Fig. 1 Korean Railways. Inset shows lines built by Japanese (Source: Rimmer, 1995; 195).
Fig. 2 Expressways and national roads (Source: Rimmer, 1995: 199).
**Ugō, King (? - 108 BCE)**

King Ugō was a king of Wiman Chosôn and the grandson of Wiman (194 BCE - ?), the founder the state. His grandfather founded Wiman Chosôn and shortly began to subjugate the neighbouring states to the north, east and south. The scale of Wiman grew to such an extent that it prohibited the small states to its south, including Chin, from direct contact with the Chinese Han dynasty. Wiman acted as an intermediary in all trade with Han and extracted a fee for every transaction. This was not well received by Han, as it also felt threatened by the Wiman expansion and the possibility of an alliance between the Korean state and Han’s northern enemies.

The long-standing contentions between Han and Wiman Chosôn reached their zenith in 109 BCE when Han launched an attack against the Wiman capital, Wanggŏm Castle (modern day P’yŏngyang). The outnumbered Wiman forces, led by King Ugō, struggled valiantly and held the fortress for a year before finally succumbing to a combination of the Han army and internal dissension. Ugō was assassinated by a faction within Wiman that sought peace with Han, but his loyal vassal Sŏnggi continued the struggle against the Han for some time. However, Wanggŏm Castle fell in 108 BCE and this marked the end of the Wiman Chosôn state.

**Ugye chip** (Collected Works of Ugye)

*Ugye chip* is the anthology of the scholar-official Sŏng Hon (1535-1598) of the middle Chosôn period. This woodblock-print work consists of six original volumes and six supplemental volumes in a total of six fascicles. It was first published in 1621 and was republished by a seventh generation descendant of the writer in 1809. The original six volumes contain poems, memorials to the throne and other various writings, while the supplementary collection contains a wide variety of prose and poetry.

This work is acclaimed for the literary excellence of Sŏng’s writings. He is acknowledged as one of the most prominent scholars of his day as revealed in his theoretical writings commenting on the nature of man, the manifestations of *ki* (life force) and how to cultivate this property. Also notable in this collection is the official correspondence that Sŏng sent to the throne in answer to political, economic and social problems that arose during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Therefore, this work is valuable not only from a literary standpoint, but also as a means to understand philosophical questions arising in neo-Confucian discourse and for the historical conditions present in Korea during the author’s life. Copies of this work are presently stored at the Kyujanggak Library, the National Central Library and Korea University.

**Ūibang yuch’wi** (Classified Collection of Medical Prescriptions, 1464)

*Ūibangg yuch’wi* is one of the two medical prescription books compiled in the early years of the Chosôn Dynasty, the other being the *Hyangyak chipsŏng pang* (Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions).

It consists of a massive 365 volumes, each with 100 leaves and as a consequence, in terms of size, no other medical textbook can be compared to it.

The editors of *Ūibangg yuch’wi* were Kim Yemong, Yu Sŏngwŏn, Min Pohwa, Kim Mun, Shin Sŏkcho, Yi Ye, Kim Suon and three medical doctors, Chŏn Sunŭi, Ch’oe Yun and Kim Yuji. The editing of the work during the final five years fell to Yang Sŏngji.

The work is an extensive compilation of the Chinese medical prescriptions in use at the time of King Sejong. References are made to the original Chinese works, which include 153 medical books used in the Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties. (About 40 of these
works are no longer extant). Thus, without recourse to the Chinese books, it is still possible to compare all the theories and prescriptions of the originals at a glance.

Following an introduction, the arrangement is according to ailment. Ninety of these are listed, such as diseases of the visceral organs, palsy, colds, diseases of the eye, etc. In the entry for each disease a general theory is provided, followed by prescriptions. The theories are listed in chronological order, showing changes from earlier theories.

A part of this voluminous work was carried to Japan during the Japanese invasion of 1592 and is currently kept at the Imperial Household Agency of Japan. In 1861, towards the end of the Tokugawa regime, the compilation was reprinted in reduced size. At this time, while the Üibangg yuch'wi was highly valued in Japan, not a single copy could be found in Korea itself as the volumes had been scattered and lost. The Japanese reprint was brought to Korea by a Japanese delegation at the time of King Kojong when the Korea-Japan Amity Treaty was signed in 1876. This copy was at first retained in the royal court, but it too has now disappeared.

Together with the Hyangyak chipsŏng pang, that other monumental medical book of the era of King Sejong, the Üibang yuch'wi stands as proof of the high standard of Korean civilization at that time.

Üibyŏng (Righteous Armies) [History of Korea]

Üich'ŏn (1055-1101)

Üich'ŏn, also known as National Master Taegak, is famous as the monk who founded the Korean Ch'o'nt'ae (Chin. Tiantai) Order. As the fourth son of King Munjong (r. 1046-1083), he responded to his father's request that one of his sons join the Buddhist clergy. He was ordained in 1065 under National Master Kyŏngdŏk. After studying at Yongt'ong Temple, he received full ordination at Puril Temple. From this time, he dedicated himself to extensive study of Mahayana and Hinayana sutras and treatises, and even non-Buddhist texts. Having thoroughly mastered Buddhist thought, he took over his teacher's lessons after his teacher's death. His insightful lectures soon became famous throughout the nation.

With a desire to further his studies, Üich'ŏn expressed a desire to go to Song China but was continually refused permission. However, he maintained a correspondence with Dharma Master Jingyuan, one of the most famous Song Buddhist masters of the time. In 1085, after the death of King Munjong, Üich'ŏn finally left for China accompanied by two of his disciples. After his arrival in China, Üich'ŏn travelled extensively, meeting leading thinkers of the Huayan, Tiantai, Vinaya, Pure Land and Chan sects. At this time, he even studied Sanskrit. However, the Koryŏ court soon requested that he return. Thus, in 1086, he came back to Korea with over 3,000 volumes of Buddhist texts.

Back in Korea, he became the abbot of Hŭngwang Temple where he set to work systematising Ch'o'nt'ae theory and training disciples. Later, after brief stays at other temples, he became the abbot of the newly constructed Kukch'ŏng Temple in 1097. In the next few years, a series of conferences were held and the Ch'o'nt'ae Sect was formally founded. The new order was tremendously popular, drawing many of the leading monks from the Nine Mountains Sŏn sects as well as from the Hwaŏm sect.

Although the Ch'o'nt'ae teachings had previously been studied in Korea, a formal Ch'o'nt'ae school had never existed. Üich'ŏn believed that Ch'o'nt'ae thought provided an ideal theoretical basis for the unification of Korean Buddhist schools. Basing himself on Wŏnhyo (617-686), Üich'ŏn claimed that original nature (sŏng) and characteristics (sang) were essentially a unity. By resurrecting some of Wŏnhyo's ideas, Üich'ŏn helped establish Wŏnhyo's position as the most fundamental Korean Buddhist thinker. Just as
Wonhyo had created a theoretic basis for a syncretic approach, Úich’ón attempted to show that the rival approaches of the Kyo (Doctrinal) and Són (Meditation) sects actually worked better in combination. According to Úich’ón, a conceptual understanding of the Buddhist path complemented the practical approach advocated by Són. However, Úich’ón felt that Són had grown excessively bibliophobic. He believed that meditation must be based on scriptural teachings.

In addition to his efforts to harmonise the Korean Buddhist schools, Úich’ón worked to preserve East Asian Buddhist texts for posterity. Unlike many Chinese Buddhist cataloguers who generally felt that only translated texts from Indian authors should be included in the canon, Úich’ón felt it important to include East Asian works so that these would not drop from circulation and be lost. Úich’ón therefore sent agents throughout East Asia to China, Japan, and the realm of the Khitan Liao dynasty in search of texts by native authors. In 1090, he published his catalogue, the Shinpyón che ch’ogyochy̖ chang ch’ongnok, which lists 1,010 titles in 4,740 rolls. Woodblocks of the texts were then carved and the collection was called Sok changgyòng (Supplement to the Canon). Unfortunately, the supplement, along with the first Koryó Canon, was burned during the Mongol invasion in 1231-1232. When the canon was recarved between 1236 and 1251, the supplement was omitted, and was therefore lost to posterity.

With his profound erudition and close ties to the monarchy, Úich’ón was able to bring together many of Korean Buddhism’s rival factions. However, his low appraisal of Són and his early death at the age of forty-seven ultimately doomed his efforts to failure. Yet, his attempt to find a theoretical rapprochement between Kyo and Són induced later thinkers such as Chinul to search for ways to integrate the two sects’ theoretical and practical approaches.

Úijong, King (r. 1146-1170)

King Úijong (1127-1173) was the eighteenth king of Koryó and ruled from 1146 to 1170. His name was Hyón, his childhood appellation was Ch’ól and his courtesy name was Ilsung. He was the eldest son of King Injong (r. 1122-114~) and Queen Kyóngye. His consorts were Queen Changgyòng and Queen Changsón. Úijong was named as crown prince when he was seven years old and when his father died in 1146 he assumed the throne.

The period in which Úijong ascended to the throne was a very turbulent one in Koryó history. Several years before Úijong had come into power, the strength of the monarchy in Koryó was greatly jeopardised by the Yi Chagóm (?-1126) Rebellion which exploited the weakness of the Koryó monarch. Although this attempt to overthrow the monarchy was thwarted, it was closely followed by another plot to topple the Koryó throne. This second attempt was led by the Monk Myoch’óng and actually was successful to the extent that a kingdom was briefly set up in P’yóngyang before government forces led by Kim Pushik (1074-1151) crushed the rebellion in 1135. To further add to the complicated situation that Úijong found himself in was the disdain that the civil officials and royal family held for the military forces. Koryó’s aristocratic rule was based on the principle of civil supremacy that relegated the military to a second class status. The military officials found themselves treated as subordinate members of society insofar as both their political and economic power was concerned. The foremost military commanders, such as Kim Pushik and Kang Kamch’an (948-1031), who were men with backgrounds as civil officials, were greatly concerned by this treatment. Therefore, the possibility of rebellion in the military forces was strong in this period.

Úijong’s basic personality traits were given to the pursuit of a luxurious and comfortable lifestyle and a lack of decisiveness in his rule of the country. He enjoyed poetic and artistic pursuits and built a number of pavilions and gardens for the pleasure of himself and his
court. It is said that Úijong so enjoyed his life as an aesthete that he rarely set foot in his palace. Naturally, he was joined in his leisurely life by his officials, but the military commanders and soldiers who were forced to serve as guards for his entourage only saw their plight worsen. It seemed a foregone conclusion that the military would revolt; it was only a matter of what would serve as the spark.

In 1170 Úijong was taking a journey to Pohyôn Temple when the commanders Ch'ông Chungbu, Yi Ùibang and Yi Ko and others who had been assigned as escorts to the Úijong's retinue rebelled against his ineffectual rule and their mistreatment. With a rapid unified effort, the military forces quickly took control of the nation and replaced Úijong with his younger brother Myôngjong (r. 1170-1197). Three years after this coup, the civil official Kim Podang attempted to restore Úijong to the throne but his attempt failed and set off another wide-scale purge of the literati by the military. The end of Úijong's reign marked the onset of a period of military domination of Koryô in which the kings were little more than figureheads.

Úijôngbu

Úijôngbu is situated just north of Seoul in Kyonggi Province. The Kyongwôn Railway Line and Highway 3 link the area with Seoul and Tongduch'on. Mt. Tobong (717m) rises on the city's southwestern border and Mt. Surak (638m) stands in the south. However, most of the city consists of low elevations. The city's major agricultural products are rice, green vegetables and fruit, and in Shin'gok-dong and Changam-dong, there are a number of dairy and stock-breeding operations. Primarily located in Howôn-dong and Changgokdong, the city's industries are centred on textile and chemical production.

Easily accessible from the capital, Úijôngbu is frequented by Seoul residents who come to enjoy the area's natural scenery. In particular, mountains such as Mt. Tobong, Mt. Surak, Mt. Yongam, Mt. Ch'ôngbo and Kittae Peak are famous for their spectacular granite crags and pinnacles of rock. There are also a number of ancient temples in the city.

Most of the area's Buddhist artefacts are found at the Hûryông and Mangwôl temples, both located within Mt. Pukhan National Park. Founded by Muhak in 1395, Hûryông Temple contains a five-storey stone pagoda and a stone water basin. Mangwôl Temple, founded by Haeho in 639, contains National Master Hyegô's stupa and a pagoda and stele commemorating T'âuhûl (Sôn Master Ch'ônbong, 1710-1793).

There are several Confucian sites in the area. In Changam-dong, there is Nogang Sôwôn (private school). In addition, there are several shrines here, such as Hyomin-sa in Kûmódong, Paekpôm-sa in Howôn-dong, and the Songsan-sa site in Minnak-dong. Paekpôm-sa was built in honour of Kim Ku (1876-1949, styled Paekpôm), one of the key figures in the independence movement during the Japanese occupation. When Kim was wanted by the Japanese authorities, he is said to have occasionally come here to rest in the shrine's natural setting.

Úiryông County

Situated in the centre of South Kyongsang Province, Úiryông County has the town of Úiryông and the townships of Karye, Kungnyu, Naksô, Taeûi, Pongsu, Purim, Yongdökk, Yugok, Chônggok, Chijông, Ch'îlgok and Hwajông. The county is surrounded by Hapch'ôn County to the north; Haman County to the southeast; Chînu to the southwest; Ch'angnyông County to the east; and Sanch'ông County to the west. Úiryông County has a total area of 481.32 square kilometres and as shown by 1989 statistics, a population of 51,446. Located on the flood plain of the Nakdong River and its tributary the Nam River, the county consists primarily of level terrain with great stretches of fertile soil. Mt. Chagul (897m) and Mt. Hyônu (835m) rise in the western part of the county and Kuksa Peak
(669m) and Mt. Mit’a (662m) stand along the northern border.

About twenty per cent of the county is arable land, of which some sixty sq. kms. grows rice. The remainder is used for mixed farming, including dry-field crops, cotton, chestnut, stock breeding, sericulture and apiculture. Most of the area’s farms tend to be small operations. The county also has active timber products and its mines/quarries excavate gold, silver, copper, clay and silica. The tradition of hanji (Korean paper) manufacture has been kept alive in hanji factories in Purim Township’s Shinban Village, Pongsu Township’s Chukchôn Village and in Yugok Township.

The area has a number of tourist attractions. In Kungnyu Township’s P’yŏngch’ŏn Village is a spectacular set of cliffs and exposed rock known as Ponghwangdae (Phoenix Heights). When viewed from a distance, the cliffs are said to resemble the head of a phoenix. Several caves and mineral springs are also found here.

In addition to its scenic attractions, the county has a number of important historical sites. Northwest of Mt. Pyŏkhwa (521m) in Ŭiryŏng’s Ha Village lies the old site of Poch’ŏn Temple. Here, a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 373) can be seen, and a stone stupa (Treasure No. 472). The two Buddha statues near Chŏnggok Primary School in Chŏnggok Township’s Chunggyo Village originally stood at this temple site.

Confucian schools in the area include T’aeam Sŏwŏn in Yongdŏk Township’s Chukchôn Village; Nak-san Sŏwŏn in Purim Township’s Kyŏngsan Village; Ŭgŏng Sŏwŏn in Yongdŏk Township’s Un’gok Village; Miyŏn Sŏwŏn in Tae’ui Township’s Shinjŏn Village; Togy Love Sŏwŏn in Chŏnggok Township’s Chunggyo Village; Ŭiryŏng Sŏwŏn in Yugok Township’s Ch’ilgok Village; Shin’gye Sŏwŏn in Purim Township’s Shinban Village; Tökkok Sŏwŏn (founded in 1660) located just south of Highway 20 in Ŭiryŏng; and Ŭiryŏng Hyanggyo in Ŭiryŏng just north of Highway 20. Founded in 1617, Ŭiryŏng Hyanggyo was repaired by Chu Chiyong in 1772. Suffering damage at the beginning of the Korean War, the school was repaired by Yi Ungsu and other local Confucian scholars in 1975.

The area’s cultural traditions are preserved by a number of festivals and rituals held throughout the year. Beginning on 21 April, the Ŭibyong (Righteous Soldiers) Cultural Festival is held in commemoration of Kwak Chaeu. Kwak was a famous guerrilla leader during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). The three to four-day festival features a number of programs, including a preliminary ceremony on the eve of the celebration, a memorial service, traditional entertainment, cultural and arts events, and athletic competitions.

Village rituals common in this region include the Tangsanje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountains) and the Tongshinje (Shaman ritual to worship the guardian spirit of the village). Most of these rituals are held at midnight on the 31st of the twelfth lunar twelfth month or on the 15th of the first lunar month. The Tangsanje held in Ch’ilgok Township’s Oedo Village is said to have a particularly long history. The village’s residents consider a tree on Ant’ae Peak to be sacred.

Úisang (625-702)

Úisang was renowned as the founder of the Flower Garland (Huayan, Kor.Hwaŏm) School of Buddhism in Korea. He was the son of Kim Hanshin, and he became a monk at the age of twenty-nine. Shortly afterwards, he attempted to travel to China to study the progress of Buddhism there, and travelled with Wŏnhyo (617-687) to Liaodong, but was detained by the Koguryŏ guard as a spy. After some time in detention he was allowed to return home.
A short time later he was able to sail on the ship of the returning Tang envoy and this time he achieved his goal, stopping first at Yangzhou, where he was entertained by the governor of the prefecture. He then went to Zhixiang Monastery on Mount Zhongnan and had an audience with Zhiyan (602-668), who was believed to have received an omen of his coming in a dream. Úisang became his disciple at the same time as Fazang (643-712) with whom he enjoyed an enduring friendship. While he was in China, Úisang was informed by Shilla officials in the Tang capital that the emperor Tang Gaozong was planning to invade Shilla, and he was told to return home. He did so in 670 and informed the Shilla court of the danger. As a result the invasion was averted.

King Munmu later ordered Úisang to build Pusŏk Monastery as the major place of worship for the Flower Garland School. There Úisang expounded the school's philosophy and trained disciples, stressing practice and monastic life. His exegesis of the scripture differed from that of his colleague Fazang, who systematised Flower Garland metaphysics, but it is clear from a letter he wrote to kÚisang that Fazang held him in great respect and affection, and that they had a mutual regard for each other's views.

Úisang's best known work was the Pŏpkye tosŏin (Diagram Seal of the Dharmadhatu, 668) and the Yakso (Abridged Commentary) which reflected his emphasis on practice. Many later works by other authors were based on his Diagram. Wayne visited him at the Avalokitesvara Cave on Mount Nak to discuss this work with him, indicating that they maintained close ties after Úisang's return from China.

In his own time, Úisang was thought by many to be a reincarnation of the Buddha. He was certainly one of the most important figures in the development of Buddhism in Korea and at times he had as many as three thousand disciples. They included a number of eminent monks whose efforts, combined with those of their master, helped to develop the Flower Garland School as the most influential in Shilla.

Úisŏng County

Situated in the centre of North Kyŏngsang Province, Úisŏng County is comprised of the town of Úisŏng and the townships of Kuĉ'ŏn, Kŭmsŏng, Tain, Tanmil, Tanbuk, Tanch'on, Pongyang, Sagok, Shinp'yŏng, An'gye, Ansa, Anp'yŏng, Oksan, Chŏnggok, Chuŭm and Ch'unsan. Except for Shinpyeong Township in the northwest, the area is relatively flat. The T'aebaek Mountain Range runs along the county's eastern border, forming a high plateau. As an inland area of high elevation, the county's weather is characterised by sharp seasonal fluctuations and a relatively meagre annual rainfall that rarely exceeds 900mm.

With about 71 per cent of the county covered by forests, only 19 per cent is tillable. Even so, three quarters of the county's working population are employed in agriculture. Although some rice is grown, the farmed land is devoted mostly to dry field crops such as garlic, red pepper, yellow-leaf lotus and leaf vegetables. In the northwest, there are numerous mulberry plantations and silk larvae breeding centres, as well as raw silk factories.

Although the area is mountainous and has a considerable amount of forest, it is not a sought-after destination for tourists. In Ch'unsan Township's Pinggye Village, one finds Pinggye Valley which is considered to be one of the 'eight wonders' of North Kyŏngsang Province. Within the valley, there is a small gorge famous for its bizarre weather patterns. It is said that ice can be found here in summer; yet warm gusts of wind come from the gorge in winter. Nearby lies Kaeil mineral springs, whose water is claimed to cure stomach ailments and skin disease. Kaŭm Reservoir and the Susan and Puram temples are also found here. In order to preserve the valley's natural environment, the area has been designated Pinggye Valley County Park.
Koun Temple, in Tanch' on Township's Kugye Village, is another popular tourist destination. Founded by Grand Master Ŭisang (625-702), the monastery was later reconstructed by Ch'oe Ch'iwôn (857-?). At the temple, a stone walkway leads under Kaunnu, a pavilion-gate that have been designated North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 151. The temple also houses a well-preserved seated Buddha statue (Treasure No. 246). Unlike many other ancient stone statues, both the pedestal and aura which stands behind the statue, are extant.

Other ancient temples in the county include Sujong Temple (said to have also been founded by Ŭisang), Unnam Temple, Chijang Temple, and Tain Township's Taegok Temple which was founded by Sŏn Master Chigong and Naong. In Ŭisong's T'ap Village, there is an interesting five-storey pagoda (National Treasure No. 77) from Greater Shilla. In some respects, the pagoda has been built in imitation of a brick pagoda, yet in others, it resembles a wooden structure.

In addition to these Buddhist relics, there are a number of Confucian schools in the area, including Soksu Sŏwŏn, Pian Hyanggyo in An'gye Township's Kyoch'on Village, Tŏgyang Sŏwŏn in Tanmil Township, Changdae Sŏwŏn in Pongyang Township, Myŏnggok Sŏwŏn in Kaŭm Township, Pinggye Sŏwŏn in Ch'unsan Township's Taesa Village and Ŭisŏng Hyanggyo, which was founded in 1394 in Todong Village.

Ŭisun Ch'ŏoui (625-702)

Ŭisun was most often called by his pen name, Ch'oŭi; but known also as Chongbu and Iljiam. His family name was Chang; and he was born in Samhyang township, Chŏnnam). Ŭisun was a Sŏn (Zen) master and a distinguished poet. His life coincided with the most crucial years of the shirak (practical learning) movement, and he became close friends with two of its leading figures, Chŏng Yagyong (styled Tasan; 1762-1836) and Kim Chŏnghŭi (styled Chi'usa; 1786-1856), whom he first met in 1815. It is said that Chŏng Yagyong secretly entrusted to him his Kyŏngse yup'yo (Recomendations on Governance Submitted to the Sovereign) before dying. This revolutionary text was secretly passed around until it made its way into the hands of the leaders of Kaehwadang (Enlightenment Party) during the late 1870's and the leaders of the peasant uprisings in 1894. Like Chŏng and Kim, Ŭisun was also an enthusiastic advocate of tea and is now credited with restoring the aesthetic relationship between tado (the tea ceremony) and Sŏn during the final years of Chosŏn. In addition, he criticised the theory of Sŏn forwarded by Kiŏngsŏn Paek'pa (1767-1852), and while Kim too criticised Paek'pa, Ŭisun's status as a priest gave his views greater weight. Moreover, he provided an alternative position.

It is said that Ŭisun's mother became pregnant after dreaming that a large star entered her bosom, and this invention befits the unique acclaim he ultimately enjoyed as a priest. As a young boy he was playing next to a swiftly flowing river, when he tumbled down the bank. He would have drowned had it not been for a priest from a nearby temple, who rescued him and then suggested that he might consider becoming a priest. And so, at the age of fifteen he went to Unhŭng Temple where he took the Buddhist vows. There he remained for the next three years, but at the age of eighteen his life came to a turning point. While gazing at the sunset, Ŭisun had an experience of spiritual awakening, and this marked the start of his acute interest in Sŏn. He travelled throughout Korea searching for great Sŏn masters and undertaking extensive studies in the Buddhist scriptures. He was also deeply interested in Confucianism and Daoism, and it is said that he even became proficient in reading Sanskrit, the original language of the Buddhist sutras. If true, Ŭisun appears to have been among the very few who possessed this ability.

During the course of these journeys Ŭisun eventually met the great master Wanho Yunu (1758-1826), who had been a student of the famous Yŏndam Yul (1720-1799). Ŭisun ultimately succeeded Wanho, and while he engaged in formal Buddhist activities and
oversaw the training of many students, he was most eager to practice meditation in solitude. Accordingly, in 1824, he built Iljiam (Ilji hermitage) precisely for this purpose, and became so strongly associated with it that he himself came to be called Iljiam. Although he journeyed to other temples throughout Korea during the remainder of his life, most of his time was spent at Ilji hermitage, where he engaged in intensive Sōn meditation. It was here that he died forty-two years later.

Uisun's most important writings can be placed into three broad categories: texts on tea, metaphysical tracts on Sōn, and a massive corpus of poetry. During his life, great attention was paid to his poetry and some commentators have even speculated that he had learned the art under the tutelage of the literary master Chōng Yagyong, whom he had first met in 1809. In 1831, the civil minister Hong Sŏkchu (1774-1842) and Shinŭi (1769-1847), a scholar, poet, and calligrapher of high distinction, collected his poetry manuscripts and each wrote an introduction. It is significant that this was done not only during his lifetime, but, moreover, while he was still relatively young. Most interestingly, however, he was a priest, and Buddhism was generally scorned by the Neo-Confucian ruling élite. In spite of this, Uisun's fame even reached the royal court, and in 1840 King Hŏnjong (r. 1834-49) bestowed upon him the title, 'Sōn Master Ch’oŭi: His Great Enlightenment Reaches Far and Ascends the Highest'. This exceptional honour came at a time when Buddhist priests would still have to endure for another fifty-five years legal prohibition from entering the capital.

Uisun's deep interest in tea seems to have begun in earnest around 1828 when he began making an outline of extant Chinese materials relating to tea, and in 1830 his results were made available in the Tashinjon (An Account of the Spirit of Tea). This text was divided into twenty-two sections expressing both his scientific and aesthetic concerns. Beginning with general observations on the best times to plant tea, he went on to note the many varieties of tea, the proper methods for boiling the water, the way tea ought to be mixed with water, as well as the implements to use and the proper ways of cleaning those implements.

Then, in 1837, Uisun's passion for tea and poetry were united in a short collection of verse entitled Tongdasong (Eulogies for Korean Tea). Written at the request of a friend, the text consisted of seventeen poems celebrating various aspects of tea. The poetry itself was beautiful though dense with tea lore, literary allusions to classical Chinese texts on tea, and the views on tea as expressed by previous poets. In one poem he draws upon the Tang Chinese poet Li Po (701-762) and in another, the book about tea written by his friend and fellow tea enthusiast Chōng Yagyong. Recognising these difficulties, Ch’oŭi himself noted his sources in the manuscript, thereby allowing his readers deeper insight into the ideas underlying the mellifluous poetry.

Nonetheless, Uisun's greatest importance within Buddhism derives from his critical response to Kŭngsŏn Paekp’ a's Sŏnmun sugyŏng (Hand Mirror of Sŏn Literature). It is unknown exactly when he wrote his retort, Sŏnmun sabyŏn manŏ (Informal Remarks on the Four Divisions of Sŏn Practice), but it was most likely in the late 1830's.

Paekp’ a had formulated three categories of Sŏn consisting of chosa sŏn (patricarchal Zen), yŏræ sŏn (Zen of the Tathāgata or Buddha), and ŭiri sŏn (Zen of principle and reasoning). In addition, Paekp’ a used the concept of kyŏgoe sŏn, meaning truth, that can be apprehended through neither writing nor speech, but only by meditation. Within this framework chosa sŏn was deemed the highest form of Zen because it alone was completely devoid of thought. Accordingly, it represented the mind to mind transmission of the Zen patriarchs and was considered by him to be kyŏgoe sŏn. Whereas yŏræ sŏn was also defined as kyŏgoe sŏn, it was inferior to chosa sŏn because it relied, in part, on thinking about the words and teachings of the Buddha. Within Paekp’ a’s system, this weak aspect of yŏræ sŏn was the sole component of ŭiri sŏn which was suitable for those of the lowest
capability. However, through this system Paekp’a suggested that those who relied upon ūiri sŏn were incapable of attaining salvation, and this appears to have been the sticking-point from Ùisun’s point of view.

Úisun borrowed Paekp’a’s four main categories but arranged them differently. He proposed two types of Zen differentiated by their reliance upon words and thought, and he argued that the dichotomy of chosa sŏn and yŏrae sŏn was mirrored by that of kyogoe sŏn and ūiri sŏn. Thus, chosa sŏn and kyogoe sŏn were two synonymous terms for the direct apprehension of truth without reliance on words; yŏrae sŏn and ūiri sŏn both stood for Zen practice using words and thought in attempting to gain enlightenment. While Ùisun acknowledged the superiority of the direct apprehension of truth, he stressed that one could indeed attain enlightenment through thinking about the principles and reasoning (ūiri sŏn) of the teachings of Buddha (yŏrae sŏn). In this fashion, he emphasised the fundamental Mahāyana tenet that salvation is attainable by all.

Úisun’s position was clearer, and his views generally enjoyed greater support during the following century. A notable exception was the priest Pak Hanyŏng (1870-1948), who wrote Paekp’ataesa yakchon (A Biographical Sketch of Great Master Paekp’a) in which he explained Paekp’a’s life and thought. While Pak stood in Paekp’a’s line of transmission, he shared with Ùisun a deep appreciation of the aesthetic relationship between Sŏn and poetry. They were men of similar taste, and it is thus appropriate, if ironic, that in 1941 Pak contributed one of two inscriptions for the memorial dedicated to Ùisun Ch’ŏu˘i at Taedun Temple.

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**Úit’ong (927-988)**

Úit’ong is famous as the Korean monk who revitalised the Tiantai sect at the beginning of the Song dynasty. Born as Yun Yuwŏn, Úit’ong entered the Buddhist order at a young age where he studied under the guidance of Sŏkkchong. After receiving full ordination, he had a realisation while reading the Avatamsaka Sutra and the Dasheng qishin lun (Awakening to Faith in the Mahayana). After this, he went to China’s Mt. Tiantai where he studied under various Tiantai masters. Famous in China for his thorough understanding of Tiantai theory and practice, Úit’ong was recognised as the Sixteenth Patriarch of the Chinese Tiantai sect. He wrote several treatises, including the Kwan’gyŏng sogi and the Kwangmyŏng hyŏn ch’ŏn sŏk, but these works are no longer extant. In 1203, his Dharma-heir Zongxiao (1151-1214) wrote the Baoyun zhenzu ji, an account of Úit’ong’s life.

**Úiwang**

Úiwang is located to the south of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. Kuksa Peak (540m), Mt. Paegun (567m) and other peaks of the Kwangju Mountain Range run along the city’s eastern border while Mt. Morak (385m) rises in the west. Water sources include Paegun Lake in the north and Wangsong Reservoir in the south.

With relatively level terrain, the city was traditionally a rice-farming area, but nowadays, vegetable and fruit crops are grown for sale in the nearby metropolitan areas.
breeding and dairy farming are other important sources of income. However, the mainstay of the local economy is light industry. Factories here produce a wide range of goods including chemicals, metal goods, machinery, electrical appliances, electronics and textiles.

Local tourism is centred around the city’s lakes, mountains and cultural sites. In the northeast corner of the city, one finds Ch’ŏnggye Temple. This ancient monastery houses a large bronze bell and a set of wooden printing blocks (Kyŏnggi Province Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 96 and 135). In addition to its cultural sites, the area has preserved some of its ancient traditions. In the tenth lunar month of each year, a mountain spirit ceremony is held at 5:00 a.m. near Mt. Paegun in Ojŏn-dong. At the rite, a cow is sacrificed to the spirits. Similar ceremonies are performed in Koch’ŏn-dong and Wanggok-dong.

Uiyŏltan (Righteous Fighters' Corps) [History of Korea]

Ulchi Mundŏk, General (fl. c. 545-559)

Ulchi Mundŏk was a general of Koguryŏ during the reign of King Yang’wŏn (r. 545-559). There is very little known about the background of Ulchi Mundŏk beyond his military accomplishments. He is generally credited with saving Koguryŏ from the Chinese Sui’s massive attack on the Korean kingdom in the early seventh c. According to records in Haedong myŏngjang chŏn (Records of Famous Korean Generals) he was born in the area of Sŏkta Mountain on the outskirts of present-day P’yŏngyang.

Conflicts between Koguryŏ and the various Chinese states with which it shared borders were common throughout the history of the kingdom. However, in 612 the Sui dynasty, which had just succeeded in unifying China for the first time in over three centuries, launched a massive attack on Koguryŏ that was designed to crush the Korean state. The Sui emperor, Yangdi, raised an army of over a million men and proceeded to launch an attack on the northern-most fortress of Koguryŏ, Yodong (modern day Liaoyung). However, when this assault failed, the Chinese emperor sent about one-third of his forces for a direct attack on P’yŏngyang, the Koguryŏ capital. At this time Ulchi Mundŏk lured the Sui army into a trap on the outskirts of P’yŏngyang. The Koguryŏ general knew that the supply lines of the Chinese were overstretched and that he could defeat them by luring them deep into Koguryŏ territory. As the Chinese forces drew closer to P’yŏngyang, the Koguryŏ general waited until he had drawn them completely into his ambush and then attacked from all sides. The carnage of the Sui army was so complete that historical records note that less than three-thousand of the Chinese troops survived this attack. After this crushing defeat the Sui army was forced to retreat from Koguryŏ with the onset of winter. The Sui forces again tried to attack Koguryŏ the following year, but these attacks were also repulsed. Shortly thereafter, the battle-weary Sui dynasty was replaced by the Tang dynasty.

Ulchi Mundŏk is remembered as one of Korea’s greatest generals and has been honoured with monuments erected in his memory, among other items. Additionally, one of the major thoroughfares in Seoul, Ulchi-ro Street, is named after him.

Ulchin County

Ulchin County is situated on the east coast in the northeast corner of North Kyŏngsang Province. The county comprises the towns of Ulchin and P’yŏnghae and the townships of Kŭnnam, Kisŏng, Puk, Sŏ, Onjong, Wŏnnam, Chukpyŏn and Hup’o. Mt. ʻUngbong (999m), Mt. Omi (1 071m), Mt. T’onggo (1 067m), Mt. Paegam (1 004m) and other peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range run along the county’s western boundary.
Except for the coastal towns of Ulchin and P'yŏnghae, Ulchin County has a relatively low population density. This qualifies it as the least populated county in North Kyŏngsang Province. Most of the area's residents are employed in either agriculture or fishing. Due to the rugged terrain, only 8.3 per cent arable land. Over half of the cultivated land grows rice, and the remainder dry-field crops. Persimmons are grown and dried here, while sericulture and cattle breeding are other sources of rural income. Marine products are the county's leading export. The edible seaweed harvested near Kop'o Village is particularly liked. Boats operating out of Hu'po and Chukpyŏn catch mackerel, pike, cuttlefish, and filefish. The area also has significant mineral resources. Local mines and quarries produce gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, coal, lime and clay.

The region offers a large number of tourist attractions. In Onjŏng Township, there is Paegam hot spring (46c.), which is frequented by tourists who come to enjoy the rural setting and nearby Mt. Paegam. Containing radon, natrium, calcium, potassium, magnesium, iron, sulphur, chlorine and fluoride, the spring is said to possess great curative power. Compared to the Paegam spring, Tŏkku hot spring (43c.), located in Puk Township near Mt. Yongbong (999m), is relatively undeveloped. The Tŏkku spring purportedly alleviates skin diseases, nervous disorders and anaemia. Visitors to the spring often hike in the Tŏkku Valley. Another popular tourist destination is Sŏngnyu Cave in Kŭnnam Township's Kusan Village. This 479 metre-long cave contains a large number of stalagmitic and stalactitic formations, as well as some interesting rock formations.

South of Highway 36 near Mt. Ch'ŏnch'uk, lies Puryŏng Valley, one of the county's most scenic areas. Kwang Stream winds through this 15-km.-long valley, which contains numerous white granite cliffs and picturesque waterfalls. In order to preserve the valley's scenic wonders, the area has been designated as a national park. On the valley's floor stands Puryŏng Temple. Founded by Ŭisang in 651, this temple houses a number of important artefacts. In addition to the old Ungjinjon (Hall of the Sixteen Arahants), the monastery contains an ancient stupa and a three-storey pagoda. Confucian schools in the area include, Ulchin Hyanggyo (founded in 1484), P'yŏnghae Hyanggyo, Asan Sŏwŏn, Myŏnggye Sŏwŏn, Nodong Sŏwŏn, Okkye Sŏwŏn, Shin'gye Sŏwŏn, Unam Sŏwŏn and Wolgye Sŏwŏn.

Ullŭng County

Ullŭng County is situated on Ullŭng Island. The island, located about 135 kilometres east of the Korean peninsula, is the remnant of an extinct volcano. The county is comprised of the town of Ullŭng and the townships of Puk and Sŏ.

The island's early history is unclear. In the Chinese Sanguo shi (History of the Three Kingdoms), there is a report from fishermen who were shipwrecked on the island. It was said that the fishermen could not understand the language of the islanders, and that the islanders had unique customs involving the sacrifice of a virgin to the sea during the seventh lunar month. In 512, the island, known as Usan'guk, was captured by the military commander Yisabu in order to protect the east coast from attack. The area served primarily as a military outpost until 1884 when the government officially allowed migration to the island.

Ullŭng Island's topography is characterised by rugged mountains and steep cliffs along the coast. Due to the island's rugged terrain and isolated location, there are only about 20 000 residents, about half of whom live in Todong. Most of the residents earn their living by fishing, supplemented by summer tourism. Boats operating out of the island catch cuttlefish and octopus and harvest seaweed. The area is also known for its pumpkin toffee and wood carvings from Chinese juniper.

Transportation links to the island are limited to ferries from P'ohang, Hup'o, Sokch'o and
Tonghae and helicopters from Kangnŭng. Ferries, however, are unable to make the trip when the sea gets rough. On the island itself, there are few roads, and only several buses and taxis.

Sŏngin Peak (984m), the summit of a dormant volcano, is the island’s highest point. To the north of the peak lies Nari Basin, the only level area conducive to farming. About five kilometres from Todong one finds Pongnae Waterfall. At Todong Yaksut’ŏ (mineral springs) Park, there are monuments dedicated to General An Yongbok and Kim Hau and a small history museum with artefacts from early residents of the island. As for Buddhist sites, there are the Taewŏn and Haedo temples. In order to promote the island’s cultural traditions, the Usan Cultural Festival is held here every October.

**Úlmi Incident, 1895**

*Ulmi sabyŏn* (see **Úlmi Incident, 1895**) [Japan and Korea]

*Úlsa choyak* (see Protectorate Treaty, 1905) [Japan and Korea]

**Ulsan Metropolitan City**

Situated in South Kyŏngsang Province, Ulsan comprises the town of Nongso and the townships of Kangdong, Tudong, Tūsŏ, Pŏmsŏ, Samnam, Samdong, Sambuk, Sŏsaeng, Ōnyang, Onsan, Ōnyang, Ungch’ŏn and Ch’ŏngnyang. The city has been expanded to include the areas formerly known as Ulchu County, bringing its total area to 1051.81 sq. kms. Mt. Kaji (1240m), Mt. Ch’ŏnhwang (1189m) and other mountains of the Tongdae Mountain Range run along the city’s western border. The Taehwa River flows through the city into Ulsan Bay on the East Sea.

Because of the city’s rugged terrain and increasing urbanisation, there is relatively little arable land. Rice, the main crop, is cultivated in the level areas next to the rivers and numerous streams, and pears are grown in the more remote areas. For over thirty years, high quality amethyst has been mined in Onyang Township, but most of the mines are now worked out. The amethyst from Onyang is rated as amongst the best in the world for its colour and hardness. Ulsan is well-known for its brown seaweed (*miyŏk*), but production is under threat by industrial pollution from the many local factories.

As the city has industrialised, the population has grown rapidly. 1987 statistics indicate a population of 590,401, a seven-fold increase from 1962. Most of the early migrants were men in their late twenties who had come to look for work in the city’s factories. Responding to government incentives, numerous industries moved into the area in the late 1960s. In 1968, an industrial park was built around Maeam-dong for petroleum and chemical products, and in the early 1970s, Hyundai Heavy Industries Co. shipyard was established here. Now the largest single shipyard in the world, the Hyundai factory builds ships of all kinds and sizes, as well as semi-submersible offshore drilling rigs.

With its clear coastal waters and high mountains, the city can boast numerous scenic attractions. In Samnam Township just south of Mt. Hwajang (265m) lies the Chakch’ŏnjŏng Valley. Stretching along Chakk’wae Stream, the valley is home to Chakch’ŏnjŏng, a pavilion established by local scholars in honour of King Sejong. In a setting of crystal-clear water and white granite rock, the pavilion has become a popular tourist destination. On Mt. Haksong near the Taehwa River, is Haksong Park. The park, covered with a mix of cherry and pine trees, contains Haksong Fortress (Historical Site No. 9). At the Taehwasa Temple site near the fortress, twelve zodiacal animal figures have been sculptured in relief (Treasure No. 441).
In Pōmsō Township’s Ibam Village, just north of the Ulsan Expressway, there are picturesque cliffs along the Taehwa River. Ibam (Standing Rock), an eroded pillar of granite, stands in the middle of the river. This lovely spot has often been eulogised by Korean poets and literati. Chinha Beach, another tourist destination located twenty-four kms. southeast of central Ulsan City, is especially popular in the summer months. Surrounded by a pine forest, the beach is one km. long and 300 metres wide.

The city also contains many important historical sites. In Tudong Township’s Ch’ŏnjŏn Village, sits a large rock, its face inscribed with drawings and Chinese characters. These inscriptions were made by Shilla hwarang, an elite class of young warriors during Shilla. Similar carvings are also to be seen at Ōnyang Township’s Taegok Village. The latter depict hunting and whaling scenes.

The area’s unique cultural heritage is maintained by festivals held throughout the year. During the Citizens' Day celebration, held annually on 1 June, visitors can see performances of local dances and parades together with various contests.

Umch’ŏngsa

Umch’ŏngsa is a diary written by Kim Yunshik (1835-1922) and consists of two volumes. In 1938 a descendant of Kim’s compiled this work in manuscript form and this was reproduced by the Chosŏnsa P’yŏnsuhoe (Korean History Compilation Committee). It has since been republished in 1958 by the Kuksa P’yŏč’’an Wiwonhoe (National History Compilation Committee) and in 1971 by T’amgudang publishers.

This work covers the period from September 1, 1881 through August 25, 1883 when Kim was serving at the Yŏngsŏnsa (Architect’s Office). Kim, along with other members of this office, was sent to Tianjin in China on a fact-finding mission to learn about new technology concerning weaponry and machinery. In this diary the author also discusses the problems of concluding commercial treaties with China, the United States, Britain and other Western nations. Therefore, it is valuable in the study of the changes that were brought into late Chosŏn through foreign nations and the attempts by the Chosŏn government to assimilate and adapt these changes into their existing governmental organizations.

Ümsŏng County

Situated in the northern part of North Ch’ungsŏng Province, Ümsŏng County consists of the towns of Kŭmwang and Ümsŏng, and the townships of Kangok, Taeso, Maengdong, Samsŏng, Soi, Saenggŭk and Wŏnnam. The county covers an area of 518 sq. kms and as shown by 1989 statistics, had a population of 78,607. At Mt. Ogap (609m) in the north, the Ch’aryŏng and Noryŏng mountain ranges divide, with the Ch’aryŏng range lying to the southwest, and descending to a pattern of low hills, with the Noryŏng Range extending south, with its Mt. Wŏnt’ōng (645m), Mt. Puyong (644m) and Mt. Kasŏp (710m). The western part of the county is comprised of relatively level terrain. With the influence of the surrounding mountains, the local weather pattern is characterised by sharp seasonal variations with an average January temperature of -3.1c., an average August temperature of 25.8c. giving an overall average of 10c. The average annual rainfall is 1192mm.

In spite of the area’s rugged topography, almost 18 000 hectares of the county are farmed. Of this over 10 000 hectares grows rice and almost 8 000 hectares dry-field crops such as barley, red pepper, turnip and Chinese cabbage. There is also apple and pear growing on a commercial scale. Apple production in particular has boomed to meet national demand, caused by the decline in apple orchards in Taegu In addition, high-quality tobacco is produced in the county for export to foreign markets. Mineral resources are limited to small amounts of fluorspar and granite. The area’s hard granite has a low iron content and thus is not prone to colour change, making it admirably suited for use in sculptural work and in
some structural presentations.

The county contains a number of historical sites. On the summit of Mt. Kasŏp, there are remains of a fire-signal lookout and at the foot of the mountain is Kasŏp Temple, which contains a stone Buddha statue. To the southeast at Mit’a Temple, there is a rock carving of a Buddha. Confucian schools consist of Umsŏng Hyanggyo (founded in 1560) in Umsŏng’s Shinch’ŏn Village, Un’gok Sŏwŏn (founded in 1661) in Samsŏng’s Yongsŏng Village, and Chich’ŏn Sŏwŏn in Saenggŭk’s P’alsŏng Village. Famous shrines in the area include Munch’unggong Sau in Saenggŭk’s Pangch’uk Village and Ch’ungnyôngsa in Umsŏng’s Yongson Village. The former commemorates Kwŏn Kŭk while the latter honours Pak Sehwa, who became a martyr during the early years of the Japanese occupation.

Local traditions are promoted by the Sŏlsŏng Cultural Festival, held since 1982. The three-day festival features parades, traditional food fairs, music and dance performances, games, poetry and folk music contests, athletic events and a beauty pageant. Besides this festival, various folk rituals can be seen at different times of the year throughout the county. Of these, the Shaman rituals to worship mountain deities (sanshinje) that are held in Umsŏng’s P’yŏnggok and Soyŏ villages and in Saenggŭk’s Pyŏngam Village are particularly well known.

Underwood, Horace G. [Education]

Unhae Temple

Situated on Mt. P’algong in North Kyŏngsang Province, Unhae Temple is one of the main temples of the Chogy Order. When first built by National Master Hyech’ŏl in 809, the monastery was called Haean Temple. After its reconstruction in 1270 by National Master Hongjin, it became an important administrative centre for the combined Sŏn (Jap. Zen) and Kyo (Doctrinal) Orders. The monastery underwent additional restoration work by Wŏnch’arn in 1275 and was repaired in 1543. Three years later, Ch’ŏn’gyo moved the Main Buddha Hall to its present location and rebuilt the monastery, calling in Unhae Temple. The temple burnt down in 1563. A year later, Myojin led a reconstruction project, followed by further reconstruction in 1589 and 1651. During the next two-hundred years, the temple complex was expanded and numerous hermitages were built in the area.

In 1847 a fire broke out, razing the entire complex. P’albong and other monks immediately set to work reconstructing the monastery. In the ensuing years, the temple became an important monastic complex with extensive land-holdings. During late Chosŏn it became an important centre for Hwaŏm thought. Today, Unhae Temple administers thirty-nine branch temples, five Buddhist centres and eight hermitages. The temple houses a number of important artefacts. In the various shrine halls, there are several old altar paintings, including a depiction of Chijang (Ksitigarbha) painted in 1747, a depiction of King Kamno (Amrta) painted in 1762 and a depiction of Amitabha with attendant bodhisattvas painted in 1897.

Unification of Korea (see also History of Korea)

The Division

The division of the Korean peninsula is a result of both international and domestic forces. Surrounded by major powers like China, Japan and Russia, the geopolitical significance of the Korean peninsula has attracted frequent foreign interventions in Korea's modern
history. At the turn of the century world powers competed for dominance in Korea. The simmering pot of rivalry boiled over in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), in both of which Japan was victorious. These victories facilitated the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. Thirty-five years later, the power vacuum caused by the Allied victory over Japan again provided a chance for foreign intervention on the peninsula. In 1945, at the end of World War II, the USSR and the USA entered Korea to accept the surrender and disarming of the Japanese troops. In so doing, the two powers agreed to divide the Korean peninsula temporarily at the 38th Parallel.

The Allies, by decisions reached at several major conferences -- Cairo (1943), Yalta (1945), and Potsdam (1945), had reached an understanding that Korea should be granted independence after a period of trusteeship. Nevertheless, as the military forces of the United States and the Soviet Union each occupied separate halves of the peninsula, their conflicting interests did not allow them to agree on how to provide Koreans their independence. Both major powers had substantial self-interest in the peninsula because of its geopolitical importance, and each was suspicious of the other's ambitions in the region. Thus, the two dominant world powers began to build their own power bases on each side of the 38th Parallel by supporting the political factions favourable to them. In the south, the US Military Government (USAMGIK) supported Syngman Rhee (Yi Siingman), an American-educated nationalist leader whose political power was based on the support of the conservative landlord-class and colonial bureaucrats. At the same time, the USAMGIK suppressed communist leaders and their sympathizers who held substantial power and were well organized from the time of Korea's liberation. Concurrently, in the north of Korea, the USSR supported the communists, especially Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) and the Korean Labor Party, while suppressing other political factions opposed to communism. This development eventually led to the establishment of separate governments on opposite sides of the 38th Parallel, in 1948.

Once established, the ideologically-conflicting governments of North and South each claimed to be the only legitimate government for the entire Korean nation. At the same time, as the world was reordered into political blocs, the Korean peninsula became the front line of the Cold War, and hostilities between the two Koreas intensified. These hostilities exploded into the devastating Korean War of 1950-1953, when Northern forces waged total war against the South, with the aim of unifying the peninsula. Within three months, the North Korean troops, well supplied with Soviet weaponry, had overrun most of the southern parts of the peninsula. Soon, however, a United Nations (UN) force was organized under US leadership, and it and South Korean troops took the offensive and penetrated deep into North Korea until they were confronted with a Chinese counter-invasion. At the time of the Armistice in 1953, the border was almost the same as before the war. With more than five million casualties, the war left a deep and unmitigated wound in the psyche of the Korean people. The hostilities and resentment between the peoples of North and South grew even stronger and the frantic competition between them led the two societies to become extremely distrustful and intolerant of each other.

Discussions on inter-Korean affairs have not been free of political, ideological, and emotional bias. These discussions have been hindered by dogmatic nationalism and the ideological rigidity of both regimes. Stressing the homogeneity and the long history of independence of the nation, neither the North nor the South fully admitted to internal causes of the division. Though not the direct cause of the territorial division of the country in 1945, some divisive forces in Korean society and in its history are worthy of mention.

First, ideological cleavages among Korean people have contributed substantially to the division of the nation. Since the early 1920s, the nationalist movement was split into rightist and leftist factions in regard to the methods of achieving independence and modernization. Such an ideological split in the anti-imperialist front was common in many Asian countries including China and Vietnam, but in Korea it was reinforced at the end of World War II by
the actual territorial division of the peninsula. The Korean elite were ideologically divided among themselves, and each faction sought power and domination over the other with support from the occupying forces. This ideological division at the political level reflected the contradictory class structure of Korean society, which consolidated the establishment of the two different regimes.

Secondly, in Korea there has long been a tradition of regional identities based on historical memories and regional cultures. While Korea is an old society with a highly homogeneous culture, Koreans have kept a tradition of regional identities since the Three Kingdoms of Koguryǒ, Paekche, and Shilla. (circa, first cent. BCE to seventh cent. CE.) Though this period ended with the unification of the larger part of the peninsula by Shilla (today's Kyŏngsang region), the identities of the conquered peoples of Koguryǒ (today's North Korea) and Paekche (today's Chŏlla region) remained with their discernible regional cultures and dialects. Although these weakened gradually over time, the tradition of regional identities is still seen today in the dialects, cultures, bonds, and discriminative practices against people of other regions. This is especially salient both in North Korea's depiction of itself as the legitimate inheritor of Koguryǒ culture and in South Korea's regionally divided (between the two rival regions of Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla) voting patterns.

The experience of the Korean War further divided the peoples of North and South emotionally. During the war, each side committed incalculable atrocities against each other. In addition, as each Korea has claimed absolute and exclusive legitimacy and sovereignty, the half-century of division has been marked with hostile confrontations, slanderous accusations, and misconceptions, which have further consolidated the North-South division, and retarded the unification process.

Inter-Korean Dialogue on Unification

Although the governments of North and South Korea have affirmed their desire for national unification, the reality is that the continuing hostility and rigidity of the two sides hinder positive steps towards the unification goal. Notwithstanding, there are a few agreements between the protagonists which have, at least, kept the doors of negotiation ajar. Until 1971 the two Koreas did not hold unification talks, but a breakthrough came with a thawing of the Cold War in the early 1970s: at the time the US and China improved their relations, when the US and USSR promoted détente, and when the US decided to reduce its troop numbers in South Korea. In August 1971, North and South agreed to open talks through the Red Cross organization to aid the reunion of separated families. Starting with these talks, the two sides exchanged high-level emissaries, and reached a landmark on three principles of unification. These were: a) both sides would work for unification without relying on foreign forces; b) their regimes would transcend ideological and political differences; and c) the peninsula would be unified without reliance on the force of arms. The two sides also created the North-South Coordinating Committee for continuing negotiations.

Nevertheless, the North and South had fundamentally different interests and goals on inter-Korean affairs, and the negotiations came to a halt in 1973. On the one hand, North Korea contended that the two sides should first solve military questions such as arms reduction and total withdrawal of US troops from South Korea. On the other, South Korea stressed the need for the recognition of the political systems of the two Koreas and the promotion of economic cooperation.

Though there were contacts between the Red Cross organizations of both Koreas, there was no progress in terms of the unification question and inter-Korean relationship. In 1980, talks reopened briefly, but no significant meetings were held until 1984 when South Korea accepted the North's proposal to help South Korean flood victims. North Korea sent rice, cement, cloth, and medicine for flood relief purposes, and in 1985, the two sides
exchanged hometown visitors and art troupes. However, further talks were halted with North Korea's demand for abolition of the annual US and South Korea's large-scale Team Spirit Joint Military Exercises.

An important breakthrough in inter-Korean relations came in the early 1990s, with the collapse of the Eastern European communist bloc; the effects of North Korea's dwindling economy; and South Korea's active diplomatic policies toward China and the Soviet Union. After a series of high-level talks, the North and South became members of the United Nations concurrently, in September 1991, and signed the North-South Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation. In this historic agreement, the two sides agreed to cooperate in many areas such as economic affairs, cultural exchanges, and even military matters. In 1992, they also agreed to organize the North-South Joint Nuclear Control Commission to ensure nuclear transparency on the Korean peninsula. However, suspicions over North Korea's nuclear development plans and its rejection of the International Atomic Energy Agency's inspections of its nuclear facilities brought a new crisis to the peninsula and hostilities between the two sides intensified during the mid-1990s.

Looking over the half-century of division and the many hundreds of inter-Korean talks that have taken place so far, the observer may perhaps be excused for saying that very little in the way of unification has taken place. Nonetheless, in recent years some positive changes in the relationship of the two sides have occurred. In the mid-1990s, North Korea's sagging economy and crop failures forced its leaders to seek help from the outside world. Importantly, the South Korean government of Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) actively pursues an appeasement policy towards the North, which is something of a departure from the more conservative policies of previous governments. Kim's government has made grain shipments to North Korea, allowed more South Koreans to visit the North, and eased investment and export policies towards the North. As of mid-1998, the two parties are engaging in more frequent contacts with each other in the areas of trade, cultural exchange, and economic cooperation.

**Forces and Rhetoric for Unification**

Three forces are evident that urge the North and South to work towards national unification: a) the nationalist zeal of the Korean people; b) the satisfaction of economic and social needs; and c) the aspirations of families with members on opposite sides of the border. Nationalism, a principle that the political and the national unit should be congruent (Gellner 1983:1), is the fundamental force behind the popular desire for unification. In general, Koreans show great national consciousness, believing in the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of their nation. Both governments have emphasised the inviolability of unification, in insisting that Koreans are of one nation with a unique culture and ethnicity. Nationalism may be fiction-based, stemming from industrialization and improved communications, but nevertheless, it is a real enough force which functions as the supreme moral value in Korean culture today. (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983),

Ironically, nationalism also functions as a barrier to unification, because each side claims its own absolute nationalist legitimacy. Such intolerance has been efficiently appropriated by each regime to antagonize the other and to consolidate internal unity, while suppressing any components acting against the regime. In addition, the popular nationalist belief that unification would make for a stronger and wealthier nation has been an encouragement for the two governments to unify the peninsula. However, many South Koreans have noted the vast financial outlay and social costs of unification from the fairly-recent example of Germany, and their zeal for unification has markedly diminished, especially that of the younger generation.

Aside from nationalist passion, unification is a highly practical matter. For those who are
members of separated families, unification is urgently needed to enable them to be reunited with their loved ones. (It is thought that as many as twenty million people have family members on opposite sides of the Demilitarized Zone.) For these Koreans the aloofness of the two sides has denied them a single meeting or even correspondence with relatives. This is heart-rending for Koreans, who have always placed such a heavy emphasis on the value of family. The two governments have held several unproductive talks on family reunion, and of course, their failure to bring results has left the many distressed families still yearning for such a reunion. But, as time passes, the number of first-generation separated families is rapidly declining, and the present generation may not share the same aspirations for unification as their parents. Moreover, family reunion can now be achieved in other ways, such as meeting family members in a third country, say in neighbouring China, without the two Koreas having to take the ultimate step of unification.

For many Koreans today, unification remains as a prerequisite for reducing the threat of war and the enormous defence expenditure of the two sides. They believe that the money and manpower for defence could be diverted to something more constructive once the country is unified. There are also people who see a national community as an organism, which cannot survive ‘normally’ if divided. Hence, they believe that the division has been the cause of all the political, social, and cultural ills of both societies, such as their authoritarian political systems, dependency on foreign powers, and oppressive social practices. They suggest that the division of the nation and the hostile relationship between the two Koreas has resulted in their respective cultures being violent and oppressive (Tongil Somoim 1996:18). Some even insist that the regional conflicts in South Korea are also the result of the national division (Paek 1994:81). In their rhetoric, therefore, unification is the panacea to the problems of both South and North Korean societies.

As competition over trade has intensified in the global market, economic needs have emerged as another powerful and persuasive force for unification. For example, the South Korean business community is interested in unification for entrepreneurial opportunities: the prospect of a cheap and disciplined labour force of North Korea; the land’s abundant natural resources; and a land route to China, Russia, and Europe. Business leaders of South Korea thus have shown keen interest in the opening of North Korea and the development of an (eased) inter-Korea trade relationship. The volume of inter-Korea trade has steadily grown since the early 1990s and several South Korean corporations have invested in the North.

Prospects for Unification

The commonly-held prediction that North Korea would collapse either on the death of its leader Kim Il Sung or its economic failures, has thus far proven untrue. More Koreans, at the end of the 1990s, express their belief that unification is possible. With this new expectation, at least in South Korea, there is now a more open forum on unification -- a discourse formerly the prerogative of the state. The new discussions are based on more practical and democratic perspectives, which displace the ideological and militant ones. At the same time, unification discussions are beginning to deal with the cultural and social problems of a unified Korean society rather than concentrating purely on political and military issues. Koreans realize only too well that five decades of division have created two very different Koreas, and for this reason, social and cultural conflicts would be a serious problem to be overcome when the two peoples form one society.

The unification cause will be helped immensely when Koreans have grasped the nettle of the two (aforementioned) forces that brought about the division of their country, viz., the intervention of foreign powers, and the ideological and regional cleavages in Korean society. From the vantage point of the late 1990s, the countries of the region seem unopposed to unification of the peninsula. Each of Korea's neighbours is seeking its own stability and prosperity, and looks to Korea's unification as a stabilising force for the region. As far as Korea can assure its neighbours that unification would not be a threat in
any way, it is unlikely that any country would actively oppose it.

Two issues have to be resolved over the conference table and by political debate, if not by the people themselves, as vital to the unification issue. These are, a) by what means can the two Koreas reduce the military tensions on the peninsula, and b) how can Korean people reach agreement to form a community in which they, regardless of their ideological, political, or regional backgrounds, can live together harmoniously. Both issues require the fostering of a more respectful, tolerant and democratic society, since ideological rigidity or regional bigotry would not result in a previously divided people forming a single community. Most South Koreans would insist on North Korean society becoming democratized and opened to the outside world, a move which they would view as also helping to boost the North's troubled economy. At the same time, the 'colonialist' attitude of South Koreans towards the North does nothing to persuade North Koreans to live alongside them, perhaps under a single government. The North often portrays the South as being somewhat inferior, and romanticizes its land and culture as 'untainted' from the effects of industrialization and capitalism (Grinker 1996). A more tolerant culture based on democratic and pluralistic value systems would not only reduce the social cost of unification but also ease the possible concern of neighbouring states on the prospects of a unified Korea.

The late 1990s economic depression in South Korea introduced a new factor to the unification equation. The circumstance not only diminishes South Korea's capacity to aid the North; at the same time it may also force the South to cooperate with North Korea on a more equal footing. Moreover, the active and flexible policy of South Korean president Kim Dae Jung towards the North creates a positive atmosphere that just might facilitate meaningful progress towards unification. If North Korea chooses an open-door policy to the outside world, then there will certainly be additional opportunities for the two nations to move closer to a unified Korea.

Bibliography


United Kingdom and Korea

Early contacts.

There was some British interest in Korea at the end of the sixteenth c., but it was not until the development of the China trade around 1800 that it revived. Survey work and hopes of trade then brought the British to the shores of Korea. From the 1840s, Royal Navy ships called regularly at Kŏmun-do (Port Hamilton in English), including HMS Samarang in 1845. There was also missionary interest. Korea's first Protestant martyr was a Welshman, Robert Thomas, killed on board the American merchant ship, 'General Sherman' in the Taedong river in 1866. During the 1870s Scottish Presbyterians in Manchuria made contact with Koreans and the Rev. John Ross began translating the bible into Korean.

Britain watched as Japan concluded the Kangwha treaty with Korea in 1876. British diplomats in Japan were studying Korean in anticipation of British relations, but pre-
occupations elsewhere in East Asia left the British government content for others to take the
lead. A treaty was signed in 1882 by the Commander in Chief of the China Station, Admiral
Willis, but it found little favour either with the London government or with British traders
in Asia. A new treaty was therefore negotiated in 1883 by Sir Harry Parkes, British
representative in China.

The British government did not open a diplomatic post in Seoul, partly for reasons of
expense. Instead, the British minister in Beijing was accredited to the Korean court. In
Seoul itself, a consulate-general was established with William G. Aston as the first consul-
general. It was Aston who purchased the land which is still the site of the British Embassy
today. Sites for several consular posts were identified, but only that at Chemulp'o (Inch'ŏn)
was ever used.

Britain's main interest in Korea was trade but the treaty brought little benefit. Korea was too
poor to provide much of a market and British companies such as Jardine Matheson quickly
withdrew. British goods filtered in from China but trade remained on a small-scale. By
1900, however, a number of small and medium British businesses were operating in Seoul
and Chemulp'o. Britons were prominent in the Korean mining industry, while British
experts were employed on a wide range of tasks, including teaching, military training and
the establishment of a telegraph system. A British engineer installed electric lighting in the
Kyōngbok palace in the late 1880s. The most important group were in the Customs
Service, where John McLeavy Brown organised an efficient team of revenue collectors and
began a programme of urban renewal in Seoul, including the construction of Pagoda Park.

From 1885 to 1887, fear of a possible Russian advance into Korea was used to justify the
occupation of Komun-do/Port Hamilton by the British Navy, despite Korean and Chinese
protests. The islands proved to be unsuitable for a naval base and the Russian threat was
also elusive. The occupation therefore ended in February 1887, although Royal Navy ships
continued to visit the islands.

A more abiding British presence began in 1890 with the establishment of the Anglican
mission under Bishop C. J. Corfe. The mission had centres in Seoul, Chemulp'o and on
Kangwha island, running small hospitals, schools and orphanages as well as churches. A
group of Anglican nuns from London played a major role in these activities. An imaginative
feature of the mission was its use of Korean architecture for its churches. St Peter and St
Paul, in Kangwha city, erected in 1900, is the best example, but others survive. The
Anglican mission also produced several Korean scholars.

In 1900, the consulate-general became a full diplomatic mission, with the last consul
general, J N Jordan, as minister resident. A Korean legation opened in London about the
same time. But the signing of the Anglo-Japanese treaty in 1902 paved the way for the end
of Korean independence. The legation reverted to a consulate-general in 1906, while the
Japanese worked hard to remove British officials, including McLeavy Brown, from
Korean employment. One British journalist, Ernest Bethell, fought the Japanese through his
newspaper, the Taehan Maeil Shinbo, until silenced in 1908. His tombstone in Seoul
remains a place of pilgrimage for Korean journalists.

British influence dwindled after 1910 but did not disappear. Numbers dropped as the
Japanese pursued an aggressive 'Japan first' policy. Yet some businessmen managed to
survive and mining remained important until the 1930s. The Anglican mission continued its
slow growth. Its first Korean priests were ordained in 1915, and the mission spread out
from Seoul to other areas. In 1926, the Anglican cathedral of St Mary and St Nicholas was
dedicated in Seoul. The Salvation Army arrived in 1908, and gained a popular following.

By the 1920s, typically Salvationist establishments such as Boys' Homes functioned in
Seoul and elsewhere. The British and Foreign Bible Society also flourished. During the
1930s, pressure intensified on the remaining foreigners in Korea as war approached. The missionaries withdrew early in 1941, and the consular staff were repatriated in 1942.

After the war, a British liaison office opened in 1946, and by the end of that year, the Anglicans and the Salvation Army were again functioning, though under great financial difficulties. A handful of British businessmen also returned.

**The Korean War period 1950-1953**

Britain quickly moved to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea in 1948, and a minister, Vyvyan Holt, was accredited to Seoul in 1949. A Republic of Korea (ROK) legation opened in London that same year. When the Korean war began in June 1950, Holt decided to stay. Within a few days, he and two members of his staff, together with the Anglican Bishop, the Salvation Army commissioner and a number of other missionaries, were detained by North Korean forces. They were eventually taken to detention camps in the far north. Some died either on the 'Death March' to the north or in captivity. The survivors, including Holt and his vice-consul, George Blake, (later convicted of spying for the Soviet Union), were released in April 1953.

Although Britain had many other commitments in 1950, the British government accepted the need to help the Republic of Korea. At first it was hoped that support could be limited to naval assistance, but under American pressure and in the face of early North Korean successes, Britain agreed to commit ground forces. British infantry landed at Pusan on 29 August 1950 and were soon in action. The British took part in all the major campaigns of the conflict, but the most famous action was the stand by the First Battalion The Gloucestershire Regiment - 'The Glorious Glosters' - during the battle of the Imjin river in April 1951. British casualties in the war were 1109 killed and 2674 wounded.

**Post Korean War relations**

British forces remained in Korea as part of the Commonwealth Division until 1957. Thereafter, a small contingent acted as an Honour Guard with the United Nations Command, while from the early 1960s, the British defence attache was also the commanding officer of a residual Commonwealth Liaison Mission. Britain played a major role in post war reconstruction during the 1950s and British firms were closely associated with the ROK's subsequent rapid economic development in the 1960s and 1970s. British equipment and technical knowledge were especially important in the ship-building and automobile industries. British companies have also been involved in the textile, petrochemical, iron and steel, power generating and mining industries. British banks and other financial organisations are well represented in Korea. A number of South Korean companies, including Daewoo, Samsung and LG, have invested in Britain.

Diplomatic relations were raised to ambassadorial level in 1957. Over the years, many prominent South Koreans have visited Britain, including Presidents Chun Doo Hwan (Chôn Tuhwan) in 1986, Rho Tae Woo (No T'aeu) in 1989, and Kim Young Sam in 1995. Newly elected President Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) attended the Asia-Europe Meeting in London in April 1998. (Former President Yun Posôn studied at Edinburgh University in the 1930s.) The then British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, visited South Korea in 1986, and her successor, Mr John Major made a brief visit in 1991. There have been a number of informal royal visits over the years, and the Prince and Princess of Wales made an official visit in 1992. The Koreans have long been interested in English literature, with well-established traditions of scholarship on Shakespeare and D. H. Lawrence. Other aspects of Britain are less well studied, although there has been more interest in British politics since the 'Thatcher years'. Korean studies in Britain took off in the 1980s and there are now centres of Korean studies in London and Sheffield, with individual scholars working elsewhere.
Britain and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

Britain long maintained a policy of not recognising the DPRK as a state or the authorities there as a government, a policy derived from the 1948 United Nations' resolution establishing the Republic of Korea. There are only limited contacts between Britain and the DPRK, and trade is minimal. In 1991, the first British officials to visit DPRK since the Korean War accompanied a British delegation to the International Parliamentary Union meeting in Pyongyang. A political dialogue at official level began in 1992, and a number of meetings have been held in London, Geneva and Pyongyang. In May 1998, Britain, as the then presidency of the European Union (EU) led an EU fact-finding humanitarian delegation to the DPRK.

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United States and Korea

In 1982, the United States (U.S.) and Korea celebrated the centennial of the treaty that established relations in 1882, and some people even commemorated 'a century of cooperation' between the two countries. In fact, official relations between Korea and the U.S. were non-existent for nearly a half century, starting in 1905 when the U.S. abandoned Korea to Japan.

In 1948, the U.S. re-established relations with Korea, but unfortunately only with South Korea (the Republic of Korea [ROK]). Relations between the U.S. and North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK]) are yet to be achieved.

Establishment of Relations.

Some Americans advocated the opening of Korea for trade as early as 1834, and several contacts were made between the Koreans and the U.S. in the 1850s and 1860s when many shipwrecked Americans were rescued and given help by the Koreans. But, at that time the
The 'General Sherman' incident of July 1866, however, led the U.S. government to a confrontational encounter with Korea. The 'General Sherman' was an American schooner which was engaged in trade in the Far East, and it went to Korea from China without any authorization from the host government to navigate in Korean waters. Sailing up the Taedong River, it ran around on a sandbar near Pyŏngyang, and when its crew members (mostly Malayans and Chinese) provoked both officials and inhabitants of Pyŏngyang and the neighbouring villages, angry Koreans burned the ship and killed all its crew members.

Although the commander of the Asiatic fleet of the U.S. who investigated the case of the 'General Sherman' concluded that the ship was burned and its crew killed because of their own misconduct and not on the orders of the Korean government, officials in Washington were angry. Meanwhile, the Korean government, which usually maintained a policy of non-involvement, fearing that Korea would be contaminated by 'evil Western barbarians', became annoyed by increasing visits of foreign vessels, including the French naval invasion of 1866.

At this juncture, the American consul-general in Shanghai proposed to Secretary of State William H. Seward the possible linkage between a settling of the case of the 'General Sherman' and a commercial treaty with Korea. But it was new Secretary of State Hamilton Fish who, in April 1870, instructed the American Minister to China, Frederick F. Low, to negotiate a treaty to protect shipwrecked American seamen, and if possible, to open Korea to American trade.

Unfortunately, Minister Low went to Korea not as a diplomat to settle the issues pending between the U.S. and Korea by peaceful means, but as head of a punitive military expedition whose aim was to bring the Korean government forcibly, if necessary, to sign a treaty. Low's action led, in May 1871, to what the New York 'Herald Tribune' called, 'Our little War with the Heathen' - a series of military clashes in May and June 1871 between American Marines and Korean coastal defence units on Kanghwado and other nearby islands off Chemulp'o (now Inch'ŏn), as well as the lower Han River regions.

The American expedition accomplished nothing in terms of revising the policy of isolation of the Koreans, or changing their attitudes toward the West. It only antagonized the Koreans more and hardened their resistance to the opening of the country to 'Western barbarians'. Shortly after the American invasion, Prince Yi Ha'ung, better known as the Taewongun or Prince Regent, father of the young King Kojong (r.1863-1907), made the policy of isolation official. As Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt said later, "The attempt, however gallant, was fruitless, except in embittering Koreans and deferring the prospect of a friendly treaty."

No further actions were taken by the U.S. government until after Korea signed a diplomatic and commercial treaty with Japan in 1876. As the American government became more interested in expanding its diplomatic relations, the Secretary of State and Secretary of the Navy dispatched Commodore Shufeldt in October 1878 on a global mission that included seeking out treaties.

After a journey to Africa, Shufeldt arrived in Japan in April 1880 and made efforts to open Korea to American commerce and secure better treatment for shipwrecked American seamen. Shufeldt was aided by the American minister to Japan and by the Japanese government. However, the journey to Korea in May was not fruitful. Other attempts Shufeldt made after that date also were unsuccessful. At this juncture, Li Hongzhang, an influential Chinese statesman, invited Shufeldt to Tianjin in August, and after talking with the American, Li offered his assistance. Li's motive was said to have been to induce the American government to acknowledge China's suzerainty over Korea in a forthcoming
treaty between the U.S. and Korea, thereby challenging the Japanese contention that Korea was a sovereign and independent nation as stated in the treaty which Korea and Japan recently signed.

The changes in domestic and foreign policies of Korea and Chinese assistance enabled Shufeldt to conclude the treaty with Korea. While moderate Korean officials were able to persuade their king to abandon the policy of isolation, Li convinced the Koreans that it was better for Korea to allow the treaty with the U.S. to set the pattern of Korea's relations with the Western powers. As a result, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the U.S. and Korea was concluded on 22 May 1882 and signed on 6 June 1882 at Chemulp'o. This treaty, which is commonly called the Chemulp'o or Shufeldt treaty, refused to recognize Chinese suzerainty over Korea.

Amicable relations between the U.S. and Korea developed after the arrival of the first American minister, Lucius H. Foote, in May 1883, and the Korean government sent its first goodwill mission to the U.S. in September of the same year. Soon, other Americans, including Protestant missionaries, began to arrive in Korea. Among them was Dr. Horace N. Allen, who provided critical medical treatment to a nephew of Queen Min (assassinated 8 October 1895) who was badly wounded during the coup d'état of the Progressives in December 1884. While Dr. Allen, who later became U.S. minister to Korea, established the first modern medical clinic in Korea, other American missionaries built churches as well as modern schools for boys and girls, contributing much toward the modernization of education as well as Korean society. Meanwhile, the Korean government established its permanent mission in Washington in 1877, despite strong Chinese objections.

Break in Relations

The relationship between Korea and the United States may be viewed as a one-sided affair between an ardent Korea with a reluctant America, fostering what one writer called "the diplomacy of asymmetry". By and large, Korean leaders had misconstrued Korean-American relations and were expecting much more than the U.S. was either willing or able to provide. Some Korean officials apparently viewed the Shufeldt treaty as a wedge to free Korea from Chinese domination, and when Minister Foote arrived the Korean king was said to have 'danced with joy', for he, along with others, regarded the U.S. as the symbol of a beneficent power that would indisputably guarantee the integrity of the Korean nation. Undoubtedly, such an attitude was due to Korea's misreading of certain diplomatic language in the 1882 treaty, as well as the expressed opinions of American diplomats and missionaries in Korea regarding American intentions and disposition. Be that as it may, the Korean king took positive steps to promote close ties with the U.S.: he established cordial relations with American ministers; secured American drill masters for his modern army and imported American weapons; employed American teachers for the school for children of the nobility and American advisers in the government; and he granted various concessions to the Americans.

On the other hand, the U.S. government showed only casual interest in Korea at best, despite the fact that Minister Foote strongly felt that the influence of the U.S. should become a permanent factor in the progress of Korea. The primary interest of the U.S. government was to protect its treaty rights and other privileges gained after 1882. Modernization of the ancient Korean ways and the safety of the kingdom were not American concerns. The lack of interest in promoting deeper relations with Korea was clearly shown when, in July 1884, the government reduced the rank of its representative in Korea from Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (modern day ambassador) to that of Minister Resident and Consul General.

The U.S. maintained a position of impartial neutrality when international disputes between Korea and its neighbouring countries developed. At the same time, it avoided antagonizing
either China or Japan even when they mistreated Korea. In reality, the role the U.S. played was, as some observed, 'little more than a sympathetic and detached onlooker'.

On the eve of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Korean king solicited American assistance in order to avert the conflict over Korea, remove Japanese pressure, and safeguard his kingdom. After receiving repeated appeals from Seoul, in July 1894 the U.S. government merely expressed its hope that the Japanese would withdraw their troops from Korea to avoid war and not pressure the Korean government to implement Japanese designed domestic reform programs. The American note added that, 'The President will be painfully disappointed should Japan visit upon her feeble defenceless neighbour (Korea) the horror of an unjust war'. But when England and China proposed that the U.S. participate in joint action to prevent the war and remove Japanese pressure on Korea, the American government refused to cooperate, maintaining its policy of strict neutrality and non-involvement.

Neither Minister Allen (July 1897-June 1905), nor William Sands, an American adviser to the Korean monarch, had any love for the Koreans or concerns for Korean independence. Sands saw the Korean monarch as a man who was 'confused politically and weak in personality'. As for Allen, although he thought highly of the 'docile, good natured, patient, and hardworking' common people in Korea, he had no respect for the ruling class, including the monarch. It was his opinion that the Koreans would be better off under foreign domination.

Allen secured various concessions, including mining, railway and fishing concessions, from the Korean government for American firms after helping the king to flee from his palace to the Russian legation in February 1896. However, when the King in 1899 solicited American help in promoting Korea's permanent neutrality, the American government refused because policy makers in Washington preferred Japanese control in Korea over that of Russia, or a 'state of misrule and disrule' under the Koreans themselves.

Many had been led to believe that the Taft Katsura Memorandum of July 1905 was in fact a 'secret pact' between the U.S. and Japan under which Japan was allowed to take over Korea. Such a mistaken notion still persists among the Koreans. However, a careful examination of the circumstances in which the talks between U.S. Secretary of War William H. Taft and Japanese Prime Minister Katsura Taro took place in Tokyo, and the contents of the memorandum applied to Korea show that this was not the case.

President Theodore Roosevelt favoured Japanese control over Korea, and when, in 1903, Minister Allen expressed his view that the U.S. should help Russia against Japan, William W. Rockhill (author of American 'Open Door' policy and adviser to Roosevelt) told Allen that the Japanese should not only be supported, but also 'be allowed to swallow Korea to check the Tsarist drive in Manchuria.' Witnessing the gathering war clouds over Korea, the Korean monarch in 1904 sought American assistance (protection) in preserving the independence of his kingdom. Allen wrote to his government, 'The emperor always turns to me and the more they (Japan and Russia) scare him the more eager he is to turn everything over to the Americans.' However, Roosevelt, who had encouraged the Japanese to increase their control in Korea, refused to provide any assistance to Korea, justifying his policy on non-interference, in saying that, 'The Koreans could not strike one blow in their own defence.' It was the opinion of Rockhill that the annexation of Korea by Japan was inevitable, and that Japanese control would be better for the Korean people and also for peace in the Far East. Meanwhile, Secretary of State John Hay held that American interests (in Korea) were rather commercial than political.

The Japanese took advantage of the position of the American government, calling the Taft-Katsura Memorandum a 'secret agreement' regarding Korea and proceeded to make Korea their colony. When the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) ended with a Japanese victory, the
Japanese forced the Korean government to conclude a treaty on 17 November 1905, making Korea a Japanese protectorate, and in August 1910 they annexed it.

When the treaty of 1905 was signed between Korea and Japan, the U.S. was the first Western power to withdraw its legation from Korea, without making any protest, expressing any sympathy, or even waiting 'until the funeral was over'. 'Without saying goodbye'...we were the first to desert her', wrote Dr. Homer B. Hulbert, an American missionary/educator in Korea since 1884. Thus, the first phase of U.S. Korean relations came to an end as Korea became a Japanese colony. Meanwhile, the emigration of Koreans to Hawaii was brought to an end by the Japanese in 1905. In the three years from 1902, some 7,222 Koreans had moved to Hawaii - with about 2,000 of these relocating to the U.S. mainland after 1903.

Re-establishment of Relations

After terminating its relations with Korea, the U.S. government steadfastly refused to interfere with Japanese colonial rule. It failed to provide any assistance to the Koreans who were engaged in their independence movement in 1919 (the March First Movement) and when Korean nationalists established the Provisional Government of Korea in exile in Shanghai in April 1919, the U.S. refused to recognize its legitimacy, or give any help whatsoever to the struggle for Korean independence.

Ironically, however, the U.S. was destined to fight a costly war to liberate Korea from its colonial masters. Be that as it may, even after the outbreak of the Pacific War, the U.S. government refused to recognize the Provisional Government of Korea relocated at Chongqing, a regime which declared war on Japan in 1941. In November 1943, however, President Franklin D. Roosevelt met British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo and they agreed to free Korea from Japan and restore its national independence 'in due course'.

The re-establishment of relations between the U.S. and Korea was preceded by Allied occupation of the country at the end of World War II. Under a proposal made by the U.S. government to the Soviet Union in August 1945, Korea was divided into two military occupation zones along the 38th parallel, the north as the Soviet zone and the south as the American zone. American occupation forces arrived in Korea in early September, a month after Soviet troops entered Korea from the north in accordance with the Yalta Agreement which the Soviets had concluded with the U.S. and Great Britain in February 1943. The Russians quickly occupied the northern half of the Korean peninsula. Soon after the arrival of U.S. forces, Japanese troops were disarmed and repatriated, as were other Japanese who were in Korea at that time. At this juncture, American missionaries returned to Korea to resume work which had been suspended in 1940.

The U.S. government refused to acknowledge either the legitimacy of the Provisional Government of Korea (waiting in China to make a triumphant homecoming), or the People's Republic which was established in Korea shortly before the arrival of American troops. As a result, during the occupation period that lasted until 15 August 1948, South Korea was governed by the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK). Understandably, the Koreans, who had just been liberated from the Japanese, resented another military rule, and they were disappointed when the troops they had welcomed as allies and liberators turned out to be conquerors and overlords. As a result, relations between Americans and Koreans soured.

The Moscow Agreement that the foreign ministers of the U.S., Great Britain and the Soviet Union adopted in late December 1945 further antagonized the Koreans. It mandated the Allied occupation authorities in Korea to form a joint commission and establish a government of an independent and sovereign nation of Korea in consultation with the
Korean people. However, it also called for a four power (U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain and China) trusteeship over Korea for a period of up to five years. Needless to say, the Koreans regarded the Moscow agreement as an insult and vehemently opposed the trusteeship plan of the Allies.

Although some agreements were reached between the occupation authorities who formed the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission in March 1946, the Commission failed to fulfill the terms of the Moscow Agreement before its role was terminated in July 1947, mainly because of U.S.-U.S.S.R. opposing political and military interests. Meanwhile, American occupation authorities made efforts to 'Koreanize' the American Military Government, promote democracy, and prevent mass starvation and total collapse of economic and social order. In doing so they established (in October 1946) an advisory South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly (SKILA), and in February 1947 the South Korean Interim Government (SKIG) to assist the American military rule. Concurrently, in order to lay the foundation for self defence, in January 1946 the USAMGIK established the Constabulary, the Coast Guard, and the Military English Language School for officers.

When it became clear that the two contending parties in the rapidly developing Cold War situation could not settle the Korean question, in 1947 the U.S. government requested the United Nations to take over the Korean issue. The U.N. General Assembly adopted in November a resolution regarding Korea, and created the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK), instructing it to conduct general elections and establish a government of independent Korea. When North Korea rejected the U.N. plan, elections were held only in South Korea in May 1948 and members of the Constituent Assembly were elected. Inaugurated on 31 May, the Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution, establishing the Republic of Korea (ROK), and electing Dr. Syngman Rhee as president of the Republic. On 12 August, the U.S. extended de facto recognition and designated John J. Muccio as special envoy to Korea. Announcement of the new Republic of Korea was made on 15 August 1948 and American military rule came to an end.

Although the fully-fledged Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the U.S. and the ROK was not signed until 28 November 1956 (effective December 1957), the two governments moved quickly to cement a relationship. With the signing of a series of agreements between the Korean government and the Commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Korea in August and September 1948, and with the de jure recognition of the ROK by the U.S. on 1 January 1949, new relations developed. The ROK sent Chang Myon as its ambassador to the U.S. and the U.S. named John J. Muccio as its ambassador to Seoul.

The Forging of the U.S. South Korean Alliance

At the beginning of the new U.S.-ROK relationship, the U.S. seemed to have no particular concerns for South Korea. As early as September 1947, George Kennan, an influential adviser on foreign policy for President Harry S. Truman, suggested that the U.S. should get out of Korea, and Secretary of State George Marshall indicated that he was making a careful study of the matter.

The American policy-makers saw little strategic or economic value in Korea, and they constantly viewed the Korean problem as an 'unhappy burden and a needless liability to the free world'. While the Joint Chiefs of Staff had indicated in 1949 that under no circumstances would the U.S. engage in the military defence of the Korean peninsula, General Douglas MacArthur expressed his opinion that the U.S. would have to give up active military support for the ROK forces in the event of a military threat developing in Korea.

Consistent with such views, the U.S. withdrew all its troops from South Korea by June 1949, despite strong reservations expressed by the R.O.K. government, as well as some
At that time, some 500 American military personnel remained in South Korea as a group called the Korean Military Advisory Group (KMAG). While the KMAG repeatedly warned that South Korea was threatened with the same disaster that befell China in 1948, the young republic faced Communist inspired rebellion, strikes and other problems. Secretary of State Dean Acheson told a Congressional committee that the American line of defence in the Pacific region extended from Alaska through the Aleutians to Japan and to the Philippines, excluding South Korea. He repeated this strategy before the National Press Club on 12 January 1950. In the rapidly growing tensions of the Cold War, however, the U.S. signed the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the ROK in 1950, and the U.S. Congress appropriated $10.2 million for military aid to South Korea. This aid was used mostly for the upkeep of military equipment of early World War II vintage left behind when U.S. troops withdrew. Only a small amount of new military hardware had been delivered prior to the DPRK attack in June 1950. Meanwhile, Congress appropriated $US60 million in economic aid for South Korea for 1950 compared with an appropriation of $US110 million for Taiwan.

When the Korean War came on 25 June 1950, the American government, which had ignored repeated warnings from Seoul and Tokyo regarding the impending threats from the north, was taken completely by surprise. As American military advisers in Korea predicted, the nation's defences collapsed and Seoul, capital of the Republic, fell only three days after North Korea's invasion. Within a month the government was forced to relocate three times. The U.S. dispatched troops stationed in Japan to Korea to assist South Korea's fight for survival, but they too were unable to check the tide of the war. Calling North Korean aggression a challenge to the whole system of collective security, President Truman sent troop reinforcements to Korea. The U.S. led the U.N. Security Council to condemn the DPRK as the aggressor and to form the United Nations Force to help the ROK. After establishment of a U.N. Force with troops of sixteen member nations, General Douglas MacArthur was named commander. The ROK government placed its armed forces under U.N. Command, and in July 1950 exchanged a memorandum with the U.S. regarding the status of U.S. troops in South Korea.

The U.S. played a significant role during the Korean War to preserve the existence of the ROK, but to do that some 35 000 American soldiers died, over 120 000 were wounded, and 8 710 were listed as missing in action. However, the U.S. did not wish to expand the Korean conflict into the third world war, although it knew that both Chinese and Soviet military personnel were committed in Korea. It was the opinion of General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that if the U.S. expanded the Korean War as some Americans wished to do it would be 'the wrong war, the wrong place, and the wrong time'. Such views were widely held in Washington. Thus, on 3 July 1951, the U.S. took steps to bring about a ceasefire. So troublesome was President Rhee, who was against ending the war without a complete victory over the DPRK, that the U.S. government at one time considered removing him from power by a military coup d'etat led by Korean military leaders. However, when President Dwight Eisenhower took office, any such notional plan was discarded.

Rhee still insisted on fighting on to a complete victory. Because of the uncompromising opposition of this fiercely patriotic but recalcitrant old man to a ceasefire, coupled with the desire of the U.S. to end the war, the American government made various offers to bring him to accept the U.S. plan. They included: (1) the promise of a U.S. South Korean security pact; (2) a loan of $US200 million, and (3) aid to expand the ROK's military capacity. President Eisenhower also assured Rhee that the U.S. would make all peaceful efforts to unify Korea. The armistice was signed on 27 July 1953 by the U.N. Command, the DPRK and China. The ROK government refused to sign but it pledged to honour the truce agreement.
The Mutual Defence Treaty signed by the U.S. and the ROK on 1 October 1953 (effective 18 January 1954) forged a new alliance between the two countries, enhancing South Korea's defence posture. However, unlike the North Atlantic Treaty or the Mutual Defence Treaty between the U.S. and Japan, the South Korean pact did not obligate either party to come to the other's aid without having gone through necessary constitutional processes. Notwithstanding this qualification, by fighting together as allies in the Korean War and with the signing of the mutual defence treaty, the U.S. and the ROK opened an important new chapter in their relations.

The U.S. and North Korea

Any rapprochement between the U.S. and the DPRK after the signing of the armistice in 1953 was made more difficult by the North Koreans when they rejected proposals presented by the ROK and U.S. at the Geneva Conference of April 1954. These proposals were designed to bring about a peaceful political solution for the Korean issue (unification). The ROK saw itself under constant threat from the North and demonstrated hostilities by the North antagonized the U.S. On 21 January 1968, a DPRK commando team attempted to storm the presidential mansion in Seoul in order to assassinate the ROK president. Two days later North Korean ships seized an American intelligence ship, the U.S.S. Pueblo, and in April 1969 a U.S. reconnaissance plane (EC121) was shot down over the Sea of Japan.

Only when economic assistance from the Soviet Union and China decreased and South Korea's economic progress surpassed their own did the DPRK leaders realize the need for improved relations with the U.S. Thus, in 1972, a DPRK spokesman in Japan indicated North Korea's desire to normalize relations with the U.S. and Japan, and shortly after that Kim Il Sung, its president, disclosed similar interests to Harrison Salisbury, an American journalist who visited P'yŏngyang in May 1972. Then in March 1974, the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea sent a message to the U.S. Congress, expressing its desire to replace the Korean armistice with a peace treaty between the DPRK and the U.S.

These signals from P'yŏngyang notwithstanding, the DPRK did not make any earnest efforts to improve the conditions for rapprochement between the two countries. Instead, it exacerbated the situation when, in August 1976, North Korean soldiers killed two U.S. Army officers and wounded several others at P'anmunjom, and in July 1977 the North Koreans shot down an American helicopter which flew over North Korean territory by a navigational error, killing its entire crew.

Only after the fall of the Communists in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union in the 1980s and early 1990s did the DPRK show serious intent in establishing normal relations with the U.S. Meanwhile, the U.S. relaxed its travel restrictions to the DPRK as well as its anti-North Korean stand, initiating unofficial contacts between the two countries. As a result, an increasing number of Americans, including congressmen, scholars, journalists and home-town visitors travelled to North Korea. At the same time, some North Korean scholars were allowed to visit the U.S. as invitees at academic and professional conferences.

In December 1987, the American government initiated official dialogue with the DPRK in Beijing. After former Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur visited P'yŏngyang in late October 1989, contacts between American and North Korean officials became more frequent. Meanwhile, the amount of wheat exported to North Korea from the U.S. through a third country increased.

Following the meeting in October 1991 between the DPRK's Foreign Minister and a high ranking State Department official in New York, the North Koreans in the spring of 1992 returned the remains of 46 American soldiers who had been posted as missing in action during the Korean War, thereby significantly improving conditions for further negotiations.
Despite these developments, the DPRK's refusal to open all its nuclear and chemical weapons plants to international inspection and its insistence on total withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea inhibited further progress in the talks for establishment of normal relations. At least one favourable observable sign was the decline of anti-Americanism in North Korea.

Partners in Discord

The U.S. saw new strategic value in South Korea during the growing Cold War of the 1950s and 1960s. It provided $US2 059 million economic and $US1425 million military aid, in addition to $US28 million commercial loans to South Korea. This aid enabled the ROK to rehabilitate its war-ruined economic structure and make modest progress as it strengthened its national defences.

Acting against such progress, however, was President Rhee's autocratic rule and the corrupt and irregular ways in which his administration and his Liberal Party conducted politics and managed financial affairs. This antagonized not only the South Koreans themselves, but also the U.S. The way in which the constitutional amendments were made in 1950 and 1954 and the liberal application of the National Security Law of 1948 by the Rhee administration against its opponents strained the relationship between Seoul and Washington. Tactics used by the Rhee regime to elect its vice-presidential candidate in the March 1960 presidential elections completely alienated the U.S., and with the April 1960 Student Uprising, the U.S. not only refused to come to Rhee's aid, but also pressured him to resign.

The Second Republic that emerged in July 1960 changed the nature of politics and won the support of the U.S. However, when the Military Revolution of 16 May 1961 overthrew the Second Republic and established junta rule, U.S.-South Korean relations once again became strained. Although the revolutionaries made it clear that they were not anti-U.S. as their aim was to save the ROK from Communist subversion and establish a clean civil rule that would promote democracy, it did not reduce antagonism of the U.S. government. In the end, General Park Chung Hee, who led the military revolution, himself made a trip to Washington to make peace with the U.S. government. Having no other choice, President John F. Kennedy gave his grudging approval to the revolutionaries and relations between Seoul and Washington began to improve.

During the period of the Lyndon Johnson administration (November 1963 - January 1969), the U.S.-Korean relationship greatly improved. While the U.S. government reaffirmed its commitment to the ROK's security and economic aid, South Korea's dispatch of a large number of medical and combat troops to assist the U.S. forces in the war in Vietnam strengthened the ties between the two countries.

The cordial relationship that was carefully cultivated by Seoul and Washington during the Johnson administration began to deteriorate in 1969 when President Park's ruling party engineered the constitutional amendment that allowed a third term of office to the incumbent president. While American critics increased their attack on Park's autocratic rule and other measures, the Seoul government promoted its hostile attitudes toward the U.S. when President Richard M. Nixon announced his new Asian policy (the so-called Nixon or Guam Doctrine) in 1969 and his unilateral withdrawal of some 11 000 troops from South Korea.

President Park's application of the Yushin (Revitalizing Reform) rule in 1972 further damaged U.S.-ROK relations. Criticism against his rule by emergency decrees grew strong in South Korea as well as in the U.S. President Jimmy Carter's announcement in 1976 of a plan to withdraw all ground troops from South Korea without prior consultation with the Seoul government and the Congressional investigation of the so-called 'Koreagate' scandal in and after 1977 only embittered the Korean government, bringing further deterioration of
relations between the two allies. Meanwhile, in 1976 the U.S. terminated its economic aid to South Korea after providing a total of $US2 621 million between 1962 and 1976. Likewise, U.S. military assistance diminished after $US5 299 million had been received over a similar period. However, while this military assistance decreased (from $US296.7 million in 1973 to $US1.2 million in 1977), the ROK's military hardware purchases from the U.S. increased from a mere $US295 000 in 1967 to $US1.5 million in 1968 and $US100 million in 1974. Purchases further escalated and in 1977 reached $US653 million.

Following the assassination of President Park in October 1979, which ended the Yushin rule, the Fourth Republic emerged in March 1981. However, the way in which President Chun Doo Hwan came to power in a coup d'etat in December 1979, as well as his human rights violations and suppression of democratic trends, maintained the critical approach of the U.S. to Korean matters. Even so, the administration of President Ronald Reagan was less troubled about the authoritarian rule of President Chun than Jimmy Carter had been about that of the late President Park.

General democratic trends which developed in South Korea following the emergence of the Sixth Republic in February 1988 with Roh Tae Woo as president nurtured favourable attitudes of the U.S. toward the ROK. At the same time, various concessions that the ROK had made to American demands on economic matters, including the opening of South Korean markets to American business and products (including tobacco) removed from the agenda some items which had created disputes between Seoul and Washington. However, the U.S. government was displeased by the ROK's refusal to import American rice.

ROK leaders expressed their views that the U.S. mistakenly regarded South Korea as an economically mature country. They contended that South Korea was still a developing nation with some $US42.6 billion in foreign debts and a $5.3 billion trade deficit as of August 1992. Therefore, it should not be treated on the same basis as such economic giants as Japan and Germany. They were critical of the policy and tactics of the U.S. to sell more tobacco in South Korea while conducting anti-smoking campaigns at home. They became concerned with the shifting balance of trade with the U.S. In 1987, the ROK's trade surplus vis-a-vis the U.S. was $US9.5 billion, but it first decreased to $2.4 billion in 1990 and then to a $335 million deficit in 1991 with the widening of Korean markets to U.S. products and corresponding shrinkage of the U.S. markets for Korean goods.

American pressure to widen Korean markets for U.S. business and products and growing expectation of more democratization in South Korea are potential sources of friction and dispute. Notwithstanding, the ROK and the U.S. signed a new Status of Forces Agreement in 1991 and created in 1992 the new Marine Combined Command in order to strengthen the U.S.-ROK Combined Forces Command system. The parties also agreed to delay the implementation of the plan to reduce the number of U.S. troops in South Korea. At the same time, they agreed to renew the joint annual military exercise called Team Spirit (which had begun in 1976) in 1993. This military exercise had been suspended in 1992 in order to foster the DPRK's cooperative attitude. With these actions, the two partners strengthened their political and military alliance. Meanwhile, as an expression of the importance of Korea to the U.S., the Library of Congress in 1991 separated the Korean section from the Chinese section, making it a new independent unit in the Asia Division.

Conclusion

After nearly a half century of the absence of any dialogue between the U.S. and Korea following the termination of relations in 1905, new relations between the U.S. and the southern half of the divided Korea were established in 1948. Unlike the previous periods (1882-1905 and 1945-50) during which the U.S. saw no economic or political importance in Korea; in the years after 1950 the U.S., realizing both the political and strategic importance of the peninsula, cultivated close ties with the ROK. Their armed forces had
fought side by side in two wars (Korea and Vietnam) and with U.S. economic aid, the ROK had achieved remarkable economic growth, as it strengthened its national defences with American assistance.

Altering its status from a client state of the U.S. to that of partner, the ROK has become a nation imbued with confidence, pride, and hope. Moreover, the U.S. now regards the ROK as a valuable ally, stemming from its remarkable achievement, democratic development, and cultural progress.

The establishment of any relations between Washington and P'yŏngyang is likely be delayed further so long as the DPRK refuses to adopt a more flexible policy towards international inspection of its nuclear facilities; cancel its biological and chemical weapons programs; abandon its demand for complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from the ROK; and its bellicosity towards the latter country (and its schemes to overthrow the government).

Today, U.S.-ROK relations appear very resilient despite some misunderstandings and unresolved issues. Although some South Koreans continue to express anti-American sentiments, the majority of the people hold a positive image of the U.S. and remain friendly towards it. At present, the two nations are making joint efforts to promote mutually beneficial relations and seek the improvement of stability in north-east Asia.

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A C Nahm

Universities and Colleges (see under each University and College)

Ajou (Aju) University
Andong National University
Busan (Pusan) National University
Catholic University of Taegu-Hyosung (Hyosŏng)
Cheju National University
Chonbuk (Chŏnbuk) National University
Chongju (Ch'ŏngju) University
Chonnam (Chŏnnam) National University
Chosun (Chosŏn) University
Chung Buk (Ch'ungbuk) National University
Chung Nam (Ch'ungnam) National University
Chung-ang University
Dankook (Tan'guk) University
Dong-A (Tonga) University
Dong-eui (Tongüi) University
Dongguk (Tongguk) University
Ewha (Ihwa) Womans University
Gyeong Sang (Kyŏngsang) University
Hallym (Hallim) University
Hannam University
Hanyang University
Hong-Ik University
Institute of Advanced Engineering
Kangnung (Kangnŏng) National University
Kangweon (Kangwŏn) National University
Kon-kuk (Kŏn'guk) University
Kookmin (Kungmin) University
Korea Educational Development Institute
Korea National University of Education
Korea (Koryŏ) University
Kyemyung (Kyemyŏng) University
University of Ulsan

The University of Ulsan (Ulsan Taehakkyo) is located in the city of Ulsan in South Kyŏngsang Province. It was founded in 1969 by the Ulsan Industrial Education Foundation (Ulsan Kongŏp Hagwŏn) and named the Ulsan Institute of Technology (Ulsan Konggwa Taehak). Yi Kwan was the first president. In the 1970s, the institute expanded, leading to the establishment of a graduate school in March 1980. In 1985, the establishment became a university, consisting of four colleges -- Humanities; Engineering; Social Sciences; and Natural Sciences. In 1988, Dr. Lee Sang-Joo took office as president and in the same year, the College of Design was established. The Graduate School of Industrial Studies and Business Administration came into being a year later. This was followed by the College of Medicine and the Graduate School of Education in 1990; and the College of Business Administration in 1993.

Today, the university consists of seven colleges -- Business Management; Design; Engineering; Humanities; Medicine; Natural Sciences; and Social Science; and six graduate schools (the Graduate School and the Graduate Schools of Business Administration; Education; Industrial Technology; Information and Communication; and Regional Development). Facilities include the Computer Centre; Language Education Centre; University Press; Educational Media Centre; Athletics Program Department; Student Guidance Centre; and the Adult Education Centre. The last-named was opened in 1993 to administer various adult education programs, such as educational courses for nursery school teachers; courses on information processing for office workers; and engineering and foreign language courses for the employees of local industries and businesses.

Unyang chip (Collected Works of Unyang)

Unyang chip is the literary collection of the noted late Chosŏn period scholar-poet Kim Yunshik (1835-1922). This lithographic edition consists of sixteen volumes in eight fascicles, and was titled after the pen name of the author. The first edition of this work was edited by Hwang Pyŏnguk and others, who also published it in 1914. The work was again published in 1917.

The first six volumes of this collection contain 1564 poems of the author, and the other volumes contain various official writings of the author such as private and official letters. This collection also contains various discourses by the author commenting on what he saw as the pressing problems of his day. Some of the more notable examples include his
discussion of the problems with the *Samjong* (The Three Administrations) tax system and his views on the opening of Korea to trade with foreign nations.

This work provides a glimpse into the affairs of the Chosŏn government during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from the view of one of the foremost scholars of the day. Kim’s writings divulge the process of diplomacy during this period and also reveal the process of the intellectuals of Chosŏn trying to come to terms with the onslaught of foreign culture and technology. Moreover, this work is widely acclaimed for the excellence of the author’s literary talents displayed in the poetry of the first six volumes. In 1980 Asea Munhwasa published an annotated version of this work.

**Uri malbon** (Korean Grammar)

*Uri malbon* is a work on Korean grammar that was written by Ch’oe Hyŏnbae (1894-1970) and was first published in 1937. After numerous revisions, a revised edition was published in 1955. Ch’oe received training from Chu Shigyŏng (1876-1914) and therefore adhered to the nationalistic approach of his teacher. This work begins with an analysis of the previous research on the Korean language and then traces the development of the Korean language. It is notable in that it was the first to systematically outline Korean grammar. *Uri malbon* is divided into the three broad sections of phonology, etymology and syntax.

This work is widely acclaimed for its modern approach to the organization of Korean etymology and syntax, which had not been undertaken before this work. Moreover, the original approach that this work took during the Japanese colonial period when the Korean language was being suppressed grants it a monumental place in the history of Korean linguistic studies.

**Uri yenmalbon** (Grammar of the Old Korean Language)

*Uri yenmalbon* is a 994-page work that explores the grammar of fifteenth century Korean. It was written by Hŏ Ung and published by Saem Munhwa Publishers in 1975. Hŏ’s work is an extensive morphological study of fifteenth century Korean, and begins with a general overview that covers morphology, phonology, orthography and issues concerning various particles in the Korean language. The main focus of the work is placed on various morphological phenomena, including grammatical forms and irregular parts of speech.

*Uri yenmalbon* covers fifteenth century Korean extensively, particularly from the aspect of grammar and various structural forms. For these reasons this work is praised a having significance for historical research on the Korean language.

US Korean Mutual Defence Treaty, 1953  
[USA and Korea]

Waegu  
[History of Korea]

Wall Paintings

In Korea, there are two types of wall paintings: murals in buildings and paintings in tombs. Examples of the former are primarily found on Buddhist temple buildings, but records suggest that murals and designs were also used on private houses as early as the Three Kingdoms period. The *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) mentions Shilla prohibitions against the use of 'five-colour' decorations on houses of those of the true-bone (chingol) lineage. This would suggest that palaces, occupied by those of the higher
hallowed-bone (*sŏnggol*) lineage, had murals, as well as some members of the true-bone lineage.

In Koryŏ times, wall painting in tombs was a strong tradition, which gradually weakened with each successive dynasty. These tombs were usually large mounds of dirt covering a stone structure that entombed the body of deceased royalty or member of the upper class. The stone chamber inside the tomb was sometimes filled with objects for use by the deceased spirit in the next world, and the walls were covered with murals showing plants, animals, people or geometrical designs.

**Early Koguryŏ**

Koguryŏ tomb painting has been in existence since the middle of the fourth century C.E. Due to the rapid expansion of Koguryŏ territory around the reign of King Kwanggaet'o (391-413), Korea came into closer contact with Chinese culture and thus became familiar with the Chinese style stone-chamber tumuli. Murals on early Koguryŏ tombs, following the Chinese style, are often painted along long passageways, and the figures are made to overlap so as to show depth. Examples from this period include the Tŏkhŭng Village Tumulus (408 C.E.), Kamshin Tumulus and Susan Village Tumulus. On the Maesan Village Four Deities Tumulus, from the same period, one can see the rudimentary elements of a unique Koguryŏ style. The seated figures look directly forward with grave expressions and the figures are in juxtaposition. A further development can be seen on the Ssangyŏng Tumulus, where the figures have heads turned exchanging glances, giving an impression of movement. Early Koguryŏ tumuli are characterized by stylized depictions of clouds, a motif that originated in Han China. These early Koguryŏ tomb paintings are done in fresco using greenish-blue and sea-blue pigments and yellow and red clay with ink.

**Mid-Koguryŏ Period**

Around the end of the fifth c., Koguryŏ mural artists began to develop a distinct style. In the T’ung-kou region, tomb paintings continued to show people and scenes from everyday life, but a new style of scattered lotuses or concentric circles also emerged at this time. In P’yŏngyang, murals showing the deities of the four directions began to occupy the entire wall of tombs. These four deities are the blue dragon, white tiger, tortoise and red phoenix, which represent the east, west, north and south respectively. During this period, there were numerous depictions of people participating in cultural events - such as dancing, hunting, and the like. The figures from this period are less rigid, but the depiction of leaves remains awkward. On the large tombs, cloud patterns gave way to arabesques.

**Late Koguryŏ Period**

During late Koguryŏ, pictures of cultural events and abstract designs completely disappear. Almost all tombs of this period are decorated with ornate depictions of the deities of the four directions. The murals are filled with clouds, lotuses, arabesques, and floral patterns. In addition, mountains, trees and rock outcroppings are portrayed in a realistic manner. When looking at painting styles on tombs of this period, there is clear evidence of influence from China’s Six Dynasties (220-589).

**Koguryŏ Murals in Japan**

Japanese records tell of several Koguryŏ artists, such as Kasŏil and Tamjing (579-631), who crossed over to Japan. Unfortunately, the mural that Tamjing painted at Hŏrū Temple was destroyed by fire in 1949. The Japanese murals by Koguryŏ painters demonstrate an international style with Chinese and Japanese influence.

**Paekche**
Paekche tomb painting was influenced by that of Koguryo, but as Paekche moved its capital further and further south, Koguryo influence decreased. Paekche transmitted Koguryo style wall painting to Kaya, which in turn passed it on to Japan. The only two extant examples of Paekche tumuli contain pictures of the four direction deities. The Tomb of Songsan Village is built of tiles. On the ceiling of the Nungsan Village Tumulus, lotus and cloud designs are scattered across the ceiling. Although the Koguryo influence on these murals is clear, Paekche murals have several distinguishing features such as thin, soft lines and more radiant colours. At the Sóbok Temple site near Puyó, Paekche’s third capital, excavated mural fragments indicate that murals were also used on temples at this time.

Old Shilla, Kaya, and Greater Shilla

Two wall paintings from Old Shilla have been found: the Osuksul Grave and the Úmnae Village Tumulus, both in Yōng’ung. The Osuksul Grave has lotus designs on the ceiling and guardian deities on the outside of the stone entrance. The Úmnae Tumulus, on the other hand, has a great number of motifs and shows heavy Koguryo influence. There is only one Kaya wall painting, located in Koryŏng. There are lotuses on the ceiling and on the walls there seems to have been a picture of the deities of the four directions. The Kaya murals seem to be a variation on the Koguryo style.

Although there are indications of wall paintings in some tombs of the Greater Shilla Period, the murals are not in good condition. There is some coloured paint on the walls of the tomb purported to belong to King Shindok (r. 912-917). Traces of dark red paint have been found on a tomb in Yangch’on Village in Kūmŭng County. In addition to these tomb paintings, there are several references to murals in the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). Although the famous Heavenly Horse Tomb (Ch’ŏnmach’ŏng) in Kyŏngju did not house any wall paintings, it did contain some excellent paintings on saddle flaps. The paintings show, inter alia, a flying horse, horsemen and phoenix.

Koryŏ

During Koryŏ, tombs of kings and the upper class were often decorated with the twelve zodiacal figures. This zodiac motif probably originated in Shilla. Instead of lotuses, the walls tended to be decorated with stars. There is also evidence that pictures were painted on cloth and then hung on walls. The oldest extant Koryŏ painting is a wall painting (National Treasure No. 46) in the Chosa (Patriarchs) Hall at Pusŏk Temple. The painting shows guardian deities and bodhisattvas. Although there is slight flaking, the colours are still visible. At Sudŏk Temple, there is a mural from 1308. Although much flaking has occurred, the objects in the painting are still discernible. In addition, the Koryŏ togyŏng (Treatise on Koryŏ Pictures) mentions the use of multi-coloured designs called tanch’ŏng on the palace. Several written works also mention an excellent mural at Kaesŏng’s Ssangguk Temple that was modelled after a mural at China’s Xiang-guo Temple.

Chosŏn

There has been virtually no excavation of Chosŏn tombs, but written sources say the ceilings of tombs from this era were decorated with pictures of the sun, moon and stars, and the deities of the four directions were painted on the walls. In Buddhist temples, the Chosŏn Period saw an increase in the use of framed paintings instead of murals; nevertheless, murals continued to be used on the outside walls and panels of buildings. Although framed paintings have become the rule, an altar mural can still be seen at Muwi Temple. The mural, painted in 1476, includes an Amitabha triad, a ‘water-moon’ Goddess of Mercy figure, etc. Other examples of extant murals from the Chosŏn Period include those at Wibong, Munsu, Hanggan, T’ongdo and Sŏn’un Temples. At Yongju Temple, there is a unique mural in which the figures have been modelled with chiaroscuro to suggest
depth. This painting, which shows Western influence, was probably painted in the eighteenth c..

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*HMMS*, vol. 9.

**Wan Island**

Situated off the coast of Haenam County, Wan Island is part of the town of Wando in South Cholla Province's Wando County. The island covers a total area of 50.2 sq. kms. and as shown by 1985 statistics, a population of 23,891. As part of a submerged chain of mountains, Wan island has Sanghwang (644m), Paegun (462m) and Suxsung (432m) as its highest peaks. The southern part of the island is covered by low hills and plains.

The island's temperature range is influenced by ocean currents which regulate both winter and summer extremes. Thus, the average temperature in January is kept above freezing point at 0.1c and the average August temperature is a bearable 23.5c. The island's average rainfall is quite high with 1,699mm annually. With a picturesque coastline and thick forest, the island is renowned for its scenic splendour. Beaches in the area include the sandy Myongsashimni Beach and an attractive pebble beach at Ch’ongdo Village.

Most of the working population engage both in agriculture and fishing. Crops grown include rice, barley, sweet potato, garlic, wheat, persimmon and rape seed. The island’s fishing boats bring in catches of sea bream, Spanish mackerel, hairtail, anchovy and eel. There are some salt flats and the island is a major producer of laver (*kim*), brown seaweed (*Undaria pinnatifida*) and oyster.

A bridge was built linking the island to the mainland, in 1965 and twenty years later, in December 1985, a second bridge was opened to facilitate heavy transport access and the increasing flow of tourists.

The island has four elementary, two junior high and two high schools.

**Wando County**

Situated in South Cholla Province, Wando County includes the towns of Kūmil, Nohwa and Wando, and the townships of Kogum, Kunoe, Kūmdang, Pogil, Soan, Shinji, Saengil, Yaksan and Ch’ongsan. Consisting of over 60 occupied and 143 unoccupied islands, the county covers 387.11 sq. kms. and as 1989 statistics indicate, had a population of 96,444. As part of a submerged mountain range, the islands contain numerous peaks, including Sanghwang Peak (644m), Paegun Peak (462m) and Suxsung Peak (432m) on Wan Island, Chokcha Peak (425m) on Pogil Island, Mae Peak (385m) on Ch’ongsan Island and Paegun Peak (483m) on Saengil Island. The southern shores of the outer islands have, to a large extent, been eroded by the action of the sea, whereas the northern shores tend to have shallow coast lines. Consequently, extensive areas along the islands’ northern coastlines, especially of those situated closer to the mainland, have been reclaimed. Influenced by the warm currents of nearby seas, the area has an average yearly temperature of 13.9c., a January temperature of 2.2c. and an August temperature of 26.3c. The area receives an average yearly rainfall of 1,200mm.

About two thirds of the county’s workers are in agriculture. Except for the reclaimed areas along the coast, most of the county consists of rugged terrain. The county has
approximately 95 sq. kms. of arable land. Of this, about 36 sq. kms grows rice and about
59 sq. kms. dry-field crops, mostly grains and sweet potato. Fruit crops in the area include
persimmon and tangerine. In the area’s placid seas, fishermen bring in catches of
yellow corbina, mackerel, sea bream, Spanish mackerel, hairtail, anchovy and eel. The
county accounts for one quarter of the nation’s total laver production. In Nohwa, clay and
pagodite are quarried, with all of the pagodite produced here being exported to Japan. In
the towns of Kümil, Wando and Nohwa, there are food-product and marine-product
processing plants.

The preservation of the area’s scenic splendour is safeguarded by most of the county’s
inclusion in the Tadohae National Marine Park. Some of the most popular tourist
destinations are the beaches on Wan Island (See Wan Island), and sites associated with
Yu Sôndo on Pogil Island (See Pogil Island). Buddhist sites in the area include
Shinhûng Temple in Wando’s Kunnae Village, Yôngju Hermitage in Shinji Township’s
Songgok Village, Okch’ôn Hermitage in Kögûm Township’s Tôktong Village, Hangnu
Hermitage in Saengil Township’s Yusô Village and Paengnyôn Hermitage in Ch’ôngsang
Township’s Puhûng Village.

Confucian sites include Wando Hyanggyo (Confucian school) in Wando’s Chukch’ông
Village, Changgun Sadang (Ancestral Shrine) in Wando’s Changwà Village and
Changjong-dang, a shrine in Kogiim Township’s Sangjong Village. Built by Kim
Kwangson in 1897, Wando Hyanggyo was the area’s first educational institution.

Wan Island, previously known as Ch’ônghae, also served as a base for Chang Pogo’s
forces. During the reign of King Hûngdok (r.826-836), Chang and his army directed
maritime trade in the region while protecting the important Yellow Sea trade lanes from
pirates. In 851, following the assassination of Chang, the Wan Island garrisons were shut
down, bringing to an end Chang’s short-lived maritime ‘Kingdom’.

Wang Kôn (see T’aejo, King)

Wanggôm

[History of Korea]

Wang Mang

[History of Korea: The Earliest Korean States]

Wang Och’ônch’uckkuk chôn (Memoirs of the Pilgrimages to the Five Regions of
India)

The author of this work was Hyech’ô (704-787), a Buddhist monk of the Greater Shilla
period. As a youth Hyech’ô went to southern China and studied under the Buddhist priest
Amoghavajra, and was encouraged to visit India. In 723 he went there by sea and travelled
extensively, visiting many significant sites associated with Buddhism, and eventually
returning overland to China through Western Turkestan and the Pamir plateau. This work is
the record of his journey and includes descriptions of the climate, customs, products,
politics, legal systems and the status of Buddhism in the various areas he visited.

In 1908, the French scholar Paul Pelliot discovered a roll of papers containing the text of
this work in the Tunhuang caves in China. It is now held in the National Museum in Paris,
and is one of the oldest extant Korean works. According to a Chinese record of the Tang
period, it was originally in three volumes, but only one has survived. It is, nevertheless, a
comprehensive record and a valuable source for the study of India and Central Asia in the
eightth c.

In 1928 German scholar, W. Fuchs translated it into German, and in 1943 Ch’oe
Namsôn’s commentary to the text was published.
Wanju County

Situated in the centre of North Cholla Province, Wanju County has the main towns of Pongdong and Samnye, and the townships of Hwasan, Isō, Kui, Kosan, Kyongch'ŏn, Pibong, Sanggwann, Sŏyang, Tongsang, Unju and Yongjin. In the south, Chŏnju City separates Isō Township from the rest of the county. Mt. Taedun (878m) rises in the north, Mt. Yŏnsŏk (920m) is to the west and Mt. Moak (794m) to the south. Notwithstanding the proximity of these mountains, the county's western sector is relatively flat. The county covers a total area of 828.34 sq. kms. and as indicated by 1989 statistics, it had a population of 99 162.

Some twenty per cent of the county is arable land. Of this, about two-thirds is used for rice cultivation, and the remainder for dry field crops such as barley, beans, radishes, Chinese cabbage, spinach, lettuce, cucumbers, onions, garlic and hot peppers. The area's fruit crops include pears, apples, peaches, persimmons and grapes. Speciality crops, include Pongdong ginger and dried persimmons from Tongsang Township which are especially liked. Mines around Mt. Moak produce gold, silver and copper, while others in Pibong Township produce coal. Talc is mined in Sŏyang Township. The county also manufactures textiles, plastic, chemical products, leather, hanji (Korean paper), oiled paper for floors and hwasonji (paper for calligraphy).

Surrounded by peaks of the Noryŏng Mountain Range, Wanju County affords a number of scenic attractions. For hikers, there is Mt. Taedun Provincial Park at the northwestern tip of the county and Mt. Moak Provincial Park to the south. In Sŏyang Township's Taehŭng Village is the picturesque Wibong Waterfall. Situated near the east gate of Wibong Fortress, this sixty-metre, two-tier waterfall is considered to be one of the 'eight scenic wonders' of Wanju County. Here, water descends into a deep ravine between rugged pinnacles of eroded granite. Within walking distance stands the Ŭngch'i Monument, which commemorates the Korean soldiers who fought here during the Hideyoshi Invasion of 1592. Both the Korean and the Japanese armies suffered heavy casualties in the battle that raged here, leading the invaders to call off the attack.

Within walking distance of Wibong Waterfall on the southern slope of Mt. Chuch'wal stands Wibong (Dignified Phoenix) Temple. This ancient monastery is said to have been founded by Grand Master Sŏam in 604; however, maintenance records of Kungnakch'ŏn (Paradise Hall) state that a peasant of the late Shilla Dynasty built the temple after he saw three phoenix playing in the nearby woods. The famous monk Naong led a major reconstruction of the temple in 1359. This large monastic complex was once one of the 31 main temples of the combined Sŏn (Meditation) and Kyo (Doctrine) sect, but the temple has gradually decreased in size as a result of repeated fire damage. Other famous temples in the area include Taewŏn Temple, Tanam Temple, Songgwang Temple and Hwaam Temple. Founded during the reign of Shilla's King Munmu (r. 661-681), Hwaam Temple is famous as a place where both Grand Master Wŏnhyo and Grand Master Ŭisang engaged in religious practices.

Songgwang Temple was founded by Sŏn Master Toŭi in 867 and was later restored under the guidance of Chinul (National Master Pojo). When Toŭi was travelling south in search of a good site for a monastery, he came to a place where water gushed from the ground. He decided to build a temple on this auspicious site, calling it Chŏngnamsa. The monastery has a number of old buildings and halls. The Main Buddha Hall has been designated North Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 70. The hall is built in the typical multi-clustered bracket style of late Chosŏn. Its roof is both hipped and gabled, and the ceiling is chequered. Tourists frequent the temple, especially in late April when the cherry blossoms are in bloom.
In addition to Buddhist sites, there are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, such as Kosan Hyanggyo (founded in 1407 and rebuilt on the north bank of Kosan Stream in 1601), Kuho Sŏwŏn in Pongdong, Hosan Sŏwŏn in Samnye next to the Honam Expressway, Paekch'i Sŏwŏn in Kosan Township, Pongyang Sŏwŏn in Pibong Township and Yanggok Sŏwŏn in Pibong Township just east of Mt. Sŏngmoe (393m). Modern institutions of higher education include Hanil Theological Seminary University in Sanggwan Township and Woosuk University in Samnye.

There are a number of unique village rituals (tongje) in this area. Foremost are the Sanshinje (Shaman ritual to worship the deity of the mountain) in Pongdong’s Yulso Village and the Kiuje (ritual of praying for rain) in Kosan Township. The Yulso Village rite was originally performed to ward off tigers, disease and famine. The ritual is normally held on the 6th day of the first lunar month, but the date can be changed to another auspicious day in the event of an unclean occasion such as a death or birth. The Kosan Kiuje was held up until the end of the Japanese occupation (1945). This ritual was different from that of other regions, as it was performed by Buddhist monks who recited a sutra in front of a Buddhist scroll painting at Hwaam Temple. The ritual did not end at any set time, but instead continued until enough rain fell to make the scroll painting wet.

War Memorial

The War Memorial (Chŏnjaeng Kinyŏmgwan) opened on 10 June 1994 on It’aewŏn Street next to the Yongsan Army Base in Seoul. The memorial displays artefacts and memorabilia associated with Korean wars. Exhibition halls at the memorial include the War History Room; Korean-War Room; Expeditionary Forces Room; Korean Forces Development Room; and Large-scale Equipment Room, as well as a room specially dedicated to the memory of Koreans who died defending their country. Items on display include ancient armour and swords; cannons; weapons from World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War; as well as large items such as tanks and a B-52 bomber. There is also a model of the tombstone of King Kwanggaet’o (r. 391-413) the great ruler of Koguryŏ.

Wards and Districts

Inch’ŏn chikhalsŏ (6 Wards and 126 Districts)
- Chung-gu
- Nam-gu
- Namdong-gu
- Puk-gu
- Sŏ-gu
- Tong-gu

Kwangju chikhalsŏ (3 Wards and 99 Districts)
- Puk-gu
- Sŏ-gu
- Tong-gu

Pusan chikhalsŏ (12 Wards and 188 Districts)
- Chung-gu
- Haeundae-gu
- Kangsŏ-gu
- Kŭmjong-gu
- Nam-gu
- Puk-gu
- Pusanjin-gu
- Saha-gu
- Sŏ-gu
Wi Island

Wi Island is part of Wido Township in North Cholla Province’s Puan County. Situated about 10 kms. from the Pyōnsan Peninsula in the Yellow Sea, the island covers a total area of 11.14 sq. kms. and as 1985 statistics show, had a population of 2 883. Mangwŏl Peak (255m) and Manggūm Peak (242m), are the island’s highest peaks and these contrast with the flat areas of reclaimed land along the coast.

The island receives 1 093mm of rain and 196.3mm of snow annually. The average temperature is -1.5c in January and 27c in August. Only 14. per cent of the island is arable. Of this, 0.19 sq. kms. is used for rice cultivation and 1.38 sq. kms. for dry field crops such as sweet potato, barley and garlic. Local fishermen catch anchovy, hairtail and yellow corbina, and harvest laver.

There are two elementary schools and one junior high school on the island.
During Chosŏn, Wi Island was used as a place of exile.

Willis, Admiral G.O. [United Kingdom and Korea]

Wiman (fl. ?-c.194 B.C.E.)

Wiman (Wei Man) was the founder of Wiman Chosŏn, an early Korean State. Due to civil wars in China after the fall of the Qin dynasty and the rise of the Han there were a great many refugees from northern China and Manchurian areas. In particular, one group of refugees, numbering over a thousand strong, was led by a man named Wiman who sought shelter from the continuing wars of China. Initially, Wiman was entrusted by King Chun (? –194 BCE) of Ko Chosŏn to defend the northwestern border of the kingdom. However, as Wiman consolidated his power base among the refugees he drove King Chun from his throne and took the kingship for himself. King Chun is said to have fled to the south to the state of Chin at this time. The year that Wiman (194 BCE) is said to have founded his own state is derived from records in the Shizhi (Records of the Historian).

Records in the Shizhi, Hanshu (History of the Former Han Dynasty) and Sangazhùzhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) all state that Wiman was of the Chinese Yan State. However, although Wiman came from Chinese territory it is quite likely that he was of Korean ethnicity. This can be confirmed from records stating that he wore his hair and dressed in the style of the Chosŏn people when he led his band of followers to Ko Chosŏn, and moreover that he continued to use ‘Chosŏn’ in the title of his new kingdom. Another feature of Wiman Chosŏn was the continued use of men of the former Ko Chosŏn kingdom to staff high positions in its government. All of these facts together support the view that Wiman Chosŏn was not a Chinese colonial outpost, despite the fact that Wiman did rely on Chinese migrants and their sophisticated knowledge of the iron culture to help him in founding his state. Wiman Chosŏn most certainly took the form of a confederated kingdom that used the extant power structures of its predecessor Ko Chosŏn, and then took this society through a series of rapid developments.

It is not known for certain when Wiman died or for how long he ruled. However, from the fact that his grandson King Ugo served as the last king of Wiman in 108 BCE it can be determined that Wiman did consolidate his power and pass that throne on to his heir. It is known that Wiman Chosŏn extended the size of its domain to a considerable degree and controlled much of the northern part of the Korean peninsula. Moreover, the fact that Wiman Chosŏn and the Chinese Han dynasty had diplomatic exchanges also indicates that Wiman Chosŏn represented a considerable force in the northern Korea and eastern Manchurian regions. It is thought that the advanced metal culture of Wiman Chosŏn, that rivalled that of the Han, allowed the Korean kingdom to maintain its territory against its larger counterpart.

Wiman (Ch. Wei Man) Chosŏn [History of Korea]

Wŏlc’h’ul Mountain

Situated in South Cholla Province just south of Yŏngam, Mt. Wŏl’ch’ul is a rugged mountain characterised by steep rock outcroppings and sparse vegetation. According to the Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea), the mountain was known as Mt. Wŏlla during the Shilla Period and Mt. Wŏlsaeng during the Koryŏ Period. The present name means ‘moon-rise mountain.’

Ch’ŏnhwang Peak (809 metres), the mountain’s highest point, is connected by a ridge to Kujŏng Peak (743 metres) to the south-west. On the north-west face of Kujŏng Peak, there
is a seated, 8.6-metre high Buddha figure carved in relief (National Treasure no. 144). The figure is believed to date from the end of the Greater Shilla Period or the beginning of the Koryŏ Period. To the south-west of Kujŏng Peak, next to the Togap Reservoir, there is Togap Temple, which was founded in the Koryŏ Period. Several ancient artifacts can be seen at the temple, including a seated Buddha in relief and a stele commemorating National Master Tosŏn. South-east of Togap Temple, next to the Sŏnggŏn Reservoir, there is Muwi Temple, which was founded by Wŏnhyo during the Shilla Period. East of Ch'ŏnhwang Peak lies the Ch'ŏnhwang Temple and Kujŏl Waterfall. North-west of the peak lies the Onch'ŏn, Yongch'u and Taedong Waterfall.

Due to its spectacular landscape, Mt. Wŏlch'ul has been eulogised by a number of famous poets including the Koryŏ poet Kim Kūkki and the Chosŏn poet Kim Shisūp. Nowadays, the area is popular with tourists who hike the mountain trails and visit the numerous historical sites. From Ch'ŏnhwang Peak, the sunrise and sunset are said to be particularly lovely. In order to preserve the mountain's beauty and historical heritage, Mt. Wŏlch'ul and the Togap Temple area were designated Wŏlch'ul-san Provincial Park in 1973. The area's status was upgraded to National Park in 1988.

Wŏlch'ong Temple

[Architecture]

Women

Each succeeding dynasty in the two-thousand years of recorded history of Korean civilisation has brought about profound change to the status of women. From the earliest Korean societies, where women were considered as equal to men in many respects, to Chosŏn (1392-1910), where women were systematically discriminated against by the constrictive neo-Confucian ideology that had permeated society, and which came to dominate every thought and action of the people. The twentieth-century and its release from the shackles of neo-Confucianism saw a continuing struggle between, on one hand, the desires of many women to be treated as equals with men and, on the other, the vestiges of the former ideological beliefs that still depressed woman's position in society. It should not be assumed, however, that the advent of Japanese colonisation brought about the emancipation of Korean women; for history has recorded the harsh treatment of the Korean people, men, women, and children, at the hands of the Japanese throughout the period of colonial rule (1910-1945).

Early Korean societies

While it is difficult to determine with certitude the role of women in the earliest societies on the Korean peninsula, it is believed that a division of labour existed between males and females. From around 3 000 BCE, Neolithic man was present on the Korean peninsula and these early Koreans lived in small groupings of dugout dwellings, most often along rivers or on the coastline. They were hunters and gatherers of food, but came to maintain the elements of an agrarian society, in which cereals such as millet, barley, rice, and buckwheat were grown. It is thought that the womenfolk confined their activities in or close to the dwellings, thus enabling them to function as primary care-givers for their children, while the men ranged further from the dwellings in their hunting expeditions and search for game.

The structure of the dwellings in the late Neolithic and early Bronze periods also indicates a separation of duties between males and females. While the shelters of this period were largely dugout dwellings, living quarters separated into an area in which a hearth was located and an outer area. The inner part of the dugout held the implements needed for the preparation of food, while the outer areas of the dwelling served also as storage for farming tools and weapons. It is reasonable to assume that women were chiefly responsible for child-rearing and food preparation, while the men kept to farming and hunting activities. This, however, is not to say that there was any hierarchical pattern attached to the functions
conducted by either sex. The people were heavily dependent upon joint efforts for survival of the family, clan, and community.

Extant records from the pre-Three Kingdoms period are few, but some Chinese documents provide glimpses into the lives of the early Koreans. Some of these records are concerned with marriage customs. For example, from records in the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), the Eastern Ye Kingdom had laws enforcing exogamous marriage practices. Moreover, from the Koguryŏ custom of a 'son-in-law chamber' (*sŏk*), we can ascertain that the groom went to live with his wife's family for a period of time. Only after the children of the couple had reached a certain age did the bride and groom leave her natal home for that of her groom. This practice is thought to be a vestige of an older custom, thus prompting some historians to suggest that there may have been a matrilineal descent system in Neolithic Korea. This theory, however, is the subject of much debate.

Other records of this period in early Korean history reveal various legal practices that allow for some understanding of the lives of women. The *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty) shows that a legal code was in place in Puyo, which indicates the beginnings of societal restrictions being imposed on women. This legal code had two provisions concerning women, which were capital offences. These were (a) adultery, and (b) jealousy. These inhuman penalties could have functioned to protect a fledgling patriarchal family system. Moreover, the punitive provision concerning female jealousy indicates the prevalence of polygamy among the upper classes of Puyo society. It is thought that other early kingdoms, such as Ko Chosŏn, Ye and the Samhan, had similar legal codes in place. Accordingly, it can be reasoned that the status of women was becoming subordinate to that of men from this time.

**Women in the Three Kingdoms**

As Korean society became more advanced and hierarchical, so too, did the ascribed roles for males and females. The Three Kingdoms and Greater Shilla which followed were eras that saw the consolidation of monarchal authority; the stratification of society into the ruling and lower classes, and the importation of higher Chinese religious and cultural systems, such as Buddhism and Confucianism. These cultural changes affected the relationship between the sexes in Shilla, Koguryŏ and Paekche. Moreover, shamanistic taboos concerning women, particularly the 'impurities' associated with the natural female processes of menstruation and giving birth, also became more rigid. Hence, there arose clear societal discriminations against women.

In early Shilla, monarchs (both kings and queens) were required to be from the royal Pak family, in addition to being of *sŏnggol* (true-bone) rank. Thus, while women may have had a rather subordinate position to males, they were still allowed to occupy the kingdom's highest position. This is seen in the reigns of successive female monarchs, Queen Sŏndŏk (r. 632-647) and Queen Chindŏk (r. 647-654), just before the unification of the Three Kingdoms. Their reigns, however, marked the end of both the *sŏnggol* rank and system, and the domination of the throne by the Pak family. As well, since Sŏndŏk and Chindŏk represented the last two members of the *sŏnggol* class, it is clear that there was a definite preference for kings and not queens to rule the kingdom. It is after the extinction of the *sŏnggol* class, however, that monarchical authority underwent a gradual process of consolidation, when social and official roles became more established. This process resulted in a fundamental weakening of the position of women in official society. It should be mentioned, though, that in the final years of Shilla, the kingdom was ruled by Queen Chinsŏng (r. 887-897) held the throne.

While neither Paekche or Koguryŏ record an instance of having a woman on the throne, it is thought that the role of females in these kingdoms was nevertheless important. Marriage served to link powerful aristocratic families with the throne, and this, naturally, was done
through the daughters of the aristocratic families. This, in itself is evidence of a clear limitation on the positions, at least insofar as official rank is concerned, that women could secure and hold.

The role of women in the commoner class during the Three Kingdoms is not as clear as it is with the ruling classes. Some scholars have proposed that the structure of the family during these early Korean kingdoms was based largely on matrilineal descent groups, and that women enjoyed economic independence from their husbands and moreover, that they played important roles in the major agrarian rituals of this age. In shamanistic rituals, which were designed to bring about collective prosperity, women participated in both sacrificial rites and folk games. Women also contributed to the economic prosperity of the family and community through such activities as farming and weaving.

Women in Koryŏ

Koryŏ is characterised by the widespread adoption of the Buddhist religion at all levels of society. This represented a change from the rigid hereditary bone rank system (kolp'um) which had determined a person's position in Shilla.

The women of Koryŏ enjoyed equality with with their male counterparts. This is witnessed in the fact that uxorilocal marriage was commonplace, and even in those instances when a woman left her natal home for a separate household, she was always welcome at her birth home. Both sons and daughters received equal shares of the family inheritance, and daughters often succeeded to the position as family head, thus carrying on the family line. While women did not serve in the bureaucracy, they did have economic independence within the family. This allowed them to participate as equals as they could not so easily be threatened with expulsion by their husbands. Not only did they have economic freedom, but they were free to return to the home of their parents at any time. Therefore, the strength of woman's position in Koryŏ can be said to lie in her freedom of choice to return to her natal home and the equal inheritance rights she shared with her male siblings.

During Koryŏ, laws concerning marriage became formalised. One major reason for the adoption of formal rules was the invasion of Koryŏ by the Mongols in the mid-thirteenth century and the subsequent subjugation of the kingdom. As part of their terms for the surrender of Koryŏ, the Mongols demanded a ransom of large numbers of young women. However, in order to prevent their daughters from being abducted by the Mongols, the statesmen of Koryŏ adopted official marriage ceremonies. Also, other regulations concerning marriage were initiated during this period. Specifically, during the reign of King Ch'ungsŏn (r. 1308-1313) laws were enacted that prohibited marriage among those with the same surnames as well as with matrilateral cousins. The impact of the latter regulation was to undermine both the importance and strength of a woman's kin group in regard to that of the male.

In the final years of Koryŏ, the introduction of neo-Confucian ideology began to make its mark in the upper echelons of society. Thus began the widespread introduction of such Confucian tenets as ancestral rites, the predominance of males over females, and the establishment of a strong patriarchal descent line. It was during this century's long process of transformation into a Confucian society that the social position of women began to gradually deteriorate.

Women in Chosŏn

If Koryŏ can be viewed as Buddhist-oriented, the subsequent half-millenium long Chosŏn dynasty was certainly the age of neo-Confucian ideology. While the process in which this philosophy thoroughly permeated and dominated Chosŏn society took some centuries to mature, by the end of the dynasty it had influenced and reconstructed life at every level.
There is perhaps no area in which the complete domination of neo-Confucianism can be seen clearer than in the transformation of women's status during Chosŏn.

The introduction of ancestral rites may have acted as the chief agent for change during Chosŏn. The principle of patrifiliation was offered by neo-Confucian society as the most fundamental human bond, and ancestor worship provided a means to extend this to a generational concept. Ancestor worship clarified lines of descent, denoted kinship boundaries, and created solidarity among agnates. The conducting of ancestral rites was often cited as the most filial act a son could perform for his parents, and served as an extension of the son's service to the parents while they were still alive. The fact that women were not allowed to participate in ancestral rites bespeaks their marginalized social position.

The lives of women were strongly affected by the rise of neo-Confucianism, and this can be seen in practices surrounding inheritance, marriage and social status. While in Koryŏ and early Chosŏn there was no discrimination between sons and daughters concerning inheritance rights, this had changed by mid- Chosŏn. Initially, this shift focused on reducing the inheritance rights of the children of secondary wives, and was fully in place with the promulgation of the **Kyŏngguk taejon** (National Code) in the late fifteenth century. Other legislative inroads in early Chosŏn were made on the economic independence of women, a strong feature of Koryŏ, and by the mid-sixteenth century a wife's property came to be indivisible from that of her husband. Moreover, inheritance documents of late Chosŏn show that son-in-laws were designated as heirs in place of daughters, and thus males controlled all family property. The result of this change in a woman being able to control her own affairs was that she became increasingly dependent upon her husband's estate, and was thereby no longer financially independent.

The regulations concerning marriage also underwent major change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn. An early focus of Chosŏn neo-Confucianists was the elimination of uxorilocal residence, a feature of Koryŏ, since this was viewed as both unnatural and as being conducive to the formation of bonds with matrilineal kin. The impact of this legislation was, in effect, to eliminate the inheritance rights of daughters in favour of sons. Hence, women were now compelled to move to their husband's house upon marriage and they could not take with them an inheritance of ancestral land. Instead of this, daughters were now given a share of the inheritance in the form of slaves or other transferable property. This functioned as a dowry in the hands of her husband's family, and was no longer under her control.

The consequence of the elimination of uxorilocal residence was to make a woman dependent upon her husband and his family, and this is well illustrated by the enforcement of the *ch'ilgŏ chi ak*, or the seven grounds for expulsion of a wife, that came to be practised in Chosŏn. The *ch'ilgŏ chi ak* were: disobedience towards one's parents-in-law; failure to produce a son; adultery; theft; excessive jealousy; chronic illness; and extreme talkativeness. For a woman whose only social standing was through her husband's family, the *ch'ilgŏ chi ak* coupled with her lack of economic independence, proved to be an extremely effective means in making her obedient and submissive through the ever-present threat of expulsion.

The importance of marriage during Chosŏn can be seen in this institution functioning as the basis for Chosŏn society. Marriage with a primary wife was a transaction between two kin groups that held strong legal, economic and political connotations. Since society was organised around patrilineal descent groups, which marriage functioned to perpetuate, the institution of marriage allowed society to survive. A woman's role within the marriage was to serve both her parents-in-law and husband, and perhaps most importantly, to bear sons who would continue the lineage of her husband's family.

Remarriage was discouraged and greatly discriminated against by the elite *yangban* class of Chosŏn. Those *yangban* women who chose to remarry condemned their offspring to a life outside mainstream society, as the sons and even grandsons of remarried women were
prohibited from sitting for the government service examinations that would qualify them for
government posts. The underlying reasons for the sanction of remarriage are found in the
Confucian belief that the greatest of the womanly virtues was the wife's devotion to her
husband, and as a logical extension, to her husband's ancestors. Remarriage would only
contaminate the purity of her husband's lineage.

Opposed to the legitimate roles occupied by primary wives, secondary wives or concubines
were afforded existences filled with far greater hardships. The position of a secondary wife
and her offspring was always subordinate, in a legal aspect, to that of a primary wife.
Moreover, the sons born to secondary wives were viewed as illegitimate in the eyes of
Chosŏn law and were barred from sitting the government service examinations which
represented the path to success during Chosŏn. Notwithstanding, many women entered into
roles as secondary wives or concubines due to decisions by their fathers, who used their
daughters as a means to create bonds with upper-class families and thereby elevate their
own social standing.

The circumstances surrounding a primary wife and a secondary wife were filled with the
need to capture the husband's attention and favour. Secondary wives were, by and large,
younger than the primary wife, and as such, often more physically attractive than them.
Unlike the primary wives, however, secondary wives were without legal status. Therefore,
the secondary wife's situation inside the family circle was tenuous and depended on both
the support of her husband and his staying alive. While some secondary wives and their
children were provided for in the wills of their men, generally they were turned out of the
legitimate family home upon the death of the husband.

A primary wife had no option beyond acceptance if her husband chose to take a secondary
wife or concubine. It will be recalled that the ch'ilgŏ chi ak allowed the husband to expel an
excessively jealous wife. Therefore, all a wife could do was to accept her husband's new
partner and hope he did not squander the family's fortune on her. The inclusion of a
provision against jealousy in the code of conduct for women was a means of allowing men
to pursue their own enjoyment without regard to and repercussions from the primary
spouse.

The position of women in Chosŏn is patent in the Confucian axiom of namjon yŏbi, or
'man is exalted and woman is lowly'. While the basic tenets of Confucian philosophy regard
the union between a man and woman as the root of all human relations, it accords the
female an essentially inferior position. Just as the yang (heaven, positive, male) force
dominates yin (earth, negative, female) in cosmological terms, there is a clear hierarchical
order between the sexes that is likewise cosmologically sanctioned. Accordingly, the
fundamentally subordinate position of women to men was reinforced by both formal and
informal education.

The female child was socialised during Chosŏn in such a manner that she soon
acknowledged her own inferiority to the male sex. Debate seems to favour the argument that
from their earliest days, girls were taught, directly and indirectly, to understand the
elements of their subserviency to males. By the age of three or four, therefore, a correctly-
trained girl would know, if only intuitively, that women are inferior to men; and
progressively would come to realise that she could not reasonably expect to appeal to,
or be treated by, the same legal system as males. In a situation of conflict between the
sexes, men were right by virtue of their sex while women were wrong by virtue of their
gender. Moreover, a woman was peripheral to her social environment and tangential to
men. Thus, social education in Chosŏn society ensured that females, from their formative
years, were fully cognizant of their inferior social position.

Formal education of women was heavily influenced by works such as the fifteenth century
Naehun (Instructions for Women), which was compiled by Queen-Consort Sohye (1437-
1370

The gist of this work focuses on establishing bounds for acceptable behaviour for women. There are guidelines for the four basic pillars of womanly behaviour: moral conduct, proper speech, proper appearance, and womanly tasks. Moreover, the work explains other roles a woman is expected to perform such as service to her in-laws, being an obedient and dutiful wife, and a caring mother.

The institutions that tied women to conformance with neo-Confucian principles were also perpetuated by women. Since the only way in which women could advance their already marginalized social positions was to live their lives within the standards upheld by society, i.e., as a virtuous wife and mother. They became active components in sustaining the system that oppressed them, and so a mother would train her daughter to conform to the very standards which had stifled her own advancement and development.

Women and the modernisation Movement

With the encroachment of foreign powers, particularly Western nations, and the fall of Chosŏn, the structure of Korean society underwent drastic transformation. Among the many changes were those that affected the social status of women. However, despite the goals of women to bring about equality and advancement of their positions, vestiges of neo-Confucian ideology remained which acted to hinder the emancipation. More importantly, the end of Chosŏn marked the beginning of Japanese occupation, which counteracted moves for social and political change in Korea.

Women in Late Chosŏn and the Colonial Period

The end of Chosŏn was a period of tremendous change, and one significant area was through the influx of foreign culture. The traditional position of women also underwent many changes during this time. Principal among the new opportunities for women was the possibility of receiving a formal education and the first school to offer them a modern-style education was Ewha (Ihwa) Girls School, which was founded by Mr M. F. Scranton of the United States North Presbyterian Church in 1886. The school survived the colonial period and became the first women's college in Korea. One woman educated here was Kim Hwallan (1899-1970), who was the first Korean woman to receive a doctoral degree (Columbia University, 1931).

Closely following the opening of Ehwa, many other educational institutions for females were established. In 1890, Chŏngshin Girls' School opened and this was followed by Paehwa Girls' School in 1898, and Sunghŭi Girls' School in 1903. Also at this time, Hosudon Girls' School (1904); Posŏng Girls' School (1906); Chinmyŏng Girls' School (1906); Sungmyŏng Girls' School (1906); and Yanggyu School (1906), were founded. These schools, largely operated by Western missionary interests, played a major role in helping to bring about enlightenment to Korean women. Western-style education kindled the desire for equality of opportunity and the release from the subservient position of women in neo-Confucian society.

The introduction of foreign culture towards the end of Chosŏn and during the colonial period, also introduced new concepts of equality between the sexes and freedom of choice. Ideas were propagated through the so-called new novels (shin sosol) which appeared during the early years of the twentieth century. While the authors were mostly men, such as Yi Kwangsu (1892-?) and Yi Injik (1862-1916), their works gave women the incentive to seek roles in society beyond those which traditional society offered them. Moreover, since these novels were written in the vernacular han'gŭl script, they were easily accessed by women readers.

Another notable transformation in Korean society during the colonial period was the advent of a capitalist economy. This represented a marked change from the feudality of Chosŏn,
and industrial development demanded a greatly-increased workforce, which was met by women’s labour. Korean women entered the labour force in large numbers as the Japanese sought to develop various industrial interests, such as light-manufacturing and textiles. Notwithstanding such changes, with women now given the opportunity to work outside the confines of their homes, chances for economic enrichment and advancement were extremely small. Thus, we can characterise the intensification of the workforce as being highly exploitive and prejudiced against women.

The development of industry in Korea by the Japanese also required that males, heretofore largely engaged in farming activities, be relocated from rural areas to industrial centres. Therefore, women who remained in the countryside were compelled to take over the farming responsibilities themselves in order to support their families. By 1930, nearly eighty per cent of those engaged in farming were tenant farmers, which greatly depressed their earnings from the land. As a result, throughout the colonial period the participation of women engaged in non-farming occupations continued to rise. By 1930, Korean women represented almost a third of the total labour force (estimated at over one million) engaged in work other than agriculture.

The participation of Koreans, both male and female, in the workforce during the colonial period was part of the Japanese grand-plan aimed at thoroughly assimilating Korea into the Japanese war effort. Accordingly, while Koreans performed many of the same tasks as their Japanese counterparts, they received significantly lower wages. At the bottom of the wages structure were Korean women, who were paid slightly over half of what Japanese women received. So, while Korean women held roles other than those permitted to them during Choson, their participation was enforced and was far from being on an equal footing with that of Japanese women employees.

Women figured prominently in the various independence activities conducted both within and outside Korea during the colonial period. They took part in considerable numbers in the March First 1919 Independence Movement and some, such as Yu Kwansun (1904-1920), paid for their convictions with their lives. Another woman who played a direct role in the struggle for Korean independence was Kim Maria, (1891-1944) who was imprisoned by the Japanese authorities on several occasions for her unceasing independence activities. Other women, such as Pak Maria (1906-1960), concentrated their activities on women's rights and social enlightenment. In sum, colonial-period women played major roles in both the struggle against the Japanese and in the modernisation of Korean society.

An example of the coercive and oppressive Japanese rule was the sexual bondage of schoolgirls and young women to serve the Japanese armed forces. An incalculable number of these ‘comfort women’ (but estimated by George Hicks, *The Comfort Women*, Sydney, 1995, to have been 139 000 at most) were procured by the Japanese authorities and Korean collaborators through various means and measures, which included abduction, deception, duress, enticement, entrapment, even kidnapping. South Korean women’s groups have estimated (1992) that eighty per cent of the ‘comfort women’ were aged between fourteen and eighteen and it is thought (from other sources) that of the total number, four-fifths were Korean. These girls and women were assigned mostly to frontline and reserve-area detachments of the Japanese forces during the campaigns in China, Manchuria, South-east Asia and the Pacific theatres, before and during World War II (Pacific War). This tragic episode remains as a matter of much controversy with women’s groups in Korea, the Korean government and Japan’s unwillingness to fully attempt to right past wrongdoings.

Women in contemporary Korea

After Korea’s liberation in 1945, Korean society underwent many changes. Aside from the obvious political issues which resulted in the eventual partition of the peninsula,
fundamental changes to the social fabric put women in a position to envisage major changes to their status. Specifically, as Korean society as a whole had escaped from the bonds of Japanese colonialism, women, too, sought to gain equality in matters of employment and labour relations, in politics, and in the elimination of discriminatory practices. These attempts at equality were met, however, with opposition by some sectors of society, both male and female, who wished to maintain the traditional roles of Korean womanhood.

The women's movement of the 1950s was only partly successful in its aims. In the aftermath of a fratricidal war, the ROK was not well-placed to consider drastic changes to the status of women. Those women who attained higher office usually did so by virtue of their higher education. One, Kim Hwallan, served as president of Ewha (Ihwa) Women's University until 1961 and another, Pak Maria, was director of the English Literature Department of that university. These two women, however, were exceptional.

Women in the workforce

The industrialisation of Korea began in earnest in the early 1960s when the government launched the first five-year plan. This plan and its practical application demanded a greatly increased workforce. Perhaps the most visible aspect of this increase is the participation of women. In 1960, 28.4 per cent of women were in employment of one kind or another. In a span of ten years the number of women workers had risen to 37.6 per cent. It is clear that such a program of industrialisation could not have occurred without the resource of women's labour.

Many young women from the countryside entered the workforce of the 1960s. Migration to the expanding urban centres was often motivated by poverty and so the jobs these young women took were invariably base positions in industrial production, mostly in the textile industry. They were usually single women who worked only until they married. The wages they were paid were forty to forty-six per cent of what their male counterparts received, thus revealing their exploitation at the hands of the business sphere, and not quite so directly perhaps, by the governments of the period. In sum, the women who joined the labour force and contributed so greatly to the economic growth and fortune of South Korea can be characterised as being young and unmarried, mostly drawn from impoverished families in the rural areas, and paid much lower wages than their male counterparts.

The typical female worker image has undergone dramatic change from the young, unmarried and poorly educated woman of the 1960s, to one that is both older and better educated. The proportion of Koreans engaged in primary industries, in contrast to secondary and tertiary industries, has steadily declined since the 1960s. This is also seen in the percentage of women engaged in primary industry, which has declined largely in favour of employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors, as shown by Table 1.

Women have become increasingly involved in occupations that require advanced technical knowledge. This can be attributed both to the higher educational attainments of women, and their capabilities in meeting the challenge faced by firms competing in aggressive worldwide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
markets for their products. An increasing number of women now follow a career path and this often continues after marriage. Table 2 gives the August 1998 statistics for women by occupation (New Occupational Classification of the National Statistical Office).

From this information it is evident that women have begun to contribute significantly to occupations that require both technical expertise and higher educational levels. Nevertheless, the total number of women employed in the top echelons of the workforce, the first three categories of Table 2, represents only 39.4 per cent of the top posts held by men. Of course, it can be argued that men outnumber women in the workforce, and by this fact alone, should hold many more of the executive and professional positions than women. But even in conceding that men (59.63 per cent) outnumber women (40.37 per cent), it surely follows that women are grossly under-represented in the key positions of the professions, commerce and the government service. For example, in applying this reasoning for managerial, senior officials and legislators (women 29 000, men 480 000), women holding the requisite educational qualifications should perhaps be looking for a marked increase to a more equitable number, perhaps approaching four or five-fold, from the present figure of less than thirty-thousand, While this can only be conjecture, and acknowledging that other unknown factors may be significant, on the face of such official statistics South Korean professional women are well behind many of their Western counterparts in gaining the top jobs in South Korea.

In the civil service sector, the government increased the mandatory employment rate for women to thirteen per cent in 1998, up from the ten per cent of 1996. Discriminatory hiring practices are still in place in many sectors of Korean commerce and industry. One minor example is seen in the banking sector, where male applicants have been awarded points over female applicants for having completed their compulsory military training, thus handicapping women at the application stage. Another is that women applicants are often subject to ‘appearance standards’, where, for instance, a minimum height of 160 cms. and a weight of not more than 50 kgs. is a prerequisite for a position. This standard is not usually applied to male applicants. Moreover, wage inequality between

Table 2
Employed Persons by Occupation (Unit : 1 000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, senior officials &amp; legislators</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical/associate professionals</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>1 464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; administrative</td>
<td>1 108</td>
<td>1 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers &amp; Shop &amp; sales workers</td>
<td>2 758</td>
<td>1 912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled agricultural &amp; Fisheries worker</td>
<td>1 223</td>
<td>1 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft &amp; related trades</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>1 870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant &amp; machine ops. &amp; assemblers</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary occupations</td>
<td>1 043</td>
<td>1 011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of employed  8 020  11 844

men and women doing identical work is still widespread throughout the workforce. While the official statistics show that earnings overall (all industries) have increased from 39,478 won per diem in 1993 to 57,508 won by July 1998, the National Statistical Office, in its monthly publication, does not distinguish between male and female earnings in any of the professions and industries to which its statistical information relates. However, other information on this point, given in the Korea Annual 1998 (page 183), gives the average monthly earnings for males as 1,607,114 won per month (up 8.2 per cent), and those for females as 998,888 won (up 9.7 per cent), which is a monthly difference of 608,226 won between the sexes. In other words, female workers were paid 37.8 per cent less than male workers.

With the strong competition that exists, bias and penalties by employers give men a strong edge over women in the job market. Although greater equality of recruitment in some sectors was being observed by the early 1990s, the 1998 statistics confirm that women are still lagging far behind men when it comes to securing a position in many of the professions, and in other sectors, too.

The gains that women have made in the workforce result from an ongoing and arduous struggle against a system which has denied them equality to a great extent. Particularly in the textile industry, those women who have sought to unionise their fellow workers have often been subjected to harsh and swift retaliation by both company policy and management, and implicitly by successive Korean governments. A representative example of this refusal by a company to negotiate over equal rights is seen in the attempts to organise female workers at the YH Trading Company, in the late 1970s. The company refused to negotiate with the elected union officials and instigated physical force against the women employees who dared to strike. The strike-breakers sought and were given police assistance. Although the use of force was common in the labour struggles of the 1970s, the YH instance is cited for its particular brutality against women employees.

With the end of the twentieth-century, South Korean women look to the advancement and equal employment policies which the provisions of the Equal Employment Act 1987 require. In basic terms, these provisions inter alia prohibit gender discrimination at all levels of employment, promote female employment opportunities, enhance the social status of women workers, as well as instituting welfare and cultural programs. But as shown above, women in South Korea have still a way to go before they can claim such a high degree of equality in employment and in society generally.

Political Participation

While Korean women are guaranteed equal right to hold public office, since the inception of the ROK in 1948 opportunities for their election to federal representation of the people have remained consistently low. From the first National Assembly in 1948 to the thirteenth in 1992, women have held an average of only two per cent of the seats in the Assembly. Moreover, of the women who have served a term in the National Assembly, over seventy per cent have been elected as 'at large' representatives. Consequently, they have lacked a proper constituency from which to build a political base.

A fundamental reason for the low political participation of South Korean women is the lack of political consciousness of the female electorate. Hypothetically, it follows that women voters could fill fifty per cent or more of the Assembly seats if they voted as a block. The female voting base, however, lacks unity of cause and purpose and by reason of this does not vote as a single entity on those issues from which they could benefit, with strong representation in the Assembly. This has been claimed to result from women being excluded from the essential structures of Korean politics.

Perhaps attributable to the socialisation aspect of women's lives, political issues do not hold
the importance with women as they do with men. On the other hand, many South Korean women show far more interest in economic and societal issues than do men. The issues women are most concerned with are those affecting their daily lives, perhaps as a result of their upbringing. Younger women, however, are now interested more in political issues than are the older generation. Therefore, the level of female participation in the political sphere can be expected to increase, as well-educated younger women come to comprise the largest portion of the voting bloc.

The social status of women

In 1998, the ROK government implemented a five-year basic plan to raise the status of women. Sweeping measures, including legal reform and an education system designed to increase women's competitiveness, as well as social and cultural measures, with both new and improved welfare provisions are being put in place. While former federal laws have guaranteed women equal status, in reality many social barriers obstructed such laws. Women are still perceived largely as having their proper place in the home, by many Koreans. The remnants of neo-Confucian ideology still influence the lives of Koreans, particularly those who were at school and college in the 1970s and before. Moreover, the socialisation process often results in both genders considering females as being intrinsically subordinate to males. Thus, issues such as women pursuing a career path after marriage, choosing not to have children, and holding positions traditionally within male-dominated territory, are the subject of much controversy as society undergoes the slow process of change.

Notwithstanding this traditional rigidity, structural change in the typical South Korean family has resulted in more freedom for women. From the extended family, which often held three generations under the same roof, the Korean family has dramatically changed. By 1990, the average family size was 3.7, representing a substantial drop from the 6.0 persons of 1960. Today's Korean family, then, is largely nuclear. Hence, a woman has more freedom to pursue personal interests and is unencumbered by the restrictions that traditionally might have inhibited her from being active outside the home.

Combined with the decrease in family size is the increasing importance of a second income to many Korean families, which, conversely, inhibits personal freedom. The desires of young married couples to have their own home, a car and other expensive consumer goods are often only attainable through the combined incomes of husband and wife. Thus, the career of a woman, while still secondary, by and large, to that of her spouse, becomes a vital means for the family to achieve a higher standard of living. Additionally, this allows women to have more fulfilling lives outside of the home.

Korean women have now made their mark in the sporting arena. Beginning, perhaps, with the success of ROK women during the 1988 Seoul Olympics, women athletes have been taken to heart by Korean society. Team events, such as basketball and field hockey are especially popular with live and television audiences. Individual achievements, like those of Pak Seri, a professional golfer on the American Ladies Professional Golf Association Tour, bring wide acclaim from the Korean people. Thus, sport is one area in which Korean women have made tremendous progress in achieving a high degree of equality with their male counterparts.

Women and citizen rights

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea is specific in guaranteeing citizen rights, and if not specifically, then implicitly, in the rights of women. Article 11 of the Constitution guarantees all citizens, regardless of gender, equality before the law. Article 15 stipulates that all citizens shall enjoy freedom to pursue the occupation of their choice, while Articles 24 and 25, respectively, extend suffrage to all citizens over a defined age and give them the
right to hold public office. Article 31 states that all citizens have a right to an education based upon their abilities. Specific to women, Article 34 requires the State’s endeavours to promote the welfare and rights of women, and Article 36 stipulates that the State shall essay to protect mothers. Thus, it is clear that women are guaranteed a number of constitutional rights.

Constitutional law *per se*, however, does not ensure that women will receive the equality to which they are legally entitled. Efforts by women's groups in the 1990s focused on affirmative action in both the Korean public and private sectors. Accordingly, some significant measures concerning women's rights in such areas as family law, domestic abuse, property ownership rights, labour laws and social welfare, have been or are being implemented.

In July 1997, the Constitutional Court handed down its decision on one of Korea's oldest prohibitions. The law banning the marriage of couples of the same family name and clan name was considered unconstitutional. This decision saw the divestment of an antiquated law and the resolution of a matter of great importance to the sixty-thousand couples who are affected by the change, allowing them to report their marriages as now being within the law.

In regard to family law, the major target for change has been the family register system (*hojok chedo*). This system has been the subject of much criticism from women's groups since it perpetuates a patrilineal based society, in that the head of the family is always the eldest male member. Upon marriage, daughters are removed from their father's register and transferred to the register of their husbands. Moreover, all children of a union must take their father's surname, which also helps to perpetuate the notion of male superiority. Women's groups have pushed for a thorough revision or elimination of the family register system, but legislators have so far dismissed such attempts at radical change.

Some significant changes to the family law took place during the 1990s. The legal rights of women who are divorcing, in regard to the custody and care of their children are contained in Civil Code, articles 837, 909 [1990]). In divorce issues, the welfare of minors is now decided by a Family Court, thereby ensuring women an equal right of hearing in custody and parental support matters. Other recent legislation concerns equality in the legal context of both paternal and maternal bloodlines -- previously held at eight generations for agnates and four generations for uxorial kin.

The concentrated efforts of women's groups over three years resulted, in 1997, in the passing of federal legislation denoting domestic violence to be a misdemeanour. Persons found guilty of spouse and child abuse may lose parental rights, be required to do up to 200 hours of community work, and face financial penalties in regard to a victim's medical expenses and compensation. Under the new law, members of the public witnessing acts of domestic violence are required to report to the police what they have seen or heard.

Property ownership rights legislation also underwent significant change in the 1990s, giving women equal rights status. Article 830 of the Civil Code states that a marriage partner retains ownership of property she or he brought into the marriage and Article 831 requires that profit gained from personal property also belongs solely to the one who brought it into the marriage. Furthermore, in a marriage dissolution, both wife and husband have a legal right to a share of property held jointly. The actual division of property (and presumably this extends, *ipso facto*, to goods and major chattels) is to be done either by privately agreed arrangement, or in the absence of this, by a Family Court.

Social welfare provisions improved and widened in the 1990s In the housing field, for instance, of a total of 596,000 homes built (four-fifths of which were apartment dwellings) during 1997, 219,000 units were financed from a national housing fund to aid those on low
Welfare programs aimed at assisting female household heads; women who abandon their families; unmarried mothers; exploited women; and destitute women have been implemented. In 1998, the government operated ninety-eight welfare centres, offering counselling and shelter to abused women, and women who could not maintain themselves. Further, the facilities designed to assist with maternal and child welfare were consolidated, as well as support for vocational programs for girls who have run away from home, single mothers and needy women. Therefore, recent legislation is focused mainly on women and girls who are without the traditional family support, and it is designed both to help them survive and, given time, to re-enter the mainstream of society.

Women's organisations

The many positive changes realised in the 1990s would not have been possible without the political and social activities of the various women's organisations. While there are now many women's organisations which pursue the advancement of women's rights, two can be cited for their substantial impact on the quality of women's lives in the closing years of the twentieth century. One, the Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) has been in the vanguard of women's social issues. The other, the National Committee on Women's Policies is at the fore in pleading and lobbying for the promotion of women's rights through government policy and legislation.

The KWDI was established in 1983 with strong government support. The organisation concentrates on the promotion of women's welfare issues through a research program. The KWDI also sponsors and has in operation a number of training and vocational programs designed to help women learn new skills so as to improve their prospects in the job market and their well-being in the workplace.

Closely linked to the KWDI is the National Committee on Women's Policies. This government organisation is responsible for its work to the Prime Minister's Office and is charged with comprehensively reviewing government policies that affect women. Both organisations played essential roles in the passing of affirmative action legislation in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Some other women's organisations that function to promote and protect women's rights in Korea are: The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) which has been involved in the women's labour movement since the 1950s. The Women Workers' Organisation of South Korea which has also been involved in many of the labour issues of recent years. Agriculture workers have the National Committee of Women Agricultural Workers to advance the rights of women in this sector.

In 1987, most of the women's groups joined the United Women's Association of South Korea, which is a united-front organisation for women's rights with some twenty-five-member organisations. There are many other women's groups that have diverse interests in various matters surrounding the status of Korean women. The presence and activities of these groups bespeaks the increasing political awareness of Korean women, and the changes they hope to bring about. The fact that the Presidential Office has instituted (1998) a Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs is indicative of the importance of women's issues to the Executive and the ROK government.

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**Wŏn Buddhism** (see also New religions)

Wŏn Buddhism (Wŏn Pulgyo) was founded by Pak Chungbin (1891-1943). The son of a farmer in Yonggwang County in South Cholla Province, Pak is said to have had a keen interest in religion from an early age. On 28 April 1916, Pak had a profound religious awakening. After this experience, he studied world religions and concluded that Buddhism was the teaching that most closely agreed with his religious insights. In the years that followed, Pak and nine chief disciples established a religious order with the aim of leading all human beings from the state of suffering to paradise on earth. As leader of the new order, Pak assumed the name Sot’aesan and the title of Taejongsa (Grand Preceptor).

Sot’aesan established the headquarters of the new order, which he called the Pulbop Yŏn’guhoe (Society for Studying the Teachings of Buddhism) in Iri (modern-day Iksan) in South Cholla Province. He then wrote and edited the Chŏng chŏn, which came to serve as an outline of the order’s basic teaching. From its inception, the order had a practical orientation, undertaking projects such as land reclamation and the founding of a school (which later became Wonkwang University) in 1946. Sot’aesan was succeeded by Kyu Song (styled Chŏngsan, 1900-1962). After 1945, Chŏngsan performed relief work for returning independence fighters and Korean war refugees. His successor was Kim Taegŏ (styled Taesan, 1916-?).

The sect gets its name from the Korean word wŏn (circle). Sot’aesan based his teachings on the Buddhist ideals of a truth which is both without birth and death (pulsaeng pulmyŏl) and moral cause and effect (in’gwa po’ŏng). He used the circle to symbolise the ultimate source, which is both the fundamental mind of all sentient beings and the enlightened mind of all Buddhas and saints. Won Buddhism advocates two approaches to these eternal truths: the Gate of Faith (Shinangmun) and the Gate of Discipline (Suhaengmun). The former consists of the Fourfold Beneficence (Satun): the beneficence of Heaven and Earth (Ch’ŏnjin), parents (pumo’ŏn), brethren (tongp’ŏn) and law (pŏmyurin). Repayment of one’s moral debt to these four benefactors is seen as an offering to the Buddha. The Gate of Discipline is comprised of the threefold training (samhak): cultivation of spirit (chŏngshin suyang), and inquiry into facts and principles (sari yŏn’gu) and careful karma production (chagŏp ch’wisa).

The Won Buddhist canon consists of nine works: the Chŏng chŏn; Taejong kyŏng; Pulcho yogyŏng; Wŏn pulgyo yejŏn; Sŏngga; Chŏngsan chongsa pŏbŏ; Se chŏn; Wŏn pulgyo kyosa; and Wŏn pulgyo kyohŏn. The Pulcho yogyŏng is a collection of scriptures from the general Buddhist tradition. It includes the Kŭmgang kyŏng (Diamond Sutra); Panyu shimgyŏng (Heart Sutra); and other Mahayan and Sŏn (Jap. Zen) works.

Won Buddhism has a number of distinguishing characteristics. First, the order has an ecumenical outlook toward other religions. According to Won Buddhist doctrine, there are three principles of identity (samdong yulli), the first of which is tongwŏn tori (the common origin of all religious doctrines). Secondly, the order combines a modern outlook with elements from Confucianism and other Korean religious traditions. The importance of repaying the kindness of one’s parents (pumo’ŏn) is also stressed in Confucianism. Last, in terms of format, Won religious services have adopted many elements from Christianity.
Won Buddhist temples, devotees sit in pews and religious observance often includes choirs. Also, the followers of Won Buddhism, unlike other Buddhists, typically place a circle above the altar instead of an image of the Buddha.

The order has twenty districts, about four-hundred temples in Korea and thirty or so overseas. The order has, in addition to its missionary activities, actively promoted charity work, including the construction of hospitals, orphanages and nursing homes.

Won Sect

[Buddhism]

Won’gwang (c. 555-638)

Won’gwang’s family name was either Sŏl or Pak, and he was of the sixth head-rank (yuktup’um). While growing up in Kumsŏng (modern-day Kyŏngju), he had ample opportunity to witness the splendid achievements of Shilla culture. At the same time, he probably experienced the tension between Korean shamanism and the newly imported Buddhist religion. Won’gwang is said to have entered the Buddhist order at the age of twelve. As a young man, he travelled to China’s Zhuangyan Monastery in Jinling, the capital of the Chen Dynasty, where he studied the Satyasiddhi Sastra and the Nirvana Sutra under the tutelage of a disciple of Sengmin. Later, he studied the Agamas at Hujiu Monastery in Suzhou. In 589 the Chen Dynasty fell, prompting Won’gwang to move to Changan, the capital of the new Sui Dynasty. In Changan, he studied the important Shedasheng lun. By this time, Won’gwang was a well-known figure, even in China. King Chin’yo, hearing of the famous monk, asked him to return to Korea.

In 600, when Won’gwang returned to Shilla, he wrote the Yŏræjang sagi (Personal Notes on the Tathagatagarbha) and the Yŏræjang kyŏng so (Commentary on the Tathagatagarbha-sutra). In addition to writing important treatises on Mahayana thought, Won’gwang sought to create a Buddhist code of ethics suitable for Shilla laymen. According to his Five Precepts for the Laity (Sesok ogye), one should: 1) serve the king with loyalty, 2) serve one’s parents with filial piety, 3) be faithful to friends, (4) not retreat from battle, and 5) refrain from the indiscriminate taking of life. The first three precepts reflect Confucian influence and the last two seek to combine the Buddhist ideal of compassion with the need for bravery on the battlefield. This ethical code was fervently adopted by the Hwarang (Youth Corps), a group of young warriors of aristocratic lineage. Notably, although Won’gwang urged lay people to serve their sovereign, he felt that monks should not pay homage to the king. In this, he evidently objected to the idea, prevalent in the Chinese Northern Kingdoms, that the King was a Buddha.

Won’gwang officiated at important Buddhist rituals such as the Paekchwa-Pŏphoe held in 613. He also held the first Chômch’al Pŏphoe, a divination ceremony in which devotees would throw 189 sticks in the air and divine the relative merit or demerit of their past actions according to how the sticks fell. This Buddhist divination system was later used by Chin’yo (fl. 742-780) as a means of conversion. In addition to his role as a spiritual master, Won’gwang served as an important civic leader. The king even sent him on important diplomatic missions, such as the mission to Emperor Yangdi of Sui in 608. Throughout his life, Won’gwang seems to have been on warm terms with King Chin’yo (r. 597-632). In the Haedong kosŏng chŏn (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks), he is even credited with curing the king’s illness. Later, when Won’gwang was on his deathbed, the king is said to have tended him personally. When Won’gwang died at Hwangnyong Temple, he was either eighty-four or ninety-nine, depending on which source is consulted.

Bibliography

Won'gyo kuksa (see Ŭisang)

Wŏnhyo (617-686)

Preeminent Buddhist monk of the Greater Shilla Period. Wŏnhyo, Grand Master is considered as having systematized different schools of Buddhism and established a basis for the popularization of the religion among the ordinary people. Born in a small village in Kyŏngsang Province, little is known of his early life, although it is believed that he became acquainted with Buddhism at an early age. The religion had been introduced to Korea during the fourth century, but had not reached Shilla until 528, almost ninety years before Wŏnhyo's birth. Buddhism quickly gained popularity in Shilla following its legalization by the government, priests were invited to help propagate the religion, and Buddhist ceremonies replaced various traditional rituals.

Wŏnhyo spent much of his youth as a wandering monk, and received his education through informal contact with monks and scholars. At this time, it was standard practice for monks to travel to China to be educated, and Wŏnhyo made two unsuccessful attempts to travel there. One such attempt was made at the age of 31, with his lifelong friend Ŭisang, however he turned back upon being accused of spying by officials while crossing the Liaotung Peninsula, then part of Koguryŏ territory. Following a difficult journey home, he abandoned hope of visiting China, although Ŭisang was later successful in making the journey by sea (in 661), spending nine years in T'ang China before returning with the Avatamsaka Sutra.

Wŏnhyo was known for his irreverent and independent behavior, and was the subject of derision and censure among those who advocated strict obedience to Buddhist doctrine. He broke his vows by fathering a son to the widowed Princess of the Yosôk Palace during the reign of King Muyol (654-661); this son, Ch'ong, was to become one of the ten great Shilla sages. Subsequently donning lay clothes and styling himself as Sosŏng Kŏsa (a small layman), he traveled the country, seeking shelter in the homes of the common people, visiting taverns and brothels and indulging in various forms of irreverent behavior. Traveling to thousands of villages, he is known to have been highly successful in popularizing what came to be known as Pure Land Buddhism. Using song and dance, he claimed that all people could be born again in heaven, a concept which proved extremely popular among the common people. His non-sectarian approach to Buddhism is also sometimes referred to as all-inclusive Buddhism or Whole Buddhism, and his lifetime dedication to its propagation has led him to be known as the founder of this form of the religion.

Although having received no formal Buddhist teaching, Wŏnhyo is also considered to have exceeded in scholarship all of the wise men of his time, and was responsible for approximately seventy books (140 kwŏn), very few of which now remain. The scope of his prolific reading is evident in his work, which shows his clear comprehension of such Mahayana texts as the "Flower Garland" and the "Awakening of Faith". Concentrating on these two texts in particular, he is credited with having harmonized the Buddha's teachings and established their essential equality and unity. His works were transmitted to China and Japan, where they were exerted considerable influence.

Unlike Ŭisang, who established his own Hwaŏm sect upon his return from China, Wŏnhyo had no desire to found a school or train disciples, and he had fewer disciples than
Üisang and was accorded less respect in his native Shilla than in China. However, he contributed greatly to the development of a uniquely Korean style of Buddhist philosophy and practice. Deriving much of his beliefs from actual experience, he claimed that time should not be spent in analyzing and interpreting the words of the scriptures, but rather in grasping their basic spirit. All of his essays were based on confessions, among which were confessions of his profound joy deriving from his meditation on reality, this joy representing for him the climax of belief. This reality is known as the pongak (Original Enlightenment), which Wŏnhyo believed to be represented by the Pŏbshin (Dharmakaya or Essential Body of Buddha) which was accessible to all people through the purification of mind. Wŏnhyo was also greatly interested in the chigak (enlightenment a posteriori), which he viewed as the active manifestation of Enlightenment. Chigak represented movement towards the Source, and was therefore imperfect until its final stage, Pongak. In this sense, pongak is both a beginning and end, a reality which is beyond our consciousness yet able to be reached through the mind. Wŏnhyo claimed that the common people could attain Enlightenment through crossing four stages: non-enlightenment, apparent enlightenment, advanced enlightenment, and the ultimate enlightenment. Wŏnhyo was also known to place his inkstone and brush on the two horns of his ox as he rode between villages, and soon became known as "Horn Rider". The horns were thought to symbolize the balance between the two forms of enlightenment, pongak and chigak.

Wŏnhyo died in 686 during the reign of King Shinmun. Legends about him abound in Korea, and he is widely considered to have personified the form of Buddhism which he spent his life so fervently advocating.

Wonil (see sŏl) [Buddhism]

Wŏnju

Situated in southwestern Kangwŏn Province, Wŏnju is comprised of the town of Munmak, and the townships of Kwirae, Puron, Soch’o, Shillim, Chijŏng, P’anbu, Hojŏ and Hŭngŏp. Mt. Ch’iak’s Hyangno Peak (1 043 metres) marks the city’s southeastern border, while Mt. Ponghwa (334 metres) and Mt. P’obok rise up to the west. Situated in an inland basin, the area is characterised by sharp fluctuations in weather. The area’s average annual temperature is 10.8 degrees centigrade.

There are several important historical artefacts in the area. In Haenggu-dong, there is the picturesque Kukhyang Temple, which was founded by Grand Master Much’ak during the reign of King Kyongsun (927-935). At the Pimara Temple site in Pongsan-dong, there is a pair of stone banner-pole supports (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 49). Nearby, there are several stone carvings, including a standing Buddha figure and a standing Bodhisattva figure (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 68 and 67 respectively). There is another standing Bodhisattva figure at the Ch’ŏnwang Temple site. There used to be a sarira reliquary (Treasure No. 358) at the Yongjon Temple site in T’aejang-dong, but it was moved to Kyŏngbuk Palace in Seoul. There are also several ancient stone stupas in the area. The stupa (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 103) at Pomun Temple in Haenggu-dong is interesting since it bears a Sanskrit inscription. In addition, there are several old buildings including the Kangwŏn kamyŏng (governor’s building, Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 3).

In the early twentieth c., the city’s industrial development was impeded due to the area’s geographical isolation. In 1910, however, a road linking Wŏnju with the coastal city of Kangnŏng was constructed. In 1975, with the opening of the Yŏngdong Expressway, the travel time to Seoul was reduced. At present, there are number of light industries in the city, producing items such as textiles, machinery, chemical products and processed foods. In addition, there are many export-oriented factories that produce a wide range of items, including toys, towels, wigs and ko-hemp wallpaper. Due to the large number of sumac
trees in the area, Wŏnju has traditionally been a centre for lacquerware crafts. The area is particularly famous for its lacquerware using mother-of-pearl inlay.

Wŏnju has a number of schools, both ancient and modern. In Myŏngnyun-dong, there is the Wŏnju Hyanggyo (county public School), Kangwŏn Province Cultural Site No. 98. Built during the reign of King Injong (r. 1122-1146), the academy was later reconstructed in 1422. After being completely burnt down during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), it was slowly rebuilt only to once more suffer damage during the Korean War. During the Chosŏn period, the school received government funding in the form of land allotments and servants, but with the advent of the Kabo Reforms (1894), the school ceased to function as an educational institution. In modern times, several schools of higher learning have been set up in the area, including a branch of Yonsei University, Halla Institute of Technology, Sang Ji University and Wŏnju Technical College.

 Wonkwang University

Situated in Iksan in North Cholla Province, Wonkwang University (Wŏn’gwang Taehakkyo) was established in September 1946 as Yuil Hangnim. In September 1951, during the Korean War, the Ministry of Education authorised the reorganisation of the school as Wonkwang Junior College (Wŏn’gwang Ch’ogŭp Taehak). With Dr. Park Kil-Chin (Pak Kilchin) as its first dean, the college, which consisted solely of the department of Won Buddhism, had an enrolment of a hundred students. In 1953, Wonkwang became a four-year college with the opening of the Department of Korean Literature. The Department of Law was opened in 1954; the Wonkwang University Press in 1956; the Evening College in Kunsan in 1959; and the Graduate School in 1967.

In December 1971, the college gained university status, and by that time had four colleges: the Colleges of Liberal Arts and Science; Law and Politics; Pharmacology; and Education. A year later, a doctoral program was introduced. During the 1970s and 1980s, the university’s undergraduate and post-graduate curriculum continued to expand. At the same time, affiliations were formed with Korean industrial firms and numerous overseas universities.

Today, the university consists of sixteen colleges: Business & Economics; Dentistry; Education; Engineering; Fine Art; Home Economics; Humanities; Law; Life Sciences and Natural Resources; Medicine; Natural Sciences; Oriental Medicine; Pharmacology; Social Sciences; Won Buddhism; and the Night School. For post-graduate studies, the university has, in addition to the Graduate School, the Graduate Schools of Education; Industry; Information Science; Kyohak; Public Administration; and Public Healthand Environment.

Other facilities include the Wonkwang Medical Centre and the Wonkwang University Museum. Established in March 1985, the medical centre is composed of the university hospitals in association with the Colleges of Medicine, Oriental Medicine and Dentistry. The museum was established in 1968, and was moved to a 6 054 square metre four-storey building in 1987. It has a collection of 8 581 pieces, including ancient earthenware; bronzeware; green and white celadon; paintings; calligraphy; folk crafts; Buddhist paintings; calligraphy; and embroidery, as well as an extensive collection of items related to Korean shamanism. Many of the archaeological items come from the Wanggung Village royal palace site; the Chesŏk Temple site; the nearby royal tomb complex; and the Miruk Temple site, which dates from Paekche.

Wŏnp’yo (fl. 742- 756)

A monk of Greater Shilla, Wŏnp’yo is famous for his journey to India. Some time between 742 and 756, Wŏnp’yo travelled through China to India. While on a pilgrimage to Buddhist sacred sites, he is said to have met the Bodhisattva Shimwang (Mind King), who told him
to go to Mt. Chije where he could meet Ch’ŏn’gwan Bodhisattva. While residing in a nearby stone grotto, he paid his respects to Ch’ŏn’gwan, carrying an eighty-volume rendition of the Avatamsaka Sutra on his head. During the Hoech’ang Persecution (841-846) during which the Chinese emperor ordered the destruction of Buddhist temples and literature, Wŏnp’yo placed the sutra deep within a grotto, secure inside a wooden box. According to legend, when the sutra was later recovered, the ink was still wet.

Wŏnsan

According to South Korean cartographers, Wŏnsan is situated in the southern part of South Hamgyŏng Province, but North Korea has redrawn the provincial borders, making Wŏnsan part of Kangwŏn Province. Mt. Paek (1,012m), Sŏngch’i (1,103m) and other peaks of the Mashingnyŏng Mountain Range are to the west of the city, while the Kalma Peninsula and Yŏnhŭng Bay are to the northwest. The city covers a total area of 126 sq. kms. Due to the warm currents in the nearby East Sea and the barrier of the Mashingnyŏng Range, which inhibit the cool winds from the northwest, the Wŏnsan has a relatively mild climate by Korean standards with an average yearly temperature of 11 deg. c. January’s average is minus 13.5 deg. c. and August’s 22 deg. c. The area has a heavy rainfall, averaging 1,400mm per year.

Historical relics have been found in the city area. In the 1950s, excavations in Chunghyŏng-dong revealed artefacts believed to date from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. In Yongju-dong, there is a stele enshrined in a small pavilion. The stele was built under royal orders by the Hamgyŏng Provincial governor, Chŏng Minshi, to commemorate the birthplace of the great-grandfather of King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398). There are remnants of old military sites, at Chinmyŏng Fortress on the lower reaches of Namdae Stream in Songna-dong. The fortress was constructed during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-1031). On the summit of Mt. Wangnyŏ (335m), are remnants of fire-signal platforms.

For most of its history, Wŏnsan was a small fishing port. In the late-nineteenth, Russian military vessels anchored off-shore demanding that the Chosŏn government grant them trading privileges, as well as an area for residences. The boats eventually left after Korea’s de facto ruler Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898) refused to accede to their demands. In 1878, Japanese military vessels entered Yŏnhŭng Bay and a year later an agreement was reached, leading to the formal opening of the port in 1880, as well as the establishment of a Japanese consulate. From then, the Japanese presence in the city grew. The Kyŏngwŏn Railway Line was completed in August 1914, and the city’s role as a transportation hub expanded further with the completion of the Tonghae Pukpu Line on the east coast in 1927; the completion of the Hamgyŏng Line in 1928 and the P’yŏngwŏn Line in 1941. Most of the city’s residents work in agriculture, fishing and a number of industries, including ship building.

Wŏnsan Island

Wŏnsan Island is part of Och’ŏn Township in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province’s Poryŏng County. The island covers a total area of 7,074 sq.kms. and has a 28.5km.-long coastline. The island consists of low hills, the highest elevation being Oro Peak (118m) in the west. Average temperatures on the island range from a low of -2.7c. in January, to 25.6c. in August. Annual rainfall averages 1,063mm.

Approximately 70 per cent of the island area is arable, with 3.0 sq.kms. used for rice cultivation and 2.0 sq.kms. for dry-field crops such as barley, sweet potato, garlic and red pepper. Fisherman bring in catches of anchovy, cod, launce, shrimp, cockle and seaweed.

There are two primary schools and one junior high school on the island. Ferries run twice daily between the island and the mainland. Wŏnsan’s tourists centre around the clean
beaches on the southern end of the island.

At Chinch’on Village in the centre, there is a shell mound from the early Three Kingdoms period. As well as shells, pieces of lattice-pattern pottery and plain pottery have been found at the site, the latter being more common. Unfortunately, much of the site has been destroyed by farming activities. There are also a number of Koryŏ-era tombs scattered throughout the island.

**Wŏrak Mountain**

Mt. Wŏrak (1,093 metres) is situated to the south of Ch’ungju Lake, on the border of North Ch’ungch’ŏng and North Kyŏngsang Province. In Shilla times, the mountain was known as Mt. Wŏlhyŏng. Kwang Stream flows down to the east of the mountain, and Tal Stream flows from the west side. The two streams meet at T’anji Village. The enlarged Tal Stream used to continue north-west where it joined the Han River. However, the Ch’ungho Dam, completed in 1984, created the Ch’ungho Lake where the two streams meet.

Upstream, beginning on Mt. P’oam, Tal Stream wends its way through oddly shaped rocks outcroppings to form the picturesque Wŏrak (or Songgye) Valley. Numerous old temple sites can be found along this 7-kilometre long valley. The Mirŭk Temple site is found here along with several extant artifacts, including a rock carving of a standing Buddha figure (Treasure no. 95), a stone lantern, a three-story pagoda and a large stone turtle. In the middle of the Wŏrak Valley, one can still see the remains of the Tŏkch’u Fortress. Along with the fortress on Mt. Choryŏng, this was once a strategic military fortification that guarded the Sobaek Mountain Range. At the southern base of the mountain, there is Tŏkch’u Temple, with its rock engraving of a Buddha (Treasure no. 406). In order to protect the mountain’s natural beauty and historical heritage, the area was designated Wŏrak-san National Park in 1984.

**Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok** (Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters)

'Song of the Moon Reflected in the Waters' was composed by King Sejong upon the death of his wife, Queen Sohŏn, who died in 1446. The King based the poem upon a life of Sakyamuni, Sŏkpo sangjŏl, prepared at his command by his son, Prince Suyang. Both works were completed in 1447. Only 194 stanzas, comprising Book One, are extant.

Though references to the work existed in other works, it was only in 1960 that a complete version of Volume One of the Wŏrinch’ŏn’gang chi kok came to light. It is assumed that the original work was complete in three volumes.

It is not known whether the Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok was ever re-published in full or not, but parts appear in the Wŏrin sŏkpo. This latter work is presumed to be complete in twenty-four volumes. From the material contained in the extant Volume One of Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok together with the parts which are to be found in the Wŏrin sŏkpo and a revised edition of the Sŏkpo sangjŏl, it has been established that there now exist 328 stanzas of the Wŏrinch’ŏn’gang chi kok out of the 582 estimated to have been written originally.

The work is important as a mark, together with the Sŏkpo sangjŏl, of the second attempt at han’gul writing after the publication of the Yongbi och’ŏn ka.

The rediscovered original Volume One was re-published in 1961 in the same size as the original. The Korean Language Society also carried the entire text in a reduced photographic edition in its Kugŏhak (Studies in the Korean Language), No.1. The size of the book is 20.5cm in width and 31cm in length. It consists of seventy-one leaves (142 pages).

**Wŏrin sŏkpo** (The Buddha’s Genealogy)
The Wŏrin sŏkpo was compiled in 1459 by King Sejo of Chosŏn. It combines two biographical works on the life of Sakyamuni: the Sŏkpo sangjŏl written in 1447 by Suyang Taegun (1417-1468, who later became King Sejo), and the Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok, composed by King Sejong in 1448.

According to the preface of the Wŏrin sŏkpo, numerous revisions and supplements were made to the combined texts, such as the addition of footnotes and the correction of words and phrases. Many scholars are known to have collaborated with King Sejo in producing the Wŏrin sŏkpo, and it was regarded as the definitive edition on the life of Sakyamuni at that time.

Thirteen volumes remain today, some being held by individuals and some by institutions. It is not known how many volumes were included in the first edition, but from existing evidence it seems that it might have originally consisted of twenty-four.

Of the thirteen extant volumes: the eight first edition vols (kwŏn 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18); and the three vols. of the second edition (kwŏn 21, 22) are designated as Treasure no. 745. The two other vols. (kwŏn 11, 12.) are Treasure no. 935.

The value of Wŏrin sŏkpo lies in the opportunity it offers for comparative studies in respect of language development, and as a final version of a biography of Sakyamuni. The Sŏkpo sangjŏl was the first prose work written in Korean, having been published immediately after the invention of han’gŭl. It was also important for the study of the pronunciation of Chinese characters. The Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok was the second work of poetry written in Korean, and again is important for the pronunciation of Chinese characters. Both works are useful as reference books for the study of Buddhist sutras.

Annotated editions of these two works which are considered helpful in understanding the contents of the Wŏrin sŏkpo are Chuhae sŏkpo sangjŏl, by Yi Tongnim (Seoul, Tongguk University Press, 1959) and Chuhae Wŏrin ch’ŏn’gang chi kok, by Hŏ Ung and Yi Kangno (Seoul, Munhwasa, 1962).
Yangban Culture

_yangban_, which refers to the two orders of government service -- civil and military, is the term used to designate the ruling classes of Koryo and Goryeo. The two components of the _yangban_ are clearly illustrated in the morning audience which took place before the king. The south-facing monarch would be flanked on the east by the civil officials (eastern class) and on the west by the military officials (western class). It is from these two classes of government officials that the term ‘yangban’ originated. Beginning in early Koryo, this meaning came to be attached to the official class which staffed the bureaucracy. The creation of a class of government officials was a marked departure from the earlier Shilla, in which a man’s birthright determined his standing in life. Therefore, from early Koryo, the _yangban_ class was created and functioned as the one which provided the manpower for the bureaucracy.

The distinction between civil and military officials was first established in 976 with the enactment of the Stipend Land Law (Chonsikwa). From that time, officials were awarded a stipend based on their official position, which was further divided into four grades that dictated the colour of official garments. In descending order, the highest officials wore purple garments (chasam) followed by those wearing scarlet (tansam), dark red (pisam) and green (noksam) court robes. Excluding the highest rank of chasam, the lower ranks were further subdivided into civil, military, and miscellaneous officials and then provided a stipend based on their official rank, which was broken down into five to ten grades. It is thought that the highest rank of chasam was reserved for aristocratic families and meritorious retainers, in the early years of Koryo. So, after the reign of King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) a new bureaucratic structure was created, and this was staffed by civil, military and miscellaneous officials of the tansam rank and below.

Initially, in Koryo, the civil and military officials were treated without distinction, but as the principle of civil supremacy became more pronounced, the position of the military officials declined vis-à-vis the civil officials. Not only did they hold subordinate rank to the civil officials politically, but were relegated to lower economic status as well. Indicative of the situation is the fact that the highest military posts were occupied by civil officials. Predictably, the systematic discrimination against the military officials led to military rebellion in mid-Koryo, which resulted in purges and executions of civil officials.

At the end of Koryo and the beginning of Choson, attempts were made to correct this imbalance. Particularly in early Choson, legislation such as the Kyongguk taejon (National Code) consolidated the two ranks of civil and military and thus cemented the foundations for a strong consciousness of the _yangban_ structure within society. The major difference between the Koryo and Choson _yangban_ classes is that the latter were far larger, and this persuaded the Choson government to place increased emphasis on government service examinations (kwago).

The purpose of the government service examinations was to protect the entire _yangban_ class by limiting access to government positions. Special appointments to the bureaucracy were strictly limited, thus making it difficult to advance solely on the basis of a man’s pedigree. The examination systems were linked to a Confucian education and a number of educational institutions, ranging from private academies (sowon) to the National Confucian Academy (Songgyun’gwan) in the capital, existed to train the _yangban_ for these tests, Therefore,
members of the *yangban* class who were successful in sitting for the government examinations were well indoctrinated in Confucian ideology, which became the fundamental philosophy of this class.

In theory, the *yangban* were not exempt from service obligations to the state such as corvee labour and military duties. In practice, however, they often were released from these obligations in order to devote themselves entirely to their scholarship. The strong ties between the *yangban* class and the Confucian doctrines is seen in this aspect since Confucianism holds that the cultivation of the self must be complete before one can govern others. Thus, the *yangban* fulfilled their obligations to the state in the pursuit of a thorough understanding of the tenets of Confucianism, which enabled them to (theoretically) better govern the nation.

Other terms used for the *yangban* include, *sadaebu, sajok, saryu, and sarim*. The term *sadaebu* originated in the position titles of high-ranking officials, such as *taebu*, which was an honorary title given to officials of the fourth rank or higher. The term *sadaebu* came to be used for both high-ranking civil and military officials. The designation *yangban* was not used in early Chosŏn and instead *sajok* (scholar-group) was used for this class. Similarly, *saryu* (scholar-class) and *sarim* (neo-Confucian literati) were also in use at various times to describe the class of *yangban* scholars. From the sixteenth c., the shape of the *yangban* class was consolidated, and this form would continue to the end of Chosŏn.

The *yangban* class was truly the elite of Chosŏn and in order to protect its status many restrictions were imposed both upon it and the lower classes in Korean society. *Yangban* only married their own, thus making their status a hereditary one. Other restrictions limiting persons who could otherwise enter the *yangban* class are the exclusion (for much of Chosŏn) of the illegitimate sons of *yangban* from sitting the government service examination, a measure which effectively blocked their entry into Chosŏn officialdom, as well as a complete prohibition of the sons and grandsons of *yangban* widows who had remarried, from serving in the government. Moreover, there was regional discrimination against those from the northern provinces such as P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng, and this resulted in men from these areas rarely being appointed to higher office. The status of civil *yangban* continued to be higher than that of those in the military, creating another level of distinction in the *yangban* class. Therefore, this mix of limitations served to obstruct entry into the *yangban* class and positions of power, since the *yangban* feared that an increase in their numbers would naturally serve to erode their privileged position in Chosŏn society.

While the sole profession of the *yangban* was the holding of public office, they did not serve in technical positions or as lower government functionaries, which were reserved for other classes of Chosŏn society. Additionally, *yangban* did not participate in farming, manufacturing or commerce, as these occupations were also the reserve of special classes. The *yangban* were clearly demarcated from other segments of Chosŏn society as they pursued their own ideals in scholarship. Even the houses of the *yangban* were generally segregated from those of the lower classes. Of course, the *yangban* held the loftiest social position in Chosŏn, and so the lower classes were forced to treat them deferentially and use honorific language when speaking to them. Even to the present day, there are manifestations of *yangban* culture in South Korea in the use of honorific language and the emphasis on family lineage by some individuals. However, the present widespread manifestations of *yangban* lineage are highly questionable, given the narrow segment of Chosŏn society that was initially occupied by this class.

**Yangch'on munjip** (Collected Works of Yangch'on)

The *Yangch'on munjip*, consisting of forty volumes in nine fascicles, is a collection of works by Kwŏn Kŭn (styled Yangch'on, 1352-1409), one of the most outstanding scholars and finest writers of the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn Dynasties. Included in the collection
are poems, records, prefaces, texts of diplomatic documents sent to the Ming Court, memorials to the Throne, Royal Messages drafted by the author, historical comments, inscriptions on monuments built to honour important people and epitaphs. Therefore, through the collection, it is possible to gauge the author's considerable literary achievements as well as consult valuable historical material for the study of the diplomacy and the internal affairs of this transitional period from the Koryŏ to the Chosŏn dynasties.

The collection commences with the lineage of the Yŏngga (former clan-name of Andong) Kwon, the author's personal history, the contents and three poems by King T'aejo. The three poems were composed by the King in appreciation of the meritorious deeds of Kwon in clearing up a misunderstanding with the Ming Court.

Volumes 1 to 10 contain about nine hundred poems describing the author's daily contacts with men of distinction, as well as his experiences on an official trip to Ŭiju in 1387. There are thirty-five poems in Volume 6, composed during his trip to Ming China in 1389. The poems contained in Volume 7 are those composed in exile following his return from China at the end of the same year.

Volumes 11 to 15 contain writings on buildings, while Volumes 16 to 20 are the introductions to various books. Volume 21 consists of articles and biographies by the author; Volume 22, various postscripts; Volume 23, inscriptions, comments and memorial addresses; Volumes 24 to 26, sovereign's messages sent to the Ming Court and messages presented to the Throne on the occasion of national festivals; Volumes 27 to 29, Buddhist invocations; Volume 30, Royal messages drafted by the author; Volumes 31 and 32, petitions to the Throne; and Volumes 33 to 40, miscellaneous writings.

The Yangch'on munjip is highly valued for the way it illuminates the social conditions at that time. The poems in the work come with notes and the author's prefaces and these provide many valuable historical facts.

One example of the valuable historical material in the collection is that in Volume 22 where Kwon Kūn explains the origins of the so-called Kyemi movable type in Chosŏn Korea.

There are three extant editions of the work, published in 1421-1426, 1637 and 1718 respectively. The woodblocks of the oldest of these editions are similar to those of Sung China and Yuan China.

Yangdong Village  

Yanggu County

Situated in the mountainous region of central Kangwŏn Province, Yanggu County is comprised of the town of Yanggu and the townships of Nam, Tong, Pungsan and Haean. The town of Yanggu is surrounded by P’aro Lake to the north and Soyang Lake to the south. The northern third of the province is in North Korea. As an inland mountainous area, the region’s weather is characterised by cold winters and relatively little rainfall.

Although the county contains only a meagre amount of arable land, the region’s scant population is primarily employed in the agricultural sector. Due to the mountainous terrain and relatively low precipitation, predominantly dry field crops such as beans, leafy vegetable and medicinal herbs are grown here.

The area possesses great natural beauty; yet, the local tourist trade has been slow to develop as a result of the area’s poor transportation networks. P’aro and Soyang lake attract sports fishermen throughout the year. The two lakes are famous for their pond smelt and large carp. The two lakes also have ferries that bring in visitors from Hwach’ŏn and Ch’unch’on.
There are a number of historical relics in the area. Comb pattern pottery from the Neolithic period has been discovered on the shores of Soyang River. Scattered throughout dolmen from the Bronze Age. As for Buddhist sites, there is Shimok Temple in Yanggu Town. Founded by Toson in 879, the temple was burnt down during the Korean War. However, three wooden statues survived the blaze, and are now enshrined in the Main Buddha Hall. In Yangu Town, one also finds the Yanggu Hyanggyo (county public school) which was originally founded in 1405.

Yangin class

The yangin were the freeborn commoners and together with the ch’ónin (lowborn commoners) comprised the vast majority of the Korean people. While the term yangch’ón may have been used at various times to describe all commoners, the actual usage and groups encompassed by this term varied significantly depending upon the period. The use of terms for either the yangin or ch’ónin was quite rare in the Three Kingdoms and earlier times, and while usage increased during Koryó, it was not until early Chosón that they described specific classes of people and began to carry well-defined rights and obligations insofar as the legal codes were concerned. While there were distinctions between the yangin as freeborn commoners and the ch’ónin as slaves (or mostly so), the yangch’ón designation was often used in a broader sense to indicate the entire class of people who were not eligible to enter Chosón officialdom.

The formation of the yangch’ón class was brought about with the consolidation of the central governing apparatus headed by a monarch, which resulted in the emergence of a ruling class. Stratified societies in Asia commenced during the Chinese Qin and Han dynasties, and by the Tang dynasty this stratification was complete. The process was further strengthened by the acceptance of Confucian ideology, which advocated a class-based society. This same consciousness of class appeared also in Korea, Vietnam and Japan, each of which was in the Chinese cultural sphere. However, in each country and period the interpretation of class differed and the three should be examined individually. In Korea, however, the separation of the people by class had existed since the earliest states. For example, it is known that in the first Korean kingdom, Kochoson, a slave-class existed, and furthermore, that it was defined as such in the state’s legal code. The first record of the term yangin is found in the Samguksagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) during the reign of King Chinhiing (r. 540-576) of Shilla. At this time, a class of freeborn commoners was in being, that had a subordinate class below it, and the aristocracy above. By the advent of Koryó, the hereditary nobility that had occupied the upper echelons of government diminished, and so it was still possible for freeborn commoners to enter government service, and thereby achieve social class mobility. Hence, it is clear that the social classes of the early period of Koryó were somewhat fluid, and not yet rigorously defined.

In Koryó, however, matters concerning the yangin and ch’ónin were formalised through the legal code. For example, regulations concerning the prohibition of marriage for members of these classes appeared. The generic name for the freeborn population (in Koryó) was paekch’ông, which reflected the fact that these commoners had no fixed role in the service of the state. While the paekch’ông were ineligible to receive stipends from the state, they were ascribed specific duties and obligations, such as military and corvée labour service. Additionally, they cultivated either state land (minjón), which required a tax payment of one-fourth of the harvest as rent, or else, the land of aristocratic families -- in which case the rent tax was substantially higher. There were also other tax liabilities placed upon the peasantry such as tribute taxes. While the freeborn peasantry of Koryó led much better lives than the ch’ónin or slaves, they still experienced a degree of poverty, even though the state did have a number of relief agencies to assist them in times of famine.

By late Koryó and early Chosón, the features of the yangin class became more pronounced
and less subject to change. The freeborn peasants of early Chosŏn were chiefly tenant farmers. Their economic situation was somewhat improved from that pertaining during Koryŏ, because husbandry and technology had improved significantly by the early sixteenth c. Also, the tax burden had been lessened by the implementation of the Tribute Tax Law (kongpŏp -- promulgated during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Nevertheless, taxes still had to be met, and the obligation of military and corvée labour service remained. The peasants were effectively tied to the land though the introduction of the hop'ae (identification tag) system which commenced in the early fifteenth c., whereby they had no choice but to farm the same land, generation after generation.

During Chosŏn, the upward social mobility of the yango became decidedly less fluid than it had been in early Koryŏ. In principle, a person’s status was determined by that of his mother, and this prevented those born of the union of a yango father and a commoner or slave mother from being able to aspire to any kind of government position. Accordingly, the social classes came to be well-defined. The social status of the yango was clearly distinguished from the ch'ŏn and the slave classes. While the yango, as freeborn citizens, were guaranteed specific rights by law, the slave class had no rights, but were subject to the conditions placed upon them by their owners. Furthermore, legal penalties handed out to slaves were much heavier than those imposed on the freeborn commoners. In comparing the yango with members of the ch'ŏn class, the greatest difference concerning social rights was that the yango were legally entitled to enter government service, whereas the ch'ŏn were denied such access. While in practice, not many yango gained entry to government service because of discriminatory factors, at least they held the legal right to do so. Therefore, the status of the yango class was legally higher than the ch'ŏn or slave classes, but in practical terms, its situation may not have been substantially better.

The strengthening of all social classes, and the distinctions between them, is a characteristic of Chosŏn society from the late fifteenth c. onwards. Perhaps as a result of the yango class limiting the entry of others into their privileged social class, the classes below also sought to preserve the distinctions which kept them above their social inferiors. The chungo (middle people) class directly below the yango served in technical positions within the Chosŏn government, and their occupations, such as medicine, law, astronomy and translation, became largely hereditary and so remained their exclusive domain. The yango, while not having appreciably better living standards than the ch'ŏn below them, were guaranteed higher status and certain rights by law. By the end of Chosŏn, however, the situation of the yango and other low classes was quite similar. This was particularly the case after the government set free all of its slaves in 1801, thereby giving them attachment to the yango class. Therefore, by the nineteenth c., the fortunes of the yango class remained closely tied to the land, and the economic and social problems that emerged resulted in lives of hardship for the entire Chosŏn peasantry.

**Yangju County**

Situated to the north of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province, Yangju County is comprised of the town of Hwach'ŏn and the townships of Nam, Kwangjŏk, Paeksŏk, Ŭnhyŏn, Changhŭng and Chunae. The southern part of the county contains Mt. Pukhan National Park and Aengmu Peak (622m), while Mt. Kamak (675m) rises in the north. Mt. Pulguk, near the centre of the county, is famous for the spring at its base. It is said that the volume of water from the spring is the same year around and is totally unaffected by droughts or floods.

Most of the county's residents are employed in agriculture. Rice, grains and vegetables are grown here along with various specialty crops such as chestnuts and house plants. Dairy farming and stock breeding is another important source of income. Traditionally, pottery was produced in the region, and even today, several ceramic factories are in operation here. The Kangwŏn Railway Line and Highway 3 Link the eastern portion of the county with Tongduch'ŏn to the north and Ŭijŏngbu and Seoul to the south. Due to the county's close
proximity to Seoul, most of the local residents go to Seoul to buy more expensive items. As a result, the area’s markets tend to be small.

The local tourist industry is centred around the county’s picturesque mountains and valleys. Near Mt. Pukhan in the south, there are the Songch’u, Changhŭng, Sinhŭng and Iryŏng resorts. Easily accessible from Seoul, these resorts offer natural beauty in a rural setting. Other attractions include the stone caves at Kwangjŏk Township’s Kanap Village and Un’gye Waterfall in Nam Township’s Shinam Village.

There are a number of important historical sites in the area. Most of the Buddhist artefacts are found at the Hwaam Temple site in Hwach’ŏn’s Hwaam Village. Foundation stones from the complex that once stood here can still be seen in situ throughout the area. In addition, there is a stele commemorating Royal Preceptor Sŏn’gak, a stupa, a stone lantern with two lions motif (Treasures No. 387-389 respectively), a mill stone, the stupa of Sŏn Master Naong (1320-1376), a stone lamp, a stele commemorating Grand Master Muhak (1327-?) and the stupa and stone lamp of Dhyanabhadra (Sŏn Master Chigong, ?-1363), an Indian monk who came to Korea via China in 1328. Other ancient temples in the area include Sŏkkul Hermitage in Changhŭng Township’s Kyohyŏn Village and Paehwa Hermitage in Chunae Township’s Yuyang Village.

There are several old Confucian sites in the area. In Chunae Township’s Yuyang Village, one finds Yangju Hyanggyo. Founded during the reign of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), this Confucian school was destroyed during the Korean War, but was reconstructed in 1959. In addition, there is the Songjil Sadang (ancestral shrine) in Ŭnhyŏn Township’s Sŏnam Village.

Yangpyŏng County

Situated in eastern Kyŏnggi Province, Yangpyŏng County is comprised of the town of Yangpyŏng and the townships of Kangsang, Kangha, Kaegun, Tanwŏl, Sŏjong, Yangdong, Yangsŏ, Okch’ŏn, Yongmun, Chije and Ch’ŏngun. With Mt. Yongmun (1157m) rising in its centre, the county’s topography is characterised by rugged terrain. The Pukhan and Namhan rivers meet on the county’s eastern border.

Only 16.4 per cent of the county’s land is arable. The area’s main crop is rice, but dry-field crops are also common. Sericulture, stock breeding and bee keeping are other important sources of income. Although a railway line links the town of Yangpyŏng with Seoul and Wŏnju, the county’s transportation networks lag behind those of other areas in the Seoul vicinity. As a result, there has been little industrial development in the area.

With peaks of the Kwangju Mountain Range and the northern and southern branch of the Han River, the county boasts a large number of scenic attractions. The Mt. Yongmun area was designated a tourist area in 1971. Since then, camping sites and lodgings have been built at the mountain in order to accommodate the large influx of tourists from Seoul. Hiking trails here take one past important historical sites such as Sangwŏn Hermitage, Yunp’il Hermitage, Sana Temple, the remnants of the Hamwang Fortress and Yongmun Temple. The ginkgo tree at Yongmun Temple is said to be the biggest in east Asia. Mt. Yongmun’s natural sites include Changgun Spring, Chungwŏn Waterfall, Yonggak Rock and Madang Rock.

There are a number of old Confucian schools in the county, including Un’gye Sŏwŏn (private school) in Yongmun Township’s Tŏkch’ŏn Village, Sugok Sŏwŏn in Chije Township’s Sugok Village and Chip’yŏng Hyanggyo (county public school) in Chije Township’s Chip’yŏng Village. In Okch’ŏn Township’s Okch’ŏn Village, there is the Yanggŭn Hyanggyo, which was founded during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544). In addition, there are several old residences in the area. In Sŏjong Township’s
Nomun Village, one finds the home of Yi Hangno (1792-1868), a famous Confucian scholar and official from the Chosŏn period. The residences of Kim Pyŏngho and Kim Chŏngshik can be seen in Yongmun Township's Och'on Village and Yangp'yŏng's Ch'angdae Village respectively.

Yangsan

Yangsan is situated to the north of Pusan, in the most mountainous area of South Kyŏngsang Province. Mt. Saeak (1108 metres) and Mt. Ch'wisŏ (1092 metres) mark the city's northern borders, while Mt. Ch'ŏnsŏng (812 metres) and Mt. Wŏnliyo (922 metres) rise up to the northeast of Yangsan Town. In addition to Yangsang Town, the city is comprised of the Tong, Mulgūm, Sangbuk, Ungsang, Wŏndong and Habuk Townships (myŏn).

Due to its close proximity to Pusan, the nation's second largest city, the industrial and service sectors of Yangsan's economy are particularly well developed. The area produces some agricultural products, but the amount of cultivated land has been constantly reduced as a result of the area's rapid urbanisation. On the east side of the city, there are a number of dairy and cattle breeding operations. Habuk Township's wide-rimmed bamboo hats (nongnim) are one of Yangsan's specialty products. The hats are used by farmers for protection against both the sun and rain.

Yangsan has several important historical sites. In Yangsan Town, there are several large tumuli from the Shilla period. As for Buddhist sites, T'ongdo Temple, at Mt. Ch'wisŏ, is one of the nation's most important Buddhist monasteries. Originally founded in 646 C.E., this temple houses a large number of important historical buildings and artefacts. Next to the Nakdong River in Wŏndong Township, there is an extensive complex of old buildings known as Kayajinsa (Kaya Ford Shrine). During the Three Kingdoms period, the site of the shrine was an important thoroughfare between Shilla and Kaya. Rites dedicated to the protective deity of the Nakdong River were performed here during Shilla times, and the tradition was maintained during the subsequent Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. The present buildings were built in 1959 after a typhoon destroyed the old complex.

Yangyang County

Situated on the east coast of Kangwŏn Province, Yangyang County is comprised of the town of Yangyang, and the townships of Kanghyŏn, Sŏ, Sonyang, Hyŏnnam and Hyŏnbuk. The county is surrounded by Sokch'ŏ to the north, Inje County to the west, Hongch'ŏn County to the southwest and Kangnŭng to the south. Mt. Sŏrak, Mt. Yaksu (1306 metres), Mt. Maebok (1360 metres), and other peaks of the T'aebaek Mountain Range run along the county's western border. Almost all of the county's population lives on the 2-4 kilometre long coastal plain.

The county has a diverse economy centred on agriculture, fishing and tourism. In addition to rice, dry-field crops such as potatoes and corn are grown in the region. The area is also the nation's largest producer of songi mushrooms (armillaria edodes)-an expensive delicacy used in soups and stews. Operating out of the county's small ports, commercial fishermen catch walleye pollack, cuttle fish, anchovies and mackerel. In addition, the large iron mine in Sŏ Township supplies steel to the P'ohang Steel Company via Sokch'ŏ Port.

Much of the area's tourist industry is centred around the southern portion of Mt. Sŏrak National Park (See Mt. Sŏrak). The county also has numerous beaches. Just south of Sŏrak Beach, one finds Naksan Temple. Situated on a bluff overlooking the ocean, this picturesque monastery houses a number of important historical relics, including a large bronze bell (Treasure No. 479) and the Uisangdae Pavilion (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 48). A giant statue of Avalokitesvara overlooks the monastery. Not far
from the temple, one can see the Yangyang Hyanggyo (county public school). Originally founded during the reign of Koryŏ’s King Ch’ungsuk (r. 1313-1330, 1332-1339), the school has been designated Kangwŏn Province Cultural Asset No. 105.

Yaun onhaeng sŏbyu

This is a supplementary collection of the sayings and deeds of Kil Chae (styled, Yaun, 1353-1419). He was a famous loyal retainer at the end of the Koryŏ dynasty.

A collection of his words and deeds was compiled before his death, and his disciple Pak Sosaeng edited a new collection and for the first time called it Yaun onhaengnok (Collection of Yaun’s Words and Deeds) at the time of King T’aejong. In 1573, Yun Chi hyŏng, Governor of Sŏnsan, a descendant of Yaun, collected and published his poems and the records of his deeds, together with various eulogies. These woodblocks were all burned during the Japanese invasion. In 1615 his descendants published a 'Supplementary Collection of Yaun’s Words and Deeds' in three volumes which include messages from the King and records about the establishment of a school in Yaun’s memory.

In 1858, one of Yaun’s descendants collected other related materials and published 'Continued Collection of Yaun' in three volumes together with the three volumes of 'Supplementary Collection of Yaun’s Words and Deeds.'

These six volumes of the words and deeds of Yaun were published in the Yŏgye myŏnghyŏn chip, ('A Collection of Noted Koryŏ Scholars') by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun’gwan University in 1961.

Yech’on County

Situated in the northern part of North Kyongsang Province, Yech’on is comprised of the town of Yech’on and the townships of Kamch’on, Kaep’o, Pomun, Sangni, Yonggung, Yongmun, Yuch’on, Chibo, P’ungyang, Hari and Hoo. Ongnyo Peak (890m), Mae Peak: (865m), Kuksa Peak: (728m) and other peaks of the Sobaek Mountain Range rise up in the north, while Naesong Stream and the Naktong River flow through the county’s southern area.

With fertile land and an ample waters supply, the county is well-suited for rice cultivation. Of the county’s total area, 31.5 per cent is arable, and 60 per cent of this land is used for rice while 40 per cent is used for dry-field crops such as barley, beans, radishes and Chinese cabbage. In the hilly areas, apples are grown, and in the mountainous north, ginseng and tobacco are cultivated. Historically, the county’s crops were frequently damaged by Naktong River floods, but the problem has been alleviated with the construction of Andong Dam in 1975. Local industry is limited to several small factories that produce food-stuffs, chemical products and textiles. As for transportation, there is a network of small roads linking the county with nearby Andong, and a major expressway connecting the area with Wŏnju and Taegu is now under construction. The county also has a domestic airport offering regular flights to Seoul.

Yech’on County’s tourism is centred around the picturesque mountains in the north and the streams and rivers flowing through the south. Visitors also come to experience the area’s unique customs. The county is particularly famous for archery and for ch’ŏngdan norûm, a pantomimed mask dance. This is also one of the few areas where tongshinje (agrarian festivals during which tutelary deities are propitiated) are still commonly held.

Tourists also come to visit the historical sites scattered throughout the area. Dolmens are found in Yongmun Township, and in Yech’on’s Paekchŏn Village, there is a stone chamber grave dating from the Three Kingdoms period. Buddhist sites include a five-storey pagoda
(Treasure No. 53) built in 1010, at the Kaeshim Temple site and a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 426) thought to date from the Greater Shilla period in Yech’on’s Tongbon-dong. At Hanch’on Temple, there is a three-storey pagoda (North Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 5) from the late Greater Shilla period and an iron Buddha (Treasure No. 667) from the middle of the ninth century. This is thought to be the oldest extant iron Buddha statue in east Asia. In addition, there are several important relics at Yongmun Temple, including Korea’s oldest altar piece carved of wood (Treasure No. 145).

There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including Nobong Sŏwŏn, Shinch’on Sŏwŏn, Misan Haksŏa, Yonggun Hyanggyo and Yech’on Hyanggyo, which was founded in 1407. In Yongmun Township’s Chungnim Village stands Ch’ogangjŏng, a pavilion built by Kwŏn Munhae in 1582, and in Chibo Township’s Manhwa Village, one finds the Manhwa study. This small building was built by Chŏn Sesam during his final years. In this study, Chŏn, forgetting about all worldly concerns, devoted the rest of his life to educating his son. In order to commemorate this exemplary model of paternal devotion, the Yonggung Chŏn clan renovated the house in 1972.

Yenan Faction

Yesan County

Located in central South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Yesan County consists of the towns of Sapkyo and Yesan, and the townships of Kodŏk, Kwangsa, Tŏksan, Taesul, Taehŭng, Pongsan, Shinam, Shinyaeng and Êngbong. The county has a total area of 541 sq. km. and a population of about 133,000. The Kaya Mountain Range runs down the western half of the county and the Ch’aryŏng Mountain Range runs to the eastern border. Between these mountains lie extensive plains. The area’s proximity to the coast, the weather pattern, with sharp variations between summer and winter temperatures is characteristic of an inland region. The county has an average yearly temperature of 11.8 deg. c. and an annual rainfall of 1133mm.

With an immense amount of level ground and ample water resources, the county is well-suited for agriculture. Approximately 22,000 hectares are farmed. Of this, 16,000 grow rice and 6,000 hectares dry field crops, such as grains, vegetables, tobacco and apples. The hilly terrain in the west and east grows mulberry trees for use in sericulture. Minerals include coal and talcum, while the area’s industry is limited to several textile factories and hulling mills.

A number of important historical sites are located in the county. In Taehŭng’s Sangjung Village stands Imjon Fortress which served as a base for Later Paekche, a rebel movement during the end of the Greater Shilla period. On Mt. Suam in Sapkyo, one finds a 5.3-metre standing Bodhisattva figure (Treasure No. 508) which was sculpted during Koryŏ. The lean body and rather simple style are typical of Koryŏ-era Buddhist statues from the Ch’ungch’ŏng region.

In Pongsan’s Hwajŏn village, there is a four-sided carving on a cube-shaped rock (Treasure No. 794). The Buddha figures which project from the rock have unfortunately suffered much damage. The main figure appears to have been the seated Buddha on the southern face. The standing figures on the northern, eastern and western side of the carving become progressively smaller. Thought to be Korea’s first such carving of the Buddhas of the Four Directions, this Paekche artefact is invaluable for the light it sheds on early Korean sculpture.

Other significant Buddhist relics include a nine-storey pagoda, a stupa and an old Ch’ŏnbuljŏn (Thousand Buddha Hall) at Hyangch’on Temple in Yesan’s Hyangch’on Village, as well as an interesting Buddha in relief (South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province Tangible
Cultural Asset No. 69) carved upon an oval rock in Taehŭng's Sangjung Village. The most famous monastery in the area is Sudŏk Temple in Tŏksan.

In addition to Buddhist sites, the county is home to a number of Confucian schools. In Yesan's Hyangch'ŏn Village is Yesan Hyanggyo which was established in 1413 and which underwent major repair in 1785. Just north of Highway 45 near the Tŏksan Hot Springs is Tŏksan Hyanggyo, which was built during the reign of King Injo (1623-1649).

Yesŏng River

The Yesŏng River, with its source around Mt. Taegak (1,277m) in North Hwanghae Province's Koksan County, flows through P'yŏngsan and Kŭmch'ŏn to the Yellow Sea to the immediate north of Kanghwa Island. On the river's 174-km.-long course, it is joined by seven streams — Önjin, Odong, Wira, Chisŏk, Kuyŏn, Ojo and Handari. The Yŏnbaek Plain lies along the lower section of the river. The Yesŏng is navigable from its mouth to Hanp'o.

From 108 to 313 C.E., the river was initially part of the Lolang Commandery (one of the four Han commanderies) but later became part of the Taebang Commandery. It was later incorporated into Paekche territory, and then became part of Koguryŏ territory during the reign of King Kwanggaet'o (r. 391-413). After the fall of Koguryŏ, it was briefly held by Tang China but was soon annexed by the Greater Shilla Kingdom. During the wars preceding Koryŏ, Wang Kŏn used the river as a naval base for his campaign against Kyŏnhwŏn. After Wang Kŏn's victory, the river became an important centre for trade between Korea and China.

Yeungnam University

Yeungnam University (Yŏngnam Taehakkyo) is situated in the city of Kyŏngsan in North Kyŏngsang Province. Founded in December 1967 with the merger of Taegu and Chunggu colleges (which were established in 1947 and 1950 respectively), Yeungnam University initially consisted of five colleges with thirty-five departments, a night school and a graduate school. The university began to relocate to the Kyŏngsan campus in 1970. In 1983, the Yeungnam University Hospital was opened.

With two campuses (one in Tae-dong in the city of Kyŏngsan and one in Taemyŏng-dong in Taegu), today the university consists of thirteen colleges, eighty-two departments, a night school, a graduate school and five professional graduate schools. The graduate school offers sixty-seven master degree programs and forty-four doctoral programs. There is also on campus a museum, Civil Service Training Centre, the Computer Information Institute and the Foreign Language Training Centre. The University is affiliated with eighteen institutes, including the Institute of Korean Culture.

Yi Ch'ungmugong chŏnsŏ (The Collected Works of Admiral Yi)

Yi Ch'ungmugong chŏnsŏ is the posthumous collection of the middle Chosŏn period military commander Yi Sunshin (1545-1598). It consists of fourteen volumes in eight fascicles and was printed with movable metal type. The original work consisted of eight volumes and to this were added six volumes of supplements. It was compiled in 1795 by royal decree, and Yu Tŏkkong headed the task of putting it together. There have been quite a number of subsequent printings such as that done by Ch'oe Namson in 1918 and published by Shinmungwan, a six-volume set published by Sŏ Changsŏk in 1931, and most recently in a collection on the 1592 Japanese Invasion issued by Asea Munhwasa in 1984.
The first volume of this collection includes poems and miscellaneous writings of Yi's and the second to fourth volumes contain reports by local officials to the throne. The fifth to eighth volumes hold the 'Nanjung ilgi’, a diary of the admiral's activities during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. In the ninth to twelfth volumes there are records of various recommendations to the throne on behalf of Yi for his posthumous recognition. The last two volumes hold various Korean and Chinese writings concerning Yi and his activities.

Given the status of Yi Sunshin as one of the greatest war heroes in Korean history and the pivotal role that he played in the opposition to the Japanese Invasion, it is not surprising that this work is highly praised for the study of this period. In particular, ‘Nanjung ilgi’ is acclaimed for the insight that it offers into the actions of the Korean forces under Yi and his recommendations to the throne for purging the Japanese from Korea. This work remains the centre of much research concerning both the 1592 Japanese Invasion and the study of Yi’s life.

Yi Chagyŏm (? –1126)

Yi Chagyŏm was a royal relative by marriage of the Koryŏ period who attempted to overthrow the Koryŏ kingdom. His family’s ancestral home is in Inju (present day Inch’ŏn) and he was the son of Yi Ho who was the Secretary (sangsŏ) of the Board of Taxation (Hobu). The Inju Yi family had long enjoyed a close relationship with the royal family of Koryŏ and this power was consolidated by Yi Hogyŏm giving his granddaughter to King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-1031) for his queen. Yi Chagyŏm brought the power of the Inju Yi family to its pinnacle by giving his daughter to King Yejong (r. 1105-1122) for his queen and then seeing his grandson take the throne.

Yi consolidated his power during the time of Yejong and then with the death of the monarch in 1122, he schemed to see his grandson take the throne. Yi’s attempt to put his thirteen year-old grandson on the throne was challenged by Mun Kongin and Han Anin among others who sought to increase their strength by installing another king. Yi, however, was able to purge the elements that opposed the accession of his grandson to the throne, and thus King Injong (r. 1122-1146) began his rule. When Xu Jing of Song China travelled to Koryŏ and wrote his account of the kingdom in Gaoli tujing (Illustrated Account of Koryo) he described Yi thus: ‘He has a dignified and mild bearing,and welcomed those who were mild and kind hearted.’ But the Koryŏ sa (History of Koryo) describes him as one who plunders the land and possessions of others. Other historical documents also comment on the distasteful nature of Yi.

Nonetheless, he continued to accumulate power at the expense of his grandson Injong. He provided two of his daughters to Injong as queens and thus further strengthened his own status as royal relative by marriage and grandfather of the king. His relatives and those who supported him all garnered official positions and were rapidly promoted while those who opposed him were driven from office. Moreover, Yi was supported by the military hero Ch’ŏk Chungyŏng who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against the Jurchen. Thus Yi had the military backing to act as he wished and accordingly he, along with those in his faction, seized land and other property and secured the dominant economic position in Koryŏ society as well as a virtual monopoly on political power. Eventually, Yi was not satisfied with being the power behind the throne and conspired to depose Injong and assume the throne himself. Injong discovered this plot and made his own plans with his officials to eliminate Yi. However, with the military intervention of Ch’ŏk, Injong was confined and the officials who had collaborated with him were put to death in 1126. Yi then attempted to poison Injong on several occasions and became even more blatant in his disregard for the throne and ruling hierarchy of Koryŏ. It was at this point, however, that the opportunistic Ch’ŏk drove Yi from power and restored Injong to the throne. Yi was banished to the wilderness of the Koryŏ frontier, thus ending the so-called Yi Chagyŏm Rebellion.
Yi Chehyŏn (1287-1367)

Yi Chehyŏn was a scholar and statesman of the late Koryŏ period. His family’s ancestral home is in Kyŏngju, his childhood name was Chigong, his courtesy name Chungsa, and his pen names included Ikchae and Yŏgong. From an early age, Yi studied writing and reading skills, and in 1301 he passed the Sŏnggyun shi examination and then subsequently successfully sat for the civil service examination. After this Yi entered the Koryŏ officialdom and served in various capacities and by 1314 he had received the charge of King Ch'ungsŏn, who had abdicatd his throne, to come to the capital of the Yuan dynasty, Yanjing. The King desired that Yi join the Wanjuantang (Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes), an association created by the King for scholars, and study with the knowledgeable men of China. Yi association with the Wanjuantang had a major impact on his later propagation of the neo-Confucian ideology in Koryŏ, which would become very important among the literati in the late Koryŏ period. Yi was also able to make use of his time in China to improve his knowledge and writing abilities, and to visit many places in China while accompanying the former king.

Yi served in the Koryŏ government under five different kings and particularly played an important role in the changes that occurred in the governmental structure under the reign of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374). Yi had a major role in the complicated political situation that existed between the fading Yuan dynasty and Koryŏ, and served as an envoy to the Yuan on many occasions during this period. Moreover, while Yi served in the highest positions while carrying out his duties, he was never the object of censure or exile, which bespeaks of his excellency in diplomacy.

Yi is praised as being one of a number of scholars during the late Koryŏ period that significantly influenced the philosophical standpoint of the later Koryŏ and subsequent Chosŏn periods by propagating the neo-Confucian ideology. Yi’s teacher was Paek Ijong (1275-1325), who had also studied in Yuan China. The ideology was then passed from Yi to other literati in the late Koryŏ period such as Yi Sungin (1349-1392) and Yi Saek (1328-1396), and then to those who even served in the early years of Chosŏn such as Chŏng Tojon (1337?-1398) and Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409). Thus the ideology became an important factor in the foundation of Chosŏn and would continue to dominate Chosŏn thought for the next half of a millennium.

In the field of literature, Yi’s Yŏgong p’aesŏl (Scribblings of Old Man Oak) is noted for being one of a number of literary miscellany collections that appeared during the late Koryŏ period. This work is a collection of essays and comments on historical subjects and represents valuable historical data of the late Koryŏ period. Ikchae nan’go (Scattered Works of Ikchae) contains many of Yi’s opinions on life in Yuan China, and additionally, records of his travels in China with King Ch’ungsŏn that are historically quite useful. Yi also compiled a national history, Saryak (Concise History), that unfortunately has not been transmitted to the present age.
Yi Chŏnggu is considered one of the great scholars of Sino-Korean literature of his time. His family’s ancestral home is in Yŏnan, his courtesy name was Sŏngjing and his pen names included Wŏlsa, Pomandang, Ch’iam, Ch’ueae and Sŭpchŏng. He was the descendant of the noted scholar Yi Sŏkhyŏng (1415-1477), the son of the civil official Yi Kye and the disciple of Yun Kŏnsu (1537-1616). After passing various civil service examinations, Yi entered Chosŏn officialdom. In the midst of the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Yi was sent to Ming China as part of an official mission. While in China he met the Ming scholar Song Yingchang and had discussions with him concerning the Taehak (Great Learning), and for this received high praise. Subsequently, Yi published Taehak kangŏ (Lecture on the Great Learning).

Yi continued to make many official trips to Ming China as the part of various official missions. His literary fame grew among the Chinese scholars and in response to their demands he published a collection of over one hundred poems entitled Choch’ŏn kihangle rok. It was due to his skills in Sino-Korean character literature that Yi, along with Chang Yu (1587-1638), Yi Shik (1584-1647) and Shin Hŭm (1566-1628), became known as one of the ‘Four Great Men of Sino-Korean Literature’ (hanmun sadaega). Aside from his literary accomplishments, he also became a trusted adviser to the king and served in such official capacities as Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo), Minister of the Board of Rites (Yejo), Third State Councillor (uŭijŏng) and Second State Councillor (chwaiiijŏng).

Yi is further praised for being among the group of seventeenth c. literati who cast off the fetters of excessively moralistic literature and vested their works with emotion and feeling. This marked a vivid contrast to the literature of the previous two centuries that was dominated by the staid neo-Confucian ideology. Yi’s literary collection Wŏlsa chip (Collected Works of Wŏlsa) has been transmitted to the present age.

Yi Haŭng (1820-1898)

Yi Haŭng (Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun) was a late Chosŏn politician and the father of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). His courtesy name was Shibaek and his pen name was Sŏkp’a. He served as de facto ruler of Chosŏn for ten years after the appointment of his son, Kojong, to the throne at the age of twelve. Yi was not powerfully connected in the royal family and was in actuality a member through adoption. He did occupy several government posts such as Commander (toch’onggwan) in the Five Military Command Headquarters (Owi Toch’ongbu), but these were not important positions and his political ambitions were thwarted by the power of the Andong Kim family which actually controlled the throne in this age of ‘in-law’ governments (sedo chŏnch’i). However, with the death of King Ch’ŏlchong (r. 1849-1863), who had not left an heir or designated a successor, the fortunes of Yi Haŭng were about to be transformed.

Upon the death of Ch’ŏlchong, the right to determine the next king fell to the Queen Dowager Cho (1808-1890) who wasted little time in naming Yi’s son, Kojong, as the next king. Since Kojong was only twelve at the time, he was not ready to rule the Kingdom so the Queen Dowager and Yi were to serve as regents until he was old enough to assume power. Yi had his own agenda with the accession of his son to the throne. He sought to break the power of the royal ‘in-law’ families and reassert the authority of the crown. Therefore, to this end he appointed an equal proportion of officials from each of the sasaek (four factions) and was not greatly concerned with the background of government appointees, but rather examined their abilities. Thus, through appointments by merit, Yi strove to break the powerful families and deprive the royal ‘in-laws’ of their grip on power.

Chosŏn was confronted with many problems at the time when Yi came into power. The kingdom was plagued by increasing of unrest and rebellion by the populace, corruption
among government officials, the disarray of the tax systems, and perhaps most pressing of all, the increased infringements upon Choson territory by foreign powers. Yi’s reforms to the government were sweeping as he sought to regenerate the structures of the central government and to reassert the authority of the kingship. He converted the military cloth tax (kunp’oje) that heretofore had only been levied on commoners to a household tax (hop’oje) that all households, yangban or commoner, were liable for. Moreover, Yi reorganised the grain loan system by establishing a nationwide network of village granaries (sach’ang) that were designed to provide relief to the peasants in times of need. In addition, the actual stores of grains were investigated and those officials who were proven corrupt were dealt with by banishment or execution.

Perhaps the greatest impact of Yi’s reforms is seen in the matters centring on the strengthening of the monarchy. To this end, Yi sought to restore the image of the royal family and this was accomplished with the rebuilding of Kyongbok Palace, which had been in ruins since the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Yi began this project in 1865 and financed it through a special land tax (kyoltujon) that was levied on all landowners and a gate tax (munse) that was a tariff on all goods that entered the capital. These taxes served to alienate both the yangban and commoner classes and also to bring about considerable economic disorder. Nevertheless, the restoration of Kyongbok Palace was complete in 1867.

Another target of Yi’s reforms were the sowon (private academies), which by this period in Choson had come to possess large land and slave holdings that were exempt from taxation. Moreover, these academies were also considerable political forces in the rural areas and often operated outside of the authority of the central government. Thus, in 1864 Yi banned the repair or building of unauthorised sowon and in 1868 he levied a tax on these institutions. Finally in 1871, he executed a drastic reduction in the number of sowon, closing all but forty-seven of the academies. The abolition of the sowon proved to be extremely unpopular and created even more opposition to Yi from the yangban class.

The keystone of foreign policy of nineteenth century Choson was one of a subservient relationship with China and isolation from other nations. However, in the 1860s contact with Western nations rapidly escalated. The events in China that had unfolded at this time such as the Opium War (1839-1842) and the Arrow Incident (1856) were, in the eyes of Yi, the result of allowing trade with Western nations. Therefore, Yi resolved to help Choson avoid unequal trade treaties and humiliating relationships with the West by not allowing Western ships to enter Korean ports. This closed-door policy, however, was not honoured by the Western powers and there was increasing contact by foreigners. Perhaps the most brazen of these contacts was by the American trading ship, General Sherman, when it sailed up the Taedong River to P’yongyang, only to be burned by an angry mob of Koreans. Another event involved the French who were trying to assert their right to send Catholic missionaries into Korea. Both of these events were followed by clashes with the military forces of the respective nations, which were repulsed by Choson. These minor victories only served to cause Yi to harden his isolation policy. The Western nations at this time were not sincerely interested in Korea as they were all occupied with other more pressing international or domestic circumstances. This was not the situation with Japan after it had been forcibly opened by the Americans in the 1850s and now turned towards Korea with its own colonial designs.

In 1873 Yi’s ten year grip on power in Choson ended. He was driven from authority by a combination of the neo-Confucian officials that he had repeatedly antagonised with his reforms and the emergence of the political power of his son’s queen, Myongsong (1851-1895). Even though Yi had been sent to retirement by these forces, he was not content to sit on the sidelines. The government under the control of Queen Min began to adopt many policies that were aimed at reformation along the lines of Japan. The neo-Confucian literati became so outraged at these reforms that they sought an ally in Yi. However, the initial plot for Yi to take power was revealed and many that had been involved in the conspiracy were
Yi, being the father of the king, escaped this plight and simply waited for another opportunity. This was shortly manifested in the form of the Military Mutiny of 1882 (Inno Kullan), which was the result of the military forces rising up against the corruption prevalent in the Chosón government. With the military targeting the Min family and the Japanese with their wrath, King Kojong had little choice but to bring his father back to power. Yi directly issued an edict that required all matters of the government be approved by him before implementation and also sought to reform the military forces. Yi's return to power would prove to be quite brief as both Japan and China now intervened in Korea to protect their interests.

As Japan had dispatched troops to Korea to extract retributions from Chosón for the destruction of their legation, the Qing became very concerned and sent their own forces to Seoul. 4,500 troops under the command of General Wu Changqing were sent to Seoul and the Chinese general quickly took control of the city. Yi was kidnapped by the Chinese and taken from Chosón, thereby restoring power, in title, to Kojong. Yi was returned to Chosón by the Qing in 1884 and continued to be an important player in the politics of the waning days of Chosón. In 1894 when the Japanese inspired the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyongjang), he was again installed as the head of the Chosón government, although he was in actuality controlled by the Deliberative Council that held real power. However, once Yi realised that he was not in power he planned a coup that would depose Kojong and replace him on the throne with Yi's grandson, Yi Chunyong. This scheme of Yi's was discovered by the Japanese who subsequently forced him to permanently retire from politics at this time.

Yi is remembered as a politician who attempted to enact reforms upon the stagnant and ineffectual government in late Chosón. His reforms to the tax, military and political systems were partially effective but never given a chance to fully develop, due to the turbulence that surrounded Chosón in this period. He also had a continuing desire for power and never fully accepted his son's right to the throne and his own limited role. Moreover, it was his political machinations along with those of Queen Min that served to throw Chosón into disarray and further weaken the government. This only accelerated the fall of Chosón into the hands of the foreign powers.

Yi Hoegwang (1862-1933)

Yi Hoegwang (styled Sasŏn) was a Buddhist monk who is now infamous for his several tenacious attempts to secure a merger between Korean Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism. Although he was by no means the only Korean Buddhist monk who was involved with the Japanese government and Japanese Buddhists during the colonial period, his activities are especially poignant for he was the final entry in Kakan (Pomhae)'s 1894 collection of biographies of 198 Korean Buddhist masters, the Tongsayoljŏn, and was listed therein as the last Great Lecture Master (Taegangbaek) of the Chosón dynasty. In 1910, shortly after Japan's annexation of Korea, Yi was responsible for creating a bitter split in Korean Buddhism, and during the following sixteen years he continually manifested a pernicious opportunism combined with a blatant disregard for the wishes of the larger Korean Buddhist establishment. Consequently, he is regarded as a traitor to both Korean Buddhism and the Korean nation.

Yi became a monk in 1880, and significantly, it was around this time that there were increasing contacts between Korean and Japanese Buddhist monks. While the latter were engaged in missionary work in Korea, some Korean monks, such as Yi Tongin, were intent on modernizing Korea and were consequently interested in both Japan's recent modernization through the Meiji Restoration and the effects that such social changes had wrought on Japanese Buddhism. It would appear that this nascent, somewhat political, relationship between Korean and Japanese Buddhism played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for Yi's subsequent political intrigues and insistence that Korean Buddhism unite with Japanese Buddhism.
By 1890 Yi was lecturing at Kônbona Temple, and he thus seems to have been a man of able intellect. Moreover, judging from his actions and the opinion of others, he also seems to have been a man of great ambition. In 1906 the Pulgyo yôn'guhoe (Buddhist Research Society) and its school, the Myôngjin hakkyo, had been established to centralize the administration of Korean Buddhist affairs and education, but in 1908 these two entities were replaced by the Wônjong chôngmuwôn (The Office of Religious Affairs of Korean Buddhism) after a formal meeting of 52 Buddhist leaders in Seoul. At this meeting Yi was elected as the organization's Supreme Patriarch, and shortly after this he had a Japanese monk from the Sôtô Sect installed as an advisor.

Yi proposed to merge Korean Buddhism, under the aegis of the Wônjong chôngmuwôn, with the Japanese Sôtô Sect, but the larger Korean Buddhist community was so vehemently opposed to this plan that it had to be abandoned. However, the annexation of 1910 provided him with another opportunity, and in December he travelled to Japan and met with the chief of the Sôtô Sect who advocated an alliance in which Korean Buddhism would be made subordinate to the Sôtô Sect. Yi was firmly opposed to this and stubbornly pushed for an equal merger. Nevertheless, on December 6, a mere forty-five days after the annexation, he signed an agreement which was obviously in favour of the Sôtô Sect. It not only allowed them to conduct missionary activity in Korea and send Japanese advisors to oversee Korean Buddhism, but more importantly it implicitly subordinated Korean Buddhism to the Sôtô Sect by retroactively handing over the ratification of the foundation of the Wônjong to the Sôtô Sect.

Upon returning to Korea, Yi attempted to gather support for this merger without disclosing the full details of the agreement. Despite his secrecy, word of his plan got out when a secretary within his organization handed over a copy of the document to some Korean monks, and violent opposition soon arose. While this opposition can be seen as essentially political, it was founded on the premise that Korean Buddhism was fundamentally of the Imje (Japanese, Rinzai; Chinese, Lin-chi) school and was thus incompatible with the teachings of the Sôtô Sect; consequently, a group of dissenting monks formally organized an Imje Sect to oppose Yi. Amidst this storm of criticism directed at Yi, in 1911 the Japanese Government-General of Korea promulgated its sach tal/yang (temple-edict), which recognized that Korean Buddhism had the unique character of combining both scholastic and meditative practices, and decided against granting formal recognition to Yi's organization. Therefore, Yi's merger agreement with the Sôtô Sect was made void. This set-back was, nevertheless, temporary, for later that same year Yi was made abbot of the important Haein Temple. This position made him effectively the most powerful Korean monk, and in the middle of 1912 his authority was formalized when he became the first director of a newly created organization which encompassed the thirty main Korean Buddhist temples.

As can be expected, Yi not only encountered opposition from patriotic Korean monks, but was also challenged by other ambitious monks from within his own ranks. Thus, by 1917 his undisputed dominance within the pro-Japanese faction had come to an end. In August of the same year Yi and several other pro-Japanese monks obtained funds to visit Japan, and during their travels they dined with Terauchi Masatake who was then the Prime Minister of Japan and had been the first Governor-General of Korea from 1910-16. Yi outmanoeuvered another monk who was among his travelling companions by giving Terauchi a better gift, and this incident was but one example of the internal rivalry among the group and the overall obsequious attitude which they displayed during their visit to Japan.

Yi's next bid to gain absolute control of Korean Buddhism occurred at the end of 1919, a mere eight months after the March First Independence Movement, when he went to Japan and took part in negotiations with a representative of one of the sects of Japanese Rinzai. His efforts at forging an affiliation with the Rinzai Sect were reported by a Japanese
newspaper, and one of his old foes translated this article and sent it out to all of the main temples in Korea. Once word of his activities spread Koreans in general were infuriated, and Yi and his coterie’s plan was crushed by the middle of 1920.

In 1922 Yi managed to gain a powerful office within the Pulgyo kyomuwon (The Office of Religious Affairs of Korean Buddhism), an organization hastily created by pro-Japanese Korean monks. Once again, fortune played a fickle hand. Anger about his attempt to forge an affiliation with the Rinzai Sect was still strong, and in 1923 the monks at Haeinsa Temple made a formal petition to the Government-General requesting that Yi be removed from his position as abbot of Haeinsa. This petition was accepted, and Yi was forced to wait three years before making another attempt to rise to power.

In 1926 Yi and several other disgruntled figures conspired to gain absolute control of Korean Buddhism by pushing for a thorough reformation which would entail the destruction of the current institutional structures and the creation of a Korean Buddhism which would work for harmony between Japan and Korea. To this end, they dispatched one of their members to Japan to talk with various people about the plan, but these efforts ran into intense opposition from Korean students and monks who were studying there. The final blow, however, came when one of the conspirators was arrested upon returning to Korea. He had illegally sold temple property to finance his trip to Japan, and the disclosure of this in Korean newspapers spelt the end of Yi’s career. He spent the remainder of his years outside the sphere of Buddhist politics and died in 1933, at the age of 71, in a Zen school beside the Han River.

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**Yi Hou (1912-1970)**

Yi Hou was a poet. His family’s ancestral home is in Kyŏngju and he was born in Ch’ŏngdo of North Kyŏngsang Province. His father was Yi Chongsu, his mother was Ku Pongnae and his younger sister Yi Yŏngdo was also a *shijo* poet. Yi began his formal education at the Uimyong Academy and continued at Miryang School where he graduated in 1924. In 1929 he travelled to Japan and entered Tokyo Arts University. However, due to a nervous breakdown he returned to Korea in the following year. In 1934 he was married to Kim Sunnam. After liberation in 1945 he worked on the editorial board of the *Taegu ilbo* newspaper and in 1956 became managing editor and editorial writer for the *Taegu maeil shinbo*. newspaper. His literary debut was in 1940 with the publication of his poem *Talbam* (Moonlit Night) in the literary magazine *Munjang*.

Yi chiefly composed poems in the *shijo* style and incorporated many of the important values of his times. His early works reveal a longing for national independence while his later works exhibit the sense of tragedy resultant from the Korean War and the national division. His works in the late 1960s reveal his condemnation of Korea’s participation in the Vietnam War as he took the role of an impassioned protester. His first *shijo* collection, *Yi Hou *shijo chip (Shijo Poems of Yi Hou)*, was published in 1955 and received widespread acclaim.

**Yi Hwang (1501-1570)**

Known by his pen name T’oegye, Yi Hwang was the most influential scholar in the
Korean neo-Confucian tradition. Of the Chinbo Yi lineage, he was born near Andong in North Kyŏngsang province. Since his father died when he was only seven months old, he was raised by his mother and an uncle.

Yi passed the minor government examination in 1528, and was admitted to the National Academy in 1533. In 1534, he passed the civil service examination and began his career in public service. However, he preferred the times when he was out of office, when he could return to his home in Andong and pursue his studies.

When he served as magistrate of P'unggi, near Andong, he was instrumental in obtaining a royal signboard for the first sŏwŏn (private academy) in Korea, the Sosu Sŏwŏn. A few years later he obtained a royal signboard for his own academy, the Tosan Sŏwŏn, on the north side of Andong. Today, as a symbol of the importance of both Yi and his Sŏwŏn, his portrait and the Sŏwŏn building are featured on the front and back of the 1 000 wŏn note.

The most important philosophical issue occupying the minds of Korean scholars during Chosŏn was the i and ki debate. Yi Hwang held that 'the Four Beginnings are the issues of principle (i) and the Seven Feelings are the issues of material force (ki). The Four Beginnings refer to the Mencian concepts of humanity, whereas the Seven Feelings (joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred and desire) are sometimes good and sometimes evil. In analyzing the functions of i and ki, Yi Hwang stressed in particular the role of the formative or normative element, i, as the basis of the activity of ki; thus i comes to be seen as an existential force that masters or controls ki. Thus Yi Hwang emphasized the supremacy of i in the i and ki duality. Yi I, however challenged Yi Hwang’s position by placing equal importance on both i and ki in the activation of the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings, but he came to be identified as emphasizing the supremacy of ki. (see Yi I) The Four-Seven Debate thus became the most important philosophical issue of Chosŏn.

Yi developed a large following of disciples and became known throughout the country for his interpretations of neo-Confucian doctrine. The letter exchanged between Yi Hwang and the much younger scholar, Yi I, as well as letters between other scholars of the time became an important forum in the development of neo-Confucian ideology. Yi I became the founder of one school, and Yi Hwang founder of the other school. Both of schools retained disciples throughout Chosŏn, but neither master intended for their schools to develop into the rival factions that came to disrupt the tranquility of the recruitment process for the all-powerful government service positions.

In 1610, a century after his birth, Yi Hwang was inducted into Munmyo (National Confucian Shrine), of the National Academy. His surviving works were eventually collected and published by Taedong Munhwa Yŏn’guso of Sun Kyun Kwan (Sŏnggyun’gwan) University in 1958 as T’oegeye chŏnsŏ (Collected works of T’oegeye). This consists of sixteen works (including Tosan chŏnsŏ) which are kept at Tosan Sŏwŏn. However, these are only part of his writings. The manuscript copies of his works collected by his disciples after his death amounted to more than one hundred fascicles, of which only twenty have survived.

Unquestionably the most important scholar of traditional times, his influence spread to Japan, and today there are institutes for the study of ‘T’oegeye’s philosophy’ throughout Korea and overseas.

Yi Hyosŏk (1907-1942)

The writer Yi Hyosŏk (styled Kasan), most famous for his popular short story, Memil kkot p’il muryŏpy (The Buckwheat Season, 1936), was born in P’yŏngch’ang, Kangwŏn Province. When he was four years old, his family moved to Seoul to join his father who was teaching there. Two years later, they moved back to Kangwŏn Province and Yi began
his studies in Chinese Confucian classics at a local village school. After finishing middle school in his hometown, he went alone to Seoul to attend what is now Kyŏnggi High School. In 1925 he entered the present Seoul National University as a law student, but later changed his major to English literature. He graduated in 1930. The following year he married Yi Kyŏngwŏn and, with the help of his former Japanese teacher, obtained a job working for the Censorship Section of the Governor-General's Bureau of Police. However, due to severe criticism from his colleagues and people around him, he left the job after a month and moved to his wife's home town of Kyŏngsŏng in North Hamgyŏng Province. He taught English at Kyŏngsŏng School of Agriculture. In 1934 he moved to P'yŏngyang, and there he taught at Sùngshil Technical School from 1936 until the school closed in 1938. Yi was also a founding member of the Nine Member Society, a literary group which played a prominent role in introducing and promoting modernism in Korea. He died of meningitis in 1942.

Yi made his formal literary debut in 1928 with the publication of Toshi wa yurryŏng (City and Ghosts) in a magazine called Chosŏn chi kwang (Light of Korea). Although he had published numerous short works in the Maeil shinbo newspaper as early as 1925, City and Ghosts first earned him recognition in literary circles. This short story described impoverished, distressed, and homeless Koreans in the city. Yi's early writings reflected social conditions, and his portrayal of indigent laborers and their discontent was interpreted as leftist. Thus, he was labelled a 'fellow traveller' along with his contemporary Yu Chino. After he moved to Kyŏngsŏng, he wrote Noryŏng kŭnhae (Sea Near Russian Territory, 1931) and this story was seen as the work that most revealed his sympathy toward the proletarian literary group KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio, formed in 1925 and dissolved in 1935). Although Yi may not have committed himself to the socialist cause, his early writings responded to the social situation of the 1920s and 1930s, a time when the idea of communism was spreading very rapidly, and many intellectuals and writers were being drawn to radical politics as a means to gain independence from Japan.

After 1932 Yi began to shift from stories dealing with social issues to the realm of aesthetic lyricism, using sexuality, nativistism, and exoticism as central motifs. These motifs are seen in stories like Sut'ak (The Rooster, 1933), San (The Mountain, 1936), and Tūl (The Field, 1936). Yi often used animals to draw parallels with human characters, describing the sexuality of the characters through animals. During this period, he wrote one of the most popular stories of modern Korean literature, 'The Buckwheat Season', which marked the peak of his maturity, talent, and craftsmanship. The story is set in the rural environs of his hometown, and it is rich in local color and lyrical in style. The juxtaposition of nature and human relationships is rendered in a highly romantic mode of poetic expression.

Bibliography


Yi I (1536-1584)

An acclaimed Confucian scholar, Yi I (styled Yulgok) is better known by his pen name, Yulgok. Born in Kangnŏng at his mother’s lineage home, he was taught the basics of Confucian ideology by his mother, Shin Saimdang. (see Shin Saimdang) His mother is honoured as the classic example of motherhood in Korea. Yi passed the Literary Licentiate Examination when he was only thirteen years old. His mother died before he could take the Civil Service Examination, when he was sixteen. He then retreated to a Buddhist temple to mourn and to study Buddhism. He returned to his home a year later and resumed his study of neo-Confucianism.

In 1558, Yi visited Yi Hwang, who with Yi I in later years would be regarded as the two
great interpreters of Confucianism. Yi I was a young man of twenty two, Yi Hwang, at age fifty seven was already established as a major figure of his time. The senior scholar was impressed with the junior, and the junior was inspired by the senior. Later that year Yi I headed the Civil Service Examination. In fact, he was at the top in all nine examinations the preparatory, regional, and national levels.

Yi held posts in various government ministries, in provincial magistracies, and in central government as a censor. He was also an assistant in the office of the Chief State Council. When serving in the Board of War, he called for the recruitment of an additional one hundred thousand soldiers. A few years after Yi’s death, many wished they had listened to his prophetic advice when the devastation of the Japanese invasion was unleashed on the Korean peninsula.

In addition to being acknowledged as one of Chosön’s two greatest philosophers of Neo-Confucianism, Yi was a highly respected statesman who enjoyed a distinguished career as a government official. Among his works on government and individual ethics, Sŏnhak chibyo (Essentials of the Sages’ Learning) was one of the most popular with scholars and government officials. Written for the king in 1575 as a guide for sagely rule, Sŏnhak chibyo offers Yi’s views on how a ruler should conduct himself and administer the government. In it, Yi quotes from former sages as well as adding his own comments and ideas. In the seventh chapter which deals with the economy, Yi emphasizes the importance of thrift in order to protect the country’s wealth and promote the well-being of the people.

In neo-Confucian thought, principle (i) and material force (ki) describe not only the constitution of the universe but also the constitution of every individual being. Thus, it is held that they also have an important role in the normative pattern of our nature, informing our activity as we respond to things around us. ‘Material force’ concretizes, particularizes, energizes, and also, by its relative degree of purity of turbidity, limits or distorts the otherwise perfect goodness of our ‘original nature.’ So the neo-Confucians talked not only of our original nature (principle with its inherent perfection) but also of the ‘physical nature’ - that is, the principle as limited by the imperfection of the material force that constitutes our concrete psycho-physical being. Yi Hwang and Yi I were the protagonists for opposing positions (see Yi Hwang). Loyalties to either Yi Hwang or Yi I and their contrasting orientations constituted the major intellectual divide throughout the remaining three centuries of Chosön.

Of the Tŏksu Yi lineage, Yi I was a distant cousin to Admiral Yi Sunshin who fought the Japanese during the invasion of 1592. Yi I’s numerous essays and other writings are collected in his Yulgok chŏnsŏ (Collected Works of Yulgok). In 1682, he was canonized as one of the eighteen Korean sages enshrined in the Mumnyo (National Confucian Shrine) of the National Academy.

Yi Ik (1681-1763)

Yi Ik was a late Chosön shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Yŏju, his courtesy name was Chashin and his pen name Sŏngho. His eighth generation ancestor, Yi Kyeson, had held high government positions, such as Minister (p’ansŏ) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo), during Sŏngjong’s reign (r. 1469-1494) and from that time forward the Yŏju Yi family maintained very influential positions in the Chosön government. His great grandfather Yi Sanggūi was the Second State Councillor (chwatiijong) and his grandfather Yi Chian was a Fourth Inspector (chip’yŏng) at the Office of the Inspector General (Sahŏnbu). His father, Yi Hajin, was married twice and had a total of nine children. However, he died when he was fifty-five after being exiled to Unsan. It was then that Yi Ik went to live with his mother’s family. He learned Chinese characters when he was ten years and at twenty-five applied for the civil service examination. He was not able to sit for it and subsequently gave up his aim to enter officialdom.
After abandoning his plans to enter government service, Yi remained at his home in Ch'ŏmsŏng Village. He had inherited ample wealth and property from his ancestors and accordingly he could live the life of a retired country gentleman. From then on, Yi devoted his full attention to the pursuit of scholarship, being joined by his third and fourth brothers. In 1715, when he was thirty-five, his mother died and after observing the proper mourning period he sent all of his slaves and household belongings back to his ancestral home. Yi remained engrossed with his studies until his death at the age of eighty-three.

The shirhak scholarship movement became consolidated with the studies of Yu Hyŏngwŏn (1622-1673). Yu spent his life in a farming village and based his studies upon empirical evidence. The specific work attributed to his lifetime of study is Pan'gye surok (Pan'gye's Treatises), which details and appraises many features of Chosŏn society, such as the government structure and appointments, education, the land system, and the military service system. Yi followed the same model as Yu and his studies served to extend the breadth and depth of Yu's findings and to establish the basis for the distinct school of thought called shirhak. Yi's most comprehensive work was Sŏngho saesol (Insignificant Explanations of Sŏngho), which is almost encyclopaedic and displays the diversity and depth of his scholarship. In this, he outlines his proposals for reform of the land and economic systems with well-thought out proposals and insight. However, it is his work, Kwagu rok (Record of Concern for the Underprivileged) where he expounds his proposals for wide-ranging reforms of Chosŏn institutions. Yi's reputation grew with the passing of the years and he attracted many disciples. Through these men the school of shirhak thought became established and consolidated as the dominant ideology of late Chosŏn.

Yi's value as a scholar can be seen in the impact that his works had on later generations. Particularly, that of Sŏngho saesol, which greatly influenced scholars such as An Chŏngbok (1712-1786), Yi Chunghwan (1690-?), Pak Chiwon (1727-1805) and Chŏng Yagyŏng (1762-1836). Yi's burial site is located close to his home in Ansan City of Kyŏnggi Province and has been designated as Kyŏnggi Province Monument no. 40.

Yi Illo (1152-1220)

Yi Illo (styled Ssangmyŏngjjae) was a literati official under the military rule of the Ch'oe house during Koryŏ. His clan seat was Kyŏnwŏn, and he was praised from his childhood days for his brilliance. Yi lived as a Buddhist monk through the early military period but returned to secular life after Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn came to power. He was successful in the government service examinations in 1180; held official positions under Ch'oe's rule; and followed in literary pursuits. He associated with literary men - O Sejae, Im Ch'un, Cho T'ong, Hwangbo Hang, Ham Sun, and Yi Tamji. They formed an exclusive group, enjoying wine and writing poetry, and calling themselves the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, reminiscent of the earlier Chinese poets with the same name. He is the author of 'The Four Treasures of the Studio' and of the first literary miscellany in Korea, P'ahan chip (Jottings to Break Up Idleness).

Yi wrote two more collections, the Undae chip and the Ssangmyŏngje chip (Collected Works of Ssangmyongje). Lamenting the contemporary situation whereby outstanding Confucian scholars and poets were gradually fading away without passing their works on to
succeeding generations. The *P'ahan chip* is an anthology of essays, which includes poetical romances; historical narratives; the author's Chinese verses; customs of ancient Shilla; features of the western capital (Sŏgyŏng, present P'yŏngyang); and customs and word-scenes of the contemporary capital (Kaegyŏng, present Kaesŏng), thereby revealing aspects of Koryŏ culture. The anthology was published in photostat during the Japanese occupation of Korea by the Kosŏ Kanhaenghoe as the nineteenth volume of a series.

Jennifer M. Lee

**Yi Injik (1862-1916)**

Yi Injik was a novelist and member of the new drama movement of the late Chosŏn and early colonial periods. His pen name was Kukch'o and he was born in Ich'ŏn of Kyŏnggi Province. In 1900 he travelled to Japan to study on a government scholarship. With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 he was appointed as a Korean translator for the Japanese Army headquarters. In 1906 he was appointed editor-in-chief of the *Kungmin Shinbo* newspaper and also editor of the *Mansebo*. In 1907 he was the first president of the *Taehan shinmun* newspaper. In 1908 he established Wŏngaksasa and staged the production of *Unsegye* (Silver World).

Yi is perhaps best known as one of the writers who helped introduce the style of the so-called ‘new’ novel (*shin sosŏl*) to Korea. These new novels had a character that emphasized the renovation of politics, social systems, customs, a new view of education, women’s freedom, social and cultural equality and a scientific view of the world. Moreover, the new novels had a market-orientated character that flattered popular taste and followed current trends. Yi was among the representative writers of this new genre, and in particular his *Hyŏl ǔi nu* (Tears of Blood, 1906) is widely acclaimed as being the first novel of this genre. Other works of Yi include *Moran pong* (The Peony Peak, 1913), *Kwi ǔi sŏng* (Voice of a Demon, 1908), *Ch'íak san* (Pheasant Mountain, 1908) and *Unsegye* (Silver World, 1913).

Yi’s career as a writer only spanned a period of less than a decade but in this short time he established the genre of the new novel and greatly contributed to the overall development and growth of Korean literature. His works broached subjects such as new education, women’s rights, the tragedy of war and the need for enlightenment of the Korean people. For these reasons he is praised as one of the finest writers of his period and of great importance in the history of Korean literature.

**Yi Insang (1710-1760)**

Yi Insang was a late Chosŏn poet, writer and painter. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his courtesy name was Wŏlyŏng and his pen names were Nŭnhogwan and Posanja. In 1735 he passed the Literary Licentiate Examination (*chinsa shi*) but could not assume an official position due to the fact that his great-grandfather was an illegitimate son. However, by virtue of the good standing of other ancestors he overcame this handicap and served first as assistant custodian (*ch'ambong*) and then as superintendent (*ch'albang*) of the Sagin Post Station at Chiri Mountain, as well as holding other official posts. However, he suffered while serving in his official capacities due to chronic illness, his inability to bear the graft and corruption of officials and his disagreements with the governor (*kwanch'alsa*). He resigned from officialdom and retired to Tanyang with friends. There, he composed poetry and prose, painted and lived out his life doing what he liked best.

Despite the fact that Yi was the son of a concubine, his artistic and literary talents were great and would have major impact on future generations of artists and writers. He shared the scholastic mantle of the balance between *i* (a patterning or formative element) and *ki* (a concretising element) that compose all matter of the universe along with Kim Ch’anghop and Yi Chae. Yi Insang’s close acquaintances included Yi Yunyŏng, Song Munhŭm,
Hwang Kyŏngwŏn and Kim Mut'aek et al. In his calligraphy, he followed the haesŏ (Regular Style) of An Chingyŏng. His composition of the Tang-style poetry was highly praised by his contemporaries. As with his writings, his paintings are also acclaimed for both the vivid use of colour and the presentation of his subjects.

There are many extant works of Yi including paintings such as Susŏk to (Trees and Stones) and Sŏlsong to (Snowy Pine Tree), and his literary collection Nŭngho chip (Collected Works of Nŭngho). He is praised as one of the great talents, in both literature and art, of the late Chosŏn period.

Yi Kibung

Yi Kwal

Yi Kwangsú (1892-?)

Yi Kwangsú was a poet, novelist, critic and journalist. His family's ancestral home is in Chŏngju and he was born in Chŏngju of North P'yŏngan Province. His pen name was Ch'unwŏn. His father was Yi Chŏngwŏn and his mother was from the Ch'ungju Kim family. At the tender age of five, Yi began to learn both han'gul and Chinese characters and also heard various classic works recited by his maternal grandmother. In 1902 when Yi was eleven, he lost both parents to cholera. In 1903, Yi embraced the Tonghak Religion, lived in Pak Ch'ansmyŏng's house for adherents to the faith and worked on the clerical staff. In 1905 he was selected to study abroad by the Ilchin Hoe (Advancement Society), a pro-Japanese society. He enrolled at a middle school in Japan, but was forced to return in November 1906 because of financial difficulties. In the following year, he again travelled to Japan and enrolled in the third year of middle school at the Meiji Institute.

At about this time, Yi heard a patriotic speech made by An Ch'angho, who had stopped off in Tokyo on his way from America to Korea, and was greatly impressed. Together with Hong Myŏnghŭi and Mun Il'yŏng he organized the Sŏnyŏn Hoe (Youth Association) and began the publication of a magazine, Sŏnyŏn (Youth), in which he wrote poetry, short novels and literary theory, as well as the editorials. In December 1909 his work, 'Chŏngyungnon' was published by the Hwangsong shinmun (Imperial Capital News) newspaper. In 1910 he returned to Korea and became a teacher at Osan School. In this year he also published his short story, Mujŏng (Heartless), which was written in a style that unified the written and spoken Korean language. In July of the same year through an arranged marriage, Paek Hyesun became his wife. However, this would prove to be a loveless marriage which caused him great sorrow. Moreover, with the passage of time Yi's health deteriorated due, it is thought, to the sadness he felt concerning the fate of Korea and the agony of his probable future. Compounding his troubles was the fact that while at Osan School, he enjoyed teaching the works of Tolstoy and the theories of Darwin, which held him up to much criticism.

In 1913, Yi translated the work of H.E.B. Stowe, The Grief of Black Men (Kŏmdungi sŏrun) and also had a poem, 'Mal tükko'ra' (Listen to the Words) published in a collection entitled Saebyŏl (New Star). In November of that year he was informally appointed chief editor of the Shinhan minbo newspaper and tried to travel to America, but due to the outbreak of World War I he was unable to do so. At this time his associates included Kim Pyŏngno, Chŏn Yŏng't'aek and Shin Sŏgu. In September of 1915 he again went to Japan and enrolled in the Art Department of Waseda University. In the following year he transferred to the Philosophy Department at Waseda and was during this time that he began to serialize the epoch-making long novel Mujŏng (Heartless) in the Maeil shinbo (Daily News), which marked a turning point in the history of Korean literature. From this point forward he wrote continuously and finished short works such as 'Sŏnyŏn ûi plae' (The Sorrows of a Young Boy) and 'Panghwang' (Wanderings), and published Ch'ŏngch'un.
However, probably due to overwork, he contracted tuberculosis and returned to Korea in 1917.

Upon his return to his home country, he worked as a correspondent for the *Maeil shinbo* newspaper and travelled widely in Korea. He now began his second serial for the *Maeil shinbo*, this time *Kaech'okcha* (Pioneer), that was extremely well received by the younger generation. Despite his chronic illness, he published the essays ‘Shinsaenghwal non’ (New Lifestyle Theory) and ‘Chanyo chungsim non’ (Focus on Children Theory) that both criticized the patriarch-centred family system and the traditional feudal social system, which caused much controversy. Shortly thereafter, he divorced Paek Hyesun and in October 1918, became betrothed to the woman doctor Ho Yongsuk. Yi and Ho fled Korea and travelled to Beijing, but when he heard that the Paris Peace Conference would soon convene (based upon the American President Wilson’s Fourteen Points) he returned to Korea. In November he again went to Japan, joined the Chosön Youth Independence Party (Chosön Ch‘ongnyǒn Tongnip Tan), drafted the February Eighth Declaration of Independence, and then fled to Shanghai. While in China he assisted An Ch‘angho, took a position as president as well as chief editor of the *Tongnip shinmun* (The Independent) newspaper and wrote many patriotic editorials designed to enlighten and move the people. In April 1921 he departed Shanghai, returned to Korea and was subsequently arrested by the Japanese police, but agreed to a disposition not to instigate public unrest and was released. Therefore, from this time forth he was branded as a Japanese collaborator. In the same year he was married to Ho Yongsuk. After publishing ‘Sonyŏn ege’ (To a Boy) in the magazine *Kaebyŏk* he was arrested by the police on suspicion of violating the publishing law.

Yi continued writing and published *Minjŏk kaejo ron* (Theory on National Reconstruction) in *Kaebyŏk* which aroused a great amount of criticism from the nationalist camp and estranged him from those established in literature and the arts. In 1923 his long serial *Sŏndŏja* (The Leader), which was patterned on the life of An Ch‘angho was serialized in the *Tonga ilbo*, but because of its content this was halted by the Japanese Government-General. Later in the same year he resigned from the *Tonga ilbo* after his editorial *Minjogjŏk kyŏngnyun* evoked much criticism. After this time many of his works were serialized including *Hyŏgmyŏngga ūi anae* (The Revolutionary’s Wife) in 1930, *Yi Sunshin* (The Story of Admiral Yi Sunshin) in 1931, and *Huk* (Earth) in 1932.

The literary point of view of Yi Kwangsu, given in his own words is: ‘I selected the best view of the world of contemporary times, and selected those of the middle class for my characters.’ He rejected degenerate literature or extremist literature that leaned heavily to one side or another, and in his own writing sought. Yi bore the ordeal of modern Korean history as if it were his personal tragedy, and expressed his passions to his reading audience in various forms such as novels, editorials, poems, essays and travel sketches. Yi is valued as a writer of enlightenment, nationalism and humanism as well as being a leading writer in modern Korean literary history. His impact on the course of modern Korean literature is undeniably a major one and he strongly influenced both his contemporaries and writers of later generations. The early works of Yi advocated ideals such as free love and rejected the traditional custom of early marriages, through which he would come to suffer himself. Other aspects of his works advocated enlightened thought and promoted new education forms such as in *Mujŏng*, scientific thought in *Kaech’okcha*, and enlightened education for farmers along with nationalistic theory enlightenment in *Huk*. However, research of Yi Kwangsu and his works also reveal a negative aspect such as his decision to avoid confrontation with the Japanese colonial forces and his attempts to dissuade others from doing so. Yi advocated a gradual return of sovereignty to Korea with a transitional period since he felt Korea was not ready for independence. Views such as this turned the nationalist camp against him and resulted in him being branded a traitor to Korea in some quarters. Yi is known to have been kidnapped to North Korea during the Korean War and is thought to have died there around 1950.
Yi Kyubo (1168-1241)

Yi Kyubo was literati official of Koryo dynasty. His family's ancestral home was Hwangnyö (present Yöju), Kyönggi Province. His father was Deputy Minister of the Board of Taxation, Yi Yun-su. He was academically brilliant from his childhood, and it is said that he could recite the standard classics from memory at the age of nine. He was born and grew up in an age of military dominance of Ch'oe house. The Ch'oe house, while upholding its own military supremacy, took an interest in scholarship. The bounty of literature appearing during the military period revealed that there still was intellectual vitality in this age. Yi Kyubo was the literary giant of the period, and more of his writings have survived than of any of his contemporaries.

While active in public life, Yi showed strong interest in Buddhism, and described Ch'oe Ch'unhödn's active support of Meditation in his 'On trip to Ch'angbok Monastery' (Togguk Yi sangguk chip). On the publication of Koryo Tripitaka he wrote 'Royal Prayer on the Occasion of the Production of the Tripitaka' (Togguk Yi sangguk chip). The erudite Yi Kyubo had little use for shamans. He thought that they lowered the cultural level of life and took advantage of superstitious peasants. His writings have been preserved in the Tongguk Yi sangguk chip. He retired in 1237 and died in the temporary capital Kanghwa, in 1240, at the age of seventy-four. Yi Kyubo enjoyed the favour of the then ruling Ch'oe house largely because of his work in compiling national and diplomatic documents. When Yi was on his deathbed, Premier Ch'oe U expressed his intention to have his collected works wood-engraved for printing.

Yi Kyugyöng (1788-?)

Yi Kyugyöng was a late Chosön period shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family's ancestral home is in Chöngju, his courtesy name was Paekkyu and his pen names were Oju and Ungösa. Yi received his education from his father and grandfather. When King Chöngjo (r. 1776-1800) established the Kyujanggak (Royal Library) in the first year of his reign he appointed noted scholars as Editor-Compilers (kômsôgwon). Yi's father and grandfather both served at this institution and were both famed for their pursuit of shirhak scholarship. Yi later served at the Kyujanggak.

Yi's scholarship is evident in his monumental work, Oju yônmun changjöng san'go (Random Explanations by Oju), which has about 1 400 topics in sixty volumes. This encyclopaedic collection covers a vast array of matters, including astronomy, geography, government, economic, society and history. Yi demonstrates his knowledge of Western scientific thought in this collection and moreover, he presented it to the reader in a forthright manner. Yi also had tremendous interest in matters concerning the economy of Chosön. He advocated an opening of Chosön to trade with Western nations, and in particular, when an English merchant ship requested permission to trade with Korea in 1832 he urged that this be allowed.

Yi is recognised as one of the great minds of late Chosön and his scholarship is considered a pinnacle in shirhak scholarship. However, the labours of his research largely went unrealised as Western ideology and technology soon swept into Chosön in an unrelenting torrent. Other works of Yi include Paegun'îl and Oju sôjong pangmul kobyön.

Yi Muyöng (1908-1960)

Yi Muyöng was a novelist. Born in North Ch'ungchöng Province in Umsöng, he entered Hwimun High School in 1920, but left before graduating. In 1925 he travelled to Japan to attend Seizô Middle School. For the four years that he lived in Japan he stayed in the house of the Japanese writer Katö Takeo. In 1926 he wrote Úijionmun yônghon (A Lonely and Helpless Soul) and in the following year published his short novel P'yehô (Ruins). In
1929 Yi returned to Korea and worked in various positions such as schoolteacher and as a journalist for both newspapers and magazines. During this time Yi joined the Kuinhoe (Nine-Man Association) and continued to produce many works. Representative of his early period are Panyŏkch'a (Traitor, 1931) and Nogbu (The Farmer, 1934).

The major works of Yi are considered to have been written in the late 1930s and early 1940s. At this time there were many works that revolved around the lives of peasants and farmers and Yi's was no exception. His representative works with this theme are Che 1 kwa che 1 chang (First Section, First Chapter, 1939) and Hūk ūi (A Slave to the Soil, 1940). These reveal Yi's desire to underscore the productive lives of the farmers, which he saw as a sharp contrast to the shallow and meaningless lives that urban dwellers led.

After liberation Yi continued to publish and also served as a Professor at Dangook University from 1957 to 1960. Among his novels are: Chŏlmun saramdul (The Young People, 1951) and Samnyŏn (Three Years, 1956). He also published many short stories such as B nyŏ ūi somyo (A Sketch of Miss B, 1953), Pyŏkhwa (Mural, 1958) and the posthumously published T ssi Haengjanggi (The Life of Mr. T, 1974).

Yi Nŭnhwa (1869-1943)

Yi Nŭnhwa was a scholar. His courtesy name was Chahyon and his pen names were Kanjŏng, Sanghyŏn and Mun’gangsŏ. Yi was born in Koesan of North Ch’ungch’'ong Province and was the son of Yi Wŏnggŭng. He studied at a village school and moved to Seoul with his father when he was twenty. Seoul proved a dramatic change for Yi, as he was suddenly thrust into a situation where he was made acutely aware of both domestic and international issues. He endeavoured to learn foreign languages including Chinese, Japanese, English and French. In 1895 he entered the Public French Language School, from which he graduated in 1897. He was the first Korean to teach French. In 1906 he was appointed instructor at the Public French Language School and later served in various capacities at other educational institutions.

Yi also participated in the Buddhist enlightenment movement of the day as he strove to help improve the lot of Koreans through Buddhist educational activities. In 1915 with the head abbots of some thirty temples and fifty Buddhist lay people he helped form Kakhwang Temple in Seoul and at this time also established the Society for the Advancement of Buddhism (Pulgyo Chinhŭng Hoe). He also published various Buddhist magazines for the general public such as Pulgyo chinhŭng hoe wŏlbo (Society of the Advancement of Buddhism Monthly Bulletin) and Chosŏn pulgyo ch’ŏngbo (Korean Buddhist Bulletin).

In 1922 the Japanese Government General in Korea established the Korean History Compilation Committee (Chŏsŏnsa P’yŏngsuhoe) and for fifteen years Yi was its head. At the same time, he continued his collection of religious and folk data with the intent of preserving his findings for future generations. In 1931 he served as an instructor in Korean religions at the Central Buddhist College (modern day Dongguk University) and afterwards as editor in the compilation of Chosŏnsa (History of Korea) published by the Japanese Government General.

Yi’s works have provided much valuable data for the study of Buddhism and Korean folk customs. His Chosŏn pulgyo t’ongsa (The Complete History of Korean Buddhism, 1918) provides comprehensive tome of Buddhism in Korea. Insofar as traditional Korean culture is concerned, Yi’s works include Chosŏn shingyo wŏllyu which covers traditional religious beliefs in Korea; Chosŏn shinhwago (Chosŏn Mythology Theory); Chosŏn sahŏesa (History of Korean Society), and Chosŏn togyosa (History of Korean Taoism). Yi’s works supply important data for the study of many aspects of Korean society to the present-day and, not least, this points out his importance as a scholar of late Chosŏn and the colonial period.
Yi Pyŏnggi (1891-1968)

Yi Pyŏnggi was a poet. He was born in Iksan of North Cholla Province and his pen name was Karam. He attended Hansŏng Teachers' School and after graduation worked in various educational capacities. He was a teacher at Tonggwan and Hŭimun High Schools; a professor at Seoul National University and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Chŏn'buks National University. He was a member of the Korean Academy of Science and received its Award in 1960 and the Culture Award from the government of the Republic of Korea in 1962.

Yi began writing in the mid-1920s for the Tong-a Ilbo newspaper and magazines such as Chosŏn mundan. Yi dedicated his life to the promotion and development of the traditional poetic form of Korea, the shijo. He sought to increase the popularity of shijo by making this form more appealing to the public of the time. Thus, he began to infuse his shijo with modern elements and suggested the way that modern shijo should be directed to include modern emotions, subjects, and use new language and rhythm. He put forth his opinions through his thesis Shijo rŭl hyŏkshin haja (Let's Renovate Shijo) published in the Tong-a Ilbo newspaper in January 1932. Moreover, Yi attempted to move away from the tendency by some to compose excessively nationalistic shijo as a counter to the socialist literature being produced by the Korean Proletariat Artists Federation (KAPF). Yi believed that shijo should have universal values and appeal to a wide audience while displaying aesthetic values. This he contended would enable the form of shijo to survive any onslaught of Western culture, since this poetic form represented the essence of the Korean people. Finally, Yi reinforced the propagation of shijo with his efforts to establish a body of literature to form the basis for theoretical discourse.

Yi was largely successful in his attempts to increase the awareness of and range of shijo. His shijo collections include Karam shijo chip (Shijo of Karam, 1939, 1947) and the posthumous collection Namdo ajirangi (Shimmering Haze in the Southern Province, 1971). Among the critical works of Yi there are Karam munsŏn (Collected Writings of Karam, 1966), Kungmunhak chŏnsa (The Complete History of Korean Literature, 1952) and P'yŏjun kungmunhaksa (Standard History of Korean Literature, 1955).

Yi Saek (1328-1396)

Yi Saek (styled Mogûn) was renowned as one of the two greatest writers of the Koryŏ dynasty, the other being Yi Kyubo (1168-1241). As a child he was an outstanding student and passed the licentiate examination of the Sŏnggyun'gwan at the age of fourteen. When he was twenty, his father was appointed to an official post in China, and Yi Saek accompanied him. He studied for three years as a classics licentiate at the Guozijian. After returning to Korea, he won first place in the civil service examination and accompanied the Korean envoy to China as a recording officer. While there he gained second place in the higher civil service examination. He served in the Chinese government for a time and then returned to Korea, where he held political, academic and diplomatic appointments for some twenty years.

In 1361 he was appointed head of the Sŏnggyun'gwan and directed to reorganize and develop it. He devoted himself to this task and succeeded in raising the standards of scholarship and learning to a significant degree, particularly by inviting many prominent Confucian scholars to work there. However, following the coup d'état of Yi Sŏnggye in 1392, Yi Saek was banished to Hansan, South Ch'ungch'ong Province. After moving several times he died at the Sillûk Temple in Yŏju, Kyŏnggi Province, in 1396.
Yi Saek’s collected works entitled *Mogǔn chip* comprise fifty-five volumes of poems and other writings. This collection was published in different editions at various times between 1404 and 1686. The last extant edition was reproduced by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sǒnggyun’gwan University in 1961 as part of the *Yǒgye myǒnghyǒng chip*.

**Yi Sang (1910-1937)**

Yi Sang is the pen name of Korea’s best known modernist writer. He was born Kim Haegyǒng in Seoul, the eldest of two boys and a girl. At the age of three he left his parents to live in the family seat with his uncle who was head of the main family line. In 1917 he entered Shinmyǒng school, advancing in 1921 to what was later to become Posǒng High School, from which he graduated in 1926. That same year he entered the architecture department at Kyǒngsǒng Technical High School. After his graduation in 1929 he worked in the architecture section of the Government General’s Home Affairs bureau. During this period one of his designs was selected for the cover of the journal of the Korean Architectural Society, *Chǒsen to kenchiku* (*Korea and Architecture*). In 1933 Yi had to stop work because he was coughing up blood. After taking a short trip to a hot spring in Hwanghae province, he opened a coffee shop in central Seoul which was frequented by the likes of Yi T’aejun, Pak T’aewǒn, and Kim Kirim. The following year this group of young writers, including Yi Sang, formed the Nine Member Society (*Kuinhoe*). They constituted the vanguard of the Modernist literary movement in Korea and shocked Korean society with their avant-garde writings. Yi’s several attempts to run coffee shops all ended in failure, and in 1936 he briefly took a job at a publishing company. In June he married Pyǒn Tongnim and moved to Tokyo. In February 1937 Yi was imprisoned for ‘impure thoughts’ but was released on bail the next month because of bad health. In April he died of tuberculosis in Tokyo Imperial University Hospital. After his death his wife brought his remains back to Korea and had them buried in Miari public cemetery. However, no trace of them can now be found.

Yi Sang made his literary debut in 1930 with his novel *December Twelfth* (*12 wǒl 12 il*). During his short but prolific writing career he produced not only novels but also poetry, essays, and short stories. Of the Nine Member Society Yi Sang was the most consistent and representative modernist, and as such his work reveals the anxiety and the fascination with the modern of Koreans in a rapidly urbanizing country in the 1930s. It also shows the influence of Japanese avant-garde literature and, through Japanese translations, Dada, Surrealist and Modernist works from Europe. However, Yi created his own original style from among all these diverse influences. Yi’s most famous work is the short story ‘Wings’ (*Nalgae*; 1936) about a dysfunctional young man living parasitically off his wife’s prostitution in a pill-induced haze. He spends his days holed up in their tiny two-room apartment playing with his wife’s perfume bottles and cosmetics, hiding in the back room when her male friends visit. The story shows the negative side of urban life, probably reflecting Yi’s despair at his own deteriorating health.

Yi’s poetry is highly creative. He plays with words by arranging their position on the page, omitting spaces between them, and by including within the text mathematical symbols and words from other languages, such as English and French. A good example of this is the series of poems entitled ‘A Crow’s-Eye View’ (*Ogamdo*, 1934). Because of his constant theme of suicide, split identity, and the macabre, some critics see a historical depth to his work as reflecting the alienation of the Korean artist under colonial rule.

Janet Poole

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Yi Sangjae (1850-1927)

Yi Sangjae was a politician, civil rights activist and youth movement participant of the late Chosŏn and early colonial periods. His family’s ancestral home is in Hansan, his courtesy name was Kyeho and his pen name was Wŏlnam. He was born in Sŏch’ŏn of South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province to Yi Hŭi’taek and his wife, daughter of the Miryang Pak family. Yi received a traditional education and married when he was fourteen. In 1867 he applied for the Civil Service Examination (kwagŏ shi) but did not pass due to the actions of corrupt officials who would pass only those who had paid a bribe. Yi’s early years were filled with images of the corrupt Chosŏn government, his country’s isolation from other nations and the stagnant nature of society. However, by the 1880s major changes were occurring in Chosŏn. In 1881 Yi was part of the so-called ‘gentlemen’s sightseeing group’ (shinsha yuramdan) that travelled to Japan in order to see the effects and results of Western society. This was to have a major effect in Yi’s outlook on the reforms needed for Chosŏn society.

After returning from Japan, Yi served in a variety of capacities in the Chosŏn government. With the establishment of the Postal Administration (Ujongch’ongguk) in 1884, the director of this office, Hong Yongshik (1855-1884), appointed Yi as junior official in the Communications Department. However, with the Coup d’Etat of 1884 (kapshin chŏngbyŏn), the Postal Administration was abolished. After this time Yi served in important posts and in 1887 was appointed secretary of Pak Chŏngyang at the first Korean embassy in America. By the time of his return to Korea from the United States, Yi had furthered his understanding of Western technology and had an interest in propagating this information in Korea. His associates in Korea included Sŏ Chaep’i’l and Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman), who had the same beliefs in the necessity for modernisation and who also shared his Christian philosophy. Thus, when Sŏ formed the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe) in 1896 Yi quickly joined.

The Independence Club sought to bring about both social and political change to Korea through the implementation of Western systems and educational activities. A symbol of its activities and philosophy was the building of the Independence Gate (Tongnip mun) in Western Seoul on the site where formerly the embassies from China were greeted and entertained. Other activities of this organisation were not symbolic but directed at increasing awareness among the people. Public debates were held and a newspaper, Tongnip shinmun, was published. Naturally, these activities invited the attention of the Chosŏn government, since the ultimate aim of the Club was to abolish the monarchy and institute a modern government. Accordingly, in 1908, the Chosŏn government prohibited activities by the Club and arrested sixteen members, including Yi Sangjae.

After the failure of the Independence Club, Yi turned his political attention to different outlets. At this time, with the help of American missionaries, he assisted the establishment of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in Seoul in 1903. Here, nationalism and patriotism were imbued and members undertook various social welfare programs. After the March First Independence Movement in 1919, Yi was one of a group who took over the operation of the Chosŏn ilbo newspaper and used this as a platform to criticise the Japanese. He continued his anti-Japanese stance and the promotion of education for Koreans.
Yi Shik (1584-1647)

Yi Shik was a mid-Chosŏn civil official. His family’s ancestral home is in Tŏksu, his courtesy name was Yŏgo and his pen names included T’aektang, Namgungwoesa and T’aekkugŏsa. He was the son of Yi Ansŏng who was a Fourth State Councillor (chwach’ansŏng). In 1610 he passed the Special Examination (pyŏlshi) and was appointed as Fifth Tutor (sŏlsŏ) at the Crown Prince Tutorial Office (Seja Shigangwŏn) in 1613. Subsequently, he was appointed as an Army aide (pyŏngma p’yŏngsa) in 1616, but in 1618 with the issue surrounding the deposing of the dowager Queen he retired from public life and retreated to Chip’yŏng in Kyŏnggi Province, where he concentrated on his studies.

In 1623 with the deposition of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) and the enthronement of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), Yi again returned to life in officialdom. With his associates holding positions of high political import, Yi was appointed as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) of the Board of Personnel (Ijo) and in the next year also served in such positions as Junior Sixth Counsellor (pusuch’an) of the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan) and Second Inspector (ch’ipŭi) at the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu). In 1625 he served as Third Minister (ch’amŭi) of the Board of Rites (Yejo), Sixth Royal Secretary (tongbusăngji) and Fifth State Councillor (uch’an) of the State Council (Ŭijŏngbu). In the following year he continued to be promoted to positions of higher rank and served as Headmaster (taesanŏng) of the National Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) and as Fourth Royal Secretary (chwabusiingji). In 1633 he served as First Counsellor (puchehak) of the Office of Special Counsellors, in 1638 he was Director (tajezechak) of the same office and also as Second Minister (ch’amp’ an) of both the Board of Rites and the Board of Personnel. From 1643, he held office as Minister (p’aňo) of the Board of Rites, Board of Personnel and the Board of Punishments. However, in 1646 arising from questions that he prepared for the Special Examination, he was stripped of his official position and retired from government service.

Yi was renowned for his scholarship and along with Yi Chonggu (1564-1635), Chang Yu (1587-1638) and Shin Hŭm (1566-1628), is known as one of the ‘Four Great Men of Sino-Korean Literature’ (hanmun sadaega). Yi is highly praised for his knowledge of ancient Korean literature, and the ability to write poetry in all styles. Extant works include his literary collection T’aektang chip (Collected Works of T’aektang), and Susŏngji and Yasa ch’obon.

Yi Sŏnggye (King T’aejo) [History of Korea; Society]

Yi Sugwang (1563-1628)

Yi Sugwang was a Confucianist and literary man. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his courtesy name was Yungyŏng and his pen name was Chibong. His father was the Minister (p’aňo) of the Board of War (Pyŏngjo) and his mother was of the Munhwa Yu family. When he was sixteen he passed the preliminary civil service examination (ch’ošhi), one year before his father’s death. After observing the appropriate mourning period, Yi became a literary licentiate (chinsa) at the age of twenty and in 1585 he was appointed as Third Copyist (pujŏngja) of the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (Sŏngmunwŏn). Three years later he was appointed Librarian (chŏnjŏk) of the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun’gwan) and in the following year served as Assistant Section Chief (chwarang) at the Board of Taxation (Hojo) and the Board of War. He also served as member of an embassy to Ming China during this period.
When Yi reached thirty years of age in 1592, the Japanese invaded Korea and he was engaged against the enemy in the Kyongsang Province. In 1597 he was appointed as president (taesasŏng) of the National Confucian Academy and later in the same year he was part of another official embassy to Ming China. In 1602 while serving as First Counsellor (pujehak) of the Office of Special Counsellors (Hongmun'gwan) he edited Kogyoŏng chuyŏk (Ancient Classic, Book of Changes), in the next year edited Chuyŏk onhae (Book of Changes, Korean Annotated Edition) and in the following year also edited Sa gi (Historical Records). In 1611, he again travelled to Ming China on an official embassy mission for the third time, but upon his return he was caught up in the mass purge of 1613. However, with King Injo’s ascension to the throne in 1623 he again resumed his life in officialdom. He served in various positions including Minister of the Board of Personnel (Ijo) in 1628 until his death at the end of that year.

Yi’s extant works include his thirty-one volume anthology Chibong chip (Collected Works of Chibong) that recounts the turbulent era in which he lived, and Chibong yusŏl (Topical Discourses of Chibong) a twenty-volume encyclopaedic collection that covers a variety of topics and was the first work of its kind in Korea. Yi is widely acclaimed as the first of the shirhak (practical learning) scholars to pay close attention to history. Moreover, his work served as a foundation for subsequent shirhak scholars, such as Yi Ik (1681-1763) and Hong Manjong (1643-1725) to expand upon and thus he can be viewed as the forerunner of the shirhak school of thought.

Yi Sŭng hun (1756-1801)

Yi Sŭng hun was the founder of the Catholic religion in Korea and the first Korean to be baptised. His baptismal name was Pedro; his family’s ancestral home is in P’yŏngchang; his courtesy name was Chasul and his pen name was Manch’ŏn. Yi’s father was a high-ranking government official who was born in Seoul. In 1780 Yi Sŭng hun passed the chinsa (literary licentiate examination) but he did not enter government service and instead devoted himself to the pursuit of scholarship. He travelled to Beijing where he studied Western Learning and it was around this time that he became acquainted with Yi Pyŏk who introduced him to Catholicism.

In 1783 Yi accompanied the winter solstice embassy to Beijing and spent about forty days in China, where he studied the Catholic doctrines under the missionary Jean Joseph de Gramont and was eventually baptised, becoming the first Korean to have done so. In 1784, he returned to Korea bringing with him many writings explaining the Catholic faith. Back in Korea he baptised Yi Pyŏk and Yi Kahwan among others. After this, in consultation with Yi Pyŏk and others, he began to hold services in the house of Kim Pŏmu, a chungin (middle-class professionals), and thus, the first Korean Catholic Church, which consisted only of laymen, was established. In 1785, these church leaders, under a provisional ministry system, decided to conduct mass, penance, confirmation and other sacraments. Ten people were appointed including Yi and Kwŏn Ilsin, and this group assumed authority to conduct the sacrament of confirmation. Soon, however, it was realized through a doctrinal book that the sacraments performed by them constituted both illegal and sacrilegious conduct. Therefore, they ceased conducting the sacraments pending advice from the Beijing church, to which they had despatched a secret envoy.

At the end of 1789, Yun Yuil, (the secret envoy of the Korean church), went to Beijing with the winter solstice embassy of the Chosŏn government, delivered a letter from Yi to a Beijing missionary, and returned to Korea with his reply. The fledging Korean church was advised to find a way to bring in a missionary as soon as possible in order to conduct the sacraments. Yun Yuil was once more sent to Beijing for this purpose. Eventually, in 1795, the Chinese priest Zhou Wenmo came to join the Korean church, but severely limited his activities, since the Chosŏn authorities were aware of his presence. Shortly following, the so-called Persecution of 1795 (Ŭlmo shil’o sakkŏn) took place and many of those who
had been active in the Catholic Church were either executed or exiled. Yi Sung-hun was among the exiled -- banished to Ch‘ungch‘ong Province. He was eventually freed, but with the ascension of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) to the throne there began a new wave of persecution against the Catholics. So, with the Persecution of 1801 (shinyu saok), Catholicism in Korea was dealt a crushing blow and Yi was among those executed in this large-scale purge.

Yi’s literary collection Manch‘on yugo (Posthumous Works of Manch‘on) is extant. His son and grandson continued Yi’s aspirations for the spread of Catholicism in Korea and as a result were both martyred in 1868. In addition, in 1871 two of his great-grandsons were also martyred at Chemulp’o. Yi’s legacy is his devotion to the spread of the Catholic faith in Korea.

Yi Sunghyu (1756-1801)

The author of Chewang un‘gi (Rhymed Record of Emperors and Kings) and Naejŏn nok, Yi Sunghyu (styled Tongan kosa) (1224-1300) was born in Kari county, Kyŏngsan Prefecture (the present Sŏngju), North Kyŏngsang Province. After passing the higher civil service examination in 1252, he spent some ten years in seclusion on Mt. Tut’a. He then entered the government service and in 1273 was appointed Tobyŏngmaroksasa (the Supreme Commander of the military forces). In the same year he was sent to the Yuan court as secretary to the King’s envoy. It is recorded that Hou You Xian, a Chinese official, was greatly impressed by Yi’s outstanding talent as a poet. He was sent a second time to the Yuan court, and eventually in 1298 became the Sungmun’gwan haksa (Royal Counsellor), the highest government official of his time. After he retired from government service, he returned to Mt. Tut’a, became a devout Buddhist, and devoted himself to books and writing. He was highly regarded both as an able government official and as a Buddhist scholar.

Yi Sungin (1349-1392)

Yi Sungin (styled Toun) was born in Sŏngsan, North Kyŏngsang Province, and he was regarded as a bright and talented student. He was taught the Chinese classics, and later became well versed also in the Buddhist scriptures and the works of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Yi Sungin passed the higher civil service examination when still very young and was appointed to prominent political and academic posts. He was influential in the reconstruction of the Sŏnggyun’gwan and in the appointment of Yi Saek as its head. He also taught there and, along with such noted scholars as Chŏng Mongju, Kim Kuyong and Pak Úijung, promoted and developed classical studies. As a teacher, he was praised for the depth of his learning and the clarity of his exposition.

He was well known for his ability in writing diplomatic documents and while he was a privy councillor he was sent to China as the King’s envoy. However, due to his association with Chŏng Mongju, he was banished to Sunch‘on in the far south after Chŏng’s assassination, and he himself was assassinated at the age of forty-three, while in exile.

Yi Sungin’s collected works entitled Toiin chip were published in two volumes in 1406. A later edition consisting of three volumes of poems and two of other writings was published by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun’gwan University in 1961 as part of the Yŏgye Myŏnghyon chip.

Yi Sungman, Dr (see Rhee Syngman)

Yi Sunshin, Admiral (1545-1598)
Yi Sunshin was a famous admiral of the Chosŏn period. His family’s ancestral home is in Tŏksu and his courtesy name was Yŏhāe. He was born in Seoul and in his adolescence showed a considerable interest in the military arts. Yi became a fine archer, and developed a keen interest in military strategy that was unusual for one so young. He accomplished included the diverse skills of horseman and writing. By the age of twenty-one he began formal training in the military arts by serving as an apprentice to various armourers, and soon took the military examination (mugwa). However, in his first attempt in the examination he failed the portion on horsemanship as he fell off his mount. Thus, for the next four years he devoted himself to passing the next scheduled military examination, successfully completing it in 1576, following which he took-up a position as an official in Military Training Administration (Hullyŏnwŏn). Yi continued his rise in the military hierarchy of Chosŏn, holding diverse positions, including that of Second Deputy Commander (ch’ŏnjŏl chesa) of Manp’o, before being appointed as Commander of the Left Chŏlla Naval Station (Chŏlla chwado sugunjŏldsŏ) at the age of forty-seven.

The year after Yi was appointed to his post in Chŏlla Province, the 1592 Japanese Invasion occurred and it was at this time that Yi made his greatest contribution to Chosŏn. After being commissioned as Commander, Yi strongly realised the importance of strengthening the Chosŏn naval forces, and in particular focused his energies on the development of warships and their crews. It was at about this time that he developed the ‘turtle ships’ (kôbukson) that gave Chosŏn a clear advantage over Japan in naval strength. These ships were based on the design of warships already in use in Chosŏn, but to this he added protective shields (it is not clear whether these were iron-plated) dotted with spikes to prevent the enemy from boarding the vessels. Moreover, Yi placed cannons around the circumference of his ships, so the enemy could be attacked from every quarter. With these formidable naval weapons at his command, Yi set his sights on the Japanese fleet. The first encounter was at the port of Okp’o where Yi crushed the enemy. He followed this with decisive victories at Tangp’o, Tanghangp’o, Hansan Island and Pusan. In particular, Yi’s victory in the waters around Hansan Island is counted as one of the three great achievements of Chosŏn during the invasion. Yi’s superior weaponry and command skills gave control of the sea-lanes to Chosŏn and prevented the Japanese naval forces from linking up with their land forces as they pushed northward. Moreover, he protected the grain-rich Chŏlla region from the invaders, thus ensuring a food supply for the Koreans.

Although Yi’s success against the Japanese naval forces was instrumental in limiting the effectiveness of the Japanese invasion, due to political infighting in the Chosŏn court he was removed from his post as Commander in 1595 and replaced by Wŏn Kyun. At this time the Chosŏn forces had effectively pushed the Japanese into the area of Kyŏngsang Province and were negotiating a peace settlement. However, in the absence of Yi, the Japanese navy was successful in its naval campaign and was able to defeat the Chosŏn navy. The government was alarmed at this and quickly reinstated Yi to his former position. With a flotilla of only a dozen warships, Yi then attacked the Japanese fleet as it was sailing towards Mokp’o and overwhelmingly annihilated it. The Japanese now found themselves under siege on both land and sea with nowhere to turn. With the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, the Japanese forces withdrew from Korea. Yi, however, continued to attack the retreating Japanese navy until the very end, and was killed by a stray enemy shot in the seas off Noryang.

Yi’s is arguably the most famous war hero of Korea and his efforts in the face of the Japanese invasion played a key role in preventing the fall of Chosŏn. His own chronicle of the war is contained in his work Nanjung ilgi and this, along with his literary collection Yi Ch’ungmu kong chŏnsŏ (The Collection of Admiral Yi Ch’ungmu), which was compiled and published in 1795 by royal edict, are extant. His heroic deeds were again brought to the forefront of the Korean public’s consciousness in the face of another infringement by the Japanese on the sovereignty of Korea at the end of the nineteenth c. in Shin Ch’aeho’s
Yi Sunshin chōn. (The Story of Yi Sunshin). There are many monuments throughout Korea extolling Yi’s heroic deeds, including a stately statue of the admiral and his turtle ship on Sejong Road in the heart of Seoul.

Yi Tal

Yi Tonghwi (1872-1935)

Yi Tonghwi was an independence fighter of the late Choson and colonial periods. He was born in Tanch'ŏn of Hamgyŏng Province and his childhood name was Sŏngjae. From the age of eight he studied Chinese and when he was eighteen he travelled to Seoul. There he became acquainted with Yi Yongik (1854-1907) and enrolled in Kungwan Military School. After graduation he joined the army and was commissioned with the rank of major (ch'amryŏng). With the 1907 Korea-Japan new agreements (Han-il Shin Hyopyak) he was sent to Kanghwa Garrison and shortly thereafter, as the Japanese forced Choson to disband her army, he lost his commission. Thus in 1909, along with his comrades Yŏn Kiu and Kim Tongsu, he conspired to form a guerrilla army on Kanghwa Island. The authorities discovered this and he was exiled, but due to the efforts of the American missionary D. A. Bunker he was reinstated shortly. In the same year Yi and fellow patriots -- An Ch'angho (1878-1938) and Yi Tongnyŏn (1869-1940) -- formed the New People’s Association (Shinmin Hoe) and began both the work of enlightening the Korean people and of opposing the Japanese in Korea. However, the operations of this organisation were brought to a halt with the so-called Case of the One Hundredand Five (paegoin sagŏn) as the Japanese arrested many of those involved in the association. Other enlightenment activities of Yi included the founding of a school on Kanghwa Island with D. A. Bunker and the creation of an aid society for youth from the Hamgyŏng area.

As it became increasingly difficult for Yi to carry out his activities within Korea, he fled to Manchuria in 1915. There he formed the Korean People’s Socialist Party (Hanin Sahoe Tang) and also participated in the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min’guk Imshi Chŏngbu) after its formation in 1919. Yi’s ideology was more akin to socialism and in 1920 he helped form the communist faction of the Korean Provisional Government. Moreover, in 1921 he changed the name of the Korean People’s Socialist Party to the Koryŏ Communist Party (Koryŏ Kongsan Tang). Yi continued to carry out his independence activities, travelling to Moscow in the same year, where he obtained financial aid to the extent of about two hundred million Russian roubles from the Soviet leader Lenin. However, of this money Yi appropriated some forty million roubles to fund the formation of the Koryŏ Communist Party and when this was detected by the Korean Provisional Government he was forced to resign his post as prime minister.

During this period, Yi was engaged in independence activities in Manchuria and Jiandao (Kor. Kando) as well as in other regions. Late in 1920 the Japanese army drove the independence forcs of Yi from the Jiandao area and they retreated to Siberia, where Yi eventually died in 1935. Yi is remembered as the leader of the communist movement within the Korean independence forces and for helping strengthen this ideology among Koreans. Moreover, Yi brought the Korean cause to the international stage and secured the aid of the Soviet Union, at least financially, for the Korean revolutionary cause.

Bibliography


Yi Tongin (?-1881)

Yi Tongin most likely came from Samsŏng hermitage at T’ongdo temple in South