountain is characterised by jagged granite peaks and rugged terrain. To the south of Chaun Peak, the mountain’s highest point (710 metres), lie Manjang and Sŏnin Peak, and to the west lies the Obong (Five Peaks) area. Many temples are here, including Ch’ŏnch’uk, Wŏnt’ong, Mangwŏl, Ssangnyong, Hŭiryong Temples and Kwanun Hermitage. In addition, the Tobong Academy, founded by King Sŏnjo (1567-1608) in
Commemoration of the Confucian scholar Cho Kwangjo (1482-1519), is located on the mountain. Mt. Tobong is frequented by Seoul residents who picnic in the valleys or hike the mountain’s trails.

Tögyu Mountain

Situated south of Muju and east of Chinan, Mt. Tögyu is part of the Sobaek Mountain Range. The mountain has two prominent peaks, the 1,614-meter high Sang (Upper) Peak, also called Hyangjök Peak, and the 1,594-metre high Chung (Intermediary) Peak, also known as South Tögyu Mountain. The ridge connecting these two peaks forms part of the boundary between North Cholla and South Kyongsang Province. To the north-west of the main peak lies Mt. Tumun (1,051 metres), to the north-east, Ch’iil Peak (1,161 metres) and Köch’il Peak (1,178 metres), to the east, Ch’i Peak (1,248 metres), and to the south-west on the ridge connecting the two peaks, Mt. Muryong (1,492 metres) and Satkat Peak (1,386 metres). These high peaks, all exceeding 1000 metres, are sometimes referred to collectively as the Tögyu Mountain Range.

With its high peaks, the Tögyu Mountain Range formed a natural barrier between Paekche and Shilla during the Three Kingdoms Period. The value of the range as a natural barricade was also appreciated during the Koryö Period. In 1374, Ch’oe Yong (1316-1388) is said to have built the stone fortifications that can still be seen on Choksan Mountain. In addition to these historical sites, several Buddhist temples are located in the Mt. Tögyu area. Paengnyŏn Hermitage, founded during the Shilla Period, was burnt down during both the Hideyoshi Invasion and the Korean War, but has now been rebuilt. An’guk Temple, situated inside the Chôksan fortifications, was founded during the Koryö Period.

The lower elevations of Mt. Tögyu and South Tögyu Mountain are characterised by relatively gentle terrain; however, the peak area of Mt. Tögyu is made up of spectacular rock outcroppings. Since both peaks have few trees at the higher elevations, it is possible to see the entire area from almost any vantage point; however, the true beauty of the mountain lies hidden in the small valleys which snake up toward the summit. In particular, the Kuch’ŏndong Valley is famous for its splendid scenery. In order to better preserve the mountain’s natural and historical heritage, the area was designated Tögyu-san National Park in 1975.

Tohwasŏ

Tok Island

Situated 92 kms. east of Ullüng Island in the East Sea, Tok Island is the easternmost part of Korean territory. Administratively, the island belongs to the town of Ullüng in North Kyongsang Province’s Ullüng County. Formerly known as Sambong Island, Usan Island and Kaji Island, the island acquired its present name in 1881. In Japan, the island is called both Takeshima (Bamboo Island) and Matsushima (Pine Island). In the West, it was named after the ships that discovered it. The French called it Liancourt and the British, Hornet.

Tok actually consists of two small islands, known as Tong and Sŏ, that stand 110 to 160 metres apart, along with about 36 small rocks and islets jutting out of the sea. Tong (East) has an area of 0.060 sq.kms, and Sŏ (West) 0.110 sq.kms. These rugged islands, along with Ullüng Island, rose out of the East Sea as a result of volcanic eruption. Too small to support permanent settlements, the islands are occupied by an army contingent.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Tok was annexed by Japan. Almost a half-century later, on 18 January 1952 Korea reasserted its ownership in the ‘Injŏp haeyangûi chugwôn e kwanhan taegongnyŏng sŏnŏn’ (The Presidential Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Adjacent Seas). In the proclamation, Tok Island was included within the ‘p’yŏnghwason’
(Peace Line) demarcating Korean territory. Ten days later, the Japanese government issued a statement claiming that the so-called ‘Peace Line’ violated principles of international law. Since 1952, the island has often been the site of bitter dispute between Korea and Japan.

Töksu Palace (Kyöngun Palace) [Architecture]

**Tong Paengnyön Mountain**

Situated on the border of Munch’ön County in South Hamgyöng Province and Koksan County in Hwanghae Province, East Paengnyön Mountain (1,246 metres) marks the juncture of the Mashingnyöng Mountain Range and the Önjin Mountain Range. The entire area is characterised by steep, rugged terrain that gives way to almost perpendicular slopes on the north-east side. In contrast with the broad-leaved forest of the southern side, the mountain’s northern side is covered with dense stands of conifers.

*Tonga ilbo* (see Newspapers)

**Tonga kyosöpsa üi yön’gu** (A Study of the History of International Relations in East Asia)

*Tonga kyosöpsa üi yön’gu* is a 557-page work written by Ko Pyöngik and was published by Seoul National University in 1970. This work centres on Korea but also covers China, Mongolia, other East Asian nations and India. The work covers matters ranging from historical times to the present and includes topics such as political systems, foreign relations, social structure, legal systems and ideology among other topics. It is divided into the three broad sections of ‘History and Cultural Exchange’, ‘The Relationship between China and Koryo’ and ‘Interaction Between Korea and Western Nations’.

This work outlines the problems and facts in the relationship between the Orient and the West in a straightforward manner. However, the author does not adequately deal with the issue of the Japanese problem in Asia. Despite this, the work contains a great deal of material for research into the relationship between the West and East Asia.

**Tongbang munhwa kyoryusa non’go** (Studies of the History of Cultural Exchange in East Asia)

*Tongbang munhwa kyoryusa non’go* is a 243-page work written by Kim Sanggi and published by Eul Yoo Publishing Company in 1984. This work examines the cultural interchange between China and Korea. In the first part of the work the rise and fall of sea power, particularly that of Chang Pogo, (d. 846) is discussed. In the second section the maritime activities of Koreans during the times of military rule and of the Mongolian Invasion of Koryö are examined.

Tongdaemun (Great East Gate) [Architecture]

*Tongdong* (Tongdong Refrain) [Akhak koeböm]

**Tongduch’ön**

Tongduch’ön is situated in Kyönggi Province to the north of Seoul. Mt. Mach’a (588 metres) rises to the west of the city while Mt. Soyo (536 metres), Kuksa Peak (754 metres), Mt. Wangbang (737 metres) and Mt. Haeryong (661 metres) mark the eastern border. Kanghwa Stream runs north through the city before entering the Hant’an River.
The city is a commercial centre for northern Kyŏnggi Province. There are a number of military bases here including Camp Casey, an important military installation of the United States army. In order to serve the needs of the soldiers, the city has a large service industry. Less than 10 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture. Most of the farming is devoted to dry field crops and fruits such as apples, pears and grapes. Dairy farming also forms an important part of the local economy. Taking advantage of the road and railway connections to Seoul, there are a number of factories in the area, but most of these are only medium-sized operations. There are also several silica mines in the city.

For the most part, the town’s tourism is centred around Mt. Soyo, which has been called ‘the Diamond Mountains of Kyŏnggi Province.’ At the most popular entrance to the mountain, there are war memorials dedicated to soldiers from Belgium and Luxembourg who fought in the Korean War. The trail up the mountain takes one past numerous waterfalls and several Buddhist hermitages. Mt. Soyo is particularly popular in the autumn when the leaves change colour.

In addition to picturesque mountain scenery, there are several important historical sites in the area. On Mt. Soyo, one finds Chajae Hermitage which was founded by Wŏnhyo in 645, and in T’ap-dong there is a stone Buddha from the late Koryŏ period. In Sang’ae-dong, there is the Samch’ungdan (Altar of the Three Loyal Ministers). This small shrine commemorates Min Shin, Kim Mun’gi and Cho Kwan who opposed Sejo’s usurpation of the throne that was held by the child King Tanjong (1452-1455).

**Tonggak chapki** (East Tower Miscellany)

*Tonggak chapki* is an unofficial history written by the middle Chosŏn period scholar-official Yi Chŏnghyŏng (1548-1607). This calligraphed work consists of two volumes. In this work, Yi begins by tracing the lineage of Yi Sŏnggye (the founder of the Chosŏn Kingdom) and then details the history of Chosŏn through the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608). In this unofficial history, Yi devotes much attention to political affairs and the individuals who were involved in the various political incidents in the first half of the Chosŏn period. Some of the matters that are covered include the rise to power by Yi Sŏnggye, the political activities of Chŏng Tojŏn (1342-1398), the Purge of the 1519 (*Kimyo sahwa*), the Purge of 1545 (*iilsa sahwa*) and the 1592 Japanese Invasion among other major events.

Since this work is in the form of an unofficial history it does not cover all of the events that occurred in the first half of the Chosŏn period. However, it does touch upon the major events of the period and serves as a valuable supplement to the official histories contained in the *Chosŏn wangjo shillok* (*The Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*). Therefore, this work is useful for the study of the first half of the Chosŏn period.

**Tonggang munjip** (Collected Works of Tonggang)

*Tonggang munjip* is the literary collection of mid-Chosŏn scholar and meritorious retainer, Kim Uŏng (1540-1603). The original work consists of seventeen fascicles in eight volumes, with a supplement of four fascicles in two volumes. The work is a woodblock print. The work was compiled and published by the author’s disciples in 1661. The original woodblock version was used as the basis for an 1846 republication of the work.

*Tonggang munjip* contains a preface written by Hŏ Mok and poems, funeral odes, memorials to the throne, lectures to the throne and other official documents among its varied contents. The lectures to the throne on the Chinese classics, reveal the great breadth of knowledge of the author, and moreover, display the understanding that Kim had of the importance of the proper interpretation of neo-Confucian doctrines to the monarch’s governance of the nation. *Tonggang munjip* is considered as being of great value for
understanding the political, economic and social situation of Chosŏn at about the time of the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Additionally, since the author was deeply involved in the factional politics that dominated the court at this time, it is also useful for an examination of the causes behind this divisional strife. This work is preserved at the Kyujanggak Library and Koryŏ University Library.

**Tongguk chŏngun** (Dictionary of Proper Korean Pronunciations, 1448)

The *Tongguk chŏngun*, in six volumes, is a dictionary of Chinese characters arranged by rhyme. The work was compiled on the order of King Sejong in 1447 by Shin Suk-ču, Ch’oe Hang, Sŏng Sammun, Pak P’aengnyŏn, Yi Kae, Kang Hŭihan, Cho Pyŏn'an, Kim Ch’ung and Yi Hyŏnro, and published in 1448.

Even after *han’gŭl* was invented in 1443, Chinese characters were still widely used in Korea. Consequently, a dictionary arranged by rhyme (one of two ways used to arrange Chinese dictionaries) was in great demand at that time. The *Tongguk chŏngun* is a dictionary of this kind, but it was compiled with Koreans in mind.

The dictionaries arranged by rhyme (*unsŏ*) published in China showed pronunciation quite different from the actual pronunciation of Chinese characters practised in Korea. This difference was probably a consequence of natural linguistic changes in the vocal sounds. These differences were recognized at the time and it was felt there was a need to standardize the pronunciations.

While the original work consisted of six volumes, only volumes 1 and 6 are extant.

The work is important as the first dictionary by rhyme in Korea, as a guide to the pronunciation of Chinese characters in Korean in the 15th c., and for its pioneering use of *han’gŭl* to explain the pronunciation of Chinese characters. As an official work initiated by royal decree, it stands as an early example of national language reform.

The extant two volumes were discovered in North Kyŏngsang Province. They are printed in Kapin type and are considered so valuable that they have been designated as National Treasure Nos. 71 and 142. The size of each volume is 20.5cm in length and 33.8cm in width.

**Tongguk seshigi**

[Agricultural rites]

**Tongguk shinsok samgang haengshil to** (New Supplement to the Illustrated Guide to Three Relationships)

*Tongguk shinsok samgang haengshil to* is a record of the deeds of filial sons and daughters, loyal retainers and virtuous women compiled by order of Prince Kwanghae (1608-1623) in 1617. This work consists of eighteen volumes in a like number of fascicles and is a woodblock-printed work. Publication was delayed by two years as the huge expense involved was spread to all of the provinces by printing certain volumes of the book in each province. This work is the successor to *Samgang haengshil to* (Illustrated Guide to the Three Relationships) compiled in 1431 and *Sok Samgang haengshil to* (Supplement to the Illustrated Guide to Three Relationships) published in 1515.

This work was compiled in the aftermath of the 1592 Japanese Invasion in an attempt to bolster the national spirit and pride of the Korean people in the wake of the devastating War. It includes the biographies of many Korean men and women who performed heroic deeds during the conflict. The first eight volumes of this enormous work are dedicated to filial sons, the ninth volume to loyal retainers and the last eight volumes to virtuous women. The
format is to present an illustration of an individual and then his or her biography. This work was written in it was accessible to the common people.

*Tongguk shinsok samgang haengshil to* is also highly valued by linguists studying the Korean language of the early seventeenth century since it is mostly written in *han’gül*. It contains much data concerning the various linguistic phenomena that were present in the Korean language at this time. This work is presently stored at the Kyujanggak Library and has also been republished in recent years first by the National Central Library in 1959 and more recently in 1978 by Taejegak.

**Tongguk t’onggam** (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom)

*Tongguk t’onggam* is a history of Korea reaching from the time before Shilla to the end of the Koryŏ Kingdom. This massive work was compiled by a team of scholars headed by Sŏ Kŏjong (1420-1488) during the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) in 1485. It consists of fifty-six volumes in twenty-eight fascicles. Work on this comprehensive history began in 1458 and the section on ancient history was completed and published as *Samguk sa chŏlbo* in 1476. By 1484 the entire work was completed and published in the following year. *Tongguk t’onggam* marks the first attempt in Korean history to create a chronological history of Korea from ancient times to the end of the Koryŏ Kingdom. Prior to this work *Samguk saga* (History of the Three Kingdoms) compiled by Kim Pu-shik (1074-1151) which covered the Three Kingdoms and earlier periods, and *Koryŏ sa* (History of Koryŏ) compiled by Chŏng Inji (1396-1478) that covered the Koryŏ period were the major historical records of Korea. However, both of these works presented their data according to category rather than by a linear, chronological method. Therefore, a need for a complete and sequential history was seen by the scholars of the Chosŏn period.

For the compilation of the *Tongguk t’onggam* data from the *Samguk saga* and *Koryŏ sa* along with other works was used, so this work cannot be viewed as original research. Other works that supplied information for this compilation include the myths and legends in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), *Tongguk Yisangguk chip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea) and *Sui chon* (Tales of the Bizarre). The work also drew upon Chinese sources for the early historical accounts of the ancient Korean states.

This work is notable in that it served not only to elevate an awareness of Korean history among the literati of the Chosŏn period, but also in that it served as the basis for most historical discussion among the Chosŏn period scholars after the time of its publication. This work is also characterized by its strict adherence to Confucian ideology that is noticeable in the viewpoints expressed in the work concerning matters such as Buddhism and other ideological details. This work is valuable for the study of Korean history and the scholarship of Korean history in the Chosŏn period. *Tongguk t’onggam* is now kept at the National Central Library.

**Tongguk Yi sangguk chip** (Collected Works of Korean Minister Yi)

This is a collection of poems and essays by Yi Kyubo (1168-1241), comprising fifty-three volumes. It is a rich source for the study of old Korean literature and contains much historical information not found elsewhere.

Forty-one volumes of the *Tongguk Yi sang-guk chip* known as the Early Collection were compiled before, and the remainder known as the Later Collection after, the death of Yi Kyubo in 1240. The earlier volumes contain invaluable historical information, some derived from the Old History of the Three Kingdoms (*Ku Samguk saga*). In particular, the version of the *Tongmyŏng wang* legends appearing in the third volume provide a useful comparison to the version contained in the *Samguk saga* (History of the Three Kingdoms).
The twenty-fifth volume relates the story of the printing of the Korean *Tripitaka* now stored in Haein Temple, including the fact that twenty-eight volumes of *Sangjong yemun palmi* were printed with copper blocks. A further reference to these volumes is to be found in *Koryoosa* (History of the Koryo) where they are said to have been printed in 1234 during the reign of King Kojong (r.1213-1259). These references are convincing evidence that movable metal-type printing in Korea preceded Gutenberg by almost two centuries.

Ten years after the death of the author, in 1215, the *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* was recompiled at Chinju, Kyongsang Province. It has been assumed that there was at least one edition of Yi Kyubo's works published in the Choson dynasty before the Hideyoshi invasions of 1592-1598, but the only copies in existence today are a few of a post-invasion edition. Kosō kanhaenghoe reprinted this edition during the Japanese (1910-45), but few copies remain. A photostatic reproduction by Tongguk Munhwasa, Seoul, of the post-invasion edition is held by Seoul National University.

*Tongguk yǒji pigo* (Remarks on the Geography of Korea)

*Tongguk yǒji pigo* is a topographical compilation on the capital of Choson of which neither the writer nor the date of compilation is known. However, judging from the content included in this work, it is thought to have been compiled during the early part of the nineteenth century. It is comprised of two volumes in two fascicles and is hand written.

The two volumes of this work are entitled 'Kyǒngdo' and 'Hansǒngbu'. The first volume contains fourteen topics including information regarding the name of Choson, the territory of the capital, why the capital was chosen as such, the divisions within the capital, construction of the palaces in the capital, location and function of the government offices in the capital and other items. The second volume contains a total of forty-six items including the history of the capital, government positions, population figures, family names of the people, market locations and also the locations of famous rivers and mountains among other entries.

This work contains a great deal of data on the historical conditions and environment of Seoul and is therefore valuable for the study of this city, and by extension the Choson period. This work is further noteworthy in that it does more than just provide raw data as the commentaries contained in it provide insight into the customs and history of Seoul. This work is now stored at the Kyujanggak Library.

*Tongguk yǒji sŏngnam* (see Shinjung Tongguk yǒji sŏngnam)

*Tonggyŏng chapki* (Eastern Capital Miscellany)

*Tonggyŏng chapki* is a descriptive geography of Tonggyŏng (present day Kyŏngju) that was last revised and enlarged in 1845 by Sŏng Wŏnmok. This woodblock-printed work consists of three volumes in three fascicles. It is an enlarged edition of previous works published in 1669 and 1711. In 1910 the Chosŏn Kosŏ Kanhaenghoe reprinted this book and in 1913 Chosŏn Kwangmunhoe again published it using movable type technology.

The three volumes of this work cover many different aspects of Tonggyŏng, and although many of the items in it are also included in *Tongguk yǒji sŏngnam* (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*), this work provides detailed commentary and supplementary descriptions that are absent in its larger counterpart. The first volume includes such items as the history of Shilla, the territory and a descriptive topography of Tonggyŏng, official posts, town walls, scenic locales and descriptions of the royal palaces and tombs among many other items. In the second volume topics such as populations, location and history of Buddhist temples, farm sizes, tax rates and distinguished officials are among those covered.
In the third volume various personages are discussed including those who had passed the government service examination, been appointed as officials, performed meritorious deeds, demonstrated exemplary filial piety and proved themselves loyal retainers. The third volume also includes miscellaneous items such as arts and crafts and strange phenomena.

This work holds a wealth of historical data for the study of the 'Eastern Capital' of the Chosŏn period. It is also useful to study the population trends and administrative structures of the late Chosŏn period. The 1845 edition is presently kept at the National Central Library and Dongguk University among other places. The subsequent 1910 and 1913 editions are also presently extant.

**Tonggyŏng taejŏn**

*Tonghae*

Tonghae is situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province, between Kangnung and Samch’ŏk. The city’s current name dates from 1980 when Pukp’yŏng and Mukho were combined to form the new city of Tonghae. The port, located in Mukho-dong, is still known as Mukho. With peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range rising up along the city’s western border, the central area is limited to a narrow coastal strip only a couple of kilometres wide. The Tonghae Expressway and Highway 5 run through the city, providing access to other coastal cities.

In addition to grains and vegetables, fruits such as grapes and peaches are grown in the area. Fishing boats, operating out of Mukho Port and the smaller ports of Ch’ŏn’gok, ŏdal and Taejin, catch mackerel pike and cuttle fish, and gather seaweed. Most of the commercial fishing boats are small, and some of the fishermen must supplement their income with farming. Taking advantage of the area’s extensive limestone deposits, the nation’s largest cement plant operates in Samhŭng-dong. At Pukp’yŏng port, a special pier has been built solely for transporting the cement produced here. In Songjŏng-dong, there are many other factories, that produce metalwork, machinery, chemicals and foodstuffs.

With beautiful beaches and spectacular mountain scenery, the city has an abundance of tourist destinations. The picturesque Murŭng Valley and Yongch’u Waterfall on Mt. Tut’a (See Tut’a Mountain) draw crowds of visitors throughout the year. During the summer, the Mangsang, ŏdal and Haegŭmgang Beaches are crowded with tourists trying to escape the summer’s heat. In addition, there are several old pavilions in the area, such as Aeyŏn-jŏng in Songjŏng-dong, and Man’gyŏng-dae (founded in 1613) and Haeam-jŏng (Kangwon Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 63) in Pukp’yŏng-dong. In Samun-dong, one finds Mun’gan-sa, a shrine erected in 1824 in honour of Han Sanggyŏng, a loyal minister who helped found the Chosŏn kingdom.

**Tonghak**

A new religion founded by Ch’oe Cheu (1824-1864) after he experienced a revelation on 25th May 1860. Used until 1905 when the name was changed to Ch’ŏndogyo, Tonghak (Eastern Learning) was selected in a fruitless attempt to distinguish it from Sŏhak (Western Learning), that is, Catholicism, which was proscribed as heretical because it placed a power above the king and undermined Confucian hierarchy. As Tonghak texts in Chinese used Ch’ŏnjū (Lord of Heaven) for the Korean Hanullim (God), a translation Catholics adopted for Deus, Tonghak from its inception was suspected by the authorities of being the Christian heresy. Ch’oe Cheu was aware of the strength of the Western nations who were threatening the overthrow of China in the 1850s. He assumed that power had a religious source, and concluded that the only way to oppose it was through the magical or creative powers of Hanullim who revealed himself in Korea.
Koreans eagerly received new teachings, for the government officials, who were indoctrinated in a sterile Neo-Confucianism enervated by endless doctrinal disputes inflamed by the struggle for office, had violated all of its principles in enriching themselves by squeezing and oppressing common people. Buddhism, isolated in the mountains by government decrees and Confucian jealousy, held out to commoners hope only for the after-life. Monks had been reduced in social status; many were beggars or manufactured paper; and catered mainly to the superstitions of women. Daoism promised long life, but was available only to those with income and leisure. Infectious diseases such as cholera and Western incursions heightened the sense of impending doom. People desperately sought solutions in folk superstitions such as faith-healing talismans, fortune-telling and the propitiation of spirits and demons. They readily believed in omens and predictions of the impending collapse of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Ch'oe Chesŏn changed his name to Cheu (Save the ignorant) in 1859. A son by a concubine to whom official posts were closed, he shared the frustrations of many marginalised intellectuals. His elderly father, a locally respected teacher of Neo-Confucianism, was unable to pass the civil service examination. Cheu's mother died when he was five, his father when he was sixteen, and he was unable or unwilling to provide for his family through farming, angering his relatives. Dissatisfied with the Confucianism learnt from his father, he journeyed on a quest for the truth to Buddhist monasteries, studied the Yiijing (Book of Changes), experimented with Daoism and investigated Catholicism, all to no avail. Seeking the will of Heaven (ch'ŏnmyŏng), after strenuous meditations on Catholicism and the powers of the West, he experienced a shamanistic possession in which he heard the voice of a mysterious god called Sangje (Supreme Emperor of Heaven) with whom he held a dialogue. The speaker proclaimed he had given (re)birth to Cheu so that Cheu could convert people with a sacred talisman, called the "medicine of the immortal", which was shaped like the t'aeguk (circular yin-yang symbol) or kung-kung, a term appearing in the Chonggamnok that predicted the overthrow of the ruling dynasty. The talisman could cure and convert people. Cheu later drew the talisman out on paper, burnt it and drank the ashes in water, curing himself and then others. Later it was asserted that only sincere believers could be cured.

Ch'oe Cheu (religious style Suun) related that the voice told him, "My mind is your mind... (People) know the world but do not know the Spirit (kwishin). I am the Spirit. I will give you the unlimited Way... Practice and refine it, write down the text with which to teach people, and establish a method of propagating virtue". A year later Cheu comprehended and wrote out the incantation as a means of inducing the descent of the spirit or the mindfulness of God within. The incantation was to be chanted aloud, repeated through twenty-one rounds of a one-hundred-and-five bead rosary. The chant read, in one interpretation: "The supreme ki (matter/energy or pneuma) now imminent, I pray for its great descent [into me]. I will serve/worship the Lord of Heaven (shich'ŏnju) and creation will be established. I will never forget [God], and all things will be known". Cheu explained that "supreme ki a formless numen so vast it affects and orders everything and yet is difficult to describe... is the unitary ki of primal chaos (the energy/matter that is the building block of the universe). Now imminent means one realises contact with that ki by embarking on this Way... The great descent is the prayer of the transformation of the ki... Serve means that internally there is a divine spirit and externally a transformation of the ki... Creation means [God] does not act and yet transforms. To establish means to unite with [God's] virtue and establish [God's] mind [in oneself... To know means to know His Way and receive His knowledge"

The obscurity of the incantation and problems of transmission, especially of the explanation, given that Cheu's heir, Ch'oe Shihyŏng (1827-1898) was illiterate, has produced variant incantations and invited differing explications, such as "Worship God and creation will be established, remember God and all things will be realised", i.e. all one's hopes will come true via devotion.
Fundamental divergences in explanations of Tonghak motives and doctrines abound. Some detect its early origins in shamanism and folk magic which were later rationalised under the influence of the communist Neo-Confucianism of Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1489-1546) as a means of attracting the educated. Others suggest an origin in Confucianism (especially the Yijing) and that the incantation and talisman were only expedients to seduce the credulous masses who desired miracle cures. One school describes the Hanullim Cheu worshipped as a personal, volitional God who was later made more abstract under Neo-Confucian influence, while another thinks Hanullim was an immanent, pantheistic God from the start. Tonghak has also been interpreted less as a religion and more as a social movement to remove societal inequities via doctrines of egalitarian morality and as a nationalist teaching instituted to preserve Korea. Some even consider Cheu attempted to reinstate Confucian ethics.

Ch’oe Cheu, while denying that his teachings were those of the exhausted Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, synthesised elements from each of them. Although he acknowledged his teachings seemed similar to Christianity, he asserted they were more rational, natural and effective. Of prime importance was to worship God by maintaining mental awareness of God within and to correct one’s ki or physical behaviour and the world, thereby curing all ills. People, as the most spiritual beings, can realise God’s creation, which is a magical power crystallised in the chant and talisman. Faith in these teachings and the subsequent total sincerity and reverence, awakens the mind of God within one and makes one’s actions coincide with God’s creation, transforming the believer into a kunja (gentleman) or a sŏn (divinity) and the world into a utopia in which state and people are salved. Thus one should serve people like the Lord of Heaven (sa in yŏ ch’ŏn). Worshipping God (shi ch’ŏn) places humans into a direct, immediate relationship with God, whereas other religions need a mediator. By eliminating ego, contact with our true mind, which is the immanent God, is made possible. This is the descent of supreme keynote believers occasioned by the incantation that makes the believers mindful of this. The immanent mind of God performs miracles, as were expected of Ch’oe Cheu by the faithful, for it is the foundation of the universe. Followers believed that through its power they could attain indestructible souls or become immortals living in a utopia. Hence, the Spirit (in both a Neo-Confucian sense as ki, and as an object of folk belief) is an absolute, monastic god within people who was revealed to Ch’oe Cheu because the universe was in a transition period between a past age of 50,000 years duration and a new age of regeneration, a phase that would be ravaged by major catastrophes from which the faithful alone would be saved.

To be saved, followers were advised to set out a bowl of clear water, symbolising the origins of the universe, in front of which they vowed to keep the Way and chanted the incantation. They were to practice a mental announcement (shin’go) of all their actions, as a prayer, confession or saying of grace, giving thanks to God, in order to maintain firmness or awareness of mind and to rectify the ki. This was an expression of faith and the basis of the reverence of the God within who was to be venerated like the ancestors, and was an encouragement of moral conduct.

Ch’oe Cheu, after initial difficulties in spreading his message from 1861, cured diseases with his talisman, chanted the incantation to ward off evil spirits, performed a sword dance and song, and made offerings. The authorities charged him with deluding the people. He was captured in December 1863, and taken to Taegu where he was interrogated and executed as a heretic in 1864, becoming a willing martyr.

His scriptures, the Tonggyŏng taejŏn in Classical Chinese prose and verse, and the Yongdam yusa in Korean verse, were written down by an amanuensis or translator from the memory of the illiterate Ch’oe Shihyŏng (religious style Haewŏl), his successor, and were published in 1880 and 1881. Ch’oe Shihyŏng further organised believers into parishes and the movement spread among the peasants and the marginalised in the southern half of
Korea. Although illiterate and operating in secret, Ch'oe Shihyŏng successfully systematised the doctrine, according to some reinterpreting the folk-belief elements of his master's teaching, making it more egalitarian and pantheistic. He formulated the practice of venerating oneself or the God within, unlike the Confucians who worshipped their ancestors in an external ancestral tablet. The mind of God in people he compared to a seed that must be nurtured by worshipping Heaven (shi ch'ŏn). Respect for God/Heaven is respect to one's own mind and is not worship of a God in Heaven. This respect was extended to all humans, which enables one to unite with the transformations of the ki of the entire universe or merge with God's will. Further, the voice of God is that of all beings, not just humans, for all bear God/Heaven (shi ch'ŏn). As all things are raised by Heaven, they must assist each other. They differ merely in their transformation of the ki, are interdependent, and so "Heaven feeds on Heaven" (ch'on shik ch'on). This also implies that one must worship through ki or physically also.

These teachings were further developed by the next leader, Son Pyŏnghŭi (1861-1922; religious style Ùiam), who succeeded after Ch'oe Shihyŏng was executed in 1898, but this phase belongs rather with the doctrines of Ch'ŏndogyo such as "humans are God" (in nae ch'ŏn), "nature (propagation of the teaching) and body (or welfare of the people) are perfected together" in supreme ki, "the religious teaching and morality and governance or politics should be in agreement", "oneness of the spirits (of Tonghak leaders and believers)" and "exchange of the physical world for the Truth" etc..

Despite Ch'oe Shihyŏng's warnings, an abortive petition movement to exonerate Ch'oe Cheu of heresy in 1892 and 1893, grew into a rebellion, even though Tonghak expressed loyalty to the king. Regarded as treacherous because it threatened the status quo, Tonghaks were increasingly persecuted, especially by rapacious officials who used their "heresy" as a pretext. In 1894, a Tonghak-led peasant erupted in Chŏlla Province, Korea's granary, where official avarice was at its worst. The rebels hoped for an earthly utopia, and although their forces defeated the government army, Ch'oe Shihyŏng refused to support this rebellion led by Chŏn Pongjun because it used violence and was not exclusively Tonghak. However, tarred with the same brush as the rebels and not wishing to be accused of betrayal, Ch'oe Shihyŏng eventually cooperated. However, it was too late for the rebellion was soon crushed with the aid of foreign military intervention. Later, Son Pyŏnghŭi began to rebuild the Tonghak religion, retreated to Japan from 1901 to 1906, and proclaimed Ch'ŏndogyo in 1905.

The Tonghak religion and rebellion has attracted many interpretations because it was vital to modern Korean history, having played a part in the eventual overthrow of the Chosŏn Dynasty, provided a faith that championed egalitarianism and the value of all humans, promoted patriotism, and formed the foundation stone for most of the new indigenous religions of Korea. Leftists view Tonghak as part of a revolutionary tradition and romanticised Tonghaks as democratic rebels. Nationalists considered the Tonghaks pioneer patriots, especially since later Ch'ŏndogyo led the 1919 Independence Movement.

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Situated on the edge of Taegu at the base of Mt. P'algong, Tonghwa Temple is one of the main temples of the Chogye Order. According to legend, the monastery, then called Yuga Temple, was first founded by Kuk-tal in 493. Since Shilla had not yet officially sanctioned Buddhism at this time, this early date is suspect. Although records state that Shimji ‘reconstructed’ the temple in 832, many scholars believe that the monastery was actually founded at this time. Legend has it that when Shimji built the temple, the paulownia trees were in full bloom in spite of the cold winter weather. Shimji is said to have therefore called the temple ‘Tonghwa’ (Paulownia Flowers) in order to commemorate the miraculous event. The temple was reconstructed by Yongjo in 934, by Chinul in 1190 and by Hongjin in 1298. In the Choson Period, it was reconstructed by Yujong in 1606, by Sang-sung in 1677, and by Ch'ŏng-wŏl, Kwan-ho, Nak-pin and Un'gu in 1732. Most of the present buildings date from Yongjo’s restoration.

The temple houses a great number of important artefacts. At the entrance, there are two stone banner-holders thought to date from the Greater Shilla Period. In ancient times, the holders supported poles which, in turn, supported large banners painted with Buddhist motifs. Near the entrance, there is also a line-drawing of a seated Buddhist figure (Treasure No. 243) on a stone face. Due to its general lack of vitality, the figure is thought to date from the late Greater Shilla. Outside the temple, there is a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 831) that is believed to date from early Koryo. In the vicinity of the temple, there are a number of affiliated hermitages, including Kumdang, Naewŏn, Piro, Pudo, Yangji and Yŏmbul Hermitages. Many of these also contain important historical artefacts. At Piro Hermitage, there is a stone Vairocana statue (Treasure No. 244). Carved in 863, the statue is said to have been erected by Shimji in order to pray for the well-being of his deceased cousin, King Minae (r. 838-839). In front of the hermitage, there is a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 247) dating from Greater Shilla. A sarira reliquary was discovered inside this pagoda. On the outer section of the reliquary, there were four gilt-bronze panels inscribed with images of Buddhist triads. The panels are now kept in the national museum. Another three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 248) from the same period can be seen in the grounds of Kumdang Hermitage. At Yŏmbul Hermitage there are line-drawings of a Buddha and bodhisattva figure on two rock faces. The buddha figure is a representation of Amitabha Buddha, while the bodhisattva figure is the Goddess of Mercy (Kwanseum Posal). Both date from early Koryo. With such
a rich historical heritage, Tonghwa Temple and its affiliated hermitages are popular destinations for tourists from across the nation.

Tongin (Easterners) [History]
Tongin shihwa [Literature]
Tongin shiron chŏlgŭ [Literature]
Tongji Munyegwan [Libraries]

Tongjin River

Tongjin River flows some 45 kms. from the western slopes of the Noryŏng Mountain Range through the central part of North Chŏlla Province before discharging into the Yellow Sea. The source of the river is largely by run-off from Mt. Sangdu (575m) in Chŏngŭp’s Shinoe Township. This forms Towŏn Stream which widens to about fifty metres in Ch’ilbo Township to become the Tongjin River. Just west of the town of Shint’aein, the river joins Chŏngŭp Stream, which flows from the south.

The Tongjin is associated with the Kobu Peasant Uprising, a key event in the Tonghak Rebellion. In 1893, Cho Pyŏnggap, the unpopular magistrate of Kobu County, conscripted local peasants to build a new reservoir just below the site of the old Mansŏk Reservoir. After the project was completed, he charged the same peasants an exorbitant tax for use of the reservoir’s water. On 16 February 1894, the peasants gathered under the leadership of Chŏn Pongjun, occupied the county office, seized weapons and destroyed the reservoir.

Tongmaeng [Agricultural rites]

Tongmunson (Anthology of Korean Writing)

Tongmunson is a massive literary compilation of Korean literature from Shilla to the middle Chosŏn period that was compiled by a team of scholars headed by Sŏ Kŏjong (1420-1488). This work is composed of 130 volumes and three volumes of catalogues in a total of forty-five fascicles. There are both woodblock print and movable metal type versions of this work. In this collection there are works ranging from the Shilla literary men such as Kim Inmun (629-694), Sŏl Ch’ong (660-730) and Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (857-?) to those of the early Chosŏn period. In all, the work contains over five-hundred different authors with some 4,300 works recorded in chronological order.

This work is an extensive record of hanmun (Sino-Korean) literature to the early Chosŏn period, and the work naturally contains some of the greatest literary men in Korean history. Aside from the three Shilla era literati mentioned above, the works of Yi Kyubo (1168-1241), Kim Pushik (1074-1151), Yi Chehyŏn (1287-1367), Yi Kok (1289-1351), Yi Saek (1328-1396), Yi Ch’ŏm (1345-1405) and Kwŏn Kŭn (1354-1409) are well represented in this work. Of the five-hundred writers represented, some 220 have but one work in this collection. Through this it is clear that the compilers of this anthology concentrated their efforts on the luminaries in Korean literary history.

Many editions and reprints of this work have survived to the present. The 1478 version, which was printed with ŭlhae cha type print, is extant as is a 1482 reprint using kabin
The Kyujanggak Library has a woodblock print edition, which may be from the original publishing, but this has not been determined for certain at present. In 1915 this work was reissued by the Kosō Kanhaenghoe, and a copy of the work was issued in 1966 by Kyŏnghŭi Ch’uelp’ansa. In 1968 a han’gul version was published by Minjok Munhwa Ch’uujinhoe.

Tongmyŏng, King

King Tongmyŏng (58-19 BCE) was the founding king of Koguryŏ and reigned from 37 to 19 BCE. Various other names by which Tongmyŏng was known can be found in historical records, including Chumong (most commonly used); Ch’umo; Chungmo; Sanghae; Ch’umong; and Tomo. It is also recorded in histories, such as in the section relating to Koguryŏ in the Chinese Guoshi (National History), the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) that his family name was Ko and that his given name was Chumong. The Samguk sagi does, however, refer to Tongmyŏng by the names of Ch’umo and Sanghae, and the inscription on the Stele of King Kwanggaet’o names him as King Ch’umo.

An examination of various Chinese historical documents on Koguryŏ reveals two basic lines: histories such as the Puyŏ section of the Weilue (Chronicles of the Wei Kingdom) and Hou hanshu (History of the Latter Han Dynasty), and the Koguryŏ section of the Liangshu (History of Liang) name the founder of Puyŏ as Tongmyŏng, while the Koguryŏ sections of the Weishu (History of the Wei Kingdom), Zhoushu (History of the Zhou Dynasty), Nanshi (History of the Southern Dynasties), Suishu (History of the Sui) and the Beishi (History of the Northern Dynasties) all record that the founder of Koguryŏ was Chumong. It is commonly accepted that Tongmyŏng came from Puyŏ and then founded Koguryŏ. However, the reality is that King Tongmyŏng and the founder of Koguryŏ, Chumong, are different personages. Nonetheless, the framework of the Tongmyŏng and Chumong legend is identical, and in this aspect is remarkably similar to the Tan’ gun shinhwa (Tan’ gun Myth). The common base of these legendary happenings is the descent of a heavenly-being which assumes political control of an early kingdom, and which also has the divine authority to direct the forces that control agriculture. Thus, it is evident that these myths were perpetuated by a new ruling power as a means to legitimize its political domination, and to mark the coming of a new stage of social development.

The Samguk yusa and Samguk sagi relate that the father of Chumong, Haemosu, was the son of the heavenly emperor, and the king of Puyŏ. Chumong’s mother was Yuhwa, the daughter of Habaek, who threw his daughter out when she became pregnant. The Samguk yusa records the following story.

King Kŭmwa of the Eastern Puyŏ Kingdom was out hunting when he encountered a beautiful woman on the banks of the Ubalsu Stream. She told him that she was the daughter of Habaek and that while she had been out with her two sisters, a strong man named Haemosu had introduced himself and then enjoyed her before leaving. After her father learned of this incident, he exiled her to the banks of the Ubalsu. King Kŭmwa did not know what to make of the woman’s story, so he brought her back to his kingdom and confined her in a darkened room. However, the strong light of the sun entered the room and caressed the body of Yuhwa and she became pregnant, eventually delivering a large egg. King Kŭmwa did not know what to think of the egg and threw it into the animal compound, but the animals there would not eat it. Next, he ordered the egg to be put on the roadway, but the passing horses and oxen would not tread on it. Finally, he had the egg thrown into a field, but there the birds and beasts protected it. Only after the king himself tried to break the egg did he return it to its mother, and shortly afterwards the shell cracked and a handsome and noble boy emerged.

By the time the youth had reached the age of seven he held a man’s strength and was highly
skilled in marksmanship; thus he was called ‘Chumong,’ a name given to a skilled archer. King Kûmwa had seven sons, but none the equal of Chumong. The eldest son, Taeso, told his father that since Chumong was not the son of a mortal, the sooner he was killed the better the kingdom would be. The king, however, did not heed his son and instead charged Chumong with caring for the horses in the royal stable. Chumong, knowing much about horses, selected a fast steed for himself and fed it only lightly, thereby making it gaunt, but he overfed the packhorses, making them plump. The King selected the well-fed horses for himself and his sons, and gave Chumong the lean mount. This strategy enabled the youth to be an even more effective hunter on his lightning-fast horse.

Chumong’s mother had learned of a plot to kill her son, and told him to flee far from King Kûmwa. He and three trusted friends, Oi, Mari and Hyôppo, mounted their horses and fled from the kingdom, until they reached the formidable Ômch’esu River. Chumong reached the river-bank and cried: "I am the son of the Heavenly Emperor and the grandson of the Dragon King Habaek. My enemies now draw near, what shall I do?" At once the fish and turtles in the river formed a bridge that enabled Chumong and his friends to cross, and then swam away, leaving the pursuing soldiers without passage. The group then continued on to Cholbu, where they stayed, and where a city grew on the banks of the Piryusu Stream. Thus, in the year 37 BCE, the kingdom of Koguryô was established.

While there are variations of this legend in different records, the basic narrative is consistent. Tongmyông is said to have consolidated Koguryô’s position among its neighbours and his son, King Yuri (r. 19 BCE-18 CE), was his successor. The legend surrounding King Tongmyông represents the attempt of the ruling-class of Koguryô to establish a lineage with divine origins, and thereby elevate their position and right to rule the common people. Moreover, the fact that Chumong is vested with qualities such as equestrian and archery skills further reveals that these attainments, so necessary for hunters and warriors in this period, were held to be indispensable also to the ruling-class of early Koguryô.

**Tongmyông wang p’yŏn**

[Literature]

**Tongnip Hyŏphoe** (The Independence Club)

[Hitory of Korea]

**Tongnip hyŏphoe undong**

[Japan and Korea]

**Tongnip hyŏphoe yŏn’gu** (A Study of the Independence Club)

*Tongnip hyŏphoe yŏn’gu* is a 690-page work written by Shin Yongha that explores the history and development of the Tongnip Hyŏphoe, or the Independence Club of the late nineteenth century. This work was first published by Ilichogak Publishers in 1976 and then again in 1981. The author explores eight areas of the Tongnip Hyŏphoe including the foundation of the organisation, its structure, its social ideology, enlightenment activities and many other aspects of this organisation. Of particular note in this work is the author’s treatment of the ideology of the Tongnip Hyŏphoe insofar as it influenced the social and nationalistic enlightenment of the Korean people in the late nineteenth century.

**Tongnip shinmun** (The Independent)

[Newspapers]

**Tongsa kangmok** (Annotated Account of Korean History)

*Tongsa kangmok* is a comprehensive history written by An Ch’ôngbok (1712-1791). This twenty-volume work in a like number of fascicles covers Korean history from the time of
Tan'gun Chosŏn to the end of the Koryŏ Kingdom in the late fourteenth century. This hand-written work was completed in 1778 after an over twenty-year effort on the part of the author.

This history is modelled after the Chinese historical work *Tongjian gangmu* written by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) of Sung China. It is heavily influenced by the neo-Confucian ideology of Zhu Xi and this can be witnessed in many of the interpretations of history that An Ch'ŏngbok makes. One contention of the author that is highly controversial today is his assertion that the history of Korea began with the formation of Kija Chosŏn by Kija, a refugee from the Chinese Yin nation, in 1122 BCE. An dismisses the Tan'gun Chosŏn state as little more than a Buddhist fabrication; this aspect of his work is contradictory to the other great historical work of the Chosŏn period, *Tongguk t'onggam* (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom), which supported the existence of Tan'gun Chosŏn.

*Tongsa kangmok* is notable in several aspects including many modern methods used in the compilation of the work. One such aspect is the inclusion of a list of reference books in a supplemental volume of this work. In this precursor to a modern bibliography, the author lists over fifty works that he used in the assembling of this work. The author also included a supplemental volume of maps of the various periods throughout Korean history, and other supplemental items that detailed the structure of the government of the different periods. This presents the modern researcher a wealth of valuable material for gaining a greater understanding of the governmental institutions of the ages covered in this work. Other noteworthy features of this historical work include the inclusion of the genealogies of the various royal families for each of the Three Kingdoms, and Puyŏ, Parhae and Koryŏ. The author also is conspicuous in his harsh criticism of usurpers and traitors, and clearly denotes what he views as just and unjust activities. Moreover, the author praises loyal actions highly. Finally, An closely scrutinizes the particulars of the legal systems of each period, which provides further insight into the structure of the government and social systems of the different periods.

*Tongsa kangmok* presents a new interpretation of Korean history that is more than just a regurgitation of past works. The author’s opinions and interpretation of Korean history are heavily biased by his neo-Confucian ideological viewpoint, but nonetheless are well argued. This work was also greatly affected by the *shirhak* ideology that was prevalent during this period of Chosŏn. These attributes all add to its scholastic value.

*Tongshin che* [Customs and Traditions]

*Tongŭi pogam* [Medicine, Food and eating]

*Tongyo* [Music]

*Tosan Sŏwŏn* [Architecture]

**Tosŏn** (827-898)

Tosŏn, whose family name was Kim, entered the monastic order around the age of fourteen. He spent his early years at Mt. Wŏryu’s Hwaŏm Temple where he studied sutras. In 850, he received higher ordination at Ch’ŏndō Temple. After residing at several other temples, Tosŏn went to Mt. Chiri where he set to work building a hermitage. According to legend, one day a visitor told him, ‘I have special knowledge that I would like to pass on to you tomorrow on the southern coast.’ When Tosŏn went to the designated spot, the visitor appeared and started to make miniature diagrams in the sand, showing Tosŏn how some landscapes blocked, while others enhanced, the beneficial influences of nature.
Although this philosophy, called geomancy, had previously existed in Korea, Toson strengthened its appeal by combining it with Buddhist ideas of karmic reward, as well as Taoist yin-yang and Five Elements theory. According to Toson, the layout of terrain features deeply affected those who resided in the area. The selection of a propitious site for a building or a tomb could thus bring good fortune to a person's descendants, or in some cases, to the entire nation. On the other hand, one could repair inauspicious sites by setting up stupas or temples in the area.

Toson wrote a work known as Toson pigu (Esoteric Record of Toson), but the original is no longer extant. He is also credited with writing Songak myǒngdang ki, Toson tapsan ka, Samgaksan myǒngdang ki and other works. According to one source, Toson travelled to China where he learned geomancy. However, since the dates given are inconsistent with other sources, this source is thought to be unreliable. Toson was styled Sŏn (Jap. Zen) Master Yogong; yet, his ideas show little influence from the Korean Sŏn School. Indeed, it is his geomancy theories that were to be his lasting legacy. These theories were not only popular with the local gentry, who used them to enhance the status of their particular region, but even influenced Wang Kŏn's choice of Kaesŏng as the capital of the new Koryŏ dynasty. Since Toson's ideas could be used to justify the founding of the new dynasty, the early Koryŏ kings were especially attracted to his theories.

**Bibliography**


**Toŭn chip**

Toŭn was the pen name of Yi Sungin (1349-1392), the author of this collection of poems and other writings. The original size of the collection is not known, but it is believed to have been first published before the author's death. A new edition, known to have been in two volumes, was published in 1406 by order of King T'aejong. Later an expanded collection of three volumes of poems and two volumes of other writings was published. These five volumes are reproduced in the Yŏgye myǒnghyŏn chip (Collection of noted Koryŏ scholars) published by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun'gwan University in 1961.

**Tourism**

**History**

Tourism has a long history in Korea and records of travel and associated activities can be traced to the Three Kingdoms (BCE 18th-CE 7th c.). The *Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)* and *Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms)* give accounts of travel to famous mountains and rivers throughout the country by officials and members of the aristocracy. The hwarang (youth corps) of Shilla underwent periodic pilgrimages to famous locales to cultivate their minds and bodies. Travellers in these early periods stayed at yŏkch'am (post stations) and inns that were built along main roads throughout the peninsula. In addition to travel inside the country, Koreans of this period also travelled to neighbouring countries, such as China and Japan. For the most part, travel can be viewed as being of a religious nature and was generally aimed at either gaining knowledge of certain religious systems, in the case of China, or in propagating religion, in the instance of Japan. This sort of religiously inspired travel resulted in the founding of Buddhism and its...
propagation in Korea. Many monks travelled to China, including Wŏn’gwang (542-640) and some like Hyech’o (704-787) journeyed to distant India. Hyech’o’s record of his travels, Wang Och’ŏnch’uk ukkuk chŏn (Memoirs of the pilgrimage to the five regions of India), is the oldest extant travel record of a Korean writer.

By the time of Greater Shilla and the subsequent Koryŏ Kingdom, the people travelled more frequently. One common motive for undertaking a journey was the quest for knowledge and a great number of Koreans during late Shilla travelled to Tang China in order to study Confucianism. Perhaps the best known of the Shilla scholars who studied in China is Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (857-?) who became famous (even in China) for his literary abilities. Ch’oe’s Kyewŏn p’ilgyŏng (Ploughing the Cassia Grove with a Writing Brush) records his impressions on social, political and cultural aspects of the Tang court. The many Koreans who studied in China helped to establish Confucianism as the dominant ideology of the intellectual class of this time. By late Koryŏ, travel to and from Mongolia and China was very common, necessitated by the subservient relationship with the Mongols.

During Chosŏn, travel had the capital as its hub, but also reached outwards into the provinces. There were yearly scheduled events in the provinces that enabled government officials to travel to the regions. Key features of the regional events were folk games such as ssirŭm (a type of wrestling) and tug-of-war. In addition, there were seasonal activities such as boating, fishing and sightseeing among the autumn foliage in the mountains that were very popular among the upper class. The travel of those of the commoner classes generally focused on seasonal activities such as folk games and regional festivals. Travel during Chosŏn formed the foundation for present-day travel, with many of the customs having been handed down.

 Literary works having travel as their theme include Pak Chiwŏn’s Yŏrha ilgi (Jehol Diary) which provides a detailed account of his journey to China as a part of an official entourage in 1780; Kim In’gyŏn’s Iltong changyu ka (Grand Trip to Japan) which was written about Kim’s experiences in Japan as a member of a diplomatic mission; and P’yoehae rok (Record of Drifting Across the Sea) written by Ch’oe Pu while adrift in the southern seas. They gave Korean readers a fascinating glimpse of the outside world in their record of different places and customs, and their popularity bespeaks the increased interest of the people to learn about places and customs outside their own land.

In the latter part of the nineteenth c., Korea began to emerge from the isolationist policies that had dominated Chosŏn for nearly five hundred years. As Koreans sought to learn more about the West through Japan, sightseeing tours were organised. Most notable among these is the 1881 ‘gentlemen’s sightseeing group’ (shinsa yuratan) which spent over two months travelling in Japan on a mission to observe political, social and technical transformations. A similar mission to China at about the same time also sought to gain knowledge of Western institutions through Korea’s traditional conduit for culture. Almost concurrently, accounts of those who had travelled to America and Europe generated further interest in the West. Representative of these works is Yu Kilchun’s Sŏyu kyŏnmun (Observations on a Journey to the West) which describes many of the institutions of America and Europe.

After the advent of Japanese colonial rule over Korea, travel for Koreans was greatly restricted, as were all other liberties. Many Koreans did travel to Japan or Manchuria, but not for pleasure, as they went to these locations as labourers or as conscripts for military service. A considerable number of Koreans travelled to Japan for study in this period and some of the more notable individuals include Sŏ Chaep’il, Ch’oe Namsŏn, Yi Injik and Yi Kwangsu, each making his mark on the development of modern Korean society.

The Japanese established the foundations of modern tourism during their rule in Korea, although the benefits of these improvements were largely directed at Japanese living in
Korea. Among the improvements were the railways, facilitating easier and faster travel throughout Korea and the hotels. The first of the hotels was opened in Pusan in 1912, then the Chosŏn Hotel in 1914 and the Kŭmgangsan Hotel a year later. The Pando Hotel, which opened in 1930, is generally acknowledged as the first truly Western-style hotel in Korea. These new travel destinations were, however, principally for the Japanese.

Modern Tourism

After liberation in 1945, travel in Korea became more accessible through the construction of new railways and highways which made for faster travel throughout the country. However, the confusion of the times directly after liberation, the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and the economic plight of Korea prevented most Koreans from travelling any distance. This period did, however, see the establishment of government organisations designed to promote tourism, such as the Ministry of Transportation (Kyŏt’ŏngbu) and Korean National Airlines (Taehan min’guk hanggong). In addition, many modern hotels were opened, including some in popular tourist destinations such as Onyang, Sŏgwip’o, Mt. Sŏrak and Haeundae Beach. At this time, the former railway hotels were renamed as tourist hotels.

After the armistice that brought the hostilities of the Korean War to an end in 1953, other measures were taken that helped the tourism industry. Chief among these is the Labour Standards Law (Nodong kijun pŏp) in 1953 that required twelve paid holidays annually for all workers. Other measures taken include the establishment of a Tourism Department within the Ministry of Transportation in 1954; the Tourism Industry Law (Kwangwang saŏp pŏp) in 1961; the Cultural Properties Protection Law (Munhwa chaepoho pŏp) in 1962; and in the same year the International Tourism Company Law (Kukche kwangwang kongsa pŏp). Along with these legislative measures that aided tourism, the government also established national parks throughout the ROK, beginning with Mount Chiri National Park in December 1967.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Korean government continued to establish national parks and develop other tourist attractions. The tourism industry continued to grow as it reflected the demands of Korean consumers. Korea promoted travel by joining international tourism organisations such as the Asia Travel Association and the East Asia Travel Association. As the Korean economy expanded so did the ability of Koreans to devote more of their time to travel. The number of foreign travellers to Korea soared, as did the number of Koreans who travelled abroad. The liberalisation of travel laws, visa requirements, and other measures greatly facilitated the number of tourists both to and from Korea.

The dramatic growth of tourism in Korea, from a low 84,216 foreign visitors in 1967 to 3.2 million in 1992, was matched by a proportional increase in revenues from tourism, to almost US $3.3 billion in 1992. In 1969, tourists accounted for 30.2 per cent of all visitors to Korea, but by 1992 over 57 per cent were tourists. Of those visiting Korea, the Japanese form the single largest group. Overall, in 1992 visitors from Asian countries accounted for 70.7 per cent of the total, followed by those from North and South America at 11.2 per cent. The mix of tourists has changed markedly over the past twenty-five years, when tourists from the USA composed the largest number of visitors to Korea.

Traffic Broadcasting System (TBS) [Broadcasting companies]

Transport (see also Korea)

History

Transport developments in Korea have reflected the changing nature of the state over time.
Historically, three significant Korean states can be recognized: (a) the Early Monarchies (to 1910); the Japanese Colonial Period (1910-1945); and (c) the Post-Korean War Period (to 1990).

Early Monarchies (1392-1910)

The self-sufficient agrarian economy of Chosŏn was served by a thousand-year-old systems of roads and waterways. The network of arterial roads radiated from the royal capital of Seoul. Transport was critical for administration as reflected in procedures for road maintenance, postal services (yŏk), and public inns (wŏn). The yŏks and wŏns were concentrated in the populated central and southern provinces — a reflection of the quantity of agricultural production which provided tax grain and tribute. These roads were complemented by a relatively sparse network of rivers which provided connections to Seoul and, in turn, to the ports of China and Japan. This settlement pattern did not survive the introduction of modern transport systems by the Japanese.

Japanese Colonial Period (1910-1945)

The basic features of the contemporary rail and road networks and associated urban structure were established during Japanese control. The first railway lines between Seoul and Inch'ŏn, the capital's port-of-entry, (1889) and Seoul and Pusan (1905) pre-dated formal Japanese occupation. After Japan's suzerainty was recognized, a cross-shaped rail network pivoted on Seoul was constructed (Figure 1). The Pusan-Sinju axis linked Japan and China, and the Mokp'o-Ch'ŏngjin axis connected the agricultural southwest and the mining areas of the northeast. Subsequent infilling of the network underlined the importance of Seoul as the national hub — its imposing terminal providing a counter-magnet to the old downtown administrative centre. The railway also generated a new set of cities, including the junction towns of Taejon and Iri, and linked inland centres with major ports, notably Pusan, Masan, and Kunsan in the south and Namp'o and Wŏnsan in the north. After 1907 a set of new roads built by the Japanese matched railway developments. Although unpaved, the roads provided the base for the contemporary national system. In 1929 an air cargo service was established between Taegu and Tokyo — seven years before the first domestic passenger service between Seoul and Kwangju was opened.

(See Figure 1)

A series of national surveys of Korea by the Japanese between 1910 and 1944 showed that the paramount political function of the transport system was to provide the colonial power access to areas of prime interest. There were the southwest's foodstuffs and the northeast's minerals which were shipped to Japan for further processing and consumption. Besides meeting military needs, the Korean Peninsula also supplied a bridge between the Japanese archipelago and the puppet state of Manchuria (Manzhuguo). During the 1940s trial borings were made preliminary to constructing a rail tunnel between Shiminoseki and Pusan. Japan's debacle in the Great Pacific War not only resulted in the abandonment of the proposed tunnel but in the loss of Korea. The Korean War (1950-1953) and the subsequent division of the peninsula led to transport connections being severed. The domestic, passenger and freight movements in South Korea had to be reorganized to adapt to the truncated network, the loss of trade with China, and increased interaction with Japan and North America.

Post-war Period (1953-2000):

1960s. During the early 1960s the provision of transport infrastructure under the military government of Park Chung Hee was conditioned by the need for South Korea to protect its borders against incursions from the north, and to shrug off the imprint of colonial rule and poor resource base. Korean National Railways (nationalized 1948) was rehabilitated and
expanded, particularly into the Taebaek Mountain region bordering North Korea. As the economy changed from a wet rice agriculture to agribusiness and an industrial base the workload of the railways increased. Much of its business came from: enterprises on the main trunk line between Seoul and Pusan; a string of embryonic port-industrial bases located conveniently for interaction with Japan, notably Ulsan (1962), Yosu (1967) and Pohang (1968); and local industrial estates. Road transport was relatively undeveloped and played a complementary role in providing short-haul feeder services to the long-distance rail network. In 1968 the four-lane, limited access, 35 km Kyongin Expressway was completed between Seoul and its port at Inch'on. Then in 1969 the Korean Highway Corporation was established to construct and maintain an 'Expressway' system, linking key urban centres and industrial areas, and the secondary arterials referred to as 'National Roads'.

1970s. In the 1970s transport improvements proceeded apace with the rapid development of expressways and the electrification of the railways. In 1972 railway electrification was commenced on the Chungang Line between Seoul and the Taebaek Mountain Ranges. While this boosted railway capacity, spectacular expansion of the expressway network was occurring (Figure 2). In 1970 the 450 km Kyongbu Expressway between Seoul and Pusan was completed using Japanese-aid money. Three years later the Honam Expressway (Chonju-Sunch'on) and the Namhae Expressway (Pusan-Sunch'on) routes were opened. In 1977 the Yongdong (Suwon-Kangnung) and Tonghae (Kangnung-Tonghae) Expressways were finished. In the process, the road transport industry — truck and bus — had changed from being complementary to the railway system to being a long-distance competitor.

(Bring in Figure 2)

Since 1970 Pusan has been developed as the major container port. Its purpose-built terminal (Busan Container Terminal Operation Co.) was opened in 1978 — four years after a specialized container berth had been built at Inch'on. These developments at Pusan resulted in the replacement of Korea's feeder links with Kobe and Hong Kong by the mainline container services of major liner shipping companies. Inch'on's dock facilities lacked the convenience afforded by the Port of Pusan as they were located one day's steaming time from the main shipping routes.

1980s. During the early 1980s further improvements were made to inter-city transport connections. As most investment was directed to road transport, the railways position in long-distance road transport was eroded (only 14 per cent of the railway track had been electrified). By 1981 the length of expressway was 1225 km. It was not until 1984 that the 88 Olympic Expressway was completed between Taejon and Kwangju. Traffic was still concentrated between Seoul and Pusan.

In 1987 congestion between Seoul and Taejon was so severe that the parallel Chungbu Expressway was completed via Inch'on and Ch'ongju. National Roads were expanded to complement the expressway networks. These expressways permitted the government to pursue a multi-centred development plan based on twenty-eight service delivery areas. One of them included the expanding Port of Pusan, which accounted for over 90 per cent of the containers handled in Korea.

During the late 1980s attention was also focused on overcoming the West Coast's poor infrastructure. A West Coast Expressway from Inch'on to Kwangyang was developed and the railways double tracked. Other capital works included a promised international airport at Kwangju and a domestic airport at Mokpo. These projects were part of a concerted effort to improve accessibility between the West Coast and other parts of South Korea and the East Asia region.
On the eve of the 1990s South Korea's domestic transport system still had inherent weaknesses in its infrastructure, despite heavy investment since 1960. Inadequacies were apparent in both its slow-speed transport network designed for moving resources and goods, and its high-speed transport network for effecting face-to-face contact between business people.

1990s. During the 1990s road transport dominated domestic transport in South Korea by rail and sea in tonnes moved. These positions are reversed in tonne-kilometres with sea leading rail and road. On both counts air transport makes a negligible contribution. These raw statistics highlight the manifest difficulties in moving goods and people.

An examination of container transport highlights the inadequacies of moving goods inland, the problems of road-rail competition and the low-priority afforded port development by government. Over 90 per cent of containers are handled by Pusan but more than 40 per cent originated or terminated in Seoul. Problems of handling containers stem from the shortfall of port capacity and consequent distribution from off-port container yards around Pusan and the inadequacy of the railways. Although the main Seoul intermodal container terminal at Pugok is connected by rail, most containers arrive by road. This aggravates congestion on the Seoul-Pusan Expressway and within the City of Pusan. In 1995 the throughput of containers at Pusan was 2 million TEUs and was expected to increase to over 7 million by 2001 (container movements are measured in terms of twenty-foot equivalent units). As Pusan had limited space for expansion a new port has been built at Kwangyang Bay (Figure 3). By year 2001 it should be handling 1 million TEUs. The reluctance of major shipowners to move their traffic to Kwangyang Bay has led to further expansion at Pusan.

(Bring in Figure 3)

The rationale for improving high-speed transport is prompted by congested highways and limited domestic airports to facilitate face-to-face business contacts. Producers have difficulty in taking overseas business people to dispersed industrial sites. Most attention has been focused on providing high-speed rail but plans are in-hand for a new international airport.

Progress on the proposed 409 km high-speed railway between Seoul and Pusan is behind its original schedule (Figure 4). When completed during the early twenty-first c. the return trip by the 200 kph train between Seoul and Pusan would be possible within one day. Meanwhile, there is continued reliance on the existing saturated railway system and the congested road network. Seoul’s subways (commenced 1971) and electrified commuter railways have been expanded and a subway completed in Pusan (1985). Other subways are planned for Inch’ŏn, Kwangju, Taejŏn, and Taegu.

(Bring in Figure 4)

There are three international airports in Korea — Kimpo (Seoul), Kimhae (Pusan) and Cheju Island (the promised additional one at Kwangju has yet to materialise). Kimpo is the dominant airport. Opened in 1953, Kimpo was expanded between 1976 and 1980, and between 1983 and 1987 (prior to the 1986 Asian Games and 1988 Summer Olympic Games). The number of landings and take-offs at Kimpo are restricted because the distance between runways is 400m not the recommended 1300m and a curfew is in force between 2200 and 0600 hours because it is close to built-up areas. Further problems stem from its closeness to military facilities and the mountains.

Consequently, a new international airport is being constructed at Yongjong Island, 50 km west of Seoul. New airport facilities are vital to accommodate South Korea’s passenger and air freight growth. With a new airport South Korea would be a major hub in the inter
continental passenger and air express market between Asia, Europe and North America. Already Seoul serves as a hub for some passengers from China and Japan. The first phase of Yongjong-do Airport will be completed in year 2002. Looking ahead, there is a need to tie Korea’s slow-speed and high-speed transport networks into regional East Asian and trans-continental networks.

International networks

South Korea is in a pivotal position with respect to the heavily populated East Asia region (Figure 5). Within two hours flying time of Seoul there are 400 million people. During the Cold War political and ideological differences had prevented economic cooperation between South Korea and its neighbours. Following the thaw, South Korea has entered into economic relations with both China and Russia. (Bring in Figure 5)

Within East Asia international shipping and air agreements have been established with both Russia and China. Much emphasis has been placed on trade with China, particularly as South Korean businesses have established joint ventures using local raw materials and labour, and South Korean technology, capital and management expertise. Already South Korean transport interests have targeted Shandong and other provinces bordering the Gulf of Bohai. An accommodation between the two Koreas and the reunification of the rail and road networks would produce a transport pattern not unreminiscent of late Chosŏn when Korea provided a bridge from Japan to China (see Fig. 5 inset).

Looking further afield, there has been renewed interest in Eurasian routes, particularly following the opening-up of Eastern Europe (Figure 6). In the past the Trans-Siberian Railway has been seen as an alternative to sea transport. Now attention has been given to connections to the Trans-Siberian Railway through North Korea or the Trans-China Railway from Lianyungang. Studies have also been made to remove missing links in the Eurasian road network. Much will depend on the unification of North and South Korea. (Bring in Figure 6)

Korea’s mainstream route is to North America. Leading South Korean shipping companies, notably Hanjin (the country’s largest container carrier), Hyundai Merchant Marine and Cho Yang, are engaged in offering minimum cost, port-to-port or round-the-world services between Asia and North America, and between Asia and Europe. In North America the Korean companies have been active in the double-stack rail transfer of containers from the West Coast to the Mid-West. As Seoul is located on a Great Circle route to the United States (i.e. the shortest route possible) it has great potential as a hub for Korea’s two privately-owned international airlines — Korean Air and Asiana.

(Maritime transportation

Inland waterways and coastal shipping routes played an important role in both passenger and freight transportation in Korea until the end of the 19th century. The Han River was particularly heavily used for the transportation of marine products and agricultural produce to Seoul, however use of this waterway became severely restricted after the Korean War due to the proximity of its estuary to the demilitarized zone (DMZ). The growth of road transportation has led to a decline in marine transportation during the postwar years,
however routes linking the country's numerous islands to each other and the mainland remain important, particularly in the case of Chejudo in the far south, Ullungdo in the East Sea (Sea of Japan) and the archipelagoes in the south and southwest of the nation.

At the end of 1994, South Korea had a total of 49 ports with a combined annual loading and unloading capacity of 275.59 million tonnes. Port facilities at Pusan, Inch'ŏn, P'ohang and other centers have been expanded to handle increased import and export volumes, and are home to 4,965 vessels with a combined weight of 6.5 million tonnes.

Air transportation

Full-scale development of air transportation began with the establishment of Korean National Airlines, later renamed Korea Air Lines (KAL), in 1962. The national carrier recorded an average of 12% growth in passenger volume in the two decades to 1989, carrying 8.9 million domestic passengers and 8.2 million international passengers during that year. KAL has been joined on both domestic and international routes by Asiana Airlines, and both operate networks based in Seoul. By the end of 1994, South Korea had concluded aviation agreements with 63 nations, and had air links with 63 cities in 26 countries. There are regular scheduled flights from Seoul's Kimp'o Airport to major cities in South East Asia, the Middle East, the United States, Europe and Australia, and international flights also leave from the nation's two other international airports at Pusan and Cheju. Domestic flights also depart from these three airports, and Kimp'o operates as the hub of the domestic air network. Other domestic airports include those at Kwangju, Taegu, Ulsan, P'ohang, Sach'ŏn, Yech'ŏn, Mokp'o, Yŏsu, Kangnŭng and Sokch'o. Domestic air passenger volume in 1994 reached 18.2 million persons, or 5.7% of the total annual domestic passenger volume. 3.15 million South Koreans traveled overseas during 1994, an increase of 30.3% from the previous year, while the nation was visited by 3.58 million foreigners, a 7.5% increase on the previous year's figure.

Bibliography

Fig. 1 Korean Railways. Inset shows lines built by Japanese (Source: Rimmer, 1995; 195).
Fig. 2 Expressways and national roads (Source: Rimmer, 1995: 199).
Ugō, King (? - 108 BCE)

King Ugō was a king of Wiman Chosôn and the grandson of Wiman (194 BCE -?), the founder the state. His grandfather founded Wiman Chosôn and shortly began to subjugate the neighbouring states to the north, east and south. The scale of Wiman grew to such an extent that it prohibited the small states to its south, including Chin, from direct contact with the Chinese Han dynasty. Wiman acted as an intermediary in all trade with Han and extracted a fee for every transaction. This was not well received by Han, as it also felt threatened by the Wiman expansion and the possibility of an alliance between the Korean state and Han’s northern enemies.

The long-standing contentions between Han and Wiman Chosôn reached their zenith in 109 BCE when Han launched an attack against the Wiman capital, Wanggōm Castle (modern day P’yōngyang). The outnumbered Wiman forces, led by King Ugō, struggled valiantly and held the fortress for a year before finally succumbing to a combination of the Han army and internal dissension. Ugō was assassinated by a faction within Wiman that sought peace with Han, but his loyal vassal Sŏnggi continued the struggle against the Han for some time. However, Wanggōm Castle fell in 108 BCE and this marked the end of the Wiman Chosôn state.

Ugye chip (Collected Works of Ugye)

Ugye chip is the anthology of the scholar-official Sŏng Hon (1535-1598) of the middle Chosôn period. This woodblock-print work consists of six original volumes and six supplemental volumes in a total of six fascicles. It was first published in 1621 and was republished by a seventh generation descendant of the writer in 1809. The original six volumes contain poems, memorials to the throne and other various writings, while the supplementary collection contains a wide variety of prose and poetry.

This work is acclaimed for the literary excellence of Sŏng’s writings. He is acknowledged as one of the most prominent scholars of his day as revealed in his theoretical writings commenting on the nature of man, the manifestations of ki (life force) and how to cultivate this property. Also notable in this collection is the official correspondence that Sŏng sent to the throne in answer to political, economic and social problems that arose during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Therefore, this work is valuable not only from a literary standpoint, but also as a means to understand philosophical questions arising in neo-Confucian discourse and for the historical conditions present in Korea during the author’s life. Copies of this work are presently stored at the Kyujanggak Library, the National Central Library and Korea University.

Űibang yuch’wi (Classified Collection of Medical Prescriptions, 1464)

Űibang yuch’wi is one of the two medical prescription books compiled in the early years of the Chosôn Dynasty, the other being the Hyangyak chipsŏng pang (Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions).

It consists of a massive 365 volumes, each with 100 leaves and as a consequence, in terms of size, no other medical textbook can be compared to it.

The editors of Ŭibangg yuch’wi were Kim Yemong, Yu Sŏngwŏn, Min Pohwa, Kim Mun, Shin Sŏkcho, Yi Ye, Kim Suon and three medical doctors, Chŏn Sunŏ, Ch’oe Yun and Kim Yuji. The editing of the work during the final five years fell to Yang Sŏngji.

The work is an extensive compilation of the Chinese medical prescriptions in use at the time of King Sejong. References are made to the original Chinese works, which include 153 medical books used in the Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties. (About 40 of these
works are no longer extant). Thus, without recourse to the Chinese books, it is still possible to compare all the theories and prescriptions of the originals at a glance.

Following an introduction, the arrangement is according to ailment. Ninety of these are listed, such as diseases of the visceral organs, palsy, colds, diseases of the eye, etc. In the entry for each disease a general theory is provided, followed by prescriptions. The theories are listed in chronological order, showing changes from earlier theories.

A part of this voluminous work was carried to Japan during the Japanese invasion of 1592 and is currently kept at the Imperial Household Agency of Japan. In 1861, towards the end of the Tokugawa regime, the compilation was reprinted in reduced size. At this time, while the Üibangg yuch'wi was highly valued in Japan, not a single copy could be found in Korea itself as the volumes had been scattered and lost. The Japanese reprint was brought to Korea by a Japanese delegation at the time of King Kojong when the Korea-Japan Amity Treaty was signed in 1876. This copy was at first retained in the royal court, but it too has now disappeared.

Together with the Hyangyak chipsŏng pang, that other monumental medical book of the era of King Sejong, the Üibang yuch'wi stands as proof of the high standard of Korean civilization at that time.

Üibyŏng (Righteous Armies)

Üich'ŏn (1055-1101)

Üich’ŏn, also known as National Master Taegak, is famous as the monk who founded the Korean Ch’ont’ae (Chin. Tiantai) Order. As the fourth son of King Munjong (r. 1046-1083), he responded to his father’s request that one of his sons join the Buddhist clergy. He was ordained in 1065 under National Master Kyŏngdŏk. After studying at Yongt’ong Temple, he received full ordination at Puril Temple. From this time, he dedicated himself to extensive study of Mahayana and Hinayana sutras and treatises, and even non-Buddhist texts. Having thoroughly mastered Buddhist thought, he took over his teacher’s lessons after his teacher’s death. His insightful lectures soon became famous throughout the nation.

With a desire to further his studies, Üich’ŏn expressed a desire to go to Song China but was continually refused permission. However, he maintained a correspondence with Dharma Master Jingyuan, one of the most famous Song Buddhist masters of the time. In 1085, after the death of King Munjong, Üich’ŏn finally left for China accompanied by two of his disciples. After his arrival in China, Üich’ŏn travelled extensively, meeting leading thinkers of the Huayan, Tiantai, Vinaya, Pure Land and Chan sects. At this time, he even studied Sanskrit. However, the Koryŏ court soon requested that he return. Thus, in 1086, he came back to Korea with over 3,000 volumes of Buddhist texts.

Back in Korea, he became the abbot of Hŭngwang Temple where he set to work systematising Ch’ont’ae theory and training disciples. Later, after brief stays at other temples, he became the abbot of the newly constructed Kukch’ŏng Temple in 1097. In the next few years, a series of conferences were held and the Ch’ont’ae Sect was formally founded. The new order was tremendously popular, drawing many of the leading monks from the Nine Mountains Sŏn sects as well as from the Hwaŏm sect.

Although the Ch’ont’ae teachings had previously been studied in Korea, a formal Ch’ont’ae school had never existed. Üich’ŏn believed that Ch’ont’ae thought provided an ideal theoretical basis for the unification of Korean Buddhist schools. Basing himself on Wŏnhyo (617-686), Üich’ŏn claimed that original nature (sŏng) and characteristics (sang) were essentially a unity. By resurrecting some of Wŏnhyo’s ideas, Üich’ŏn helped establish Wŏnhyo’s position as the most fundamental Korean Buddhist thinker. Just as
Wonhyo had created a theoretic basis for a syncretic approach, Ùich’ón attempted to show that the rival approaches of the Kyo (Doctrinal) and Sôn (Meditation) sects actually worked better in combination. According to Ùich’ón, a conceptual understanding of the Buddhist path complemented the practical approach advocated by Sôn. However, Ùich’ón felt that Sôn had grown excessively bibliophobic. He believed that meditation must be based on scriptural teachings.

In addition to his efforts to harmonise the Korean Buddhist schools, Ùich’ón worked to preserve East Asian Buddhist texts for posterity. Unlike many Chinese Buddhist cataloguers who generally felt that only translated texts from Indian authors should be included in the canon, Ùich’ón felt it important to include East Asian works so that these would not drop from circulation and be lost. Ùich’ón therefore sent agents throughout East Asia to China, Japan, and the realm of the Khitan Liao dynasty in search of texts by native authors. In 1090, he published his catalogue, the Shinpyón che chönggyo changch’öngnak, which lists 1,010 titles in 4,740 rolls. Woodblocks of the texts were then carved and the collection was called Sok changgyöng (Supplement to the Canon). Unfortunately, the supplement, along with the first Koryó Canon, was burned during the Mongol invasion in 1231-1232. When the canon was recarved between 1236 and 1251, the supplement was omitted, and was therefore lost to posterity.

With his profound erudition and close ties to the monarchy, Ùich’ón was able to bring together many of Korean Buddhism’s rival factions. However, his low appraisal of Sôn and his early death at the age of forty-seven ultimately doomed his efforts to failure. Yet, his attempt to find a theoretical rapprochement between Kyo and Sôn induced later thinkers such as Chinul to search for ways to integrate the two sects’ theoretical and practical approaches.

Ùijong, King (r. 1146-1170)

King Ùijong (1127-1173) was the eighteenth king of Koryó and ruled from 1146 to 1170. His name was Hyón, his childhood appellation was Ch’öł and his courtesy name was Ilsung. He was the eldest son of King Injong (r. 1122-1146) and Queen Kyôngye. His consorts were Queen Changgyöng and Queen Changsôn. Ùijong was named as crown prince when he was seven years old and when his father died in 1146 he assumed the throne.

The period in which Ùijong ascended to the throne was a very turbulent one in Koryó history. Several years before Ùijong had come into power, the strength of the monarchy in Koryó was greatly jeopardised by the Yi Chagöm (? -1126) Rebellion which exploited the weakness of the Koryó monarch. Although this attempt to overthrow the monarchy was thwarted, it was closely followed by another plot to topple the Koryó throne. This second attempt was led by the Monk Myoch’öng and actually was successful to the extent that a kingdom was briefly set up in P’yöngyang before government forces led by Kim Pushik (1074-1151) crushed the rebellion in 1135. To further add to the complicated situation that Ùijong found himself in was the disdain that the civil officials and royal family held for the military forces. Koryó’s aristocratic rule was based on the principle of civil supremacy that relegated the military to a second class status. The military officials found themselves treated as subordinate members of society insofar as both their political and economic power was concerned. The foremost military commanders, such as Kim Pushik and Kang Kamech’an (948-1031), who were men with backgrounds as civil officials, were greatly concerned by this treatment. Therefore, the possibility of rebellion in the military forces was strong in this period.

Ùijong’s basic personality traits were given to the pursuit of a luxurious and comfortable lifestyle and a lack of decisiveness in his rule of the country. He enjoyed poetic and artistic pursuits and built a number of pavilions and gardens for the pleasure of himself and his
court. It is said that Uijong so enjoyed his life as an aesthete that he rarely set foot in his palace. Naturally, he was joined in his leisurely life by his officials, but the military commanders and soldiers who were forced to serve as guards for his entourage only saw their plight worsen. It seemed a foregone conclusion that the military would revolt; it was only a matter of what would serve as the spark.

In 1170 Uijong was taking a journey to Pohyon Temple when the commanders Chong Chungbu, Yi Ubang and Yi Ko and others who had been assigned as escorts to the Uijong's retinue rebelled against his ineffectual rule and their mistreatment. With a rapid unified effort, the military forces quickly took control of the nation and replaced Uijong with his younger brother Myongjong (r. 1170-1197). Three years after this coup, the civil official Kim Podang attempted to restore Uijong to the throne but his attempt failed and set off another wide-scale purge of the literati by the military. The end of Uijong's reign marked the onset of a period of military domination of Koryo in which the kings were little more than figureheads.

Uijongbu

Uijongbu is situated just north of Seoul in Kyonggi Province. The Kyongwon Railway Line and Highway 3 link the area with Seoul and Tongduch'on. Mt. Tobong (717m) rises on the city's southwestern border and Mt. Surak (638m) stands in the south. However, most of the city consists of low elevations. The city's major agricultural products are rice, green vegetables and fruit, and in Shin'gok-dong and Changam-dong, there are a number of dairy and stock-breeding operations. Primarily located in Howon-dong and Changgok-dong, the city's industries are centred on textile and chemical production.

Easily accessible from the capital, Uijongbu is frequented by Seoul residents who come to enjoy the area's natural scenery. In particular, mountains such as Mt. Tobong, Mt. Surak, Mt. Yongam, Mt. Ch'onbo and Kittae Peak are famous for their spectacular granite crags and pinnacles of rock. There are also a number of ancient temples in the city.

Most of the area's Buddhist artefacts are found at the Huiryong and Mangwol temples, both located within Mt. Pukhan National Park. Founded by Muhak in 1395, Huiryong Temple contains a five-storey stone pagoda and a stone water basin. Mangwol Temple, founded by HaeHo in 639, contains National Master Hyegô's stupa and a pagoda and stele commemorating T'aehül (Sôn Master Ch'onbong, 1710-1793).

There are several Confucian sites in the area. In Changam-dong, there is Nogang Sowon (private school). In addition, there are several shrines here, such as Hyomin-sa in Kumo-dong, Paekpom-sa in Howon-dong, and the Songsan-sa site in Minnak-dong. Paekpom-sa was built in honour of Kim Tu (1876-1949, styled Paekpom), one of the key figures in the independence movement during the Japanese occupation. When Kim was wanted by the Japanese authorities, he is said to have occasionally come here to rest in the shrine's natural setting.

Uiryong County

Situated in the centre of South Kyongsang Province, Uiryong County has the town of Uiryong and the townships of Karye, Kungnyu, Naksô, Taeüi, Pongsu, Purim, Yongdôk, Yugok, Chönggok, Chijông, Ch'ilgok and Hwajông. The county is surrounded by Hach'on County to the north; Haman County to the southeast; Chínju to the southwest; Ch'angnyông County to the east; and Sanch'on County to the west. Uiryong County has a total area of 481.32 square kilometres and as shown by 1989 statistics, a population of 51,446. Located on the flood plain of the Nakdong River and its tributary the Nam River, the county consists primarily of level terrain with great stretches of fertile soil. Mt. Chagul (897m) and Mt. Hyônô (835m) rise in the western part of the county and Kuksa Peak
About twenty per cent of the county is arable land, of which some sixty sq. kms. grows rice. The remainder is used for mixed farming, including dry-field crops, cotton, chestnut, stock breeding, sericulture and apiculture. Most of the area’s farms tend to be small operations. The county also has active timber products and its mines/quarries excavate gold, silver, copper, clay and silica. The tradition of hanji (Korean paper) manufacture has been kept alive in hanji factories in Purim Township’s Shinban Village, Pongsu Township’s Chukchôn Village and in Yugok Township.

The area has a number of tourist attractions. In Kungnyu Township’s P’yôngch’on Village is a spectacular set of cliffs and exposed rock known as Ponghwangdae (Phoenix Heights). When viewed from a distance, the cliffs are said to resemble the head of a phoenix. Several caves and mineral springs are also found here.

In addition to its scenic attractions, the county has a number of important historical sites. Northwest of Mt. Pyôkhwa (521m) in Ùiryông’s Ha Village lies the old site of Poch’ôn Temple. Here, a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 373) can be seen, and a stone stupa (Treasure No. 472). The two Buddha statues near Chônggok Primary School in Chônggok Township’s Chunggyo Village originally stood at this temple site.

Confucian schools in the area include T’aeam Sôwôn in Yongdôk Township’s Chukchôn Village; Naksan Sôwôn in Purim Township’s Kyôngsan Village; Ógô Sôwôn in Yongdôk Township’s Un’gok Village; Miyôn Sôwôn in Taeûi Township’s Shinnjô Village; Togyê Sôwôn in Chônggok Township’s Chunggyo Village; Ùiryông Sôwôn in Yugok Township’s Ch’ilgok Village; Shin’gye Sôwôn in Purim Township’s Shinban Village; Tôkkok Sôwôn (founded in 1660) located just south of Highway 20 in Ùiryông; and Ùiryông Hyanggyo in Ùiryông just north of Highway 20. Founded in 1617, Ùiryông Hyanggyo was repaired by Chu Chiyong in 1772. Suffering damage at the beginning of the Korean War, the school was repaired by Yi Ungsu and other local Confucian scholars in 1975.

The area’s cultural traditions are preserved by a number of festivals and rituals held throughout the year. Beginning on 21 April, the Ùibyông (Righteous Soldiers) Cultural Festival is held in commemoration of Kwak Chaeu. Kwak was a famous guerrilla leader during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). The three to four-day festival features a number of programs, including a preliminary ceremony on the eve of the celebration, a memorial service, traditional entertainment, cultural and arts events, and athletic competitions.

Village rituals common in this region include the Tângsanje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountains) and the Tongshinje (Shaman ritual to worship the guardian spirit of the village). Most of these rituals are held at midnight on the 31st of the twelfth lunar twelfth month or on the 15th of the first lunar month. The Tângsanje held in Ch’ilgok Township’s Oedo Village is said to have a particularly long history. The village’s residents consider a tree on Ant’ae Peak to be sacred.

Úisang (625-702)

Úisang was renowned as the founder of the Flower Garland (Huayan, Kor.Hwaôm ) School of Buddhism in Korea. He was the son of Kim Hanshin, and he became a monk at the age of twenty-nine. Shortly afterwards, he attempted to travel to China to study the progress of Buddhism there, and travelled with Wônhyo (617-687) to Liaodong, but was detained by the Koguryô guard as a spy. After some time in detention he was allowed to return home.
A short time later he was able to sail on the ship of the returning Tang envoy and this time he achieved his goal, stopping first at Yangzhou, where he was entertained by the governor of the prefecture. He then went to Zhixiang Monastery on Mount Zhongnan and had an audience with Zhiyan (602-668), who was believed to have received an omen of his coming in a dream. Úisang became his disciple at the same time as Fazang (643-712) with whom he enjoyed an enduring friendship. While he was in China, Úisang was informed by Shilla officials in the Tang capital that the emperor Tang Gaozong was planning to invade Shilla, and he was told to return home. He did so in 670 and informed the Shilla court of the danger. As a result the invasion was averted.

King Munmu later ordered Úisang to build Pusok Monastery as the major place of worship for the Flower Garland School. There Úisang expounded the school's philosophy and trained disciples, stressing practice and monastic life. His exegesis of the scripture differed from that of his colleague Fazang, who systematised Flower Garland metaphysics, but it is clear from a letter he wrote to kÚisang that Fazang held him in great respect and affection, and that they had a mutual regard for each other's views.

Úisang's best known work was the Pöpkye tosöin (Diagram Seal of the Dharmadhatu, 668) and the Yakso (Abridged Commentary) which reflected his emphasis on practice. Many later works by other authors were based on his Diagram. Wayne visited him at the Avalokitesvara Cave on Mount Nak to discuss this work with him, indicating that they maintained close ties after Úisang's return from China.

In his own time, Üisang was thought by many to be a reincarnation of the Buddha. He was certainly one of the most important figures in the development of Buddhism in Korea and at times he had as many as three thousand disciples. They included a number of eminent monks whose efforts, combined with those of their master, helped to develop the Flower Garland School as the most influential in Shilla.

Üisong County

Situated in the centre of North Kyongsang Province, Üisong County is comprised of the town of Üisong and the townships of Kuchön, Kumsong, Tain, Tanmil, Tanbuk, Tanch'on, Pongyang, Sagok, Shinp'yöng, An'gye, Ansa, Anp'yöng, Oksan, Chönggok, Chuum and Ch'unsan. Except for Shinp'yöng Township in the northwest, the area is relatively flat. The T'aebaek Mountain Range runs along the county's eastern border, forming a high plateau. As an inland area of high elevation, the county's weather is characterised by sharp seasonal fluctuations and a relatively meagre annual rainfall that rarely exceeds 900mm.

With about 71 per cent of the county covered by forests, only 19 per cent is tillable. Even so, three quarters of the county's working population are employed in agriculture. Although some rice is grown, the farmed land is devoted mostly to dry field crops such as garlic, red pepper, yellow-leaf lotus and leaf vegetables. In the northwest, there are numerous mulberry plantations and silk larvae breeding centres, as well as raw silk factories.

Although the area is mountainous and has a considerable amount of forest, it is not a sought-after destination for tourists. In Ch'unsan Township's Pinggye Village, one finds Pinggye Valley which is considered to be one of the 'eight wonders' of North Kyongsang Province. Within the valley, there is a small gorge famous for its bizarre weather patterns. It is said that ice can be found here in summer; yet warm gusts of wind come from the gorge in winter. Nearby lies Ka'erl mineral springs, whose water is claimed to cure stomach ailments and skin disease. Kaem Reservoir and the Susan and Puram temples are also found here. In order to preserve the valley's natural environment, the area has been designated Pinggye Valley County Park.
Koun Temple, in Tanch'on Township’s Kugye Village, is another popular tourist destination. Founded by Grand Master Uisang (625-702), the monastery was later reconstructed by Ch’oe Ch’iwôn (857-?). At the temple, a stone walkway leads under Kaunnu, a pavilion-gate that have been designated North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 151. The temple also houses a well-preserved seated Buddha statue (Treasure No. 246). Unlike many other ancient stone statues, both the pedestal and aura piece which stands behind the statue, are extant.

Other ancient temples in the county include Sujong Temple (said to have also been founded by Úisang), Unnam Temple, Chijang Temple, and Tain Township’s Taegok Temple which was founded by Sŏn Master Chigong and Naong. In Úisong’s T’ap Village, there is an interesting five-storey pagoda (National Treasure No. 77) from Greater Shilla. In some respects, the pagoda has been built in imitation of a brick pagoda, yet in others, it resembles a wooden structure.

In addition to these Buddhist relics, there are a number of Confucian schools in the area, including Soksu Sŏwŏn, Pian Hyanggyo in An’gye Township’s Kyoch’on Village, Tŏgyang Sŏwŏn in Tanmil Township, Changdae Sŏwŏn in Pongyang Township, Myŏnggok Sŏwŏn in Kaum Township, Pinggye Sŏwŏn in Ch’unsan Township’s Taesa Village and Úisóng Hyanggyo, which was founded in 1394 in Todong Village.

Úisun Ch’o’ŭi (625-702)

Úisun was most often called by his pen name, Ch’o’ŭi; but known also as Chongbu and Iljiam. His family name was Chang; and he was born in Samhyang township, Chŏnnam). Úisun was a Sŏn (Zen) master and a distinguished poet. His life coincided with the most crucial years of the shirak (practical learning) movement, and he became close friends with two of its leading figures, Chŏng Yagyong (styled Tasan; 1762-1836) and Kim Chŏnghŭi (styled Ch’usa; 1786-1856), whom he first met in 1815. It is said that Chŏng Yagyong secretly entrusted to him his Kyŏngse yup’yo (Recomendations on Governance Submitted to the Sovereign) before dying. This revolutionary text was secretly passed around until it made its way into the hands of the leaders of Kaehwadang (Enlightenment Party) during the late 1870’s and the leaders of the peasant uprisings in 1894. Like Chŏng and Kim, Úisun was also an enthusiastic advocate of tea and is now credited with restoring the aesthetic relationship between tado (the tea ceremony) and Sŏn during the final years of Chosŏn. In addition, he criticised the theory of Sŏn forwarded by Kŭngsŏn Paek’pa (1767-1852), and while Kim too criticised Paek’pa, Úisun’s status as a priest gave his views greater weight. Moreover, he provided an alternative position.

It is said that Úisun’s mother became pregnant after dreaming that a large star entered her bosom, and this invention befits the unique acclaim he ultimately enjoyed as a priest. As a young boy he was playing next to a swiftly flowing river, when he tumbled down the bank. He would have drowned had it not been for a priest from a nearby temple, who rescued him and then suggested that he might consider becoming a priest. And so, at the age of fifteen he went to Unhung Temple where he took the Buddhist vows. There he remained for the next three years, but at the age of eighteen his life came to a turning point. While gazing at the sunset, Úisun had an experience of spiritual awakening, and this marked the start of his acute interest in Sŏn. He travelled throughout Korea searching for great Sŏn masters and undertaking extensive studies in the Buddhist scriptures. He was also deeply interested in Confucianism and Daoism, and it is said that he even became proficient in reading Sanskrit, the original language of the Buddhist sutras. If true, Úisun appears to have been among the very few who possessed this ability.

During the course of these journeys Úisun eventually met the great master Wanho Yunu (1758-1826), who had been a student of the famous Yŏndam Yuil (1720-1799). Úisun ultimately succeeded Wanho, and while he engaged in formal Buddhist activities and
oversaw the training of many students, he was most eager to practice meditation in solitude. Accordingly, in 1824, he built Iljiam (Ilji hermitage) precisely for this purpose, and became so strongly associated with it that he himself came to be called Iljiam. Although he journeyed to other temples throughout Korea during the remainder of his life, most of his time was spent at Ilji hermitage, where he engaged in intensive Sŏn meditation. It was here that he died forty-two years later.

Úisun’s most important writings can be placed into three broad categories: texts on tea, metaphysical tracts on Sŏn, and a massive corpus of poetry. During his life, great attention was paid to his poetry and some commentators have even speculated that he had learned the art under the tutelage of the literary master Chŏng Yagyong, whom he had first met in 1809. In 1831, the civil minister Hong Sŏkchu (1774-1842) and Shinŭi (1769-1847), a scholar, poet, and calligrapher of high distinction, collected his poetry manuscripts and each wrote an introduction. It is significant that this was done not only during his lifetime, but, moreover, while he was still relatively young. Most interestingly, however, he was a priest, and Buddhism was generally scorned by the Neo-Confucian ruling elite. In spite of this, Úisun’s fame even reached the royal court, and in 1840 King Hŏnjong (r. 1834-49) bestowed upon him the title, ‘Sŏn Master Ch’ŏui: His Great Enlightenment Reaches Far and Ascends the Highest’. This exceptional honour came at a time when Buddhist priests would still have to endure for another fifty-five years legal prohibition from entering the capital.

Úisun’s deep interest in tea seems to have begun in earnest around 1828 when he began making an outline of extant Chinese materials relating to tea, and in 1830 his results were made available in the Tashinjon (An Account of the Spirit of Tea). This text was divided into twenty-two sections expressing both his scientific and aesthetic concerns. Beginning with general observations on the best times to plant tea, he went on to note the many varieties of tea, the proper methods for boiling the water, the way tea ought to be mixed tea with water, as well as the implements to use and the proper ways of cleaning those implements.

Then, in 1837, Úisun’s passion for tea and poetry were united in a short collection of verse entitled Tongdasong (Eulogies for Korean Tea). Written at the request of a friend, the text consisted of seventeen poems celebrating various aspects of tea. The poetry itself was beautiful though dense with tea lore, literary allusions to classical Chinese texts on tea, and the views on tea as expressed by previous poets. In one poem he draws upon the Tang Chinese poet Li Po (701-762) and in another, the book about tea written by his friend and fellow tea enthusiast Chŏng Yagyong. Recognising these difficulties, Ch’ŏui himself noted his sources in the manuscript, thereby allowing his readers deeper insight into the ideas underlying the mellifluous poetry.

Nonetheless, Úisun’s greatest importance within Buddhism derives from his critical response to Kungsŏn Paek’a’s Sŏnmun sugyŏng (Hand Mirror of Sŏn Literature). It is unknown exactly when he wrote his retort, Sŏnmun sabyŏn mano (Informal Remarks on the Four Divisions of Sŏn Practice), but it was most likely in the late 1830’s.

Paek’a had formulated three categories of Sŏn consisting of chosa sŏn (patriarchical Zen), yŏrae sŏn (Zen of the Tathāgata or Buddha), and ŭiri sŏn (Zen of principle and reasoning). In addition, Paek’a used the concept of kyŏgoe sŏn, meaning truth, that can be apprehended through neither writing nor speech, but only by meditation. Within this framework chosa sŏn was deemed the highest form of Zen because it alone was completely devoid of thought. Accordingly, it represented the mind to mind transmission of the Zen patriarchs and was considered by him to be kyŏgoe sŏn. Whereas yŏrae sŏn was also defined as kyŏgoe sŏn, it was inferior to chosa sŏn because it relied, in part, on thinking about the words and teachings of the Buddha. Within Paek’a’s system, this weak aspect of yŏrae sŏn was the sole component of ŭiri sŏn which was suitable for those of the lowest
capability. However, through this system Paek’pa suggested that those who relied upon ūirī sōn were incapable of attaining salvation, and this appears to have been the sticking-point from Úisun’s point of view.

Úisun borrowed Paek’pa’s four main categories but arranged them differently. He proposed two types of Zen differentiated by their reliance upon words and thought, and he argued that the dichotomy of chosa sōn and yōrae sōn was mirrored by that of kyōgoe sōn and ūirī sōn. Thus, chosa sōn and kyōgoe sōn were two synonymous terms for the direct apprehension of truth without reliance on words; yōrae sōn and ūirī sōn both stood for Zen practice using words and thought in attempting to gain enlightenment. While Úisun acknowledged the superiority of the direct apprehension of truth, he stressed that one could indeed attain enlightenment through thinking about the principles and reasoning (ūirī sōn) of the teachings of Buddha (yōrae sōn). In this fashion, he emphasised the fundamental Mahāyana tenet that salvation is attainable by all.

Úisun’s position was clearer, and his views generally enjoyed greater support during the following century. A notable exception was the priest Pak Hanyōng (1870-1948), who wrote Paek’paesa yakchon (A Biographical Sketch of Great Master Paek’pa) in which he explained Paek’pa’s life and thought. While Pak stood in Paek’pa’s line of transmission, he shared with Úisun a deep appreciation of the aesthetic relationship between Sōn and poetry. They were men of similar taste, and it is thus appropriate, if ironic, that in 1941 Pak contributed one of two inscriptions for the memorial dedicated to Úisun Ch’ŏůi at Taedun Temple.

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G. Evon

Uiwang

Uiwang is located to the south of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. Kuksa Peak (540m), Mt. Paegun (567m) and other peaks of the Kwangju Mountain Range run along the city’s eastern border while Mt. Morak (385m) rises in the west. Water sources include Paegun Lake in the north and Wangsong Reservoir in the south.

With relatively level terrain, the city was traditionally a rice-farming area, but nowadays, vegetable and fruit crops are grown for sale in the nearby metropolitan areas. Stock
breeding and dairy farming are other important sources of income. However, the mainstay of the local economy is light industry. Factories here produce a wide range of goods including chemicals, metal goods, machinery, electrical appliances, electronics and textiles.

Local tourism is centred around the city’s lakes, mountains and cultural sites. In the northeast corner of the city, one finds Ch’ŏnggye Temple. This ancient monastery houses a large bronze bell and a set of wooden printing blocks (Kyŏnggi Province Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 96 and 135). In addition to its cultural sites, the area has preserved some of its ancient traditions. In the tenth lunar month of each year, a mountain spirit ceremony is held at 5.00 a.m. near Mt. Paegun in Ojŏn-dong. At the rite, a cow is sacrificed to the spirits. Similar ceremonies are performed in Koch’ŏn-dong and Wanggok-dong.

Ŭiyŏltan (Righteous Fighters' Corps) [History of Korea]

Ulchi Mundŏk, General (fl. c. 545-559)

Ulchi Mundŏk was a general of Koguryŏ during the reign of King Yang’wŏn (r. 545-559). There is very little known about the background of Ulchi Mundŏk beyond his military accomplishments. He is generally credited with saving Koguryŏ from the Chinese Sui’s massive attack on the Korean kingdom in the early seventh c. According to records in Haedong myŏngjang chŏn (Records of Famous Korean Generals) he was born in the area of Sŏkta Mountain on the outskirts of present-day P’yŏngyang.

Conflicts between Koguryŏ and the various Chinese states with which it shared borders were common throughout the history of the kingdom. However, in 612 the Sui dynasty, which had just succeeded in unifying China for the first time in over three centuries, launched a massive attack on Koguryŏ that was designed to crush the Korean state. The Sui emperor, Yangdi, raised an army of over a million men and proceeded to launch an attack on the northern-most fortress of Koguryŏ, Yodong (modern day Liaoyung). However, when this assault failed, the Chinese emperor sent about one-third of his forces for a direct attack on P’yŏngyang, the Koguryŏ capital. At this time Ulchi Mundŏk lured the Sui army into a trap on the outskirts of P’yŏngyang. The Koguryŏ general knew that the supply lines of the Chinese were overstretched and that he could defeat them by luring them deep into Koguryŏ territory. As the Chinese forces drew closer to P’yŏngyang, the Koguryŏ general waited until he had drawn them completely into his ambush and then attacked from all sides. The carnage of the Sui army was so complete that historical records note that less than three-thousand of the Chinese troops survived this attack. After this crushing defeat the Sui army was forced to retreat from Koguryŏ with the onset of winter. The Sui forces again tried to attack Koguryŏ the following year, but these attacks were also repulsed. Shortly thereafter, the battle-weary Sui dynasty was replaced by the Tang dynasty.

Ulchi Mundŏk is remembered as one of Korea’s greatest generals and has been honoured with monuments erected in his memory, among other items. Additionally, one of the major thoroughfares in Seoul, Ulchi-ro Street, is named after him.

Ulchin County

Ulchin County is situated on the east coast in the northeast corner of North Kyŏngsang Province. The county comprises the towns of Ulchin and P’yŏnghae and the townships of Kŭnnam, Kisŏng, Puk, Sŏ, Onjong, Wŏnnam, Chukpyŏn and Hup’o. Mt. Ungbong (999m), Mt. Omi (1071m), Mt. T’onggo (1067m), Mt. Paegam (1004m) and other peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range run along the county’s western boundary.
Except for the coastal towns of Ulchin and P’yŏnghae, Ulchin County has a relatively low population density. This qualifies it as the least populated county in North Kyŏngsang Province. Most of the area’s residents are employed in either agriculture or fishing. Due to the rugged terrain, only 8.3 per cent arable land. Over half of the cultivated land grows rice, and the remainder dry-field crops. Persimmons are grown and dried here, while sericulture and cattle breeding are other sources of rural income. Marine products are the county’s leading export. The edible seaweed harvested near Kop’o Village is particularly liked. Boats operating out of Hu’po and Chukpyŏn catch mackerel pike, cuttlefish, and filefish. The area also has significant mineral resources. Local mines and quarries produce gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, coal, lime and clay.

The region offers a large number of tourist attractions. In Onjŏng Township, there is Paegam hot spring (46c.), which is frequented by tourists who come to enjoy the rural setting and nearby Mt. Paegam. Containing radon, natrium, calcium, potassium, magnesium, iron, sulphur, chlorine and fluorine, the spring is said to possess great curative power. Compared to the Paegam spring, Tŏkku hot spring (43c.), located in Puk Township near Mt. Yongbong (999m), is relatively undeveloped. The Tŏkku spring purportedly alleviates skin diseases, nervous disorders and anaemia. Visitors to the spring often hike in the Tŏkku Valley. Another popular tourist destination is Sŏngnyu Cave in Kŭnnum Township’s Kusan Village. This 479 metre-long cave contains a large number of stalagmitic and stalactitic formations, as well as some interesting rock formations.

South of Highway 36 near Mt. Ch’ŏnch’uk, lies Puryŏng Valley, one of the county’s most scenic areas. Kwang Stream winds through this 15-km.-long valley, which contains numerous white granite cliffs and picturesque waterfalls. In order to preserve the valley’s scenic wonders, the area has been designated as a national park. On the valley’s floor stands Puryŏng Temple. Founded by Usang in 651, this temple houses a number of important artefacts. In addition to the old Ungjinjon (Hall of the Sixteen Arahants), the monastery contains an ancient stupa and a three-storey pagoda. Confucian schools in the area include, Ulchin Hyanggyo (founded in 1484), P’yŏnghae Hyanggyo, Asan Sŏwŏn, Myŏnggye Sŏwŏn, Nodong Sŏwŏn, Okkye Sŏwŏn, Shin’gye Sŏwŏn, Unam Sŏwŏn and Wolgye Sŏwŏn.

Ullŭng County

Ullŭng County is situated on Ullŭng Island. The island, located about 135 kilometres east of the Korean peninsula, is the remnant of an extinct volcano. The county is comprised of the town of Ullŭng and the townships of Puk and Sŏ.

The island’s early history is unclear. In the Chinese Sanguo shi (History of the Three Kingdoms), there is a report from fishermen who were shipwrecked on the island. It was said that the fishermen could not understand the language of the islanders, and that the islanders had unique customs involving the sacrifice of a virgin to the sea during the seventh lunar month. In 512, the island, known as Usan’guk, was captured by the military commander Yisabu in order to protect the east coast from attack. The area served primarily as a military outpost until 1884 when the government officially allowed migration to the island.

Ullŭng Island’s topography is characterised by rugged mountains and steep cliffs along the coast. Due to the island’s rugged terrain and isolated location, there are only about 20 000 residents, about half of whom live in Todong. Most of the residents earn their living by fishing, supplemented by summer tourism. Boats operating out of the island catch cuttlefish and octopus and harvest seaweed. The area is also known for its pumpkin toffee and wood carvings from Chinese juniper.

Transportation links to the island are limited to ferries from P’ohang, Hup’o, Sokch’o and
Tonghae and helicopters from Kangnung. Ferries, however, are unable to make the trip when the sea gets rough. On the island itself, there are few roads, and only several buses and taxis.

Sŏngin Peak (984m), the summit of a dormant volcano, is the island's highest point. To the north of the peak lies Nari Basin, the only level area conducive to farming. About five kilometres from Todong one finds Pongnæ Waterfall. At Todong Yaksut’ô (mineral springs) Park, there are monuments dedicated to General An Yongbok and Kim Hau and a small history museum with artefacts from early residents of the island. As for Buddhist sites, there are the Taewôn and Haedo temples. In order to promote the island's cultural traditions, the Usan Cultural Festival is held here every October.

Ülmi Incident, 1895 [Japan and Korea]

Ulmi sabyôn (see Ülmi Incident, 1895)

Ülsa choyak (see Protectorate Treaty, 1905) [Japan and Korea]

Ulsan Metropolitan City

Situated in South Kyŏngsang Province, Ulsan comprises the town of Nongso and the townships of Kangdong, Hudong, Tuseo, Pŏmsŏ, Samnam, Samdong, Sambuk, Sŏsaeng, Ōnyang, Onsan, Ōnyang, Ungch’on and Ch’ŏngnyang. The city has been expanded to include the areas formerly known as Ulchu County, bringing its total area to 1051.81 sq. kims. Mt. Kaji (1240m), Mt. Ch’ŏnhwang (1189m) and other mountains of the Tongdae Mountain Range run along the city's western border. The T’aehwa River flows through the city into Ulsan Bay on the East Sea.

Because of the city’s rugged terrain and increasing urbanisation, there is relatively little arable land. Rice, the main crop, is cultivated in the level areas next to the rivers and numerous streams, and pears are grown in the more remote areas. For over thirty years, high quality amethyst has been mined in Ōnyang Township, but most of the mines are now worked out. The amethyst from Ōnyang is rated as amongst the best in the world for its colour and hardness. Ulsan is well-known for its brown seaweed (miyŏk), but production is under threat by industrial pollution from the many local factories.

As the city has industrialised, the population has grown rapidly. 1987 statistics indicate a population of 590,401, a seven-fold increase from 1962. Most of the early migrants were men in their late twenties who had come to look for work in the city's factories. Responding to government incentives, numerous industries moved into the area in the late 1960s. In 1968, an industrial park was built around Maeam-dong for petroleum and chemical products, and in the early 1970s, Hyundai Heavy Industries Co. shipyard was established here. Now the largest single shipyard in the world, the Hyundai factory builds ships of all kinds and sizes, as well as semi-submersible offshore drilling rigs.

With its clear coastal waters and high mountains, the city can boast numerous scenic attractions. In Samnam Township just south of Mt. Hwajang (265m) lies the Chakch’önjong Valley. Stretching along Chakk’wae Stream, the valley is home to Chakch’önjong, a pavilion established by local scholars in honour of King Sejong. In a setting of crystal-clear water and white granite rock, the pavilion has become a popular tourist destination. On Mt. Hakson near the T’aehwa River, is Hakson Park. The park, covered with a mix of cherry and pine trees, contains Hakson Fortress (Historical Site No. 9). At the T’aehwasa Temple site near the fortress, twelve zodiacal animal figures have been sculptured in relief (Treasure No. 441).
In Pŏmsŏ Township’s Ibam Village, just north of the Ulsan Expressway, there are picturesque cliffs along the T’aehwa River. Ibam (Standing Rock), an eroded pillar of granite, stands in the middle of the river. This lovely spot has often been eulogised by Korean poets and literati. Chinha Beach, another tourist destination located twenty-four kms. southeast of central Ulsan City, is especially popular in the summer months. Surrounded by a pine forest, the beach is one km. long and 300 metres wide.

The city also contains many important historical sites. In Tudong Township’s Ch’ŏnjŏn Village, sits a large rock, its face inscribed with drawings and Chinese characters. These inscriptions were made by Shilla hwarang, an elite class of young warriors during Shilla. Similar carvings are also to be seen at Onyang Township’s Taegok Village. The latter depict hunting and whaling scenes.

The area’s unique cultural heritage is maintained by festivals held throughout the year. During the Citizens’ Day celebration, held annually on 1 June, visitors can see performances of local dances and parades together with various contests.

**Umch’ŏngsa**

Umch’ŏngsa is a diary written by Kim Yunshik (1835-1922) and consists of two volumes. In 1938 a descendant of Kim’s compiled this work in manuscript form and this was reproduced by the Chosŏnsa P’yŏnsuhoe (Korean History Compilation Committee). It has since been republished in 1958 by the Kuksa P’yŏch’’an Wiwŏnhoe (National History Compilation Committee) and in 1971 by T’amgudang publishers.

This work covers the period from September 1, 1881 through August 25, 1883 when Kim was serving at the Yŏngsŏnsa (Architect’s Office). Kim, along with other members of this office, was sent to Tianjin in China on a fact-finding mission to learn about new technology concerning weaponry and machinery. In this diary the author also discusses the problems of concluding commercial treaties with China, the United States, Britain and other Western nations. Therefore, it is valuable in the study of the changes that were brought into late Chosŏn through foreign nations and the attempts by the Chosŏn government to assimilate and adapt these changes into their existing governmental organizations.

**Umŏng County**

Situated in the northern part of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Umŏng County consists of the towns of Kumwang and Umŏng, and the townships of Kamgok, Taeso, Maengdong, Samsŏng, Soi, Saengguk and Wŏnnam. The county covers an area of 518 sq. kms and as shown by 1989 statistics, had a population of 78 607. At Mt. Ogap (609m) in the north, the Ch’aryŏng and Noryŏng mountain ranges divide, with the Ch’aryŏng range lying to the southwest, and descending to a pattern of low hills, with the Noryŏng Range extending south, with its Mt. Wŏn’′ong (645m), Mt. Puyong (644m) and Mt. Kasŏp (710m). The western part of the county is comprised of relatively level terrain. With the influence of the surrounding mountains, the local weather pattern is characterised by sharp seasonal variations with an average January temperature of -3.1c., an average August temperature of 25.8c. giving an overall average of 10c. The average annual rainfall is 1 192mm.

In spite of the area’s rugged topography, almost 18 000 hectares of the county are farmed. Of this over 10 000 hectares grows rice and almost 8 000 hectares dry-field crops such as barley, red pepper, turnip and Chinese cabbage. There is also apple and pear growing on a commercial scale. Apple production in particular has boomed to meet national demand, caused by the decline in apple orchards in Taegu In addition, high-quality tobacco is produced in the county for export to foreign markets. Mineral resources are limited to small amounts of fluorspar and granite. The area’s hard granite has a low iron content and thus is not prone to colour change, making it admirably suited for use in sculptural work and in
The county contains a number of historical sites. On the summit of Mt. Kasŏp, there are remains of a fire-signal lookout and at the foot of the mountain is Kasŏp Temple, which contains a stone Buddha statue. To the southeast at Mit'a Temple, there is a rock carving of a Buddha. Confucian schools consist of Ŭmsŏng Hyanggyo (founded in 1560) in Ŭmsŏng's Shinch'ŏn Village, Un'gok Sŏwŏn (founded in 1661) in Samsŏng's Yongsŏng Village, and Chich'ŏn Sŏwŏn in Saenggŭk's P'alsŏng Village. Famous shrines in the area include Munch'unggong Sau in Saenggŭk's Pangch'uk Village and Ch'ungnyongsa in Ŭmsŏng's Yongson Village. The former commemorates Kwŏn Kŭk while the latter honours Pak Sehwa, who became a martyr during the early years of the Japanese occupation.

Local traditions are promoted by the Sŏlsŏng Cultural Festival, held since 1982. The three-day festival features parades, traditional food fairs, music and dance performances, games, poetry and folk music contests, athletic events and a beauty pageant. Besides this festival, various folk rituals can be seen at different times of the year throughout the county. Of these, the Shaman rituals to worship mountain deities (sanshinje) that are held in Ŭmsŏng's P'yŏnggok and Soyŏ villages and in Saenggŭk's Pyŏngam Village are particularly well known.

Underwood, Horace G. [Education]

Ŭnhae Temple

Situated on Mt. P'algong in North Kyŏngsang Province, Ŭnhae Temple is one of the main temples of the Chogye Order. When first built by National Master Hyech'ŏl in 809, the monastery was called Haean Temple. After its reconstruction in 1270 by National Master Hongjin, it became an important administrative centre for the combined Sŏn (Jap. Zen) and Kyo (Doctrinal) Orders. The monastery underwent additional restoration work by Wŏnch'am in 1275 and was repaired in 1543. Three years later, Ch'ŏn'gyo moved the Main Buddha Hall to its present location and rebuilt the monastery, calling in Ŭnhae Temple. The temple burnt down in 1563. A year later, Myojin led a reconstruction project, followed by further reconstruction in 1589 and 1651. During the next two-hundred years, the temple complex was expanded and numerous hermitages were built in the area.

In 1847 a fire broke out, razing the entire complex. P'albong and other monks immediately set to work reconstructing the monastery. In the ensuing years, the temple became an important monastic complex with extensive land-holdings. During late Chosŏn it became an important centre for Hwaŏm thought. Today, Ŭnhae Temple administers thirty-nine branch temples, five Buddhist centres and eight hermitages. The temple houses a number of important artefacts. In the various shrine halls, there are several old altar paintings, including a depiction of Chijang (Ksitigarbha) painted in 1747, a depiction of King Kamno (Amrta) painted in 1762 and a depiction of Amitabha with attendant bodhisattvas painted in 1897.

Underwood, Horace G. [Education]

Unification of Korea (see also History of Korea)

The Division

The division of the Korean peninsula is a result of both international and domestic forces. Surrounded by major powers like China, Japan and Russia, the geopolitical significance of the Korean peninsula has attracted frequent foreign interventions in Korea's modern
history. At the turn of the century world powers competed for dominance in Korea. The simmering pot of rivalry boiled over in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), in both of which Japan was victorious. These victories facilitated the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. Thirty-five years later, the power vacuum caused by the Allied victory over Japan again provided a chance for foreign intervention on the peninsula. In 1945, at the end of World War II, the USSR and the USA entered Korea to accept the surrender and disarming of the Japanese troops. In so doing, the two powers agreed to divide the Korean peninsula temporarily at the 38th Parallel.

The Allies, by decisions reached at several major conferences -- Cairo (1943), Yalta (1945), and Potsdam (1945), had reached an understanding that Korea should be granted independence after a period of trusteeship. Nevertheless, as the military forces of the United States and the Soviet Union each occupied separate halves of the peninsula, their conflicting interests did not allow them to agree on how to provide Koreans their independence. Both major powers had substantial self-interest in the peninsula because of its geopolitical importance, and each was suspicious of the other's ambitions in the region. Thus, the two dominant world powers began to build their own power bases on each side of the 38th Parallel by supporting the political factions favourable to them. In the south, the US Military Government (USAMGIK) supported Syngman Rhee (Yi Súngman), an American-educated nationalist leader whose political power was based on the support of the conservative landlord-class and colonial bureaucrats. At the same time, the USAMGIK suppressed communist leaders and their sympathizers who held substantial power and were well organized from the time of Korea's liberation. Concurrently, in the north of Korea, the USSR supported the communists, especially Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) and the Korean Labor Party, while suppressing other political factions opposed to communism. This development eventually led to the establishment of separate governments on opposite sides of the 38th Parallel, in 1948.

Once established, the ideologically-conflicting governments of North and South each claimed to be the only legitimate government for the entire Korean nation. At the same time, as the world was reordered into political blocs, the Korean peninsula became the front line of the Cold War, and hostilities between the two Koreas intensified. These hostilities exploded into the devastating Korean War of 1950-1953, when Northern forces waged total war against the South, with the aim of unifying the peninsula. Within three months, the North Korean troops, well supplied with Soviet weaponry, had overrun most of the southern parts of the peninsula. Soon, however, a United Nations (UN) force was organized under US leadership, and it and South Korean troops took the offensive and penetrated deep into North Korea until they were confronted with a Chinese counter-invasion. At the time of the Armistice in 1953, the border was almost the same as before the war. With more than five million casualties, the war left a deep and unmitigated wound in the psyche of the Korean people. The hostilities and resentment between the peoples of North and South grew even stronger and the frantic competition between them led the two societies to become extremely distrustful and intolerant of each other.

Discussions on inter-Korean affairs have not been free of political, ideological, and emotional bias. These discussions have been hindered by dogmatic nationalism and the ideological rigidity of both regimes. Stressing the homogeneity and the long history of independence of the nation, neither the North nor the South fully admitted to internal causes of the division. Though not the direct cause of the territorial division of the country in 1945, some divisive forces in Korean society and in its history are worthy of mention.

First, ideological cleavages among Korean people have contributed substantially to the division of the nation. Since the early 1920s, the nationalist movement was split into rightist and leftist factions in regard to the methods of achieving independence and modernization. Such an ideological split in the anti-imperialist front was common in many Asian countries including China and Vietnam, but in Korea it was reinforced at the end of World War II by
the actual territorial division of the peninsula. The Korean elite were ideologically divided among themselves, and each faction sought power and domination over the other with support from the occupying forces. This ideological division at the political level reflected the contradictory class structure of Korean society, which consolidated the establishment of the two different regimes.

Secondly, in Korea there has long been a tradition of regional identities based on historical memories and regional cultures. While Korea is an old society with a highly homogeneous culture, Koreans have kept a tradition of regional identities since the Three Kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche, and Shilla. (circa, first cent. BCE to seventh cent. CE.) Though this period ended with the unification of the larger part of the peninsula by Shilla (today's Kyongsang region), the identities of the conquered peoples of Koguryo (today's North Korea) and Paekche (today's Cholla region) remained with their discernible regional cultures and dialects. Although these weakened gradually over time, the tradition of regional identities is still seen today in the dialects, cultures, bonds, and discriminative practices against people of other regions. This is especially salient both in North Korea's depiction of itself as the legitimate inheritor of Koguryo culture and in South Korea's regionally divided (between the two rival regions of Kyongsang and Cholla) voting patterns.

The experience of the Korean War further divided the peoples of North and South emotionally. During the war, each side committed incalculable atrocities against each other. In addition, as each Korea has claimed absolute and exclusive legitimacy and sovereignty, the half-century of division has been marked with hostile confrontations, slanderous accusations, and misconceptions, which have further consolidated the North-South division, and retarded the unification process.

Inter-Korean Dialogue on Unification

Although the governments of North and South Korea have affirmed their desire for national unification, the reality is that the continuing hostility and rigidity of the two sides hinder positive steps towards the unification goal. Notwithstanding, there are a few agreements between the protagonists which have, at least, kept the doors of negotiation ajar. Until 1971 the two Koreas did not hold unification talks, but a breakthrough came with a thawing of the Cold War in the early 1970s: at the time the US and China improved their relations, when the US and USSR promoted détente, and when the US decided to reduce its troop numbers in South Korea. In August 1971, North and South agreed to open talks through the Red Cross organization to aid the reunion of separated families. Starting with these talks, the two sides exchanged high-level emissaries, and reached a landmark on three principles of unification. These were: a) both sides would work for unification without relying on foreign forces; b) their regimes would transcend ideological and political differences; and c) the peninsula would be unified without reliance on the force of arms. The two sides also created the North-South Coordinating Committee for continuing negotiations.

Nevertheless, the North and South had fundamentally different interests and goals on inter-Korean affairs, and the negotiations came to a halt in 1973. On the one hand, North Korea contended that the two sides should first solve military questions such as arms reduction and total withdrawal of US troops from South Korea. On the other, South Korea stressed the need for the recognition of the political systems of the two Koreas and the promotion of economic cooperation.

Though there were contacts between the Red Cross organizations of both Koreas, there was no progress in terms of the unification question and inter-Korean relationship. In 1980, talks reopened briefly, but no significant meetings were held until 1984 when South Korea accepted the North's proposal to help South Korean flood victims. North Korea sent rice, cement, cloth, and medicine for flood relief purposes, and in 1985, the two sides
exchanged hometown visitors and art troupes. However, further talks were halted with North Korea's demand for abolition of the annual US and South Korea's large-scale Team Spirit Joint Military Exercises.

An important breakthrough in inter-Korean relations came in the early 1990s, with the collapse of the Eastern European communist bloc; the effects of North Korea's dwindling economy; and South Korea's active diplomatic policies toward China and the Soviet Union. After a series of high-level talks, the North and South became members of the United Nations concurrently, in September 1991, and signed the North-South Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation. In this historic agreement, the two sides agreed to cooperate in many areas such as economic affairs, cultural exchanges, and even military matters. In 1992, they also agreed to organize the North-South Joint Nuclear Control Commission to ensure nuclear transparency on the Korean peninsula. However, suspicions over North Korea's nuclear development plans and its rejection of the International Atomic Energy Agency's inspections of its nuclear facilities brought a new crisis to the peninsula and hostilities between the two sides intensified during the mid-1990s.

Looking over the half-century of division and the many hundreds of inter-Korean talks that have taken place so far, the observer may perhaps be excused for saying that very little in the way of unification has taken place. Nonetheless, in recent years some positive changes in the relationship of the two sides have occurred. In the mid-1990s, North Korea's sagging economy and crop failures forced its leaders to seek help from the outside world. Importantly, the South Korean government of Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) actively pursues an appeasement policy towards the North, which is something of a departure from the more conservative policies of previous governments. Kim's government has made grain shipments to North Korea, allowed more South Koreans to visit the North, and eased investment and export policies towards the North. As of mid-1998, the two parties are engaging in more frequent contacts with each other in the areas of trade, cultural exchange, and economic cooperation.

Forces and Rhetoric for Unification

Three forces are evident that urge the North and South to work towards national unification: a) the nationalist zeal of the Korean people; b) the satisfaction of economic and social needs; and c) the aspirations of families with members on opposite sides of the border. Nationalism, a principle that the political and the national unit should be congruent (Gellner 1983:1), is the fundamental force behind the popular desire for unification. In general, Koreans show great national consciousness, believing in the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of their nation. Both governments have emphasised the inviolability of unification, in insisting that Koreans are of one nation with a unique culture and ethnicity. Nationalism may be fiction-based, stemming from industrialization and improved communications, but nevertheless, it is a real enough force which functions as the supreme moral value in Korean culture today. (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983).

Ironically, nationalism also functions as a barrier to unification, because each side claims its own absolute nationalist legitimacy. Such intolerance has been efficiently appropriated by each regime to antagonize the other and to consolidate internal unity, while suppressing any components acting against the regime. In addition, the popular nationalist belief that unification would make for a stronger and wealthier nation has been an encouragement for the two governments to unify the peninsula. However, many South Koreans have noted the vast financial outlay and social costs of unification from the fairly-recent example of Germany, and their zeal for unification has markedly diminished, especially that of the younger generation.

Aside from nationalist passion, unification is a highly practical matter. For those who are
members of separated families, unification is urgently needed to enable them to be reunited with their loved ones. (It is thought that as many as twenty million people have family members on opposite sides of the Demilitarized Zone.) For these Koreans the aloofness of the two sides has denied them a single meeting or even correspondence with relatives. This is heart-rending for Koreans, who have always placed such a heavy emphasis on the value of family. The two governments have held several unproductive talks on family reunion, and of course, their failure to bring results has left the many distressed families still yearning for such a reunion. But, as time passes, the number of first-generation separated families is rapidly declining, and the present generation may not share the same aspirations for unification as their parents. Moreover, family reunion can now be achieved in other ways, such as meeting family members in a third country, say in neighbouring China, without the two Koreas having to take the ultimate step of unification.

For many Koreans today, unification remains as a prerequisite for reducing the threat of war and the enormous defence expenditure of the two sides. They believe that the money and manpower for defence could be diverted to something more constructive once the country is unified. There are also people who see a national community as an organism, which cannot survive ‘normally’ if divided. Hence, they believe that the division has been the cause of all the political, social, and cultural ills of both societies, such as their authoritarian political systems, dependency on foreign powers, and oppressive social practices. They suggest that the division of the nation and the hostile relationship between the two Koreas has resulted in their respective cultures being violent and oppressive (Tongil Somoim 1996:18). Some even insist that the regional conflicts in South Korea are also the result of the national division (Paek 1994:81). In their rhetoric, therefore, unification is the panacea to the problems of both South and North Korean societies.

As competition over trade has intensified in the global market, economic needs have emerged as another powerful and persuasive force for unification. For example, the South Korean business community is interested in unification for entrepreneurial opportunities: the prospect of a cheap and disciplined labour force of North Korea; the land’s abundant natural resources; and a land route to China, Russia, and Europe. Business leaders of South Korea thus have shown keen interest in the opening of North Korea and the development of an (eased) inter-Korea trade relationship. The volume of inter-Korea trade has steadily grown since the early 1990s and several South Korean corporations have invested in the North.

Prospects for Unification

The commonly-held prediction that North Korea would collapse either on the death of its leader Kim Il Sung or its economic failures, has thus far proven untrue. More Koreans, at the end of the 1990s, express their belief that unification is possible. With this new expectation, at least in South Korea, there is now a more open forum on unification -- a discourse formerly the prerogative of the state. The new discussions are based on more practical and democratic perspectives, which displace the ideological and militant ones. At the same time, unification discussions are beginning to deal with the cultural and social problems of a unified Korean society rather than concentrating purely on political and military issues. Koreans realize only too well that five decades of division have created two very different Koreas, and for this reason, social and cultural conflicts would be a serious problem to be overcome when the two peoples form one society.

The unification cause will be helped immensely when Koreans have grasped the nettle of the two (aforementioned) forces that brought about the division of their country, viz., the intervention of foreign powers, and the ideological and regional cleavages in Korean society. From the vantage point of the late 1990s, the countries of the region seem unopposed to unification of the peninsula. Each of Korea’s neighbours is seeking its own stability and prosperity, and looks to Korea’s unification as a stabilising force for the region. As far as Korea can assure its neighbours that unification would not be a threat in
any way, it is unlikely that any country would actively oppose it.

Two issues have to be resolved over the conference table and by political debate, if not by the people themselves, as vital to the unification issue. These are, a) by what means can the two Koreas reduce the military tensions on the peninsula, and b) how can Korean people reach agreement to form a community in which they, regardless of their ideological, political, or regional backgrounds, can live together harmoniously. Both issues require the fostering of a more respectful, tolerant and democratic society, since ideological rigidity or regional bigotry would not result in a previously divided people forming a single community. Most South Koreans would insist on North Korean society becoming democratized and opened to the outside world, a move which they would view as also helping to boost the North's troubled economy. At the same time, the 'colonialist' attitude of South Koreans towards the North does nothing to persuade North Koreans to live alongside them, perhaps under a single government. The North often portrays the South as being somewhat inferior, and romanticizes its land and culture as 'untainted' from the effects of industrialization and capitalism (Grinker 1996). A more tolerant culture based on democratic and pluralistic value systems would not only reduce the social cost of unification but also ease the possible concern of neighbouring states on the prospects of a unified Korea.

The late 1990s economic depression in South Korea introduced a new factor to the unification equation. The circumstance not only diminishes South Korea's capacity to aid the North; at the same time it may also force the South to cooperate with North Korea on a more equal footing. Moreover, the active and flexible policy of South Korean president Kim Dae Jung towards the North creates a positive atmosphere that just might facilitate meaningful progress towards unification. If North Korea chooses an open-door policy to the outside world, then there will certainly be additional opportunities for the two nations to move closer to a unified Korea.

Bibliography


C Z Song

United Kingdom and Korea

Early contacts.

There was some British interest in Korea at the end of the sixteenth c., but it was not until the development of the China trade around 1800 that it revived. Survey work and hopes of trade then brought the British to the shores of Korea. From the 1840s, Royal Navy ships called regularly at Kŏmun-do (Port Hamilton in English), including HMS Samarang in 1845. There was also missionary interest. Korea's first Protestant martyr was a Welshman, Robert Thomas, killed on board the American merchant ship, 'General Sherman' in the Taedong river in 1866. During the 1870s Scottish Presbyterians in Manchuria made contact with Koreans and the Rev. John Ross began translating the bible into Korean.

Britain watched as Japan concluded the Kangwha treaty with Korea in 1876. British diplomats in Japan were studying Korean in anticipation of British relations, but pre-
occupations elsewhere in East Asia left the British government content for others to take the
lead. A treaty was signed in 1882 by the Commander in Chief of the China Station, Admiral
Willis, but it found little favour either with the London government or with British traders
in Asia. A new treaty was therefore negotiated in 1883 by Sir Harry Parkes, British
representative in China.

The British government did not open a diplomatic post in Seoul, partly for reasons of
expense. Instead, the British minister in Beijing was accredited to the Korean court. In
Seoul itself, a consulate-general was established with William G. Aston as the first consul-
general. It was Aston who purchased the land which is still the site of the British Embassy
today. Sites for several consular posts were identified, but only that at Chemulp'o (Inch'on)
was ever used.

Britain's main interest in Korea was trade but the treaty brought little benefit. Korea was too
poor to provide much of a market and British companies such as Jardine Matheson quickly
withdrew. British goods filtered in from China but trade remained on a small-scale. By
1900, however, a number of small and medium British businesses were operating in Seoul
and Chemulp'o. Britons were prominent in the Korean mining industry, while British
experts were employed on a wide range of tasks, including teaching, military training and
the establishment of a telegraph system. A British engineer installed electric lighting in the
Kyôngbok palace in the late 1880s. The most important group were in the Customs
Service, where John McLeavy Brown organised an efficient team of revenue collectors and
began a programme of urban renewal in Seoul, including the construction of Pagoda Park.

From 1885 to 1887, fear of a possible Russian advance into Korea was used to justify the
occupation of Komun-do/Port Hamilton by the British Navy, despite Korean and Chinese
protests. The islands proved to be unsuitable for a naval base and the Russian threat was
also elusive. The occupation therefore ended in February 1887, although Royal Navy ships
continued to visit the islands.

A more abiding British presence began in 1890 with the establishment of the Anglican
mission under Bishop C. J. Corfe. The mission had centres in Seoul, Chemulp'o and on
Kangwha island, running small hospitals, schools and orphanages as well as churches. A
group of Anglican nuns from London played a major role in these activities. An imaginative
feature of the mission was its use of Korean architecture for its churches. St Peter and St
Paul, in Kangwha city, erected in 1900, is the best example, but others survive. The
Anglican mission also produced several Korean scholars.

In 1900, the consulate-general became a full diplomatic mission, with the last consul
general, J N Jordan, as minister resident. A Korean legation opened in London about the
same time. But the signing of the Anglo-Japanese treaty in 1902 paved the way for the end
of Korean independence. The legation reverted to a consulate-general in 1906, while the
Japanese worked hard to remove British officials, including McLeavy Brown, from
Korean employment. One British journalist, Ernest Bethell, fought the Japanese through his
newspaper, the Taehan Maeil Shinbo, until silenced in 1908. His tombstone in Seoul
remains a place of pilgrimage for Korean journalists.

British influence dwindled after 1910 but did not disappear. Numbers dropped as the
Japanese pursued an aggressive 'Japan first' policy. Yet some businessmen managed to
survive and mining remained important until the 1930s. The Anglican mission continued its
slow growth. Its first Korean priests were ordained in 1915, and the mission spread out
from Seoul to other areas. In 1926, the Anglican cathedral of St Mary and St Nicholas was
dedicated in Seoul. The Salvation Army arrived in 1908, and gained a popular following.

By the 1920s, typically Salvationist establishments such as Boys' Homes functioned in
Seoul and elsewhere. The British and Foreign Bible Society also flourished. During the
1930s, pressure intensified on the remaining foreigners in Korea as war approached. The missionaries withdrew early in 1941, and the consular staff were repatriated in 1942.

After the war, a British liaison office opened in 1946, and by the end of that year, the Anglicans and the Salvation Army were again functioning, though under great financial difficulties. A handful of British businessmen also returned.

**The Korean War period 1950-1953**

Britain quickly moved to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea in 1948, and a minister, Vyvyan Holt, was accredited to Seoul in 1949. A Republic of Korea (ROK) legation opened in London that same year. When the Korean war began in June 1950, Holt decided to stay. Within a few days, he and two members of his staff, together with the Anglican Bishop, the Salvation Army commissioner and a number of other missionaries, were detained by North Korean forces. They were eventually taken to detention camps in the far north. Some died either on the 'Death March' to the north or in captivity. The survivors, including Holt and his vice-consul, George Blake, (later convicted of spying for the Soviet Union), were released in April 1953.

Although Britain had many other commitments in 1950, the British government accepted the need to help the Republic of Korea. At first it was hoped that support could be limited to naval assistance, but under American pressure and in the face of early North Korean successes, Britain agreed to commit ground forces. British infantry landed at Pusan on 29 August 1950 and were soon in action. The British took part in all the major campaigns of the conflict, but the most famous action was the stand by the First Battalion The Gloucestershire Regiment - 'The Glorious Glosters' - during the battle of the Imjin river in April 1951. British casualties in the war were 1109 killed and 2674 wounded.

**Post Korean War relations**

British forces remained in Korea as part of the Commonwealth Division until 1957. Thereafter, a small contingent acted as an Honour Guard with the United Nations Command, while from the early 1960s, the British defence attache was also the commanding officer of a residual Commonwealth Liaison Mission. Britain played a major role in post war reconstruction during the 1950s and British firms were closely associated with the ROK's subsequent rapid economic development in the 1960s and 1970s. British equipment and technical knowledge were especially important in the ship-building and automobile industries. British companies have also been involved in the textile, petrochemical, iron and steel, power generating and mining industries. British banks and other financial organisations are well represented in Korea. A number of South Korean companies, including Daewoo, Samsung and LG, have invested in Britain.

Diplomatic relations were raised to ambassadorial level in 1957. Over the years, many prominent South Koreans have visited Britain, including Presidents Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tuhwan) in 1986, Rho Tae Woo (No T'aeu) in 1989, and Kim Young Sam in 1995. Newly elected President Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) attended the Asia-Europe Meeting in London in April 1998. (Former President Yun Posŏn studied at Edinburgh University in the 1930s.) The then British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, visited South Korea in 1986, and her successor, Mr John Major made a brief visit in 1991. There have been a number of informal royal visits over the years, and the Prince and Princess of Wales made an official visit in 1992. The Koreans have long been interested in English literature, with well-established traditions of scholarship on Shakespeare and D. H. Lawrence. Other aspects of Britain are less well studied, although there has been more interest in British politics since the 'Thatcher years'. Korean studies in Britain took off in the 1980s and there are now centres of Korean studies in London and Sheffield, with individual scholars working elsewhere.
Britain and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

Britain long maintained a policy of not recognising the DPRK as a state or the authorities there as a government, a policy derived from the 1948 United Nations' resolution establishing the Republic of Korea. There are only limited contacts between Britain and the DPRK, and trade is minimal. In 1991, the first British officials to visit DPRK since the Korean War accompanied a British delegation to the International Parliamentary Union meeting in Pyŏngyang. A political dialogue at official level began in 1992, and a number of meetings have been held in London, Geneva and Pyŏngyang. In May 1998, Britain, as the then presidency of the European Union (EU) led an EU fact-finding humanitarian delegation to the DPRK.

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United States and Korea

In 1982, the United States (U.S.) and Korea celebrated the centennial of the treaty that established relations in 1882, and some people even commemorated 'a century of cooperation' between the two countries. In fact, official relations between Korea and the U.S. were non-existent for nearly a half century, starting in 1905 when the U.S. abandoned Korea to Japan.

In 1948, the U.S. re-established relations with Korea, but unfortunately only with South Korea (the Republic of Korea [ROK]). Relations between the U.S. and North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK]) are yet to be achieved.

Establishment of Relations.

Some Americans advocated the opening of Korea for trade as early as 1834, and several contacts were made between the Koreans and the U.S. in the 1850s and 1860s when many shipwrecked Americans were rescued and given help by the Koreans. But, at that time the
U.S. government showed no interest in establishing relations with Chosŏn Korea.

The 'General Sherman' incident of July 1866, however, led the U.S. government to a confrontational encounter with Korea. The 'General Sherman' was an American schooner which was engaged in trade in the Far East, and it went to Korea from China without any authorization from the host government to navigate in Korean waters. Sailing up the Taedong River, it ran around on a sandbar near P'yŏngyang, and when its crew members (mostly Malayans and Chinese) provoked both officials and inhabitants of P'yŏngyang and the neighbouring villages, angry Koreans burned the ship and killed all its crew members.

Although the commander of the Asiatic fleet of the U.S. who investigated the case of the 'General Sherman' concluded that the ship was burned and its crew killed because of their own misconduct and not on the orders of the Korean government, officials in Washington were angry. Meanwhile, the Korean government, which usually maintained a policy of non-involvement, fearing that Korea would be contaminated by 'evil Western barbarians', became annoyed by increasing visits of foreign vessels, including the French naval invasion of 1866.

At this juncture, the American consul-general in Shanghai proposed to Secretary of State William H. Seward the possible linkage between a settling of the case of the 'General Sherman' and a commercial treaty with Korea. But it was new Secretary of State Hamilton Fish who, in April 1870, instructed the American Minister to China, Frederick F. Low, to negotiate a treaty to protect shipwrecked American seamen, and if possible, to open Korea to American trade.

Unfortunately, Minister Low went to Korea not as a diplomat to settle the issues pending between the U.S. and Korea by peaceful means, but as head of a punitive military expedition whose aim was to bring the Korean government forcibly, if necessary, to sign a treaty. Low's action led, in May 1871, to what the New York 'Herald Tribune' called, 'Our little War with the Heathen' - a series of military clashes in May and June 1871 between American Marines and Korean coastal defence units on Kanghwado and other nearby islands off Chemulp'o (now Inch'on), as well as the lower Han River regions.

The American expedition accomplished nothing in terms of revising the policy of isolation of the Koreans, or changing their attitudes toward the West. It only antagonized the Koreans more and hardened their resistance to the opening of the country to 'Western barbarians'. Shortly after the American invasion, Prince Yi Haŭng, better known as the Taewongun or Prince Regent, father of the young King Kojong (r.1863-1907), made the policy of isolation official. As Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt said later, "The attempt, however gallant, was fruitless, except in embittering Koreans and deferring the prospect of a friendly treaty."

No further actions were taken by the U.S. government until after Korea signed a diplomatic and commercial treaty with Japan in 1876. As the American government became more interested in expanding its diplomatic relations, the Secretary of State and Secretary of the Navy dispatched Commodore Shufeldt in October 1878 on a global mission that included seeking out treaties.

After a journey to Africa, Shufeldt arrived in Japan in April 1880 and made efforts to open Korea to American commerce and secure better treatment for shipwrecked American seamen. Shufeldt was aided by the American minister to Japan and by the Japanese government. However, the journey to Korea in May was not fruitful. Other attempts Shufeldt made after that date also were unsuccessful. At this juncture, Li Hongzhang, an influential Chinese statesman, invited Shufeldt to Tianjin in August, and after talking with the American, Li offered his assistance. Li's motive was said to have been to induce the American government to acknowledge China's suzerainty over Korea in a forthcoming
treaty between the U.S. and Korea, thereby challenging the Japanese contention that Korea was a sovereign and independent nation as stated in the treaty which Korea and Japan recently signed.

The changes in domestic and foreign policies of Korea and Chinese assistance enabled Shufeldt to conclude the treaty with Korea. While moderate Korean officials were able to persuade their king to abandon the policy of isolation, Li convinced the Koreans that it was better for Korea to allow the treaty with the U.S. to set the pattern of Korea's relations with the Western powers. As a result, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the U.S. and Korea was concluded on 22 May 1882 and signed on 6 June 1882 at Chemulp'o. This treaty, which is commonly called the Chemulp'o or Shufeldt treaty, refused to recognize Chinese suzerainty over Korea.

Amicable relations between the U.S. and Korea developed after the arrival of the first American minister, Lucius H. Foote, in May 1883, and the Korean government sent its first goodwill mission to the U.S. in September of the same year. Soon, other Americans, including Protestant missionaries, began to arrive in Korea. Among them was Dr. Horace N. Allen, who provided critical medical treatment to a nephew of Queen Min (assassinated 8 October 1895) who was badly wounded during the coup d'etat of the Progressives in December 1884. While Dr. Allen, who later became U.S. minister to Korea, established the first modern medical clinic in Korea, other American missionaries built churches as well as modern schools for boys and girls, contributing much toward the modernization of education as well as Korean society. Meanwhile, the Korean government established its permanent mission in Washington in 1877, despite strong Chinese objections.

**Break in Relations**

The relationship between Korea and the United States may be viewed as a one-sided affair between an ardent Korea with a reluctant America, fostering what one writer called "the diplomacy of asymmetry". By and large, Korean leaders had misconstrued Korean-American relations and were expecting much more than the U.S. was either willing or able to provide. Some Korean officials apparently viewed the Shufeldt treaty as a wedge to free Korea from Chinese domination, and when Minister Foote arrived the Korean king was said to have 'danced with joy', for he, along with others, regarded the U.S. as the symbol of a beneficent power that would indisputably guarantee the integrity of the Korean nation. Undoubtedly, such an attitude was due to Korea's misreading of certain diplomatic language in the 1882 treaty, as well as the expressed opinions of American diplomats and missionaries in Korea regarding American intentions and disposition. Be that as it may, the Korean king took positive steps to promote close ties with the U.S.: he established cordial relations with American ministers; secured American drill masters for his modern army and imported American weapons; employed American teachers for the school for children of the nobility and American advisers in the government; and he granted various concessions to the Americans.

On the other hand, the U.S. government showed only casual interest in Korea at best, despite the fact that Minister Foote strongly felt that the influence of the U.S. should become a permanent factor in the progress of Korea. The primary interest of the U.S. government was to protect its treaty rights and other privileges gained after 1882. Modernization of the ancient Korean ways and the safety of the kingdom were not American concerns. The lack of interest in promoting deeper relations with Korea was clearly shown when, in July 1884, the government reduced the rank of its representative in Korea from Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (modern day ambassador) to that of Minister Resident and Consul General.

The U.S. maintained a position of impartial neutrality when international disputes between Korea and its neighbouring countries developed. At the same time, it avoided antagonizing
either China or Japan even when they mistreated Korea. In reality, the role the U.S. played was, as some observed, 'little more than a sympathetic and detached onlooker'.

On the eve of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Korean king solicited American assistance in order to avert the conflict over Korea, remove Japanese pressure, and safeguard his kingdom. After receiving repeated appeals from Seoul, in July 1894 the U.S. government merely expressed its hope that the Japanese would withdraw their troops from Korea to avoid war and not pressure the Korean government to implement Japanese designed domestic reform programs. The American note added that, 'The President will be painfully disappointed should Japan visit upon her feeble defenceless neighbour (Korea) the horror of an unjust war'. But when England and China proposed that the U.S. participate in joint action to prevent the war and remove Japanese pressure on Korea, the American government refused to cooperate, maintaining its policy of strict neutrality and non-involvement.

Neither Minister Allen (July 1897-June 1905), nor William Sands, an American adviser to the Korean monarch, had any love for the Koreans or concerns for Korean independence. Sands saw the Korean monarch as a man who was 'confused politically and weak in personality'. As for Allen, although he thought highly of the 'docile, good natured, patient, and hardworking' common people in Korea, he had no respect for the ruling class, including the monarch. It was his opinion that the Koreans would be better off under foreign domination.

Allen secured various concessions, including mining, railway and fishing concessions, from the Korean government for American firms after helping the king to flee from his palace to the Russian legation in February 1896. However, when the King in 1899 solicited American help in promoting Korea's permanent neutrality, the American government refused because policy makers in Washington preferred Japanese control in Korea over that of Russia, or a 'state of misrule and disrule' under the Koreans themselves.

Many had been led to believe that the Taft-Katsura Memorandum of July 1905 was in fact a 'secret pact' between the U.S. and Japan under which Japan was allowed to take over Korea. Such a mistaken notion still persists among the Koreans. However, a careful examination of the circumstances in which the talks between U.S. Secretary of War William H. Taft and Japanese Prime Minister Katsura Taro took place in Tokyo, and the contents of the memorandum applied to Korea show that this was not the case.

President Theodore Roosevelt favoured Japanese control over Korea, and when, in 1903, Minister Allen expressed his view that the U.S. should help Russia against Japan, William W. Rockhill (author of American 'Open Door' policy and adviser to Roosevelt) told Allen that the Japanese should not only be supported, but also 'be allowed to swallow Korea to check the Tsarist drive in Manchuria.' Witnessing the gathering war clouds over Korea, the Korean monarch in 1904 sought American assistance (protection) in preserving the independence of his kingdom. Allen wrote to his government, 'The emperor always turns to me and the more they (Japan and Russia) scare him the more eager he is to turn everything over to the Americans.' However, Roosevelt, who had encouraged the Japanese to increase their control in Korea, refused to provide any assistance to Korea, justifying his policy on non-interference, in saying that, 'The Koreans could not strike one blow in their own defence.' It was the opinion of Rockhill that the annexation of Korea by Japan was inevitable, and that Japanese control would be better for the Korean people and also for peace in the Far East. Meanwhile, Secretary of State John Hay held that American interests (in Korea) were rather commercial than political.

The Japanese took advantage of the position of the American government, calling the Taft-Katsura Memorandum a 'secret agreement' regarding Korea and proceeded to make Korea their colony. When the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) ended with a Japanese victory, the
Japanese forced the Korean government to conclude a treaty on 17 November 1905, making Korea a Japanese protectorate, and in August 1910 they annexed it.

When the treaty of 1905 was signed between Korea and Japan, the U.S. was the first Western power to withdraw its legation from Korea, without making any protest, expressing any sympathy, or even waiting 'until the funeral was over'. 'Without saying goodbye'...we were the first to desert her', wrote Dr. Homer B. Hulbert, an American missionary/educator in Korea since 1884. Thus, the first phase of U.S. Korean relations came to an end as Korea became a Japanese colony. Meanwhile, the emigration of Koreans to Hawaii was brought to an end by the Japanese in 1905. In the three years from 1902, some 7,222 Koreans had moved to Hawaii - with about 2,000 of these relocating to the U.S. mainland after 1903.

Re-establishment of Relations

After terminating its relations with Korea, the U.S. government steadfastly refused to interfere with Japanese colonial rule. It failed to provide any assistance to the Koreans who were engaged in their independence movement in 1919 (the March First Movement) and when Korean nationalists established the Provisional Government of Korea in exile in Shanghai in April 1919, the U.S. refused to recognize its legitimacy, or give any help whatsoever to the struggle for Korean independence.

Ironically, however, the U.S. was destined to fight a costly war to liberate Korea from its colonial masters. Be that as it may, even after the outbreak of the Pacific War, the U.S. government refused to recognize the Provisional Government of Korea relocated at Chongqing, a regime which declared war on Japan in 1941. In November 1943, however, President Franklin D. Roosevelt met British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo and they agreed to free Korea from Japan and restore its national independence 'in due course'.

The re-establishment of relations between the U.S. and Korea was preceded by Allied occupation of the country at the end of World War II. Under a proposal made by the U.S. government to the Soviet Union in August 1945, Korea was divided into two military occupation zones along the 38th parallel, the north as the Soviet zone and the south as the American zone. American occupation forces arrived in Korea in early September, a month after Soviet troops entered Korea from the north in accordance with the Yalta Agreement which the Soviets had concluded with the U.S. and Great Britain in February 1943. The Russians quickly occupied the northern half of the Korean peninsula. Soon after the arrival of U.S. forces, Japanese troops were disarmed and repatriated, as were other Japanese who were in Korea at that time. At this juncture, American missionaries returned to Korea to resume work which had been suspended in 1940.

The U.S. government refused to acknowledge either the legitimacy of the Provisional Government of Korea (waiting in China to make a triumphant homecoming), or the People's Republic which was established in Korea shortly before the arrival of American troops. As a result, during the occupation period that lasted until 15 August 1948, South Korea was governed by the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK). Understandably, the Koreans, who had just been liberated from the Japanese, resented another military rule, and they were disappointed when the troops they had welcomed as allies and liberators turned out to be conquerors and overlords. As a result, relations between Americans and Koreans soured.

The Moscow Agreement that the foreign ministers of the U.S., Great Britain and the Soviet Union adopted in late December 1945 further antagonized the Koreans. It mandated the Allied occupation authorities in Korea to form a joint commission and establish a government of an independent and sovereign nation of Korea in consultation with the
Korean people. However, it also called for a four power (U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain and China) trusteeship over Korea for a period of up to five years. Needless to say, the Koreans regarded the Moscow agreement as an insult and vehemently opposed the trusteeship plan of the Allies.

Although some agreements were reached between the occupation authorities who formed the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission in March 1946, the Commission failed to fulfill the terms of the Moscow Agreement before its role was terminated in July 1947, mainly because of U.S.-U.S.S.R. opposing political and military interests. Meanwhile, American occupation authorities made efforts to 'Koreanize' the American Military Government, promote democracy, and prevent mass starvation and total collapse of economic and social order. In doing so they established (in October 1946) an advisory South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly (SKILA), and in February 1947 the South Korean Interim Government (SKIG) to assist the American military rule. Concurrently, in order to lay the foundation for self defence, in January 1946 the USAMGIK established the Constabulary, the Coast Guard, and the Military English Language School for officers.

When it became clear that the two contending parties in the rapidly developing Cold War situation could not settle the Korean question, in 1947 the U.S. government requested the United Nations to take over the Korean issue. The U.N. General Assembly adopted in November a resolution regarding Korea, and created the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK), instructing it to conduct general elections and establish a government of independent Korea. When North Korea rejected the U.N. plan, elections were held only in South Korea in May 1948 and members of the Constituent Assembly were elected. Inaugurated on 31 May, the Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution, establishing the Republic of Korea (ROK), and electing Dr. Syngman Rhee as president of the Republic. On 12 August, the U.S. extended de facto recognition and designated John J. Muccio as special envoy to Korea. Announcement of the new Republic of Korea was made on 15 August 1948 and American military rule came to an end.

Although the fully-fledged Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the U.S. and the ROK was not signed until 28 November 1956 (effective December 1957), the two governments moved quickly to cement a relationship. With the signing of a series of agreements between the Korean government and the Commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Korea in August and September 1948, and with the de jure recognition of the ROK by the U.S. on 1 January 1949, new relations developed. The ROK sent Chang Myon as its ambassador to the U.S. and the U.S. named John J. Muccio as its ambassador to Seoul.

The Forging of the U.S. South Korean Alliance

At the beginning of the new U.S.-ROK relationship, the U.S. seemed to have no particular concerns for South Korea. As early as September 1947, George Kennan, an influential adviser on foreign policy for President Harry S. Truman, suggested that the U.S. should get out of Korea, and Secretary of State George Marshall indicated that he was making a careful study of the matter.

The American policy-makers saw little strategic or economic value in Korea, and they constantly viewed the Korean problem as an 'unhappy burden and a needless liability to the free world'. While the Joint Chiefs of Staff had indicated in 1949 that under no circumstances would the U.S. engage in the military defence of the Korean peninsula, General Douglas MacArthur expressed his opinion that the U.S. would have to give up active military support for the ROK forces in the event of a military threat developing in Korea.

Consistent with such views, the U.S. withdrew all its troops from South Korea by June 1949, despite strong reservations expressed by the R.O.K. government, as well as some
Americans. At that time, some 500 American military personnel remained in South Korea as a group called the Korean Military Advisory Group (KMAG). While the KMAG repeatedly warned that South Korea was threatened with the same disaster that befall China in 1948, the young republic faced Communist inspired rebellion, strikes and other problems. Secretary of State Dean Acheson told a Congressional committee that the American line of defence in the Pacific region extended from Alaska through the Aleutians to Japan and to the Philippines, excluding South Korea. He repeated this strategy before the National Press Club on 12 January 1950.

In the rapidly growing tensions of the Cold War, however, the U.S. signed the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the ROK in 1950, and the U.S. Congress appropriated $10.2 million for military aid to South Korea. This aid was used mostly for the upkeep of military equipment of early World War II vintage left behind when U.S. troops withdrew. Only a small amount of new military hardware had been delivered prior to the DPRK attack in June 1950. Meanwhile, Congress appropriated $US60 million in economic aid for South Korea for 1950 compared with an appropriation of $US110 million for Taiwan.

When the Korean War came on 25 June 1950, the American government, which had ignored repeated warnings from Seoul and Tokyo regarding the impending threats from the north, was taken completely by surprise. As American military advisers in Korea predicted, the nation's defences collapsed and Seoul, capital of the Republic, fell only three days after North Korea's invasion. Within a month the government was forced to relocate three times. The U.S. dispatched troops stationed in Japan to Korea to assist South Korea's fight for survival, but they too were unable to check the tide of the war. Calling North Korean aggression a challenge to the whole system of collective security, President Truman sent troop reinforcements to Korea. The U.S. led the U.N. Security Council to condemn the DPRK as the aggressor and to form the United Nations Force to help the ROK. After establishment of a U.N. Force with troops of sixteen member nations, General Douglas MacArthur was named commander. The ROK government placed its armed forces under U.N. Command, and in July 1950 exchanged a memorandum with the U.S. regarding the status of U.S. troops in South Korea.

The U.S. played a significant role during the Korean War to preserve the existence of the ROK, but to do that some 35 000 American soldiers died, over 120 000 were wounded, and 8 710 were listed as missing in action. However, the U.S. did not wish to expand the Korean conflict into the third world war, although it knew that both Chinese and Soviet military personnel were committed in Korea. It was the opinion of General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that if the U.S. expanded the Korean War as some Americans wished to do it would be 'the wrong war, the wrong place, and the wrong time'. Such views were widely held in Washington. Thus, on 3 July 1951, the U.S. took steps to bring about a ceasefire. So troublesome was President Rhee, who was against ending the war without a complete victory over the DPRK, that the U.S. government at one time considered removing him from power by a military coup d'état led by Korean military leaders. However, when President Dwight Eisenhower took office, any such notional plan was discarded.

Rhee still insisted on fighting on to a complete victory. Because of the uncompromising opposition of this fiercely patriotic but recalcitrant old man to a ceasefire, coupled with the desire of the U.S. to end the war, the American government made various offers to bring him to accept the U.S. plan. They included: (1) the promise of a U.S. South Korean security pact; (2) a loan of $US200 million, and (3) aid to expand the ROK's military capacity. President Eisenhower also assured Rhee that the U.S. would make all peaceful efforts to unify Korea. The armistice was signed on 27 July 1953 by the U.N. Command, the DPRK and China. The ROK government refused to sign but it pledged to honour the truce agreement.
The Mutual Defence Treaty signed by the U.S. and the ROK on 1 October 1953 (effective 18 January 1954) forged a new alliance between the two countries, enhancing South Korea's defence posture. However, unlike the North Atlantic Treaty or the Mutual Defence Treaty between the U.S. and Japan, the South Korean pact did not obligate either party to come to the other's aid without having gone through necessary constitutional processes. Notwithstanding this qualification, by fighting together as allies in the Korean War and with the signing of the mutual defence treaty, the U.S. and the ROK opened an important new chapter in their relations.

The U.S. and North Korea

Any rapprochement between the U.S. and the DPRK after the signing of the armistice in 1953 was made more difficult by the North Koreans when they rejected proposals presented by the ROK and U.S. at the Geneva Conference of April 1954. These proposals were designed to bring about a peaceful political solution for the Korean issue (unification). The ROK saw itself under constant threat from the North and demonstrated hostilities by the North antagonized the U.S. On 21 January 1968, a DPRK commando team attempted to storm the presidential mansion in Seoul in order to assassinate the ROK president. Two days later North Korean ships seized an American intelligence ship, the U.S.S. Pueblo, and in April 1969 a U.S. reconnaissance plane (EC121) was shot down over the Sea of Japan.

Only when economic assistance from the Soviet Union and China decreased and South Korea's economic progress surpassed their own did the DPRK leaders realize the need for improved relations with the U.S. Thus, in 1972, a DPRK spokesman in Japan indicated North Korea's desire to normalize relations with the U.S. and Japan, and shortly after that Kim Il Sung, its president, disclosed similar interests to Harrison Salisbury, an American journalist who visited P'yŏngyang in May 1972. Then in March 1974, the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea sent a message to the U.S. Congress, expressing its desire to replace the Korean armistice with a peace treaty between the DPRK and the U.S.

These signals from P'yŏngyang notwithstanding, the DPRK did not make any earnest efforts to improve the conditions for rapprochement between the two countries. Instead, it exacerbated the situation when, in August 1976, North Korean soldiers killed two U.S. Army officers and wounded several others at P'anmunjom, and in July 1977 the North Koreans shot down an American helicopter which flew over North Korean territory by a navigational error, killing its entire crew.

Only after the fall of the Communists in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union in the 1980s and early 1990s did the DPRK show serious intent in establishing normal relations with the U.S. Meanwhile, the U.S. relaxed its travel restrictions to the DPRK as well as its anti-North Korean stand, initiating unofficial contacts between the two countries. As a result, an increasing number of Americans, including congressmen, scholars, journalists and home-town visitors travelled to North Korea. At the same time, some North Korean scholars were allowed to visit the U.S. as invitees at academic and professional conferences.

In December 1987, the American government initiated official dialogue with the DPRK in Beijing. After former Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur visited P'yŏngyang in late October 1989, contacts between American and North Korean officials became more frequent. Meanwhile, the amount of wheat exported to North Korea from the U.S. through a third country increased.

Following the meeting in October 1991 between the DPRK's Foreign Minister and a high ranking State Department official in New York, the North Koreans in the spring of 1992 returned the remains of 46 American soldiers who had been posted as missing in action during the Korean War, thereby significantly improving conditions for further negotiations.
Despite these developments, the DPRK's refusal to open all its nuclear and chemical weapons plants to international inspection and its insistence on total withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea inhibited further progress in the talks for establishment of normal relations. At least one favourable observable sign was the decline of anti-Americanism in North Korea.

Partners in Discord

The U.S. saw new strategic value in South Korea during the growing Cold War of the 1950s and 1960s. It provided $US2 059 million economic and $US1425 million military aid, in addition to $US28 million commercial loans to South Korea. This aid enabled the ROK to rehabilitate its war-ruined economic structure and make modest progress as it strengthened its national defences.

Acting against such progress, however, was President Rhee's autocratic rule and the corrupt and irregular ways in which his administration and his Liberal Party conducted politics and managed financial affairs. This antagonized not only the South Koreans themselves, but also the U.S. The way in which the constitutional amendments were made in 1950 and 1954 and the liberal application of the National Security Law of 1948 by the Rhee administration against its opponents strained the relationship between Seoul and Washington. Tactics used by the Rhee regime to elect its vice-presidential candidate in the March 1960 presidential elections completely alienated the U.S., and with the April 1960 Student Uprising, the U.S. not only refused to come to Rhee's aid, but also pressured him to resign.

The Second Republic that emerged in July 1960 changed the nature of politics and won the support of the U.S. However, when the Military Revolution of 16 May 1961 overthrew the Second Republic and established junta rule, U.S.-South Korean relations once again became strained. Although the revolutionaries made it clear that they were not anti-U.S. and their aim was to save the ROK from Communist subversion and establish a clean civil rule that would promote democracy, it did not reduce antagonism of the U.S. government. In the end, General Park Chung Hee, who led the military revolution, himself made a trip to Washington to make peace with the U.S. government. Having no other choice, President John F. Kennedy gave his grudging approval to the revolutionaries and relations between Seoul and Washington began to improve.

During the period of the Lyndon Johnson administration (November 1963 - January 1969), the U.S.-Korean relationship greatly improved. While the U.S. government reaffirmed its commitment to the ROK's security and economic aid, South Korea's dispatch of a large number of medical and combat troops to assist the U.S. forces in the war in Vietnam strengthened the ties between the two countries.

The cordial relationship that was carefully cultivated by Seoul and Washington during the Johnson administration began to deteriorate in 1969 when President Park's ruling party engineered the constitutional amendment that allowed a third term of office to the incumbent president. While American critics increased their attack on Park's autocratic rule and other measures, the Seoul government promoted its hostile attitudes toward the U.S. when President Richard M. Nixon announced his new Asian policy (the so-called Nixon or Guam Doctrine) in 1969 and his unilateral withdrawal of some 11,000 troops from South Korea.

President Park's application of the Yushin (Revitalizing Reform) rule in 1972 further damaged U.S.-ROK relations. Criticism against his rule by emergency decrees grew strong in South Korea as well as in the U.S. President Jimmy Carter's announcement in 1976 of a plan to withdraw all ground troops from South Korea without prior consultation with the Seoul government and the Congressional investigation of the so-called 'Koreagate' scandal in and after 1977 only embittered the Korean government, bringing further deterioration of
relations between the two allies. Meanwhile, in 1976 the U.S. terminated its economic aid to South Korea after providing a total of $US2.621 million between 1962 and 1976. Likewise, U.S. military assistance diminished after $US299 million had been received over a similar period. However, while this military assistance decreased (from $US296.7 million in 1973 to $US1.2 million in 1977), the ROK's military hardware purchases from the U.S. increased from a mere $US295 million in 1967 to $US1.5 million in 1968 and $US100 million in 1974. Purchases further escalated and in 1977 reached $US653 million.

Following the assassination of President Park in October 1979, which ended the Yushin rule, the Fourth Republic emerged in March 1981. However, the way in which President Chun Doo Hwan came to power in a coup d'état in December 1979, as well as his human rights violations and suppression of democratic trends, maintained the critical approach of the U.S. to Korean matters. Even so, the administration of President Ronald Reagan was less troubled about the authoritarian rule of President Chun than Jimmy Carter had been about that of the late President Park.

General democratic trends which developed in South Korea following the emergence of the Sixth Republic in February 1988 with Roh Tae Woo as president nurtured favourable attitudes of the U.S. toward the ROK. At the same time, various concessions that the ROK had made to American demands on economic matters, including the opening of South Korean markets to American business and products (including tobacco) removed from the agenda some items which had created disputes between Seoul and Washington. However, the U.S. government was displeased by the ROK's refusal to import American rice.

ROK leaders expressed their views that the U.S. mistakenly regarded South Korea as an economically mature country. They contended that South Korea was still a developing nation with some $US42.6 billion in foreign debts and a $5.3 billion trade deficit as of August 1992. Therefore, it should not be treated on the same basis as such economic giants as Japan and Germany. They were critical of the policy and tactics of the U.S. to sell more tobacco in South Korea while conducting anti-smoking campaigns at home. They became concerned with the shifting balance of trade with the U.S. In 1987, the ROK's trade surplus vis-a-vis the U.S. was $US9.5 billion, but it first decreased to $2.4 billion in 1990 and then to a $335 million deficit in 1991 with the widening of Korean markets to U.S. products and corresponding shrinkage of the U.S. markets for Korean goods.

American pressure to widen Korean markets for U.S. business and products and growing expectation of more democratization in South Korea are potential sources of friction and dispute. Notwithstanding, the ROK and the U.S. signed a new Status of Forces Agreement in 1991 and created in 1992 the new Marine Combined Command in order to strengthen the U.S.-ROK Combined Forces Command system. The parties also agreed to delay the implementation of the plan to reduce the number of U.S. troops in South Korea. At the same time, they agreed to renew the joint annual military exercise called Team Spirit (which had begun in 1976) in 1993. This military exercise had been suspended in 1992 in order to foster the DPRK's cooperative attitude. With these actions, the two partners strengthened their political and military alliance. Meanwhile, as an expression of the importance of Korea to the U.S., the Library of Congress in 1991 separated the Korean section from the Chinese section, making it a new independent unit in the Asia Division.

Conclusion

After nearly a half century of the absence of any dialogue between the U.S. and Korea following the termination of relations in 1905, new relations between the U.S. and the southern half of the divided Korea were established in 1948. Unlike the previous periods (1882-1905 and 1945-50) during which the U.S. saw no economic or political importance in Korea; in the years after 1950 the U.S., realizing both the political and strategic importance of the peninsula, cultivated close ties with the ROK. Their armed forces had
fought side by side in two wars (Korea and Vietnam) and with U.S. economic aid, the ROK had achieved remarkable economic growth, as it strengthened its national defences with American assistance.

Altering its status from a client state of the U.S. to that of partner, the ROK has become a nation imbued with confidence, pride, and hope. Moreover, the U.S. now regards the ROK as a valuable ally, stemming from its remarkable achievement, democratic development, and cultural progress.

The establishment of any relations between Washington and P'yŏngyang is likely be delayed further so long as the DPRK refuses to adopt a more flexible policy towards international inspection of its nuclear facilities; cancel its biological and chemical weapons programs; abandon its demand for complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from the ROK; and its bellicosity towards the latter country (and its schemes to overthrow the government).

Today, U.S. - ROK relations appear very resilient despite some misunderstandings and unresolved issues. Although some South Koreans continue to express anti-American sentiments, the majority of the people hold a positive image of the U.S. and remain friendly towards it. At present, the two nations are making joint efforts to promote mutually beneficial relations and seek the improvement of stability in north-east Asia.

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Universities and Colleges (see under each University and College)

Ajou (Aju) University
Andong National University
Busan (Pusan) National University
Catholic University of Taegu-Hyosung (Hyosŏng)
Cheju National University
Chonbuk (Chŏnbuk) National University
Chongju (Ch'ŏngju) University
Chonnam (Chŏnnam) National University
Chosun (Chosŏn) University
Chung Buk (Ch'ungbuk) National University
Chung Nam (Ch'ungnam) National University
Chung-ang University
Dankook (Tan'guk) University
Dong-A (Tonga) University
Dong-eui (Tongui) University
Dongguk (Tongguk)University
Ewha (Ihwa)Womans University
Gyeong Sang (Kyŏngsang) University
Hallym (Hallim) University
Hannam University
Hanyang University
Hong-Ik University
Institute of Advanced Engineering
Kangnung (Kangnŭng) National University
Kangweon (Kangwŏn) National University
Kon-kuk (Kŏn'guk) University
Kookmin (Kungmin) University
Korea Educational Development Institute
Korea National University of Education
Korea (Koryŏ) University
Kyemyung (Kyemyŏng) University
The University of Ulsan (Ulsan Taehakkyo) is located in the city of Ulsan in South Kyongsang Province. It was founded in 1969 by the Ulsan Industrial Education Foundation (Ulsan Konggwa Taehak) and named the Ulsan Institute of Technology (Ulsan Konggwa Taehak). Yi Kwan was the first president. In the 1970s, the institute expanded, leading to the establishment of a graduate school in March 1980. In 1985, the establishment became a university, consisting of four colleges -- Humanities; Engineering; Social Sciences; and Natural Sciences. In 1988, Dr. Lee Sang-Joo took office as president and in the same year, the College of Design was established. The Graduate School of Industrial Studies and Business Administration came into being a year later. This was followed by the College of Medicine and the Graduate School of Education in 1990; and the College of Business Administration in 1993.

Today, the university consists of seven colleges -- Business Management; Design; Engineering; Humanities; Medicine; Natural Sciences; and Social Science; and six graduate schools (the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Education; Industrial Technology; Information and Communication; and Regional Development). Facilities include the Computer Centre; Language Education Centre; University Press; Educational Media Centre; Athletics Program Department; Student Guidance Centre; and the Adult Education Centre. The last-named was opened in 1993 to administer various adult education programs, such as educational courses for nursery school teachers; courses on information processing for office workers; and engineering and foreign language courses for the employees of local industries and businesses.

**Unyang chip** (Collected Works of Unyang)

*Unyang chip* is the literary collection of the noted late Chosön period scholar-poet Kim Yunshik (1835-1922). This lithographic edition consists of sixteen volumes in eight fascicles, and was titled after the pen name of the author. The first edition of this work was edited by Hwang Pyönguk and others, who also published it in 1914. The work was again published in 1917.

The first six volumes of this collection contain 1,564 poems of the author, and the other volumes contain various official writings of the author such as private and official letters. This collection also contains various discourses by the author commenting on what he saw as the pressing problems of his day. Some of the more notable examples include his
discussion of the problems with the Samjông (The Three Administrations) tax system and his views on the opening of Korea to trade with foreign nations.

This work provides a glimpse into the affairs of the Choson government during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from the view of one of the foremost scholars of the day. Kim’s writings divulge the process of diplomacy during this period and also reveal the process of the intellectuals of Choson trying to come to terms with the onslaught of foreign culture and technology. Moreover, this work is widely acclaimed for the excellence of the author’s literary talents displayed in the poetry of the first six volumes. In 1980 Asea Munhwasa published an annotated version of this work.

*Uri malbon* (Korean Grammar)

*Uri malbon* is a work on Korean grammar that was written by Ch’oe Hyŏnbæ (1894-1970) and was first published in 1937. After numerous revisions, a revised edition was published in 1955. Ch’oe received training from Chu Shigyŏng (1876-1914) and therefore adhered to the nationalistic approach of his teacher. This work begins with an analysis of the previous research on the Korean language and then traces the development of the Korean language. It is notable in that it was the first to systematically outline Korean grammar. *Uri malbon* is divided into the three broad sections of phonology, etymology and syntax.

This work is widely acclaimed for its modern approach to the organization of Korean etymology and syntax, which had not been undertaken before this work. Moreover, the original approach that this work took during the Japanese colonial period when the Korean language was being suppressed grants it a monumental place in the history of Korean linguistic studies.

*Uri yenmalbon* (Grammar of the Old Korean Language)

*Uri yenmalbon* is 994-page work that explores the grammar of fifteenth century Korean. It was written by Hŏ Ung and published by Saem Munhwa Publishers in 1975. Hŏ’s work is an extensive morphological study of fifteenth century Korean, and begins with a general overview that covers morphology, phonology, orthography and issues concerning various particles in the Korean language. The main focus of the work is placed on various morphological phenomena, including grammatical forms and irregular parts of speech.

*Uri yenmalbon* covers fifteenth century Korean extensively, particularly from the aspect of grammar and various structural forms. For these reasons this work is praised a having significance for historical research on the Korean language.

US Korean Mutual Defence Treaty, 1953 [USA and Korea]

Wakō (waegu) [History of Korea]

Waegu (see Wakō)

Wall Paintings

In Korea, there are two types of wall paintings: murals in buildings and paintings in tombs. Examples of the former are primarily found on Buddhist temple buildings, but records suggest that murals and designs were also used on private houses as early as the Three Kingdoms period. The *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) mentions Shilla prohibitions against the use of 'five-colour' decorations on houses of those of the true-bone (chingol) lineage. This would suggest that palaces, occupied by those of the higher
hallowed-bone (*sŏnggol*) lineage, had murals, as well as some members of the true-bone lineage.

In Koryŏ times, wall painting in tombs was a strong tradition, which gradually weakened with each successive dynasty. These tombs were usually large mounds of dirt covering a stone structure that entombed the body of deceased royalty or member of the upper class. The stone chamber inside the tomb was sometimes filled with objects for use by the deceased spirit in the next world, and the walls were covered with murals showing plants, animals, people or geometrical designs.

**Early Koguryŏ**

Koguryŏ tomb painting has been in existence since the middle of the fourth century C.E. Due to the rapid expansion of Koguryŏ territory around the reign of King Kwanggaet’o (391-413), Korea came into closer contact with Chinese culture and thus became familiar with the Chinese style stone-chamber tumuli. Murals on early Koguryŏ tombs, following the Chinese style, are often painted along long passageways, and the figures are made to overlap so as to show depth. Examples from this period include the Tŏkhŭng Village Tumulus (408 C.E.), Kamshin Tumulus and Susan Village Tumulus. On the Maesan Village Four Deities Tumulus, from the same period, one can see the rudimentary elements of a unique Koguryŏ style. The seated figures look directly forward with grave expressions and the figures are in juxtaposition. A further development can be seen on the Ssangyŏng Tumulus, where the figures have heads turned exchanging glances, giving an impression of movement. Early Koguryŏ tumuli are characterized by stylized depictions of clouds, a motif that originated in Han China. These early Koguryŏ tomb paintings are done in fresco using greenish-blue and sea-blue pigments and yellow and red clay with ink.

**Mid-Koguryŏ Period**

Around the end of the fifth c., Koguryŏ mural artists began to develop a distinct style. In the T’ung-kou region, tomb paintings continued to show people and scenes from everyday life, but a new style of scattered lotuses or concentric circles also emerged at this time. In P’yŏngyang, murals showing the deities of the four directions began to occupy the entire wall of tombs. These four deities are the blue dragon, white tiger, tortoise and red phoenix, which represent the east, west, north and south respectively. During this period, there were numerous depictions of people participating in cultural events - such as dancing, hunting, and the like. The figures from this period are less rigid, but the depiction of leaves remains awkward. On the large tombs, cloud patterns gave way to arabesques.

**Late Koguryŏ Period**

During late Koguryŏ, pictures of cultural events and abstract designs completely disappear. Almost all tombs of this period are decorated with ornate depictions of the deities of the four directions. The murals are filled with clouds, lotuses, arabesques, and floral patterns. In addition, mountains, trees and rock outcroppings are portrayed in a realistic manner. When looking at painting styles on tombs of this period, there is clear evidence of influence from China’s Six Dynasties (220-589).

Koguryŏ Murals in Japan

Japanese records tell of several Koguryŏ artists, such as Kasŏil and Tamjing (579-631), who crossed over to Japan. Unfortunately, the mural that Tamjing painted at Hŏrū Temple was destroyed by fire in 1949. The Japanese murals by Koguryŏ painters demonstrate an international style with Chinese and Japanese influence.

Paekche
Paekche tomb painting was influenced by that of Koguryó, but as Paekche moved its capital further and further south, Koguryó influence decreased. Paekche transmitted Koguryó style wall painting to Kaya, which in turn passed it on to Japan. The only two extant examples of Paekche tumuli contain pictures of the four direction deities. The Tomb of Songsan Village is built of tiles. On the ceiling of the Nungsan Village Tumulus, lotus and cloud designs are scattered across the ceiling. Although the Koguryó influence on these murals is clear, Paekche murals have several distinguishing features such as thin, soft lines and more radiant colours. At the Sóbok Temple site near Puyó, Paekche’s third capital, excavated mural fragments indicate that murals were also used on temples at this time.

Old Shilla, Kaya, and Greater Shilla

Two wall paintings from Old Shilla have been found: the Osuksul Grave and the Úmnae Village Tumulus, both in Yŏng’ung. The Osuksul Grave has lotus designs on the ceiling and guardian deities on the outside of the stone entrance. The Úmnae Tumulus, on the other hand, has a great number of motifs and shows heavy Koguryó influence. There is only one Kaya wall painting, located in Koryóng. There are lotuses on the ceiling and on the walls there seems to have been a picture of the deities of the four directions. The Kaya murals seem to be a variation on the Koguryó style.

Although there are indications of wall paintings in some tombs of the Greater Shilla Period, the murals are not in good condition. There is some coloured paint on the walls of the tomb purported to belong to King Shindók (r. 912-917). Traces of dark red paint have been found on a tomb in Yangch’on Village in Kŭmnŭng County. In addition to these tomb paintings, there are several references to murals in the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). Although the famous Heavenly Horse Tomb (Ch’ŏnmach’ong) in Kyŏngju did not house any wall paintings, it did contain some excellent paintings on saddle flaps. The paintings show, inter alia, a flying horse, horsemen and phoenix.

Koryó

During Koryó, tombs of kings and the upper class were often decorated with the twelve zodiacal figures. This zodiac motif probably originated in Shilla. Instead of lotuses, the walls tended to be decorated with stars. There is also evidence that pictures were painted on cloth and then hung on walls. The oldest extant Koryó painting is a wall painting (National Treasure No. 46) in the Chosa (Patriarchs) Hall at Pusŏk Temple. The painting shows guardian deities and bodhisattvas. Although there is slight flaking, the colours are still visible. At Sudŏk Temple, there is a mural from 1308. Although much flaking has occurred, the objects in the painting are still discernible. In addition, the Koryó togyŏng (Treatise on Koryó Pictures) mentions the use of multi-coloured designs called tanch’ŏng on the palace. Several written works also mention an excellent mural at Kaesŏng’s Ssangguk Temple that was modelled after a mural at China’s Xiang-guo Temple.

Chosŏn

There has been virtually no excavation of Chosŏn tombs, but written sources say the ceilings of tombs from this era were decorated with pictures of the sun, moon and stars, and the deities of the four directions were painted on the walls. In Buddhist temples, the Chosŏn Period saw an increase in the use of framed paintings instead of murals; nevertheless, murals continued to be used on the outside walls and panels of buildings. Although framed paintings have become the rule, an altar mural can still be seen at Muwi Temple. The mural, painted in 1476, includes an Amitabha triad, a ‘water-moon’ Goddess of Mercy figure, etc. Other examples of extant murals from the Chosŏn Period include those at Wibong, Munsu, Hăngguk, T’ongdo and Sŏn’un Temples. At Yongju Temple, there is a unique mural in which the figures have been modelled with chiaroscuro to suggest
depth. This painting, which shows Western influence, was probably painted in the eighteenth c..

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Wan Island

Situated off the coast of Haenam County, Wan Island is part of the town of Wando in South Cholla Province’s Wando County. The island covers a total area of 50.2 sq. kms. and as shown by 1985 statistics, a population of 23,891. As part of a submerged chain of mountains, Wan Island has Sanghwang (644m), Paegun (462m) and Suksung (432m) as its highest peaks. The southern part of the island is covered by low hills and plains.

The island’s temperature range is influenced by ocean currents which regulate both winter and summer extremes. Thus, the average temperature in January is kept above freezing point at 0.1c and the average August temperature is a bearable 23.5c. The island’s average rainfall is quite high with 1,699mm annually. With a picturesque coastline and thick forest, the island is renowned for its scenic splendour. Beaches in the area include the sandy Myongsashimni Beach and an attractive pebble beach at Ch’ongdo Village.

Most of the working population engage both in agriculture and fishing. Crops grown include rice, barley, sweet potato, garlic, wheat, persimmon and rape seed. The island’s fishing boats bring in catches of sea bream, Spanish mackerel, hairtail, anchovy and eel. There are some salt flats and the island is a major producer of laver (kim), brown seaweed (Undaria pinnatifida) and oyster.

A bridge was built linking the island to the mainland, in 1965 and twenty years later, in December 1985, a second bridge was opened to facilitate heavy transport access and the increasing flow of tourists.

The island has four elementary, two junior high and two high schools.

Wando County

Situated in South Cholla Province, Wando County includes the towns of Kümil, Nohwa and Wando, and the townships of Kogüm, Kunoe, Kümjang, Pogil, Soan, Shinji, Saengil, Yaksan and Ch’ongsan. Consisting of over 60 occupied and 143 unoccupied islands, the county covers 387.11 sq. kms. and as 1989 statistics indicate, had a population of 96,444. As part of a submerged mountain range, the islands contain numerous peaks, including Sanghwang Peak (644m), Paegun Peak (462m) and Suksung Peak (432m) on Wan Island, Chökcha Peak (425m) on Pogil Island, Mae Peak (385m) on Ch’ongsan Island and Paegun Peak (483m) on Saengil Island. The southern shores of the outer islands have, to a large extent, been eroded by the action of the sea, whereas the northern shores tend to have shallow coast lines. Consequently, extensive areas along the islands’ northern coastlines, especially of those situated closer to the mainland, have been reclaimed. Influenced by the warm currents of nearby seas, the area has an average yearly temperature of 13.9c., a January temperature of 2.2c. and an August temperature of 26.3c. The area receives an average yearly rainfall of 1,200mm.

About two thirds of the county’s workers are in agriculture. Except for the reclaimed areas along the coast, most of the county consists of rugged terrain. The county has
approximately 95 sq. kms of arable land. Of this, about 36 sq. kms grows rice and about 59 sq. kms. dry-field crops, mostly grains and sweet potato. Fruit crops in the area include persimmon and tangerine. In the area’s placid seas, fishermen bring in catches of yellow corbina, mackerel, sea bream, Spanish mackerel, hairtail, anchovy and eel. The county accounts for one quarter of the nation’s total laver production. In Nohwa, clay and pagodite are quarried, with all of the pagodite produced here being exported to Japan. In the towns of Kŭmil, Wando and Nohwa, there are food-product and marine-product processing plants.

The preservation of the area’s scenic splendour is safeguarded by most of the county’s inclusion in the Tadohae National Marine Park. Some of the most popular tourist destinations are the beaches on Wan Island (See Wan Island), and sites associated with Yu Sŏndo on Pogil Island (See Pogil Island). Buddhist sites in the area include Shinhŭng Temple in Wando’s Kunnae Village, Yongju Hermitage in Shinji Township’s Songgok Village, Okch’on Hermitage in Kogŭm Township’s Tŏktong Village, Hangnu Hermitage in Saengil Township’s Yuos Village and Paengnyŏn Hermitage in Ch’ŏngsang Township’s Puhŭng Village.

Confucian sites include Wando Hyanggyo (Confucian school) in Wando’s Chukch’ŏng Village, Changgun Sadang (Ancestral Shrine) in Wando’s Changwa Village and Changjŏng-dang, a shrine in Kogŭm Township’s Sangjŏng Village. Built by Kim Kwangsŏn in 1897, Wando Hyanggyo was the area’s first educational institution.

Wan Island, previously known as Ch’ŏnghae, also served as a base for Chang Pogo’s forces. During the reign of King Hŭngdŏk (r.826-836), Chang and his army directed maritime trade in the region while protecting the important Yellow Sea trade lanes from pirates. In 851, following the assassination of Chang, the Wan Island garrisons were shut down, bringing to an end Chang’s short-lived maritime ‘Kingdom’.

Wang Kŏn (see T'aejo, King)

Wanggŏm

[History of Korea]

Wang Mang

[History of Korea: The Earliest Korean States]

Wang Och’ŏnch’ukkuk chŏn (Memoirs of the Pilgrimages to the Five Regions of India)

The author of this work was Hyech’o (704-787), a Buddhist monk of the Greater Shilla period. As a youth Hyech’o went to southern China and studied under the Buddhist priest Amoghavajra, and was encouraged to visit India. In 723 he went there by sea and travelled extensively, visiting many significant sites associated with Buddhism, and eventually returning overland to China through Western Turkestan and the Pamir plateau. This work is the record of his journey and includes descriptions of the climate, customs, products, politics, legal systems and the status of Buddhism in the various areas he visited.

In 1908, the French scholar Paul Pelliot discovered a roll of papers containing the text of this work in the Tunhuang caves in China. It is now held in the National Museum in Paris, and is one of the oldest extant Korean works. According to a Chinese record of the Tang period, it was originally in three volumes, but only one has survived. It is, nevertheless, a comprehensive record and a valuable source for the study of India and Central Asia in the eighth c.

In 1928 German scholar, W. Fuchs translated it into German, and in 1943 Ch’oe Namsŏn’s commentary to the text was published.
Wanju County

Situated in the centre of North Cholla Province, Wanju County has the main towns of Pongdong and Samnye, and the townships of Hwasan, Isö, Kui, Kosan, Kyöngch'önn, Pibong, Sanggwan, Soyang, Tongsang, Unju and Yongjin. In the south, Chonju City separates Isö Township from the rest of the county. Mt. Taedun (878m) rises in the north, Mt. Yoonsökk (920m) is to the west and Mt. Moak (794m) to the south. Notwithstanding the proximity of these mountains, the county’s western sector is relatively flat. The county covers a total area of 828.34 sq. kms. and as indicated by 1989 statistics, it had a population of 99 162.

Some twenty per cent of the county is arable land. Of this, about two-thirds is used for rice cultivation, and the remainder for dry field crops such as barley, beans, radishes, Chinese cabbage, spinach, lettuce, cucumbers, onions, garlic and hot peppers. The area’s fruit crops include pears, apples, peaches, persimmons and grapes. Speciality crops, include Pongdong ginger and dried persimmons from Tongsang Township which are especially liked. Mines around Mt. Moak produce gold, silver and copper, while others in Pibong Township produce coal. Talc is mined in Soyang Township. The county also manufactures textiles, plastic, chemical products, leather, hanji (Korean paper), oiled paper for floors and hwasonji (paper for calligraphy).

Surrounded by peaks of the Noryöng Mountain Range, Wanju County affords a number of scenic attractions. For hikers, there is Mt. Taedun Provincial Park at the northwestern tip of the county and Mt. Moak Provincial Park to the south. In Soyang Township’s Taehüng Village is the picturesque Wibong Waterfall. Situated near the east gate of Wibong Fortress, this sixty-metre, two-tier waterfall is considered to be one of the ‘eight scenic wonders’ of Wanju County. Here, water descends into a deep ravine between rugged pinnacles of eroded granite. Within walking distance stands the Ungh’i Monument, which commemorates the Korean soldiers who fought here during the Hideyoshi Invasion of 1592. Both the Korean and the Japanese armies suffered heavy casualties in the battle that raged here, leading the invaders to call off the attack.

Within walking distance of Wibong Waterfall on the southern slope of Mt. Chuch’wal stands Wibong (Dignified Phoenix) Temple. This ancient monastery is said to have been founded by Grand Master Söam in 604; however, maintenance records of Kungnakchön (Paradise Hall) state that a peasant of the late Shilla Dynasty built the temple after he saw three phoenix playing in the nearby woods. The famous monk Naong led a major reconstruction of the temple in 1359. This large monastic complex was once one of the 31 main temples of the combined Sön (Meditation) and Kyo (Doctrine) sect, but the temple has gradually decreased in size as a result of repeated fire damage. Other famous temples in the area include Taewön Temple, Tanam Temple, Songgwang Temple and Hwaam Temple. Founded during the reign of Shilla’s King Munmu (r. 661-681), Hwaam Temple is famous as a place where both Grand Master Wônhyo and Grand Master Ùisang engaged in religious practices.

Songgwang Temple was founded by Sön Master Toöii in 867 and was later restored under the guidance of Chinul (National Master Pojo). When Toöii was travelling south in search of a good site for a monastery, he came to a place where water gushed from the ground. He decided to build a temple on this auspicious site, calling it Chöngnamsa. The monastery has a number of old buildings and halls. The Main Buddha Hall has been designated North Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 70. The hall is built in the typical multi-clustered bracket style of late Chosönn. Its roof is both hipped and gabled, and the ceiling is chequered. Tourists frequent the temple, especially in late April when the cherry blossoms are in bloom.
In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Kosan Hyanggyo (founded in 1407 and rebuilt on the north bank of Kosan Stream in 1601), Kuho Sōwōn in Pongdong, Hosan Sōwōn in Samnye next to the Honam Expressway, Paekch’i Sōwōn in Kosan Township, Pongyang Sōwōn in Pibong Township and Yanggok Sōwōn in Pibong Township just east of Mt. Sŏngmoe (393m). Modern institutions of higher education include Hanil Theological Seminary University in Sanggwan Township and Woosuk University in Samnye.

There are a number of unique village rituals (tongje) in this area. Foremost are theSanshinje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountain) in Pongdong’s Yulso Village and the Kiuje (ritual of praying for rain) in Kosan Township. The Yulso Village rite was originally performed to ward off tigers, disease and famine. The ritual is normally held on the 6th day of the first lunar month, but the date can be changed to another auspicious day in the event of an unclean occasion such as a death or birth. The Kosan Kiuje was held up until the end of the Japanese occupation (1945). This ritual was different from that of other regions, as it was performed by Buddhist monks who recited a sutra in front of a Buddhist scroll painting at Hwaam Temple. The ritual did not end at any set time, but instead continued until enough rain fell to make the scroll painting wet.

War Memorial

The War Memorial (Chŏnjaeng Kinyŏmgwan) opened on 10 June 1994 on It’aewŏn Street next to the Yongsan Army Base in Seoul. The memorial displays artefacts and memorabilia associated with Korean wars. Exhibition halls at the memorial include the War History Room; Korean-War Room; Expeditionary Forces Room; Korean Forces Development Room; and Large-scale Equipment Room, as well as a room specially dedicated to the memory of Koreans who died defending their country. Items on display include ancient armour and swords; cannons; weapons from World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War; as well as large items such as tanks and a B-52 bomber. There is also a model of the tombstone of King Kwanggaet’o (r. 391-413) the great ruler of Koguryŏ.

Wards and Districts

Inch’ŏn chikhalsŏn (6 Wards and 126 Districts)
   Chung-gu
   Nam-gu
   Namdong-gu
   Puk-gu
   Sŏ-gu
   Tong-gu

Kwangju chikhalsŏn (3 Wards and 99 Districts)
   Puk-gu
   Sŏ-gu
   Tong-gu

Pusan chikhalsŏn (12 Wards and 188 Districts)
   Chung-gu
   Haeundae-gu
   Kangsŏ-gu
   Kŭmjong-gu
   Nam-gu
   Puk-gu
   Pusanjin-gu
   Saha-gu
   Sŏ-gu
Western Learning (Ｓōhak) [History of Korea]
Westerners (Ｓōin) [History of Korea]

Wi Island

Wi Island is part of Wido Township in North Cholla Province's Puan County. Situated about 10 kms. from the Pyōnsan Peninsula in the Yellow Sea, the island covers a total area of 11.14 sq. kms. and as 1985 statistics show, had a population of 2 883. Mangwŏl Peak (255m) and Manggûm Peak (242m), are the island's highest peaks and these contrast with the flat areas of reclaimed land along the coast.

The island receives 1 093mm of rain and 196.3mm of snow annually. The average temperature is -1.5c in January and 27c in August. Only 14. per cent of the island is arable. Of this, 0.19 sq. kms. is used for rice cultivation and 1.38 sq. kms. for dry field crops such as sweet potato, barley and garlic. Local fishermen catch anchovy, hairtail and yellow corbina, and harvest laver.

There are two elementary schools and one junior high school on the island.
During Chosŏn, Wi Island was used as a place of exile.

Willis, Admiral G.O. [United Kingdom and Korea]

**Wiman** (fl. ?-c.194 B.C.E.)

Wiman (Wei Man) was the founder of Wiman Chosŏn, an early Korean State. Due to civil wars in China after the fall of the Qin dynasty and the rise of the Han there were a great many refugees from northern China and Manchurian areas. In particular, one group of refugees, numbering over a thousand strong, was led by a man named Wiman who sought shelter from the continuing wars of China. Initially, Wiman was entrusted by King Chun (?–194 BCE) of Ko Chosŏn to defend the northwestern border of the kingdom. However, as Wiman consolidated his power base among the refugees he drove King Chun from his throne and took the kingship for himself. King Chun is said to have fled to the south to the state of Chin at this time. The year that Wiman (194 BCE) is said to have founded his own state is derived from records in the *Shizhi* (Records of the Historian).

Records in the *Shizhi*, *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty) and *Sangautzhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) all state that Wiman was of the Chinese Yan State. However, although Wiman came from Chinese territory it is quite likely that he was of Korean ethnicity. This can be confirmed from records stating that he wore his hair and dressed in the style of the Chosŏn people when he led his band of followers to Ko Chosŏn, and moreover that he continued to use ‘Chosŏn’ in the title of his new kingdom. Another feature of Wiman Chosŏn was the continued use of men of the former Ko Chosŏn kingdom to staff high positions in its government. All of these facts together support the view that Wiman Chosŏn was not a Chinese colonial outpost, despite the fact that Wiman did rely on Chinese migrants and their sophisticated knowledge of the iron culture to help him in founding his state. Wiman Chosŏn most certainly took the form of a confederated kingdom that used the extant power structures of its predecessor Ko Chosŏn, and then took this society through a series of rapid developments.

It is not known for certain when Wiman died or for how long he ruled. However, from the fact that his grandson King Ûgŏ served as the last king of Wiman in 108 BCE it can be determined that Wiman did consolidate his power and pass that throne on to his heir. It is known that Wiman Chosŏn extended the size of its domain to a considerable degree and controlled much of the northern part of the Korean peninsula. Moreover, the fact that Wiman Chosŏn and the Chinese Han dynasty had diplomatic exchanges also indicates that Wiman Chosŏn represented a considerable force in the northern Korea and eastern Manchurian regions. It is thought that the advanced metal culture of Wiman Chosŏn, that rivalled that of the Han, allowed the Korean kingdom to maintain its territory against its larger counterpart.

Wiman (Ch. Wei Man) Chosŏn [History of Korea]

**Wŏlch’ul Mountain**

Situated in South Chŏlla Province just south of Yŏngam, Mt. Wŏlch’ul is a rugged mountain characterised by steep rock outcroppings and sparse vegetation. According to the *Tongguk yŏji sangnam* (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*), the mountain was known as Mt. Wŏlla during the Shilla Period and Mt. Wŏlsaeng during the Koryŏ Period. The present name means ‘moon-rise mountain.’

Ch’ŏnhwang Peak (809 metres), the mountain’s highest point, is connected by a ridge to Kujŏng Peak (743 metres) to the south-west. On the north-west face of Kujŏng Peak, there
is a seated, 8.6-metre high Buddha figure carved in relief (National Treasure no. 144). The figure is believed to date from the end of the Greater Shilla Period or the beginning of the Koryo Period. To the south-west of Kujong Peak, next to the Togap Reservoir, there is Togap Temple, which was founded in the Koryo Period. Several ancient artifacts can be seen at the temple, including a seated Buddha in relief and a stele commemorating National Master Toson. South-east of Togap Temple, next to the Sôngjong Reservoir, there is Muwi Temple, which was founded by Wŏnhyo during the Shilla Period. East of Ch'ŏnhwang Peak lies the Ch'ŏnhwang Temple and Kujol Waterfall. North-west of the peak lies the Onch'ŏn, Yongch'u and Taedong Waterfall.

Due to its spectacular landscape, Mt. Wŏlch'ul has been eulogised by a number of famous poets including the Koryo poet Kim Kŭkki and the Chosŏn poet Kim Shisúp. Nowadays, the area is popular with tourists who hike the mountain trails and visit the numerous historical sites. From Ch'ŏnhwang Peak, the sunrise and sunset are said to be particularly lovely. In order to preserve the mountain's beauty and historical heritage, Mt. Wŏlch'ul and the Togap Temple area were designated Wŏlch'ul-san Provincial Park in 1973. The area's status was upgraded to National Park in 1988.

Wŏlchŏng Temple

Women

Each succeeding dynasty in the two-thousand years of recorded history of Korean civilisation has brought about profound change to the status of women. From the earliest Korean societies, where women were considered as equal to men in many respects, to Chosŏn (1392-1910), where women were systematically discriminated against by the constrictive neo-Confucian ideology that had permeated society, and which came to dominate every thought and action of the people. The twentieth-century and its release from the shackles of neo-Confucianism saw a continuing struggle between, on one hand, the desires of many women to be treated as equals with men and, on the other, the vestiges of the former ideological beliefs that still depressed woman's position in society. It should not be assumed, however, that the advent of Japanese colonisation brought about the emancipation of Korean women; for history has recorded the harsh treatment of the Korean people, men, women, and children, at the hands of the Japanese throughout the period of colonial rule (1910-1945).

Early Korean societies

While it is difficult to determine with certitude the role of women in the earliest societies on the Korean peninsula, it is believed that a division of labour existed between males and females. From around 3 000 BCE, Neolithic man was present on the Korean peninsula and these early Koreans lived in small groupings of dugout dwellings, most often along rivers or on the coastline. They were hunters and gatherers of food, but came to maintain the elements of an agrarian society, in which cereals such as millet, barley, rice, and buckwheat were grown. It is thought that the womenfolk confined their activities in or close to the dwellings, thus enabling them to function as primary care-givers for their children, while the men ranged further from the dwellings in their hunting expeditions and search for game.

The structure of the dwellings in the late Neolithic and early Bronze periods also indicates a separation of duties between males and females. While the shelters of this period were largely dugout dwellings, living quarters separated into an area in which a hearth was located and an outer area. The inner part of the dugout held the implements needed for the preparation of food, while the outer areas of the dwelling served also as storage for farming tools and weapons. It is reasonable to assume that women were chiefly responsible for child-rearing and food preparation, while the men kept to farming and hunting activities. This, however, is not to say that there was any hierarchical pattern attached to the functions
conducted by either sex. The people were heavily dependent upon joint efforts for survival of the family, clan, and community.

Extant records from the pre-Three Kingdoms period are few, but some Chinese documents provide glimpses into the lives of the early Koreans. Some of these records are concerned with marriage customs. For example, from records in the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), the Eastern Ye Kingdom had laws enforcing exogamous marriage practices. Moreover, from the Koguryŏ custom of a ‘son-in-law chamber’ (*sŏok*), we can ascertain that the groom went to live with his wife’s family for a period of time. Only after the children of the couple had reached a certain age did the bride and groom leave her natal home for that of her groom. This practice is thought to be a vestige of an older custom, thus prompting some historians to suggest that there may have been a matrilineal descent system in Neolithic Korea. This theory, however, is the subject of much debate.

Other records of this period in early Korean history reveal various legal practices that allow for some understanding of the lives of women. The *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty) shows that a legal code was in place in Puyŏ, which indicates the beginnings of societal restrictions being imposed on women. This legal code had two provisions concerning women, which were capital offences. These were (a) adultery, and (b) jealousy. : These inhuman penalties could have functioned to protect a fledgling patriarchal family system. Moreover, the punitive provision concerning female jealousy indicates the prevalence of polygamy among the upper classes of Puyŏ society. It is thought that other early kingdoms, such as Ko Chosŏn, Ye and the Samhan, had similar legal codes in place. Accordingly, it can be reasoned that the status of women was becoming subordinate to that of men from this time.

Women in the Three Kingdoms

As Korean society became more advanced and hierarchical, so too, did the ascribed roles for males and females. The Three Kingdoms and Greater Shilla which followed were eras that saw the consolidation of monarchal authority; the stratification of society into the ruling and lower classes, and the importation of higher Chinese religious and cultural systems, such as Buddhism and Confucianism. These cultural changes affected the relationship between the sexes in Shilla, Koguryŏ and Paekche. Moreover, shamanistic taboos concerning women, particularly the ‘impurities’ associated with the natural female processes of menstruation and giving birth, also became more rigid. Hence, there arose clear societal discriminations against women.

In early Shilla, monarchs (both kings and queens) were required to be from the royal Pak family, in addition to being of *sŏnggol* (true-bone) rank. Thus, while women may have had a rather subordinate position to males, they were still allowed to occupy the kingdom’s highest position. This is seen in the reigns of successive female monarchs, Queen Sŏndŏk (r. 632-647) and Queen Chindŏk (r. 647-654), just before the unification of the Three Kingdoms. Their reigns, however, marked the end of both the *sŏnggol* rank and system, and the domination of the throne by the Pak family. As well, since Sŏndŏk and Chindŏk represented the last two members of the *sŏnggol* class, it is clear that there was a definite preference for kings and not queens to rule the kingdom. It is after the extinction of the *sŏnggol* class, however, that monarchical authority underwent a gradual process of consolidation, when social and official roles became more established. This process resulted in a fundamental weakening of the position of women in official society. It should be mentioned, though, that in the final years of Shilla, the kingdom was ruled by Queen Chinsŏng (r. 887-897) held the throne.

While neither Paekche or Koguryŏ record an instance of having a woman on the throne, it is thought that the role of females in these kingdoms was nevertheless important. Marriage served to link powerful aristocratic families with the throne, and this, naturally, was done
through the daughters of the aristocratic families. This, in itself is evidence of a clear limitation on the positions, at least insofar as official rank is concerned, that women could secure and hold.

The role of women in the commoner class during the Three Kingdoms is not as clear as it is with the ruling classes. Some scholars have proposed that the structure of the family during these early Korean kingdoms was based largely on matrilocal descent groups, and that women enjoyed economic independence from their husbands and moreover, that they played important roles in the major agrarian rituals of this age. In shamanistic rituals, which were designed to bring about collective prosperity, women participated in both sacrificial rites and folk games. Women also contributed to the economic prosperity of the family and community through such activities as farming and weaving.

**Women in Koryō**

Koryō is characterised by the widespread adoption of the Buddhist religion at all levels of society. This represented a change from the rigid hereditary bone rank system (kolp'um) which had determined a person's position in Shilla.

The women of Koryō enjoyed equality with their male counterparts. This is witnessed in the fact that uxorilocal marriage was commonplace, and even in those instances when a woman left her natal home for a separate household, she was always welcome at her birth home. Both sons and daughters received equal shares of the family inheritance, and daughters often succeeded to the position as family head, thus carrying on the family line. While women did not serve in the bureaucracy, they did have economic independence within the family. This allowed them to participate as equals as they could not so easily be threatened with expulsion by their husbands. Not only did they have economic freedom, but they were free to return to the home of their parents at any time. Therefore, the strength of woman's position in Koryō can be said to lie in her freedom of choice to return to her natal home and the equal inheritance rights she shared with her male siblings.

During Koryō, laws concerning marriage became formalised. One major reason for the adoption of formal rules was the invasion of Koryō by the Mongols in the mid-thirteenth century and the subsequent subjugation of the kingdom. As part of their terms for the surrender of Koryō, the Mongols demanded a ransom of large numbers of young women. However, in order to prevent their daughters from being abducted by the Mongols, the statesmen of Koryō adopted official marriage ceremonies. Also, other regulations concerning marriage were initiated during this period. Specifically, during the reign of King Ch'ungsŏn (r. 1308-1313) laws were enacted that prohibited marriage among those with the same surnames as well as with matrilateral cousins. The impact of the latter regulation was to undermine both the importance and strength of a woman's kin group in regard to that of the male.

In the final years of Koryō, the introduction of neo-Confucian ideology began to make its mark in the upper echelons of society. Thus began the widespread introduction of such Confucian tenets as ancestral rites, the predominance of males over females, and the establishment of a strong patriarchal descent line. It was during this century's long process of transformation into a Confucian society that the social position of women began to gradually deteriorate.

**Women in Chosŏn**

If Koryō can be viewed as Buddhist-oriented, the subsequent half-millenium long Chosŏn dynasty was certainly the age of neo-Confucian ideology. While the process in which this philosophy thoroughly permeated and dominated Chosŏn society took some centuries to mature, by the end of the dynasty it had influenced and reconstructed life at every level.
There is perhaps no area in which the complete domination of neo-Confucianism can be seen clearer than in the transformation of women's status during Chosŏn.

The introduction of ancestral rites may have acted as the chief agent for change during Chosŏn. The principle of patrifiliation was offered by neo-Confucian society as the most fundamental human bond, and ancestor worship provided a means to extend this to a generational concept. Ancestor worship clarified lines of descent, denoted kinship boundaries, and created solidarity among agnates. The conducting of ancestral rites was often cited as the most filial act a son could perform for his parents, and served as an extension of the son's service to the parents while they were still alive. The fact that women were not allowed to participate in ancestral rites bespeaks their marginalized social position.

The lives of women were strongly affected by the rise of neo-Confucianism, and this can be seen in practices surrounding inheritance, marriage and social status. While in Koryŏ and early Chosŏn there was no discrimination between sons and daughters concerning inheritance rights, this had changed by mid-Chosŏn. Initially, this shift focused on reducing the inheritance rights of the children of secondary wives, and was fully in place with the promulgation of the Kyŏngguk taejon (National Code) in the late fifteenth century. Other legislative inroads in early Chosŏn were made on the economic independence of women, a strong feature of Koryŏ, and by the mid-sixteenth century a wife's property came to be indivisible from that of her husband. Moreover, inheritance documents of late Chosŏn show that son-in-laws were designated as heirs in place of daughters, and thus males controlled all family property. The result of this change in a woman being able to control her own affairs was that she became increasingly dependent upon her husband's estate, and was thereby no longer financially independent.

The regulations concerning marriage also underwent major change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn. An early focus of Chosŏn neo-Confucianists was the elimination of uxorilocal residence, a feature of Koryŏ, since this was viewed as both unnatural and as being conducive to the formation of bonds with matrilineal kin. The impact of this legislation was, in effect, to eliminate the inheritance rights of daughters in favour of sons. Hence, women were now compelled to move to their husband's house upon marriage and they could not take with them an inheritance of ancestral land. Instead of this, daughters were now given a share of the inheritance in the form of slaves or other transferable property. This functioned as a dowry in the hands of her husband's family, and was no longer under her control.

The consequence of the elimination of uxorilocal residence was to make a woman dependent upon her husband and his family, and this is well illustrated by the enforcement of the ch'ilgŏ chi ak, or the seven grounds for expulsion of a wife, that came to be practised in Chosŏn. The ch'ilgŏ chi ak were: disobedience towards one's parents-in-law; failure to produce a son; adultery; theft; excessive jealousy; chronic illness; and extreme talkativeness. For a woman whose only social standing was through her husband's family, the ch'ilgŏ chi ak coupled with her lack of economic independence, proved to be an extremely effective means in making her obedient and submissive through the ever-present threat of expulsion.

The importance of marriage during Chosŏn can be seen in this institution functioning as the basis for Chosŏn society. Marriage with a primary wife was a transaction between two kin groups that held strong legal, economic and political connotations. Since society was organised around patrilineal descent groups, which marriage functioned to perpetuate, the institution of marriage allowed society to survive. A woman's role within the marriage was to serve both her parents-in-law and husband, and perhaps most importantly, to bear sons who would continue the lineage of her husband's family.

Remarriage was discouraged and greatly discriminated against by the elite yangban class of Chosŏn. Those yangban women who chose to remarry condemned their offspring to a life outside mainstream society, as the sons and even grandsons of remarried women were
prohibited from sitting for the government service examinations that would qualify them for
government posts. The underlying reasons for the sanction of remarriage are found in the
Confucian belief that the greatest of the womanly virtues was the wife's devotion to her
husband, and as a logical extension, to her husband's ancestors. Remarriage would only
contaminate the purity of her husband's lineage.

Opposed to the legitimate roles occupied by primary wives, secondary wives or concubines
were afforded existences filled with far greater hardships. The position of a secondary wife
and her offspring was always subordinate, in a legal aspect, to that of a primary wife.
Moreover, the sons born to secondary wives were viewed as illegitimate in the eyes of
Choson law and were barred from sitting the government service examinations which
represented the path to success during Choson. Notwithstanding, many women entered into
roles as secondary wives or concubines due to decisions by their fathers, who used their
daughters as a means to create bonds with upper-class families and thereby elevate their
own social standing.

The circumstances surrounding a primary wife and a secondary wife were filled with the
need to capture the husband's attention and favour. Secondary wives were, by and large,
younger than the primary wife, and as such, often more physically attractive than them.
Unlike the primary wives, however, secondary wives were without legal status. Therefore,
the secondary wife's situation inside the family circle was tenuous and depended on both
the support of her husband and his staying alive. While some secondary wives and their
children were provided for in the wills of their men, generally they were turned out of the
legitimate family home upon the death of the husband.

A primary wife had no option beyond acceptance if her husband chose to take a secondary
wife or concubine. It will be recalled that the ch'ilgŏ chi ak allowed the husband to expel an
excessively jealous wife. Therefore, all a wife could do was to accept her husband's new
partner and hope he did not squander the family's fortune on her. The inclusion of a
provision against jealousy in the code of conduct for women was a means of allowing men
to pursue their own enjoyment without regard to and repercussions from the primary
spouse.

The position of women in Choson is patent in the Confucian axiom of namjon yŏbi, or
'man is exalted and woman is lowly'. While the basic tenets of Confucian philosophy regard
the union between a man and woman as the root of all human relations, it accords the
female an essentially inferior position. Just as the yang (heaven, positive, male) force
dominates yin (earth, negative, female) in cosmological terms, there is a clear hierarchical
order between the sexes that is likewise cosmologically sanctioned. Accordingly, the
fundamentally subordinate position of women to men was reinforced by both formal and
informal education.

The female child was socialised during Choson in such a manner that she soon
acknowledged her own inferiority to the male sex. Debate seems to favour the argument that
from their earliest days, girls were taught, directly and indirectly, to understand the
elements of their subserviency to males. By the age of three or four, therefore, a correctly-
trained girl would know, if only intuitively, that women are inferior to men; and
progressively would come to realise that she could not reasonably expect to appeal to,
or be treated by, the same legal system as males. In a situation of conflict between the
sexes, men were right by virtue of their sex while women were wrong by virtue of their
gender. Moreover, a woman was peripheral to her social environment and tangential to
men. Thus, social education in Choson society ensured that females, from their formative
years, were fully cognizant of their inferior social position.

Formal education of women was heavily influenced by works such as the fifteenth century
Naehun (Instructions for Women), which was compiled by Queen-Consort Sohye (1437-
1504). The gist of this work focuses on establishing bounds for acceptable behaviour for women. There are guidelines for the four basic pillars of womanly behaviour: moral conduct, proper speech, proper appearance, and womanly tasks. Moreover, the work explains other roles a woman is expected to perform such as service to her in-laws, being an obedient and dutiful wife, and a caring mother.

The institutions that tied women to conformance with neo-Confucian principles were also perpetuated by women. Since the only way in which women could advance their already marginalized social positions was to live their lives within the standards upheld by society, i.e., as a virtuous wife and mother. They became active components in sustaining the system that oppressed them, and so a mother would train her daughter to conform to the very standards which had stifled her own advancement and development.

Women and the modernisation Movement

With the encroachment of foreign powers, particularly Western nations, and the fall of Choson, the structure of Korean society underwent drastic transformation. Among the many changes were those that affected the social status of women. However, despite the goals of women to bring about equality and advancement of their positions, vestiges of neo-Confucian ideology remained which acted to hinder the emancipation. More importantly, the end of Choson marked the beginning of Japanese occupation, which counteracted moves for social and political change in Korea.

Women in Late Choson and the Colonial Period

The end of Choson was a period of tremendous change, and one significant area was through the influx of foreign culture. The traditional position of women also underwent many changes during this time. Principal among the new opportunities for women was the possibility of receiving a formal education and the first school to offer them a modern-style education was Ewha (Ihwa) Girls School, which was founded by Mr M. F. Scranton of the United States North Presbyterian Church in 1886. The school survived the colonial period and became the first women's college in Korea. One woman educated here was Kim Hwallan (1899-1970), who was the first Korean woman to receive a doctoral degree (Columbia University, 1931).

Closely following the opening of Ehwa, many other educational institutions for females were established. In 1890, Chongsin Girls' School opened and this was followed by Paehwa Girls' School in 1898, and Sungwhi Girls' School in 1903. Also at this time, Hosudon Girls' School (1904); Posong Girls' School (1906); Chimmyong Girls' School (1906); Sungmyong Girls' School (1906); and Yanggyu School (1906), were founded. These schools, largely operated by Western missionary interests, played a major role in helping to bring about enlightenment to Korean women. Western-style education kindled the desire for equality of opportunity and the release from the subservient position of women in neo-Confucian society.

The introduction of foreign culture towards the end of Choson and during the colonial period, also introduced new concepts of equality between the sexes and freedom of choice. Ideas were propagated through the so-called new novels (shin sosol) which appeared during the early years of the twentieth century. While the authors were mostly men, such as Yi Kwangsu (1892-?) and Yi Injik (1862-1916), their works gave women the incentive to seek roles in society beyond those which traditional society offered them. Moreover, since these novels were written in the vernacular han'gul script, they were easily accessed by women readers.

Another notable transformation in Korean society during the colonial period was the advent of a capitalist economy. This represented a marked change from the feudality of Choson,
and industrial development demanded a greatly-increased workforce, which was met by
women's labour. Korean women entered the labour force in large numbers as the Japanese
sought to develop various industrial interests, such as light-manufacturing and textiles.
Notwithstanding such changes, with women now given the opportunity to work outside the
confines of their homes, chances for economic enrichment and advancement were extremely
small. Thus, we can characterise the intensification of the workforce as being highly
exploitive and prejudiced against women.

The development of industry in Korea by the Japanese also required that males, heretofore
largely engaged in farming activities, be relocated from rural areas to industrial centres.
Therefore, women who remained in the countryside were compelled to take over the
farming responsibilities themselves in order to support their families. By 1930, nearly
eighty per cent of those engaged in farming were tenant farmers, which greatly depressed
their earnings from the land. As a result, throughout the colonial period the participation of
women engaged in non-farming occupations continued to rise. By 1930, Korean women
represented almost a third of the total labour force (estimated at over one million) engaged in
work other than agriculture.

The participation of Koreans, both male and female, in the workforce during the colonial
period was part of the Japanese grand-plan aimed at thoroughly assimilating Korea into the
Japanese war effort. Accordingly, while Koreans performed many of the same tasks as
their Japanese counterparts, they received significantly lower wages. At the bottom of the
wages structure were Korean women, who were paid slightly over half of what Japanese
women received. So, while Korean women held roles other than those permitted to them
during Chosŏn, their participation was enforced and was far from being on an equal footing
with that of Japanese women employees.

Women figured prominently in the various independence activities conducted both within
and outside Korea during the colonial period. They took part in considerable numbers in the
March First 1919 Independence Movement and some, such as Yu Kwansun (1904-1920), paid for their convictions with their lives. Another woman who played a direct role in the struggle for Korean independence was Kim Maria, (1891-1944) who was imprisoned by the Japanese authorities on several occasions for her unceasing independence activities. Other women, such as Pak Maria (1906-1960), concentrated their activities on women's rights and social enlightenment. In sum, colonial-period women played major roles in both the struggle against the Japanese and in the modernisation of Korean society.

An example of the coercive and oppressive Japanese rule was the sexual bondage of
schoolgirls and young women to serve the Japanese armed forces. An incalculable number
of these 'comfort women' (but estimated by George Hicks, *The Comfort Women*, Sydney,
1995, to have been 139,000 at most) were procured by the Japanese authorities and
Korean collaborators through various means and measures, which included abduction,
deception, duress, enticement, entrapment, even kidnapping. South Korean women’s
groups have estimated (1992) that eighty per cent of the 'comfort women' were aged
between fourteen and eighteen and it is thought (from other sources) that of the total
number, four-fifths were Korean. These girls and women were assigned mostly to front-
line and reserve-area detachments of the Japanese forces during the campaigns in China,
Manchuria, South-east Asia and the Pacific theatres, before and during World War II
(Pacific War). This tragic episode remains as a matter of much controversy with women’s
groups in Korea, the Korean government and Japan’s unwillingness to fully attempt to right
past wrongdoings.

Women in contemporary Korea

After Korea’s liberation in 1945, Korean society underwent many changes. Aside from the
obvious political issues which resulted in the eventual partition of the peninsula,
fundamental changes to the social fabric put women in a position to envisage major changes to their status. Specifically, as Korean society as a whole had escaped from the bonds of Japanese colonialism, women, too, sought to gain equality in matters of employment and labour relations, in politics, and in the elimination of discriminatory practices. These attempts at equality were met, however, with opposition by some sectors of society, both male and female, who wished to maintain the traditional roles of Korean womanhood.

The women's movement of the 1950s was only partly successful in its aims. In the aftermath of a fratricidal war, the ROK was not well-placed to consider drastic changes to the status of women. Those women who attained higher office usually did so by virtue of their higher education. One, Kim Hwallan, served as president of Ewha (Ihwa) Women's University until 1961 and another, Pak Maria, was director of the English Literature Department of that university. These two women, however, were exceptional.

Women in the workforce

The industrialisation of Korea began in earnest in the early 1960s when the government launched the first five-year plan. This plan and its practical application demanded a greatly increased workforce. Perhaps the most visible aspect of this increase is the participation of women. In 1960, 28.4 per cent of women were in employment of one kind or another. In a span of ten years the number of women workers had risen to 37.6 per cent. It is clear that such a program of industrialisation could not have occurred without the resource of women's labour.

Many young women from the countryside entered the workforce of the 1960s. Migration to the expanding urban centres was often motivated by poverty and so the jobs these young women took were invariably base positions in industrial production, mostly in the textile industry. They were usually single women who worked only until they married. The wages they were paid were forty to forty-six per cent of what their male counterparts received, thus revealing their exploitation at the hands of the business sphere, and not quite so directly perhaps, by the governments of the period. In sum, the women who joined the labour force and contributed so greatly to the economic growth and fortune of South Korea can be characterised as being young and unmarried, mostly drawn from impoverished families in the rural areas, and paid much lower wages than their male counterparts.

The typical female worker image has undergone dramatic change from the young, unmarried and poorly educated woman of the 1960s, to one that is both older and better educated. The proportion of Koreans engaged in primary industries, in contrast to secondary and tertiary industries, has steadily declined since the 1960s. This is also seen in the percentage of women engaged in primary industry, which has declined largely in favour of employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors, as shown by Table 1.

Women have become increasingly involved in occupations that require advanced technical knowledge. This can be attributed both to the higher educational attainments of women, and their capabilities in meeting the challenge faced by firms competing in aggressive worldwide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
markets for their products. An increasing number of women now follow a career path and this often continues after marriage. Table 2 gives the August 1998 statistics for women by occupation (New Occupational Classification of the National Statistical Office).

From this information it is evident that women have begun to contribute significantly to occupations that require both technical expertise and higher educational levels. Nevertheless, the total number of women employed in the top echelons of the workforce, the first three categories of Table 2, represents only 39.4 per cent of the top posts held by men. Of course, it can be argued that men outnumber women in the workforce, and by this fact alone, should hold many more of the executive and professional positions than women. But even in conceding that men (59.63 per cent) outnumber women (40.37 per cent), it surely follows that women are grossly under-represented in the key positions of the professions, commerce and the government service. For example, in applying this reasoning for managerial, senior officials and legislators (women 29 000, men 480 000), women holding the requisite educational qualifications should perhaps be looking for a marked increase to a more equitable number, perhaps approaching four or five-fold, from the present figure of less than thirty-thousand. While this can only be conjecture, and acknowledging that other unknown factors may be significant, on the face of such official statistics South Korean professional women are well behind many of their Western counterparts in gaining the top jobs in South Korea.

In the civil service sector, the government increased the mandatory employment rate for women to thirteen per cent in 1998, up from the ten per cent of 1996. Discriminatory hiring practices are still in place in many sectors of Korean commerce and industry. One minor example is seen in the banking sector, where male applicants have been awarded points over female applicants for having completed their compulsory military training, thus handicapping women at the application stage. Another is that women applicants are often subject to 'appearance standards', where, for instance, a minimum height of 160 cems. and a weight of not more than 50 kgs. is a prerequisite for a position. This standard is not usually applied to male applicants. Moreover, wage inequality between

Table 2
Employed Persons by Occupation (Unit : 1 000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, senior officials &amp; legislators</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical/associate professionals</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>1 464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; administrative</td>
<td>1 108</td>
<td>1 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers &amp; Shop &amp; sales workers</td>
<td>2 758</td>
<td>1 912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled agricultural &amp; Fisheries worker</td>
<td>1 223</td>
<td>1 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft &amp; related trades</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>1 870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant &amp; machine ops. &amp; assemblers</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary occupations</td>
<td>1 043</td>
<td>1 011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of employed 8 020   11 844

men and women doing identical work is still widespread throughout the workforce. While
the official statistics show that earnings overall (all industries) have increased from 39,478
won per diem in 1993 to 57,508 won by July 1998, the National Statistical Office, in its
monthly publication, does not distinguish between male and female earnings in any of the
professions and industries to which its statistical information relates. However, other
information on this point, given in the Korea Annual 1998 (page 183), gives the average
monthly earnings for males as 1,607,114 won per month (up 8.2 per cent), and those for
females as 998,888 won (up 9.7 per cent), which is a monthly difference of 608,226 won
between the sexes. In other words, female workers were paid 37.8 per cent less than male
workers.

With the strong competition that exists, bias and penalties by employers give men a strong
edge over women in the job market. Although greater equality of recruitment in some
sectors was being observed by the early 1990s, the 1998 statistics confirm that women are
still lagging far behind men when it comes to securing a position in many of the
professions, and in other sectors, too.

The gains that women have made in the workforce result from an ongoing and arduous
struggle against a system which has denied them equality to a great extent. Particularly in
the textile industry, those women who have sought to unionise their fellow workers have
often been subjected to harsh and swift retaliation by both company policy and
management, and implicitly by successive Korean governments. A representative example
of this refusal by a company to negotiate over equal rights is seen in the attempts to organise
female workers at the YH Trading Company, in the late 1970s. The company refused to
negotiate with the elected union officials and instigated physical force against the women
employees who dared to strike. The strike-breakers sought and were given police
assistance. Although the use of force was common in the labour struggles of the 1970s, the
YH instance is cited for its particular brutality against women employees.

With the end of the twentieth-century, South Korean women look to the advancement and
equal employment policies which the provisions of the Equal Employment Act 1987
require. In basic terms, these provisions inter alia prohibit gender discrimination at all
levels of employment, promote female employment opportunities, enhance the social status
of women workers, as well as instituting welfare and cultural programs. But as shown
above, women in South Korea have still a way to go before they can claim such a high
degree of equality in employment and in society generally.

Political Participation

While Korean women are guaranteed equal right to hold public office, since the inception of
the ROK in 1948 opportunities for their election to federal representation of the people have
remained consistently low. From the first National Assembly in 1948 to the thirteenth in
1992, women have held an average of only two per cent of the seats in the Assembly.
Moreover, of the women who have served a term in the National Assembly, over seventy
per cent have been elected as ‘at large’ representatives. Consequently, they have lacked a
proper constituency from which to build a political base.

A fundamental reason for the low political participation of South Korean women is the lack
of political consciousness of the female electorate. Hypothetically, it follows that women
voters could fill fifty per cent or more of the Assembly seats if they voted as a block. The
female voting base, however, lacks unity of cause and purpose and by reason of this does
not vote as a single entity on those issues from which they could benefit, with strong
representation in the Assembly. This has been claimed to result from women being
excluded from the essential structures of Korean politics.

Perhaps attributable to the socialisation aspect of women’s lives, political issues do not hold
the importance with women as they do with men. On the other hand, many South Korean women show far more interest in economic and societal issues than do men. The issues women are most concerned with are those affecting their daily lives, perhaps as a result of their upbringing. Younger women, however, are now interested more in political issues than are the older generation. Therefore, the level of female participation in the political sphere can be expected to increase, as well-educated younger women come to comprise the largest portion of the voting bloc.

The social status of women

In 1998, the ROK government implemented a five-year basic plan to raise the status of women. Sweeping measures, including legal reform and an education system designed to increase women's competitiveness, as well as social and cultural measures, with both new and improved welfare provisions are being put in place. While former federal laws have guaranteed women equal status, in reality many social barriers obstructed such laws. Women are still perceived largely as having their proper place in the home, by many Koreans. The remnants of neo-Confucian ideology still influence the lives of Koreans, particularly those who were at school and college in the 1970s and before. Moreover, the socialisation process often results in both genders considering females as being intrinsically subordinate to males. Thus, issues such as women pursuing a career path after marriage, choosing not to have children, and holding positions traditionally within male-dominated territory, are the subject of much controversy as society undergoes the slow process of change.

Notwithstanding this traditional rigidity, structural change in the typical South Korean family has resulted in more freedom for women. From the extended family, which often held three generations under the same roof, the Korean family has dramatically changed. By 1990, the average family size was 3.7, representing a substantial drop from the 6.0 persons of 1960. Today's Korean family, then, is largely nuclear. Hence, a woman has more freedom to pursue personal interests and is unencumbered by the restrictions that traditionally might have inhibited her from being active outside the home.

Combined with the decrease in family size is the increasing importance of a second income to many Korean families, which, conversely, inhibits personal freedom. The desires of young married couples to have their own home, a car and other expensive consumer goods are often only attainable through the combined incomes of husband and wife. Thus, the career of a woman, while still secondary, by and large, to that of her spouse, becomes a vital means for the family to achieve a higher standard of living. Additionally, this allows women to have more fulfilling lives outside of the home.

Korean women have now made their mark in the sporting arena. Beginning, perhaps, with the success of ROK women during the 1988 Seoul Olympics, women athletes have been taken to heart by Korean society. Team events, such as basketball and field hockey are especially popular with live and television audiences. Individual achievements, like those of Pak Seri, a professional golfer on the American Ladies Professional Golf Association Tour, bring wide acclaim from the Korean people. Thus, sport is one area in which Korean women have made tremendous progress in achieving a high degree of equality with their male counterparts.

Women and citizen rights

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea is specific in guaranteeing citizen rights, and if not specifically, then implicitly, in the rights of women. Article 11 of the Constitution guarantees all citizens, regardless of gender, equality before the law. Article 15 stipulates that all citizens shall enjoy freedom to pursue the occupation of their choice, while Articles 24 and 25, respectively, extend suffrage to all citizens over a defined age and give them the
right to hold public office. Article 31 states that all citizens have a right to an education based upon their abilities. Specific to women, Article 34 requires the State’s endeavours to promote the welfare and rights of women, and Article 36 stipulates that the State shall essay to protect mothers. Thus, it is clear that women are guaranteed a number of constitutional rights.

Constitutional law *per se*, however, does not ensure that women will receive the equality to which they are legally entitled. Efforts by women's groups in the 1990s focused on affirmative action in both the Korean public and private sectors. Accordingly, some significant measures concerning women's rights in such areas as family law, domestic abuse, property ownership rights, labour laws and social welfare, have been or are being implemented.

In July 1997, the Constitutional Court handed down its decision on one of Korea’s oldest prohibitions. The law banning the marriage of couples of the same family name and clan name was considered unconstitutional. This decision saw the divestment of an antiquated law and the resolution of a matter of great importance to the sixty-thousand couples who are affected by the change, allowing them to report their marriages as now being within the law.

In regard to family law, the major target for change has been the family register system (*hojok chedo*). This system has been the subject of much criticism from women's groups since it perpetuates a patrilineal based society, in that the head of the family is always the eldest male member. Upon marriage, daughters are removed from their father's register and transferred to the register of their husbands. Moreover, all children of a union must take their father's surname, which also helps to perpetuate the notion of male superiority. Women's groups have pushed for a thorough revision or elimination of the family register system, but legislators have so far dismissed such attempts at radical change.

Some significant changes to the family law took place during the 1990s. The legal rights of women who are divorcing, in regard to the custody and care of their children are contained in Civil Code, articles 837, 909 [1990]). In divorce issues, the welfare of minors is now decided by a Family Court, thereby ensuring women an equal right of hearing in custody and parental support matters. Other recent legislation concerns equality in the legal context of both paternal and maternal bloodlines -- previously held at eight generations for agnates and four generations for uxorial kin.

The concentrated efforts of women's groups over three years resulted, in 1997, in the passing of federal legislation denoting domestic violence to be a misdemeanour. Persons found guilty of spouse and child abuse may lose parental rights, be required to do up to 200 hours of community work, and face financial penalties in regard to a victim's medical expenses and compensation. Under the new law, members of the public witnessing acts of domestic violence are required to report to the police what they have seen or heard.

Property ownership rights legislation also underwent significant change in the 1990s, giving women equal rights status. Article 830 of the Civil Code states that a marriage partner retains ownership of property she or he brought into the marriage and Article 831 requires that profit gained from personal property also belongs solely to the one who brought it into the marriage. Furthermore, in a marriage dissolution, both wife and husband have a legal right to a share of property held jointly. The actual division of property (and presumably this extends, *ipso facto*, to goods and major chattels) is to be done either by privately agreed arrangement, or in the absence of this, by a Family Court.

Social welfare provisions improved and widened in the 1990s. In the housing field, for instance, of a total of 596,000 homes built (four-fifths of which were apartment dwellings) during 1997, 219,000 units were financed from a national housing fund to aid those on low
incomes.

Welfare programs aimed at assisting female household heads; women who abandon their families; unmarried mothers; exploited women; and destitute women have been implemented. In 1998, the government operated ninety-eight welfare centres, offering counselling and shelter to abused women, and women who could not maintain themselves. Further, the facilities designed to assist with maternal and child welfare were consolidated, as well as support for vocational programs for girls who have run away from home, single mothers and needy women. Therefore, recent legislation is focused mainly on women and girls who are without the traditional family support, and it is designed both to help them survive and, given time, to re-enter the mainstream of society.

Women's organisations

The many positive changes realised in the 1990s would not have been possible without the political and social activities of the various women's organisations. While there are now many women's organisations which pursue the advancement of women's rights, two can be cited for their substantial impact on the quality of women's lives in the closing years of the twentieth century. One, the Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) has been in the vanguard of women's social issues. The other, the National Committee on Women's Policies is at the fore in pleading and lobbying for the promotion of women's rights through government policy and legislation.

The KWDI was established in 1983 with strong government support. The organisation concentrates on the promotion of women's welfare issues through a research program. The KWDI also sponsors and has in operation a number of training and vocational programs designed to help women learn new skills so as to improve their prospects in the job market and their well-being in the workplace.

Closely linked to the KWDI is the National Committee on Women's Policies. This government organisation is responsible for its work to the Prime Minister's Office and is charged with comprehensively reviewing government policies that affect women. Both organisations played essential roles in the passing of affirmative action legislation in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Some other women's organisations that function to promote and protect women's rights in Korea are: The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) which has been involved in the women's labour movement since the 1950s. The Women Workers' Organisation of South Korea which has also been involved in many of the labour issues of recent years. Agriculture workers have the National Committee of Women Agricultural Workers to advance the rights of women in this sector.

In 1987, most of the women's groups joined the United Women's Association of South Korea, which is a united-front organisation for women's rights with some twenty-five-member organisations. There are many other women's groups that have diverse interests in various matters surrounding the status of Korean women. The presence and activities of these groups bespeaks the increasing political awareness of Korean women, and the changes they hope to bring about. The fact that the Presidential Office has instituted (1998) a Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs is indicative of the importance of women's issues to the Executive and the ROK government.

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Wôn Buddhism (see also New religions)

Wôn Buddhism (Wôn Pulgyo) was founded by Pak Chungbin (1891-1943). The son of a farmer in Yônggwang County in South Cholla Province, Pak is said to have had a keen interest in religion from an early age. On 28 April 1916, Pak had a profound religious awakening. After this experience, he studied world religions and concluded that Buddhism was the teaching that most closely agreed with his religious insights. In the years that followed, Pak and nine chief disciples established a religious order with the aim of leading all human beings from the state of suffering to paradise on earth. As leader of the new order, Pak assumed the name Sot’aesan and the title of Taejongsa (Grand Preceptor).

Sot’aesan established the headquarters of the new order, which he called the Pulbop Yôn’guhoe (Society for Studying the Teachings of Buddhism) in Iri (modern-day Iksan) in South Cholla Province. He then wrote and edited the Chông chôn, which came to serve as an outline of the order’s basic teaching. From its inception, the order had a practical orientation, undertaking projects such as land reclamation and the founding of a school (which later became Wonkwang University) in 1946. Sot’aesan was succeeded by Kyu Song (styled Chongsan, 1900-1962). After 1945, Chongsan performed relief work for returning independence fighters and Korean war refugees. His successor was Kim Taegô (styled Taesan, 1916-?).

The sect gets its name from the Korean word wôn (circle). Sot’aesan based his teachings on the Buddhist ideals of a truth which is both without birth and death (pulsaeng pulmyŏl) and moral cause and effect (in’gwa po’ŏng). He used the circle to symbolise the ultimate source, which is both the fundamental mind of all sentient beings and the enlightened mind of all Buddhas and saints. Won Buddhism advocates two approaches to these eternal truths: the Gate of Faith (Shinangmun) and the Gate of Discipline (Suhaengmun). The former consists of the Fourfold Beneficence (Satŭn): the beneficence of Heaven and Earth (Ch’ŏnjin), parents (pumoun), brethren (tongp’ŏn) and law (pŏmyurŭn). Repayment of one’s moral debt to these four benefactors is seen as an offering to the Buddha. The Gate of Discipline is comprised of the threefold training (samhak): cultivation of spirit (chŏngshin suyang), and inquiry into facts and principles (sari yŏn’gu) and careful karma production (chagŏp ch’wisa).

The Won Buddhist canon consists of nine works: the Chông chôn; Taejong kyŏng; Pulcho yogyŏng; Wôn pulgyo yejŏn; Sŏngga; Chŏngsan chongsa pŏbdŏ; Se chŏn; Wôn pulgyo kyosa; and Wôn pulgyo kyohŏn. The Pulcho yogyŏng is a collection of scriptures from the general Buddhist tradition. It includes the Kumgang kyŏng (Diamond Sutra); P’an’yu shimgyŏng (Heart Sutra); and other Mahayana and Sŏn (Jap. Zen) works.

Won Buddhism has a number of distinguishing characteristics. First, the order has an ecumenical outlook toward other religions. According to Won Buddhist doctrine, there are three principles of identity (samdŏng yulli), the first of which is tongwŏn tori (the common origin of all religious doctrines). Secondly, the order combines a modern outlook with elements from Confucianism and other Korean religious traditions. The importance of repaying the kindness of one’s parents (pumouin) is also stressed in Confucianism. Last, in terms of format, Won religious services have adopted many elements from Christianity. In
Won Buddhist temples, devotees sit in pews and religious observance often includes choirs. Also, the followers of Won Buddhism, unlike other Buddhists, typically place a circle above the altar instead of an image of the Buddha.

The order has twenty districts, about four-hundred temples in Korea and thirty or so overseas. The order has, in addition to its missionary activities, actively promoted charity work, including the construction of hospitals, orphanages and nursing homes.

Won Sect [Buddhism]

Won’gwang (c. 555-638)

Won’gwang’s family name was either Sŏl or Pak, and he was of the sixth head-rank (yuktup’um). While growing up in Kŭmsŏng (modern-day Kyŏngju), he had ample opportunity to witness the splendid achievements of Shilla culture. At the same time, he probably experienced the tension between Korean shamanism and the newly imported Buddhist religion. Won’gwang is said to have entered the Buddhist order at the age of twelve. As a young man, he travelled to China’s Zhuangyan Monastery in Jinling, the capital of the Chen Dynasty, where he studied the Satyasiddhi Sastra and the Nirvana Sutra under the tutelage of a disciple of Sengmin. Later, he studied the Agamas at Hujiu Monastery in Suzhou. In 589 the Chen Dynasty fell, prompting Won’gwang to move to Changan, the capital of the new Sui Dynasty. In Changan, he studied the important Shedasheng lun. By this time, Won’gwang was a well-known figure, even in China. King Chinp’yo, hearing of the famous monk, asked him to return to Korea.

In 600, when Won’gwang returned to Shilla, he wrote the Yŏraejang sagi (Personal Notes on the Tathagatagarbha) and the Yŏraejang kyŏng so (Commentary on the Tathagatagarbhasutra). In addition to writing important treatises on Mahayana thought, Won’gwang sought to create a Buddhist code of ethics suitable for Shilla laymen. According to his Five Precepts for the Laity (Sesok ogye), one should: 1) serve the king with loyalty, 2) serve one’s parents with filial piety, 3) be faithful to friends, (4) not retreat from battle, and 5) refrain from the indiscriminate taking of life. The first three precepts reflect Confucian influence and the last two seek to combine the Buddhist ideal of compassion with the need for bravery on the battlefield. This ethical code was fervently adopted by the Hwarang (Youth Corps), a group of young warriors of aristocratic lineage. Notably, although Won’gwang urged lay people to serve their sovereign, he felt that monks should not pay homage to the king. In this, he evidently objected to the idea, prevalent in the Chinese Northern Kingdoms, that the King was a Buddha.

Won’gwang officiated at important Buddhist rituals such as the Paekchwa-Pŏphoe held in 613. He also held the first Chŏmh’al Pŏphoe, a divination ceremony in which devotees would throw 189 sticks in the air and divine the relative merit or demerit of their past actions according to how the sticks fell. This Buddhist divination system was later used by Chinp’yo (fl. 742-780) as a means of conversion. In addition to his role as a spiritual master, Won’gwang served as an important civic leader. The king even sent him on important diplomatic missions, such as the mission to Emperor Yangdi of Sui in 608. Throughout his life, Won’gwang seems to have been on warm terms with King Chinp’yong (r. 597-632). In the Haedong kosŏng chôn (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks), he is even credited with curing the king’s illness. Later, when Won’gwang was on his deathbed, the king is said to have tended him personally. When Won’gwang died at Hwangnyong Temple, he was either eighty-four or ninety-nine, depending on which source is consulted.

Bibliography

Won'gyo kuksa (see Ŭisang)

Wŏnhyo (617-686)

Preeminent Buddhist monk of the Greater Shilla Period. Wŏnhyo, Grand Master is considered as having systematized different schools of Buddhism and established a basis for the popularization of the religion among the ordinary people. Born in a small village in Kyŏngsang Province, little is known of his early life, although it is believed that he became acquainted with Buddhism at an early age. The religion had been introduced to Korea during the fourth century, but had not reached Shilla until 528, almost ninety years before Wŏnhyo's birth. Buddhism quickly gained popularity in Shilla following its legalization by the government, priests were invited to help propagate the religion, and Buddhist ceremonies substituted various traditional rituals.

Wŏnhyo spent much of his youth as a wandering monk, and received his education through informal contact with monks and scholars. At this time, it was standard practice for monks to travel to China to be educated, and Wŏnhyo made two unsuccessful attempts to travel there. One such attempt was made at the age of 31, with his lifelong friend Ŭisang, however he turned back upon being accused of spying by officials while crossing the Liaotung Peninsula, then part of Koguryŏ territory. Following a difficult journey home, he abandoned hope of visiting China, although Ŭisang was later successful in making the journey by sea (in 661), spending nine years in T'ang China before returning with the Avatamsaka Sutra.

Wŏnhyo was known for his irreverent and independent behavior, and was the subject of derision and censure among those who advocated strict obedience to Buddhist doctrine. He broke his vows by fathering a son to the widowed Princess of the Yosŏk Palace during the reign of King Muyŏl (654-661); this son, Ch'ŏng, was to become one of the ten great Shilla sages. Subsequently donning lay clothes and styling himself as Sosŏng Kŏsa (a small layman), he traveled the country, seeking shelter in the homes of the common people, visiting taverns and brothels and indulging in various forms of irreverent behavior. Traveling to thousands of villages, he is known to have been highly successful in popularizing what came to be known as Pure Land Buddhism. Using song and dance, he claimed that all people could be born again in heaven, a concept which proved extremely popular among the common people. His non-sectarian approach to Buddhism is also sometimes referred to as all-inclusive Buddhism or Whole Buddhism, and his lifetime dedication to its propagation has led him to be known as the founder of this form of the religion.

Although having received no formal Buddhist teaching, Wŏnhyo is also considered to have exceeded in scholarship all of the wise men of his time, and was responsible for approximately seventy books (140 kwŏn), very few of which now remain. The scope of his prolific reading is evident in his work, which shows his clear comprehension of such Mahayana texts as the "Flower Garland" and the "Awakening of Faith". Concentrating on these two texts in particular, he is credited with having harmonized the Buddha's teachings and established their essential equality and unity. His works were transmitted to China and Japan, where they were exerted considerable influence.

Unlike Ŭisang, who established his own Hwaŏm sect upon his return from China, Wŏnhyo had no desire to found a school or train disciples, and he had fewer disciples than
Üisang and was accorded less respect in his native Shilla than in China. However, he contributed greatly to the development of a uniquely Korean style of Buddhist philosophy and practice. Deriving much of his beliefs from actual experience, he claimed that time should not be spent in analyzing and interpreting the words of the scriptures, but rather in grasping their basic spirit. All of his essays were based on confessions, among which were confessions of his profound joy deriving from his meditation on reality, this joy representing for him the climax of belief. This reality is known as the pongak (Original Enlightenment), which Wonhyo believed to be represented by the Pōbshin (Dharmakaya or Essential Body of Buddha) which was accessible to all people through the purification of mind. Wonhyo was also greatly interested in the chigak (enlightenment a posteriori), which he viewed as the active manifestation of Enlightenment. Chigak represented movement towards the Source, and was therefore imperfect until its final stage, Pongak. In this sense, pongak is both a beginning and end, a reality which is beyond our consciousness yet able to be reached through the mind. Wonhyo claimed that the common people could attain Enlightenment through crossing four stages: non-enlightenment, apparent enlightenment, advanced enlightenment, and the ultimate enlightenment. Wonhyo was also known to place his inkstone and brush on the two horns of his ox as he rode between villages, and soon became known as "Horn Rider". The horns were thought to symbolize the balance between the two forms of enlightenment, pongak and chigak.

Wonhyo died in 686 during the reign of King Shinmun. Legends about him abound in Korea, and he is widely considered to have personified the form of Buddhism which he spent his life so fervently advocating.

**Wonil** (see sōl) [Buddhism]

**Wonju**

Situated in southwestern Kangwŏn Province, Wŏnju is comprised of the town of Munmak, and the townships of Kwirae, Puron, Soch’o, Shillim, Chijŏng, P’anbu, Hojŏ and Hŭngŏ. Mt. Ch’iak’s Hyangno Peak (1 043 metres) marks the city’s southeastern border, while Mt. Ponghwa (334 metres) and Mt. P’obok rise up to the west. Situated in an inland basin, the area is characterised by sharp fluctuations in weather. The area’s average annual temperature is 10.8 degrees centigrade.

There are several important historical artefacts in the area. In Haenggu-dong, there is the picturesque Kukhyang Temple, which was founded by Grand Master Much’ak during the reign of King Kyongsun (927-935). At the Pimara Temple site in Pongsan-dong, there is a pair of stone banner-pole supports (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 49). Nearby, there are several stone carvings, including a standing Buddha figure and a standing Bodhisattva figure (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 68 and 67 respectively). There is another standing Bodhisattva figure at the Ch’ŏnwang Temple site. There used to be a sarira reliquary (Treasure No. 358) at the Yongjŏn Temple site in T’aegjang-dong, but it was moved to Kyŏngbuk Palace in Seoul. There are also several ancient stone stupas in the area. The stupa (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 103) at Pomun Temple in Haenggu-dong is interesting since it bears a Sanskrit inscription. In addition, there are several old buildings including the Kangwŏn kamyŏng (governor’s building, Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 3).

In the early twentieth c., the city’s industrial development was impeded due to the area’s geographical isolation. In 1910, however, a road linking Wŏnju with the coastal city of Kangnung was constructed. In 1975, with the opening of the Yŏngdong Expressway, the travel time to Seoul was reduced. At present, there are many light industries in the city, producing items such as textiles, machinery, chemical products and processed foods. In addition, there are many export-oriented factories that produce a wide range of items, including toys, towels, wigs and ko-hemp wallpaper. Due to the large number of sumac
trees in the area, Wŏnju has traditionally been a centre for lacquerware crafts. The area is particularly famous for its lacquerware using mother-of-pearl inlay.

Wŏnju has a number of schools, both ancient and modern. In Myŏngnyun-dong, there is the Wŏnju Hyanggyo (county public School), Kangwŏn Province Cultural Site No. 98). Built during the reign of King Injong (r. 1122-1146), the academy was later reconstructed in 1422. After being completely burnt down during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), it was slowly rebuilt only to once more suffer damage during the Korean War. During the Chosŏn period, the school received government funding in the form of land allotments and servants, but with the advent of the Kabo Reforms (1894), the school ceased to function as an educational institution. In modern times, several schools of higher learning have been set up in the area, including a branch of Yonsei University, Halla Institute of Technology, Sang Ji University and Wŏnju Technical College.

**Wonkwang University**

Situated in Iksan in North Cholla Province, Wonkwang University (Wŏn’gwang Taehakkyo) was established in September 1946 as Yuil Hangnim. In September 1951, during the Korean War, the Ministry of Education authorised the reorganisation of the school as Wonkwang Junior College (Wŏn’gwang Ch’ogup Taehak). With Dr. Park Kil-Chin (Pak Kilchin) as its first dean, the college, which consisted solely of the department of Won Buddhism, had an enrolment of a hundred students. In 1953, Wonkwang became a four-year college with the opening of the Department of Korean Literature. The Department of Law was opened in 1954; the Wonkwang University Press in 1956; the Evening College in Kunsan in 1959; and the Graduate School in 1967.

In December 1971, the college gained university status, and by that time had four colleges: the Colleges of Liberal Arts and Science; Law and Politics; Pharmacology; and Education. A year later, a doctoral program was introduced. During the 1970s and 1980s, the university’s undergraduate and post-graduate curriculum continued to expand. At the same time, affiliations were formed with Korean industrial firms and numerous overseas universities.

Today, the university consists of sixteen colleges: Business & Economics; Dentistry; Education; Engineering; Fine Art; Home Economics; Humanities; Law; Life Sciences and Natural Resources; Medicine; Natural Sciences; Oriental Medicine; Pharmacology; Social Sciences; Won Buddhism; and the Night School. For post-graduate studies, the university has, in addition to the Graduate School, the Graduate Schools of Education; Industry; Information Science; Kyohak; Public Administration; and Public Health and Environment.

Other facilities include the Wonkwang Medical Centre and the Wonkwang University Museum. Established in March 1985, the medical centre is composed of the university hospitals in association with the Colleges of Medicine, Oriental Medicine and Dentistry. The museum was established in 1968, and was moved to a 6 054 square metre four-storey building in 1987. It has a collection of 8 581 pieces, including ancient earthenware; bronzeware; green and white celadon; paintings; calligraphy; folk crafts; Buddhist paintings; calligraphy; and embroidery, as well as an extensive collection of items related to Korean shamanism. Many of the archaeological items come from the Wanggung Village royal palace site; the Chesŏk Temple site; the nearby royal tomb complex; and the Miruk Temple site, which dates from Paekche.

**Wŏnp’yo (fl. 742-756)**

A monk of Greater Shilla, Wŏnp’yo is famous for his journey to India. Some time between 742 and 756, Wŏnp’yo travelled through China to India. While on a pilgrimage to Buddhist sacred sites, he is said to have met the Bodhisattva Shimwang (Mind King), who told him
1383
to go to Mt. Chije where he could meet Ch’on’gwan Bodhisattva. While residing in a
nearby stone grotto, he paid his respects to Ch’on’gwan, carrying an eighty-volume
rendition of the Avatamsaka Sutra on his head, During the Hoech’ang Persecution (841-
846) during which the Chinese emperor ordered the destruction of Buddhist temples and
literature, Won’pyo placed the sutra deep within a grotto, secure inside a wooden box.
According to legend, when the sutra was later recovered, the ink was still wet.

Wŏnsan

According to South Korean cartographers, Wŏnsan is situated in the southern part of South
Hamgyŏng Province, but North Korea has redrawn the provincial borders, making Wŏnsan
part of Kangwŏn Province. Mt. Paek (1 012m), Sŏngch’i (1 103m) and other peaks of the
Mashingnyŏng Mountain Range are to the west of the city, while the Kalma Peninsula and
Yŏnghŭng Bay are to the northwest. The city covers a total area of 126 sq. kms. Due to the
warm currents in the nearby East Sea and the barrier of the Mashingnyŏng Range, which
inhibit the cool winds from the northwest, the Wŏnsan has a relatively mild climate by
Korean standards with an average yearly temperature of 11 deg. c. January’s average is
minus 13.5 deg. c. and August’s 22 deg. c. The area has a heavy rainfall, averaging 1
400mm per year.

Historical relics have been found in the city area. In the 1950s, excavations in
Chungpyŏng-dong revealed artefacts believed to date from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages.
In Yongju-dong, there is a stele enshrined in a small pavilion. The stele was built under
royal orders by the Hamgyŏng Provincial governor, Chŏng Minshi, to commemorate the
birthplace of the great-grandfather of King T’aegu (r. 1392-1398). There are remnants of
old military sites, at Chimnyŏng Fortress on the lower reaches of Namdae Stream in
Sŏngna-dong. The fortress was constructed during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-
1031). On the summit of Mt. Wangnyŏ (335m), are remnants of fire-signal platforms.

For most of its history, Wŏnsan was a small fishing port. In the late-nineteenth, Russian
military vessels anchored off-shore demanding that the Chosŏn government grant them
trading privileges, as well as an area for residences. The boats eventually left after Korea’s
de facto ruler Huŏngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898) refused to accede to their demands. In
1878, Japanese military vessels entered Yŏnghŭng Bay and a year later an agreement was
reached, leading to the formal opening of the port in 1880, as well as the establishment of a
Japanese consulate. From then, the Japanese presence in the city grew. The Kyŏngwŏn
Railway Line was completed in August 1914, and the city’s role as a transportation hub
expanded further with the completion of the Tonghae Pukpu Line on the east coast in 1927;
the completion of the Hamgyŏng Line in 1928 and the P’yŏngwŏn Line in 1941. Most of
the city’s residents work in agriculture, fishing and a number of industries, including ship
building.

Wŏnsan Island

Wŏnsan Island is part of Och’ŏn Township in South Ch’ungh’ŏng Province’s Poryŏng
County. The island covers a total area of 7.074 sq.kms. and has a 28.5km.-long coastline.
The island consists of low hills, the highest elevation being Oro Peak (118m) in the west.
Average temperatures on the island range from a low of -2.7c. in January, to 25.6c. in
August. Annual rainfall averages 1 063mm.

Approximately 70 per cent of the island area is arable, with 3.0 sq.kms. used for rice
cultivation and 2.0 sq. kms.for dry-field crops such as barley, sweet potato, garlic and red
pepper. Fisherman bring in catches of anchovy, cod, launce, shrimp, cockle and seaweed.

There are two primary schools and one junior high school on the island. Ferries run twice
daily between the island and the mainland. Wŏnsan’s tourists centre around the clean
beaches on the southern end of the island.

At Chinch’on Village in the centre, there is a shell mound from the early Three Kingdoms period. As well as shells, pieces of lattice-pattern pottery and plain pottery have been found at the site, the latter being more common. Unfortunately, much of the site has been destroyed by farming activities. There are also a number of Koryŏ-era tombs scattered throughout the island.

Wŏrak Mountain

Mt. Wŏrak (1,093 metres) is situated to the south of Ch’ungju Lake, on the border of North Ch’ungch’ŏng and North Kyŏngsang Province. In Shilla times, the mountain was known as Mt. Wŏlhyŏng. Kwang Stream flows down to the east of the mountain, and Tal Stream flows from the west side. The two streams meet at T’anji Village. The enlarged Tal Stream used to continue north-west where it joined the Han River. However, the Ch’ungho Dam, completed in 1984, created the Ch’ungho Lake where the two streams meet.

Upstream, beginning on Mt. P’oam, Tal Stream wends its way through oddly shaped rocks outcroppings to form the picturesque Wŏrak (or Songgye) Valley. Numerous old temple sites can be found along this 7-kilometre long valley. The Mirûk Temple site is found here along with several extant artifacts, including a rock carving of a standing Buddha figure (Treasure no. 95), a stone lantern, a three-story pagoda and a large stone turtle. In the middle of the Wŏrak Valley, one can still see the remains of the Tŏkchu Fortress. Along with the fortress on Mt. Choryŏng, this was once a strategic military fortification that guarded the Sobaek Mountain Range. At the southern base of the mountain, there is Tŏkchu Temple, with its rock engraving of a Buddha (Treasure no. 406). In order to protect the mountain’s natural beauty and historical heritage, the area was designated Wŏrak-san National Park in 1984.

Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok (Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters)

'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters' was composed by King Sejong upon the death of his wife, Queen Sohŏn, who died in 1446. The King based the poem upon a life of Sakyamuni, Sŏkpo sangjol, prepared at his command by his son, Prince Suyang. Both works were completed in 1447. Only 194 stanzas, comprising Book One, are extant.

Though references to the work existed in other works, it was only in 1960 that a complete version of Volume One of the Wŏrinch’ŏn’gang chi kok came to light. It is assumed that the original work was complete in three volumes.

It is not known whether the Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok was ever re-published in full or not, but parts appear in the Wŏrin sŏkpo. This latter work is presumed to be complete in twenty-four volumes. From the material contained in the extant Volume One of Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok together with the parts which are to be found in the Wŏrin sŏkpo and a revised edition of the Sŏkpo sangjol, it has been established that there now exist 328 stanzas of the Wŏrinch’ŏn’gang chi kok out of the 582 estimated to have been written originally.

The work is important as a mark, together with the Sŏkpo sangjol, of the second attempt at han’gul writing after the publication of the Yongbi och’ŏn ka.

The rediscovered original Volume One was re-published in 1961 in the same size as the original. The Korean Language Society also carried the entire text in a reduced photographic edition in its Kugohak (Studies in the Korean Language), No.1. The size of the book is 20.5cm in width and 31cm in length. It consists of seventy-one leaves (142 pages).

Wŏrin sŏkpo (The Buddha’s Genealogy)
The *Wŏrin sŏkpo* was compiled in 1459 by King Sejo of Chosŏn. It combines two biographical works on the life of Sakyamuni: the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* written in 1447 by Suyang Taegun (1417-1468, who later became King Sejo), and the *Wŏrin ch'ŏn'gang chi kok*, composed by King Sejong in 1448.

According to the preface of the *Wŏrin sŏkpo*, numerous revisions and supplements were made to the combined texts, such as the addition of footnotes and the correction of words and phrases. Many scholars are known to have collaborated with King Sejo in producing the *Wŏrin sŏkpo*, and it was regarded as the definitive edition on the life of Sakyamuni at that time.

Thirteen volumes remain today, some being held by individuals and some by institutions. It is not known how many volumes were included in the first edition, but from existing evidence it seems that it might have originally consisted of twenty-four.

Of the thirteen extant volumes: the eight first edition vols (†wôn 1,2,7,8,9,10,13,14,17,18); and the three vols. of the second edition (†kwôn 21,22) are designated as Treasure no. 745. The two other vols. (†kwôn 11,12.) are Treasure no. 935.

The value of *Wŏrin sŏkpo* lies in the opportunity it offers for comparative studies in respect of language development, and as a final version of a biography of Sakyamuni. The *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* was the first prose work written in Korean, having been published immediately after the invention of *han'gŭl*. It was also important for the study of the pronunciation of Chinese characters. The *Wŏrin ch'ŏn'gang chi kok* was the second work of poetry written in Korean, and again is important for the pronunciation of Chinese characters. Both works are useful as reference books for the study of Buddhist sutras.

Annotated editions of these two works which are considered helpful in understanding the contents of the *Wŏrin sŏkpo* are *Chuhae sŏkpo sangjŏl*, by Yi Tongnim (Seoul, Tongguk University Press, 1959) and *Chuhae Wŏrin ch'ŏn'gang chi kok*, by Hŏ Ung and Yi Kangno (Seoul, Munhwasa, 1962).
Yangban Culture

yangban, which refers to the two orders of government service -- civil and military, is the term used to designate the ruling classes of Koryo and Cooson. The two components of the yangban are clearly illustrated in the morning audience which took place before the king. The south-facing monarch would be flanked on the east by the civil officials (eastern class) and on the west by the military officials (western class). It is from these two classes of government officials that the term ‘yangban’ originated. Beginning in early Koryo, this meaning came to be attached to the official class which staffed the bureaucracy. The creation of a class of government officials was a marked departure from the earlier Shilla, in which a man’s birthright determined his standing in life. Therefore, from early Koryo, the yangban class was created and functioned as the one which provided the manpower for the bureaucracy.

The distinction between civil and military officials was first established in 976 with the enactment of the Stipend Land Law (Chonsikwa). From that time, officials were awarded a stipend based on their official position, which was further divided into four grades that dictated the colour of official garments. In descending order, the highest officials wore purple garments (chasam) followed by those wearing scarlet (tansam), dark red (pisam) and green (noksam) court robes. Excluding the highest rank of chasam, the lower ranks were further subdivided into civil, military, and miscellaneous officials and then provided a stipend based on their official rank, which was broken down into five to ten grades. It is thought that the highest rank of chasam was reserved for aristocratic families and meritorious retainers, in the early years of Koryo. So, after the reign of King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) a new bureaucratic structure was created, and this was staffed by civil, military and miscellaneous officials of the tansam rank and below.

Initially, in Koryo, the civil and military officials were treated without distinction, but as the principle of civil supremacy became more pronounced, the position of the military officials declined vis-à-vis the civil officials. Not only did they hold subordinate rank to the civil officials politically, but were relegated to lower economic status as well. Indicative of the situation is the fact that the highest military posts were occupied by civil officials. Predictably, the systematic discrimination against the military officials led to military rebellion in mid-Koryo, which resulted in purges and executions of civil officials.

At the end of Koryo and the beginning of Choson, attempts were made to correct this imbalance. Particularly in early Choson, legislation such as the Kyongguk taejön (National Code) consolidated the two ranks of civil and military and thus cemented the foundations for a strong consciousness of the yangban structure within society. The major difference between the Koryo and Choson yangban classes is that the latter were far larger, and this persuaded the Choson government to place increased emphasis on government service examinations (kwago).

The purpose of the government service examinations was to protect the entire yangban class by limiting access to government positions. Special appointments to the bureaucracy were strictly limited, thus making it difficult to advance solely on the basis of a man’s pedigree. The examination systems were linked to a Confucian education and a number of educational institutions, ranging from private academies (sowon) to the National Confucian Academy (Sönggyun’gwan) in the capital, existed to train the yangban for these tests, Therefore,
members of the yangban class who were successful in sitting for the government examinations were well indoctrinated in Confucian ideology, which became the fundamental philosophy of this class.

In theory, the yangban were not exempt from service obligations to the state such as corvee labour and military duties. In practice, however, they often were released from these obligations in order to devote themselves entirely to their scholarship. The strong ties between the yangban class and the Confucian doctrines is seen in this aspect since Confucianism holds that the cultivation of the self must be complete before one can govern others. Thus, the yangban fulfilled their obligations to the state in the pursuit of a thorough understanding of the tenets of Confucianism, which enabled them to (theoretically) better govern the nation.

Other terms used for the yangban include, sadaebu, sajok, saryu, and sarim. The term sadaebu originated in the position titles of high-ranking officials, such as taebu, which was an honorary title given to officials of the fourth rank or higher. The term sadaebu came to be used for both high-ranking civil and military officials. The designation yangban was not used in early Chosön and instead sajok (scholar-group) was used for this class. Similarly, saryu (scholar-class) and sarim (neo-Confucian literati) were also in use at various times to describe the class of yangban scholars. From the sixteenth c., the shape of the yangban class was consolidated, and this form would continue to the end of Chosön.

The yangban class was truly the elite of Chosön and in order to protect its status many restrictions were imposed both upon it and the lower classes in Korean society. Yangban only married their own, thus making their status a hereditary one. Other restrictions limiting persons who could otherwise enter the yangban class are the exclusion (for much of Chosön) of the illegitimate sons of yangban from sitting the government service examination, a measure which effectively blocked their entry into Chosön officialdom, as well as a complete prohibition of the sons and grandsons of yangban widows who had remarried, from serving in the government. Moreover, there was regional discrimination against those from the northern provinces such as P'yongan and Hamgyông, and this resulted in men from these areas rarely being appointed to higher office. The status of civil yangban continued to be higher than that of those in the military, creating another level of distinction in the yangban class. Therefore, this mix of limitations served to obstruct entry into the yangban class and positions of power, since the yangban feared that an increase in their numbers would naturally serve to erode their privileged position in Chosön society.

While the sole profession of the yangban was the holding of public office, they did not serve in technical positions or as lower government functionaries, which were reserved for other classes of Chosön society. Additionally, yangban did not participate in farming, manufacturing or commerce, as these occupations were also the reserve of special classes. The yangban were clearly demarcated from other segments of Chosön society as they pursued their own ideals in scholarship. Even the houses of the yangban were generally segregated from those of the lower classes. Of course, the yangban held the loftiest social position in Chosön, and so the lower classes were forced to treat them deferentially and use honorific language when speaking to them. Even to the present day, there are manifestations of yangban culture in South Korea in the use of honorific language and the emphasis on family lineage by some individuals. However, the present widespread manifestations of yangban lineage are highly questionable, given the narrow segment of Chosön society that was initially occupied by this class.

Yangch'on munjip (Collected Works of Yangch'on)

The Yangch'on munjip, consisting of forty volumes in nine fascicles, is a collection of works by Kwôn Kûn (styled Yangch'on, 1352-1409), one of the most outstanding scholars and finest writers of the late Koryô and early Chosön Dynasties. Included in the collection
are poems, records, prefaces, texts of diplomatic documents sent to the Ming Court, memorials to the Throne, Royal Messages drafted by the author, historical comments, inscriptions on monuments built to honour important people and epitaphs. Therefore, through the collection, it is possible to gauge the author's considerable literary achievements as well as consult valuable historical material for the study of the diplomacy and the internal affairs of this transitional period from the Koryo to the Choson dynasties.

The collection commences with the lineage of the Yôngga (former clan-name of Andong) Kwon, the author's personal history, the contents and three poems by King T'aejo. The three poems were composed by the King in appreciation of the meritorious deeds of Kwon in clearing up a misunderstanding with the Ming Court.

Volumes 1 to 10 contain about nine hundred poems describing the author's daily contacts with men of distinction, as well as his experiences on an official trip to Ūiju in 1387. There are thirty-five poems in Volume 6, composed during his trip to Ming China in 1389. The poems contained in volume 7 are those composed in exile following his return from China at the end of the same year.

Volumes 11 to 15 contain writings on buildings, while Volumes 16 to 20 are the introductions to various books. Volume 21 consists of articles and biographies by the author; Volume 22, various postscripts; Volume 23, inscriptions, comments and memorial addresses; Volumes 24 to 26, sovereign's messages sent to the Ming Court and messages presented to the Throne on the occasion of national festivals; Volumes 27 to 29, Buddhist invocations; Volume 30, Royal messages drafted by the author; Volumes 31 and 32, petitions to the Throne; and Volumes 33 to 40, miscellaneous writings.

The Yangch'on munjip is highly valued for the way it illuminates the social conditions at that time. The poems in the work come with notes and the author's prefaces and these provide many valuable historical facts.

One example of the valuable historical material in the collection is that in Volume 22 where Kwon Kun explains the origins of the so-called Kyemi movable type in Choson Korea.

There are three extant editions of the work, published in 1421-1426, 1637 and 1718 respectively. The woodblocks of the oldest of these editions are similar to those of Sung China and Yuan China.

Yangdong Village [Architecture]

Yanggu County

Situated in the mountainous region of central Kangwŏn Province, Yanggu County is comprised of the town of Yanggu and the townships of Nam, Tong, Pangsan and Haean. The town of Yanggu is surrounded by P'aro Lake to the north and Soyang Lake to the south. The northern third of the province is in North Korea. As an inland mountainous area, the region's weather is characterised by cold winters and relatively little rainfall.

Although the county contains only a meagre amount of arable land, the region's scant population is primarily employed in the agricultural sector. Due to the mountainous terrain and relatively low precipitation, predominantly dry field crops such as beans, leafy vegetable and medicinal herbs are grown here.

The area possesses great natural beauty; yet, the local tourist trade has been slow to develop as a result of the area's poor transportation networks. P'aro and Soyang lake attract sports fishermen throughout the year. The two lakes are famous for their pond smelt and large carp. The two lakes also have ferries that bring in visitors from Hwach'ŏn and Ch'unch'ŏn.
There are a number of historical relics in the area. Comb pattern pottery from the Neolithic period has been discovered on the shores of Soyang River. Scattered throughout dolmen from the Bronze Age. As for Buddhist sites, there is Shimok Temple in Yanggu Town. Founded by Toson in 879, the temple was burnt down during the Korean War. However, three wooden statues survived the blaze, and are now enshrined in the Main Buddha Hall. In Yanggu Town, one also finds the Yanggu Hyanggyo (county public school) which was originally founded in 1405.

Yangin class

The yangin were the freeborn commoners and together with the ch’önin (lowborn commoners) comprised the vast majority of the Korean people. While the term yangch’ön may have been used at various times to describe all commoners, the actual usage and groups encompassed by this term varied significantly depending upon the period. The use of terms for either the yangin or ch’önin was quite rare in the Three Kingdoms and earlier times, and while usage increased during Koryô, it was not until early Chosôn that they described specific classes of people and began to carry well-defined rights and obligations insofar as the legal codes were concerned. While there were distinctions between the yangin as freeborn commoners and the ch’önin as slaves (or mostly so), the yangch’ön designation was often used in a broader sense to indicate the entire class of people who were not eligible to enter Chosôn officialdom.

The formation of the yangch’ön class was brought about with the consolidation of the central governing apparatus headed by a monarch, which resulted in the emergence of a ruling class. Stratified societies in Asia commenced during the Chinese Qin and Han dynasties, and by the Tang dynasty this stratification was complete. The process was further strengthened by the acceptance of Confucian ideology, which advocated a class-based society. This same consciousness of class appeared also in Korea, Vietnam and Japan, each of which was in the Chinese cultural sphere. However, in each country and period the interpretation of class differed and the three should be examined individually. In Korea, however, the separation of the people by class had existed since the earliest states. For example, it is known that in the first Korean kingdom, Kochoson, a slave-class existed, and furthermore, that it was defined as such in the state’s legal code. The first record of the term yangin is found in the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) during the reign of King Chinhilng (r. 540-576) of Shilla. At this time, a class of freeborn commoners was in being, that had a subordinate class below it, and the aristocracy above. By the advent of Koryô, the hereditary nobility that had occupied the upper echelons of government diminished, and so it was still possible for freeborn commoners to enter government service, and thereby achieve social class mobility. Hence, it is clear that the social classes of the early period of Koryô were somewhat fluid, and not yet rigorously defined.

In Koryô, however, matters concerning the yangin and ch’önin were formalised through the legal code. For example, regulations concerning the prohibition of marriage for members of these classes appeared. The generic name for the freeborn population (in Koryô) was paekchông, which reflected the fact that these commoners had no fixed role in the service of the state. While the paekchông were ineligible to receive stipends from the state, they were ascribed specific duties and obligations, such as military and corvée labour service. Additionally, they cultivated either state land (minjön), which required a tax payment of one-fourth of the harvest as rent, or else, the land of aristocratic families -- in which case the rent tax was substantially higher. There were also other tax liabilities placed upon the peasantry such as tribute taxes. While the freeborn peasantry of Koryô led much better lives than the ch’önin or slaves, they still experienced a degree of poverty, even though the state did have a number of relief agencies to assist them in times of famine.

By late Koryô and early Chosôn, the features of the yangin class became more pronounced.
and less subject to change. The freeborn peasants of early Chosŏn were chiefly tenant farmers. Their economic situation was somewhat improved from that pertaining during Koryŏ, because husbandry and technology had improved significantly by the early sixteenth c. Also, the tax burden had been lessened by the implementation of the Tribute Tax Law (*kongpŏp* -- promulgated during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Nevertheless, taxes still had to be met, and the obligation of military and corvée labour service remained. The peasants were effectively tied to the land though the introduction of the *hop'ae* (identification tag) system which commenced in the early fifteenth c., whereby they had no choice but to farm the same land, generation after generation.

During Chosŏn, the upward social mobility of the *yangin* became decidedly less fluid than it had been in early Koryŏ. In principle, a person's status was determined by that of his mother, and this prevented those born of the union of a *yangban* father and a commoner or slave mother from being able to aspire to any kind of government position. Accordingly, the social classes came to be well-defined. The social status of the *yangin* was clearly distinguished from the *ch'ŏnin* and the slave classes. While the *yangin*, as freeborn citizens, were guaranteed specific rights by law, the slave class had no rights, but were subject to the conditions placed upon them by their owners. Furthermore, legal penalties handed out to slaves were much heavier than those imposed on the freeborn commoners. In comparing the *yangin* with members of the *ch'ŏnin* class, the greatest difference concerning social rights was that the *yangin* were legally entitled to enter government service, whereas the *ch'ŏnin* were denied such access. While in practice, not many *yangin* gained entry to government service because of discriminatory factors, at least they held the legal right to do so. Therefore, the status of the *yangin* class was legally higher than the *ch'ŏnin* or slave classes, but in practical terms, its situation may not have been substantially better.

The strengthening of all social classes, and the distinctions between them, is a characteristic of Chosŏn society from the late fifteenth c. onwards. Perhaps as a result of the *yangban* class limiting the entry of others into their privileged social class, the classes below also sought to preserve the distinctions which kept them above their social inferiors. The *chungin* (middle people) class directly below the *yangban* served in technical positions within the Chosŏn government, and their occupations, such as medicine, law, astronomy and translation, became largely hereditary and so remained their exclusive domain. The *yangin*, while not having appreciably better living standards than the *ch'ŏnin* below them, were guaranteed higher status and certain rights by law. By the end of Chosŏn, however, the situation of the *yangin* and other low classes was quite similar. This was particularly the case after the government set free all of its slaves in 1801, thereby giving them attachment to the *yangin* class. Therefore, by the nineteenth c., the fortunes of the *yangin* class remained closely tied to the land, and the economic and social problems that emerged resulted in lives of hardship for the entire Chosŏn peasantry.

**Yangju County**

Situated to the north of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province, Yangju County is comprised of the town of Hwach’ŏn and the townships of Nam, Kwangjŏk, Paeksŏk, Ŭnhŭŏn, Changhŭng and Chunae. The southern part of the county contains Mt. Pukhan National Park and Aengmu Peak (622m), while Mt. Kamak (675m) rises in the north. Mt. Pulguk, near the centre of the county, is famous for the spring at its base. It is said that the volume of water from the spring is the same year around and is totally unaffected by droughts or floods.

Most of the county’s residents are employed in agriculture. Rice, grains and vegetables are grown here along with various specialty crops such as chestnuts and house plants. Dairy farming and stock breeding is another important source of income. Traditionally, pottery was produced in the region, and even today, several ceramic factories are in operation here. The Kangwŏn Railway Line and Highway 3 Link the eastern portion of the county with Tongduch’ŏn to the north and Ŭijŏngbu and Seoul to the south. Due to the county’s close
proximity to Seoul, most of the local residents go to Seoul to buy more expensive items. As a result, the area’s markets tend to be small.

The local tourist industry is centred around the county’s picturesque mountains and valleys. Near Mt. Pukhan in the south, there are the Songch’u, Changhŭng, Shinhŭng and Iryŏng resorts. Easily accessible from Seoul, these resorts offer natural beauty in a rural setting. Other attractions include the stone caves at Kwangjŏk Township’s Kanap Village and Un’gŏye Waterfall in Nam Township’s Shinam Village.

There are a number of important historical sites in the area. Most of the Buddhist artefacts are found at the Hwaam Temple site in Hwach’ŏn’s Hwaam Village. Foundation stones from the complex that once stood here can still be seen in situ throughout the area. In addition, there is a stele commemorating Royal Preceptor Sŏn’gak, a stupa, a stone lantern with two lions motif (Treasures No. 387-389 respectively), a mill stone, the stupa of Sŏn Master Naong (1320-1376), a stone lamp, a stele commemorating Grand Master Muhak (1327-?) and the stupa and stone lamp of Dhyanabhadra (Sŏn Master Chigong, ?-1363), an Indian monk who came to Korea via China in 1328. Other ancient temples in the area include Sŏkkul Hermitage in Changhŭng Township’s Kyohyŏn Village and Paekhwa Hermitage in Chunae Township’s Yuyang Village.

There are several old Confucian sites in the area. In Chunae Township’s Yuyang Village, one finds Yangju Hyanggyo. Founded during the reign of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), this Confucian school was destroyed during the Korean War, but was reconstructed in 1959. In addition, there is the Songjil Sadang (ancestral shrine) in Ŭnhyŏn Township’s Sŏnam Village.

Yangp’yŏng County

Situated in eastern Kyŏnggi Province, Yangp’yŏng County is comprised of the town of Yangp’yŏng and the townships of Kangsang, Kangha, Kaegun, Tanwŏl, Sŏjong, Yangdong, Yangsŏ, Okch’ŏn, Yongmun, Chije and Ch’ŏngun. With Mt. Yongmun (1,157m) rising in its centre, the county’s topography is characterised by rugged terrain. The Pukhan and Namhan rivers meet on the county’s eastern border.

Only 16.4 per cent of the county’s land is arable. The area’s main crop is rice, but dry-field crops are also common. Sericulture, stock breeding and bee keeping are other important sources of income. Although a railway line links the town of Yangp’yŏng with Seoul and Wŏnju, the county’s transportation networks lag behind those of other areas in the Seoul vicinity. As a result, there has been little industrial development in the area.

With peaks of the Kwangju Mountain Range and the northern and southern branch of the Han River, the county boasts a large number of scenic attractions. The Mt. Yongmun area was designated a tourist area in 1971. Since then, camping sites and lodgings have been built at the mountain in order to accommodate the large influx of tourists from Seoul. Hiking trails here take one past important historical sites such as Sangwŏn Hermitage, Yunp’il Hermitage, Sana Temple, the remnants of the Hamwang Fortress and Yongmun Temple. The ginkgo tree at Yongmun Temple is said to be the biggest in east Asia. Mt. Yongmun’s natural sites include Changgun Spring, Chungwŏn Waterfall, Yonggak Rock and Madang Rock.

There are a number of old Confucian schools in the county, including Un’gŏye Sŏwŏn (private school) in Yongmun Township’s Tŏkch’ŏn Village, Sugok Sŏwŏn in Chije Township’s Sugok Village and Chip’yŏng Hyanggyo (county public school) in Chije Township’s Chip’yŏng Village. In Okch’ŏn Township’s Okch’ŏn Village, there is the Yanggûn Hyanggyo, which was founded during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544). In addition, there are several old residences in the area. In Sŏjong Township’s
Nomun Village, one finds the home of Yi Hangno (1792-1868), a famous Confucian scholar and official from the Chosŏn period. The residences of Kim Pyŏngho and Kim Ch'ŏngshik can be seen in Yongmун Township’s Och’ŏn Village and Yangp’yŏng’s Ch’angdae Village respectively.

**Yangsan**

Yangsan is situated to the north of Pusan, in the most mountainous area of South Kyŏngsang Province. Mt. Saeak (1108 metres) and Mt. Ch’wisŏ (1092 metres) mark the city’s northern borders, while Mt. Ch’ŏnsŏng (812 metres) and Mt. Wŏnliyo (922 metres) rise up to the northeast of Yangsan Town. In addition to Yangsang Town, the city is comprised of the Tong, Mulgŭm, Sangbuk, Ungsang, Wŏndong and Habuk Townships (myŏn).

Due to its close proximity to Pusan, the nation’s second largest city, the industrial and service sectors of Yangsan’s economy are particularly well developed. The area produces some agricultural products, but the amount of cultivated land has been constantly reduced as a result of the area’s rapid urbanisation. On the east side of the city, there are a number of dairy and cattle breeding operations. Habuk Township’s wide-rimmed bamboo hats (nongnim) are one of Yangsan’s specialty products. The hats are used by farmers for protection against both the sun and rain.

Yangsan has several important historical sites. In Yangsan Town, there are several large tumuli from the Shilla period. As for Buddhist sites, T’ongdo Temple, at Mt. Ch’wisŏ, is one of the nation’s most important Buddhist monasteries. Originally founded in 646 C.E., this temple houses a large number of important historical buildings and artefacts. Next to the Nakdong River in Wŏndong Township, there is an extensive complex of old buildings known as Kayajinsa (Kaya Ford Shrine). During the Three Kingdoms period, the site of the shrine was an important thoroughfare between Shilla and Kaya. Rites dedicated to the protective deity of the Nakdong River were performed here during Shilla times, and the tradition was maintained during the subsequent Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. The present buildings were built in 1959 after a typhoon destroyed the old complex.

**Yangyang County**

Situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province, Yangyang County is comprised of the town of Yangyang, and the townships of Kanghyŏn, Sŏ, Sonyang, Hyŏnnam and Hyŏnbuk. The county is surrounded by Sokch’o to the north, Inje County to the west, Hongch’ŏn County to the southwest and Kangnung to the south. Mt. Sŏrak, Mt. Yaksu (1 306 metres), Mt. Maebok (1 360 metres), and other peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range run along the county’s western border. Almost all of the county’s population lives on the 2-4 kilometre long coastal plain.

The county has a diverse economy centred on agriculture, fishing and tourism. In addition to rice, dry-field crops such as potatoes and corn are grown in the region. The area is also the nation’s largest producer of songi mushrooms (armillaria edodes)-an expensive delicacy used in soups and stews. Operating out of the county’s small ports, commercial fishermen catch walleye pollack, cuttle fish, anchovies and mackerel. In addition, the large iron mine in Sŏ Township supplies steel to the P’ohang Steel Company via Sokch’o Port.

Much of the area’s tourist industry is centred around the southern portion of Mt. Sŏrak National Park (See Mt. Sŏrak). The county also has numerous beaches. Just south of Sŏrak Beach, one finds Naksan Temple. Situated on a bluff overlooking the ocean, this picturesque monastery houses a number of important historical relics, including a large bronze bell (Treasure No. 479) and the Ŭisangdae Pavilion (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 48). A giant statue of Avalokitesvara overlooks the monastery. Not far
from the temple, one can see the Yangyang Hyanggyo (county public school). Originally founded during the reign of Koryŏ's King Ch'ungsuk (r. 1313-1330, 1332-1339), the school has been designated Kangwŏn Province Cultural Asset No. 105.

Yaũn ŏnhaeng sŭbyu

This is a supplementary collection of the sayings and deeds of Kil Chae (styled, Yaũn, 1353-1419). He was a famous loyal retainer at the end of the Koryŏ dynasty.

A collection of his words and deeds was compiled before his death, and his disciple Pak Sosaeng edited a new collection and for the first time called it Yaũn ŏnhaengmek (Collection of Yaũn's Words and Deeds) at the time of King T'aejong. In 1573, Yun Chi hyŏng, Governor of Sŏnsan, a descendant of Yaũn, collected and published his poems and the records of his deeds, together with various eulogies. These woodblocks were all burned during the Japanese invasion. In 1615 his descendants published a 'Supplementary Collection of Yaũn’s Words and Deeds' in three volumes which include messages from the King and records about the establishment of a school in Yaũn’s memory.

In 1858, one of Yaũn’s descendants collected other related materials and published 'Continued Collection of Yaũn' in three volumes together with the three volumes of 'Supplementary Collection of Yaũn’s Words and Deeds'.

These six volumes of the words and deeds of Yaũn were published in the Yŏgge myŏnghyŏn chip, ('A Collection of Noted Koryŏ Scholars') by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun’gwan University in 1961.

Yech’ŏn County

Situated in the northern part of North Kyŏngsang Province, Yech’ŏn is comprised of the town of Yech’ŏn and the townships of Kamch’on, Kaep’o, Pomun, Sangni, Yonggung, Yongmun, Yuch’ŏn, Chibo, P’ungyang, Hari and Hoo. Ongnyŏ Peak (890m), Mae Peak (865m), Kuksa Peak (726m) and other peaks of the Sobaek Mountain Range rise up in the north, while Naesŏng Stream and the Naktong River flow through the county’s southern area.

With fertile land and an ample waters supply, the county is well-suited for rice cultivation. Of the county’s total area, 31.5 per cent is arable, and 60 per cent of this land is used for rice while 40 per cent is used for dry-field crops such as barley, beans, radishes and Chinese cabbage. In the hilly areas, apples are grown, and in the mountainous north, ginseng and tobacco are cultivated. Historically, the county’s crops were frequently damaged by Naktong River floods, but the problem has been alleviated with the construction of Andong Dam in 1975. Local industry is limited to several small factories that produce food-stuffs, chemical products and textiles. As for transportation, there is a network of small roads linking the county with nearby Andong, and a major expressway connecting the area with Wŏnju and Taegu is now under construction. The county also has a domestic airport offering regular flights to Seoul.

Yech’ŏn County’s tourism is centred around the picturesque mountains in the north and the streams and rivers flowing through the south. Visitors also come to experience the area’s unique customs. The county is particularly famous for archery and for ch’ŏngdan norŭm, a pantomimed mask dance. This is also one of the few areas where tongshinje (agrarian festivals during which tutelary deities are propitiated) are still commonly held.

Tourists also come to visit the historical sites scattered throughout the area. Dolmens are found in Yongmun Township, and in Yech’ŏn’s Paekchŏn Village, there is a stone chamber grave dating from the Three Kingdoms period. Buddhist sites include a five-storey pagoda
(Treasure No. 53) built in 1010, at the Kaeshim Temple site and a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 426) thought to date from the Greater Shilla period in Yech'on's Tongbong-dong. At Hanch'on Temple, there is a three-storey pagoda (North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 5) from the late Greater Shilla period and an iron Buddha (Treasure No. 667) from the middle of the ninth century. This is thought to be the oldest extant iron Buddha statue in east Asia. In addition, there are several important relics at Yongmun Temple, including Korea's oldest altar piece carved of wood (Treasure No. 145).

There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including Nobong Sŏwŏn, Shinch'on Sŏwŏn, Misan Haksa, Yonggun Hyanggyo and Yeoch'on Hyanggyo, which was founded in 1407. In Yongmun Township's Chungnim Village stands Ch'ŏganjang, a pavilion built by Kwŏn Munhae in 1582, and in Chibo Township's Manhwa Village, one finds the Manh study. This small building was built by Chŏn Sesam during his final years. In this study, Chŏn, forgetting about all worldly concerns, devoted the rest of his life to educating his son. In order to commemorate this exemplary model of paternal devotion, the Yonggung Chŏn clan renovated the house in 1972.

Yenam Faction

Yesan County

Located in central South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Yesan County consists of the towns of Sapkyo and Yesan, and the townships of Kodŏk, Kwangsa, Tŏksan, Taesul, Taehŭng, Pongsan, Shinam, Shinyang and Ungbong. The county has a total area of 541 sq. km. and a population of about 133,000. The Kaya Mountain Range runs down the western half of the county and the Ch'aryong Mountain Range runs to the eastern border. Between these mountains lie extensive plains. The area's proximity to the coast, the weather pattern, with sharp variations between summer and winter temperatures is characteristic of an inland region. The county has an average yearly temperature of 11.8 deg. c. and an annual rainfall of 1133mm.

With an immense amount of level ground and ample water resources, the county is well-suited for agriculture. Approximately 22,000 hectares are farmed. Of this, 16,000 grow rice and 6,000 hectares dry field crops, such as grains, vegetables, tobacco and apples. The hilly terrain in the west and east grows mulberry trees for use in sericulture. Minerals include coal and talcum, while the area's industry is limited to several textile factories and hulling mills.

A number of important historical sites are located in the county. In Taehŭng's Sangjung Village stands Imjon Fortress which served as a base for Later Paekche, a rebel movement during the end of the Greater Shilla period. On Mt. Suam in Sapkyo, one finds a 5.3-metre standing Bodhisattva figure (Treasure No. 508) which was sculpted during Koryŏ. The lean body and rather simple style are typical of Koryŏ-era Buddhist statues from the Ch'ungch'ŏng region.

In Pongsan's Hwajŏn village, there is a four-sided carving on a cube-shaped rock (Treasure No. 794). The Buddha figures which project from the rock have unfortunately suffered much damage. The main figure appears to have been the seated Buddha on the southern face. The standing figures on the northern, eastern and western side of the carving become progressively smaller. Thought to be Korea's first such carving of the Buddhas of the Four Directions, this Paekche artefact is invaluable for the light it sheds on early Korean sculpture.

Other significant Buddhist relics include a nine-storey pagoda, a stupa and an old Ch'ŏnbuljŏn (Thousand Buddha Hall) at Hyangch'on Temple in Yesan's Hyangch'on Village, as well as an interesting Buddha in relief (South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible
Cultural Asset No. 69) carved upon an oval rock in Taehŭng’s Sangjung Village. The most famous monastery in the area is Sudŏk Temple in Tŏksan.

In addition to Buddhist sites, the county is home to a number of Confucian schools. In Yesan’s Hyangch’ŏn Village is Yesan Hyanggyo which was established in 1413 and which underwent major repair in 1785. Just north of Highway 45 near the Tŏksan Hot Springs is Tŏksan Hyanggyo, which was built during the reign of King Injo (1623-1649).

Yesŏng River

The Yesŏng River, with its source around Mt. Taegak (1,277m) in North Hwanghae Province’s Koksan County, flows through P’yŏngsan and Kŭmch’ŏn to the Yellow Sea to the immediate north of Kanghwa Island. On the river’s 174-km.-long course, it is joined by seven streams -- Ŭnjin, Odong, Wira, Chisŏk, Kuyŏn, Ojo and Handari. The Yŏnbaek Plain lies along the lower section of the river. The Yesŏng is navigable from its mouth to Hanp’o.

From 108 to 313 C.E., the river was initially part of the Lolang Commandery (one of the four Han commanderies) but later became part of the Taebang Commandery. It was later incorporated into Paekche territory, and then became part of Koguryŏ territory during the reign of King Kwanggaet’o (r. 391-413). After the fall of Koguryŏ, it was briefly held by Tang China but was soon annexed by the Greater Shilla Kingdom. During the wars preceding Koryŏ, Wang Kŏn used the river as a naval base for his campaign against Kyŏnghwŏn. After Wang Kŏn’s victory, the river became an important centre for trade between Korea and China.

Yeungnam University

Yeungnam University (Yŏngnam Taehakkyo) is situated in the city of Kyŏngsang in North Kyŏngsang Province. Founded in December 1967 with the merger of Taegu and Chunggu colleges (which were established in 1947 and 1950 respectively), Yeungnam University initially consisted of five colleges with thirty-five departments, a night school and a graduate school. The university began to relocate to the Kyŏngsang campus in 1970. In 1983, the Yeungnam University Hospital was opened.

With two campuses (one in Tae-dong in the city of Kyŏngsang and one in Taemyŏng-dong in Taegu), today the university consists of thirteen colleges, eighty-two departments, a night school, a graduate school and five professional graduate schools. The graduate school offers sixty-seven master degree programs and forty-four doctoral programs. There is also on campus a museum, Civil Service Training Centre, the Computer Information Institute and the Foreign Language Training Centre. The University is affiliated with eighteen institutes, including the Institute of Korean Culture.

Yi Ch’ungmugong chŏnsŏ (The Collected Works of Admiral Yi)

Yi Ch’ungmugong chŏnsŏ is the posthumous collection of the middle Chosŏn period military commander Yi Sunshin (1545-1598). It consists of fourteen volumes in eight fascicles and was printed with movable metal type. The original work consisted of eight volumes and to this were added six volumes of supplements. It was compiled in 1795 by royal decree, and Yu Tŏkkong headed the task of putting it together. There have been quite a number of subsequent printings such as that done by Ch’oe Namson in 1918 and published by Shinmungwan, a six-volume set published by Sŏ Changsŏk in 1931, and most recently in a collection on the 1592 Japanese Invasion issued by Asea Munhwasa in 1984.
The first volume of this collection includes poems and miscellaneous writings of Yi's and the second to fourth volumes contain reports by local officials to the throne. The fifth to eighth volumes hold the 'Nanjung ilgi', a diary of the admiral's activities during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. In the ninth to twelfth volumes there are records of various recommendations to the throne on behalf of Yi for his posthumous recognition. The last two volumes hold various Korean and Chinese writings concerning Yi and his activities.

Given the status of Yi Sunshin as one of the greatest war heroes in Korean history and the pivotal role that he played in the opposition to the Japanese Invasion, it is not surprising that this work is highly praised for the study of this period. In particular, 'Nanjung ilgi' is acclaimed for the insight that it offers into the actions of the Korean forces under Yi and his recommendations to the throne for purging the Japanese from Korea. This work remains the centre of much research concerning both the 1592 Japanese Invasion and the study of Yi’s life.

Yi Chagyŏm (? –1126)

Yi Chagyŏm was a royal relative by marriage of the Koryŏ period who attempted to overthrow the Koryŏ kingdom. His family’s ancestral home is in Inju (present day Inch’ŏn) and he was the son of Yi Ho who was the Secretary (sangso) of the Board of Taxation (Hobu). The Inju Yi family had long enjoyed a close relationship with the royal family of Koryŏ and this power was consolidated by Yi Hogyŏm giving his granddaughter to King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-1031) for his queen. Yi Chagyŏm brought the power of the Inju Yi family to its pinnacle by giving his daughter to King Yejong (r. 1105-1122) for his queen and then seeing his grandson take the throne.

Yi consolidated his power during the time of Yejong and then with the death of the monarch in 1122, he schemed to see his grandson take the throne. Yi’s attempt to put his thirteen year-old grandson on the throne was challenged by Mun Kongin and Han Anin among others who sought to increase their strength by installing another king. Yi, however, was able to purge the elements that opposed the accession of his grandson to the throne, and thus King Injong (r. 1122-1146) began his rule. When Xu Jing of Song China travelled to Koryŏ and wrote his account of the kingdom in Gaoli tujing (Illustrated Account of Koryo) he described Yi thus: ‘He has a dignified and mild bearing, and welcomed those who were mild and kind hearted.’ But the Koryŏ sa (History of Koryo) describes him as one who plunders the land and possessions of others. Other historical documents also comment on the distasteful nature of Yi.

Nonetheless, he continued to accumulate power at the expense of his grandson Injong. He provided two of his daughters to Injong as queens and thus further strengthened his own status as royal relative by marriage and grandfather of the king. His relatives and those who supported him all garnered official positions and were rapidly promoted while those who opposed him were driven from office. Moreover, Yi was supported by the military hero Ch’ŏk Chungyŏng who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against the Jurchen. Thus Yi had the military backing to act as he wished and accordingly he, along with those in his faction, seized land and other property and secured the dominant economic position in Koryŏ society as well as a virtual monopoly on political power. Eventually, Yi was not satisfied with being the power behind the throne and conspired to depose Injong and assume the throne himself. Injong discovered this plot and made his own plans with his officials to eliminate Yi. However, with the military intervention of Ch’ŏk, Injong was confined and the officials who had collaborated with him were put to death in 1126. Yi then attempted to poison Injong on several occasions and became even more blatant in his disregard for the throne and ruling hierarchy of Koryŏ. It was at this point, however, that the opportunistic Ch’ŏk drove Yi from power and restored Injong to the throne. Yi was banished to the wilderness of the Koryŏ frontier, thus ending the so-called Yi Chagyŏm Rebellion.
Yi Chagyŏm, Revolt of 1126 [History of Korea]

Yi Chehyŏn (1287-1367)

Yi Chehyŏn was a scholar and statesman of the late Koryŏ period. His family’s ancestral home is in Kyŏngju, his childhood name was Chigong, his courtesy name Chungsa, and his pen names included Ikchae and Yŏngong. From an early age, Yi studied writing and reading skills, and in 1301 he passed the Sŏnggyun shi examination and then subsequently successfully sat for the civil service examination. After this Yi entered the Koryŏ officialdom and served in various capacities and by 1314 he had received the charge of King Ch’ungsŏn, who had abdicated his throne, to come to the capital of the Yuan dynasty, Yanjing. The King desired that Yi join the Wanjuantang (Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes), an association created by the King for scholars, and study with the knowledgeable men of China. Yi association with the Wanjuantang had a major impact on his later propagation of the neo-Confucian ideology in Koryŏ, which would become very important among the literati in the late Koryŏ period. Yi was also able to make use of his time in China to improve his knowledge and writing abilities, and to visit many places in China while accompanying the former king.

Yi served in the Koryŏ government under five different kings and particularly played an important role in the changes that occurred in the governmental structure under the reign of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374). Yi had a major role in the complicated political situation that existed between the fading Yuan dynasty and Koryŏ, and served as an envoy to the Yuan on many occasions during this period. Moreover, while Yi served in the highest positions while carrying out his duties, he was never the object of censure or exile, which bespeaks of his excellency in diplomacy.

Yi is praised as being one of a number of scholars during the late Koryŏ period that significantly influenced the philosophical standpoint of the later Koryŏ and subsequent Chosŏn periods by propagating the neo-Confucian ideology. Yi’s teacher was Paek Ijong (1275-1325), who had also studied in Yuan China. The ideology was then passed from Yi to other literati in the late Koryŏ period such as Yi Sungin (1349-1392) and Yi Saek (1328-1396), and then to those who even served in the early years of Chosŏn such as Ch’ŏng Tojŏn (1337?-1398) and Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409). Thus the ideology became an important factor in the foundation of Chosŏn and would continue to dominate Chosŏn thought for the next half of a millennium.

In the field of literature, Yi’s Yŏngong p’aesŏl (Scribblings of Old Man Oak) is noted for being one of a number of literary miscellany collections that appeared during the late Koryŏ period. This work is a collection of essays and comments on historical subjects and represents valuable historical data of the late Koryŏ period. Ikchae nan’go (Scattered Works of Ikchae) contains many of Yi’s opinions on life in Yuan China, and additionally, records of his travels in China with King Ch’ungsŏn that are historically quite useful. Yi also compiled a national history, Saryak (Concise History), that unfortunately has not been transmitted to the present age.

Yi Cheshin [Ch’ŏnggang chip]
Yi Chŏng [Painting]
Yi Chongch’ul [Literature]

Yi Chŏnggu (1564-1635)
Yi Chônggu is considered one of the great scholars of Sino-Korean literature of his time. His family's ancestral home is in Yŏn'an, his courtesy name was Songjing and his pen names included Wolsa, Pomandang, Ch'iam, Ch'uae and Sŭpch'ông. He was the descendant of the noted scholar Yi Sŏkyŏng (1415-1477), the son of the civil official Yi Kye and the disciple of Yun Kūnsu (1537-1616). After passing various civil service examinations, Yi entered Chosŏn officialdom. In the midst of the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Yi was sent to Ming China as part of an official mission. While in China he met the Ming scholar Song Yingchang and had discussions with him concerning the Taehak (Great Learning), and for this received high praise. Subsequently, Yi published Taehak kango (Lecture on the Great Learning).

Yi continued to make many official trips to Ming China as the part of various official missions. His literary fame grew among the Chinese scholars and in response to their demands he published a collection of over one hundred poems entitled Choch'on khaeng rok. It was due to his skills in Sino-Korean character literature that Yi, along with Chang Yu (1587-1647), Yi Shik (1584-1647) and Shin Hŭm (1566-1628), became known as one of the 'Four Great Men of Sino-Korean Literature' (hanmun sadaega). Aside from his literary accomplishments, he also became a trusted adviser to the king and served in such official capacities as Minister (p'ans'o) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo), Minister of the Board of Rites (Yejo), Third State Councillor (uuijong) and Second State Councillor (chwauijong).

Yi is further praised for being among the group of seventeenth c. literati who cast off the fetters of excessively moralistic literature and vested their works with emotion and feeling. This marked a vivid contrast to the literature of the previous two centuries that was dominated by the staid neo-Confucian ideology. Yi's literary collection Wŏlsa chip (Collected Works of Wŏlsa) has been transmitted to the present age.

Yi Haŭng (1820-1898)

Yi Haŭng (Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun) was a late Chosŏn politician and the father of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). His courtesy name was Shibaek and his pen name was Sŏk'a. He served as de facto ruler of Chosŏn for ten years after the appointment of his son, Kojong to the throne at the age of twelve. Yi was not powerfully connected in the royal family and was in actuality a member through adoption. He did occupy several government posts such as Commander (toch'onggwon) in the Five Military Command Headquarters (Owi Toch'ongbu), but these were not important positions and his political ambitions were thwarted by the power of the Andong Kim family which actually controlled the throne in this age of 'in-law' governments (sedo chŏnch'i). However, with the death of King Ch'ŏlchóng (r. 1849-1863), who had not left an heir or designated a successor, the fortunes of Yi Haŭng were about to be transformed.

Upon the death of Ch'ŏlchóng, the right to determine the next king fell to the Queen Dowager Cho (1808-1890) who wasted little time in naming Yi's son, Kojong, as the next king. Since Kojong was only twelve at the time, he was not ready to rule the Kingdom so the Queen Dowager and Yi were to serve as regents until he was old enough to assume power. Yi had his own agenda with the accession of his son to the throne. He sought to break the power of the royal 'in-law' families and reassert the authority of the crown. Therefore, to this end he appointed an equal proportion of officials from each of the sasaek (four factions) and was not greatly concerned with the background of government appointees, but rather examined their abilities. Thus, through appointments by merit, Yi strove to break the powerful families and deprive the royal 'in-laws' of their grip on power.

Chosŏn was confronted with many problems at the time when Yi came into power. The kingdom was plagued by increasing of unrest and rebellion by the populace, corruption
among government officials, the disarray of the tax systems, and perhaps most pressing of all, the increased infringements upon Chosön territory by foreign powers. Yi’s reforms to the government were sweeping as he sought to regenerate the structures of the central government and to reassert the authority of the kingship. He converted the military cloth tax (kunp’oje) that heretofore had only been levied on commoners to a household tax (hop’oje) that all households, yangban or commoner, were liable for. Moreover, Yi reorganised the grain loan system by establishing a nationwide network of village granaries (sach’ang) that were designed to provide relief to the peasants in times of need. In addition, the actual stores of grains were investigated and those officials who were proven corrupt were dealt with by banishment or execution.

Perhaps the greatest impact of Yi’s reforms is seen in the matters centring on the strengthening of the monarchy. To this end, Yi sought to restore the image of the royal family and this was accomplished with the rebuilding of Kyŏngbok Palace, which had been in ruins since the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Yi began this project in 1865 and financed it through a special land tax (kyoltujon) that was levied on all landowners and a gate tax (munse) that was a tariff on all goods that entered the capital. These taxes served to alienate both the yangban and commoner classes and also to bring about considerable economic disorder. Nevertheless, the restoration of Kyŏngbok Palace was complete in 1867.

Another target of Yi’s reforms were the sŏwŏn (private academies), which by this period in Chosön had come to possess large land and slave holdings that were exempt from taxation. Moreover, these academies were also considerable political forces in the rural areas and often operated outside of the authority of the central government. Thus, in 1864 Yi banned the repair or building of unauthorised sŏwŏn and in 1868 he levied a tax on these institutions. Finally in 1871, he executed a drastic reduction in the number of sŏwŏn, closing all but forty-seven of the academies. The abolition of the sŏwŏn proved to be extremely unpopular and created even more opposition to Yi from the yangban class.

The keystone of foreign policy of nineteenth century Chosön was one of a subservient relationship with China and isolation from other nations. However, in the 1860s contact with Western nations rapidly escalated. The events in China that had unfolded at this time such as the Opium War (1839-1842) and the Arrow Incident (1856) were, in the eyes of Yi, the result of allowing trade with Western nations. Therefore, Yi resolved to help Chosön avoid unequal trade treaties and humiliating relationships with the West by not allowing Western ships to enter Korean ports. This closed-door policy, however, was not honoured by the Western powers and there was increasing contact by foreigners. Perhaps the most brazen of these contacts was by the American trading ship, General Sherman, when it sailed up the Taedong River to P’yŏngyang, only to be burned by an angry mob of Koreans. Another event involved the French who were trying to assert their right to send Catholic missionaries into Korea. Both of these events were followed by clashes with the military forces of the respective nations, which were repulsed by Chosön. These minor victories only served to cause Yi to harden his isolation policy. The Western nations at this time were not sincerely interested in Korea as they were all occupied with other more pressing international or domestic circumstances. This was not the situation with Japan after it had been forcibly opened by the Americans in the 1850s and now turned towards Korea with its own colonial designs.

In 1873 Yi’s ten year grip on power in Chosön ended. He was driven from authority by a combination of the neo-Confucian officials that he had repeatedly antagonised with his reforms and the emergence of the political power of his son’s queen, Myŏngsŏng (1851-1895). Even though Yi had been sent to retirement by these forces, he was not content to sit on the sidelines. The government under the control of Queen Min began to adopt many policies that were aimed at reformation along the lines of Japan. The neo-Confucian literati became so outraged at these reforms that they sought an ally in Yi. However, the initial plot for Yi to take power was revealed and many that had been involved in the conspiracy were
sentenced to death. Yi, being the father of the king, escaped this plight and simply waited for another opportunity. This was shortly manifested in the form of the Military Mutiny of 1882 (Imo Kullan), which was the result of the military forces rising up against the corruption prevalent in the Choson government. With the military targeting the Min family and the Japanese with their wrath, King Kojong had little choice but to bring his father back to power. Yi directly issued an edict that required all matters of the government be approved by him before implementation and also sought to reform the military forces. Yi's return to power would prove to be quite brief as both Japan and China now intervened in Korea to protect their interests.

As Japan had dispatched troops to Korea to extract retributions from Choson for the destruction of their legation, the Qing became very concerned and sent their own forces to Seoul. 4,500 troops under the command of General Wu Changqing were sent to Seoul and the Chinese general quickly took control of the city. Yi was kidnapped by the Chinese and taken from Choson, thereby restoring power, in title, to Kojong. Yi was returned to Choson by the Qing in 1884 and continued to be an important player in the politics of the waning days of Choson. In 1894 when the Japanese inspired the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyongjang), he was again installed as the head of the Choson government, although he was in actuality controlled by the Deliberative Council that held real power. However, once Yi realised that he was not in power he planned a coup that would depose Kojong and replace him on the throne with Yi's grandson, Yi Chunyong. This scheme of Yi's was discovered by the Japanese who subsequently forced him to permanently retire from politics at this time.

Yi is remembered as a politician who attempted to enact reforms upon the stagnant and ineffectual government in late Choson. His reforms to the tax, military and political systems were partially effective but never given a chance to fully develop, due to the turbulence that surrounded Choson in this period. He also had a continuing desire for power and never fully accepted his son's right to the throne and his own limited role. Moreover, it was his political machinations along with those of Queen Min that served to throw Choson into disarray and further weaken the government. This only accelerated the fall of Choson into the hands of the foreign powers.

**Yi Hoegwang (1862-1933)**

Yi Hoegwang (styled Sasøn) was a Buddhist monk who is now infamous for his several tenacious attempts to secure a merger between Korean Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism. Although he was by no means the only Korean Buddhist monk who was involved with the Japanese government and Japanese Buddhists during the colonial period, his activities are especially poignant for he was the final entry in Kakan (Pomhae)'s 1894 collection of biographies of 198 Korean Buddhist masters, the *Tongsayōljon*, and was listed therein as the last Great Lecture Master (Taegangbaek) of the Choson dynasty. In 1910, shortly after Japan's annexation of Korea, Yi was responsible for creating a bitter split in Korean Buddhism, and during the following sixteen years he continually manifested a pernicious opportunism combined with a blatant disregard for the wishes of the larger Korean Buddhist establishment. Consequently, he is regarded as a traitor to both Korean Buddhism and the Korean nation.

Yi became a monk in 1880, and significantly, it was around this time that there were increasing contacts between Korean and Japanese Buddhist monks. While the latter were engaged in missionary work in Korea, some Korean monks, such as Yi Tongin, were intent on modernizing Korea and were consequently interested in both Japan's recent modernization through the Meiji Restoration and the effects that such social changes had wrought on Japanese Buddhism. It would appear that this nascent, somewhat political, relationship between Korean and Japanese Buddhism played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for Yi's subsequent political intrigues and insistence that Korean Buddhism unite with Japanese Buddhism.
By 1890 Yi was lecturing at Kônbongsa Temple, and he thus seems to have been a man of able intellect. Moreover, judging from his actions and the opinion of others, he also seems to have been a man of great ambition. In 1906 the Pulgyo yôn'guhoe (Buddhist Research Society) and its school, the Myôngjin hakkyo, had been established to centralize the administration of Korean Buddhist affairs and education, but in 1908 these two entities were replaced by the Wônjong chongmuwon (The Office of Religious Affairs of Korean Buddhism) after a formal meeting of 52 Buddhist leaders in Seoul. At this meeting Yi was elected as the organization's Supreme Patriarch, and shortly after this he had a Japanese monk from the Sôtô Sect installed as an advisor.

Yi proposed to merge Korean Buddhism, under the aegis of the Wônjong chongmuwon, with the Japanese Sôtô Sect, but the larger Korean Buddhist community was so vehemently opposed to this plan that it had to be abandoned. However, the annexation of 1910 provided him with another opportunity, and in December he travelled to Japan and met with the chief of the Sôtô Sect who advocated an alliance in which Korean Buddhism would be made subordinate to the Sôtô Sect. Yi was firmly opposed to this and stubbornly pushed for an equal merger. Nevertheless, on December 6, a mere forty-five days after the annexation, he signed an agreement which was obviously in favour of the Sôtô Sect. It not only allowed them to conduct missionary activity in Korea and send Japanese advisors to oversee Korean Buddhism, but more importantly it implicitly subordinated Korean Buddhism to the Sôtô Sect by retroactively handing over the ratification of the foundation of the Wônjong to the Sôtô Sect.

Upon returning to Korea, Yi attempted to gather support for this merger without disclosing the full details of the agreement. Despite his secrecy, word of his plan got out when a secretary within his organization handed over a copy of the document to some Korean monks, and violent opposition soon arose. While this opposition can be seen as essentially political, it was founded on the premise that Korean Buddhism was fundamentally of the Imje (Japanese, Rinzai; Chinese, Lin-chi) school and was thus incompatible with the teachings of the Sôtô Sect; consequently, a group of dissenting monks formally organized an Imje Sect to oppose Yi. Amidst this storm of criticism directed at Yi, in 1911 the Japanese Government-General of Korea promulgated its sach'allyông (temple-edict), which recognized that Korean Buddhism had the unique character of combining both scholastic and meditative practices, and decided against granting formal recognition to Yi's organization. Therefore, Yi's merger agreement with the Sôtô Sect was made void. This set-back was, nevertheless, temporary, for later that same year Yi was made abbot of the important Haein Temple. This position made him effectively the most powerful Korean monk, and in the middle of 1912 his authority was formalized when he became the first director of a newly created organization which encompassed the thirty main Korean Buddhist temples.

As can be expected, Yi not only encountered opposition from patriotic Korean monks, but was also challenged by other ambitious monks from within his own ranks. Thus, by 1917 his undisputed dominance within the pro-Japanese faction had come to an end. In August of the same year Yi and several other pro-Japanese monks obtained funds to visit Japan, and during their travels they dined with Terauchi Masatake who was then the Prime Minister of Japan and had been the first Governor-General of Korea from 1910-16. Yi outmanoeuvred another monk who was among his travelling companions by giving Terauchi a better gift, and this incident was but one example of the internal rivalry among the group and the overall obsequious attitude which they displayed during their visit to Japan.

Yi's next bid to gain absolute control of Korean Buddhism occurred at the end of 1919, a mere eight months after the March First Independence Movement, when he went to Japan and took part in negotiations with a representative of one of the sects of Japanese Rinzai. His efforts at forging an affiliation with the Rinzai Sect were reported by a Japanese
newspaper, and one of his old foes translated this article and sent it out to all of the main temples in Korea. Once word of his activities spread Koreans in general were infuriated, and Yi and his coterie's plan was crushed by the middle of 1920.

In 1922 Yi managed to gain a powerful office within the Pulgyo kyomuwon (The Office of Religious Affairs of Korean Buddhism), an organization hastily created by pro-Japanese Korean monks. Once again, fortune played a fickle hand. Anger about his attempt to forge an affiliation with the Rinzai Sect was still strong, and in 1923 the monks at Haeinsa Temple made a formal petition to the Government-General requesting that Yi be removed from his position as abbot of Haeinsa. This petition was accepted, and Yi was forced to wait three years before making another attempt to rise to power.

In 1926 Yi and several other disgruntled figures conspired to gain absolute control of Korean Buddhism by pushing for a thorough reformation which would entail the destruction of the current institutional structures and the creation of a Korean Buddhism which would work for harmony between Japan and Korea. To this end, they dispatched one of their members to Japan to talk with various people about the plan, but these efforts ran into intense opposition from Korean students and monks who were studying there. The final blow, however, came when one of the conspirators was arrested upon returning to Korea. He had illegally sold temple property to finance his trip to Japan, and the disclosure of this in Korean newspapers spelt the end of Yi's career. He spent the remainder of his years outside the sphere of Buddhist politics and died in 1933, at the age of 71, in a Zen school beside the Han River.

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Yi Hou (1912-1970)

Yi Hou was a poet. His family's ancestral home is in Kyŏngju and he was born in Ch'ŏngdo of North Kyŏngsang Province. His father was Yi Chongsu, his mother was Ku Pongnae and his younger sister Yi Yongdo was also a shijo poet. Yi began his formal education at the Uimyŏng Academy and continued at Miryang School where he graduated in 1924. In 1929 he travelled to Japan and entered Tokyo Arts University. However, due to a nervous breakdown he returned to Korea in the following year. In 1934 he was married to Kim Sunnam. After liberation in 1945 he worked on the editorial board of the Taegu ilbo newspaper and in 1956 became managing editor and editorial writer for the Taegu maeil shinbo newspaper. His literary debut was in 1940 with the publication of his poem Talbam (Moonlit Night) in the literary magazine Munjang.

Yi chiefly composed poems in the shijo style and incorporated many of the important values of his times. His early works reveal a longing for national independence while his later works exhibit the sense of tragedy resultant from the Korean War and the national division. His works in the late 1960s reveal his condemnation of Korea's participation in the Vietnam War as he took the role of an impassioned protester. His first shijo collection, Yi Hou shijo chip (Shijo Poems of Yi Hou), was published in 1955 and received widespread acclaim.

Yi Hwang (1501-1570)

Known by his pen name Toegye, Yi Hwang was the most influential scholar in the
Korean neo-Confucian tradition. Of the Chinbo Yi lineage, he was born near Andong in North Kyongsang province. Since his father died when he was only seven months old, he was raised by his mother and an uncle.

Yi passed the minor government examination in 1528, and was admitted to the National Academy in 1533. In 1534, he passed the civil service examination and began his career in public service. However, he preferred the times when he was out of office, when he could return to his home in Andong and pursue his studies.

When he served as magistrate of P'unggi, near Andong, he was instrumental in obtaining a royal signboard for the first sŏwŏn (private academy) in Korea, the Sosu Sŏwŏn. A few years later he obtained a royal signboard for his own academy, the Tosan Sŏwŏn, on the north side of Andong. Today, as a symbol of the importance of both Yi and his Sŏwŏn, his portrait and the Sŏwŏn building are featured on the front and back of the 1,000 wŏn note.

The most important philosophical issue occupying the minds of Korean scholars during Chosŏn was the i and ki debate. Yi Hwang held that 'the Four Beginnings are the issues of principle (i) and the Seven Feelings are the issues of material force (ki). The Four Beginnings refer to the Mencian concepts of humanity, whereas the Seven Feelings (joy, anger, sorrow, love, hatred and desire) are sometimes good and sometimes evil. In analyzing the functions of i and ki, Yi Hwang stressed in particular the role of the formative or normative element, i, as the basis of the activity of ki; thus i comes to be seen as an existential force that masters or controls ki. Thus Yi Hwang emphasized the supremacy of i in the i and ki duality. Yi I, however challenged Yi Hwang's position by placing equal importance on both i and ki in the activation of the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings, but he came to be identified as emphasizing the supremacy of ki. (see Yi I) The Four-Seven Debate thus became the most important philosophical issue of Chosŏn.

Yi developed a large following of disciples and became known throughout the country for his interpretations of neo-Confucian doctrine. The letter exchanged between Yi Hwang and the much younger scholar, Yi I, as well as letters between other scholars of the time became an important forum in the development of neo-Confucian ideology. Yi I became the founder of one school, and Yi Hwang founder of the other school. Both of schools retained disciples throughout Chosŏn, but neither master intended for their schools to develop into the rival factions that came to disrupt the tranquility of the recruitment process for the all-powerful government service positions.

In 1610, a century after his birth, Yi Hwang was inducted into Munmyo (National Confucian Shrine), of the National Academy. His surviving works were eventually collected and published by Taedong Munhwa Yŏn'guso of Sun Kyun Kwan (Sŏnggyun'gwan) University in 1958 as T'oegye chŏnsŏ (Collected works of T'oegye). This consists of sixteen works (including Tosan chŏnsŏ) which are kept at Tosan Sŏwŏn. However, these are only part of his writings. The manuscript copies of his works collected by his disciples after his death amounted to more than one hundred fascicles, of which only twenty have survived.

Unquestionably the most important scholar of traditional times, his influence spread to Japan, and today there are institutes for the study of 'T'oegye's philosophy' throughout Korea and overseas.

Yi Hyosŏk (1907-1942)

The writer Yi Hyosŏk (styled Kasan), most famous for his popular short story, Memil kkot p'il muryŏp (The Buckwheat Season, 1936), was born in P'yŏngch'ang, Kangwŏn Province. When he was four years old, his family moved to Seoul to join his father who was teaching there. Two years later, they moved back to Kangwŏn Province and Yi began
his studies in Chinese Confucian classics at a local village school. After finishing middle school in his hometown, he went alone to Seoul to attend what is now Kyŏnggi High School. In 1925 he entered the present Seoul National University as a law student, but later changed his major to English literature. He graduated in 1930. The following year he married Yi Kyŏngwon and, with the help of his former Japanese teacher, obtained a job working for the Censorship Section of the Governor-General’s Bureau of Police. However, due to severe criticism from his colleagues and people around him, he left the job after a month and moved to his wife’s home town of Kyŏngsŏng in North Hamgyŏng Province. He taught English at Kyŏngsŏng School of Agriculture. In 1934 he moved to P’yŏngyang, and there he taught at Sungshil Technical School from 1936 until the school closed in 1938. Yi was also a founding member of the Nine Member Society, a literary group which played a prominent role in introducing and promoting modernism in Korea. He died of meningitis in 1942.

Yi made his formal literary debut in 1928 with the publication of Toshi wa yurryŏng (City and Ghosts) in a magazine called Chosŏn chi kwang (Light of Korea). Although he had published numerous short works in the Maeil shinbo newspaper as early as 1925, City and Ghosts first earned him recognition in literary circles. This short story described impoverished, distressed, and homeless Koreans in the city. Yi’s early writings reflected social conditions, and his portrayal of indigent laborers and their discontent was interpreted as leftist. Thus, he was labelled a ‘fellow traveller’ along with his contemporary Yu Chino. After he moved to Kyŏngsŏng, he wrote Noryŏng kŭnhae (Sea Near Russian Territory, 1931) and this story was seen as the work that most revealed his sympathy toward the proletarian literary group KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio, formed in 1925 and dissolved in 1935). Although Yi may not have committed himself to the socialist cause, his early writings responded to the social situation of the 1920s and 1930s, a time when the idea of communism was spreading very rapidly, and many intellectuals and writers were being drawn to radical politics as a means to gain independence from Japan.

After 1932 Yi began to shift from stories dealing with social issues to the realm of aesthetic lyricism, using sexuality, nativistism, and exoticism as central motifs. These motifs are seen in stories like Sut’ak (The Rooster, 1933), San (The Mountain, 1936), and Tuil (The Field, 1936). Yi often used animals to draw parallels with human characters, describing the sexuality of the characters through animals. During this period, he wrote one of the most popular stories of modern Korean literature, ‘The Buckwheat Season’, which marked the peak of his maturity, talent, and craftsmanship. The story is set in the rural environs of his hometown, and it is rich in local color and lyrical in style. The juxtaposition of nature and human relationships is rendered in a highly romantic mode of poetic expression.

Bibliography


Yi I (1536-1584)

An acclaimed Confucian scholar, Yi I (styled Yulgok) is better known by his pen name, Yulgok. Born in Kangnung at his mother’s lineage home, he was taught the basics of Confucian ideology by his mother, Shin Saidsang. (see Shin Saimdang) His mother is honoured as the classic example of motherhood in Korea. Yi passed the Literary Licentiate Examination when he was only thirteen years old. His mother died before he could take the Civil Service Examination, when he was sixteen. He then retreated to a Buddhist temple to mourn and to study Buddhism. He returned to his home a year later and resumed his study of neo-Confucianism.

In 1558, Yi visited Yi Hwang, who with Yi I in later years would be regarded as the two
great interpreters of Confucianism. Yi I was a young man of twenty two, Yi Hwang, at age fifty seven was already established as a major figure of his time. The senior scholar was impressed with the junior, and the junior was inspired by the senior. Later that year Yi I headed the Civil Service Examination. In fact, he was at the top in all nine examinations the preparatory, regional, and national levels.

Yi held posts in various government ministries, in provincial magistracies, and in central government as a censor. He was also an assistant in the office of the Chief State Council. When serving in the Board of War, he called for the recruitment of an additional one hundred thousand soldiers. A few years after Yi’s death, many wished they had listened to his prophetic advice when the devastation of the Japanese invasion was unleashed on the Korean peninsula.

In addition to being acknowledged as one of Choson’s two greatest philophers of Neo-Confucianism, Yi was a highly respected statesman who enjoyed a distinguished career as a government official. Among his works on government and individual ethics, Sŏnghak chibyo (Essentials of the Sages’ Learning) was one of the most popular with scholars and government officials. Written for the king in 1575 as a guide for sagely rule, Sŏnghak chibyo offers Yi’s views on how a ruler should conduct himself and administer the government. In it, Yi quotes from former sages as well as adding his own comments and ideas. In the seventh chapter which deals with the economy, Yi emphasizes the importance of thrift in order to protect the country’s wealth and promote the well-being of the people.

In neo-Confucian thought, principle (i) and material force (ki) describe not only the constitution of the universe but also the constitution of every individual being. Thus, it is held that they also have an important role in the normative pattern of our nature, informing our activity as we respond to things around us. ‘Material force’ concretizes, particularizes, energizes, and also, by its relative degree of purity of turbidity, limits or distorts the otherwise perfect goodness of our ‘original nature.’ So the neo-Confucians talked not only of our original nature (principle with its inherent perfection) but also of the ‘physical nature’ - that is, the principle as limited by the imperfection of the material force that constitutes our concrete psycho-physical being. Yi Hwang and Yi I were the protagonists for opposing positions (see Yi Hwang). Loyalties to either Yi Hwang or Yi I and their contrasting orientations constituted the major intellectual divide throughout the remaining three centuries of Chosŏn.

Of the Tŏksu Yi lineage, Yi I was a distant cousin to Admiral Yi Sunshin who fought the Japanese during the invasion of 1592. Yi I’s numerous essays and other writings are collected in his Yulgok chŏnsŏ (Collected Works of Yulgok). In 1682, he was canonized as one of the eighteen Korean sages enshrined in the Mumnyo (National Confucian Shrine) of the National Academy.

Yi Ik (1681-1763)

Yi Ik was a late Chosŏn shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Yöju, his courtesy name was Chashin and his pen name Sŏngho. His eighth generation ancestor, Yi Kyeson, had held high government positions, such as Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo), during Sŏngjong’s reign (r. 1469-1494) and from that time forward the Yöju Yi family maintained very influential positions in the Chosŏn government. His great grandfather Yi Sanggūi was the Second State Councillor (chwaŭijong) and his grandfather Yi Chian was a Fourth Inspector (chip’yŏng) at the Office of the Inspector General (Sahŏnbu). His father, Yi Hajin, was married twice and had a total of nine children. However, he died when he was fifty-five after being exiled to Unsan. It was then that Yi Ik went to live with his mother’s family. He learned Chinese characters when he was ten years and at twenty-five applied for the civil service examination. He was not able to sit for it and subsequently gave up his aim to enter officialdom.
After abandoning his plans to enter government service, Yi remained at his home in Ch'omsong Village. He had inherited ample wealth and property from his ancestors and accordingly he could live the life of a retired country gentleman. From then on, Yi devoted his full attention to the pursuit of scholarship, being joined by his third and fourth brothers. In 1715, when he was thirty-five, his mother died and after observing the proper mourning period he sent all of his slaves and household belongings back to his ancestral home. Yi remained engrossed with his studies until his death at the age of eighty-three.

The shirhak scholarship movement became consolidated with the studies of Yu Hyongwŏn (1622-1673). Yu spent his life in a farming village and based his studies upon empirical evidence. The specific work attributed to his lifetime of study is Pan'gye surok (Pan'gye’s Treatises), which details and appraises many features of Chosŏn society, such as the government structure and appointments, education, the land system, and the military service system. Yi followed the same model as Yu and his studies served to extend the breadth and depth of Yu’s findings and to establish the basis for the distinct school of thought called shirhak. Yi’s most comprehensive work was Sŏngho saesŏl (Insignificant Explanations of Sŏngho), which is almost encyclopaedic and displays the diversity and depth of his scholarship. In this, he outlines his proposals for reform of the land and economic systems with well-thought out proposals and insight. However, it is his work, Kwagu rok (Record of Concern for the Underprivileged) where he expounds his proposals for wide-ranging reforms of Chosŏn institutions. Yi’s reputation grew with the passing of the years and he attracted many disciples. Through these men the school of shirhak thought became established and consolidated as the dominant ideology of late Chosŏn.

Yi’s value as a scholar can be seen in the impact that his works had on later generations. Particularly, that of Sŏngho saesŏl, which greatly influenced scholars such as An Chŏngbok (1712-1786), Yi Ch'ilsan (1690-?), Pak Chiwon (1727-1805) and Chŏng Yagyŏng (1762-1836). It was also the pragmatic approach of the shirhak scholars that allowed the adoption of Western scientific theory to Korea. The shirhak ideology marked a major break from the staid neo-Confucian ideology that had dominated Chosŏn up until this time. However, shirhak thought was unable to reach fruition due to the onslaught of Western culture and belief systems in the mid-nineteenth c.

Sŏngho sŏnsaeng munjip (The Collected Works of Master Sŏngho) and Yi sŏnsaeng yesŏl (Master Yi’s Explanation of Propriety) are another two of Yi Ik’s large number of works. Yi’s burial site is located close to his home in Ansan City of Kyŏnggi Province and has been designated as Kyŏnggi Province Monument no. 40.

Yi Illo (1152-1220)

Yi Illo (styled Ssangmyŏngjae) was a literati official under the military rule of the Ch'oe house during Koryŏ. His clan seat was Kyŏn'won, and he was praised from his childhood days for his brilliance. Yi lived as a Buddhist monk through the early military period but returned to secular life after Ch'oe Ch'ung'hon came to power. He was successful in the government service examinations in 1180; held official positions under Ch'oe's rule; and followed in literary pursuits. He associated with literary men - O Sejae, Im Ch'un, Cho T'ong, Hwangbo Hang, Ham Sun, and Yi Tamji. They formed an exclusive group, enjoying wine and writing poetry, and calling themselves the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, reminiscent of the earlier Chinese poets with the same name. He is the author of 'The Four Treasures of the Studio' and of the first literary miscellany in Korea, P'ahan chip (Jottings to Break Up Idleness).

Yi wrote two more collections, the Undae chip and the Ssangmyŏngje chip (Collected Works of Ssangmyŏngje). Lamenting the contemporary situation whereby outstanding Confucian scholars and poets were gradually fading away without passing their works on to
Yi Injik (1862-1916)

Yi Injik was a novelist and member of the new drama movement of the late Chosŏn and early colonial periods. His pen name was Kukch’o and he was born in Ich’ŏn of Kyŏnggi Province. In 1900 he travelled to Japan to study on a government scholarship. With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 he was appointed as a Korean translator for the Japanese Army headquarters. In 1906 he was appointed editor-in-chief of the Kungmin Shinbo newspaper and also editor of the Mansebo. In 1907 he was the first president of the Taehan shinmun newspaper. In 1908 he established Wŏngaksa and staged the production of Ŭnsegye (Silver World).

Yi is perhaps best known as one of the writers who helped introduce the style of the so-called ‘new’ novel (shin sosol) to Korea. These new novels had a character that emphasized the renovation of politics, social systems, customs, a new view of education, women’s freedom, social and cultural equality and a scientific view of the world. Moreover, the new novels had a market-orientated character that flattered popular taste and followed current trends. Yi was among the representative writers of this new genre, and in particular his Hyŏl ŭi nu (Tears of Blood, 1906) is widely acclaimed as being the first novel of this genre. Other works of Yi include Moran pong (The Peony Peak, 1913), Kwi ŭi sŏng (Voice of a Demon, 1908), Ch’iak san (Pheasant Mountain, 1908) and Ŭnsegye (Silver World, 1913).

Yi’s career as a writer only spanned a period of less than a decade but in this short time he established the genre of the new novel and greatly contributed to the overall development and growth of Korean literature. His works broached subjects such as new education, women’s rights, the tragedy of war and the need for enlightenment of the Korean people. For these reasons he is praised as one of the finest writers of his period and of great importance in the history of Korean literature.

Yi Insang (1710-1760)

Yi Insang was a late Chosŏn poet, writer and painter. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his courtesy name was Wŏlyŏng and his pen names were Ninghogwan and Posanja. In 1735 he passed the Literary Licentiate Examination (chinsa shi) but could not assume an official position due to the fact that his great-grandfather was an illegitimate son. However, by virtue of the good standing of other ancestors he overcame this handicap and served first as assistant custodian (ch’ambong) and then as superintendent (ch’albang) of the Sagin Post Station at Chiri Mountain, as well as holding other official posts. However, he suffered while serving in his official capacities due to chronic illness, his inability to bear the graft and corruption of officials and his disagreements with the governor (kwanch'alsa). He resigned from officialdom and retired to Tanyang with friends. There, he composed poetry and prose, painted and lived out his life doing what he liked best.

Despite the fact that Yi was the son of a concubine, his artistic and literary talents were great and would have major impact on future generations of artists and writers. He shared the scholastic mantle of the balance between i (a patterning or formative element) and ki (a concretising element) that compose all matter of the universe along with Kim Ch’anghŭp and Yi Chae. Yi Insang’s close acquaintances included Yi Yunyŏng, Song Munhŭm,
Hwang Kyŏngwŏn and Kim Mut'aek et al. In his calligraphy, he followed the haesŏ (Regular Style) of An Chingyŏng. His composition of the Tang-style poetry was highly praised by his contemporaries. As with his writings, his paintings are also acclaimed for both the vivid use of colour and the presentation of his subjects.

There are many extant works of Yi including paintings such as Susŏk to (Trees and Stones) and Sŏlsong to (Snowy Pine Tree), and his literary collection Nungho chip (Collected Works of Nŭngho). He is praised as one of the great talents, in both literature and art, of the late Chosŏn period.

Yi Kibung

Yi Kwalsu (1892-?)

Yi Kwalsu was a poet, novelist, critic and journalist. His family's ancestral home is in Chŏnju and he was born in Chongju of North P'yŏngan Province. His pen name was Ch'unwŏn. His father was Yi Chongwŏn and his mother was from the Ch'ungju Kim family. At the tender age of five, Yi began to learn both han'gul and Chinese characters and also heard various classic works recited by his maternal grandmother. In 1902 when Yi was eleven, he lost both parents to cholera. In 1903, Yi embraced the Tonghak Religion, lived in Pak Ch'annmyŏng's house for adherents to the faith and worked on the clerical staff. In 1905 he was selected to study abroad by the Ilchin Hoe (Advancement Society), a pro-Japanese society. He enrolled at a middle school in Japan, but was forced to return in November 1906 because of financial difficulties. In the following year, he again travelled to Japan and enrolled in the third year of middle school at the Meiji Institute.

At about this time, Yi heard a patriotic speech made by An Ch'angho, who had stopped off in Tokyo on his way from America to Korea, and was greatly impressed. Together with Hong Myŏnghŭi and Mun Ilp'yŏng he organized the Sonyŏn Hoe (Youth Association) and began the publication of a magazine, Sŏnyŏn (Youth), in which he wrote poetry, short novels and literary theory, as well as the editorials. In December 1909 his work, 'Chŏngyungnon' was published by the Hwangsong shinmun (Imperial Capital News) newspaper. In 1910 he returned to Korea and became a teacher at Osan School. In this year he also published his short story, Mujong (Heartless), which was written in a style that unified the written and spoken Korean language. In July of the same year through an arranged marriage, Paek Hyesun became his wife. However, this would prove to be a loveless marriage which caused him great sorrow. Moreover, with the passage of time Yi's health deteriorated due, it is thought, to the sadness he felt concerning the fate of Korea and the agony of his probable future. Compounding his troubles was the fact that while at Osan School, he enjoyed teaching the works of Tolstoy and the theories of Darwin, which held him up to much criticism.

In 1913, Yi translated the work of H.E.B. Stowe, The Grief of Black Men (Kŏmdungi sŏrum) and also had a poem, 'Mal tükkóra' (Listen to the Words) published in a collection entitled Saebyŏl (New Star). In November of that year he was informally appointed chief editor of the Shinhan minbo newspaper and tried to travel to America, but due to the outbreak of World War I he was unable to do so. At this time his associates included Kim Pyŏngno, Chŏn Yongt'aek and Shin Sŏgu. In September of 1915 he again went to Japan and enrolled in the Art Department of Waseda University. In the following year he transferred to the Philosophy Department at Waseda and was during this time that he began to serialize the epoch-making long novel Mujŏng (Heartless) in the Maeil shinbo (Daily News), which marked a turning point in the history of Korean literature. From this point forward he wrote continuously and finished short works such as 'Sonyŏn ŭi plae' (The Sorrows of a Young Boy) and 'Panghwang' (Wanderings), and published Ch'ŏngch'un.
However, probably due to overwork, he contracted tuberculosis and returned to Korea in 1917.

Upon his return to his home country, he worked as a correspondent for the Maeil shinbo newspaper and travelled widely in Korea. He now began his second serial for the Maeil shinbo, this time Kaech'okcha (Pioneer), that was extremely well received by the younger generation. Despite his chronic illness, he published the essays 'Shinsaenghwal non' (New Lifestyle Theory) and 'Chanyo chungsim non' (Focus on Children Theory) that both criticized the patriarch-centred family system and the traditional feudal social system, which caused much controversy. Shortly thereafter, he divorced Paek Hyesun and in October 1918, became betrothed to the woman doctor Ho Yongsuk. Yi and Ho fled Korea and travelled to Beijing, but when he heard that the Paris Peace Conference would soon convene (based upon the American President Wilson’s Fourteen Points) he returned to Korea. In November he again went to Japan, joined the Choson Youth Independence Party (Choson Ch’ongnyon Tongnip Tan), drafted the February Eighth Declaration of Independence, and then fled to Shanghai. While in China he assisted An Ch’angho, took a position as president as well as chief editor of the Tongnip shinmun (The Independent) newspaper and wrote many patriotic editorials designed to enlighten and move the people. In April 1921 he departed Shanghai, returned to Korea and was subsequently arrested by the Japanese police, but agreed to a disposition not to instigate public unrest and was released. Therefore, from this time forth he was branded as a Japanese collaborator. In the same year he was married to Ho Yongsuk. After publishing ‘Sonyon ege’ (To a Boy) in the magazine Kaebyok he was arrested by the police on suspicion of violating the publishing law.

Yi continued writing and published Minjok kaejo ron (Theory on National Reconstruction) in Kaebyok which aroused a great amount of criticism from the nationalistic camp and estranged him from those established in literature and the arts. In 1923 his long serial Sondoja (The Leader), which was patterned on the life of An Ch’angho was serialized in the Tonga ilbo, but because of its content this was halted by the Japanese Government-General. Later in the same year he resigned from the Tonga ilbo after his editorial Minjogjok kyongnyun evoked much criticism. After this time many of his works were serialized including Hyogmyongga unae (The Revolutionary’s Wife) in 1930, Yi Sunshin (The Story of Admiral Yi Sunshin) in 1931, and Huk (Earth) in 1932.

The literary point of view of Yi Kwangsu, given in his own words is: ‘I selected the best view of the world of contemporary times, and selected those of the middle class for my characters.’ He rejected degenerate literature or extremist literature that leaned heavily to one side or another, and in his own writing sought. Yi bore the ordeal of modern Korean history as if it were his personal tragedy, and expressed his passions to his reading audience in various forms such as novels, editorials, poems, essays and travel sketches. Yi is valued as a writer of enlightenment, nationalism and humanism as well as being a leading writer in modern Korean literary history. His impact on the course of modern Korean literature is undeniably a major one and he strongly influenced both his contemporaries and writers of later generations. The early works of Yi advocated ideals such as free love and rejected the traditional custom of early marriages, through which he would come to suffer himself. Other aspects of his works advocated enlightened thought and promoted new education forms such as in Mujong, scientific thought in Kaech’okcha, and enlightened education for farmers along with nationalistic theory enlightenment in Huk. However, research of Yi Kwangsu and his works also reveal a negative aspect such as his decision to avoid confrontation with the Japanese colonial forces and his attempts to dissuade others from doing so. Yi advocated a gradual return of sovereignty to Korea with a transitional period since he felt Korea was not ready for independence. Views such as this turned the nationalist camp against him and resulted in him being branded a traitor to Korea in some quarters. Yi is known to have been kidnapped to North Korea during the Korean War and is thought to have died there around 1950.
Yi Kyubo (1168-1241)

Yi Kyubo was literati official of Koryo dynasty. His family's ancestral home was Hwangnyo (present Yójü), Kyonggi Province. His father was Deputy Minister of the Board of Taxation, Yi Yunsu. He was academically brilliant from his childhood, and it is said that he could recite the standard classics from memory at the age of nine. He was born and grew up in an age of military dominance of Ch'oe house. The Ch'oe house, while upholding its own military supremacy, took an interest in scholarship. The bounty of literature appearing during the military period revealed that there still was intellectual vitality in this age. Yi Kyubo was the literary giant of the period, and more of his writings have survived than of any of his contemporaries.

While active in public life, Yi showed strong interest in Buddhism, and described Ch'oe Ch'unhôn's active support of Meditation in his 'On trip to Ch'angbok Monastery' (Togguk Yi sangguk chip. (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea). On the publication of Koryo Tripitaka he wrote 'Royal Prayer on the Occasion of the Production of the Tripitaka' (Tongguk Yi sangguk chip). The erudite Yi Kyubo had little use for shamans. He thought that they lowered the cultural level of life and took advantage of superstitious peasants. His writings have been preserved in the Tongguk Yi sangguk chip. He retired in 1237 and died in the temporary capital Kanghwa, in 1240, at the age of seventy-four. Yi Kyubo enjoyed the favour of the then ruling Ch'oe house largely because of his work in compiling national and diplomatic documents. When Yi was on his deathbed, Premier Ch'oe U expressed his intention to have his collected works wood-engraved for printing.

Yi Kyugyōng (1788-?)

Yi Kyugyōng was a late Choson period shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family's ancestral home is in Choncéu, his courtesy name was Paekkyu and his pen names were Oju and Ungǒsā. Yi received his education from his father and grandfather. When King Chongjo (r. 1776-1800) established the Kyujanggak (Royal Library) in the first year of his reign he appointed noted scholars as Editor-Compilers (kōmsǒgwan). Yi's father and grandfather both served at this institution and were both famed for their pursuit of shirhak scholarship. Yi later served at the Kyujanggak.

Yi’s scholarship is evident in his monumental work, Oju yónmun changjón san'gō (Random Explanations by Oju), which has about 1,400 topics in sixty volumes. This encyclopaedic collection covers a vast array of matters, including astronomy, geography, government, economic, society and history. Yi demonstrates his knowledge of Western scientific thought in this collection and moreover, he presented it to the reader in a forthright manner. Yi also had tremendous interest in matters concerning the economy of Choson. He advocated an opening of Choson to trade with Western nations, and in particular, when an English merchant ship requested permission to trade with Korea in 1832 he urged that this be allowed.

Yi is recognised as one of the great minds of late Choson and his scholarship is considered a pinnacle in shirhak scholarship. However, the labours of his research largely went unrealised as Western ideology and technology soon swept into Choson in an unrelenting torrent. Other works of Yi include Paegunp'il and Oju sǒjong pangmul kobyōn.

Yi Muyōng (1908-1960)

Yi Muyōng was a novelist. Born in North Ch’ungh’ŏng Province in Ümsŏng, he entered Hwimun High School in 1920, but left before graduating. In 1925 he travelled to Japan to attend Seizō Middle School. For the four years that he lived in Japan he stayed in the house of the Japanese writer Katō Takeo. In 1926 he wrote Üijomnu yónghon (A Lonely and Helpless Soul) and in the following year published his short novel P’yehŏ (Ruins). In
1929 Yi returned to Korea and worked in various positions such as schoolteacher and as a journalist for both newspapers and magazines. During this time Yi joined the Kuinhoe (Nine-Man Association) and continued to produce many works. Representative of his early period are *Panyōkcha* (Traitor, 1931) and *Nogbu* (The Farmer, 1934).

The major works of Yi are considered to have been written in the late 1930s and early 1940s. At this time there were many works that revolved around the lives of peasants and farmers and Yi's was no exception. His representative works with this theme are *Che 1 kwa che 1 chang* (First Section, First Chapter, 1939) and *Hūk ūi* (A Slave to the Soil, 1940). These reveal Yi's desire to underscore the productive lives of the farmers, which he saw as a sharp contrast to the shallow and meaningless lives that urban dwellers led.

After liberation Yi continued to publish and also served as a Professor at Dangook University from 1957 to 1960. Among his novels are: *Chōlmūn saramdūl* (The Young People, 1951) and *Samnyōn* (Three Years, 1956). He also published many short stories such as *B nyō ūi somyo* (A Sketch of Miss B, 1953), *Pyōkhwa* (Mural, 1958) and the posthumously published *T sst Haengjanggi* (The Life of Mr. T, 1974).

**Yi Nūnghwa** (1869-1943)

Yi Nūnghwa was a scholar. His courtesy name was Chahyon and his pen names were Kanjōng, Sanghyōn and Munanggosa. Yi was born in Koesan of North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and was the son of Yi Wŏnggūng. He studied at a village school and moved to Seoul with his father when he was twenty. Seoul proved a dramatic change for Yi, as he was suddenly thrust into a situation where he was made acutely aware of both domestic and international issues. He endeavoured to learn foreign languages including Chinese, Japanese, English and French. In 1895 he entered the Public French Language School, from which he graduated in 1897. He was the first Korean to teach French. In 1906 he was appointed instructor at the Public French Language School and later served in various capacities at other educational institutions.

Yi also participated in the Buddhist enlightenment movement of the day as he strove to help improve the lot of Koreans through Buddhist educational activities. In 1915 with the head abbots of some thirty temples and fifty Buddhist lay people he helped form Kakhwang Temple in Seoul and at this time also established the Society for the Advancement of Buddhism (Pulgyo Chinhŭng Hoe). He also published various Buddhist magazines for the general public such as *Pulgyo chinhu ng hoe wŏlbo* (Society of the Advancement of Buddhism Monthly Bulletin) and *Chosŏn pulgyo ch'ŏngbo* (Korean Buddhist Bulletin).

In 1922 the Japanese Government General in Korea established the Korean History Compilation Committee (Chosŏnsa P'yŏngsuhoe) and for fifteen years Yi was its head. At the same time, he continued his collection of religious and folk data with the intent of preserving his findings for future generations. In 1931 he served as an instructor in Korean religions at the Central Buddhist College (modern day Dongguk University) and afterwards as editor in the compilation of *Chosŏnsa* (History of Korea) published by the Japanese Government General.

Yi's works have provided much valuable data for the study of Buddhism and Korean folk customs. His *Chosŏn pulgyo t'ongsa* (The Complete History of Korean Buddhism, 1918) provides comprehensive tome of Buddhism in Korea. Insofar as traditional Korean culture is concerned, Yi's works include *Chosŏn shingyo wŏllyu* which covers traditional religious beliefs in Korea; *Chosŏn shinhwago* (Chosŏn Mythology Theory); *Chosŏn sahoe sa* (History of Korean Society), and *Chosŏn togyosa* (History of Korean Taoism). Yi's works supply important data for the study of many aspects of Korean society to the present-day and, not least, this points out his importance as a scholar of late Chosŏn and the colonial period.
Yi Pyönggi (1891-1968)

Yi Pyönggi was a poet. He was born in Iksan of North Cholla Province and his pen name was Karam. He attended Hansŏng Teachers' School and after graduation worked in various educational capacities. He was a teacher at Tonggwan and Hŭimun High Schools; a professor at Seoul National University and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Chŏnbuk National University. He was a member of the Korean Academy of Science and received its Award in 1960 and the Culture Award from the government of the Republic of Korea in 1962.

Yi began writing in the mid-1920s for the Tong-a Ilbo newspaper and magazines such as Chosŏn mundan. Yi dedicated his life to the promotion and development of the traditional poetic form of Korea, the shijo. He sought to increase the popularity of shijo by making this form more appealing to the public of the time. Thus, he began to infuse his shijo with modern elements and suggested the way that modern shijo should be directed to include modern emotions, subjects, and use new language and rhythm. He put forth his opinions through his thesis Shijo rül hyŏksin haja (Let's Renovate Shijo) published in the Tong-a Ilbo newspaper in January 1932. Moreover, Yi attempted to move away from the tendency by some to compose excessively nationalistic shijo as a counter to the socialist literature being produced by the Korean Proletariat Artists Federation (KAPF). Yi believed that shijo should have universal values and appeal to a wide audience while displaying aesthetic values. This he contended would enable the form of shijo to survive any onslaught of Western culture, since this poetic form represented the essence of the Korean people. Finally, Yi reinforced the propagation of shijo with his efforts to establish a body of literature to form the basis for theoretical discourse.

Yi was largely successful in his attempts to increase the awareness of and range of shijo. His shijo collections include Karam shijo chip (Shijo of Karam, 1939, 1947) and the posthumous collection Namdo ajirangi (Shimmering Haze in the Southern Province, 1971). Among the critical works of Yi there are Karam munsŏn (Collected Writings of Karam, 1966), Kungmunhak chŏnsa (The Complete History of Korean Literature, 1952) and P’yojun kungmunhaksa (Standard History of Korean Literature, 1955).

Yi Saek (1328-1396)

Yi Saek (styled Mogun) was renowned as one of the two greatest writers of the Koryŏ dynasty, the other being Yi Kyubo (1168-1241). As a child he was an outstanding student and passed the licentiate examination of the Sŏnggyun’gwan at the age of fourteen. When he was twenty, his father was appointed to an official post in China, and Yi Saek accompanied him. He studied for three years as a classics licentiate at the Guozijian. After returning to Korea, he won first place in the civil service examination and accompanied the Korean envoy to China as a recording officer. While there he gained second place in the higher civil service examination. He served in the Chinese government for a time and then returned to Korea, where he held political, academic and diplomatic appointments for some twenty years.

In 1361 he was appointed head of the Sŏnggyun’gwan and directed to reorganize and develop it. He devoted himself to this task and succeeded in raising the standards of scholarship and learning to a significant degree, particularly by inviting many prominent Confucian scholars to work there. However, following the coup d’etat of Yi Sŏnggye in 1392, Yi Saek was banished to Hansan, South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. After moving several times he died at the Sillŭk Temple in Yŏju, Kyŏnggi Province, in 1396.
Yi Saek’s collected works entitled *Mogun chip* comprise fifty-five volumes of poems and other writings. This collection was published in different editions at various times between 1404 and 1686. The last extant edition was reproduced by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun’gwan University in 1961 as part of the *Yŏge myŏnghyŏng chip*.

**Yi Sang** (1910-1937)

Yi Sang is the pen name of Korea’s best known modernist writer. He was born Kim Haegyŏng in Seoul, the eldest of two boys and a girl. At the age of three he left his parents to live in the family seat with his uncle who was head of the main family line. In 1917 he entered Shinmyŏng school, advancing in 1921 to what was later to become Posŏng High School, from which he graduated in 1926. That same year he entered the architecture department at Kyŏngsŏng Technical High School. After his graduation in 1929 he worked in the architecture section of the Government General’s Home Affairs bureau. During this period one of his designs was selected for the cover of the journal of the Korean Architectural Society, *Chōsen to kenchiku* (*Korea and Architecture*). In 1933 Yi had to stop work because he was coughing up blood. After taking a short trip to a hot spring in Hwanghae province, he opened a coffee shop in central Seoul which was frequented by the likes of Yi T’aejun, Pak T’aewŏn, and Kim Kirim. The following year this group of young writers, including Yi Sang, formed the Nine Member Society (*Kuinhoe*). They constituted the vanguard of the Modernist literary movement in Korea and shocked Korean society with their avant-garde writings. Yi’s several attempts to run coffee shops all ended in failure, and in 1936 he briefly took a job at a publishing company. In June he married Pyŏn Tongnim and moved to Tokyo. In February 1937 Yi was imprisoned for ‘impure thoughts’ but was released on bail the next month because of bad health. In April he died of tuberculosis in Tokyo Imperial University Hospital. After his death his wife brought his remains back to Korea and had them buried in Miari public cemetery. However, no trace of them can now be found.

Yi Sang made his literary debut in 1930 with his novel *December Twelfth* (*12 wŏl 12 il*). During his short but prolific writing career he produced not only novels but also poetry, essays, and short stories. Of the Nine Member Society Yi Sang was the most consistent and representative modernist, and as such his work reveals the anxiety and the fascination with the modern of Koreans in a rapidly urbanizing country in the 1930s. It also shows the influence of Japanese avant-garde literature and, through Japanese translations, Dada, Surrealist and Modernist works from Europe. However, Yi created his own original style from among all these diverse influences. Yi’s most famous work is the short story *Wings* (*Nalgae*; 1936) about a dysfunctional young man living parasitically off his wife’s prostitution in a pill-induced haze. He spends his days holed up in their tiny two-room apartment playing with his wife’s perfume bottles and cosmetics, hiding in the back room when her male friends visit. The story shows the negative side of urban life, probably reflecting Yi’s despair at his own deteriorating health.

Yi’s poetry is highly creative. He plays with words by arranging their position on the page, omitting spaces between them, and by including within the text mathematical symbols and words from other languages, such as English and French. A good example of this is the series of poems entitled ‘A Crow’s-Eye View’ (*Ogamdo*, 1934). Because of his constant theme of suicide, split identity, and the macabre, some critics see a historical depth to his work as reflecting the alienation of the Korean artist under colonial rule.

Janet Poole

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Yi Sangjae (1850-1927)

Yi Sangjae was a politician, civil rights activist and youth movement participant of the late Choson and early colonial periods. His family’s ancestral home is in Hansan, his courtesy name was Kyeho and his pen name was Wolnam. He was born in Soch’on of South Ch’ungch’ong Province to Yi Huit’aek and his wife, daughter of the Miryang Pak family. Yi received a traditional education and married when he was fourteen. In 1867 he applied for the Civil Service Examination (kwago shi) but did not pass due to the actions of corrupt officials who would pass only those who had paid a bribe. Yi’s early years were filled with images of the corrupt Choson government, his country’s isolation from other nations and the stagnate nature of society. However, by the 1880s major changes were occurring in Choson. In 1881 Yi was part of the so-called ‘gentlemen’s sightseeing group’ (shinsa yuramdan) that travelled to Japan in order to see the effects and results of Western society. This was to have a major effect in Yi’s outlook on the reforms needed for Choson society.

After returning from Japan, Yi served in a variety of capacities in the Choson government. With the establishment of the Postal Administration (Ujongch’ongguk) in 1884, the director of this office, Hong Yongshik (1855-1884), appointed Yi as junior official in the Communications Department. However, with the Coup d’Etat of 1884 (kapshin chongbyon), the Postal Administration was abolished. After this time Yi served in important posts and in 1887 was appointed secretary of Pak Chongyang at the first Korean embassy in America. By the time of his return to Korea from the United States, Yi had furthered his understanding of Western technology and had an interest in propagating this information in Korea. His associates in Korea included So Chaep’il and Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman), who had the same beliefs in the necessity for modernisation and who also shared his Christian philosophy. Thus, when So formed the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyophoe) in 1896 Yi quickly joined.

The Independence Club sought to bring about both social and political change to Korea through the implementation of Western systems and educational activities. A symbol of its activities and philosophy was the building of the Independence Gate (Tongnip mun) in Western Seoul on the site where formerly the embassies from China were greeted and entertained. Other activities of this organisation were not symbolic but directed at increasing awareness among the people. Public debates were held and a newspaper, Tongnip shinmun, was published. Naturally, these activities invited the attention of the Choson government, since the ultimate aim of the Club was to abolish the monarchy and institute a modern government. Accordingly, in 1908, the Choson government prohibited activities by the Club and arrested sixteen members, including Yi Sangjae.

After the failure of the Independence Club, Yi turned his political attention to different outlets. At this time, with the help of American missionaries, he assisted the establishment of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in Seoul in 1903. Here, nationalism and patriotism were imbued and members undertook various social welfare programs. After the March First Independence Movement in 1919, Yi was one of a group who took over the operation of the Choson ilbo newspaper and used this as a platform to criticise the Japanese. He continued his anti-Japanese stance and the promotion of education for Koreans.
until his death in 1927. In 1962 he was posthumously awarded the Order of Merit for National Foundation by the government of the Republic of Korea.

**Yi Shik (1584-1647)**

Yi Shik was a mid-Choson civil official. His family’s ancestral home is in Tōksu, his courtesy name was Yōgo and his pen names included T’aektang, Namgungwoesa and T’aekkugōsa. He was the son of Yi Ansŏng who was a Fourth State Councillor (chwač’ansŏng). In 1610 he passed the Special Examination (pyŏlshi) and was appointed as Fifth Tutor (sŏlsŏ) at the Crown Prince Tutorial Office (Seja Shigangwŏn) in 1613. Subsequently, he was appointed as an Army aide (pyŏngma p’yŏngsa) in 1616, but in 1618 with the issue surrounding the deposing of the dowager Queen he retired from public life and retreated to Chip’yŏng in Kyŏnggi Province, where he concentrated on his studies.

In 1623 with the deposition of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) and the enthronement of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), Yi again returned to life in officialdom. With his associates holding positions of high political import, Yi was appointed as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of Personnel (Ijo) and in the next year also served in such positions as Junior Sixth Counsellor (pusuch’an) of the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan) and Second Inspector (chipŭi) at the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). In 1625 he served as Third Minister (ch’amŭi) of the Board of Rites (Yejo), Sixth Royal Secretary (tongbusāngji) and Fifth State Councillor (uch’an) of the State Council (Uijŏngbu). In the following year he continued to be promoted to positions of higher rank and served as Headmaster (taesasŏng) of the National Academy (Sŏnggeyun’gwan) and as Fourth Royal Secretary (chwabusāngji). In 1633 he served as First Counsellor (puchehak) of the Office of Special Counsellors, in 1638 he was Director (taejehak) of the same office and also as Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of both the Board of Rites and the Board of Personnel. From 1643, he held office as Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of Rites, Board of Personnel and the Board of Punishments. However, in 1646 arising from questions that he prepared for the Special Examination, he was stripped of his official position and retired from government service.

Yi was renowned for his scholarship and along with Yi Chŏnggu (1564-1635), Chang Yu (1587-1638) and Shin Hŭm (1566-1628), is known as one of the ‘Four Great Men of Sino-Korean Literature’ (hanmun sadaega). Yi is highly praised for his knowledge of ancient Korean literature, and the ability to write poetry in all styles. Extant works include his literary collection T’aektang chip (Collected Works of T’aektang), and Susŏngji and Yasa ch’ŏbon.

**Yi Sŏnggye (King T’aejo)**

[History of Korea; Society]

**Yi Sugwang (1563-1628)**

Yi Sugwang was a Confucianist and literary man. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his courtesy name was Yungyŏng and his pen name was Chibong. His father was the Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo) and his mother was of the Munhwa Yu family. When he was sixteen he passed the preliminary civil service examination (ch’ošhi), one year before his father’s death. After observing the appropriate mourning period, Yi became a literary licentiate (chinsa) at the age of twenty and in 1585 he was appointed as Third Copyist (pujŏngia) of the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sŏngmunwŏn). Three years later he was appointed Librarian (chŏnjŏk) of the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggeyun’gwan) and in the following year served as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) at the Board of Taxation (Hojo) and the Board of War. He also served as member of an embassy to Ming China during this period.
When Yi reached thirty years of age in 1592, the Japanese invaded Korea and he was engaged against the enemy in the Kyongsang Province. In 1597 he was appointed as president (taesasǒng) of the National Confucian Academy and later in the same year he was part of another official embassy to Ming China. In 1602 while serving as First Counsellor (pujehak) of the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun'gwan) he edited Kogyǒng chuyǒk (Ancient Classic, Book of Changes), in the next year edited Chuyǒk ānhae (Book of Changes, Korean Annotated Edition) and in the following year also edited Sagi (Historical Records). In 1611, he again travelled to Ming China on an official embassy mission for the third time, but upon his return he was caught up in the mass purge of 1613. However, with King Injo's ascension to the throne in 1623 he again resumed his life in officialdom. He served in various positions including Minister of the Board of Personnel (ljo) in 1628 until his death at the end of that year.

Yi's extant works include his thirty-one volume anthology Chibong chip (Collected Works of Chibong) that recounts the turbulent era in which he lived, and Chibong yusǒl (Topical Discourses of Chibong) a twenty-volume encyclopaedic collection that covers a variety of topics and was the first work of its kind in Korea. Yi is widely acclaimed as the first of the shirhak (practical learning) scholars to pay close attention to history. Moreover, his work served as a foundation for subsequent shirhak scholars, such as Yi Ik (1681-1763) and Hong Manjong (1643-1725) to expand upon and thus he can be viewed as the forerunner of the shirhak school of thought.

Yi Sǔnhun (1756-1801)

Yi Sǔnhun was the founder of the Catholic religion in Korea and the first Korean to be baptised. His baptismal name was Pedro; his family's ancestral home is in P'yǒngch'ang; his courtesy name was Chasul and his pen name was Manch'on. Yi's father was a high-ranking government official who was born in Seoul. In 1780 Yi Sǔnhun passed the chinsa (literary licentiate examination) but he did not enter government service and instead devoted himself to the pursuit of scholarship. He travelled to Beijing where he studied Western Learning and it was around this time that he became acquainted with Yi Pyǒk who introduced him to Catholicism.

In 1783 Yi accompanied the winter solstice embassy to Beijing and spent about forty days in China, where he studied the Catholic doctrines under the missionary Jean Joseph de Gramont and was eventually baptised, becoming the first Korean to have done so. In 1784, he returned to Korea bringing with him many writings explaining the Catholic faith. Back in Korea he baptised Yi Pyǒk and Yi Kahwan among others. After this, in consultation with Yi Pyǒk and others, he began to hold services in the house of Kim Pǒmu, a chungin (middle-class professionals), and thus, the first Korean Catholic Church, which consisted only of laymen, was established. In 1785, these church leaders, under a provisional ministry system, decided to conduct mass, penance, confirmation and other sacraments. Ten people were appointed including Yi and Kwǒn Ilsin, and this group assumed authority to conduct the sacrament of confirmation. Soon, however, it was realized through a doctrinal book that the sacraments performed by them constituted both illegal and sacrilegious conduct. Therefore, they ceased conducting the sacraments pending advice from the Beijing church, to which they had despatched a secret envoy.

At the end of 1789, Yun Yuil, (the secret envoy of the Korean church), went to Beijing with the winter solstice embassy of the Chosǒn government, delivered a letter from Yi to a Beijing missionary, and returned to Korea with his reply. The fledgling Korean church was advised to find a way to bring in a missionary as soon as possible in order to conduct the sacraments. Yun Yuil was once more sent to Beijing for this purpose. Eventually, in 1795, the Chinese priest Zhou Wenmo came to join the Korean church, but severely limited his activities, since the Chosǒn authorities were aware of his presence. Shortly following, the so-called Persecution of 1795 (Ülmo shilp'o sakkǒn) took place and many of those who
had been active in the Catholic Church were either executed or exiled. Yi Sung hun was among the exiled -- banished to Ch'ungch'ong Province. He was eventually freed, but with the ascension of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) to the throne there began a new wave of persecution against the Catholics. So, with the Persecution of 1801 (shinyu saok), Catholicism in Korea was dealt a crushing blow and Yi was among those executed in this large-scale purge.

Yi's literary collection Manch'on yugo (Posthumous Works of Manch'on) is extant. His son and grandson continued Yi's aspirations for the spread of Catholicism in Korea and as a result were both martyred in 1868. In addition, in 1871 two of his great-grandsons were also martyred at Chemulp'o. Yi's legacy is his devotion to the spread of the Catholic faith in Korea.

Yi Sung hyu (1756-1801)

The author of Chewang un'gi (Rhymed Record of Emperors and Kings) and Naejön nok, Yi Sung hyu (styled Tongan kôsa) (1224-1300) was born in Kari county, Kyongsan Prefecture (the present Sôngju), North Kyongsang Province. After passing the higher civil service examination in 1252, he spent some ten years in seclusion on Mt. Tut'a. He then entered the government service and in 1273 was appointed Tobyôngmaroksa (the Supreme Commander of the military forces). In the same year he was sent to the Yuan court as secretary to the King's envoy. It is recorded that Hou You Xian, a Chinese official, was greatly impressed by Yi's outstanding talent as a poet. He was sent a second time to the Yuan court, and eventually in 1298 became the Sungmun'gwang haksa (Royal Counsellor), the highest government official of his time. After he retired from government service, he returned to Mt. Tut'a, became a devout Buddhist, and devoted himself to books and writing. He was highly regarded both as an able government official and as a Buddhist scholar.

Yi Sungin (1349-1392)

Yi Sungin (styled Toun) was born in Sôngsan, North Kyongsang Province, and he was regarded as a bright and talented student. He was taught the Chinese classics, and later became well versed also in the Buddhist scriptures and the works of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Yi Sungin passed the higher civil service examination when still very young and was appointed to prominent political and academic posts. He was influential in the reconstruction of the Sônggyun'gwang and in the appointment of Yi Saek as its head. He also taught there and, along with such noted scholars as Chông Mongju, Kim Kuyong and Pak Úijung, promoted and developed classical studies. As a teacher, he was praised for the depth of his learning and the clarity of his exposition.

He was well known for his ability in writing diplomatic documents and while he was a privy councillor he was sent to China as the King's envoy. However, due to his association with Chông Mongju, he was banished to Sunch'on in the far south after Chông's assassination, and he himself was assassinated at the age of forty-three, while in exile.

Yi Sungin's collected works entitled Toûn chip were published in two volumes in 1406. A later edition consisting of three volumes of poems and two of other writings was published by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sônggyun'gwang University in 1961 as part of the Yôgye Myônghyôn chip.

Yi Sungman, Dr (see Rhee Syngman)

Yi Sun shin, Admiral (1545-1598)
Yi Sunshin was a famous admiral of the Chosón period. His family’s ancestral home is in Toksu and his courtesy name was Yŏhæ. He was born in Seoul and in his adolescence showed a considerable interest in the military arts. Yi became a fine archer, and developed a keen interest in military strategy that was unusual for one so young. His accomplishments included the diverse skills of horsemanship and writing. By the age of twenty-one he began formal training in the military arts by serving as an apprentice to various armourers, and soon took the military examination (mugwa). However, in his first attempt in the examination he failed the portion on horsemanship as he fell off his mount. Thus, for the next four years he devoted himself to passing the next scheduled military examination, successfully completing it in 1576, following which he took-up a position as an official in the Military Training Administration (Hullyŏnwon). Yi continued his rise in the military hierarchy of Chosón, holding diverse positions, including that of Second Deputy Commander (ch’ŏmjŏl chesa) of Manp’o, before being appointed as Commander of the Left Cholla Naval Station (Chŏlla chwado sugunjŏldosa) at the age of forty-seven.

The year after Yi was appointed to his post in Cholla Province, the 1592 Japanese Invasion occurred and it was at this time that Yi made his greatest contribution to Chosón. After being commissioned as Commander, Yi strongly realised the importance of strengthening the Chosón naval forces, and in particular focused his energies on the development of warships and their crews. It was at about this time that he developed the ‘turtle ships’ (kŏbuksŏn) that gave Chosón a clear advantage over Japan in naval strength. These ships were based on the design of warships already in use in Chosón, but to this he added protective shields (it is not clear whether these were iron-plated) dotted with spikes to prevent the enemy from boarding the vessels. Moreover, Yi placed cannons around the circumference of his ships, so the enemy could be attacked from every quarter. With these formidable naval weapons at his command, Yi set his sights on the Japanese fleet. The first encounter was at the port of Okp’o where Yi crushed the enemy. He followed this with decisive victories at Tangp’o, Tanghangp’o, Hansan Island and Pusan. In particular, Yi’s victory in the waters around Hansan Island is counted as one of the three great achievements of Chosón during the invasion. Yi’s superior weaponry and command skills gave control of the sea-lanes to Chosón and prevented the Japanese naval forces from linking up with their land forces as they pushed northward. Moreover, he protected the grain-rich Cholla region from the invaders, thus ensuring a food supply for the Koreans.

Although Yi’s success against the Japanese naval forces was instrumental in limiting the effectiveness of the Japanese invasion, due to political infighting in the Chosón court he was removed from his post as Commander in 1595 and replaced by Wŏn Kyun. At this time the Chosón forces had effectively pushed the Japanese into the area of Kyŏngsang Province and were negotiating a peace settlement. However, in the absence of Yi, the Japanese navy was successful in its naval campaign and was able to defeat the Chosón navy. The government was alarmed at this and quickly reinstated Yi to his former position. With a flotilla of only a dozen warships, Yi then attacked the Japanese fleet as it was sailing towards Mokp’o and overwhelmingly annihilated it. The Japanese now found themselves under siege on both land and sea with nowhere to turn. With the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, the Japanese forces withdrew from Korea. Yi, however, continued to attack the retreating Japanese navy until the very end, and was killed by a stray enemy shot in the seas off Noryang.

Yi’s is arguably the most famous war hero of Korea and his efforts in the face of the Japanese invasion played a key role in preventing the fall of Chosón. His own chronicle of the war is contained in his work Nanjung ilgi and this, along with his literary collection Yi Ch’ungmu kong chŏnsŏ (The Collection of Admiral Yi Ch’ungmu), which was compiled and published in 1795 by royal edict, are extant. His heroic deeds were again brought to the forefront of the Korean public’s consciousness in the face of another infringement by the Japanese on the sovereignty of Korea at the end of the nineteenth c. in Shin Ch’aeho’s.
Yi Sunshin chŏn. (The Story of Yi Sunshin). There are many monuments throughout Korea extolling Yi's heroic deeds, including a stately statue of the admiral and his turtle ship on Sejong Road in the heart of Seoul.

Yi Tal

Yi Tonghwi (1872-1935)

Yi Tonghwi was an independence fighter of the late Chosŏn and colonial periods. He was born in Tanch'ŏn of Hamgyŏng Province and his childhood name was Songjae. From the age of eight he studied Chinese and when he was eighteen he travelled to Seoul. There he became acquainted with Yi Yongik (1854-1907) and enrolled in Kungwan Military School. After graduation he joined the army and was commissioned with the rank of major (ch'umnyǒng). With the 1907 Korea-Japan new agreements (Han-il Shin Hyopyak) he was sent to Kanghwa Garrison and shortly thereafter, as the Japanese forced Chosŏn to disband her army, he lost his commission. Thus in 1909, along with his comrades Yŏn Kiu and Kim Tongsu, he conspired to form a guerrilla army on Kanghwa Island. The authorities discovered this and he was exiled, but due to the efforts of the American missionary D. A. Bunker he was reinstated shortly. In the same year Yi and fellow patriots -- An Ch'angho (1878-1938) and Yi Tongnyŏn (1869-1940) -- formed the New People's Association (Shinmin Hoe) and began both the work of enlightening the Korean people and of opposing the Japanese in Korea. However, the operations of this organisation were brought to a halt with the so-called Case of the One Hundred and Five (paegoin sagon) as the Japanese arrested many of those involved in the association. Other enlightenment activities of Yi included the founding of a school on Kanghwa Island with D. A. Bunker and the creation of an aid society for youth from the Hamgyŏng area.

As it became increasingly difficult for Yi to carry out his activities within Korea, he fled to Manchuria in 1915. There he formed the Korean People's Socialist Party (Hanin Sahoe Tang) and also participated in the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min'gu Imshi Ch'ongbu) after its formation in 1919. Yi's ideology was more akin to socialism and in 1920 he helped form the communist faction of the Korean Provisional Government. Moreover, in 1921 he changed the name of the Korean People's Socialist Party to the Koryŏ Communist Party (Koryŏ Kongsan Tang). Yi continued to carry out his independence activities, travelling to Moscow in the same year, where he obtained financial aid to the extent of about two hundred million Russian roubles from the Soviet leader Lenin. However, of this money Yi appropriated some forty million roubles to fund the formation of the Koryŏ Communist Party and when this was detected by the Korean Provisional Government he was forced to resign his post as prime minister.

During this period, Yi was engaged in independence activities in Manchuria and Jiandao (Kor. Kando) as well as in other regions. Late in 1920 the Japanese army drove the independence forcs of Yi from the Jiandao area and they retreated to Siberia, where Yi eventually died in 1935. Yi is remembered as the leader of the communist movement within the Korean independence forces and for helping strengthen this ideology among Koreans. Moreover, Yi brought the Korean cause to the international stage and secured the aid of the Soviet Union, at least financially, for the Korean revolutionary cause.

Bibliography


Yi Tongin (?-1881)

Yi Tongin most likely came from Samsŏng hermitage at T'ongdo temple in South...
Kyongsang Province, near Pusan. He was a Buddhist monk who became a central figure in the Kaehwap’a (Enlightenment Party) which developed in the late 1870’s around nascent political luminaries such as Kim Okkyun, Sŏ Chaep’il (Dr Philip Jaisohn), and Pak Yonghyo. The intellectual centre of the group seems to have been a doctor of Chinese medicine, Yu Honggi (styled Taech’i), who was an exponent of Buddhism and an advocate of modern, scientific learning, and it was probably he who introduced Yi to the other members. Although Yi’s involvement lasted only three years, he had a marked influence on both the Kaehwap’a and the tumultuous final years of the Choson dynasty.

In the aftermath of the military/naval actions by France (1866) and America (1871) on Korean soil, the conservative faction of the royal court instituted a strict policy of national isolation, but in 1876 Japan compelled Korea to sign the Treaty of Kanghwa which stipulated that Korean ports be opened to Japanese trade. In short order Japanese residents came to Korea, and while they lived within their own enclaves, the conservative policies of the Korean government no longer could be enforced so easily.

Okumura Enshin, a Japanese Buddhist monk and missionary of the Jodo Shinsū (True Pure Land Sect) Higashi Honganji (Eastern Temple of the True Vow) arrived in Pusan in 1877 where he quickly established a branch temple. He attracted considerable attention from Korean monks and lay-believers alike, and in mid-1878 Yi came to the Honganji headquarters in Pusan. He visited sporadically over the next several months, and the diary which Enshin kept suggests that Yi was intelligent and concerned with both Korea’s fate and that of Korean Buddhism. In December 1878, Yi spent four days with Enshin, two of which were spent in discussing the 'national protection' of Korea and the 'promotion of Buddhism'. The two men also exchanged gifts, and Yi was allowed on board a Japanese battleship.

Yi subsequently went to Seoul where he encountered the other members of the Kaehwap’a. Sŏ’s biography records that Yi was well-spoken and that he gave the impression of being extremely learned. He had a copy of a Japanese text on world history, the Bankoku shiki, which especially caught Kim Okkyun’s attention.

Sensing the opportunities which Yi could provide, Kim Okkyun supported him with funds, and some two months later Yi returned to Pongwŏn temple with photographs and many Japanese books on physics, chemistry, geography and history. They met at the temple to study these 'heretical' texts in secret, and later, for fear of being discovered, they moved to another temple. Nevertheless, it was the time at Pongwŏn temple which Sŏ Chaep’il regarded most highly; "The monk Yi Tongin read us those books and brought us those thoughts. The days spent at Pongwŏn temple were indeed the 'nursery' of the Kaehwap’a."

In August 1879 Enshin returned to Pusan and found Yi waiting with four round bars of gold given to him by Pak Yonghyo. With Enshin’s help he arrived about one month later at the main temple of the Higashi Honganji in Kyoto where he devoted himself to studying Buddhism and Japanese. Several months later, in 1880, he became a Shinshū monk.

In mid-1880 Yi went to Tokyo, where he continued his study of Japanese and forwarded a wide variety of books and materials to Kim through Enshin. At this time he was introduced to Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), the prominent intellectual who championed Japan’s modernization during the Meiji period, and spent time at Fukuzawa’s private academy, the Keitō Gijuku. He also attended the Kōa-kai (Asia Development Meeting) in which means of Asian resistance to the Western Powers were discussed, and thereby met a wide variety of people who had influence in Korean political and economic affairs. Through these contacts he learned much about the political situations of Japan, Korea, and the rest of the world.

In August 1880 Yi’s life reached a turning-point, when he was introduced to Kim Hongjip,
the second Korean Diplomatic Envoy to Japan. Yi came to meet Kim wearing Japanese
clothes, and speaking at length in both Japanese and Korean, he gave detailed analyses of
Japanese, Korean, and world affairs which surprised Kim with their precision and insight.
Kim was under the impression that Yi was a Japanese, and it is said that upon learning that
Yi was indeed Korean, that he was friends with Kim Okkyun and Pak Yonghyo, and had
secretly left Korea to study in Japan, Kim nearly wept as he took Yi's hand and
roared, "Korea still has such a fine man!"

After one year in Japan, Yi returned to Korea in September 1880 where he was quickly
introduced by Kim Hongjip to the queen's nephew, Min Yongik, who was so impressed
that he invited him to stay at his home. Yi was also given an audience with King Kojong,
and upon the urgings of Kim Okkyun and Pak Yonghyo, the king decided to despatch Yi to
Japan as a 'secret envoy'.

Out of fear of the conservative faction, all arrangements were made secretly by Enshin from
his newly-built temple in Wonsan. He secured Yi's passage on a Japanese warship, and Yi
embarked on 4 November 1880, a little over a month since he had returned from Japan. He
stayed in Japan just over a month, and it seems that the purpose of his visit was to meet
with the Chinese Diplomatic Minister residing in Japan and to begin preliminary talks related
to a treaty between Korea and America.

He returned to Korea on 18 December and with money borrowed from the Honganji, he
sent ceramics, textiles, and other new-style, industrially-manufactured products to the
imperial household. He was also arrested by a local magistrate on the plea of the
conservative faction, but Yu Taech'i quickly came to his aid and the two arrived in Seoul at
the beginning of January 1881.

Based on his consultations in Japan, Yi completed a draft which became the basis for the
Corean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce which was later signed in 1882. He was
also immediately appointed to the Pyolsogun'gwan, a military office of elite soldiers, and in
this capacity he was shortly thereafter made an adviser in King Kojong's newly-establishedT'ongni kimu amun (Office for the Management of State Affairs).

Yi's position in the military office gave him direct access to the king who was planning the
Shinsa yuram tan (Gentlemen's Sightseeing Mission) which was to leave in April 1881 for
an inspection of modern Japanese institutions. Although the plans surrounding the mission
were made in secret, it is clear that sometime in early to mid-February the king ordered Yi to
lead the group and to make the relevant preparations. Furthermore, he charged Yi with
carrying-out a secret mission during the trip: to purchase guns including artillery pieces, and
warships with public bonds to be issued in Japan by the Korean government.

It seems that Yi was given full authority over these matters, and on 20 February he met the
Japanese minister Hanabusa and reaffirmed his plans. A Japanese Consul document dated
21 February stated that, 'Yi Tongin, seven other gentlemen, and a retinue of thirty-five
servants left [Seoul]'. The document was well wide of the mark.

That same evening Yi appeared at the Japanese Consul and said that, as he had some last
minute business to finish in Seoul, he would leave the following day and meet the other
seven gentlemen in Pusan. Their wait was pointless, however, Yi simply vanished without
trace.

Based on Japanese records, it is known that Yi disappeared sometime between 21 February
and 15 March 1881. Judging by a photograph taken early in 1881, we can guess that he
was then in his thirties. It is assumed he was assassinated, and although there are many
theories, none of them is any more credible than the other.
Nevertheless, the connections which Yi created between the Kaehwap’a, the Higashi Honganji, and Fukuzawa Yukichi proved durable and remained intact for some nineteen years. With Fukuzawa’s assistance, Kim laid the basis for the attempt at overthrowing the government in 1884 (Kapsihn chŏngbyŏn), and during his subsequent decade-long exile in Japan, he was given considerable help by Fukuzawa. Pak Yonghyo, who underwent several political exiles to Japan, was cared for until 1897 by Okumura Ioko, a Honganji nun, missionary and political activist, who was the younger sister of Enshin.

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Yi Tŏngmu (1741-1793)

Yi Tŏngmu was a shirhak (Practical Learning) scholar of late Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his courtesy name was Mugwan and his many pen names included Hyŏngam, Ajŏng, Ch’ŏnghanggwan, Yŏngch’ŏ and Tongbang ilsa. Since Yi was the son of a concubine, he was not able to secure a good position in Chosŏn officialdom despite his erudite scholarship. He was educated mainly at home and displayed unusual talent in his boyhood. By the age of six he could compose prose in classical Chinese and from his early twenties his poetry, along with the work of Pak Chega (1750-1805), Yu Tükkong (1749-?) and Yi Sŏgu (1754-1825), was published in Kŏnyŏn chip, which resulted in him gaining widespread fame as a poet. In addition, he was closely associated with the School of Northern Learning and the scholars Pak Chega, Yu Tükkong, Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805) and Hong Taeyong (1731-1783) et al. However, in his opinions on economic reform, his views differed from School of Northern Learning opinion. He favoured more philosophical inquiry into reform rather than a desire to hasten reform. Thus, he continued his research into the Chinese classics, thereby seeking a solution to the needed economic reform for Korea.

In 1779 Yi, along with Pak Chega, Yu Tükkong and others, was appointed to an official position in the Kyujanggak Library by King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). For fourteen years he conducted research in this position and became well acquainted with many of the scholars of Chosŏn. Additionally, he worked on the compilation of numerous works while at the Kyujanggak Library including Kukcho pogam (Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns), Kyujanggak chi (Record of the Kyujanggak) and Hongmun’gwon chi (Record of the Office of the Special Counselors) among many others. Yi continued to be active in his scholarship up until his death in 1793 and had a major influence on the development of the shirhak thought of his day. His extant literary works are numerous and include Kwandok ilgi, Yŏngch’ŏ shigo (Poetry Collection of Yŏngch’ŏ) and Yŏngch’ŏ mun’go (Literary Works of Yŏngch’ŏ).

Yi Ŭn (1897-1970)

Yi Ŭn was a member of the Chosŏn royal family and the last crown prince of the Great Han Empire (1897-1910). He is of the Chŏnju Yi family and was the seventh son of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and the half brother of King Sunjong (r. 1907-1910). He is also called by the titles of King Yŏngch’in and King Yong. In 1900 he was given the title of Yŏngwang and in 1907 was enfeoffed as crown prince. In the same year he was taken hostage to Japan, with the Japanese pretending to the Koreans that he was there to study at the behest of the Resident General Ito Hirobumi. With the loss of sovereignty to Japan in
1910 and Sunjong’s dethronement, Yi became the de facto king of Korea. In 1920 under the Japanese plan to assimilate the Chosón royal family into the Japanese one, Yi married the youngest daughter of Nishimoto, Masako. When his elder half-brother Sunjong died in 1926, Yi formally became the king of Chosón and thus he was taken to Japan and not allowed to return to Korea. While in Japan Yi received a Japanese education and attended the Japanese Military Academy.

After liberation in 1945 Yi desired to returned to Korea, but faced with the Korean political situation and diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan he was not able to do so. On one hand, Yi was viewed as a member of the defeated royal family of Japan by Koreans, and on the other he was seen as a Korean-Japanese by the Japanese and thereby subjected to hardship in Japan. In 1965 with the normalisation of Korea-Japan relations, Yi was able to return to Korea. However, he suffered a cerebral thrombosis and lost the ability to speak. He died in 1970 and his wife, who had the Korean name of Yi Pangja, died in 1989. The couple is buried together in Migûk City of Kyonggi Province.

Yi Wanyong (1858-1926)

Yi Wanyong was a government official, pro-Japanese politician and traitor to Korea of late Chosón. His family’s ancestral home is in Ubong, his courtesy name was Kyôngdôk and his pen name was Ilang. He was born in Kwangju City of Kyonggi Province. In 1882 he successfully sat for the Augmented Examination (chunggwan pyølsï) and held various official positions such as Sixth Counsellor (such’an) at the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan) and Legal Secretary (kômsang) of the State Council. In 1886 he entered an academy to study English and received a Western-style education. Following this, in 1887, he accompanied Pak Chôngyang, an envoy, to the United States and after he returned to Korea in the following year held a succession of official positions such as Sixth Royal Secretary (tongbusingjï) of the Royal Secretariat and Third Minister (ch’amûi) of the Board of Personnel (Ijo). He again travelled to the United States at the end of 1888 and was appointed as charge d’affaires of the Chosón legation before his return to Korea in 1890. Back in Korea, Yi continued his rise through the Chosôn officialdom holding such positions as Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of Punishment (Ijo). At this time Yi struck a deal with the Japanese Resident General Ito Hirobumi and with the treaty-making powers that he had concluded the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Ulsa poho choyak) that in essence ceded the sovereign power of Korea to Japan in matters of foreign affairs. For this traitorous act, Yi is remembered as one of the ‘Five Traitors’ (ulsâ ojôk). However, Yi was to commit an even greater crime against Korea as he continued to rise in the pro-Japanese government of this period. By 1907, he had assumed responsibilities as Prime Minister of the Greater Han Empire, and was in office when King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) fled to the Russian legation. Russia’s influence in Korea, however, did not last long and after being defeated by Japan in the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War, disappeared altogether. Nonetheless, Yi continued to hold powerful positions and in 1905 was appointed Minister (taeshin) of the Ministry of Education (Hakpu). At this time Yi struck a deal with the Japanese Resident General Ito Hirobumi and with the treaty-making powers that he had concluded the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Ulso pohochoyak) that in essence ceded the sovereign power of Korea to Japan in matters of foreign affairs. For this traitorous act, Yi is remembered as one of the ‘Five Traitors’ (Ulso ojôk). However, Yi was to commit an even greater crime against Korea as he continued to rise in the pro-Japanese government of this period. By 1907, he had assumed responsibilities as Prime Minister of the Greater Han Empire, and was in office when King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) abdicated the throne to his son Sunjong (r. 1907-1910). Japan continued to solidify her position in Korea and with the appointment of General Terauchi Masatake as Resident General in 1910, her intent to annex Korea was patently clear. Yi had long been the target for the outrage of the Korean nationalists, with his house razed by an enraged mob after the abdication by Kojong and the attempted assassination of Yi Chaemyông in December 1909. Yet, through Korean eyes, no punishment could suffice his betrayal of the Korean nation when he signed the annexation agreement in 1910. Yi is by far
one of the most despised traitors in the history of the Korean nation for his action in the selling out of Korea to Japan. His only concern in signing the treaty was to protect the positions of the royal household and his fellow conspirators, and this is the legacy he has left to subsequent generations of Koreans.

Yi Yangha (1904-1963)

Yi Yangha was a scholar of the English language and an essayist. He was born in South P'yŏngan Province and in 1923 graduated from P'yŏngyang High School. He then travelled to Japan for further study and eventually graduated from the English Literature Department of Tokyo Imperial University in 1930. He then attended graduate school in Japan before returning to Korea and taking-up a position as lecturer at Yŏnhŭi College in 1934. From 1942 he was appointed as professor in the Literature Department of the same where he also published various papers on English literature. In 1945 he took a position as professor at Kyŏngsŏng University and in 1950 was appointed as professor at the College of Arts and Sciences of Seoul National University. In 1951 he travelled to the United States for research at Harvard University and in 1953 collaborated with Samuel Martin of Yale University to publish Hanmi sājŏn (Korean-American Dictionary). After returning to Korea, he was appointed as acting Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Seoul National University in 1958.

Yi’s writings are varied and range from those that display his creative talents to translations and academic works. His essay collections, Yi Yangha sup’il chip (Essay Collection of Yi Yangha, 1947) and Namu (Tree, 1964), reveal the range of his writings and creative genius. The former work in particular is considered as one of the most important in the history of the modern essay in Korea. Yi was also a prolific translator and thus introduced many English titles to Korean audiences.

Yi Yongik (1854-1907)

Yi Yongik was a politician of the late Chosŏn and Han periods. He was born in Myŏngch’ŏn of North Hamgyŏng Province. Since he was the son of a commoner he educated as only in the local sŏdang (village school). Yi left home and worked as a peddler and through his hard work was able to accumulate an amount of capital, which he invested in a gold mining operation that made him quite wealthy. At the time of the outbreak of the Military Mutiny of 1882 (Imo kullan), Yi was entrusted with secretly contacting members of the Min family (the relatives of Queen Min (1851-1895)), who were the objects of the mutiny. With the recommendation of Min Yongik he met King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and thus began his rise in Chosŏn politics. By 1897 he was selected as High Minister (kyŏng) of the Crown Property Office (Naejang’wŏn). In this position Yi was charged with managing the royal family’s ginseng fields and mines, and through his effective administration the royal family’s wealth was increased. Yi also was head of the Mint (Chŏnhwan’guk), but in the end his efforts to create a new coinage and monetary reform failed.

Yi’s humble birth had denied him the traditional Confucian education and this left him unacquainted with the workings of the political sphere. However, he was honest and sagacious; qualities which helped him to succeed in politics. Yi was in the vanguard of the modernisation efforts of this age, and he became the head the government agency charged with the construction of the Seoul-Ŭiju railway. He also contributed to the reforms in the operation of the royal household and palace. Other innovations that Yi was responsible for include the establishment of local enterprise offices in the provinces and the foundation of a munitions factory. Moreover, in 1898 he introduced a modern lithographic printing press to the government for printing stamps. In short, Yi was a visionary who tried to implement a wide range of innovations to the floundering Korean State.
Yi was associated with the pro-Russia anti-Japan political faction of the Han government. With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Yi was seized by the Japanese and taken to Japan and forced to proclaim an appeasement line. He returned to Korea in 1905 to oversee the construction and operation of the various railways in Korea, now controlled by Japan. While in Japan Yi had been exposed to a modern and advanced culture, which he desired this for his own country. One result of this was his establishment of the Posong School in Seoul, which he hoped would help bring about the enlightenment of his countrymen. However, with the signing of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Ulsa poho choyak), which enabled Japan to effectively wrest Korea's sovereignty from her, Yi fled his homeland. He wandered to Europe and back to Asia while continually working for the salvation of the nation. He never returned to Korea and died in Vladivostok in 1907.

Yijo hugi üi sahoe wa yŏn'gu (A Study of Society in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty)

Yijo hugi üi sahoe wa yŏn'gu is a 412-page work written by Han Ugûn and published in the sixteenth volume of Han'guk munhwa ch'ongsŏ (Korean Culture Series) in 1961. This work centres on the ideology of the early eighteenth century scholar Yi Ik (1681-1763) against the backdrop of his age. The contents are a series of previously published theses that address the social economy of Chosŏn, the ideology of Yi Ik, the impact and repercussions of the introduction of Catholicism into Korea, the shirhak (practical learning) ideology and a study of the ideology of Yu Hyŏngwŏn (1622-1673). This work provides a thorough explanation of the ideology and resultant social conditions that dominated the late Chosŏn period.

Yijo kon'guk üi yŏn'gu (A Study of the Foundation of the Chosŏn Dynasty)

Yijo kon'guk üi yŏn'gu is a 240-page work that was written by Yi Sangbaek and was published in 1949 by Eul Yoo Publishing Company. The contents are divided into six chapters and nineteen separate headings. Many aspects of the fall of Koryŏ and the rise of Chosŏn are covered by the author such as the role of political strife in Koryŏ, the part of land reform in the fall of Koryŏ and the actions of Yi Sŏnggye's political faction at the end of the Koryŏ period. Particularly notable among the contentions of the author is that the land reform at the end of the Koryŏ period provided the most important basis for the foundation of Chosŏn.

Yŏ Unhyŏng (1886-1947)

Yŏ Unhyŏng was a politician and independence fighter of colonial Korea. His family's ancestral home is in Hamyang, his childhood name was Mongyang and he was born in Yangp'yŏng of Kyŏnggi Province. Yŏ was married at the age of fourteen but his wife died just four years later. After her death he was remarried to a daughter of the Chin family. When he was fifteen he entered the Paejae Academy and after one year transferred to the private Hŭngwa School, and again in 1903 transferred to the public Uch’e School. However, one month before his scheduled graduation he stopped attending school. In 1907 he studied the Bible and became a Christian, and in the following year became acquainted with the American missionary C.A. Clark. It was with Clark's assistance that Yŏ was able to establish the Christian Kwangdong School in 1909. Yŏ continued his studies and entered the P'yŏngyang Presbyterian Theology School in 1911, but he did not complete his studies once again and withdrew from school. In 1914 he travelled to Nanjing China where he entered Jinling University and took a major in English literature. However, as had become common for Yŏ he transferred to another school in Shanghai in 1917 and then for the most part stopped attending school. In 1918 he rallied his fellow Koreans in Shanghai and formed the People's Party (Min Tang) and began to make preparations to join the movement to regain Korea's sovereignty. With the formation of the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min'guk Imshi
Chōngbu) in Shanghai in March 1919, Yō entered the next stage of his political life as he was appointed to this government as a representative. Yō was also active in other political bodies and joined the Soviet Communist Party in 1920 and attended a large conference organised by this body in Moscow in the following year. He likewise organised the Korea-China Mutual Aid Society (Han-Chung Hojo Sa) and in 1922 he planned and co-ordinated the Labour-Military Conference (Nobyŏng Hoe). In 1924 he joined the Chinese Citizen’s Party (Chungguk Kungmin Tang) and to further the Korean independence movement he conducted guerrilla activities as a member of the Southern Region Revolutionary Army (Nambang Hyŏngmyŏng Army). Due to his activities against British colonial policy in China he was arrested by the British and conscripted in their army in 1929, and was finally discharged in 1932. The following year he took office as president of the Chosŏn Chungang Ilbo Sa, which published the Chosŏn chungang ilbo newspaper, and carried out his anti-Japanese activities through the newspaper. However, in 1936 the Japanese government closed the newspaper. In the final years of the colonial period, Yō helped form two organisations that sought to make preparations for Korea’s impending independence. In September 1944 the Chosŏn Foundation Alliance (Chosŏn Kŏn’guk Tongmaeng) was founded and in October the Farmer’s League (Nogmin Tongmaeng) was established.

After liberation in 1945 he helped found the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (Chosŏn Kŏn’guk Chunbi Wiwon) and served as its leader. Yō felt it was necessary to form an alliance of political groups of all ideologies. However, the political groups from the right withdrew from this organisation and thus in September of the same year the group was renamed as the Korean People’s Republic (Chosŏn Inmin Konghwaguk) that was composed almost entirely of left-wing elements. Yō served as vice-president of this organisation which was in actuality an opposition group to the Korean Provisional Government in China. Whether Yō was actually a communist in his ideological beliefs is a matter subject to much controversy. What is known is that he was an ardent nationalist and strongly opposed the Japanese occupation of Korea. Moreover, after liberation he sought a politically unified Korean State that was independent of foreign interference. Thus he not only sought unity from the Left, but also with those figures on the Right. In the end he was not fully accepted by either group as the communists did not consider him to be devoted to their cause and those on the Right, including the Americans, did not trust him due to his contacts with the Soviets and communists. Thus, although Yō was very influential immediately after liberation, he could not solidify a power base that would enable him to construct a lasting power base.

Despite being a controversial figure, Yō’s allegiance was sought after by both the communists and those on the Right. The reason for this is that he represented the non-communist left that included many supporters. The American leaders, including General Hodge who was at the top of the American Military Government, exerted much effort to gain the support of Yō and Kim Kyushik (1881-1950), who represented the moderate Right. However, in the end it was the hard line approach of Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman) that won the support of the people and the American government. Yō’s political career and life came to an end on July 19, 1947 when an assassin shot him.

Bibliography


Yŏch’ŏn

Yŏch’ŏn is situated in the southeastern part of South Chŏlla Province. The city is surrounded by Yŏsu to the east, Yŏch’ŏn County to the west, Yŏsu Bay to the south and Kwangyang Bay on the north. Comprised of a strip of land at the end of the Yŏsu Peninsula together with Myo Island and several smaller islands, Yŏch’ŏn has a total area of 106 sq. kms. and a population of 63 055 (1989 statistics). Mt. Yŏngch’w’i (510m) rises in
central Yŏch’ŏn and Mt. Horang (460m) stands on the border with Yŏsu. The area’s transportation links include both roads and rail. In 1936, the Cholla Line between Iksan and Yŏsu was opened, followed by the Yŏch’ŏn Line in 1969.

Rice and barley are grown in the level areas on the western side of the city, while other grains and sweet potato are cultivated on the higher elevations. Fishing is another important source of income for local residents. Commercial boats operating in the warm waters off the coast bring in catches of grey mullet, gizzard shad, eels, sea bream, anchovy and octopus. Edible seaweed (laver) is also gathered on the shoreline. The area was formerly Korea’s leading producer of cockles (Tegillarca granosa), but this has declined as a result of industrial pollution. In 1966, the Yŏch’ŏn Petro Chemical Industrial Complex was set up here. The complex is home to a number of large factories, including Honam Oil Refinery, Taesŏng Methanol and Namhae Chemicals.

Tourists are attracted by Shindŏk Beach in Shindŏk-dong and the area’s historical sites. Historically, Hungguk Temple in the centre of the city is the area’s most important Buddhist temple. An arched stone bridge (Treasure No. 563) can be seen, as well as a pagoda commemorating Grand Master Pŏpsu, and a Buddhist scroll painting (South Cholla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 26). Within the Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 396), there is an old altar painting (Treasure No. 578).

In Ungch’ŏn-dong stands Och’ungsaa, a shrine commemorating Chŏng Ch’ol, Chŏng Ch’un, Chŏng Taeyŏng and Chŏng Rin. These four members of the Chŏng clan fought valiantly under Yi Sunshin against the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). In Shijŏn-dong, not far from the shrine, lies Sŏnso Village, another famous site associated with Yi Sunshin. This village is where Yi constructed his kŏbuksŏn (turtle ships) which aided the defeat of a Japanese armada. Yi’s cavalrymen trained on Mt. Mangma (142m) behind the village. In order to preserve this important historical area, Mt. Mangma has been made into a park.

Yŏch’ŏn County

Situated in the southeastern corner of South Cholla Province, Yŏch’ŏn County comprises the town of Tolsan, and the townships of Nam, Samsan, Sora, Yulch’ŏn, Hwayang and Hwajŏng. With a total area of 344 square kilometres, the county consists of a narrow strip of land on the western side of the Yŏsu Peninsula, Tolsan Island, 45 other inhabited islands and 166 uninhabited islands. Highway 17 connects the mainland portion of the county with Sunch’ŏn to the north and Yŏch’ŏn, Yŏsu and Tolsan Island to the south. The warm currents of the southern coast provide the region with a clement weather pattern. The average yearly temperature is 13.6°C and the average annual rainfall is 185mm. As of 1989, the population was 79,802.

With a number of level areas, including the Sora Plain on the Yŏsu Peninsula, the county is able to produce large quantities of rice. Other crops grown are barley, wheat, bean and sweet potato. Fishing plays a vital role in the local economy. Boats operating in waters off the coast bring in catches of anchovy, filefish, eel, yellow corbina, hairtail, flatfish and gizzard shad. Laver is also produced here. Since the early 1970s, oyster farming has burgeoned, transforming hamlets such as Kŭmch’ŏn into some of the most prosperous villages in the province. The county now has over 1000 hectares of oyster farms, making it, along with Ch’ungmu, the leading oyster producing area in Korea. Most of the oysters grown here are exported to Europe and Japan.

With its numerous islands and picturesque scenery, the county attracts large numbers of tourists, especially during the summer months. Popular beaches include Pangiukp’o on the east side of Tolsan Island, Ando on An Island, Yurim on Sŏ Island and Sado on Sa Island. Opened to the public in 1987, Sado Beach is known for its magnificent views and its clear
water. Tourists flock to the beach during the ebb tides around the 2nd and 15th of each lunar month to see the 'miracle of Moses.' At this time, a sand bar is exposed, forming a link between five islands.

Visitors also come to see the area’s temples and historical sites. At the base of spectacular rocky bluffs in Tolsan’s Kunnae Village, can be seen Unjok Hermitage. This small monastery is said to have been founded by Chinul (National Master Pojo) in 1172. Within walking distance of the temple lies Tolsan Hyanggyo, an old Confucian school established in 1897. There are also numerous sites in the area associated with the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). In Tolsan’s P’yongsa Village there is a stele commemorating the 1598 Musulmok Battle, during which Yi Sunshin’s forces routed a force of invading Japanese.

**Yöju County**

Situated in southeastern Kyŏnggi Province, Yöju County is comprised of the town of Yöju and the townships of Kangam, Kangch’ŏn, Kūmsa, Nüngsŏ, Taeshin, Pungnae, Sanbuk, Chŏmdong and Hŭngch’ŏn. Low mountains run along the county’s eastern border, while Mt. Ogap (609m) rises in the south and Mt. Yangji and there are other high peaks in the northwest. The county primarily consists of low hills and plains, while the Namhan River flows through the county from the southeast to the northwest.

Most of the local population is employed in agriculture. Rice is the leading crop, but other grains and beans are also common here. In the area around the Namhan River, there are commercial sand and gravel operations, and pottery clay is also excavated. Numerous factories near Mt. Ssari in Pungnae Township use this clay to make pottery and ceramics. Taking advantage of the county’s close proximity to Seoul and Inch’ŏn, a large number of manufacturing and export businesses have been set up here, especially in the town of Yöju.

Tourists come to the area to see the various temples and historical sites. Excavations in Chŏmdong Township’s Hŭnam Village have unearthed prehistorical settlements. Carbonised grains found here suggest that agriculture was practiced in Korea as early as the 7th century B.C.E. Early relics from the historical period include numerous old tombs in the townships of Taeshin and Nüngsŏ, and P’asa Fortress, which was built in 1592 in Taeshin Township’s Ch’ŏnsŏ Village.

There are several important Buddhist sites in the area. Kodal Temple, in Pungnae Township’s Sanggyo Village, was founded in 764. Although the temple is no longer extant, artefacts at the site attest to the monastery’s former brilliance. The temple’s exquisitely carved, 3.4-metre high stupa (National Treasure No. 4) is from the Koryŏ period. Other artefacts found here include a stone lantern (Treasure No. 281) with a pair of lions at the base, a 1.57-metre high statue pedestal, the stupa of Grand Master Wonjong (869-958) and a Koryŏ stele holder with a tortoise base (Treasure No. 6). Grand Master Wŏnjong’s stele, erected here in 975, is now housed in Kyŏngbuk Palace. Situated on the bank of the Namhan River in Pungnae Township, Shilluk Temple is another famous Buddhist site in the area, housing a large number of artefacts.

Other historical sites include the Tanjongŏ Well in Taeshin Township’s Sanggu Village. Legend has it that this is a natural spring created by the forces of Heaven. The well gets its name from Tanjong who purportedly stopped by the spring in 1456 to quench his thirst on his way to banishment in Yŏngwŏl. There are also a couple of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Yöju Hyanggyo (county public school) founded in the early Chosŏn period and Maesan Sŏwŏn (private academy) in Nüngsŏ Township’s Pŏndo Village.

As for modern education institutes, Yöju Self-Management High School has been especially founded here to provide practical training in the newest farming technology. Students, recruited from Kyŏnggi and other provinces, receive government subsidies for both tuition
and accommodation fees.

Yōkch'am [Communications; Tourism]

Yōlban Sect [Buddhism]

Yōllyōshil kisul (Narratives of Yōllyōshil)

Yōllyōshil kisul is an unofficial history written by Yi Kūngik (1736-1806), styled Yōllyō. This is a hand written work and there are many versions presently extant. However, the original version has not been transmitted to the present time. Moreover, of the many extant versions of this work the content is quite varied due to the author’s leaving blank spaces in the manuscript for the reader to fill in with personal comments or observations. Two works presently extant that appear to be the closest to the original are the one that was published by the Chosŏn Koso Kanhaenghoe in 1913 and the other by the Kwangmunhoe of Ch’oe Namsŏn in 1911. The former consists of thirty-three volumes covering the period of King T’aejo (1392-1398) to King Hyŏnjong (1659-1674) with a seven volume supplement that covered the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) and a nineteen volume appendix, for a total of fifty-nine volumes. The latter collection contains twenty-four volumes covering the period from King T’aejo to King Injo (r. 1623-1649) with a ten volume appendix. Therefore the later work does not cover the period from the reign of King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659) to the reign of Sukchong.

The contents of this work are manifold and cover a wide spectrum of affairs during the Chosŏn period. Some of the items recorded include the founding of Chosŏn, religious rites, the ideology of subservience to China (sadae), governmental structure and organizations, religions, literature, astronomy and geography among other topics. This work is therefore very useful in understanding the politics, society and culture of the Chosŏn period.

Yōllyōshil kisul provides a wealth of data and is considered to be one of the best models of an unofficial history of the Chosŏn period. As an unofficial history, the work includes many elements that are not present in the official histories of Chosŏn such as the Chosŏn wangjo shillok (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty). In 1934 this work was published as Chosŏn yasa chŏnjip (Complete Unofficial History of the Chosŏn Dynasty) by Kyeyu Ch’ulp’ansa Publishers in han’gul, and again published in the Korean script in 1966 by Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe in the twelfth volume of Kojŏn kugyŏk ch’ongsŏ.

Yŏm Sangsŏp (1897-1963)

Yŏm Sangsŏp is best known for his writings of the colonial period, which attempted to depict the reality of colonial society. He was born in Seoul, the third son of eight children of a distinguished family: his grandfather had been a member of the Privy Council, and his father a county magistrate. He learned classical Chinese from his grandfather before briefly entering the Elementary School attached to the National College of Education in 1907. He graduated from Posŏng Elementary and Middle School before going to Japan in 1912. After drifting through many schools as he struggled to pay his tuition fees, Yŏm finally settled at the Second Kyoto Prefecture Middle School. Upon graduation in 1917 he entered Keio University Art department.

Yŏm was in Osaka in 1919 at the time of the March First Independence Movement demonstrations. He was arrested and spent three months in prison. The following year, he returned to Korea and worked initially as a political reporter for the Tonga ilbo newspaper, followed by spells of teaching and writing for various journals. In 1921 he published the short story "The Frog in the Specimen Room" (Pyobonshil <ui ch’ŏng kaeguri), which
launched his literary career. From 1925 to 1936, apart from a short interlude spent in Japan, Yŏm worked first for the Shidae ilbo newspaper and then as head of the arts section of the Chosŏn ilbo. During this period, when he began writing novels, he married Kim Yŏngok, who gave birth to their first son and daughter. In 1936 the family moved to Manchuria, where Yŏm took up the post of chief editor of the Mansŏn ilbo. He left this post after a clash with his Japanese managing editor but remained in Manchuria until Liberation. Upon his return to Seoul Yŏm dedicated himself to the rebirth of his country's literature and to the anti-communist movement, volunteering to fight in the navy during the Korean War. In his twilight years he continued to write, receiving countless literary awards including the Culture Medal from the President before his death from cancer in 1963.

'The Frog in the Specimen Room' is considered a landmark in early modern Korean fiction. However, it is an immature work by Yŏm's standards and reveals much European literary influence. From a cursory reading it would be hard to tell that the story is set in Korea, as it concentrates on the angst of a young intellectual. Just two years later Yŏm wrote 'Before the March First Movement' (Manse chon), which is acclaimed for its realistic portrayal of Korean society prior to the huge independence demonstrations. The narrator, a young student in Japan, receives a telegram informing him that his wife is seriously ill back home in Korea. He travels back through the Korean peninsula describing the scene as he himself is awakened to the situation in his home country. Yŏm's masterpiece, however, is the long novel Samdae (Three Generations, 1931). This represents contemporary Korean society by the three generations of one family: the grandfather, a Confucian patriarch who bought yangban status during the old Chosŏn period; his spoilt and incapable son, exposed to Western learning during the enlightenment period but unable and unwilling to do anything concrete with it; and the grandson, born during the colonial period with the responsibility for bridging the gap between his father and grandfather, and solving the problems they left him. This novel is acclaimed by some critics as Korea's greatest literary achievement of the colonial period.

Janet Poole

Yŏn Kaesomun

Yŏn'gi County

Yŏn'gi County, situated in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, is comprised of the town of Choch'iwŏn and the townships of Kŭmnam, Nam, Sŏ, Chŏndong and Chŏnŭi. The county has an area of 356.41 sq. kms and (1989 statistics) a population of 88,489. Mt. Unju (459m), Mt. Kumsŏng (424m) and other peaks of the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range run through the northern part of the county, while the Kŭmgang River flows through the south. Because of its inland location, the county experiences sharp fluctuations between summer and winter temperatures, with an average yearly temperature of 11.7c. and an annual rainfall of 1,193m.m.

About thirty per cent of the county is arable land. Rice paddies occupy almost 7,000 hectares. Many different dry-field crops are cultivated, for example, in close proximity to Taejŏn to the south, Ch'ŏn'an to the north, Kongju to the west and Ch'ŏngju to the east, cucumber, tomato, red pepper, scallion, peach and strawberry are harvested for regional markets. With acidic soil and abundant sunshine, over 800 orchards are established, which produce more than twenty-five per cent of the province's entire peach crop. Cotton and sericulture were once important, but these have been eclipsed by vegetable farming.

Located on the ancient border between the Paekche and Shilla kingdoms, Yŏn'gi is where Paekche fought its last battles against Shilla. As a result, over thirty stone fortifications can be found scattered throughout the area. The county also contains numerous Buddhist sites.
In Chŏn’ŭi Township is Piam Temple. According to one source, this was built by Hyeomyŏng during the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681) for Paekche refugees who lost their friends and families during the bitter war against Shilla, whereas another source claims that the temple was founded much later by Tosŏn (827-898). In its grounds stands a three-metre-high pagoda. In 1960, a forty-three centimetre-high Amitabha triad was discovered within the top of the structure. Designated National Treasure No. 106, this exquisitely detailed carving is now to be seen in the National Museum of Korea.

In addition to Buddhist sites, the county contains several Confucian schools. Both Yŏn’gi Hyanggyo just west of Highway 1 in Nam Township and Chŏn’ŭi Hyanggyo just north of Highway 1 in Chŏn’ŭi were founded here in 1416. Hapho Sŏwŏn in Tong Township’s Hap Kang Village was first built during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) in honour of the neo-Confucian scholar An Hyang (1243-1306). Rites are held at the Sŏwŏn each year on the 12th day of the 9th lunar month. Modern higher education institutes include Daejon Catholic University in Chŏn’ŭi Township.

**Yŏnam chip** (Collected Works of Yŏnam)

*Yŏnam chip* is the literary collection of Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805). This work, titled after the pen name of Pak, consists of seventeen volumes in six fascicles and was printed with new type after being compiled by Pak Yŏngch’ŏl in 1932. The original edition has not been transmitted to the present time. It contains a wide variety of writings by Pak including official memorials and documents, poetry and short stories. In addition there are writings that expound the ideology of the author including his treatise against the discrimination of the sŏdŏl class (illegitimate sons of yangban) and various other topics. This work is perhaps best known for the inclusion of the author’s satirical works such as *Yangban chŏn* (Story of a Yangban) and *Yedŏk sŏnsaeng chŏn* (The Story of Master Yedŏk) which are highly critical of the hypocritical Chosŏn society based upon the superiority of the yangban ruling class.

*Yŏnam chip* reveals many aspects of Pak who was not only an astute scholar with a keen interest in such Western sciences as astronomy and geography, but also was a social critic who saw the need to reform the stagnant Chosŏn society which excluded many men of talent simply on the basis of their birth. The author’s satirical writings are perhaps his greatest legacy as these continue to be enjoyed by present day audiences.

**Yŏnam sosŏl yŏn’gu** (A Study of Yŏnam’s Novels)

*Yŏnam sosŏl yŏn’gu* is a 795-page work written by Yi Kawŏn and first published by Eul Yoo Publishing Company in 1965. It explores the literature of the late Chosŏn period scholar Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805), styled Yŏnam. The work is divided into sections that cover the personal history of Pak and his ideological background, and literary analyses of Pak’s short stories such as *Yangban chŏn* (The Tale of a Yangban), Hŏsaeng chŏn (The Tale of Mr. Hō), and *Yŏllyŏ Hamyang Pak ssi* (The Virtuous Wife of Mr. Pak of Hamyang). This work is valued for providing insight into one of the greatest literary men of the Chosŏn period. It has subsequently been republished in 1985.

**Yŏnch’ŏn County**

Situated in northern Kyŏnggi Province, Yŏnch’ŏn County is comprised of the towns of Yŏnch’ŏn and Chŏn’gok, and the townships of Kunnam, Misan, Paekhak, Shinŏ, Wangjing, Changnam, Chung and Chŏngsan. The border between North and South Korea cuts through the county from northeast to southwest. Mt. Kodae (832m), Chijang Peak (877m), Mt. Pogae (724m) and other peaks of the Kwangju Mountain Range run along the county’s eastern border, while peaks of the Mashingnyŏng Mountain Range rise along the northwestern border. The Hant’an and Imjin rivers flow across the Ch’ŏrwŏn
lava plateau cutting deep gorges. Located on the Hant’an River near Chŏn’gok Village, Yŏnch’ŏn Hydro-electric Plant was completed in 1985.

About 22 per cent of the county is arable, and the majority of this land is used for rice farming. On the lava plateau in the northeast, ginseng is grown along with apples, pears and peaches. Mines in the area excavate a wide range of minerals, including silica, lime and clay. Although Highway 3 and an adjacent railway line connects the area with Tongduch’ŏn and Seoul, much of the county is not readily accessible. The area’s remote location and the large number of military bases along the DMZ has stifled the development of the area’s industry.

Traditionally, visitors frequented the scenic area around Korangp’o Village in Changnam Township; however, this area is no longer popular as it is located just south of the DMZ. Currently, local tourism is centred around the Hant’an River Resort near Chŏn’gok Village. Designated a resort in 1977, recreational facilities were built here in 1983. The area is popular in the hot summer months, especially in August. Fishing is also common here, and maeunt’ang (a pepperpot soup) made with mandarin fish is the area’s specialty.

There are a number of historical sites in the area. At Chŏn’gok Village, stone hammers and hand-axes from 50 000 to 100 000 years ago have been discovered. Stone graves from the bronze age have also been found here. As for relics from the historical period, there are several ancient tombs, including the tomb of Shilla’s King Kyŏngsun (r. 927-935) in Changnam Township’s Korangp’o Village.

Buddhist sites include a stupa, statue and other artefacts on Mt. Pogae in Shinsŏ Township. Shimwŏn Temple, which was built during the Three Kingdoms period, originally stood here, but was destroyed during the Korean War. At the Obong Temple site in Yŏnch’ŏn’s Komun Village, there is another stupa, which has been designated Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 131. As for Confucian sites, there is Yŏnch’ŏn Hyanggyo (County public school) in Ùmnae Village. Founded in 1407, this school was burnt down in 1950 at the beginning of the Korean War but was rebuilt by local Confucian scholars in 1965.

Yŏndŭnghoe [Agricultural rites; Buddhism]

Yŏngam County

Situated on the coast in South Cholla Province, Yŏngam County includes the town of Yŏngam, and the townships of Kunsŏ, Kŭmjŏng, Tŏkchin, Top’ŏ, Miam, Samho, Sŏho, Shijŏng, Shinbuk and Haksan. The county covers a total area of 501 sq. kms. with a population of 76 842 (1989 statistics). Kuksa Peak (613m) and Mt. Wŏlch’ul (809m) lie along the eastern border and the Yŏngsan River flows along the northwestern border into the Yellow Sea. The county has an average temperature of 13c. and a high annual rainfall averaging 1 539mm. .

In spite of the rugged terrain along the eastern border, 37 per cent (18 220 hectares) of the county is arable land. Of this, about two-thirds grows rice and one-third is devoted to dry-field crops, orchards and several large dairy-farms. Fishing is another important source of local income, and the area is renowned for its octopus and edible seaweed (laver).

Local tourism is centred around Mt. Wŏlch’ul, a spectacular set of granite peaks that rise abruptly from the plains. On the mountain, the Yongch’u, Ch’ilch’i and Hwangch’i waterfalls can be viewed. In order to protect this picturesque area, the mountain has been designated Mt. Wŏlch’ul National Park (See Wŏlch’ul Mountain).

Tourists also come to see the area’s historical sites and relics. There are a few Confucian
schools here, including the beautiful Yongam Hyanggyo and Noktong Sowon just west of Highway 13 in Yongam. Established in 1420, Yongam Hyanggyo was destroyed during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598) before being rebuilt at its present location. In 1918, it was used as a public school. After its destruction by fire, the complex was rebuilt several times. Most of the present buildings date from the 1960s.

Pavilions found in the area include Yongbojöng and Chonyangnu in Tökchin’s Yongbo Village. The latter was first built by Ch’oe Tökchi in 1420 and was last reconstructed in 1970. In Yongam’s Mangho Village, is Yonghosa, a shrine commemorating the Koryô scholar Yi Chehyôn (1287-1367). This small structure is said to have been constructed in 1547.

The area’s unique cultural traditions are perpetuated by a number of celebrations and rituals, which are carried out on a regular basis. On 5 May of each year, the P’unghang Festival is held. At this time, a concert is given for the older residents. The concert honours those who took part in a demonstration for independence on Hyóngje Peak in 1931.

Yongbi och’ôn ka (Songs of flying dragons)

The Yongbi och’ôn ka is the first work of poetry written in han’gül. It was compiled by order of King Sejong in 1445 and is an epic work consisting of 125 sections. The title is derived from the Chinese work Zhou yi, and refers to the two kings, the founder of the Chosôn dynasty King T’aegjo, his successor King T’aegjong and four generations of their grandfathers, Mokcho, Ikcho, Tojo, and Hwanjo. It was jointly written in Chinese by Kwôn Che, Ch'ong Inji and An Chi, and then translated into Korean and annotated by another group of scholars chosen by King Sejong. It was first published in 1447 in ten fascicles in five volumes printed from woodblocks. As a project it was foreshadowed in 1442, according to the Sejong shillok (Veritable records of King Sejong), indicating that its compilation and production probably took some five years to complete.

It is generally accepted that the Yongbi och’ôn ka had a political purpose in that it was intended to inform the people of the divine mandate and the past achievements of the Chosôn dynasty and thus engender their loyalty, and to admonish future kings to fulfil their imperial mission. By using the Korean script, King Sejong no doubt expected to gain a much wider readership for this work. The text comprises 125 sections of two stanzas each, with the exception of the first and the last which are only one. The two stanzas of each section contrast a Chinese historical event with a similar event of the Chosôn dynasty. This form of poetry, known as akchang, is the same as that of the Wörin ch’on’gang chi kok composed by King Sejong.

As the first work written and published in han’gül, the Yongbi och’ôn ka is of paramount importance in the study of the history of the Korean language. It is also regarded as a literary work of excellence, as well as providing valuable source material on the history, geography, government and social institutions of the period.

Several wood-block editions of this work of the early Koryô dynasty are extant, and these are held in the Karan, Ilsa and Kyujanggak collections. They are the Mannyok edition which was published in 1612, the Sunch’i edition published in 1659 (reproduced from the Mannyok edition with many corrections to the text and also held at the Kyujanggak Library of Seoul National University), and the Könnyung edition (the last known wood-block edition, published in 1765). The Könnyung is a reproduction of the Sunch’i pon and many copies of it have survived.

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Yongch‘ang Sogwan

Yongch‘ang Sogwan was a book store and publishing company established in Seoul in 1916 by Kang Uiyong. The company initially published texts on letter-writing and song collections, but its activities soon expanded to include Korean novels as well as translated foreign novels. Focusing on popular works, the company continued to diversify, publishing books on a wide range of subjects. In the 1960s, it moved to Seoul’s Kwanhun-dong. At this new location, its publishing activities were discontinued, and eventually the company went out of business.

Yongch‘in, King (see Yi iin)

Yongch‘on

Situated to the east of Taegu in North Kyongsang Province, Yongch‘on is comprised of the town of Kumho and the townships of Kogyong, Taech‘ang, Pugan, Shinnyong, Imgo, Chayang, Ch‘ongt‘ong, Hwanam, Hwabuk and Hwasan. The southern end of the T‘aebaek Mountain Range runs along the city’s eastern border, while Mt. P‘algon (1 193m) rises to the west, Mt. Ph‘yon (1 124m) and other high peaks are to the north, and Mt. Kuryong (675m) and Mt. Saryong (685m) stand in the south. Chaho Stream, Hoenggye Stream, Kohyong Stream, Shinnyong Stream, Kumho River and Pugan Stream traverse the area. In addition to the large number of reservoirs found throughout the area, there is Yongch‘on Lake in the northwest. The Kyongbu Expressway along with other highways and railway lines link the city with other large cities in the region.

Traditionally, the area’s agriculture was hindered by low rainfall and periodic droughts, but the problem was alleviated with the construction of a dam on the Kumho River in 1980. The dam provides drinking water to P‘ohang residents and water for industrial use at the P‘ohang Steel Company. The city’s agriculture is primarily devoted to rice cultivation, but apples and peaches are also grown here. Other crops include red peppers and tomatoes in Hwabuk Township, onions in Shinnyong Township and strawberries in Imgo Township. In the Kogyong and Pugan townships, there are a number of sericulture operations.

Located next to Taegu, the city attracts tourists from the Taegu area who come to enjoy the region’s natural scenery. Fishermen catch carp in the city’s lakes and reservoirs. Popular tourist destinations in the city include the picturesque Sudo Temple Waterfall on Mt. Ch‘i in Shinnyong Township and the Shinan mineral spring in Hwanam Township. The water from this natural spring is said to cure stomach ailments.

Tourists also come to visit the area’s historical sites. Situated on the eastern slopes of Mt. P‘algon, Unhae Temple is the most famous monastery in the city. Founded by National Master Hyech‘ol in 809, the temple houses a number of important artefacts including several old altar paintings. Other important Buddhist sites include Paekh‘ung Hermitage, a nunnery founded in 861 by National Master Hyech‘ol, and Sudo Temple in Shinnyong Township. In Imgo Township’s Sŏnwŏn Village, there is a 151cm high bronze Buddha statue (Treasure No. 513) from the Koryŏ period.

There are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including Imgo Sŏwŏn (private school) in Imgo Township’s Yanghang Village, Koch‘on Sŏwŏn south of Imgo stream, Yongch‘on Hyanggyo (county public school) in Kyoch‘on-dong, Shinnyong Hyanggyo in Shinnyong Township’s Hwasŏng Village, Yonggye Sŏwŏn on the north bank of
Yŏngch’ŏn Lake, Tojam Sŏwŏn northwest of Mt. Kuryong and Songgok Sŏwŏn near Unhae Temple. In Yŏngch’ŏn’s Kyoch’ŏn-dong, there is a folk museum where many local artefacts are on display.

Yongdam yusa (Hymns from the Dragon Pool) [Ch’ŏndogyo kyŏngjŏn]

Yŏndŏk County

Situated on the east coast in North Kyŏngsang Province, Yŏndŏk County is comprised of the town of Yŏndŏk and the townships of Kanggu, Namjŏng, Talsan, Pyŏnggok, Yŏnghæ, Chip’um, Ch’’angsu and Ch’uksan. The T’aebaek Mountain Range runs along the western part of the county and a section of Mt. Chuwang National Park crosses the border in the southwest. Historically, the T’aebaek Mountain Range in the west made the county difficult to access, but a coastal highway was built in 1979 connecting the northern and southern coastal regions.

Most of the county’s residents are employed in either agriculture or fishing. Only 11.3 per cent of the county is arable, and most of this is in the Yŏngdŏk and Yŏnghæ plains. Constructed in 1963, Myogok Reservoir, along with other reservoirs in the region, provides irrigation to these plains. Rice is grown in the area, as well as dry-field crops such as barley, garlic, tobacco and beans. In addition, the area produces about 10 per cent of the nation’s peaches, most of which are sold to canneries.

Local fishermen, operating out of the ports of Kanggu, Ch’uksan and Taejin, catch a wide variety of fish, but most need to supplement their income through other means such as mushroom cultivation or fertiliser production. In Ch’uksan Township, seaweed gathering and abalone farming are common. Storage pots are produced in Chip’um Township’s Samhwa Village and in Och’ŏn Village, an over 300-year old tradition of rice paper production is being maintained, but these operations are small due to a decline in demand.

With high mountains and beautiful beaches, the county boasts a number of tourist attractions. In the summer, crowds of tourists can be found at the Taejin and Changsa beaches. The area is also famous for its mineral springs, especially the Ch’usogok mineral springs southwest of Myogok Reservoir. The bubbly water found here is said to cure stomach ailments.

Most of the county’s historical sites are located between Myogok Reservoir and the coast. Buddhist artefacts include Yugum Temple’s three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 674), Changnyuk Temple’s Main Buddha Hall (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 138), and a two-storey pagoda and a seated Buddha statue in Namho Village. There are also a number of Confucian sites in the area, such as Yŏnghæ Hyanggyo (county public school), founded in 1346 in Yŏnghæ Township’s Sŏngnae Village and Hwasaru, a pavilion erected in 1693.

Yŏndŏk County

Yŏndŏk County, situated on the southern tip of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, consists of the town of Yŏndŏk, and the townships of Maegok, Sangch’ŏn, Shimch’ŏn, Yanggang, Yangsan, Yongsan, Yonghwa, Haksan, Hwanggan and Hwanggûm. The county covers an area of 846 sq. kms. and as 1989 statistics show, had a population of 80,638. The Sobaek Mountain Range runs from the northeast to the southern part of the county, and Mt. Mani (640m), Mt. Sŏngju (624m) and other peaks of the Noryŏng Mountain Range rise in the west. As an inland mountainous region, the local climate is subject to sharp fluctuations. The county has an average temperature of 11.8c. and a yearly rainfall of 1012mm.
Arable land forms about 12,100 hectares of the county area and this is used for rice growing (6,800 hectares) and for dry-field crops (about 5,300 hectares) such as barley, wheat, potato, red pepper, ginseng and tobacco. Orchard produce includes pear, apple and walnut. In the mountainous areas there is dairy-farming as well as goat and pig farms. Many of the county’s farms include apiculture and sericulture in their operations. From the county’s extensive forests, workers cut and process timber, cork and tree-barks for tannin. Local residents gather fuel for domestic use and medicinal herbs. Mineral resources include gold, coal and limestone.

With its picturesque mountains and streams, the county has a large number of scenic attractions. One of the most popular sights is the twenty-metre-high Okkye Waterfall in Shimch’on’s Kodang Village. Legend has it that two lovers fell to their death while playing together on a swing above the falls. Later, two beautiful birds, believed to be incarnations of the deceased couple, were seen fluttering around the waterfall singing a woeful tune. The Wŏnch’ŏn Village area in Hwanggan is also well-liked by tourists, who come to see Yongyŏndae (Dragon Pool Heights), a spectacular series of bare granite cliffs rising above the Ch’ŏ River. Other favourite tourist attractions include the Murhang Valley in Sangch’ŏn and Mt. Hwanghak (1,111m) in Maegok.

In addition to its natural beauty, the county has some important historical sites. There are several old Buddhist temples, such as Yŏngguk Temple in Yangsan’s Nugyo Village and Panya Temple in Hwanggan’s Umae Village. At the former, are two three-storey pagodas (Treasures No. 533 and 535), a stupa (Treasure No. 532) and a stele (Treasure No. 534) commemorating National Master Wŏn’gak. At the latter, there is a three-storey pagoda.

Confucian schools include Hwanggan Hyanggyo in Hwanggan’s Namsŏn Village; Yŏngdong Hyanggyo in Yŏngdong’s Puyong Village; Ch’ogang Sŏwŏn (founded in 1611) north of Highway 4 in Shimch’ŏn, and Songgye Sŏwŏn (founded in 1725) to the south of Och’ŏn Stream in Maegok. Hwanggan Hyanggyo was founded in 1394 and was repaired in 1901, while Yŏngdong Hyanggyo was founded during the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) and was moved three times before reaching its present location in 1754. Modern schools include Youngdong Institute of Technology in the town of Yongdong.

In Shimch’ŏn’s Kodang Village stands the picturesque Nan’gyesa, a shrine commemorating Pak Yŏn (1378-1458). Styled Nan’gye, Pak is considered to be one of Korea’s three most important musicians. Built in 1973, the shrine is used during the Nan’gye Arts Festival which is held in the county each year. The festival features traditional music performances, parades, contests and various art and literature exhibitions.

Yŏnggo

Yŏnggwang County

Situated in the northwest corner of South Cholla Province, Yŏnggwang County embraces the towns of Paeksu, Yŏnggwang and Hongnong, and the townships of Kunnam, Kunso, Nagwŏl, Taema, Myoryang, Popsŏng, Pulgap and Yŏmsan. The county covers a total area of 469 sq kms. with a population of 103,931 (1989 statistics). Mt. Kosŏng (546m), Mt. T’aech’ŏng (593m), Mt. Pulgap (516m) and other peaks of the Noryong Mountain Range run along the county’s eastern border. To the west of these peaks, the elevation gradually declines, giving way to narrow plains punctuated by low hills. The effect of seasonal winds from the northwest makes the area cooler than the area at the same latitude on Korea’s east coast. The county has an average annual temperature of 13.1c. notwithstanding the January average of minus 0.5c. The area receives a moderately heavy snowfall and a substantial average annual rainfall (1,441mm).
The county’s main crop is rice, but dry-field crops, including grains, legumes, tobacco, cotton and ginseng are also grown. Stock breeding and apiculture are other sources of rural income. A number of mines are found in the area, some concerned with the extraction of large deposits of silica on the islands of Nagwol Township. There are salt flats along the coast as well as shellfish farms and laver gathering operations. Fishing and marine products provide the farming community with a supplementary income.

Local tourism is centred around the mountains to the east and the seashore to the west. Kyema Village Beach, located in Hongnong, attracts throngs of visitors from nearby Kwangju during the summer months. Surrounded by more than two-hundred mature pine trees, this four kilometre-long beach is considered to be one of the most beautiful in the region. In close proximity to the beach lie Mt. Kūmjŏng (264m) and the Kūmjŏng Hermitage.

In addition to scenic attractions, a number of historical sites are located in the area. The most important monastery is Pulgap Temple, which contains several ancient buildings as well as a stele commemorating National Master Chin’gak (Hyeshim, 1178-1234). Other Buddhist relics here include a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 504) in Myorang’s Shinch’ŏn Village and a three-storey pagoda in Yonggwang’s Wŏlp’ŏng Village. A number of old Confucian schools are in the area such as Yonggwang Hyanggyo just north of Noin Peak (257m), Mujŏng Sŏwŏn to the west of the peak and Naesan Sŏwŏn to the south of Pulgap Reservoir. The modern educational institution is Youngsan Won Buddhist University in Paeksu.

Rituals and festivals are held in the region on a regular basis. One of the most important is the Oktang Festival which has been held in October every year since 1977. In addition, a number of village rituals (tongje) can still be seen. Of these, the best known are the Tangsanje (Mountain Spirit Rite) held at Ansu Village in Yŏmsan and the Sanshinje (Mountain Spirit Rite) held in Yonggwang’s Muryŏng Village. During the Ansu Village rite, held on the 15th day of the first lunar month, villagers worship guardian deity. In most areas, such rites are held before a sacred tree which is thought to contain the spirits, but in Ansu Village, the spirits are believed to inhabit a carved granite rock. The ritual is thought to be antidotal against cholera. It is also said that if a woman sincerely prepares food offerings and offers prayers on the eve of the ritual she will be blessed with a male child after three years.

Yonghŭng River

Having its source to the south of Mt. Kakko (1,038m) in South Hamgyŏng Province’s Kowŏn County, the Yonghŭng River flows through Yonghŭng on its way to Sŏngjŏn Bay just north of Wŏnsan. On its 135.0 km-long journey, it merges with Ipsŏk Stream, Tansok Stream and Tŏkchi River. Sedimentary deposits from the Yonghŭng have formed Yonghŭng Plain, the key grain-producing region of South Hamgyŏng Province. The river provides irrigation water to the plain and is of sufficient depth to enable the stretch between Sŏnhŭng Township and the town of Kowŏn to be used for transport. The mountainous terrain surrounding the upper reaches of the river protect the adjacent areas from flooding, but the Yonghŭng Plain is usually flooded several times each year. It is on record that extensive flooding occurred in 1186, 1729, 1739, 1829, 1860 and 1919. In the 1919 flood, 215 people drowned. Between 1926 and 1936, flood dikes were built on the Yonghŭng Plain section of the river. In ancient times, the river was known as Hoeng River and Yorak-chi. The current name is said to have been coined by the pongsa (curator) Haryun during the reign of King T’aejong (r. 1400-1418).

Yongin

Situated in Kyŏnggi Province, Yongin is comprised of the towns of Yongin and Kihŭng,
and the townships of Kusŏng, Namsa, Naesa, Mohyŏn, Suji, Idong, Oesa, Wŏnsam and P'oγok. With the Kwangju Mountain Range running through the northeast and the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range cutting through the southeast, the city's topography is characterised by rugged mountains and hills. Streams from these mountains flow into two reservoirs in Idong Township and Kihŏng.

Due to the area's mountainous terrain, only about 32 per cent of the land is arable. The main crop is rice, but barley, beans and millet are also grown here along with various fruit crops. As the local specialty crop, ginseng is grown in the southeast. In addition, there are numerous livestock breeding operations.

The Kyŏngbu and Yongdong Expressways link the city with Seoul, Taejŏn and Wŏnju. Taking advantage of the area's good infrastructure, industrial complexes were built in Kihŏng, Yongin and Suji Township in the 1970s. At present, the city's factories produce textiles, chemicals, food stuffs, machinery and other manufactured goods.

There are a number of popular tourist attractions here that cater to both domestic and foreign tourists. The Korean Folk Village, located in Kihŏng, is one of the most popular tourist destinations in the country. In this 250-acre complex, one finds 132 tile-roofed houses and 143 thatched cottages. More than 20 000 artefacts are displayed in and around the houses. Visitors can watch craftsmen, using the traditional methods, produce objects such as fans, straw shoes and hats. Traditional ceremonies and entertainment are also re-enacted here.

As one of the few race tracks in the country, Yongin Motor Park has a 2.125-kilometre track that is recognised by the FIA. The 1995 Korean Motor Championship series was held at the track. Other local attractions include the Caribbean Bay, which was recently opened in Yongin as one of Korea's newest theme parks. Built on the theme of 17th century Spain, this giant resort includes an artificial beach with a wave machine.

Tourists also come to see the area's historical relics. There are northern-style dolmens from the prehistoric period in the villages of Wangsan, Chubuk and Sangha, while southern-style dolmens can be seen in the villages of Maeng and Kŭnsam. Buddhist artefacts include two rock-carvings of Bodhisattvas on Mt. Munsu in Wŏnsam Township, a five-storey pagoda in Yongin's Kongse Village, a three-storey pagoda in Obi Village and a five-storey pagoda in Yongch'ŏn Village. In Yongin's Mokshin and Ch'ŏn Villages, there are standing Buddha figures that are believed to date from the Greater Shilla period. The seated figure in Kongse Village and the standing figure in Mip'yŏng Village, on the other hand, are from the Koryŏ period. At Sŏbong Temple in Suji Township, there is a stele commemorating National Master Hyŏno.

There are several old Confucian schools here, including Yongin Hyanggyo (county public school) founded around 1400, Yangji Hyanggyo founded in 1523, Ch'ungnyŏl Sŏwŏn (private school) founded in 1576 and Shimgok Sŏwŏn founded in 1650. In addition, there is a Koryŏ white porcelain (paekcha) kiln site in Idong Township's Sŏ Village, and a punch'ŏng kiln site in Oesa Township's Koan Village.

Yongjae ch'onghwa (Assorted Writings of Yongjae)

_Yongjae ch'onghwa_ is a literary miscellany of the early Chosŏn period scholar, Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504). This work was published in 1525 as a three-volume, three-fascicle work that has been transmitted to the present time, and also in 1909 the Chosŏn Koso Kanhaenghoe included this work in _Taedong yasŭng_ (Unofficial History of Korea).

In this work the author covers a wide variety of topics from the end of the Koryŏ period to the reign of King Sŏngjong (r.1469-1494). Some of the notable items included are the changing popular customs among the common people, literature, geography, history,
religion, music and society in general. Song Hyŏn wrote this book based upon his wide scholarship and experience as a government official and he notes the changes from the Koryŏ period to the reign of Sŏngjong of the Chosŏn period. Thus, this work provides an opportunity to understand the general culture of that time.

First, Yongjae ch'onghwa discusses the Confucianism of Korea. In particular it details the scholarly characteristics in the fine writings of the great masters of the Chinese classics such as Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) and Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409), the noted luminaries of Shilla and Koryŏ such as Ch'oe Chi'iwŏn (857-?) and Chŏng Chisang (? -1135), and the literary men of early Chosŏn including Sŏ Kŭkjŏng (1420-1488) and Sŏng Im (1421-1484). Also this work discusses the skills of calligraphers, commenting in particular on the special traits of Kim Saeng and Yi Yong. Moreover, the landscape paintings from King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) of Koryŏ to An Kyŏn of Chosŏn are appraised. Concerning music, Song writes of the hyŏn'gŭm (a type of zither) of the Shilla period, the kayagŭm (a twelve-stringed zither) of Kaya, and of court musicians such as Song T'aep'yŏng and To Sŏngil.

In addition to the above, this work also includes much other information such as the decorum involved in accepting Chinese envoys, character sketches of the various Chinese ambassadors and comments on the state examination system. Song also includes information on sacrificial rites and stories about Buddhism and Buddhist monks. The author does not limit his stories to the upper classes of these periods but also includes those who were shunned by society such as widows, monks, fortunetellers, kisaeng (female entertainers) and even ribald women. Since this book contains various stories and humorous episodes concerning both famous and common people, it provides valuable data for studies of the society and social mores of the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods.

Yŏngjo, King (r. 1725-1776)

Yŏngjo (1694-1776), was the twenty-first king of Chosŏn and reigned from 1725 to 1776. He was one of the most outstanding Korean rulers, his reign marked by political stabilisation, remarkable progress in the economy and successful reforms.

Yŏngjo (personal name Yi Kŭm) was a son by a concubine of Sukjong (r. 1674-1720), the nineteenth king of Chosŏn. Sukjong was initially succeeded by another son, Kyŏngjong (ruled 1720-1724), who was in poor health and had no children. Under pressure of the Old Doctrine faction (Noron) which allied itself with Yŏngjo, Yŏngjo was made heir to the throne in 1721 and acceded in 1725, after his half-brother's death.

The principal task confronting the young king was that of political stabilisation. At this time the ruling elite was split by the fierce rivalry of court factions. These factions, which were rather stable and cohesive, strove to place their members in all-important and lucrative administrative positions and were engaged in endless intrigue and schemes against their rivals. In 1728, disgruntled literati from disgraced factions even started an armed rebellion to overthrow Yŏngjo. While the uprising was promptly suppressed, it revealed the danger that these factional feuds posed to the internal stability of Chosŏn. Though Yŏngjo had the backing of the powerful Old Doctrine faction, he tried to be impartial and used all possible means to calm the strife and to break down the inner cohesion of the factions. He even forbade marriages within the same faction. Paramount during his reign was the policy of impartiality (t'angp'yŏng ch'ae) which accorded equal favour in official appointments to men of all four major factions, i.e., the Old Doctrine, Young Doctrine (Soron), Southerner (Namin) and the Northerner (Pugin) factions. His policy of neutrality and candour, exercised over many years, proved successful, and the factional strife which had plagued Chosŏn politics since the late sixteenth c, eventually died out or, rather, eased considerably. Moreover, as a result of the equilibrium between the factions, the crown's authority authority was considerably enhanced.
Even so, Yongjo's reign was troubled by political incidents and feuds, the most remarkable being the death of his son and heir Sado in 1762. Growing angry at Sado's increasingly erratic behaviour and excesses, Yongjo ordered the crown prince to be locked in a rice chest and starved to death. Understandably, this tragic incident led to numerous clashes in the court, and even more so since Changhŏn's son was designated as the new heir to the throne. However, in spite of this and other incidents, Yongjo's reign was largely a time of political stability and economic prosperity.

During Yongjo's reign there were many technological and economic advances brought about by the development of the shirhak (practical learning) ideology. Shirhak, which was founded in empirical inquiry, stood in opposition to the neo-Confucian ideology that heretofore had been dominant in Chosŏn. The shirhak scholars sought to bring about economic betterment through land reforms, which would result in a lessening of the hardships of the Chosŏn peasantry. A major exponent of the shirhak movement during Yongjo's reign was Yi Ik (1681-1763) who outlined his proposals for governmental and economic reforms in his works Sŏngho sasŏl (Insignificant Explanations of Songho) and Kwagu rok (Record of Concern for the Underprivileged). Other works of this period by shirhak scholars include Usŏ (Idle Jottings) written by Yu Suwŏn (1695-1755) and Yŏrha ilgi (Jehol Diary) by Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805). These and other works introduced new ideas and views of society, social institutions and the ramifications of history. Moreover, the shirhak ideology served to introduce many facets of Western society, and thus was of major importance to the subsequent societal developments.

Internationally, the reign of Yongjo was an uneventful period and free from major challenge and danger. During this period the Qing dynasty of China ruled supreme over eastern Asia, and although Chosŏn was technically a vassal kingdom of Qing, she was free from direct interference. Thus, the strength of China provided a stable international environment for Chosŏn. The Qing served as an important conduit for knowledge to flow into Korea from the West, and thus the relationship between the two states provided the opportunity for many Chosŏn scholars to travel and observe various Qing institutions.

Yongjo was an active and intellectually inquisitive monarch, well educated, but pragmatic and not confined by Confucian scholastics. He strove to change the country's situation for better, and initiated numerous reforms. During his reign the legal code of Chosŏn was revised with the promulgation of Sok taejŏn (Supplement to the National Code) in 1746, the further prohibition of some exceptionally cruel means of torture, and an improved justice system. During Yongjo's reign the use of new tools was encouraged, new crops were introduced, and the government supported the inventors of novel tools and weapons. Yongjo is praised as one of the most economy-oriented monarchs of Chosŏn, who devoted a great amount of attention to the development of agriculture and the handicrafts industry. An important accomplishment of Yongjo was the launching of an ambitious and generally successful tax reform. The Equalised Tax law (Kyunyŏp) led to a more egalitarian redistribution of taxes, to a certain degree reduced the various tax exemptions of the upper classes, and alleviated the tax burden of the peasantry with a considerable reduction of tax rates. Consequently, these measures facilitated economic growth during this period. Yongjo's reign was a time of burgeoning trade, and the development of literature, publishing and education.

King Yongjo, whose reign was the longest in the five hundred-year history of Chosŏn, died in 1776 and he was succeeded by his grandson Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). He is highly acclaimed for the stability present during his reign and the attempts he made to bring about an end to factional politics. Moreover, his reign is notable in that it marked the flourishing of the shirhak ideology, which served to invigorate the intelligentsia of Chosŏn which had been long stifled by the oppressive neo-Confucian ideology.

Yŏngju
Situated in North Kyongsang Province, Yongju was recently formed when Yongju City was expanded to include Yongp'ung County. The city is comprised of the town of P'unggi and the townships of Tansan, Munsu, Ponghyŏn, Pusŏk, Sunhung, Anjŏng, Isan, Changsu and P'yŏngun. Most of the city is in a basin with the T'aebaek Mountain Range to the east and the Sobaek Mountain Range to the north. Sŏ Stream flows through the city’s central area.

Nearly a quarter of the city area is arable land. Over half of this is used for rice cultivation, and the remaining land for dry-field crops such as barley, radishes, Chinese cabbage, green vegetables, and tobacco, as well as fruits such as apples and pears. In P'unggi, ginseng is an important speciality crop. The town holds ginseng exhibitions every October. Sericulture is another important source of income in the region.

Taking advantage of the city’s central location, timber mills and wood-pulp plants have been set up in the area. There are also a number of small factories that produce food-stuffs and textiles, and in Changsu Township’s Sŏnggok Village, high quality granite is quarried and dressed.

Local tourism is centred around the area’s picturesque mountains and valleys. Throughout the year, tourists visit Mt. Sobaek National Park, which is split between Yongju and Tanyang County (See Sobaek Mountain). The Kümsŏn Valley, which winds down from Mt. Sobaek’s Piro Peak, is particular well known for its interesting rock formations and clear streams. Another popular destination is the Chukkye Valley, which descends from Kungmang Peak.

Visitors also come to see the ancient temples and other historical sites found here. At the foot of Mt. Ponghwa (819m) in Pusŏk Township, one finds the ancient Pusŏk Temple. Originally founded by Óisang in 676, the monastery contains the Muryangsuŏn (Hall of Everlasting Life). This beautiful building was constructed during the mid-Koryŏ period, making it one of the oldest wooden structures in Korea. Other artefacts at the temple include a stone lamp, a seated Buddha statue made of clay, a seated Buddha statue made of stone, a three-storey pagoda and stone banner-pole supports. In the temple’s Chosadang (Patriarchs Hall), there is an old wall painting.

Below Mt. Sobaek’s Yŏnhwa Peak, one finds Huibang Temple, another ancient monastery, which is frequented by tourists many of whom also visit the area’s beautiful waterfalls. Other important monasteries in the area include Ch’oam Temple and Sŏngnyun Temple in Sunhŭng Township, Piro Temple in P’unggi, Yongmyŏng Temple at the foot of Mt. Taema (376m), Ponghyŏn Temple in Ponghyŏn Township and Chinwŏl Temple in P’yŏngŭn Township.

In addition to ancient Buddhist temples, there are a number of important Confucian sites in the city. Located about 20 kilometres from downtown Yongju in Sunhŭng Township, Sosu Sŏwŏn (private academy) is famous as Korea’s first sŏwŏn. The school’s beginnings go back to 1542 when P’unggi county magistrate Chu Sebong founded a shrine here and then moved a school to the site calling it Paegundong Sŏwŏn. In 1550, when Yi Hwang (T’oege) was acting as P’unggi’s county magistrate, the institution was officially recognised as the Sosu Sŏwŏn. When Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn gun order the closing of sŏwŏn across the nation, this was one of the 47 schools allowed to remain open. Inside the school, there is a screen on which Yi Hwang personally inscribed his famous work Sŏnghak shipto (The Ten Diagrams of the Sages’ Learning).

Yongju Temple

Located in Hwasŏng County in Kyŏnggi Province, Yongju Temple is one of the main
temples of the Chogye Order. Founded in 854 C.E., the monastery was reconstructed in 952 on the old site of Kiryang Temple, which had burnt down. The temple was again reconstructed in 1790 by Sable in order to provide spiritual protection for the tomb of Prince Changhôn (1735-1762), the second son of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). The temple was repaired by Yonghae in 1900, and by Kang Taeryôn in 1931. In 1955, Kwanûng built a seminary at the temple. In 1966, the abbot Hûissôp founded the Tongguk Yêkkôngwôn (Tongguk Sutra Translation Centre), and in 1969, Chôn’gàng established the Chungang Meditation Hall.

In addition to the Main Buddha Hall, which was built in 1790, the temple houses several important artefacts. The temple’s bronze bell (National Treasure No. 120) is one of the few large bells dating from the early Koryô Period. Unlike most Koryô bells, it is made in the Shilla style. There is also a gilt-bronze incense holder and a bronze incense holder (Kyônggi Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 11 and No. 12 respectively). In the Main Buddha Hall, there is an altar painting of a bodhisattva triad which was painted in 1791. At the temple, there is also an old screen from the Chosôn Period (Kyônggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 15). In addition, there are sets of stone, wood and bronze printing blocks of a sutra and a corresponding illustration.

Yongmun Mountain

Situated north of Yangp’yông in Kyônggi Province, Mt. Yongmun (1,157 metres) is part of the Kwangju Mountain Range. The mountain is surrounded by Mt. Pôngmi (856 metres) to the north, Mt. Chungwôn (800 metres) to the east and Mt. Taebu (743 metres) to the west. There are several temples on the mountain, including Yunp’il Hermitage, Sangwôn Temple and the well-known Yongmun Temple which was founded by Wônhyo in 649 C.E. Yongmun Temple was burnt down by Japanese occupational forces during a battle with anti-Japanese guerrillas in 1907. The temple was reconstructed, only to be damaged again during the Korean War. The renovated temple presently houses a number of important historical relics. Numerous tourists visit Mt. Yongmun’s temples, hike the trails and fill jugs with medicinal water from the famous Changgun springs.

Yôngnam kan’gosang (Wretched Sight of Yongnam, The) [Literature]

Yongsal ilgi (Diary of Yongsal)

Yongsal ilgi is the diary of Yi Ro that describes the activities of the volunteer forces who fought the invaders under the command of Kim Sôngil during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. This diary was published in 1562. Yi was a staff member of Kim Sôngil and accompanied him on an official mission to Japan in 1590. This is the beginning of the diary. It records the events from this point until the fourth lunar month of 1593 when Kim was buried in his hometown of Andong.

The accounts in the diary are detailed in chronological style and it records many of the events that took place in the defence of Kyôngsang Province. It also includes many of the royal mandates issued to the region, statements that Kim Sôngil released to the populace and appeals made by members of the volunteer forces to the throne. The work also covers the activities of Kim, the movements of the volunteer army and the situation and problems of the common people during this period. The data in this diary are useful for the study of the 1592 Japanese Invasion as they provides not only a military account of the struggle, but also a view of the common people’s plight at this time.

Yôngsan River

From its beginning at Yongch’u Peak (560m) in South Chôlla Province’s Tamyang County,
the Yongsan River flows 122 kms. through Kwangju, Naju and Yongam County on its way to the Yellow Sea. The river is navigable for 48 kms, from Mokp’o to Yongsanp’o. Dolmens and plain pottery have been discovered along the river in Naju County, indicating that people have lived near the river since prehistoric times. Burial urns from Paekche have also been discovered near the river. During Koryŏ, the river was used to transport rice from the public granary at Yongsanp’o to other areas in the region. Before the construction of modern transportation networks, small steamboats plied the river and there was a lighthouse at Yongsanp’o. In ancient times, the river was known both as Kūm Stream and Kūm River. Its present name comes from the residents of Yongsan Island. Harassed by Japanese marauders, the islanders fled to the Yongsanp’o area where they created a port.

The river’s main tributaries are the Orye River, Ch’ungam River, Kwangju Stream, Hangnyong River, P’yŏngnim Stream, Chisŏk Stream, Umagwŏn Stream, Kūmch’ŏn Stream and Hamp’yŏng Stream. The upper stretch of the Yongsan between Tamyang Dam and Kwangju is known as the Kūngnak (Paradise) River. The terrain surrounding the Yongsan River system is generally hilly but plains are found around the Kūngnak River, Hwangnyong River, at the point where it meets Chisŏk Stream and in the Kwangju area. In order to prevent flooding, Naju Lake, Changsŏng Lake, Kwangju Lake and Tamyang Lake were formed and a dike was built at Mokp’o. Dams in the area include Changsŏng Dam on the Hangnyong River and Tamyang Dam on the upper reach of the Kūngnak River.

Yŏngwŏl County

Situated on the southern tip of Kangwŏn Province, Yŏngwŏl County is comprised of the towns of Sangdong and Yŏngwŏl, and the townships of Nam, Puk, Sŏ, Suju, Chuch’ŏn, Chungdong and Hadong. Yŏngwŏl Town lies in a low hilly area between the Ch’aryŏng Mountain Range to the northwest and the T’aebaek Range to the southeast. Mt. Paegun, at 1,426 metres, is the county’s highest peak. As part of an inland mountainous region, the region’s weather is characterised by sharp fluctuations in both daily and yearly temperatures.

Although some rice is grown here, the area’s agriculture is centred on dry field crops such as corn, potatoes, peanuts and tobacco. Due to the abundance of pasture, the area has traditionally raised cattle. The county’s agricultural revenues are supplemented by the area’s coal and limestone mines.

The area contains a number of historical relics. In particular, there are a number of sites associated with King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455). Tanjong briefly became king at the young age of 11, but was soon forced to go into exile to Ch’ongnyangp’o by Sejo (r. 1455-1468). According to the local legend, in 1457 when Sejo had Tanjong killed, one of the palace women and ten of the palace slaves committed suicide at Nakhwa Rock. Tanjong’s grave mound can now be seen at Yonghung Village in Yŏngwŏl. In spring during the Tanjong Festival, elaborate ceremonies are held at a number of shrines in the area in commemoration of Tanjong and his retainers’ loyalty.

In Yŏngwŏl Town, there is the Yŏngwŏl Hyanggyo (County public school). Built in 1398, everything but the Taesŏng Hall was destroyed during the Korean War. In 1973, the hall was repaired. There are also a number of Buddhist sites in the area, including Kŭmmon Hermitage, founded by Úisang during the Shilla period, and a seated Buddha in relief (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Asset No. 74) at Murung Village in Suju Township.

In addition to the area’s historical relics, there are several natural caves in the region. East of Mt. T’aehwa, there is the cave of the Yŏngwŏl Ko clan. Within the cave, which is open to tourists, there are a number of stalactites and other interesting formations.

Yŏngyang County
Situated in the northwest part of North Kyongsang Province, Yongyang County is comprised of the town of Yongyang and the townships of Sŏkpo, Subi, Irwŏl, Ibam and Ch'onggi. The Taebaek Mountain Range runs through the county, making this the highest region in the province. Mt. Irwŏl (1,219m) rises in the north, Mt. Paegam (1,004m) in the east, Mt. Myŏngdong (812m) in the south and Mt. Hŭngnim (767m) in the west. As an inland mountainous area, the local weather is characterised by sharp daily fluctuations in temperatures.

The area’s rugged terrain brings low temperatures and meagre rainfall, so that only about 10% of the county is arable. About three quarters of the cultivated land is used for dry-field crops. The county is particularly famous for its red peppers and tobacco. In mountainous areas, there are numerous cattle and sheep breeding operations, as well as bee-keeping. As for mining, there is a lead mine on Mt. Irwŏl, and fluorite mines are found in Irwŏl Township near Chugok Village.

Due to its remote location, the county’s tourism is relatively underdeveloped. However, with high mountains and numerous interesting rock formations along Panbyŏn stream, the area has many potential tourist attractions. Mt. Irwŏl, Mt. Ullyŏn (939m) and Oship Peak (827m) are popular with hikers. In Ibam Township, there is Ibam (Standing Rock), a giant pillar of granite that stands above Panbyŏn Stream. Across from the rock is a picturesque stretch of white sand. The area is popular with fishermen and local tourists. In Yŏngyang’s Hawŏn Village, one finds Sŏnyu Cave and Yanghodae, an impressive cliff over 30 metres high.

Most of the county’s historical sites are located in the south. In Ibam Township’s Sanhae Village, there is an interesting five-storey pagoda (National Treasure No. 187). The pagoda has been built of small cut stones so as to resemble a brick pagoda. Another ‘imitation-brick’ five-storey pagoda can be see in Yŏngyang’s Samji Village. In addition to the Koryŏ-era three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 609) in Yŏngyang’s Hwach’ŏn Village, there are three-storey pagodas in Irwŏl Township’s Yŏnhwa Village (North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 8), Yŏngyang’s Hyŏn Village (Treasure No. 610), Yŏngyang’s Shin’gu Village, and in Sŏbu-dong. As for Buddhist statues, there is a Bhaisajyaguru (Medicine Buddha) statue (North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 111) in Yŏngyang’s Yŏndang-dong, and there are seated Buddha statues in Togok-dong and Shin’gu-dong.

There are several old Confucian schools in the area, such as Pongnam Sŏwŏn, Yŏnam Kangdang (Lecture Hall), Myŏnggeo Sŏwŏn in Irwŏl Township’s Kagok Village, and Yŏngyang Hyanggyo to the east of Mt. Hŭngnim in Irwŏl Township. Founded in 1679, the Yŏngyang Hyanggyo was last reconstructed in 1974. The writing on the signboard of Myŏngnyun Hall is from the famous Koryŏ calligrapher Han Su (1333-1384).

Yongyu Island

Yongyu Island is in the Yellow Sea between the islands of Kanghwa and Taemunŭi. Originally attached to Ongjin County, it became part of the city of Inch’ŏn in 1989. The island has a total area of 13.61 sq. kms. and a coastline of 31.0km. Except for Mt. Osŏng in the east, the terrain is undulating, with plains along the southwestern coast. As indicated by 1985 statistics, the population was 2,311. Yongyu has an average temperature of -3.7c. in January and 25.5c. in August. Annual rainfall averages 940mm. and the island’s snowfall averages 250mm.

Over one-quarter of the island area is arable land. Of this, almost 2.0 sq. kms grows rice and about 1.5sq.kms. dry-field crops such as barley, bean peanut, garlic, red pepper and sesame. Local marine products include yellow corbina, croaker, shrimp, oyster and laver.
There are two primary schools and one junior high school on Yongyu. A daily ferry runs from the island to the mainland. Urwang Village Beach is the island’s most popular tourist destination. The beach is renowned for its picturesque setting in dense pine forest and sweet briar (Rosa rugosa).

Yŏnp’yŏng Island

Yŏnp’yŏng Island is situated eighty-three kms. northeast of Inch’ŏn and about five kms. north of So (Lesser) Yŏnp’yŏng Island. Administratively, the island belongs to Ongjin County in the Inch’ŏn Metropolitan Area. The island has an area of 6.95 sq. kms. and a 24.3 km coastline. 1985 statistics give a population of 1,925. Yŏnp’yŏng has an average January temperature of -4.0c. and an average August temperature of 25.0c. The average annual rainfall is 937mm and the average snowfall is 255mm.

About one-sixth of the island is arable land. Rice is grown (0.53 sq.kms.) and barley, bean, sweet potato, peanut, garlic and red pepper make up the bulk of the dry-field crops. Shrimp, oyster, crab and laver are the island’s marine products, but the seas surrounding Yŏnp’yŏng are rich in yellow corbina (Kor. chogi), making the island a national leader for catches of this particular fish. During the short season when yellow corbina are caught, over one and a half thousand fishing vessels work the area, and about one-thousand four hundred temporary workers are employed to land and process the catch. Due to its proximity to North Korea, the island is of great strategic importance.

Local transportation is limited to a ferry that arrives once every three days. There is a primary school, a junior high school and a high school on the island. Numerous shell mounds dating from the prehistoric period are scattered around the island. These mounds contain both patternless and comb-pattern pottery, in addition to shells.

Yŏnsan, Prince (r. 1494-1506)

Prince Yŏnsan-gun (1476-1506) was the tenth king of Chosŏn and ruled from 1494 to 1506. His given name was Yong, his father was King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) and his mother was Queen Chŏnghyŏn. He was also the half brother of the King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) who would succeed him on the throne. In 1483 he was named as crown prince and in the twelfth lunar month of 1494 he assumed the throne upon the death of his father. He would rule Chosŏn for a turbulent and bloody twelve years before he was dethroned in 1506. Yŏnsan-gun, along with the fifteenth king Kwanghae-gun (r. 1608-1623) were the only two kings to be deposed in the over five hundred years of the Chosŏn Kingdom. Accordingly, these two monarchs are not designated as ‘king’ in Korean historical records, including the Sonwon kyebo (The Genealogy of the Chosŏn Royal Family).

The official record of Yŏnsan’s reign is entitled Yŏnsan-gun ilgi (Record of Yŏnsan-gun) and includes the following comments on the monarch: “In all of history there has not been one that indulged in carnal desires and wickedness with the murderous heart like Yŏnsan, his vassals and officials were killed throughout his reign and none remain…” This displays the official contempt for Yŏnsan and his actions, particularly against the literati whom he felt had betrayed him. The Purge of 1498 (Muo Sahwa) was the result of a writing that criticised the usurpation of the throne by King Sejo (1455-1468) through an analogous story by Kim Chongjik (1431-1492) that was incorporated by his disciple Kim Ilson (1464-1498) into the official records of the reign of King Sŏngjong. When this was discovered by the meritorious elite they incited Yŏnsan to punish those responsible and thus a number of literati were either executed or sent into exile. This served to greatly diminish the power of the neo-Confucian literati and allow Yŏnsan to begin his abuse of power.

Following the Purge of 1498 Yŏnsan became intoxicated with his power and led a life filled
with pleasure seeking and excesses, thereby depleting the government's resources. To compensate for his misappropriation of the government's funds, Yŏnsan attempted to confiscate the property of the meritorious elite and thus incurred their wrath also. Yŏnsan's reaction to their resistance was an attempt to purge the government of all sources that ventured to resist his kingly authority. At this same time some courtiers that were connected to the throne by marriage brought up the issue that surrounded the death of his mother. Lady Yun who had been the consort of King Sŏngjong had been stripped of her title and executed by her husband the king. Yŏnsan had been unaware of the particulars of this situation and thus was seized with a murderous rage. This marked the beginning of the Purge of 1504 (Kapcha Sahwa) in which many neo-Confucian literati, whom Yŏnsan held responsible for the death of his mother, that had survived the previous purge were either executed or exiled. The scale of this purge was unparalleled in the history of Chosŏn and continued for two years.

In 1506 the situation in Chosŏn had reached a crisis point and the same forces that had abetted him in his bloody purges dethroned Yŏnsan. Behind the leadership of Sŏng Huian, Pak Wŏnjong and Yu Sunjong, Yŏnsan was replaced on the throne by his half-brother, King Chungjong, and executed. Yŏnsan’s reign of terror exceeded all bounds and he is remembered as a monarch that had no compassion for the people or the nation. His burial tomb is located in present day Paktong-dong of Seoul and bears the simple inscription of 'Yŏnsan’s Tomb', with no further ornamentation.

Yonsei University

Yonsei (Yŏnse) University is situated in Shinch’ŏn-dong in western Seoul. The university was founded when Yŏnhi (Yŏnhŭi) University and Severance Medical College merged in 1957. Both Yŏnhi and Severance were inter-denominational institutions founded by Protestant missionaries to Korea. In 1915, Reverend Horace Grant Underwood established the former as Chosun Christian College (Chosŏn Kidokkyo Taehak). This consisted initially of four departments (literature; commerce; science; and agriculture). On 1 March 1919, students of the college were involved in the nationwide demonstrations then taking place, and as a result, the first graduating class of twenty-two students had to forego their commencement ceremonies. In 1948, the college, with Dr. L. George Paik (Paek Nâckchun, 1895-1985) as its head, became a university, consisting of the Colleges of Liberal Arts; Commerce and Economics; Science; and Theology. A College of Political Science and Law and a Graduate School were soon added.

Severance Medical College has its origins in a hospital founded by Dr. H. N. Allen in 1895, under the royal decree of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). At the hospital, Dr. Allen, who was part of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, taught Western medicine to Korean students.

Yonhi University and Severance Medical College maintained a close relationship from their inception. Dr. O.R. Avison, president of Severance, also served as president of Yonhi, and many of the directors also held appointment to both boards. In 1949, Yonhi assumed responsibility for pre-medical training for Severance, and in 1955 the decision was made to grant part of the Yonhi campus for the relocation of Severance Hospital and the medical college. Finally, in 1957, the two institutions were formally united and the first syllable of each name, Yon and Sei, were used to designate the new institution, Yonsei University. Dr. L. George Paik was Yonsei’s first president.

The Yonsei Medical Centre opened in 1962 and this was followed by the United Graduate School of Theology and the Graduate School of Business Administration in 1964; the University Museum in 1965; the Graduate School of Education in 1967; and the College of Dentistry in 1968.
In the 1970s, Graduate Schools of Public Administration; Engineering; Health Science and Management were opened. Also, in 1976, the Wonju Christian Union Hospital became a part of Yonsei and after two years, a Wonju branch of the College of Medicine was established. During the 1980s, the university’s undergraduate and postgraduate curriculum developed at a rapid pace, coinciding with the growth of the university’s Wonju campus.

Today, the university has seventeen colleges and twelve graduate schools. At the Seoul campus are the Colleges of Business & Economics; Dentistry; Engineering; Human Ecology; Law; Liberal Arts; Medicine; Music; Nursing; Science; Social Science; Theology; and the College of Sciences in Education. For post-graduate studies, the Seoul campus has the Graduate School; the United Graduate School of Theology; and the Graduate Schools of Administrative Sciences; Business Administration; Education; Engineering; Health Science and Management; Intellectual Property and Law; International Studies; Mass Communication; and Public Administration. At the Wonju campus are located the colleges of Commerce & Law; Health Sciences; Liberal Arts and Sciences; the Wonju College of Medicine; and the Graduate School of Administration Science.

As part of its international focus, Yonsei Graduate School also offers a two-year Masters of Art in Korean Studies for foreigners, while the Graduate School of International Studies, established in 1987, gives students an opportunity to earn a master's degree in six areas, viz, Business Administration; East-Asian Studies; Economics; Korean Studies; Political Science; and Public Administration, through the teaching medium of English. Yonsei also contains the Korean Language Institute for foreigners studying Korean and the Foreign Language Institute, for Korean students learning English and other languages. In addition, the school offers a summer program for international students. Yonsei has 'one-to-one' exchange agreements with some 178 universities in a dozen or so countries -- Australia; Canada; China; Finland; France; Germany; Israel; Japan; Russia; United Kingdom; USA; and Vietnam.

Yörha ilgi (Jehol Diary)

Yörha ilgi is a travel diary written by the noted scholar Pak Chiwon (1737-1805) of the late Choson period. This work consists of twenty-six volumes in ten fascicles. It was included in Yonam chip (Collected Works of Yonam) that Kim Taekyong published in 1901, and was again published with movable type technology in 1911. In 1956 Taiwan University reprinted the collection from its own copies of the work.

The contents are a travel record of the author from when he visited the summer palace of the Emperor of Qing China along with his brother Pak Myongwon in order to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the Chinese scholar Kan Longdi in 1708. During this time, Pak observed the whole of northern China and the southern part of Manchuria, and he was also able to experience scholarly discourse with the literary men and luminaries of China.

This work describes many of the sights and events that Pak encountered on his journey. Some of the items that are commented on include the writer’s interest in the Qing governmental systems and the building techniques that he witnessed. Other notable sections include the discussions that Pak had with the scholars at the Taixue (an academic institute of Qing) about heliocentric theories and the moon. In this work the author also introduces the story of 'Hosaeng' which in later times was the subject of an independent work entitled Hosaeng chon (Tale of Mr. Ho). Other topics broached by Pak include his commentary on the policy of Qing towards Choson, a drama performed at a longevity celebration for the Qing Emperor, criticism of songs, poetry and prose, and further discussions with Chinese scholars.

This book along with Pak Chega’s Pukhakai (Discourse on Northern Learning), notably advocate Northern Learning (pukhak), and for this reason were criticized by King Chongjo.
(r. 1776-1800) of Chosŏn, but nonetheless seem to have been well known to many of the intelligentsia. This book marked a departure from the usual travel records and it is considered a masterpiece that satirized many of the social problems of the time. Pak’s writing style is very distinct and well represents the literature and ideology of the late Chosŏn period.

Yŏsu

Located in the southeastern part of South Cholla Province, Yŏsu covers an area of 45.19 square kilometres and as of 1989, had a population of 180 226. Mt. Ch'ŏnsŏng (460m) and Mt. Ponghwa (422m) rise to the north of the city, with Mt. Changgun (325m) and Mt. Kubong (389m) to the south. Yŏsu borders the city of Yŏch’ŏn to the north and west, and Tolsan Bridge connects it with Yŏch’ŏn County to the southeast. With Tolsan and other islands off the coast acting as a natural barrier, the sea is usually placid. The city’s southern location, touched by warm currents of the Southern Sea, makes for mild weather, with an average annual temperature of 13.7°C and an average yearly rainfall of 1 313.7mm.

Approximately a quarter of the city’s land is under cultivation, but urban encroachment is decreasing this. Commercial fishing is a mainstay of the local economy. Catches include filefish, sardine and anchovy, but hairtail, gizzard shad, mackerel, sea bream, clam and octopus are also caught here. Gizzard shad and shellfish were once found in abundance on the coast of Shinwŏl-dong and around the islands of Kyŏngho-dong, but these have been wiped out by chemical pollution of the sea from refineries in Shinwŏl-dong. The city’s wholesale fish market is the second largest in Korea after that of Pusan. Much of the catch from the outlying islands in the region comes through Yŏso on its way to other mainland markets. To serve the local commercial fishing fleet, there are ice making plants, fish processing plants, a shipyard and net factories in the area. In order to promote better management of the area’s resources, the Yoso National Fisheries University has been set up in Kuk-dong.

Yŏsu’s downtown area is located between the railway station and the passenger ship terminal. There is a bus terminal about 3.5 kilometres from the city centre, and further out a domestic airport. Relatively easy to access from major cities across the country, the area has become a popular tourist destination. Situated on the rugged southern coast, Yŏsu is a particularly beautiful area. One of the city’s most popular excursions is the hydrofoil ride between Yŏsu and Pusan via Namhae, T’ongyŏng and Sŏngp’o. In order to preserve the area’s picturesque coast and islands, much of the area between Yŏsu and Pusan has been designated as Hallyŏ Haesang Kungnip Kongwon.

On the coast near Sujŏng-dong, is a 730 metre-long causeway linking the mainland to Odong Island. Covered with pines and bamboo, this rugged island has a lighthouse, walking trails and picnic areas. It is especially popular in spring when the camellia flowers are in bloom. On the mainland just south of the causeway, lies Chasan Park. From a high-point in the park, there is a good view of Yŏsu City and Odong Island. The high land within the park is covered with thousands of evergreen trees, and flowering shrubs. Other attractions in the park include a fifteen meter-high statue of Admiral Yi Sunshin, Chasan Pavilion, Chasan Temple and an archery range.

Another popular attraction is Changgun Island. Situated just north of Tolsan Bridge, this small, uninhabited island is famous for its cherry trees. To the north of the city’s central district, in Manhong-dong, is Mansŏng Village beach. Unlike most Korean beaches, this 300-metre-long strand consists of black sand. The beach attracts large crowds of tourists throughout the summer months.

In addition to scenic attractions, the area has some interesting historical sites. In Kunjadong is Yŏsu Hyanggyo, a Confucian school founded in 1897 and reconstructed in 1950.
Within walking distance from the school, is Chinnamgwan, one of the longest pavilions in Korea. This stately building was originally built for receiving and greeting officials and holding ceremonies but was later used as a military headquarters. To the north, in Tōkch’ung-dong, is Ch’ungminsaa, a shrine built in 1601 by Yi Shiŏn, a naval commander, in memory of Admiral Yi Sunshin.

Yŏwŏn  (see Magazines)

Yu Chŏng  [Buddhism]

Yu Hyŏngwŏn (1622-1673)

Yu Hyŏngwŏn was a late Chosŏn period shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Munhwag, his courtesy name was Tōkpu and his pen name was Pan’gye. He was born in Seoul to a family that had many high-ranking government officials in its past. During this period directly after the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Chosŏn society was in complete chaos and the inconsistencies between the yangban, or ruling class, and the common people had reached new peaks. Yu is said to have been an extremely talented youth and began his study of classical Chinese at the age of five. When he was fifteen the Manchu Invasion of 1636 (pyŏngja horan) broke out and his family fled to Wŏnju in Kangwŏn Province and subsequently moved several more times. As Yu reached the age at which he should have sat for the civil service examination his family was plagued by a series of deaths. He had already lost his father, who had died when Yu was but two years old, and shortly lost his grandmother, mother and grandfather by 1651. Thus after he had completed mourning for his grandfather he retired to Puan in Cholla Province at the young age of thirty-two. For the balance of his life he stayed in Puan and conducted his studies, and when he died in 1673 he left behind one son and six daughters.

Yu is best known for his empirical study Pan’gye surok (Pan’gye’s Treatises), which discussed the land systems and bureaucratic structure of Chosŏn. While he lived out his life in retirement in Puan, he became very much aware of the problems that the farmers of Chosŏn were burdened with. The shirhak ideology stressed the examination of actual conditions as a starting point and thus, agriculture, which was the basis of the Chosŏn economy, was seen as the area in need of fundamental reform. Yu saw that the only way to improve the situation of Chosŏn was to ease the tax burden on farmers, and thereby help them from their poverty stricken existence. However, his ideas were not well received by the government since the country was in dire need of all the taxes it could collect. The fact that Pan’gye surok was not even published for almost one hundred years after Yu’s death bespeaks of the unpopularity of the ideas that it espoused. Yet Yu did establish the shirhak school of thought in Korea and his work paved the way for future scholars who would have a greater say in the Chosŏn government. Notably, Yi Ik (1681-1673) built upon the scholarship of Yu and attracted many disciples, thus allowing the shirhak school to flourish in Chosŏn.

Yu Kilchun (1856-1914)

Yu Kilchun was a politician and advocator of the enlightenment ideology of the late Chosŏn and early colonial periods. His family’s ancestral home is in Kigye, his courtesy name was Sŏngmu and his pen name was Kudang. He was born in Seoul and his father, Yu Chinsu was a literary licentiate (chinsa). From an early age he was tutored in the Chinese classics by his father and grandfather on his mother’s side. In 1870 he learned the shirhak ideology from Pak Kyusu (1807-1876) along with other youths such as Kim Okkyun (1851-1894), Pak Yŏnghyo (1861-1939) and Kim Yunshik (1835-1922). At this time he also pursued knowledge of foreign countries and institutions through works such as Haeguk toji (Illustrated Treatise of Nations across the Sea). In 1881 through the help of Pak Kyusu he
was able to travel to Japan on the so-called ‘gentlemen’s sightseeing tour’ (*shinsa yuram tan*) that was a type of fact finding mission to observe the modernisation of Japan. It was a result of this visit to Japan that Yu saw the urgency of reform for Korea, and he remained in Japan and studied under Japanese scholars at this time.

As a result of the Military Mutiny of 1882 (Imo Kullan) Yu was compelled to return to Korea and at this time he along with Pak Yǒnghyo began operation of the *Hansŏng sunbo* newspaper, which was the first newspaper in Korea. The newspaper and the reforms that Yu hoped to implement did not occur due to the opposition from the faction of Queen Min (1851-1895), but nonetheless Yu was able to continue his studies and eventually travelled to the United State where he attended the Governor Dummer Academy in 1884. This made Yu the first Korean to study abroad in the United States. Shortly after this he heard accounts of the Coup d’État of 1884 (Kapshin Chōngbyǒn) and decided to return to Korea. First, however, he visited many of the European nations before eventually returning to Korea in December 1885. Upon his return to Korea he was arrested for he was a close acquaintance of those that had engineered the coup such as Kim Okkyun and Pak Yǒnghyo, and moreover he was a member of the enlightenment faction. He was released from prison through the help of Han Kyusōl (1856-1930) and retired to his home where he wrote his account of his travels abroad, *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* (Observations on a Journey to the West) in 1895.

Yu’s view for the process enlightenment envisioned two possible courses, with one being fruitful and resulting in a national renaissance and the other being a waste of time. The process that he saw as wasteful was the mechanical imitation of the ways of other nations without first gaining an understanding of the context in which these ways had developed. In order for enlightenment to be successful, Yu felt that first a fundamental cognition of the core principles of Western culture was necessary, only then did he feel that Korea could adapt these core principles to her particular situation. Yu’s ultimate goal was the establishment of a constitutional democracy with a free enterprise system for Korea, but he realised that as a transitional stage Korea would first need a government that was jointly managed by the sovereign and his subjects. Accordingly Yu sought reforms that would help bring about this transitional constitutional monarchy that would allow Korea to eventually take the next step towards a true democracy.

In the aftermath of the Reforms of 1894 (Kapo Kyŏngjang) Yu served as the Minister of Home Affairs in the new government headed by Kim Hongjip (1842-1896). However shortly after the reforms were enacted, the assassination of Queen Min by the Japanese created a powerful backlash against the pro-Japanese elements in the Korean government and thus the pro-Russian faction took control. In this situation Yu was among those who faced possible execution and thus he fled to Japan where he remained for the next twelve years. He was eventually pardoned by King Sunjong (r. 1907-1910) and allowed to return to Korea where he continued his enlightenment activities. Upon his return he established the Kyesan School and an educational society, and also participated in public work projects such as the management of railways. He also continued his academic endeavours most notably compiling *Chosŏn munjong* (The Grammar of Chosŏn), which was the first work on han’gul grammatical rules ever made in Korea.

Yu continued his contributions to Korean society up until the time of his death in 1914. He has left a wealth of literary resources behind including the aforementioned *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* and his poetry collection *Kudang shich’o*. In addition in 1971 a collection of his works, *Yu Kilchun chŏnsŏ* (Collected Works of Yu Kilchun), was published in four volumes.

**Yu Kwansun (1904-1920)**

Yu Kwansun was a freedom fighter. Her family’s ancestral home is in Kohŭng and she was born in Ch’ŏnan of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. In 1916 through the help of an
American female missionary, Yu was able to enter Ehwa School with the Methodist Church providing expenses for her. When the March First Independence Movement took place in 1919 she was a first year high school student at Ehwa but she left school to participate in the movement. In the aftermath of the Independence Movement, the Japanese authorities closed Ehwa and Yu intended to return to her hometown to further her education and religious beliefs. However, as she was about to leave Seoul she met some of those who had been active in the Independence Movement and they invited her to join the cause. Thus she rallied others to join the cause such as Kim Kuêng and Cho Inwôn along with village leaders and church members and led demonstrations for Korea’s independence in places such as Ch’ôngju, Yôn’gi and Chinch’ôn.

On the first day of the third lunar month in 1919 she pushed for an independence demonstration to be held on the market day for the Aonae area. On that day several thousand demonstrators gathered, and with Yu at the lead began an energetic rally for independence. The response of the Japanese military police was brutal as they shot and killed Yu’s mother and father and arrested Yu as a leader of the Aonae movement. She was subjected to tortures of all varieties before being sentenced to three years imprisonment. This decision was appealed and when Yu faced a judicial review board her condemnation of the imperialist actions of the Japanese and rejection of their authority resulted in her being sentenced to seven years incarceration. She was transported to Sôdaemun Prison in Seoul where she cried out for the independence of Korea at every opportunity. However, she was continually subjected to every imaginable torture and atrocity by the Japanese and despite her resolute will to overcome these adversities died as a result of her treatment in 1920 at the young age of twenty. Her barbarous murder caused outrage among her teachers at Ehwa and others involved in the independence movement. Yu is remembered as a devoted patriot who willingly sacrificed herself to the cause of Korean independence. She was honoured by the Republic of Korea with the Order of Merit for National Foundation in 1962.

Yu Mongin (1559-1623)

Yu Mongin was a civil official and literary man of the middle Chosôn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Kohûng, his courtesy name was Úngmun, and his numerous pen names include Óudang, Kanjae and Mukhoja. His father was a literary licentiate (chinsa) and he was born in Seoul. In 1582 he became a literary licentiate and in 1589 passed the Augmented Literary Examination (chûnggwan mun’gwâ) with the highest score. He travelled to Ming China in 1592 as the Sixth Counsellor (such’an) of the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan).

During the time he was away the 1592 Japanese Invasion began and he joined King Sônjo (r. 1567-1608) in exile in P’yôngyang. While Chosôn was under siege from the Japanese invasion, Yu acted as envoy to Ming among other official capacities. After this time he served as Third Minister (ch amûi) of the Board of War (Pyôngjo), Governor (kansa) of Hwanghae Province and as First Royal Secretary (tosûngji) of the Royal Secretariat (Sûngjôngwôn). He also travelled to Ming for the third time in 1609 as part of an official embassy. Yu attempted to retire from officialdom when he returned from China, but at the king’s insistence served in other official capacities including Town Magistrate (pusa) of Namwôn and Censor-General (taesagan) of the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwôn). However, it was at about this time that the dethronement of the Queen Mother (the mother of Kwanghae) occurred and Yu retired from public life. When King Injo (r. 1623-1649) replaced the deposed Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) on the throne, Yu was among those who faced the new king’s wrath and thus he was sentenced to a life of wandering. In the end, Yu was executed by King Injo for suspicion of mounting a plot to overthrow the monarch.

Yu is best known for his unofficial history Ou yadam (Ou’s Unofficial History), which is a collection of tales recorded in the form of ‘town talk’ and ‘street words’ from which many
different angles of human life are recorded. In a simple and distinct literary style, the situation of the people both before and after the Japanese Invasion of 1592 is recorded in this work. This collection of prose and tales marked the beginning of a historical-romance type story that would become prevalent in the late Chosŏn period, and is considered to be bold in its descriptions and as being as epoch work. Yu also left behind a literary collection Ōu chip (Collected Works of Ōu).

Yu Sŏngnyong (1542-1607)

Yu Sŏngnyong was a civil official of the middle Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in P’ungsan, his courtesy name was Igyŏn and his pen name was Soae. He was born in Uisŏng and was the son of the Hwanghae Province Governor (kwanch’alsa), Yu Chungyŏng. He was a disciple of Yi Hwang (1501-1570). In 1564 he became both a literary licentiate (chinsa) and a classics licentiate (saengwŏn) and in the next year entered the National Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) for further study. In 1566 he passed the Special Literary Examination (pyŏlsŏ mun’gwa) and served as the Third Copyist (pjavŏngja) at the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sŏngmun’gwan) and thus began his career in Chosŏn officialdom. In the following year he served as Third Diarist (taegyo) at the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan) and at the same time as Copyist (kisagwan) at the Bureau of State Records (Ch’unch’ugwan). Subsequently he continued his rise in the Chosŏn bureaucracy and served in a variety of positions such as Second Diarist (taegyo) at the Office of Royal Decrees in 1568, Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo) and by 1578 was appointed as Second Censor (sagan) at the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwŏn). In 1580 he was promoted to Third Minister (ch’amui) at the Office of Personnel (Ijo) and by 1590 he had achieved the position of Third State Councillor (uuijong) of the State Council.

At the time of the outbreak of the 1592 Japan Invasion, Yu had been promoted to the Chief State Councillor (yonguijong) of the State Council and was thus instrumental in the Korean efforts against the Japanese invaders. It was in this capacity that he directed the nation’s war efforts and moreover, the diplomatic exchanges with Ming China. Yu also carried out direct battle activities against the Japanese and was instrumental in the retaking of P’yŏngyang Fortress along with the Ming General Li Rusong (kor. Yi Yŏsong). In addition he served as Military Commander (toch’ech’alsa) over the three provinces of Ch’ungch’ŏng, Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang. It was during his efforts against the Japanese that he wrote Ching bi rok (Record of a Timely Warning) that recorded many of the happenings of this period, and thus supplies the modern scholar valuable data for study of this period.

Yu proved himself to not only be a competent official, but also a skilled military commander who served Chosŏn in her most precarious moments. Moreover, his writings from this period, including the aforementioned Chingbi rok, provide important records of this period. Other works of Yu include Sŏsaes sŏnsaeng munjip (Collected Works of Master Sŏsaes) and Kwanhwa rok (Record of Kwanhwa), which both display the literary talents of Yu and provide insight into the workings of the Chosŏn government during his lifetime.

Yu Tükkong (1749-?)

Yu Tükkong was a late Chosŏn period shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Munhwa, his courtesy name was Hyep’ung and his numerous pen names included Yŏngjae, Yŏngnam and Koundang. After becoming a literary licentiate (chinsa) Yu was appointed as a Librarian (kŏmsŏ) in the Kyujanggak Library where he served along with other scholars such as Yi Tŏkmu (1741-1793) and Pak Chega (1750-1805). Yu was associated with the Northern Faction (Pukhap’a) that advocated the modernisation of Chosŏn based upon the reforms present in Qing China.

Yu produced many works that outlined his vision for reform in Chosŏn and among these
Kyŏngdo chapki (Seoul Miscellany), Yŏngjae chip (Collected Works of Yŏngjae) and Koundang p’ilgi (Jottings of Koundang) are notable. However, the most well known work of Yu is his Parhaego (Treatise on Parhae), which led to a new view of the ‘unification’ by Shilla and provided a review of the oft-overlooked Parhae Kingdom. Yu, typical of shirhak scholars, thought that the Korean historical experience should be extended beyond the Korean peninsula into Manchuria and this gave rise to many new theories concerning the origin of ancient Korean states.

Yudu
-Agricultural rites-

Yugong
-Industry-

Yuhaengga
-Music-

Yuhyŏng ŭi ttang (Land of Exile)
-Literature-

Yujŏng (1544-1610)

Yujŏng was born Im ŭnggyu, in Miryang in South Kyŏngsang Province. In 1558, his mother passed away, followed by his father a year later. As a result, the young Yujŏng entered Chikchi Temple as Shinmuk’s disciple. Three years later, he passed the monk’s examination (sŭnggwasa). After this, he began to associate with a number of young Confucian scholars including Pak Sun and Im Che. He also studied the Confucian and Taoist classics under No Sushin, who was the Minister of State. After serving as the abbot of Chikchi Temple, he was recommended as the abbot of Pongun Temple, the head monastery of the Sŏn (Zen) Sect. He declined, however, and instead went to Pohyon Temple on Mt. Myohyang where he studied Sŏn under Hyujŏng (Grand Master Sŏsahn). After undergoing additional training at Haein Temple and other meditation centres throughout the country, he went to Sangdong Hermitage on Mt. Okch’ŏn where he achieve awakening. He then went to live at Yŏnggām Temple on Mt. Odae.

In 1589, he was accused of complicity with Chŏng Yŏrip (?-1589), a scholar who had conspired to seize the throne from King Sŏnjo. As a result, he was imprisoned in the Kangnung area. However, he was later released, after Confucian scholars based in Kangnung pleaded on his behalf. When Hideyoshi’s armies invaded in 1592, Yujŏng, responding to a call to arms from both the court and Hyujŏng, established a monk’s army which he led to Sunan where they joined up with forces led by Hyujŏng. From here, he led the combined army of 2,000 monks to the corridor between P’yŏngyang and Chunghwa in preparation for the retaking of P’yŏngyang fortress. In the early part of 1593, he joined the allied Ming forces in recapturing the capital, and then continued to engage the Japanese in battles around present-day Seoul.

During the next four years, Yujŏng participated in negotiations with the Japanese, who were attempting to force an unequal treaty on Korea. He also presented the king with a written proposal urging the king to use all means possible to drive away the Japanese forces. At the same time, he offered advice on ways to strengthen the national defence and improve agriculture. In addition, he urged the king to cease discriminatory policies toward monks. Through Yujŏng’s efforts, an number of stone fortifications were built throughout the nation, and reserves of grain were stored for use during military crises.

In 1604, King Sŏnjo appointed Yujŏng as envoy for peace talks with Japan. He therefore went to Japan, where he engaged in eight months of negotiations which ended successfully. When he returned to Korea in 1605, he brought with him over 3,000 Korean prisoners of war. After a trip to Mt. Myohyang to pay respects to the deceased Hyujŏng, he returned to Haein Temple where he died of an illness in 1610. Yujŏng was styled Samyŏng-dang,
Songun and Chongbong. He wrote several treatises, including the seven-volume work *Samyŏng-tang taesa chip* and the single-volume work *Punch'ung sŏnan nok*.

**Yuk Yŏngsu** (1925-1974)

Yuk Yŏngsu was the wife of the president of the Third and Fourth Republics, Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi). She was born in Okch'ŏn of North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and was the daughter of Yuk Chonggwan and Yi Kyŏngnyŏng. In Okch'ŏn she attended Chukhyang Elementary School and then attended Paehwa Girl's High School where she graduated. After graduation she served as an instructor at Okch'ŏn Girl's Middle School. In 1950 she met and married the young military officer Park Chung Hee and the couple had one son, Chiman, and two daughters, Kŭnye and Kŭnyŏng. In 1961 Park assumed the presidency of Korea through a military coup and then later in 1963 was directly elected by the Korean people. From 1963 until her death in 1974, she served as the first lady of Korea.

During her tenure as first lady of the nation, Yuk Yŏngsu carried out many charitable acts that were mostly focused on children. She helped establish a children's association in Seoul, Children's Park (Orini Taegongwŏn) in Seoul, and even a children's magazine entitled *Ōkkeae tongmu*. Additionally, she was the driving force behind the construction of the Chŏngyŏngsa Dormitory at Seoul National University and many other projects throughout the nation. In August 1974 she was standing beside her husband who was making a speech at the National Theatre in Seoul when an assassin's bullet aimed at her husband struck and killed her. Her funeral was attended by thousands, which attests to her great popularity and humanitarian actions. She is still remembered for providing the softer side to her husband's authoritarian rule, and the great tragedy the nation suffered with her grievous death.

**Yukka chabyŏng**

[**Literature**]

**Yulgok chŏnsŏ** (Collected Works of Yulgok)

*Yulgok chŏnsŏ* is the literary collection of the middle Chosŏn period scholar Yi I (1536-1584). The author of this collection is considered one of the two greatest neo-Confucian scholars of the Chosŏn period along with Yi Hwang (1501-1570). It was compiled by his fifth generation descendent and consists of a total of twenty-three volumes and thirty-eight fascicles. It is titled after the pen name of Yi, and was published in 1749. In more recent times, Sŏngyun'gwan University published an annotated version in 1958, and it has also been included in works such as *Yulgok sŏngnihak chŏnsŏ* (The Complete Collection of the Neo-Confucian Thought of Yulgok) published by the Han'guk Kojŏn Kugyok Wiwŏnhoe in 1961 among others.

This collection contains various literary works of Yi, including his poetry, inscriptions, memorials, epitaphs and other writings. However, it is most noted for Yi's ideological discussions on his interpretation of the neo-Confucian doctrines. Yi's writings are heavily influenced by his belief in the fundamental supremacy of *ki* (life force) over that of *i* (principle) which was in marked contrast to the ideology of Yi's contemporary Yi Hwang who advocated the opposite. Yi I, however, stressed the primacy of *ki*, the energizing force, as the fundamental factor in the existence of the universe rather than the formative power of *i*. The ultimate view of *i* was that it was no more than the law of motion or activity that was inherent in *ki*. Hence, those who emphasized the primacy of *ki* were in a better position to understand the law that governed the objects of the material world.

This work is essential for understanding the neo-Confucian philosophy that dominated the Chosŏn period. Yi's school of *ki* supremacy had a major impact on later writings and
Yullyŏng

Yun Ch’iho

Yun Ch’iho was a politician and nationalist activist of late Chosŏn, the Han Empire and the colonial period. His family’s ancestral home is in Haep’yŏng and his pen name was Chwaong. Born in Ansan of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, he received a traditional Confucian education, but in an enlightened atmosphere. In 1881 he was a part of the ‘gentlemen’s sightseeing group’ (shinsa yuramdan) that was dispatched to Japan to witness the effects of modernisation on Japan’s social and political institutions. Yun remained in Japan, enrolling in a modern school where, among other subjects, he studied English. This denotes him as one of the first Koreans to study in modern Japan. At this time Yun became acquainted with members of Korea’s modernisation faction, including Kim Okkun (1851-1894), Sŏ Kwangbŏm (1859-?) and Pak Yonghyo (1861-1939), as well as pioneers of the movement in Japan. Upon returning to Korea, Yun served as an official on the Board for General Control of Diplomatic and Commercial Matters (T’ongni Kyosop T’ongsang Samu Amun) and worked to establish Korean political autonomy. However, as a result of the failed coup d’etat of 1884 (Kapshin Chŏngbyŏn), which was carried out by members of the modernisation faction, Yun was forced to flee from Korea to Shanghai.

While in Shanghai Yun got to know the American Consul, Mr G. Stahl, and entered the Zhongxi Shuyuan (school) where his studies proceeded along modern lines, for three and a half years. While still a student of Zhongxi Shuyuan, Yun embraced Christianity through the tutelage of the missionary Mr A.J. Allen and the headmaster of the school Mr W.B. Bonnel. After completing his studies at Zhongxi Shuyuan and with the assistance of Allen and Bonnel, Yun travelled to the United States where he entered Vanderbilt College (now Nashville University, Tennessee). While at Vanderbilt, Yun studied theology and English and after three years graduated with high grades. He then entered Emory College (now Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia) where he studied the humanities and sciences, being greatly influenced by his instructor Mr W. A. Candler. During his studies in the United States, Yun attended a variety of on- and off-campus events and engaged in many useful activities. During his study in Japan, Yun had witnessed the effects of the Meiji reforms and modernisation, and was able to compare this with his own first-hand assessment of the backwardness of China and Chosŏn. His period of study in America had consolidated his Christian beliefs, while at the same time letting him see how a democracy worked.

By 1895 Yun had completed his studies in America and returned to Korea by way of Shanghai. In 1896 he accompanied Min Yonghwan (1861-1905) to the coronation ceremony of the Russian Czar Nicolas II. The following year he concentrated his efforts on supporting the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe) and undertook various activities with Sŏ Chaep’il (1866-1951) and Yi Sangjae (1850-1927) among others. The Independence Club’s activities centred on modernisation and the establishment of a strong and politically neutral Korean foreign policy. Thus, it did not favour any one of the major powers that were then vying for supremacy in Korea. However, the operations of the Club were viewed with distrust by the government, which felt that its ultimate goal was to replace the monarchy, which King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) eventually dissolved.

Yun continued his political activities in various official capacities and after the 1905 Protectorate Treaty (Ulsa pohon choyak) with Japan, concentrated on the new education movement, where he was active in the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) and the Korean nationalist movement. His involvement in the New People’s Association (Shinminhoe), a nationalist organisation, led to his arrest in the Case of the One Hundred and Five (paegoin sakkŏn) in 1912 and his subsequent incarceration by the Japanese. He
was released from prison in 1915 then resuming his interests in the YMCA. Yun was also active in educational circles during this period and served as director at Yŏnhŭi College, Severance Medical College and Ehwa Women’s College. Additionally, he served as director of Yŏnhŭi College and Songdo Normal High School. From the 1920s onward Yun was involved in several pro-Japanese factions that sought to create co-operation between the Japanese and the Korean nationalists. His literary works include Usūn sori (Amusing Sounds) and Yun Ch’iho ilgi (Diary of Yun Ch’iho).

Yun Ponggil (1908-1932)

Yun Ponggil was an independence activist and a martyr of the colonial period. His family’s ancestral home is in P’ap’yŏng, his given name was UUi and his pen name was Maehŏn. He was born in Yesan of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. In 1918 he entered the Tŏksan Normal School, but after the outbreak of the March First Independence Movement in 1919, he withdrew from school as a protest to Japanese educational policies. He continued his education in the Chinese classics under Ch’oe Pyŏngdae and then began to engage in various enlightenment movements for farmers and those living in the rural areas. Yun provided many services to the farmers, particularly through the Wŏljinhoe organisation that he created to assist in their education. However, his activities were inviting scrutiny from the Japanese authorities and as a result he moved to Manchuria in 1930. It seems that he had already decided his fate when he left his native land, as the entry in his diary the day prior to his departure reveals -- ‘It is impossible for a fully-grown man who has left his home to return alive’.

In China, Yun became even more active in the independence movement and became associated with such leaders of the movement as Kim Ku (1876-1949). Yun moved to Shanghai and began to search for a way to strike at the Japanese. It was announced in the local newspaper that there would be a birthday celebration for the Japanese emperor at a park in Shanghai and Yun, along with other leaders of the Korean independence movement, began to devise a resistance action to coincide with the celebration. Yun proposed the setting off of an explosive device, which met the complete approval of the movement’s leaders. Under the direction of Kim Ku, on 29 April 1932 Yun stood close to the grandstand and immediately after the Japanese national anthem threw a grenade, which killed the commander of the Japanese troops in Shanghai and the head of the Japanese residents’ association. Many others were also injured in the explosion. Yun was placed under arrest and taken to Osaka, Japan on 20 June. He was executed there on 19 December 1932.

Yun is honoured as a martyr to the Korean independence movement as one who willingly sacrificed his own life for the good of the movement. He is remembered in many memorials throughout Korea, most notably at the Independence Hall that has a special display detailing the bombing. He was posthumously awarded the Order of Merit for National Foundation by the government of the Republic of Korea in 1962.

Yun Posŏn (1897-1990)

Yun Posŏn was a politician and the second president of the Republic of Korea. He was born in Asan of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. He received his university education at Edinburgh university and graduated from there in 1930. After Korea’s liberation in 1945 Yun became active in politics, serving a term as mayor of Seoul after the formation of the Republic of Korea in 1948 and then in the administration of Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) as Minister of Commerce. He was a member of the National Assembly from 1954 to 1960, becoming leader of the Democratic Party in 1957. This was a stepping stone to his election as President of the ROK in 1960.

With the 19 April 1960 Student Uprising, Rhee stepped down as president. A new Constitution was adopted under the interim government of Hŏ Chŏng, which stipulated an
indirect election for the presidency, by the National Assembly. The position of president was to be a figurehead, except for the important duty of nominating the prime minister. Thus after the new constitution was adopted, elections were held on 29 July 1960, with the Democratic Party gaining a clear majority in both houses. The assembly then elected Yun as president and additionally approved his nomination of Chang Myŏn (1899-1966) as prime minister. Later in December of the same year, provincial elections were held and Korea seemed well on the way to establishing a true democracy. However, Yun and Chang failed to provide decisive leadership and as a result many factions sprang up, which led to a chaotic period. The end result of this turmoil was the May 1961 Military Coup by Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏngch'ui) that ushered in an authoritarian regime for the next eighteen years.

Yun continued to be active in politics after the coup d'etat by Park and assumed the role of leader of the opposition party. When presidential elections were held in 1963, Park narrowly defeated Yun, his main opponent, with 47 per cent of the total vote. The election seemed fair and Yun publicly congratulated Park on his victory. Yun again ran against Park in the 1967 election but did not come as close to victory as he had four years earlier. The 1967 election was the last for Yun but he still remained active in the opposition political parties of the day. He died in 1990 at his home in Seoul at the age of ninety-three.

Yun Sŏndo (1587-1671)

Yun Sŏndo was a civil official and shijo composer of mid Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Haenam, his courtesy name was Yagi and his pen names were Kosan and Haeong. He was the son of Yun Yushim who followed a career as a government official and the adopted son of Yun Yugi who was the provincial governor of Kangwŏn Province. Although Yun was born in Seoul, his father’s elder brother adopted him when he was eight years of age and moved to Haenam.

After reading Sohak (Small Learning) he was deeply impressed with it and took it as his standard. In 1616 as a student of the National Confucian Academy, he presented a memorial to the King bitterly criticizing the political heavyweights of the time, including Yi Ich'ŏm (1560-1623), Pak Sŏngjong and Yu Hŭibun. As a result, he was the victim of a cunning scheme of the Yi Ich'ŏm faction and was exiled to Kyŏngwŏn in Hamgyŏng Province. While in exile he composed six shijo style poems, five pieces for Kyŏnhoeyo (Dispelling Gloom) and Uhuyo (After Rain). One year later he was moved to Kijang in South Kyŏngsang Province. In 1623 after the members of the Yi Ich'ŏm faction were purged in the aftermath of the dethronement of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) by the Westerner faction, he was released and appointed to an official position. However, after three months he resigned his post and returned to Haenam. In 1628 he passed the special (pyŏlshi) and preliminary (ch'oshi) examinations with the highest score and was appointed as tutor of Prince Pongnim and Prince Inp'yŏng. Moreover, despite the fact that as tutor he was debarred from concurrently holding another official position, he served as Section Chief (chwarang) on the Board of Works (Kongjo), Section Chief (chŏngnang) on the Board of Punishments (Hyŏngjo) and as the Deputy Magistrate (pusŏyun) of Seoul for five years by special order of King Injo (r. 1623-1649). In 1633 he passed yet another government service examination and took positions with the Board of Rites (Yejo) as a Section Chief and as Fourth Inspector (chip'yŏng) with the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). However, due to the political scheming of Kang Sŏkki he was relegated to Magistrate (hyŏngam) of Sŏngsan and in the next year relieved of even this position.

After this episode, Yun returned again to Haenam where he heard that the Manchu Invasion of 1636 had occurred and that the King had surrendered. He considered this a great dishonour and headed for Cheju Island. On his way there he was enamoured by the exquisite scenery of Pogil Island and under Kyŏkcha Peak he built a
house which he called Naksojae. In this serene locality he fully enjoyed many refinements, and with the substantial possessions that he inherited, he built many fine buildings and pavilions.

However, for the misdeed of not paying court on the King when he returned to Seoul after the Invasion, he was again exiled to Yongdok in North Kyongsang Province in 1638. But on this occasion, he was pardoned after one year. For the following ten years, he enjoyed a casual lifestyle in the natural surroundings of of Kumswoedong and Puyongdong on Pogil Island, without any regard for the political scene. At this time, against the backdrop of Kumswoedong, he composed Sanjung shin'gok (New Songs in the Mountain) and Sanjung sok-shin'gok (More New Songs in the Mountain) among other works. Then in 1651, in a greatly relaxed mental state, he wrote Ōbu sashisa (Fishermen's Songs of the Four Seasons) -- widely acclaimed as one of the finest shijo cycles.

In 1652, King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659) commanded Yun to take up the position of Third Minister (ch'amui) of the Board of Rites, but he soon resigned due to the political manoeuvres of the Westerener faction and lived in retirement in Kosan in Kyonggi Province. His last work, Mongch'ŏn'yo (The Dream Journey to Skyland), was written here. In 1657 when he was seventy-one years old, Yun was again appointed to an official position as Sixth Royal Secretary (tongbusāngi) of the Royal Secretariat. However, he was prevented from taking this office by the political schemes of the Song Shiyol (1607-1689) faction. At about this time he presented two memorials to the King in which he strongly emphasised the need for the establishment of greater power for the monarchy. In 1659 when King Hyojong died, he was once more confronted by the Westerner Faction concerning the doctrine of propriety. Once more, he was sent into exile, this time to Samsu and was released in 1667. He lived out his life mainly in Puyongdong, and died at Naksojae when he was eighty-five.

Yun's devotion was to the Southern Faction, which was politically weak and constantly confronted by the powerful Western Faction. Yun constantly advocated the strengthening of the monarchy, a platform which had calamitous results for him, resulting in over twenty years of exile and banishment and retirement from active political life for another nineteen years. Despite this, he enjoyed a splendid life in retirement with the property he had inherited from his ancestors, and his outstanding literary skills were revealed in this lifestyle. He is praised as the one who displayed the most excellent literary ability among the shijo poets, who chose nature as their theme.

A special characteristic of Yun's writing is that he expresses nature, his main subject, in the common language of society, and he chooses nature in order to represent certain conceptions. Moreover, in most instances, nature appeared to him to have a strict relationship with the Confucian ethical world. However, neither a direct confrontation with nature nor the animation of nature as a living entity is seen in his works. This is probably due to the fact that he lived a life of plenty and did not experience the degree of suffering or hardship that nature could deal the common man.

His collection Kosan sŏnsaeng yugo (Posthumous Works of Master Kosan) contains Sino-Korean poetry, and in another collection more Sino-Korean poems, thirty-five shijo, and forty pieces of the short songs of Ōbu sashisa are included. There are also two books, Sanjung shin'gok and Kumswoedong chipko (Collection of Kumswoedong), written in his own hand. Together with Ch'ŏng Ch'ŏl (1537-1594) and Pak Illo (1561-1642), Yun is considered as one of the three great poets of Chosŏn. He wrote seventy-five pieces of lyrics and shijo, many of which are famous.

**Yun Tuso** (1668-1715)

Yun Tuso was a gentleman painter. His family's ancestral home is in Haenam, his courtesy
name was Hyoŏn and his pen name was Kongjae. Yun's family was renowned for producing painters of high calibre and he is accepted as one of the three great painters of the period, together with Chŏng Sŏn (1676-1759) and Shim Sajŏng (1707-1769). In 1693 he became a literary licentiate (chinsa) but due to the intensifying factional politics Yun gave up his pursuit of an official post and instead dedicated his life to his studies. In 1712 he returned to Haenam, where he retired. In 1774 he was posthumously honoured with the position of Second Minister (ch’amp’an) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo).

Yun is praised as a painter who well represents the change in the style which occurred between middle and late Chosŏn. His subject material was often a personage who displays the artist's perception of their inner and innate qualities. He was also influenced by the shirhak (Practical Learning) of the time that further influenced his artistic style. There are extant many representative paintings by Yun including Nosŏng to (Portrait of the Old Monk), Paengma to (Painting of a White Horse) and Chahwasang (Self-Portrait). Yun also left literary works, including Kijol and Hwadan.

Yushim (see Magazines)

Yushin Constitution [History of Korea]

Yushin system [Politics]

Zappe, E. [Germany and Korea]

Zhou Wenmu [History of Korea]