

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 Inchön 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'yöngyang 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'yöngyang, 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 \$US200 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'ŏnp'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 14c 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'on 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. *Chaksŏlch'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

[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 Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang 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*.

### *Sadaejuii*

[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, *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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, *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 were 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül undong***

In practical terms, *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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 *Saemaül 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.

*Saengwŏn*

[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 Ŭiam 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 Tojŏn (?-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 Tojŏn was one of the most loyal aides of King T'aejo 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 dynas

### **Samch'ŏk**

Situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province to the south of Tonghae, Samch'ŏk is comprised of the towns of Togyŏ and Wŏndŏk, and the townships of Kagok, Kŭndŏk, 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, Wŏlmido, Imwŏn and Hosan beaches. Numerous historical relics scattered throughout the city serve as a further attraction to tourists.

There are a number of Buddhist sites here. Yŏngŭn Temple, which was originally founded by Pŏmil in 891, contains several important historical buildings including the P'alsang (Eight Scenes) Hall and Main Buddha Hall (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 77 and 76 respectively). The temple also houses an old banner-painting (*kwaebul*, Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No.108). Other popular Buddhist temples in the area include Shinhŭng and Wŏnbo Temple near Kyoga, and Ch'ŏnŭn Temple and Yŏmbul Hermitage near Mt. Tut'a. A number of old historical buildings are also found here, including the old residences of Kim Chinbae and Kim Nangnyun (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 94 and 95 respectively) in Kŭndŏk Township.

In Shinnam Village there is a shrine to the god of the sea where prayers are offered to ensure a bountiful catch. A tree at the site has been carved into a phallic symbol to appease the soul of a drowned virgin. Outside of the shrine, a stone pagoda stands near a Chinese juniper on which phallic symbols have also been hung.

*Samdang shiin* (Three T'ang Poets of Korea) [Literature]

*Samgang* (three cardinal human relationships) [Society]

*Samgang haengshil to* (see *Tongguk shinsok samgang haengshil to*)

***Samguk sagi*** (History of the Three Kingdoms)

The *Samguk sagi* (50 vols., comp., 1145) was compiled by Kim Pushik (1075-1151) during the reign of King Injŏng of the Koryŏ dynasty, and deals with the rise and fall of the kingdoms of Shilla, Koguryŏ and Paekche. It is the most important work, together with the *Samguk yusa*, for the study of ancient Korea. It includes: Annals of the Shilla Dynasty (includes Greater Shilla), 12 volumes; Annals of the Koguryŏ Dynasty, 10 volumes; Annals of the Paekche Dynasty, 6 volumes; Chronology, 3 volumes; *Ji*, 9 volumes; Biographical Notes, 10 volumes.

Having been compiled nearly 500 years after the fall of Koguryŏ and Paekche and 200 years after Shilla, there was a paucity of Korean source materials remaining, especially for Koguryŏ and Paekche, many records having been lost or destroyed due to war, fire and other calamities. The *Samguk sagi* contains bibliographical references to several works by Kim Tae-mun and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn which are no longer extant but which were no doubt used as sources. There are also many quotations from Chinese sources such as the dynastic histories and other historical works, particularly regarding wars and general relations with Tang.

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 Mugŭk, 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 Kyebok, 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 hakpo*, 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*

[Customs and Traditions]

*Sangch'un kok* (Song to Spring)

[Literature]

### 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

[Industry]

*Samul nori*

[Music]

Samyŏngdang ( see Yujŏng)

## Sanch'ŏn County

Situated in the western part of South Kyŏngsang Province, Sanch'ŏng County includes the town of Sanch'ŏng and the townships of Kŭmsŏ, Tansŏng, Samjang, Shindŭng, Shinan, Saengbiryang, Saengch'o, Obu, Shich'ŏn and Ch'ahwang. 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, Tŏkch'ŏn 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 Chŏngsa, an ancestral shrine commemorating Mun Ikchŏm (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 Kyöngsang Province, Sangju is comprised of the town of Hamch'ang, and the townships of Chungdong, Hwabuk, Hwadong, Hwanam, Hwasö, Ian, Konggöm, Kongsöng, Naesö, Naktong, Modong, Mosö, Oenam, Oesö, Saböl and Üch'ök. 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 Saböl and Hamch'ang plains in the northeast make the city North Kyöngsang Province's second greatest producer of rice. Other important crops include apples, persimmons, sesame and tobacco. Chüngch'on 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 Hwasö, Hwabuk, Naktong and Üch'ök. As for mining, in Konggöm Township one finds the Kirim, Hamwön and Sangwön mines and in Mosö Township, there is Wölmyöng 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 Unhüng, is particularly popular with weary hikers coming down from Mt. Songni's rugged peaks. Situated in Naktong Township, Kyöngch'öndae 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 Kyönhwön (?-936), leader of the shortlived Later Paekche kingdom. In addition, there is the Kumdol Fortress on Mt. Paekhwa in Modong Township, the Mt. Nam Fortress to the north of Oesö Stream and the Pyöngp'ung Fortress on Mt. Pyöngp'ung (366m) near the Naktong River. Ancient Buddhist artefacts are found throughout the area, especially at Yonghwa Temple in Hamch'ang's Chüngch'ong Village and Namjang Temple to the south of Mt. Noüm. Old Confucian schools in the area include Tonam Söwön just west of the Naktong River, Hüngam Söwön southwest of Mt. Ch'önbong (436m), Sangju Hyanggyo south of central Sangju, Yönak Söwön in Yangch'ong-dong, Hamch'ang Hyanggyo in Hamch'ang's Kyoch'ong Village and Oktong Söwön in Modong Township's Subong Village.

In Konggöm Township's Yangjöng 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 Kyöngju 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 Kyöngju's Dragon Pond (Yongdam) 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 accidentally 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*

[Music]

## 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, Ŭnp'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)

[Society]

## *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 *Ŭibang 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 synasty, 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.

***Sasöng t'onghae*** (Explanation of the Four Tones)

*Sasöng 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 chöng'un yökun* (Translation of the Hung-wu Correct Rhymes) that was published in 1455, and to *Sasöng T'onggo* that included the pronunciation of the Chinese characters but lacked any explanation as to their meaning. Therefore, *Sasöng 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 namjöng ki*** (Record of Lady Sa's Trip to the South)

*Sassi namjöng ki* is a novel written by Kim Manjung (1637-1692). There are several editions of this work extant including a *han'gül* woodblock edition, a hand written edition and one that was printed with movable-metal type. Titles of this work also include *Namjöng ki* (Record of the Trip to the South) and *Sassi chön* (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'öng. She then schemes to have Yun exiled in a political manoeuvre and takes up residence with Tongch'öng. 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 Chosön court that arose when King Sukchong deposed Queen Inhyön in favor of the concubine Lady (*hübibn*) Chang. The plot line of the story and the actual circumstances in the Chosön court are nearly identical except that *Sassi namjöng ki* was written before Queen Inhyön 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 Inhyön and had her reinstated as Queen. However, this remains speculation, as there is no concrete evidence for it.

On a superficial level, *Sassi namjǒng 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 namjǒng 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'gŭl* 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 namjǒng 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 Panwölsöng Fortress and Kyerim Grove in the ancient Shilla capital, Kyöngju.

The tower was built at the command of Queen Söndök (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'ömsöngdae 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 6 500 such records being preserved for the next period, the Koryö Dynasty - from early 10th c. to the end of the 14th c., in the official history for the period, the *Koryösa* (History of Koryö). For the next five hundred years of the Chosön 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 Söngdök Bell, better known as the Emille Bell, which today is preserved at the National Museum of Kyöngju, 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 Koryö (c. 1240) as the first example of metal type printing in the world.

High praise for Koryö 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 Koryö and early Chosön 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 Paekche monk Kwallük was sent to teach the Japanese many areas of science and technology, including astronomy. According to the Japanese historiographer, Kwallük 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 Kwallük 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 Koguryŏ 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, *Isinho*, 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 Tosŏn (827-898), who was actively concerned with temple planning towards the end of the Greater Shilla period. Legend has it that it was Tosŏn himself who had predicted the rise of a new dynasty, Koryŏ (918-1392), under the leadership of the rebel leader Wang Kŏn. The official history of the Koryŏ period shows that Wang Kŏn (T'aejo), the founder king of the new dynasty, relied heavily on Tŏson'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 shimch'e yojŏl*, 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 Koryŏ period Korean medicine was widening its scope with the introduction of medical knowledge from the Middle East. Occasionally, Koryŏ practitioners were even invited by the Chinese court.

From the historical records on contemporary medicine, we can tell that Koreans from the late Koryŏ 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 Chosŏn times, when the massive collection of Korean medicine was successfully compiled as the *Hyangyak chipsŏng 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 *Tongŭi pogam* (Exemplar 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 *Tongŭi 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 Koryŏ 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 on that the Koreans recorded the level of water both in the Han River and in the Ch'önggye 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'ilchöngsan*, 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 Chŏng 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 Kyugyŏng (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*

*shinsho* (New Book of Anatomy), translated by Sugita Gempaku (1732-1817) *et al* from a Dutch text in 1774. In mid-18th c. there were dozens of so-called Dutch Learning scholars in Japan who held a commanding knowledge of Dutch, while there were no such scholars in China. Unlike China and Japan, there was no Western presence in Korea during the whole period. Korean scholars had the opportunity to learn a Western language only after the opening of Korea in 1876.

When the giant upheavals took place on the 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 Puyŏ). 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 Widŏk (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 Sŏsan County, South Ch'ungch'ŏng 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 Koguryŏ 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 Kyŏngju). 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 Koguryŏ 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 Kamŭn 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 Kahŭng 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 oppressing 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'gŭl*. In 1452, Sejo was appointed Controller (*chejo*) in the Bureau of Music (Kwansŭp 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 (Chiphyŏnjŏn). The scholars who were killed in this purge include the 'six martyred ministers' (*sa yukshin*) 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'ae pŏp (a law requiring all commoners to wear *hop'ae*, 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 yukchŏn* (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 (*Kwajŏn 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'guso*) 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 chŏllyak* (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 *Kyongsangdo 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 Chosŏn kings. He put the Chosŏn 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'gŭl* script, still in use in Korea today.

Sejong was the third son of Prince Chŏngan, the fifth son of King T'aejo, founder of the Chosŏn dynasty. His father became king on the abdication of his uncle, Prince Chŏngjong, and took the name T'aejong. 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 Chŏson monarch to have been influenced in his early years by Neo-Confucianism, which was introduced by An Hyang (1243-1360) of the Koryŏ 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 chŏngŭm 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 patrilineal relationships introduced in Sejong's time is thought to have contributed to centuries of political stability and cultural achievement.

The Korean alphabet, or *han'gŭl* 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 (*ŏnmun*)'. 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 chŏngŭm*, 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 chŏngŭm haerye* compiled by a group of scholars commissioned by Sejong. In traditional times the script was usually called *ŏnmun* (vernacular/vulgar script), indicating the low esteem in which it was held by a Sinocentric world. In 1912 the term *han'gŭl*, with the ambiguous meanings 'great writing' and 'Korean writing', was coined by Chu Shigyŏng 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'gŭl* 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 Chosŏn dynasty. This was in preparation for the compilation of a monumental work entitled *Yongbi ŏch'ŏn 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 ŏch'ŏn ka*, which were appended to the *Sejong shillok* and which contain precise rhythmic information, something unprecedented in East Asia. The treatise *Akhak kwebŏm* (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 chiksŏl* (Straight Talk on Farming) to be written by Chong Ch'o 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 *Uibang 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'aejo, the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, in 1397, and revised by the third king, T'aejong, 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 Chŏlla 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 *Ttŏdori ūi shi* (Poems of a Wanderer) and *Sanshi* (Mountain Poems) are among his many poetry collections.

### Seoul Arts Centre

Located in Sŏch'ŏ District in southern Seoul, the Seoul Arts Centre (Yesurŭi 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'ogŭp 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 agricultue and associated subjects.

From its inception, the Seoul National University was coeducational. Today, 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 (Söul Shirip Misulgwan) is located in Kyöngghüi 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 (Söul Kyohyang Aktan) [Music]

## *Seoul shinmun*

The *Seoul (Söul) 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. 13 738, 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'gül* 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'ŏnji* (New Heaven and Earth), which was published from 15 January 1946 to May 1951; the weekly magazine *Sŏndei sŏul* (Seoul Sunday) published from 22 September 1968; and the sports newspaper *Chugan sŭp'och'ŭ* (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 (Hansŏng, Hanyang) can be traced to the Three Kingdoms period of Koguryŏ (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 Puyŏ. 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 Sŏngjong (r.981-997) of Koryŏ (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 (Namgyŏng) - P'yŏngyang being the Northern Capital (Pukkyŏng) and Kyŏngju the Eastern Capital (Tonggyŏng).

Yi Sŏnggye (King T'aejo) who founded Chosŏn in 1392, moved his capital from Kaesŏng 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.

(Insert Figure 1)

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), Wönsan (1882), Inch'ön (1883) Mokp'o (1899), Yongamp'o (1904), Ch'önjin (1908) and Sinūiju (1910) and the completion of the railways with Inch'ön 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 Kyönggi 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 was 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, Ŭijöngbu, Inch'ön, Puch'ön, Söngnam and Suwön (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 Kyönggi 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'ön Metropolitan Area and Kyönggi 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.

(Bring in Figure 2)

### 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'ŏn and Kyŏnggi 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).

(Bring in 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 Kyŏnggi and some R&D activities have moved to southern Kyŏnggi, 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'ŏn; 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 Sŏngsu 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 Yŏŭi-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 Panwŏl 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, P'yŏngchon 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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**TABLE 1** MANUFACTURING STRUCTURE OF SEOUL AND THE CAPITAL REGION AND SOUTH KOREA, 1980, 1985 AND 1990

	Capital region			South Korea			
	1980	1985	1990	1980	1985	1990	
Resource products	14.0	13.1	11.7	14.4	13.2	12.8	
Assembly products		36.6	41.2	50.0	33.1	38.4	45.2
Labour-intensive products	33.0	31.7	25.2	38.8	36.4	29.0	
Capital-intensive products	3.6	2.9	2.6	5.1	4.2	4.2	
Other special products	12.8	11.1	10.5	8.8	7.8	7.8	
Manufacturing		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of workers ('000)	779	1,199	1,591	1,998	2,397	3,138	

*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).

*Sesok ogye* (five secular injunctions)

[Society]

Severance Medical School

[Medicine]

Shaman rituals (*kut*)

[Shamanism]

## Shamanism

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. *Munyŏ* 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 (*sesŭp 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 ōmŏni*) 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 *shinbyŏng* 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 (*sŏn 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 *myŏngdu*

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 MacArthur, 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. Sŏngju 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 Chesŏk, 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 *õp*, 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, Sõnghwang (or Sõnang), takes its name from the Chinese City God (Ch'enghuang), but in Korea Sõnghwang is associated with mountains rather than with cities. Most likely the veneration of Sõnghwang is a variation of the worship of mountain gods as local tutelary deities. In the Chosõn period the Confucian government also worshipped mountain gods and Sõnghwang, 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 Sõnang 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 Yõng (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. Pyõlsang are the spirits of princesses who died of smallpox, or kings and princes who came to a tragic end. Ch'ìlsõng (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 (*hoengsulhongsu*, *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'yng 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 (*kōri*) 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 *kōri* 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 cylindrical *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 Nünghwa (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' (*Munyŏdo*) 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'a kosa*). 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 *tan'gol* 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.

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B Walraven

## 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 (*köri*) and for each of the deities to whom such a *köri* 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 canonic 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'ōng 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'ōyong ka', but it remains uncertain whether it ever was really used in shaman rituals. With some of the songs in the *Shiyong 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't'ae 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 *Koryōsa* 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-sosŏl*, *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.

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B Walraven

*Shigŭp* (tax villages)

[Taxes]

**Shihŭng**

Situated to the south of Inch'ŏn in Kyōnggi 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 Kyōngin 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 Chōngwang-dong and eight dolmens have been found Mokka-dong. Buddhist relics include a 14-metre high standing Bodhisattva 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 Hwajōng-dong, one finds Ojōnggak. 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 Yōngwŏl) Rock. Kim Mun'gi's grandson Ch'ungju, lamenting Tangjong's banishment to Yōngwŏl, is said to have come up here every day and wept as he looked out in the direction of Yōngwŏl. Legend has it that where his tears fell, a pine tree withered and died. Kosong-jōng (Withered Pine Pavilion) was erected at the site to commemorate the event.

*Shijo*

[Literature]

***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 Yōn'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.

Shillŭk Temple	[Architecture]
<i>Shimch'ŏng chŏn</i>	[Literature; Music]
<i>Shimch'ŏng ka</i>	[Literature]
Shimwŏn 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 Koryŏng and his many pen names included Ilp'yŏn tansaeng and Tanjae. Moreover, Shin was given names such as Muaesaeng and Kŏmshim 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 chŏn* (Biography of Yi Sunshin) *Ŭlji Mundŏk chŏn* (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 Hoeyŏng, Yi Kap and Yi Sŭnghun, and also in a branch organisation of the New People's Association, the Young Students Association (Ch'ŏngnyŏn hakhoe) with An Ch'angho, Yun Ch'ihŏ 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 Chŏngbu). 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 Lüshen 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*

[Magazines]

### 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, Sangch'on and Pangong. His father Shin Sŭngsŏ was an Inspector (*tosa*) of Kaesŏng and his mother, of the Ŭnjin 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 (*pyŏlshi*). 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 (*taejehak*) 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 (*uŭijŏng*). With the outbreak of the 1627 Manchu Invasion he was selected as Second State Councillor (*chwaŭijŏng*) and also fled the capital with the crown prince to Chŏnju for safety and in the next year he served as Chief State Councillor (*yŏngŭijŏng*) 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 Ikhŭi (1894-1956)

Shin Ikhŭi 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 chŏngbu) 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 Sŭngman) 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'ungh'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 kihaeng 1, 2* (Journeys in Search of Folksongs 1, 2; 1985, 1989).

Shin Kyushik

[History of Korea]

### Shin Saimdang (1504-1551)

Shin Saimdang is a representative female painter and poet of the mid Chosŏn period. Her family's ancestral home is in P'yŏngsan, her father was Shin Myŏnghwa 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 Wŏnsu, 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'yŏngan 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 Chosŏn period scholar-official. His family's ancestral home is in Koryŏng, his courtesy name was Pŏmong and his pen names were Hŭihyŏndang 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 (*saengwŏn*) and a literary licentiate (*chinsa*). In the following year he passed the *ch'inshi mun'gwa* (a civil service examination held on special order from the king) and began his life in Chosŏn officialdom. In 1441 he was appointed to the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyonjŏn) and in the following year he travelled to Japan as

part of an official embassy. Shin also contributed a great deal at the time of the creation of *Hunmin chōngum* (Correct Sound for the Instruction of the People). This work explained the *han'gŭl* script that had been invented in 1443. Shin also assisted in the writing of explanatory notes and a *han'gŭl* translation of *Yongbi ōch'ōn ka* (Songs of Flying Dragons), which was the first poetical work using the new *han'gŭl* script.

Shin's career as a diplomat is well documented as he played an important role in Chosŏn's relations with both Japan and China. His first trip to Japan was followed by later negotiations with Japan that resulted in a radical reworking of the trade practices between the two nations. His literary skills proved to be an important factor in his relations with the Japanese diplomats and many of the poems and other writings that he composed at the behest of the Japanese are contained in his *Pohanjae chip* (Collected Works of Pohanjae). Shin also was very important in the diplomatic relations with Ming China and in 1452 accompanied an official embassy to Ming that was led by Grand Prince Suyang (King Sejo, r. 1455-1468), who would soon usurp the throne as his own. After Sejo had seized the throne in 1455, Shin again travelled to Ming on the important mission of obtaining approval of the Ming for Sejo's reign. His work *Pohanjae chip* also contains many records concerning his travels to Ming China. Shin also contributed to the northern policies of Chosŏn. In 1460 he was charged with the command of the troops in Kangwŏn and Hamgil (present day Hamgyŏng) provinces and subjugated the northern tribes which had been pestering Chosŏn.

The literary legacy of Shin is rich and his works detail his many accomplishments and observations while serving in an official capacity. *Haedong chegukki* (International Records of Korea) details the geography, history and diplomatic relations between Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, Tsushima and other nations to the south and east of Korea. In this work Shin's observations of protocol and procedures for best handling the envoys from these nations served as a standard for subsequent generations. This work along with *Pohanjae chip* provide excellent documents for study of Shin.

Shin continued to serve in official capacities throughout his life and also was charged with supervision of the compilation of *Sejo shillok* (Veritable Records of King Sejo) and *Yejong shillok* (Veritable Records of King Yejong). Moreover, he held many official positions in his lengthy career including that of Chief State Councillor (*yŏngŭijŏng*) to which he was appointed in 1462. Shin died in 1475 and was honoured with the posthumous title of Munch'ong.

### Shin Wi (1769-1845)

Shin Wi was a late Chosŏn period official, calligrapher and painter. His family's ancestral home is in P'yŏngsan, his courtesy name was Hansu and his pen names included Chaha and Kyŏngsudang. His father, Shin Taesŭng, was Inspector General (*taesahŏn*) at the Office of Inspector General (*Sahŏnbu*) and his mother was the daughter of Yi Yŏngnok. In 1799 he passed the Royal Visitation Examination (*alsŏng 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 (Pyŏngjo) 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 Ch'unch'ŏn. 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 Kanghai 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'yŏngan 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'aegyŏng (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 *Kyŏngsudang chŏn'go* (Literary Collection of Kyŏngsudang) and *Chaha shijip* (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 Myŏngjun and Myŏngyŏn, as well as Cho Hŭiryong (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 yŏja*

[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'ŏmjŏljesa*), 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 Chōlla 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.); Chŭng (25 sq. kms.); Changsan (25 sq. kms.); Haŭi (23 sq. kms.); and Taehŭksan (22 sq. kms.). Administratively, Shinan County is comprised of the town of Chido; and the townships of Toch'o; Pigŭm; Shinŭi; Anjwa; Amt'ae; Amhae; Amja; Chaŭn; Changsan; Chŭngdo; P'algŭm; Haŭi; and Hŭksan. 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 (*miyŏk*) and salt. Mineral resources include clay which is mined on Chi Island and silica (for glass making) is found on the islands of Imja, Pigŭm, Amt'ae, Chaŭn, 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 Hŭksan Islands. Taehŭksan 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'ŏn Village, is Yŏn'gyesa, a small shrine commemorating Kim Yushin (595-673), the general who led Shilla's forces in their victorious campaign against Paekche and Koguryŏ. 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.

## Shinbul Mountain

Situated in Ulsan in South Kyŏngsang Province. Mt. Shinbul (1 209 metres) is easily accessible via the Kyŏngbu 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 Tŭngŏk 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.

Shinhan Bank

[Banks]

### Shinhŭng Temple

Shinhŭng 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 Hyangsŏng 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, Hyangsŏng Temple and Nŭngin Hermitage were destroyed in a fire. In 701, Ŭisang 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, Unsŏ 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 Shinhŭng (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, Ŭngjin Hall burnt down. Two years later, the monastery was designated a branch temple of Kŏnbong 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

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### *Shinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* (Newly-Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea)

*Shinjŭng 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 Ŭnpo; Shin Kongje; Hong Ōnp'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 fortieth; 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 (*tohubu*) *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 Yŏngjo (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'gŭl* edition was published by Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe. *Shinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 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 Namsŏn (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'un*. (Young Years) Shinmun'gwan also promoted awareness of Korea's heritage with its modern versions of classical texts.

**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 Ŭiju in order to send military supplies. The rail line construction was completed on 28 April 1905. The new city centre which developed at the Ŭiju end of the line came to be known as Shin (New) Ŭiju. 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.

**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'yŏng (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 (Myǒngjae, 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 (*Kyǒngse 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 (*Iyong 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 encyclopædic 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 Hyŏngwŏn

Yu Hyŏngwŏn (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 encyclopædic 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 ( Sŏngho, 1681-1763), widely recognised as another giant in the field of administrative reform, was greatly influenced by the work of Yu Hyŏngwŏn.

Yi Ik was born in 1681 in Unsan, Py'ŏngan 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 *Kwagurok* (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' (*Hanjŏng 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 encyclopædic 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, 1501-1570), 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 Chǒngbok 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 *Tongsa 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 Chǒng 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 Chǒng 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 Chǒng'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 (*insǒng*) 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 yup'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 Kyōnggi province, the key figures of the Northern Learning School, including Hong Taeyong, Pak Chiwōn 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 (*Tamhōn*, 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 *Tamhōnsō* (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 *Yōn'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' (*Ūisan 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 Chiwōn (Yōnam, 1737-1805), now known as a leading member of the Northern Learning School and a literary giant of the Chosōn Dynasty. Through Hong, Pak Chiwōn 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 Tōngmu (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* (*Yōrha 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 (Yangbanjŏn ) and Tiger's Rebuke' (*Hŏjil* ) 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 Chiwŏn, Pak Chega (Ch'ojŏng, 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 Tŏngmu, Yu Tŭkkong (1749-?) and Yi sŏgu (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 *Pukhagiŭ* (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 Hyŏngwŏn, Chŏng Yagyong and to a certain extent Pak Chiwŏn, 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 Chiwŏn 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' (*Kŭmsŏk 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 Kyuyŏng (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'uchŏng 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 Chŏng 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.

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M Setton

## *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 Sŏnjo (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 (*minyŏ*) and shaman songs (*muga*). It is notable in that it records *Koryŏ kayŏ* (Koryŏ songs) a genre that is not recorded in *Akhak kwebŏm* (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 Chǒng Tojǒn, 'Yurim ka' from the early Chosǒn period of an unknown writer and 'Hwoengsalmun' of an unknown writer and period. There is also 'Samogok' ('Maternal Love'), 'Sǒgyǒng pyǒlgok' ('Song of the Western Capital') and 'Ssanghwa kok', popularly known as 'Ssanghwajǒm' ('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'ǒngsan pyǒlgok' ('Song of Green Mountains'), a Koryǒ period *sogak*, and 'Kwihogok' which was popularly known as 'Kashiri' ('Would you Go?') and was another Koryǒ period *sogak*. This collection includes several works that were derived from *muga* including 'Sǒnghwang pan', 'Naedang', 'Taewang pan' and 'Chap ch'ǒyong' among others. This is an important feature since the official policies of Chosǒn 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 Koryǒ and early Chosǒn 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 Koryǒ Kingdom. Thus, since their works were in some way preserved in this collection helps maintain this valuable cultural legacy.

Shufeldt, Commodore Robert W.

[History of Korea]

Shufeldt Treaty (*Chemulp'o choyak*)

[USA and Korea]

### Si-sa-yong-o-sa Incorporated

Located in Seoul's Chongno Ward, the publishing house of Si-sa-yong-o-sa (Shisa Yongōsa) 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)

[Literature]

### Sǒ Chaep'il (1864-1951)

Sǒ 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. Sǒ was born in Posǒng of South Chǒlla Province and was the second son of Sǒ Kwanghyo. From an early age he lived in Chinjam Township of Ch'ungch'ǒng Province with his father's second cousin, Sǒ Kwangha, who adopted the young Sǒ. 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 (*pyǒlshi*) and was appointed as Copyist (*pujǒngja*) in the Office of Editorial Review (Kyosǒgwan). At this time he became associated with such men as Kim Okkyun (1851-1894), Sǒ Kwangbǒm (1859-?), Hong Yǒngshik (1855-1884) and Pak Yǒnghyo (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 (*Imo kullan*) the need for a better trained

national defense force became evident and Sŏ, upon the counsel of Kim Okkyun, travelled to Japan in the next year and entered Toyama Military Academy. At Toyama, Sŏ 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. Sŏ also participated in the planning for the Coup d'Etat of 1884 (*kapshin chŏngbyŏn*) which was led by Kim Okkyun. Sŏ 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 Sŏ's small command was quickly overwhelmed by the superior Chinese forces thereby enabling the Chosŏn government to recover. As a result of this coup attempt, Sŏ was forced to flee to Japan to avoid persecution.

After a brief stay in Japan Sŏ travelled to America with Sŏ Kwangbŏm. Sŏ had many experiences in the United States that began in San Francisco with a job passing out handbills. While doing so, Sŏ 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. Sŏ 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 Sŏ 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, Sŏ 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'gŭl* to secure a broader readership. Shortly after beginning the *Tongnip shinmun*, Sŏ founded the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe). 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 Sŏ and the Independence Club and thus, in 1898 Sŏ 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. Sŏ 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'inu Hoe) that was designed to bring together the Koreans in America with Americans and stimulate co-operative independence activities. After Korea regained her independence in 1945, Sŏ 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 Sŭngman) defeated him in the 1948 presidential elections he returned to America where he died in 1951.

Sŏ 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.

Sŏ Chŏngju ( see Seo Jung-joo)

## Sŏ Kŏjŏng (1420-1488)

Sŏ Kŏjŏng was a literati official of the early Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Talsŏng, his courtesy names included Kŏngjung and Chawŏn, and his pen names were Sagajŏng and Chŏngjŏngjŏng. His great-grandfather was the Minister (*chŏnsŏ*) of the Board of Taxation (Hojo), his father was a Magistrate (*moksa*) 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 Pangsŏn 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 (Chiphyŏnjŏn) 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'ilsŏn*) 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'irŏn chŏlgu* (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'onggwŏl* (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 Saŭnsa (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'anso*) 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 (*chwaŭijŏng*) 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 chŏryo* (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*, *Tongmunŏn* and *P'ilwŏn chapki* among others, and other works of great historical value such as *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* (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 (*uŏijŏng*) 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 Sönggyun'gwan 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'yöch'an Wiwönhoe (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'önggak yökkwan*) in the early eighteenth c. This work, along with *P'alsea* (An Eight-Year Old Child), were the primary instructional books in Chosön 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 Chaesöng. 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'gül* 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'öng and North Kyöngsang 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 Yönhwa 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. Hüibang Temple is situated south-west of the mountain's peak. This famous temple, founded in 643, lies next to the 28-metre-high Hüibang Waterfall. Besides Hüibang Temple, the park contains many sites associated with Buddhism, including Poguk, Ch'oam, Kuin, Piro, Sönghöl and Pusök Temples. Possessing a large number of artifacts, Pusök 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'oam Temple to Kungmang Peak, one can still see the walls of Ch'oam Fortress. There are also traces of a fortress on Mt. Ponghwang, the mountain behind Pusök 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 Hamgyöng 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; Masŏ; 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 Chihyŏn 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 tourists 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. Wŏlmyŏng, Sŏch'ŏn Hyanggyo (established in 1414) in Kunsu Village, Hansan Hyanggyo (established in 1518) in Chihyŏn Village, Munhŏn Sŏwŏn (established in 1594) in Kisan Township's Yŏngmo 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'ganhoe (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 Bronze 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 Puyŏ 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 Puyŏ 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 Puyŏ 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 the 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 Koguryŏ, 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. Koguryŏ Kingdom

Of the three kingdoms, it was Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ 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 *sŏkchŏnp'yŏn ssaum* (stone fighting game) and *ssirŭm* (a type of wrestling) that were often the centre of communal activities. These games can be viewed as stemming from the precarious position that Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ 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, Koguryŏ 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 *ssirŭm* and *sŏkchŏnp'yŏn 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 Koguryŏ 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'aejo (r. 53-146), and the solidification of monarchical authority and the centralisation of political structures was well underway by the reign of King Kogukch'ŏn (r. 179-196). The strengthening of the administrative and governing apparatuses of Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ, and further had placed restraints on the ability of other clans to become powerful within the upper classes of the Kingdom. The consolidation of political organisations as such allowed Koguryŏ to militarily oust the Chinese Lolang Commandery and seize its territory by 313. This enabled Koguryŏ 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.

Koguryŏ 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 *kyŏngdang*, which was a training institution for unmarried males and developed the military and moral qualities of these youths. Farmers of Koguryŏ 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 (*chindaepŏp*) that provided loans of grain during times of famine from state storehouses.

The greatest impact on Koguryŏ society was by the culture that entered the kingdom from China. Particularly, Buddhism is thought to have been accepted by the aristocracy of Koguryŏ in 372 and Confucianism was also well established by this time. The T'aehak (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 Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ, King Tongmyŏng (r. 37-19BCE). Thus there was a shrine honouring Tongmyŏng in Paekche where sacrificial rites were conducted according to records in the Chinese *Xin Tangsou* (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 Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ 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 *sönggol* (sacred bone) and this was followed by *chin'gol* (true bone). Originally, only those of *sönggol* rank were entitled to occupy the position of king and were of the royal house of Kim; however, with the death of Queen Chindök (r. 647-654) the *sönggol* 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 *kau*i festival recorded in the *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms). *Kau*i 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

(595-673).

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 Pöphüng (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 or 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 *sönggol* 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 evidenced 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 an 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 Türküt 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 Koguryŏ people' and further that 'the Koguryŏ people were all village headman,' thus indicating that positions of political power were dominated by the Koguryŏ refugees. The kingship was first held by the Tae house and then by the Ko house, both of which were of the nobility of Koguryŏ. 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 Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ. For example, the administrative structure was based upon the five-capital system that was used in Koguryŏ, the palace used an *ondol* (under floor) heating system, and the structure of the royal tombs was also quite similar to that in Koguryŏ. 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 Koguryŏ.

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 refuge in the newly found Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ 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.

### **Koryŏ Period**

As Greater Shilla disintegrated towards the end of the ninth century, there was a resurgence of the former Paekche and Koguryŏ (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 Kŏn (King T'aejo, r. 918-943) solidified his power base and founded the

Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ founder took a wife from the Shilla royal family in a bid to legitimatise his Kingdom as the successor of Shilla. Despite his connection with the Shilla royal family, however, Wang Kŏn did dismantle the *kolp'um* system of Shilla and attempt to bring a wider range of families into the ruling structure of Koryŏ.

A notable achievement of the Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ 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 rudimentary effort on the part of the Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ State.

The Confucian ideology was disseminated in Koryŏ 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 *sŏdang*, or private village schools. On the basis of the education provided by these Confucian-orientated institutions, Confucianism came to have widespread influence during the Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ was not Ch'usŏk (Harvest Festival) that was the dominant Shilla agriculture ceremony, but instead the Tano Festival. This indicates that the chief cultural influence on Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ 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 T'aejo 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 *P'alman taejang kyŏng* (Koryŏ Tripitaka) to ward off attacks from the Khitan. Even though this massive work was destroyed in a subsequent Mongol invasion in 1231, the Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ period is also noted for

the large Buddhist festivals that were sponsored by the State. Two prime examples of these are the *Yōngdŭng hoe* (Lantern Lighting Ceremony) and the *P'algwan hoe* (Festival of the Eight Vows). The *Yōngdŭng 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' (*ūich'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'unghŏn (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, they 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'aejo, 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 Tojŏn (1342-1398) and Cho Chun (1346-1405), and the neo-Confucian philosophy that they advocated would come to dominate Chosŏn society. They were fundamentally opposed to Buddhism not only for ideological reasons, but also due to the corrupt nature of Buddhism in the Koryŏ 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 Koryŏ period came under attack such as marriage practices, Buddhist funerary rites, shamanistic practices and incorrect social mores. The resultant culture of the Chosŏn period is often referred to as the *yangban* society; the term '*yangban*' (two classes) is broadly used to designate the status group in Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn period for the most part succeeded those in place at the end of the Koryŏ 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 Chosŏn 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 sŏnsŭp* (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 Chosŏn 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 (*chŏkch'ŏp chi pun*) that came to have far-reaching impact on the social systems of Chosŏn. 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 (*sŏŏl*).

The standing of women during the Chosŏn period declined markedly when compared to the Koryŏ period. This can be seen in practices surrounding inheritance, marriage and social status. During the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, there was no discrimination between sons and daughters concerning inheritance rights. The change in inheritance rights in the early Chosŏn 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 *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (National Code) in the late fifteenth century. However, even from the outset of the Chosŏn period legislative inroads were made on women's economic independence, a strong feature of the Koryŏ 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 Chosŏn 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 Koryŏ to Chosŏn period. An early focus of Chosŏn neo-Confucianists was the elimination of uxorilocal residence that was a feature of the Koryŏ 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 Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn society was the creation of an ancestral worship cult. The principle of patrification 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 within 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 employ 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 corvée 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 seshigi* (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 taejŏn* (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 ostracised. 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 Sŏnggye, 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 (*sŏin*) 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 Chŏng Yag'yong (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 prevent the so-called Western heresies from entering Chosŏn. Thus, by the end of the Chosŏn period, Korea lagged behind China and Japan in the adoption and understanding of Western technology.

#### 4. Social Institutions and New Religions of Chosŏn

In addition to the *yangban* culture of the ruling classes of Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn and is even credited with supporting Yi Sŏnggye in founding Chosŏn. 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 Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn and they held occupations such as physicians, astronomers, and artists, and also filled the lower administrative positions of the Chosŏn government. As such they represented the technical elite of Chosŏn and by the nineteenth century came to possess considerable influence. Additionally, illegitimate sons of *yangban* families (*sŏŏl*) 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 Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn.

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 Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn 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 Chosŏn.

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 Chölla 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 Chölla Province. The Tonghak armies swelled and towns throughout Chölla 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 Chosön. 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 Chosön peasantry. The movement, however, lacked the military sophistication to confront the combined Chosön 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 Chosön 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 Chosön 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 Chosön 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 *yögak*, 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 Chosön society.