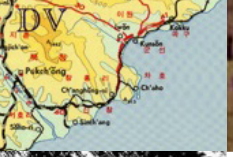

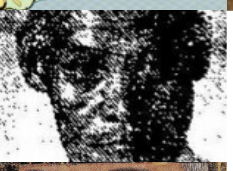

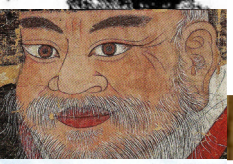

3.1 2012

Korean HISTORIES

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Adam Bohnet

From the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke to Kang Shijue, and Back Again

BIOGRAPHY AND STATE CONTROL IN NORTHERN HAMGYŎNG

INTRODUCTION[1]

Borders, situated generally far from the centres of power, are also drawn in accord with the particular concerns of those same centres of power. By the same token, borderlanders frequently inhabit cultural and economic worlds alien to the commercial or political élites of the centre, but are also of enormous importance to those same élites, as it is the denizens of the periphery themselves who must be controlled and even transformed to give social reality to the spheres of influence established through treaty. Indeed, failure to control the often volatile inhabitants of the periphery can destroy the arrangement made through the difficult negotiations of the high officials of rival capitals.[2] Northern Hamgyŏng, today's North Hamgyŏng Province 咸鏡北道, for instance, on the north-eastern edge of Korea was, until the early seventeenth century, a frontier region of forced Korean settlers from the south and Jurchen groups able to pass in and out of regions under Chosŏn administrative control.[3] During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, the same region, long emptied of its Jurchen population on account of the violence involved in the formation of the Manchu khanate (later Qing Empire), was passed clearly over to Chosŏn control, especially after the

1 The work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government (NRF-2007-361-AL0013). I also received financial support from the Academy of Korean Studies departmental grant, the Korea Foundation post-doctoral fellowship and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship. I have presented earlier versions of this paper at Kyushu University (2006), at Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast at the University of Victoria (2008) and at the Ruhr University Bochum (2011). I am grateful for many useful suggestions and critical comments, especially those of Andre Schmid, Vincent Shen, Robert Binnick, Pamela Crossley, Christina Han, Gari Ledyard, John Duncan, Namlin Hur, Kenneth Wells and the anonymous readers of the paper. I also thank Jovanka Ristic of the American Geographical Society Library for her patient help during the process of obtaining permission to use one of their maps, and the staff of Korea University's Hanjŏkshil for their help during my several visits to their library.

2 For a survey of some of the key problems in border history see Michiel Baud and Willem van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands", *Journal of World History* 8 (1997), 211-242.

3 Adam Bohnet, "'On Either Side the River': The Rise of the Manchu State and Chosŏn's Jurchen Subjects", *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia* 9 (2008), 111-125; Kenneth R. Robinson, "Residence and Foreign Relations in the Peninsular Northeast during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity and Culture*, edited by Sun Joo Kim (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), pp. 18-36.

1712 agreement clarifying the border between Chosŏn and Qing territory.[4] During the same period, the Chosŏn state asserted its political control over the settler communities by reorganizing the administration of the northern Hamgyŏng borderland and bringing the social structure of northern Hamgyŏng into closer accord with the norms of the centre.[5] Between the mid-seventeenth century and the mid-eighteenth century, in other words, the region was transformed from an open frontier to a borderland, policed (if imperfectly) both by the Chosŏn and the Qing.[6]

This paper will explore the interaction of the élites of the capital and the borderlanders of northern Hamgyŏng by investigating the ways in which this interaction was mediated through the biographies of one borderlander called Kang Shijue 康世爵 (1602-1685), whose descendents, the T'ongju Kang, emerged as a key lineage in the region of Musan 茂山 on the outer edge of the province. Kang Shijue was a refugee from the Manchu-Ming war in Liaodong 遼東 who entered Chosŏn during the 1620s and settled in Hamgyŏng. In contrast to most such Liaodongese refugees, he successfully attracted the interest and support of central officials who wrote biographies of him already during the late seventeenth century. Kang Shijue, unlike other Ming Chinese migrants in Chosŏn, attracted élite interest because of the particular concerns that the Chosŏn state and élites had concerning the north-eastern frontier. The early biographies of Kang Shijue thus reflected the intersection of the interests of Chosŏn officials and a marginal refugee on Chosŏn's north-eastern frontier: the former saw in Kang Shijue a possible tool by which they could settle the unruly inhabitants of northern Hamgyŏng and clearly establish Chosŏn's authority in a region over which Chosŏn's hegemon, the Qing Empire, also had potential claims; while the latter was able to use the version of his life-story that the central officials propagated to improve his and his descendants' social status. Indeed, their biographies of Kang Shijue became part of the process by which Kang Shijue's descendents were transformed into local élites in a region lacking an effective yangban élite class to maintain social order.

This process continued after the establishment of a clear border in 1712 transformed northern Hamgyŏng, and after the more general re-categorization of Liaodongese migrants – including Kang Shijue's descendents - as a ritually-defined community of Ming Loyalists. Indeed, Kang Shijue's earlier biographies continued to be quoted and reworked to suit an increasingly clear identification of the Chosŏn state with the fallen Ming Empire, and to portray borderland subjects as social entities now fully integrated into the hierarchies of the centre. Yet Kang Shijue's descendents were still marginal élites, at the edges of the formal state, a fact reflected in their attempts to conceal inconvenient aspects of their past even into the early twentieth century. The writings of the central officials, in defining Kang Shijue and his descendents as worthy intermediaries for the Chosŏn court, provide windows through which we may observe the ideological and material processes involved in the transformation of northern Hamgyŏng from an unpoliced frontier to a partly controlled borderland. Conversely, the texts used to assimilate Kang Shijue's descendents into official state narrative and bureaucracy also clearly established the marginal status of the lineage.

BIOGRAPHY AND THE CREATION OF LOYAL BORDERLAND SUBJECT

Kang Shijue (1602-1685), a refugee from Liaodong, settled by 1661 on the edge of a Korean settlement in the region of Togon 都昆 in Hoeryŏng 會寧, Hamgyŏng Province, near what today is Myŏngshin-dong 明臣洞 ("Ming Subject Village") in the city of Hoeryŏng, North Hamgyŏng Province, North Korea (images 3 and 4).[7] As a marginalized person in a marginal region of the Chosŏn state, he nevertheless encountered prominent bureaucrats, Nam Kuman 南九萬 (1627-1711), and Pak Sedang 朴世堂 (1629-1703), who brought him to the attention of the state. The two officials revealed their encounter with Kang Shijue through their biographies of him. These biographies, written well before the majority of biographies of Ming migrants, and well before the eighteenth century creation of official ritual roles for Ming Loyalist migrant lineages, reflect a situation in which Liaodongese[8] refu-

4 This process is discussed by Seonmin Kim, "Ginseng and Border Trespassing between Qing China and Chosŏn Korea", *Late Imperial China* 28 (2007), 33–61.

5 Kang Sŏkhwa 강석화, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do wa pukpang yŏngt'o ŭishik* 조선후기 함경도와 북방영토 의식 (Seoul: Kyŏngsewŏn 경세원, 2000), pp. 130-239.

6 Kim Seonmin, "Ginseng and Border Trespassing", notably makes use of the terminology of modern border studies in her discussion of the Sino-Korean border.

7 The information in this paper concerning more recent North Korean political geography follows the Chosŏn kwahak paekkwa ch'ulp'ansa 조선 과학 백과 출판사 & Han'guk P'yŏnghwa munje yŏn'guso 한국 평화 문제 연구소 (eds), *Chosŏn hyangt'o taepaekkwa* 조선향토대백과 20 vols (Seoul: P'yŏnghwa munje yŏn'guso, 2003) XIV, p. 272.

8 The term "Liaodongese" is used by Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 57-88, to refer to the border-crossing communities in Ming Liaodong who might seem to us now to be Jurchen, Chinese, Korean or Mongolian, or a mix of those groups. Kang, by his own description, was from Huguang, but his entrance into Chosŏn in most respects resembles that of countless Liaodongese refugees.

gees were widely distrusted. At the same time, by establishing Kang Shijue and his sons as safe and capable representatives of the state on the northern borderlands, Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies were an aspect of state power.

According to his own autobiographical account and the account by Nam Kuman, Kang Shijue was a vigorous soldier who fought the rising Manchu state after the collapse of Ming Liaodong. Kang Shijue claimed that his great-grandfather, his grandfather and father had all died in battle in service of the Ming, and that his family had received official honours and positions in the bureaucracy. However, Kang Shijue's father was charged with corruption and exiled to Liaoyang, to which he was accompanied by Kang Shijue himself. They arrived in time to participate in the war against the Later Jin (1616-1636) under Nurhaci. Though his father fell in the Battle of Sarhu (1619), Kang Shijue succeeded only in providing his father with a make-shift burial. Moreover, he escaped execution at the hands of the Manchu by concealing himself as a Chosŏn soldier, living both to bear witness to the infamous submission of Chosŏn general Kang Hongnip (姜弘立, 1560-1627) to the Manchu,[9] and to continue fighting as a low-ranking officer in the Ming army in Liaodong. Indeed, Kang Shijue's account of his life includes detailed descriptions of his participation in a series of key battles between 1619 and 1625, including the unsuccessful Ming defences of the fortified towns of Shenyang and Liaoyang in 1619, at which point he was a member of an irregular guerrilla army in Fenghuang Mountain near the Chosŏn border. Although he was eventually captured by the Manchu, he escaped to Chosŏn in 1625. After a long period of wandering, he settled in 1661 on the Tumen River in an area upstream from Hoeryŏng called Togon. However, settlement in Chosŏn inevitably resulted in a considerable decline in status, exacerbated by his marriage to a Chosŏn woman of base (ch'ŏn 賤) status such that his descendents were only granted commoner status by special intervention of the court. As he reached the end of his days, he informed his children that, having himself failed to provide his own father with a proper burial, he himself should not be buried properly.

Kang Shijue became known to scholars of the Ming-Qing transition after his "autobiographical account" (chasul自述), which provides a detailed description of the Ming-Manchu War in Liaodong between 1619 and 1625,[10] was discovered within a copy of the *T'ongju Kang genealogy* (T'ongju Kangssi sebo 通州康氏世譜) in the house of members of that lineage (who were classified by the People's Republic of China as ethnic Koreans) in Jilin Province in 1980.[11] Scholarship primarily concerned with the Ming-Qing transition, however, has not taken proper account of the location of the text within the late Chosŏn, during which Kang Shijue's autobiography was only one of a large family of texts concerning Kang Shijue. Although there is a reference in a late seventeenth century source to Kang Shijue, at his death-bed in the mid-1680s, "dictating his genealogy, and the chronology of the war, so as to pass it down to his sons" (公嘗歷敍其族世及禍亂首末),[12] the earliest surviving version of Kang Shijue's autobiographical account (not generally cited) is found within a late eighteenth century document called the *Traces of the acts of imperial subjects* (Hwangjoin sajŏk 皇朝人事蹟) preserved in the Kyujanggak Library in Seoul.[13] Long before that, however, Kang Shijue gained prominence, not on account of his autobiographical account, but because of the interest he attracted from two high officials and members of the dominant Sŏin 西人 (Westerners)

9 On the controversies that raged, and still rage, concerning Kang Hongnip's surrender, see Ko Yunsu 고윤수,"Kwanghaegundae Chosŏn ŭi Yodong chŏngch'aek kwa Chosŏn'gun p'oro 광해군대 조선의 요동정책과 조선군 포로", *Tongbang hakchi* 동방학지 123 (2004), 41-97. Kang Shijue's self-account (*Hwangjoin sajŏk*, Kyujanggak # 2542, fr. 16) describes this famous event as follows: "Even though I could not understand what they were saying, by looking at their faces and probing the course of events, I could tell that one wanted to surrender, and one wanted to fight. (陣中有二元帥而亦多有相較之端, 余雖不通言語, 觀其色,察其勢, 一欲降, 一欲戰之故也)".

10 Lynn A. Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683: a Historiography and Source Guide* (Ann Arbour: Association for Asian Studies, 1998), pp. 180-181. Examples of the use of this text include Frederic Wakeman jr, *The Great Enterprise: the Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 63-65, esp. notes 104, 105 and 106; Lynn A. Struve, "Chimerical Early Modernity: The Case of 'Conquest-Generation' Memoirs", in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, edited by Lynn A. Struve (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 335–72.

11 Kang Hyogyun 康孝均 and Kang Kyusŏk 康圭錫, *T'ongju Kang-ssi sebo*, 1901, reprinted in 1912. Excerpts of the genealogy, including Kang Shijue's self-account and a number of biographies were published in Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan lishiyanjiusuo Qingshi yanjiushi 中国 社会科学院历史研究所 清史 研究室 (ed)., "Chaoxianzu Tongzhou Kangshi shipu zhong de Ming-Man guanxi shiliao 朝鲜族 通州康氏 世譜 中的 明滿 關係 史料" in *Qingshi ziliao* 清史資料 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局, 1980) I, pp. 179-185. I have not been able to access the Jilin version directly. However, thanks to Prof. Seonmin Kim of Korea University's Research Institute for Korean Studies and the librarians of the Hanjŏkshil of Korea University, as well as the financial support of the Research Institute of Korean Studies, I was able to consult a nearly identical version found in the Korea University Hanjŏkshil Library. This text, a hand copy of the 1912 reprint, seems to differ from the Jilin version only in lacking the genealogy. Reflecting this, the title on the cover is *Sources for the T'ongju Kang Lineage* (T'ongju Kangssi sejŏk 通州康氏世跡), although within the text, for instance in the first preface, the title continues to be the *Genealogy of the T'ongju Kang Lineage*. Although the Korea University version, which I will henceforward cite as *TKS*, is unpaginated, I have assigned my own page numbers.

12 Nam Kuman, "Kang Sejak chŏn – mujin 康世爵傳 - 戊辰", *Yakch'ŏnjip* 藥泉集 [henceforward *YCJ*] 28:27b-31b, in *Yŏngin p'yojŏm Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* (影印 標點) 韓國文集叢刊 [henceforward *HMC*], edited by Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe 民族文化推進會 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 2006-2010) CCXXII, pp. 474-476.

13 Kyujanggak # 2542, fr. 10-25. This text, which will henceforward be cited as *HS*, was written between 1793 and 1800. See *Kyujanggak Han'gukpon tosŏ haeje* 奎章閣 韓國本 圖書 解題 (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Tosŏgwan, 1993) sabu 史部 III, p. 561.

Image 1: The Tumen River at Namyang. This view looking across the Tumen at the North Korean city of Namyang, near Onsŏng (see the map on Image 3). It was taken on 10:50, 26 December, 2009, by Wikimedia Commons user "Farm." This picture depicts a region considerably downstream from the place where Kang Shijue settled. The original picture "Tumen River Winter," was accessed at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tumen_River_Winter.jpg, on October 2, 2011, 11:36PM, and is here used in accordance with the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. See image 3 for the location of Namyang.

faction,[14] Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang, who both encountered him when they were dispatched to assume duties in Hamgyŏng Province. The first description of Kang Shijue – indeed the first record of any sort – is found in three poems within Pak Sedang's "Record of my tour of the north" (Pukchŏngnok 北征錄), which is a series of poetic reflections on Hamgyŏng Province composed during Pak Sedang's service as Army Aide for northern Hamgyŏng (Pukto pyŏngma p'yŏngsa 北道兵馬評事, sr 6) between 1666-1667,[15] four decades after Kang Shijue's arrival in Chosŏn, although only very shortly after his 1661 settlement in the Togon region. At some later date Pak Sedang also wrote a biography of Kang Shijue (Kang Sejak chŏn 康世爵傳), which he claimed to have based on his encounter with Kang Shijue during that period (余隨幕留北, 世爵適至).[16] Pak Sedang brought Kang Shijue into contact with other high officials, notably Pak Sedang's brother-in-law Nam Kuman, who was governor (Kwanch'alsa 觀察使, jr 2) of Hamgyŏng Province from 1671 to 1674.[17] Like his brother-in-law, Nam Kuman too wrote a biography of Kang Shijue based upon his encounter with Kang, although Nam Kuman dated his biography explicitly 1688, shortly after Kang Shijue's death.[18] That is to say, the prominence that Kang Shijue did gain within Chosŏn society was not thanks to his autobiographical account, which only became generally known more than a century

14 The subject of late Chosŏn bureaucratic factions is a long and involved one. For a brief treatment in English of some of the key issues, see Jahyun Kim Haboush, "Constructing the Center: the Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea" in *Culture and State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, edited by Jahyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asian Center and Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 46-90.

15 *Sŏgyejip* 西溪集 [henceforward *SGJ*] 1:11b-20b, in *HMC* CXXXIV, pp. 12-17. These poems, and Pak's service in North Hamgyŏng, are discussed in some detail by Chu Yŏnga朱榮兒, "Pak Sedang ŭi pukkwan hwanyugi Pukchŏngnok yŏn'gu 박세당의 北關宦遊記 北征錄 연구", *Tongbanghak* 東方學17 (2009), 35-70. The Army Aide for northern Hamgyŏng was the assistant to the Army Commander for northern Hamgyŏng (北道兵馬節度使 jr 2) who was based in Kyŏngsŏng, and had his equivalent, the Army Commander for southern Hamgyŏng, who was based in Pukch'ŏng.

16 *SGJ* 8:24a-26a, *HMC* CXXXIV, pp. 154-155.

17 A description of the relationship between Pak Sedang and Nam Kuman may be found in the Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe ed., *Han'guk munjip ch'ong'gan haejejip* 韓國文集叢刊 解題集 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 2006-2010), IV, pp. 55-64.

18 *YCJ* 28:27b-31b, *HMC* CXXXII, pp. 474-476: "贊曰。余於辛亥歲。按節北路。巡到會寧。時世爵尙無恙。來謁。與之言". Note that the titles of Pak Sedang and Nam Kuman's biographies are identical except for the fact that the date is listed beside the title in the case of Nam Kuman's biography.

later, but to his good fortune in meeting with two well-connected officials from the capital.

Before embarking on a discussion of these accounts, however, it is vital also to remember how extraordinary it is that a person like Kang Shijue appears in such detail in our records in the first place. Nothing about Kang Shijue, neither his background nor his status and geographic position, made him an obvious object of élite admiration. Rather, he was the type of person the historian normally encounters only in interrogation transcripts. Indeed, very few Ming migrants were treated as exemplars of Ming Loyalism during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, despite the Ming Loyalism of Chosŏn's élites during the same period.[19] During the early seventeenth century, Ming refugees from Liaodong in northern P'yŏngan Province were generally associated with instability and violence, and were thus generally unwelcome.[20] Indeed, much like other starving Liaodongese, Kang Shijue spent 1625-26, after his arrival via Manp'o (滿浦), travelling about so widely that, in the words of his own account, "there was not one of the 42 administrative districts in P'yŏngan Province in which I did not set foot."[21] Such instability continued after his departure from P'yŏngan Province, in the seventh month of 1626, resulting in him spending a year in Hamhŭng, in southern Hamgyŏng Province. From Hamhŭng he moved steadily north, first to Pukch'ŏng, followed, half a year later, by eight years of wandering life between Tanch'ŏn in the south and Kilchu in the north of Hamgyŏng. As the trip between Tanch'ŏn and Kilchu would have involved crossing the notoriously rugged Mach'ŏn Range, Kang Shijue's itinerary suggests a type of profession - trader, slash-and-burn farmer, hunter or brigand - that allowed, and perhaps required, frequent travel, but which clearly would not have endowed him with any distinguished social status.[22]

Image 2: the Hamgyŏng coast from Hamhŭng to Kilchu.

Source: Korea (South), Yukkun Chukchi Pudae, "Northern Korea 1965." From the American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries. Digital ID am 007890. http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/agdm&CISOPTR=703.

Kang's life became more stable in 1636, when he moved to Kyŏngwŏn 慶源 in far northern Hamgyŏng, but this same move brought him into a frontier region stigmatized as backward and immoral by the Chosŏn state. This move presumably allowed him to marry his wife, a servile woman from Kyŏngwŏn described as either a post-station slave or a kisaeng. In 1646 he moved inland to the community of Changp'ung 長豊 which, although near the Orong Creek (五弄川)[23] which flows westward and enters the Tumen River near Kyŏngwŏn, was administered as part of Chongsŏng 鐘城 to the east. Finally, in 1661, Kang Shijue moved upstream from Changp'ung towards Hoeryŏng

19 See Adam Bohnet, "Ruling Ideology and Marginal Subjects: Ming Loyalism and Foreign Lineages in Late Chosŏn Korea", *Journal of Early Modern History* 15. 6 (2011), 477-505, where the supposed descendents of Liaodongese general Li Chengliang, notable exceptions to the general obscurity of Ming refugees and their descendents, are also discussed.

20 Notably, one year before Kang Shijue entered P'yŏngan Province in 1625, it was reported as a matter of serious concern that Liaodongese refugees comprised the majority of the population of northern P'yŏngan Province. "Mingshi Chaoxian liezhuan 明史朝鮮列傳" in *Chung'guk chŏngsa Chosŏn chŏn* 中國正史朝鮮傳, edited by Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Sinsŏwŏn, 2004), pp. 71-72. On problems associated with Liaodongese migrants in general, see Han Myŏnggi 한명기, *Imjin Waeran kwa Han-Chung kwan'gye* 임진왜란과 한중 관계 (Seoul: Yŏksa Pip'yŏngsa 역사비평사, 1999), pp. 280-286.

21 *HS* fr. 23: "其後西路四十二官殆無不踏".

22 See *HS*, fr. 23-24.

23 Currently the Oryong-ch'ŏn 五龍川.

and settled in the region of Togon, an area that had been inhabited, only half a century earlier, primarily by Jurchen who were only partly under the control of the Chosŏn state.[24] The relative stability of his life following his move into this northern region of Hamgyŏng should not obscure the fact that it was, in much the same way as the islands to Chosŏn's south, regarded by Chosŏn's capital élites as a socially and culturally alien borderland (pyŏnji 邊地), far from the civilizing power of the Chosŏn monarchy.[25] In the seventeenth century, the northern Hamgyŏng region, in the typology of modern border studies, was a frontier transitioning into a borderland. Thus, in lieu of a clearly defined border there was simply a line of garrisons, the Yukchin 六鎭, which were located only along the lower Tumen River, leaving largely unpoliced the whole mountainous region west of Puryŏng's Musan 茂山 defence station[26] and upstream from Hoeryŏng's Poŭrha 甫乙下 defence station (image 3),[27] which included the region of Togon in which Kang Shijue settled in 1661. As is frequently the case with frontier and border peoples, the inhabitants were rebellious and hostile to the centre, a feature made worse by the lack of an élite class comparable to the yangban of the southern regions of Chosŏn.[28] Moreover, inhabitants of this frontier region survived partly through illicit cross-border economic activity over the Tumen River (the official dividing line between Chosŏn and Qing territory), where they dug for ginseng or engaged in trade, and maintained a range of social relations with Qing subjects north of the Tumen.[29] Such interaction resulted in conflict between Qing and Chosŏn borderlanders, which in turn caused conflict between the Qing and Chosŏn states, forcing the Chosŏn central government - officially subject to the Qing but privately resentful - to expend considerable energy

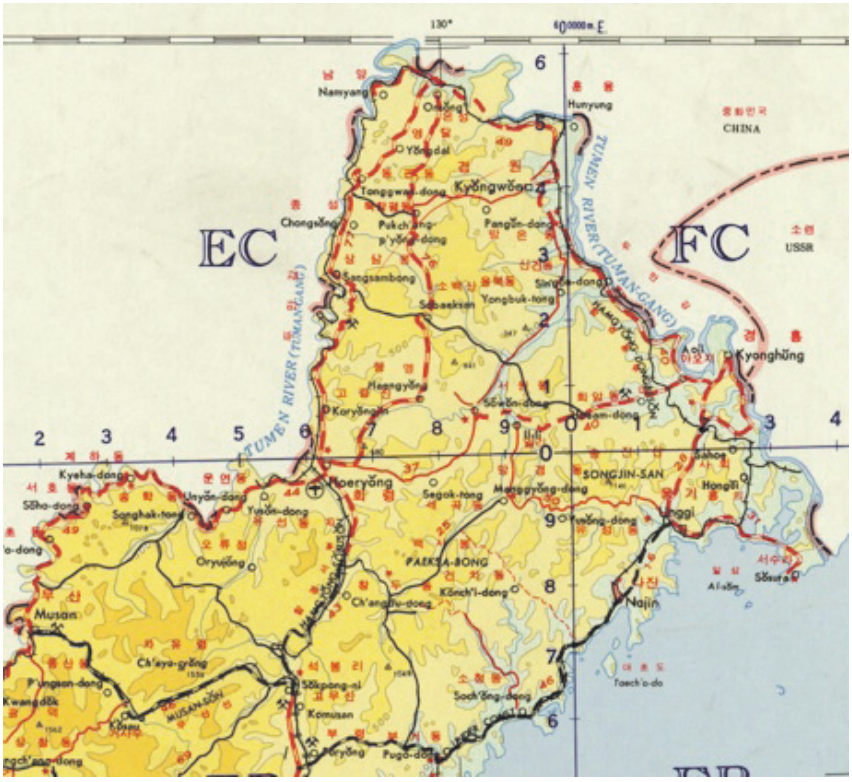

Image 3: North Hamgyŏng. Using the grid available on the map it is possible to plot the locations mentioned in this paper. In the northwest quadrant (EC), Namyang, the location of image 1, is at 5.5 north and 7 east; Kyŏngwŏn is at approximately 4 north and 9 east; Sŏwŏn-dong, near Changp'ung in which Kang Shijue lived for a time, is at 1 north and 9 east. In the southwest quadrant, Songhak-tong, the location of Kang Shijue's final home Togon, is at about 9.5 north and 4.5 east; Yusŏn-dong, the approximate location of Poŭrha fort, is at 9.5 north and 5.5 east; Oryujŏng, the approximate former location of P'ungsan (later P'yebo) is at 8.5 north and 5 east; the Ch'ayu Range (Ch'ayu-ryŏng), the mountainous divide between Musan and Puryŏng, is at 7 north and 4 east; Komusan, the first location of Musan, is at 6 north and 6 east; Musan, at the location where it was moved on the Tumen, is at 7.5 north and 2 east; and Hoeryŏng is at 9.5 north and 6 east.

Source: Korea (South), Yukkun Chukchi Pudae, "Northern Korea 1965." From the American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries. Digital ID am 007890. http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/agdm&CISOPTR=703.

24 Adam Bohnet, "On Either Side the River"; Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, pp. 36-37.

25 Pae U-sŏng, "Chosŏn hugi pyŏnjigwan ŭi pyŏnhwa wa chiyŏngmin inshik 조선후기 邊地觀의 변화와 지역민 인식", *Yŏksa hakpo* 역사학보 160 (1998), 19-45.

26 See Komusan 古茂山 in image 3. The defence station of Musan was established at that location in 1438. The defence station was moved further west in 1509, to an area later called P'yemusan 廢茂山 or "abandoned Musan." P'yemusan, however, was still to the east of the Ch'ayu Range 車踰嶺. See Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, pp. 131-132.

27 Poŭrha is not marked on the map in image 3, but it was located in the general vicinity of present-day Yusŏn-dong 遊仙洞.

28 On the assumed connection between the lack of a yangban class and disorder in northern Hamgyŏng, see the discussion during the reign of Injo of the Kuk Kyŏng-in (鞫景仁) revolt of 1592. *Injo shillok* (仁祖實錄) 14:43b-44a, entry for 1626.11.22 (辛卯), in *Chosŏn wangjo shillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [henceforward CWS] edited by the Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 國史編纂委員會 (Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 1972) XXXIV, p. 150.

29 Seonmin Kim, "Ginseng and border trespassing."

on bringing the region under its control. To paraphrase Baud and Van Schendel's analysis of a number of other borderland regions, northern Hamgyŏng was an area of importance to the Chosŏn court over which state power could be imposed only with significant difficulty.[30]

It was only after Kang Shijue had travelled to the barely controlled frontier of Togon that he first came to the attention of court officials. Six years after Kang Shijue established himself in Togon, he sought an audience with Pak Sedang, who, as Army Aide, was an official dispatched from the capital to administer the northern borderlands.[31] Pak Sedang recorded this encounter both in poetry and in a biography of Kang Shijue which is primarily anecdotal and thus reveals exceptionally well the social networks from which Kang Shijue emerged to encounter Pak Sedang.[32] Pak Sedang refers only very briefly to Kang's early experiences of war and flight – and indeed, what he does describe of Kang Shijue's early history he identifies clearly as hearsay, introducing the biography with the phrase "As the man called Kang Shijue himself says" (康世爵者, 自言). Otherwise, Pak Sedang's text is made up of a series of anecdotes concerning Kang Shijue's life in northern Hamgyŏng, beginning with their initial encounter, in which vitally, we are told that Kang Shijue sought Pak Sedang out himself (余隨幕留北, 世爵適至). We are then given an account of Kang Shijue's love of alcohol, which he drank with local people to deaden his sorrow, and his refusal otherwise to accept gifts; an account of the hospitality he received from local people who were sorry for his status as foreigner without homeland; a statement asserting his skill in assessing people; a description of his successful argument with a local official concerning ill-considered tribute taxes to be provided in wolf tails; and his clever blocking of the nets of rival fishermen by tossing large quantities of leaves into the stream, thus allowing him to catch fish which would otherwise be caught before they reached his net. The description is generally positive, although rival fisherman whose nets were blocked might have disagreed about the last. More importantly, however, these anecdotes reveal a person with extensive networks of hospitality in the social and economic world of Togon, as does the last line in the biography, in which we are told that Kang Shijue had married a Korean woman with whom he had several children.

In this account, Pak Sedang portrays Kang Shijue, despite being a foreigner, as a familiar, educated, and comprehensible voice in the otherwise alien frontier region of Hamgyŏng. The second half of the biography records statements made by Kang Shijue in his conversations with Pak Sedang. Pak Sedang describes how he had initially failed to understand Kang Shijue, perhaps because Kang Shijue was speaking in local dialect. Kang Shijue, however, explained to Pak that, having lived long in Hamgyŏng, he had forgotten his Chinese without also mastering Korean. Yet, although Kang Shijue spoke Korean badly, his subjects of conversation were quite congenial to a visitor from the capital. They included a reflection on Chinese history, in which Kang Shijue asserted that the failure of Ming was foreordained and unpreventable, and that the defeat of the Manchu needed to wait 70 years before it, as a barbarian dynasty, simply collapsed on its own. Kang Shijue also reflected on his own failure to either serve his father or his monarch, despite his youthful intention to do both. Indeed, as Chu Yŏnga points out, Pak Sedang interprets Kang Shijue as having political opinions that accorded closely with his own, describing, for instance, that Kang Shijue did not believe in the probable success of a military strike against the Qing. Kang Shijue, although a Ming Loyalist, was, like Pak Sedang, a notably passive and fatalistic one.[33] Also like Pak Sedang, Kang Shijue was an educated outsider in a wild and uneducated region; in Pak Sedang's poetry, both Kang Shijue and Pak Sedang himself are described as outsiders (客) longing for their homes.[34]

By attracting the attention of Pak Sedang, Kang Shijue

30 Michiel Baud and Willem van Schendel, "Toward a comparative history of borderlands", p. 215.

31 Notably, Pak Sedang does not describe Kang Shijue's residence precisely as Togon, but only says that Kang Shijue, "after wandering north to Kyŏngwŏn and Chongsŏng still continued to wander about without a fixed abode 轉北至慶源, 鍾城。亦屢遷移不定舍". This inconsistency could be evidence of some dishonesty on Kang Shijue's part (either when he met Pak Sedang, or later when he met Nam Kuman), but could also be a reflection of the general lack of concern for precise detail in Pak Sedang's biography.

32 Concerning anecdotal accounts as especially informative concerning social networks, see Jack W. Chen, "Blank Spaces and Secret Histories: Questions of Historiographic Epistemology in Medieval China", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (2010), 1071-1091.

33 See Chu Yŏnga 朱榮兒, "*Sŏgyejip* "Kang Sejak chŏn" ŭl t'onghae pon Sŏgye ŭi hyŏnshil inshik 『西溪集』 「康世爵傳」을 통해 본 西溪의 現實認識", *Tongbanghak* 東方學 12 (2006), 129-153; also see Yun Sesun, "17C Chunggugin p'inanmin Kang Sejak e taehan munhakchŏk hyŏngsŏnghwa wa insik t'aedo – Kang Sejak chŏn kwa Kang Sejak myojimyŏng ŭl chungshim ŭro 17C 중국인 피난민 康世爵에 대한 문학적 형성화와 인식태도 - 강세작전과 강세작묘지명을 중심으로", *Kososŏl yŏn'gu* 고소설 연구 30 (2010), 214-256 (p. 247). Unfortunately, I became aware of Yun Sesun's work only after this paper was accepted for publication. I have nevertheless attempted to assimilate Yun's insights into this paper as much as possible, although it is unlikely that I will have been able to do full justice to Yun's scholarship.

34 Compare his description of himself in "On the road to Musan 茂山路中" as "an outsider whose two eyes are filled with tears, and whose heart aches with longing for home" 爲客泫雙淚, 思鄉折寸心 (*SGJ* 1:16a), with his description of Kang in the "Second poem to Kang Shijue" (*Chaejŭng Kangsaeng* 再贈康生): "Who would have known that the guest from Jiangbei would grow old a Korean. When he is drunk, though the Hamgyŏng flowers wither, he dreams of spring in Huguang fields 誰知江北客, 老作海東人, 醉後塞花落, 夢中淮草春" (*SGJ* 1:19b).

gained a connection with Chosŏn officialdom, ultimately giving him and his descendents a role as intermediaries for the Chosŏn state. Thus, but four years later, Pak Sedang's brother-in-law Nam Kuman, then governor of the entire Hamgyŏng province, also encountered him. Nam Kuman's biography, like Pak Sedang's, makes considerable use of anecdote, yet in Nam Kuman's biography Kang Shijue becomes not just a familiar face but a useful agent of the Chosŏn state in settling the northern region of Hamgyŏng. The bulk of Nam Kuman's biography,[35] which was written after Kang Shijue's death, is a discussion of Kang Shijue's glorious family background and his military career in Liaodong up to his flight to Chosŏn. It more or less corresponds to the description in Kang Shijue's autobiographical account (to which Nam Kuman may, indeed, have had access), although it is somewhat less detailed. For the rest, as with Pak Sedang, Nam Kuman directs considerable concern to Kang Shijue's life after his arrival in Hamgyŏng,[36] focusing not on amusing anecdotes but on the ways in which Kang Shijue was a settling influence in this notoriously unsettled region. Nam Kuman, for instance, provides the class background of Kang Shijue's wife – merely described as a Korean woman by Pak Sedang – as a post-station slave (yŏkpi 驛婢) from Kyŏngwon 慶源. Nam Kuman also tells us that Kang Shijue disrupted an exorcism presided over by the shaman (munyŏ 巫女) whom his wife had brought in to treat their son for smallpox; when their son recovered anyway, Nam Kuman informs us, local people became much less prone to such superstition. As the northern area of Hamgyŏng was commonly stigmatized by Confucian élites as un-Confucian, prone to shamanism and with women who, it was imagined, preferred prostitution to proper marriage,[37] Kang Shijue's supposed taming of his vulgar wife's superstitions and the superstitions of local people struck at once at three matters of élite concern. In contrast to Pak Sedang's account, where Kang Shijue was clearly a sympathetic educated voice in a region with few such voices, Nam Kuman treats Kang Shijue, specifically, as a settling influence, assuming some of the role played by the yangban in the central provinces.

Here it is important to note that Nam Kuman was not only a governor of Hamgyŏng Province but a bureaucrat with an active interest in, and controversial opinions concerning, the northern border. For instance, he took a strong stand against those who argued that the northern borderlands of Chosŏn should be kept empty to guard against the panicked retreat of the Qing (it being assumed that the Qing would soon fall at the hands of Chinese rebels) into Chosŏn territory. Not only did Nam Kuman consider it unlikely that the Qing would retreat through unknown Chosŏn territory rather than areas already under its control, but he also considered the resettlement of Chosŏn's northern borderlands vital for establishing Chosŏn's otherwise potentially weak claims to the mountainous region south of the upper Yalu and upper Tumen rivers,[38] which had been left largely empty after Nurhaci forcibly removed Chosŏn's Jurchen allies. Nam Kuman's influence was felt in 1674 when the defence station of Musan 茂山 was moved from east of the Ch'ayu Range in Puryŏng to the old Jurchen town of Maŭrul shibae 仇乙亏施培 on the Tumen River. At the same time, the defence station of P'ungsan was moved from the mountains in the southern part of Hoeryŏng[39] to New P'ungsan (Shinp'ungsan 新豊山), downstream from Musan on the Tumen River in the old Jurchen territories of Ishi 利施 and Togon, the very region where Kang Shijue had settled.[40] Later officials built on Nam Kuman's efforts to create, in 1684, a separate administrative region of Musan out of both the territory of Puryŏng 富寧 north of the Ch'ayu Range and the newly established Shinp'ungsan in Hoeryŏng. It was substantially through Nam Kuman's interest in the region, in other words, that the barely-controlled frontier of Togon was brought within the purview of Chosŏn's central administration.[41]

Nam Kuman's concern to both strengthen and repopulate Chosŏn's northern border is visible in his biography.

35 53 lines in total, from *YCJ* 28:27b, line 7 to 30a, line 10.

36 *YCJ* 28: 30a, line 10 to 31b, line 10.

37 See Yu Kye 兪棨 (1607-1664)'s essay "Border Prostitutes 邊娼" among his six miscellaneous writings (雜著) from his time in northern Hamgyŏng in 1651. *Shinam sŏnsaeng munjip* (市南先生文集) 14: 1a-12a, *HMC* CXVII, pp. 214-219.

38 Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, pp. 26-40.

39 This defence station, referred to in Late Chosŏn gazetteers and maps as P'yebo 廢堡 or "Abandoned Defence Station," was located on the Poŭrha Creek, near Oryujŏng 五柳亭. See the map in image 3.

40 See the entry for "Musan" in the seventeenth century gazetteer of northern Hamgyŏng, *Pukkwanji* 北關誌. See Yi T'aejin, ed., *Chosŏn shidae sach'an ŭpchi* 朝鮮時代 私撰 邑誌 (Seoul: Han'guk inmun kwahakwŏn, 1989) XLIV. Page 391 includes a discussion of the bureaucratic process involved in the moving and administrative restructuring of Musan. Page 392 includes a discussion of the establishment of P'ungsan on the Tumen. Pages 395-401 quote at length court discussions of the history and geography of the region, including the Jurchen place-names, at the time of the move. Because the area had very little history as part of Korea, but a considerable history as a Jurchen stronghold, the entry for Musan thus contrasts with all other northern Hamgyŏng administrative units discussed in this text in that its discussion of the history of the region begins with the late seventeenth century, except in so far as late seventeenth century officials referred also to earlier periods.

41 Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, pp. 131-133.

Notably, because Liaodongese refugees who fled to Korea between 1619 and 1636 were widely suspected of criminal behaviour, and even pro-Manchu tendencies,[42] Nam Kuman is especially concerned in his biography to differentiate Kang Shijue from other Liaodongese, and to clear Kang Shijue of any implication of dual loyalties. For instance, Nam Kuman states:

Image 4: Togon and Vicinity.

Source: Korea (South), Yukkun Chukchi Pudae, "Northern Korea 1965." From the American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries. http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/agdm&CISOPTR=703.

> *I have seen that, of those Chinese* (中國人) *who have come to Korea, many are haughty and greedy and beg shamelessly. Only Shijue did not engage in vain boasting, only he did not take that which was not his due. He did not speak duplicitously or engage in suspicious activities. His reputation spread throughout the village, and he taught his good habits to his sons. That is why he is worth writing about.*[43]

Indeed, Nam Kuman praises Kang Shijue for engaging in all the typical activities of Chinese migrants in Chosŏn (fortune telling, medicine and soldiering) but doing so without any financial cupidity.[44] In fact, Nam Kuman tells us that Kang Shijue even contributed his agricultural surplus to his impoverished neighbours. Moreover, Nam Kuman endeavours to make clear that Kang Shijue, despite living in a border community, was completely without connections to the Qing. Thus, Nam Kuman describes Kang Shijue as refusing to engage in trade with the Qing, claiming that he would not "allow one hair of (Qing products) to come near his body or enter his household" (未嘗一毫近諸身畜諸家), although they are "widely distributed among the people," because "it was painful for him to share the same sky with the Qing" (而世爵自以戴天爲痛). He further emphasises Kang Shijue's self-distancing from the Qing by claiming that Kang Shijue, eager to eliminate any suspicions of him as a "river-crosser" (或以越江疑我), thatched his house exclusively with straw and made no use whatsoever of reeds, despite the fact that he lived close to the Tumen River.[45] This last statement, especially, may be read as an attempt by Nam Kuman (or Kang Shijue via Nam Kuman) both to distance Kang Shijue from his background as a Liaodongese refugee who crossed the Yalu and to distinguish him from other people in the region who both traded with the Qing and gathered resources – reeds, ginseng, and furs – from Qing territory.

Both Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's claim that Kang Shijue's reason for departing from P'yŏngan to Hamgyŏng Province in 1626 had been his worry about living in such close proximity to the Qing, with Nam Kuman especially making reference to Qing envoys.[46] Yet, for the most part, Kang Shijue's movements cannot be well explained by fear of the Qing. If he were unusually aware of international affairs, his initial departure from P'yŏngan Province to Hamhŭng in southern Hamgyŏng Province in the seventh month of 1626 could be seen as driven by fear of the Manchu, who invaded six months later during the first

42 Adam Bohnet, "Migrant and Border Subjects in Late Chosŏn Korea" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2008), pp. 92-109, URL: http://hdl.handle.net/1807/16743; Han Myŏnggi, *Imjin Waeran*, pp. 280-286.

43 *YCJ* 28:31b: "余見中國人來東者, 類多浮誕好利, 求丐人不厭. 世爵獨能不虛誇不妄取, 無二言無疑行, 信孚於鄉里, 敎行於諸子, 此皆可書者也".

44 *YCJ* 28:30b: "蓋略解占相推命。而未嘗鬻技。拳勇絶人。未嘗鬪競".

45 *YCJ* 28:30b: "所居乃淸人開市地.貨物偪民間.而世爵自以戴天爲痛.未嘗一毫近諸身畜諸家.家居江水之瀕.苫蓋悉以藁.未嘗以草 曰人或以越江疑我.何以自解也.北來官吏聞其名.多招延之.能知其賢否高下. 不可意者.雖請未嘗往也". Note that Yun Sesun, "17C Chunggugin p'inanmin Kang Sejak", pp. 232-233, interprets this passage somewhat differently.

46 Pak Sedang, *SGJ* 8:24a-26a: "遊關西諸郡懸數月, 以近虜懼難去之, 踰嶺客咸興端川間八九年"; Nam Kuman, *YCJ* 28:30a: "又念逃生他國。不可久處於淸國差人往來之地", Nam Kuman is anachronistic here in his reference to Qing envoys, as the Qing Dynasty had not yet been declared and Manchu envoys were not yet a presence in P'yŏngan Province between 1625-26.

Chŏngmyo invasion. But his choice to travel to Kyŏngwŏn, immediately on the Qing border, in 1636, on the eve of the Qing invasion, and his decision to stay in that region until 1646, hardly suggests that fear of the Qing was a major motivating force. Indeed, in the case of his final move, it is not at all likely that Kang Shijue, speaking Chinese and with a knowledge of Liaodong which would make border-crossing profitable, relocated to the river bank in an area at the edge of Chosŏn's effective administration and near a border market with the Qing merely for the pleasure of righteously refusing to purchase Qing products or to collect reeds from the Tumen River. Just as Kang Shijue's original movements in P'yŏngan hardly distinguished him from other Liaodongese refugees, so his settlement on the Tumen River in Togon[47] suggests a lifestyle in no way distinguished from his Korean neighbours, who in northern Hamgyŏng depended on border-crossing for much of their own well-being. Indeed, Kang Shijue was not obviously different from the many subjects of the Chosŏn and Qing who dwelt illegally on the wrong side of the Tumen River, and who were thus subject to forced repatriation and punishment.

However improbable Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's claims concerning Kang Shijue may have been, their biographies played a significant role in the transformation of Kang Shijue's lineage from a lowly one to a prominent one. Kang Shijue, by successfully encouraging Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang to tell a version of his life story to the rest of the world which painted him as a Ming Loyalist, not only successfully removed himself from the category of "border-crossers" exposed to the disciplinary action of both the Qing and Chosŏn states, he even managed to move his descendents into the category of local élites. Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies were widely reproduced, initially within their *Soron* 少論 sub-faction of the Sŏin which formed during the early 1680s.[48] Notably, in 1700 one of Nam Kuman's students, Ch'oe Ch'angdae 崔昌大 (1669-1720), blended and edited Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies to compose Kang Shijue's grave inscription.[49] However, the biographies did not remain within Nam Kuman's circle, but passed into officialdom in general, where Nam Kuman's claim that Kang Shijue paid elaborate respect to the recently formed northern border of Hamgyŏng established Kang Shijue's identity as a Ming Loyalist and as a secure defender of the territorial concerns of the Chosŏn state. Indeed, these biographies were part of a general process by which a resident of Chosŏn's northern borderlands was established as a reliable servant of the court. This may be seen in the response of Yi Tong'uk 李東郁, the magistrate of Chongsŏng 鐘城, to Nam Kuman's biography, in which Yi Tong'uk claims to have discussed the military defences of the region with Kang Shijue.[50] More concretely, in 1680 the *Daily record of the Royal Secretariat* (Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi 承政院日記) records that, after Kang Shijue's encounters with Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang, but before Nam Kuman's biography, Kang Shijue was called to interpret for an anti-Qing border-crosser who spoke no Manchu and thus could not communicate with the Manchu-language interpreters posted to northern Hamgyŏng;[51] the "river-crosser" in other words, was brought in to discipline and control other river-crossers. Moreover, in 1700, an official, referring directly to Kang Shijue's glorious military ancestors and his refusal, as described by Nam Kuman, to touch Qing products, called for the provision of Kang Shijue's sons with ninth-ranked positions (一命之官).[52] Similarly, in 1727, Kwŏn Ikkwan 權益寬 (1676-1730) in a general discussion of security issues in northern Hamgyŏng, mentioned the same hostility to the Qing, explicitly referring to Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's authority (故相臣南九萬・故判書臣朴世堂文集中, 皆立傳以紀其實). Kwŏn used these facts as a justification for providing Kang Shijue's descendents with a pension and accelerated enrolment in the Royal Cavalry Guard (ch'in'giwi 親騎衛),[53] an élite military corps organized in northern Hamgyŏng partly under the initial encouragement of

47 At the risk of perpetrating a folk etymology, I note that the original name for the region of Kang Shijue's residence, Togon 都昆, bears a striking resemblance to the Manchu word *dogon*, which means ford or ferry-point. In any case, subsistence on a riverbank generally requires a certain amount of river-crossing, for transportation, fishing, or, in this case, gathering reeds.

48 For the Noron-Soron split within the Sŏin, see Yi Hŭihwan 李熙煥, *Chosŏn hugi tangjaeng yŏn'gu* 朝鮮後期黨爭硏究 (Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn 國學資料院, 1995).

49 *Kollyunjip* 崑崙集 17:7a-12a, *HMC* CLXXXIII, pp. 310-312. Yun Sesun ("17C Chunggugin p'inanmin", p. 235-241) points out that Ch'oe Ch'angdae's tomb inscription also adds considerable hagiographic detail to Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies. Yun suggests as an additional interesting feature the fact that Ch'oe Ch'angdae was good friends with Hong Set'ae 洪世泰 (1653-1725), the author of the "Tale of Kim Yŏngch'ŏl" (Kim Yŏngch'ŏl chŏn 金英哲傳), a work of literature which depicts the life of a P'yŏngan man who was similarly forced into multiple changes of national identity on account of the wars of the Ming-Qing transition. It might indeed be rewarding to compare Kang Shijue with such fictional representations of war and displacement as the "Tale of Kim Yŏngch'ŏl" and the "Tale of Ch'oe Ch'ŏk" (Ch'oe Ch'ŏk chŏn 崔陟傳).

50 "Response to the biography of Kang Shijue written by Yi Tong'uk 李東郁 撰 康世爵傳 後敍, *HS* fr. 32; it is also quoted in *TKS*, pp. 53-54.

51 *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 [henceforward *SJW*] 275 (1680/03.08). I am consulting the online version provided by the Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe at http://sjw.history.go.kr.

52 *Sukchong shillok* 肅宗實錄 34: 10 a-b, entry for 1700.09.28(丁巳), *CWS* XXXIX, p. 577.

53 *SJW* 649, entry for 1727.11.13.

Nam Kuman himself.[54] Perhaps for that reason, in 1730 two of Kang Shijue's grandchildren were described as having been employed as outpost officers (kwŏn'gwan 權管).[55] Thus the early biographies of Kang Shijue gained political meaning by defining him and his sons as worthy of the concern of the state. The very fact that important officials chose to place their stamp of approval on Kang Shijue by writing biographies that emphasised his loyalty had a vital effect on the social status of both Kang Shijue and his descendents.

Of greater consequence was the manumission of Kang Shijue's descendents, who, on account of their low-born mother were themselves prone to inherit lowly status. The first reference to Kang Shijue in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Chosŏn wangjo shillok 朝鮮王朝實錄) is sometime after his death, and records the manumission of his children. *The Veritable Records* describe Kang Shijue as having "had a relationship" - not a marriage as in Nam Kuman's account - with a low-born woman, who is not called a post-station slave but a *kisaeng* (female entertainer) of Kyŏngwŏn (通慶原府妓). Conventions by which the children of yangban and their low-born concubines were treated as commoners[56] did not apply immediately in Kang Shijue's case, evidently because his social status did not make him yangban; it took a special act of the Chosŏn court to grant his descendents commoner status:

> *[The King] ordered that Imperial Ming subject Kang Shijue's children be manumitted. Shijue was a man of the Central Kingdom (中朝). He wandered into the northern regions of our country, and had a relationship with a kisaeng of Kyŏngwŏn, giving birth to many children. The governor of that province requested that [his children] be manumitted*.[57]

Knowledge of Kang Shijue, recorded by Pak Sedang and Nam Kuman, had established a narrative asserting Kang Shijue's status as a reliable interlocutor. Indeed, Nam Kuman's biography was published the same year as the manumission of Kang Shijue's descendents and seems to be related, in some fashion to the act of manumission itself. Notably, Nam Kuman, in the commentary at the end of his biography, provides as reason for the manumission the fact that the officials of that province were concerned about the implications of associating a descendent of Ming "men of the cap and the gown" (衣冠之裔) with a "lowly household (賤籍)."[58] The belief that Kang Shijue was of an élite Ming "cap and gown" household was one that Nam Kuman himself established when he described Kang Shijue as having a distinguished family tree, with his father, grandfather and great-grandfather all dying in battle in the Ming cause, and a father who served as a magistrate. As it happens these distinctions and honours cannot be confirmed in any other source,[59] and are thus probably spurious. The early biographies, in other words, by establishing Kang Shijue as a Chinese élite and as a war hero, played a vital role in allowing for the manumission of his children and their elevation into the ranks of military yangban and local élites.

The early biographies of Kang Shijue approached him from the perspective of the particular concerns that capital bureaucrats had for the unsettled borderlands of Hamgyŏng. Pak Sedang, as an army aide dispatched to northern Hamgyŏng, initially encountered Kang Shijue within the particular networks of that region. Pak Sedang's interaction with Kang Shijue not only involved the representation of Kang Shijue through the eyes of the centre; it also was a key mechanism in Kang Shijue's transformation into an agent of the centre. Kang Shijue is represented as a convenient interlocutor in Pak Sedang's account, and as a settling force in Nam Kuman's. Kang Shijue himself was transformed from a member of a stigmatized group in a stigmatized region into a person who could be consulted on military matters and who could be employed as an interpreter. This entailed improvement in the status of Kang Shijue and his descendents, and the establishment of his lineage as potential agents of state control, a process which was both reflected in and driven by the biographies.

54 Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, p. 182.

55 *SJW* 701, entry for 1730.02.02.

56 James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), pp. 222-226.

57 *Sukchong shillok* 19: 8a, entry for 1688.03.08 (辛巳), *CWS* xxxix, p. 124: "命贖皇明人康世爵子女, 世爵, 中朝人也. 流落於我國北地, 通慶源府妓, 多生子女, 道臣狀請許贖".

58 *YCJ 28:30b*, "世爵以驛婢爲妻生二子. 道臣以上國衣冠之裔, 淪賤籍爲可傷, 上聞朝廷.許贖從良".

59 Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan lishiyanjiusuo Qingshi yanjiushi, (ed.), "Chaoxianzu Tongzhou Kangshi shipu zhong de Ming-Man guanxi shiliao", p. 179, note 1.

BORDER SUBJECTS AND THE MING LOYALIST TRADITION

The first formal biographies of Kang Shijue by Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang became the primary source, alongside, eventually, Kang Shijue's autobiographical account, for a large family of biographies included in other texts. Just as Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies established Kang Shijue's descendents, the T'ongju Kang (T'ongju Kang-ssi 通州康氏), as local élites in northern Hamgyŏng and intermediaries on behalf of the state, so also they became the authoritative voices confirming Kang Shijue's status as Ming Loyalist. However, by the eighteenth century the social context of the T'ongju Kang had changed, as had the textual context in which the biographies were presented. Kang Shijue may have been an exception to the general run of Liaodongese refugees and Hamgyŏng residents in the eyes of Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang, but during the eighteenth century he and his descendents became typical members of the court-sponsored category of "imperial subject" (hwangjoin 皇朝人) with a particular, and desirable ritual status. At the same time, northern Hamgyŏng became clearly distinguished from Qing Manchuria with the clarification of the Chosŏn-Qing border and was increasingly settled and integrated with the Chosŏn state. This was reflected in the anthologizing of biographies of Kang Shijue in collections linking him to other members of the imperial subject category, and also in the alterations to Kang Shijue's life-story which occurred in later compilations. Indeed, through these biographical re-workings of Kang Shijue's life, Kang Shijue gained a new name implying his refusal to abandon his loyalties to the Ming: "the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke" (Ch'ogwandanggong). This was an identity that the T'ongju Kang actively claimed for themselves – as was apparent in the title which they gave to Kang's supposed autobiographical account, and in the selection of texts which they included in the *T'ongju Kang genealogy*. Careful management of the biographies of their ancestors raised the status of the T'ongju Kang into a prominent borderland lineage, but it could not eliminate the fact that, ultimately, they were *merely* a borderland lineage, descendents of a soldier from Liaodong of uncertain origin who wandered into the country and married a kisaeng – and that this reality was equally well documented. The transformation from Kang Sejak to the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke, thus, could not be completed, and they continued to be subordinated to the prominent lineages of the capital by the very texts which elevated them to prominence.

Important ideological changes occurred during the eighteenth century which transformed the status of Kang's descendents. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chosŏn élites, although formally submissive to the Qing Empire, privately rejected the legitimacy of the Qing in favour of the Ming Empire which the Qing had defeated. Beginning in 1704, the Chosŏn court instituted rituals within the palace grounds which established the Chosŏn court as the last legitimate heir of the Ming Dynasty and indeed of the Confucian tradition itself.[60] This shift had significant implications for the descendents of Ming refugees, including the T'ongju Kang. Whereas formerly the descendents of Ming migrants had not possessed a particularly distinguished social status and had been classified with Jurchen and Japanese descendents as submitting-foreigners (hyanghwain 向化人), during the reign of Yŏngjo (英祖, r. 1724-1776) they were reclassified as imperial subjects (hwangjoin 皇朝人), a status that specifically referred to their unbroken loyalty to the fallen Ming dynasty. This new classification brought with it ritual participation in court-sponsored Ming loyalist rituals in the Taebodan 大報壇 shrine in the palace and participation in the military bureaucracy.[61] In the case of the T'ongju Kang, in 1730 Yŏngjo specifically enquired about the location and status of Kang Shijue's grandchildren in the context of a general search for Ming migrants as a class. While the other Ming migrants being sought (Han Dengke 韓登科, Liu Taishan 劉太山 and Jin Changsheng 金長生) seem to have vanished without a trace, the T'ongju Kang, because of their relative prominence, could be traced with accuracy to residences both within the capital and in northern Hamgyŏng, where some served as outpost officers (kwŏn'gwan 權官 jr 9).[62] In 1788, as the participation of Ming migrants in Ming Loyalist ritual became more routine, one of the T'ongju Kang was invited along with a number of other

60 Chŏng Okcha 정옥자, *Chosŏn hugi Chosŏn chunghwa sasang yŏn'gu* 조선후기 조선중화사상연구 (Seoul: Ilchisa 일지사, 1998); Jahyun Kim Haboush, "Contesting Chinese Time, Nationalizing Temporal Space: Temporal Inscription in Late Chosŏn Korea", in *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asia from Ming to Qing*, edited by Lynn A. Struve (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 115–41; Jahyun Kim Haboush, "Constructing the Center: the Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity"; and Hŏ T'aeyong, *Chosŏn hugi chunghwaron kwa yŏksa inshik* 조선후기 중화론과 역사인식 (Seoul: Ak'anet, 2009).

61 Adam Bohnet, "Migrant and Border Subjects", pp. 154-226.

62 *SJW* 701, entry for 1730.02.02.

descendents of Ming migrants to participate in rituals in the Taebodan shrine, although, not surprisingly considering his location in remote Hamgyŏng, he arrived too late to participate in the ceremony itself.[63] Their new ritual imperial subject status itself resulted in improvements in social status, such that in 1773, Yŏngjo, after engaging in rituals to the Ming in the Taebodan shrine and meeting with the descendents of Ming remnant subjects and Korean martyrs of the struggle against the Qing, called for Kang Shijue's descendent, Kang Sangyo 康相堯, to be provided a position as an officer with responsibilities for the border (pyŏnjang 邊將), and another descendent, Kang Chipkyu 康執圭 to be given a position ranked Senior 3 (正三) or higher.[64] Furthermore, a passage in 1781 mentions that a member of that lineage had received a hereditary position as Sixth Rank Military Official (sagwa 司果).[65] The T'ongju Kang, in other words, had experienced a significant improvement in status well above their lowly ancestor's status, and even above the status of outpost officer (jr 9). Certainly their status had risen considerably above mere membership of the Royal Cavalry Guard, since by the late eighteenth century that division had lost much of its prestige on account of its inclusion of people from low-born backgrounds.[66]

Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies continued to have a role within this new context for the T'ongju Kang: the biographies were reproduced and revised in numerous new versions, distribution of which now passed considerably beyond the confines of the Soron faction. Thus Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737-1805), of the Noron 老論, adapted Nam Kuman's version, [67] Yi Kŭng'ik 李肯翊 (1736-1806), the famous Soron historian, revised Ch'oe Ch'angdae's version,[68] while Kim Monghwa 金夢華 (1723-1792), a Namin 南人 (Southerner) from Kyŏngsang Province, revised Nam Kuman's version evidently with some reference to Kang Shijue's autobiography. [69] Thus the continued use of these biographies entailed considerable revision of the textual content, which coincided with the changing social status of the T'ongju Kang lineage. In particular, the inclusion of Kang's biography within anthologies of Ming migrant biographies was the textual incarnation of the new status of imperial subject into which Kang Shijue's descendents had been assimilated. In 1818, Hwang Kich'ŏn 黃基天 (1760-1821) referred in his afterword to a collection of biographies of the ancestors of imperial subject lineages specifically to the wealth of the early biographical writings concerning Kang as a standard to be emulated by other imperial subject lineages.[70] Indeed, Kang's early biographies, originally written in the very specific context of Togon in northern Hamgyŏng Province, now enjoyed prominence within the anthologies of Ming migrant lineages as a group. Kang's biography was the first biography of a Ming migrant included in the *Traces of the acts of imperial subjects*, as well as in the court-sponsored Ming Loyalist history of Chosŏn, the *Collected texts on honouring the Zhou* (Chonju hwip'yŏn 尊周彙編).[71] His biography was also included in an unofficial Ming Loyalist history *The Unofficial history of the lesser China* (Sohwa oesa 小華外史).[72] The act of anthologizing, as Thomas Wilson has pointed out for late imperial China, is a creative act, defining the boundaries of the acceptable tradition, asserting correct intellectual genealogies, and arranging heterogeneous traditions hierarchically.[73] Indeed, in the *Collected texts on honour-*

63 *Chŏngjo shillok* 正祖實錄25:4a, entry for 1788.01.12 (乙亥), *CWS* XLV, p. 683.

64 *Yŏngjo shillok* 英祖實錄 120:21a, entry for 1773.03.19 (戊申), *CWS* vol. XLIV, p. 449.

65 *Chŏngjo shillok* 11:79a, entry for 1781.yun5.12 (甲寅), *CWS* XLV, p. 241: "敎曰: "康世爵子孫, 旣付司果. 先朝有姜孝元子枝世付五營將官, 或將校之受敎, 而今則長孫姜世重, 旣經正職, 依康氏子孫例, 永付司果, 此後各營門錄用".

66 Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, pp. 202-212.

67 "Togangnok 渡江錄" 06.26 in *Yŏrha ilgi* 熱河日記, *Yŏnamjip* 燕巖集 11:67 (Seoul: Kyŏngin munhwasa 景仁文化社, 1973), p. 144. There have been two comparisons of Pak Chiwŏn's biography with the early biographies of Kang Shijue, including a comparison with Nam Kuman's biographies by Chŏng Illam 정일남, "*Yŏrha ilgi* 'Togangnok' ŭi Kang Sejak saphwa wa *Yakch'ŏnjip* ŭi 'Kang Sejak chŏn' ŭi pigyo 『熱河日記』 「渡江錄」의 康世爵 삽화와 『藥泉集』의 「康世爵傳」의 비교", *Hanmun hakpo* 漢文學報12 (2005), 275–291, and a comparison with Pak Sedang's biographies by Chu Yŏng-a, "Kang Sejak chŏnŭl t'onghae pon Sŏgye ŭi hyŏnshil inshik".

68 *Kugyŏk Yŏllyŏshil kisul* 國譯燃藜室記述, second edition (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe 민족문화추진회, 1976) XI, pp. 409-411.

69 Kim Chunwŏn comp., *Ch'irammunjip pyŏngburok* 七巖文集 幷附錄: kon 坤 : 60a-63b. National Library of Korea # Han kojo 46-ga 258 (한古朝46-가258). The text is currently available on-line via the National Library of Korea. www.nl.go.kr. This biography is discussed by Yun Sesun, "17C Chunggugin p'inanmin", pp. 242-245.

70 Wang Tŏkku 王德九, *Hwangjo yumin rok* 皇朝遺民錄, National Library of Korea # ko 2520-20, fr.21: "嗟夫, 皇朝遺民之遯於左海者, 或有後人所聞知者, 或有後人所未聞知者, 而其事則二十三代史所無也. 豈不奇哉. 留守及諸庠生實跡賴此錄, 可以永不泯晦, 然余嘗聞我邦北邊有 荊楚 康世爵間關逃難來居老死. 先輩多作傳. 又有胡文定子孫來居北關, 如此者, 想指不勝屈而荒佚無聞, 甚可恨也. 如得其時東來人姓名無一遺漏, 彙成一卷. 傳之永世, 則當爲文獻".

71 *Chonju hwip'yŏn* (Seoul: Yŏgang Ch'ulp'ansa 驪江出版社, 1985) II, pp. 755-758

72 O Kyŏngwŏn 吳慶元, *Sohwa oesa: wŏnmun hwayŏk taejo* 小華外史: 原文和譯對照, edited by Chŏsen Kenkyūkai 朝鮮研究會 (Keijō京城: Chŏsen Kenkyūkai, 1914) II, pp. 275-278. *Sohwa*, which I here translate as "lesser China" is a word for Korea used within the Ming Loyalist tradition. I would prefer not to translate *Sohwa* as the "lesser China" as the modern national concept of China is most certainly not implied. Unfortunately, there is no obvious alternative.

73 Thomas Wilson, *Genealogy of the Way: the Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

ing the Zhou, a biography of Kang Shijue based largely on the merging of Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's versions, was placed at the beginning of Ming migrant biographies in general, but Ming migrant biographies themselves were a relatively small portion of a long series of biographies of prominent Korean Ming Loyalists. A Kyujanggak scholar involved with the editing of the *Collected texts*, Yi Tŏngmu 李德懋 (1741-1793), republished those biographies of Ming migrants including Kang's in a collection entitled *Noble purpose* (Oeroe nangnak 磊磊落落**).**[74] This collection, however, placed Ming migrants in the category of loyal Ming subjects who either remained in China or fled to Southeast Asia. Kang was thus brought discursively not only into the category of Ming migrants to Chosŏn, but into a broader Ming Loyalist tradition in both Chosŏn and China.

The new social context in which the T'ongju Kang were now placed required more aggressive intervention than that provided by appropriate anthologizing. Both Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang's biographies had been situated in a context in which Liaodongese were considered dangerous refugees, and northern Hamgyŏng a marginal and alien region. New terminology was therefore required to describe Kang Shijue in a context in which his lineage was blessed with court-sponsored ritual status and hereditary positions in the bureaucracy. Hwang Kyŏngwŏn 黃景源 (1709-1787), a Ming Loyalist historian, provided an extensive rewriting of Kang's life in a text called the "Record of Chu-Hat Hall" (Ch'ogwandang-gi 楚冠堂記).[75] Hwang's brief account begins with the statement that Kang's house was called Chu-Hat Hall on account of Kang's Chu 楚 (or Huguang) hat, which he wore despite being very far indeed from Huguang.[76] After a very brief summary of Nam Kuman's account of Kang's struggles in Liaodong, Hwang compares Kang to the Ming princes who had taken refuge in Siam only to accept the tattoos of the Siamese, and to the last emperor of the Southern Ming, who had taken refuge in Burma only to lose his life. By contrast, Kang, by fleeing to Chosŏn, a state with an ancient relationship to China, was able to maintain his Chu hat, so that after his death the local people, who pitied him, named his house Chu-Hat Hall.

Hwang, like Yi Tŏngmu, brings Kang into a broader context of Ming Loyalist historiography. In addition to his references to Southern Ming history, Hwang introduces a number of revealing inaccuracies which place Kang far more firmly in the tradition of late Chosŏn Ming Loyalism. For instance, he describes Kang as entering Chosŏn via the main gate for tribute missions of Ŭiju 義州 rather than his actual entrance point of Manp'o. The Chu hat is also a significant innovation. Despite Hwang's use of Kang to prove the possibility of maintaining Chinese customs upon arrival in Chosŏn, this was hardly reflected in sources describing the original migrants as "changing their clothes" (變着我國衣服) as a subterfuge to help them enter Chosŏn.[77] Indeed, neither the Chu hat nor the Chu-Hat Hall appears in any earlier account, and would seem to be an invention of Hwang himself.

Despite the presumably spurious nature of the Chu hat and the Chu-Hat Hall, it became part of the official tradition and indeed the tradition of the T'ongju Kang lineage itself. We are told that Kang's house was called the Chu-Hat Hall (扁室曰楚冠堂) in the court-sponsored *Collected texts on honouring the Zhou*, as well as in the *Unofficial history of the lesser China*. Kang himself is named "the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke" (Ch'ogwandang-gong 楚冠堂公) by Hong Chikp'il 洪直弼 **(**1776-1852), in an account largely following Nam Kuman's biography although including an addendum describing the ritual participation and bureaucratic positions of Kang Shijue's descendents.[78] Hwang's story of the Chu-Hat Hall had become accepted in texts official and unofficial, corresponding as it did with the T'ongju Kang's new court-sponsored status as Ming Loyalists.

Even as Kang became, in the writings of Hwang and Hong, the essentialized image of the loyal Ming subject and proof of Chosŏn being the final guardian and preserver of the Ming tradition, key aspects of Kang's life as recorded in the early biographies became unacceptably embarrassing. Most noticeable in this respect was Kang's marriage to a slave. This subject was mentioned clearly in Nam Kuman's biography as was the manumission of Kang's descendents by royal command. Vital though these early biographies were to the elevation of the status

74 *Ch'ŏngjang'gwan chŏnsŏ* 靑莊館全書 47, *HMC* CCLVIII, p. 346. Sŏng Haeŭng 成海應 (1760-1839) published a largely identical text called the *Biographies of remnant subjects of the Imperial Ming* (*Hwangmyŏng yumin chŏn* 皇明遺民傳), *Yŏn'gyŏngjae chŏnsŏ* 硏經齋全書 43, *HMC* CCLXXIV, pp. 430–431.

75 Hwang Kyŏngwŏn, *Kanghanjip* 江漢集 10: 21a-22a, *HMC* CCXXIV, pp. 205-206

76 "楚冠堂者。會寧府康氏之堂也。會寧當豆江之口。去荊門可萬餘里。而康氏猶冠楚冠。豈其心眷眷於楚邪。盖康氏世家荊門".

77 Adam Bohnet, "Migrant and Border Subjects", pp. 109-137.

78 Hong Chikp'il, *Maesanjip* 梅山集 34:35b-37b, *HMC* CCXCVI, pp. 178-179.

of the T'ongju Kang to relative prominence, and indeed in their very manumission, lowly ancestry no longer fit the image of Kang presented in Ming Loyalist historiography. To be sure, the *Traces of the acts of imperial subjects* quotes the original text of the act of manumission, as recorded in the *Additional chapters to the precious mirror of succeeding reigns* (Kukcho pogam pyŏlp'yŏn 國朝寶鑑別便).[79] However, in Ming Loyalist anthologies of Ming migrant biographies, such as the *Collected texts on honouring the Zhou* or the *Unofficial history of the lesser China*, Kang as Ming Loyalist could not be reconciled with Kang cohabitating with a slave, and so reference to this vital event was eliminated.

Of course, if Chosŏn's court and élites had a vested interest in asserting a Ming Loyalist identity for Kang, so much more did the T'ongju Kang. The T'ongju Kang continued to participate actively in the settlement of northern Hamgyŏng at the same time as they raised their own social status by forming themselves into a descent-group similar to those of the yangban in central and southern Korea. Of course, during the eighteenth century northern Hamgyŏng ceased to be the barely controlled frontier that it had been during the seventeenth century. In 1712, the establishment of a clear border between Chosŏn Korea and Qing Manchuria resulted in much expanded settlement, which in turn led to the development of deeper economic and social links with the capital. Indeed, during the late eighteenth century, Confucian education and civil skills in general became far more widespread, bringing the mores of northern Hamgyŏng into closer accord with those of the centre.[80] The T'ongju Kang actively participated in the

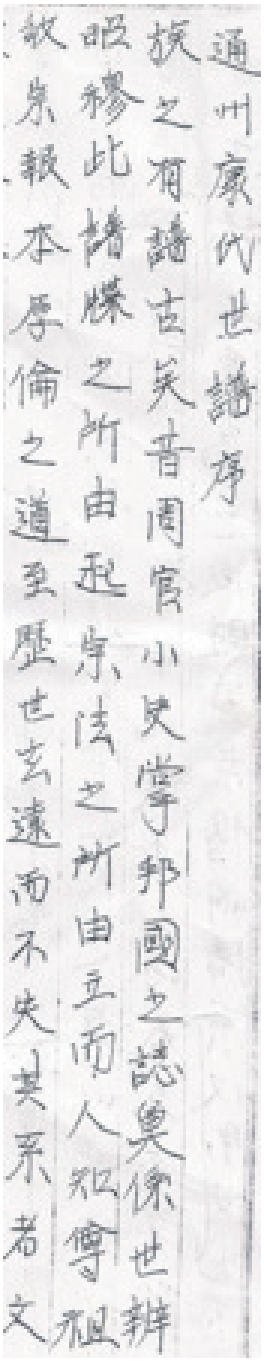

Image 5: The T'ongju Kang Genealogy - Preface. Reproduced by permission of the Korea University Hanjŏkshil Library.

social transformation of the region, maintaining, for instance, consistent residence within the same region of Shinp'ungsan in Musan,[81] so that in the eighteenth century Kim Monghwa introduced his version of the biography of Kang Shijue with the statement, "Musan is home to the surname 'Kang'" (茂山有姓康者), and ends with the statement that "all whose surname is Kang, and who claim origin in T'ongju, are Shijue's descendents" (今之姓康而系通州者皆世爵孫). Moreover, at least by the early twentieth century, the T'ongju Kang had compiled a genealogy which at once brought them closer in line with the mores of the centre and strengthened their link to northern Hamgyŏng. This may also be seen in the hand-written copy of the 1912 reprint of the *T'ongju Kang genealogy* contained within the Hanjŏkshil. The paper used is official paper from the provincial administration of what had been, since 1896, the Province of North Hamgyŏng, with *Hamgyŏng pukto* (North Hamgyŏng Province) inscribed at the edge of each page (image 6). This suggests perhaps that the lineage had access to provincial resources during the early Japanese colonial period, or that the colonial provincial administration was significantly interested in the T'ongju Kang lineage.[82] The first preface to the genealogy, by Hŏ T'aesŏp 許泰燮, is largely concerned with the North Hamgyŏng context. Hŏ, in particular, makes reference to the dearth of properly recorded lineages in North Hamgyŏng in contrast to the generally admired prominent lineages of the centre. Hŏ thus sees the decision of the T'ongju Kang to organize their lineages properly as an admirable development from the point of view of a local society that was largely without clearly established descent

79 *Kukcho pogam pyŏlp'yŏn* 6:12a, entry for *kyŏngin* 庚寅, Sukchong 26 (1688).09. Edition used is *Kukcho pogam, Ilsŏngnok* 國朝寶鑑·日省錄, Chosŏn sadae ch'ŏksa kwan'gye charyojip III (Seoul: Yŏgang ch'ulp'ansa, 1985).

80 Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do*, pp. 213-239.

81 For the importance of long-term residence in a particular region for the maintenance of yangban status, see Miyajima Hiroshi 미야지마 히로시 [宮嶋博史], No Yŏng'gu 노영구 trans., *Yangban – yŏksajŏk shilch'e rŭl ch'ajasŏ* 양반 – 역사적 실체를 찾아서 (Seoul: Kang 강, 2006), p. 43. For yangban, a frequent form taken by this pattern of consistent residence was the single-lineage village, although notably, during the nineteenth century, single-lineage villages were also formed by commoners. See Kwŏn Naehyŏn 권내현, "Chosŏn hugi p'yŏngmin ŭi tongsŏng ch'ollak ŭi sŏngjang 조선 후기 평민의 동성 촌락의 성장", *Minjok Munhwa Yŏn'gu* 민족문화연구 52 (2010), 1-34.

82 The official nature of the paper was pointed out to me by the Hanjŏkshil librarian during my visit in 2006.

groups.[83] This preface nicely encapsulates the challenge for the elites of northern Hamgyŏng; on the one hand, they increasingly aspired to the mores of the capital yangban, but on the other hand, despite their considerable local prestige and access to resources, they lacked genealogies sufficiently distinguished to gain acceptance by prominent yangban of the centre.

The T'ongju Kang's situation, of course, is complicated by their status as an imperial-subject family. Indeed, they sought to raise their status in general by emphasising their status as Ming descendents. For this purpose they took the name invented by Hwang Kyŏngwŏn, the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke, and made it a central part of their identity. Within the genealogy, Kang's autobiography, entitled "Autobiographical account of Kang Shijue" (Kang Sejak chasul 康世爵自述) in the eighteenth-century *Traces of the acts of imperial subjects*,[84] is renamed the "Autobiographical account of the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke" (Ch'ogwandang-gong chasul 楚冠堂公自述). So concerned was the T'ongju Kang lineage to transform their ancestor into the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke invented by Hwang Kyŏngwŏn that the compilers of the genealogy even include, in their selection of sources, a text recording Hwang's discussion of the Ming imperial tombs near Beijing, presumably on account of a brief reference to one Kang household 康家 near the tombs.[85] However, there is not a grain of evidence in support of a connection between that Kang household near the Ming tombs and the T'ongju Kang of northern Hamgyŏng. The specificity of the T'ongju Kang's location in Hamgyŏng, in other words, was sacrificed to locate the lineage securely within the generalized features of Ming Loyalism and imperial subject status.

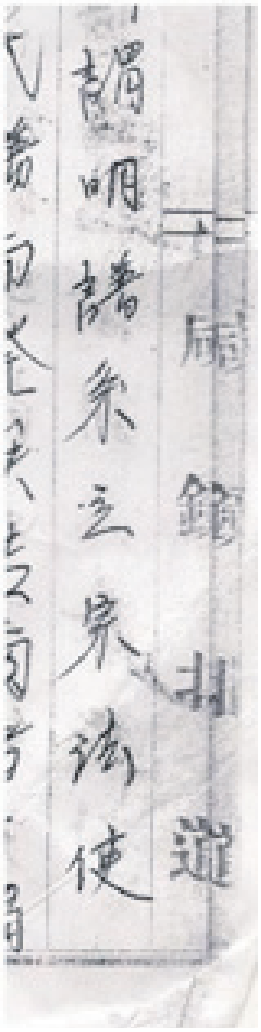

Image 6: The Genealogy of the T'ongju Kang - "Hamgyŏng pukto." Reproduced by permission of the Korea University Hanjŏkshil Library.

Of course, a greater threat to the T'ongju Kang's status than their location in northern Hamgyŏng was their low-born ancestry. Their local prominence and role in the military bureaucracy could not eliminate the fact that, as with the Miryang Park lineage of P'yŏngan Province discussed by Eugene Park, their lineage contained features that would disqualify them from membership in a capital yangban lineage.[86] Just as their lowly ancestry tended to vanish from both official and unofficial Ming Loyalist texts, so also it was removed from the T'ongju Kang's genealogy. The genealogy quotes Nam Kuman's biography but eliminates the reference to his marriage and the vital fact of the manumission.[87] It quotes numerous passages from the *Precious mirror for succeeding reigns* (Kukcho pogam 國朝寶鑑)[88] and "Royal edicts" (Sugyo 受敎)[89] that are primarily concerned with changing the policy regarding imperial subject families in general and with the improving of the position of Kang Shijue's descendents during the reigns of Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo. However, the genealogy omits any royal announcement involving the act of manumission which made the attainment of local élite status pos-

83 *TKS*, pp. 3-6: "惟我北地文獻恒遜 於南衣冠禮物之備麗, 擧尙南方之俗, 而獨於譜修一事罕有其役. 或有修其者, 而間又中廢不續. 雖名門巨族多不識源本之派枝之分而莫或省懼".

84 See footnote 11, above.

85 "Geographical Description of Shimen" (Sŏngmun sansu ki 石門山水記), *TKS*, p. 38. This text is also available in Hwang Kyŏngwŏn's collected works, *Kanghanjip* 10:22b-23b.

86 Eugene Y. Park, "Imagined connections in early modern Korea, 1500-1894 - representations of northern elite Miryang Pak lineages in genealogies", *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21 (2008), 1–27.

87 *TKS*, pp. 44-47. This subject has also been eliminated from Nam Kuman's biography in the Jilin version. See Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan lishiyanjiusuo Qingshi yanjiushi, ed. "Chaoxianzu Tongzhou Kangshi shipu zhong de Ming-Man guanxi shiliao", p. 191. To be sure, echoes of servility survived in the version of Nam Kuman's biography as preserved in the genealogy. Thus Nam Kuman has Kang Shijue say: "I have taken refuge in another country, and joined the company of servile people. Alive I am a disgraced person; when I die I will become a shameful ghost" (託身他邦, 耦於隷徒, 生爲辱人, 死爲羞鬼). The phrase "Joined the company of servile people" (耦於隷徒) may also be translated as "I took a slave for my wife," and is so interpreted by Yun Sesun, "17C Chunggugin p'inanmin", p. 233. However, this is by no means the only possible interpretation of that phrase, and there is no obvious reference to slavery in the autobiographical account (from which Nam Kuman seems to have adapted the statement) where Kang Shijue tells us that: "Since I am hiding away in a wild valley, in a place far removed from home, how can anybody know whether I am of noble or base status? Wherever I go, I appear no different from a slave. If life has reached this state, what is the point of staying alive?" (竄身荒谷, 萬里殊方, 唯識貴賤之分, 著處視同奴隷之輩, 人生到此, 不死何爲). For that matter, Ch'oe Ch'angdae, in his grave inscription (which is also quoted in the genealogy) interprets Nam Kuman's statement in such a way as to largely eliminate implications of marriage to a low-born woman: "My fate has been to take refuge in another country and to labour among servile people. Alive I am a disgraced person; when I die I will become a shameful ghost" (託他邦爲命, 雜作於徒隷之間, 生爲辱人, 死爲羞鬼).

88 *TKS*, pp. 23-25.

89 *TKS*, pp. 19-23.

sible in the first place. Ultimately, however, their humble origins remained a matter of easily accessible record,[90] something that no amount of genealogical creativity on the part of either the lineage or the compilers of official Ming Loyalist histories could conceal. Marginal in origins and in geographic location, the T'ongju Kang participated in the cultural mores of the centre, but with a distinct disadvantage. The very biographies which granted them cap-and-gown status also provided a record of their earlier, less exalted, status; in the context of Chosŏn élites for whom any low-born ancestry – on either maternal or paternal lines – disqualified one from participation in the bureaucracy, the Kang Shijue lineage were at best junior members.

The attempt by the T'ongju Kang to transform their ancestor into the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke was one which was both socially necessary yet doomed to failure. Even Chŏngjo expressed considerable doubts, in one edict, as to the social status of their ancestor. During a discussion of the descendents of Ch'a Yeryang 車禮亮 (fl. 1630), a Korean hero of the anti-Qing struggle, Chŏngjo compared Ch'a Yeryang favourably with Kang Shijue who had ultimately "only wandered into the North and settled there (康世爵, 卽不過流寓之人)."[91] Descendents as they were of a refugee and a low-born woman, and residing as they did on the northern borderland, the T'ongju Kang could never be accepted fully by the élite residents of the capital. Worse, the very texts which had allowed their transformation from low-born status to local élite also enshrined the history of their humble ancestry. Although they deliberately eliminated all reference to this liability in their genealogy, even intentionally seeking out largely unrelated edicts, and even though Chosŏn's élites sought specifically to assert the Ming Loyalist nature of the Chosŏn state by inventing stories of a Chu hat, the actual facts of the settlement in Hamgyŏng survived, to place a check on the T'ongju Kang's advancement.

CONCLUSION

The T'ongju Kang lineage were as marginal as can be imagined, situated at the outer edge of the Chosŏn state in a region only settled after the expulsion of the Jurchen, with a low-born primary ancestor. Extraordinarily, however, we are blessed with a substantial body of sources, including especially biographical sources but also documentary sources included in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* and the *Daily record of the Royal Secretariat*. Biography, in particular, played a vital role, linking the world of a border refugee with that of the yangban aristocracy in the capital, and establishing Kang Shijue and the T'ongju Kang as reliable agents of the Chosŏn state. Thus, in the late seventeenth century, biography brought Kang Shijue out of obscurity and into contact with the central bureaucracy, while in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries biography gave the T'ongju Kang an exalted ritual status. These biographies, in other words, were at once reflections of the nature of the interaction of the state with marginal subjects on Chosŏn's northern frontier and an instance of this interaction. The vital process of creating acceptable loyal subjects in northern Hamgyŏng was pursued through textual means, with prominent officials such as Nam Kuman and Pak Sedang establishing Kang Shijue as an appropriate servant of the Chosŏn court, and later biographies establishing the T'ongju Kang as an appropriate ritual participant in Late Chosŏn Ming Loyalism. Yet the nature of the textual tradition meant that the local prominence of the T'ongju Kang could never carry over into the centre, despite efforts on the part of the T'ongju Kang to transform the less salubrious details of their past. Biographies by high officials established Kang Shijue and the T'ongju Kang as prominent local élites, but also ensured that they remained only locally prominent.

90 Sinae Park of the University of British Columbia pointed out the presence of Nam Kuman's biography in a late nineteenth century collection entitled the *Sequel to the Universal Harmony* (Sok Chehaeji 續齊諧志), which is introduced and reprinted in the *Chosŏn hakpo: kojŏn munhak myŏn* 朝鮮學報 古典文學面 (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1993) VIII, pp. 259-349. Of course, older texts, already mentioned, would also have been available.

91 *Chŏngjo shillok* 48:47a. Entry for 1798.04.25, *CWS* XLVII, p. 83.

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GLOSSARY

Additional chapters to the precious mirror of succeeding reigns	Kukcho pogam pyŏlp'yŏn 國朝寶鑑別便
Amnok River	鴨綠 (Chinese: Yalu)
Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty	Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄
Collected texts on honouring the Zhou	Chonju hwip'yŏn 尊周彙編
Daily record of the Royal Secretariat	Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi 承政院日記
imperial subject	hwangjoin 皇朝人
Liaodong	遼東
outpost officer	kwŏn'gwan 權管 jr 9
post-station slave	yŏkpi 驛婢
Precious mirror for succeeding reigns	Kukcho pogam 國朝寶鑑
"Record of Chu-Hat-Hall"	Ch'ogwandang-gi 楚冠堂記
royal cavalry guard	ch'in'giwi 親騎衛
"Royal edicts"	Sugyo 受敎
"Autobiographical account of the Chu-Hat-Hall Duke"	Ch'ogwandang'gong chasul 楚冠堂公自述
"Autobiographical account of Kang Shijue"	Kang Sejak chasul 康世爵自述
Sequel to the Universal Harmony	Sok Chehaeji 續齊諧志
sixth rank military official	Sagwa 司果
Sources for the T'ongju Kang Lineage	T'ongju Kangssi sejŏk 通州康氏世跡
submitting-foreigner	Hyanghwain 向化人
Taebodan shrine	Taebodan 大報壇
Traces of the acts of imperial subjects	Hwangjoin sajŏk 皇朝人事蹟
T'ongju Kang genealogy	T'ongju Kangssi sebo 通州康氏世譜
Tumen River	豆滿 (Korean: Tuman; Chinese: Douman)
Unofficial history of the lesser China	Sohwa oesa 小華外史

ABBREVIATIONS

HS	Traces of the acts of imperial Subjects 皇朝人事蹟
CWS	Facsimile edition of the Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty (朝鮮王朝實錄) published by the Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe. Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 1972.
SGJ	Sŏgyejip西溪集
YCJ	Yakch'ŏnjip 藥泉集
TKS	Version of the T'ongju Kang Genealogy stored within the Korea University Hanjŏksil library.
SJW	Daily record of the Royal Secretariat (Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi 承政院日記)
HMC	Yŏngin p'yojŏm Han'guk munjip ch'onggan (影印 標點) 韓國文集叢刊, edited by Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe. Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 2006-2010.

Jung Min

Constructing Sectarian Pilgrimage Sites in Neo-Confucian Schools

INTRODUCTION

In the latter half of the Chosŏn period, when Neo-Confucianism solidified its base, travel assumed a new, spiritual dimension. The nature travelogues of Neo-Confucian scholars, whose ideological commitment distinguished them from literary figures in general, testify to the emergence of a unique excursion culture which was intimately related to the collective consciousnesses of a number of Confucian schools. There are mountains referred to as 'the Guardian Mountain' (*chinsan* 鎭山) in each area of Korea which, functioning as symbols, have exerted a powerful centripetal force. A variety of cultural fields formed around these mountains. In particular, if a Confucian school formed in an area in which a great master had left his impact, it was through such mountains that the consciousness of a sacred precinct emerged which symbolized the spirit of the master. The connections between Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang 淸凉 and Yi Hwang 李滉 (1499-1576), Mt. Chiri 智異山 and Cho Shik 曺植 (1501-1572), Hwayangdong 華陽洞 and Song Shiyŏl 宋時烈 (1607-1689) are representative examples

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of this. However large a mountain might be, though, this phenomenon only occurred when there were distinguished masters who were able to become the spiritual pillars of the area and who had ardent followers.

This interesting and unique cultural phenomenon emerged when Chosŏn Neo-Confucianism branched off into schools, each with roots in a different region. Common literati merely expanded their experience through travel while enjoying the happiness of escaping their stifling daily lives. In practice, most nature travelogues were written in this type of context. However, the Neo-Confucian scholars with bases in particular regions were different. They related everything they heard and saw to Confucian teachings, and in the mountains, too, they pursued the traces of the sages of olden days, read their books and discussed their teachings. Moreover, they searched for the traces of their master that remained in that region and paid tribute to his spirit. In contrast, they fiercely criticized matters or activities that in their opinion went against Confucian principles, and refused to accept them. To these scholars, the mountain was not just a simple setting for an excursion. Travel was an extension of learning and ideological education, as well as a form of pilgrimage.

There are a staggering number of travel records left by Neo-Confucian scholars,[1] but not all travels recorded reveal a Confucian consciousness or bear the nature of a pilgrimage. Those nature travelogues that are related to specific mountains, however, are quite unusual because of their concentration of impressive and unique characteristics, and therefore cannot be ignored. This paper will mainly examine the nature travelogues of the Neo-Confucian scholars from specific schools based in specific areas,[2] rather than the type of travelogues that simply describe excursions undertaken for pleasure, and in this way reveal one aspect of the cultural consciousness of Chosŏn Neo-Confucian scholars.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF A GUARDIAN MOUNTAIN

First, let us examine how Neo-Confucian scholars perceived mountains that were the center of a particular region, and how their perceptions were refracted in Confucian contexts. Neo-Confucian scholars thought of the mountain that was the center of an area, namely the guardian mountain (*chinsan*), as 'the mountain of our house/school' (*ogasan* 吾家山) or 'the mountain of our hometown' (*ohyangsan* 吾鄕山) to express their particular attachment. By bestowing new meaning upon it they also revealed an intention to make the mountain their spiritual foundation.

The guardian mountain was the center of an area in both a geographical and a cultural sense. In the past, villages formed around the guardian mountain, and it was the centre of all cultural activities. The guardian mountain was like a mother's bosom for the people who lived in its proximity. The people looked up to the guardian mountain every day and led their lives shielded by it, and through it confirmed their existence and their identity. At the same time, the guardian mountain was sometimes a wall that separated one region from other regions. As transportation was inconvenient in the past, the mountain's boundaries fenced off and isolated regions.

Attitudes toward the guardian mountain may be inferred from the following quotations from the works of some prominent Confucian scholars.

> *"I was born and raised in Yŏngnam. Mt. Chiri is 'the mountain of my hometown (*ohyang chi san 吾鄕之山*)'[3]"*

> *"Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang of Andong* 安東 *is located several tens of li northeast of Yean* 禮安*District. In the past, I lived at a place somewhere in between the two. If I left early morning and went up the mountain, I would arrive halfway up the mountain before noon. Although it belonged to a different region, indeed it was no different from 'our mountain' (*ogasan*). I cannot recall how many times it was in my youth that I followed my father and brothers up and down this mountain, carrying a bag of books to read there.[4]"*

> *"Mt. Tŏgyu* 德裕山 *is 'the guardian mountain of my district' (*ohyang chi chinsan 吾鄕之鎭山*). My house was*

1 I have compiled a ten-volume collection of travelogues grouped according to region, entitled *Han'guk yŏktae sansu yugi ch'wip'yŏn* (Selection of Korean historical travelogues; Seoul: Minch'ang munhwasa, 1996). This collection contains 545 travel records written in classical Chinese by 221 authors, and comprises approximately one third of all extant travel records. All the citations in this paper are from this collection and the anonymous Chosŏn-period collection *Wayurok* 臥遊錄 (Records of leisurely travel), reissued by the Academy of Korean Studies in 1997.

2 As indicated in the bibliography, a number of studies have been carried out on travelogues centered on mountains other than Mt. Kŭmgang, such as Mt. Chiri, Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, Mt. Mudŭng 無等山, Mt. Kyeryong 鷄龍山 and others. Translations into Korean of works discussed in this paper can be found in Yi Hyesun, et. al., *Chosŏn chunggi yusan'gi munhak* (Nature Travelogues in Mid-Chosŏn: Seoul: Chimmundang, 1997) and Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl Chirisan yuramnok* (Our ancestors' travelogues to Mt. Chiri; Seoul: Tolbegae, 2000).

3 Kim Chongjik 金宗直, *Yuduryurok* (Record of travel to Mt. Chiri) from Jung Min (Chŏng Min), ed. *Han'guk yŏktae sansu yugi ch'wip'yŏn* VII, p. 109. Henceforth only the page numbers will be given, following the name of the compiler.

4 Yi Hwang, "Pal Chu Kyŏngyu *Ch'ŏngnyangsallok*," 跋周擎游淸凉山錄 (Postscript to Chu Sebung's *Record of a trip to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang*) from *Wayurok* , p. 303.

also at the foot of it. From a young age, I bore my bag of books up to the mountain dwelling numerous times. I have never freed myself from this mountain.[5]"

In the three examples above, we come across expressions such as 'our mountain ,' 'the mountain of my hometown,' and 'the guardian mountain of my hometown.' There are similar expressions besides these in various nature travelogues. For those who lived in these particular areas, the mountains were a place they could see whenever they lifted their eyes, and a space akin to the home of their heart, a place they never departed from. Also, as we can see from the quotations, Neo-Confucian scholars went into the mountains to read and study. In practice, after the second quotation above was mentioned, those in the Yŏngnam region referred to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang as 'our mountain,' or 'the mountain of our house/school.' A 'Hall of our Mountain' (Osandang) was erected at the place where Yi Hwang studied at Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, and writings about Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang were collected in *Ogasan chi* 吾家山志 (Records of the mountain of our school).[6]

The scholars thought of the guardian mountain they were associated with as the center of the world and charged it with additional meaning as excelling all other mountains, as we shall see in one of the writings of Kim Chongjik.

Just as there is nothing loftier than Śakyamuni among the sages of the West, there is no mountain higher than Mt. Chiri in our country. For those practicing Buddhism, Śakyamuni is considered the standard. Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghosa, Bodhidharma and Linji fall short of it. Here, how could it be different for a person looking at a mountain? Mt. Kŭmgang 金剛山 *is magnificent in the east, Mt. Myohyang* 妙香山 *towers in the north, and Mt. Kuwŏl* 九月山 *soars in the west. However, when we climb Mt. Chiri in the south, these three magnificent mountains are beneath our eyes and instead look like anthills. And is that all? The other famous mountains of our land, too, faced with Mt. Chiri, will shrink away as swiftly as they can.*[7]

Mt. Chiri (1915m) is indeed higher than Mt. Kŭmgang (1638m). However, the height that Kim Chongjik refers to is not just the actual height of the mountain. It is a symbolic way of saying that the guardian mountain he is affiliated with is the greatest.

On the other hand, Chu Sebung 周世鵬 wrote of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, a smallish mountain in the corner of Kyŏng–sang province, as follows:

This is what I say. Of the numerous mountains in our land, Mt. Chiri is the most magnificent, and Mt. Kŭmgang is the most clear and beautiful. Pagyŏn 朴淵 *Waterfall and the streams of Mt. Kaya* 伽倻山 *are the most extraordinary. However, though small, it is only Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang that cannot be treated cavalierly – for while it is upright and solemn, it is exhilarating and clean. When people are asked for the celebrated mountains of China, without fail the five great mountains are brought up: Hengshan* 恒山 *in the north, Huashan* 華山 *in the west, Hengshan* 衡山 *in the south, and Chongshan* 嵩山 *in the center; and the largest, Taishan* 泰山. *However, if you ask for the most distinguished of the small mountains, it is always Tiantaishan* 天台山 *that is chosen. If someone were to ask for famous mountains in our land, surely these five mountains would come first: Mt. Myohyang in the north, Mt. Kuwŏl in the west, Mt. Kŭmgang in the east, Mt. Samgak* 三角山 *in the centre, and Mt. Chiri, which is the largest of them all and the most southern. However, if you ask for the most distinguished of the small mountains, it is always Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang that is chosen.*[8]

Chu states that Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang is a celebrated mountain and unassailable, despite its small stature, because it is upright and solemn, exhilarating and clean. He compares Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang to China's celebrated Tiantaishan. Writers of travelogues who visited Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang after Chu Sebung reaffirm this evaluation in their writing, over and over again. We can also find a considerable number of writers who evaluate their own guardian mountain as the greatest in the case of mountains such as Mr. Songni 俗離山, Mt., Mudŭng, etc.

The following is the impression of Yi Hwang after reading

5 Im Hun 林薰, "Tŭng Tŏgyusan Hyangjŏkpong gi 登德裕山香積峰記" (On climbing Hyangjŏk Cliff of Mt. Tŏgyu) from *Wayurok* , p. 312.

6 For details regarding the relationship between Yi Hwang and Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, the reader is referred to Chu Sŭngt'aek 주승택, "Ch'ŏngnyangsan ŭi munhakchŏk wisang 청류산의 문학적 위상", *Taedong hanmunhak* 대동한문학, 12 (2000), 207-235, and Sŏ Suyong 서수용, "Ch'ŏngnyangsan ŭl paegyŏng ŭro iruŏjin munhwa ŭi tu kungmyŏn 청량산을 배경으로 이루어진 문화의 두 국면", in *Han'guk Hanmunhak kwa yugyo munhwa* 한한문학과 유교 문화 (Seoul, Asea munhwasa, 1991), pp. 721-741. In the case of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, already in 1771 the successors of Yi Hwang published *Ch'ŏngnyang chi* 淸凉志 (Records on Ch'ŏngnyang), which was modeled after the Chinese *Wuyi zhi* 武夷志 (Records on Wuyi). In 1901, Yi Manyŏ 李萬與, a descendant of Yi Hwang issued *Ogasan chi* .

7 Kim Chongjik, "Sŏk Kyejing yu Chirisan sŏ 釋戒澄遊智異山序", in *Wayurok*, p.178

8 Chu Sebung, *Yu Ch'ŏngnyangsallok*, in Jung Min, VI, p. 22.

Yu Ch'ŏngnyangsallok (Record of a trip to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang) by Chu Sebung.

> *It is hard to fathom how after the heavens and earth had come into existence many thousands of miles tangled together to shape heights and depths. The heavens hid beautiful places while the earth hid extraordinary places. And yet I had to wait for your writing before this was finally revealed to me. How could this not be the great fortune of this mountain? However, the various peaks of the mountain are covered with preposterous sayings from Buddhist texts and wanton names of numerous Buddhas, and there is even the disgraceful name that indicates that this is a place where Daoist hermits live. This can be said to be 'our disgrace.'*[9]

Until this point, the names of the twelve peaks of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang all came from Buddhist scriptures. Also, legends of Daoist figures such as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn from the Shilla period were widely transmitted about this place.[10] Now although Yi Hwang here contends that it is disgraceful that Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, which should justly be considered a Neo-Confucian guardian mountain, should be defiled by Daoist and Buddhist associations, it was Chu Sebung who first renamed the mountain peaks to suit Confucian predilections, while fiercely condemning the stories about Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn as absurd, and this Yi Hwang considered to be a source of pride.

There is no doubt that attaching Confucian connotations to a mountain while condemning the older associations as a disgrace was entirely without precedent before this time. It is here, precisely, that the consciousness of 'the mountain of our school' comes to the fore. Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang belonged to the Confucians, and to no one else. For those who practised the teachings of Neo-Confucianism, allowing heterodoxy within their own boundaries was unacceptable. The result was that Chu Sebung and Yi Hwang attempted to completely Confucianize the image of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, and their aim was supported by the literati who venerated Yi Hwang. But this was not all: these scholars endowed travel with a completely different significance.

EXCURSIONS AND SCHOLARLY ACTIVITIES

The first distinctive feature of Chosŏn Neo-Confucian nature travelogues is that the visits to mountains they describe were not undertaken as pleasurable excursions, but as a form of scholarly activity. Even in the mountains, the authors and their companions read Confucian books on self-cultivation such as *Xiaoxue* 小學 (The lower order of cultivation), *Jinsilu* 近思錄 (Reflections on Things at Hand), etc. and used every opportunity to read and discuss their contents. Also, they explored and scrutinized philosophical meaning in objects that appeared before their eyes. Each and every moment, they charged their actions with Confucian meaning, invoking passages from the Classics wherever they went, as a way to pursue self-cultivation. In addition, they persistently revealed the wish to identify their own excursions with those of Zhu Xi by reading records related to trips made by Zhu Xi, such as *Youhengyuelu* 遊形嶽錄 (Record of travel to Mt. Heng), *Yunguji* 雲谷記 (On Cloud Valley), and *Nanyuechangchouji* 南嶽唱酬集 (Exchanging poems at South Peak).

During their visits to mountains, they contemplated the principles of matters, charging mundane acts with meaning by relating them to Neo-Confucian spiritual cultivation. This is revealed relatively clearly starting from Cho Shik's *Yu Turyurok* 遊頭流錄 (Record of travelling to Mt. Chiri). As Cho Shik (1501-1572) climbs up the mountain, he states that "At first, it was difficult to put even one foot ahead of the other as I climbed up, but as I came down, it was as if even lifting my foot made me flow down. Wasn't this just like 'Pursuing goodness is like climbing a mountain, while pursuing evil is like falling down?'" At each scene, Cho Shik continues to refer to cautionary passages from the Classics to aid him in his self-cultivation.[11] The line which Cho Shik quoted from the *Xiaoxue,* is repeatedly cited in subsequent nature travelogues.

In previous nature travelogues, like Kim Chongjik's *Record of Travel to Chiri* of the early period and before that, we cannot find instances of scholars studying Confucian Classics when visiting mountains. It is first seen in *Chirisan ilkwa* 智異山日課 (Daily records from Mt. Chiri) by Nam Hyo'on 南孝溫 (1454-1492), a disciple of Kim Chongjik. Also, in poetry and prose related to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, which can be seen as a record of the T'oegye School, we find semi-

9 Yi Hwang. *Pal Chu Kyŏngyu yu Ch'ŏngnyangsallok* from *Wayurok* (1997) p. 303.

10 For more details, see Chu Sŭngt'aek, "Ch'ŏngnyangsan ŭi munhakchŏk wisang."

11 Shim Kyŏngho 심경호, "Kudoja ŭi sansu yuram: T'oegye Yi Hwang ŭi sansu yugi 구도자의 산수유람－퇴계 이황의 산수유기", in *Hanmun sanmun ŭi naemyŏn p'unggyŏng* 한문 산문의 내면풍경 (Seoul: Somyŏng, 2001), pp. 26-29.

nar-like activities taking place every night.

At Hwaŏmsa 華嚴寺 Temple, Nam Hyo'on and his companion lit up lamps and discussed the *Xiaoxue* and *Jinsilu* all night long. On the second night, too, Nam Hyo'on opened the *Jinsilu* to read it.[12] The *Xiaoxue* was a book that Kim Chongjik highly valued and read over the course of his life, and its importance to him is evident from the fact that he even referred to himself as 'the boy who studies the *Xiaoxue*'. From this focus on the *Xiaoxue* and *Jinsilu*, instead of the basic canon of the Four Books and Three Classics, we can surmise what were the foundation of the consciousness and the doctrinal basis of the Yŏngnam 嶺南 Neo-Confucian scholars who visited the mountains.

Explaining his visit to the mountains in *Yu Kayasan nok* 遊伽倻山錄 (A record of travel to Mt. Kaya), Chŏng Ku 鄭逑 (1543-1620), too, writes that he only brought *Jinsilu* and *Nanyuechangchouji* with him. In the middle of his journey, while staying at a house, he found there at night the *Zhuzi nianpu* 朱子年譜 (*The Chronology of Zhu Xi*) and also a copy of *Yunguji* to read, and once on the mountain, as soon as he woke up at dawn he diligently read daily some pages from *Jinsilu, Nanyuechangchouji* or *Zhuzi hsingzhuang* 朱子行狀 (Life of Master Zhu).[13] We can see that most of his reading centred around Zhu Xi. The following quotation shows him in his reading.

> *14th. Clear weather. Woke up at dawn and sat in the front hall and read some pages from the* Jinsilu*. When I lifted my head to look at the cloudy mountains, I felt the various thoughts in my mind clear up. As I relished the teachings that the sages left behind, quite unawares my mind became fully concentrated, and I tasted their profundity.*[14]

Also, he recalls that while reading *Yunguji* by Zhu Xi, he felt his mind opening up and felt as if he was in between Lufeng 蘆峰 and Huian 晦庵 where Zhu Xi had stayed. He adds, "How can our journey be like that of those who have come to merely entertain themselves by sightseeing and losing themselves in the scenery with each step?"[15] Thus, he perceives the climb up the mountain as more than just a simple excursion—rather, as an opportunity for scholarly activity, training his body and mind, while becoming conscious of the teachings.

When we examine the records of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, these phenomena occur more frequently. In his *Yu Ch'ŏngnyangsannok* 遊淸凉山錄 (Record of Travel to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang), Kwŏn Homun 權好文 (1532-1587) writes that he took the *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes), *Jinsilu* 近思錄, *Huangji neibian bujie* 皇極內編補解 and *Dushi buyi* 杜詩補遺 along with him. During his journey, he continues to discuss quotations from the Classics with his companion wherever he goes. And in the morning, as he reads *The Book of Changes*, he explores the principles behind the movements of the heavens and earth.

> *As I stood alone, whistling clear notes, my spirits began to soar.*[16] *Then all of a sudden my mind wandered and lost all focus, and I was concerned that my eyes and ears would be drawn away to things of the outer world. It is only because of this that I climb the mountains and go into the water, so I cannot help but be cautious. I then told my son, "A person's mind has certain fixed elements. It is only after resolutely guarding what is in me that I am capable of entertaining things that are outside of me. Deriving happiness from the mountains is for the benevolent, and deriving happiness from water for the wise.*[17] *If I cultivate this disposition and do not lose it in the end, becoming a great person is not difficult. This is something that both you and I must work hard at. Cheng Ye* 程子*, too, said, 'Enjoying the scenery of the mountains and waters is also letting go of one's mind.' So how can I not be vigilant?"*[18]

As soon as he finds pleasure in the beautiful scenery in front of him, he is immediately compelled to restrain himself. Climbing the mountain is in order to cultivate his mind/heart and if he is distracted by things in the outer world, the fruits of mountain climbing would be lessened, which is why he could not help but be vigilant. To him, the beautiful scenery is merely an enticement of the outer world that could shake his heart's autonomy. Also, when his companion mentions

12 Jung Min, VII, p.163.
13 Jung Min, VIII, p.92.
14 *Wayurok*, p. 305.
15 *Wayurok*, p.306.
16 Kwŏn refers to a passage in the *Mencius* where Mencius explains that one's inner reserves of energy, when properly attended to and cultivated, are an indispensable force for the good; *Mencius* Book II, pt. 1, chapter 11-17.
17 A reference to the *Analects*; *Lunyu* Bk. VI, Ch. 21.
18 Jung Min, VI, p.42.

that scenery is best enjoyed when flowers bloom and foliage is dense, he reproaches him by saying that there is a particular meaning to gain from the mountain, apart from merely taking in the colorful appearances of the mountain. Even on the mountain, he persists in his scholarly activities, and diligently records what he studies.

> *I went to Mongsangam by walking approximately a hundred paces to the west. The road was steep and very high. Even though I attempted to move ahead, my body kept retreating. Two Buddhist monks helped me go up, supporting me. I was happy and said, "This is just like learning the Way! If I hold fast to respect and righteousness, and let the two support me, I will not fall even if I suddenly falter, and continue to advance upwards and reach moral excellence."*[19]

He is only able to reach the top with the help of the two Buddhist monks. And then he quotes the words of Cheng Ye in order to say that a person's spirit must be able to reach a higher place with the help of respect and righteousness. In short, he interprets his mountain climbing as an act of self-cultivation.

In addition, mountain climbing has also been compared to reading and scholarly activities, which indicates how the nature travelogues of Neo-Confucian scholars emphasize and identify all actions on the mountain as moral cultivation. In *Record of Travel to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang*, when Chu Sebung is intoxicated with alcohol during his excursion, he requests that a *kisaeng* recite the *Great Learning* because he wants to guard himself against the possibility of his emotions becoming one-sided.[20] This is an act that seems almost obsessive. Also in the travel records of Kim Chungch'ŏng, who climbs Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang with his master Cho Mok 趙穆 (1524-1606), we constantly see that during the trip he asks questions about difficult passages from the Classics, and that they discuss the customs of past and present and the merits of virtuous men. The master scrutinizes his disciple's every action and keeps discussing everything with him, which makes the reader feel that the mountain climbing experience is almost like a site of ideological indoctrination.[21]

It goes without saying, moreover, that these scholars found the basis of their every action in the words of the sages of the past. Favorite passages include the statement that the benevolent enjoy mountains, and the wise enjoy water from Confucius's *Analects*, or his remark that when on top of Taishan he thought the world looked small. However, the figure scholars focused on mostly was of course, Zhu Xi. When mountain climbing, these scholars always carried the *Nanyuechangchouji*, which was a collection of poetry and prose written over a period of seven days by Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi 張拭 as they climbed Nanyue 南嶽 of Hengshan. These scholars found ample justification for roaming in the mountains in this book, and made it the model for their own conduct.

In *Nanyuechangchouji*, there are 149 poems Zhu Xi composed with Zhang Shi as they climbed up to Nanyue. However, in an introduction it says that, reflecting on the fact that the poems had aroused concern because of their lack of polish and finesse, Zhu Xi had decided never to write poems anymore. Chu Sebung carefully quotes this passage in his travel records and uses it as a cautionary tale for the 85 poems he wrote during his climb up Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang. Also when composing poetry during his mountain climbing, he used Zhu Xi as a model, for better or for worse.

The Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang travel records reveal that even the timing of Chu's travel matched Zhu Xi's winter climb up Nanyue. From this, we may surmise the extent to which scholars imitated Zhu Xi. This is confirmed by *Yu Ch'ŏngnyang nok* (Record of Travel to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang), where Kwŏn Homun replies to a comment that there was not much to see during winter mountain climbing that Zhu Xi also climbed Nanyue in winter. Kim Chungch'ŏng, too, repeats a similar conversation in his *Yu Ch'ŏngnyangsan ki* (Record of travelling to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang).[22] Various other records also reveal how frequently scholars associated their own mountain excursions to the Nanyue climb of Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi in order to add significance to their own experiences.

In sum, Neo-Confucian scholars did not visit mountains for excursion purposes, but rather understood the experience as an opportunity to train and cultivate their minds. Even in the mountains, they did not let go of the Classics and attempted to relate all experiences to a moral awakening. In particular, they used Zhu Xi as a model, and imitated even the narrative format of his travelogues and his choice of season for travelling.

19 Jung Min, VI, p.42.
20 Jung Min, VI, 6, p. 5.
21 Yi Hyesun, et. al. *Chosŏn chunggi ŭi yusan'gi munhak*, p. 431.
22 Yi Hyesun, et. al. *Chosŏn chunggi ŭi yusan'gi munhak,* p.429.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF PILGRIMAGE SITES

The second distinctive feature of the nature travelogues by Neo-Confucian scholars of the Chosŏn period is that mountain climbing took on the characteristics of pilgrimage. Neo-Confucian scholars carried *Turyu kihaengnok* 頭流紀行錄 (Record of travel to Mt. Chiri) by Kim Chongjik and *Yu turyurok* 遊頭流錄 (Record of travelling to Mt. Chiri) by Cho Shik when climbing Mt. Chiri, and carried *Record of Travel to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang* by Chu Sebung when climbing Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang. They not only compared the records with the actual sites, but they searched for traces of the ancient sages in elaborate graffiti made in those mountains and strove to emulate their spirit. Even in the case of Song Shiyŏl who did not leave a specific record of Hwayangdong, the scholars who visited Hwayangdong consistently tended to look for traces of Song Shiyŏl rather than for beautiful scenery. Through this, we can imagine the sectarian framework of the nature travelogues for each individual mountain. For Neo-Confucian scholars, Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang belonged to the T'oegye 退溪 School, Mt. Chiri to the Nammyŏng 南冥 School, and Hwayangdong to the Uam 尤庵 School. Accordingly, the last stage of visits to these mountains often included a visit to the tombs of the founders of these schools: Yi Hwang, Cho Shik or Song Shiyŏl.

Referring to the traces of Yi Hwang that he encountered at various sites of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, Shin Chije 申之悌 wrote in his *Yu Ch'ŏngnyangsan nok*:

> *China does not have just one noteworthy mountain, but if one were to ask for the mountains that instill reverence, people mention Hengshan and Lushan* 廬山*. The reason is that early on the two masters Zhang Shi and Zhu Xi displayed their thoughts and feelings while roaming these two mountains. We do not have just one noteworthy mountain either, but if one were to ask of one mountain that instills reverence, people speak of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang. Master Yi Hwang lived at the foot of that mountain and visited it throughout his life. Every rock and valley still holds traces of the master's staff and footsteps, and even the blades of grass and individual trees sparkle with the master's sayings. When we look up to the twelve peaks, some are so remote that they cannot be reached, some are so imposing that they cannot be violated, some are so large and magnificent that one wants to go and lean on them, and some are so upright and solemn that we lift our eyes in reverence. The forms of the towering peaks instill courage in the mind of a coward, and their clear and refreshing appearance makes a greedy person pure and upright. The reason why I love Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang goes beyond the mere love I have for just a mountain.*[23]

Shin not only suggests Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang is the incarnation of Yi Hwang but also raises him to the same level as Zhu Xi by comparing Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang with Hengshan.

In *Yu Ch'ŏngnyangsan ki*, Kim Chungch'ŏng, too, strongly identifies Yi Hwang with Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang: "In the past, our master T'oegye Yi Hwang spent his springs here, his autumns, and even his summers and winters, year after year after year. During the seventy years that he was alive, he cherished and loved the mountain and we cannot count the numerous poems he recited as he strolled around on the mountain."[24] Kim also recorded his feelings with regard to his master Cho Mok (1524-1605), another disciple of Yi Hwang, when the two visited Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang together.

> *When Master Cho Mok came to this mountain for an excursion, he saw a hermitage and noted that it was a place where his master stayed to rest; when he saw a lookout he remarked that his master had climbed it. When we came near crags and valleys, he reminisced about the past when his master wandered there; when we encountered clouds and fog he yearned for his old master's recitations of poetry. […]*
> *He again made me recite Travel to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang by Chu Sebung. His pleasure was evident and his face revealed that he was deeply moved. He then rose and wandered about, as he spoke of the time when Master Yi Hwang came here and roamed around. When Kŭm Kosan* 琴孤山 *recited five or six poems that Master Yi Hwang had composed on the occasion, for a while a reverential silence enveloped us all.* [25]

Reading the records of the sages together, and reciting the poems composed at those places, the Neo-Confucian scholars in their efforts to retrace the past created the impression of a solemn pilgrimage ritual. For these scholars, every location and place on Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang was a reminder of the words, actions, and spirit of master Yi

23 Jung Min, VI, p. 100.
24 Yi Hyesun, et. al., *Chŏsŏn chunggi ŭi yusan'gi munhak*, p.437.
25 Yi Hyesun, et. al., *Chosŏn chunggi ŭi yusan'gi munhak*, p.440.

Hwang while he was alive.

The same point can be made, albeit to different extent, for Mt. Chiri and Hwayangdong, as may be seen in the following two quotations.

> *At a place southeast from this peak, there is a valley approximately one hundred li long, where there is a village called Tŏksan* 德山 *and a stream called Tŏkch'ŏn* 德川*. This was the site where Master Nammyŏng Cho Shik made his abode and lived. His grave and ancestral shrine are both there. A sign with the words Tŏkch'ŏn was granted by the current king to the private academy where the shrine is located. Standing on top of a mountain peak a thousand* kil *high, I imagine the highly reclusive spirit of the master—it is like gazing at a peak that is a thousand* kil *high while already standing on a peak that is a thousand* kil *high.*[26]

> *I was going to see Master Cho Shik, but could not because the Master had left for Kimhae* 金海*. There was a small straw-roof pavilion on the bank of the stream, and written on a pillar of the pavilion there was a poem that the master had written personally. [...] At first we did not understand the meaning, but after reciting it for a while and closely examining it we understood it a little better. We lamented to each other and said, "We were unable to have an audience with the master, but we can imagine his ability through this poem. Is it not a great fortune that we have come here?"*[27]

The first quotation is from Pak Yŏryang 朴汝樑 (1554-1611) , describing his feelings at the top of Ch'ŏnwang Peak of Mt. Chiri. Immediately after recording his impression of the sunrise, he writes the above as he thinks of Cho Shik. The second quotation is by Sŏng Yŏshin 成汝信 (1546-1632) while he roams on Mt. Chiri and remembers an incident that happened fifty years ago while Cho Shik was still alive. Both quotations extol the lofty spirit of Cho Shik through an experience at Ch'ŏnwang Peak of Mt. Chiri.

There are almost seventy travelogues related to Mt. Chiri, of which the majority are written by local scholars without office from the Chinju area. Among them, there were scholars like Shin Myŏnggu 申命耉 (1666-1742), who deeply admired the heritage of Cho Shik, and moved and retired to Tŏksan, where Cho Shik's grave was. Beginning with the travelogue Shin left behind we find in eighteenth and nineteenth century records a steadily increasing number of records of admiration and worship related to Cho Shik, and a tendency to emphasize the aspect of pilgrimage in visits to Mt. Chiri more strongly.[28]

Song Shiyŏl belongs to a later age than Yi Hwang and Cho Shik, but in his case we see similar phenomena. Hwayangdong was the place where Song Shiyŏl resided, as well as the place where the Mandongmyo 萬東廟 was located, the shrine where the last Emperor of the Ming 明 Dynasty was venerated as a symbol of the movement that advocated a military campaign against the barbarous Qing 淸. According to *Songni yugi* 俗離遊記 (Record of a trip to Mt. Songni), Hong Sŏkchu 洪奭周 immediately went to Hwayangdong after he had traveled to Mt. Songni, and bowed before the ancestral shrine of Song Siyŏl. As he wandered about the courtyard, he longingly reflected on traces of the master.[29] Similar accounts written by Neo-Confucian scholars of the Song Shiyŏl School are plentiful in records related to Hwayangdong. The following is a record by Pak Munho 朴文鎬 (1846-1911).

> *At Maoshan* 茅山 *there is Huayangdongtian* 華陽洞天 *and here, in our land, there also is a place of the same name, in Sŏwŏn* 西原 *County. The Huayangdongtian of Maoshan became the dwelling place of a Daoist hermit, but Sŏwŏn became the place where the Emperor was enshrined. At Wuyishan there are the Nine River Bends [Jiuqu* 九曲*, in Korean pronunciation: Kugok], and it is the same with Hwayangdong. The Nine River Bends of Wuyishan were where Zhu Xi dwelt, and Kugok of Hwayangdong was the dwelling place of Master Song Siyŏl. How is it possible that the spirits of the land mutually agree so much! If the matters of men are not coincidental, is this not the intention of Heaven?* [30]

The Huayangdong of Maoshan in China – which is considered the holy land of Daoism – and Hwayangdong in the Sŏwŏn area have the same name, but one is the dwelling place of a Daoist hermit and the other is the place where the ancestral shrine of the emperor is located, and for this reason Pak

26 Pak Yŏryang, "Turyusan illok," in Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok*, p. 164.
27 Sŏng Yŏsin, "Pangjangsan sŏllyu ilgi" in Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok*, p. 220.
28 For the characteristics of travelogues on Mt. Chiri from different time periods, see the commentaries in Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok.*
29 Jung Min, V, p.38.
30 Jung Min, V, p.47.

indicates that in practice the latter is better. On top of that, he equates the Wuyi Nine Bends of Zhu Xi with the Kugok of Hwayangdong of Song Shiyŏl. Just as Wuyishan had Zhu Xi , Pak asserted, Hwayangdong had Master Song Shiyŏl.

In the same way Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang immediately reminded people of Yi Hwang, Hwayangdong was the holy land that reminded the Neo-Confucian scholars of the Uam School of Song Shiyŏl. In *Yu Hwayangdong ki*, Pak Munho, after his pilgrimage to different places of Hwayangdong in search of vestiges of Song Siyŏl, concludes his record saying: "How could a person who strolls through Hwayangdong only love its scenery? Mandongmyo is there! Thus, for anyone who wears the robes of a scholar, it is a place he must visit at least once."[31]

Also, it is of interest that the scholars conclude their travels with worship at the graves of the masters. At the end of *Travelogue to Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang*, when Kim Chungch'ŏng arrives at the entrance of the village of T'oegye, the company all get off their horses and walk. They then stop by the old house and grave of the master and bow down in worship before completing their itinerary. Also, in *Yu Tosan ki* 遊陶山記 (Record of trip to Tosan) by O Suk 吳翻 (1592-1634), or in *Al Tosan sŏwŏn gi* 謁陶山書院記(Worshipping at the Tosan Academy) by Yi Ik 李瀷 (1681-1763), the scholars complete their Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang excursion by visit the Tosan Sŏwŏn to reflect upon the master's dwelling place and remaining possessions. In *Turyusan ki* (Records of Mt. Chiri), Song Pyŏngsŏn 宋秉璿 (1836-1905), too, looks for the Nammyŏng Academy and Sanch'ŏnjae 山天齋and pays due respect at the grave. In *Yu Hwayangdong ki* (Record of a trip to Hwayangdong), Chang T'aesu 張泰秀 (1841-1910) completes his record by stating "I left the mountain and went twenty *li* to Ch'ŏngch'ŏn 靑川, where I bowed before the grave of Master Song Shiyŏl." All these examples reflect a similar consciousness.[32]

As we have seen above, for these scholars, excursions were not a time for play and enjoyment, but rather a meaningful time, akin to pilgrimage. They read the texts of their masters together, and searched for traces of the masters during their pilgrimages and reflected upon their spirit. At times, these pilgrimages became sites of ideological and scholarly activities between seniors and juniors in the different schools. Their travelogues clearly diverge from travelogues to other places, which start and end with pleasure.

OSTRACIZING HETERODOX BELIEFS

The third distinctive feature we find in the nature travelogues of Chosŏn Neo-Confucian scholars is that these scholars persistently reveal self-awareness as Neo-Confucian Scholars throughout the records. They also reveal this through their actions. These scholars expressed an extreme sense of aversion against the heterodox religious acts in the mountains which were related to Buddhism or popular beliefs. In accordance with the standards of Confucian ideology, these scholars condemned Buddhist stories or local myths. At times, they intentionally harassed monks or aggressively set fire to wooden printing blocks. Through the act of renaming mountain peaks, they attempted to actively change the image of a mountain, which was a way for them to express their self-awareness. At times, though, scholars also witnessed the impoverished lives of the people in the mountains and expressed the love for the people they felt as Neo-Confucian scholars.

Whichever mountain it is, in Korea great mountains are all bound to harbour famous Buddhist temples and hermitages. The dwelling places of the scholars during their travels belonged to Buddhist temples, and the mountains themselves were sites of Buddhist faith. Also, those who guided the scholars through the mountains were monks. However, these Neo-Confucian scholars continued to express their extreme aversion towards Buddhist relics or Daoist legends they were confronted with. Even Neo-Confucian scholars who had left records related to Buddhism in accordance with royal orders could not avoid fierce criticism.

> *I read the epitaph of the Koryŏ scholar Ch'oe Sŏn* 崔詵. *His sin of deceiving the king and fawning on the Buddha cannot be washed away, not even with all the water of the sea. Surely, it deserves to be burnt up with the force of a wild brushfire.*[33]

> *I rummaged through Buddhist scriptures because I was lonely and bored. There was something called Suryuk much'ahoemun* (水陸無遮會文). *It was too absurd and strange even to laugh over. I do not know who Kim Suon* 金守溫 *(1409-1481) is, but when I looked through his records I discovered he was honored as a great writer. Even so, at the end of this writing, there was his post-*

31 Jung Min, V, p. 51.
32 Jung Min, V, p .63.
33 Yi Hyesun, et. al. *Chosŏn chunggi ŭi yusan'gi munhak*, p.393.

script, full of fawning on the Buddha. Was he a Confucian in name only, while his acts were the same as those of the Mohists? It is a crime against our Confucianism.[34]

A monk at the temple said, "Yusun 柳純, a subject of Shilla, refused an official's stipend and converted to Buddhism. Because he established this temple, it was named Tansok Temple 斷俗寺 (Temple of Breaking with the Secular World). A portrait of the king was drawn, and there remains a wooden board that records that fact."
I considered those words contemptible and did not even look at the portrait.[35]

Acts like this, which were based on moral justifications derived from Neo-Confucianism, are easy to find in numerous travelogues. The examples quoted are not the worst. In the case of Sŏng Yŏshin, who left behind *Pangjangsan sŏllyu ilgi*, he went to Tansok Temple when he was twenty-two. Seeing that the Great Priest Sŏsan 西山 publishing his *Samga kwigam* 三家龜鑑 (*Precious mirror of the three schools*) had put Confucianism at the very end of the book, in a fit of rage he burned the wooden printing blocks.[36]

In the case of the Mt. Chiri travelogues, it was the Sŏngmo Shrine 聖母祠 (devoted to the mountain goddess) at the foot of the Ch'ŏnwang 天王 peak that often became a point of contention. Kim Chongjik (1431-1492) had entered the Sŏngmo Shrine and performed sacrificial rites with offerings of fruit and drink. But the flexibility and untrammelled attitudes of the earlier travelogues became more and more rigid as time passed. When his servant told Kim Ilson 金馹孫 (1464-1498) that they must get off their horses and bow to the Mountain Deity as they arrived in front of Ch'ŏnwang Peak, Kim acted as if he had not even heard him and whipped his horse on to pass the shrine. There are also instances of scholars like Pak Yŏryang, who from the beginning ignored the existence of the Holy Mother and gave the meaning of Ch'ŏnwang Peak at Mt. Chiri a Confucianized twist:

People think that Ch'ŏnwang Peak (Peak of the Heavenly Ruler) is called so because an image of a deity is enshrined there. To my way of thinking [...] it is because the peak is high enough to touch the sky and so magnificent. The way it overlooks the entire mountain is, in form, similar to the emperor governing the world. Is this not why it is called Ch'ŏnwang peak? 37

Because they did not have a place to lodge at the top of the mountain, the scholars had no choice but to sleep at the shrine where the deity of Holy Mother was worshipped. Even so, the scholars displayed how conscientious they were by covering the deity with a mat before settling down to sleep.

Legends related to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857-?) and evaluations of them also show various responses. Kim Chongjik's judgment was positive: "Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was a person who could not be held and tied down. He prided himself on his spirit but was faced with a chaotic world. He was unfortunate in China, and was not accepted in our land either. Eventually, he turned his back on this world without regret. The deep and silent mountain valleys were all places where he strolled. So even if the people of the world call him a Daoist hermit, there will be no shame."[38]

However, Chu Sebung bluntly criticizes Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn: "Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn went to Tang 唐 and wrote a manifesto to suppress the riot of Huangsao 黃巢, and his name reverberated throughout the world. Eventually, he became a supreme literary scholar and was enshrined at the National Confucian Shrine. However, he is really a sinner against Confucianism."[39] Chu criticizes Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn because he immersed himself in Daoism and Buddhism and did not take the lead in protecting the legitimacy of Confucianism. Besides this, Chu Sebung several times left other critical references to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn in his writings. Also, when a monk he met at Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang mentioned that the four sages Kim Saeng 金生 (711-791), Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686) and Ŭisang 義湘 (625-702) became acquainted with each other as they dwelled at this mountain, he vehemently scolded the monk: "Wŏnhyo was a monk from the middle Shilla period, and Kim Saeng and Ŭisang are also both of Shilla, but from a different period. The last person, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, was born at the end of the Shilla period, so how could they have mingled with

34 Jung Min, VI, p. 94.
35 Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al. *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok* , p. 76.
36 See the bibliographical notes in Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok*.
37 Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok,* p. 161.
38 Ch'oe Sŏkki, et. al., *Sŏnindŭl ŭi Chirisan yuramnok,* p. 38.
39 Jung Min, VI, p. 10.

each other? Do not try to deceive me with foolish words."[40] In addition, he denounced all the Buddhist stories that were transmitted in the temple as absurd. Such attitudes became more extreme and fierce as time passed.

As mentioned above, Yi Hwang deemed the fact that the names of the peaks of Mt. Chŏngryang were sprinkled with heterodox Buddhist and Daoist meanings to be "our disgrace," wherefore Chu Sebung attempted to rename the mountain peaks completely in Confucian style. Chu referred to the precedent of Zhu Xi climbing Lushan—where he encountered beautiful scenery and chose names for the peaks—and did the same for Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang. Changinbong was modeled after Zhangyue 丈嶽 of Taishan 泰山, Kyŏngilbong 擎日峰 meant that the peak was lifting up the sun, T'akp'ilbong 卓筆峰 and T'angnippong 卓立峰 meant that the peaks were towering, etc. All of the new names were related to Confucian conduct. The previous Buddhist and Daoist characteristics of Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang were repudiated completely, to effect a rebirth of the mountain in Confucian guise. Chu Sebung's act of renaming was later highlighted as particularly meaningful in the Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang travelogues of the T'oegye School.

At the same time, these scholars sympathized with the impoverished lives of the people and charged the local government offices with atrocious governance. In the Mt. Chiri travelogues, there always appear stories of falconers who lay snares on top of the mountain peaks to hunt falcons. Kim Chongjik lamented bitterly that it was intolerable that the falconers had to prostrate themselves day and night on top of the thousand *kil* high peaks, wearing threadbare clothes even in snow storms. Kim Ilson sympathized with the monks who were suffering because they had to gather the bark and leaves of the prickly ash tree that were used to catch sweetfish for the government authorities. At times, these scholars submitted written petitions on behalf of the people.

In this way, the scholars entered the mountains, which were the headquarters of Buddhism, and radically denounced heterodox beliefs such as Buddhism, Daoism, and popular beliefs, with their burning desire 'to rectify names'. They attempted to put a "Confucian face" on the mountain by changing the names of the mountain peaks or by fiercely criticizing the falsehood of legends.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have investigated the distinct excursion culture of Chosŏn period Neo-Confucian scholars through an examination of their nature travelogues. In particular, we have noted the deep reverence sectarian schools displayed for Cho Sik, Yi Hwang, and Song Shiyŏl in the Mt. Chiri, Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, and Hwayangdong travelogues. The scholars regarded the mountains a symbolic space that represented their ideology and continued to climb the mountains, as if on pilgrimage, while discussing and studying texts. They also did their utmost to ostracize heterodox belief systems.

It is estimated that approximately 1,500 nature travelogues have been left behind by Chosŏn period literati. Among these, there is a domination of 200 travelogues regarding Mt. Kŭmgang. Mt. Chiri has the next largest number, 70. Unexpectedly, Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, no more than a small mountain in Kyŏngbuk Province, comes in third with approximately 50 travelogues. In addition, mountains such as Mt. Kaya, Mt. Mudŭng, Mt. Myohyang, Mt. Songni, which are representative for the areas they are located in, were main targets of excursions and left behind more records than other mountains. However, Hwadam 花潭 of Songdo was the base of Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk 徐敬德 (1489-1546)), but it is difficult to find traces of his followers. Why did these phenomena occur only in particular areas and at particular mountains?

It is truly curious that Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, which is not very high or famous, ranks third in the number of travelogues related to it. If the travelogues were simply records of excursions, this cannot be. When we examine the social strata of those who wrote these texts, the Mt. Chiri and Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, or Hwayangdong travelogues for the most part were written by Neo-Confucian scholars who were from the same school as Cho Shik, Yi Hwang or Song Shiyŏl. Although there are quite a few exceptions, the Mt. Chiri travelogues are clearly distinguishable in character from the travelogues of Neo-Confucian scholars in general. In particular the Yŏngnam scholars who fell completely out of political favor during the latter half of the Chosŏn period persisted in confirming their identity through Mt. Chiri and Mt. Ch'ŏngnyang, and this came to constitute one of this area's cultural characteristics.

On the other hand, as we enter the latter half of the Chosŏn period, Mt. Kŭmgang becomes a place that only those in power and their sons living in the Seoul area can

40 Jung Min, VI, p.10.

visit. One gains the impression that abuses to the general public were excessive and that the extravagance and enjoyment of pleasure had reached a peak. At the same time, the mountains near Seoul became places that anyone visited to enjoy the spring scenery, without any noticeable common characteristics beyond that. As we enter the eighteenth century, the culture of the city developed and as transportation became more convenient the style of excursions changed and the tendency towards pleasure-seeking was intensified.[41]

Despite all this, unrelated to the changes of the times, younger scholars who wanted to express veneration for the great masters who had based themselves at these mountains continued to develop their consciousness of these mountains as sacred sites until the end of the Chosŏn period. The characteristics of travelogues for other mountains, without traces of great masters, are very different from those we have discussed. This paper has been an attempt to examine the main differences and defining characteristics only.

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41 Cf. Jung Min, "18 segi sansu yugi ŭi saeroun kyŏnghyang", *18 segi yŏn' gu* 4 (August 2001), 95-125.

Jung-Shim Lee

A doubtful national hero

HAN YONGUN'S BUDDHIST NATIONALISM REVISITED

INTRODUCTION

It is commonplace to say that Han Yongun (韓龍雲, 1879-1944) is a hero who led the Korean nation through its darkest period of colonial history. His participation in the March First Independence Movement (1919), his flat rejection of the civil registry and name-change order, and his attempts to reform and modernize Korean Buddhism, to oppose its subordination to Japanese Buddhism and the colonial government's intervention in Buddhist affairs, and to boost the national spirit through his literature are told and retold as proof of his uncompromising attitude towards Japanese colonial rule and his unwavering conviction about national independence throughout his lifetime. It is often held that his nationalism and literature could remain morally and politically pure, correct, flawless, original, and prominent due to its grounding in his profound Buddhist philosophy.

***Chosŏn chungang ilbo* (Jun. 1936)**

In present-day Korea where, to borrow a phrase from Carter J. Eckert, "the nationalist historical discourse is buttressed by strong vested interests throughout the community",[1] Han Yongun is hailed as a symbol of heroic nationalism, a source of national pride whose spiritual, cultural, and political achievements can contribute not only to Korea but to the world in this era of globalization. It is against this backdrop that recently scholars have begun to express deep concern about the hero-worship of Han Yongun and to question whether these commonplace beliefs are really tenable. In recent years, a growing body of scholarship both in Korean and English has questioned nationalist interpretations dominant in numerous existing studies, reconsidering Han's nationalist ideas from new and more diverse perspectives,[2] looking at the ambivalence and complexity of his literature,[3] and discussing larger problems within Buddhism.[4]

This paper is one of the attempts to revise our under-

1 Carter J. Eckert, "Epilogue: Exorcising Hegel's Ghosts: Toward a Postnationalist Historiography of Korea", in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, edited by Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), pp. 363-378 (p.364).

2 Ku Moryong 구모룡, "Manhae sasang esŏŭi chayu wa p'yŏngdŭng 만해사상에서의 자유와 평등", *Manhaehak yŏn'gu* 만해학연구 2 (2006), 36-59; Pae Pyŏngsam 배병삼, "Manhae Han Yongun ŭi sahoe sasang gwa shilch'ŏn e taehan pip'anjŏk koch'al 만해 한용운의 사회사상과 실천에 대한 비판적 고찰", *Manhaehak yŏn'gu* 3 (2007), 7-31; Yi Sŏni 이선이, "Munmyŏng gwa minjog ŭl t'onghae pon Manhae ŭi kŭndae ihae '문명'과 '민족'을 통해 본 만해의 근대이해", *Manhaehak yŏn'gu* 3 (2007), 34-52.

3 See Gregory N. Evon, "Eroticism and Buddhism in Han Yongun's Your Silence", *Korean Studies* 24 (2000), 25-52, and Gregory N. Evon, "Ghostly Voices and Their Avatar: Buddhist Resonances in Han Yongun's Enlightenment Verse", *The Review of Korean Studies* 3.1 (2000), 93-122; Yi Sŏni 李善伊, "Manhae Han Yongun munhag e nat'anan t'alshingminjijuŭijŏk inshik 만해 韓龍雲 文學에 나타난 脫植民主義的 인식", *Ŏmun yŏn'gu* 語文硏究 31.2 (Summer 2003), 245-263.

4 Hendrik H. Sørensen, "Buddhism and secular power in twentieth-century Korea", in *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, edited by Ian Harris (London and New York: Continuum, 1999), pp.127-152; Gregory N. Evon, "Contestations over Korean Buddhist Identities: The "Introduction" to the Kyŏnghŏjip", *The Review of Korean Studies* 4.1 (2001), 11-33; Pori Park, "Korean Buddhist Reforms and Problems in the Adoption of Modernity during the Colonial Period", *Korea Journal* 45.1 (Spring 2005), 87-113; Pori Park, "A Korean Buddhist Response to Modernity: The Doctrinal Underpinning of Han Yongun's (1879-1944) Reformist Thought", *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 20.1 (2007), 21-44 (pp.27-28); Vladimir Tikhonov and Owen Miller, "Introduction" in *Selected writings of Han Yongun: From Social Darwinism to 'Socialism with a Buddhist Face'*, Vladimir Tikhonov and Owen Miller (Kent: Global Oriental, 2008), pp.1-36.

standing of Han Yongun, in particular tackling the popularly accepted truism of his Buddhist nationalism. Since he was a Buddhist monk, his Buddhism is naturally seen as the underlying ideology of all his ideas and practices. As Pori Park has stated, Han related Buddhist reformation to national identity and tried to develop a socially conscious Buddhism.[5] However, it is hardly addressed that while relating Buddhism to politics, Han clearly opposed politicization of Buddhism as a political instrument to serve colonial and nationalist interests and goals. Rather than equating religious beliefs with political agendas, I argue, he was aware of the difference between religion and national politics in terms of identity, ideal and goal and regarded religion as more fundamental than any ideology. Evident in his later writing is his emphasis on self-reflection or self-cultivation within nationalism in place of anti-Japanese sentiment. My analysis of a broad range of neglected texts mainly written in the 1930s will reveal how his own voice concerning the relationship between Buddhist and national affairs was a lot more diverse and even controversial than habitually thought.

SELF-RELIANCE: DEMYSTIFYING RESISTANCE NATIONALISM

The Buddhism Han Yongun practised as a monk is assumed to have primarily served nationalist purposes. He is seen as a true nationalist whose spirit of resistance was as firm and correct as his Buddhist belief and as acute and uncompromising as that of armed independence fighters active outside colonial Korea. His strong resistance nationalism is further assumed to form a sharp contrast to the attitudes of cultural nationalists who had a low spirit of resistance and reached compromises with the colonial authorities.[6] However, I will argue that Han should be reconsidered as a self-reconstruction nationalist himself. The core of his nationalism was neither anti-colonialism nor resistance, but self-reflection, self-reliance and self-cultivation. He shared nationalist ideas and views with many cultural nationalists and actively participated in their campaigns.

Han's famous treatise, *Chosŏn Pulgyo yusillon* 朝鮮佛教維新論 (A treatise on the reformation of Korean Buddhism, 1913), is one of the first texts in which his early awareness of self-reflection emerges. As is well known, this long treatise was written to devise a reform plan for the Korean Buddhist monasteries, which were then in a deteriorated condition. The introduction of this reform proposal makes it clear that Han seeks the reason for the degradation of Korean Buddhism inside the Buddhist community rather than accusing the Confucian state of its suppression or unfavorable circumstances. He emphasizes this "self-critical attitude" towards Buddhism, and further, towards all human affairs.[7] He strongly refutes the ancients' saying that everything depends upon heaven (*hanŭl*) or is the will of heaven. According to him, this customary conviction is outdated, illogical, and superstitious in the eyes of a "civilized person" (*munmyŏng'in*) who believes that everything depends on oneself. He argues that one should get things done through one's own efforts, capabilities or mistakes, and therefore it is the person involved who has full responsibility for whatever happens to one.[8]

Han stands for this self-reliance, further equating it with the virtue of freedom. He accuses those relying on heaven as "slaves" or "sinners" who forsake their own freedom and are deficient in self-esteem. He states that those who fully understand the spirit of "I endeavor" and "everything depends on me" level blame on themselves instead of others and believe in themselves without counting on other things like heaven. Self-reliance, self-blame, and self-esteem are argued by him to be the guiding principles to reform Korean Buddhism in its bad condition.[9] And then, he radically espouses removal of all the elements in the contemporary Korean Buddhist monasteries that run counter to this "self-reliance" principle: the *Yŏmbultang* (Buddha recitation hall) should be abolished because people resort to the false image of Buddha instead of seeking Buddhahood inside themselves; monks should be self-sufficient and stop engaging in religious mendicancy; and all the relics of idolatry and superstitions in Buddhism should be taken away.[10]

About a decade later, Han Yongun addresses the notion again, but this time as the very nature of Buddhism. In his essay "Nae ga minnŭn Pulgyo" (내가 믯는 佛教, "The Buddhism I believe in", 1924), he explains why he believes in Buddhism and what he sincerely and single-mindedly

5 Pori Park, "A Korean Buddhist Response to Modernity," pp.27-28 and 35-36.

6 Yŏm Muung 염무웅, "Han Yongun non 韓龍雲論", in *Han Yongun* 한용운, edited by Pak Ch'ŏrhŭi 박철희 (Seoul: Sŏgang taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1997/2002), pp.33-34.

7 Han Yongun, *Han Yongun chŏnjip* 韓龍雲全集 6 vols (Seoul: Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2006) II, p.34.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., pp.56-60, 70-75, and 78-82.

***Tong'a ilbo* (April 1923): Han Yongun gave a speech on self-reliance during a campaign for raising funds to establish a Korean university.**

believes in in Buddhism.[11] It is first and foremost because Buddhism is self-belief or self-faith (*chashinjŏk*, 自信的). By this he means that Buddhism seeks its object of faith inside and inherent in oneself, not outside oneself. The customary Buddhist practice to pray to Buddha's supernatural powers is, according to him, not the true nature of Buddhism. Instead of worshipping other powers such as Heaven or God as in other religions, the Buddhist belief leads its followers to seek one's true self and gives them a sense of self-reliance.

As far as his early writing was concerned, Han Yongun's discussion on self-reliance and self-blame is basically confined to religion and philosophy. However, although it remains abstract, he gradually begins to specify its meaning and role in national circumstances. In 1923, the *Tonga ilbo* 東亞日報 asked Han (representing a Buddhist association, Pŏppohoe 法寶會) for advice on how to cope with the spiritual and material hardship colonial Korea and Koreans experienced.[12] Han first sympathizes with the incredible amount of emotional pain and economic despair Koreans faced in reality. Yet he dispassionately explains that the suffering cannot be diminished by blaming, resisting (*chŏhang*) or begging the Japanese colonial authorities, who are, in his words, the ones who have taken away Koreans' freedom. In his view, such responses are the most certain way to make people feel suffering, even keenly. How then can they get rid of all their suffering? Han answers that no matter what the situation is, one's mind is most important. The point is that if one has a strong mind and spiritual strength one does not feel the suffering, whereas being weak and poor in spirit intensifies the suffering. He emphasizes the practice of cultivating and strengthening spirituality as a key factor in handling the Koreans' hardship.

From this article, one can gain a glimpse of Han's alternative way of seeing and settling the difficulties of his compatriots to that commonly assumed. He does not promote resistance and resentment against the colonial authorities, nor dependence on them. Based upon the self-reliance principle, he focuses on the Korean self rather than on the colonial oppressor and tries to find the solution within the Koreans themselves, particularly seeking their spiritual empowerment. It is much later, after another decade or so has passed, that he more explicitly applies his vision to colonial society and elaborates his idea of nationalism by drawing upon the concept of self-reliance. Of his various works treating this issue, I will focus on his essay "Pansŏng" 反省 (Self-reflection, ca. 1933).

In this essay, Han first points out the general tendency

11 *Kaebyŏk* 開闢 45 (March 1924), 32-33 .

12 "Chosŏn kŭp Chosŏninŭi pŏnmin p'al: Yŏngchŏk pinp'ibŭro kot'ong 朝鮮及朝鮮人의 煩悶 八: 靈的貧乏으로 苦痛", *Tonga ilbo* (9 January 1923).

in human society for people to blame their problems and misfortunes on outside groups. The poor tend to resent the rich. A man with low status is apt to begrudge a person of high standing. The weak reproach the strong. Han does not accept this social custom but flatly opposes it, saying, "Whoever makes you poor is not the rich but you yourself. Whoever makes you weak is not the strong but you yourself. Whoever makes you distressed is neither society, nor heaven or earth, nor the times but you yourself. Thus, while it is your right to make yourself happy you ought to take responsibility for your unhappiness".[13] It is not his intention to simply forbid people to desire to be rich or strong or to wish that the rich or strong be poor or weak like them. What he is basically trying to say is that one should seek the main causes and effects of all human affairs in oneself. By blaming others and complaining about one's circumstances, one can temporarily forget one's problem and feel better, but this does not bring about fundamental change. He argues that change begins with oneself. In the face of difficulties, the first and wisest thing to do is to reflect on illusory thought and misbehavior. An effort made by oneself is the strongest weapon on behalf of happiness.[14]

As mentioned above, Han once tackled this customary belief that others are to blame for one's unhappiness in his early days. From a social-Darwinist gaze, he disdained it as superstitious and claimed that a civilized man holds the belief that everything depends on oneself. In his later writing, he no longer uses social-Darwinist terms, but the main points of his argument are sustained and more clearly rendered. The ideas of self-reflection and self-responsibility which were argued as the guiding principle mainly to reform the Buddhist community are now developed and refashioned as important guidelines for the Korean people to live, think and act in colonial Korea.

> *The despair over the loss of country [Chosŏn Korea] is indescribable. However, the person who only resents the occupier will never resolve his deep sorrow. In extreme agony and distress, one is prone to reproach one's blessed counterpart [Japan] but it will not bring back happiness…Even if the occupier (chŏngbokkuk) self-destructs and the blessed counterpart becomes unhappy, unless one does not uproot the cause of national decay (in the Korean self), the second and third occupier will appear. Unless one eliminates the bane, one cannot free oneself from the agony. It is a matter of self-reflection or self-blame.*[15]

Han Yongun sees that the Koreans feel sorrow and lead miserable lives in colonial Korea. In their predicament, they tend to lament their misfortune in losing sovereignty and often nurture resentment against Japan. As he points out, this entails a desire and expectation that the occupier will become even unhappier than themselves and in the end destroy itself. People think that when this happens, they can be freed from both the Japanese occupier and their miserable reality. Han does not support or encourage this mindset, but on the contrary demands they change their mind or revise their thinking. He concedes that what happens to Japan can bring some change to them (even implying its retreat from Korea and national independence), and yet he argues that it would not amount to the removal of the fundamental cause of the misfortunes they suffer. Even the national goal of independence is not seen by him as the final solution, since the Koreans who become directly involved in their national affairs will not have changed at all.

In the same way as Han sought the reason for the degradation of Korean Buddhism inside the Buddhist community rather than accusing the Confucian state of its suppression, so he looks for the main cause of the loss of country and its misfortunes inside the Korean self rather than fiercely resenting Japan's colonization and oppression. Referring back to history, he significantly states that no country perished through a foreign invasion unless it had first self-destructed.[16] That is to say, Chosŏn Korea perished fundamentally by the Koreans' own hands before being colonized by Japan; the Koreans let the Japanese occupy them. One might question whether this entails shifting all the blame onto the Koreans and acquits the Japanese colonizer of guilt, and whether his idea of self-blame was mobilized to justify the colonial domination.

Contrary to the standard viewpoint, Han indeed hardly raises a critical voice against colonial oppression in his writings on self-reliance. He avoids problematizing the colonial government and accusing it of oppression and domina-

13 Republished in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* I, p.210.
14 Ibid., p.211.
15 Ibid., pp.210-211.
16 Ibid., p.210.

tion. He does not encourage his compatriots to cultivate a fighting spirit against it. He only sticks to the principle of directing one's critical look towards oneself and to depending on oneself. His lack of criticism of the colonial oppression and his advocacy of self-blame might be interpreted as giving indirect and tacit approval to Japan's colonial domination. However, his arguments are not aimed at making the Korean feel inferior or at justifying colonial domination.

On the contrary, Han's core intent is to motivate the Koreans to rehabilitate their self-esteem and attain spiritual and psychological independence from their colonial master. In the colonial relationship, the Japanese colonial government is presumed to be the agent and provider of change, whereas the Koreans are regarded as the passive and submissive subjects and recipients. Against this conception, Han sets up the Koreans as the main agents of change. He clearly articulates that both misfortune and happiness are entirely dependent on the Koreans' own efforts. They are not given by the Japanese counterpart.[17] He makes it clear that blaming the colonial master means that the Koreans still depend upon it, that their minds are still bound to the colonizer-colonized relationship, and that they make themselves "slaves." Reflecting on oneself is not to express self-depreciation but to challenge the deep-rooted dependence in the mind of the Koreans on other external political powers, which he sees as the bane of their miserable colonial lives.

Han Yongun's national ideas with their focus on self-reliance likewise constitute an important alternative to the existing nationalist view of his anti-colonial resistance nationalism. Few have noted until now that he largely shared his ideas and insights with cultural nationalists, in particular self-reconstruction nationalists in colonial Korea. In his earliest essays, Yi Kwangsu 李光洙 also reiterated that Koreans were imbued with a fatalistic view of life, believing that all decisions were made by heaven (*ch'ŏnmyŏng*) and fate (*p'alcha*). Yi strongly argued that this "old superstitious belief" should be discarded. The Koreans should believe that it is they who determine their lives and create happiness in their hands.[18] The passage by Han quoted above, in particular, is a textbook example of the classic cultural/self-reconstruction nationalist position.

Both key propagators of self-reconstruction nationalism, Yun Ch'iho 尹致昊 and An Ch'angho 安昌浩, thought that Korea's colonial fate was a result of an absence of moral fortitude, lack of public morality, lack of self-reliance, and a fatal tendency to rely on larger powers in each individual Korean, rather than of the event of colonization itself. They spelled out that it was not Japan that ruined Korea. If any are to blame, it is Koreans: they allowed Japan to occupy their country. Nonetheless, the Korean people blame others for their misfortune without realizing their own responsibility. From this perspective, the progenitors of self-reconstruction nationalism focused on the moral aspect of nationalism and argued that if the Koreans did not reconstruct themselves morally and spiritually and did not cultivate their moral capacity and spiritual strength, national independence would be difficult to achieve. They also believed that even were it to take one or two centuries, there was no other way but this non-political moral improvement for the Koreans to nurture the requisites of independence. Without this, even if Japan left and independence was restored today, the Koreans would lose it tomorrow.[19]

Han and other cultural nationalists did not share exactly the same nationalist ideas but their opinions greatly concurred on the reason for the loss of country, on the emphasis on moral/spiritual values, and the importance of self-blame, self-responsibility, and self-reliance. Regardless of their philosophical and religious backgrounds (Buddhism in the case of Han Yongun, Protestantism for many cultural nationalists), they crafted a shared national vision and sought to actively mobilize their compatriots toward the achievements of shared goals. In practice too, Han closely cooperated with the cultural nationalists. When these nationalists embarked on a large campaign to promote Korean production (*Chosŏn mulsan changnyŏ undong*, 朝鮮物産奬勵運動), a movement to raise funds for a Korean university (*Millip taehak sŏllip undong*, 民立大學設立運動) and a movement to foster the Korean vernacular language, Han actively supported these movements and was an

17 Ibid., p.211.

18 Yi Kwangsu 李光洙, "Sungmyŏngnonjŏk insaenggwan esŏ charyŏngnonjŏk insaenggwan e 宿命論的 人生觀에서 自力論的 人生觀에", *Hakchigwang* 學之光 17 (Jan. 1919), 18-21; Yi Kwangsu, "P'alchasŏr ŭl kich'o ro han Chosŏnin ŭi insaenggwan 八字說을 基礎로 한 朝鮮人의 人生觀", *Kaebyŏk* 開闢 14 (Aug. 1921), 35-45.

19 For details about the Protestant self-reconstruction movement, see Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1988); Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Allen &Unwin Pty Ltd, 1991) Translated into Korean by In Soo Kim as *Sae hananim sae minjok* 새 하나님 새 민족 (Seoul: Publishing House The Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1997); Koen De Ceuster, "From Modernization to Collaboration, the Dilemma of Korean Cultural Nationalism: the Case of Yun Ch'i-ho, 1865-1945" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Leuven, 1994); Pak Ch'ansŭng 박찬승, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu: Minjokchuŭi up'a ŭi shillyŏk yangsŏng undongnon* 한국근대정치사상사연구: 민족주의 우파의 실력양성운동론 (Seoul: Yŏksa pip'yŏngsa, 1992/1997); Chang Kyusik 장규식, *Ilcheha Han'guk Kidokkyo minjokjuŭi yŏn'gu* 일제하 한국 기독교민족주의 연구 (Seoul: Hyean, 2001).

invited speaker on the topic of "Chajo" (自助, self-help). In 1931, he joined hands with Protestant cultural nationalist leaders such as Yun Ch'iho and Sin Hŭng'u in leprosy research and relief works.[20] Han Yongun, who proclaimed that "*Chosŏn undong* (Korean national movement) should be called *munhwa undong* (cultural movement) in Korea," should be reclaimed as a cultural nationalist.[21]

BUDDHA ABOVE AND BEYOND NATION

Han Yongun was not a Buddhist hermit living isolated from colonial society and concentrating on his Buddhist practice. Instead, he strove to reform Korean Buddhism to align with contemporary society, to popularize it among the ordinary people, and to put Buddhist thought into socio-political practice. His active participation in national politics is, however, widely misunderstood. Many find that Han's Buddhism and national identity were conflated in the colonial context and that there was no collision between them in terms of ideal and goal. Still, he is assumed to have regarded national independence as taking precedence over everything else, including Buddhism, and as a Buddhist, to have done his best to serve his nation. Some even argue that he became a monk not for its own sake, but to disguise his true identity as a Korean, an independence activist (*tongnip chisa*) and an anti-Japanese fighter (*hangil t'usa*).[22]

However, Han's own voice as found in his literature questions and challenges the conventional portrayal of his Buddhism as a vehicle of national politics. In many of his Buddhist essays and speeches, in particular those written in the 1930s, he insisted on the strict separation between religion and politics (*chŏnggyo pulli*), arguing, "True Buddhism is only possible when it is free from all political interferences and restrictions".[23] His purpose was basically to criticize the colonial government's political control over the Korean *sangha* and intervention in Buddhist affairs through a set of regulations, the so-called Temple Ordinance. Therefore, his attempts to stay away from state politics and to achieve the self-management of the Buddhist *sangha* are often interpreted to express anti-Japanese nationalism at a religious level, although they practically failed.[24] Still, it is too hasty to regard his stance on the separation between religion and politics as the same as anti-colonial nationalism, since my findings are that he also guarded Buddhism from the control and intervention of Korean nationalism in accordance with this same principle.

The first instance in which Han separates Buddhism from Korean nationalist politics is found in his essay "Nae-ga minnŭn Pulgyo" (The Buddhism I believe in, 1924), in relation to which I have already examined his emphasis on self-reliance as a feature of Buddhism. As he clearly states at the end of this essay, he advocates neither imperialism nor nationalism but Buddhism as the guiding principle for the present day and future age of Korea and the world.[25] He acknowledges that these two political ideologies wield enormous power in reality and dominate people's lives in his day. Yet he does not support using Korean nationalism to oppose imperialism. Nor does he criticize imperialism in order to defend Korean nationalism. Instead of accepting either imperialism or nationalism, he argues that neither is the all-surpassing truth. In his thought, Buddhism deserves to be the ultimate truth because it encompasses, surpasses and transcends all current opinions, ideologies and discourses.

Han explains that the true self of Buddha or the Buddha nature delivers the value of self-reliance. He attempts to seek the meaning of equality (*p'yŏngdŭng*) from the inherent Buddha nature that exists in all beings. Regarding the controversy over spiritualism (*yusimnon*) versus materialism (*yumullon*), he emphasizes that the Buddhist view of mind covers both spirit and body (matter), or more exactly, transcends those theoretical distinctions. Above all, the Buddhist imperative of compassion (*chabi*) or salvation for all myriad things is to express, in today's terms, *pagae* (universal love, 博愛) and *hoje* (mutual aid, 互濟). It is not merely to use modern terms to explain Buddhism but to claim that transcendental Buddhism is neither unrealistic nor unearthly but realistic in the way it embraces and reconciles all other socio-political ideas. In conclusion, he emphasizes that Buddhism can truly be the ultimate guide to all things.

In this essay, Han does not directly propose the

20 See the chronological report of Han's life. An Pyŏngjik 安秉直 (ed.), *Han Yongun* 韓龍雲 (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1980), pp.299-306.

21 Han Yongun, "Chŏngmyŏnghan inshik 正明한 認識", *Tonga ilbo* (1 January 1933).

22 Ko Myŏngsu 고명수, "Chosŏn tongnip iyusŏ e nat'anan Manhae ŭi tongnip sasang 조선독립이유서에 나타난 만해의 독립사상" in *2001-Manhae ch'ukchŏn* 2001 만해축전 (Seoul: Pulgyo sidaesa, 2001), pp. 378-380.

23 "Han Yongunsa= chŏnggyo pulli yŏksŏl 韓龍雲師=政教分離力說", *Tonga ilbo* (27 March 1931).

24 Pori Park, "Korean Buddhist Reforms and Problems in the Adoption of Modernity during the Colonial Period", pp.106-110; Pori Park, "A Korean Buddhist Response to Modernity", pp.29-32; Chŏng Kwangho 정광호, *Ilbon ch'imnyak shigi ŭi Han-Il Pulgyo kwan'gyesa* 일본침략시기의 한,일 불교 관계사 (Seoul: Arŭmdaun sesang, 2001), pp.137-157.

25 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* Ⅱ, p.289.

separation of Buddhism from politics as he did in later writings targeting the colonial state control but shows his awareness that religious and political ideologies cannot be regarded as identical categories. Imperialism and nationalism are not perceived as oppositional but alike as dominant political ideologies. In its relation to politics, Buddhism is placed as holding a central leadership position of fundamental importance. This strongly implies that he rejects subservience of Buddhism to any socio-political ideology, even if it is nationalism. It might well be a false assumption to think that the national goal of independence was the most important matter in Han's life.

Han's vision of Buddhism beyond and above political ideologies, and in particular Korean nationalism, is more polemically argued in a later interview titled "Han Yongunssiwa Sŏkka rŭl ŏham" 韓龍雲 씨와 釋迦를 語함 (An interview with Han Yongun: Talking about Shakyamuni, 1932).[26] This text is actually part of a collection of interviews conducted around a counterfactual idea: "If sages were reborn in Korea?" As a special January issue, the popular magazine *Samch'ŏlli* 三千里 asked Yi Kwangsu about Christ, An Chaehong about Confucius, and finally, Han Yongun about Shakyamuni. The focus of the interviews was to inquire whether these religious saints possessed patriotic love for their countries and what a religion can do for its country (in this case, the Korean nation). The first two intellectuals, Yi and An, answered that if Christ and Confucius had been born as Koreans in colonial Korea, they would have practically become a patriot or nationalist and would have tried above all to save their compatriots.[27] If Han Yongun had been a monk who regarded the nation as his first priority, he ought to have said the same thing. However, he thoroughly opposed the idea that Buddha should be a patriot in service of the Korean nation.

The *Samch'ŏlli* reporter breaks the ice saying, "If Shakyamuni had been born in today's Korea and not in India 2400 years ago and had witnessed the pathetic sight of Korea, he would have immediately rushed to save the Koreans." He was pretty much convinced that "Buddha would have been an ardent nationalist and would have organized a secret organization. If not, he would have at least delivered speeches on the street or spread leaflets in the darkness".[28] The interviewer takes it for granted that the founder of Buddhism should be a savior of the Korean nation caught in the predicament of colonial rule, or at least as a nationalist who is willing to do anything for the nation's sake. The Buddha pictured by the interviewer resembles precisely the way Han is conventionally portrayed.

However, Han does not agree with the interviewer, remarking: "The historical Buddha transcended life and death as well as the distinction between sentient and insentient beings and time and space. In other words, he aimed at a universal revolution [transcending national boundaries]. He would not have striven for Korea only."[29] He does not say that the historical Buddha would have served the Korean nation, saved the Koreans from colonial hardship, and resolved all the problems surrounding colonial Korea. Nor does he deny the possibility that Buddha would have worked for the Korean people, either. He does not attempt to answer the question with either yes or no but problematizes the reporter's question itself. By emphasizing Buddha as a transcendent being whose universal and universe-oriented scope is beyond racial and national boundaries, he indicates that it is absurd to understand Buddha as a savior or nationalist for the sake of the Korean nation.

Finding Han's remark totally unexpected and incomprehensible, the interviewer retorts with a question whether Han means that the Buddha completely denied the existence of all the national boundaries and borders and blood bonds. Historically considered, the reporter argues, the Shakyamuni Buddha was born as an Indian. He wore Indian clothes, spoke Indian and wandered around among the Indians to preach Buddhism and save them from suffering. This being the case, the reporter asks, what was wrong with seeing Buddha as a savior of the Indian people and, further, of the Korean nation? Han responds that while it is true that Shakyamuni acted first of all to save the Indians when he embarked on his mission of salvation of mankind, that was because Indians were the nearest to him, not because he consciously selected the Indians out from among others such as the Turks, British, and Germans and intended to save only the Indians to the neglect of others.

Against the interviewer's insistence that something like national spirit or national identity existed in Buddha's mind, utilizing historical conditions and circumstances, Han elucidates his previous argument that Buddha was

26 Han Yongun was interviewed on December 9, 1931. This interview was published on January 1st, 1932. When it was reprinted in the collected works, the title was changed to "The spirit of Shakyamuni." The date of publication was also wrongly given as 1931.

27 "Taesŏng i onŭl Chosŏn e t'ae'ŏnattamyŏn? 大聖이 오늘 朝鮮에 태어났다면?", in *Samch'ŏlli* 4.1 (Jan.1932), pp. 64-71 (65-68).

28 Ibid. p.69.

29 Ibid.

beyond racial and national boundaries, transcended time and space, and was free from all bonds and distinctions. He thus implies that it is impossible to measure or even judge Buddha's spirit using the yardstick of patriotic nationalism. He makes it crystal clear that the focus of Buddha was on "myriad things" (*manyu*) in the universe, not on India or colonial Korea. What concerned him day and night was revolutionary change of the whole universe, not nationalist movements for the sake of a particular nation or country. Han runs counter to the strongly held politicized picture of Buddha as a national savior or a nationalist. Instead, he tenaciously describes Buddha as loyal to the religious vision of universal compassion.

Han's uncompromising view of Buddha beyond and above the nation finally provokes anger in the interviewer, who asserts that it does not matter what Buddha's philosophy exactly was: what is important is its relation to reality. The Koreans are now witnessing many great political convulsions and international developments such as the Manchurian invasion, the clash between Japan and China, the League of the Nations, and friction among the great powers. In such a dire situation, the interviewer wonders if Buddha would have sat by as an idle spectator. He sarcastically questions of what avail it is to think of the morning star (Buddha attained enlightenment by looking up at the morning star), to contemplate life and death in a leisured manner and to show mercy to animals, trees, grasses and fishes. To him, such a Buddha is an unrealistic daydreamer and a useless man in colonial Korea.[30]

The interviewer's criticism of Han's view of Buddha and Buddhism is to some extent persuasive and compelling. In fact, Han was not an advocate of Buddhism for its own sake. As is widely known, he attempted to reform and secularize Buddhism to keep up with changes in society. In this interview, however, why is he so adamant that the founder of Buddhism would not have concerned himself with national and international affairs and not offered any help to the Koreans trying to cope with the difficulties that composed their reality? It may seem inconsistent on the face of it, but if one looks closely there is consistency. In any case, Han regards Buddhist ideals and activity as most important, central and fundamental in relation to other ideologies. Thus, it is unacceptable to him if politics such as imperialism and nationalism imposes its dominant position upon Buddhism and makes use of it for its political purpose.

Han discerns that the reporter's view of religion and reality is highly politicized and nation-centered. The Koreans and their national affairs are of most importance to the reporter. The rest of nations and countries and matters irrelevant to the Korean nation are regarded by the reporter as less important or even meaningless and useless. If religions are autonomous, they are condemned as unrealistic or anti-national; they should be subservient to national interests and goals. Han seriously questions this nationalist perspective on religions. Political movements or (socialist) revolution (*hyŏngmyŏng*) is not the point. For Buddha preached about matters of higher importance than politics; his teachings help us to realize that many things neglected and devalued by the limited nationalist viewpoint are not trivial and meaningless but equally important as the Korean nation and nationalism. In the light of Buddha's teaching, indeed, Koreans and their national affairs are not even urgent matters. By depicting Buddha as one who never loses sight of things outside the Korean nation, Han implicitly criticizes Korean nationalism for its own sake, which tends to be aggressive, narrow-minded and controlling toward all the others, even though it is not his intention to reject its existence itself. This criticism of narrow-minded nationalism is also present elsewhere in his early writings, but this time he focuses more on the relationship between Buddhism and nationalism and argues that Buddhism is not a political tool supporting whatever the Koreans and their nationalism want. Rather, he maintains that Buddhism is first and foremost a universal religion of broader vision and scope and more fundamental than political ideologies and practices. It is also presented as having a crucial role in rectifying the wrong course of nationalism and inspiring insights going beyond it.

The newspaper interview and "Nae-ga minnŭn Pulgyo" present one more important matter, namely, the relation between Han's Buddhism and socialism. As the terms he uses such as *yumullon* (materialism), *hyŏngmyŏng* (revolution), and *Pulgyo sahoejuŭi* (Buddhist socialism) indicate, Han was certainly aware of the newly arisen socialist or radical ideas in society. In this regard, Tikhonov and Miller have proffered an interesting argument: Han described Buddhism in terms acceptable to contemporary radicals and responded positively to socialist, anarchist, and communist criticism of imperialism and nationalism in the

30 Ibid., p.70.

early 1920s.[31] According to them, there are other terms in the texts that also strongly allude to socialist, early communist ideas. Mutual aid, for example, is argued by them as being popularly used among Korean anarchists. His term "Buddhist socialism" is considered as crucial evidence of his affinity with socialist ideas, although they acknowledge that Han never became either Marxist or communist.

Tikhonov and Miller's argument is, however, somewhat tendentious and overstated from the vantage point of socialism. What Han emphasized above all else in those essays is self-reliance as a characteristic of Buddhism, and this is a core concept that Korean cultural nationalists advocated in distinction to the socialist way of revolution. However, Tikhonov and Miller do not refer to this contradictory concept in their discussion. Contrary to their claims, the terms Han used to explain his Buddhist belief are not exclusively related to socialist ideas but are also widely and popularly used among many cultural nationalists in support of their idea of self-reconstruction.[32] For example, Yi Kwangsu heralded the whole world turning to democracy, mutual aid (*sangho pujo*, 相互扶助), gender equality, non-violence, mutual love (*sang'ae*, 相愛), and equality (*p'yŏngdŭng*). If history taught freedom and equality, all great religious men such as Shakyamuni, Confucius, Christ, Socrates, and Gandhi in unison taught love (*sarang*) and salvation of mankind from conflict and suffering.[33]There are more similarities between Han and cultural nationalists than between Han and socialists.

It is worth noting that Han's consideration of socialist ideas is primarily limited to economic matters. As he briefly summarizes in the newspaper interview, the intriguing term, socialist Buddhism, refers to none other than Buddha's economic view: Buddha rejected accumulating a fortune and opposed economic inequality. Han sees that Buddha's economic ideal to live without a desire to possess has something in common with the socialist counterpart and expresses his intention to write a book about the topic later.[34] Nonetheless, the fact that he failed to do so may be more important. He wrote no book nor even as much as a short article related to socialist Buddhism. He never explained why he did not and never mentioned the notion again in his writing. At any rate, it is an overemphasis to say that Han described Buddhism solely in tune with socialist or anarchist ideologies. In his thought, socialism is also one of many sociopolitical ideologies Buddhism could embrace, guide, and at the same time, surpass. One should not forget his articulation that political movements or "socialist revolution" is not the point. The centerpiece of his thinking is not imperialism or nationalism or socialism but his Buddhist belief.

The same goes for Han Yongun's view of other religions like Ch'ŏndogyo. As is generally known, this religion was deeply involved in Korean nationalist movements. During the colonial period, it took a prominent place in launching national movements such as the March First Movement (1919). Its magazine *Kaebyŏk* 開闢 professed to be published on behalf of the entire Korean people.[35] Its leaders, Son Pyŏnghŭi 孫秉熙 and Ch'oe Rin 崔麟, were also recognized as nationalists up to the 1920s. Through his essay, "Ch'ŏndogyo e taehan kamsang gwa ch'ongmang" (天道敎에 대한 感想과 囑望 Observations and suggestions regarding Ch'ŏndogyo, 1928),[36] Han expresses his deep concern over the politicization of the Ch'ŏndogyo organization. In his view, this religious group deviates from its original path while paying too much attention to nationalist movements. He makes it clear that before anything else Ch'ŏndogyo is a religious group rather than a nationalist association. Although a religion cannot avoid secularization and socialization in these times, he argues, a religious organization should preserve its religious identity, lest it lose its power and disappear. Rather, Ch'ŏndogyo should more earnestly religionize itself. He does not oppose its social and nationalist participation itself but makes his point clear: religion is the most important primary matter of all activities and therefore cannot be subordinate to politics.

COLLABORATION DURING THE SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR?

Despite ideological differences, many scholars strongly believe that Han Yongun never compromised with Japanese imperialism (nor with Japanese Buddhism) and its

31 Vladimir Tikhonov and Owen Miller, *Selected writings of Han Yongun*, pp. 21-25.

32 Pak Ch'ansŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngchʼi sasangsa yŏn'gu*, pp.176-185.

33 Yi Ch'unwŏn 李春園, "Minjok kaejoron 民族改造論", *Kaebyŏk* 23 (May 1922), 18-22; reprinted in Yi Kwangsu, *Yi Kwangsu chŏnjip* 李光洙全集 11 vols (Seoul: Samjungdang, 1971/1973), x, p.116; "Chaengt'u ŭi segye robut'ŏ pujo ŭi segye e 爭鬪의 世界로부터 扶助의 世界에", *Kaebyŏk* 32 (February 1923), 12-24.

34 "Taesŏng i onŭl Chosŏn e t'ae'ŏnattamyŏn?", p.70.

35 Kim Kŭnsu 김근수, *Han'guk chapchisa yŏn'gu* 한국잡지사연구 (Seoul: Han'gukhak yŏn'guso, 1992/2004), pp.108-113.

36 *Shin in' gan* 新人間 20 (1928). Republished in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* I, p.381.

韓龍雲

正明한認識

Tong'a ilbo **(Jan. 1933): In this new year's speech heavily censored by the colonial authorities, Han insisted on the importance of cultural movements among Korean-led movement (*Chosŏn undong*).**

acts of war and also tried to persuade Koreans not to yield to them. It is popularly assumed that he acted upon what he had in mind. His brave rejection of the civil registry requirement that he change his name into a Japanese one is reiterated as clear evidence for his uncompromising and unyielding nationalism. However, there have been some suspicions or counterarguments which in some way tackle the above assumption. For example, Han's experience of short-term study in Japan (at a Japanese Buddhist university) had a strong influence on the development of his ideas about the modernization of Buddhism. His Buddhist reform proposals were largely adopting the Japanese model, in particular his insistence on monks' marriage. In order to give such reformist demands maximum support, he even appealed time and again to the colonial authorities. His attempts to reform and secularize the Korean *sangha* were not made in order to oppose the Japanese colonial government, for on the contrary, he ended up supporting the Government-General when it made similar attempts at reform.[37]

Recently, moreover, Ku Moryong has unearthed Han's collaborationist essay entitled "China sabyŏn gwa Pulgyodo 支那事變과 佛敎徒" (The China Incident and Buddhists, 1937), wherein Han's attitude coincides with that of the wartime colonial government and he utterly justifies and supports Japan's war against China.[38] Ku himself has cited this essay simply as an example that does not match up with Han's nationalism rather than as evi-

37 Hendrik H. Sørensen, "Buddhism and secular power in twentieth-century Korea," pp.132-137; Ku Moryong , "Manhae sasang esŏŭi chayu wa p'yŏngdŭng," pp.38, 49, and 54-56.

38 "2004-Manhae ch'ukchŏn haksul semina nunkil kkŭn nonmun 2004 만해축전 학술 세미나 눈길 끈 논문", in *Pudap' ia* http://buddhapia.com/_Service/_ContentView/ETC_CONTENT_2.ASP?pk=0000760994&sub_pk=&clss_cd=0002171397&menu_cd=&menu_code=0000004225&top_menu_cd=0000000287&sub_menu; Pak Suyŏn 박수연, "Hwaŏmjŏk p'yŏngdŭng ŭi minjok kwa segye 화엄적 평등의 민족과 세계" in *Manhaehak yŏn'gu* 2, p.64.

dence of collaboration and concluded that Han's nationalism or worldview based upon his Buddhist philosophy might have shortcomings. Yet this essay has sparked controversy among informed scholars about the possibility of Han Yongun's collaboration.

This essay on its own is sufficient to debunk the strong belief that Han did not ever participate in collaboration. It can further endanger his whole reputation as a national hero because the nationalist myth does not allow any wrongdoing in front of the nation. This essay therefore deserves more detailed scrutiny than it currently receives. But before doing so, one matter must be addressed first. This essay turns out to be an "unsigned" editorial of the magazine *Pulgyo* 佛教, which was probably written by its editor, Han. The nationalist scholarship which finds it hard to acknowledge that their national hero wrote such wartime propaganda does indeed tackle the question of authorship and even argues that someone else wrote it.[39] According to Im Hyebong, when the Buddhist monthly journal, *Pulgyo*, was reissued from March 1937 on, its advisory editor Han Yongun took full charge of it (even though another monk Hŏ Yŏngho was appointed a chief editor and publisher) and wrote unsigned editorials from the first to the 17th editions (March 1937 to November 1938), among which is the problematic editorial of the 7th edition.[40] Moreover, regarding anonymous editorials, the key is not authorship but editorship. The editorials of newspapers or journals are usually of unknown authorship because although they are personal opinions, they should reflect the media's views. Han's unequivocal editorship thus means direct and full responsibility for the controversial editorial rather than no or indirect responsibility as some scholars argue.

Then, what is exactly articulated in the editorial concerned? How controversial is it? Han probably wrote this one-page editorial and certainly published it under his editorship in October 1937, a few months after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. He first laments the military confrontation between China and Japan. He then adds that an increase in military forces and military training is not the right policy of a country regardless of purpose. This may sound like a pacifist or anti-militarist claim. However, it is not offered in opposition to war or militarism. His critique on the preparation for war and war mobilization targets only the Chinese side. Japanese military action is tolerated and even supported by the author. He states, "The incident is caused and exacerbated by Chinese misjudgment of international affairs and their wrong policy of digging their own grave in belittling and resisting Japan."[41] He blames the Chinese government for initiating the war, misjudging the intentions of Japan, and underestimating and defying the Japanese empire.

The author's remarks are probably based upon manipulated news. The colonial government made an official statement that the Chinese military troops initiated the military clash and Japan only reacted to them. But the truth was that the Japanese army provoked the Chinese by detonating a bomb nearby the South Manchurian Railway. Whether the news was manipulated or not, if Han had viewed militarism itself critically from a pacifistic point of view as he had done in his earlier treatise "Chosŏn tongnib ŭi sŏ" 朝鮮獨立의 書 (A letter on the independence of Korea, 1919), he would have criticized the military actions of both Japan and China. Instead, the author now applies a double standard *contra* China and *pro* Japan. His earlier anti-war and anti-militarist view targeting both Germany and the allied forces has turned into war propaganda in this later writing that celebrates Japan's military punishment of China as the belligerent party.

Han's notions of the imperial mission for peace in Asia (*tongyang p'yŏnghwa*, 東洋平和), the future of the Asian races, the unification of minds, and the promotion of imperial glory are not meant to express pacifism in Asia or the world but are a useful rhetoric for justifying the war waged by Japan. Some scholars are apt to interpret his mention of peace in the literal sense of the word and jump to the conclusion that he was a pacifist or pacifist nationalist. Some go further and argue that he should be seen as an (Pan-) Asianist rather than a nationalist, one whose concern for peace went beyond colonial Korea.[42] However, they fail to take into account the historical context of the time, when peace in Asia or world peace had often been used in wartime rhetoric, and to question whether there is any differ-

39 Yu Sŏngho 유성호, "Yŏm Mu'ung chakka hoeŭi isajang, 'chigŭm pundan ch'ejega mopsi hŭndŭllinŭn chung': chakka hoeŭi Manhae sasang silch'ŏn sŏnyanghoe chuch'oe kwangbok 60-chunyŏn kinyŏm haksul semina 염무웅 작가회의 이사장 "지금 분단체제가 몹시 흔들리는 중": 작가회의 만해사상실천선양회 주최 광복 60주년 기념 학술 세미나" in *Han'guk chakka hoeŭi* 한국작가회의, http://www.hanjak.or.kr/zboard/zboard.php?id=allimpress&page=8&sn1=&divpage=1&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=510.

40 Im Hyebong 임혜봉, *Ch'inil sŭngnyŏ 108-in: Kkŭnnaji anŭn yŏksa ŭi murŭm* 친일승려 108인: 끝나지 않은 역사의 물음 (Seoul: Ch'ŏngnyŏnsa, 2005), pp.440-441.

41 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.359.

42 Pak Suyŏn, "Hwaŏmjŏk p'yŏngdŭng ŭi minjok kwa segye", pp.75-78; Kim Kibong 김기봉, "21-segi Manhae Han Yongun ŭi 'nim' ŭn nuguin'ga? 21세기 만해 한용운의 '님'은 누구인가?" in *Manhae-hak yŏn'gu* 3 (2007), 55-77.

ence between Han's articulations and the war rhetoric.

As far as his early treatise "Chosŏn tongnib ŭi sŏ" is concerned, Han himself was clearly aware of the fact that in a manner similar to other expansionist great powers, Japan declared peace in Asia and the autonomy and prosperity of Chosŏn Korea as reasons for its warfare, as clearly articulated in its treaties with Korea during the wars against China (1894-1895) and Russia (1905), and claimed to be a peacekeeper. However, he denounced this as rhetoric designed to mask its desire to occupy countries like Korea and to treat the occupied people as slaves.[43] Against this rhetoric, he insists on world peace, pacifism and justice in its true sense from the occupied people's point of view. However, the notions expressed in his later essay are neither more nor less than the wartime ideology the Japanese empire propagated. He reproduced what he had previously condemned: the role of the Japanese imperial army as a peacekeeper in Asia and as a fighter for justice and the future of the Asian races. Of course, he was not alone in this effort. Many Korean collaborationist Buddhists also gave speeches on "For world peace," "Spirit of peace in Asia," "The China Incident and Asian peace," and "Asian peace and the duty of the civilians" in support of Japanese expansionism and the Japanese invasion of China.[44]

More striking in this later essay is that Han rebukes China's "resistance" to Japan because he thinks it is the wrong policy: "Regardless of motivations, it is not the right way for a country [China] to make a national policy of expulsion or contempt targeting another country [Japan] and to educate and train their people to attain this goal."[45] Whatever Han himself meant, the actual "motivations" of China were a desire to defend the nation against Japanese aggression and halt Japan's expansion in the region. The Chinese definition of the Second Sino-Japanese War was a war of resistance against Japan. [46] Simply on straightforward logical grounds one would expect of a Korean independence fighter that he would endorse Chinese resistance movements and condemn the Japanese imperial power. In his editorial, however, far from supporting anti-Japanese movements in China as well as China's desire to maintain national unity and independence, he condemns them.

The author's critique of China concludes with a more direct glorification of the Japanese empire. He insists that it is the duty of people on the home front (*ch'onghu kungmin*, 銃後國民) to show "gratitude" to imperial soldiers (most of them were Japanese at that moment) for their thoroughgoing punishment of (stubborn) China.[47] He particularly urges Buddhists in colonial Korea to pray for the soldiers' health and victory. Calling for the proper attitude and readiness as "Japanese nationals" (*ilbon kungmin*, 日本國民), he insists on keen awareness of the national emergency and of the future of the Asian race. In this editorial, Han does not utter a word about either the Korean nation (*Chosŏn minjok*) or Koreans (*Chosŏnin*). The readers who are supposed to be Koreans and Buddhists are re-designated as "Japanese nationals" and "imperial servants on the home front." This re-designation does not simply change the language but the entire discourse in line with the wartime policy of assimilation designed to turn the Koreans into loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor. Under the banner of *naissen ittai* 內鮮一體 (Japan and Korea are One Body), for example, the Koreans were forced to assimilate into Japanese culture and adopt its language, religion, spirit, and customs while extirpating Korean identity, language, and culture.

It is noteworthy that Han's editorial is eerily analogous with those written by prominent pro-Japanese monks. During the same period, Kim T'aehŭp 金泰洽 published a series of essays in the Buddhist newspaper, *Pulgyo shibo* 佛教時報, asserting that China which initiated the war of aggression should be punished by Japan and encouraging Buddhists to support and show patriotism toward Japan and the imperial army.[48] He further asserted that the punishment of perfidious China was aimed at establishing eternal peace in Asia. He in particular called Japan "our country" (*aguk*) and the Koreans *kungmin* (a term meaning nationals, but used to mean "Japanese nationals") and called upon them to practice loyalty and render service to the country of Japan. He emphasized that we, Japanese citizens, should strive for spiritual mobilization and lead our religious life for that purpose.[49]

Kwŏn Sangno 權相老, who had been a prominent scholar monk but later became one of the active pro-Japanese

43 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* I, p.346.

44 Im Hyebong, *Ch'inil sŭngnyŏ 108-rin*, pp.409, 461, 462, 487 and 468.

45 Ibid.

46 Joseph W. Esherick, "Ten Theses on the Chinese Revolution", *Modern China* 21.1 (Jan.1995), pp. 51, 53 and 66; Wen-HsinYeh, "Dai Li and the Liu Geqing Affair: Heroism in the Chinese Secret Service During the War of Resistance", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 48.3 (August 1989), 545-562 (pp.545, 550 and 551); Peter Duus, *Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), p.222.

47 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.359.

48 "Aeguk sasang gwa kyŏngshin sungbul 愛國思想과 敬神崇佛", *Pulgyo shibo* 27 (1 October 1937).

49 "Pisang shiguk kwa shinang saenghwal 非常時局과 信仰生活", *Pulgyo shibo* 28 (1 November 1937).

monks, also condemned China for its misjudgment of the situation and sided with Japan during the Second Sino-Japanese War. In his essay "Shidae kaksŏng ŭi p'iryosŏng 時代 覺醒의 必要性 (The necessity of a keen awareness of the times, 1937), he argued that the Chinese should have cooperated with the Japanese empire for the sake of peace in Asia but that instead they destroyed themselves and brought danger to Japan and Asia. So, it was natural for "our" Japanese empire to harbor animosity against China in the face of the danger; and it was proper for Japan to punish the Chinese aggressor. Kwŏn also called for a keen awareness of the national emergency and declared that not only soldiers but people on the home front should be ready to support the war effort in their daily activities.

Evidently, what those collaborating monks stated in the same period is surprisingly identical to each of Han Yongun's arguments. It is probably so because those essays and speeches did not need to be creative but merely follow the dictates of the colonial government. Given that an editorial was likely to undergo careful scrutiny by the colonial censors, there would probably have been a need to appease the censors, too. As some assume, Han's collaborative text was probably not what he wanted to write but had to write in order to be able to run the Buddhist journal in a difficult situation. Nonetheless, even if his "helpless" compliance was a means and not his goal nor his true intention, this cannot exempt Han from the accusation of pro-Japanese collaboration. The issue of Han's pro-Japanese collaboration is a complicated matter which cannot be judged by one or two texts. As some scholars point out, it is important to explore whether Han continued to draw up collaborationist documents. Is this collaborationist editorial "exceptional" or are there more texts related to the issue of his collaboration?

A HEROIC BUDDHA AND THE MARTIAL SPIRIT

Scholars tend to jump to the conclusion that there are no more collaborationist texts written by Han Yongun and that this editorial is too exceptional in light of Han's consistent nationalism shown throughout his life. However the sources used to buttress the myth of Han's ideological consistency are limited primarily to his earliest canonical texts,[50] and therefore it is uncertain whether Han maintained a consistent uncompromising nationalist stance in the later period. On closer inspection, many of his later works (from the 1930s onward), which to date have been largely neglected, provide striking evidence of continued collaborationist activities of following the colonial government's policies and promoting the war effort. Still, his later collaborationist writing cannot be simplified as colonial war propaganda in the same way as the editorial examined above, because it simultaneously exhibits significant features of a counter-discourse that recent postnationalist and postcolonial scholarship attempts to formulate in its reconsideration of pro-Japanese collaborationist literature.[51]

The recurring image of Buddha as a heroic military man in Han's 1930s Buddhist essays is a direct example of his collaboration. The image of Buddha is popularly known as an awakened and compassionate saint, who attained complete insight into the cause of suffering and the truth of the universe and tried to save all living beings out of compassion. Strangely, however, Han highlights Buddha as a great hero who punishes and triumphs over evil rather than a merciful Buddha and stresses his ferocious, fearless, and brave fighting spirit rather than compassion. For example, in "Ch'ulbalchŏm" 出發點 (Point of Departure, 1932), Han states: "Our Buddha embodies great compassion and great kindness (*taeja taebi*, 大慈大悲) but at the same time, he was a great hero armed with the highest prowess and fearlessness (*taeung taeryŏk taeoe*, 大雄大力大畏)."[52] He further explains that Buddha practiced forbearance (*inyok*, 忍辱) for the purpose of leading living beings to the path of enlightenment but had to exhibit extraordinary courage and a fighting spirit to vanquish evil.

In this short essay, Han does not deny the validity of Buddha's popular image as a compassionate savior of all living beings. He still reveres Buddha's well-known characteristics of compassion and forbearance. However, he certainly rehabilitates the largely forgotten image of Buddha as a heroic and fearless warrior. The focus of his message is more on Buddha's fearless fighting spirit and prowess than his mind filled with compassion. And then, applying this version of Buddha's spirit and practice to colonial Korean society he proclaims, "There is only one thing for

50 *Chosŏn Pulgyo yushillon* 朝鮮佛教維新論 (1913), Chosŏn tongnib ŭi sŏ 朝鮮獨立의 書 (1919), and *Nim ŭi ch'immuk* 님의 沈默 (1926).

51 Kyeong-Hee Choi, "Another Layer of the Pro-Japanese Literature: Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi's 'The Wild Chrysanthemum'", *POETICA* 52 (1999), 61-87; Han Suyŏng 한수영, *Ch'inil munhag ŭi chae inshik* 친일문학의 재인식 (Seoul: Somyŏng ch'ulp'an, 2005); Kim Yangsŏn 김양선, *Kŭndae munhag ŭi t'alshingminsŏng gwa chendŏ chŏngch'ihak* 근대문학의 탈식민성과 젠더정치학 (Seoul: Yŏngnak 역락, 2009); Yun Taesŏk 윤대석, *Shingminji kungmin munhangnon* 식민지 국민문학론 (Seoul: Yŏngnak, 2006).

52 *Hoegwang* 回光 2 (March 1932). Republished in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.363.

53 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.363.

us [Koreans] to do in our life: advance and never retreat."[53] Han argues that one should only go forward and that retreat is not an option, because to retreat is only to change one's direction. When facing obstacles such as the devil (*ma*, 魔) or the enemy (*chŏk*), one should vanquish them, as Buddha did, and charge toward (*tolchin*) one's original purpose. This is argued as the correct and appropriate course of conduct for the people in colonial Korea.

In his editorials such as "P'yŏngbŏm" 平凡 (Ordinary, 1937), Han reiterates that Buddhist service is always attended by evil events (*map'yŏn*, 魔便).[54] Evil spirits constantly appear as obstacles to meditation and awakening, because the evil and wicked (*sama*, 邪魔) detest the correct law of Buddha (*chŏngpŏp*, 正法).[55] Nonetheless, such difficulties make strenuous adherence to the principle of "no retreat and no surrender" all the more praiseworthy. According to him, this is not merely confined to Buddhist affairs. Secular matters are the same. In the fulfillment of personal goals, one cannot help but encounter obstacles and ordeals. Especially, people in colonial societies are regarded as being beset by adversity. These, he exhorts to be brave and courageous persons.[56] Following the example set by Buddha, they should not be defeated by, but on the contrary defeat evils, enemies and obstacles. They should be armed with strong fearless courage and be prepared to sprint forward.[57]

This heroic and fearless Buddha is not one Han arbitrarily forged or distorted. Nor does the image occur suddenly and solely in his Buddhist writing. As his long essay "Chŏngjin" 精進 (Endeavor, 1937) shows, Buddhist scriptures already contain many references to such images of Buddha.[58] Han thus rediscovered the motif of great heroism, that is, courage, prowess and fearlessness, performed by the Buddha in the existing Buddhist texts and refashioned it for the contemporary way of living in colonial Korea. As the title of the essay indicates, the Buddhist notion of *chŏngjin* (endeavor) or *yongmaeng chŏngjin*, (勇猛精進, fearless effort) particularly features the event of enlightenment in which Buddha with dauntless will subjugated the evil spirit of Māra, thrust away temptation, and achieved great wisdom.[59] The historical Buddha was a man of great valour (*taeyongmaeng*, 大勇猛) who had no fear of life or death and countenanced no retreat and no surrender.[60] The Buddhist practitioners therefore should re-enact Shakyamuni Buddha's conquest of Māra and his subsequent enlightenment. This is a ritual still practiced in *Sŏn* (Zen) monasteries and called *yongmaeng chŏngjin* (fearless effort), whereby monks engage in "intensive meditation," going without sleep for seven straight days.[61]

Han's attempts to recall Buddha's conquest of Māra and refashion Buddha into a heroic warrior are associated particularly with supporting Japanese militarism and its war operations. The words he uses such as enemy, devil, evil spirit, surrender, vanquish, advance, and no retreat are all military terms, rather than Buddhist terms, and strongly resound with the current military preparations and campaigns. As baldly described in "Taeryŏk" 大力 (Great strength, 1933),[62] Buddha is less a compassionate savior than a brave military warrior bearing a sharp sword. This man encounters evil foes on his way to enlightenment, beheads them, and proceeds without retreating. His prowess and fighting spirit bespeaks soldierly morale, as his vanquishing and beheading of the enemy represent soldierly conduct. Such a heroic Buddha, while saving all living beings, evokes images of the military soldiers of Japan's wartime empire who fight against evils like China and Western imperial powers and liberate their Asian brothers.

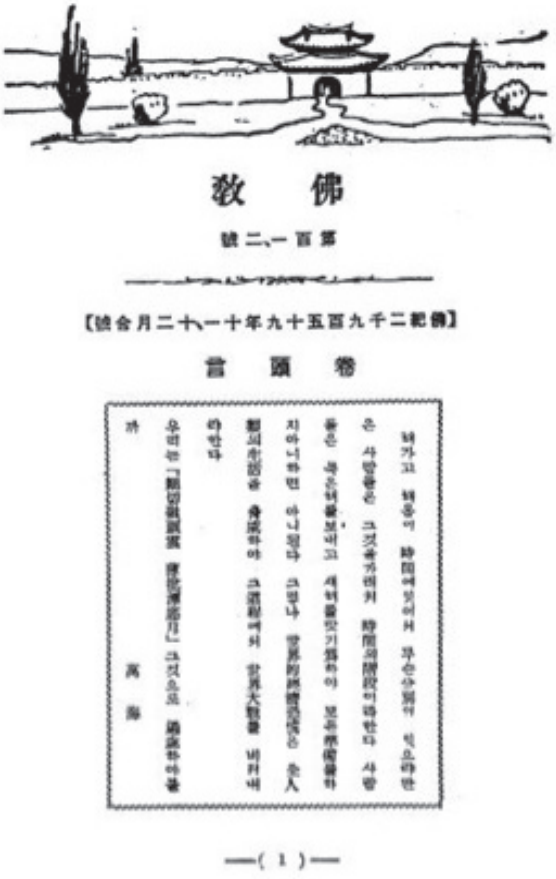
It is no coincidence that Han's statements are not really different from those of many Buddhist leaders who supported the Japanese war effort. From the early Meiji period on, Japanese Buddhist leaders actively incorporated Buddhism into Japanese war efforts and advertised Buddhism as the very heart of Japanese nationalism. In the 1930s, under the banner of imperial or nation-protecting Buddhism, they sanctioned and justified Japan's military operations, including the Manchurian Incident (1931) and the second Sino-Japanese War (1937). The Greater East Asian War (Pacific War, 1941) was justified as a holy war of compassion, whose mission was to punish formidable enemies such as China and the West and to contribute to the salva-

54 *Pulgyo: shin* 佛敎: 新 (July 1937).
55 "So'in gwa kunja 小人과 君子", *Pulgyo* (May 1933).
56 "Yongja ga toera 勇者가 되라", *Pulgyo* (January 1932).
57 "Nun ŭl tŭrŏ mŏlli pora 눈을 들어 멀리 보라", *Pulgyo: shin* (April 1937).
58 *Pulgyo: shin* 6 (August 1937). Republished in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, pp.329-332.
59 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.329.
60 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.330.
61 Robert E. Buswell, *The Zen monastic experience: Buddhist practice in contemporary Korea* (Princeton University Press, 1992), pp.187-189.
62 *Pulgyo* (April 1933). Republished in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.356.

tion of justice, progress, humanity, and peace.[63]

Zen, in particular, was reconstructed and heavily emphasized as the true spirit of Japanese militarism and as the martial spirit of warriors represented by Bushidō. Zen figures proposed a close relationship between Zen, martial prowess, and Japanese militarism. Shakyamuni Buddha's heroism when conquering demons was frequently rediscovered to heighten support of Japan's imperial wars and boost military morale. For example, one of the most committed Zen supporters of Japan's military actions, Harada Daiun Sōgaku, insisted, "Buddha Shakyamuni himself had conquered demons in the course of realizing enlightenment. Thus, without plunging into the war arena, it is totally impossible to know the Buddha Dharma."[64] Shakyamuni's fighting against an army of innumerable demons and lionhearted determination not to retreat were cited as the Zen-military ideal to encourage Japanese soldiers to rush forward to save their empire and to sacrifice themselves for their emperor.[65]

It is no surprise that pro-Japanese Korean monks also cited notions similar to Han's in their collaborationist writings. In his essay "Shigukha Chosŏn Pulgyodo ŭi immu 時局下朝鮮佛敎徒의任務" (The duty of Korean Buddhists in states of national emergency, 1940), Kwŏn Sangno noted that Buddha defeated evil forces and temptations before attaining enlightenment and urged Buddhists on the home front to give their whole hearts and lives for the state, as Buddha did. Kwŏn also insisted that, in light of Buddhist teachings, it was natural that young monks volunteer to serve the military of their countries.[66] In the same year, he wrote another essay in which he cited many more examples of Buddhism's association with militarism such as Shakyamuni's transformation into a warrior to protect his country and Korean monks such as Sŏsan and Samyŏng who defended Chosŏn Korea by gathering warrior monks.[67] The Buddhist concept of *chŏngjin* or *yongmaeng chŏngjin* was emphasized by Kwŏn, too, as a morale booster for imperial soldiers.[68] He argued, "on a battlefield, one has no choice but to go forward. Retreat is not allowed…. The best example of *yongmaeng chŏngjin* is to be fearless of a curtain of fire, to break through the enemy line, and go onwards and onwards. This heroic act of *yongmaeng chŏngjin* represents loyalty and justice and enables the building of eternal life and history. National loyalty and devotion (to the Japanese emperor) are equal to the attainment of enlightenment."[69]


佛 敎

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【昭和二千九百五十九年十一二月合併】

卷 頭 言

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Han's editorial in *Pulgyo* (1932)

Likewise, Han's description of Buddha as a conqueror of evil, a warrior who was fearless and, therefore, would not retreat, is uncomfortably close to the distorted interpretations of Buddhism presented by both Japanese and Korean war-supporting Buddhists. Admittedly , Han's Buddhist articulations are not as strong as theirs. Nor did he directly address loyalty to the Japanese emperor or blatantly encourage Korean monks to be warrior monks, as collaborationist Buddhists did. However, he basically followed the colonial state's wartime lead instead of resisting it and shared the

63 Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism" in *Curators of the Buddha: The study of Buddhism under colonialism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, 2006).

64 Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War*, pp.136-137.

65 Ibid., pp.102 and 119.

66 *Pulgyo: shin* 25. Quoted from Im Hyebong 임혜봉, *Ch'inil Pulgyoron: sang* 친일불교론: 上 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1993), pp. 287-289.

67 "Sŭngnyŏ chiwŏnbyŏng e taehaya 僧侶志願兵에 대하야", *Pulgyo shibo* 57 (1 April 1940). Quoted from Im Hyebong, *Ch'inil Pulgyoron: sang*, pp.298-300.

68 Kwŏn Sangno 權相老, "Hanbŏn k'ŭge chungnŭn chŏngsin, yŏngwŏn pulmyŏr ŭi saengmyŏng ŭn ch'ungesŏ nanda 한번 크게 죽는 精神, 永遠不滅의 生命은 '忠'에서 난다", *Maeil shinbo* (29 November 1943). Republished in *Haktoyŏ sŏngjŏng e nasŏra* 학도여 성전에 나서라, edited by Chŏng Unhyŏn 정운현 (Seoul: Ŏpsŏjiji annŭn iyagi, 1997), pp. 66-71.

69 Kwŏn Sangno, "Hanbŏn k'ŭge chungnŭn chŏngsin", pp.70-71.

intentions of collaborationist Buddhists to modify the attitudes and behaviors of people in support of wartime propaganda. He was certainly far from being an anti-military, anti-war, anti-Japanese, and uncompromising monk. His 1930s Buddhist essays prove that he was neither indifferent to nor defiant of the wartime Japanese government. Furthermore, his literary and Buddhist collaboration was neither exceptional nor singular at all. Could this mean that he was a pro-Japanese collaborator who has remained unnoticed until today?

Seeing that Han has been too romanticized as a faultless and uncompromising national hero, it is important to explore his collaboration through his literature and challenge false assumptions about him. However, the conventional practice in reaction to pro-Japanese collaboration, namely, labeling him as pro-Japanese, retrospectively downgrading all his previous thoughts, writings, and activities, and pouring out all sorts of criticism, is no way to settle the controversy. Han's collaborationist literature needs to be explored afresh from a postcolonial perspective and in the context of complicated and nuanced interactions with the colonial government and its dominant discourses. Collaboration was not his only reaction to wartime colonial reality. There are more subtle subtexts in his collaborationist writing which are divergent from or even subversive of colonial policies or ideologies.

The bottom line here is that while evincing collaboration, Han imparts another message that people in wartime colonial Korea should persistently and unyieldingly work towards their goals until they are fulfilled, regardless of adverse conditions, thus alluding, implicitly and explicitly, to Korean nationalist movements. As Adrian Buzo succinctly observes, the 1930s, when Han eagerly composed various Buddhist essays, was a period in which the long-desired national goal of independence had started to look unlikely to Koreans, whose lives were becoming more and more integrated with the colonial system. As preparations for war got underway, even mild expressions of nationalism/socialism were harshly suppressed.[70] All Korean institutions and associations were either forced to shut down or reconstructed into imperial organizations. Under such circumstances, Korean social leaders (both nationalists and socialists) began to relinquish their goals and turn to pro-Japanese collaboration.

Perceiving that Koreans began to see their national goal of independence as a far-fetched or impossible dream and that their national leaders increasingly backed away from their ideological commitments and changed their political stances, Han reminded them not to forget their beginnings, lose sight of their ideals and original plans and purposes, or change direction. The recurrent Buddhist theme of *chŏngjin* that relates to his collaboration with the Japanese war effort also enables this subtle counter-discourse. As Han explains in his essay "Chŏngjin" (1937), *chŏngjin* originally means one of six paramitas (*yukp'aramil*, 六波羅蜜) constituting the quintessential Buddhist practices. Buddhist followers or bodhisattvas should embark on this practice together with generous giving, precept observation, forbearance, meditation and wisdom and perfect them to achieve the ultimate Buddhist goal.

According to Han's observation, *chŏngjin* appears everywhere in the Buddhist scriptures, connoting perseverance, zeal, diligence, great valour, and non-negligence. This practice of perseverance is ranked as the fourth among the six paramitas, and it is therefore regarded as a low priority. However, Han reinterprets this practice as the most important and emphasizes it as the very essence of a bodhisattva's practice. Without this virtue, he argues, it is impossible to fulfill other paramitas. Its importance is not limited to Buddhism only. He sees it as a crucial element of success in all secular affairs. In a more secular sense, this Buddhist concept is defined as referring to the unyielding and invincible spirit engaged in sustained and ceaseless effort.[71] He argues that without this spirit of tenacity, there would have been no success at all in human history. Although great religious leaders, successful businessmen, and great inventors did not believe in Buddhism and never heard of *chŏngjin*, he sees that they all demonstrated this spirit of tenacity and made unprecedented and matchless achievements in their fields despite encountering adversities.

Given wartime censorship, Han never directly stated the adversity the Koreans underwent as growing political repression imposed by the Japanese wartime government led to a massive withdrawal from Korean national movements. Also, he never directly insisted that people in colonial Korea should maintain ceaseless efforts toward their national goals and exhibit unyielding spirit. He was clever enough to stick to acceptable words under colonial censorship. He rather chose to express his thoughts and

70 Adrian Buzo, *The Making of Modern Korea* (London and New Work: Routledge, 2002), pp.38-49.
71 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* II, p.335.

wishes to his compatriots indirectly and figuratively. He allegorically refers to snow, cold wind and winter as poetic expressions of Koreans' predicament and highlights plum blossom as a symbol of tenacity and perseverance.[72] In this symbolic way, he pronounces that in whatever predicament the Koreans find themselves, they should continue tenaciously and courageously along the path they have begun and make for success.

In a minor literary form of essay, Han uses anecdotes and proverbs to deliver this subversive message. In "Ch'oehu ŭi obun'gan 最後의 五分間" (The last five minutes, 1935), for example, he cites Liang Qichao's experience.[73] When Liang's *coup d'état* failed and he crossed to America, Liang met a famous entrepreneur who had a five-minute rule in meetings: "Success relies on the last five minutes." To Han, this adage explains the very meaning of *chŏngjin*. All undertakings tend to start with adversity and, accordingly, are accompanied by difficulties, which means that one should not be discouraged or give up after completing half the task, as success has not yet been achieved. He insists that people (in colonial Korea) not withdraw or change course to the very last minute, as this would go against their real intentions and would not result in success. He even scares them, saying that those who did not maintain ceaseless efforts toward their goals and exhibit no unyielding spirit would only be subjected to a sense of defeat and sorrow throughout their lives. The five-minute rule is aimed at encouraging Koreans to bravely undergo the difficulties necessary to obtain their initial (national) goals.

In his wartime fiction *Pangmyŏng* 薄命 (Misfortune, 1938-39), Han delivers a more explicit criticism of Korean leaders who discarded their initial ideological commitments and changed their political stances due to their lack of tenacity.

> *How deplorable is the way of the world now! Those, who once behaved like a real man, loudly shouting this or that ideology and leading the whole country alone, now look like a turkey before Thanksgiving. A patriot (chisa, 志士) this morning is degraded to a puny coward by the evening. An "-ist" yesterday has today turned into an anti "-ist". Without consistency, they change their creeds only in pursuit of personal interest and safety, faster than a cat's eye can move.*[74]

In the concluding part of the novel, Han Yongun directly scolds the Korean social leaders for their political inconsistency and spiritual frailty. His criticisms are not only addressed to Korean nationalists, but includes liberals, socialists, communists, patriotic activists, feminists, and any other social leader who "converted" politically at that time. As the term, *taejangbu* (大丈夫, a real man), indicates, he thinks mainly of the male leaders rather than their female counterparts. According to him, faced with unfavorable political circumstances they gave up too easily and discarded their creeds and beliefs. He despises them as impatient, capricious, cowardly, unmanly, opportunistic, and above all, selfish. They only count their own interest and safety, never feeling a concern for other people. In other words, it was impossible for them to endure difficulties for the public good. He even calls the political converts "monkey-like" gentlemen. They changed their political attitudes in favor of the wartime colonial authorities and this in his eyes is like what a monkey does to please people.

The heroine in this novel who embodies the bodhisattva spirit and practice, in particular *chŏngjin*, is designed to impart a strong criticism of such Korean social leaders. She encounters a series of obstacles and difficulties, but this does not keep her from persisting in her effort to achieve her personal goal. This is contrary to the social leaders who did not persevere to the last and abandoned their initial ideologies and activities in an unfavorable political situation. She does not think of herself but only of other persons and endures unbearable sufferings, whereas the social leaders thought just of their own interests and benefits. The heroine's selfless spirit and perseverance stand in sharp contrast to the political attitudes and behavior of the Korean male leaders at the end of the colonial period. Such a heroine shows Han's message that despite all temptations and humiliations, Koreans should remain unchanged and never give up their goal and should realize it through persistent and strenuous effort.

Conventionally seen, Han's condemnation of politically disloyal Korean leaders is regarded as evidence of his strong nationalism and uncompromising stance. However, it should be noted that such a nationalist criticism was possible for him through posing himself as a war-supportive monk and interworking colonial discourse into his

72 "Maehwa 梅花", *Pulgyo* (Jan. 1933); "Pom ŭi sado 봄의 使徒", *Pulgyo* (March 1933).
73 *Chogwang* 朝光 (Feb. 1935).
74 *Chosŏn ilbo* (1938-39). Republished in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* VI, p.289.

writing. It was his collaboration that enabled him to create such a counter-discourse that continued the advancement of the national ideals and movements that the Japanese government would have repressed. Moreover, he did not align himself with all policies and ideologies the wartime colonial government promoted and enforced. He might have supported Japan's war of expansion but at the same time probably stood up against other policies such as Japanization or assimilationism which denied Korean identity, language, names, culture and indigenous movements. His Buddhist insistence on persistence and heroism do not permit a nationalist or collaborationist label, but rather shed light on a hybrid and ambiguous character.

CONCLUSION

Han Yongun's Buddhist writings, in particular those written in his later life, offer many alternatives to the existing mode of understanding him. Each habitual assumption informed by the nationalist perspective turns out to be erroneous and betrays his own ideas and claims. As I have shown, the gist of his nationalist ideas was not anti-Japanese resistance but self-reliance (self-criticism). Under the influence of Buddhism, he took on this particular mode of nationalism and shared his national ideas with many cultural nationalists. Thus he was not a superhero whose nationalism was unparalleled, original, and faultless. He did not encourage anti-Japanese sentiment but on the contrary, forbade Koreans to blame the colonial power. In this sense, he was rather pro-Japanese than anti-Japanese in sentiment. His basic intention was to produce a counter-discourse subverting the colonizer-colonized relationship, disenchanting the colonized mind, and above all, attaining spiritual independence from colonialism.

To Han, Buddhism was the primary and fundamental matter of all. It was in no way a vehicle for politics, neither colonialism nor Korean nationalism nor any other socio-political ideology. He clearly articulated that the religious ideal and goal is not identical or subordinate to those of political (nationalist) movements. Rather, he emphasized the precedence and transcendence of Buddhism over them. However, he did not mean that Buddhism was unworldly and unrealistic. What he tried to argue was that in the relationship between Buddhism and politics, Buddhism should be the guideline for all human activities including political ideologies, not the other way around.

The myth that Han never compromised or collaborated with the colonial authorities was seriously reconsidered in this paper. In reality, he did not participate in war-effort campaigns. He refused taking a Japanese name and family registry. However, many of his later works during wartime unfolded a different story, strongly related to his literary collaboration. He reinvented Buddhist themes and images in support of Japanese military aggression. He boosted military morale as a right attitude and behavior that people on the home front should cherish and practice. Nowhere did he oppose Japan's warfare on moral pacifistic grounds. His collaboration was evident in his later writing. Resistance and collaboration co-existed in his life. His writing further proves that the line separating resitance and collaboration was hard to draw and the two worked in tandem rather than collided. His collaboration was a selective and subversive process through which he could impart a nationalist message to carry on national movements without yielding to the colonial government's counter-nationalism policy.

Han Yongun holds an important position in national history. He is closely associated with contemporary Korean society where colonial history and its legacies are still quite important and sensitive issues. In tune with the popular acceptance of his role as a national hero, his birthplace has been restored and memorial museums, parks and monuments have been constructed in his memory. Every year, a cultural festival is held and various awards named after him are given to writers, scholars and a host of eminent leaders in the world. These social practices serve as a reminder of how important it is to illuminate more correctly his diverse and alternative considerations of Buddhism, nationalism, and collaboration with colonialism and how this study helps to recognize the complexities and ambiguities of the colonial era in Korea and contributes to settle or resolve the troubled colonial legacy.

Min-Kyung Yoon

North Korean Art Works

HISTORICAL PAINTINGS AND THE CULT OF PERSONALITY[1]

Walking into the austere exhibition of North Korean art at the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna in the summer of 2010, I was struck by the outsize, vibrant portraits of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il.[2] Unlike other paintings featured in the exhibition, the paintings of the Great Leaders were cordoned off, creating a halo around them suggestive of sacred, religious paintings. Much had been written in the international media about the exhibition and the row it created, many criticizing the exhibition as biased, as political propaganda impervious to the moral dilemma of the North Korean state. Image after image, the numerous portraits of the Great Leaders and scenes glorifying the heroic socialist life attested to the idea that art works to fulfill a function in North Korea.

When we conjure up images of North Korean paintings, more often than not it is less their status as works of art that capture our attention than their presumed function as propaganda in totalitarian states. They are categorized as banal and jejune, mass-produced and devoid of aesthetic value, simply underscoring the contrast between meaningless reproduction and creative inspiration. As much as propaganda does pervade most art production in North Korea, a dissection of the paintings informed by the different strategies at work that are laid out in North Korean theoretical writings on art provides valuable insights into the visual mobilization of history. What is noteworthy about many North Korean paintings is the prevalence of historical themes, ranging from events in the Japanese colonial period, through the Korean War, to the reconstruction years after the war. Paintings featuring the Great Leaders comprise the personality cult that was created and gained currency largely during the 1970s as part of the massive state-led effort to legitimize Kim Il Sung's rule.

In North Korea, art is politicized; it is an external manifestation of the state's needs. To borrow Howard Becker's phrase, "art works" in North Korea. Art is an act of power. Art "does things, evokes things, is a catalyst for things; it is the articulation of human needs."[3] Art imitates life, registering the way we emotionally feel and understand daily life. Turning images into reality, history into the sublime, North Korean art is part and parcel of a totalizing cultural production. It is a powerful mechanism of transformation

1 Materials for this article were partly gathered through the support of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Korea Foundation, and the Asiatic Research Institute of Korea University. I would like to thank Koen De Ceuster, Marsha Haufler, Kenneth Wells, and two anonymous reviewers for their critical feedback, and express my gratitude for the support of Boudewijn Walraven and Élisabeth Chabanol, head of the Seoul Branch of the EFEO. An earlier version of this article was presented at the "History as a Social Process: Unconventional Historiographies. The second workshop," Leiden University, 28-29 October, 2011.

2 "Flowers for Kim Il Sung" was exhibited at the MAK (Museum of Applied Arts) in Vienna, Austria from May 19 to September 5, 2010. Over 100 paintings from the Korean Art Gallery (Chosŏn Misulgwan 조선미술관) in P'yŏngyang, North Korea's national museum, were featured. This was the first time North Korea sent a large number of its artworks abroad for an exhibition.

3 Howard S. Becker, *Art from Start to Finish: Jazz, Painting, Writing, and Other Improvisations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 213.

and system of representation, transpiring from a ready-made narrative distilled from history that silences rather than questions.

Ambiguity rarely permeates the images depicted in North Korean thematic paintings. Instead, visions of unremitting valor, perseverance, and happiness dominate much of these paintings. As in most cultural production in North Korea, paintings, too, adhere to a strict code of regulations, conflating ideology and history to one overarching inner vision of the North Korean state. Themes are recycled, the perpetual smiling faces of North Korean leaders and citizens are ubiquitous, and each thematic painting tells a state-sanctioned narrative. Seen from a remove, the striking sameness, the repetitious thematic content, resists easy consumption for an individual outside the socialist state.

In this article I analyze four paintings of the Kim Il Sung personality cult, drawing on the reviews of the paintings published in *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam* 조선미술년감, a North Korean art yearbook, and on the historical narrative told in these paintings. What is compelling about North Korean historical paintings are the insights they provide on North Korea's ruling culture by showing how they served and constituted the personality cult of Kim Il Sung. Contextualizing the function of art within the larger framework of the socialist nation-building project undertaken by the North Korean state, I endeavor to decipher the different mechanisms involved in mobilizing history to create visually tangible products that serve as cultural symbols and instructive tools for the people.

While interpretations of art are fluid, conditioned by context and perspective, multiplicity of interpretations is not intended in most North Korean paintings. Paintings are designed so that interpretations are singular, creating a sense of a unified, collective purpose. Yet what is important is how these paintings make us experience certain moments and events, how they recreate and mobilize a historical image, and in turn, what they inform us through the process. Through an examination of a picture book on the collection of paintings detailing the personality cult of Kim Il Sung titled *Pulmyŏr ŭi yŏngsang* 불멸의 영상 (*Images of the Immortal)*, reviews of paintings, and North Korean theoretical writings on art, this article explores how history is used to tell a story and how this story, in turn, tells history. What is illuminated through this process is the dramatization of history to create a historical narrative, bringing to life an idealized reality for North Korea.

The key to understanding why historical representations are so important in North Korean cultural production is the union between correct historical thought and emotion. Emotionally reproducing historical truth is the paramount task of North Korean art. History is created, and North Korean art theory and the reviews further tell us that this history is created emotionally in the arts. The first three paintings tell a story that is heavy on historical dramatization. By following the narrative presented in the first three paintings, we see that what results is the glorious, happy utopia depicted in the final painting. It is a world where all is happy and well, lovingly protected and cared for by the benevolent, revolutionary Great Leader. Highly reminiscent of the concentric circles found in the spatial arrangements in images of Stalin as part of the Soviet Union's personality cult, Kim Il Sung is also placed in the centre in all four paintings.[4] In a world centred on Kim Il Sung, these paintings reinforce what Suk-Young Kim describes as the engineering of a "utopian family-nation where illusion and reality coexist(ed)."[5]

As the lines between utopia and reality are blurred, art becomes history's most vital tool. Kim Jong Il states that, "art leaves monuments in history."[6] That is, artworks are markers of history, serving as lasting reminders of how the past shapes the present and future. What characterizes utopia is that it is performative; and therefore, the paintings function within a performative utopia. On a basic level, the paintings are performative through their ideological and didactic elements. For the viewer, for whom the paintings are created, the performative element consists in being emotionally affected. Thus, art turns history into an emotionally performative utopia. In this utopia, truthfulness is historically and teleologically right, but it is also emotionally true.

EMERGENCE OF THE CULT OF PERSONALITY

The formation of the North Korean state that began after liberation from Japan in 1945 and culminated in the

4 Jan Plamper, 'The Spatial Poetics of the Personality Cult: Circles around Stalin', in *The Landscape of Stalinism: The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space*, ed. by Evgeny Dobrenko and Eric Naiman (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. 19-50 (p. 20).

5 Suk-Young Kim, *Illusive Utopia: Theater, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), p. 59.

6 Kim Chŏngil 김정일, *Misullon* 미술론 (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn rodongdang ch'ulp'ansa 조선로동당출판사, 1992), p. 21.

establishment of the DPRK in 1948 centred on a form of nation-building rooted in socialism. Consequent on the failure of the Korean War of 1950-53 to unify the Korean peninsula, this nation-building project became all the more imperative and intensive. The 1950s to the 1970s witnessed much of the undertakings that consolidated the foundations of the North Korean state, running the gamut from economic development to ideological mobilization. The eruption of the Korean War in 1950, the dedication to massive reconstruction efforts during the post-Korean War years, and the promulgation of the cult of personality that proved to be so effective and successful, contributed significantly to strengthening the North Korean state.

In tandem with the structural and material engineering of society, subjective measures, such as the people's socialist consciousness and awakening, had to be tackled. In this regard, ideology was mobilized to materialize a transformation entailing not something quantifiable, but more qualitative—a transformation of the mind. To undertake this task of transforming the people's consciousness, the North Korean state resorted to culture to propagate the correct ideology by weaving history into cultural products. As a result, both culture and history were politicized, serving as mechanisms for the legitimization of the North Korean state. What occurred was the dramatization of history in cultural production to revolutionize society and through this process the creation of a dominant historical narrative, presented as the absolute, single truth of Korean history.

The politicization of culture, which was a top-down, vertical movement, served as an instrument to eliminate the bourgeois and colonial remnants that were deemed dangerous for the socialist state. It served essentially as a means of transporting a vision to something tangible, something that could be seen, felt, and experienced. Through cultural production, which was "national in form, socialist in content,"[7] history was mobilized to serve ideological purposes and culture was another tool for ideological control. Moreover, the historical narrative propagated by the North Korean state was not a subjective discourse open for debate and evolution, but rather an exclusive, total summation. In this narrative, historical representations that glorify the anti-Japanese activities of Kim Il Sung, vilify the American and Japanese imperialists and South Korean sycophants, and deify Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il were mobilized to create a distinct past that explains the present and dictates the future. These historical representations extracted from the dominant narrative provided an overarching truth, legitimizing the North Korean state and positioning its leaders as the rightful heirs to Korean history.

The cohesion of history and culture can be seen through paintings depicting the personality cult of Kim Il Sung, which emerged in full force during the 1970s. The 1970s are regarded as the decade when an all-out struggle was underway to realize the complete victory of socialism. It is during this time that a total struggle to create a society based on juche ideology (chuch'e, known as self-reliance) was emphasized and the "Three Revolutions' Small Group Movement" (*3 tae hyŏngmyŏng sojo undong* 3대혁명소조운동) with ideology, technology, and culture as the three revolutions was promulgated.[8] This period is also considered the zenith of juche art with the primary emphasis on Chosŏnhwa (ink brush painting) in line with Kim Il Sung's 1966 decree, "Let us develop a revolutionary art that is national in form with socialist content," with Chosŏnhwa as the national form.[9]

While Kim Il Sung-centred paintings on the anti-Jap-

7 Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution: 1945-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 190.

8 The "Three Revolutions' Small Group Movement" (*3 tae hyŏngmyŏng sojo undong* 3대혁명소조운동) was initiated on February 13, 1972 by Kim Il Sung, and Kim Jong Il became the head of the movement in September 1972. It was a revolutionary movement to materialize the complete victory of socialism. It was an effort to ideologically, technologically, and culturally revolutionize Party leaders entrenched in old ideas so that the demands of socialism could be cultivated. The small group was an organization comprised of core Party members and young intellectuals, which was dispatched to all parts of society to realize the three revolutions. The composition of the small groups was mostly scientists, technicians, and young intelligentsia with modern education and model Party members. Ideological revolution was a human-cultivation movement to revolutionize and transform the society into the working class. It was also a political movement to increase revolutionary fervor and creativity. Technological revolution was an effort to occupy the material aspects of society during the process of transforming society into a communist society. Particularly, it was the struggle to replace antiquated technology with new technology. Cultural revolution was the struggle to resist old, reactionary culture. It was an effort to arm the workers with communist ideology and raise the level of knowledge and skills of workers. Among the three revolutions, ideological revolution was considered the most important because the complete victory of socialism and the construction of communism could not be achieved without ideological revolution. The "Three Revolutionary Small Group" movement played an important role in the power transition from Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong Il. Not only did Kim Jong Il take complete control over the movement in September 1972, but a significant number of former small group members joined the Workers' Party after Kim's takeover of the movement, serving as an important political bedrock for Kim's support (Tijit'ol Pukhan Paekkwa Sajŏn 디지털 북한 백과사전, www.kplibrary.com/nkterm).

9 Yi Kuyŏl 이구열, *Pukhan Misul 50 nyŏn: chakp'um ŭro mananŭn chuch'e misul* 북한미술 50년 작품으로 만나는 주체미술 (Seoul: Tolbegae 돌베개, 2001), p. 79. Kim Ilsŏng 김일성, 'Uri misur ŭi minjokchŏk hyŏngshig e sahoejuŭijŏk naeyong ŭl tamŭn hyŏngmyŏngjŏgin misul lo palchŏnshik'ija: che-9-ch'a kukka misul chŏllamhoe rŭl pogo misulgadŭl gwa han tamhwa, 1966 nyŏn 10 wŏl 16 il 우리 미술의 민족적 형식에 사회주의적 내용을 담은 혁명적인 미술로 발전시키자: 제9차 국가미술전람회를 보고 미술가들과 한 담화, 1966년 10월 16일', in *Kim Ilsŏng chŏjakchip 20* 김일성 저작집 20 (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn rodongdang ch'ulp'ansa 조선로동당출판사, 1982), p. 474. For a detailed article on the development of Chosŏnhwa, see Frank Hoffmann, 'Brush, Ink, and Props: The Birth of Korean Painting', in *Exploring North Korean Arts*, ed. by Rüdiger Frank (Vienna: Verlag für Moderne Kunst, 2011), pp. 145-180.

anese guerrilla activities and traditional revolutionary themes were created extensively during the 1960s, the deification of Kim Il Sung in the form of a personality cult took off during the 1970s.[10] Under the direction of the Workers' Party, one of the most important policies of this time was the production of artworks on Kim Il Sung's revolutionary activities and leadership. The body of artworks on Kim Il Sung, along with artworks featuring the people's struggle for socialist nation-building, is collectively considered the epitome of juche art. During the mid-1970s, the deification of Kim Il Sung reached its apex in art production through the proliferation of a hero narrative centred on Kim. Starting in the mid-1970s, Kim Jong Il began to wield power over the direction of art by increasing the production of juche artworks. With the official designation of Kim Jong Il as Kim Il Sung's successor in 1974 and the promulgation of the "Three Revolutions' Small Group Movement," the transition of power became directly linked to accomplishments in art, setting the stage for the day when Kim Jong Il took full power.[11] By the 1980s, all accomplishments in the field of art were attributed to Kim Jong Il as part of the power transition.

THE MEANING OF ART

Art in North Korea as part of a larger system of cultural production is driven more by politics than ideals of beauty. "Art for art's sake" is a distant conception as revolutionary goals trump aesthetic appeal, mirroring closely the argument provided by Walter Benjamin on the function of art in the age of mechanical reproduction.[12] According to Benjamin, art in the age of mechanical reproduction is based on politics rather than any traditional, ritualistic value.[13] In this context, North Korean art resonates with the period before what Larry Shiner calls the great division of eighteenth century Europe when the meaning of art in Europe became largely limited to crafts that served utilitarian purposes.[14] The function and meaning of art in North Korea can be found in Kim Jong Il's *Misullon* 미술론 *(Treatise on Art)*, which begins by describing the relationship between humans and art:

> *The art form that most accurately reflects the demands of the time and serves the people and their aspirations is juche art. Juche art is a revolutionary and people-oriented art form that is national in form with socialist content. It is also a new form of art that perfectly fuses ideology and aesthetics. Materializing juche ideology in art best fits the people's emotions and thoughts and acts as the basis for a new art form that serves our revolution.*[15]

The function of art is rooted in this relationship between humans and art to serve the revolutionary purposes of the North Korean state. The idea of cultivating humans into revolutionaries, therefore, occupies a central part of art's duties. Art also cultivates the emotional aesthetics of humans.[16]

In order for an artwork to fulfill its function as an ideological tool, beauty must coexist with ideology. The concept of beauty is emphasized in *The Treatise on Art*, which states that art is a powerful medium that expresses the beauty of humans and nature. Kim describes the idea of beauty in the following terms:

> *Beauty is tied to the autonomous desires and aspirations of humans and the emotional responsiveness a depiction evokes from a person... Emotion comes into force and can be experienced only when an artwork is based on the aspirations and desires of humans... A beautiful depiction of an object that is felt through an individual's aesthetic emotion cannot exist without the active endeavor to understand and reform the world and oneself... Beauty occurs when a depiction of an object that meets the human desire and aspiration for autonomy is emotionally felt.*[17]

As described, beauty does not necessarily equate with aesthetic pleasure. Rather, beauty arises when the autonomous desires and aspirations of humans are emotionally

10 In 1960, the North Korean government ordered its artists and sculptors to create artworks with themes on the history of the Party to be placed in the Chosŏn Revolutionary Museum. Thus, the task of producing works focused on model communists of the 1930s and Kim Il Sung-centred anti-Japanese guerrilla activities and traditional revolutionary themes was considered an important undertaking for the artists and sculptors (Yi Kuyŏl, *Pukhan Misul 50 nyŏn*, p. 75).

11 Kim Jong Il was elected to the Politburo of the Workers' Party in 1974 as the heir designee of Kim Il Sung.

12 Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,' in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 217-251.

13 Ibid., p. 224.

14 Larry Shiner, *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 5-10.

15 Kim, *Misullon*, p. 1.

16 Ibid., pp. 21.

17 Ibid., pp. 4, 6, 9.

experienced. Beauty is also active as opposed to static. A constant desire to understand and reform oneself and the world must accompany an emotional experience.

While traditional Western art theories focus on art as a medium providing aesthetic pleasure through the examination of the aesthetic properties of an artwork or the artwork's religious message, art can also serve socially useful purposes.[18] The modern system of fine arts as described by Larry Shiner—the division between art versus craft, artist versus artisan, aesthetic versus purpose—does not always address the differences found in some non-Western art (and, I might add, socialist realist art).[19] Furthermore, what is defined as art is not necessarily predicated upon an essential quality of art, but develops from certain historical and social contingencies.[20] The problematic nature of subscribing to an intrinsic aesthetic value in art can be seen in the shift from the history of art to the history of images. Moving away from the history of art as a record of aesthetic masterpieces, history of images addresses the historical circumstances in which artworks were produced, giving a broader understanding of their cultural significance.[21]

Giving visual form to Kim Il Sung occupies a central position in art's role as an ideological instrument. A subject hierarchy exists in thematic paintings as stated by Kim Jong Il in *The Treatise of Art* with the greatest emphasis placed on depicting the Great Leaders and their revolutionary feats followed by the greatness of the Workers' Party, North Korea's revolutionary history and life, and themes on the homeland, reunification, and the military.[22] The justification for the personality cult is found in Kim Jong Il's belief that a leader is the central force in the development of history, unifying and mobilizing the people for the cause of revolution.[23]

Kim Jong Il states that "a pure art that is separated from human lives cannot exist."[24] Critical reviews of the paintings reveal how they contribute to art's role as an ideological instrument. They usually begin with the historical context of the scene being depicted in the paintings and place this context within the broader theoretical framework set forth by Kim Jong Il. The importance of capturing an appropriate moment in artworks is emphasized, which is the essence of how reviews work. A moment should be evocative, yet needs to be unwrapped by the reviews. Reviews unwrap the story behind the painting and fill the potential gaps in understanding and directly steer the interpretation of the viewer, guiding the viewer to emotionally internalize historical truth. How the reviews work ties in with what the paintings are about—to capture a moment that encapsulates in a convincing way the essence of a specific episode and time.

IMAGES OF THE IMMORTAL

The picture book titled *Images of the Immortal* featuring a collection of paintings on the personality cult of Kim Il Sung elucidates the dramatization of history in North Korean cultural production, disclosing how Kim Il Sung is woven into national history.[25] Kim Il Sung and national history are indistinguishable, highlighting how history is mobilized to legitimize the North Korean state. What is striking about the picture book is twofold: the categorization of all periods of Kim Il Sung's life in relation to the history of North Korea and the absence of the artists who have painted the images of Kim Il Sung. The picture book speaks for itself—it is about linking the origins and development of the North Korean state to the life of Kim Il Sung. The picture book compartmentalizes Kim Il Sung's life into ten chapters and contains a group of paintings of Kim Il Sung appropriate for each chapter. The titles of the ten chapters are embellished with an explanatory quote from either Kim Il Sung or Kim Jong Il, which are as follows:

1 ***Glory of the nation***
The Great Leader is the first leader our people received and served throughout thousands of years of history (Kim Jong Il).
2 ***The sun of juche soaring above Man'gyŏngdae***
I saw numerous times the beastly brutalities of the Japanese and the miserable circumstances of our people suffering under the Japanese colonial rule at Man'gyŏngdae, the place where I was born and grew up, and places in and outside our country where my father

18 Noel Carroll, *Theories of Art Today* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), p. 207 and Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art?* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2005), pp. 128-137.
19 Shiner, *The Invention of Art*, pp. 7, 12, 15.
20 Carroll, *Theories of Art Today*, p. 229.
21 Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, eds, *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), p. xvi.
22 Kim, *Misullon*, pp. 44-47.
23 Ibid., p. 22.
24 Ibid., p. 27.
25 *Pulmyŏr üi yŏngsang* (미술작품집) 불멸의 영상(P'yŏngyang: Munye ch'ulp'ansa 문예출판사, 1992).

settled and worked (Kim Il Sung).

3 ***The anchor of revolution has risen***
Since the age of 15, I started a revolutionary struggle by organizing an underground revolutionary group. I mobilized youth into the organization and armed them with the ideology of revolution. I went to the countryside and established schools and night schools and educated the people (Kim Il Sung).

4 ***Plowing through the blizzard of Paektu***
The struggle against the Japanese was an extremely difficult struggle that arose from neither a systemized national support nor a regular military and resisted the Japanese robbers who were armed down to their toenails (Kim Il Sung).

5 ***Under an extraordinary democracy***
With the liberation of our homeland, the almost half century of Japanese colonial rule ended and the great feat of the liberation of the people was realized and the wide road toward a new construction of Korea was opened (Kim Il Sung).

6 ***Cheers of victory***
During the three years that our Party resisted the military invasion of American imperialists and their agents, our Party led the war for the liberation of the fatherland to victory and honorably protected the dignity of the people and the revolutionary trophies of war (Kim Il Sung).

7 ***Holding the grand blueprint***
Although the American imperialists boasted that Korea would not be able to rise up again even if it took 100 years, our country was able to completely heal the wound from the war in several years and rise to become a powerful socialist nation in a short time span of less than 20 years after the war (Kim Il Sung).

8 ***Please summon the Ch'ŏllima from the legends***
The enactment of the Ch'ŏllima movement has brought about an innovation in all aspects of our culture, ideology, and morals and we have achieved a bright result in our country's socialist nation building (Kim Il Sung).

9 ***Flying high the red banner of the three revolutions***
The three revolutions of ideology, technology, and culture are the total policies for the construction of socialism and communism and the fundamental means for realizing the socialist transformation of society (Kim Il Sung).

10 ***A unified homeland for the future generations***
We cannot leave the task of unification of the homeland to the future generations. We must unify our homeland in our generation (Kim Il Sung).[26]

Beginning with a group of paintings celebrating Kim Il Sung, the picture book delineates the history of North Korea by tracing the life of Kim chronologically. Every major event from the Japanese colonial period through the Korean War to the post-war reconstruction years and the hopes of unification are positioned from a Kim Il Sung-centred perspective while the historical narrative imparted is one that blurs the boundary between illusion and reality.

In the following section I will analyze four paintings from this collection and pair them with their reviews appearing in the 1986 edition of the *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam*. The significance of the year 1986 can be surmised from its relation to crucial developments in the transition of power from Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong Il. Preparations for Kim Jong Il's eventual reign began in earnest during the 1970s, when he first appeared on the political stage as Kim Il Sung's heir in 1974. By 1980, Kim Jong Il's power was solidified at the 6th Party Congress when he received senior posts in the politburo, military, and the secretariat. In 1986 he was given the title "Dear Leader" and the period of Kim Il Sung-Kim Jong Il joint rule officially opened. This arrangement was strengthened by the Supreme People's Assembly elections of November 2, 1986, which are considered largely a rubber stamp procedure where the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland led by the Workers' Party unfailingly emerges victorious.

BEGINNINGS OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE REVOLUTION

The 1986 review of the Chosŏnhwa painting titled *On the Day of the Performance of the Revolutionary Drama <The Three Pretenders>*[27] illustrates the various mechanisms at work in the mobilization and dramatization of history. To understand this process of historical dramatization,

26 Ibid.

27 This is painted by Kim Sŏngmin and he is regarded as one of the preeminent artists in North Korea. He received the title People's Artist in 1992. He is the painter of the official portrait of Kim Il Sung. He is active in the Mansudae Art Studio and the Korean Artists Federation (Chosŏn misulga tongmaeng 조선미술가동맹); see Ri Chaehyŏn 리재현, *Chosŏn Ryŏk Tae Misulga P'yŏllam* 조선력대미술가편람 (P'yŏngyang: Munhak yesul chonghap ch'ulp'ansa 문학예술종합출판사, 1999), p. 769.

we begin with the development of revolutionary dramas in North Korea. According to official North Korean writings, *The Three Pretenders* is a satirical revolutionary drama written by Kim Il Sung during the early years of his anti-Japanese guerrilla activities. It tells the story of the demise of a fictitious country called Songdoguk due to the power struggle and factional strife among three ministers, all eyeing the king's position after his death. A descriptive summary of the drama appears in the North Korean encyclopaedia, *Chosŏn Tae Paekkwa Sajŏn* 조선대백과사전:

> *Through the satirical depiction of three ministers, including the simple and dim-witted Minister Pak* 박정승*, the two-faced and gangly Minister Mun* 문정승 *who is good at cooking up plots, and the rat-like Minister Ch'oe* 최정승 *who constantly preys on the weaknesses of others while always changing sides and pursuing his interests, all disloyal subjects fighting like cats and dogs and disguising themselves as faithful subjects in order to strengthen their own political faction, the revolutionary drama convincingly teaches the consequences of inflicting factional strife on the history of our nation's struggle for liberation.*[28]

Kim Jong Il describes the lessons of the dialogue in the drama in a similar tone:

> *At a time when the king has deceased and a foreign invasion is drawing near, instead of discussing the countermeasures to resolve the crisis and rescue the country from disaster, the three ministers are fighting for the king's position, insisting that they (as opposed to the others) are the most loyal subjects by slandering each other. This dialogue reveals in detail how the leaders' eyes became blinded by the temptation of power and the true colours of the factions. It also profoundly and philosophically reveals the historical truth* (yŏksa ŭi jilli) *that factional strife is the ruination of a country... What is unique about the Three Pretenders is that the drama is held together by sharp, satirical laughter caused by the contradictions found between personal desires and reality, what is essential and the present reality, and intention and result.*[29]

The inspiration for writing the *The Three Pretenders* is ascribed to Kim Il Sung's opposition to the excessive factional strife and divide between the nationalists and communists during the time of Kim's anti-Japanese guerilla activities. It is against this political backdrop that the storyline of the *The Three Pretenders* is produced.

Revolutionary dramas are a major component of North Korean cultural production and they first appeared during the late 1970s as part of the personality cult of Kim Il Sung. There are five official revolutionary dramas and all of them are propagated by the state as the "immortal, classic masterpieces written personally by Kim Il Sung" during the anti-Japanese guerrilla period.[30] Kim Jong Il describes why they are so integral to North Korean cultural production:

> *The reason why the literary works created by the Great Leader are considered immortal classics is because they brightly realize the great juche ideology, socialism, and juche literary ideology that reveals the correct path toward the construction of a communist literary arts field, and all three occupying the highest and brightest place in humanity's history of thought.*[31]

Kim Jong Il speaks extensively about revolutionary dramas in a 1988 conversation with workers from the Artists' Federation and claims that Kim Il Sung personally wrote the revolutionary dramas during the early years of his guerrilla activities. Kim Jong Il further observes that revolutionary dramas were staged and performed widely during the guerrilla years.[32] Kim also talks about the importance of a new form of theater that embodies the ideas of juche while jettisoning the antiquated ways

28 *Chosŏn Tae Paekkwa Sajŏn* 30 vols 조선대백과사전(P'yŏngyang: Paekkwa sajŏn ch'ulpan'sa 백과사전출판사, 2000) XIII, p. 454.

29 Kim Chŏngil 김정일. "Yŏn'gŭk yesur e taehayŏ: munhak yesul bumun ilgundŭl gwa han tamhwa 연극예술에 대하여: 문학예술부문 일군들과 한 담화, 1988.4.20", in *Chosŏn chungang nyŏn'gam* 조선중앙년감 (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn chungang t'ongsinsa 조선중앙통신사, 1989), pp. 86, 99.

30 Ibid., p. 1. The five revolutionary dramas are *Sŏnghwangdang* 성황당*(The Mountain Shrine); Hyŏlbun man'gukhoe* 혈분만국회 *(Blood at an International Conference); Ttarekesŏ on p'yŏnji* 딸에게서 온 편지 *(A Letter from a Daughter); 3 in 1 tang* 3인 1당 *(Three Pretenders);* and *Kyŏngch'uk taehoe* 경축대회 *(A Celebration Meeting)*. Revolutionary dramas are required to have revolutionary and realist themes and a creative method of expression. Starting in the late 1970s, revolutionary dramas were produced and staged by the State Theatrical Troupe in P'yŏngyang.

31 *Chosŏn Tae Paekkwa Sajŏn*, XII, p. 14.

32 Kim, "Yŏn'gŭk yesur e taehayŏ", pp. 33-34.

33 This new style of theater production is officially called *Sŏnghwangdang shik yŏn'gŭk* 성황당식 연극 *(The Mountain Shrine-style drama)* named after the revolutionary drama *The Mountain Shrine*. The name originates from the fact that *The Mountain Shrine* was the first revolutionary drama that embodied the ideologies of juche set forth by the Workers' Party.

조선화 혁명연극 《3인1당》공연의 날에 김성민

of theater production of the past.[33] In this conversation, Kim Jong Il states that this new form of theater must "not only completely realize the human demands of juche in content and form, but also rely strongly on juche's creative principles in the areas of creative production and method."[34] With this context in mind, the painting *On the Day of the Performance of the Revolutionary Drama <The Three Pretenders>* was created in 1985 with a review published in the 1986 edition of *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam*, followed by a revival of the *The Three Pretenders* as a new form of theatrical production in 1987.

The review introduces the theoretical framework within which to discuss the painting before moving to a description of the historical context in which the *The Three Pretenders* was created. Quoting Kim Il Sung, the review states that "we have been awakened by the juche ideology, which has been strengthened through our struggle for revolution and nation-building, to the fact that the people are the owners of and the impetus for revolution and nation-building."[35] Next, the review describes that while Korea's liberation from Japan was everyone's desire, the factional strife and power struggle between the communists and nationalists precluded the people from rising up and partaking in the revolutionary struggle for liberation. The review states that it was Kim Il Sung who revealed that neither revolution nor liberation could be achieved by the methods of either nationalists or communists, but that the rightful owners of the revolution were the people. It adds that the Great Leader "founded and realized the immortal juche ideology and by gloriously leading the people toward the struggle for revolution, the revolution became a feat of the people and he was also able to achieve the liberation of Korea."[36] While providing a brief synopsis of the *The Three Pretenders*, the review places a greater emphasis on Kim Il Sung's revolutionary accomplishments. The painting is extolled for giving form to the "immortal image of the Great Leader directing the revolutionary drama he personally wrote,

34 Kim, "Yŏn'gŭk yesur e taehayŏ", pp. 1-2.

35 Hong Ŭijŏng 홍의정, "Chosŏn hyŏngmyŏng ŭl inmin daejung ŭi wiŏb ero chŏnhwanshik'in widaehan yŏngsang: chosŏnhwa <hyŏngmyŏng yŏn'gŭk <3 in 1 tang> kongyŏn ŭi nar e> (Kim Sŏngmin chak) e taehayŏ 조선혁명을 인민대중의 위업에로 전환시킨 위대한 영상 – 조선화 <혁명연극 [3인 1당]공연의 날에>(김성민 작)에 대하여", in *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam 1986* 조선미술년감1986, ed. by Nam Minu 남민우, Kim Myŏngwŏn 김명원, Chŏng Wŏnyong 정원용 and Han Wŏn'gŭn 한원근 (P'yŏngyang: Munye ch'ulp'ansa 문예출판사, 1986), pp.470-472 (p. 470).

36 Ibid.

disclosing the immense damage inflicted by the nationalists on the struggle for liberation and communism."[37]

The remaining portion of the review is devoted to explicating the strategies and techniques utilized in the painting, written in highly descriptive language. The review first mentions the positioning of Kim Il Sung in the picture by stating that "the painting reverently places the sublime Kim Il Sung in the centre amongst the masses who are boiling with delight and revolutionary passion aroused by the great emotion they received from the revolutionary drama."[38] The review goes on to describe Kim Il Sung's appearance and what the painting reveals:

> *Neatly dressed in middle-school attire, holding the rolled up script of the drama in his hands, the image of the Great Leader looking toward the stage is bright and filled with foresight. The painting reveals through the portrayal of the Great Leader the historical truth* (yŏksajŏk sashil 역사적 사실) *that he created and personally directed the revolutionary drama The Three Pretenders and that he feels throughout his entire body the excitement of the masses.*[39]

This passage shows how paintings define historical truth. Historical truth is conveyed not simply by showing an event, rather by illuminating emotions that are true. Art does not necessarily reveal factual truth, but emotional truth that provides instant awareness and insight, foregrounding how art imitates life. Simply through the depiction of an event one makes the image historically true. Kim Jong Il makes a marked distinction between the method of creation in the arts and a scientific approach. He states that the essence of art cannot be realized if the method of creation in the arts is replaced by a scientific approach.[40] A scientific approach utilizes rational analysis to arrive at a conclusion while art overpowers its viewer with an immediate insight. This is where the revolutionary merit and contribution of an artwork are found.[41] What makes an artwork beautiful is when its revolutionary (*chuch'e*) content is emotionally felt. Beauty is predicated on objective criteria, which are determined by meeting the aspirations and desires of the people.[42] As Koen De Ceuster argues, art is an artist's individual expression of the objective reality of beauty that is always prescribed and defined in revolutionary terms.[43] In the objective reality of beauty, factual accuracy has no real meaning.

This passage also reveals the historical truth that Kim Il Sung both wrote and directed the revolutionary drama as a middle school student. In truth, this is highly doubtful. Historical representation is indifferent to meaning in the real sense; rather the North Korean state gives historical representation meaning, or a sense of reality. Historical representations are what F.R. Ankersmit describes as the "narrative substance," the predetermined set of statements that as a whole coalesce to exemplify the master historical narrative's representation of the past. What we see in the painting and review, as Ankersmit aptly puts it, is the tension between the narrative substance, or idealism, vis-à-vis the concept of reality, or realism.[44] Thus, representation is key. Echoing John Lewis Gaddis, fitting representations to reality gives a version of the past truthfulness.[45]

Next, the review describes several of the characters depicted in the painting. It emphasizes that the characters are from all walks of life. The review states:

> *Amongst the crowds of people surrounding the Great Leader, while there are those who revere the Great Leader, possessing unceasing admiration and respect for him, those laughing hysterically as they talk about the drama, and adolescents applauding and cheering while raising their two hands up in the air shouting hurrah, there are also those who are looking with disdain at the nationalists, similar to the ministers appearing in the drama. Amongst these people, the depiction of the communist adolescent standing next to the Great Leader, the head of the village, and the elderly man and a young man sitting in front of the Great Leader is particularly impressive and these individuals play an important role in revealing the painting's ideological*

37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Kim, *Misullon*, p. 35.
41 Koen De Ceuster, 'To Be an Artist in North Korea: Talent and Then Some More,' in *Exploring North Korean Arts*, ed. by Rüdiger Frank (Vienna: Verlag für Moderne Kunst, 2011), pp.51-71 (p. 56).
42 Kim, *Misullon*, pp. 9-11.
43 De Ceuster, p. 57.
44 F. R. Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 219, 224.
45 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 5, 7, 34.

content. In the centre of the painting an elderly, white-haired man with a healthy appearance is depicted. Although his hands appear rough and he seems tough, we can tell that he is the head of the village by his unusually gentle demeanor and his attire—he is wearing a vest over his summer jacket and traditional Korean socks—revealing his standard of living and education. Through the depiction of the elderly man who is gesturing about the drama, hitting the knee of the man sitting next to him, and laughing broadly, the painting shows the overflowing energy of the scene and the great influence of the revolutionary drama The Three Pretenders.[46]

The review continues with descriptions of the remaining characters featured in the painting:

There is a depiction of an elderly man and a robust young man seated in front of the Great Leader. Both are giving hard stares at the nationalists and their character depictions are individualistic. The elderly man's face is covered with a critical expression telling the nationalists, who are no longer young, to wake up and regain their senses while the young man's expression is filled with anger at the nationalists' rash behavior. The painting depicts the gradual awakening of the masses to the evil intentions of the nationalists through the revolutionary drama. Particularly, the depiction of the elderly man standing next to the Great Leader reveals many things. Neatly dressed in a traditional Korean overcoat and with a handsome black beard and eyes softly lowered, there is deep emotion on his facial expression. Such a depiction indicates that he has a firm purpose. Possessing a clean conscience, he joined the nationalists to help the liberation movement and was always on the move following the nationalists. Reflecting now on how futile the just life he sought to live in the past was, he believes that for the first time a splendid stroke of luck has sprouted upon the Korean people as he serves the Great Leader. The painting vividly shows this inner world of the elderly man.[47]

What is striking about these passages are the detailed character descriptions, including facial expressions, and a character's inner world. In *The Treatise on Art*, Kim Jong Il speaks at length about the importance of capturing the inner world of a character and the significant role facial descriptions play in character portrayals.[48] Character portrayals serve to heighten the truthfulness (*sashil*) in art, which is convincing, persuasive, and ultimately emotionally true. He writes:

An artwork's value and educational meaning for humans are influenced by how a character's personality is depicted in an art creation… In order to prominently depict personality in a character description, the inner world of an individual must be captured deeply… the inner world serves as the basis for personality depiction. The inner world is the spiritual manifestation of the cohesion between an individual's thought, will, and emotion.[49]

According to Kim, the most important element in depicting an individual's inner world rests in capturing the "psychological movement that occurs as an individual sees and interacts with reality… and in this process revealing an individual's thoughts and ideas in the truest form."[50] Kim enumerates how an inner world is expressed—through the depiction of the union between emotion and thought, human relationships, depiction of the described circumstances, and the external expression of an individual's psychological state.[51] Facial depictions, according to Kim, serve as the basis for character portrayals:

An individual's face reveals subtly the individual's thoughts and emotions and one's complicated psychological movement. Within the face, the eyes express most sensitively and profoundly the inner world and the deepest thoughts of an individual… The face also plays an important role in character portrayals because its depiction is closely linked to an individual's actions and conduct, attire, and circumstances and environment.[52]

46 Hong Ŭijŏng,, "Widaehan yŏngsang", pp. 470-471.
47 Ibid., p. 471.
48 Kim, *Misullon*, pp. 49-65.
49 Ibid., p. 49.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., pp. 49-51.
52 Ibid., pp. 59-60.

These character portrayals, according to the review, underscore Kim Il Sung's greatness and the wisdom of his leadership and guarantee the philosophical depth of the painting.[53]

The review continues with the characterization of the remaining masses and the nationalists. It states that the painting "widens the ideological content and clearly solidifies the raised issue through the depiction of the dark nationalists in contrast to the energetic masses."[54] Contrasting the masses to the nationalists, the review states:

> *In the portrayal of the nationalists, they are separated from the masses, emphasizing the fact that the nationalists are trying to reign over the masses. This can be seen clearly by the conduct of the nationalists, dressed in fancy silk clothes, sitting high on chairs covered with fine mats even embroidered with designs for comfort. The painting shows on many different levels how the nationalists, who were very arrogant in front of the masses only a short while ago, are embarrassed at this moment as the masses are overflowing with joy. In this scene, there is a person smoking a long cigarette deeply immersed in self-reproach, a person sweating profusely as their (nationalists) worldly ambitions come to light, an elderly and weak person who seems not to even possess any strength, yet trying to look up by raising the veins on his neck to see the enthusiasm of the masses, a person running away from the site without even time to save his face because he is afraid of the glares of the masses. Through such lowly depictions of the nationalists, the painting is confirming that the outdated nationalists have been abandoned due to their weaknesses by the masses.*[55]

In *The Treatise on Art*, Kim Jong Il writes about the importance of capturing the authentic form of corrupt individuals in character depictions. He states that if an appearance is artificially distorted because the personality that forms the inner quality of an individual is "disgraceful, evil, and vulgar," then the authenticity of the character is lost.[56]

The review also praises the painting for transmitting the correct ideological thought through structure and form. It states that the composition and colouring contribute to highlighting the focus of the painting—Kim Il Sung. The review points out that the scene is divided into three groups: the masses, the stage, and the nationalists. Commenting on the structural layout of the painting, the review states that "by occupying the most space in the painting, the masses reveal the painting's central idea." The review adds that by placing Kim Il Sung in the centre of the masses, the painting clearly reveals the central focus and message of the painting. As for the colour, the review states that "the painting balances and unifies the scene with whites and neutrals, and by depicting the Great Leader dressed in a black uniform, the painting achieves the creative achievement of focusing all eyes on the great appearance of Kim Il Sung."[57] Colour contributes to the idea of beauty by enhancing the emotional element of a painting. In *The Treatise on Art*, Kim Jong Il writes that the use of colour is one of the most important means of representing aesthetic value because it provides "strong and deep aesthetic emotion."[58] The review closes with what the painting so successfully accomplishes—actively contributing to the Workers' Party's revolutionary goals to transform society into a juche society while arousing great emotion in the masses.[59]

This painting is a multilayered composition that pits the merits of Kim Il Sung's anti-Japanese activities against the corrupt cultural nationalists. Physically, the painting takes place during the Japanese colonial period, highlighting the brewing tension between different factions on how to achieve liberation. The second layer pertains to Kim Il Sung as he stands in the centre directing the revolutionary drama that he wrote—a moment that is stated as a historical truth by its mere depiction. The final layer is the revolutionary drama *The Three Pretenders* and the historical significance revolutionary dramas have in North Korean history and the meaning behind the revival of the drama in 1987. The vilified nationalists in the painting are the cultural nationalists who advocated a more gradual, conciliatory approach to liberation, struggling

53 Hong, "Widaehan yŏngsang", p. 471.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Kim, *Misullon*, p. 55.
57 Hong, "Widaehan yŏngsang", p. 472.
58 Kim, *Misullon*, p. 20.
59 Hong, "Widaehan yŏngsang", p. 472.

against the radical nationalists who supported a much more overt resistance to the Japanese through social revolution.[60] From their attire, the nationalists seem to be capitalist entrepreneurs or landlords, the classes Kim Il Sung sought to eradicate. The old nationalists are juxtaposed with the children who represent the future, a link to the utopia depicted in the last painting. The crowd is composed of a wide range of individuals—intellectuals dressed in western attire, students dressed in their uniforms, and local villagers dressed in traditional attire. Moreover, all except Kim Il Sung are nameless in this painting; thus, representing not an individual, but a category or class of people.

THE ROAD TOWARD LIBERATION

"Materializing the Great Leader's revolutionary ideology, art must deeply give form to the Great Leader's revolutionary activities in order for the arts of the working class, which serves the Great Leader's revolutionary feats, to completely fulfill its calling."[61] So begins the review of the painting *The Spring of 1939*. [62] Describing the present as the era of juche when the people emerge as the owners of the world and independently and creatively develop their destinies, the review emphasizes that in order for art to realize its mission it is imperative that it gives evidence of the victory of juche ideology, the supremacy of the Great Leader's revolutionary ideology, the wisdom of the Great Leader's leadership, and the loftiness of communist virtues. As a result of placing the greatest importance in art on depicting the Great Leader's revolutionary activities, many excellent ideological artworks have been created, according to the review.[63]

The Spring of 1939 is a typical North Korean history-themed painting because it refers to one of the major historical victories attributed to Kim Il Sung during the Japanese colonial period. According to the *Ryŏksa Sajŏn* (력사사전, History Dictionary), Kim Il Sung led the Chosŏn people's revolutionary army to a major victory against the Japanese army in May 1939 in the Musan region near the Korean-Chinese border. While in Manchuria where he was actively involved in anti-Japanese guerrilla activities, Kim Il Sung led the revolutionary army and entered Korea as part of a broader strategy to liberate the Korean peninsula from the Japanese. North Korea propagates the claim that while he was in Musan, Kim had prescience of an impending attack by the Japanese army and ordered his troops to prepare for conflict. Under his leadership, the revolutionary army was able to defeat the Japanese army, which attacked from five different positions.[64] The review states that this victory inflicted a significant political and military blow to the Japanese and turned the tide toward liberation, proving to the world how mightily Korea was fighting. It continues with a diatribe against the Japanese colonial forces and enumerates the various injustices they inflicted on the Koreans. Particularly emphasized is the speed with which the news of the victory spread amongst all Koreans and the firm faith amongst the people that as long as the Great Leader leads the revolutionary struggle for independence, the end goal will be achieved. The review states that it was with this faith that the people rallied around the struggle for independence.[65]

After presenting the historical context in which the painting is set, the review emphasizes the importance of capturing an appropriate moment in artworks:

> *Correctly choosing a setting is an extremely important issue for an artwork, which must depict a complicated reality in a single moment. In an artwork, a setting that hits the mark must be chosen so that the connections between events that occurred before and after, which cannot be expressed intuitively, can emerge clearly and the inner world of the main character can be expressed…*[66]

Kim Jong Il devotes a section in *The Treatise on Art* to the importance of selecting a correct moment of opportunity to depict in an artwork.[67] He argues that depicting an appropriate moment allows "the profound and broad

60 Michael E. Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989).

61 "Widaehan pom e taehan sŏjŏngshijŏk hwap'ok: yuhwa <1939 nyŏn ŭi pom> (Kim Ch'anggil chak) e taehayŏ 위대한 봄에 대한 서정시적 화폭 – 유화 <1939년의 봄>[김창길 작]에 대하여", in *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam 1986* (P'yŏngyang: Munye ch'ulp'ansa 문예출판사, 1986) pp.476-478 (p. 476).

62 This is an oil painting by Kim Ch'anggil, who received the title People's Artist in 1995 (Ri, Chaehyŏn, *Chosŏn Ryŏk Tae Misulga P'yŏllam*, p. 709).

63 "Widaehan pom e", p. 476.

64 Chosŏn minjujuŭi inmin konghwaguk Sahoe kwahagwŏn Ryŏksa yŏn'guso조선민주의인민공화국사회과학원력사연구소 (ed.), *Ryŏksa Sajŏn* 력사사전 2 vols (P'yŏngyang: Sahoe kwahak ch'ulp'ansa 사회과학출판사, 1971) ㅣ, pp. 808-810.

65 "Widaehan pom e", p. 477.

66 Ibid.

67 Kim, *Misullon*, pp. 90-94.

유 화 1939년의 봄 김창길

world of life to unfold" because an opportunity produces events and behaviour and serves as a condition from which an individual's character develops. It is a turning point where the links between human relationships can be found.[68] Kim further explains that unlike other mediums where a series of images can produce an organic whole, only one chance is given in art; therefore, a captured moment in art must embody the essence of truth and fully portray the event being depicted.[69]

The review continues with a description of the scene portrayed in the painting:

> *The painting captures the moment when the Great Leader, having arrived in his homeland, is standing at the foot of Mount Paektu, looking out far across his homeland's mountains and streams on a spring day. By capturing this moment, the painting emotionally embodies the inner ideological kernel of life. The imposing image of the Great Leader, dressed in military attire, is placed in the centre. With the first saps of green sprouting and beautiful pink azaleas blooming, the Great Leader rises to the top of a high hill and looks toward the mountains and rivers of his homeland with compassionate, empathetic eyes. Hearing the voices of the people thirsting for rescue, the Great Leader, as if heartbroken, stands solemnly with his jacket flung open. A spring breeze from the homeland is blowing, carrying a loving emotion and lightly flapping the Great Leader's jacket.*[70]

Next, the inner world of the Great Leader as he looks toward his homeland is described:

> *The Great Leader is lost in the unforgettable memories of all the trials and tribulations during his road to revolution as his homeland becomes more beautiful and precious the more he sees it. Although today we groan under the rule of the Japanese, the painting brightly depicts the Great Leader, carrying the immense excitement of our homeland's liberated tomorrow where our*

68 Ibid., p. 90.
69 Ibid., p. 91.
70 "Widaehan pome", p. 477.

people enjoy great fortune in the paradise of Korea.[71]

Reiterating the role Kim Il Sung played in liberating Korea, the review observes that "the spring of 1939 was a great spring that remains immortal in the history of Korea as a result of the Great Leader's march toward the homeland, and the painting confirms with great emotion that the feat of liberating the homeland was achieved because of his immense and unconditional love for the homeland."[72]

The review continues with a description of the composition and function of the painting:

The painting serves as a model because it emotionally materializes the ideological content through the scenic depiction of the ripening of spring's vitality… What is unique about the unfolding early spring's lyrical scene is first and foremost that it serves as an inner support for the Great Leader's deep emotional and internal thoughts… Furthermore, the artwork is based on a historical truth (yŏksajŏk sashil) and rigorously accomplishes our Workers' Party's policies on art production, raising the artwork's value as an instructive and artistic work. Artworks that depict the Great Leader possess the cultural role of materializing juche ideology; and therefore, they must thoroughly rely on historical truths while possessing a high artistic quality. This is because the artworks that depict the Great Leader must serve as memorials that commemorate the deeds of the Great Leader by reaching the realm of ideological art.[73]

This passage reveals how natural phenomena inform us about the inner world of the depicted subject. Landscapes help reflect an individual's life. Depictions of landscape do not simply beautify nature, but contribute to the truthfulness of art by emotionally imparting correct thought. It also reveals that artworks must serve as memorials, a point that will be discussed in the final painting. Commenting further on the composition of the scene, the review states:

The azaleas are the azaleas of the homeland… Although the azaleas physically occupy a small portion of the painting, the historical truth (yŏksajŏk sasil) and abundant emotion inherent in the flowers underscore the significant weight the azaleas carry in the painting. Toward the rear of the painting, we see a white horse surrounded by birch and larch trees. Historically, the Great Leader did not ride a horse during his march toward the homeland. However, the painting depicts a white horse reminiscent of the Ch'ŏllima 철리마 *that appears in legends for the glorification of the Great Leader… The panorama, filled with the plateau and highlands of Mount Paektu and the rolling white clouds, creates an ambience that accentuates the world of the Great Leader's deep, profound inner thoughts.*[74]

Reference to historical and artistic truth can be seen in this passage. Kim Il Sung may not have ridden a horse, but it is proper and truthful to have it in the painting. Not much happens in this painting, which makes it difficult to grasp what the painting is about. Despite the historical context of the painting, battle scenes and Mount Paektu are not featured in the painting. The title is the clue, the link that informs us what is being told in the painting.

REBIRTH OF P'YŎNGYANG

Set during the Korean War, the painting *Planning Today's P'yŏngyang*[75] is praised in the review for being one of the representative artworks that illustrates the progress made in the field of North Korean art by correctly giving form to Kim Il Sung's theories. By depicting an appropriate historically-themed topic— how the construction of the city of P'yŏngyang began under the leadership of the Great Leader after the devastation of the Korean War— the review states that the painting displays the union between a correct historical topic and an emotional element, and that emotionally reproducing such historical truth (*yŏksajŏgin sashil*) on a canvas is the most important creative task of juche art.[76] The painting depicts the moment when Kim Il Sung stepped onto a boat on the Taedong River at the break of dawn to plan the rebirth of

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., pp. 477-478.

74 Ibid., p. 478. Ch'ŏllima 철리마 is the Korean name for a mythical horse that can cover a large distance. Its name literally means "thousand-mile horse" and it is usually portrayed as a winged horse.

75 This oil painting is painted by Hong Sŏngch'ŏl. He received the title Merited Artist in 1974 (Ri, Chaehyŏn, *Chosŏn Ryŏk Tae Misulga P'yŏllam*, p. 476).

76 "P'yŏngyang kŏnsŏr üi sae ach'im ŭl ttŭt kipk'e hyŏngsanghan sunggohan yesulchŏk hwap'ok: yuhwa <Onŭl üi P'yŏngyang ŭl kusanghashiyŏ> (Hong Sŏngch'ŏl chak) e taehayŏ 평양건설의 새아침을 뜻깊게 형상한 숭고한 예술적화폭 – 유화 <오늘의 평양을 구상하시여> [홍성철 작]에 대하여", in *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam 1986*, pp. 474-476 (pp.474-475).

P'yŏngyang after its devastation from the Korean War.

A description of Kim Il Sung, the artistic merits of the painting, and the importance of a sense of rapport follows:

> *The Great Leader, dressed in plain clothes, is looking at the ruins of P'yŏngyang with eyes filled with the foresight and firm belief that P'yŏngyang will become the world's leading revolutionary city... This portrayal of the Great Leader based on a historical truth (yŏksajŏgin sashil)... A feeling of rapport (kyogam 교감) permeates the painting with the depiction of two workers serving as assistants to the Great Leader in his plan to reconstruct P'yŏngyang... This sense of rapport plays an important role in characterizing and developing the Great Leader's revolutionary feats and, in turn, arousing the viewers' thoughts and sentiments... The placement of a worker holding a flashlight to see the blueprint not only suggests the darkness engulfing the area, but it also discloses the worker's sincere desire to help... Standing in front of the Great Leader and holding the blueprint, the design engineer displays his loyalty filled with the firm resolve to assist the Great Leader's efforts... Still wearing the army's padded jacket, the design engineer is filled with the determination to give all of his strength and wisdom to materializing the Great Leader's ambitious plan. His heartfelt portrayal reveals many things to the viewers.*[77]

In *The Treatise on Art*, Kim Jong Il describes in detail the importance of correctly capturing this sense of rapport. Kim provides several reasons for employing a sense of rapport throughout an artwork:

> *When expressing people's faces it is important to correctly depict an individual's sense of rapport. A person's attitude on the depiction of an object is expressed through a person's facial expression and actions... Correctly depicting a sense of rapport is needed because it expands the range of themes found in life.*[78]

The people featured in the painting have to be related and connected. That is, rapport exists between the people. Like the circle around Kim Il Sung in the first painting and the radial, hierarchical layout of the Graves of Revolutionary Martyrs as described by Heonik Kwon,[79] rap-

77 Ibid., pp. 475-476.

78 Kim, *Misullon*, pp. 64.

79 Heonik Kwon, "The Korean War in North Korea's Culture of Commemoration," paper presented at "History as a Social Process: Unconventional Historiographies: The second workshop," Leiden University, October 29, 2011.

port is centred around Kim, the uniting force between the people. The review states that although the worker and design engineer are portrayed differently due to their different positions and duties, the two characters are united because they are both contributing to the Great Leader's construction plan. This union creates the sense of rapport between the two characters. Lastly, similar to the previous painting, the use of colour is emphasized for evoking emotions through the use of subtle colour changes.

Like the previous painting, this painting is a an oil painting (*yuhwa*). Yet, what is noticeable is how similar in style the oil paintings are to the two Chosŏnhwa paintings featured in this article. With the elevation of Chosŏnhwa as the national art form by Kim Il Sung, precedence was given to Chosŏnhwa paintings in art production. To reflect this hierarchical order, oil paintings, as ordered by Kim Il Sung, were designed to replicate Chosŏnhwa; hence, the striking similarity in style between oil and ink brush paintings.

The theme of rebuilding P'yŏngyang into a leading revolutionary city harks back to the Soviet preoccupation with remodeling Moscow into a new socialist city during the 1930s, when architecture played a pivotal role in Stalinist political culture.[80] Furthermore, from 1946 to 1955, the period when this painting takes place, North Korean writers travelled to Moscow on Kim Il Sung's orders to produce tributes to the Soviet-North Korean friendship and Soviet life. What resulted were travelogues that presented the USSR as a socialist land of happiness to be emulated.[81] In this respect, this painting captures two elements: it alludes to the borrowing of Soviet culture in the formative years of North Korea and references the importance of architecture as a propagandistic tool. While the new P'yŏngyang is yet to be materialized, left to the imagination of the viewers, the painting nevertheless suggests the vital role architecture played through securing the visual landscape in legitimating Kim Il Sung's power.

A KIM IL SUNG-CENTRED SOCIALIST UTOPIA

The final painting titled *At the Site of the Bumper Pumpkin Crop* shows an aged Kim Il Sung at a pumpkin farm.[82] The review begins by characterizing Kim Il Sung as a people's leader:

> *Raising the material well-being of the people as the most important goal of the Party, the Great Leader has always showered his benevolent love to all people, including to those in the remotest areas, such as the countryside, the mountains, and island villages. The Chosŏnhwa painting, At the Site of the Bumper Pumpkin Crop, movingly transmits the Great Leader's high communist virtues by capturing the Great Leader showing his kindness to a group of farmers during his visit to a pumpkin farm.*[83]

The review describes Kim Il Sung's portrayal, emphasizing his image as the father figure for all North Koreans:

> *The Great Leader is placed in the centre walking out from the pumpkin farm. With a broad smile on his face, the Great Leader is locked arm in arm with an elderly farmer dressed in working clothes and holding his farmer's hat respectfully, paying his respect to the Great Leader. Speaking freely with the farmers and asking about the number of pumpkins and their weights, and the amount of pumpkins required for feeding livestock, the Great Leader is actively developing a solution for providing sufficient feed for livestock. The Great Leader also recognizes the peoples' loyalty, which is pure and clean as crystal, and is encouraging the hard efforts of the farmers. The painting glorifies the Great Leader's noble communist virtues through his benevolent image. It reminds the viewers that the Great Leader is always one with the people and receives immense gratification from the happy lives of the people—the bliss and happiness increasing day by day.*[84]

Kim Jong Il explains how art produces emotional reactions through the depiction of beauty in *The Treatise on Art*. According to Kim, depictions that elicit aesthetic feelings are divided into man, society, and nature with man as the most important. Kim states that, "Man is

80 Katerina Clark, 'The "New Moscow" and the New "Happiness": Architecture as a Nodal Point in the Stalinist System of Value', in *Petrified Utopia: Happiness Soviet Style*, ed. by Marina Balina and Evgeny Dobrenko (London: Anthem Press, 2011), pp. 189-199.

81 Tatiana Gabroussenko, *Soldiers on the Cultural Front: Developments in the Early History of North Korean Literature and Literary Policy* (Honolulu: University Hawaii Press, 2010), pp. 13-45.

82 This is a Chosŏnhwa painted by Pak Taeyŏn 박대연, who became a People's Artist in 2005.

83 Ham Inbok 함인복, "Polsurok kip'ŭn kamdong ŭl chunŭn hwap'ok: chosŏnhwa <hobakp'ungjag i tŭn ilt'ŏ esŏ (Pak Taeyŏn chak) e taehayŏ 볼수록 깊은 감동을 주는 화폭 – 조선화 <호박풍작이 든 일터에서> [박대연 작]에 대하여", in *Chosŏn Misul Nyŏn'gam 1986*, pp. 472-474 (p. 472).

84 Ibid., pp. 472-473.

the master of the world and thereby is the most beautiful and powerful being in the universe. Man develops society through autonomous and creative activities and struggles, creates a beautiful life, and makes society and nature more beautiful."[85] Beauty in man is revealed by the presence of an ideological and moral demeanour (*sasang chŏngshinjŏk p'ungmo* 사상정신적 풍모) that is based upon ideological consciousness (*chŏngch'i sasang ŭishik* 정치사상의식). It is only when the physical attributes are in harmony with the inner world that beauty exists in man.[86] Thus, the reviews devote large sections to meticulous physical and mental descriptions of characters. Just as art is beautiful only when historical truth is emotionally felt, man is beautiful only when he or she is imbued with socialist political consciousness.

The harmony between physical attributes and an inner world can be further seen in other character descriptions featured in the painting:

> *The painting features an elderly farmer who is walking along deeply moved and has forgotten all the difficulties of life through the Great Leader's love, a female worker responsible for breeding livestock whose heart has swelled with the pride and joy of showing the Great Leader a ripe pumpkin, and a young female tractor driver who is looking at the Great Leader with great admiration. Through the depiction of these individual yet simple characters, the painting movingly shows the humaneness of the Great Leader and the noble comradeship between the Great Leader and the people.*[87]

Descriptions of emotions are a part of what these art

85 Kim, *Misullon*, p. 11.
86 Ibid.
87 Ham, "Polsurok kip'ŭn kamdongŭl chunŭn hwap'ok", p. 473.

reviews are about. They are also about how to view paintings and the history the viewer is relating to. The historical understanding that is supported throughout these artworks is based on emotional understanding and appeal. This passage also shows the "sloganesque" language used throughout the reviews to describe Kim Il Sung and the people's reaction to him. By using formulaic language, the effectiveness of the painting is increased because it situates the painting in a familiar narrative, which shapes historical interpretation and understanding.

The review emphasizes that the painting exhibits its own unique individuality through its composition:

> *In general, works depicting the Great Leader and the working class possess the characteristics of a monument because they feature the Great Leader's revolutionary activities… Therefore, the primary and most important element in paintings featuring the Great Leader is his placement on the canvas… In this painting, the Great Leader is placed in the centre while other characters are harmoniously arranged. An arch made out of pumpkin vines located at the top of the canvas contributes to highlighting the Great Leader in the centre. By placing the image of the Great Leader walking with the elderly farmer in the front and the female livestock breeder, female farmer, and the tractor driver in the rear of the canvas, the painting is structurally designed so that attention is first drawn to the image of the Great Leader.*[88]

Here it is important to note the reference to a monument when creating artworks on Kim Il Sung and the working class, which was also mentioned in the review of *Spring of 1939*. In *The Treatise of Art*, Kim Jong Il speaks about how "art leaves monuments in history." [89] Just as monuments occupy space and impose a specific historical reading of that space, so too art leaves footprints in time. Monuments are created to eternally preserve the exceptional feats and historical events for future generations.[90] The idea of leaving monuments in history is exemplified by producing artworks that feature Kim Il Sung and his revolutionary achievements, which serve as what Kim Jong Il calls the "nucleus" of socialist realist art.[91] Monuments are so central to Kim Jong Il's art theory because they secure the future by immortalizing and passing down Kim Il Sung's revolutionary feats.

The review continues with a description of the four different characters featured in the painting, including a person of merit and a female middle school student:

> *Walking respectfully and with no pretenses alongside the Great Leader and holding his hat in one hand, the elderly farmer is a Party member with many merits who has worked his entire life devoted to the Great Leader and the Party. Through the female livestock breeder who has a radiant smile on her face and who is trying to observe the Great Leader's on-the-site instructions on maintaining a bumper crop, we see the young generation's pure and clean loyalty. The people's admiration and ardent desire to follow the Great Leader are reflected in the female farmer whose hand is placed near her mouth deeply saddened by the prospect of parting with the Great Leader. The desire to serve next to the Great Leader by accomplishing numerous meritorious deeds is reflected in the psychological characterization of the female tractor driver whose hands are clasped in front of her while holding a face towel.*[92]

In this description, we see the characters' inner worlds and a sense of rapport at work. The detailed description of the characters' thoughts and their emotional reactions to the presence of the Great Leader illustrate how the central function of glorifying Kim Il Sung is accomplished. Like the first and third paintings, everyone is nameless except Kim Il Sung. Lastly, the review emphasizes the noteworthiness of the use of colour by creating a sense of space between the front and rear parts, which makes sure that Kim Il Sung and his immediate surroundings are bright and focused.[93]

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As part of the personality cult of Kim Il Sung, the four paintings are placed in a chronological sequence depicting the evolution of Kim from a young man during the

88 Ibid.
89 Kim, *Misullon*, pp. 21-27.
90 Ibid., pp. 24-25.
91 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
92 Ham, "Polsurok kip'ün kamdongül chunün hwap'ok", p. 473.
93 Ibid., p. 474.

Japanese colonial period, to a middle-aged man during the Korean War, and finally to an elderly man on the cusp of the twilight of his life. Dramatizing history through emotionally correct thoughts, the first three paintings have explicit historical references, informing us through various strategies how historical moments should be understood and internalized. The final painting is the end product, the conclusion of the narrative being told—the creation of a socialist utopia with Kim Il Sung in the centre whose presence invests all of the paintings with a powerful, luminous force. These images do not stand alone; they are part of a larger universe, reinforcing Pierre Bourdieu's idea on cultural production. Art is a symbolic power, closely interlinked with politics, fulfilling a legitimating function. Thus, the social contexts in which these paintings are produced determine the objective "value" of these artworks and what constitutes art under certain historical conditions.[94]

What these reviews have repeatedly revealed is the importance of emotion when defining historical truth. The story, the Great Leader, surrounding characters and their physical descriptions, colours, use of light, and nature, all heighten the emotionality of the paintings. Seizing moments from history, extracted from a dominant, single narrative, these paintings instruct their viewers how to see, feel, and internalize historical truth. The act of giving form to an event, a moment in history, simply makes the depiction historically true. Historical truth is always emotionally true; and this is the kernel to understanding how North Korean paintings work.

Throughout the images of Kim Il Sung explored in this article, reality recedes into an emotive illusion of truthfulness. An emotive illusion is a means of transcendence, perhaps an escape from the trappings of reality that is a far cry from an ideal world. Éric Rohmer once famously asked, "Art is a reflection of our time. But isn't it also an antidote?" The metaphor of art as an antidote is illuminating because in many ways the predetermined, restrictive limits in which art is produced seek to mask the true reality of North Korea in the real sense. Like an antidote, art counteracts the harmful forces that jeopardize the North Korean leaders' hold on power. As a whole, these images are the trammels of history that restrict the unfettered movement of their viewers' minds. What these paintings repeatedly demonstrate is how Kim Il Sung's biography is interwoven in North Korea's history through the personality cult. History is essential as the backdrop, but the real subject in these paintings is Kim Il Sung. Art works to keep Kim Il Sung in the centre, sustaining the North Korean leaders' grip on power through both glorious and tumultuous times.

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