**Fortresses of Kyonggi-do**

**by Wilbur D. Bacon**

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**Preface**

This paper is presented with great trepidation as I do not feel that I have sufficient information as yet on the Kyŏnggi-do (京畿道) fortresses to be able to present a really authoritative work. It is only the fact that I must leave Korea shortly which has prompted me hastily to compile what follows. I beg forgiveness for any errors and hope that what is presented here may interest someone better qualified for this task to make a more detailed and accurate study of the fortresses concerned.

Information was gathered from two sources: the books presented in the bibliography and personal inspection of the fortresses. With a few exceptions, I have visited all of the fortresses described in Part III of the paper and have walked completely around 24 of them.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many people who helped me to obtain the information on which this study is based, particulary Mr. Kim Kil-su of OCE, Mr. Pak Ha-yŏng of OEC, and Mr. Kim Tol-chung of Yŏnsei University, who translated sections of some of the Korean and Japanese books; Mr. Kim Chong-mu, Principal, Inch’ŏn Technical High School, who found books for me, helped me translate difficult passages and added the Chinese characters; Lt. Om Yŏng-bo, Republic of Korea Navy; and Mr. Erland Heginbotham, OEC, who spent many weekends hunting out and walking around fortresses with me.

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**I. Introduction**

One of the great searches of mankind is for security. Different cultures have arrived at various answers as to how to attain it. Some seek individual security in bank accounts or in religious asceticism. Group security is attempted with the family system or goverment pensions. In examining one aspect of providing physical security for the group, protection from outside attack, both tribes and nations have basically arrived at two possibilities—the provision of a sufficient number of arms and men trained to use them to frighten off potential attackers, or the construction of fortifications behind which to flee in case of invasion with the hope that the invader will eventually run out of supplies, tire of the seige and withdraw. Some groups have, of course, combined the two.

As Korea has always been a small nation surrounded by large powers, it has eschewed any attempt to attain physical security by maintaining a large army trained to defeat invaders on the field of battle or carry the war to the enemy’s country, and has instead depended on numerous fortifications. As a result, Korea could be called a country of fortresses. This is particularly true of Kyŏnggi-do, where the capitals of three countries have been located.

Those in that part of the province south of the Imjin River (臨津江), of which there are probably more then 50, can be divided into three main types—walled cities, large fortresses to be used as places of refuge for the king in case of invasion, and smaller mountain fortresses. The latter were probably used for a variety of purposes: as dwelling places during the tribal and Three Kingdoms periods (三國時代), when attacks by neighbouring tribes and countries were frequent; for the stationing of frontier garrisons; and as bases for waging guerilla warfare during invasions. There are three walled cities—Seoul, Suwŏn (水原), and Kanghwa (江華)—and three places of refuge for the king—Kanghwa-do (江華島) Namhansan- [page3]sŏng (南漢山城) and Pukhan-sansŏng (北漢山城). The remaining fortresses are of the third type.

The weapons used to defend these fortresses were arrows and swords until the Yi Dynasty (1392). Attacking forces used the same weapons plus scaling ladders and fire arrows. The Mongols(蒙古) introduced catapults in the thirteenth century. At the time of the Japanese invasion in 1592, primitive cannon were used and Koreans soon copied the matchlock muskets which the Japanese had learned to make from the Portuguese. During the remainder of the Yi Dynasty, these and muzzleloading cannon were the main weapons. An excellent study of Korean weapons has been made by Mr. John L. Boots (see bibliography) and details need not be repeated here.

One paragraph of Mr. Boots’s article, in the short section concerning fortresses, is so pertinent, however, that I take the liberty of quoting it here:

“Since the Koreans were geographically and psychologically always on the defensive in warfare, the wall naturally came to be their most respected and efficient weapon. Several historians have made special mention of the remarkable bravery, bold courage and skilful daring which characterized the Korean soldier when he was fighting behind his wall, though attacked by superior forces bound to win. Griffis says ‘The Koreans are poor soldiers in the open field and exhibit slight proof of personal valour,...... but put the same men behind walls..... they are more than brave, their courage is sublime, they fight to the last man and fling themselves on the bare steel when the foe clears the parapet. The Japanese of 1592 looked upon the Korean in the field as a kitten, but in the castle as a tiger. The French in 1866 never found a force that could face rifles, but behind walls the same men were invincible’.”

**II. History of the Fortresses**

The history of the individual fortresses of Kyŏnggido [page 4](京畿道) is not always easy to discover, particularly for those built before 900 A.D. All that can be done is to surmise from known history when and for what purpose the fortresses were built. In some cases this is not difficult, in others it is almost impossible, Due to the limited time available, I have not been able to study written records as much as I should have and I would be the first to admit that some of the conclusions reached, particularly for the Three Kingdoms period, may be wrong and therefore should be considered only possibilities until additional research has been done.

**A. Tribal Period**

The history of Kyonggi-do before the founding of Paekche is still rather vague and different authorities disagree as to the exact situation. It is possible that the Chinese colony of Chinbŏn (眞番), established by the Han Emperor Wu Ti (武帝), included all or part of the province, but as it only lasted for 25 years it was of no great importance. It is definite that the area was inhabited by various tribes, at least some of whom belonged to the Mahan (馬韓) group, and possibly the Chinhan (辰韓) group.

Undoubtedly these tribes built a number of fortresses and either lived inside them, if the surrounding tribes were particularly unfriendly, or used them as places of refuge in case of attack. It is impossible to state with certainty that any of the existing fortresses were built during this period, but some which may have been are the Hamwang-sŏng (咸王城) near Yangp’yŏng (楊平), the fortress on Pibong-san (飛鳳山) at Ansŏng (安城), the earthworks beyond Tongsŏng-sansŏng (童城山城) east of T’ongjin (通津), and the barely discernable remains of earthworks on a hill west of Kyoha (交河).

**B. Three Kingdoms**

One of the Mahan tribes in Kyŏnggi-do was called Paekche (百濟). There are three theories concerning the origin of this tribe. One is that two sons of the king of [page 5]Koguryŏ (高句麗), named Onjo (溫祚) and Piryu (沸流), came south with a group of followers. Onjo then settled north of the Han River somewhere east of Seoul, while Piryu settled at Inch’ŏn (仁川). The settlement at Inch’ŏn did not succeed, Piryu died, and the settlers there joined Onjo at his capital named Wirye-sŏng (慰禮城). This is supposed to have happened in 18 B.C.

Another possibility is that a small group of men came down from the north and either by force or other means managed to gain the leadership of a tribe already in existence named Paekche. The third theory is that the Paekche tribe had lived in the Seoul-Inch’ŏn area for a long time and that as the family name of the chief was Puyŏ (扶餘), which was the same as the family name of the king of Koguryŏ ( 高句麗), the legend later grew up that the Paekche kings were descended from the Koguryŏ Kings. Of one thing we are certain, ,relations between the two countries do not reveal any signs that they had a feeling of kinship.

Whichever story is true, the growth of Paekche during its early years was probably slow. The Chinese colony of Nangnang, (Lolang, 浪樂) and later the Chinese colony of Taebang (帶方), controlled the northern area of Kyŏnggi-do. To the south were the other fifty Mahan tribes over which Paekche gradually exercised control, sometimes through conquest, sometimes through diplomacy. It was well into the third century A.D., however, before Paekche showed signs of becoming a strong state.’

The location of the capital of Paekche has occasioned many arguments among historians. The older theory was that the capital was originally north of the Han River (漢江), was moved south of the river in 14 B.C., then was moved back north again in 371 A.D. The main fault with this theory is that no very satisfactory location for the capital north of the Han has ever been found. Most present-day authorities believe that the capital was either always or most of the time in the valley between the two [page 6]ridges stretching north from Namhan-san (南漢山). This is an ideal location, with mountains on three sides, the Han River to the north, and a stream flowing through the valley to provide water. Isŏng-sansŏng (二聖山城), therefore, was the fortress used for protection of the royal family in case of attack. Probably at one time there were fortifications at the entrance to the valley, either of earth or more probably a wooden palisade.

The old chronicles record that in 286 A.D. two fortresses were built to protect this capital from possible Koguryŏ attack, one on Ach’a-san(阿且山) and one called Sasŏng (蛇城) south of the river. These were probably the fortresses now known as Kwangjin-sŏng (廣津城) and P’ungnam-ni T’osŏng (風納里土城). The other fortresses to defend the capital, on Taemo-san (大母山) and Puram-san, (佛岩山) may date from the same period. There is also a fortress on the mountain north of T’oe-gyewŏn (退溪院)which may have served a similar purpose.

In 313 A.D. Koguryŏ finally attacked and conquered Nangnang (樂浪) and Taebang (帶方). Paekche evidently also invaded the territory held by Taebang and perhaps extended its boundaries up to the Imjin River. If so, the original fortresses south of the river may date from this time. These include Tongsŏng-sansŏng(童城山城) on the peninsula south of the Han; Sŏng-sansŏng (城山城), at P’aju(坡州); T’orang-song(吐含山) at Ch’oksong(積城) and two other fortresses at Ch’oksŏng(積城) and two at Yangsŏng(陽城) listed in the Tongguk Yoji Sungnam (東國與地勝覽).

Following the fall of Nangnang, the power of Paekche increased rapidly. By this time it had extended its control over the entire southeastern part of the penisuia. Hulbert records that in 360 A.D. Koguryŏ built a large fortress near the Paekche capital which was used as a base for plundering Paekche territory. He states that Paekche attacked and captured this fortress, then built fortresses along the south bank of the Han River. If this is correct, [page 7]the Koguryŏ fortress may have been Kyeyang-sansŏng (桂陽山城), while the Paekche fortresses from which the attack was launched were Munhak-sansŏng (文鶴山城 or Nam-sansŏng 南山城) at Inch’ŏn; Sŏng-sansŏng at Yangch’ŏn(陽川); and an earth fortress between the two. The fortresses built after Paekche captured Kyeyang-sansŏng might be the earth fortress across the Han River from Ttuksŏm (纛島) and the fortress on Puksŏng-san (北城山) at Kimp’o (金浦). As this explanation is so simple, however, it probably is not correct. It is not always possible to rely on Hulbert’s *History of Korea* for dates.

In 371 Koguryŏ attacked Paekche again. This time not only were the invading troops unsuccessful, but the Paekche army advanced to P’yŏngyang (平壤) and the Koguryŏ King was killed in battle. In 375 the Koguryŏ troops attacked a Paekche fortress in present Hwanghae-do (黃海道) and were again defeated.

This was the high point of the Paekche advance to the north. In 392 A.D. King Kwanggaet’o (廣開土王) of Koguryŏ attacked and captured a number of Paekche fortresses along the border. In 404 A.D. the Koguryo navy defeated a Japanese fleet sent to aid Paekche and seized temporary control of the Han basin.

The war continued on, but for awhile Silla (新羅) aided Paekche, and Koguryŏ was unable to inflict a crushing defeat. In 475, however, a large force was sent against Paekche. The fortresses north of the river were captured and finally the capital itself was put under seige. King Kaero (蓋鹵王) of Paekche finally despaired of victory and tried to flee (perhaps from Isŏng-sansŏng (ニ聖山城). He was captured, however, taken to Ach’a-sŏng (阿且城), and killed. His son managed to escape with some of the Paekche people and set up a new capital at Kongju (公州) in Ch’ungch’ŏng Namdo (忠淸南道). The Koguryŏ troops then invaded Ch’ungch’ong-do (忠淸道). They were not able to again a decisive victory, however, and Paekche survived. [page 8]

During the next 75 years Paekche evidently advanced again into Kyŏnggido and a line of fortresses was built extending from Yŏju (驢州 Puksŏngsan Kosŏng 北城山古城) through Ich’ŏn (利川 Sŏlbong-sansŏng 雪峰山城), Yongin (龍仁 Pogae-sansŏng 寶蓋山城 and Komo-sŏng 姑母城), Suwŏn (水原), Tok-sansŏng (德山城), and west of Namyang (南陽).

In 550 border trouble broke out and the next year the allied forces of Paekche and Silla attacked the north. The Silla troops attacked along the middle Han and from the Yŏju-Ich’on (驢州 利川) area, while the Paekche troops attacked in the west. Koguryŏ forces were then driven into the northern part of the province.

The Paekche-Silla alliance very soon broke down and in 553 Silla took control of those parts of the province which Paekche had recaptured. This gave Silla territory along the Yellow Sea, allowing better communications with China.

In 604, Koguryŏ attempted to recapture the Han basin and attacked the Silla Pukhan-sansŏng. Whether this was in the same location as the present fortress is unknown. The Silla king himself lead 10,000 troops against the invaders and they withdrew.

The last battles of the Three Kingdoms in Kyŏnggido were when Koguryŏ forces attacked Ch’ŏksŏng (積城) and even areas farther south, beginning in 661, but they were defeated by Silla, which had already helped the T’ang (唐) army to conquer Paekche. Seven years later the Koguryŏ capital at P’yŏngyang (平壤) surrendered to a T’ang army, bringing to an end the period of the Three kingdoms

**C. Great Silla**

In 660 A.D. a T’ang army attacked and captured Puyŏ, then the capital of Paekche. At the same time Silla troops attacked from the east. By 663 the two [page9]countries together had defeated the last remnants of Paekche, Koguryŏ was also attacked and in 668 P’yŏng-yang surrendered. Silla then felt that the mission of the Chinese army was accomplished and that the T’ang forces should leave Korea. The Chinese had different ideas, however, and soon there were clashes between the two armies.

In 671, therefore, Silla constructed a fortress called Chujang-sŏng (晝長城) on Namhan-san. Other fortresses in Kyŏnggi-do were repaired and garrisoned. In 673 the Chinese attacked Tongsŏng-sansŏng (童城山城), near the tip of the peninsula between the Han River and Kanghwa-do, and captured the fortress. Their army was not able to advance any farther to the south, however.

Within a few years the quarrel between the two allies was patched up and until the very last years of the kingdom there was no necessity for constructing or defending fortresses in Kyŏnggi-do.

**D. Koryo(高麗)**

During the last days of Silla the country again split into three parts: Hu Paekche (後百濟), which was founded in the southwest in 892 A.D.; T’aebong (泰封), which became an independent kingdom in the north (now centre) in 901 A.D. under Kung-ye (弓裔); with Silla maintaining control over the southeast. As Silla was too weak to be a real contender, the struggle for control of the peninsula was between T’aebong and Hu Paekche. Luckily for Kung’ye, his army was under the control of an able general named Wang Kŏn (王建).

The first fortress in Kyŏnggi-do that was built during this period was Panwŏl-sŏng (半月城) at P’och’ŏn(抱川), which protected the southern entrance to the capital at Ch’ŏrwŏn(鐵原), Another was Tang-sŏng (唐城), west of Namyang. The *Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnam* states that eight men came over from T’ang (which still ruled China at that time) and gave instructions on how to build the [page 10] fortress. The reason for its construction was probably to prevent troops from being brought from the south by ship and landing on this peninsula.

By 918 Kung’ye had became a mentally unbalanced tyrant and after considerable urging from the officials Wang Kŏn seized the throne. He changed the country’s name to Koryŏ and the next year moved the capital to Sŏngdo (松都), now called Kaesŏng (開城), and began construction of the walls and gates which make this the second largest fortress in Kyonggi-do. Unfortunately Kaesŏng is now north of the Demilitarized Zone and must be passed over here.

During the next years there were many battles with Hu Paekche. The line of old fortresses crossing the province from Namyang to Yŏju may have been put back into use at this time. Muran-sŏng (舞鸞城) at Yongsŏng (龍城), which bears little resemblance to the other fortresses, may also have been built then.

In 935 A.D. the last Silla King abdicated his throne and became Prime Minister of Koryŏ. His tomb is in Changdan-gun (長湍郡), north of the Imjin River. The next year the forces of Hu Paekche were finally defeated and the country was united under Koryŏ.

During the next three centuries there were many invasions from Manchuria, especially by the Khitan (契丹) and Nuchen (女眞) peoples, but the resultant fighting was mainly north of the capital. It was not until the rise of the Mongols that the fortresses of Kyŏnggi-do again played an important part in Korean history.

When Jenghiz Khan (成吉思汗) proclaimed himself emperor in 1206, Koryŏ maintained close relations with the Nuchen, who had established a kingdom named Kin (金) in Manchuria. The close relations which had been maintained with China for centuries had been broken off. Internally, a type of government similar to the [page 11] shogunate in Japan had been established by General Ch’oe Ch’ung-hŏn (崔忠獻), This is the only period in Korea’s history when generals ruled for any length of time (except for founders of dynasties). This resulted in part from the struggles between the Buddhist monks and the Confucian scholars, which weakened civil authority, and the necessity of maintaining a large army to defend the country from invasion from the north.

Soon after Kojong (高宗) became King in 1214 the troubles started. The ancient enemies of Koryŏ, the Khitan, were defeated by the Mongols and fled into the Korean peninsula. Soon most of northern Korea was under their control and at one time the capital itself was threatened. Their forces were defeated at the Imjin River, however, and did not advance farther south. A Mongol force soon entered the country and the combined Mongol- Koryo army brought about the final defeat of the Khitan.

The Koreans were horrified at what they considered the barbarism of the Mongols, however, and refused to make friends with them, but relations were correct though cool until 1225, when a Mongol envoy was murdered by robbers while on his way north from Sŏngdo (松都). After several years of border attacks and demands for explanations, the Mongol army in 1231 entered the peninsula in force, living off the land, plundering and murdering as they went. Thus began what was probably the most destructive period in Korea’s history.

The Mongol troops camped outside Sŏngdo, but did not try to capture the city. Their main purpose in coming was to secure allegiance from the king. Early the next year the king agreed and sent tribute and a letter of submission to the Mongol emperor. The Mongols then stationed governors throughout the country.

The member of the Ch’oe family who was then the [page 12]actual ruler, General Ch’oe U (崔瑀), was displeased with this surrender, and decided to move the capital to Kanghwa-do, where he would be safe from the Mongols, who had no boats. The king at first objected, but as in many localities people were murdering the Mongol governors, he decided that the Mongols would invade shortly anyway. The flight to Kanghwa-do was made during the rainy season and one can imagine the state the royal party was in when it arrived at the island. Once there, the King was forced to live in an ordinary house as the palace had not yet been completed.

The Mongols immediately demanded that the King return to Sŏngdo, but he refused. They then despatched an army under the command of General Saryet’ap (撒禮塔). He captured and burned many cities, but according to Korean historians he was killed with an arrow shot by a defender of Ch’ŏin-sŏng (處仁城), an earth fortress erected south of Yongin (龍仁). The Mongol troops then withdrew for awhile.

On Kanghwa-do, fortifications were being built as rapidly as possible. These included an earthern wall along the eastern shore facing the mainland and another wall around the palace built where the city of Kanghwa now stands. Probably the earth fortress on Koryŏ-san was built at the same time. By 1237 these walls had been completed.

The situation on the mainland remained critical. As the power of the central government waned there were many rebellions by local military officers. The country was degenerating into anarchy. In 1235 the Mongols entered Korea in force again and were uniformly successful except in southern Kyŏnggi-do, where Chukchu-sŏng (竹州城) had been constructed east of Ansŏng (安城) under the direction of General Song Mun-ju (宋文胄). He had taken part in the successful defence of Kuju (龜州) in P’yŏngan-do (平安北道) and was familiar with Mongol tactics. This local reverse was of little hindrance [page 13] to the Mongols, however, and from camps set up through¬out the country they systematically pillaged, burned, and seized people to be sent north as slaves. Many Koreans fled to the islands off the west and south coasts, where they were safe because the Mongols had no knowledge of boat-making.

For the next twenty-four years King Kojong remained on Kanghwa while the Mongols came and went on the mainland. Communications continued with the Mongol khan, who kept demanding that the king return to Sŏngdo. This the king refused to do. At last in 1259, the fourth ruler of the Ch’oe (崔) family having been killed, he sent the crown prince as a hostage to the Mongol court and destroyed the palace on Kanghwa in accordance with Mongol orders. Before he could leave the island, however, he died. For a time the son of the crown prince was acting king until his father returned in 1260. The new king, Wonjong (元宗), set up his capital in T’ongjin (通津) close to Kanghwa, but in 1263 returned to Sŏngdo.

For the next ninety years the Mongols controlled Koryŏ, then there was an extremely hectic period while the Ming (明) and Mongol forces struggled for control of China. Koryŏ was invaded by robber bands from Manchuria and by large groups of Japanese pirates who even attacked the capital itself and burned the city of Hanyang (漢陽) on the present location of Seoul

At last this period was brought to an end by the overthrow of the Wang Dynasty by General Yi Sŏng-gye(李成桂), who became king in 1392.

**E. Yi Dynasty**

T’aejo (太祖), the first king of the Yi Dynasty, moved the capital of Korea from Kaesŏng to Seoul in 1394. At first the city was called Hanyang (漢陽) but the name was soon changed to Hansŏng (漢城), meaning “Fortress on the Han.” In the second lunar month in [page 14] 1394, work was begun on the wall. In order not to interfere with farming, work was confined to 49 days in the early spring and 49 days in the late fall and was completed on the 24th day of the ninth moon. Construction was accomplished with conscript labour, each province being required to furnish workers to complete a designated portion of the wall. Records state that 118,000 people laboured in the spring, 79,400 in the autumn.

Following the construction of this wall, there was a long period during which no fortresses were built. Korea was at peace and had excellent relations with the Ming dynasty of China. As a result of victorious expeditions during the reign of Sejong (世宗 1419-1450), attacks from Manchuria and by roving bands of Japanse pirates almost ceased. In fact, it was exactly 200 years following the accesion of T’aejo to the throne that another invasion took place and fortresses again became important.

It started with the sending of an envoy from Japan to Korea. Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉) had recently succeeded in bringing all Japan under his control and was looking for new worlds to conquer—namely China. In his way stood the small, and militarily weak, kingdom of Korea. In order to obtain permission for his armies to cross the peninsula peacefully on their way to China, he sent a man named Yasuhiro to Korea with a letter requesting the Korean king to send an envoy to Japan. This request was politely refused. The next year three Japanese appeared with another letter repeating the request. After several months, King Sŏnjo (宣祖) promised to send an envoy to Japan if the Japanese would return to Korea a number of Korean renegades who had fled to Japan. This was done in 1589 and the next year three Korean envoys were sent to Japan. They returned in 1591 with a letter from Hideyoshi to Sŏnjo stating that he intended to invade China, requesting the Korean king to allow his troops to march peacefully through his country, and suggesting that Korea join him in this enterprise. This the Korean king, with the full backing [page15] of his people, refused to do. Korea than belatedly began to make preparations for the war that was certain to come.

The Japanese gathered in Kyushu (九州) a force of about 150,000 troops with a large amount of arms, including firearms, which at that time were unknown in Korea. Command of this army was divided between Konishi Yukinage (小西行長), a young 23 year old Christian convert, and Kato Kiyomasa (加藤淸正), an older man who was a Buddhist. Some thought this division of command was a scheme to prevent anyone from gaining sufficient prestige during the invasion to be able to be able to challenge the authority of Hideyoshi.

The Japanese armada consisting of hundreds of ships landed Konishi’s troops at Pusan (釜山) on 25 May 1592. Kato’s troops disembarked the next day. Following the capture of the fortresses at Pusan and Tongnae (東來), the commanders divided, Konishi going by way of Miryang (密陽), Taegu (大邱) and Sangju (尙州) to the pass leading across the Sobaek Range (小白山脈), while Kato went by way of Ulsan (蔚山), Kyŏngju (慶州) and Andong (安東). They met again at the pass, attacked and captured the fortress at Ch’ungju (忠州), then separated again. Konishi then approached Seoul by way of Chuksan (竹山) and Yongin (龍仁), crossed the Han River south of Seoul and entered the city by the South Gate (南大門). None of the forts in Kyŏnggi-do along this route seem to have been used in an attempt to impede his advance. Kato in the meantime approached Seoul by way of Yŏju (驪州). A short distance down the Han, at the ferry point, a fortress named Pasa-sŏng(婆娑城) had been built under the command of a warrior monk named Uiam (義庵). The Japanese evidently captured the fortress easily and continued their onward rush.

Kato entered Seoul by the East Gate just a few hours after Konishi had entered by the South Gate. It was 12 June, just 18 days after their landing at Pusan. [page 16]

This remarkable feat was accomplished because the Koreans had no well-trained army, having cultivated for two centuries the arts of peace rather than the arts of war, and because the Japanese had firearms while the Koreans had only spears, arrows and a few primitive cannon.

When the Japanese arrived at Seoul the king and the court had already fled to the north. No attempt was made to hold the city and the work of the thousands who had toiled during the reigns of T’aejo (太祖) and Sejong (世宗) to build solid walls was wasted.

After a few days rest, the main Japanese forces marched north to the Imjin River. There the Koreans held them for ten days, as the Japanese had no boats to cross the river. On the eleventh day, however, the Japanese pretended to retreat. The Koreans fell into the trap, crossed the river, thereby disclosing the fords to the Japanese, then were suddenly attacked from ambush and defeated. The invaders immediately advanced toward P’yŏngyang (平壤).

While the main Japanese forces were fighting in the north, Koreans in the south began to form small bands and wage guerilla warfare. A larger force was led north by General Kwŏn Yul (權懐), military leader of Chŏlla-do (全羅道), the province in southwest Korea. He led his troops to Tŏk-san (德山), a mountain about six miles south of Suwŏn, where there was already a small Paekche fortress, and had a larger fortress constructed (Tŏksan-sŏng (德山城). From this point, which commands a magnificent view of the main route from Seoul to the southwest, his soldiers attacked Japanese stragglers in the area. One interesting story told about this fortress is that during a Japanese seige the defenders ran out of water. To fool the enemy, General Kwŏn had a horse washed with rice, which sparkled in the sunshine. Deciding that a garrison which had sufficient water to wash horses could hold out indefinitely, the Japanese withdrew. [page 17]

In the meantime, the Japanese adanced to Pyŏngyang and captured that city. The Chinese at last, after repeated appeals from the Korean king, awoke to the danger facing them and sent troops into the peninsula. At first they were defeated, but in February a large Sino-Korean force attacked P’yŏngyang. After a savage battle, they were victorious and the Japanese army retreated to Seoul.

At this point, General Kwŏn Yul (權懐) and several thousands of his soldiers advanced north to help in the coming attack on Seoul. Crossing the Han River at Yangch’ŏn (陽川), he fortified Tŏgyang-san just south of Haengju (幸州). The Japanese sent a force out from Seoul to attack the fortress, which was mainly constructed from logs, and they were almost successful, as the defenders ran out of arrows. A story has grown up that the women of the area used their aprons to gather stones which the defenders threw at the Japanese. At this point Admiral Yi Pin (李賓), who was sailing up the Han River, arrived with sufficient arrows to allow the Koreans to win the battle. The Chinese forces arrived soon afterward and the Japanese forces were pinned in the capital. A number of battles were fought outside the city walls, but a full-scale attack on the city was not launched. The Japanese during this period killed many of the people who had remained in Seoul and burned much of the city, including the Kyŏngbok Palace (景福宮), the Ch’angdŏk Palace (昌德宮), the Confucian Temple (城均 館) and the Chongmyo (宗廟 where the kings’ ancestral tablets were kept).

At last both sides tired of the fighting and talks were held between the commanders on arranging terms of peace. The Japanese agreed to retire to the south coast and they left Seoul on 22 May 1593. Although the war continued until 1598, Japanese troops did not again enter Kyonggi-do.

Shortly after the retreat of the Japanese from Korea, the Manchu armies began their conquests which even- [page18] tually resulted in the placing of a Manchu emperor on the throne of China. The fact that Korea bordered Manchuria and was closely allied with the Ming dynasty in China soon attracted the attention of the Manchus to the peninsula. Kwanghae (光海) was king at that time and although his sentiments and those of his people were with the Chinese, he realized the gravity of Korea’s situation and tried not to antagonize either side too much. For example, he sent troops to help the Chinese in 1619, but ordered them to join the Manchus if the latter were victorious in the battle.

Forseeing a possible invasion, Kwanghae evidently had the fortifications on Kanghwa repaired and had some work done on a fortress on Namhan-san. In addition, the *Munhŏn Pigo* (文獻備者) states that he ordered the repair and stationing of troops at the fortress at P’ochŏn in 1618.

For a time Korea’s attention was diverted by internal disturbances, the overthrow of Kwanghae (光海) by King Injo (仁祖) and the subsequent revolt of Yi Kwal (李适) who captured Seoul in 1624 and forced the king to flee to Kongju (公州). Before Yi reached Seoul, however, construction of a fortress on Namhan-san was begun. Work was completed in 1626 under the direction of Yi Sŏ (李曙) with the help of soldier-monks.

In 1627 the Manchu ruler, despairing of ever getting the Korean king to shift his allegiance peacefully from the Chinese to himself, ordered his army to invade Korea. The Manchus advanced rapidly toward Seoul, defeating Korean armies several times on the way south. King Injo then fled to Kanghwa-do. There he was visited by a Manchu envoy and finally terms of peace were arranged, among which was the King’s promise to recognize the Manchu emperor rather than the Chinese emperor as his suzerain. The Manchu army then left Korea without entering Seoul. [page 19]

When the King returned to the capital, he still refused to accept the idea that the Manchus would defeat the Chinese and he began to make preparations for war. One measure was to begin training a large army. It is said that the soldiers were trained in four types of things: guarding gates and walls; musket practice; swordsmanship; and archery. It is interesting that first emphasis was placed on guarding gates and walls, showing the importance placed on defence. Another measure of the king was to establish garrisons on Kanghwa-do and in Namhan-sansŏng. Fortresses in the north were newly built or repaired. Because of this and a number of incidents which the Manchu emperor considered insulting, a new invasion was ordered.

The Manchu army, 100,000 strong, entered Korea in early January 1637, crossing the Yalu River on the ice. The Korean armies were easily defeated by the Manchu cavalry whose advance was so rapid that they entered Kaesŏng five days later. The king sent the queen, the crown princess, and two of the princes to Kanghwa, with the intention of going there himself shortly after. As he left the South Gate with the crown prince, however, he was informed that the Manchus had already cut the road to Kangwha. He therefore re-entered the city and fled by way of the East Gate to Namhan-sansŏng. After a hectic trip, the royal party arrived at the fortress about ten o’clock in the evening. Altogether the group consisted of 200 officials, 300 servants and 13,800 soldiers. There was only sufficient food to feed this number of people for about one month.

The Manchus occupied Seoul without a fight, learned that the King was in Namhan-sansŏng, and immediately set out for the mountain fortress.

The next 45 days were among the saddest in Korean history. The Manchus surrounded the fortress and it was impossible for the defenders to obtain more food. Armies sent from the south to rescue the King were defeated. [page 20] The soldiers in the fortress fought bravely and several times made successful sallies from the gates. The food supply began to run out, however, and surrender seemed the only alternative to starvation. At last the King offered to surrender. The Manchus were determined to teach Korea a lesson, however, and at first did not accept the offer.

The lesson the Manchus decided upon was to capture Kanghwa, which Koreans had always believed to be invincible. In fact, this feeling was so strong that the commanders of the Kanghwa garrison wasted their time in drinking and eating rather than preparing for a Manchu attack. As a result, the Manchus were able to build boats and land on the island with only feeble resistance encountered. They immediately attached the city of Kanghwa, where many of the defenders fought heroically, but in vain. The city was overrun, its defenders killed, most of the buildings burned to the ground, and the fortifications destroyed. The members of the royal family on the island were captured and taken to the Manchu camp on the plain west of Namhan-san. At this point the Manchu Emperor, who had joined his troops, sent the following message to Injo: “The king’s island of Kanghwa has been taken, but his family has been subjected to no hardship. Let him at once, as previously directed, leave the citadel and come into our presence.”1)

There followed a few days delay while the Koreans tried to have the crown prince rather than the king take part in the ceremony of submission, but the Manchus were adamant and in February, 45 days after he had entered the fortress, the king rode out of the West Gate to a platform built on the bank of the Han River. Here the King bowed before the Manchu emperor and begged forgiveness for his transgressions. Late in the afternoon,

1) Rockhill, “China’s Intercourse with Korea from the XVth Century to 1895,” p.20

[page 21]

the king bid farewell to the crown prince and Prince Pongnim (鳳林大君), who were to be taken north as hostages, and returned to Seoul.

In addition to giving his sons as hostages, the King agreed to give the Manchu emperor the seal he had received from the Mings, offer his allegiance to the Manchu emperor, adopt the calendar used by the Manchus, send yearly tribute, and furnish mililtary forces in case of war. He was not to erect fortresses or give refuge to fugitives. The amount of yearly tribute was set at 100 ounces of gold, 1,000 ounces of silver, 200 pieces of grass cloth, 200 pieces of mixed silk and cotton cloth, 4,400 pieces of cotton cloth, 22 mats,100 deer skins, 400 other skins, 142 leopard skins, 300 black squirrel skins, 10 girdle knives, 5,000 rolls of paper and 100 piculs of rice.2)

In January 1640 a large stone tablet in the Manchu and Chinese languages was erected at the site of the surrender and is still standing.

Korea now entered a sad period in its history. The destruction suffered during two wars was not repaired quickly and the defeat of themselves and the Chinese by a people considered barbarians by the Koreans was a cruel blow to Korean morale.

Except for repair of the Seoul wall during the reign of King Hyojong (孝宗), no work was done on fortresses until Sukchong (肅宗) came to the throne in 1657. During his long reign of 45 years there was a frenzy of fortress building and repairing which bordered on the pathological In 1677 the Kanghwa city wall was rebuilt. In 1710 it was enlarged to a circumference of almost 4 miles. In 1693 while on a trip to visit Hunŭng (厚陵), the tomb of Chongjong (正宗) south of Kaesŏng, the king saw in the distance Munsu-san (文殊山) the mountain on the

2) Op. cit., p. 25.

[page 22]

mainland opposite Kanghwa-do. He sent one of the party to the mountain to draw a map of the area and the next year he ordered the construction of a fortress leading from the strait between Kanghwa-do and the mainland up the mountain and down to the strait again. It is almost 4 miles long. The fortifications on Kanghwa-do were strengthened and many of the smaller forts on the island were built at the same time. In 1686, 1693 and 1705 additions were made to Namhan-sansŏng.

The crowning work during the reign of Sukchong, (肅宗) however, was the construction of Pukhan-sansŏng (北漢山城) in 1711, and in 1715 T’angch’undae-sŏng (蕩春臺城), the wall connecting Pukhan-san with the Seoul wall (which he had repaired between 1704 and 1713). Pukhan-sansŏng, over five miles in circumference, is the most spectacular of all the fortresses in Kyŏnggi-do.

Examining the history of this period, it is difficult to determine why there was this rash of fortress building. The Manchu rulers of China did nothing to make Koreans fear another invasion. The Tokugawa (德川) Shogunate in Japan followed an isolationist policy. Although there were occasionally internal disturbances, no major rebellions caused concern. Probably it resulted merely from the memory of the Japanese and Manchu invasions and a determination to be better prepared the next time. One thing is certain the King felt that relationships with the Manchus had improved enough to allow him to ignore the promise of Korea at the time of Injo’s surrender to build no more fortresses.

During the even longer reign of Yŏngjo (英祖) (1725-1776), no new fortresses were built, but the existing repaired and strengthened, particularly the wall along the land side of Kanghwa-do, the fortress around Ch’ŏndung-sa (傳燈寺) on Kanghwa-do, Namhan-sansŏng and the Seoul wall. It was during his reign that bricks and a better grade of concrete began to be used extensively. Again there were no invasions and no [page 23] necessity for all the money and labour invested in fortresses.

The last major fortification to be built in Kyŏnggido was the city wall of Suwŏn, which is in many ways the crowning glory of Korean fortress building. The reason for its construction was a curious one. In July 1762 King Yŏngjo became angry at the crown prince, whom he evidently suspected of intriguing to seize the throne and of having an affair with one of his concubines. The crown prince was nailed into a wooden box and died there. His body was removed to Yangju-gun (楊州郡).

When Yŏngjo died in 1776 the son of this crown prince became king. In 1785 he had his father’s grave removed from Paebong-san, Yangju-gun, to Hwa-san (華山), south of Suwŏn (水原), and made frequent visits to the tomb. After several years he decided that he wanted to move the capital to some place near Hwa-san. Suwŏn was chosen as the most fitting location. Work on the wall was began in 1794 and was completed two years later. A palace was then built at the foot of P’altal-san (八達山), upon which is the eastern part of the wall. Before the capital could be moved, however, the King became ill and he died in 1800. His successor decided to remain in Seoul.

We now come to the last years of the Yi Dynasty, when once again the fortifications on Kanghwa-do played an important part in Korean history. In the late 18th century Christianity had entered Korea from China as a result of the conversion of members of the Korean embassy bearing tribute to the emperor in Peking. In 1835 a French priest was smuggled into the country and the new religion soon had several thousand converts. He was beheaded during a persecution of Christians in 1839. He was soon followed by others, however, and by 1866 there were 19 French priests in the country.

In that year the Taewŏn-gun (大院君), who hated Christians and foreigners, determined to wipe out the [page 24] new religion. In the persecution which followed, 16 of the French priests and thousands of Korean converts were killed. One of the French priests escaped to China and informed the French Admiral Roze, then at Tientsin, what had taken place.

After consultation with the French ambassador in Peking, Admiral Roze set sail for Korea with three ships in September. On 23 September two of the ships steamed up the Han River and they arrived at Map’o (麻浦), now in the western part of Seoul, on 25 September. The ships remained there for several days making maps of the area. Then they returned to China.

On 11 October under orders from Ambassador Bellonet, the French fleet returned to Korea with seven ships and a force of 1,000 men. On 15 October the troops landed on the eastern coast of Kanghwa-do and the next morning the city of Kanghwa was attacked. Within a short time the gate doors were smashed with axes and the city was captured.

The Korean government immediately sent large numbers of troops to T’ongjin (通津) and strengthened the garrison at Samnang-sŏng (三郞城), the fortress surrounding Ch’ŏndung-sa (傳燈寺) in the southeast corner of the island. On 27 October a group of 160 men was sent to capture this fortress. When they arrived at the walls at 11:30 a.m. they attacked, but were met with a deadly fire that put half of the men out of commission. As a result, it was decided to retreat to Kanghwa City. The next morning the French retreated to their ships, burning much of the city of Kanghwa before they left, and returned to China.

In 1871 another foreign fleet appeared, this time American. On 30 May five ships commanded by Admiral Rodgers anchored off Chagyak-to (芍藥島) in Inch’ŏn harbour. The purpose of their arrival was to investigate the burning of the ship *General Sherman* at P’yŏngyang in [page 25] 1866 and to attempt to sign a treaty of commerce with the Korean government. On 1 June four of the ships sailed up the strait between Kanghwa-do and the mainland to explore the area. These ships were fired upon by the Kanghwa forts and returned the fire. They returned to Chagyak-to.

Messages were then sent through local officials to the government demanding an apology for this action. When no answer was forthcoming, the ships set sail again on 10 June. Marines landed on the southeast corner of the island and captured one fort. The next day they advanced along the island and attacked one of the larger forts, which fell after almost the entire garrison was killed. Three Americans were killed in this battle. Two of them were buried on Chagyak-to. One, Lt. McKee, was returned to the United States and buried in Kentucky.

Five forts in all having been captured, the Americans embarked and returned to the anchorage near Chagyak-to on 12 June. There the ships remained until 3 July, when they set sail for China, their mission not accomplished.

As a result of the lack of success of these two expeditions, the Korean government obtained an exaggerated opinion of the military power of Korea and remained determined to maintain its policy of strict isolation. On 19 September 1875, however, a Japanese ship was fired on by a fort on the north side of the island. The Japanese then attacked the fort and killed most of the garrison. After discussions in Japan as to what to do, a fleet was dispatched to Korea and on 10 February a landing was made on Kanghwa-do. After two weeks of negotiations, a treaty was signed which rang the death knell to Korea’s isolationism.

During the remainder of the dynasty, in spite of the difficult situation in which Korea found itself in the struggle between China, Russia and Japan for supremacy in the Far East, fortresses were neglected and fell into [page 26] ruin.

**F. Since 1910**

Since the Yi Dynasty no fortresses in the old style have been built. It is interesting, however, that most of the fortresses in the province were evidently used during the Korean War, as the large number of foxholes and trenches dug along the walls testify. Pukhan-sansŏng played a particularly important role, as it was inside this fortress that the Communist spring offensive of 1952 was stopped and Seoul was saved from a third occupation.

At the present time, one might call the entire northern part of the province a fortress. Perhaps some day in the future these fortifications can serve as the subject matter for another R.A.S. paper.

As for the other fortresses, many are continuing to disintegrate, others are being repaired as tourist attractions. They serve the latter purpose well and along with the royal tombs are a distinctive feature of Korea that will be of interest to the foreign visitor.

**III. Individual Fortresses**

Before giving the location, history and description of the individual fortresses, I would like to say just a few words about style.

The Three Kingdoms fortresses were relatively simple. As they are all pretty much in ruins, it is not possible to be certain about height, what style of parapets were used or whether there were any embrasures (holes through which to fire weapons). In the fortresses made of stone, the facing was frequently of relatively small shaped stone which was backed with unshaped stone mixed with earth. With only a few exceptions, the inside of this wall was not elevated above ground level. As the fortresses were built on mountains this was accomplished by filling in the space behind the wall up to the point where [page27] the natural elevation was the same as the top of the wall. Outside the stone wall, there was frequently an outer wall of earth, at least in those places where attack was most likely.

There are no gates remaining in any of these fortresses, but a few have openings which may or may not have been covered. This raises several possibilities. One is that there were no gates and that the fortresses were entered by means of wooden ramps or ladders. Another is that there were openings in the walls which in time of attack were filled with stones or closed with a wooden gate. The third possibility is that the gates were similar to those in later fortresses, but were all so poorly constructed that they have fallen down and left no traces.

As is evident from the large amount of tile and broken pottery found inside these fortresses, they contained many buildings which were probably lived in for long periods of time. None of these are still in existence. Probably, as in later fortresses, a building on the highest ground was used as the command post when the fortress was under attack.

It is not possible to reach any general conclusions concerning Koryŏ fortresses from those in that portion of Kyŏnggi-do south of the Imjin River as several are of earth and the existing walls on Kanghwa-do were built during the Yi Dynasty. It is evident from the stone fortress at Chuksan (竹山), however that there was a vast improvement in fortress architecture. The outer face of the wall is made from larger stones, the wall is much thicker and more substantial, and the gates, which use the square arch, are still partially standing.

The Yi Dynasty fortresses are mostly in fairly good repair. Like the earlier fortresses, the walls are faced with shaped stone backed with unshaped stone mixed with earth. Many of these facing stories, which are relatively [page 28] large and were sometimes polished, are in the shape of elongated pyramids in order to allow them to be pushed into the backing stone and earth and thereby held in place more solidly. The gates are of two types: large structures topped with wooden pavilions, and small somewhat hidden openings probably used for sorties or to send out messangers. The former always use the round arch. The arch of the latter may be round or square.

The parapets consist of crenelated battlements, with the crenels, or open spaces between the merlons, quite narrow. The merlons, which are usually 3 to 4 feet in height, each have from 1 to 3 embrasures.

These merlons are called *y*ŏ*ch’*ŏ*p* (女堞) in Korean. They are made from stone or grey brick held m place with concrete. The tops consist of stone or tile, shaped somewhat like a roof. Behind them is the wall-walk which often consists of steps where the wall ascends a mountain steeply.

Like the earlier fortresses, with a few exceptions the wall-walk is almost level with the ground. Unlike fortresses of early periods, however, there are no smaller earth walls outside the stone walls.

Inside the fortresses were a number of buildings: barracks for the soldiers, all of which have fallen into complete ruin, warehouses, living quarters for the king, Buddhist temples, pavilions, etc. There are also the foundation stones of command posts, where the fortress commanders directed the battle in case of attack. As these buildings were usually on high ground on or near the walls, they must have been well protected or the generals could have been killed relatively easily.

**A. Tribal Period**

1. Hamwang-sŏng (咸王城)

Located on the western edge of Yongmun-san (龍門 [page29] 山) in Yongch’ŏn-ni, (龍川里) Okch’ŏnmyŏn, Yang-p’yŏng-gun(楊平郡). According to legend, about 3,000 years ago a man named Ham (咸) came forth from a pothole in the stream flowing south from the fortress. He became ruler of the people in the area and attempted to found a kingdom with its capital inside the fortress. He was eventually defeated by the Samhan, an event caused, in the legend, by the fact that he left the pothole, his mother, outside the fortress walls, thereby showing a lack of filial piety. At Sanha-sa (山下寺), a small temple in the valley, prayers are still recited for the spirit of King Ham. Probably this legend has some basis in fact in that a Chinhan or Mahan tribe might have at one time lived inside the fortress. The *Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnarn* states that it was used as a place of refuge for people living in the surrounding area during the Mongol invasions of the 13th century.

The site of this fortress is quite spectacular—a ring of heavily wooded peaks as high as 1,031 metres surrounding a valley through which flows a stream filled with deep pools and beautiful waterfalls. About all that remains of the fortress itself, however, is a pile of stone at the entrance to the valley.

2. Pibong-sansong (飛鳳山城)

Located between the front and second peak of Pibong in Ansŏng-ŭp (安城邑). Its history is unknown, but its location and obvious antiquity suggest that it was a place of refuge for a Mahan tribe living in the fertile valley south of the mountain. It is relatively small and little of the stone wall remains.

There are a number of other fortresses which may have been built in tribal days. Indeed, many of those now in existence may originally have been used at that time.

**B. Three Kingdoms**

3. Isŏng-sansŏng (二聖山城)

Located on Isŏng-san (ht. 203 metres), north of [page 30] Namhan-san, in Ch’un’gung-ni, (春宮里) Sŏbu-myŏn, (西部面) Kwangju-gun (廣州郡). This was probably built in the first or second century as a place of refuge for the Paekche (百濟) kings in case the capital was attacked. Similar fortresses were built at the Paekche capitals of Kongju (公州) and Puyŏ (扶餘). Its location suggests that smoke signals from fortresses north of the Han may have been received here in time of invasion. It was perhaps from this fortress that King Kaero tried to flee when he was captured by Koguryŏ. There is no record of it having been used following that debacle, although as the Koryŏ provincial capital of Kwangju was located east of the mountain, it may have been used during the Mongol invasions.

There are no particularly distinctive features of the fortress, which is of medium size. Considering its age, it is fairly well preserved, but much of the eastern wall is completely gone.

4. Pungnam-ni T’osŏng (風納里土城)

Located in P’ungnam-ni, Kuch’ŏn-myŏn, Kwangju-gun, near the bank of the Han River south of the road leading to Ich’ŏn. There are many opposing points of view concerning this fortress. One is that it was the original Hanam Wirye-song (河南慰禮城) of Onjo. first king of Paekche. Another is that it was Sa-sŏng (蛇城, Snake Fortress) built in 286 A.D. to protect Paekche from a possible Koguryŏ invasion. Other authorities claim it was built during the reign of King Kaero (蓋鹵 455— 475 A.D.). Still others state that it was built by the Manchus in 1637.

None of these points of view satisfactorily explains this massive earth fortress, which is almost 2 miles in circumference. It is not a good location for a Three Kingdoms city as it has no natural protection except for the river and would be flooded during the rainy season (indeed, almost all the western part of the wall has been washed away by the river). It seems much too large for [page 31] a protective fortress unless it were the main camp for the army durng an invasion. One basis for the claim that it was built by the Manchus is the failure of the *Tongguk Y*ŏ*ji Sŭngnam* to list it. There are other old fortresses which are not mentioned, however, and as the Manchus invaded in the winter when the ground was frozen it is doubtful that they built it, although they may very well have used it as a base camp during the seige of Namhan-sansŏng (南漢山城).The tablet erected by the Manchus to commemorate the surrender of King Injo is located near the southwest corner of the walls. If it is a Paekche fortress, as seems likely, it is the largest one left in the province. Whatever the reason for its construction, it represents a large undertaking for those days.

5. Ach’a-sŏng (阿且城)

Located on Ach’a-san (峨嵯山) beside the Han River on the eastern edge of Seoul. It was also called Ahan-sŏng, or Changhan-sŏng (長漢城) in Silla times, and is popularly known as Kwangjin-sansŏng (廣津山城) today.

The history of this fortress is better known than that of any other from the same period. It was probably built in 286 A.D. to protect the Paekche capital in case of attack. In 475 A.D. King Kaero of Paekche was taken there as a prisoner of Koguryŏ and was killed. Following the Silla occupation of the Han River plain in 533 A.D., the fortress was repaired and strengthened. This invited a Koguryŏ attack, and the fortress fell, but was recaptured by Silla a short time later. A large Silla garrison was then maintained there. It is recorded that one of the best known Silla songs was about the recapture of Changhan-sŏng (長漢城).

Ach’a-sŏng consists of two parts, a medium-sized fortress on the southern slope of Ach’a-san and a wall running along the top of the mountain for several miles. The former is quite well preserved but there are only remnants of the latter. One different feature is that the [page 32] wall rises above ground level on both sides. There is an opening in the northern wall which may have been a gate. At present the fortress is used to protect a small summer house belonging to President Rhee.

6. Taemo-sansŏng (大母山城)

Located on Taemo-san (大母山城 ht. 213 metres), one mile west of Yangju (楊州). It is in the centre of the pass which leads from the northwest to the Paekche capital and was therefore probably built in the 3rd or 4th century to protect the capital. It may also have been used at various time by Koguryŏ and Silla forces. Undoubtedly it was attacked and captured by Koguryŏ prior to the great defeat of Paekche in 475 A.D.

The walls are 906 *ch’ŏk*1) in circumference. In some places they are in good conditon, but mostly they have fallen down. The amount of broken pottery is the greatest for the area of any Three Kingdoms fortress I have visited. This may indicate either a long occupancy, a violent battle, or both.

7. Puram-sansŏng (佛岩山城)

Located on the southern and lower peak (ht, 420 metres) of Puram-san (佛岩山) in Nohae-myŏn, Yangju-gun (蘆海面 楊州郡). It is very small, heptagon shaped, and may have been a signal-fire place as well as a fortress. This view is strengthened by the fact that it is between Taemo-sansŏng (大母山城) and Isŏng-sansŏng (二聖山城) and would have been the logical spot to send smoke or fire messages warning the capital of invasion. It is not certain however, whether this signal system used during Koryŏ and the Yi dynasties was also used earlier.

8. Tongsŏng-sansŏng (童城山城)

Located on Tongsŏng-san (童城山 T’ae-san) in Chinsŏng-myŏn (震城面), Kimp’o-gun (金浦郡). It was also called Tongja-sŏng (童子城). This fortress was probably

*1) A Korean measurement slightly longer than a foot.*

[page 33]

originally constructed by Paekche to protect its territory from Koguryŏ invasion, perhaps in the Fourth century. In 673 A.D., when Silla and T’ang were fighting over the division of spoils following the conquest of Paekche and Koguryŏ, T’ang forces attacked and captured this fortress.

The stone wall is 807 *chŏk* in circumference. Almost none of the facing is in place. West of the stone wall is a much longer earth wall which is not as high. It may be an ancient tribal fortress, or might have been built during the T’ang attack, or perhaps later during the Mongol invasion.

9. Sŏngsan Kosŏng (城山古城)

Located on Pongso-san (ht. 216 metres) in P’aju-ri, Chunae-myŏn, P’aju-gun (坡州里 州內面 坡州郡). Also called Pongni-sansŏng, it was probably originally built by Paekche in the fourth century and because of its strategic location just south of the Imjin River it was undoubtedly used many times during the wars that followed. One occasion when it was put into use was following the Japanese retreat from the north in 1593 when the Japanese were defeated there.

The *Tongguk Y*ŏ*ji Sŭngnam* says the fortress is 2,905 *chŏk* in circumference. This is obviously not correct. Possibly 905 *chŏk* is the correct figure. According to the *Munh*ŏ*n Pigo*, it was repaired twice during the reign of Sŏnjo (宣祖). It has 3 gates and a place for firing cannon. An army unit now occupies the fortress and it cannot be visited.

10. T’ot’an-sŏng (吐吞城)

Located on Sŏngsan (ht. 148 metres) Ch’ŏksŏng-ni, Ch’ŏksong-myŏn, P’aju-gun (積城面 坡州郡). It is also called Ch’ilch’ung-sŏng (七層城). It was undoubtedly built by Paekche in the fourth century to protect against Koguryŏ invasion. It was an important fortress as it is in front of a pass leading to the southeast. In 661 A.D. the Koguryŏ army attacked Silla forces in the fortress [page 34] and defeated them. This temporary success was of no permanent value, however, as within a few years Koguryo had suffered its final defeat.

The *Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnam* gives the circumference as 1, 937 *chŏk*, but this seems too much. The wall is now completely in ruins and the fortress is used as a lookout point by the ROK Army.

11. Kyeyang-sansŏng (桂陽山城)

Located on Annam-san (安南山 ht. 195 metres) southeast of Kyeyang-san (桂陽山), in Pup’yŏng-ni (富平里), Pup’yŏng-myŏn(富平面), Puch’ŏn-gun(富川郡). As this fortress was built in such a way that it is a protection against attack from the south rather than the north, it may have been built by Koguryŏ in the fourth or fifth century. If so, it must have been attacked and recaptured by Paekche at some time. This may be the fortress which Hulbert states was built by Koguryŏ at Ch’i-yang, near the Paekche capital, in 360 A.D. If so, it was used as a base for infantry ana cavalry to plunder Paekche territory, but was attacked by Paekche and captured after 5,000 Koguryŏ soldiers were killed. Hulbert states that after this incident Paekche built a series of forts along the southern bank of the Han River.

This is one of the most impressive of the Three Kingdoms fortresses in Kyŏnggi-do, in part because of the excellent view it commands of the Seoul-Inch’ŏn area. The *Tongguk Y*ŏ*ji Sŭngnam* gives its circumference as 1,937 *chŏk*, but it seems to be longer than this, perhaps over half a mile.

12. Sŏngsan-sŏng (城山城)

Located on Sŏng-san (城山 also Chin-san 鎭山, ht. 79 metres), on the south bank of the Han River at Yangch’ŏn-ni (陽川里), Yangch’ŏn-myŏn (陽川浦), Kimp’o-gun (金浦郡). It was probably built by Paekche in the fourth century. Cannon in this fortress may have fired on the French ships which sailed up the Han River in [page 35] October 1866.

The circumference is 726 *ch’ŏk*. It was built of mixed earth and stone. During the Korean War much of it was dug up arid very little remains.

13. Fortress near Kimp’o Airport

I have only seen this fortress from the road. It seems to be made of earth. If Kyeyang-sansŏng (桂陽山城) was a Koguryŏ fortress, this may have been built by Paekche for protection.

14. Namsan Kosŏng (南山古城)

Located on Munhak-san(文鶴山) (ht. 233 metres), southeast of Inch’ŏn (仁川) City, At one time the town of Inch’ŏn was in the valley north of the mountain and it was known as Inch’ŏn Nam-san (南山), According to legend, Piryu (沸流), the older brother of Onjo(溫祚), first king of Paekche, settled at Inch’ŏn and built this fortress, but after a year he died and his followers moved to Wirye-sŏng (慰禮城). There are other possibilities. It may have been a tribal fortress, it may have been built by Paekche in the fourth century, or it may have been built by Koguryŏ in the early fifth century when a sea invasion of Paekche was launched.

This is a small fortress, only 430 *ch’ŏk* in circumference, and it is in fairly good condition. There is a large pile of oyster shells and bones of some sea animal which indicates that the fortress was occupied for a considerable period of time.

15. Puksŏng-sansŏng (北城山城)

Located on Puksŏng-san (ht. 155 metres), west of the town of Kimp’o. According to the *Tongguk Y*ŏ*ji Sŭngnam* it was 10 *ch’ŏk* high and 2,650 *ch’ŏk* in circumference. Now it is mostly in ruins. It may have been constructed by Paekche.

16. Fortress at Ttuksŏm (纛島)

On a hill (ht. 83 metres) across the Han River from [page 36] Ttuksŏm there is an earth fortress which I have seen from across the river that probably dates from Paekche.

17. Puksŏngsan Kosansŏng (北城山古山城)

Located on Puksŏng-san (北城山) (ht. 274 metres), near the city of Yŏju (廳州). It was probably built in 551 A.D. when the Silla-Paekche forces invaded Koguryŏ. I have only seen this fortress from a distance.

18. Sŏlbong-sansŏng (雪峰山城)

Located on Sŏlbong-san(雪峰山) (ht. 394 metres) in Ich’on. It has also been called Oe-sŏng (外城) and Munhak-sŏng (文鶴城). This was evidently one of the fortresses either built by Paekche as it recovered some of its former territory on the north after its defeat in 475, or in 551 A.D. when Silla and Paekche attacked Koguryŏ. During the Japanese invasion of 1592, there was a brief battle in which the Japanese were the victors.

Three peaks of the mountain have walls around them. Of these, the walls on the main peak and the north peak are almost gone, while the one on the eastern peak is in the best condition and the stone facing is still preserved in several places. This is the only fortress in the province that has three separate walls on the same mountain.

19. Pogae-sangsŏng(寶蓋山城)

Located on Pogae-san (寶蓋山) (ht. 472 metres) in Kusŏng-myŏn (舊城面), Yongin-gun (龍仁郡). This was another fortress built for the 551 Paekche-Silla invasion of Koguryŏ. No records state whether it was actually used. The circumference is 2,529 *ch’ŏk*. It has the appearance of having been built in haste as the stone is unshaped and in places is just piled up. There are openings where may have been gates at the southern and north-western corners of the wall. The northeastern part of the wall is gone.

20. Komo-sŏng (姑母城)

A smaller fortress on Paek-hyŏn (白峴) (ht. 350 metres) [page 37] directly north of Pogae-sansŏng (寶蓋山城). I have only seen it from a distance, but the wall appears very substantial. This may have been a Koguryŏ fortress built as defence against attacks from Pogae-sansŏng.

**C. Koryŏ**

21. Panwŏl-sŏng (半月城)

Located on Ch’ŏngsŏng-san (ht. 289 metres) in Kunnae-myŏn (郡內面), P’och’ŏn-gun (抱川郡). It was constructed during the reign of Kung-ye (弓裔 901-918), king of T’aebong (泰封), to protect the southern approach to his capital at Ch’ŏrwŏn (鐵原). In 1618, Kwanghae (海光) had the fortress repaired and stationed troops there from fear of a possible Manchu invasion. They were withdrawn in 1623 and the fortress was not used after that.

The walls are 1,937 *ch’ŏk* in circumference. Except for a few places, they are mostly in ruins. There are the remains of three command posts on the northeast, northwest and southwest corners. In the middle of the southern part of the fortress is a place where there evidently used to be a Buddhist temple. There are no ruins of a gate. In a field at the southwest corner of the mountain is a rather worn standing Buddhist statue with a stone hat which was probably made in late Silla or early Koryo.

22. Tang-sŏng (唐城)

Located on Kubong-san (ht. 158 metres), Sŏsin-myŏn (西新面), Hwasŏng-gun (華城郡). It was built under the direction of eight men from T’ang, probably to protect the new kingdom of kingdom of Koryŏ from sea attack. It was also undoubtedly used as protection from the Japanese pirates who were a constant scourge to the coast of Koryŏ. According to a policeman in the area, during the early days of the Yi Dynasty the No family lived in the fortress and used it as a storage place for rice being shipped from the southern provinces to Seoul.

The circumference is 2,415 *ch’ŏk*. The walls are made [page 38] from mixed earth and unshaped stone. The fortress commands an excellent view of the bay to the west. At one time, prior to the development of Inch’ŏn, this must have been one of the major port areas in the province.

23. Muran-sŏng (舞鸞城)

Located on Murang-san (also called Kosŏng-san 古城山 and Paegun-san 白雲山) (ht. 298 metres), in Yangsŏng-myŏn (陽城面), Ansŏng-gun 安城郡). No history of this fortress is known. In style it is different from any of the early fortresses in that the wall rises up to 6 feet above the inside ground level. It is constructed from earth mixed with unshaped stone. In the north and south are openings which served as gates. In the centre of the north on the highest point are the remains of the command post. There was an earthen extension of the wall on the northeast, below a small temple, Usu-am, which was founded about 1740.

This fortress may have been built during the early days of Koryŏ when Hu Paekche and Koryŏ were fighting for control of the peninsula. Its position indicates that it was built for defence against attack from the south.

24. Chukchu Kosŏng (竹州古城)

Located on a smaller peak (ht. 231 metres) east of Pibong-san (飛鳳山) just north of Chuksan (竹山) in Ansŏng-gun (安城郡). It was built in 1226 under the direction of General Song Mun-ju (宋文胃), who had had experience fighting Mongols along the northern frontier. When the Mongols invaded Korea for the second time in 1235 they surrounded this fortress and demanded that the garrison surrender. Instead, the Koreans attacked the invaders. The Mongols then constructed catapults and flung stone into the fortress. The defenders also built catapults and forced the Mongols to withdraw further from the walls. The Mongols then set fire to straw and flung it into the fortress, but the Korean soldiers rushed out of the gates and killed many [page 39] of them. General Song seemed to anticipate all the Mongols’ tactics and earned the reputation among his soldiers of having clairvoyance. At last the Mongols gave up the seige and withdrew. Of course, for them this was only a minor setback and it did not prevent them from plundering the rest of the country.

Chukchu Kosŏng(竹州古城) is 3,874 *ch’ŏk* in circumference. Its thick walls and intricate design make it one of the most interesting fortresses in the province. The walls in many places are faced with stone on both sides. There are no merlons and it is not possible to tell whether there was any arrangement for firing at the enemy from the top of the wall. One unusual feature is that the fortress is divided in two by a large thick wall. At the northeast corner there are foundation stones of a building surrounded with large rectangular stones on three sides with round holes in the bottom layer. There are also foundation stones of command posts at the southeast corner, southwest corner, and on the wall dividing the fortress into two parts. There are remains of three square-arch gates in the east, south and north. To complete the peculiarities of this fortress, the northern half is again subdivided by a smaller wall.

25. Kanghwa-do(江華島)

The island of Kanghwa is located just below the mouth of the Han River. It is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait through which the tides rush with the turbulence of a mountain stream. For this reason it is hard to attack arid since the Koryŏ period has served as a place of refuge for the royal family in case of invasion.

The first time it was used was in 1232. King Kojong had already decided to surrender to the Mongol khan, whose army had invaded Korea and done great damage, but General Ch’oe U, who held a position somewhat similar to that of shogun in Japan, decided to flee to Kanghwa-do where he felt he would be safe from the Mongols, [page 40] who were ignorant of shipbuilding, and he forced the king to accompany him there. Between 1233 and 1237 earthern walls were built along the shore facing the mainland.

For the next 27 years the Koryŏ court remained on the island while the Mongols demanded that the king return to Sŏngdo (松都). They tried to enforce this demand by occasional invasions which resulted in widespread destruction and the abduction of thousands of Koreans into slavery, but they were never able to invade the island. It was during this period that the 81,000 plates for printing the Buddhist scriptures, now stored in Haein-sa (海印寺), were carved in hope that Buddha would reward Korea by expelling the Mongols. This did not happen, however, and finally, after the king’s death in 1259, the capital was moved back to Sŏngdo and for a hundred years. Korea was for all practical purposes a Mongol colony. Many of the walls on the island were destroyed under Mongol supervision.

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In 1290 the king fled to Kanghwa again to escape from an invasion of the Haptan Tartars (哈丹) and remained there for two years. For the remainder of Koryŏ the fortress played no important role in history.

During the Japanese invasion of 1592-98 no attempt was made to use Kanghwa-do. This was probably because the Japanese were a seafaring people. When the Manchus invaded in 1627, however, King Injo fled to Kanghwa-do, but in a conference on the island with the Manchu envoys peace was made, the Manchus withdrew, and he returned to Seoul.

Presumably about this time there must have been some repairs on the Kanghwa-do wall, although records do not mention them. It seems likely that the earthen walls built 400 years before were not in good shape. It is possible, however, that the Koreans felt so certain that Kanghwa could not be successfully invaded that no [page 41] large-scale attempt was made to improve the fortifications.

In January 1637 the Manchus invaded again. The queen, the crown princess, her son and two of the King’s sons, along with many officials and their families, were sent to Kanghwa-do, along with the dynasty’s ancestral tablets. King In jo meant to follow them, but he delayed too long and was forced to flee to Namhan-sansŏng (南漢山城).

In order to show the King the hopelessness of his position, the Manchus decided to capture Kanghwa-do. They built boats on the mainland and had soon ferried sufficient troops to the island to begin the attack. This proved to be relatively easy because the Korean generals in charge had been so certain that Kanghwa was invincible that they had done nothing to organize the defending forces. As a result, the island was soon captured and its royal occupants were made prisoners. Shortly after this catastrophe, King in jo was forced to surrender.

The fortifications as they are at present were mainly built during the reigns of Sukchong (肅宗) and Yŏngjo (英祖), in particular under the direction of General Kim Ki-hwan in 1746. At that time the brick parts of the wall were added, along with 4,740 merlons. The square stone individual forts were also built. The army map shows 39 of these. Bishop Trollope in his article on Kang-wha says there were 60 or 70. Of these, 12 larger ones were garrisoned continually, while the smaller ones were used only in case of attack. They were made mainly to hold cannon. Most of these forts, which surround the entire island while the wall is confined to the eastern shore, are still in relatively good condition and are of interest because they are the only forts of this type in the province.

Kanghwa-do also played an important part in Korean history during the last days of the Yi Dynasty, mainly because it lay astride the sea route to the capital. [page 42]

In 1866 a French naval force landed men on the shore near Kanghwa City, which was quickly captured. (The final story of this expedition will be told under 26 and 27 below). In June 1871 one of the forts fired on American vessels sailing up the strait and as a result American troops attacked and captured 5 forts, inflicting over 80 casualties on the Korean defenders with the loss of only 3 men. In 1875, the firing on a Japanese ship from a fort on the northern side of the island resulted in a punitive expedition and the signing of a treaty the next year between Japan and Korea which brought an end to Korea’s isolation.

The important part it has played in Korean history, the magnitude of the fortifications, and the beauty of its natural scenery make Kanghwa-do one of the most interesting fortresses to visit.

26. Kanghwa City (江華邑)

Located on Kanghwa-do. From 1232 until 1260 Kanghwa, also called Kangdo (江都), was the capital of Korea. The earliest walls were built in 1233, but in 1637 the Manchus captured the city and destroyed them. They were rebuilt in 1677, and in 1710 the walls were enlarged to their present circumference of slightly under 4 miles. The city was captured again by the French in 1866 and there was considerable destruction, some of which was repaired shortly thereafter.

The wall is still in fairly good condition. Of the four gates which were originally topped with wooden pavilions, one, the West Gate, is still in excellent shape. The East Gate’s pavilion has been destroyed, and I have not visited the other two.

27. Samnang-song (三郞城)

Located on Ch’ŏndŭng-san (傳燈山 ht. 221 metres) in the southeastern corner of Kanghwa-do. It was also known as Chŏngjok-sangsŏng(鼎足山城). According to legend it was constructed by a son of Tan’gun (檀君) [page 43] named Samnang (三郞), but it was probably either built or repaired when the Koryŏ capital was at Kanghwa. The present walls, one and a quarter miles in circumference, the three arched gates and 705 merlons date from 1738. This was an important fortress at that time because one copy of the historical records of the Yi Dynasty were kept at Ch’ŏndung-sa, (傳燈寺) a Buddhist temple inside the walls. The fortress was defended by monk-soldiers who were stationed there until the 1890’s.

Samnang-sŏng’s glorious page in Korean history was written on 27 October 1866, when a detachment of French soldiers, who had been sent there from Kanghwa city, attacked the fortress and were driven away by the Korean defenders, who had been reinforced by a group of fierce tiger hunters. This defeat helped cause the French retreat from the island and gave the Korean Government an exaggerated opinion of its own military power.

**D. Yi Dynasty**

28. Seoul City Wall (서울市城壁)

The Seoul wall, somewhat over 10 miles in circumference, connects four mountains — Nam-san (南山 ht. 233 metres,) T’arak-san(駝駱山), Pugak-san(北岳山 ht. 342 metres) and Inwang-san (仁旺山 ht. 338 metres). The story is told that the course of the fortress follows a line of snow seen by the king one winter morning. It seems more likely that he took advantage of the fact that these mountains provided a good natural protection for the city, except in the east and southwest.

Like all cities built on Chinese models, the wall had eight gates, two for each of the cardinal directions. The names of these rates and the directions they faced were as follows:

[page44]

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|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Original Name | Popular Name | Direction |
| Sŭngnye-mun  崇禮門 | Nam-daemun 南大門 (South gate) | South |
| Kwanghui-mun  光熙門 | Nam-somun 南小門 (Little South Gate) | Southeast  • |
| Hŭngin-mun  (later Hunginji-mun)  興仁門, 興仁之門 | Tong-daemun 東大門(East Gate)  **•** | East  •  • |
| Honghwa-mun\*  (later Hyehwa-mun)  弘化門, 惠化門 | Tong-s**o**mun 南小門 (Little East Gate) | Northeast |
| Sukch’ŏng-mun  肅淸門 | Sukch’**ŏ**n-mun (Silent Gate) | North |
| Ch’angui-mun\*\*  彰義門 | Pung-mun 北門  (North Gate) | Northwest |
| Tonui-mun\*  敦義門 | S**ŏ**-daemun 西大門 (West Gate) | West |
| Sodong-mun\*  (later Soui-mun)  照德門, 照義門 | So-s**ŏ**mun 西小門  (Little West Gate)  • | Southwest |

The main emphasis during the original construction of the wall was on speed, not on excellence of construction. As a result, unshaped stone and even clay were used and it has been necessary to rebuild much of the wall and all the gates during succeeding centuries, although some sections of the original wall remain on the ridge east of Sukch’ŏng-mun (蕭淸門) and south of Kwanghui-mun (光熙門).

The first extensive rebuilding took place in 1422, when 322,400 labourers were mobilized in the spring to replace badly-built portions of the wall, particularly those sections where clay had been used instead of stone. This time the stone was cut into rectangular or square blocks and the wall curved outward a little in the middle.

The next large-scale repairs were done during the

*\** Now destroyed.

\*\* Later the Sukch’ong-mun was closed and this gate became known as the North Gate*.*

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reigns of Hyojong (孝宗 1650-1659) and Sukchong (肅宗 during 9 years commencing in 1704). Both times square blocks were used and the wall was vertical. Less extensive repairs were also made during the reign of Yŏngjo (middle 18th century). The gates have also been rebuilt at various times. A short history of each, in the order listed above, follows.

1. Sŭngnye-mun (崇禮門 South Gate). The original gate was built in 1398. This structure was not satisfactory and it was torn down and replaced by the present gate during the reign of King Sejong (世宗) in 1447. The portions of the wall leading from the gate were destroyed in 1907-1908 in order to facilitate the flow of traffic, leaving it an isolated island which has almost become a symbol of the city.

The signboard on this gate is supposed to be the calligraphy of Prince Yangnyong(讓寧大君), the oldest brother of King Sejong. This prince preferred scholarly pursuits to politics and was happy to see his younger brother made king. The signboard disappeared following the Japanese invasion and was later found buried in a ditch during the reign of Kwanghae. According to legend, it was located by digging where strange light rays pointed at night.

2. Kwanghŭi-mun (光熙門 Little South Gate). Only the arch of the structure remains. According to ancient records, there was originally a gate at the southeast further to the south, but it was destroyed upon the advice of geomancers in 1469. Presumably the present gate dates from that time.

3. Hŭnginji-mun (興仁之門 East Gate). The present structure dates from 1869. It is distinguished from the other existing gates by having a protective half-moon wall on the outside of the gate. The West Gate, now destroyed, was similar in design. [page 46]

4. Hyehwa-mun (惠化門). The original name of Honghwa-mun (弘化門) was changed by King Sŏngjong in 1475 to distinguish it from the main gate of the newly-constructed Ch’anggyŏng Palace. One distinguishing feature was that phoenixes were painted on the ceiling of the pavilion instead of dragons. The pavilion was torn down in 1928. The stone arch was demolished in 1939.

5. Sukch’ŏng-mun (肅淸門 Silent Gate). The original gate was torn down in 1504 and the present structure was built a little to the east. Originally built as the North Gate, it was not used for several centuries and the Changŭi-mun became known as the North Gate. There was a story that the gate was closed because if it were opened the women of Seoul would become immoral (It might be noted that it is not closed at present.)

6. Ch’angŭi-mun (彰義門). The present stonework was repaired and the pavilion built in 1741. The wooden rooster in the top part of the gate was placed there, according to legend, in order to protect Seoul from the centipede-like terrain outside the gate. In history, it is known as the gate through which In jo entered with his followers to overthrow Kwanghae and became king.

7. Tonŭi-mun (敦義門 West Gate). This gate, destroyed in 1915, was located on Sinmun-no north of the Orthodox Church. The original gate was located farther north, but the location was changed by Sejong in 1422 when the wall was being repaired.

8. Soŭi-mun (昭義門 Little West Gate). Originally called Sodŏng-mun, it was renamed in 1472. During the Yi Dynasty, bodies of the dead had to be removed from the city through this gate or the Kwanghŭi-mun. It was destroyed, along with much of the wall leading from West Gate to South Gate, in 1914.

In spite of the vast amount of effort put into building and repairing the Seoul City Wall, it has [page 47] provided little protection for the city. Each time invading troops have reached Seoul, it has fallen to the enemy: the Japanese in 1592, the troops of Yi Kwal (李适) in 1624, the Manchus in 1637, and the Communists in 1950. Today, with parts of it torn down to make room for the much-expanded city, and many other parts falling into ruin, it serves mainly as a reminder of ancient times and as a path for hikers.

29. P’asa-sŏng (婆婆城)

Located on Pasa-san (婆婆城 ht. 231 metres), in Ch’onso-ri(川西里), Taesin-myon (大新門), Yŏju-gun(驪州郡). It was built in 1592 under the direction of a monk-warrior named Uiam. The location was chosen because it commands an excellent view of the Han River at a ferry crossing where the Japanese would probably attempt to cross the river. The fortress was evidently not successful however, in stopping the Japanese advance on Seoul.

The circumference of the stone wall is stated to be 1,100 paces1) in the *Munhŏn Pigo*. It is still in quite good condition and is 18-20 feet tall where it has not fallen down. This makes the fortress one of the larger ones in the province. There were two gates, neither of which are now standing. One interesting feature of the fortress is the four stone platforms built outside the walls, one of them in front of the north gate. The purpose of these platforms is unknown.

30. Tŏksan-sŏng (德山城)

Located on the peak of Tŏk-san (德山) known as Sema-dae (洗馬臺) (height 208 metres) in Chigon-ni (紙串里), Sŏngho-myŏn (城湖面), Hwasŏng-gun (華城郡), near Osan (烏山). On top of the mountain are the remains of a small Paekche fortress which was built about or before 551 A.D. when the joint Paekche—Silla forces recaptured the southern part of Kyonggi-do from

1) A Korean measurement over 2 feet long.

[page48]

Koguryŏ. In 1592, following the capture of Seoul by the Japanese, a much larger fortress was built by the troops commanded by General Kwŏn Yul and used as a base for guerilla operations against the Japanese invaders.

This fortress commands an excellent view of that part of the province south of Suwŏn (水原) and west of Yongin (龍仁). There is one small crate, a small Buddhist temple and a pavilion recently erected by the provincial government. The province has also built a road partway up the mountain for the convenience of visitors.

31. Haengju-sansŏng (幸州山城)

Located on Sŭngjŏn-bong (勝戰峰), Tŏgyang-san (ht. 125 metres), Chido-myŏn (知道面)，Koyang-gun The peak rises sharply from the Han River and from the top there is an excellent view of the river below Seoul. The fortress, which was mainly constructed of wood, was built in 1593 under the direction of General Kwŏn Yul following the retreat of the Japanese invaders from the north to Seoul. The Japanese attacked the fortress and were finally repelled.

As Haengju-sansŏng was built hastily and mainly from wood, the remains are scanty—mostly piled-up earth which provided foundations for the palisade. The provincial government has rebuilt a pavilion on the mountain top and has repaired the road leading part-way up the mountain. In 1957 the ROK marines put up a monument commemorating the victory to replace one originally erected in 1842. It is amusing that the plywood used to make the sign telling the history of the battle in both English and Korean has stamped on the back “Made in Nagoya, Japan”

32. Namhansan-sŏng (南漢山城)

Located on Namhan-san, Kwangju-myŏn (廣州面), Kwangju-gun (廣州郡). The highest peaks within the fortress are Ilchang-san (ht. 495 metres) on the west and Pong-am (ht. 620 metres) on the east. In addition, south [page 49] of the main fortress, on Kudan-san (ht. 542 metres) are two small forts.

The history of Namhan-san is a long one. The *Tongguk Y*ŏ*ji Sŭngnam* says, “In the thirteenth year of Onjo (6 B.C.) an old woman turned into a man, five tigers entered the fortress and the king’s mother died. Then the king told his attendants, east of our country is Nangnang (樂浪), north are the Malgal (靺鞨). They invade our borders and we have few peaceful days. Furthermore, many unlucky events have taken place. My mother has died. I am now very unhappy and will transfer the capital. Yesterday I went out and observed south of the Han River. The land there is very fertile. It would be very good to live in that region. Let us have peace for a long time. In the seventh moon he had a wood palisade built at Hansan and transferred the people there from Wirye-sŏng. In the ninth moon fortifications were built.” One interesting part of this quotation is the statment that Nangnang was on the east. One would think he would place Nangang on the north, the Malgal on the east.

The exact location referred to is not certain, but some historians claim it was either on the site of the present fortress or was north of it. It is fairly well established that eventually the valley north of Namhan-san became the Paekche capital and probably there was some kind of fortification on the top of the mountain.

In the 13th year of King Munmu (文武) of Silla (672 A.D.) a fortress named Chujang-sŏng(晝長城) was built on the western edge of Namhan-san. The *Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnam* states that it was 86,800 *ch’ŏk* in circumference. This was an error and was corrected in the *Munhŏn Pigo*, which puts the circumference at 4,360 paces, smaller than at present. The reason for building the fortress was that as Silla and T’ang were at odds over the division of spoils following the capture of Paekche and, Koguryŏ, Silla was preparing for a possible Chinese [page 50] invasion from the north.

Later the fortress became known as Ilchang-sŏng (日長城). During the Koryŏ period it was kept in repair, as Kwangju (廣州), then north of Namhan-san on the site of the old Paekche capital, was a provincial capital. In 1361, during an invasion by the Hongjŏk (紅賊) from Manchuria, King Kongmin (恭愍王) fled to this fortress until they left the country.

During the reign of Kwanghae some work was done on the fortress, but it was in 1624 that construction began in earnest as a result of the rebellion of Yi Kwal and fear of a Manchu invasion. The wall was completed in 1626.

An interesting story is told about Yi Hoe(李晦), who was in charge of constructing the southern part of the fortress. He was accused of being negligent of his duty, indulging in too much drinking and carousing with women. As a result, he was hung. His wife, who was travelling in the south collecting money for the construction, drowned herself when she learned what had happened to her husband. Later it was discovered that the charges were false and the king had a shrine built in their memory near the top of Ilchang-san (日長山).

In January King Injo fled to Namhan-sansŏng when the Manchu invaders approached Seoul. After holding out for 45 days, he was forced to surrender for lack or food, although the Manchus were unable to take the fortress by storm.

After this unhappy incident, the fortress remained untouched until the reign of King Sukchong. As part of his spree of fortress-building, he enlarged Namhan-sansŏng. The first addition, called Pongam-sŏng, was built in 1686 on the northeast corner of the fortress. It was enlarged in 1705. The second, Hanbong-sŏng (韓峰城), was constructed along a ridge east of the fortress in 1693. In [page 51] the north it is connected with Pongam-sŏng, but the southern end is not connected with the rest of the fortress.

During the reign of Yŏngjo (英祖) additional work was done. In 1793, Pongam-sŏng and Hanbong-sŏng were repaired and in 1744 the entire fortress was reconstructed. In 1778, during the reign of Chŏngjo (正祖), it was repaired again, the use of grey brick in the parapets dating from that time. In the same year the gates were renamed. One reason for the interest of these three kings in the fortress was that they stopped there on their way back to Seoul from visits to the tomb of Hyojong (孝宗) in Yŏju (驢州). From that time until very recently the fortress was neglected. In 1954 it was made a national park and since that date a considerable amount of work has been done to improve the east and south gates and repair and paint the buildings of historical importance.

The wall is at present about 5 miles in circumference. The shape of the wall is interesting in that it slopes outward at the bottom. This may account in part for its excellent preservation. The *Munhŏn Pigo* gives the following statistics:

Main fortress... circumference 6,297 paces; 1,897 merlons Pongam-sŏng... circumference 962 paces; 294 merlons Hanbong-sŏng... length 895 paces; 272 merlons

In addition, there are two small redoubts, Nam-p’o-chŏp (南砲堞), on the south, and Sŏp’o-chŏp (西砲堞) on the northwest. Along the walls were originally 115 barracks for the guards, but these have all fallen down. The foundations and roof tiles of many can still be seen, however.

There are four main gates as follows:

Original Name Direction Name Given by Chongjo

Nam-mun 南門 South Chihwa-mun 地和門

Sŏ-mun 西門 West Uing-mun 右翼門

Pung-mun 北門 North Chŏnsŭng-mun 戰勝門

Tong-mun 東門 East Chwaing-mun 左冀門 [page52]

Of these 4 gates, only two, the East and South Gates, still have wooden pavilions on top. The South Gate is one of the most picturesque gates remaining from the Yi Dynasty. In addition, there are 17 small gates, called “hidden gates”(暗門) in Korean. There was originally a water gate beside the East Gate, but it has been destroyed.

Inside the fortress are many buildings of historical importance. Among these are:

1. Mumang-nu (無忘樓) A two-story pavilion on top of Sŏjang-dae, the highest peak of Ilchang-san. This is supposedly the spot where King Injo lived during the Manchu seige. The present building was built about during the reign of Yŏngjo. The scenery from this pavilion is among the most magnificent in Kyŏnggi-do.

2. Chŏnggye-dang (淸溪堂) A little below Sŏjang-dae (西將臺) on the west, this shrine was built in memory of Yi Hoe, as previously stated.

3. Songsu-t’ap(頌壽塔) A tower topped with a phoenix built in 1955 in commemoration of President Rhee’s 80th birthday.

4. Sungnyŏl-jŏn (崇烈殿) A group of buildings at the right of the path leading to Sŏjang-dae built in memory of Onjo, supposedly the first king of Paekche. They were completed in 1638. Later the shrine was dedicated to Yi Sŏ (李曙), who was in charge. of building the fortress. The name was changed to Sungnyol-jon by King Chŏngjo in 1795.

5. Ch’imgwa-jŏng(枕戈亭) A house located on the western edge of the town inside the fortress. The present name dates from 1751. This house was standing in 1624 when the fortress was built and at that time the inhabitants told Yi Sŏ that it was originally the home of King Onjo of Paekche. This was obviously untrue, but as it was an old house at that time, it must be one of the [page 53] oldest wooden buildings in the province.

6. Chisu-dang (池水堂) A pavilion beside a pool in the centre of the fortress. It was built by the city mayor, Yi Se-hwa, in 1672.

7. Yŏnmu-gwan (練武館) A large pavilion used as a military training centre. The present building dates from the reign of Sukchong. It has also been called Yŏnbong- gwan and Suwi-yŏng.

8. Hyŏnjŏl-sa (顯節祠) A shrine to the east of the Yŏnmu-gwan (演武館) in memory of the spirits of three officials who were leaders of the anti-Manchu faction. Their names were Hong Ik-han(洪翼漢), Yun Chip (尹集)and O Tal-che (吳達濟). One of the conditions of the surrender was that these three men should be handed over as prisoners. They were eventually killed by their captors. Admiring their loyalty, Sukchong built this shrine to their memory.

9. Songam-jŏng (松岩亭). This is a large rock outside the East Gate. The description of this in a booklet entitled “A Historical Glance at Nam Han” prepared by the provincial government is so amusing that it is quoted in full:

“It is a giant rock sitting on the high hill to the left of the East Gate. It has an umbrella-like old pine tree covering itself, that irritates the visitors to call for ‘one for the road’ tantalizing the scenery in Spring and Fall.

Another tale says that about a century ago, when the flowers all came into bloom kissing with the comfortable breeze and hugging with the milky clouds in the sky, a group of youngsters enjoyed themselves to the extreme, mixed up with kisaeng girls, one of whom, when was dancing, slipped straight to death from the rock.”

10. Changgyŏng-sa(長慶寺) At one time there were nine Buddhist temples inside the fortress. In them lived [page54] the monk-priests who were the fortress guards. About 1895 these guards were disbanded and the temples fell into ruin, Ch’anggyŏng-sa is the only one remaining at present. It is reached by a path leading to the north from the East Gate.

Of all the fortresses in Kyŏnggi-do, Namhan-sansŏng is probably the best one to visit as it is easily accessible, is in good repair, has many historical remains and is situated among magnificent scenery.

33. Munsu-sansŏng (文殊山城)

Located on Munsu-san (ht. 376 metres), Wŏlgwan- myon, Kimp’o-gun. In 1693, King Sukchong, while on the way to visit Hu-nŭng, saw Munsu-san in the distance and sent someone there to draw a map of the mountain. The next spring he ordered that a fortress be built there, probably to protect the ferry crossing to Kanghwa. A battle was fought here with the French in October 1866.

According to the *Munhŏn Pigo*, the length of the fortress is 151 *ri* 129 paces (somewhat less than 4 miles), with 3 gates and 1, 272 merlons.

34. Pukhan-sansŏng (北漢山城)

Located on Pukhan-san, formerly in Sindo-myŏn (神 道面), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), but now inside the expanded boundaries of the Special City of Seoul. It is also called Samgak-san (三角山) and in Silla days was known as Pua-ak (負兒岳). The mountain is composed of a ring of peaks which form a natural fortress. Some of them are Uisangbong (義湘峰 499 metres), Yŏnghyŏl-bong (龍穴峰 573 metres), Munsu-bong (文殊峰 716 metres), Po-hyŏn-bong (普賢峰), Man-gyŏng-dae (萬鏡臺), Paegun-dae (白雲量 836 metres), Yongjae-bong and Wŏnhyo-bong (元曉峰 580 metres). North of this ring is Insu-bong (803 metres), with its sheer granite cliffs. South is a ridge leading to Pi-bong (碑峰 556 metres) where there is a memorial stone erected about 568 A.D. to commemorate the visit of King Chinhŭng of Silla and the incorporation [page 55] of the surrounding area into the Silla, kingdom.

The history of this fortress goes back to the time of the Three Kingdoms. Some authorities believe that Wirye-sŏng, the first capital of Paekche, was in the neighbourhood of Pukhan-san, perhaps northeast of the mountain in what is now Ui-dong (牛耳洞). It is also known that another fortress was built in the neighbourhood of the mountain about 200 A.D. and that later this was fought over by Koguryŏ and Paekche. Battles were also fought here between Koguryŏ and Silla in 604 and 663. There are no remains of this fortress.

The *Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnam* mentions a fortress called Chunghîngdong-sŏksŏng, which was evidently inside Pukhan-san, as it included Nojŏk-pong (露積峰). It was much smaller than the present fortress, its circumference being only 8417 *ch’ŏk*. There were some ruins of this fortress still remaining when the present one was built.

Pukhan-sansŏng as presently constituted was built during the reign of Sukchong in 1711. It was intended as a place of refuge for the King in case of civil disturbance or foreign invasion. The construction, which must have been exceedingly difficult, took five months from late spring to early fall. It is recorded that the king inspected the fortress after it was completed and wrote 6 poems.

The circumference of the fortress is about 5l/4 miles, with 2,797 merlons. There is not a continuous wall as it is broken by cliffs and rocky peaks where a wall was not only impossible to build but also unnecessary. The height of the wall varies from about 18 ft on level stretches to only 3 ft on some of the ridges. There were originally 14 gates and a gate, which has been destroyed, to swing across the stream near West Gate during attack. Of the others, the best known is Taesŏ-mun (大西門, Great West Gate) at the southwestern corner of the [page 56] fortress. The pavilion on top of this gate was rebuilt and the road to it from the main road made passable by automobile in 1958. Other gates include Taesŏng-mun (大成門), between Munsu-bong (文殊峰) and Pohyŏn-bong (普賢峰), which is just north of a small Buddhist temple named Munsu-sa (文殊寺); Chungsŏng-mun (中成門), in the wall which separates the fortress into two parts,west and east; Pung-mun (北門), west of Sangun-sa (祥雲寺), which is beside a place where a large amount of stone has been used to fill a pass between two peaks; and Wi-mun(衛門), just east of Paegun-dae (白雲臺).

Time has not dealt as kindly with the buildings in this fortress as with those inside Namhan-sansŏng. In the first place, interest in the fortress lagged and it was not maintained after it was built. In the second place, the forests were cut and erosion began. It is recorded that when the wall was built Pukhan-san (北漢山) was more densely forested than Namhan-san. This is certainly not true today. As a result of the rapid cutting of trees, there were landslides which caused damage, particularly one in 1915 which destroyed Chunghŭng-sa (重興寺) and the remains of the palace. In the third place, there was a great deal of fighting inside the fortress during the Korean War, with resultant destruction of both buildings and sections of the wall, the stones from which were used to reinforce soldiers’ foxholes.

There are still three small temples remaining inside the walls. These are Sangun-sa, south of Paegun-dae; Wŏnhyo-am (元曉庵) on the west side of Wŏnhyo-bong (元曉峰); and Puhwang-sa, north of Yonghyŏl-dae. These are all small small and contain little of interest. On the site of T’aegŏ-sa (太古寺), near Yongam-mun(龍岩門) in the northeast, is a priest’s memorial stone built during the last years of Koryŏ in 1385.

There were originally three command posts, Tongjang-dae, in the east; Namjang-dae, in the south; and Pukchang-dae, on a peak inside the fortress east of [page 57] Sangun-sa. These have all been destroyed and only the foundation stones of the pavilions remain. There were also 143 houses for the guards, of which only the ruins remain.

In April 1958 I walked around this fortress with Lt. Om Yong-bo. It was a magnificent experience, but one which I will never have the courage to repeat. The south wall, where there were many steep peaks and no path, was particularly difficult. It took us 5½ hours to walk from where the water gate used to be to Munsu-sa. Much of the northern part of the fortress is impossible to walk along without ropes and we had to skip the peaks east and west of Paegun-dae. Recently several students have died trying to climb them. The most beautiful view was from shortly beyond Taedong-mun (Great East Gate) looking toward Paegun-dae. The morning view of the spectacularly rugged peaks appearing and disappearing among the clouds was a sight I will never forget. For the foolhardy, this walk is an unbelievably exciting experience. For others, Pukhan- sansong is a place to look at from the West Gate.

35. T’angch’undae-sŏng (蕩春臺城)

Located outside Seoul’s Changŭi-mun, this wall was built in 1715 to connect Pi-bong, the ridge extending south of Pukhan-sansŏng with the Seoul wall on Inwang-san. Its length is about 2 miles. There were originally two gates, a water gate and Hanbung-mun (漢北門 originally called Hong ji-mun 弘智門), but only the stone arches of Hanbung-mun remain, the rest having been destroyed by a flood in 1914.

36. Suwŏn Wall (水原城)

Prior to the reign of King Chŏngjo (正祖), Suwŏn was a small town which at some period had been surrounded with an earth wall 4,053 *ch’ŏk* in circumference. With the removal of the tomb of Chŏngjo’s father to Hwasan (華山) in 1785, Suwŏn became an important city. The present wall was built between 1794 and 1796 with the [page58] idea in mind of moving the capital there. Before this could be done, however, the king died.

The wall is over three miles in circumference and the average height 24 feet. As it was constructed during a period when Korea was peaceful, prosperous and had tasteful art and architecture, many consider this wall and its gates the most beautiful in Korea — the height as well as the sudden end of Korean fortress building.

The remains of interest are as follows:

1. Changan-mun (長安門). The north gate. The wooden pavilion and part of the stone-work were destroyed during the Korean War. Of special interest is the half-moon wall guarding the door. On top is a walk for defending soldiers and chutes down which burning material could be poured in case of attack. As the road from this gate leads to the capital, it was named after the ancient capital of the T’ang Dynasty in China.

2. Hwahong-mun (華虹門). The water gate, built over a stream named Kwanggyo-ch’ŏn (光敎川). There are seven arches for water to flow through. This gate was damaged by a flood in 1922 and was repaired in 1931. It has recently been repainted and from the south, looking through the willow trees along the stream, it is one of the most charming gates in Korea.

3. Panghwasuryu-jŏng (訪花隨柳亭). A pavilion on the hill just north of Hwahong-mun. It is noted for its unusual, irregular shape and view of the Dragon Pool (龍池) and the mountains north of the city. It was recently repaired and repainted.

4. Tongjang-dae(東將臺). A military training ground located between the north and east gates. It is divided into three levels, for various ranks, with a pavilion for the commander on the upper level. This area was also used for athletic meets. [page 59]

5. Changnyong-mun (蒼龍門). The east gate. During the war the wooden pavilion on top of the gate was destroyed. Outside the gate doors there is a half-moon wall open at the northern end.

6. Pongsu-dae(烽燧臺). Located a little south of Ch’angnyong-mun, these brick cylinders were used to convey messages by fire signals during the Yi Dynasty. They were part of a system of such signal places which reached from the borders to Seoul.

7. P’altal-mun (八達門). The south gate. It has outer protecting walls open in front. Fortunately this gate escaped major damage during the Korean War.

8. Sŏjang-dae (西將臺). Another military training ground located on the top of P’altal-san. The pavilion which once stood here has been destroyed. From the mountain top, ht. 128 metres, one can get the best view of the whole fortress.

9. Hwasŏ-mun (華西門). The west gate. There is a half-moon defensive wall open at the south beyond the doors and a barbican, a two-storey guard tower (空心墩), on the north. This latter structure is the only one of its kind in Kyonggi-do.

10. Hwaryŏng-gung (華寧宮). At the foot of P’altal-san are some buildings still remaining from the palace built for King Chŏngjo in 1799. In one of the buildings, named Punghwa-dang, the king used to give parties for elderly people in memory of his father.

11. Sŏho (西湖). The west lake. The dam for this lake was built before construction was started on the walls, to provide water for the city and irrigation for the rice paddies. Near the lake is a pavilion, Hangmi-jŏng (杭眉亭), which originally stood in the grounds of a Buddhist temple outside Changan-mun. The lake is now part of the grounds of the Institute of Agriculture. [page60]

APPENDIX

Fortresses Not Visited1)

Probably Before Koryŏ

1. Ami-sŏng (阿彌城)—at Ch’ŏksŏng, 18 *ri* west. Stone, circumference 1,937 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.)

b. Such’ŏl-sŏng (水鐵城)ᅳat Ch’ŏksŏng, 10 *ri* east. (T.Y.)

c. Kosŏk-sŏng (古石城)—Two fortresses at Yŏngp’yŏng, East 12 *ri*, circumference, 1 *ri*. West 15 *ri*, circumference 2 *ri*. (T.Y.)

d. Odosŏng-sansŏng(烏島城山城)—at Kyoha, 7 *ri* west, near the Han below the Imjin, stone, circumference 2,071 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.) Built during Three Kingdoms. (M.P.)

e. Hoamsan-sŏng (虎巖山城)—at Kumch’ŏn, 5 *ri* east, made of stone, circumference 1,681 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.)

f. Yŏngnang-sŏng (永良城)—at Kumch’ŏn on Samsŏng-san, 10 *ri* east, stone, circumference 3,750 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.)

g. Kosŏng (古城)—at Ansan, 25 *ri* west, earth, circumference 9,565 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.)

h. Hyŏn-sŏng (縣城)—in Hyŏn-ni. Now in ruins. (M.P.)

i. Um juksŏl-sŏng (陰竹雪城)—at Umjuk, west 3 *ri*, circumference 5 *ri*. (M.P.)

j. Such’ŏl-sŏng (水鐵城)—at Yangju, 51 *ri* north stone, circumference 357 *ch’ ŏk*, height 14 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.)

k. Kosansŏng (古山城)—Yŏju-gun, north 33 *ri*, stone, circumference 38,825 *ch’ŏk* (T.Y.) I tried much of one day to find this without success.

l. Yukkye-sŏng (六溪城)—Ch’ ŏksŏng(積城) 7 *ri* west, made of earth, circumference 7,692 *ch’ŏk*. (M.P.)

m. Sŏun-san T’osŏng (瑞雲山土城)—Ansŏng, 20 *ri* south, earth, circumference 3 *ri*. (M.P.)

n. Kŭmgang-sansŏng (金剛山城)—Ansŏng, circumference 2 ŏ. (M.P.)

1) These are listed in the following books.

T.Y.—Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnam

M.P.—Munhŏn Pigo

T.G.—Taisho Gonendo Koseki Chosha Hokoku

[page 61]

o. Honggyenam T’osŏng (洪季男土城)—Ansŏng, 15 *ri* south, circumference 1,800 *ch’ŏk*. Built by Hong Kye-nam in 1592 at the time of the Japanese invasion. (M.P.)

p. Kobong-sŏng (古峰城)—in Koyang-gun. (M.P.)

q. Hwaryang-sŏng(花梁城)—Namyang, 30 *ri* west, circumference 3,777 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.) r. Sŏksan-sŏng (石山城)—Namyang, west 33 *ri* stone, circumference 2,905 *ch’ŏk*. (T.Y.)

s. Kosan-sŏng (古山城)—Inch’ ŏn. (M.P.)

t. Chemul-sŏng (濟物城)—Inch’ ŏn. (M.P.)

u. Ch’oyŏndae-sŏng (超然臺城)—Kap’yŏng, south, on a hill 100 metres high. (T.G.)

v. At Chip’yŏng (磁平)—a small earth fortress on a hill northeast of the town. (Seen). w. North of Karhyŏn-ni (葛峴里)—a stone fortress. (Seen).

**Kory**ŏ

x. Kyodong Town Wall (喬桐邑城)—on Kyodong-do. Stone, circumference 1,006 *ch’ŏk*. (M.P.)

y. Hwagae-sansŏng (華蓋山城)—on Kyodong-do.Stone, circumference 3,534 *ch’ŏk*, height 18 *ch’ŏk*. Repaired in 1737. (M.P.)

z. Kohyŏn-sŏng (古縣城)—on Kyodong-do, 10 *ri* north of Kyodong. (M.P.) aa. Kosŏng (古城)—Ich’on, 20 *ri* north, stone, circumference 2,400 paces, built in the reign of King

Kongmin (1352-1374). (M.P.)

bb. Ch’ŏin-sansŏng(處仁山城)—Yongin, south 25 *ri*, earth, built in 1232 during Mongol invasion. (M.P.) When Mongols attacked, the Korean forces led by a Buddhist General Kim Yun-ho killed the Mongol General Saryetap and won the battle. (Kyŏnggi-do Chi)

cc. Koryŏ-sansŏng (高麗山城)—on Koryŏ-san, Kanghwado. Earth, circumference 1,370 *ch’ŏk*. (M.P.) [page62]

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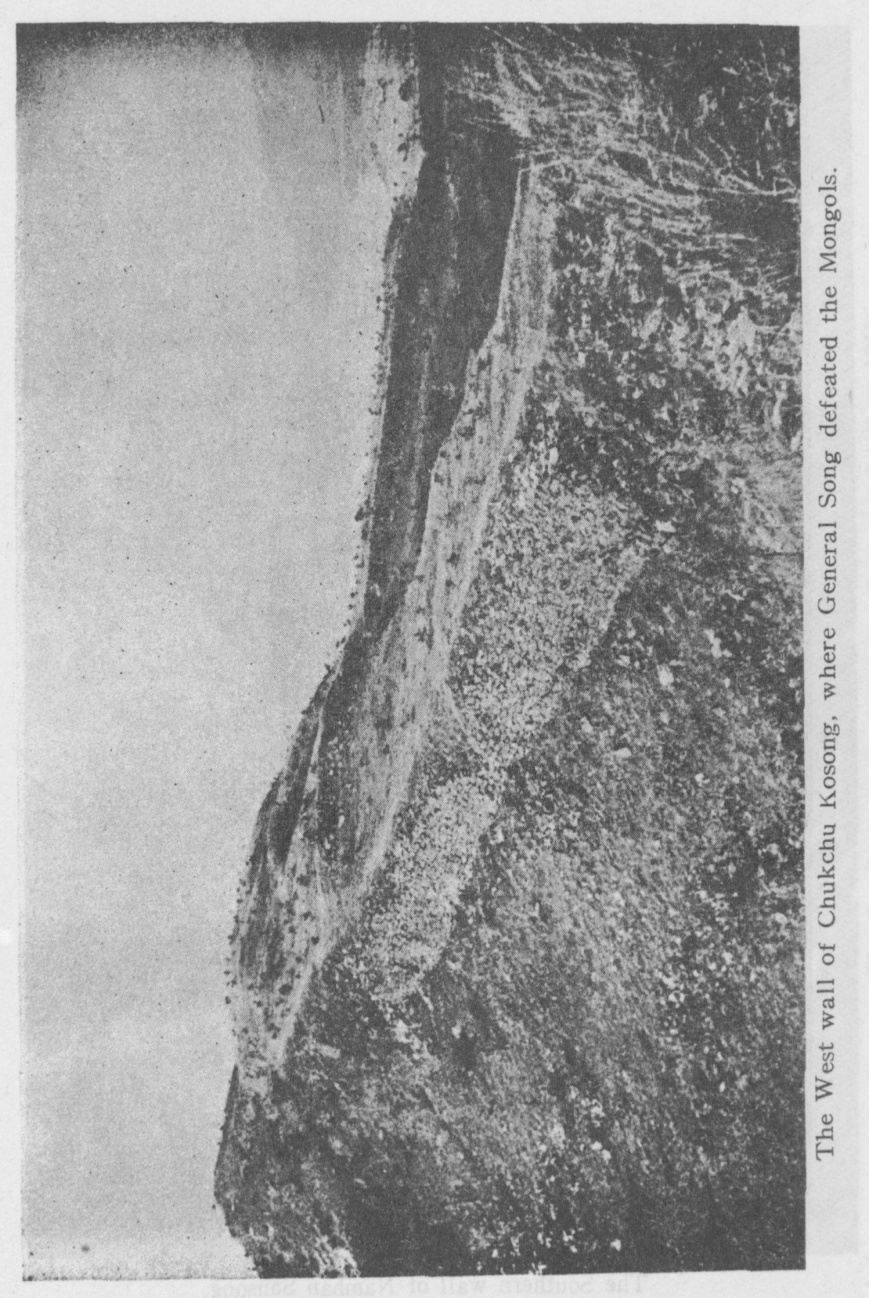
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