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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY
TOMBS OF THE YI DYNASTY
KINGS AND QUEENS

by

WILBUR BACON

When a king or queen died, three special government offices were established, the Sannung Togam (山陵都監), which chose the site for the tomb and supervised its construction; the Kukcheng Togam (국청都監), which arranged for and conducted the funeral; and the Pinjon Togam (品爵都監), which kept the body until the funeral and arranged for the mourning period, which was three years for a king and a queen whose husband was already dead, one year for a queen if the king were still living.
PREFACE

This paper is an attempt to shed a little light on what turned out to be a rather more complicated field than I originally expected. It is based on personal observations and dozens of pictures of all but two of the tombs; information obtained from the following people: Mr. Kim Chong-mu* (金锺武), Principal, Songdong High School; Mr. Sin Sok-ho (申奭鎬), historian, who at present is editing the Choson Wangguk Sillok; Mr. Yun U-gyong (尹宇景), Chief, General Affairs Bureau, Imperial Household Office; Mr. Cho Ui-sok (趙義錫), an employee of the Imperial Household Office; and Mr. Na Ig-vong (羅益榮), Professor, Seoul National University; and the following books: Wanggung Sa (王宮史) by Yi Ch'or-won (李哲源); A Royal Funeral in Korea by Hugh Miller in the “Transactions of the Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVI”; and an article on the Koryo tombs in the Taisho Gonendo Koseki Chosa Hogoku (大正五年度古蹟調査報告) prepared under the auspices of the Government-General of Chosen. I am especially grateful for the many hours of his time given me by Mr. Kim Chong-mu, without whose valuable help the preparation of this paper would have been impossible. Mr. Ho Kil-bong (許吉鳳) of OEC also contributed considerable time in helping me gather information. The map was drawn by Mr. Ho Tong-gon (許東建) of OEC. Lastly, my wife did my typing and put up with being a “tomb widow” over a period of several months during which I visited tombs, read about tombs, talked about tombs, thought about tombs and even dreamed about tombs.

* Romanizations are in the McCune-Reischauer System, except for Seoul and the omission of the short mark over o (Korean ㅏ) and u (Korean ㅓ).
TOMBS OF THE YI DYNASTY KINGS AND QUEENS

1. Introduction

During the Yi Dynasty, when Confucianism was the state religion in Korea, there were four types of places that were considered by Confucianists to be "holy"—the shrines to Confucius, of which there was one in Seoul and about 300 in the county seats; altars where sacrifices were made, such as the Sajik-tan (社稷壇)*; the places where the spirit tablets of the dead were kept, especially the Chong-myó (宗廟) in Seoul, where the spirit tablets of the kings and queens were enshrined after the mourning period was finished; and the tombs of the dead, particularly the tombs of the kings and queens.

The tombs were considered important as it was believed that because the spirits of the dead continued to live there, the Confucian emphasis on filial piety made it imperative that people show the proper respect for their ancestors by providing them with proper tombs and that they continue to show respect with proper ceremonies. In addition, there was the belief that, if properly propitiated, the spirits of the dead would render aid to the living, while if they were dissatisfied or were troubled by evil spirits, calamities would occur. The proper surroundings for the dwelling place of royal spirits were therefore considered to be of the greatest importance for the welfare not only of the living king, but the whole country. For these reasons, great sums of money were spent throughout the Yi Dynasty for the construction and maintenance of these royal tombs and the conducting of ceremonies at them.

When a king or queen died, three special government offices were established, the Sannung Togam (山陵都監), which chose the site for the tomb and supervised its construction, the Kukchang Togam (國葬都監), which arranged for and conducted the funeral; and the Pinjon Togam (殯殿都監), which kept the body until the funeral and arranged for the mourning period, which was three years for a king and a queen whose husband was already dead, one year for a queen if the king were still living.

* Chinese characters added by Mr. Kim Chong-mu.
Among the members of the Sannung Togam were the geomancers, whose main duty was to pick the site for the tomb. It was believed that an ideal place should be at the end of a short ridge facing the south, as the king’s spirit should face the sun, a royal symbol, with a mountain behind it and longer ridges on each side bending toward the tomb, the one on the east (left) resembling the blue dragon, the one on the west (right) the white tiger*. Between the ridges and the tomb should be streams which join in front of the tomb to protect it from the fire influences of the south.

II. A Typical Tomb

Let us now visit a typical finished tomb in which both a king and queen are buried and examine each part of it in turn. As we approach the tomb area, we enter a forest in which two kinds of trees are predominant, the pine (song namu) and the Chinese juniper (chon namu). Evergreens were chosen so that the tomb area would be green and beautiful throughout the year. The trees around the tombs were considered so important to the well-being of the spirits of the king and queen that during the Yi Dynasty people were executed who cut them down†.

Near the entrance to the tomb is a chesil (齋室) or tombkeeper’s house. The title of the official in charge at the more important tombs was nungnyong (陵令), that of the official who supervised the actual work, chambong (參奉). The less important tombs only had a chambong. Their task was to keep the tomb and tomb area in good condition and to keep away people not authorized to enter. The house is in an enclosed area entered through a large gate built between two smaller buildings containing several rooms. People who came to conduct ceremonies at the tomb changed into their ceremonial clothes at the chesil. It was

* These came from the old Chinese system of the five directions with colors assigned to them as follows: west-white, east-blue north-black, south-red and center-yellow. The animals assigned to west, east, north and south were the tiger, the dragon, the turtle and the phoenix.

† In the text which follows, the past tense is used to refer to the situation during the Yi Dynasty.
not used for an overnight lodging place by participants in the ceremonies except at Yojū (驛州), as they left from and returned to Seoul on the day of the ceremony except in the case of Yung-nung (隴陵) and Kon-nung (健陵), where they left from and returned to Suwon (水原).

A wide path leads from the chesil to the tomb. Just before the gate it crosses a small stone bridge which spans the stream flowing in front of the tomb. The bridge is constructed from large slabs of granite and is usually two slabs long and several slabs wide, with a stone support in the center.

Shortly beyond the bridge is the gate, called the hongsalmun, (red arrow gate; hongjonmun (紅箭門) in Chinese characters). It is red, constructed of wood, and is set in stone. The sides are round poles about 8" in diameter and the top is composed of two crosspoles with flat upright pointed sticks shaped like arrows connecting them and projecting above the top pole. In the center is the Confucian yinyang (Korean um-yang) (陰陽) symbol, with the division up and down instead of across. The origin of this gate, which is intended to signify that a place is holy, is obscure. It was used at one time in Buddhist temples, but some scholars believe it came originally from shamanism. It is quite probable that it had the same origin as the torii in Japan.

At the right, just inside the gate, is a small square platform raised about 6" from the ground with stone sides and stone or tile paving. An official of the Imperial Household Office stated the name of the platform is chegwansok (祭祀席) and that during ceremonies at the tomb the chegwansok, the official in charge, stood on the chegwansok and directed the ceremony. At that time it was covered with mats as the chegwansok had to kowtow frequently. An employee at Yu-nung (裕陵) said that at the emperor-style tombs, this platform, which is on the left of the walk and is given the name paesokso (陪席石), was the site of a ceremony whenever a new ch'ambong was appointed and was not used during other ceremonies. It may also have been used for this purpose at king-style tombs.

Shortly beyond the gate, the walk to the shrine building begins. It is made of stone and is in two sections, the
left part being higher than the part on the right. The raised section was used by the king or his representative during ceremonies.

At the right of the walk, about halfway to the shrine building, is a small three-room guardhouse (subokch'ong) (壽福廳) where the tomb guards stayed. Families were not allowed to live there—only men. They made certain that unauthorized people did not enter the tomb area and took part in the ceremonies.

In front of the shrine building the walk turns to the right, then beyond the edge of the shrine, to the left and to the left again, where it ends at the steps to the porch of the shrine. The front steps have ornamented sides and were used by the king or his representative, the back steps are plain and were used by others participating in the ceremonies.

The shrine building is called the chongjagak (丁字閣). The name comes from the shape, which is similar to the Chinese character 丁. The building is on a stone foundation about 4' above the ground. The shrine is composed of two parts, a rectangular building in back and a porch, the center part of which is covered and is the lower part of the 丁, in front.

The building has three doors composed of four folding parts in front and one door in the center of the back. The lower parts of the side and back walls are made from grey brick set in concrete, the top part is plaster painted pink. On each side is a curved red wooden sheath which shades part of the plaster. The roof is tile.

Inside there are occasionally the sinuisang (神位床), or spirit tables, one for the king and one for the queen. They are rectangular in shape and are low. It was believed that the spirits of the king and queen sat on them during ceremonies. During the Yi Dynasty, they were always kept in the chongjagak and were covered with silk. The other red lacquer tables which are sometimes seen in a chongjagak were brought into the building for ceremonies only. There were one hyangnosang (香爐床), for burning incense, and two chesang (祭床), for food offerings, for each spirit at the tomb.
The interior floor is paved with tile squares and was formerly covered with mats. The walls are plaster and the inverted v-shaped ceiling is made from poles embedded in plaster. The walls, ceiling and beams are painted in subdued colors, with light green predominating.

The porch is on a lower level than the building. The roof over the center of the porch is held up by four columns set on round raised stone. In front of the roof is a curved red wooden sheath. The porch is paved with square grey tile. The part underneath the covering is raised slightly, but is lower than the level of the building. During ceremonies at the tomb, the participants remained on the porch.

The ground beside and in front of the chongjagak is often paved with square stones or tiles. Occasionally there are different levels, faced with stone about 8” high. There is also stone facing for different levels along the same plane as the front of the building part of the chongjagak and slightly behind the chongjagak. Behind the shrine is a ditch between the building and the stone facing of this higher level. The ditch is crossed by two slabs of stone placed side by side which lead to the door in the back of the chongjagak. The spirits of the king and queen were supposed to cross this to enter the chongjagak and sit on their spirit tables during the ceremonies.

At the left of the rear of the chongjagak is the manyosho (望燎所), a hollow square faced with four stones about 4” wide, 8” tall and 16” long placed in this manner: 口. Here the ch'ungmun (祝文), the paper giving the date, conveying greetings to the spirits of the king and queen and listing those present, was burned following each ceremony at the tomb. It was believed that the spirits would be able to read this after it was burned.

At the right of the rear of the chongjagak is a rectangular piece of stone about 1' wide and 2' long. It is the sansin chesok (山神祭石), where offerings of rice wine were placed before a ceremony to propitiate the mountain spirit who dwelt in the mountain on which the tomb was located.

Near the chongjagak is a well called ojongsu (烏井水) (royal water). The water was sometimes used for washing prior to taking part in the ceremonies.
At the right of chongjagak is the pigak (碑閣), (tombstone building), built on a stone platform. The bottom half is brick, the top part staves with spaces between. In front is a door. The roof is tiled. The pisok (碑石) (tombstone) inside the building is quite simple, with a plain stone base and a top shaped somewhat like a roof. On the front is carved, in old style Chinese characters, the name of the country, the myo title of the king and queen (the title given the king and queen following their death) and the name of the tomb. On the back of the tombstone are the facts of the life of the king and queen and the date when the stone was erected.

Behind the chongjagak is a large, steep mound. Like the whole area around the tomb beyond the gate, it is covered with grass. The royal tombs are among the few places in Korea with lawns.

On top of the large mound are three levels faced with stone. On the left and right of the first level are statues of two military officials (mugwansok) 武官石 facing each other. Their swords are unsheathed and are held in front with the points on the ground. They have stone horses, which are slightly to the rear on the side facing the chongjagak.

The second level contains statues of two civil officials (mun’gwansok) 文官石 holding a kyu (圭), a rectangular, slightly curved piece of stone, horn or wood on which was written the official’s rank. They also have horses, which are in the same position as those for the military officials.

The purpose of these statues of the officials was to represent to the spirits of the king and queen the officials which they controlled when they ruled. It is also probable that the belief was held that the statues could render some aid to the spirits. Military officials were allowed only at royal tombs. Civil officials were also used at the graves of members of the aristocracy.

On the same level as the civil officials is the changmyongdung (長明燈) (everlasting light lantern), which has 8 or 4 sides representing the 8 or 4 directions. This lantern was only symbolic and nothing was ever burned in it.
The first objects on the third level are the stone tables, called either sangsok (床石) or honyusok (魂遊石). The purpose and origin of the stone table are in dispute. Some scholars believe it can be traced back to the dolmens. Others believe it is a holdover from tombs of the common people, where food offerings were placed on similar stone tables. This was not true at royal tombs, as no ceremonies were held on top of the large mounds and no one was supposed to go there except the tombkeepers when they cut grass or made repairs. The name honyusok means “spirit playing stone” and people in charge of tombs today state that the spirits of the kings and queens sit on the stone tables and amuse themselves.

The legs of the tables represent drums and are called kosok (鼓石) or puksok (drum stone). Four masks of demons, called nat’i in Korean, are carved on each leg to frighten away evil spirits. It was formerly the custom in Korea to wear these masks and beat drums and gongs to frighten away evil spirits on the last day of the old year.

At the right and left of the stone tables are two stone pillars, called mangjusok (望柱石) (looking forward stone pillar). One theory is that the pillars are phallic symbols whose purpose is to frighten away evil spirits. Another is that they represent candles. These pillars had bumps with holes through them near the top of the center piece in early Yi tombs. This style was used in early Chinese tombs. At the tombs of commoners tents were sometimes fastened to these bumps during ceremonies. The later Yi tombs have small animals instead of bumps, one usually facing up, one down. One theory is that they represent dragons whose purpose was to frighten away evil spirits from the earth and the sky. Others state the animals are lizards, tigers or squirrels.

Behind the stone tables are two mounds, the king's on the left as we face them, the queen's on the right. There are several different styles of small mounds. Whatever the style, the mound facing or fence has twelve sides representing the twelve directions, which were given the names of twelve animals by the Chinese. These animals became spirits in Buddhism. There usually are carved somewhere on the facing or fence these twelve spirits, which resemble
civil officials, or the Chinese characters for the twelve
directions*. Their purpose was to protect the royal spirits
from evil spirits during the twelve hours into which the
day was divided.

The mounds are surrounded by connecting stone fences
which, as stated above, have twelve sections. They are
composed of short pillars and stone beams which are held
up in the center by stone supports.

At the left and right of the mounds are eight statues,
four on each side, of sheep (yangsok) (羊石) and tigers
(hosok) (虎石), arranged sheep, tiger, sheep, tiger.
These animals were chosen to represent the different
characters present in the world, the sheep for gentleness,
the tiger for fierceness; in other words, um and yang.

Beginning with the stone facing of the third level and
enclosing the animals and small mounds is a wall, called in
Korean kokchang (曲牆) (bending wall) as it is shaped
like this: ≅. The back part of the wall is raised. In
the wall, which is made of grey brick, are round granite
stones called pyoldol, or star stones, which represent the
stars in the heavens. The purpose of the wall was to
prevent the spirits from being seen from behind.

The king and queen are buried in separate stone rooms
under their mounds. Such things as furniture, musical
instruments, brushes, paper, inkstone, ink, dishes and stone
tables telling the events of their reign are buried with
them. The coffins, made of lacquer, are inside coffin covers,
which are covered with silk.

The above description applies to the tombs of the kings
given the title taewang (大王) (king). There are tombs
of four kings which are quite different in style, the two
given the title kun (君) (prince) and the two given the
title hwangje (皇帝) (emperor).

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* cha (子)—rat—north  o (午)—horse—south
ch'uk (丑)—cow mi (未)—sheep
in (寅)—tiger sin (申)—monkey
myo (卯)—hare—east yu (酉)—hen—west
chin (辰)—dragon sul (戌)—dog
sa (巳)—snake hae (亥)—pig
The myo (墓) (graves) of the two kings given the title kun are similar to the graves of the aristocracy. One has a small chesil, one has none. There is no hongsalmun, no walk, no chongjagak, no pigak. The small mounds are plain, without even a fence. There are civil officials only and no animals. The lanterns have four sides. There is a small stone table in front of the mounds for burning incense and larger tables for food offerings. The tombstones, which are in front of the small mounds, give only the names of the king and queen and have ornamented tops. The graves have a wall around them.

The tombs of the two kings given the title hwangje during their lifetime are the most magnificent of all the tombs. They are in a walled-in area. The tombkeeper's house is outside the wall, but the chegung (齋宮), where the participants in the ceremonies changed into mourning clothes and the food offerings were prepared, are inside the wall in front of each tomb.

The main distinguishing feature of these tombs is that the statues of animals and officials are beside the walk leading to the shrine building. The statues are in this order: horse, horse, camel, haet'ae, lion, elephant, yangma, military official and civil official. The haet'ae (驃騮) is a mythological animal which supposedly had the power to prevent fire, the yangma (羊馬) is a mythological horse which, according to legend, appeared whenever a great general was born and served him until he died. The walk, in front of which are hollow square stones where torches were placed during ceremonies, is raised in the center and leads to three sets of steps in front of the shrine building. The center steps have ornamented sides.

The shrine building is called ch'imjon (齋殿) instead of chongjagak, as it has no porch covering projecting in front. The building is large and has five sets of four doors in front and no wooden sheaths on the sides. Inside, the ceiling is coffered with painted wooden squares. The spirit table is large and shaped like a throne in the palace throne rooms. The tombstone building is also large and has a similar coffered ceiling.

The small mounds are similar to those at the king-style tombs. There are only a lantern, stone table and two mangjusok in front of the mound. It is surrounded on three sides by a wall.
There are two other objects which are occasionally found in tomb areas. The geomancers sometimes decided that more water was needed in front of the tomb, in which case a square pond with a round island in the center was built there. In addition, although the Yi Dynasty kings were Confucianist, Buddhist temples were built near several of the tombs, probably on the theory that it was not wise to miss the chance that Buddhist monks' prayers might prove of help to the royal spirits. Sometimes food used in the ceremonies was prepared in these temples.

The ceremonies mentioned above were held on the first and fifteenth of the month during the mourning period. When the mourning period was completed, incense was burned in the chongjagak on the first and fifteen of each month and ceremonies were held on the anniversaries of the deaths of the king and queen. No ceremonies have been held or incense burned since 1945.

III. Style

The above description of a typical tomb probably does not fit any particular tomb in every detail. The differences between tombs are mainly the result of two factors: 1. the importance of the person buried in the tomb; and 2. the period when the tomb was constructed.

The first factor divides into two parts, the title given to the king or queen and the relative importance of the king or queen compared with others of the same rank. As mentioned above, there were three titles given to Yi Dynasty kings—taewang, or king; hwangje, or emperor; and kun, or prince. Of the 27 kings who actually ruled, only two, the last two, were given the title hwangje during their lifetime, although Kojong conferred this title posthumously on several kings, and only two were given the title of kun. The differences in their tombs have already been discussed.

There are seven tombs where the person buried there was not considered of sufficient importance to merit military officials or stone facing or a fence around the small mound. These tombs also have only two of each of the animals. They are Kyong-nung (敬陵), where only the queen’s mound is plain, Chong-nung (肅陵), Chang-nung (莊陵),
Sa-nung (思陵), On-nung (温陵), and Yong-nung (永陵). The reasons for each case are in Section IV below under the descriptions of the separate tombs.

The king-style tombs can be divided into six stylistic periods, with each period having certain characteristics which apply to most or all of the tombs of the period, with the first and the last tombs of most periods showing, naturally, certain features carried over from or into the following period.

The first period (1392-1422)* includes four tombs, Che-nung (齊陵), Konwon-nung (健元陵), Hu-nung (厚陵) and Hon-nung (献陵). The style of this period shows the influence of the Koryo tombs, especially of Hyon-nung (玄陵) and Chong-nung (正陵). There were, however, more differences than one might expect. In Koryo tombs the levels in front of the small mounds are much more pronounced, the arrangement of the animals is different, the tombstone is in front of the small mounds and the sculpture is much plainer, probably because Buddhism was the state religion and not as much emphasis was placed on tombs.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the tombs of this period are the tombstones, which are very large, are on the backs of tortoises, and have ornate dragon tops. The tombstone buildings are about 30 feet beyond the chongjagak, which is not directly at the foot of the large mound. There is no sansin chesok, but on the left behind the chongjagak is a small stone altar which may have been used for the same purpose.

The stone horses and sheep at these tombs are completely in the round, while those of most other tombs have not been cut out underneath. The stone tables, have five legs, the extra one in the center. The civil officials, which have folds of their garments covering their hands, are about seven feet high. There are rectangular slabs of stone set in the ground in front of the military officials.

The small mounds have 12 sides with stone facing. On the center of each side is one of the twelve spirits. On the ground between the mound and the fence are sections of ribbed stone.

* The dates are the dates of the first and last tombs belonging to the period.
The main distinguishing feature of the second period (1452-1494), which includes Hyon-nung (顯陵), Kyongnung (敬陵), Kong-nung (恭陵), Kwang-nung (光陵), Yong-nung (英陵), Ch’ang-nung (昌陵), Sun-nung (順陵) and Son-nung (宣陵), is the position of the king and queen in five of the tombs—the king is on the left, the queen in a separate large mound on the right, with the chongjagak in front between the mounds. One of the tombs, Yong-nung (英陵), has only one small mound for both the king and queen, a style often copied later.

The tombstone buildings in these tombs are beside the chongjagak. No sansin chesok is visible, although it is possible the original tombs had them and they have become buried. Some statues of civil officials have uncovered hands. The statues are between seven and eight feet tall. The horses are diagonally behind the officials. The mounds, with two exceptions, are plain with only stone fences. The fence at Yong-nung (英陵) is the earliest on which the Chinese characters for the twelve directions are still visible. The two tombs which have stone facing around the mound have unribbed stone on the ground between the mound and the fence. The walls around the small mounds have two rows of star stones in them.

The third period (1537-1659), which includes Hi-nung (禧陵), Hyo-nung (孝陵), Chong-nung (靖陵), T’ae-nung (泰陵), Kang-nung (康陵), Chong-nung (貞陵), Mong-nung (穆陵), Ch’ang-nung (章陵) and Yong-nung (寧陵), is mainly distinguished by the ugliness of the sculpture. It was very definitely a period of artistic decadence. Everything about these tombs gives one a feeling of heaviness and ornateness.

Of the nine tombs made during the period, in five the chongjagak has six columns in front instead of four. The rectangular sansin chesok makes its definite appearance, at first on the left behind the chongjagak, than on the right. The civil officials, whose hands now show, with one exception, average ten feet in height. The bumps on the mangjusok are very ornate. At the majority of tombs, the king, at least, has stone facing on his mound, with unribbed stone on the ground between the mound and the fence. The walls have three rows of star stones. The tombs of this period are on the whole the least interesting and ugliest of all the tombs.
The fourth period (1659-1724) was a time of transition and of confusion in tomb style, probably as a result of the new cultural influences arising from the Manchu invasions. Yong-nung (寧陵), included in the third period, also has several characteristics which could place it in this period. The tombs which definitely belong here are Sung-nung (崇陵), Ing-nung (翼陵), Hui-nung (徽陵), Chang-nung (庄陵), Sa-nung (思陵), Myong-nung (明陵), He-nung (惠陵) and I-nung (懿陵).

It is almost impossible to give any general characteristics of these tombs. In three the chegwansok is beside or outside the gate. The chongjagak at four has six columns in front and three on each side. The tombstone buildings tend to be slightly behind the chongjagak, a style which continued through the following periods.

In one tomb and Yong-nung (寧陵) the queen is buried in front of the king. In another one queen is buried in a separate large mound at the left. The style which predominated later of having plain small mounds with connecting fences for the king and queen began during this period.

One feature common to all the tombs is the substitution of the animal for the bump on the mangjusok. The horses are usually beside the officials rather than behind them. The stone facing of the level on which the military officials stand disappeared. The statues of the civil officials decreased in size until those at I-nung are only five feet tall. A number of the tombs have four-sided instead of eight-sided lanterns. The stone tables are much closer to the mounds than they were earlier. Some of the walls have three rows of star stones, others have two rows.

The fifth period (1728-1830) was the greatest period in tomb sculpture. For the first time some of the statues and lanterns can be considered great art rather than mere mortuary statuary, particularly at Yong-nung (隆陵). Other tombs made during the period are Yong-nung (永陵), Chang-nung (長陵), On-nung (溫陵), Hong-nung (弘陵) Won-nung (元陵), Kon-nung (健陵) and Sun-nung (綏陵).
One characteristic of these tombs in addition to the excellent sculpture is simplicity. The shrine buildings returned to having four columns in front. In four tombs there is only one small mound for both the king and queen and only one of them has two stone tables. Only two mounds have stone facing, the others have only fences. In these two, the carvings on the stone are of peonies, which are considered the king of flowers, and the lotus, which plays an important role in Buddhism.

In the early part of the period, the level below the military officials was not faced, then the military and civil officials were put on the same level with facing below the military officials. In three of the tombs the civil officials have headdresses shaped like this: ＄ instead of the ＄ in other tombs. In these three tombs the backs of the officials are ornately carved. The statues average about seven feet in height. In five of the tombs the lanterns have four sides, in three they have eight sides. All are ornamented with flower designs. The walls have three rows of star stones.

The last period (1843-1864), which includes Kyongnun (景陵), In-nung (仁陵) and Ye-nung (睿陵), was another period of decadence. The center part of the walk is raised. The shrine building outside walls are painted green instead of pink. In two tombs the sansin chesok is on the left. The civil officials became progressively cruder and taller, from 7’ to 11’. The lanterns, one of which has four sides, two, eight sides, are between the military officials. The distance between the officials and the horses increased. No mounds are faced with stone. In one tomb the wall has one row of star stones, in the other two there are none.

The tombstones have been omitted from this discussion of styles on purpose, except in the first period, as most of those now in existence were erected during the reigns of Yongjo (英祖) and Kojong (高宗). The tombs of Chinjong (眞宗), Changjo (莊祖), Chongjo (正祖), Sunjo (純祖) and Munjo (文祖) have additional tombstones erected in 1900, the year after they were given the posthumous titles of hwangje (emperor) (皇帝).
This brings up the point that there were many repairs to the tombs during the rule of the dynasty, but on the whole it can be assumed that when a chongjagak or a wall was repaired it was rebuilt in the same style as the original.

This was not true when a tomb was moved, as the original statues were buried in the old tomb and everything was rebuilt. The new tombs have been listed above and are listed below in the order the present tombs were built rather than in the order that the kings reigned. Another factor to be considered is that the tomb was prepared for both the king and queen when the first one died if it was decided to bury them together. Often kings and queens buried in the same tomb died in different periods, but their statuary belongs to the same period.

IV. Individual Tombs

There were 27 kings, 40 queens, 5 posthumous kings and 5 posthumous queens during the Yi Dynasty. This does not include those ancestors of T'aejo who were given posthumous titles. Of these, 2 kings were given the title kun (君), 2 held the title hwangje (皇帝) and one queen is living,* which means that buried in king-style tombs there are 23 kings, 35 queens, 5 posthumous kings and 5 posthumous queens, in emperor-style tombs are 2 emperors and 2 empresses and in prince-style graves are two princes and two princesses. The total number of tombs is 44, of which 40 are king-style, 2 emperor-style and 2 prince-style. There are 3 tombs which contain only kings, 12 with only queens, 26 with a king and one queen, 3 with a king and two queens. All of the tombs, with the exception of Changnung (Tanjong), are in Kyonggi-do. These tombs are described below in the chronological order in which the present tombs were constructed with remarks about any variations from the style of their period.

KING-STYLE TOMBS

First Period

1. Che-nung † — located at Kaep'ung-gun (開豐郡), Sangdo-myon (上道面), P'ungch'on-ni (楓川里).

* Queen Yun died in 1967. —Ed
† For Hammun of the tombs and the kings and queens, see Appendix I.
Contains: Sinui (Han) (韓), the first wife of T’aejo, born in 1337, died October 29, 1391.†

As this tomb is north of the Demarcation Line, I was unable to visit it. It was given the title nung in 1392. The tomb is near Kaesong as Sinui lived there at the time of her death, which was before her husband became king.


Contains: T’aejo, born on November 5, 1335, died June 27, 1408. The first son of Hwanjo. The first king, he reigned 1392-1398.‡

The tomb is the original. The shape of the small mound is somewhat pointed, like the later Silla tombs, rather than round like the other tombs. The horses are directly behind the officials. There is a new tombstone erected in 1900 in addition to the original stone. The chongjagak was evidently repaired fairly recently and the outside walls are half pink, half green.

3. Hu-nung — located at Kaep’ung-gun (開豐郡), Hunggyo-myong (興敎面), Hunggyo-ri (興敎里).

Contains: Chongjong, born on July 26, 1357, died October 24, 1419. The second son of T’aejo and Sinui. The second king, he reigned 1399-1400. His original myo title was Kongjong (恭靖), but it was changed to Chongjong during the reign of Sukchong. Chongan (Kim) (金), born on January 30, 1355, died August 11, 1412.

The tomb is the original. It is near Kaesong as Chongjong moved the capital from Seoul back to Kaesong and lived there after he abdicated until he died. I have not seen the tomb as it is north of the Demarcation Line, but an official of the Yi Household stated that it is similar in style to that of T’aejjong except there are not double the usual number of statues.

† Information on kings’ and queens’ names and dates and the location of the tombs was obtained from “Wanggung Sa” by Yi Chor-won. Dates were changed into western dates with the use of tables prepared by the Government-General of Chosen.
‡ These are the reign dates in Korean style. The king may actually have been ruling a year earlier or later (in the western calendar).

Contains: T'aejong, born on June 21, 1367, died June 9, 1422. The fifth son of T'aeho and Sinui. The third king, he reigned 1401-1418. Won'gyong (Min) (閔), born on August 6, 1365, died August 27, 1420.

The tomb is the original. Its distinctive feature is that there are twice as many statues as usual and two lanterns. Both small mounds are faced with stone. Between them are stone beams in the shape of a cross. In addition to the original tombstone, there is a similar one erected in 1900.

Second Period

5. Hyeon-nung—located at Tonggu-nung (東九陵) (East Nine Tombs), Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Kuri-myon (九里面), Inch'ang-ni (仁倉里).

Contains: Munjong, born on November 24, 1414, died June 11, 1452. The first son of Sejong. The fifth king, he reigned 1451-1452. Hyondok (Kwon) (權), born on April 26, 1418, died August 19, 1441.

The tomb of Munjong is the original. Hyondok was originally buried in Soo-nung (昭陵), at Ansan (安山), near Suwon (水原). In 1458 the title nung was taken away from the tomb by Sejo, as she was the mother of Tanjong, whom Sejo had deposed. In 1531, after a political battle between the adherents of Sejo and Tanjong, her remains were transferred to the present location. In some respects, such as the stone facing on the mound, the tomb of Munjong might be considered to belong to the first period, but has been placed here because the queen is buried in a separate large mound on the right. The walk to the shrine begins at the right of the shrine and turns left, then right again.

6. Kyong-nung—located at Soo-nung (西五陵) (West Five Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Sindo-myon (神道面), Yongdu-ri (龍頭里).

Contains: Tokchong, born on October 12, 1438, died September 29, 1457. The first son of Sejo. A posthumous king. Sohe (Han) (韓), born on October 16, 1437, died May 21, 1504.
The tomb is the original. The tomb is quite pleasing in appearance from a distance, but the sculpture is quite poor. The stone table at the king’s mound is one of the largest, measuring 11' by 8'. The king’s small mound is the first to have only a stone fence with no stone facing. The queen’s small mound is plain (no fence) and has only civil officials. The reason for this is that the king was a posthumous one who died when he was very young and the queen died long after family connections would be considered important enough to warrant military officials. This is the only tomb of the period with a sansin chesok (on the left). It is possible it was placed there following the queen’s death.

7. Kong-nung—located in P’aju-gun (坡州郡), Chori-myon (條里面), Pongilch’on-ni (奉日川里).
Contains: Ch’angsun (Han) (韓), born on March 3, 1445, died January 14, 1461. The first wife of Yejong.

The tomb is the original. The mound is plain and there are only civil officials as she died when she was a young girl before her husband became king. The statues are quite ugly. The walk begins at the left of the chongjagak and makes a 90° left turn. The present gate does not have an um-yang symbol in the top, but this: 半. The small mound is one of the largest in all the tombs.

Contains: Sejo, born on November 16, 1417, died October 1, 1468. The second son of Sejong. The seventh king, he ruled 1456-1468. Chonghi (Han) (韓), born on December 17, 1418, died May 15, 1483.

The tomb is the original. This is one of the most beautiful of the tombs and the best of the period. Large Chinese junipers line the path to the gate. There is no chegwansok and no paved walk to the chongjagak, which has six columns in front. The large mounds are quite tall and the whole tomb area is still heavily forested. The Buddhist temple Pongson-sa (奉先寺), which became one of the leading temples during the Yi Dynasty, is near the tomb.
9. Yong-nung—located at Yoju-gun (麟州郡), Nungsomyon (陵西面), Wangdae-ri (旺岱里).

Contains: Sejong, born on May 15, 1397, died April 8, 1450. The third son of T’aejong. The fourth king, he ruled 1419-1450. Sohon (Sim) (沈), born on October 20, 1395, died April 28, 1446.

The original tomb was next to that of T’aejong. In 1469 it was decided that the spot was unpropitious and the tomb was moved to its present location. As Sejong had been a strong advocate of simpler tombs, it is quite plain. There is only one small mound for the king and queen and it is surrounded by a stone fence only. Chinese characters are on the fence pillars.

10. Ch’ang-nung — located at Soo-nung (West Five Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Sindo-myon (神道面), Yongdu-ri (龍頭里).

Contains: Yejong, born on January 23, 1450, died January 9, 1470. The second son of Sejo. The eighth king, he ruled 1469. Ansun (Han) (韓), date of birth unknown, died February 12, 1499.

The tomb is the original. The chegwansok is outside the gate. The main distinctive feature of the tomb is that the large mounds, located on the right and left, are very long and taper toward the side away from the chongjijagak. This results in a large flat area in front of the small mounds.

11. Sun-nung — located at P’aju-gun (坡州郡), Chori-myon (條里面), Pongilch’on-ni (奉日川里).

Contains: Konghe (Han) (韓), born on November 17, 1456, died May 9, 1474. The first wife of Songjong.

The tomb is the original. In addition to the guardhouse, a small building is standing on the left which was used to store dishes in and prepare food for the ceremonies. There were similar buildings at some other tombs, but this is the only one still standing. The horses are behind the officials. The bumps on the mangjusok have two holes, the only tomb where this is true. The sheep are in the round, the other animals are not. The hands of the civil officials are covered.
12. Son-nung — located at Kwangju-gun (廣州郡), Onju-myon (彦州面), Samsong-ni (三成里).
Contains: Songjong, born on August 28, 1457, died January 29, 1495. The second son of Tokchong. The ninth king, he ruled 1470-1494. Chonghyon (Yun) (尹), born on July 31, 1462, died September 23, 1530. The second wife of Songjong.

The tomb is the original. There are walks leading from the door in the rear of the chongjagak to the front of both the large mounds. The queen’s mound faces the king’s mound rather than in the same direction. The small mound of the king is faced with stone, the queen’s has only a stone fence. The civil officials’ hands are covered, but the garments do not fold over the hands as in earlier tombs. The statues are large, about 10’ tall. In respect to quality of the sculpture, this tomb is close to the style of the third period.

Third Périod

13. Hi-nung — located at Sosam-nung (西三陵) (West Three Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Wondang-myon (元堂面), Wondang-ni (元堂里).
Contains: Changgyong (Yun) (尹), born on August 19, 1491, died March 26, 1515. The second wife of Chungjong.

The original tomb was near that of T’aejong. It was moved to the present location in 1537. The small mound has a stone fence. The sansin chesok is on the left.

Contains: Injong, born on March 20, 1515, died August 17, 1545. The first son of Chungjong and Changgyong. The twelfth king, he ruled in 1545. Insong (Pak) (朴), born on October 28, 1514, died January 16, 1578.

The tomb is the original. It could be called the classic tomb as far as the arrangement of things is concerned, with two exceptions — the sansin chesok is on the left and there are steps leading down from the door in back of the chongjagak instead of a bridge across a ditch. In addition, there is a small stone altar, similar to the ones at tombs of
the first period, in front of the chongjagak on the left. The king’s mound is faced with stone and both mounds are surrounded with a connecting stone fence. There is a large pond in front of the tomb. The tomb was placed in this location as it was near the tomb of the king’s parents.

Contains: Chungjong, born on April 25, 1488, died December 9, 1544. The son of Songjong and a concubine, he was listed as the son of Chonghyon. The eleventh king, he overthrew the tenth king, the Yonsan-gun, and ruled 1506-1544.

Chungjong’s original tomb was at Hi-nung, with his second wife. It was moved to its present location near the tomb of his father, Songjong, in 1562 at the request of his third wife, who hoped to be buried with him. When she died, however, she was buried in a different location, where her son was later buried. The tomb architecture and sculpture were copied from the tomb of his father. The shrine building porch covering only has four columns in front, therefore, and the hands of the civil officials do not show. The small mound is faced with stone. No sansin chesok is visible.

16. T’ae-nung—located near the Korean Military Academy at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Nohae-myon (蘆海面) Kongdong-ni (孔德里).
Contains: Munjong (Yun) (尹), born on December 12, 1501, died May 10, 1565. The third wife of Chungjong.

The tomb is the original. The chongjagak was destroyed during the war and several statues were damaged. This is the first tomb with the sansin chesok on the right. The small mound is faced with stone. This is the only separate queen’s tomb where this is true, with the possible exception of Che-nung.

17. Kang-nung — located in the Seventh Day Adventist Farm, near the Korean Military Academy, at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Nohae-myon (蘆海面), Kongdong-ni (孔德里).
Contains: Myongjong, born on July 13, 1534, died August 12, 1567. The second son of Chungjong and Munjong. The thirteenth king, he ruled 1546-1567. Insun (Sim) (沈), born on July 7, 1532, died February 22, 1575.

The tomb is the original. The location was chosen as it was close to the tomb of Myongjong's mother. Both small mounds are faced with stone. The sculpture is exceptionally ugly.

Contains: Sindok (Kang) (康), date of birth unknown, died October 3, 1396. The second wife of T'aejo.

The original tomb was in what is now Chong-dong (貞洞) in Seoul. It was moved to its present location, which faces north, in 1409 at the order of T'aejong after the death of T'aejo. T'aejong was the son of T'aejo's first wife and he was antagonistic to Sindok and her children. The tomb was thereafter neglected and its location was forgotten until 1582, when the present tomb was built. There are only civil officials, two sheep and two tigers. The lantern is large and has four sides. The stone table has only two legs, the wall has two rows of star stones.

Contains: Sonjo, born on December 6, 1552, died March 16, 1608. The son of the Tokhong-gun (德興君), he was the adopted ninth son of Myongjong. The fourteenth king, he ruled 1568-1608. Iin (Pak) (朴), born on May 15, 1555, died August 5, 1600. The first wife of Sonjo. Inmok (Kim) (金), born on December 15, 1584, died August 13, 1632. The second wife of Sonjo.

Originally the tomb of Iin, it was called Yu-nung (裕陵) at that time. In 1630 the tomb of Sonjo, which was not far away, was moved to the present location and the tomb name was changed. In 1632 Inmok was buried on the right. This is the only tomb in which a king and
two queens are buried in separate large mounds. The walk begins on the left and turns about 45° to the left toward the chongjagak, which only has four columns. There are walks from the rear door of the chongjagak to each of the three large mounds. The king’s small mound has stone facing, the others are only fenced. At Inmok’s grave the horses and sheep are in the round. The walls have no star stones in the sides, but two rows in the back.

20. Chang-nung — located at Kimp’o-gun (金浦郡), Kunnae-myon (郡内面), P’ungmu-ri (豊舞里).
Contains: Wonjong, born on August 12, 1580, died February 2, 1620. The fifth son of Sonjo. His mother was Inbin (Kim) (金), a concubine. A posthumous king. Inhon (Ku) (具), born on June 3, 1578, died February 11, 1626.

The original tomb was in Yangju-gun, Kunjang-ni. It was moved to the present location in 1627, when it was given the title Hunggyeong-won (興慶園). It was raised to a nung in 1632. There is a large pond in front of the tomb. The shrine has only four columns in front. The horses and sheep are in the round. The small mounds have plain stone facing about one foot high. The wall has two rows of star stones.

21. Yong-nung — located at Yoju-gun (驛州郡), Nungsomyon (陵西面), Wondae-ri (旺岱里).
Contains: Hyojong, born on July 4, 1619, died June 23, 1659. The second son of Injo. The seventeenth king, he ruled 1650-1659. Inson (Chang) (張), born on February 9, 1619, died March 31, 1674.

The tomb is the original. It is located at Yoju near the tomb of Sejong, whom Hyojong greatly admired. Yong-nung is a transitional tomb in style, showing characteristics of both the third and fourth periods. For this reason, the date of the tomb is used to end one period and begin the next. The queen is buried in front and slightly at the right of the king (facing the mounds). The small mound of the queen has no wall around it. Both small mounds are only fenced. There is no level below the military officials.
Fourth Period


Contains: Hyonjong, born on March 14, 1641, died September 18, 1674. The first son of Hyojong. The eighteenth king, he ruled 1660-1674. Myongsong (Kim) (金), born on June 14, 1642, died January 21, 1684.

The tomb is the original. The chongjagak has 6 columns in front and three on each side. There is a well at the foot of the chongjagak and another well part way up the large mound. This is the first tomb which has small animals instead of bumps on the mangjusok. The lantern has eight sides. The wall has three rows of star stones.

23. Ing-nung—located at Soo-nung (西五陵) (West Five Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Sindu-myon (神道面), Yongdu-ri (龍頭里).

Contains: Ingyong (Kim) (金), born on October 25, 1661, died December 16, 1680. The first wife of Sukchong.

The tomb is the original. The walk goes uphill and has steps in it. The chongjagak has six columns in front, three on each side. The lantern has eight sides. The wall has two rows of star stones.


Contains: Changyol (Cho) (趙), born on December 16, 1624, died September 20, 1688. The second wife of Injo.

The tomb is the original. The walk has one step in it. The chongjagak has six columns in front, three on each side. The animals on the mangjusok both face up. The lantern has eight sides. The wall has two rows of star stones.

Contains: Tanjong (original title Nosan-gun 魯山君) born August 18, 1441, died November 19, 1457. The first son of Munjong. The sixth king, he ruled 1453-1455. He was deposed by Sejo.

Following Tanjong’s murder at the order of Sejo, he was secretly buried by some of his sympathizers. In 1699, the reigning king, Sukchong, gave him the title Tanjong and made his tomb a nung. It has many distinctive features. The walk begins at the right of the chongjagak. At the right and left of the walk, shortly beyond the gate, are a shrine building and altars erected as memorials to the six loyal officials who preferred death at the hands of Sejo to deserting the man they still considered king. In front of the chongjagak at the left is a well with a wall around it. The shrine has four columns in front and is beside the mound instead of in front of it. The small mound is plain and has only civil officials as Tanjong was a deposed king. The lantern, which has four sides, was the first in a new style. The wall has three rows of star stones.

26. Sa-nung—located at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Chin’gonmyon (真乾面), Sanung-ni (恩陵里).

Contains: Chongsun (Song) (宋), born in 1440, died July 17, 1521. The wife of Tanjong.

Chongsun was given her title and her tomb was made a nung in 1699, the same year as that of Tanjong. The gate has a 卯 in the center instead of an um-yang symbol. There were originally two guardhouses, one on each side of the walk. The tombstone building is in front and the porch of the chongjagak is narrower than the main building. There is no sansin chesok at present. The animals on the mangjusok are both facing up. The lantern has four sides. The wall has no star stones.

27. Myong-nung—located at Soo-nung (西五陵) (West Five Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Sindo-myon (神道面), Yongdu-ri (龍頭里).

Contains: Sukchong, born on October 7, 1661, died July 12, 1720. The first son of Hyonjong. The nineteenth king, he ruled 1675-1720. Inhyon (Min) (閔), born on May 15, 1667, died September 16, 1701. The second wife of Sukchong. Inwon (Kim) (金), born on November 3, 1687, died May 13, 1757. The third wife of Sukchong.
The tomb is the original. The chegwansok is beside the gate. The shrine building has four columns in front. There is no sansin chesok at present. The main distinguishing feature of the tomb is that it is the only one with the king and one queen (Inhyon) together and another queen (Inwon) on the left, facing south-west. This is the only queen on the left of a king. The lanterns have four sides. The king’s stone table was badly damaged during the war. The walls have two rows of star stones.

Contains: Tani (Sim) (沈), born on July 11, 1686, died March 8, 1718. The first wife of Kyongjong.

The tomb is the original. The chegwansok is unusually large. The chongjagak has four columns in front. The sansin chesok is far to the right of the shrine. The lantern, which has four sides, was badly damaged during the war. The wall has three rows of star stones.

29. I-nung—located at Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Sungin-myon (崇仁面), Sokkwan-ni (石串里), just outside Seoul.
Contains: Kyongjong, born on November 20, 1688, died October 11, 1724. The first son of Sukchong and the concubine Chang. The twentieth king, he ruled 1721-1724. Soni (O) (吳), born on December 14, 1705, died August 12, 1730. The second wife of Kyongjong.

The tomb is the original. The chegwansok is outside the gate. The chongjagak has six columns in front and three on each side. The queen is buried in front of the king. Her small mound has no wall around it. The statues are the smallest at any tomb, those of the civil officials being only about 5’ tall. The lanterns have four sides and the wall has three rows of star stones.

**Fifth Period**

30. Yong-nung located at P’aju-gun (坡州郡), Chori-myon (條里面), Pongilch’on-ni (俸日川里).
Contains: Chinjong, born on April 5, 1719, died November 17, 1728. The first son of Yongjo. A posthumous king. Chongsun (Kim) (金), born on January 8, 1716, died December 31, 1751.

The tomb was originally a myo, but it was given the title of nung by Kojong. After Yongjo killed his son Changjo, Chinjong became the legal father of Yongjo’s grandson Chongjo. There are two tombstone buildings, one with the myo stone, the second with the two nung stones. The small mounds are very small and are plain. There are only civil officials.

31. Chang-nung—located at P'aju-gun (坡州郡), Tanhyon-myon (炭縣面), Karhyon-ni (葛縣里).

Contains: Injo, born on December 7, 1595, died June 17, 1649. The first son of Wonjong. His title was Nungyang-gun (綾陽君) before he overthrew the Kwaehae-gun. The sixteenth king, he ruled 1623-1649. Inyol (Han) (韓), born on August 16, 1594, died January 16, 1636. The first wife of Injo.

The original tomb was in P'aju-gun (坡州郡), Pugunch'on-ni (北雲川里). It was moved to the present site, which at that time was the location of the county office, in 1731. The military officials are on a lower level than the civil officials. The horses and sheep are in the round. The lantern has eight sides. There is only one small mound, which has two stone tables in front of it. The mound is faced with stone on which there are carvings of peonies and the lotus. The stone between the mound and the fence is ribbed. The wall is unusual in back of the mound in that it rises in small segments.

32. On-nung—located at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Changhung-myon (長興面), Iryong-ni (日迎里).

Contains: Tan'gyong (Sin) (慎), born on February 16, 1487, died January 6, 1558. The first wife of Chungjong.

Tan'gyong was divorced by Chungjong one week after he overthrew the Yonsan-gun and became king as her father had taken the side of the Yonsan-gun. The title of queen was restored to her posthumously and the tomb built in 1739. The small mound is plain and there are only civil officials. The wall has two rows of star stones.
33. Hong-nung—located at Soo-nung (West Five Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Sindo-myon (神道面), Yongdu-ri (龍頭里).

Contains: Chongsong (So) (徐), born on January 12, 1693, died April 3, 1757. The first wife of Yongjo.

The tomb is the original. It was constructed for both Chongsong and Yongjo, but later Yongjo decided to be buried with his second wife and the space left for him is vacant. The military officials are on a lower level than the civil officials. There is one Chinese character, 卞, on the stone fence. The tomb faces west and a high ridge lies between it and the south.

34. Won-nung — located at Tonggu-nung (East Nine Tombs), Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Kuri-myon (九里面), Inch’ang-ni (仁倉里).

Contains: Yongjo, born on October 12, 1693, died April 22, 1776. The second son of Sukchong and the concubine Ch’oe. The twenty-first king, he ruled 1725-1776. Chongsun (Kim) (金), born on December 3, 1745, died February 11, 1805. The second wife of Yongjo.

The tomb is the original. The only variation from the style of the period is that the horses are directly behind the officials. There are three tombstones, one for Yong-jong dated 1776, one for Chongsun dated 1805 and one for Yongjo dated 1900.

35. Yung-nung — located at Suwon-gun (水原郡), Anyong-myon (安龍面), Hwasan-ni (花山里).

Contains: Changjo, born on February 13, 1735, died July 12, 1762. The second son of Yongjo. A posthumous king. Kyongi (Hong) (洪), born on August 6, 1735, died January 13, 1816.

Changjo was put into a rice storage box at the order of his father, who suspected his son of having an affair with one of his concubines, and he died there. After Chongjo, Changjo’s son, became king he built for his father in 1785 the most artistic of all the king-style tombs. It was given the title won at that time and became a nung in 1899. It has many different features. The tombstone
building is far to the right. The mound is at the right of the chongjagak instead of directly behind it. There is one small mound for both the king and queen. It is faced with stone on which there are carved peonies and lotus. Above the facing are water spouts shaped like lotus blossoms. There are Chinese characters on the spouts and on the stone facing. There is ribbed stone on the ground around the mound, but no fence. The civil officials have ornamented hats shaped like this: □ and have elaborate carvings on their back, a style followed in the succeeding two tombs. There are only two horses, for the military officials, and two sheep and tigers. The lantern has eight sides.

36. Kon-nung—located at Suwon-gun (水原郡), Anyongmyon (安龍面), Hwasan-ni (花山里).
Contains: Chongjo, born on October 28, 1752, died August 18, 1800. The second son of Changjo. The twenty-second king, he ruled 1777-1800. Hyoi (Kim) (金), born on January 5, 1754, died April 10, 1821.

The tomb is the original. The tombstone building is at the far right and the sansin chesok is near it. The manyoso is made like this:  □ instead of like this: □. The civil officials are similar to those at Yung-nung. The lantern has eight sides. There is only one small mound for both the king and queen.

37. Su-nung—located at Tonggu-nung (East Nine Tombs), Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Kuri-myon (九里面), Inch’ang-ni (仁倉里).
Contains: Munjo, born on September 18, 1809, died June 25, 1830. The first son of Sunjo. A posthumous king, his title was originally Ikchong (翼宗). Sinjong (Cho), (趙), born on January 21, 1809, died June 4, 1890.

The tomb is the original. The sculpture shows a decline since Yung-nung and this tomb can be called a transitional one between the fifth and sixth periods. The lantern has four sides. There are no levels in front of the officials and no star stones in the wall.
Sixth Period


Contains: Honjong, born on September 8, 1827, died July 25, 1849. The first son of Munjo. The twenty-fourth king, he ruled 1835-1849. Hyohyon (Kim) (金), born on April 27, 1828, died October 18, 1843. The first wife of Honjong. Hyonjong (Hong) (洪), born on March 7, 1831, died February 17, 1904. The second wife of Honjong.

The tomb is the original. The sansin chesok is on the right. This is the only tomb in which two queens are buried in the same large mound as the king. The three small mounds have connecting fences. The lantern has four sides and is between the civil officials. The wall has one row of star stones.

39. In-nung—located at Kwangju-gun (廣州郡), Tae-wang-myon (大旺面), Naegong-ni (內谷里).

Contains: Sunjo, born on July 29, 1790, died December 13, 1834. The second son of Chongjo. The twenty-third king, he ruled 1801-1834. Sunwon (Kim) (金), born on June 9, 1789, died October 1, 1857.

The original tomb was in P'aju-gun (坡州郡), Kyohwa-myon (交河面). It was moved to its present location in 1856. The gate was held up by two stone slabs on each side. There is only one small mound. The civil officials are 8' tall. The lantern has eight sides.

40. Ye-nung — located at Sosam-nung (West Three Tombs), Koyang-gun (高陽郡), Wondang-myon (元堂面), Wondang-ni (元堂里).

Contains: Ch'olchong, born on July 25, 1831, died January 16, 1864. The grandson of the Unon-gun (恩彥君), the third son of Changjo. The twenty-fifth king, he ruled 1850-1863. Ch'orin (Kim) (金), born on April 27, 1837, died June 29, 1888.

The tomb is the original. The lantern, which has eight sides, is about 25' in front of the small mounds. The distance between the officials and the horses is 12'. The civil
officials are 11' tall and quite ugly. The civil and military officials seem to have been copied from those at Hi-nung nearby.

**Prince-Style Tombs**

1a. Yonsan-myo — located at Yangju-gun (杨州郡), Nohae-myon (蘆海面), Panhang-ni (放鹤里).

Contains: Yonsan-gun, born in 1476, died in December, 1506. The first son of Songjong. The tenth king, he ruled 1495-1506. He was overthrown by Chungjong. Yonsan-bi (Sin) (慎), dates of birth and death unknown.

The grave is the original. There is no chesil. There are four civil officials and two four-sided lanterns, but only one stone table for burning incense.

2a. Kwanghae-myo — located at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Chin’gon-myon (真乾面), Songnung-ni (松陵里).

Contains: Kwanghae-gun, born in November 1573, died in August 1641. The second son of Sonjo. The fifteenth king, he ruled 1609-1623. He was overthrown by Injo. Kwanghae-bi (Yu) (柳), date of birth unknown, died in November 1623.

The tomb is the original. It is located near the grave of the mother of the Kwanghae-gun, which was originally Song-nung. The title nung was taken away by Injo. The lantern and wall of the grave were erected recently.

**Emperor-Style Tombs**

1b. Hong-nung — located at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Migum-myon (漢金面), Kumgong-ni (金谷里).

Contains: Kojong, born on September 8, 1852, died January 21, 1919. The son of the Hwangson-gun, a descendant of the sixth son of Sukchong. The twenty-sixth king and first emperor, he ruled 1864-1907. He was deposed by the Japanese. Myongsong (Min) (闵), born on November 17, 1851, died October 8, 1895.

The tomb of Myongsong was built in Ch’ongnyang-ni in 1897. Kojong had the present tomb prepared in 1899, which is very unusual, as other tombs were not prepared
until the king or queen died. When Kojong died, Myongsong was moved to this tomb and it was given the name Hong-nung.

The main differences between this tomb and Yu-nung are that the statues are smaller and are not in the round, there are no Chinese characters on the small mound, there are small lotus buds in the drains above the stone facing and there is a small stone table for burning incense directly in front of the honyusok.

2b. Yu-nung—located at Yangju-gun (楊州郡), Migum-myon (渓金面), Kumgong-ni (金谷里).

Contains: Sunjong, born on March 25, 1874, died April 25, 1926. The second son of Kojong. The twenty-seventh king and second emperor, he ruled 1907-1910. He was deposed by the Japanese. Sunmyong (Min) (閔), born on November 20, 1872, died December 11, 1904.

The original tomb of Sunmyong was where the golf course is now located. She was moved to the present tomb when Sunjong was buried there in 1926.

This is the most magnificent of all the tombs. The stone work was all done by Chinese craftsmen. The statues of the officials are about twelve feet high. The mangyoso has a brick chimney. The large mound is at the left of the shrine building.
### Appendix I.

**TOMBS OF YI DYNASTY KINGS AND QUEENS**

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<td>太祖</td>
<td>健元陵</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Sinui (T'aejo 1)</td>
<td>Che-nung</td>
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<td></td>
<td>神懿</td>
<td>齊陵</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Sindok (T'aejo 2)</td>
<td>Chong-nung</td>
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<td></td>
<td>神懿</td>
<td>貞陵</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Chongjong and Chongan</td>
<td>Hu-nung</td>
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<td></td>
<td>定宗</td>
<td>厚陵</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>T'aejong and Wongyong</td>
<td>Hon-nung</td>
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<td></td>
<td>太宗</td>
<td>献陵</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sejong and Schon</td>
<td>Yong-nung</td>
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<td>世宗</td>
<td>英陵</td>
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<td>munjong and Hyondok</td>
<td>Hvon-nung</td>
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<td>文宗</td>
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<td>端宗</td>
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<td>Yonsan-myog</td>
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<td>燕山墓</td>
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## TOMBS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

### King-Style

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<th>Number*</th>
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<td>1582</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19) Mong-nung</td>
<td>Iin, Sonjo and Inmok</td>
<td>1600, 1630, 1632</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20) Chang-nung</td>
<td>Wonjong and Inhyon</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) Yong-nung</td>
<td>Hyojong and Inson</td>
<td>1659, 1674</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Appendix I.
TOMBS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER (Cont’d.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Kings and Queens</th>
<th>Date Buried in Present Tomb</th>
<th>Number*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Period:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(22) Sung-nung</td>
<td>Hyonjong and Myongsong</td>
<td>1674, 1684</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23) Ing-nung</td>
<td>In'gyong (Sukchong 1)</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24) Hui-nung</td>
<td>Changyol (Injo 2)</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25) Chang-nung</td>
<td>Tanjong</td>
<td>1699</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26) Sa-nung</td>
<td>Chongsun (Tanjong)</td>
<td>1699</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(27) Myong-nung</td>
<td>Inhyon (2), Sukchong</td>
<td>1701, 1720, 1757</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Inwon (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28) He-nung</td>
<td>Tani (Kyongjong 1)</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29) I-nung</td>
<td>Kyongjong and Soni (2)</td>
<td>1724, 1730</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Fifth Period:                               |                           |                            |         |
| (30) Yong-nung                              | Chinjong and Hyosun       | 1728, 1751                  | 36      |
| (31) Chang-nung                             | Injo and Inhyol (1)       | 1731                        | 26      |
| (32) On-nung                                | Tan'gyong (Chung-jong 1)  | 1739                        | 18      |
| (33) Hong-nung                              | Chongsong (Yongjo 1)      | 1757                        | 35      |
| (34) Won-nung                               | Yongjo and Chongsun (2)   | 1776, 1805                  | 34      |
| (35) Yung-nung                              | Changjo and Kyongi        | 1785, 1816                  | 37      |
| (36) Kon-nung                               | Chongjo and Hyol          | 1800, 1821                  | 38      |
| (37) Su-nung                                | Munjo and Sinjong         | 1830, 1890                  | 40      |

| Sixth Period:                               |                           |                            |         |
| (38) Kyong-nung                             | Hyohyon, Honjong and Hyojong | 1843, 1849, 1904          | 41      |
| (39) In-nung                                | Sunjo and Sunwon          | 1856, 1857                  | 39      |
| (40) Ye-nung                                | Ch'olchong and Ch'orin    | 1864, 1888                  | 42      |

Prince-Style

| (1a) Yonsan-myo                            | Yonsan-gun, Yonsan-bi     | 1506                        | 16      |

Emperor-Style

| (1b) Hong-nung                             | Kojong, Myongsong         | 1919                        | 43      |
| (2b) Yu-nung                               | Sunjong, Sunmyong         | 1926                        | 44      |

* See Appendix I.
Overall view of Ch'ang-nung, the tomb of Yejong and Ansun. The king and queen are in separate large mounds, a characteristic of second period tombs.
The chongjagak at Kang-nung, the tomb of Myongjong and Insun. The six columns in front are characteristic of third period tombs.

The rear of the chongjagak at Kyong-nung, the tomb of Honjong, Hyohyon and Hyojong. The sansin chesok is on the left, the manyoso on the right.
A military official and his horse in front of the small mound of Anson at Ch'ang-nung.

The civil officials and stone table at Yung-nung, the tomb of Changjo and Kyongi.
The stone lantern and wall with star stones at Yung-nung, the tomb of Changjo and Kyongi.

The stone facing on the small mound and a mangjusok at Yung-nung.
SOME NOTES ON THE EARLIEST WESTERN
CONTACTS WITH KOREA

By G. St. G. M. Gompertz

In his paper, "Occidental Literature on Korea", Dr. Horace H. Underwood made reference to the first three titles of his Bibliography, which comprised certain of the annual letters written by the Jesuit Fathers in Japan to their Superiors in Europe:

"Doubtless these letters contain extracts or copies of letters from Gregory Cespedes who came to Korea as chaplain of the Japanese Christian soldiers under the Christian General Konishi in 1592. But what did Cespedes see and say? Why were his reports so buried that 70 years later Hamel's account was hailed as the first? Are these letters the basis of an article recently published in French on the 'Priority due to the Spanish in the Discovery of Korea'? Possibly, but I always supposed that Cespedes was a Portuguese and if so to whom does this article refer?" *

Seven years after Dr. Underwood’s queries, the late Ralph Cory’s paper, “Some Notes on Father Gregorio de Cespedes, Korea’s First European Visitor”, was published † and it became evident that the reason why chief attention was paid to Hamel’s later account was that Father de Cespedes had very little to say about Korea and the Koreans. In fact the results of Ralph Cory’s painstaking quest were extremely disappointing, for the letters and other data he succeeded in locating contained only the briefest references to Korea; and it seems obvious that Father de Cespedes, who actually arrived in Korea on 27th or 28th December, 1593, was much too busy with his work as chaplain to have much concern for the new land and its inhabitants. Indeed all the Koreans with whom he came in contact were probably either prisoners or fugitives, in a state of terror or sullen apathy, and it would have been difficult for the most earnest enquirer to ascertain much about their country and way of life in normal times.


I am not sure whether Ralph Cory succeeded in tracing all the relevant material, but he included the two undated letters written by Father de Cespedes while he was in Korea, probably early in 1594, which are contained in an unpublished seventeenth century manuscript, as recorded in columns 189 to 191 of Cordier’s “Bibliotheca Japonica”, and these yielded only a few passing references to Korea and the Koreans; so it seems unlikely that anything more will be revealed by later research. However, when discussing the results of his investigation with me shortly before the Second World War, Ralph Cory mentioned that he had received word from Rome that Father de Cespedes was not, after all, the first European visitor to Korea; so that in one sense his labours had been in vain. It seemed, he said, that a certain Father Vilela had landed in Korea nearly thirty years before Father de Cespedes entered the country. I was of course greatly interested in this information and made a copy of the advice to which Mr. Cory referred, which came from Father D. Schilling in Rome and ran as follows:

"...I found lately that the opinion of Cordier according to whom Cespedes was the first European in Korea is wrong. On Dec. 1st, 1560, Brother Goncalo Fernandez writes (Cartas, Evora 1598, P.1, f.73) that on the way from China to Hirado 'fomos onde Portugueses nunca tinham ido, que ainda nao era descuberto'. It was perhaps Korea or Tsushima. On Feb. 4th., 1571, Padre Gaspar Vilela wrote (l.c. f.305) that he was four years ago in Corai (Korea). I hope these informations will serve you....."  

In 1940 Father Henri Bernard, S.J. published an interesting brochure entitled “En Mandchourie et en Coree: Influence culturelle de l’Occident avant le XIXe siecle” (Hautes Etudes, Race Course Road, Tientsin), in which he also refers to the alleged earlier visit of Father Gaspar Vilela, which he terms "une tres breve apparition". He gives a translation into French of the passage in ‘Cartas’, the full title of which work is: “Iesus: Cartas Que Os Padres E Irmaos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerao dos Reynos de Iapao & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, desde anno de 1549 ate o de 1580”. (For further descriptions of this important Portuguese publication on the early Missions reference should be made to “Kirishitan Bunko”, by Johannes Laures, S.J., Tokyo, 1940, p.105, and to “Bibliotheca Japonica”, by Henri Cordier, Paris, 1912, columns 224 to 231.)
As already indicated, the passage in question is contained in a letter which Father Gaspar Vilela sent to Portugal from Cochin, whither he had repaired on account of failing health. Father Bernard’s translation may be rendered into English as follows:

“Ten days’ sea-voyage away lies a kingdom called Korea, where I betook myself four years ago (in 1567); this kingdom is the beginning of Grand Tartary, across which it is said that a road runs to High Germany. The inhabitants are white... but because of the wars on the way (doubtless the civil wars between clans of nobility), I did not undertake it. Through this country it is possible to reach Pekin, where the King of China resides...”

And, in another letter from Goa on 20th October, 1571, Father Vilela wrote (I have rendered this also into English from Father Bernard’s translation):

“Three days’ journey on the other side of Japan is situated a great kingdom named Korea... The inhabitants are fine men and warriors; good horsemen, they fight with their bows and arrows, their lances and swords, while at full gallop. They have large beards. They frequently indulge in hunting lions and tigers...”

On the basis of these translations, Father Bernard remarks that Mr. Cory is incorrect in referring to Gregorio de Cespedes as “the first” European visitor to Korea (footnote on p.6, op. cit.).

Now it is always risky to rely on translations, however authentic they may seem, but ‘Cartas’—as we may call it to save space—is an exceedingly rare work, written in archaic Portuguese and published in 1598. I ascertained, however, that Father Laures, S.J., the great authority on the early Missions in Japan, possessed a photostat copy at the Sophia University in Tokyo; and he gladly made this available to me. But the passage, though easily located, did not permit of sure translation and raised doubts whether the original letter had been correctly transcribed. From his general knowledge of the early Missionaries to Japan and their movements, Father Laures expressed considerable scepticism and doubted whether any such visit by Vilela ever took place.

Accordingly, it is now satisfactory to record that the question has at length been finally settled. At my request,
Father Laures made enquiries and obtained the assistance of a colleague who is an expert in Portuguese studies. Father Laures subsequently wrote me as follows:

"At last I have succeeded in getting a perfect translation of the text concerning Fr. Vilela's 'journey' to Korea. You will find the translation attached to this letter. It was made by a brother Jesuit, Mr. Schwade, a Brazilian scholar, who has taken great pains to find out the true meaning of the text. I believe that herewith the matter is definitely settled. The fact that Vilela uses the 'imperfect' form is alone a clear proof that he did not go; otherwise he would have used the 'past definite' ('fui' instead of 'faz'). I am sorry that you may feel disheartened, but I believe that it is better to establish the truth rather than build theories on doubtful foundations".

Sophia University, Tokyo, August, 5, 1949.

So far from feeling disheartened, I must express relief that this hare, started as a result of Ralph Cory's valuable researches, has now been effectively run down; my only regret being that Cory himself was unaware of its spurious nature when he fell in battle in Guadalcanal in 1942. The authoritative translation of the passage in Father Vilela's letter is as follows:

"Going on sea ten days from Japan, there is a kingdom called Korea. There I was going ('I was thinking to go') four years before. That kingdom is the beginning of the Great Tartary. If we go there through, we shall get, according they tell, to the High Germany ('Alta Alemana'). The people are white. There I was going ('intended to go'). But, because there were wars going on, on the way there, I didn't go..."

Returning now to Father Gregorio de Cespedes, Dr. Underwood was incorrect in supposing that he was a Portuguese: actually he was born in Madrid in 1550 and died suddenly at Kokura in Japan in 1611. The majority of the early Missionary Fathers in Japan seem indeed to have been Spanish Jesuits, like their great leader, St. Francis Xavier; and thus we have to accept the force of the argument put forward by a Spanish lawyer, Mr. Alfredo Gumma y Marti, in papers read before the Ninth International Congress of Geography at Geneva in 1908 and the Geographical Society of Marseilles. It is to these papers that Dr. Underwood referred, and I felt they were of sufficient interest to make copies when I consulted them some years ago in the Library of Congress (See Appendices A. & B.), though it cannot be maintained that they throw any further light on the earliest direct contacts with Korea.
Mr. Gumma y Marti points out that the Spanish writers were far from falling into the error committed even by Hendrick Hamel after his captivity in Korea: they described the country as a peninsula, not an island. With more cogency, he quotes extensively from the work of Luis de Guzman, S.J., published in 1601 and reprinted at Bilbao in 1891, on the history of the Jesuit Missions in India, China and Japan. De Guzman gave a brief but accurate account of Korea, which he located some 80 leagues to the north of Hirado, Japan. After describing the geographical position of the country and listing its natural products, he reported that the inhabitants were intelligent and docile, but refused to have any traffic with the outside world; Father Diego de Aduarte, a Spanish Dominican, also included some remarks on Korea in his history of the Missions in the Philippines, China and Japan, published in Manila in 1640: he characterized the inhabitants as brave but peaceable, and compared them favourably with the Chinese and the Japanese. These Fathers no doubt relied mainly on the reports sent from the Jesuit Mission in Japan, but the Korean, Thomas, sent to be trained by the Dominicans in Manila, may have been the source of some of Father de Aduarte's information, just as the Korean captives brought back to Japan and converted by the missionaries there supplied details of their native country for inclusion in the Jesuit annals. It was one of these captives, incidentally, who was taken to Italy by the Florentine, Francesco Carletti, after the latter's visit to Japan in 1597-8. It will be recalled that Carletti purchased five Korean slaves, who had been brought back by Hideyoshi's invading armies, for a small amount of money and set them free in Goa on his return journey. However, one of them, named Antonio Corea, accompanied Carletti back to Italy, which they reached after various misadventures in 1606. At the time Carletti's "Discourse" was written, Antonio Corea was living in Rome, but nothing further is known about the life of this Korean, the first to set foot in Europe.‡

The Korean, Thomas, after receiving tuition from the Spanish Dominicans in Manila, was subsequently claimed by his father, who had become an important official at the

Royal Court of Korea; and three of the Dominicans made a vain attempt to accompany him back to his native country on a Japanese ship; however, they were stopped at Nagasaki in June, 1619.

There are some further scattered references to Korea in the Jesuit annals preceding Father Gregorio de Cespedes’ arrival and sojourn in the country, and these make it very clear why Father Vilela abandoned his idea of going there and why the first Christian missionary must needs enter at the heels of an invading army. Father Luis Frois, born at Beja in Portugal in 1528, was one of the most prolific of the Jesuit writers and set himself to record the history of the Mission during its earliest years in Japan. The Ms. of his work is in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, but a German translation was published in Leipzig in 1926 by Fr. G. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch.§ On page 509 of this edition will be found an account by Father Antonino Prenestino of a voyage he made from Macao to Japan accompanied by two other Italian priests and a Portuguese priest, during which they were driven by rough weather perilously close to the shores of Korea. They made haste to flee from this inhospitable land, despite the attraction of its shadowy coastline, because “it is inhabited by a savage and cruel people”. In support of this statement, Father Prenestino mentions that a year or so earlier — his own sight of the coast being in July, 1578,— a Portuguese junk sailed close inshore and was immediately assailed by the Koreans, who attempted to set fire to the junk and kill the crew. In a recent publication, Major C. R. Boxer records that one of the Portuguese Captains-Major of Macao, Domingos Monteiro by name, made three successive voyages to Japan in the years 1576-1578, on the last of which his ship was nearly wrecked by a typhoon off the coast of Korea, and adds:

“...He thus became the first recorded European to see the wild coast of Chosen”.**

It seems likely that this was the junk mentioned by Father Prenestino.


Appendix A

PRIORITÉ QU’ON DOIT ACCORDER AUX ESPAGNOLS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA DÉCOUVERTE DE LA CORÉE.

Par Alfredo Gumma y Marti, avocat (Barcelone)

A l’opinion si répandue qui soutient que les Hollandais du XVIIe siècle furent les premiers à connaître la Corée, j’oppose que cette priorité doit nous être accordée à nous Espagnols, parce que si le naufrage du vaisseau hollandois que conduisait Hamel, à l’île dite Quelpaert, en 1653 —d’où celui-ci avec ses compagnons survivants furent amenés prisonniers à la capitale du royaume,—lui permit d’écrire sur ce pays-là et de donner aux Hollandais sa description, cette même qualité de prisonnier devait l’empêcher de fournir des renseignements exacts, comme on peut le voir dans l’ouvrage publié à Paris, en 1670, traduit par Minutoli*, en influencant l’opinion erronée de la plupart d’ouvrages géographiques de ses contemporains, qui décrivent le “Pays de la fraîcheur matinale” comme une “île”, tandis que dans les ouvrages des Espagnols il est classé comme une “péninsule”. En confirmation de ce que je viens de dire, il faut citer encore, parmi d’autres, les dominicains Fr. Baltasar de Santa Cruz† et Fray Diego de Aduarte‡, dont la congrégation comprenait dans sa Province du Saint Rosaire (Santa Rosario) les Philippines, la Chine, le Japon et par suite la Corée, et le père Luis de Guzman, de la Compagnie de Jésus.

Celui-ci, né à Osorno (Palencia), en 1543, écrivait en 1600 l’histoire des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans l’Inde Orientale et dans les royaumes de la Chine et du Japon, depuis 1540 jusqu’à 1600, et comme je suis forcé d’être bref, je tirerai de lui la plupart des renseignements. Il nous dit que la Corée est à 80 lieues de Firando (Hirado, Japon) vers le nord, et que ses limites sont, vers le couchant,

† Tome II de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon y China del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores, escrito por el M.R.P. Baltasar de Santa Cruz. En Zaragoza, 1693.
‡ Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores, en Filipinas, Japon y China por el Rdo P. Fray Diego Aduarte, Obispo de la Nueva Segovia, anadida por el M.R.P. Fray Domingo Gonzalez, Comisario del Santo Oficio. Manila, 1640.

(Note: The above paper is an extract from the volume containing the proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Geography, viz: Neuvième Congrès International de Géographie; Genève, 27 Juillet/6 Août, 1908; Compte Rendu des Travaux du Congrès: V, III, CXLIII, 334-6; Genève, 1911.)
la Chine de laquelle elle est tributaire et se trouve séparée par un fleuve large de trois lieues et qu'elle confine, vers le nord et le nord-est, aux Tartares et aux Orancaïs; qu'elle a comme île la plus importante, celle de Coraïssan (Hal-la-San-Quelapaert) pleine de "sierras" et de montagnes très âpres, tandis que sur la 'terre ferme', c'est-à-dire la péninsule, on trouve des terrains plats, où l'on cultive du riz, du blé et des fruits, tels que les pommes, les poires, les figues et les châtaignes: les Coréens récoltent aussi du miel, ils font des tissus en soie, mais en plus grand nombre en lin et en coton; à ce qu'on assure, on trouve dans l'intérieur du pays des mines d'or et d'argent, nombre de chevaux et de vaches, et aussi des tigres et d'autres animaux farouches; les habitants sont dociles, doués d'intelligence, ingénieux, avec leur peau d'un tint blanchâtre, et très habiles à lancer des flèches; ils ont leurs maisons recouverts de tuiles et les plus aisés les ont abritées avec des belles nattes, parce que le pays est très froid, ce qui fait, dans quelques endroits, que les poêles sont en usage; ils n'admettent, non plus, aucun commerce avec les étrangers, excepté ceux de "Ceujima" (Tsushima). (Chap. XIV, livre XII, p. 561 et suiv.). Pareille à celle-ci est la donnée par le dominicain Fray Diego de Aduarte (Chap. XIII, livre II, p. 470 et suiv., édit de 1693). On voit donc comme ces descriptions se rapprochent des récits modernes, et par conséquent l'exactitude de leur connaissance. Il me reste à expliquer comment cela ce fait, c'est-à-dire d'où cela vient.

Quelque temps avant la conquête de la Corée par les Japonais, il y avait dans les îles de Tsushima, Shikoku, Kiushiu et Hondo des religieux espagnols, Jésuites, Franciscaïns, Dominicains, Augustins, etc., et les navires espagnols venant des Philippines fréquentaient ses ports. Lors de l'invasion ordonnée par Taïcosama, le chef de l'expédition militaire était un chrétien dit Augustin Tzunotami; la plus grande partie de l'armée était chrétienne aussi; le père Alejandro, de la Compagnie de Jésus, et le franciscain Fray Jerónimo des Jésus jouissaient de la faveur de Taïcosama. En 1592 eut lieu l'invasion de la Corée par l'armée japonaise qui s'empara de Fusancay (Fousan) puis de Foquinangi, poursuivant sa marche victorieuse jusqu'à la capitale, alors Siyongto fut détruite; les forces de Toronzouque poussèrent jusqu'à la frontière de Tartarie dans la province d'Orancay (Hamkien) et celles de don Augustin campèrent dans une ville dite Pean (peut-être Pien yan), capitale d'une très importante province à deux journées de la frontière de la Chine. Tant le Père Juvencio (Hist. Soc. Jésus, pars V, lib. XX, no. 7) que d'autres religieux y compris le Père Guzman (Lib. XII, Chap. XXVII et XXXVI), sont d'accord pour affirmer que nos prêtres y furent avec les expéditionnaires; le principal d'entre eux, l'âme por ainsi dire, était le Père Gregorio de Cespedes, de la Compagnie de Jésus, né à Madrid en 1550 et résidant au Japon depuis 1577.
Par leur récits, nous savons que les Japonais prétendaient à cinq des huit provinces entre lesquelles la Corée était divisée, comme encore de nos jours, et aussi nous savons que la foi faisait des progrès en Corée où l'on compte le médecin japonais martyr, Francisco, converti par le religieux franciscain Marcelo de Ribadeneyra; Tomas, noble Coréen réduit à l'esclavage par les Japonais et élevé par les Dominicains de Manille; le bienheureux Vicente Caun, illustre Coréen baptisé par le Père Morejon, jésuite; celui-ci avec le père Sola y voulurent fonder la Mission de Corée—lorsque les Japonais y furent chassés par les Chinois—en traversant la Chine; et tant d'autres que je pourrais citer sont bien des exemples à l'aide de ma thèse réclamant pour nous, Espagnols, la gloire d'avoir connu "de visu" avant tout autre Européen et de l'avoir décrit aussi, avec exactitude, ce pays mystérieux dit Corée.
Appendix B

LA PRIORITÉ DES ESPAGNOLS DANS LA CONNAISSANCE GÉOGRAPHIQUE DE LA CORÉE.

Par M. Alfred Gumma y Marti, avocat, membre de la Société royale de Géographie de Madrid, membre correspondant de la Société de Géographie de Marseille.


Il y a quelque temps—à l'occasion du Congrès de l'Alliance Française et des Société de Géographie à Marseille—j'avais revendiqué, comme Espagnol, en faveur de mes compatriotes d'autrefois, la priorité dans l'ordre des explorations en Corée. En adressant cette étude à la Société de Géographie de Marseille, je me libère d'une dette que j'avais contractée envers elle et son défunt président M. Delibes, qui m'honorèrent en me conférant le titre de membre.

Marcos Jiménez de la Espada a publié la narration d'une moine franciscain espagnol, qui dans le XIVe siècle visita la Chine et la Tartarie*. Dans ce même siècle c'est un autre moine franciscain, Espagnol aussi, Fray Pascual de Vitoria, qui se hasardait à son tour dans ces contrées lointaines; de la même époque et du même Ordre religieux de Saint-François, était le bienheureux Odéric de Pordenone, qui nous parle du royaume de Caoli d'une façon très merveilleuse, comme on l'aurait fait en un conte. Et c'était bien un conte, en effet, les renseignements qu'on lui avait donnés sur les pays voisins de la Chine qu'il ne visita point. Mais, si, de ces temps-là, d'après les récits des voyageurs, nous n'avons aucune opinion scientifique sur le royaume de Corée, en des temps plus modernes nous en trouvons une assez répandue, d'après laquelle les Hollandais du XVIIe siècle auraient fait connaître ce lointain pays en Europe, opinion à laquelle je ne saurais souscrire.

Comme je le dis plus haut, cette priorité doit nécessairement revenir aux Espagnols. À la suite du naufrage du vaisseau hollandais qui y conduisait Hammel et ses compagnons en 1653, cinq de ces

* Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.—El libro del conocimiento de todos los Reinos, Tierras y Señorios que son por el Mundo, que escribió un franciscano español a mediados del siglo XIV y ahora se publica por primera vez con notas (Madrid, 1877)
derniers qui survécurent furent fait prisonniers à l'île dite de nos jours Quelpaert, ce qui leur permit de nous parler de la ville de Moggan ou Mocxo, capitale de l'île, nommée—d'après Hammel—par les habitants Schefure, "éloignée de la côte de Corée de douze ou treize lieues du côté du Midi", et ils purent aussi écrire de la capitale du royaume, où ils furent amenés, sur ce pays-là, et donner plus tard la description à leurs compatriotes. Hammel ne peut, cependant, fournir des renseignements exacts, comme on peut le voir dans l'ouvrage publié à Paris en 1670, traduit par Minutoli†; il égarait l'opinion de la plupart des publications géographiques contemporaines et d'autres plus modernes encore‡, qui décrivent le 'Pays de la fraîcheur matinale' comme une 'île', tandis que dans les ouvrages des Espagnols il est classé comme une 'péninsule', ainsi qu'on peut le voir dans les cartes espagnoles et portugaises.

En confirmation de ce que je viens de dire, je puis citer, parmi d'autres, les religieux dominicains Fr. Baltasar de Santa-Cruz§ et Fr. Diego de Aduarte**, dont la congrégation comprenait dans la province du Saint-Rosaire (Santo-Rosario) les Philippines, la Chine, le Japon et par suite la Corée, et le père Luis de Guzmán, de la Compagnie de Jésus.

Celui-ci, né à Osorno (Palencia) en 1543, écrivait en 1600 l'histoire des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans l'Inde Orientale et dans les royaumes de la Chine et du Japon, depuis 1540 jusqu'à 1600* avec une vérité si remarquable que je me décide à tirer de lui la plupart de mes données sur cette question. C'est ainsi qu'il nous dit, en décrivant la Corée, qu'elle est placée à quatre-vingt lieues de Firando (Hirado, Japon) vers le Nord, et que vers le couchant, elle limite la

§ Fr. Baltasar de Santa Cruz.—Tomo segundo de la 'Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón y China del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores'. Zaragoza, 1693.
** Fr. Diego de Aduarte.—'Historia de la Provincia del Santo-Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Filipinas, Japón y China'. Manilla, 1640.—Tomo primero de la 'Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón y China de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores'. Zaragoza, 1693.
* Luis de Guzmán S.J.—'Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compania de Jesús para predicar el santo Evangelio en la India Oriental y en los reinos de la China y Japón'. Alcalá, 1601.
Chine, de laquelle elle est tributaire et séparée par une fleuve large de trois lieues (Yalu), tandis que vers le Nord et le Nord-Est elle voisine avec les Tartares et les Orancaïs; qu'elle a comme île la plus importante celle de Coraïssan (Halla San ou Quelpaert), pleine de ‘sierras’ et de montagnes très âpres, tandis que sur la terre ferme, c'est-à-dire ‘péninsule’, on trouve des terrains plats, où l'on cultive le riz, du blé et des fruits tels que les pommes, les poires, les figues et les châtaignes. Les naturels recueillent du miel; ils font aussi des tissus de soie, mais plus encore de lin et de coton. Parlant des richesses du sous-sol, il nous apprend qu'on lui avait assuré l'existence, dans l'intérieur du pays, de mines d'or et d'argent. Les chevaux et les vaches sont nombreux, de même que les tigres et autres animaux féroces. Quant à la condition des habitants du pays, il dit qu'ils sont dociles, doués d'intelligence, ingénieux, ayant la teint blanchâtre, et très habiles à lancer des flèches; leurs maisons sont couvertes en tuiles et les plus aisés les abritent avec de belles nattes, le pays étant, très froid, ce qui fait que dans quelques endroits on emploie des poêles. Les indigènes n’admettent aucun commerce avec les étrangers, excepté ceux de ‘Ceujima’ (Tsushima) *.

Moins complète que celle-ci, mais aussi exacte est la relation du religieux dominicain, évêque de la Nouvelle-Ségoie dans les Philippines, Fray Diego de Aduarte, qui nous dit que la Corée est voisine de la Chine et du Japon et si près d’eux, que seulement deux bras de mer à la façade de deux grands fleuves la séparent, de sorte que ses naturels ont le bon sens et la pénétration des Chinois, sans posséder leurs torts, parce qu’ils sont pour la plupart des laboureurs, et en même temps possèdent le courage, sans la férocité, des Japonais: en résumé, qu’ils sont d’une très belle condition et très paisibles†. Voyez combien ces détails se rapprochent des récits modernes, et témoignent de leur exactitude, tout en étant antérieurs à l’expédition de Hammel.

Il me reste maintenant à expliquer comment ils purent acquérir cette connaissance d’un pays fermé aux étrangers, ainsi que l’assure le père Guzmán lui-même.

Quelque temps avant la conquête de la Corée par les Japonais, il y avait, dans les îles de Tsushima, Sikoku, Kiushiu et Hondo, des religieux espagnols, tels que les Jésuites, les Franciscains, les Domini-

* ‘Historia de las Misiones de Compañía de Jesús en la India Oriental en la China y Japón desde 1540 hasta 1600 por el Padre Luis de Guzmán, de la misma Compañía’. Bilbao, 1891, chap. XIV, liv. XII, pp. 561 et suiv.
cains, les Augustins, etc. Les navires espagnols, venant des Philippines, fréquentaient ces ports, les vice-rois espagnols entretenaient de bonnes relations avec le pays et les empereurs du Japon; mais en 1634, ces relations se refroidirent grâce aux Hollandais*. Lors de l’invasion ordonnée par Taïcosama, le chef de l’expédition militaire fut un chrétien, dit Augustin Tsunotami, ainsi que la plupart des soldats de l’armée expéditionnaire, et le père Alejandro, de la Compagnie de Jésus, et le religieux franciscain Fray Jeronimo de Jesús jouissaient de la faveur de Taïcosama. En 1592, les Japonais envahirent la Corée, s’emparèrent de Fusancay (Fousan), ensuite de Foquinangui, et poursuivant leur marche victorieuse jusqu’à la frontière de Tartarie, dans la province d’Orancay (Hamkieng); les forces de don Augustin compèrèrent dans une ville dite Péan (Pienny), qui était la capitale d’une très importante province, et à deux journées de la frontière de la Chine. Car il me faut avertir que j’avais oublié de faire constater que, d’après le père Guzmán, la Corée avait huit provinces, comme jusqu’il y a peu d’années. Cette armée chrétienne était accompagnée par nos prêtres; et parlant d’eux, le père Juvencio, de la Compagnie de Jésus, dans son ‘Historia Societate Jesu’ (pars V, lib. XX, no. 7) dit: “Nonnulli e Sociis in Coream profecti sunt: illis admitteribus ducum et militum Christi cultorum pietas, mirum in modum effloruit. Castra divinis personabant laudibus; manipulares ipsi cum primoriis centurionibus sacrum quoddam faedus ad vitia militoria debellanda imisse videbantur. Quibus exemplis indigenae complures pernoti Christum agnovere”. Le même Père Guzmán parle, en maints endroits, des Pères qui étaient allés en Corée; le plus notable d’entre eux, qui y vécut plusieurs années avec l’armée expéditionnaire et d’occupation en Corée, est le Père Gregorio de Céspedes, de la Compagnie de Jésus, né à Madrid en 1550, entré en religion en 1569, parti en 1577 pour le Japon, où il mourut en 1611. Archibald Little† a parlé récemment de la part active prise par ce religieux dans cette campagne. Cet écrivain a dû s’inspirer d’un recueil du ‘British Museum’‡ classé dans le catalogue des manuscrits en langue espagnole, dans le tome II, p. 186. Le Père Colin, originaire de Ripoli (Catalogne), dans son “Histoire de la Province des Philippines” (pp. 358-61), publie une lettre du Père Gregorio de Céspedes, écrite au

‡ Fol. 294-301.
Japon, dans les terres d’Arimandono, le 26 février 1597, après son retour de la Corée, où il s’en fut encore se réincorporer à l’armée de Tzunotami, et le Père Pastells, jésuite aussi, fait citation d’une autre*, à part la très copieuse série de lettres et documents relatifs au Père Céspedes, sans relation avec cette entreprise, qui m’a été fournie par le Père Capell, supérieur de la Compagnie de Jésus à Barcelone, et le père jésuite Jacques Pons de Tortose, auxquels je dois de la gratitude pour m’avoir aidé dans cette tâche.

Par les récits des religieux espagnols nous savons que, grâce à leur dévouement et à leur activité, la foi faisait de grands progrès en Corée, et parmi les Coréens prisonniers des Japonais. C’est ainsi que le Père Guzmán, tant de fois cité, suit pas à pas cette campagne et celle du Père Céspedes, en leur dédiant plusieurs chapitres; et lors des persécutions ordonnées par Taïcosama, quelques-uns subirent le martyr dans le Japon. On peut citer les noms du martyr Francisco, médecin japonais, de Miaco, qui était allé en Corée aux ordres du roi de Bungo, avec un fils de celui-ci, et fut converti par le religieux franciscain Marcelo de Ribadeneyra‡, et du bienheureux Vicente Caün, illustre Coréen baptisé par le Père Morejón, jésuite; élève plus tard du séminaire d’Arima et puis frère prêcheur et catéchiste de la Compagnie de Jésus, destiné avec le Père Sola à fonder une mission en Corée, il prit avec celui-ci la voie de Chine, par suite de l’impossibilité de s’y rendre. Ce sont là des exemples du fruit obtenu par nos religieux, parmi un plus grand nombre que je pourrais citer, comme celui de cet autre nommé Thomas, élevé par les Dominicains à Manille qui retourna dans son pays après l’évacuation japonaise. Ceci démontre comment les religieux espagnols pouvaient connaître ce pays mystérieux, même après l’invasion japonaise, à cause de leur fréquentation de la Chine.

Il me semble donc, avec ce qui précède, avoir démontré suffisamment ce que je réclamais lors du Congrès de l’Alliance Française et des Sociétés de Géographie en 1906, à savoir que la gloire d’avoir connu et fait connaître les premiers avec exactitude la Corée doit être attribuée aux Espagnols du XVIe siècle.

* P. Francisco Colin. ‘Labor evangelica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compania de Jesús, fundación y progresos de su Provincia in las Islas Filipinas, editada par le P. Pastells, tome II, pp. 91-93, et tome III, p. 466 n.
‡ Fr. Marcelo de Ribadeneyra. 'Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago y Reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sián, Camboxa y Japon.
KYONGJU, ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SILLA

By Helen B. Chapin

The present town of Kyongju, in North Kyongsang province, Korea, and the entire plain surrounding it, famous as the site of the capital of the Silla Kingdom, abound in interesting remains. The early centuries of Silla's existence are shrouded in the mists of pre-historical legend. Traditionally said to have been founded in 37 B.C., Silla rose into prominence as one of the three kingdoms of the Three Kingdoms epoch (A.D. 313-668) and ended that epoch by conquering (with the aid of T'ang forces from China) the other two kingdoms, Paekche in 663 and Koguryo in 668, thus uniting the entire peninsula under its sway. The latter date ushered in a golden age (668-935), during which the arts flourished under royal patronage and Chinese (largely T'ang) Buddhist influence. Silla fell to the Koryo in 935. During the entire history of Silla, covering many centuries and two art eras, which we shall call Old Silla (313-668) and Great Silla (668-935), Kyongju remained the capital.

Three Kingdoms graves in the vicinity of Kyongju have yielded treasures of great intrinsic value and of still greater importance as material for the study of Far Eastern history and art. Scattered over the plain and up and down the slopes of the neighbouring mountains to the South (Namsan), stand many stone monuments, largely Great Silla in date, including some of the finest known specimens of Far Eastern architecture and sculpture, as well as the two earliest buildings in all Korea. Treasured in the Kyongju Branch of the Korean National Museum are marvellously wrought gold crowns and gold jewelry, together with other finds not so spectacular but of equal importance, all from Three Kingdoms tombs, and many Buddhist images from both eras, small ones of pure gold and large ones of stone and bronze, besides one of the world's finest bells.

A recent excavation carried out in the spring of 1946 by members of the staff of the new Korean National Museum, aided by members of the U.S. Military Govern-

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ment in Korea, in Nosori, not far from the famous "Goldcrown Tomb", unearthed, in addition to an inscribed vessel dated in correspondence with A.D. 415 (and bearing indications of having been made in Koguryo to the North), a lacquered wood mask with the blue eyes ringed with pure gold. The tomb and most of the finds (similar to those from the more famous Gold-crown and Gold Bell Tombs) probably date from at least a century later. A lotus ornament on one of the bronze vessels is doubtless an indication of Buddhism; but more important is the evidence of the mask which probably points to some form of Shamanism as the pre-Buddhist religion of Silla.

Buddhism, the keynote of the civilisation of Silla, at least from the 6th century on, was introduced to the neighbouring kingdom of Koguryo in A.D. 372, whence it spread south to Silla and Paekche. Soon other waves of Buddhist influence flowed into the two southern kingdoms, coming by sea from South China (kingdoms of Liu Sung and Liang). The Buddhist art of Paekche and Old Silla shows affinity with Six Dynasties style in China, whereas that of Great Silla sometimes links Six Dynasties and T'ang influence, but on the whole shows a closer relationship with T'ang art, especially from the 8th century on. The existent remains seem to indicate the 8th century as the apogee of Buddhist art, at least in the field of sculpture, in Korea. And, as is but natural, the greatest number of fine works of that century are concentrated in the Kyongju region.

Although we can derive a fairly satisfactory idea of the Buddhist sculpture of Old Silla from the images that have come down to us, it is by no means easy to imagine the general lay-out of the temples of that age, the reconstruction of which we must leave to scholars. Hwangnyongsa, "Temple of the Imperial Dragon", was first built in the 6th century as a great national temple. Destroyed by the Mongols in 1229, it was apparently never rebuilt. It is said that this temple, had it been preserved with some of its original treasures, would have furnished for the study of Old Silla civilisation material comparable to that available for the Suiko era in Japan through the preservation of Horyuji. However, since little more than a few foundation stones remain on the site—about three miles south-east of Kyongju town—we shall go on to consider Great Silla, for which we have considerable data.
An insight into the civilisation of the Great Silla epoch, which was based on and centred in Buddhism, may be gained by a study of the great temple compounds of the time, similar to those of T'ang China. Each comprised hundreds of acres, on which were erected dozens of beautifully wooden buildings, with painted or lacquered pillars, eaves and ceilings (now only to be imagined from structures of a later time)—the main hall, lecture hall, drum tower, bell tower, halls for subsidiary divinities, dormitories, and refectories—as well as small stone pagodas and the stupas designed to hold the ashes of dead abbots and Masters of the Buddhist Law (or Doctrine).

These temples, small cities in themselves, served as centres of production as well as of learning and worship. The precincts fairly hummed with activity, so monks entering the contemplative life moved to mountain hermitages some distance away. Each large temple had its own school and very often college or university, with professors learned in Chinese and Sanskrit and deeply versed in the Buddhist scriptures. In the case of temples dedicated to Buddha in his aspect of the Great Physician (Bhaisajyaguru; Yaksa), a hospital with monk doctors was attached. Many temples maintained workshops in which were made not only large and fine temple images of wood, stone and bronze, but also small shrines and images for home instalment or personal wear, tiny mementoes for pilgrims, paintings, bronze ritual implements and textiles for monks' daily and ceremonial use as well as for temple hangings.

The ample grounds, with flowering plum, peach, pear and cherry trees within the courtyards and tall pine and cryptomeria trees climbing the mountain slopes, were filled at festival times with gay, colourful crowds who watched the mystery plays and religious dances provided for their benefit or paid devotion to some special aspect of the Deity at the main or a subsidiary hall, bought tiny images of their patron saint at the booths set up under the trees or picnicked by a murmuring stream. The festivals, largely corresponding to seasonal changes and fitting into the agricultural pattern, were looked forward to by young and old. From the temple, heart of the community, flowed out living streams of ideas which permeated the life and thought of the people.
The sites of many of these old temples, situated all over the peninsula, lie wasted or have been converted into rice fields. Here and there, a single stone pagoda, in other cases a pair, the east and west pagodas, of a temple or the flanking pillars of the temple flagstaff, alone remain to tell of former glory. Some of these isolated monuments, pagodas, stupas and stelae were brought to Seoul by the former Japanese Government General, re-assembled in the Kyongbok Palace grounds behind the Capitol, and provided with labels giving the name of the pagoda or other monuments, of the temple to which it belonged (if known), as well as the former location and date of erection. A stupa is a small pagoda designed to hold the ashes or some other relic of a former abbot or eminent monk. A stela is an inscribed tablet recording the erection of a temple, a pagoda, a bridge or in some cases, the achievements of a hero or great man. On other sites, much smaller temples than the original, with buildings erected under the Koryo (935-1392) or more often under the Li (1392-1910) dynasties, function to-day. Most of them preserve pagodas, stelae, stupas and images from the Silla and Koryo epochs, Buddhist scriptures (hand-brushed or woodblock-printed—from the Koryo cn) and other important artistic or historical remains.

Probably the most important of such temples, Pulguksa, "Temple of the Buddha-land", is situated east of the town of Kyongju. Stone steps and stone bridges leading to the broad stone terrace on which the principal buildings stand make a magnificent approach. Two small Great Silla stone pagodas, masterpieces of their kind, flank the visitor who has just passed through the Great Gate. Unalike, they strikingly complement each other: one rises, strong and simple; the other consists of complicated steps, railings and pillars. Probably, the former was intended to suggest the Buddha absorbed in calm, the latter his manifestation in the Universe. The bridge and steps lead the pilgrim back from his journeys in the samsara (the spheres of phenomenal existence) through the Gate of Deliverance to Nirvana, the Buddha-land beyond all the pairs of opposites.

Treasured by the temple are two bronze images dating from Great Silla times, both of which have unfortunately been covered in recent times with coarse paint. One of
these images represents Amitabha (Amit’a Pul in Korean), the Buddha of Boundless Light, who has his paradise in the west. The other represents Vairocana (Piroch’ana Pul), the Buddha of the Centre, who symbolizes the sun at midday, as Amitabha the sun at its setting. Sometimes Vairocana is thought of as the Supernal Sun that never sets or rises. His hands make a mudra or gesture indicating the identity of the material and the spiritual or of Eternity and Time. Pulguksa was first built in the early part of the 6th century (between 514 and 539), before Silla conquered Paekche. It was repaired or rebuilt under King Munmu (ruled 661-680), but perhaps the period of greatest power and activity came in the 8th century. In 751, the temple was rebuilt and enlarged, with the broad stone terrace, stone pagodas, stone steps and bridges, much as they are to-day (they have been repaired by the Government General of Chosen), but with many additional wooden buildings no longer in existence. The few wood buildings now standing are all of Li dynasty construction. Of some of the Great Silla wooden halls, the foundation stones remain. The stone structures that have come down to us from the rebuilding in 751, however—the stone steps and bridges and the terrace with its two pagodas—present a temple approach of great grandeur and beauty and unlike any other known to us.

At the same time and under the direction of the same master architect, the rock-cut chapel of Sokkumla was built as part of the large Pulguksa compound. A mile or so away from the main buildings on the terrace, it is cut out of the living rock on a hillside. Following a winding path among pines and maples, the pilgrim comes to the summit of the hill and sees spread before him the great blue sea, which has for him a double significance. On the one hand, it stands for the “Bitter Sea of Life and Death”, over which sails the Ship of the Buddhist Law, carrying the Faithful to the Other Shore. On the other, it suggests a passage from a well-known Buddhist text which states that, just as the sea has the same taste throughout, that of salt, so the Buddhist doctrine concerns itself only with deliverance from the fires of lust (and greed), malevolence (and anger), and ignorance (or illusion).
The path now takes a dip, then rises again. The pilgrim sees before him a flight of steps, crowned by the chapel. At the top, he pauses to rest and drink of the cool water of a mountain spring, flowing from a stone conduit nearby. Refreshed, he is reminded of the Water of Life so freely offered by the Buddha to the weary and heavy-laden. Entering the ante-chamber, the pilgrim sees carved in stone the Eight Generals, each the chief of one of the Eight Classes of Beings. They pay devotion to the Blessed One, each on behalf of the host he leads. One at each side of the entrance to the main chamber of the chapel, stand two gate guardians, their powerful muscles flexed. The Four Deva Kings, Guardians of the Four Quarters, two on each side of the passageway, tread on demons. Facing the entrance, the Buddha Sakyamuni sits on a lotus throne in calm repose, his proper right hand palm downward over his bent leg, in the gesture known as “Calling the Earth to Witness,” his proper left, palm up in his lap in the posture of meditation. The former gesture suggests to the Buddhist an episode just preceding the Enlightenment. When the Buddhist Satan, called Mara, challenged the right of Gautama (after the Enlightenment, the Buddha, that is, the “Awake”) to sit on the adamantine seat under the Bodhi tree (here not represented), the Blessed One extended his right hand, calling on the Earth to witness his worthiness. This gesture, as well as the lotus, an old Indian symbol of the ground of all existence, suggests the activity of the Buddha, his embodiment in the phenomenal world. The meditation gesture of the left hand suggests, on the other hand, his quiescence, his absorption in the peace that passeth understanding. Here once again is expressed the paradox of the nonduality of Time and Eternity.

As the pilgrim makes the Sunwise Turn around the ambulatory, he meets, carved in relief on the walls of the chapel, the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha, monks with lean ascetic face and the long nose of the Aryan Indian. He meets also the Eight Great Bodhisattva, gracious beings whose essence is Wisdom, who act as savours of all sentient creatures. Directly behind the Buddha stands the Eleven-headed Avalokitesvara (Kwanum Posal), embodiment of Compassion, who has taken the vow not to enter Nirvana until the last atom of dust in the Universe shall have preceded him. An old legend explains the eleven
heads: formerly endowed with only one, the Compassionate Lord grieved so deeply over the sufferings of creatures that his one head split into eleven fragments, whereupon his spiritual father, the Buddha Amitabha, picked up the shards and placed them on his son’s head where they grew each into a separate head. Thus, the Bodhisattva’s power to see and relieve suffering was multiplied eleven times.

The sculptures live with the vitality of the faith and devotion that inspired them. They breathe the spirit of compassion and suggest the transcendent wisdom that leads to Enlightenment. The figures, by their tall slenderness and elusive sweetness, bring to mind the earlier Wei sculptures at Yun-kang and Lung-men in China; by their advanced technique, they seem more akin to the great works of T’ang. But they have a character all their own, that of the best art of the Great Silla dynasty of Korea. Moreover, while the individual sculptures may be matched by some of those in the cave temples of China, nevertheless the chapel as a whole is unequalled in the art of the Far East.

Great monuments lie scattered in profusion over the Kyongju plain and up and down the many-sided slopes of Namsan, the mountains to the south. Here we can do no more than mention a very few. The old city wall, called Wolsong, or "Moon Wall", covered by bushes and pine trees, now looks like a winding hill. Of the old palace buildings, only foundation stones and a few blocks of stone remain in situ by the side of Anap Chi, a man-made lake, where a new pavilion has been built, while some of the roof tiles of the palace buildings are kept in the Kyongju Branch Museum. These tiles have beautiful moulded floral and animal and bird designs in relief. Near the Wolsong an old underground ice-house with an inscribed lintel remains. Still standing, the observatory is the oldest building of its kind in the Far East. It shares with the stone pagoda of Punhwangsa, both built in 634, the distinction of being the oldest building in Korea—aside from tombs. This pagoda, built of small stones like bricks, was once a nine-storeyed structure but three storeys only remain. The gate guardians, carved in relief on the stone doors, are vigorous and strong and in Six Dynasties style. The four corners of the terrace on which the pagoda stands are guarded each
by one of four stone lions, contemporary in date, now somewhat the worse for the ravages of time. When the pagoda was restored by the Government General, a stone box was found inside, which contained curved and round pieces of jade and several gold ornaments in Six Dynasties style.

On one of the slopes of Namsan, in the Valley of the Pagodas, rises a huge boulder; on its sides are incised Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, lions, trees and two pagodas, one towering high. Nearby cluster a galaxy of Buddhist divinities carved in the round. On another slope, a Buddha image sits aloft on a high pedestal, calm amid sunshine and storm, lonely remnant of a once flourishing temple. Half-concealed in a man-made niche in a boulder on the gentle slope of the “Woman’s Valley”, a Buddha contemplates eternity. A pair of beautiful pagodas, now surrounded by the thatched cottages of a farm village, mark the site of a vanished temple of considerable size. As one starts the climb to Paengnyulsa, an old temple still functioning, one stops to look at a large rock, roughly four-sided, with images carved in relief on all four sides. The most important group centres around Amitabha, the Buddha of the West, while on the opposite side, Bhaisayaguru, the Buddha of the East (and of the Dawn), who is also the Great Physician, sits alone. Amitabha and his attendant Bodhisattvas are sculptured in the usual Great Silla style, showing affinity with the works of T’ang China, but Bhaisajyaguru exhibits strong Indian influence. It is said that in the 7th century six monks from Korea visited India, some of whom returned bringing sacred books and holy images. The monk who carved this image in the following century may consciously or unconsciously have reflected in it his vision of the Indian sculptures.

Tradition has it that King Kyongdok, the 35th King of Silla, who reigned from 742, was on his way to visit Paengnyulsa. Suddenly he heard the sound of Buddhist chanting issuing from the ground. When, at his command, a hole was dug at the spot whence the sounds seemed to issue, this stone with its carvings on all four sides was found. Therefore, the King had a temple built nearby which he called Kulpulsa, that is, “The Temple of the Excavated Buddhas”. Nothing now remains of the temple.

It may not come amiss to add a word here about the significance of the various Buddhas. They are to be regarded as emanations or aspects of one primordial Buddha,
of whose essence not only they but also we and all things in the universe partake. The Buddhist trinity consists of the Dharmakaya, or "Body of the Law", the Unmanifest (which may, however, be symbolized by a Buddha), the Sambhogakaya, or "Body of Enjoyment", symbolized by Buddhas who do not incarnate, and the Nirmanakaya, or "Body of Transformation", to which the historic Buddhas like Sakyamuni belong. These three "bodies" roughly correspond to the Holy Ghost, Christ in Glory and the incarnate Jesus respectively. The Bodhisattvas, ranking second to the Buddhas in the Buddhist hierarchy, are looked upon as embodiments of specific virtues, qualities or powers, e.g., Avalokitesvara personifies Compassion; Manjusri, Transcendent Wisdom; Mahaithamaprapta, Great Strength; Samantabhadra, Universal Goodness, and so forth.

The side of P'osokchong, or "Abalone-stone Pavilion", is marked now only by the winding stone channel of the moving water in which the Kings of Silla were wont to float wine cups. Here once a gaily painted banqueting pavilion stood beside the narrow conduit. The date of building is not known, doubtless a century or two before 927 A.D., in which year it is mentioned in the Samguk Sag'i, an early book on Korean history. The name derives from the shape of the channel. This site parallels the famous lan Ting, or "Orchid Pavilion", in China, where the great calligrapher, Wang Hsi-chih, of the 4th century A.D., is said to have played the game. In Korea the King floated a cup containing wine on the water in the channel, and before it reached the turn at the other end, a specified courtier would have to drink the wine unless he in the meantime composed a verse or capped a rhyme. Doubtless he who failed many times provided much merriment. King Kyongae, however, in the fall of 927, was so absorbed in watching his Court dancers perform on this spot that he paid no heed to messengers reporting that the enemy was entering the capital. He lost his life and not long afterwards his successor lost the kingdom (935).

Tombs of kings and nobles, not all of which are identified and many of which still await excavation, abound. Most of them are set in a grove of pine trees. Some have guardian animals and civil and military officials carved in stone. The mound may be square but is more often round, and is usually provided with a circular base of rectangular stones, the alternates carved each with one of the Twelve
Gods of the Zodiac, who appear in human form with animal or bird heads. Each of these gods partakes unequally of the two contrasting and complementary principles that together produce the “Ten thousand things”, the old Chinese Yin (Korean, Um) and Yang (Korean, Yang). The Yin is the negative, passive, feminine, cold, dark principle; the Yang is the positive, active, masculine, hot, bright principle. The sun is the Great Yang, the moon, the Great Yin. The Rat God, predominantly Yin, starts the cycle; the Ox follows with just a little more of the Yang and a little less of the Yin than has the Rat; the Tiger with still more Yang and less Yin comes after, and so on until we come to the Horse, who is predominantly Yang. From the Horse on, each succeeding god partakes less and less of the Yang and more and more of the Yin until we reach the Rat and start the cycle over again. Each year in the twelve-year cycle, each month and each of the twelve two-hour periods of the Chinese day corresponds to one of these gods, as does each of the Twelve Directions. Thus the power of the Rat rises to its height at midnight and at the winter solstice, and is greatest in the direction of due north, that of the Horse at midday, at the summer solstice, in the direction of due south. With these gods encircling him, the King was protected throughout all time and space. This style of tomb derives from T’ang China, but the Korean sculptures stand out by reason of their great number and remarkable vigour.

At some of the tombs a stela was erected marking the grave. Of the fine stela at the tomb of King Muryorl (reigned 654-660), only the tortoise base and dragon top, on which the title of the stela is incised, remain. The body of the stela with its inscription, which stood between the base and the top, is lost. The dragon here stands for the power of Heaven or Yang, the tortoise for the power of Earth or Yin.

These and many more fine sculptures, pagodas and other monuments, as well as spots famous in legend and history, are under the general protection of the Director of the Kyongju Branch Museum. The Museum itself consists of a number of buildings in Korean style and of one fireproof building in a mixed style, with open spaces in front and between. Many treasures are kept here, some sculptures and large pottery urns in the grounds, most of
the objects in the buildings. Among those of world-wide importance must be noted the famous Gold Crown, excavated in 1921 from the "Gold Crown Tomb" in Nosó-ri, Kyongju, by the former Government General of Chosen. Several gold crowns have been found in Old Silla tombs, but this one surpasses all others not only in elaborateness of design, but also in the exquisite perfection of its workmanship. Sight of this crown when the light scintillates from the swinging leaf-like pendants, makes one realize that the King who wore it must have dazzled the onlookers like the Sun itself, as whose representative on earth he may well have been regarded. Besides the gold pendants, thin as a leaf, the crown has others shaped like commas in the round and made of green jade. These comma-shaped jewels are known by the Japanese name of Magatama and are found only in Southern Korea and in Japan. Their exact significance is not clear. Two beautiful openwork wings of gold extend at an angle from the back of the crown. Gold finger and earrings, bracelets and other pieces of gold jewelry were found buried with the King, and similar objects have come from other 6th century tombs in and near Kyongju. The Kings and nobles of Silla, bedecked in bracelets and earrings, must have rivalled King Solomon or rather, the Queen of Sheba. Pottery and bronze vessels, weapons, horse furniture and other objects from the Gold Crown, Gold Bell and other Three Kingdoms tombs in the vicinity may be seen in the Museum.

In the same category with the famous crown fall two small gold images, one of a standing, the other of a seated Buddha, both with openwork haloes, which were found inside a stone pagoda at Kuhwang-ni, near Kyongju. They probably date from the early part of the Great Silla epoch, that is, from the late 7th century. Small models of perfection, they would be difficult to match.

Of special importance, the great bronze bell of Pong-doksya, which hangs in a pavilion by itself in the Museum grounds, lies at the other end of the scale in size. Cast in 771 after many vain attempts, it is some seven feet high and seven inches thick, and is decorated with a floral border, with lotus flowers and with figures of Heavenly beings all cast in relief with the bell, as was likewise the long inscription.
When struck on the outside by the big log which hangs on a chain from the beams of the pavilion, it gives out as of old the "Brahma Sound", sweet and solemn and strong, as when it called the monks of Pongdoksa to prayer. If there is another bell in the whole world equal to it, it is probably the bell of Sangwonsa in Kangwon Province, also cast in Korea under the Great Silla (723).

The pottery of Great Silla as well as of Old Silla strikingly resembles bronze work in colour and shape. Many of the pieces are monumental in size. Great numbers of paving bricks and roof tiles with beautiful moulded floral and faunal designs and in some cases with angels in relief are kept in the Museum. Two fragments of what must have been huge bricks, each with a moulded image of one of the Four Deva Kings, from the pagoda of the temple named after these divinities, Sach'onwangsa, near Kyongju, are in the Museum. Two companion fragments, each showing a part of one of the other two of the group of four, are in the National Museum, Seoul. They probably date from the late 7th century.

Outside in the garden, the numerous stone sculptures include Zodiacal Gods from tombs, parts of pagodas with images of Bodhisattva, Deva kings and other members of the Buddhist pantheon; pagoda roofs; stelae bases—one with a very handsome pair of tortoises—and images of the Buddha. The head of a colossal Buddha, with fragments of the body and halo, rests on the ground so that one has to stoop to look into the face which still radiates the great peace of eternity. When it was whole, this image worthily embodied the idea of the Buddha as Yogi absorbed in contemplation "like a flame in a windless place that does not flicker".

The monuments of Silla's greatness preserved in the Kyongju Branch Museum and scattered in the vicinity of the town provide material for the study of the art and the whole civilization of two epochs of great importance in Far Eastern history. Together with other objects of artistic and historical interest to be found here and there over the peninsula, they deserve thorough study and a prominent place in the art history of the world. It is said that a prophecy made some two hundred years ago, a part of which has come true, foretells a return to greatness for Kyongju, the capital-to-be of a re-united Korea.
Bronze image of Amida at PULGUK-SA; it dates from 8th century.

The central Buddhist figure at SOKKULAM, the stone cave temple above PULGUK-SA.
Two Boddhisattva carved in relief in SOKKUL-AM.

Stone figures at Royal Silla tomb at KWAENUNG-NI.
Royal tomb at KWAENUNG-NI South of KYONGJU. The tomb has carved stone figures of the twelve zodiacal animals.

Guardian figures on east side of the pagoda at PUNHWANG-SA.
Stone pagoda at PUNHWANG-SA; built in 634 A.D.
Stone pagoda at site of KAMUN-SA, an important 7th century temple facing the Eastern Sea where King Munmu's ashes were scattered into the sea in 680 A.D.
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, KOREA BRANCH

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL — 1956

The last Transactions of the Society were published in Hong Kong in 1951 in the middle of the war which had for the second time in ten years brought our activities to a stop. The communist invasion was launched without warning on the morning of June 25th 1950 and three members of the Council suffered capture and imprisonment in the North. Father Hunt, to whose interest and energy the society owes much, died in captivity, and the other two have not returned to Korea. The Government and the Foreign community retired to Pusan, but Seoul was captured and recaptured twice by each side before the war ended. While the city was less damaged than it might have been, there was considerable looting by the communist side and the society lost practically all its Library and possessions other than a few items rescued by Mr. Kinney who now has them in USA.

The war also caused very many changes in the foreign community, so that when Seoul again became the centre of Government in 1954 it was not easy to get started again. The need for the Society was however increasingly felt. In 1955 there were again three members of the former, and indeed the continuing, Council in Seoul, and an informal gathering took place on January 22nd, 1956 at the British Legation at which the serving members of the Council, Dr. George Paik (Councillor) Mr. Underwood (Vice-President) and Mr. Scherbacher (Recording Secretary) invited the British Minister Mr. Stewart, Mr. Dugald Malcolm of the British Legation and Father Richard Rutt of the Anglican Mission to join them in reactivating the Society. There was a further informal Council meeting the following week, and on February 23rd an open General Meeting listened to a paper by Dr. Paik on the travel diary of an eighth century Buddhist monk, Hei Jo, who made a pilgrimage to India. It is hoped that this interesting piece of work may be available for publication in the next regular volume of transactions.

A second general meeting heard a paper by Mr. W. E. Skillend of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University on the Study of Korean Literature at
the Seoul Union on April 11th, and a third meeting at the same place heard Mr. Bacon’s paper on Yi Tombs which is here published.

In subsequent Council meetings it was decided to carry on the existing Constitution of the Society without amendment and to continue the same subscription until or unless it became apparent that the Society could not function on the income produced by the old rates. In particular the Council were anxious to arrange meetings on the first Wednesday of every month so that members could make plans in advance to attend on this day. Colonel Widdowson was invited to join the provisional Council and Mr. Carl Miller was invited to be Treasurer.

General Meetings reopened in January 1957 with a talk by Mr. Malcolm on Ceramics, with particular reference to Korean products, and with a talk in February by Father Rutt on Life in a Korean Village, and survivals of the Korean customs of former days. Both these took place at the British Legation. The Annual General Meeting was held on February 27 at the USIS Theatre at the American Embassy, and was followed by a lecture by Mr. Marc Scherbacher on Buddhist Temples and other sites, illustrated by coloured slides.

A Council was elected to replace the provisional council (of whom two, Mr. Malcolm and Mr. Stewart, had left the country) and dues were collected from most of those present. The main difficulty facing the Council in the past years has been to get into touch with former members and to get its mailing lists in order. We apologise to any with whom we have failed to make contact so far, and ask the help of the others in the work of rebuilding the society, mentioning in particular that we want contributions of material as well as of annual dues!
OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC
SOCIETY, KOREA BRANCH
1957

(elected at the annual meeting on 27th February, 1957)

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FOUND, Norman M. D. L'Original, Ont., Canada.
HALL, Mrs. R. S., M.D. Liberty, New York.
LUDLOW, A. I., M.D. 10906 Hull Ave., G.E. Cleveland, Ohio.
TROLLOPE, Miss C.

ADAMS, Rev. and Mrs. Edward Presbyterian Mission, Seoul.
AHN, Miss Angela 361-18 Shin Dang Dong, Seoul.
BACON, Wilbur OEC (Residence Hall No. 3).
BARRETT, Mrs. Margaret American Embassy, Seoul.
BOURNS, Miss Beulah Severance Hospital, Seoul.
BRUCE, Mrs. Mary O. Residence No. 2, 8th Army, Yongsan.

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Yon Se Taehak (Chosun Christian Univ.)
OEC.
American Embassy.
Ewha.
OEC Residence No. 9, Yongsan.
PO Box 111, Seoul, W. W. Taylor Co.
KOSCO (Shell Co) APO 301.
Yonse Taehak, Seoul.
OEC, Chosun Hotel.
UNCURK.
Methodist Mission, Seoul.
Chosun Hotel.

American Embassy.
Unkra (Naija Apts).

OEC.
British Legation, Seoul.
Bank of Korea, Seoul; 30 Washington Terrace Pittston, Penna.
Yonse Taehak.
Naeja Apartments No. 314, UNKRA, APO 301.

UNKRA.
American Embassy, Seoul.
Foreign Language College of Korea, Seoul, or 2 Petersfield Crescent, Coulsdon, Surrey, England.
ROACH, Jesse (Capt)  Hqs, 8th Army.
RUTT, Rev. Richard  English Church Mission.
SAUER, Rev. C. A.  Methodist Mission, Seoul.
SHAW, Marian  Presbyterian Mission, Seoul.
SMART, Rev. C. E. J.  English Church Mission, 3 Chong Dong, Seoul. 42 Winifred Road, Bedford, England.

WHITAKER, Donald P.  UNKRA.
WIDDOWSON, Col. C. W.  P.O. Box 1192, Kwanghwamun International Post Office.
STUART, Kenneth  Social Science Research Library. 198 Kwan - hon Dong, Chongno-ku, Seoul.

SWALLEN, Miss Olivette  Presbyterian Mission, Seoul.
THOMAS, Mr. Fred C.  American Embassy.
THOMPSON, Mr. Lawrence  Asia Foundation, 198 Kwanhun Dong, Chongnoku, Seoul.

TRUELSON, Dr. K. Elize  Chosun Hotel.
THORSSEN, Margaret G.  American Embassy.
UNDERWOOD, Mr. & Mrs. H. G. Yonse Taehak.  AKF.
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