



TRANSACTIONS

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

KOREA BRANCH

Seoul: Founding the New Capital

by Yon-ung Kwon

Chosŏn Dynasty Royal Compounds—
Windows to a Lost Culture

by Peter Bartholomew

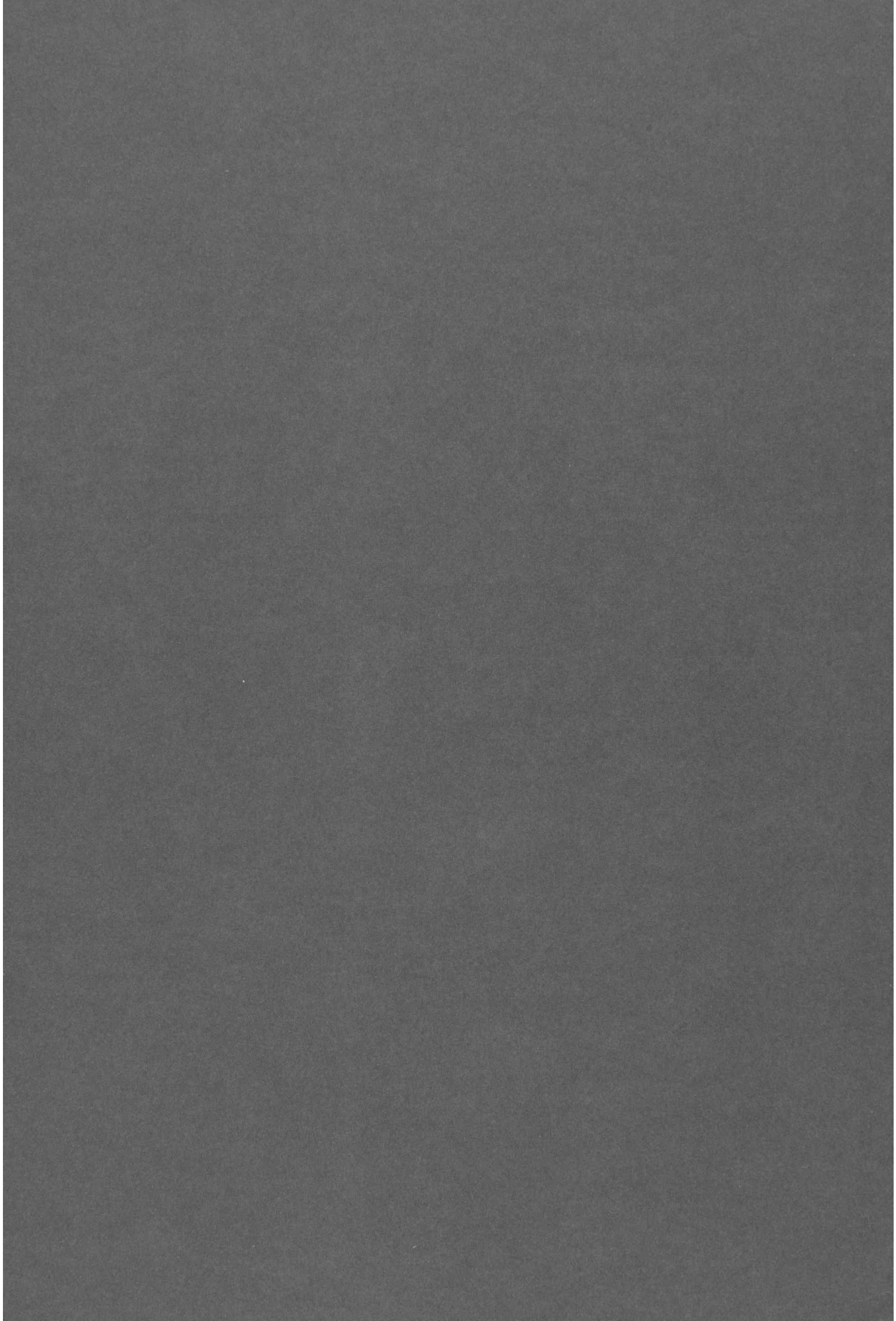
Seoul

by Sam Kidder

Footprints of the Wildgoose:

Horak hongjo or *Hodong sŏrak ki* by Kŭmwŏn

by Richard Rutt



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The RAS dedicates this issue of its TRANSACTIONS to Seoul, to honor the city upon the occasion of the six hundredth anniversary of its designation as the capital of Korea. Each of the articles is concerned with some phase of Seoul's history.

Happy Birthday Seoul!

The RAS Council



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Seoul: Founding the New Capital

by *Yon-ung Kwon*

INTRODUCTION

In 1394 Seoul became the capital city of Korea, when the Choson dynasty moved its capital from Kaesong. In 1994, the city of Seoul commemorates the 600th anniversary of this historic event. Now it seems quite appropriate to look back upon the founding of Seoul that took place six centuries ago.

Let me first outline the history of the Seoul area before it became the capital city. We know that people lived in this area as far back as five thousand years ago. The neolithic relics in Amsa-dong testify to this, and the recent excavations of two dozen sites show that bronze-age people thronged into this area in the millennium preceding the Christian era.

From the Christian era to the seventh century, the area became the object of contest among the Three Kingdoms. Whoever controlled the area controlled the entire peninsula. That was the case, first with Koguryo, and then with Paekje. Finally Silla seized it and went on to destroy the other two kingdoms. Unified Silla made this area one of its nine provincial centers.

In the Koryo period (918-1392), the Seoul area remained an important provincial center. It was called Hanyang, meaning literally north of the Han river. Its symbolic importance increased as Koryo made Hanyang its southern capital in 1067, and after that Koryo kings frequented the town and remained for a couple of months each year.

Before we go into the Choson period, let me explain the word Seoul. Seoul is a common noun, literally meaning the capital city, and it became the official designation of the city only after 1948. Hansong was its official designation in the Choson period, but people preferred the old designation, Hanyang. I will use Seoul most of the time, and by this I mean the old Seoul, the small area surrounded by walls.

The main body of this paper is divided into three parts: 1. selection, 2. construction, and 3. population. First, I will discuss why the new dynasty decided to move its capital, and how it selected the new site. Then I will outline the construction of the new capital over three decades. Finally, I will describe what kind of people lived in the new capital.

SELECTION OF THE SITE

In 1392, Yi Songgye overthrew the Koryo dynasty in a military coup and founded the Choson dynasty. He ascended the throne at the palace in Kaesong, the capital city of the Koryo dynasty. Within a month, he announced his decision to move the capital to Hanyang, thenceforward to be known as Seoul. Obviously he was anxious to leave Kaesong immediately, and he had good reasons.

First of all, he was an outsider, a military general from the northeastern frontier, and had no power base in the Kaesong area. Actually its residents remained loyal to the Koryo dynasty and hostile to the new regime. Besides, the founder of the new dynasty was a true believer in geomancy. He believed that Koryo declined and fell because it had used up the geomantic power of its capital, so it was mandatory that the new dynasty find another center, rich in geomantic power, and exploit its geomantic resources.

I think I had better explain the key word here. Geomancy refers to divination by means of geographic features. In China, it refers to the esoteric knowledge of identifying good and bad places. This is based on the belief that geographic features determine people's fortunes. One can exploit the good influence of land by building a house or a tomb on it. The Koryo people extended the idea to the sphere of dynastic fortunes. The geomantic influence of Kaesong was not enough to guarantee the prosperity and longevity of the dynasty, so they developed two additional capitals, the western capital, P'yongyang, and the southern capital, Hanyang. Each year, the king was to spend four months in each of the these capitals. In those days geomancy was a very serious business, and to some extent, I believe, it still is.

In short, two factors hastened the transfer of the capital: political and geomantic. The transfer was, however, much delayed. For one thing, most officials were quite settled in Kaesong and restive because of the troublesome relocation. To some extent, they sabotaged the royal wish, but they did not want it to seem as if they were indifferent to the security of the new dynasty, so the king was able to override their lukewarm opposition easily.

Then a geomantic debate further complicated the matter. A geomancer argued that he had found a capital site better than Hanyang. The king personally went to the site near Mt. Keryong, and found its geographic features closer to the geomantic ideal, so he ordered the construction of a palace. The work was carried out for ten months in 1393.

The King's Confucian officials did not like this new place and reminded him of its shortcomings. Unlike Seoul, its location was not in the center of the Korean peninsula. In terms of transportation and communication, it was an out-of-the-way place. Besides, it was too close to the west coast and thus vulnerable to the pillage of Japanese pirates, but the king was not dissuaded. Then the prime minister pointed out that the area had crucial defects in geomantic terms. Under scrutiny, his criticism proved correct. The king abandoned the area abruptly. Then arose another dispute: which of the two was the vital spot in Seoul: what was to become the Kyongbok Palace area or the area where Yonsei University is located today? Finally, in the tenth month of the third year (1394), the king moved the site of his government to Seoul. In the end, conventional wisdom prevailed.

There was, however, another change in 1398. Four years after Seoul became the capital, a tragedy took place. During the power struggle among the sons of the king, Pangwon killed the heir apparent, his half-brother, in the palace. The king retired in disgust, and as a compromise, his oldest son succeeded him. This temporary king, abandoning the blood-stained palace in Seoul, returned to Kaesong. Two years later, he yielded the throne to his brother Pangwon, who became known as T'aejong (1400-1418), and five years later, in 1405, the king left Kaesong for Seoul, for good this time.

Geographically speaking, Seoul has many advantages: 1) It is located in the center of the Korean peninsula, although Kaesong is also close to the center of the peninsula. 2) The Han River runs through the area and provides convenient water transportation. This was crucial for, among other things, the collection of tax revenue. 3) Seoul is protected by mountain ranges. These, together with the Han River, provide natural barriers against would-be invasions. 4) The Seoul basin is large enough to accommodate one million people, and its adjacent areas have an abundance of fertile land.

Geomantically speaking, Seoul seems to satisfy the basic requirements of a propitious site. Rather than going into detail suffice it to point out that Seoul has the combination of essential features: 1) Pugak-san, the guardian mountain to the north; 2) Nak-san, the blue dragon to the east; 3) Inwang-san the white tiger to the west, and 4) Nam-san, the table mountain on the south. The Han River runs to the south, and the whole area is surrounded by four outer

mountains. In retrospect, the longevity and stability of the dynasty seems to testify to the wisdom of the geomantic decision.

LAYOUT AND CONSTRUCTION

The new capital had to have such essential components as a royal palace, shrines, office buildings, market places, residential areas, roads, and circumvallation. It took about two decades to build it from scratch. The work proceeded according to a master plan, but there were numerous modifications and additions. I will skip the details and simplify the description, so that we can perceive it in a coherent manner.

The first construction work priority went to the palace and the shrines as they symbolized royal authority and legitimacy, respectively, so Kyongbok Palace was built first along with two shrines, the ancestral shrine and the shrine for the guardian deities of the state (*sajik*). It took four years, 1394-1398, and several tens of thousands of laborers to build the palace, which consisted of such buildings as the audience hall, offices, living quarters and surrounding walls and gates. The two shrines were built in 1394.

Ch'angdok Palace, also known as the Secret Gardens, was built by T'aejong. When he returned to Seoul as the king, he did not want to live in Kyongbok Palace where he had had his half-brother murdered, so he ordered the construction of another palace. It took about a year and half, from the summer of 1404 to the winter of 1405. This secondary palace was smaller than Kyongbok Palace but had all of a palace's essential components.

Circumvallation was crucial to defense in those days, so they set about constructing the city walls when Kyongbok Palace and the shrines had been completed. In early 1396, the government mobilized 120,000 men for 49 days and constructed the ten mile long, 15 foot high walls around Seoul. Two thirds of the walls were built with mud and only one third with stone. The idea was to send the peasants back home before the farming season began. In late 1396, 80,000 men were mobilized for 49 days to repair the walls and build the gates, four main gates and four smaller gates. The gate towers had been completed by 1398.

The city walls were reconstructed in 1422, the fourth year of Sejong's reign. The most important change was that the mud rampart was entirely replaced by stone. For this work, 320,000 men were mobilized for 40 days. The population of Seoul was about 100,000. The height of the walls was also increased by a foot to 16 feet by adding crests on their tops. Another change

was the relocation of the West Gate to its present site. Patrol roads 15 feet wide were constructed along the walls, both inside and outside.

We have little information about the construction of such important government offices as the state council, the six boards, and the censorate, but their locations are well known. Most of them were concentrated on either side of the road between the Kanghwa-mun and the intersection to the south. Today some of the 'tong' names still indicate the presence of certain agencies, e.g. Naeja-dong and Sagan-dong.

On the other hand, we have considerable information about the construction of "department stores." The government took a keen interest in the regulation of commerce for three reasons: 1) to ensure a stable supply of commodities, 2) to collect taxes, and 3) to regulate prices as well as weights and measures. For this purpose, during a two and a half year period from 1412 to 1414 during T'aejong's reign the government constructed buildings, stores, and housing along the main roads. The construction work progressed in four stages: 1) from Sinmunno to the Chongno 3-ka intersection, 2) from the Ch'angdok Palace gate to the same intersection, 3) from the Chongno 1-ka intersection to South Gate, and 4) from the Chongno 3-ka intersection to East Gate. The stores were built along either side of the roads, and they were divided into categories and then the areas were allotted to merchant guilds specializing in varied merchandise: textiles (silk, linen, hemp and ramie fabric), fish, rice, paper, ironware, and so forth.

The construction of the new capital, of course, included a network of roads. The major thoroughfare was Chongno, the main road that ran between East Gate and West Gate. Three main branches connected it to the two palaces and South Gate. Secondary and tertiary roads connected all sections of the city. The main road was about 20 meters wide; the secondary roads at least 10 meters wide, and the tertiary roads more than 5 meters wide. There was a drainage system at either side of each road.

The roads were often encroached upon by the houses of powerful people like the royal family, but occasional fires cleared them. A tug of war went on between the city authorities and the encroachers. The only exceptions were the main road and the secondary roads which were marked by public buildings, such as government offices and department stores. Presumably they were in good shape then, far from the poor conditions foreigners witnessed toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Drainage was another important element of city construction. The city was located in a basin, and all the precipitation converged into one stream, Ch'onggye-ch'on, that ran across the city from west to the east. The water

system was shaped like a fish bone. Whenever Seoul had a torrential rain, the eastern part of the city was flooded, which created a serious problem.

In 1412, T'aejong set about solving these problem once and for all. The work included dredging, widening the stream at bottlenecks, and building up the banks with rocks or timber. There were a dozen wooden bridges crossing the stream, and the king replaced half of them with stone bridges. Altogether, Seoul had eight large bridges and more than sixty smaller ones. The drainage system was improved and completed by King Sejong. This time the work was done little by little over twelve years. It included dredging the main line deeper and also dredging its branches, replacing wooden bridges with stone bridges, and making an additional floodgate through the wall near East Gate. Finally the drainage system was completed and proved to be durable. It remained little changed until the 1950s.

That is how the city of Seoul was built about six centuries ago. The founder of the new dynasty made a master plan and built the most important parts, such as the palaces, the shrines, and the city walls. T'aejong built the other parts, and Sejong completed them. Unfortunately, I can give almost no information about the construction of the many public buildings, such as granaries, storehouses for ice, clothes and weapons, as well as public schools and minor shrines and we know very little about the construction of private houses.

POPULATION

As the construction work progressed, the city's population increased. We have no data about Seoul's population before it became the capital city in 1392, but presumably it had about 10,000 residents. By 1428, its population exceeded 100,000. This figure includes the residents in the outskirts of the city, the 4-kilometer-wide ring surrounding the city wall, which was under the jurisdiction of the municipality.

Its population comprised all sorts of people. At the highest echelon were the members of the ruling class, the royal family and the *yangban*. Seoul had the highest concentration of VIPs, as they naturally gathered at the center of power and wealth. The central government had about 1,000 official positions for ranks from the first to the ninth. Both former and incumbent officials enjoyed the privileges of the *yangban* class. This was the case with their family members down to their grandchildren. Altogether the ruling class constituted 10 to 15 percent of the total population.

The privileged class naturally occupied the best residential areas of Seoul. The better-off members resided in the northern section, Pukch'on (northern village), between the two royal palaces. Located at the foot of the northern mountain, this area was not only sunny in winter but also well drained and ventilated during the rainy summer. The poor *yangban* members lived at the foot of Mt. Namsan which was not sunny in winter, but it was dry in summer. The *yangban* members did not necessarily live in these two areas. We know of certain state councillors who lived outside the walls.

As the elite of medieval Korean society, members of the *yangban* class had all the privileges. They held government posts; they owned landed estates and serfs; they preserved and reinforced their social status through marriage ties; they could afford and did receive proper educations; they had privileges in residence and garments as well. Only the *yangban* were allowed to live in large houses and put on luxurious dress and ornaments and to ride in palanquins. Most of these privileges, however, applied only to the male members of the *yangban* class; its female members were always kept inside the domestic quarters and systematically discriminated against.

What did the *yangban* do? Essentially, they were idlers. Only a small percentage of them were incumbent officials; a larger number were former officials, but the great majority were just idlers. We can conjure up a two sided image of the *yangban*. They were educated people, well versed in the Confucian classics, Chinese poetry, and history. They were the guardians of high culture and the establishment. On the other hand, they were the parasites, the exploiters of the people.

In the second echelon were the *chungin*, the middle people (class). This group comprised two types of people. The first were highly educated specialists which included interpreters (Chinese or Japanese), medical doctors, astronomers, geomancers, lawyers, musicians, and painters. Although some of them were employed as government officials, they could serve only in their special fields and could not be promoted beyond certain ranks. The *yangban* class set up a legal and social barrier between themselves and the middle class, most of whom lived in the middle of the city near the Ch'onggye-ch'on stream. They married among themselves and intermarried with the *yangbans'* children by concubines.

The second group of the "middle people" included the clerks and the runners of the central and the municipal governments and non-commissioned officers. Unlike the first group, these people neither received any specialized education nor passed any government examinations, so their status was lower than the first group. In origin, they came from destitute *yangban* families or

better-off commoner families. In Seoul, there were more than a thousand government clerks and as many runners. Many of them lived in the back alleys near the offices they served, i.e. Ch'ongjin-dong. Their role made them servile to the *yangban* but overbearing to the commoners and below.

The great majority of Seoulites were the commoners and the "mean people," who together comprised from 70 to 80 percent of the city's population. The commoners were engaged in all sorts of work: merchants, artisans, and servants of *yangban* families. The "mean people" refers to the slaves owned by government agencies or private individuals. They either served their owners doing drudgery or paid annual tribute to their owners. Although they were exempted from military service and corvee work, they were subject to sale and inheritance. Their lot was worse than that of the commoners. In terms of population, the number of commoners and "mean people" was probably equal.

To our great regret, we have little information about the life of the average Seoulite in the fifteenth century. No doubt it was hard and dull. In the wake of the Confucian zealots' purges of heterodoxy, monks and shamans were banished, and Seoul was deprived of Buddhist festivities and rituals. The *kisaeng*, the female entertainers, belonged to the lowly class but served the upper class. There were only a handful of foreigners in Seoul, a few naturalized Chinese who were employed as royal advisors and a few Manchu chieftains who held military titles. As for the hundreds of Japanese refugees, the Korean government had them settled in the rural area.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have surveyed the three aspects of Seoul as the new capital of the Choson dynasty: selection, construction, and population. Now let us make an evaluation of the new capital by answering some relevant questions. First of all, was the selection of the site adequate? Evidently the founders of the new dynasty made a very sound decision. Its location and geographical features satisfied the basic requirements of the capital. Seoul enjoyed all the advantages of convenient transportation, communication, and defense. That is why it remained the capital of Korea for the next six centuries.

Secondly, was the construction work a good job? The answer is yes. The construction proved durable, and the main structure of the city: the walls, the streets, the palaces, bridges, did not need any major changes. Only its wooden buildings were occasionally destroyed, for instance, during the Japanese inva-

sion of 1592-1598, and had to be reconstructed. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the population of Seoul doubled and then tripled, but the city had no problem in accommodating this expanded population.

Thirdly, was Seoul a nice place to live? The answer depends entirely on what you were. If you were a member of the *yangban* class, you could enjoy all the niceties of the metropolis in addition to your *yangban* privileges. If you belonged to the "middle people," there was no place like Seoul which had a high concentration of professionals, specialists in foreign languages, medicine, law, astronomy, geomancy, painting, and music. You could have a decent income and good company. If you had commoner status or that of the "mean people," Seoul was perhaps worse than elsewhere. You had to be cunning and streetwise.

All in all, Seoul was the heart and soul of medieval Korea. Political power radiated from here to every corner of the Korean peninsula; the wealth of the kingdom converged in Seoul; the most educated and talented people gathered here. This was a place of opportunity. That is why most people were eager to send their sons to Seoul. On the other hand, Seoul lacked splendor and grandeur. It had little extravagance or pomp. Rather it was a beautiful, functional, medieval city.

Chosŏn Dynasty Royal Compounds— Windows to a Lost Culture

by *Peter Bartholomew*

PREFACE

Major edifices of Korea's Chosŏn Dynasty period, their spatial relationships, architectural details, internal furnishings and their garden settings reveal a pattern of uniquely refined aesthetics, sensibility, and practicality. While some of the designs and layouts of Chosŏn period structures do follow established forms and patterns, it is the extent to which pre-determined forms are not followed which reveals the independence of mind of architects, owners, and creators of structures, their contents, and surroundings.

Chosŏn period palaces are of particular interest in that, contrary to common assumptions, they follow Chinese patterns of layout and design minimally and only up to certain points at which Korean aesthetic, practical, and local political expression takes over. The common dismissal of Korean palaces and the fine art surrounding and contained inside them as merely imitative of Chinese forms is both incorrect and uninformed. One might as well dismiss all British architecture of the 18th and 19th centuries as invalid because of its heavy borrowing from continental and classical Greco-Roman designs. Korean architecture, interior decoration, and gardening developed their own aesthetic styles uniquely different from those of Korea's neighbours and are most worthy of investigation and further study.

While numerous publications exist with general descriptions of Seoul's four remaining main palaces and others with specific details of these compounds, e.g., gardens, walls, architecture, furnishings, paintings, calligraphy, pottery and costumes, there are few publications which take an overview of the numerous compounds of the 14th to 19th centuries and describe their

functions as active operating centres of Chosŏn Dynasty government and daily life: residential, political, bureaucratic, military, cultural, artistic, and academic.

While this paper does not delve deeply into each category of palace activity or the details of construction and the aesthetics of the Chosŏn Dynasty royal compounds, it is hoped that the reader will gain a better understanding of the original purposes for and aesthetic intentions of the design and furnishing of the thousands of structures of Chosŏn Dynasty royal government and how they relate to each other, and of the recent history leading to their present decimated forms or their total disappearance.

Equally important to an understanding of major Chosŏn period structures is the constant evolution of individual structures and entire compounds, especially of the palaces in Seoul. Clearly, further study is needed to understand fully the extent to which the ceaseless development of buildings, gardens, entire compounds, and the interiors occurred as functions of the official and residential life in these compounds and was influenced by the requirements of Chosŏn era politics, bureaucracy, cultural and artistic development, and the personalities of their royal residents.

It is particularly regrettable that so little remains of these centers of Chosŏn Dynasty aristocratic life to permit in depth research, and that descriptions of the creative, dynamic life and culture of 500 years largely remain unwritten. It is also unforgivable that in certain publications describing Chosŏn period arts, culture, and history, this subject is completely omitted or, if referred to, is treated with indifference and often totally dismissed as simply imitative of Chinese forms.

I do not pretend to be a scholar of Korean history, architecture, art or culture but rather a student, and an amateur one at that. Having lived in Korea for more than 26 years, it remains to me a constant source of surprise and sadness how very little has been researched and written about these most obvious cultural exponents of the Chosŏn Dynasty's highest level of society. It furthermore remains unexplained why the Japanese authorities during their occupation of 1910-1945 engaged in purposeful destruction, or mutilation beyond recognition, of virtually every Chosŏn period secular compound of significance on the Korean peninsula.

A CITY WITHIN A CITY

SEOUL'S PALACE COMPOUNDS: FOR 500 YEARS ROYAL RESIDENCES AND CENTERS OF KOREAN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES, AND SCHOLARLY PURSUITS

Seoul, the newly established 14th century capital of the Kingdom of Chosŏn, was a walled city of impressive proportions, an imperfect circle approximately ten kilometers in diameter. The original city wall stretches from the top of Namsan on the south to the ridge of Pugaksan on the north, and from just beyond the current site of Citibank on Shinmunno on the west to the East Gate, Tongdaemun.

One should think of early 14th to 15th century Seoul as a new government center, its primary purpose to house and protect the central political and administrative activities of the new dynasty which had just seized power from the Koryŏ Kingdom in a coup d'état and to serve as a propitious center from which the king, following the Chinese tradition, could auspiciously transmit the Will of Heaven from his position between Heaven and Earth.

The rest of Seoul first grew to provide goods and services to the new royal government and later developed its own private commercial, industrial, financial, and cultural life independent of the court and royal administrative offices. Concentration in Seoul of commercial, economic and political power continues to this day, as central government planning and tight regulation require businesses and aspiring politicians to keep close to the centers of power and administration.

By the mid-16th century the five major palace compounds in Seoul, with their intermediate detached palaces and services compounds, stretched almost unbroken for 20 kilometers, with large markets inside the East and South Gates and growing residential areas within the city walls.

The major palaces, *Taegung*, palaces having throne halls, with their adjoining detached service palaces were virtual cities within the city of Seoul. They housed all the functions necessary to daily life: food preparation, textile design and tailoring, herbal medicine and acupuncture, wood, stone, mud, clay, plaster, metal, paper, leather, and precious metal crafts for palace repair and interior decoration, and entertainment.

Facilities supporting the aesthetic needs of the palace were also permanently installed. The principal palace had its own kilns and resident potters for making the finest ceramics and pottery for use in the palace itself. There were endless rooms for servants as well as for artists and artisans. It was essential that there be suites of rooms for the skilled calligraphers and painters



*1890s: View of Kyōngbok Palace (left side)
and central government office area*



*1890s: Just inside Kwanghwamun (gate) of
Kyōngbok palace (1st Courtyard) — Royal Chosŏn Army being
drilled by Tsarist Russian military officers.*

in residence as well as for musicians, visiting scholars and, of course, the endless stream of guests and officials needing to spend the night. Korean kings worked at night and slept in the mornings and were well known for calling whomever they wished at any hour of the day or night, and then making the supplicant wait hours for the audience. He did not usually wait in discomfort, being given a most adequate room for waiting, with food, drink, and bedding provided in case the waiting period extended too long.

Each major palace function was housed in its own suite of rooms, in its own walled compound, the layout of which was designed to fulfill the functional and aesthetic needs of the residents. The main activities of each compound and the highest-ranking personage engaged therein were housed in a large building at the north end of the square compound. Normally the compound was formed by low buildings rather than walls, and in these were storage rooms and workshops, where apprentices, clerks, personal servants, libraries, and the accoutrements of any activities serving the main functions of the category of activity of the compound could be found. This form was followed more rigidly for purely administrative and service compounds and less rigidly for residential compounds.

Superficially the Korean palaces, since they were formed of many square compounds, would appear to conform to the Chinese pattern of perfectly symmetrical squares. However, the spatial relations of compound to compound and of the buildings within them are rarely symmetrical. They are not necessarily aligned in perfect relation with their neighboring compounds, nor are the buildings within compounds in perfect symmetry. The uniqueness of the Korean compounds is that their design and juxtaposition to each other is intended to create pleasing effects with hills, gardens, and adjoining buildings. It is the Korean independence of mind and aesthetic feelings which take precedence over pre-determined forms derived from the Chinese.

Symmetry of form is followed to the greatest extent in Kyŏngbok Palace, and even there only as far as the royal family's main residential suites. Beyond these compounds, the courtyards grew in response to functional and aesthetic requirements, sometimes symmetrically aligned but more often not. The working-level administrative compounds were not usually designed with aesthetics in mind but rather to serve practical administrative needs.

For every official activity of the king and his immediate family, however minor, there were ceremonial forms to follow. Court servants, guards, courtiers, and officials were placed in predetermined positions, their every movement precisely choreographed. For the more important functions, palace activities were performed to the accompaniment of music and ceremonial

dancing. Music and dance were used extensively for palace entertainment as well. Clearly, architectural and spatial infrastructure were required to support such functions.

To illustrate the palace architectural layout serving residential and official functional needs, let us look at the palace musicians. The constant presence of music and dance in the palace to fill official and entertainment needs necessitated large housing facilities for musicians, dancers, assistants, and apprentices, as well as for servants caring for the personal needs of performers and the maintenance of their instruments, clothing, and the buildings in which they resided, practiced, and taught. Again this required more courtyards with suitable buildings, each designed and spatially located to best serve each function of the musicians at court.

A NOTE ON COURT MUSICIANS:

A few of the major ceremonies of the court, especially the official audiences which took place in the throne hall and courtyard, are well recorded with diagrams for every participant's position and activity. The present National Classical Music Institute, direct descendant of the court musicians and dancers, and all that remains of the living palaces, maintains the traditions and written record of some of these ceremonial musical works and dances.

It is only due to the intervention of Princess Masako, Yi Bang-Ja, that the court musicians and dancers were not disbanded by Japanese occupation authorities and their traditions lost completely. The princess kept them together by establishing the Prince Yi Conservatory of Music specifically to preserve their traditions after their expulsion from the palace under the Japanese occupation.

The name was changed under President Rhee Syngman to the National Classical Music Institute, which today has excellent, spacious new facilities at the Seoul Performing Arts Centre.

In addition to the elaborately choreographed and musically scored major ceremonies, there were countless ceremonial customs, traditions, and choreographed activities in the daily life and the minor official and family activities of the King and immediate members of the royal family. Most of these were lost when Japanese authorities ordered all traditional Korean court music and other fine arts activities in the palaces to cease.

In the 19th Century, there were over 150 internal courtyards with more than 450 buildings in Kyōngbok palace, each of which served specific, func-

tional purposes. (See the layout drawing of Kyŏngbok Palace later in this article.) The central courtyards were the locus of official royal activities of the king and higher officials: the throne hall, the privy chambers and the royal residential suites. Courtyards to the east and west sides were primarily administrative and for services necessary for the official and residential functions of the royal family, high officials and administrators.

The northern-most compounds in Kyŏngbok were the most purely aesthetic in architectural design, spatial relationships and landscaping. These comprised the pleasure houses, libraries, lotus ponds and pavilions used by the royal family, invited officials and guests of state.

Kyŏngbok Palace follows the most structured and symmetrical pattern of the five main palaces in Seoul. The next most structured palace was Ch'anggyŏng Palace, although much smaller in scale and with courtyards more scattered.

The life of these palace cities within the greater city of Seoul totally disappeared with the destruction of the buildings themselves. This dismantling of Korea's epicenter of cultural and political life began in the Taehan Empire period (1890s-1910), with Japanese prohibitions put on traditional palace customs, daily protocol and cultural activities, and continued with massive demolition of palace buildings and the removal of all furnishings and valuables by the Japanese authorities in the 1920s and 1930s.

One of the most significant events of early Japanese influence on the disappearance of traditional Chosŏn Dynasty palace performing arts, court dress, and practices is recorded by Mr. F.A. McKenzie (1869-1931, Seoul correspondent for the London *Daily Mail* in 1904 and 1906-7) in his book *The Tragedy of Korea*, published in 1908. This passage describes both the traditional palace customs surrounding a coronation ceremony and their abolition by the Japanese military occupying Korea just before annexation during the Taehan Empire period. Mr. McKenzie attended the 1907 coronation of King Sunjong in Ch'ang-dŏk Palace and described it in his chapter entitled, "Crowning of the Puppet Emperor:"

The Imperial Hair-cutter was in attendance. A group of old court officials... implored him not to abandon the old ways (of retaining his topknot, which the Japanese insisted be removed from every male Korean head as a part of their intent to destroy all Korean identity). The Emperor (Sunjong) paused...but there could be no hesitating now. Resolute men (the Japanese) were behind (in the throne hall) who knew what they were going to see done. In a few minutes the great step was taken.

There were nearly a hundred Japanese present,... only six Europeans.

The new Emperor appeared...dressed in the ancient custom, a flowing blue garment reaching to the ankles with a robe of softer cream colour underneath.... On his chest was a small decorative breastplate (symbol of the Emperor). Weird (traditional court) Korean music started in the background, the beating of drums and the playing of...wind instruments. The master of ceremonies struck up a chant which hidden choristers continued. In smart modern (European-style) attire, the Prime Minister read a paper of welcome.

After this there was a pause in the proceedings. The Emperor retired and all the guests went into the anterooms. Soon all were recalled. There had been a change in the meantime. He (Emperor Sunjong) was now wearing his new modern uniform as Generalissimo of the Korean Army. Two high decorations—one from the Emperor of Japan—hung on his breast. The music now was no longer the ancient Korean, but modern airs from the very fine European-trained band attached to the palace. The Korean players had gone, with the old dress and the old life, into limbo.

The acting Japanese Resident General and military commander, General Baron Hasegawa...stepped to the front with a message of welcome from the Emperor...then the coronation ceremony was over.

Traditional palace customs for 500 years of the Chosŏn Dynasty were elaborately defined for even the most mundane movements of the king and queen. Every excursion of their majesties from their personal chambers was accompanied by strict protocol. Unfortunately, little has been written about the details of these daily customs.

One brief description of minor customs accompanying the movement of the queen is given in *Corea* by A. Henry Savage-Landor, published in 1895. Mr. Savage-Landor had been invited to dinner by the King and was asked to paint a particularly lovely garden of Kyŏngbok Palace. While painting, the queen's curiosity overcame her discretion and she ventured out of her room for a peek at Mr. Savage-Landor's progress, to the great consternation of palace servants, guards, and eunuchs. To quote Mr. Savage-Landor:

I knew what was coming (meaning a surprise appearance of the Queen), and tried to screen the sketch with my body so as to compel the observer (Queen) to lean well out of the window (of the Queen's chambers) if she wished to see it. A little way off were hundreds of soldiers, walking or squatting on the ground, and on the wall of the King's house and smaller trees the fat and repulsive eunuchs had perched themselves

in order to watch the foreigner's doings. All of a sudden there was a piercing squeak and a quick change of scene. Every one standing fell flat on his chest, the soldiers to a man hid their faces in their hands on the ground and the clumsy eunuchs dropped down pell-mell from their perches, like over-ripe fruit coming off the branch of a tree, and disappeared behind the wall. Then, for a moment, all was silence; then there followed another shriek. It was evidently a command to stand still until further notice.—(Later, after the queen's door had closed) By the sound of a shrill whistle the men who had been lying "dead" rose and fled.

Mr. Savage-Landor's palace guide later explained that two shrieks and a whistle were the signal that the doors of the queen's chambers were opening, and that Her Majesty might venture forth; it was forbidden for any commoner to look upon the person of the Queen.

Each major palace maintained a library containing court official and ceremonial records, family records, literature, political writings, history, and other documents. The libraries were often moved around within the palaces and from one palace to another. The largest palace library, the Kyujŏnggak, is now in Seoul National University in Kwanak, where it is well maintained, although regrettably its contents have not been catalogued or researched. Most other palace collections have been lost since the 1910 Japanese annexation and the turmoil of the Korean War in the 1950s. Collections from Korean palace libraries exist in Japan, the United States and Europe.

In 1398 King T'aejo established a Confucian College in Seoul, the Sŏnggyungwan, still in existence today under the same name. The Sŏnggyungwan buildings are located at the easternmost end of the palace compounds adjoining the Secret Gardens at the back of Ch'angdŏk and Ch'anggyŏng Palaces. Entry into the higher ranks of government service was possible only by passing the high civil service examinations, open only to graduates from the Sŏnggyungwan. The existing wooden structures set on granite foundations, dating from around 1605 (rebuilt after the Hideyoshi Invasions of 1592), are the best preserved examples of Chosŏn Dynasty architecture, courtyards and gardens in Seoul.

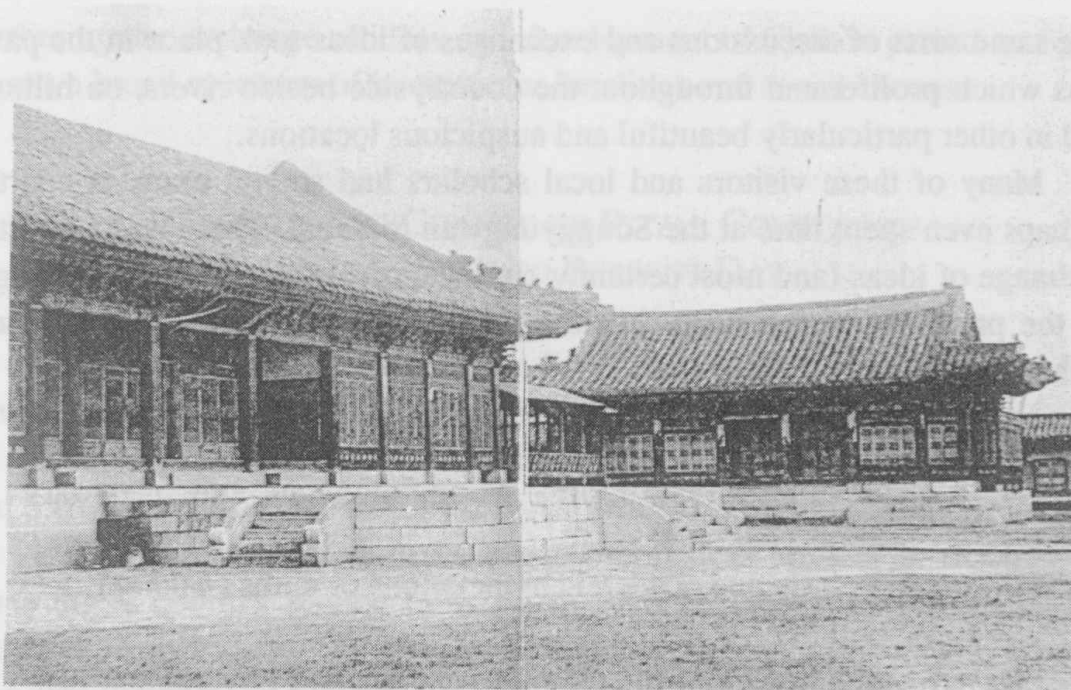
For students outside of Seoul, the lower civil examinations were open to graduates from the *hyanggyo*, or secondary schools established in each district countrywide under the academic guidance of the Sŏnggyungwan, but under administrative control of the Yejo (Department of Diplomacy and Education). While these institutions served practical educational purposes, the structures were also often used by visitors, who would discuss politics, social morals and ethics, literature, and history with the local teachers and scholars.



Around 1910: Crown Prince Yi-Un proceeding through the palace for an official function, accompanied by court eunuchs, chamberlains and the Royal Guard.



King Kojong and Crown Prince Sunjong



The King's personal chambers in Kyŏngbok Palace



Queen Min in the 1880s.

The same sorts of discussions and exchanges of ideas took place in the pavilions which proliferated throughout the countryside beside rivers, on hilltops, and in other particularly beautiful and auspicious locations.

Many of these visitors and local scholars had served terms at court or perhaps even spent time at the Sōnggyungwan in Seoul. There was a constant exchange of ideas (and most certainly conflicts of various schools of thought) on the premises of the many institutions and structures throughout Korea, such as:

In Seoul: Palaces

Educational Institutions—Sōnggyungwan, and secondary schools (*haktang*)

Scholarly and academic associations or clubs (*hakhoe*)

Pavilions

Large homes of the elite — *yangban* and government officials' homes

Outside of Seoul: Administrative Centres (*haengjōngch'ōng*)

Secondary Schools (*hyanggyo*)

Pavilions

Homes of the elite—*yangban* homes

Scholarly activities in the palaces were intertwined with political policy-making, as advisors to the king were often renowned scholars, poets, and writers of their time. The synergy between activities in the many places listed above is important in understanding the activities and purposes of many of the buildings of Chosŏn-Dynasty Korea, and the dynamism, development, and creativity of fine arts and culture of the period.

Yi Yulgok (born Yi I, 1536-1584) is a primary example of such scholars. Yulgok served for various periods in the court in Seoul as political advisor to the king, lived in several provincial towns where he wrote poetry as well as political, historical, and socio-ethical theses, and was well known for his interaction with virtually all classes of Korean society. Several pavilions and private homes in the Kangnŭng area, for example, post notices that "Yi Yulgok once meditated and discussed his ideas here."

Of equal importance are the less known artists, musicians, poets, calligraphers, and artisans as well as organized professional theatrical groups, dancers, acrobatic groups, and artisans who roamed the country offering their creative services to anyone willing to compensate them. These creative members of Chosŏn period society moved between the places listed above, thereby

furthering the exchange of ideas and development of Chosŏn period art forms across a broad spectrum of institutions, localities and social classes.

GROWTH AND CHANGE OF ROYAL COMPOUNDS AND STATUS TO PRESENT DAY

The site of Hanyang, later called Seoul, was chosen as the capital of the new Chosŏn Dynasty in 1392 in large part for the military advantages of natural mountain protection along the ridges of which were built the city walls and fortifications, as well as for their geomantical propitiousness.

Before selection of the new capital there was already in existence in Hanyang a country palace built by the Koryŏ Government, the current Ch'anggyŏng Palace. Yi T'aejo, founder and first king of the Chosŏn Dynasty, lived in and ruled from this palace for two years until his main administrative center, Kyŏngbok Palace, could be built. Ch'anggyŏng Palace faces east, as was the custom during the Koryŏ Dynasty, when it was originally constructed.

All Chosŏn Dynasty palaces were built facing south with the exception of the main gate of Kyŏnghŭi Palace on the north side of the city and were the epicenter the country's and the new city's life. Most aspects of Seoul's development for the next 500 years were ultimately related to serving the administrative, political, residential, cultural and religious functions of the palace compounds, and to accommodating their ceaseless evolution. King T'aejo first ordered three structures to be built: Kyŏngbok Palace, an ancestral shrine, the Chongmyo, to the "left" (east) of Kyŏngbok, an altar for spring and fall offerings to the "right" (west), the Sajik Tan.

After the construction of Kyŏngbok Palace, the principal royal residential palace compounds grew not as much according to any long term central plan or overall architectural master design as to serve specific requirements of successive governments as they presented themselves. These needs dictated expansions, contractions, modifications, and even abandonments of royal compounds for a complex history of reasons, for example:

- Buildings and internal subcompounds were added inside larger compounds to serve expansions of government departments and the addition of special administrative, cultural, and residential functions.
- During times of external threat and internal court intrigue the heightened need to protect the king and his court caused the addition of larger palace guard facilities, the construction of more internal walls, and

the addition of numerous small gates for the discrete escape of the king when all else had failed!

- To serve the whims of kings and their families for residential and aesthetic improvements, buildings were improved and added to and gardens newly constructed or modified.
- Entire new palace compounds were built by order of kings either to favour a particular son or grandson or to remove a particularly bothersome son, brother, or dowager from political meddling at the center of the court and mollify him or with her a newly constructed or modified palace compound.
- It was believed by geomancers and other court advisors that certain palaces were under evil influence because of their position in relation to neighboring mountains and hills and, even worse, that they would have an unlucky influence upon the entire country if used for royal residential purposes. As a result of such advice, certain palaces were abandoned or given over to other more utilitarian purposes.
- Any suspicion of evil or bad luck impinging upon the dignity and auspiciousness of the king's center of power could not be tolerated, as the Korean king applied the same principle of ruling by Mandate of Heaven as his "older brother," the Chinese emperor, did. The respect expected of the king's subjects clearly could not be touched by the slightest suspicion of geomantical or other evil influences emanating from him or his palace. The *Taegung*, therefore, must be understood symbolically as sites of the king's auspicious power and authority as well as physically, housing the royal family and the government.

When the original reason for construction of a royal compound disappeared, the compound was either converted to another use or left unoccupied by royal personages, often for many years, while it awaited a new function for re-activation, generally within the categories listed above. During this waiting period only minimal guard and maintenance personnel resided in the compound. Some palaces were allowed to fall into a state of total disrepair, as in case of Kyŏnghŭi Palace in the 19th century and Kyŏngbok Palace, which remained in ruins for 260 years after the Hideyoshi Invasions of 1592; both of these palaces were deemed to be under evil geomantical influences.

The following examples are further illustrations.

Töksu Palace:

Töksu Palace was built originally in the 1440s as a residence for Prince

Wŏlsŏn, grandson of King Sejo (reigned 1455-1468). Tŏksu Palace served as principal residence for Chosŏn Dynasty kings on two occasions: once in 1593 by King Sŏnjo after the Hideyoshi Invasions had destroyed all other residential palace buildings in Seoul, and again by King Kojong from 1897 until his death there in 1919 during the tumultuous period following the murder of Queen Min in Kyŏngbok Palace by assassins hired by the Japanese Embassy. When not occupied by a king, Tŏksu Palace fell into disuse and was minimally maintained.

Ch'angdŏk Palace:

Ch'angdŏk Palace was originally built in 1394 on a small scale with a minor throne hall and was used as a detached pleasure palace until the Hideyoshi Invasions when it was completely destroyed. Since it was decided not to rebuild Kyŏngbok Palace as the principal royal residence, Ch'angdŏk Palace was rebuilt in 1609 as the principal royal residence with a major double-roofed throne hall and used for this purpose for the next 260 years, until 1867 when King Kojong moved into the newly constructed Kyŏngbok Palace. During the 18th century, both Ch'angdŏk and Ch'anggyŏng Palaces were greatly expanded with many added compounds.

From 1867 when the royal family and entire central court moved back to Kyŏngbok Palace until the 1890s, Ch'angdŏk reverted to its original detached palace function and was rarely used. During the Taehan Empire period (1897-1910) under strong Japanese influence, Ch'angdŏk Palace was again restored as a principal royal residence, first for King Kojong who moved between Tŏksu and Ch'angdŏk, and after 1907 for King Sunjong who resided there as puppet Emperor under Japanese control until his death in 1926.

By order of the Japanese occupation government in 1919 the personal royal residential chambers of Kyŏngbok Palace were moved to Ch'angdŏk to house King Sunjong, and the Japanese occupation authorities carried out the demolition of over 85% of all buildings in Kyŏngbok Palace. The original Changdŏk residential buildings had been destroyed by fire in 1918.

During the entire Japanese occupation period until 1945, the remaining members of the royal family lived in Naksŏnje in the Ch'angdŏk Palace grounds except for Prince Yi Eun and his Japanese wife, Masako (Yi Bang-Ja), who lived primarily in a small palace residence in Tokyo and visited Korea only rarely.

In 1945, the remaining members of the Korean royal family were forcibly expelled from Ch'angdŏk Palace by the U.S. Army occupation forces

which seized control of all Korean royal properties and those registered in Japanese names. The Korean royal family was seen as a non-direct line of the Japanese Imperial family and thereby subject to reduction in status to commoner and loss of all privileges. Crown Prince Yi Eun with his wife Masako were forbidden by the Americans to return to Korea. This condition continued through the Syngman Rhee period, 1948-1960.

In 1961, President Park Chung Hee permitted members of the Yi royal family to move into Naksŏnje at Ch'angdŏk Palace. Naksŏnje had been built originally as a dower house complex for retired royalty and thus continued its original function. Crown Prince Yi Eun and Masako returned to Korea from Japan and occupied the principal suites of Naksŏnje with a small retinue of palace servants. Ch'angdŏk served as a residence for these last remaining members of the Yi royal family until their deaths in the palace: Queen Yun, wife of Sunjong, who died in 1966; Yi Eun, second son of Kojong, who died in 1970; Princess Tokhye, daughter of Kojong, who died in 1989; Yi Bang-Ja, the Japanese wife of Yi Eun, who died in 1989; as well as the son of Yi Eun and Yi Bang-ja, Yi Ku, and his American wife, Julia, who moved out of the palace in 1984.

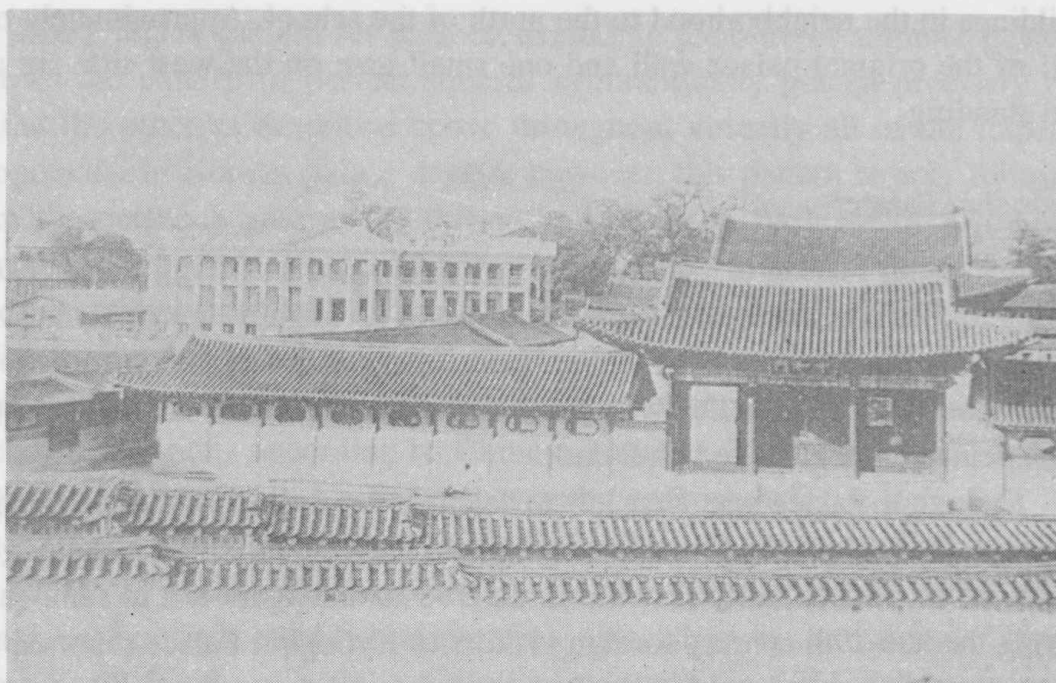
During their residence at Naksŏnje, the only official royal functions performed were participation in the yearly ancestor memorial ceremonies at the ancestral shrines at Chong-Myo and at royal tombs and in funerals of other members of the royal family.

Today the palace buildings and one half of the Secret Gardens are open to the public with the remaining gardens under the control of the Korean Army, Seoul Garrison Command. Naksŏnje is now abandoned and closed to the public; its buildings and gardens, along with those of Unhyŏn Palace, are perhaps the best preserved examples of royal residences in Korea.

Andong Detached Palace:

The Andong Detached Palace in Anguk-dong is a good example of a royal whim. It was built in the late 1880s for a reclusive prince and used by his family through the Japanese period until the property was taken over to build the P'ungmun Girls' School, the entrance of which is on the Anguk Rotary behind the Girl Scouts Building. The two primary, residential buildings were destroyed in the 1960s to make way for the school's new playground.

Of the Andong Detached Palace, four buildings remain standing today: one royal residential structure at the back of the school and three servant



Tŏksu Palace in the late 1890s: photo taken looking south from inside the Detached Palace, currently the Supreme Court Grounds.



Court ladies out for a walk near Kyŏngbok Palace

buildings in the neighborhood to the north of the school. Approximately one-half of the original palace wall and one small gate on the west side are also still standing.

Kyŏnghŭi Palace:

Kyŏnghŭi Palace, originally built in 1616 by order of King Kwanghae as Kyŏngdŏk Palace, changed its name in 1760 to Kyŏnghŭi. It was always suspected of being under evil influences from Inwangsan and was also believed to be haunted. Palace ladies who used Kyŏnghŭi Palace in the 19th century for sericulture rarely stayed after dark.

Kyŏnghŭi Palace was first left to fall into total disrepair, later repaired and expanded, again abandoned, cannibalized for reconstruction of Kyŏngbok Palace in the 1860s, partly restored in the 1880s, and again left in semi-ruins. During the late 19th century foreign visitors to Kyŏnghŭi Palace reported that it was occupied only by elderly palace eunuchs and that most buildings were falling down. It was finally taken down by the Japanese in the 1920s to build a high school, later to become Seoul Boys' High School on Chongro 2-ka. The Japanese moved its main gate to their new Shinto shrine on Namsan. The throne hall was moved to Tongguk University where it serves as a Buddhist temple building.

The Seoul City Government is now building reproductions of the Kyŏnghŭi Palace throne hall and courtyard gate and has restored the main gate, although not at its original location.

Each of the five major palaces, with the exception of Ch'angdŏk Palace, follows the Chinese pattern of symmetrical squares leading in from the main gate up to the courtyard of the throne hall itself. Each square consists of a gate at the south side connected to long, low buildings forming the square courtyard. At the north end of the courtyard is the gate leading to the next courtyard. The throne hall is placed at the north end of the throne hall courtyard.

The first courtyard inside the main gate of most palaces was used by the Palace Guard. In Kyŏngbok and Ch'anggyŏng Palaces, there was a second courtyard inside the main gate and before the throne hall which was used by servants and for preparations for official events to take place in the throne hall courtyard. The courtyard behind the throne hall of Kyŏngbok Palace was occupied by the privy chambers of the King's cabinet. The square behind the privy chambers should house the personal residence of the king, but this pattern is followed only in Kyŏngbok Palace.

The Chinese pattern for palaces, excluding pleasure or summer palaces, follows the pattern of perfect squares symmetrically placed precisely one behind the other as described above throughout virtually all of the imperial compounds. In Korean palace design, however, this pattern is only followed from the entrance gate to the throne hall. Only in the case of Kyŏngbok Palace and to a lesser extent Ch'anggyŏng Palace did this pattern extend beyond, and even in these two palaces, the squares are not perfectly symmetrical after the throne hall and at Kyŏngbok after the privy chamber court and royal-residences. There was little attempt to place the buildings in the precisely correct positions according to Chinese patterns. The symmetrical-squares pattern is followed even less in palaces with no throne hall.

The placement of Korean palace residential structures tended to follow the advice of geomancers and architects and the aesthetic feelings of the owner, rather than established patterns prescribed by traditional Chinese forms. Only for those official buildings symbolizing the king's position of transmitting the Will of Heaven is the Chinese pattern invariably adhered to, that is, in the throne hall and main gate courtyards.

It is most interesting to note that there was no attempt to force Ch'angdŏk Palace into a more Chinese-like symmetry when it was converted to a main royal residence in the early 1600s. The Tonhwamun, the main gate, stands far to the west of the throne hall with no perfectly placed symmetrical courtyard in front of it. The royal residences stand to the east of the throne hall and none of their courtyards was originally placed symmetrically behind another.

Indeed, Ch'angdŏk is an excellent example of Chosŏn Dynasty aesthetics. It uses Korea's ever present hills for its landscaping of the Secret Gardens, as well as to set off and stage the buildings. For example, the throne hall itself was placed with its back to a long hill which was faced with terrace gardens topped with large pine, oak, and elm trees. The terraces were planted with low bushes, bamboo and artfully placed *kwi sŏk*, natural rocks with beautiful shapes.

The throne hall courtyard originally was enclosed by low buildings on three sides only, south, east and west, so that the full sweep of the terrace gardens and trees could be seen framing the magnificent Injŏngjŏn, the throne hall, with its long sweeping double-tiered roof. In the 1890s during the Taehan Empire period, Japanese advisers recommended modernization and expansion of Ch'angdŏk Palace which included completely closing off the courtyard, thereby blocking its refined aesthetic effect. The natural harmony of the Injŏngjŏn with its frame of terrace garden, natural forest and hill was

lost for nearly 100 years. The throne hall courtyard of Ch'angdök Palace is now undergoing restoration to its pre-Taehan Empire form.

Throughout all Korean palaces the same pattern of residential structures forming a harmony with nature is to be seen. Mirroring Korea's hilly topography, gardens adjoining structures invariably are in terrace form at the back and along the sides of the buildings. Residential buildings themselves often have raised pavilion wings jutting out from the main structures, often nestling into the terrace gardens for use on warm days. Their design was purely intended for the pleasure, aesthetic beauty and comfort they brought to their residents and visitors.

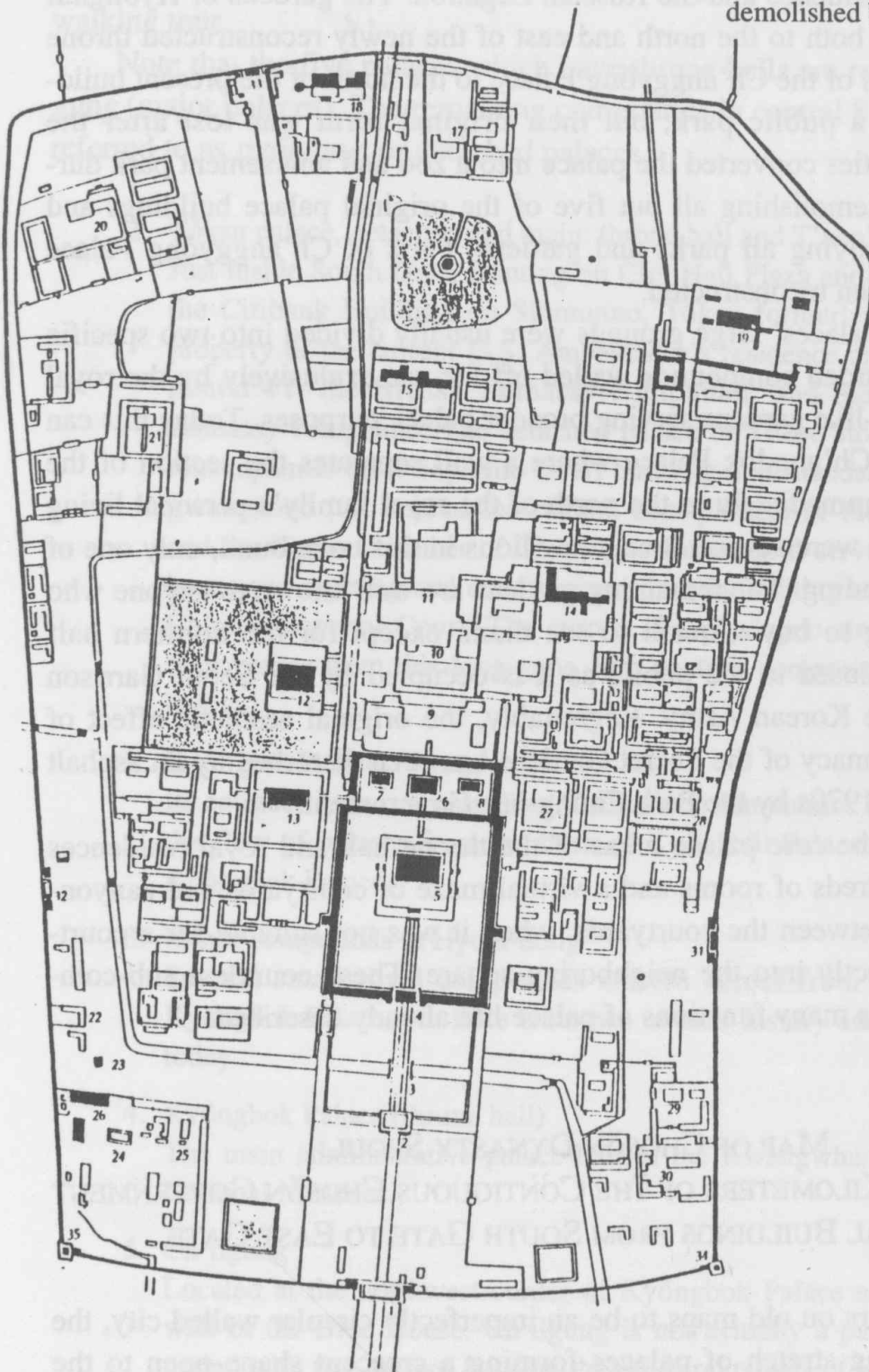
There were at the northern end of most major palaces in Seoul expansive parklike gardens. Today we know only of the Secret Gardens of Ch'angdök. The original gardens of Kyöngbok Palace, formerly at the north end of the palace are now occupied by the Blue House compound. These gardens were destroyed by the Japanese occupation government during the 1920s to build the official residence for their Governor General, which later became the home for presidents of the Republic of Korea. The original Japanese-built Blue House was demolished in December 1993. There are no known photographs of the gardens of Kyöngbok Palace and only passing reference is made to their existence in records of visitors to Kyöngbok during the late 19th century.

As mentioned above, the Japanese authorities destroyed 85% of Kyöngbok Palace, over 300 buildings, including its front (south) wall and the main gate, Kwanghwamun. The Kwanghwamun was rebuilt in concrete and replaced on its original site in 1970 but at an incorrectly low elevation, with improper roof curves and too low a roof ridge; the current Kwanghwamun has lost the graceful power and dignity originally intended by its Chosön period designers. The Chosön Dynasty period architectural aesthetic was of sweeping but understated grandeur. This was magnificently conveyed in Kyöngbok Palace by the original vista of its front wall, gate and two corner watch towers (the East and West Sipchagak) which formed a "crane" shape: the Kwanghwamun (main gate) being the body, the walls the wings, and the two watch towers the raised wing tips.

In Korean palaces, only the throne hall itself was intended to awe the observer, and this was not an aesthetic but a political choice; it stood as a cosmic symbol of the king's mediating function—between Heaven and Earth. The Korean Government authorities announced in August, 1993 a plan to restore most of Kyöngbok Palace and already have begun reconstruction of the royal family's residences. The Japanese-built Capitol Building, now the

Map 1. Kyŏngbok Palace

Buildings in black are the only structures not demolished by the Japanese.



1. Kwanghwamun (Gate)
2. Hŭngnyemun (Gate)
3. Kŭmch'ŏngyo (Bridge)
4. Kŭnjŏngmun (Gate)
5. Kŭnjŏngjŏn (Hall)
6. Sajŏngjŏn (Hall)
7. Ch'ŏnch'ujŏn (Hall)
8. Manch'unjŏn (Hall)
9. Kangnyŏngjŏn (Hall)
10. Kyot'aejŏn (Hall)
11. Imisan (Hill)
12. Kyŏnghoeru (Pavilion)
13. Sujŏngjŏn (Hall)
14. Chagyŏngjŏn (Hall)
15. Hamhwadang (Pavilion)
16. Hyangwŏnjŏng (Pavilion)
17. Kŏnch'ŏnggung (Hall)
18. Chibokchae (Pavilion)
19. Sŏnwŏnjŏn (Hall)
20. Hoewŏnjŏn (Hall)
21. Hoebindang (Pavilion)
22. Nuguk (House)
23. Iryŏngdae (Pavilion)
24. Naesabok (House)
25. Marang (Stable)
26. Yŏn'go (Item House)
27. Tonggung (Palace)
28. Changbang (House)
29. Owidoch'ongbu (House)
30. Changch'ŏng (House)
31. Kŏnch'unmun (Gate)
32. Yŏngch'unmun (Gate)
33. Sinmunmun (Gate)
34. Tongsipchagak (Pavilion)
35. Sŏsipchagak (Pavilion)

Note: The 35 buildings listed above are selected major structures, not a comprehensive listing of buildings in the palace. Buildings described as "house," "palace" or "hall" actually comprise one or more courtyards of numerous separate structures.

National Museum, is due for demolition later this year. This will be a most significant and welcome addition to what little remains of Seoul's traditional architectural remains.

The original gardens of Töksu Palace are now the site of the American Ambassador's residence and the Russian Legation. The gardens of Kyönghui Palace extended both to the north and east of the newly reconstructed throne hall. The gardens of the Ch'anggyöng Palace to the north of the present buildings remain as a public park, but their original form was lost after the Japanese authorities converted the palace into a zoo and amusement park during the 1930s, demolishing all but five of the original palace buildings and completely destroying all parks and gardens. Parts of Ch'anggyöng Palace have recently been reconstructed.

The major palaces' large grounds were usually divided into two specific areas: smaller garden compounds walled off for use exclusively by the royal family, and park-like gardens serving broader palace purposes. Today this can be seen only in Ch'angdok Palace where a wall separates the section of the Secret Gardens immediately to the north of the royal family's personal living compound; there were several lovely pavilions in this compound, only one of which is still standing. The remaining gardens are well known to anyone who has been willing to buy a ticket to see them, except for the northern half which remains closed to the public as it is occupied by the Seoul Garrison Command of the Korean Army. Regrettably, the original aesthetic effect of coziness and intimacy of the Secret Gardens has been disturbed by an asphalt road built in the 1970s by the Park Chung-hee Government.

Outside of the core palace areas of the throne hall and royal residences there were hundreds of rooms and a virtual maze of courtyards and canyon-like walkways between the courtyards, when it was not suitable for a courtyard to lead directly into the neighboring square. These countless sub-compounds served the many functions of palace life already described.

MAP OF CHOSŎN DYNASTY SEOUL:

A MAP OF 20 KILOMETERS OF THE CONTIGUOUS CHOSŎN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL BUILDINGS FROM SOUTH GATE TO EAST GATE

Seoul appears on old maps to be an imperfectly circular walled city, the 20-kilometer-long stretch of palaces forming a crescent shape open to the south and nestled into the foothills of Inwangsan and Pugaksan.

Following Map #1 you can trace the entire "C" through the compounds

listed below beginning at the southwestern end just inside South Gate and ending just inside Tongso-Mun, Little East Gate in the eastern-most city wall at Taehangno (Seoul National University Hospital), near the East Gate.

For those readers with an interest in seeing what remains of Seoul's royal architectural history, this description and accompanying map can be used as a walking tour.

Note that the five palaces which have throne halls are referred to as *Tae-gung* (major palaces). The remaining compounds in central Seoul are properly referred to as *pyŏlgung*, or detached palaces.

1. Tŏksu palace, detached and main; throne hall and T'aep'yŏng-gwan

Just inside South Gate, fronting on City Hall Plaza and extending back to the Citibank Building on Sinmunno, Tŏksu formerly encompassed the property of the current U.S. Ambassador's residence and Embassy Compound #1, the British Embassy compound, and the Tsarist Russian Embassy compound. The detached palace of Tŏksu stood where the current Japanese-built Supreme Court building now stands. The T'aep'yŏng-gwan stood just behind the current headquarters of the Samsung Group and the Korea Chamber of Commerce Building. It served as a state guest house and meeting and entertainment hall for visiting emissaries from the Chinese Imperial Court. The current T'aep'yŏngno street and *dong* take their names from this long-gone 18th century compound. (See #14 & 15 below.)

2. Kyŏnghŭi Palace, (throne hall)

Its entrance gate is across from Citibank on Sinmunno. There is a break in the flow of palaces from the back of Kyŏnghŭi Palace to Sajik Park and Kyŏngbok Palace.

3. Minor compounds in Hyoja-dong

Several small royal compounds existed across from the west wall of Kyŏngbok Palace, but little is known of their history and nothing remains today.

4. Kyŏngbok Palace (throne hall)

The main administrative palace behind the Kwangwhamun Gate and the National Museum.

5. Ch'ilgung

Located at the northwest corner of Kyŏngbok Palace adjoining the west wall of the Blue House. Ch'ilgung is not actually a palace; it is a compound with five shrines housing the ancestral tablets of seven royal concubines whose sons became kings. In front of the shrines is a particularly

beautiful residential compound where the caretaker, always a royal family member, lived. The last royal family caretaker-resident of Ch'ilgung, Lee Su-Kil, was evicted in the mid 1980s by the Korean Government for security reasons due to the compound's close proximity to the Blue House. He died a short time later and is survived by two sons still living in Seoul, Lee Sok and Lee June. The compound also contains beautiful traditional Korean gardens, a small pavilion and a small lotus pond.

6. The area between Kyōngbok Palace and Ch'angdōk Palace was occupied by three categories of structures. This is the second area where a break occurs between palaces.

- 6.1. The following four official royal compounds:

The Chongch'inbu, Office of the Royal Household, was across the street from the east wall of Kyōngbok Palace, and is now occupied by the Defence Security Command and U.S. Embassy Compound #2. Most official and personal needs of the royal family were attended to in this compound: fixing of menus and food preparation, clothing design and tailoring, agenda planning and arrangements for every function great and minor, official and personal. All buildings in this compound except the two main structures were destroyed by the Japanese authorities in the 1930s for construction of houses for wealthy Japanese business people living in Seoul. The principal two buildings of the Chongch'inbu remained at their original location until 1983 when they were disassembled and removed to an abandoned school playground about 500 meters behind the original site on the orders of the Chun Doo-Hwan Government.

Songhyōn Palace is in Songhyōn-dong. It is a small residential palace built for a distant relation of the royal family by marriage and no longer exists.

Andong Pyōlgung was a detached palace on the site of Poongmun Girl's High School on the Anguk-dong Rotary. Four minor buildings remain, one on the school campus and three in the residential neighbourhood to the north of the school.

The Astronomical Observatory was on the present site of Hyundai headquarters. The exact position of stars and the moon were determined here for the purpose of advising the palace of calendar events and auguring future events by analyzing the positions of the heavenly bodies.

- 6.2. The home of former President Yun Po-Sun remains as the only example in Seoul of large residential compounds of the Chosōn Dynasty elite.

- 6.3. A very few private homes, mostly of government employees working

in the palace compounds and people serving them as merchants, shop owners, artisans, and laborers, remain today.

7. Unhyŏn Palace

The front one third, the south side of the palace property, is occupied by Duksung Women's University, the back one fourth by a health center across from Hyundai headquarters, but the center residential portion is intact, having been occupied by a relative of the Taewŏngun until December 1992. This was the official residence of the Taewŏngun, regent for King Kojong from 1863 to 1873. The residential buildings are totally intact and are among the best examples of lesser royal residences still remaining in Korea. Since Mme. Park, a descendant of the Taewŏngun, moved out of the palace in December 1992, the Seoul City Government has begun restoration work on these residential structures. It is hoped that they will scrupulously preserve this beautiful example of royal Chosŏn residences, as it is unique in design and remarkably well preserved in its interior as well as exterior.

8. Ch'angdŏk Palace (throne hall). This is the well known Secret Gardens. A detailed description of the palace's history has already been given.

9. Sŏnwŏnjŏn, the Royal Portrait Hall, is a separate compound adjoining the Secret Gardens at the northwest corner of Ch'angdŏk Palace. The Sŏnwŏnjŏn was a shrine for the portraits of all kings of the Chosŏn dynasty. The portraits were all destroyed in Pusan where they had been taken for safe keeping during the Korean War. While the main portrait hall is a long, low, typical ceremonial building with niches for each portrait, the residential and ceremonial preparation halls are examples of very fine, graceful Korean architecture. There are also several beautifully designed pavilions in the typical Chosŏn period gardens. These buildings were in perfect condition, untouched since their last restoration in 1918, until the main buildings were inexplicably moved within the compound to new elevations in 1986-1987 following the takeover of most of the Secret Gardens by the Korean Army. Area residents report major earth-moving activities on the site during the buildings' destruction and reconstruction; no reason has ever been given for these activities. The compound today remains closed to all visitors.

10. Ch'anggyŏng Palace (throne hall) extended from the east wall of Ch'angdŏk Palace to the Seoul National University Hospital.

11. Kyŏngmo Palace, a detached Palace of Ch'anggyŏng Palace, was on the present site of Seoul National University Hospital and Medical College with the east wall on the present Taehangno. The easternmost part of the city wall is only a few meters to the west of this compound. One internal

gate is still standing just to the north of the Seoul National University Hospital. No history of this palace has yet been found.

12. Sönggyungwan University and Confucian Shrine are at the northeast corner of the Secret Gardens and Ch'anggyöng Palace. Founded in 1398, Sönggyungwan is one of the oldest universities in the world. The present buildings date from the very early 1600s and are among the best and most accurately preserved of any major traditional buildings in the country. Sönggyungwan was the center of all higher learning during 500 years of the dynasty; all government officials had to pass the examination of the university. There is a gate from the university to the back of Ch'angdök through which students passed to take their civil service examinations in front of court officials and finally the king himself. The nationwide system of Confucian academies, *hyanggyo*, *söwön* and *haktang*, was also controlled from Sönggyungwan with practical administration by the *Yejo*.
13. Chongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Shrine, has its main gate at Chongno 4-ga at the end of the large underground car park. Its rear borders on Ch'anggyöng Palace. There are two shrines, the upper and the lower, in each of which the ancestral tablets of each King of the Chosön Dynasty are maintained. A royal ceremony is still held every year on the first Sunday of May sponsored by the Yi Royal Family Association. This and the ceremonies at the royal tombs are the only activities the remaining royal family members still observe.

To complete the map of Chosön Dynasty royal compounds in Seoul, there are numerous smaller compounds outside of the crescent pattern created by the already described twelve compounds. The most significant of these are described next.

14. Sajik Tan (altar)

There are two altars, one for the God of the Earth and another for the God of the Harvest just inside Sajik Park on the north side of the street, at the base of Inwangsan. The king offered sacrifices here in the spring and fall on behalf of the country, again in his position between heaven and earth, following the Chinese tradition associated with the famous Temple of Heaven in Beijing. During the Taehan Empire period (1897 to 1910) this function was moved to the converted site of Nambyölgung.

15. Nambyölgung (detached palace)

This was located on the site of the current Chosun Hotel. The Nambyölgung replaced the T'aep'yöngwan in the 18th century as the guest and entertainment compound for official Chinese (Manchu by then) rep-

Map 2. Seoul



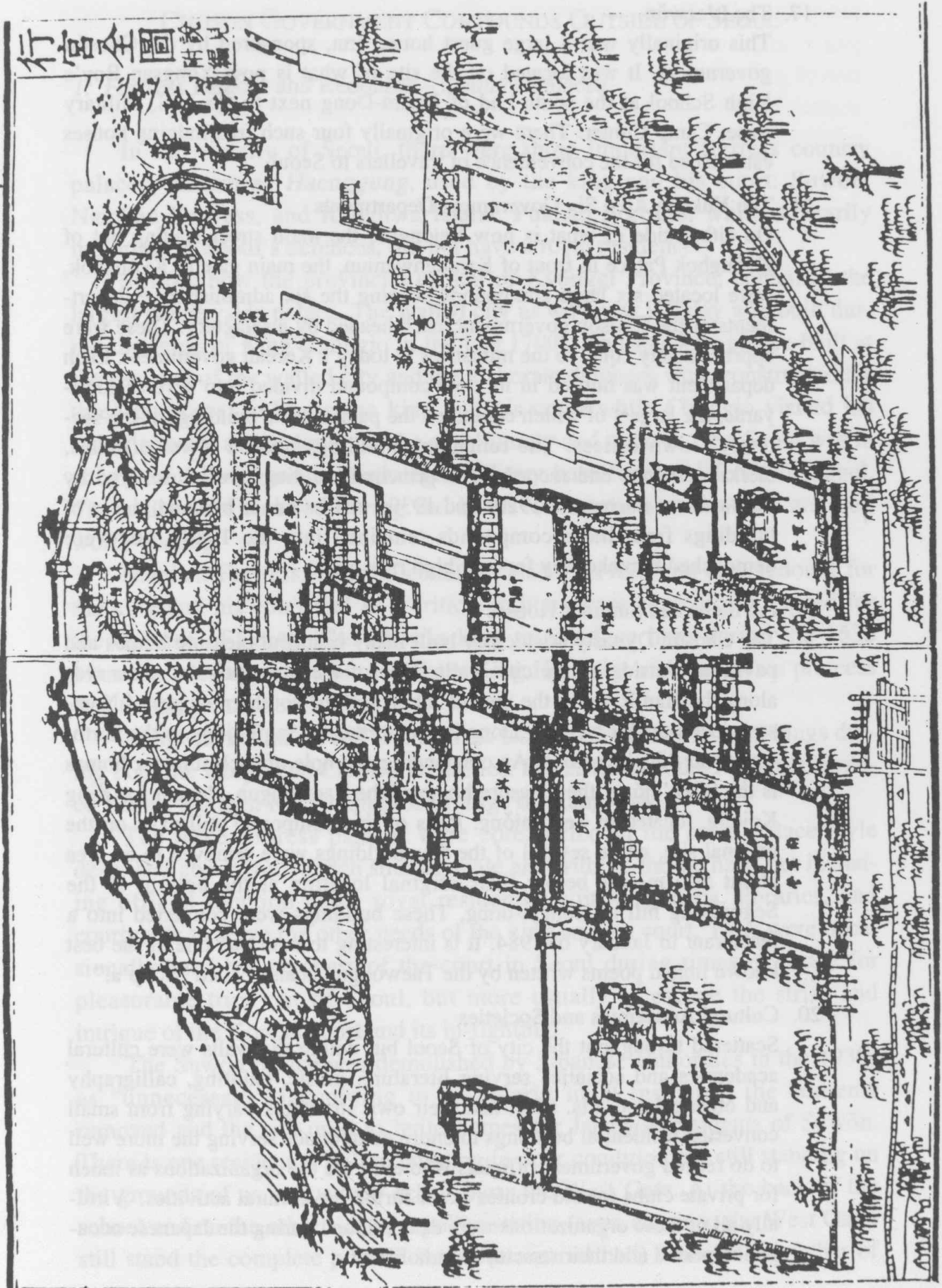
representatives sent from Beijing to the Korean court. In 1897, with the independence of Korea from China and the start of the Taehan Empire, the official exchanges of envoys and gifts between China and Korea ended, and Nambyölgung's function stopped. The functions of the Sajik Altar were moved to this site and new altars were constructed, along with a three story wooden pagoda which remains today behind the Chosun Hotel. The pagoda served as a memorial portrait hall for King Taejo, the first king of the dynasty.

The altars, the caretakers' residences and all but two preparation buildings were destroyed by the Japanese for construction of the first Chosun Hotel in 1915. The last significant palace buildings of this compound other than the pagoda were demolished in the late 1970s to make way for construction of the Lotte Hotel. They had been used as souvenir shops. The pagoda and brick-and-granite gate to the pagoda compound remain today behind the Chosun Hotel.

16. Tong Myo, Temple to Kwanu, the God of War

This building is just outside the East Gate on the south side of the road leading to Shinsol-dong. The temple was built in 1600 to thank Kwanu for saving a Ming general who helped the Korean army during the Hideyoshi Invasions. It is the only Temple to Kwanu remaining in Korea. Ceremonies were held here by believers until the early 1970s on full moon nights, but they were stopped by the Korean Government as part of the restoration of the shrine. The buildings are an interesting mixture of early 17th century Chinese and Korean architecture and bear certain similarities to the Chongmyo shrines. During that restoration most of the paintings, and ceremonial swords, spears, multi-tiered ceremonial umbrellas and much wooden statuary were removed from the shrine and were not replaced. Since then they have disappeared. While visiting the shrine during these so-called restorations in 1972, I was told by several local residents that the shrine's mudang caretaker (Shamanistic priestess) claimed that the paintings were her own, and that she took them with her when evicted from the compounds by the Korean Government. The fate of the many other missing art objects is unknown.

The ceremonial, wooden, wheel-mounted horse about four metres high, used last during the funeral of King Sunjong in 1926, was stored in the gatehouse of this shrine. It too disappeared during the restoration and its whereabouts are unknown. It is feared that it was discarded and destroyed. The front courtyard of the compound has been converted into a children's playground. Generally, the atmosphere of mystery and dignity of the shrine is now gone.



Map 5. Suwon

17. The It'aewŏn

This originally was a large guest house, inn, sponsored by the Chosŏn government. It was located on the site of what is now Yongsan Boy's High School at the south end of Huam-Dong next to the U.S. Military Base, Camp Coiner. There were originally four such free lodging houses established for the convenience of travellers to Seoul.

18. The Yukcho Ap – Six Government Departments

On either side of what is now Sejongno, the main street leading out of Kyŏngbok Palace in front of Kwanghwamun, the main gate to Kyŏngbok, were located six large compounds housing the six administrative departments of the Chosŏn government, each headed by a secretary. These were approximately equal to the ministries in today's Korean government. Each department was housed in its own compound divided into several courtyards, the largest of which contained the palace-scale building for the secretary's own offices. The remaining buildings housed lower officials, clerks, servants, and records. The principal buildings were destroyed by the Japanese during the 1920s and 1930s. A few minor bits and pieces of buildings from these compounds remained into the 1980s, but were demolished to make way for new high rises.

19. Pavilions and Summer Houses

The Chosŏn Dynasty aristocracy built many beautiful pleasure homes and pavilions outside of the city walls. One of the most popular areas was along the Han River in the area of Ichon and the southern slopes of Namsan. Also popular were Ui Dong in the northeast, Segŏmjŏng in the northwest, and Sŏngbuk-dong. An outstanding example of such summer homes is the Sŏkp'ajŏng, the pleasure home of the Taewŏngun, Regent for King Kojong, located in Segŏmjŏng. Parts of this compound still exist on the original site, while several of the fine buildings were removed to an area about 500 metres below their original location at the bottom of the Segŏmjŏng hill at Hongje-dong. These buildings were converted into a restaurant in January of 1984. It is interesting to note that one of the best known linked poems written by the Taewŏngun is also called "Sŏkp'a."

20. Cultural Academies and Societies

Scattered throughout the city of Seoul but within the walls were cultural academies and societies serving literature, music, painting, calligraphy and other related arts. Most had their own structures varying from small converted residential buildings to entire compounds serving the more well to do retired government officials who used the the organizations as much for private clubs for old cronies as for furthering cultural activities. Virtually all of these organizations were discontinued during the Japanese occupation period and their structures demolished.

CHOSUN GOVERNMENT COMPOUNDS OUTSIDE OF SEOUL

1. *Fortress Palaces and Redoubts – Country Palaces*

In the vicinity of Seoul, there were three important fortress country palaces, known as *Haenggung*, used by the king and his court: Suwŏn, Namhan Fortress, and Kanghwa Island. Pukhan Fortress, while militarily important to Seoul's defences, did not have a royal residence.

Suwŏn, now the provincial capital of Kyŏnggi Province, contained the largest countryside palace. The walled city as we know it today was built during the reign of King Chŏngjo in the late 1700s. The spacious palace built at the east end of the walled city and the elaborate defences were constructed for three purposes: to house the king and his court while Chŏngjo visited his father's tomb, as a redoubt for the royal family and court in case Seoul was in danger of falling, and as a strategic military base for the defence of Seoul. The walls were restored during the 1970s with great accuracy and are well worth visiting.

Namhan Fortress, with its country palace, served both as a redoubt for the king and his court and as a critical military base strategically placed for the defence of Seoul. The Chosŏn king took refuge here during the 1636 Manchu invasion, while his son, later King Hyojong, and the crown princess fled to Kangwha to seek refuge.

Kangwha Island served as a fortress island redoubt for Korean kings during both the Koryŏ and Chosŏn Dynasties. In 1231, when the Mongols invaded Korea, the then Koryo king took refuge on Kangwha.

The three fortress palaces were constructed in the same palace style described above, on a much smaller scale and without throne halls but including official function halls, royal residential suites, gardens, libraries, and courtyards to serve the other needs of the king and his court. They were occasionally used by members of the court in Seoul during times of peace for pleasurable trips out of Seoul, but more usually to escape the strife and intrigue of the Korean court and its in-fighting.

The Suwŏn palace was demolished by Japanese authorities in the 1930s as "unnecessary" (according to an elderly local resident), the contents removed and the site used to build homes for Japanese residents of Suwŏn. There is one residential palace building in poor condition but still standing on the grounds of an elementary school near the West Gate. At the back of the school and on the other side of a police station (even closer to the West Gate) still stand the complete portrait shrine (memorial hall) built for the father of

King Chongjo. The shrine building and courtyard constitute a rare and excellent example of 18th century shrine architecture. The caretaker is a member of the Yi royal family and still resides in the official caretaker's house on the shrine compound, teaching traditional music to local students. (See the accompanying drawing of the Suwŏn Palace.)

2. Local Centres of Centers Government Administration

Outside of the Seoul area the Chosŏn royal government administered the country through local magistrates appointed by the court. The principal compounds administering government matters were the Haengjŏng Ch'ŏng, perhaps best translated simply as administrative center.

These centres were laid out similarly to the palaces with two official squares, one for the main gate and the other for the large main courtyard housing the magistrate's offices. Again, the symmetry ceased with these two squares. The official residence and gardens, the guest quarters, and ancillary administrative buildings for clerks and lower officials were set off to the side and behind the main courtyard in aesthetically pleasing ways in harmony with nature and with the advice of the geomancers. The administrative center compounds were essentially small palace-like compounds serving authority and administration and then residences with gardens, pleasure pavilions, libraries, large guest quarters, kitchens, and servants' quarters.

None of these administrative centers survive today, except for a few isolated buildings which managed to survive as private residences when the main compounds were destroyed during the 1920s and 1930s. The Japanese military in Korea often used these compounds for housing their troops, garaging trucks and artillery or simply as storage warehouses until the buildings were so badly abused and so in need of repair that they were taken down. Again, there is no record of what happened to the libraries, furnishings, and art works from these many compounds.

3. Educational and Scholarly Centres of Confucian Studies

One of the most important systems of structures nation-wide during the Chosŏn period was the educational institutions, the Confucian academies, or *hyanggyo* and *sŏwŏn* outside of Seoul and the *haktang* in Seoul. These were controlled from Sŏnggyungwan University in Seoul and were administered bureaucratically by the central government under the Department of Diplomacy and Education, *Yejo*, one of the Departments located along Sejong-no in

front of Kyŏngbok Palace. Each compound contained a shrine hall for Confucius in addition to the classrooms.

These structures also consisted of three principle courtyards. The southern most courtyard was for the Confucian shrine housing the spirit tablets of Confucius, his Chinese successors and important Korean Confucian scholars. The next courtyard(s) to the north contained at least one lecture hall and the third residences of scholars and/or caretakers of the structures, kitchens, and storage rooms. Several of these *hyanggyo* can still be found today in the countryside. None of the Seoul *haktang* remain.

4. Pavilions

Some of the most beautifully designed architectural works of art of the Chosŏn Dynasty are the pavilions, placed artfully in just the right spot atop a hill with a grand vista, in a quiet nook at the bend of a river, alongside a particularly interesting rock outcropping, or simply conveniently located in a town or village center. Some of the larger of these pavilions actually comprised several structures, including residences for caretakers, but the majority were relatively small, open-sided buildings, usually placed two to five meters off the ground atop granite pillars.

The construction of the pavilions was sponsored by government, local *yangban*, local scholars, or simply by the local common people grouping together for joint funding and construction.

These were truly pleasure pavilions where travellers could rest, scholars could discuss their latest thoughts, locals could play *changgi*, chess, and most importantly where common people had the opportunity to meet and discuss ideas with *yangban*, scholars, poets, and other creative locals and travellers. There was very little restriction on the scope of activities which could take place in these pavilions.

On the inside walls, above the doors or above the open spaces between pillars are hung wooden plaques inscribed in Chinese characters with poetry, prose descriptions of nature, thoughts on Confucian principles or any other subject of interest at the time of their composition. Usually these plaques were made by order of local officials, scholars, or *yangban* to commemorate a particularly eventful exchange of ideas which occurred in the pavilion which the plaque then decorates.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of the information in this article is based upon interviews with elderly Koreans of late Chosŏn period upper class families, particularly the Lee family of the *Sŏngyojang* estate in Kangnung, Kangwŏn Province, the Chŏnju Yi Family Association, and caretakers working in the compounds.

The 1969 edition of *Seoul Past and Present* by Allen D. Clark and Donald N. Clark and *Kukhak Togam* by Dr. Lee Byung-Do and Dr. Lee Hui-Seung (1968, *Ilchogak*) have been invaluable as source material for details on historical background, building names, and locations of structures and compounds.

Seoul

by Sam Kidder

Seoul, which celebrates its 600th birthday this year, is one of the world's great cities. For 500 years it was the intellectual and political center of a remarkably refined and stable kingdom. During this century, Seoul's isolation was rudely broken and it became the nexus of struggles among regional and global powers. Seoul's history is as rich as it is long, but unfortunately it is not well known beyond Korea. One way to see the wealth of imagination and human activity in this ancient city is through the window of place names. This essay is my attempt to provide one brief glimpse through that window.

Hanyang (한양, 漢陽), the formal name for the Chosŏn Dynasty capital, first appears during the Silla Dynasty. Koreans have lived in what now is Seoul since neolithic times; one site, at Amsa-dong (암사동, 岩寺洞), has been restored and is open to the public. Within Olympic Park are the mud fortifications of Wirye-sŏng (위례성, 慰禮城) site of the Paekche capital before that kingdom's rulers were forced south to Kongju, then Buyŏ by expansionist Koguryŏ. Two other fortifications, one at P'ungnap-dong (풍납동, 風納洞) at the southeastern end of Ch'ŏnho Bridge, and another on Ach'a-san, known to many foreigners as Walker Hill, date from this period. By the reign of Silla King Kyŏngdŏk (r. 742-65) the administrative district that encompasses much of modern Seoul was known as Hanyang. In early Unified Silla the area was called Hansan-ju (한산주, 韓山州); later in the same dynasty it was renamed Hanyang-gun (한양부, 漢陽郡). In early Koryŏ the district was called Yangju (양주, 陽州), the name still applied to the county just east of the city. By the final century of Koryŏ the Seoul area had become known as Hanyang-bu (한양부, 漢陽府). All these changes were bureaucratic and did not affect the essential meaning of the name.

The Han (한, 漢) of Hanyang, is the Chinese character that is used for the Han River but is not the same Han (한, 韓) used for Han'guk or Korea. It is

likely derived from references to the Han River of China found in the *Book of Poetry* (시경, 詩經) and the *Book of History* (서경, 經書) two important mainstays of the Confucian canon and rich sources of classical allusions for the literate Korean aristocracy. One ode in the *Book of Poetry* describes the Han River in China as one whose width cannot be swum (漢之曠矣 不可泳四). The *Book of History* describes the same river's eastward course, which is not unlike the westward course of Korea's Han River. The *yang* (양, 陽) is the masculine, aggressive or bright aspect of the Taoist *yin-yang* dualism, *ŭmyang* (음양, 陰陽) in Korean. The northern bank of the river, the side which receives the most sunlight, is associated with the *yang* aspect. Hanyang, then, simply means the north or sunny side of the Han River.

The residents of the Chosŏn Dynasty's capital knew that they lived in Hanyang, but like modern citizens they tended to refer to their city as Seoul. Seoul is a pure Korean word and is not written with Chinese characters. The origins of the name are obscure and in dispute. The most convincing explanation is that Seoul is derived through generations of phonetic changes from the Silla term for its capital, Sŏbŏl or Sŏrabŏl. A less compelling explanation is that Seoul is a popular contraction of *sŏng* (성, 城) which means wall or fortress and *ult'ari* (울타리), a Korean word meaning enclosure. A third perhaps equally unconvincing theory is that Seoul comes from joining the term *sŏl* (설, 雪), snow, and the same *ult'ari*. According to folk legend, the city wall was built along a line across the mountains which was left by the snow during the days the city's founders were surveying for the new capital. This explanation at least has charm and the further attraction that later generations often referred to the city wall as the snow wall. In any case, with liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, and as an assertion of Korean cultural liberation from Chinese forms, Seoul became the official name for the city.

Seoul's founders lived in a land and an age in which Koreans believed that the supernatural forces that determined the fate of men and kingdoms were embedded in the configuration of the natural landscape. The study of these forces, called geomancy, was a major preoccupation of the founders of the dynasty. Finding a site for the new capital which had the geomantic attributes to assure the security and continuity of the new ruling house was a consuming political issue. Donald Clark and James Grayson's *Discovering Seoul*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1986, has an excellent account of the geomantic controversies involved in establishing the capital in its current location. (See pp. 307-312.)

The geomantic virtues of Seoul were already apparent by the last two centuries of Koryŏ rule. In the opening years of the 12th century, an official

hostlery, Kyōngmu-dae (경무대, 警務臺) was established near the base of Pukhan-san. Toward the end of the dynasty, there was sufficient official attention, including establishment of a detached palace, for Koryō's rulers to consider the area its southern capital. Geomantic theory calls for concentration of energy, *ki* (기, 氣) at a point near the southern base of a primary mountain, in the case of Seoul, Pugak-san. The site should be bounded on the east by mountains resembling a blue dragon and on the west by a ridge shaped like a white tiger. An outer ring of protective mountains—Samgak-san is considered Seoul's guardian mountain—and a major watercourse in the foreground are additional attributes necessary for geomantic harmony. Seoul had all these elements. More practical modern historians may explain that Seoul was a convenient nexus of inland and coastal transportation and that the surrounding mountains facilitated defense. The city walls were far enough inland to discourage the pirates who were a scourge of coastal regions in late Koryō times, and the self-contained drainage basin within the walls ensured a reliable source of fresh water in case of siege. The dynasty's founders understood these considerations but chose to express themselves in geomantic terms.

The legacy of Seoul's geomantic heritage is most pronounced in the names of natural features, particularly mountains. The blue dragon, which runs from Pugak-san, behind the Blue House, through Ŭngbong (응봉, 鷹峯, Falcon Peak) north of Ch'angdōk Palace then on through Naksan (낙산, 駱山, Camel Mountain) the ridge east of Taehangno, gives some idea of the mythical menagerie that lurks beneath the pavements and apartments of Seoul. The white tiger's spirit flows from Pugak-san to Inwang-san (인왕산, 仁旺山), which is a pretentious Confucian name meaning 'Benevolent Prosperity Mountain.' Crossing Muakchae the names become more colorful. Muachae is a slightly off center transcription of *Moak* (모악, 母岳), or Mother Peak, with the pure Korean suffix *chae* (재), which means 'hill' and recalls a mother who had lost her child. From Muakchae, the tiger force flows through Ansan (안산, 鞍山), or Saddle Mountain, named for its shape, then along Ahyon Hill and along the ridge that separates Map'o and Yongsan wards. The last hill before the white tiger, which spends its geomantic force as it reaches the river, was thought to resemble a dragon crouching to drink. This hill is called Yongsan (용산, 龍山), Dragon Hill.

Seoul's subterranean geomantic zoo is not confined within the city's walls. Samgak-san (삼각산, 三角山), or Three Horned Mountain, is another name for Pukhan-san, which has three major peaks. These peaks were regarded as the horns of the capital's guardian dragon. There was good grazing outside the walls for geomantic cattle. The hill behind Hongik University is

Wau-san (와우산, 臥牛山), Reclining Cow Mountain; south of Seoul Arts Center another somnolent bovine has become Umyŏn-san (우면산, 牛眠山), 'Sleeping Cow Mountain'; and on the road towards Ūijŏ'gbu, yet another cow's ears are sticking into the sky at Ui-dong (우이동, 牛耳洞), Cow's Ear Precinct. Not all of the animals are dozing cattle. The hill just south of Wangsim-ni is Dancing Crane Mountain (무학산, 無學山), a poetic image that promises more than the modest local park that occupies the summit today.

Many of the place names in Seoul are simple descriptions. Most of these are obvious to Koreans and to foreigners with only a rudimentary knowledge of Chinese characters. Occasionally there is at least a short history lesson behind the name. Sŏngbuk-gu (성북구, 城北區) and Sŏngdong-gu (성동구, 城東區) simply mean the wards north and east of the city wall, respectively. Namsan (남산, 南山) is South Mountain; Kangnam (강남, 江南) means south of the river, and so forth. Of slightly more interest is Chong-no (종로, 鍾路), which means Bell Street. The bell that was rung to signal the closing and opening of the city gates hung in the pavilion along this major east-west thoroughfare, and a modern descendant of that bell is now at the site and is used to ring in the new year. Sinch'on (신촌, 新村) means New Village, and as a formal name is a legacy of the city's expansion during the Japanese colonial era.

Other names keep alive some of the military history of Seoul. Majang-dong (마장동, 馬場洞) recalls the pastures for the dynasty's horses which roamed the broad fields beyond East Gate. A number of military facilities including training grounds, the site for testing for the military exam and the shrine to the God of War were all located near or just beyond East Gate. The Japanese and now the American Far East District Corps of Engineers have had bases here and the old training grounds are the venue today for displays of twentieth century physical prowess, Tongdaemun Stadium. Just as there were gates to the city, the neighborhoods both within and outside the wall often had their own gates. Similar to modern Seoul's police boxes, these gates were called *Imun* (이문, 里門) and there were as many as a hundred scattered throughout the city. Ssangmun-dong (쌍문동, 雙門洞) Double Gate Precinct, derived from the double gates leading into that neighborhood, is one example. South of the wall there was another area occupied by the military. The hill where the Ministry of National Defense is located is called Tunsan (둔산, 屯山) which can be translated as Encampment Hill and has been associated with military activities throughout Seoul's history. With the Japanese military buildup during colonial times, one precinct near the base became known as Namyŏng-dong (남영동, 南營洞), a name which is now official and could aptly be translated as South Post.

Place names also teach us about the daily life of the ancient capital. Map'o (마포, 麻浦), literally Hemp Port, was a major docking area for boats bringing coastal products up the Han estuary to Seoul. Kup'abal (구과발, 舊把撥), or Old Post Station, is the first relay station north of the city on the road to Munsan. Both It'aewŏn (이태원, 梨泰院) and Hongje-dong (홍제동, 弘濟洞), are names of hosteleries where travelers approaching the city from the south or north could spend the night before proceeding into the city. Yŏmni-dong (염리동, 鹽里洞), or Salt Village Precinct, takes its name from the salt merchants who lived there. It several locations in the countryside surrounding Hanyang, women raised silkworms to clothe the royal household. Both Chamwŏnn-dong (잠원동, 蠶院洞), Silkworm Garden Precinct, at the south end of the Hannam Bridge, and Chamsil (잠실, 蠶室), Silkworm Raising Room, were sites for sericulture and derive their names from this important economic activity. Another concern was food preservation and there were several ice houses, two down by the river. The Western Ice House, Sŏbinggo (서빙고, 西氷庫), was for royal use. The Eastern Ice House was further up river near the present Oksu-dong and was not used exclusively by the court. The royal ice house was a more important and imposing structure and the current place names, Dongbinggo-dong (동빙고동, 東氷庫洞) and Sŏbinggo-dong (서빙고동, 西氷庫洞), East and West Ice House Precinct, respectively, refer to the areas to the east and west of that main royal ice house.

There are several reasons why simple knowledge of the Chinese characters used is not always enough to ascertain the derivation of a place name. One reason is that the literal reading of the characters may not tell the whole story. One example would be Ch'ŏnho-dong in eastern Seoul. Ch'onho (천호, 千戶) means one thousand households, and might be thought to be a description of the area or its population. In fact, Ch'ŏnho is the courtesy name of the father of Yi Songgye, the dynasty's founder, and the name was given in his memory. A second example is Samch'ŏng-dong (삼청동, 三清洞) which means Precinct of the Three Purities, all very nice but meaningless until we find that the purities were the purity of man, water, and mountain, an indication of the area's role as a source of fresh water and as an escape from the dirty city streets.

A second reason not to put full faith in the meaning of the Chinese characters is that they are often renderings of Korean words and may have changed over time. P'il-dong (필동, 筆洞) means Writing Brush Precinct and would seem to indicate that this may have been an area where calligraphy brushes were either made or sold, but the area was known by Hanyang residents as Pugol (부골 or 붓골). The *pu* (부, 府) is the term for the five major

administrative districts of the Choson Dynasty capital, and *gol* means valley, but, *put* (붓) also means writing brush in pure Korean. The Chinese character *p'il* (筆), for writing brush, became the formal name for the neighborhood. A better known case perhaps is Wangsim-ni (왕십리, 往十里) which means proceed for a distance of ten *li* (about 3 miles). There are various versions of a story about a monk, Muhak, who was one of the influential geomancers involved in siting the city. When at this location, Muhak either met an old man or found a tablet that told him to proceed ten *li* to discover the geomantic center for the new capital. These stories do not appear in the contemporary dynastic records and are apparently later accretions to the folk history of Seoul's founding. Early maps use a different character for *wang* (왕, 旺) which means prosperity and various characters pronounced *sim* (심), not *sip* (십) for the second character of the name. The modern place name makes for a good story but not good history.

Administrative reorganization during the Japanese colonial period also obscured the original meanings of a number of place names in Seoul. For almost 520 years the city was divided into five *pu* (부, 府), which in turn were subdivided into *pang* (방, 坊) of which there were 50-52. These in turn were subdivided into *kye* (계, 契) and further into *tong* (동, 洞). There were more than 300 *kye* and almost 800 *tong*. In 1914 the Japanese carried out a sweeping reorganization and more than half of the *tong* names were thrown out. In many cases, one *tong* was combined with its neighbor. In combining neighborhoods the Japanese took some modest care in trying to come up with names that made some sense. Unfortunately, the effect on the modern citizen is to obscure the original names even further. For example, Kungjǒng-dong (궁정동, 宮井洞) can be translated as Palace Well Precinct, a seemingly descriptive name for a neighborhood, but it is, in fact, a contraction of Yuk-sang-gung (육상궁, 毓祥宮) or Yuksang Palace, and Onjǒng-dong (온정동, 溫井洞) Hot Well Precinct. This hot well was not one of the palaces' sources of water. Insa-dong (인사동, 仁寺洞) is another Japanese combination putting together the *in* (인, 仁) of Kwanin-bang (관인방, 寬仁坊) with Sa-dong (사동, 寺洞). Sa-dong means Temple Precinct and refers to Wǒngak-sa, the major early Chosŏn Dynasty temple in Chongno 3-ga, whose stele and pagoda still grace the park there.

With liberation from Japanese rule in 1945 and following the destruction of the Korean War, Seoul began a new period of vigorous expansion. In a burst of pent up nationalism Korea looked to patriotic heroes or towering cultural figures to name the new thoroughfares that were being bulldozed through the rubble and hovels of the old city. Ŭlchi-ro was named after

Koguryō General Ūlchi Mundōk, who led the successful resistance against a Chinese invasion early in the seventh century and T'oeggye-ro is named for a famous Chosŏn Dynasty philosopher. Wŏnhyo-ro takes its name from the most notable monk of Silla times and Ch'ungjŏng-ro (충정로, 忠正路) is from the courtesy name of Min Yonghwan, who was an advisor to King Kojong and took his own life when the Protectorate Treaty was signed with Japan in 1905. Following this pattern, and depending, of course, on the verdict of history, one day there may be a Park Place or a Rho-ro.

The preceding is only a brief peek at the richness of Seoul's history that can be glimpsed through the window of place names. There are literally thousands of examples, of which I have cited only a few. With the 600th anniversary of the founding of the city, a rich literature, both academic and popular, has appeared in Korean, some of which I list below. The world is now well aware of the remarkable economic accomplishments of recent generations of Seoulites. I hope that in this anniversary year the world will begin to appreciate more the equally remarkable achievements of the ancestors of Seoul's citizens. Happy birthday, Hanyang!

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The following is a list of several ward and precinct names and their origins taken primarily from materials provided by the historical and cultural offices of the wards.

Chongno-gu (종로구, 鍾路區), Bell Street Ward, from the bell used to signal the opening and closing of the city gates.

Kye-dong (계동, 桂洞), Cinnamon Street. The name was originally Chesaeng-dong (제생동, 濟生洞), Life Saving Precinct from the herb hospital there called Chesaeng-wŏn. It gradually came to be called Kyesaeng-dong but the "saeng" character was dropped since it sounded too much like Kisaeng-dong.

Naeja-dong (내자동, 內資洞), This name is from Naejasa (내자사, 內資司) a government agency located in this district. This agency was responsible for providing rice, noodles, wine, soy sauce, vegetables, and other items to the palace.

Myŏngnyun-dong (명륜동, 明倫洞). The name was used only from the Japanese colonial period when a number of smaller neighborhoods were combined. The name is taken from the name of a Confucian lecture hall, Myŏngnyun-dang (명륜당, 明倫堂) that was located within Songgyun-gwan, the leading Confucian academy of the dynastic period.

Chung-gu (중구, 中區), Central Ward. Self-explanatory.

Myŏngdong (명동, 明洞) Bright Precinct. This name was first used when city districts were by the reorganized Japanese in 1914. The name is a contraction of the Chosŏn period name for one of the neighborhoods in the area, Myŏngnye-bang (명례방, 明禮坊) or Bright Propriety District.

Namch'ang-dong and Pukch'ang-dong (남창동, 南倉洞, 북창동, 北倉洞) South Warehouse Precinct and North Warehouse precinct. These names reflect the commercial nature of this area of the city just inside South Gate. Ch'ang-dong (창동, 倉洞) means Warehouse Precinct and was the name of one of the small Chosŏn era neighborhoods. In the Japanese period, several other neighborhoods were absorbed and the larger area divided into North and South Warehouse Precincts.

Malli-dong (만리동, 萬里洞), Ten Thousand Li Precinct. A literal translation of this hillside neighborhood that straddled one of the main routes out of the city would seem apt to travelers leaving Hanyang on long journeys to the south, but the Chinese characters should not be read literally. Instead the name comes

from Ch'oi Malli (최만리, 崔萬里) an important scholar of Sejong's famous court whose home was there. In subsequent years, Malli-dong became the site of the traditional New Year's stone fight between two neighborhoods in the area, the outcome of which was said to predict a bountiful harvest in the province associated with the winning side.

Yongsan-gu (용산구, 龍山區). For an account of the geomantic origins of this name please refer to the text.

Pogwang-dong (보광동, 普光洞). This area south of It'aewŏn was incorporated into the city in 1936 and takes its name from a temple built there which in turn took its name from the Silla monk, Ven. Pogwang, who founded the temple. The temple was built to celebrate Silla's capture from Koguryŏ of territory up to the Imjin River. Pogwang-sa continued in operation until the late Chosŏn period as a venue for prayers for rain and for the security of the dynasty.

Hannam-dong (한남동, 漢南洞). This name which appears to be a simple geographic description shows that when dealing with Chinese character names, simplicity can be deceptive. Han is the *han* of Han River and *nam* means south. There would seem then to be two choices, either the southern part of the Han River or south of the Han River. In fact, it is best to read the character as the area along the Han River that is to the south of the city or south of Namsan.

Sŏngdong-gu (성동구, 城東區), West of the Wall Ward. This is a literal descriptive name

Sagŭn-dong (사근동, 沙斤洞). *Sa* means sand and *gun* is a measurement of volume which would seem to indicate that the name would have something to do with the river bank sand, since this precinct is located along the broad flood plain where Ch'onggye-ch'ŏn flows into Chungnang-ch'ŏn, but the name is a phonetic transcription of an original Korean word *sagun* (삭은) that is an adjective meaning ruined and refers to a dilapidated Shilla temple that was located there.

Songjŏng (송정동, 松亭洞), Pine Pavilion Precinct. This name comes from a pavilion located there.

Tongdaemun-gu (동대문구, 東大門區), East Gate Ward. Again this is a descriptive name.

Sinsŏl-dong (신설동, 新說洞). This name literally means Newly Built Precinct and might seem to be derived from Seoul's 20th century sprawl, but the name comes from a village that was newly built in Chosŏn times.

Jungnang-gu (중랑구, 中浪區). This ward's name comes from the stream

that flows through it.

Muk-dong (묵동, 默洞). This name is a legacy of the capital's commercial past. *Muk* means ink, in pure Korean also *mok* (먹). The name comes from the fact that ink was produced in this area.

Kuro-gu (구로구, 九老區, Nine Old Men Ward). This name was originally the name of a village which was notable for the long lives of nine of its residents.

Toksan-dong (독산동, 禿山洞, Bare Mountain Precinct.) This name is descriptive and not particularly flattering but recalls the deforestation of much of the land around the capital as noted by early Western travelers to Korea.

Yöngdŭngp'o-gu (영등포구, 永登浦區). One literal translation would be the Ward of the Ever Ascending Port, a name that sounds rather ponderous except perhaps for a late Victorian travel book. This name goes back well into the Chosŏn period.

Yöüi-dong (汝矣島洞). This name means something like "you take it" or "its yours." Until the Park Chöng-hŭi years Yöüi Island was little more than a sandy spot along the Han River flood plain and the name derives from the general worthlessness of the land for any agricultural purpose.

Söcho-gu (서초구, 瑞草區, Auspicious Grass Ward). According to Kim Ki-bin in *Hanguk Chimyöng ũi Sinbi* (한국지명의 신비), the name can be paired with Majang-dong which was discussed earlier. Söcho was a good spot for pasturage and the ward's name comes from a village called Sörip'ul, a pure Korean name with a variety of possible meanings but all referring to grass or weeds.

Pangbae-dong (방배동, 方背洞, To-the-Rear Precinct). This name came from a village which was backed up against Umyöŏn-san.

Panp'o-dong (반포동, 盤浦洞, Tray or Plate Port Precinct). The *p'o* suffix indicates this was a port village along the river. Although the Chinese character now used to write *pan* (반) means tray or plate, it was originally written as 蟠 which is also pronounced *pan*. The meaning of this *pan* is 'coiled' and it is a Chinese transcription of the pure Korean *sölitkae*, coiled inlet. Again, a simple translation of the Chinese character name proves misleading.

Kwanak-gu (관악구, 冠岳區, Crown Peak Ward). This ward's name comes from Kwanak Mountain which has an important position in Seoul's geomancy. The name derives from the pointed peaks which resemble a royal crown. The name peaks also led geomancers to associate Kwanak Mountain with the

fire element. The *haet'ae* outside Kwanghwamun and the large pond where Seoul Station now stands were both attempts to protect Seoul from the fire element embodied in Kwanak-san.

Kangnam-ku (강남구, 江南區, South of the River Ward). This is a simple descriptive name.

Apkujöng (압구정동, 狎鷗亭洞, Being Intimate with the Seagulls Pavilion Precinct). The original Sino-Korean is far more poetic than this bulky English translation. This pavilion was built by Han Myöng-hoi (1415-1487), one of the leading political figures of his age and noted party host. The lavish entertainments at this scenic but out of the way spot have bequeathed a history of sumptuousness to this neighborhood. The courtesy name (호, 號, ho) of Han Myöng-hoi is Apkujöng with the first character *ap* (압, 鴨) meaning 'duck'. In this case, perhaps the name was originally intended to be Duck and Gull Pavilion, a translation which resonates considerably better in English, but the Seoul City Government uses the *ap* (押)압, 押 which means to be intimate with.

Söngpuk-gu (성북구, 城北區, The Ward North of the Wall). This ward's name is a description of its location just outside the old city wall.

Chöngnüng-dong (정릉동, 貞陵洞, Chaste Tomb Precinct). Chosön Dynasty founder T'aejo first buried his beloved queen in what is now Chöngdong (정동, 貞洞, Chaste Precinct), the area behind Doksu Palace. This queen's sons did not manage to take over the royal mantle and after a brief succession struggle their half brother, T'aejong, emerged as ruler. The prohibition against burial within the city wall and T'aejong's eagerness to wipe out any evidence of his earlier rivals from the city center led him to move this grave beyond the wall to its present location.

Samsön-dong (삼선동, 三仙洞, Three Sprite Precinct). This poetic name comes from the three spirits who cavorted there with the Jade Woman, the name given to one of the rocky protuberances to the east of what is now Taehak-no. This part of town is still known as a site for cavorting.

Ŭnp'yöng-gu (은평구, 恩平區). I decline even a clumsy translation of this ward's name. In 1911 the Japanese colonial government established eight townships *myön* (면, 面) surrounding Seoul. One of these was called Ŭnp'yöng, taking Chinese character elements from two existing Chosön era districts, Yönnün-bang (연은방, 延恩坊) and Sangp'yöng-bang (상평방, 常平坊).

Pulgwang-dong (불광동, 佛光洞, The Light of the Buddha Precinct). This name is a direct borrowing from Pulgwang-sa, a temple in the area.

Map'o-gu (마포구, 麻浦區, Hemp Port Ward). This name is descriptive of

the important of river borne commerce to the economic life of the city. Many Seoulites still speak of the salted shrimp markets along the river in what was a boisterous and brawling village far from the refined *yangban* living within the city walls.

T'ojöng-dong (토정동, 土亭洞, Mud Pavilion Precinct). Mud Pavilion was both the dwelling and the courtesy or pen name of one of the Chosun period's most eccentric intellectuals, Yi Chiham (이지함, 李之函). After a brief but brilliant official career, he began a simple life studying medicine, fortune telling, divination and other pursuits that separated him from the mainstream of rigid upper class Confucian society. His book, *T'ojöng pigyöl*, is still the most popular text Koreans use to predict the future and boasts an accuracy which certainly exceeds that of many modern econometric models.

Footprints of the Wildgoose*

Horak hongjo or *Hodong sŏrak ki* by Kŭmwŏn

by Richard Rutt

EDITORIAL NOTE

James Gale's translation of Kŭmwŏn's *Footprints of the Wildgoose* is a curiosity. His draft, in typescript, was found among the papers kept by his son, Mr George Gale of Montreal. The only complete text of the original that I have been able to discover is the one printed during 1917 and 1918 in three installments in Ch'oe Namsŏn's magazine *Ch'ŏngch'un* (No. 11 November 1917 pp. 138-147; No. 12 March 1918, pp. 89-96; No. 13 April 1918, pp. 84-88). This text is entitled *Horak hongjo*, literally 'footprints of a wildgoose from the provinces to the capital,' though Kŭmwŏn at the end of the work says she has called it *Hodong sŏrak ki*, 'from the eastern provinces to the western capital'.

The latter is the title by which the book is more commonly known, although Yi Nŭnghwa used *Horak hongjo* for the extracts he printed in *Chŏson Yŏsok Ko* (Seoul 1927, pp. 150-2). The text of these extracts differs in detail from that printed in *Ch'ŏngch'un*, and Gale's translation agrees precisely with neither of them. Yi Nŭnghwa suggests that a manuscript was possessed by Chijae Kim Wŏn'gŭn, a teacher of Chinese at Chŏngsin Girls' School in Seoul who was certainly known to Gale. Another of Gale's friends was Kim Tohŭi (1849-1924) who, like Kŭmwŏn's husband, was a Kyŏngju Kim.

Gale included extracts from Kŭmwŏn in his diary of a visit to the Dia-

*Although this work is not primarily about Seoul, at one point it does give us a picture of parts of Seoul through the eyes of the concubine of a government official in the mid-19th Century.

mond Mountains in September 1917, so he must have translated the work before its publication in *Ch'ongch'un* unless he added these extracts to his 1917 diary at a later date. The diary was not printed until it appeared in the *Transactions* of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1922.

Chang Chiyŏn, editor of *Taedong sisŏn* (1918), says that Kŭmwŏn's family name was Kim. Although modern biographical dictionaries give her date of birth as 1804, it is clear from her own writing that it must have been about 1816. Yi Nŭnghwa says that she was taken as concubine by Kim Tŏkhui in it must have been about 1816. Yi Nŭnghwa says that she was taken as concubine by Kim Tŏkhui in 1830, though she herself does not make the date clear. Yi also consistently gives the wrong Chinese character for the *hŭi* in Kim Tŏkhui's name, *palgŭl hŭi* instead of *kippŭl hŭi*. Some information about Kim is found in *Ch'ŏngun po* and other places. Kyundang, 'hall of the literature star,' was his literary style. He was born in 1800, and related to many powerful political figures. He married first a daughter of Cho Myŏngch'ŏl, later a daughter of Yu Ch'igap. He passed with third-class grade in the higher civil service examination of 1935, subsequently rising to fairly high rank in the Ministry of War. He was appointed governor of Ŭiju in the last moon of 1844, January or February 1845, and was replaced in the fourth moon of the following year (May 1846). This was an average length of tenure for those days.

Gale's draft has many imperfections, including puzzling typographical errors, and I have substantially rewritten it. His versions of the poems included in the work are so free that I have attempted more accurate translations. He omitted two short passages that occur in the *Ch'ŏngch'un* one of them at least by inadvertence. His occasional additions to the *Ch'ŏngch'un* text appear to be due to his customary exuberance, though for Kŭmwŏn's somewhat obscure account of the fifty-three Buddhas of Yujŏm-sa he substitutes a longer account derived from other sources. I have brought the translation generally into line with the *Ch'ŏngch'un* text, except where the latter contains manifest misprints.

The book is not now well known in Korea, though parts of it have been anthologized. 'Wildgoose footprints' is a symbol drawn from Su Tung-p'o, and suggests transience because such footprints are soon obliterated in snow or mud. Kim Wŏn'gŭn called Kŭmwŏn 'a Szuma Ch'ien of the women's quarters.' She was certainly unusually well-read for a woman of her time: she refers to Chinese works not included in the commoner Korean anthologies, and she knew something of Chinese topography. Her verses are competent, and are the most widely-quoted part of the book. It is usually assumed that

she wrote most of it when she was fourteen, but at least a quarter of the book, and probably rather more, was written much later. Her only other published writing is her postface, written in 1851, to the collected poems of her friend Chuksö.

Gale's version, with its repeated adjectives—'beautiful,' 'fantastic,' 'too wonderful for words,' reads like a girlish rhapsody. Some of her comments have honesty and tartness, and occasionally her vignettes are of startling vitality or lyricism. The whole breathes the most romantic spirit of nineteenth-century Korea, not least the closing passage of haunting melancholy, suggesting that 'the footprints of the wildgoose' would disappear.

FOOTPRINTS OF THE WILDGOOSE

It is a blessing to be born a man; yet if a man does nothing while he lives that is worthy of fame, although he be a man I would not call him that, but rather a woman with a beard. It is sad to be born a woman; but if a woman, on the other hand, does something worth while, though she may be considered a mere woman, I would not call her that, but rather a hero.

Man has his place between heaven and earth as one of the three divisions of creation, and woman shares it with him. Yet she is hidden away in the inner quarters, buried out of sight. When she goes out she covers her head and wears a girdle by which her limbs are always bundled. She is not at liberty to go out by herself; she is like a prisoner, unconvicted of any wrong, yet locked up for life. She may have no part or lot in the flowers of the morning, the moonlight of the evening sky, and all the happy times of earth; the hills and streams are shut out from her view, though they lie just beyond her door. Her parents' sole wish is that she may grow up a good and virtuous woman. This too was my desire. Nothing is allowed a girl beyond this limited horizon; to become a virtuous member of imprisoned womankind. Yet she has a heart and soul that yearns to break free from every bond and become something more in the world than a mere kitchen drudge. Why should these meaningless restrictions be put upon her? Queen Chindök of Silla¹ had her poems woven into the silken fabric she made, and Hō-ssi, Nansörhön, went in her dreams to the Kuang-sang Hills, and became a famous poet.² Even heroes find fame no easy prize to win; yet these women won it. Their fame is assured for ever.

I was born at Wōnju near the Diamond Mountains, and named Kūmwōn, 'Brocaded Garden.' When I was a child I was frequently ill, so my parents took pity on me and gave me no arduous tasks. To amuse me they taught me

Chinese characters, and I learned rapidly. Before many years had passed I was able to read the classics and histories, and my one desire was to make the ancients my model. In happy moments I wrote verses about flowers and the moonlight; I was thankful I had been born into the world as a human being, not as a bird or a beast; not a savage like the outlying tribes, but a member of a nation of refinement and culture. I was sorry I was a girl, not a boy, and that our family was poor. Heaven had given me a heart that appreciated culture and tenderness. It also gave me eyes and ears. Other girls did not care, but I wanted to enjoy the hills and streams. Heaven had given me a sense of their delights, so why should I not enjoy my wonderful country? But I was a girl. Must I be imprisoned and be satisfied behind the bars? Born of a poor man in an obscure home, must I follow the usual path and be buried from sight forever? There was no great diviner Chan-yin³ to direct me and help me, like Ch'ü,⁴ to know my way, but he himself had said "Augury has limitations, while man's good sense is unbounded." One's own judgement is best. I felt I could decide for myself, and did so in the year before my hair was pinned up. I intended to see something of the world at once. When Tien wanted to bathe in the famous springs that gave health, to breathe the air on the high sweet peaks of the hills, and to write down his impressions, Confucius gave his consent.⁵ Hence my plan was made, and I spoke many times to my parents about it. After a long delay, they agreed. How happily my heart beat at the thought, like an eagle freed from captivity and soaring away into the sky, like a highly-strung horse loosed from bit and bridle that makes off over the plain.

That very day I had a boy's suit made. We got our baggage together and set out in the direction of the Four Central Prefectures.⁶ It was April 1830, and I was just fourteen years old. I sat in my palanquin like a boy with plaited hair. The two sides and the back were curtained with blue gauze, and the front was left open so that I could see. Thus we made our way to Lake Üirim⁸ in Chech'õn prefecture. Pretty flowers smiled, and the greensward stretched away like clouds; the leaves were just out and the hills encircled us like silken canopies. Already my heart was refreshed beyond words and my lungs cleansed by the fresh, pure air.

The lake, we found, had a circumference of about ten *li*. Its green waters shone, beautiful as the finest Chinese silk; watercress was sprouting fresh leaves, some beneath the surface and some resting on the water; countless willow catkins bent their tassels, half over the reflecting surface and half over the land. A pair of orioles flitted from branch to branch, their golden plumage flashing in the sunlight as they called sweetly to one another. A startled seagull shot off into the sky. I laughed at him and said, 'Don't you know the

saying:

Seagull, why this hurried flight?
Am I not your well-tryed friend?⁹

That is how I feel.'

We heard a faint singing coming from afar, among the surrounding willows. Then we saw an old man with a wide straw hat and a cape of reeds, holding a fishing-rod over the water in the distance. He was catching silver-coated fishes, a flashing foot or so long, out of the ripples. I asked that we should go by boat to find where the singing came from. The breeze was soft and the water smooth as a mirror, so the boat did not rock as we floated out on the glistening water of the lake. Reeds, lotus, water-lilies and caresses, water-plants and water-fowl were reflected with the sky and clouds—a wonderful picture.

At length we made fast the boat by the fisherman's landing, and gave one or two cash for a fish. We had it prepared and served for supper, and surely no perch of the famous Sung-kiang was ever its equal. We gathered watercress and then went to a little thatched hut near the lake, where an old lady received us with smiling face and showed us how to prepare it, by poaching it a little while in hot water; then serving it with *omija* soup.¹⁰ The flavour was fresh and sweet. I wonder whether Chang Han¹¹ ever tasted better.

The lake is famous. When peach blossom is out in the springtime, boats sail over the reflected sky; in summer the full-blown lotus flowers wave gently beside the cottages; in autumn the reflected moon lies deep in the lake as though in a crystal bottle; in winter it becomes a jade mirror sprinkled with snow. The scholar would regard this as the lake where Chuang-tzu became an immortal;¹² the pretty girl, should she come here, would think it the spot where Hsi-shih¹³ spent her days. It is so wonderful that a whole year's stay could not exhaust its joys. We lingered with no thought of leaving, and I wrote a stanza to preserve the memory of the place:

Green willows droop beside the lake
As though depressed by springtime melancholy.
Yellow orioles call overhead
And cannot bear the sadness of farewell.

We stayed half the day, and then continued our journey. The birds in the trees and the gulls of the shore added their cries to the sorrow of our departure.

From there we went to Tanyang, through the narrow windings of the hills, passing before the three Sōnam, the fairy rocks. They were like a *paduk*

board,¹⁴ black and white, crossed and squared, the hills behind like two old men bending over, intent on a game. Hence they are named after the immortals, whose ways have always been mysterious. The four immortals of Shangshan¹⁵ played *paduk* in the mountains, then came out to look at the earth, but I never heard that they returned to the hills. Two other immortals of ancient days came out of a huge pomelo, in which they had played *paduk*, but I never heard that they went back into it. I imagine that all six of them came here, where their chequer boards stand ever ready for a game.

There was a woodman long ago who went into the hills. Suddenly he came upon some immortals playing *paduk*. For a time he stood and watched. When he picked up his axe, the handle had decayed and fallen away. He returned home: the hills and streams were just as they had been when he left, but the people were all different. He did not know how many years had gone by, till he discovered that the master of the house was a man of the fifth generation after his own. Now the chequerboard of the immortals was before my eyes. I saw its mottled squares, but where were the immortals? If I waited too long I might see them, and then the ages would speed by. I hastened to get away before I fell under their spell.

The valley was deep, with resounding corridors, overlooked by great bald peaks, some like lotus flowers carved from stone, others like embroidered silk screens that blocked the way and forced the road to swing hither and thither to find openings between the rocks. Waterfalls and streams went rushing by; peaches were in bloom, perfuming the air; mingled pink blossom and blue sky showed through the green foliage; idle bees and jaunty butterflies hummed and flitted hither and thither; pretty birds, unknown to me, vied with each other in song; all the dusty cares of the world were completely forgotten.

When T'ao Ch'ien wrote of the peach-blossom vale, he told of its deep enchanting vistas, cut off from every touch of humankind.¹⁶ Nowadays, people who have never seen such a garden, but only read the story, think that immortals really live in some such remote place, yet here before my eyes was the fabled garden itself. Why should I look for something far removed and out of reach, and lament that I have not seen the peach-blossom vale? I wrote this song:

The springtime stream has led me to the fairy peach vale
 No need to ask if it is east or west;
 Wafted fragrance beguiles me all day long
 Amid the embroidered magic of these emerald hills.

Entranced by the sight, I stood rooted to the spot, but too soon I had to leave. I realized that earth's purest blessings are transient.

We continued till we came to the Sain-am, the official's rocks. These rocks, though standing high in the air, looked like broken jade chimes. On the one hand they seemed to support the heavens, on the other they turned toward the little river rippling by. The stretch of white sand looked like spotlessly clean raw silk thread laid out to dry; the mountains appeared among the mists as though made of clouds themselves, high and lofty; the brilliance of the evening sun filtered through the thick leafage of the trees. It was a wonderful view, with the wild birds each glad in its own way, but my gladness the greatest of all. I was not yet sixteen, so I could hope to see it again sometime, and thus had no need to shed tears on leaving: other sights were beckoning us on, and I came away with only a general impression in my mind.

Our steps were directed next to Yǒngch'un, to see the two caves of the immortals Kūmhwa and Namhwa.¹⁷ The morning was still a-shimmer with mist when we reached the river, called for a little boat, and followed the current till we came to the caves and made fast there. By the light of torches we stepped over the great stone that served as threshold. Inside was a deep pool of dark water. The rocks took on the forms of creatures, or of iron pillars. One was called the Bell Rock. I struck it, and a bell-like echo rang through the cave. At the entrance of P'eng-li in China there is a mountain called Stone Bell Mountain. Li Tao-yüan wrote that the water pounding on the cliffs resounded like the ringing of a bell, hence the name. Li Po found two rocks nearby and struck them: the one on the south side gave a deep muffled sound, while the one on the north rang clear and sharp. Su Tung-p'o¹⁸ wrote about the place and said Tao-yüan was correct. He derided Li Po's idea, but I was unconvinced. Now that I had seen this stone and had definite proof that rocks can sometimes ring as clear as bells, I was sure that Li Po was correct, and wished I could see Tung-p'o just once to set him right. There were also many stalactites. I broke one off to take away with me, but it crumbled in my hand like spring snow melting in sunshine. I found the two caves much alike, both wonderful to see.

We next went towards Ch'ōngp'ung to see Oksun-bong, jade bamboo-shoot peaks. A little boat like a leaf took us aboard and we sailed for a distance against the stream. The peaks stood up like coral brush-pens in a holder or like open white lotus-flowers in a golden pool. Were not these the stones that Nü-wa Shih¹⁹ placed squarely when she propped up the sky? They are wonderful. Perhaps they are the hills that Yü²⁰ transplanted from elsewhere. Delighted above measure I lingered gazing at them till a light rain began to

fall, sprinkling the trees. Birds hurried home to shelter among the rocks, and the white moon came out; soft breezes kissed us, fragrance of flowers and leaves was wafted across the water; the distant peaks that rested against the sky began to disappear from sight in the approaching dusk. It was a living moving picture of mountain and stream. We turned the boat and landed. I thought over all I had seen, and was sorry only that I could not spend more time enjoying one by one all those marvellous sights. I lay down, but could not sleep, so I wrote a stanza:

Moon and wind can never rest within the poet's home.
So God, jealous of man, sends them to the mountains.
The wild birds know nothing beyond these hills,
And say all the joys of spring are in their woods.

I had now seen the famous sights of the Four Prefectures, and we turned our steps towards the Diamond Mountains. On we went till we reached Tanbalyöng, Haircut Pass²¹, whence I could see the whole range of mountains—twelve thousand white-topped peaks like piled jade tipped with snow. No drifted snow in the Western Hills of Peking could surpass this, yet the Western Hills are Peking's most famous sight. They are said to sweep down from behind the Wan-shou range, full of recesses and terraces where immortals live, with peaks beyond their snow-capped peaks and behind them still more peaks again. 'Snow on the Western Hills' is one of the Eight Views of Peking.²² The Diamond Mountains, however, with their terraces and peaks, belong among the clouds. White snow is seen there at all seasons, and their lofty peaks are one of the wonders of the world. They are called 'a painting of faery land.' I do not know what faery land is like, but these hills surpassed any painting that could be made.

Spring is tardy in those mountain paths: the leaves were green, but few flowers were out as yet. Cuckoos were calling, making a sad sound in the traveller's ear. At the entrance to Changan Temple there was a space covered with slender golden grasses, where tall pines reach up to heaven. The high-storeyed halls of the Buddha bore heavily on the earth, each part built large and massively proportioned. The master of the temple was an old man with a face like a mountain-spirit, who leaned on a staff tipped with shining metal. He received us with kindly reverence and showed us to a room, where he had dishes of mountain herbs prepared and brought to us for our noonday meal. It was refreshing beyond words, and tasted delicious.

Later we went out to Sinsön-nu, the pavilion of the fairies, and Okkyöng-dae, Jade Mirror Rock. The hills seemed to close us in, and scattered rocks

stood around, barring the way; but we wound in and out among them till at last we reached a little open space, with the Sökka-bong, Sakyamuni's Peak, standing to the south. Before us was a wonderful wall of rock, half a hundred paces wide, that shot up high into the air, as smooth as the face of a millstone and broad as the sail of a ship. It glittered like glass or polished white jade, dazzlingly bright. Hence it is called Myönggyöng-dae, Bright Mirror Rock, or Öpkyöng-dae, Karma-mirror Rock.

Before it lies a pool with deep, yellowish water, called Hwangch'öng-gang, the River of the Yellow Shades. On its south side is the rock called T'ogyöng-dae. The name was carved on it in characters filled with vermilion ink. I sat on the rock and looked down on Kyöktam, the Closed-in Pool, so called because a low stone wall with trees surrounds it. I went to see it and found the gate-opening, wide enough for two people to walk through abreast, called Chiok Mun, the 'gate to hell.' They say that at the fall of Silla the crown prince escaped to this place and built a fort and palace behind Myönggyöng-dae. This 'gate to hell' was his exit and entrance. He wore sackcloth and ate nothing but herbs till the day of his death. The buildings had mouldered away when I was there, but the foundation stones remained.

Then we wended our way to Pyohun Temple, with Chunghyang-söng, the 'Sukhavati Fortress,'²³ on our right and Chijang-bong, 'Ksitigarbha Peak,'²⁴ on our left. It was a quiet, deep, stony pathway, very steep, that led us over a dangerous bridge made of a single log. At last we saw before us the gate pavilion of the temple, called Nüngp'a-ru, the Pavilion of Crossing Beyond the World's Waves. We looked at the main hall of the temple and the smaller buildings, then ascended Paegun-dae, White Cloud Summit. As we went up we clung to a great chain, as thick as a man's arm, and I was very frightened. I felt as though I was climbing to heaven; when I looked down I saw a thousand feet of yawning abyss below, with temples here and there playing hide-and-seek among the clouds and mist. It was a view of astounding beauty.

There was a cave, too, called Podök, under Mugal, the limitless peak. Over the cave stood a small temple, with one side resting on a projecting rock and the other on stones built up from the ground. Beneath it were brazen pillars with beams laid across them on which the temple rested. Iron chains dangled from the little temple so that people could lay hold of them and climb. The chain shook and swung in such a terrifying way that my legs trembled and my heart failed me. I did not dare to look down. In the temple was a small marble figure of the Buddha, and before it a large censer made of dark metal, so huge that no one could lift it. They told us that Princess Chöngmyöng²⁵

presented it to the Buddha. Though the hall is very small, the materials used in building it must have cost uncountable thousands. The temple folk told us that a nun had lived in the cave, and as she sat meditating she was rapt away. Her disciples built the temple in her memory and named both it and the cave Podōk, great virtue.

At the side is a waterfall that glides gently over a flat rock. Projections catch the drift and hold it in two pools, one round and one square; the spray and foam from the falling water rise in clouds, so cold that one cannot go very near it. Beside it countless streams flow off in foaming torrents towards the valleys. They have cut ridges in the rocks and finally at the foot they have hollowed out a great green pool, Myōng-yōn, the Singing Pool.

A short distance further on we came to Pyōkha-dam, Blue-Cloud Lake, and Pip'a-dam, Harp Pool, which adjoin each other. The water comes down a slanting course and breaks into spray like powdered jade. The scene grew more wonderful as we went further: some of the rocks on the bank of the stream had openings in them from which water bubbled out; others stood high, with caverns beneath them where there was ample room to escape from rainstorms. It was all fascinating.

We continued till we came to a small pool called Paengyong-dam, White Dragon Pool. Its waters are remarkably clear, but it is not included in the list of the Eight Lakes.²⁶ A few paces further on was a waterfall that rushed down a slope and found its destination in an inky pool called Hūngnyong-dam, 'Black Dragon Pool.' Sometimes we passed great flat rocks with hollows in them like rice mortars filled with water, called *sesubun*, washbowls. Still further on was a cascade with light blue water, and a pool beneath it called it called Ch'ōngnyong-dam, 'Blue Dragon Pool.' This is the source of the Eight Lakes of the Diamond Mountains.

All that day we were among waterfalls: they sounded like mountains crumbling or rocks crashing into the valleys. We saw many strange flowers, plants and birds, and animals that scuttled away. I cannot begin to tell how entrancingly wonderful it all was. We passed between Osōn-bong, 'Peak of the Five Immortals,' and Hyangno-bong, 'Censer Peak,' with water leaping from shelf to shelf and circling from this point to that till it settled in a whirling pool at a place called Manp'ok-tong, Valley of Ten Thousand Waterfalls. A great rock at the side had eight Chinese characters chiselled on it:

Pong nae p'ung ak wōn hwa tong ch'ōn

"P'eng-lai hills, maple-covered mountains, creation nearest Heaven." They say that these characters were written by an immortal, Yang Pongnae. They

look like silver hooks on steel hawsers, or dragons and serpents on the wing. Beyond this was a screen rock with six characters written on it in the square style by Kim Sögun:

Ch'ön ha che il myöng san

“The finest mountains in the world.”

Between Osön-bong and Ch'önggak-tae, Blue Crane Terrace, is a space filled with high rocks that form a gateway called the Diamond Gate, Küm-gang-mun.²⁸ Ch'önggak-tae rose storey upon storey, like huge kimch'i pots or woven baskets piled high. On top of the peaks were pointed rocks, like the shrines that enclose Buddhist statuettes. Some were like ceremonial hats. There were white spots on the rocks that appeared to be the droppings of crows. It was indeed a place where the birds of the immortals might build their nests. There is a tradition that in days gone by blue cranes²⁹ nested and reared their young there, but Yang Pongnae's inscription destroyed their power, so they flew away and were never seen again. I had my name cut in the rocks at the side.

Transported to this fragrant place, this land of new wonders,
Where shattered blossoms lie in the grass, I grieve for the tired world.
These matchless trees paint a picture of springtime;
The sound of countless streams makes the valleys glad.
I see the moon has reached its fifteenth evening,
Which makes me think of home and proves I have not transmigrated.
Day dies, deep in the mountains, and the flapping cranes
Are what I have seen in dreams at night.

We went on till we reached the Sumeru pagoda.³⁰ It stands beneath Sumeru Peak, Sumi-bong, which looks like bales of black and white silk piled layer upon layer, rising high in mid-air. Before it was a great smooth rock with water flowing over it. Snow and ice still lingered there.

We passed on to Chöngyang Temple and went up into the gate-tower, called Hölsöng-dae, Guest-Awakening Terrace. From this outlook the whole Inner Diamond Range can be seen. As far as the eye can see there is no hindrance in any direction—twelve thousand peaks extending on and on: some white-capped, as though with snow; some like a Buddha seated in meditation; some decked with pins and ornaments; some holding swords aloft; some like lotus buds, ready to open; some like plantain leaves; some bowed with folded hands; some stooped and bending low; some looking down, some gazing up; some standing, some sitting down—ten thousand shapes and attitudes, beyond my powers of description.

To the south were Changgyöng-bong, Peak of Eternal Blessing, Kwanüm-bong 'Avalokitesvara Peak,'³¹ the lower Peak of Chijang, and Sökka Peak. To the southeast were the upper peak of Chijang, Paengma-bong, White Horse Peak; Siwang-bong, Ten Kings Peak; Solli-bong and Ch'ail-bong, Sun-Hiding Peak; on the west were Manggo-dae, Orphan Terrace; Mirük-bong, Maitreya Peak; Hyölmang-bong and Sögüng-bong, Stone Falcon Peak. Beneath Manggo-dae was the little temple of Songna-am, Pine and Turnip Hermitage, while Heneath Sögung-bong was the temple of Ünjang-am, silver storehouse, and beneath Paengma-bong the little hermitage of Yöngwön, spiritual source. The peaks behind this were those of the five immortals, Oson-bong.

The many peaks to the northeast make up Chunghyang-song. If one could only see them among the changing leaves of autumn, with evening light glinting through the branches like lamplight athwart red silk curtains and pictured screens, what a sight of wonder, beauty and delight they would be.

To the west of Chunghyang-söng is Yöngnang-ch'am, a rest-house; to the east of Sumi-bong is Piro-bong, Vairocana Peak,³² the highest of them all; also Kasüp-pong, Kasyapa Peak,³³ and Saja-bong, Lion Peak, just below it. Beneath Chunghyang-söng are Paegun-dae, Paegun-am, White Cloud Hermitage, and Manhoe Temple. Beyond Saja-bong are the greater and lesser Hyangno-bong. To the west is Ch'önggak-tae, but the direction only was indicated to me; I could not see it clearly. It was like being told what dragon's flesh tastes like.

The ruddy morning sun came riding up from beneath the tinted clouds and all the air seemed sweetened and refreshed by its presence. It was like the autumn moon reflected in the mirror of a lake. The silvery surfaces of the granite rocks glinted and sparkled. Now I knew the truth about the mountains of the immortals that lie beyond the ocean,³⁴ and Wu-shan, the mountain of the fairies, where the Lake of Gems³⁵ is found. Though I saw neither phoenix nor unicorn I saw all sorts of marvellous birds and beasts. It was as though I was walking the pathways of P'eng-lai with their fairy groves and vistas. My wits forsook me and my soul was intoxicated with joy, so I wrote a poem:

Hölsöng Terrace pierces the heart of heaven:

At this threshold of the hills I stand in a painted forest.

My finger points to a thousand lovely sights,

Lotus peaks without number, ten thousand shaded crags.

In the temples was a priest called Sörak, Snowy Peak, an old man of ninety-seven, seated in recitation of the sutras. His only food was pine-nut soup, but

he had ceased even from that for nearly three years. He was like one of the Immortals, or a Buddha.

We went up to Kaesim-dae, Outlook of the Open Heart, and gazed towards Chunghyang-sǒng. The hills seemed to jostle each other as though striving for position. The longer I looked, the more wonderful they seemed, like sharply-broken white jade fragments or pointed lotus buds. Light was reflected from them towards the stars; all the loveliest colours of heaven and earth seemed assembled here with the added charms of mountain and stream. It cleared the mind and made the heart sing: I wanted to spread my wings like a fairy and ride away to heaven on the clouds.

At last the sun sank slowly toward the west, and evening shadows, like crimson silk, settled over the valley. I cannot begin to describe the wonderful approach of night. We reached Maha-yǒn, where a small temple stood at the feet of Chunghyang-sǒng. The windows of the meditation house were thrown wide open, and I looked out to where Taehyangno-bong seemed as though it lay just beyond the moon. Hyǒlmang-bong and Manggo-bong seemed to be just by my window. Hyǒlmang-bong, Gate of Hope, was tall, straight and handsome, as it were dressed in watered silk, half hidden among the trees. Its name comes from an opening like an arched gateway, big enough for a man to pass through on the crest of the hill. Manggo-bong and Hyǒlmang-bong are joined like brothers, only the summits standing apart. Kasŭp-pong stands behind, a wonderful shape. I gazed up at Chunghyang-sǒng, and its peaks crowded closely upon me, right up to my door, like Buddhas with white shaven heads, startling at first sight. The loveliness of the surroundings, the neatness of the temple, and the mystery of deep valleys and mighty rocks with pines overshadowing them assuredly make this one of the finest views within the Diamond Mountains region.

We walked about a *li*³⁶ till we came to pass called An-mun, Goose Gate. I climbed it and found that the top, which stands at the boundary of Hoeyang and Kosǒng counties, was quite flat. It is also called Naesan-ch'am, Inner Mountain Rest. From this point many of the Inner Diamond Mountain peaks are visible,³⁷ a fantastic sight. Piro-bong stands out high above the others, massive and magnificent, white and shining with reflected light. It is the chief peak of the inner group. Ilch'ul-bong and Wǒlch'ul-bong, peaks of the rising sun and rising moon, stood pure and white on either side.

We crossed a dangerous bridge made of a single decaying log, and came to Pulchi-am, 'Buddha's Finger Rock,' shooting high into the air above a precipice a thousand feet deep. On the wide face of the rock is carved Naong's portrait of Manjusri,³⁸ stern and distinguished, full of massive force

and power. By the side of the road is a banded outlook with a stone lantern which is lighted on sacrificial occasions, when prayers are offered. A rapid stream flowed past, leaping from rock to rock like silver threads flung out, so that the face of the current looked like a skein of white silk laid out to bleach. Had Li Po ever seen this he would never have written as he did about Lu-shan falls.³⁹

Beside Pulchi-am is a spring of water called Kamnosu, Sweet Dew.⁴⁰ It tastes fresh and satisfying, and is said to cure all earth's ills. I had an attack of indigestion, so I drank some. Afterwards I felt so much refreshed and better inside that I entirely understood its reputation.

We arrived at Chijang Temple. Several monks, all wearing white habits, jostled each other as they hurried down the dozen steps of the staircase to greet us with polite bows. One of them was an old monk, over seventy, of the Ch'unch'ön Yi clan, who ordered another monk to bring a bowl of noodles, which I ate with relish, because we had walked over the mountain and I was hungry.

We stayed there three days. Every morning and evening the monks chanted their service. The sound of bells echoed back and forth till one lost all thought of the ordinary world. The temple was full of beautiful things. I realized how true was the saying that 'All the valuable things are in mountain temples.'⁴¹

We found that Ch'öngnyön-am, Blue Lotus Temple, was inhabited by nuns. It was spotlessly clean, and the food they prepared, fruit and vegetables, was so fresh and appetizing that we greatly enjoyed it. I learned that two palace maids-in-waiting were staying there to drink the medicinal waters, so I waited to see what they were like; but they were very common women, not worth bothering about.

Passing through Wöngt'ong valley, we went to Saja-bong, before which is a pool called Hwaryong-dam, Fire-Dragon Pool, shaped like an ancient dragon coiled up. It receives the waters of the Eight Lakes, and the rush of the rapids sounded like muffled thunder. The peaks on either side were lost in the clouds. I had my name cut on the rocks by Hwaryong-dam.

A little further on we came to a pretty lake called Chinju-dam, Pearl Pool. A stone beside it had the inscription *Suryöm-dong*, Water Curtain Vale. This is the finest of the Eight Lakes.

After this we went to Yujöm-sa, the chief temple of the Outer Diamond Mountains.⁴² It has been burnt down several times, and they said it was not so splendid as it used to be, but I could not imagine anything more magnificent. To the east of the main hall is a well called Ot'ak-chöng, 'the well where the

crow pecked.' Its water is sweet and clear. There was no well at the temple till one day the monks saw a crow come and peck the ground. They dug in the place thus indicated, and water came gushing out, a great stream, always full and overflowing. Hence the well's name.

King Sejo once visited Yujöm-sa, and on that account his successors Yejong and Söngjong gave fields and lands to the temple, with title deeds under the royal seal. A special house was built to house the tablets of the three kings and the royal letters patent. When the temple was burnt, this building escaped damage.

On the throne of the Buddha was a carving of many branches, like deer antlers. Seated on these were fifty-three tiny Buddhas, not more than a few inches high, all said to have been made in Silla times. The great monk Manjusri made fifty-three bells to be sounded in the service of the Buddha, but they were all transformed and began to fly about, so Manjusri sent them off over the sea to the country of Tukhara. The king of that country, wanting to find the proper place for the bells, put them in a stone boat and sent them back to sea. They arrived at Kosöng, where they were changed into fifty-three Buddhas, and set among the rocks, where the 'bell-hung cliff' now is. At that time a monk dreamed that there was an old nun on the road, following a white dog and a grey roe-deer at the places now called Kuryöng, Dog Pass, and Changnyöng, Roe Deer Col. The monk thought the dream strange, and traced the path through the pinewoods. The magistrate of Kosöng, No Ch'un, heard about this, went out with his men to meet the monk, and discovered that the fifty-three Buddhas had flown from their places in the rocks and were sitting on the limbs of a zelkova tree beside a big pool. King Namhae⁴³ was informed and a temple was built for the Buddhas, called Yujöm, Zelkova Resting-place, because the Buddhas had been on the zelkova tree. There were nine dragons in the great pool. A priest of great spiritual power prayed for three days and three nights, and the dragons departed into the hills, but the pool is still called Kuryong-yön, Nine Dragon Pool.

An image was made of No Ch'un in a red robe, black hat and golden belt, with a sceptre in his hand. Beside him are little wooden men and horses to represent the equipage that joined him in the search. To this day sacrifices are offered to him. His wife followed him, but failed to overtake him and became the guardian spirit of a mountain pass.

Later on, three of the Buddhas were lost and the monks made imitation ones to take their places. It became known in a dream, however, that these three were distasteful to the others, so they were removed and the monks set out among the mountains to find the original ones. At last they succeeded in

restoring the missing statues to their places. This story is related by the Koryŏ scholar, Min Chi,⁴⁴ who was a great lover of Buddhism, and was so much misled by it that he gave himself the name of Pŏphŭija, he who rejoices in the dharma. His words are untrustworthy; what he says cannot be relied on.

Queen Inmok copied out with her own hand the Mit'a Sutra, and the book is now kept at Yujŏm-sa. She did the work while she was a prisoner in the West Palace, and at the end she added a brief note that reads: 'May my parents and relatives and my son, Prince Yŏngch'ang, all be blessed in the next world.' Princess Chŏngmyŏng also presented to Buddha many precious things adorned with gems embroidery.⁴⁵

In the main courtyard is a beautifully carved pagoda of twelve storeys and a bronze cauldron big enough to hold a hundred measures of rice. At specially great sacrifices, such as those offered for all sentient creatures of land and sea, this cauldron is filled to the brim, and though the fire is fed with pine branches there is never any smoke. It is called the smokeless cauldron, and regarded as a great wonder. All the temples of the Inner and Outer Diamond Mountains have similar great cauldrons.

The sun set behind the mountains and the moon came out, bright as day, illuminating all the features of the hills like a monochrome ink-painting; the bells sounded clear and sweet. I wrote a poem:

A single monastery hangs on the scarp high in heaven,
 And bells on the north mountain are echoed by the south;
 A snowy cloud floats idly out of the valley,
 The moon rises to shine on the still deep pool.
 I am awakened to understand the floating dream of life,
 As though in the silence I heard the words of the ancient Buddha;
 In this pure world of the fifty-three statues.
 My soul penetrates the kalpas, lit by wisdom's lamp.

We crossed Kuryong and saw Unsŏn-dae, Outlook of a Hermit Immortal. High mountains shut out the north west view—how high I do not know, but they were dark green, almost black. The place is called Hyoun-dong, Dawn Cloud Valley. Water rushed over the rocks like cloth hung out to bleach, tumbling down a course called the Twelve Cascades. Medicinal my appointed fate.

The day faded toward the west, and evening mists gathered in the valleys. Rain fell softly on the woods; the colours of the landscape changed as the moon rose clear and full, like the white jade of Lan-t'ien⁴⁶ or the Ts'ang-hai pearl shining as in a glass bottle.⁴⁷ It was a sight utterly out of this world.

Next morning we climbed the high cliffs of the enclosing wall and made our way through flowering bushes. Sweet fragrance scented my clothes and fresh breezes caressed me. From the summit I could see the ocean stretching away, seemingly one with the sky: I felt it would be delightful to sail off into space, riding on the wind. I have never seen the landscape of China, but I have read a poem by a Chinese who longed to see the *Diamond Mountains of Korea*, and I cannot imagine that any place in the world could be more beautiful. Looking at the sea, I wrote:

A hundred streams are lost in the eastern sea,
 So deep and wide, a boundless expanse.
 I see the heavens and earth so vast,
 Yet I have my place among them.

The Diamond Mountains have many names: Kŭmgang-san, Vajra Mountains; Chunghyang-song, Sukhavati Fortress; Yŏlban, Nirvana; Kaegol, Bare Bones; P'ungak, Autumn Foliage Rocks; and Pongnae, Faery Land; but the usual name is Kŭmgang-san. The Inner and Outer Ranges are filled with rocks and peaks in all sorts of odd formations, and waterfalls of every description make their way over the heights. The inner range is steep and precipitous, bluish-white in colour; the outer range is gentler in formation and more blue than white. The finest peaks are Piro-bong, Chunghyang-bong, Tae-hyangno-bong, So-hyangno-bong, Ch'ŏnghak-pong, Kwanŭm-bong, Osŏn-bong, Manggo-bong and Hyŏlmang-bong. The most famous pools are Manp'ok-tam, Hŭngnyong-dam, Pyŏkha-dam, Punsŏl-tam (Drifting Snow Pool), Chinju-dam and Kwi-dam (Turtle Lake, i.e. North Lake). The most interesting rocks are Myŏnggyŏng-dae and Myogilsang-dae. Hŏlsŏng-nu and Paegun-dae are the best view-points; the valley leading to Changan-sa is the prettiest valley; Pyohun-sa, Podŏk-kul and Mahayŏn-am are the most famous temples in the inner mountains; Ch'ilbo-dae, Outlook of the Seven Treasures; Pulchŏng-dae, Buddha's Brow Rock; Sŏngmun-dong, Stone Gate Valley; Ch'aeun-bong, Bright Cloud Peak; and Chipsŏn-bong are all especially beautiful. Sŏn-dam with its rushing waters like fluttering phoenix wings and white spray like fine jade is the loveliest lake, but Kuryong-yŏn, with its waves and torrents, is the most impressive stretch of water among all the twelve thousand peaks. Yujŏm-sa, standing with other famous sights in the outer range, is the most interesting of the temples.

The charm of the Diamond Mountains lies less in their rocks and streams than in their colour: a mysterious white. I could never guess how many peaks there are. They suggest innumerable shapes, colours and forms: seven out of

ten have some sort of resemblance—an old monk, a temple bell, a drum, and so on. There was no place of interest in the inner and outer ranges that I did not go to see. In the thick woods and among the rocks where the water rushes by there must be tigers and leopards, but no one had ever feared them in the Diamond Mountains, which shows how truly the gentle spirit of the hills is in control.

Among the records in the temples is one that tells how a Chinese monk named T'an-wu-chieh⁴⁸ came and sat on Chungyang-sǒng and attracted 12,000 disciples whom he taught there, until he became a Buddha and the disciples turned into 12,000 peaks. Even today one great peak is pointed out as the metamorphosed T'an-wu-chieh. Such a foolish notion!

The circle of the inner range is sixty *li* in circumference, that of the outer range is 100 *li* or more. The outer range is mainly in Kosǒng county, but some of its northern ramifications extend as far as T'ongch'ǒn.

Thus I had seen the Diamond Mountains. Now I wanted to see the Eight Views of Kwandong⁴⁹ so I started for Kūmnan-gul, Golden Gown Cave, going towards T'ongch'ǒn until we reached Ch'ongsǒk-chǒng, Clustered Stone Pavilion. It stands on the face of a high peak, the giddy pathway leading to it carpeted with flat stones shaped like pillar bases. Before us was the harbour facing north, with great stones of hexagonal shape, as though cut by human design, standing on the shore in a dozen or so crowded groups. Each cluster consisted of seven or eight huge stone pillars thirty or forty feet high, looking just as if they were made of dark crystals set row upon row. Each had six sides without any shadow of irregularity, as smooth as surfaces trimmed with great skill by a mason's chisel. If one takes a boat and rows out to sea, one has a better view of their peculiar formation, and can see how they are arranged. Some groups stand a hundred *kil* high and have forty or fifty stones in them. We passed one cluster to find still others. Those at the south stood high facing those at the north. I do not know how they could all have been formed so much alike and bunched so closely together. The clusters that stood in the water in front were like a thousand great bamboos; those on the shore behind looked like an artificial screen. The distance between the clusters is five or six paces. From ancient times men have tried to count them, but have always failed, so no definite number can be given for them, nor for the many similar stones that stand out at sea. Some of them, both on the shore and in the sea, are called *wach'ongsǒk*, recumbent stone clusters. They lie in perfect order each form fitting the other, the whole bound together like a sheaf, and all with six sides. By what power were they formed?

In records of the world's famous places I can find nothing that corre-

sponds to these hexagonal pillars, and yet here they are on our own east coast—an extraordinary sight. If Chuang-tzŭ had seen them he would have laughed and said, “God told Nü-wa the earth goddess to build a jewelled palace with them, but she never finished it.” If King Ling of Ch’u,⁵⁰ Ch’in Shih-huang⁵¹ had seen them, they would have called the people of the earth and had the clusters pulled apart and dismantled to build the Chang-hua Palace, the A-fang Palace, and the Po-liang Palace. Pines are said to differ from other trees in that when cut down they do not grow again, but if these stony clusters are broken off they are said to shoot up and live again like great trunks—a very strange thing.

Hae-gŭngang, the Diamond Mountains of the sea, are rocky peaks beneath the water that resemble the Diamond Mountains on land. On a fair day if you pour fish oil on the sea you can look down through the waters and see these wonders. The day I was there the weather was beautiful. The great sea lay before us, limitless except where it met the sky. We went out by boat and saw the 12,000 peaks that lie submerged below the water—storeys, terraces and stratified sections wonderful to behold, blue and white like the graded tones of an ink picture. They are difficult to describe, but they must be acknowledged as one of the world’s wonders. The mighty skill that built the Diamond Mountains playfully added these beneath the sea. So great a power is wonderful and awesome. I wrote a poem about the stone clusters:

Clusters of dark gem-stone stand
High in the sky, deep in the sea;
Ten thousand hexagonal pillars
Hewed and shaped by a mystic adze.⁵⁷

We left and went on to Kosŏng, to a place called Samilp’o, where there was a great forest of pines, through which we could see the reflection of sunlight on the sea. To the north was a heaving expanse of blue, to the west massive ranges of mountains rising high above each other; great rocks shot out like bamboo shafts, and shining sands covered the ground like bleaching silk—a world of dreams.

On the back of a huge rock ahead of us I saw carved the characters *sam il p’o*, Three Day Lake, and on the front *cheil hosan*, the finest scenery in the world. We put out in a boat and found we were in an arm of the sea that comes in from the northeast. The water was green as grass and the waves shone like mirrors; gulls and egrets sat undisturbed as we passed by; seaweed moved about in the having of the swell. The water was not more than five feet deep in the deepest places and three where it was shallower. Here and there

were islands of white stone with green trees dotting their surface; some thirty-six peaks encircled us, which seemed to dance and smile as we sculled along. The rocks had varied shapes like huge rice-cauldrons or great temple-bells, and all had their faces turned inward. Each group had a beauty of its own, like a girl who is pretty because of her own natural beauty rather than because of ornament or dress. One longed to touch them.

It used to be said that the west lake was the chief beauty of Hang-chou, and I can say the same of Samilp'o among the Eight Views of Kwandong. We made fast the boat and went up to the belvedere, which is named Sasŏn-jŏng, Pavilion of the Four Immortals, after the four *hwarang*,⁵³ Yŏngnag, Sullang, Ansang and Namsŏk, who in Silla times came and visited this place. The lake is called Samil, Three Days, because that was the length of time they stayed there. The inscribed rock is an island in the midst of the water and the pavilion sits on top of it. Huge rocks are piled about it: some like tigers ready to spring. Some like an eagle dropped from the sky, some like tortoises and some like carp, they all surround the pavilion and protect it.

The pavilion is four *kan* in area⁵⁴ and its pillars are hexagonal stones. The inside is simply paved with stone, without flooring or rooms. The water all around is only two bowshots wide, yet it is said to be forty *li* in circumference. In such a spot as this we grubby people of the dusty world are cleansed and purified; had I stayed there I should have grown wings and become an immortal.

Many boards inscribed with verses hang in the pavilion. The best is by Ch'oe Ip.⁵⁵ The rocks to the south have inscribed on them *Sul-lang-do*, Sul-lang's Company, and *Nam-sŏk-haeng*, Namsŏk's Band. On the south-west wall in large characters was written *Yang Pong-nae*.⁵⁶ We went down from Hyŏn-jong-am, Hanging Bell Rock, to the shore level. Green woods and wide fields were bordered with rocks and craggy peaks; streams and rivulets adorned the way, and rugosa roses were in bloom at the side of the road. We walked on soft sand that crunched as you trod on it, so it was called *myŏngsa*, singing sand.⁵⁷ The roses of the singing sands are famous:

When the flowers of spring have all faded,
The sea-rose alone blooms red.
Then when the rose too is shattered,
Spring is past, past and gone.

We now made our way to Kansŏng and visited Ch'ŏnggan-jong, the Pavilion of the Clear Stream. It is on the edge of the sea, and why they should have named it after a stream I do not know.

In the sea before the pavilion are some rocks that look like great turtles and are called Kwi-am, 'turtle rocks'. Among them is one called Chama-sök, Self-grinding Stone. Below and around it are small stones that look as though they have passed through the hopper, the largest about the size of a ginkgo leaf, the smallest like a piece of cash. They are said to be the self-grindings of the big rock, which actually consists of two rocks one poised above the other, with a space between. How they ever manage to grind without touching I do not know, but if you write on one of them in ink the writing is entirely ground away in a day or two. I cannot explain this.

We sat in the pavilion to watch the moon rise. In the morning after cock-crow the windows of the sea suddenly lit up, and a half-moon, peerless as ice or polished jade, slowly rose. For a time it seemed to play hide-and-seek, till at last it came up clear and free, splendid as a jewel on the border of a cloud, like a great lotus bursting from the sea, or a globe of rock-crystal gleaming in the sky. A soft fresh breeze blew and one's mind was clarified like an immortal's. Though the night was far spent I had no desire to sleep, but called my boy and bade him bring me tea. Then I ground the ink on my inkstone and wrote:

The blue-black heavens lighten at the edge
And all creation wakes anew.
My boy has gone to make the tea,
Drawing clear water where moonlight drips through the pines.

The scene changed and the rays of the rising sun shot forth. Birds chattered under the eaves. I dozed for a while, then woke and looked out at the sea: the clouds and mist were gone. The sea is so wide, I do not know how wide, only that it is the greatest thing on earth, and we humans are not so much as a grain of millet in its boundless space.

Next we went to Naksan Temple in Yangyang county. Pines grew thick and green upon the dark mountains round us as we reached Naksan-sa, the temple of Kuan-yin⁵⁸ by the sea. One side of the temple was built on a crag and the other stood on pillars over the water, across which beams were placed with the hall built on top of them. The statue of Avalokitesvara was protected with white ramie cloth. Through an opening in the floor one can see the tides coming and going below, rolling on the rocks with heavy thunder. I opened the windows to see better, and there the great expanse of ocean stretched off to heaven, unreal, like a vast picture reflecting hills and trees. White gulls were flying around.

I noticed that the girls who live by the seashore have faded hair and sun-

burnt legs because they gather seaweed for a living. Junks laden with merchandise were constantly coming and going. The village houses had rice mortars made of whalebone, from which one can guess how huge the whales must be. Great numbers of seals came out and sat upon the rocks. Their coats are black, their shape like dogs, and they bark when they see people approaching, but dive into the water when you come near.

We went up to the Uigyŏng Pavilion to see the sun rise. The cocks of the neighbourhood began to crow as I looked out over the broad sea, all dark in its clouds and mists. We waited for an hour but there was no sign of dawn. My feelings rose in resentment against the evil spirits that oppose the dawn. In the days of Han, Li hsin⁵⁹ said that when morning was about to break fresh breezes blew and the dark atmosphere of earth fell prostrate before them. Those who try to observe the sunrise across the ocean usually find their view blocked by mist and clouds. I expect these are the dark negative atmospheres of night lying heaped up and impeding the rising of the sun. Clouds originate in water: the spirit of the deep, shot through by the sun's rays, forms a cloud, which opposes the light and struggles with it, but at last I saw a great red mirror come up from the underworld, hanging from the edge of the clouds, a bright fiery crimson as it mounted little by little on its way, illuminating the sky like a monster pearl set on a jade stand. Beyond the blue of the harbour a vast rosy silk umbrella opened its folds, and all the mottled vapours of the morning fled before it as the ruddy disc rode triumphantly above. I was beside myself with joy, and sang and danced madly. The light was reflected off the surface of the sea till the clouds were all iridescent, and the sunshine reached the land, lighting heaven and earth till everything was bright.

The crimson disc dispels the gloom of night
 And rises free to run its course again.
 The villagers come out to gather wood and water,
 While fleeting mists bedew the dusty earth.

Next we bent our steps to Kyŏngp'o-dae at Kangnŏng, a decorated pavilion built high above a lake whose still water is as clear as a freshly-washed mirror. It was so clear that one could count the very grains of sand. The green hills were embroidered silk, the sandy beach was powdered jade; tall pines rose in stately grandeur, green willows hung humbly down; yellow orioles called to each other, red roses opened their buds. The calm and lovely lake was beyond description. Kangnŏng is a great city with many honorific red gates before the houses of loyal and filial subjects. In the days of Yao and Shun every house was the home of a good man;⁶⁰ I judged that Kangnŏng was

like that.

We left for Ulchin and ascended Mangyang-dae, 'Ocean Outlook,' which faces the sea and has an unobstructed view. I sat and gazed at it all day long, unable to exhaust wonder. I saw the spouting of whales, like drifts of snow in the air, or like the Milky Way dusting down from the sky. The island seemed to shake with the mighty reverberations of the deep, as the loud thunder of the sea joined the rushing sound of the waters. There is an old saying that when the sea is angry the Marquis of Yang stirs up the waves.⁶¹ I saw boats that put out to sea rise high on the crests of the waves, then drop down and disappear from sight. It looked most dangerous, and I trembled lest they should be engulfed.

Now we left for Wölsong-jöng, 'the Pinetree Pavilion,' in P'yönghae prefecture. The wind was low and the water without a ripple. The distant islands seemed to flicker in and out of view, as the sea merged imperceptibly with the sky in a great veil of haze. I was moved by this, and overcome with melancholy: it seemed to be a picture of life.

After this we visited Chuksö-ru, Pavilion West of the Bamboos, at Samch'ök. It is said that fifty streams issue from the T'aebaek hills and rush towards this eastern sea. The beauty of the place was wonderful. I forgot the time and that the day was growing late. Beautiful birds flew by in pairs, but I did not know their names: in this lovely place even the birds and animals seemed different.

Before one has seen and compared them it is hard to think of the hills and the sea as being equally attractive, but this tour of hundreds of *li* proved to me that they are twins in splendour: the hills with their countless peaks and the sea with its inlets and promontories. All the beauties of sea and land are locked up in such places—sights to make the good and wise glad and happy.⁶² One must see the Eight Views of the East Coast to know the world.

Although we had seen all the Eight Views of Kwandong, I was still not satisfied, so we went to Inje prefecture in search of Sörak-san, Snow-Peak Hills. There the land climbs up towards heaven with peaks and rock-shafts everywhere, and the bald snow-white ridges give the hills their name. Terrace upon terrace they stand, with countless steams gushing forth from them, cool and refreshing. As we crossed and recrossed the streams on our winding way, peaks vied with each other for glory, and great trees shut out the sky. Cranes called below the pines and deer fled off over the creeping vines. Surely I was seeing the Lake of Gems and the P'eng-lai Hills of the Immortals. Rhododendrons were in bloom on both sides of the stream, crowded together with green foliage and other flowers, their colours reflected in the water like the lights of

the rainbow. They were as lovely as the rainbow of Yü-ch'uan beneath the hills behind Peking, where the water drops gems of sparking light and is called Fan-hsüeh-ch'un, 'Snow Drifting Spring.' It forms a pool three *kil* wide that is one of the Eight Views of Peking, formerly called Ch'ui-hung, hanging rainbow, but now called Yü-ch'uan Pao-t'u, Galloping Rapids. There is a stone there inscribed 'The most beautiful spring in the world.' I have never seen it, but I cannot believe that its hanging rainbow can equal the wonders I saw in Sörak-san.

The mountains reached the very sky. We climbed them, inch by inch, to the brow of a giddy peak. A cascade there called Taesŭng⁶³ seemed to poise in mid-air and then drop down, down, down—how many hundred feet I could not tell, pearls and jade fragments dancing along its sparkling way. Its rolling thunder greeted us, the sunshine glinted on it, the air was filled with fine spray. Such mystic beauty and wonder must surely equal and even surpass Li Po's *Lu-shan*. Which was finer, his waterfall or mine? Mine, I am sure. Three thousand feet is nowhere near its height. It is like the Milky Way dropping in flashes of foam from the ninth heaven; comparisons with bleaching silk or drifts of snow would be altogether too mundane. It belongs with the Yü-lung-yao, 'Jade Dragon Belt,' and Yin-ti-tung, Silver Rainbow.⁶⁴ I put on rain clothes, covered my head, and went in close beneath the falls. Flying spray drifted over me, and rattled on my headwear like hailstones. I knew it was only water, yet the sound of it nearly frightened me out of my wits.

In the morning, mists covered the hills, so that we could see nothing but the tips of the peaks showing through the clouds like jade-green gems on screens. After a little, the mist lifted and the moon came slowly up while soft breezes swept clear the peaks, chasms and rocks. It was lovely beyond description.

A thousand peaks rise high to pierce the heavens;

Such soft-spun mist no artist could depict.

How magnificent the sights of Sörak-san.

Yet Mahayana stream surpasses all.

We went to see Paektam-sa, White Lake Monastery, and rested for a while before making our way to Suryöm-dong, Water-Curtain Valley, where the views are very beautiful. There formerly stood Yöngsi-am, Long Arrow Hermitage, where Kim Samyon⁶⁵ used to stay, and Ose-am, Five-Year-Old Child Monastery where Ch'öngghan-ja⁶⁶ spent his days. Today only the sites remain, so I never saw either of them, but because of those two famous men the Sörak hills—which are as high as the Diamond Mountains—have won lasting fame.

Having now seen all the famous mountains and sea-views, I wanted to visit a great city, and turned my steps towards Seoul. Looking towards Hanyang I sang:

Like dividing duckweed I float far from friends.
Journeying many days, never stopping to rest;
My heart turns in eagerness as my chair is borne along
To where the royal city shines bright from dawn to dusk.

Hanyang has been the capital of the kingdom for centuries, a blessed site of happiness and prosperity. I should glimpse it as though seeing a tiger between the bamboo stems, an imperfect impression, yet enough for me to sense its splendour and its vigour. Its peaks and hills, some low some high, are like dragons and crouching tigers; some sharp like raised swords or standing spears. To the north are Samgak-san, Three-Horned Mountain, and Paegak, North Summit, whose immense weights stabilize the fortunes of the capital. To the south is Mongmyŏk, Namsan, shaped like a low reading desk or table; to the left Wangsim-ni guards the eastern walls, and to the right Malli-jae props up the western sky. The River Han surrounds the city like a silver girdle, its three ports⁶⁷ spreading out their markets where boats and junks crowd together. Their bustling life, with heaps of produce from sea and land, is impressive in its intensity.

When Koguryŏ was a weak state centred on P'yŏngyang, King Yang of Sui raised a huge army but failed to conquer it.⁶⁸ His own army was destroyed instead, and in those days the Chinese used to say, "Spare us that we be not sent to die in Liao-tung (Korea)". Even the valour of T'ai Tsung of T'ang gave out before the city where his warriors went back defeated.⁶⁹ If things went thus in Koguryŏ days, what could any army expect today in crossing the river before the golden city of Seoul?

I climbed Namsan and looked across toward the northern palaces, where dragon towers and phoenix halls rose among glinting gossamer mists.⁷⁰ As I gazed on the city with its maze of long streets, the whitish city walls and their serrated battlements seemed alight with splendour. Magnificent dwellings joined roof to roof and house to house; hurrying east and west vied with one another for rank and riches in the rusty dust of the royal streets; gay young men on white horses, showing off their splendid caparisons, went in companies to meet the dancing-girls in pavilion and drinking-hall; a happy world with gaiety and joy abounding. I, who had been brought up in the quiet countryside, laughed to think of my provincial attitudes and narrow experience, as I went here and there among these wonders, moved and impressed beyond words.

Outside the north west gate I visited Segöm-jöng, 'the Sword-Washing Pavilion,' that stands, several *kan* in size, above the stream. It was most beautiful, the rapid water flowed swiftly by; the green mountains, crowding about us, reflected one another's colours. Long ago there was a general who won a great victory and then washed his sword here, so the name-board, *Segöm-jöng*, was written by the king's own hand, and stands wrapped round with yellow silk, its characters shining like light. The passage of time will never dim its glory. At the side, on a great rock, is written *hil kye*, 'rejection of warning,' but the characters have been worn away by winds and rain till they are hard hard to read.

Then we went to see T'angch'un-dae, 'Wide Spring-time Outlook', where the mountains are high, and massive strong fortifications defend the approaches to Pukhan, reminding later generations of the might of former kings.

Following a narrow bridle-path we came to Samgye-dong, Three Stream Village, where Kim Sangsö⁷² has his summer home. The little house is hidden among the trees in clean and pleasant surroundings, a delightful place for him to rest and refresh himself. The pavilion is called Paeksök-sil, White Stone Hall. Clear streams flow through the gardens on all sides, and there is a bridge of white stone. The fallen blossoms were like unswept snow in the courtyard, and the wicket gate stood open to admit us into this picture or quiet and seclusion.

Further down the valley we found another pavilion by the water. On the rocks were carved three characters *Ch'ön su do*, a thousand peach-trees. This reminded me of Liu Yü-hsi's Hsüan-tao-kuan.⁷³ The air in the deep valley between the high hills was filled with soft fragrance; there was a little waterfall; all the birds sang in concert; and streamlets rippled among the flowers. It is beyond my powers to relate the beauty of the scene.

The small pavilion shines among the morning flowers;

Footsteps are turned into light-winged sounds.

Thoughts of immortals kindle in my soul

As mists of morning shimmer in the hills.

We walked over orchid buds and cupped the limpid water in our hands; the breeze billowed my coloured coat. The immortals' little dogs bark at the passing clouds, hills and streams have no owner, wind and moonlight are free to all: they belong to him who comes to see and rejoice in them.

Continuing our search for fine scenery we went out on the second day to see pavilions and beauty spots beyond the Little East Gate. The rocks and

ravines about Chǒng-nǔng were very interesting. We climbed a hill from which we could see Wangsim-ni with its close-packed streets and wards, and the innumerable villages of the plain stretching out into the distance.

Springtime showers, spring breezes, do not cease,
yet springtime joys continue in the sound of rain.

Looking up, I feel that I am owner here:

Where'er I wander, everywhere's my home

Our next outing was beyond the Sungnya-mun, the Great South Gate, where we visited the temple of Kuan Yü, the god of war.⁷⁴ Several rows of willows, with catkins hanging like golden threads, stood before the entrance; and Nam-san behind it was covered with great shady pines. The red gates and galleries of the temple loomed through the mist; the roof was covered with blue tiles; there were three gates in front, but only one of the side gates was open. The gateman wore a felt hat, and carried a short whip with which he kept the rabble out. I noticed that he took a fee from all who entered.

Just inside the main entrance was a paling, and behind it a fierce and forbidding image of Chou Ts'ang⁷⁵ holding the bridle of the horse Red Hare. Further inside was an artificial mound with an old pinetree lying on its side and a stone tiger glaring fiercely beneath it. Azaleas were in bloom in the small garden behind the temple, and in front of them was a hall of the ten kings of the Buddhist hells, with bodhisattvas seated in a row beside them. On the walls of the outer corridors were scenes from *The History of the Three King-doms*, and I noticed Nan-p'ing-shan, Ch'ang-pan-ch'iao, and Hua yung tao.⁷⁶ The memorial stone of the pavilion bore an inscription written by King Yǒngjong⁷⁷ telling all the great deeds of Kuan Yü.

The main hall itself was large and imposing. The guard, who wore a black cap and magpie coat, danced ahead to show us the way; and we entered not by the main entrance, which was closed, but by a side door. To one side was a statue of a sage, sitting in great dignity with a string of 108 beads round his neck, glistening like icy jade. It may have been an image of P'u-ching, the master of the Yü-ch'üan Hills.⁷⁸ On either side stood generals clad in armour and helmets. Beneath a red canopy was a curtain of embroidered silk. This was drawn aside and I went forward and looked up with wonder at Kuan-ti on his dragon throne. He wore a royal crown and robe and held a ruler's scepter. His silkworm eyebrows and phoenix eyes sparkled like running autumn streams; power shone from his eyes, impressive as the everlasting hills; his face was heavily painted, dark red; his magnificent beard was divided in three; and his expression was severe as winter snow and frost. His

loyalty and valour and valour are unequalled by the past or by ages to come, his righteousness is above everything, his faultless spirit and noble soul will shine for ever, not only in this country, where temples are built in his honour, but in China, where every home offers him sacrifice and prayers. How great he is.

I had fruit and wine brought and offered before him. As this was done, the guard gave a long-drawn cry: '*Chi-i-i-n!*' 'Go forward!' I bowed with joined hands before the awesome presence and withdrew. There was a large set of the Spring and Autumn Classic before him, and in front of that a big holder from which lots were drawn.

Kuan Yü was endowed with a spirit that soared to heaven, and his faithfulness outshone the sun, yet he fell before the kingdom of u. His grief and pain have filled the whole world, and he moves through the clouds, leading his spirit armies. Whenever there is war he comes down to earth and helps the good and wards off their enemies. So men of all stations in life offer him worship and devotion.

In the invasions of 1592 he appeared, rebuked the storms that threatened Korea, and wiped away the filth that defiled the state. He first appeared south of the city, and finally disappeared beyond the East Gate; so a temple was erected to his honour in both places. The image in the south temple is red and represents his appearance while he was alive; that in the east temple represents his appearance after death, so the image is yellow. These shrines are modeled on the temples of China.

I have read also that in the reign of Chia-ch'ing, in 1821, when there was trouble with rebels, the general Lin Ch'ing was unable to subdue them because the rebel chief used magic arts and called spirit armies from the air, so that the Manchu armies were constantly defeated. Suddenly Kuan-ti's banner was seen among the clouds, the rebels were scattered and their so-called spirit army fell to the ground like autumn leaves. To prevent the spread of superstition the rebels were beheaded outside the Wu-men at Peking, and their blood flowed like a river. All these miracles are recorded in military histories, and make me reverence Kuan-ti with even greater awe and joy.

We had seen all the sights of the capital when I suddenly remembered the dress I was wearing, and thought of my strange situation. I said to myself, "A girl in a boy's dress is unheard-of. I suppose that the ambitions of the heart can never be satisfied, but the superior man knows when he has had enough and is willing to moderate his desires; only an inferior man rushes beyond bounds in indulging the greedy thoughts of his soul."

The wonders I had seen had satisfied me, so I decided to end my travels

and return to my proper life as a girl. I put off my boy's clothes, resumed my skirts and became a young unmarried woman again, with a queue down my back and no hairpin.

The pipes of Tzu-chen⁷⁹ attracted the fairy crane by their enchanting notes and Szuma Hsiang-ju's lute⁸⁰ summoned the phoenix. Likewise Kim Kyudang took me as his concubine, and we lived together many happy years.

In the early spring of 1845 he was appointed governor of Ŭiju, and we made ready for the journey. I rode in a palanquin, completely hidden by beaded curtains. We left Seoul by the Peking Pass and made our way to Songdo, where we arrived at evening time. Twilight mists were gathering over Mangwŏl-tae, Full Moon Terrace, making a sad and tearful picture. There also was the Sŏnjuk bridge, with the faithful bloodmarks still upon it—a place where loyal subjects will always weep.⁸¹

We passed the Ch'ŏngsŏk-kwan, where we entered a valley ten *li* or more long. The mountains were high and rugged, almost shutting out the sky. In 1636 the invading Manchu army was afraid lest there were troops in ambush at this place, and considered beheading the *gui de* for leading them by such a dangerous way. We still feel lasting regret, because had a few hundred guards been stationed there the Manchus would never have got through. We went by Ch'ongsu, where large characters written by Chu Chih-fan⁸² are said to be carved on the rocks, but I could not see them from the confinement of my chair. Riding by Hwangju we saw the Wŏlp'a-ru, 'Moon and Waves Pavilion,' standing in the mist at the water's edge. It seemed as though we were moving through a picture.

We approached P'yŏngyang by a path through a forest, till we reached the Taedong river, beyond which pavilions and towers made a painted panorama. Crossing the river, we entered through the East Gate and went a hundred paces south-west to a pavilion called Yŏn'gwang-jŏng, 'Glistening Splendour,' which had a river passing so closely underneath it, one could lean over and spit in the water. Sands as white as fine silk had the long expanse of water for a companion; a belt of thick trees stretched a dozen *li*, and green fields extendend into the distance as far as the eye could see; the view was full of peaks and horn-shaped hills, with sparkling streams and bright rivulets. Written on the gateposts of the hall where we stayed was the couplet:

On one side the far-reaching city and flowing stream;
On the other distant plains and crowding hills.⁸³

This was a true description of the place. The island of Nŭngna sits in the midst of the stream like the 'gauze picture' from which it takes its name; the

Pubyŏk Tower stands guard to the east beneath Peony Peak, where the highest hills are; Yŏngmyŏng Temple stands west of the Pubyŏk Tower, and its outlook is called Tŭgwŏl, 'winning the moon,' because it is the first of the riverside pavilions to catch sight of the moon.

The market streets of P'yŏngyang are full of bustle, and the houses crowded so closely there is no space between them. Firewood and soy pots are piled up on their roofs. Blue curtains, red gates and sounds of flutes give evidence of the dancing-girls' quarters. All day long the sounds of laundering and the creak of the water-carriers' yokes come from the river-bank. It is indeed a justly celebrated place, where Tan'gun and Ch'i Tzu made their capitals, thousands of years ago.⁸⁴ The outer walls still enclose traces of Ch'i Tzu's 'well-fields' and his tomb.

We left by the Pot'ong Gate, and eventually reached Anju, another fine city. We ascended its Paeksang-nu, 'Tower of Good Luck,' and looked out towards Myohyang-san, 'the Incense Hills' that stand to the north-east. These famous and massive 'Mountains of the Road to the West' possess great dignity. Rocks and boulders of wonderful beauty abound there, and deep valleys strike through them, among which are Tan'gun's Cave, the Golden Fairy's Terrace, and other marvellous sights. I could go there in spirit only, for I was swiftly borne over the Ch'ŏngch'ŏn river, the long belt of water that divides P'yŏngan province into its north and south parts. Two famous singing-girls, Chŏngnam-wŏl and Kangnam-wŏl, played and sang very sweetly for us in Anju.

After reaching Kasan, we crossed Hyosŏng-nyŏng, 'Morning-Star Pass,' where the hills are rough and steep, the rocks dark and uncanny, a fitting place for a rebellion like Hong Kyŏngnae's. Then we passed Chŏngju and reached Sŏjang-dae, the 'West Outlook' famous as the scene of the uprising of 1812. Those events seemed to come before my eyes in all their details.

At last we stopped at Pakkot-kwan, the first stopping-place within the prefecture of Ŭiji, and the point where entering and retiring officials meet and greet. We found that all the attendants and retainers of the governor had come out to this place and were waiting for us.

The following day a great parade took place, with banners, spears and soldiers in uniform, like one of the great military occasions in Seoul. Dancing-girls, dressed in felt hats and uniforms with short-sleeved long coats, rode ahead in pairs on thoroughbred horses with silver-decorated saddles. They looked impressive with their fine hat-ornaments, red skirts and green jackets. At the call of the trumpet they mounted their horses and stood waiting for orders. Ŭiju is a great frontier station, where even girls know how to ride

and wield a sword, and on the arrival of each new official they give a display of their skills. Those who watch are unwittingly captivated by the show.

The runners who went ahead wore fresh, clean uniforms and their line stretched all ten miles to Ŭiju. They were of unusually fine appearance and bearing. When we reached the town I went into Yönsik-chae, Swallow's Resting-Place, the inner court of the yamen, where I found that many of the furnishings were Chinese artifacts, very pretty and interesting. Ŭiju stands between the two countries and is the Great West Gate of Korea, a big, rich city where wealth is evident on all hands.

I received a great number of requests to use my influence with the governor. Matters of government, however, had nothing to do with me, and if I had begun to take the smallest part in such affairs, the ill savour of it would have been beyond endurance. I therefore told the servants that they should decline to see anyone from outside. I gave them a stern lecture, and also insisted that not the least thing belonging to the inner quarters could be used without my express permission. Thus our place became a respected household.

When I visited Mansin-nu I wrote a poem:

Martial music cannot vie with springtime in Ŭiju:
 The riverside willows and flowers are thick with new buds.
 In daytime ease officials loll in the grassy courts,
 Deep in the night the moon will lave the place in light.
Kisaeng with fluttering jewelled hairpins pour the wine
 For guests in gilded belts and coral hatstrings, wearing splendid swords.
 A haze of red dust hangs over the far road to Peking,
 Where the envoy's carriage comes bearing imperial grace.

I had a pet bird called *paengnyöng-jo*, Hundred-Gifted Bird, which came from China. It was about the size of a quail and sat on a perch in its bamboo cage. Its call was like the cound a Chinese carter makes when he stops his mules; but it also learned to imitate the sounds of birds and animals. Before the summer solstice it sang a great deal, but after that it fell into silence. I had a parrot, too, about the size of a magpie, that lived in an iron cage and performed acrobatic feats on an upright iron rod. Its plumage was brilliantly coloured, and like the other bird, it came from the far south.

In winter delicious apples were brought to us from the city of Fenghuang. The Chinese keep even grapes fresh and sweet through the winter in most remarkable way. Their pears are better than our finest Pongsan variety. In the third and fourth moons they brought cabbages three of four times as large as out Korean ones, and green radishes, tender as pears.

We paid a visit to T'onggun-jōng, 'the General's Pavilion,' to see the torches for the international fair. Forty companies of armed soldiers patrol the no-man's-land beyond the Yalu, and when the fair is opened in spring and autumn the governor orders torches to be lit at the pavilion. The forty companies of soldiers watch for the torches, and respond with great flares from their side; a trumpet is sounded and they engage in a mock battle.

I made my way to the pavilion in the evening, escorted by red silk lanterns musicians. The pavilion stands north of the city, on a great rock that gives a view of the triple stream of the Yalu and the mountain ranges beyond—the most famous view on the western frontier. The pavilion had been hung with curtains and with red and blue lanterns. On a rope stretched from the beams hung horn lanterns and glass lanterns with blue and red silk ones set on the ground at each end, so that the whole place was as light as day. There were mats of Mongolian felt, with silk screens set around. The whole forty *kan* of the pavilion was carpeted, with no spaces between the mats. You would never see such mats anywhere else, not even in the yamen of the governor of a province.

The polychromed beams and pillars, the ornamented balustrades and railings shone beyond the clouds and were prettily reflected in the waters of the yalu. The light on the clouds reached from Chiu-lien-ch'eng across as far as the peaks of Fenghuang; there before me was the landscape of Yen, China itself, with all its mists and shadows: *Chi-men yen-shu*, the smoky trees of China's gateway.

This phrase, *Chi-men yen-shu*, properly belongs to one of the Eight Views of Peking. The 800-*li* land of Liao-tung, however, has unbounded trees and hills, like clouds and waves, so that villages and hamlets shimmer in a mirage, and horses and oxen seem to be walking upside down, small trees seem tall, and little houses big. It is a mystifying sight, because when one looks closer it all disappears. The explanation is that the plain is so wide that the sky reflects images like a silver sea, or a bright river whose banks seem to ripple and trees to shake. So not only Chi-chou but all Liao-tung came to be included in *Chi-men yen-shu*.

I had doubted whether the Eight Views of Peking could possibly stretch as far as this distant border. On reading a history of Peking I found that they could not do so. It said that seven or eight *li* to the west of Peking, outside the Te-sheng-men, is a hill called Chi-ch'iu, standing high and alone in the wide plain. A thousand or more densely-foliated trees grow on it like green smoke. Formerly there was a city gate there called Chi-men. In the time of the Khitan Tatars it became one of the Eight Views of Peking, called 'Chi Gate in Driz-

zling Rain,' but in Ming times the two characters for drizzling rain were changed to *yen-shu*, smoky trees. The Ch'ien-lung emperor wrote the four characters *Chi men yen shu* and had them inscribed on a stone. Koreans, not knowing where the real Chi gate was, when they passed the border of Chi province and saw a sight that suggested smoky trees, neither blue nor green, neither smoke nor mist, but a haze that reflected like water, called it *yen-shu*, smoky trees. This was in the region of Chi-chou, a provincial name given by Wen-ti of Sui to an area that had formerly been called Yü-yang. Our people confused Chi-chou with Chi-men. For five centuries the Korean envoys travelled this road in both directions, accompanied by interpreters on numberless dusty journeys, yet they never realized that there was another *yen-shu*. What an astonishing thing!

Pipes and harps made music, like a fairy orchestra. The girls sang so sweetly that the clouds stopped in their course and the dust on the beams danced for joy. Each pair of dancing girls was ringed with a halo, so light their lithe willow waists and swallow-wing sleeves—the singing and dancing of this area is rightly famous. Soon a gun was fired, the torches were lit, and the companies on the further shore responded with flashing signals. It was as though bright stars had come out in the blue on every side like rosy peach-blossoms floating on the river. The sound of drums and horns rang through the air like phoenixes calling. Fishes and dragons of the deep listened spell-bound. I was moved to write a poem:

This is the finest pavilion on the frontier river,
 Where emerald Ma-i guards drake's-neck-green waters.
 Six roads spread starwise to the furthest outposts;
 Ten thousand mountains, thick as paduk pebbles, huddle in the west.
 White sands, old trees, surround the crumbling walls,
 Dim mists, cold clouds shroud barren autumn fields.
 Leaning on the balustrade, I see flashing signal lights
 That fill the river with shining fire, signs that all is well.

Soon the moon rose in the east to signal that night was far advanced, and I returned to the yamen.

There was a display of horse riding by dancing-girls at the Paegil-won, and I went to watch it. This hall also stands on the east bank of the Yalu with a wide race-course in the great plain before it. The riders were all decked out in military uniform, neat and trim. They were formed up in companies on tall horses, with splendid gilded saddles. At the blast of a bugle and three beats of a drum, the horses lined up at attention. Each rider had her reins in her hand

and held her charger steady; then away they bounded and disappeared into the distance. Not one of them fell short of what was expected. One of them, Kyōngnye, Jewelled Grace, carried a sword in each hand. Her horse sped swift as a swallow. She was a marvellous rider. The history of this group of amazons, in the most important defence point on our western frontiers, is said to date back to the days of Wei Man.⁸⁶ beyond the time of Ko Chumong⁸⁷ and the Wangs of Koryō.⁸⁸

Drawn up by the pavilion in cohorts of carmine—
Three strokes on the drum and off they go,
Like flowers filling the fragrant air.

The Governor of Ŭiju was eventually replaced by a successor. We packed our baggage and returned to Seoul. When we reached the capital all his clansmen and relatives welcomed him with great joy, and we gave many gifts of Chinese things to all our friends.

He decided to give up public office and retired to his summer home on the Han River. I accompanied him to this Samho-jōng, Pavilion of the Three Rivers, at Yongsan. The ground was carpeted with grass and all the flowers were in bloom. The pavilion stood high above the river in a group of trees. There was a pool filled with lilies, and a beautiful spring of water, the great river in front and green hills behind. Fishermen joined the dozing gulls in passing the time by the river shore, and boys gathering wood sang and played pipes as they rode, facing backwards on their oxen. I wrote a regulated verse:

This tower is set on the river west of Seoul:
I come up here at will and linger at leisure.
Both shores are clad in silk woven of spring grasses,
Evening sunshine blends the great river's gold and green.
Clouds hang low on the hamlets, a lonely sail goes homewards,
Fallen flowers lie on the jetty, a far-off flute mourns;
The breeze brings formless mists that suddenly clear away,
Lo, an embroidered sachet brought to life, a living mural!

I have also written two quatrains:

Fragrance drops from flowers, willow catkins wave,
Spring has the air of a picture, with gentle sunshine beauty.
I loiter here, drifting on undulant dreams;
Wildgeese pass high above, a sail idles by.

Pale moonlight shimmers on the springtime willows,
Lingering mists envelop the morning flowers.

Gulls sit on the sands and do not stir.

A flute is heard from far across the scented fields.

Yongsan is three miles west of the capital, on the lower reaches of the Han, which is said to be one of Korea's most beautiful sights. Dragon country, it must surely be the finest spot on the river. Our summer-house stands where it just catches the view, and the water passes it in a wide sweep towards Noryang-jin and Yanghwa-do, then beyond to the sea. To the south the peaks of Kwanak-san encircle us and bow. It seems as though one could beckon them to come in. The white sands of the shore gleam like polished marble, the high pavilions are built close together. Boats carrying tribute-goods and merchandise crowd together so that their masts look like warp threads on a weaver's loom. Laden oxen and horses go by continually, ducks and gulls are forever bobbing on the water. Lift your eyes and there the scene is before your desk. This is indeed a place to remember, and our pavilion is the best one here. Many high officials and ministers of state have built pavilions nearby at points of vantage, but it is impossible to enjoy the river and to hold office at the same time, so most of these buildings are loaned out to people with leisure. A line of T'ang verse says:

*In retirement who ever sees a soul?*⁸⁹

To abandon public office and retire here to live is a very rare thing but His Excellency has given up everything, cut himself a fishing-rod from the bamboo grove and come here in plain dress. He has cast away his rank and emoluments like an old pair of shoes, regarding the world's honour and glory as a passing cloud. Shall I ever fathom his enlightened soul and high-born spirit? Shall I ever fitly praise his gentle manner? I too love the river, I love the hills and natural beauty. We make our servants dress like country-folk: they carry the water and wood, and keep the garden weeded, and grow vegetables. We have heard no word of unkind comment from our neighbours. We are happy and peaceful, with the joy of a cicada that sheds its larval form and flits into the trees to sing and sip the dew.

The sound of oars below the pavilion adds to my peace. I have written a quatrain about this:

The boatmen sing as they paddle their boats,
Sunshine slants through the clouds floating far above;
The sheet of bright water extends thirty *li*,
The willows by the river obscure the famous houses.

Here we read and sing, and four companions join me in my pleasures. Unch'o, Cloud of Ch'o, a Söngch'ön girl, and wife of Minister Kim

Yŏnch'ŏn⁹⁰ is one of them. She is a gifted person, renowned for her poetic ability, who comes frequently and sometimes stays for several days. Then there is Kyŏngsan, Jewel Hill, of Munhwa, wife of the minister Yi Hwasa.⁹¹ She is well-read, learned, and a polished writer. She lives nearby, so we often meet. The third is Chuksŏ, 'Bamboo West,' a country girl of my own home town, wife of Sŏ Songho, the governor.⁹² She is very wise and quick to learn, a disciple of Han Yü⁹³ and Su tung-p'o, who imitates old poems. The last is my own sister, Kyŏngch'un, Jewel Spring, wife of the governor Hong Chuch'ŏn.⁹⁴ She is bright and gifted with good judgement, sweet in all her ways. She is widely-read in classics and history, and second to none in composing poems. We meet and enjoy each other's company with a roll of ornamental writing-paper on the table and the inkstone at our side. When we declaim together, the sound is like tinkling gems or golden coins. The seasons have no days without inspiration; the river birds and flowers banish every care. I have written four quatrains about all this:

We meet in spring mood, with sadness for beauty,
 Young willow-leaf eyebrows, smooth apricot cheeks,
 And write verses nourished by the sight of happy flowers.
 Would that some fairy could join us to hinder time's passing.

The spring has gone and yet no guest arrives;
 Spring's many longings fill these leisure hours.
 With cup and song we join in friendly competition,
 Remembering this floating life is but a gate of dreams.

Gulls wheel in the sky above the heaving mist-clad waves;
 I lean on the balustrade, because I cannot sleep;
 Sounds of voices are wafted from the other bank,
 Boats return home southward in the moonlight.

I open the curtains to see the world of water
 With springtime breezes outside the twelve painted walls:
 Peach, plum and river willow on the other bank
 Blend together in a tinted showery haze.

So the five of us enjoyed this charming place in a continual succession of delights among flowers, birds, clouds, mists, winds, rain, snow and shining moon. Every day was lovely every month a happy one. We played the lute to express our pleasure, and told one another pleasant tales. All these things found expression in the verses we wrote, some dignified, some light, some old-fashioned, some pathetic. I have no idea which of us wrote the best, but

each expressed her own personality. Kyōngch'un, as well as being gifted, had her sister's love. She was as free as the daylight from all earth's impurities, clever and loving. Her mind was as clear as water and moonlight, her complexion was polished jade and driven snow. Never was such an accomplished person seen before or since. Nevertheless, she was an imprisoned woman who had no chance to see the world. At times we two used to forsake writing and share our innermost ideas and longings: when we discussed books our thoughts would race like a great river rushing to the sea; when we read aloud together we sounded like orioles in the treetops or a phoenix on the hill, so sweet was the sound to our ears. Others know nothing of the joys we shared.

Now as I think of all the delights that I have experienced, of how I left my footprints on hill and dale, and saw so much of my country's beautiful and happy places, I realize that few, even men, have seen as much as I. My heart is satisfied and all my wishes have come to pass; but the world is wide and this little country is only a tiny part of it. Time has passed through long, long years, and one little life is a brief joy. Still, to have seen a corner of the universe is to have seen all; and to see a hundred years is to see what all time is like, so there is no need to raise the questions of numberless hills and uncountable years. Our experience and knowledge are but a dream. If I had not written this down, who would have known that a girl called Kūmwōn ever lived?

I lay my head on my pillow, close my eyes, and let my soul and spirit bear each other company, off and away: that is to dream. The world and everything in it is a dream that returns to nothingness. All that we have seen and learned is a vision of the night. If we reckon time by the day, it is dream; if we reckon it by the year, it is dream; a hundred years, a thousand years—all are dreams. I live in a dream and have written down the dream I have dreamt, a dream within a dream. We laugh it off and take the brush to jot down one of the hundred things we have experienced, of which these verses of mine are little scattered reminders.

Now I have told my story: of my start to the four prefectures of the central region, to the Diamond Mountains, the Eight Views of Kwandong, Sōrak-san, Seoul, Ūiju, and back to Seoul again. I have called the book *Hodong sōrak ki*.

21 April 1985⁹⁵

Kūmwōn

NOTES

1. Queen Chindök of Silla sent a flattering poem, *T'aep'yöng song*, to the T'ang emperor in 650. It was written in Chinese and preserved in the *Samguk sagi* and other chronicles.
2. Hō Nansōrhōn (1563-1589): the most famous woman poet of the Yi dynasty, though doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of the poems attributed to her. At the end of her collected works is a poem telling of a dream she had in 1585 about a visit to Kuang-sang-shan, one of the ten islands of the Taoist immortals.
3. *Pu Ch'ū* one of the poems in the Ch'u Tz'u, tells how Chan-yin, a diviner of Ch'u, was asked to advise Ch'ū Yūan. Kūmwōn's quotation is inaccurate, but its sense is correct.
4. Ch'ū Yūan, counsellor of Prince Huai of Ch'u in the fourth century BC. He was one of China's earliest poets, and the south Chinese 'dragon-boat festival' of the fifth day of the fifth moon commemorates his suicide by drowning.
5. Analects XI 25 vii.
6. The Four Central Prefectures: Korean *Hojung sa kun*. Hojung is a name sometimes applied to Ch'ungch'ōng province. The prefectures referred to are Chech'ōn, Tanyang, Yōngch'un and Ch'ōng-p'ung.
7. Kyōngin year 3rd moon.
8. Ūirim, 'Righteous Forest' is said to be named after Pak Ūirim, legendary creator of the ornamental lake two miles north of Chech'ōn.
9. A commonplace of Yi poetry, opening phrase of the *Paekku sa*.
10. Omija, 'Five-Taste-Seed,' is *Schizandra chinensis*. The perch of the Sung-kiang are mentioned in Su Tung-p'o's *Ch'ih-pi fu*.
11. A scholar of the Tsin dynasty (4th century AD) who was a connoisseur of herbs and freshwater fish from his home state of Wei.
12. Chuang-tzu, reputed author of the book of the same name, was a formative Taoist writer. Legend says that he became an immortal while dining with the Queen Mother of the West at the Lake of Gems (see below note 35).
13. Hsi-shih was a Chinese paragon of feminine loveliness, trained and sent by the prince of Yüeh to seduce and ruin his rival, the prince of Wu, in the fifth century BC.
15. *Shang-shan szu hao*, four scholars who despaired at the cultural chaos created towards the end of the reign of Ch'in Shih-huang, and about 212 BC retired to live as recluses in the Shang hills, They emerged, hoary-headed, to serve the Han dynasty about twenty years later. The pomelo story is a Chinese legend.
16. T'ao Ch'ien's famous description *Tao-yūan chi*, is one of Korea's commonest poetic allusions.
17. The caves were down-river from the old magistracy of Yōngch'un. The immortals' names mean 'golden flower' and 'southern flower'
18. Cf. Su Tung-p'o's *Shih-chung-shan chi*, in *Tung-p'o chi XXXIII*. The Li Po referred to (otherwise Li Chün-chih, 9th century) is not the famous 8th-century T'ang poet. Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih) 1037-1101, was the greatest of the Sung poets.

19. Nū-wa, one of the mythical sovereigns of China, is said to have been sister and successor of Fu-hsi in the third millenium BC. Her story as told in the introduction to the *Shih chi* relates how after the rebellion of Kung Kung she was forced to support the damaged vault of heaven by using mountains as scaffolding.
20. Yū was the legendary founder of the Hsia dynasty, who is supposed to have altered the landscape of China in order to control its floods.
21. Tanbal-lyōng is the pass where legend has it that King Sejo cut off his hair, in monk fashion, on his visit to the Diamond Mountains; the entrance from Seoul to the mountains where the monasteries are found, and hence the point of entry to monkhood for many.
22. *Yen-ching pa ching*. Every important place in the Far East has a series of 'eight views,' in imitation of the Eight Views of the Hsiao-hsiang Rivers, first painted and entitled by the Sung painter, Sung Ti.
23. Chunghyang, 'All Fragrance,' is another name for Sukhavati, the Pure Land of Amitabha. The peaks look like a fortress.
24. Ksitigarbha (Korean: Chijang), a bodhisattva regarded as a saviour from hell.
25. See below note 45.
26. The Eight Lakes (*P'al tam*) are Hŭngnyong (Black Dragon), Ch'ōngnyong (Blue Dragon), Pyōkp'a (Green Waves), Punun (Spraying Cloud), Chinju (Pearl), Ku-dam (Turtle Pool), Sōn-dam (Boat Pool) and Hwaryong (Fire Dragon). They form one of the traditional series of views in the Diamond Mountains.
27. Yang Saōn, 1517-1584, a distinguished calligrapher. Pongnae, his literary style, is the Korean form of P'eng-lai, name of a Taoist paradise in the east, frequently applied to the Diamond Mountains.
28. The 'diamond' (Kŭmgang) means *vajra*, the thunderbolt or diamond that symbolizes indestructible truth.
29. Immortals were said to ride on blue cranes.
30. Sumeru (*Sumi*) is the central mountain of creation, and therefore used as a name for the Buddha's throne.
31. Avalokitesvara: the merciful bodhisattva known in China as Kuan-yin, in Korea as Kwanŭm or Kwanseŭm.
32. Vairocana: the true and essential Buddha body, almost equatable with the idea of godhead.
33. Kasyapa: the leader of Sakyamuni's disciples after the Buddha's death.
34. The Islands of the Immortals, which included P'eng-lai, were believed to be in the far eastern sea, i.e., the Pacific.
35. The Lake of Gems was at the abode of the legendary Queen Mother of the West, beyond the mountains of western China and Tibet.
36. *Li*, a measure of distance. Ten *li* was an hour's walk, i.e., three or four miles. In theory a *li* was 360 paces.
37. The Inner Diamond Mountains (Nae Kŭmgang) are the southern section of the region.
38. Manjusri (Korean: Munsu or Myogilsang): the bodhisattva of wisdom. This famous relief image is traditionally ascribed to the Buddhist monk Naong (1320-1376).
39. Lu-shan: a waterfall in China, subject of a famous poem by Li Po.
40. Kamno-su: 'Sweet Dew Water,' in Sanskrit Amṛta, the nectar of immortality, with

- various Buddhist associations.
41. Probably a satirical proverb.
 42. The Outer Diamond Mountains (Oe Kūmgang) are the central and north-western sector of the region.
 43. King Namhae of Silla reigned AD 4-24. The chronology of this legend is highly suspect.
 44. Min Chi, 1248-1326, a distinguished diplomat and scholar during the Mongol domination of Korea.
 45. Queen Inmok (1584-1632), wife of Sōnjo, is one of the saddest figures in Yi dynasty history. Her son, Yōngch'ang, was prevented from acceding to the throne and murdered while still a boy by his half-brother, Prince Kwanghae. The West Palace is the Tōksu Palace. Princess Chōngmyōng was her daughter.
 46. Lan-t'en, otherwise Yu-shan, was a place in Shensi proverbial for its fine jade.
 47. T'sang-hai means the ocean, and the proverbial reference is to a pearl left behind by divers. It usually means a man of worth who goes unrecognized.
 48. T'an-wu-chieh (Korean Tammugae) represents the Sanskrit Dharmodgata, the name of several famous monks.
 49. Kwandong, 'the Eastern Border,' is a sobriquet for Kangwōn Province, and here means the east coast.
 50. King Ling of Ch'u built a magnificent palace Chang-hua-t'ai, whose inauguration feast in 534 BC is mentioned in Tso Chuan X, vii 2.
 51. The megalomaniac emperor who unified China, and built the A-fang palace. He reigned 221-209 BC.
 52. A Han emperor who, among greater deeds, built the Po-liang (Cedar Beams) Palace. He reigned 140-86 BC.
 53. *Hwarang*: an elite youth corps of the Silla dynasty.
 54. *Kan*: a unit of measurement of floor-space, theoretically eight feet square.
 55. Ch'oe Ip, 1539-1612, a distinguished statesman and scholar.
 56. See above note 27.
 57. *Myōngsu* can also mean 'shining sand,' and applies to other points on the east coast. 'Singing sands' is proper to this beach.
 58. See above note 31.
 59. Otherwise Li Tzu-ch'ang, an astronomer of Han, about the time of Christ.
 60. Yao and Shun were the ideal rulers to whose days Confucius looked back with admiration.
 61. Yang Hou, 'the Marquis of Yang,' was a lord of Ling-yang who died by drowning and became a sea-god of the Chinese.
 62. This sentence is based on analects VI 21.
 63. Taesūng, 'great vehicle,' is Korean for Mahayana.
 64. These were apparently famous waterfalls in China.
 65. Samyōn was the literary style of Kim Ch'anghūp, 1653-1722, one of the four brothers of Kim ch'angjip, a distinguished family of scholar-statesmen.
 66. Ch'ōnghan-ja was Kim Sisūp, the wanderer and writer, who visited this area in 1459-60. Ose was his literary name.
 67. Tuksōm, Yongsan and Map'o.
 68. AD. 621.

69. The T'ang armies were three times repulsed by Koguryō.
70. The royal residences were all built at the foot of the mountains to the north of the city.
71. Segōm-jōng: the origin of the name is unknown, but the pavilion was built in 1749.
72. Sangsō, 'minister,' is a title. The man referred to may be Kūmwōn's husband.
73. *Hsūan-tao-kuan-shih* is a poem by the T'ang poet Liu Yū-hsi, and contains the phrase *t'aoch'ien-shu*, 'a thousand peach-trees.'
74. Kuan Yū or Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war. An historical personage, hero of the *San-kuo-chih-yen-i*, Korea's most popular story-book. Died 219.
75. Chou Ts'ang was a loyal companion of Kuan Yü who committed suicide on Kuan's death *San-kuo-chih yen-i* 77.
76. Chang Fei outwitted and defeated Chang Ho at nan-p'ing-shan (*San-kuo chih yen-i* 69-70); he routed Ts'ao at Ch'ang-pan-ch'iao (42); Hua-yung-tao was the scene of Ts'ao's flight after the battle of the Red Cliff (50).
77. Yōngjong, now known as Yōngjo, reigned 1725-76.
78. P'u-ching was a Buddhist sage to whom Kuan Yü appeared immediately after his death. *San-kuo-chih yen-i* 77.
79. Tzu-chen, a legendary Taoist, otherwise Mei Fu, has probably been confused with Tzu-tsin (Wang Ch'iao), 6th-century BC prince of Tsin, a flautist who rode on a white orane.
80. Szuma Hsiang-ju, the great second-century BC exponent of *fu* poetry, who by his skill on the lute persuaded a wealthy man's daughter to elope.
81. Mangwōl-tae, a Koryō palace derelict since the fourteenth century. The Sōnjuk bridge was where Chōng Mongju was assassinated in 1392 because he remained loyal to the Koryō dynasty.
82. A Chinese scholar-statesman who came to Korea as imperial envoy in 1606.
83. A couplet about this place by Kim Hwangwōn (1045-1117) recorded in *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* and *T'aengni chi*.
84. Tan'gun, legendary founder of the Korean nation in 2333 BC, and the viscount of Ch'i, who was supposed to have fled to Korea in 1192 BC when the Chou state was established in China are both supposed to have had their capitals at P'yōngyang.
85. Hong Kyōngnae's rebellion of 1812 was the most important of early nineteenth century peasant uprisings.
86. A refugee from Han China who became ruler of north Korea about 194 BC.
87. Legendary founder-king of Koguryō.
88. Wang was the dynastic surname of the Koryō monarchs, AD 918-1392.
89. The famous reply of the monk Ling-che to Wei Tan, and origin of the phrase *lin-hsia*, 'under the trees,' as a synonym for retirement.
90. Yōnch'ōn was the literary style of Kim Iyang (1755-1845) of the Andong Kim clan. He was dead by the time Kūmwōn wrote.
91. Hwasa, 'Flowery Chronicler,' was apparently his literary style.
92. Songho, 'Pine Lake,' was Sō Kibo, brother of Sō Ikpo.
93. Han Yü, 768-824, advocated an archaically simple prose style.
94. Yi Nūnghwa gives Hong's name (presumably a literary style) as Sech'ōn. *Chu* (wine) and *se* (sprinkle) are easily confused.
95. Kyōngsul year 3rd moon 10th day.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH
1993

It is with some embarrassment that I present the President's Report for the third time, as I have often expressed the opinion that it is inappropriate for the President to serve consecutive terms. To have served again last year after 35 years was one thing, but twice in a row is another.

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was established in 1900 by a group of foreign residents in Korea, who sought to encourage investigation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, geography and literature in order to deepen their understanding of the country and its people and to make them better known to the rest of the world. The original nucleus was soon joined by many others, including a number of Korean scholars. Some of the members had great scholarly gifts and their names will forever be associated with Korean studies, while many others contributed the first, and often the only papers on many aspects of Korea, leaving a legacy in the *Transactions* that is still a primary source of information on Korea in many fields. It is only appropriate that at this Annual Meeting we remember the great contribution of our forbears, and remember that the primary objective of the Branch is still the encouragement of studies on Korea.

The Korea Branch is organized with a Council of twenty-six members, including the officers. To carry out its functions the Council is organized into five committees: Membership, Publications, Programs, Tours, and Finance.

Membership: At present the RAS-Korea Branch has a total of 1,541 members. This includes sixty-seven life members, 574 overseas members and 920 regular members residing in Korea.

Programs: Programs involving lectures, slide presentations and performances were held regularly on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month,

except during the summer, at the Daewoo Foundation Building near Seoul Station. We are most grateful to the Foundation for allowing us the use of this centrally located space. The annual Garden Party, graciously hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. David Wright at the British Embassy, was most successful, with an enjoyable program of Korean music, special book sales, and an opportunity for members to become better acquainted with each other.

Tours: A full schedule of tours was carried out, largely during the spring and fall of 1993, with a sprinkling of special events in summer and winter. A total of some 1,700 members and non-members participated in these tours, and once again it is clear that the tours are one of the most popular activities of the Society. The worsening traffic in and out of Seoul is a continuing concern, but alternatives to bussing do not seem to be practical at this time.

Publications: The Publications Committee had another successful year supervising book sales, reviewing manuscripts, and editing Volume 68 of the *Transactions* for publication. A revised Book List was prepared and distributed to all members and to various libraries and institutions interested in Korean studies. Dr. Donald Clark, an overseas member at Trinity University in San Antonio, has taken on the task of being the American distributor for RAS-Korea Branch publications. We are most grateful to the Royal Netherlands Embassy for their generous donation to subsidize the publication of a new and authoritative translation of Hendrick Hamel's Journals in 1994.

Finances: I am pleased to report that the finances of the RAS-Korea Branch remained on an even keel during 1993. Although operating expenses are modest, the Society depends totally upon the support you provide as members in paying annual dues, participating in tours and purchasing publications. Remember, your support continues to be critical to the financial well-being of the Society. Lastly, I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge once again the generosity of the Daewoo Foundation in making these premises available for our use free of charge.

Respectfully submitted,
Horace G. Underwood

1993 R.A.S. Lectures

Seoul Branch

- January 13 Marketing in Korea: Notes from an Academic
Prof. Chang, Dae-ryung
- January 27 Legal Education in Korea: Post-Confucian Magistrates
at the Boundary Between the State and Civil Society
Dr. James West
- February 10 Smuggling in the New in the Guise of the Old:
Chong Ya-gong's Political Thought
Dr. Mark Setton
- February 24 Five Days in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mrs. Beverly Smith
- March 24 Lantern Festival in China
Mr. Marnix Wells
- April 14 Self-portrait of the Artist as a Young Man
Mr. Ahn, Jung-hyo
- April 28 Wild Flowers of Korea
Dr. Lee, Young-no
- May 12 A View of North Korea
Major General Bernard A. Sandoz
- May 26 Looking Anew at the First Western Manuscript About Korea
Br. Jean-Paul Buys
- June 9 Korean Shamanist Dramatic Ritual
Dr. Daniel A. Kister
- June 23 Seoul: Founding of the New Capital
Dr. Kwon, Yon-ung
- August 25 A Presentation of Korean Classical Music
Ms. Yang, Seung-hee and Performers of the Korea Kayagum
Institute
- September 8 Why Do Korean Buddhists Do What They Do?
Mr. Frank M. Tedesco
- September 22 A Reading From *Land of Exile: Contemporary Korean Fiction*
Mr. Bruce Fulton

- October 13 Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Tombs and Temples
Mrs. Maissa Cholkamy
- October 27 Women in Korean Politics
Dr. Chunghee Sarah Soh
- November 10 The Legend of Madam Pak
Dr. Mark Peterson
- November 24 Korea in the 1950s
Mr. John Seel
- December 8 On the Road: China's Silk Road
Mr. Michael F. O'Brien
- May 12 A View of North Korea
Major General Bernard A. Sandoz
- May 20 Looking Ahead at the First Western Manuscript About Korea
Dr. Daniel A. Kistner
- August 25 A Presentation of Korean Classical Music
Mr. Yang Seung-hee and Performers of the Korea Kagam
- September 8 Why Do Korean Buddhists Do What They Do?
Mr. Frank M. Tedesco
- September 25 A Reading from Land of Exile: Contemporary Korean Fiction
Mr. Bruce Wilson

1993 R.A.S. Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
January 17	Buddhism Tour	25
January 24	Pukhansan Fortress and Dosan Temple	12
January 30	Insa-dong Restaurant Tour	18
January 31	Winter Break Tour (Kwangnung)	16
February 6	Pangsangjae Buddhist Ceremony	22
February 20-21	Sorak-san Tour	20
February 27	Kiln and Parka Crystal Factory	32
February 28	Tour of Fortune and Exotic Shrines	22
March 1	Onyang Folk Museum, Hyonchung-sa	19
March 6	Paper Crafts Tour	36
March 7	Kanghwa Island	36
March 13	Embroidery Tour	13
March 21	Choson Dynasty Seoul	37
March 27	Puyo, Kongju Tour (Paekche Kingdom)	29
March 28	Realms of the Immortals	19
April 2-4	Kyongju and Yangdong Tour	28
April 9	Hanyak (Traditional Medicine) Tour	23
April 9-11	Chinhae Cherry Blossom Tour	76
April 10	Ceremony for the Ming Emperor	18
April 17	Inch'on-Suwon Railroad Tour	39
April 16-18	Cheju-do Tour	36
May 1-2	Magnolia Tour: Ch'ollopo Arboretum	52
May 7-9	Ch'ungmu and Koje Island	35
May 15	Kiln Tour	18
May 16	Odaesan National Park, Woljong-sa	24
May 22-23	Andong Tour	30
May 26-29	Hongdo, Huksando and Chiri-san	42
May 28	Buddha's Birthday Tour	77
May 29	Shaman Ritual: Paeyunsin Kut	35
June 4-6	Wan-do and Pokil-do	27
June 12	R.A.S. Garden Party	350

June 20	Songmo-do and Kanghwa Island	41
June 26-27	Kangnung and Tano Festival	31
July 3	Island Hopping Tour	25
July 10	Olympic Park, Han River Cruise	10
July 11	Tobong-san Mountain Hike	8
July 18	Tanyang Discovery Tour	23
August 21	Fortune Tellers and Exotic Shrines	18
August 22	Kosokjong and Sanjong Lake	28
August 28	Kiln and Parka Crystal Factory	25
August 29	Yoju Tour	12
September 4	Silk Tour	41
September 5	Ch'ongp'yong Boat Tour	47
September 11-12	Chollado Tour	34
September 12	Namhansansong and Chonjin-am	20
September 18-19	'93 Taejon Expo	35
September 23	Sokchonjae Confucian Ceremony	14
September 24-26	Sam'chonp'o and Namhae-do Tour	18
September 26	Kanghwa island Tour	22
Sept. 30-Oct. 1	Ullung-do Tour	26
October 8-10	Sorak-san Tour	24
October 10	Shaman Ritual: Taedong Kut (Inchon)	23
October 16	Sudok-sa Tour	21
October 22-24	Cheju-do Tour	18
October 29-31	Chiri-san Tour	43
November 6	Yongmun-san and Battlefield Tour	22
November 13	Churches Around Seoul Tour	13
November 20	Kimchi Tour	29
November 21	Haengju-sansong, Pokwang-sa Tour	28
November 27	Shopping Spree	21
November 28	Suwanbo and Munkyong Pass	21
December 4	Shaman Ritual: Taedong Kut	27
December 11	Artist's Studios Tour	19

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Zaat, Mr. & Mrs. W.L.
Zent, Mr. & Dr. Stan