Field Trip to Kyŏngsang Province
Summer 2016
Co-organized by Sun Joo Kim (Harvard University) and
Chŏng Chae-hun (Kyungpook National University)

Daily Schedule 답사일정

June 9 (Thursday)

8:30	Meet at the Seoul Train Station and travel to DongDaegu via KTX / 서울역에 집합 KTX 편으로 동대구로 이동
11:00	Arrive in DongDaegu Station and meet with Kyungpook National University team; Travel to P'ungsan via rental bus / 동대구 도착, 경북대팀과 합류하여 버스편으로 풍산으로 이동
12:00	Lunch in P'ungsan / 풍산에서 점심식사
13:30	Andong traditional paper-making company / 안동 전통한지공장 방문
14:50	Pyŏngsan Private Academy where Ryu Sŏng-nyong is enshrined / 류성룡이 배향되어 있는 병산서원
16:00	Hahoe Village, permanent residence of P'ungsan Ryu family and Puyong Terrace / 하회마을 풍산류씨 세거지, 부용대
18:00	Dinner / 저녁식사

Lodging at Hahoe Village / 하회마을에서 숙박

June 10 (Friday)

1:00–2:00	Observe ancestral ritual for Ryu Sŏng-nyong, whose ancestral tablet is permanently preserved / 류성룡 불천위 제사 참관
8:00	Breakfast / 아침식사
9:00	Travel to Sunhŭng / 순흥으로 이동
10:00	Tomb murals in Sunhŭng, funerary culture of Silla and Koguryŏ / 순흥벽화고분, 신라와 고구려의 묘제
10:30	Pusŏksa Buddhist Temple, a Koryŏ architecture Muryangsujŏn / 부석사, 고려시대의 건물 무량수전
12:00	Lunch in Sunhŭng / 순흥읍내에서 점심식사

13:30 Sosu Private Academy, first private academy of the Chosŏn dynasty / 소수서원, 조선 최초의 서원

16:10 Talsil Village: Ch'ungjae ancestral home, permanent home of Andong Kwŏn family, Ch'ŏngam Pavilion, archive / 달실마을: 충재종택, 안동권씨 세거지, 청암정, 자료관

18:00 Arrive in Ch'uksŏsa Buddhist Temple for a temple stay experience and dinner / 축서사 템플스테이, 저녁식사

19:30 Evening Buddhist ritual / 저녁예불

20:30 Conversation with a Buddhist monk and wrap-up seminar / 스님과의 대화 및 교류세미나

June 11 (Saturday)

3:30 Early morning Buddhist ritual / 새벽예불 (optional)

6:00 Breakfast / 아침식사

7:00 Sweeping temple courtyard, tour of the temple, and meditation at the pine forest / 마당쓸기, 절 관람, 솔밭에서 명상

9:00 Depart Ch'uksŏsa / 축서사에서 출발

10:00 Kakhwasa Buddhist Temple, T'aebaek Mt. Chosŏn Depository / 각화사, 태백산 사고 등정

13:00 Lunch / 점심식사

14:00 Tosan Private Academy /도산서원

16:00 Kukhak chinhŭngwŏn: museum and archive / 국학진흥원: 박물관, 자료실

19:00 Arrive in Taegu and wrap-up seminar over dinner / 대구도착, 저녁 겸 세미나

21:00 Lodging at an early 20th century Japanese-style home / 적산가옥에서 숙박

June 12 (Sunday)

8:00 Breakfast / 아침식사

9:00 Taegu city tour: Kyŏngsang Provincial Governor's Office, Modern Korean History Museum / 대구시내: 경상감영과 근대역사관

12:00	Lunch / 점심식사
13:00	Taegu city tour: Missionary homes, Cheil Church, Kyesan Catholic Church, traditional herbal medicine market, Taegu walls / 대구시내: 선교사주택, 제일교회, 계산성당,약령시, 대구읍성터
16:00	Depart to Seoul from DongDaegu Station / 동대구역에서 서울로 출발
17:00	Dinner / 저녁식사

Study Material

Hanji

Helen Jin Kim, Harvard University

Hanji means Korean paper (*han* = Korean, *ji* = paper). Hanji can be as thin as tissue paper and as thick and tough as leather, and while one side is smooth – the side for writing, painting and printing – the other side is usually rougher.[1] It is made from the inner bark of a species of mulberry tree called *Broussonetia kazinoki* or *ch'amdak* (true tak) in Korean.[2] Because it is primarily made from *tak* (or *dak*), hanji is also nicknamed "*takchongi*."[3] Hanji is created through a complex and laborious technique called *woebal tteugi* (single-screen scooping), which includes drying, steaming, peeling, smashing, squeezing and rinsing *dak*, and straining its fibers through a bamboo screen to create a pulp that is dried in the sun.[4] There are at least three hundred names for the diverse kinds of hanji, distinguished by the raw materials, methods of formation, colors, additives, and so on: *paekchi* (for books), *hawsŏnji* (for calligraphy), *changp'anji* (for flooring), *ch'anghoji* (for latticed windows), *saekchi* (colored paper), etc.[5] Hanji can be used for a range of artistic endeavors, including texturing, cording, weaving, cutouts, and paper-mache.[6]

To provide a brief historical overview, hanji has been made for over fifteen hundred years, and experienced a golden age in the Koryŏ period (918–1392), with the "rise in quality and use of hanji," especially as it was used for Buddhist texts and medical and history books.[7] During the Chosŏn period (1392–1910), hanji began to permeate the everyday lives of Koreans from its use for calligraphy, wallpaper, kites, lanterns, maps, and a variety of art.[8] Yet, from 1910 to 2009, the number of hanji mills declined from eight thousand to twenty-six. In the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), hanji production proved difficult as the Japanese imperial government largely dictated its production amount, price, and use, and in the aftermath of the Korean War (1950–1953), and rapid industrialization in the late twentieth century, hanji was largely replaced with western-style materials.[9] Yet contemporary artists, scholars, and activists continue to push for the use of hanji.

Paper maker Aimee Lee, an avid advocate of the contemporary use of hanji, observes: "The most remarkable attribute of hanji is its tenacity. It is strong, even when thin." Hanji "retains its integrity" over time because its "long fibers are flexible and bend rather than break, getting stronger for the wear." It also "filters pollutants and dust and insulates better than glass," which is why it was used for walls, window and door coverings. Hanji has also historically "played a large role in Korean spiritual life."[10] Consider paper researcher Dorothy Field's observation of a *kut*, or traditional shamanistic rite, where white paper lotuses made of hanji symbolized the "shaman's spirit, open and pure, receptive to possession by the

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[1] Aimee Lee. *Hanji Unfurled: One Journey into Korean Papermaking.* Ann Arbor: Legacy Press. 5.
[2] Ibid., 10.
[3] "Hanji: What is it?" http://www.hanji1000.kr/story/about-hanji/about-hanji-01/. Accessed June 6, 2016.
[4] "The Story of Hanji." http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/CU/CU_EN_8_1_4_1.jsp. Accessed June 6, 2016. To see the full process of making hanji, see chapter five "Learning How to Make Hanji" in Lee, *Hanji Unfurled.*
[5] Lee 8–9. For a more extensive list, see "Hanji: What is it?" http://www.hanji1000.kr/story/about-hanji/about-hanji-01/. Accessed 6.6.16.
[6] Lee 10.
[7] Ibid., 15. As Lee mentions, Koryŏ's "landmarks in printmaking history" were due to "advances in paper technology and Buddhism," including the carving of the Korean *Tripitaka* (Buddhist scriptures) and the printing of *Chikchi* or *Selected Teachings of Buddhist Sages and Zen Masters* (1377).
[8] Ibid., 16
[9] Lee 18. For the use of hanji in the Japanese colonial period, see Dard Hunter. *A Papermaking Pilgrimage to Japan, Korea and China* (New York: Pynson Printers, 1936).
[10] Lee 6

gods."[11] Hanji's virtues have been described as such: "it does not melt in water or burn in fire…it is not simply paper, but spirit reincarnated."[12] Given its tenacious texture and spiritual significance, perhaps hanji will have another life as an influential medium in the contemporary world.

Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn 屛山書院

Hyeok Hweon Kang, Harvard University

Historical Sites No. 260 (designated in 1978)
Location: P'ungch'ŏn-myŏn (豊川面), Andong-si (安東市), North Kyŏngsang Province

Overview

Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn was established in 1613 as a memorial shrine (*chondŏksa* 尊德祠) for Yu Sŏng-nyong (柳成龍, 1542–1607; penname Sŏae 西厓), a renowned Confucian scholar-official. Its roots go back to Pungak Study Hall (豊岳書堂), an educational institution from the Koryŏ period (918–1392), which relocated to its present location in 1575 upon Yu's suggestion.[13] During the Imjin War of 1592–1598, the academy was destroyed and only restored in 1607.[14] In 1613, after Yu passed away, Chŏng Kyŏng-se (鄭經世, 1563–1633) and other local literati established a memorial shrine in the academy, and placed a tablet (*wip'ae* 位牌) for the deceased scholar-official. The following year, they also renamed academy "Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn," the present name. In 1863, it was formally recognized as a royal-chartered private academy (*saaek sŏwŏn* 賜額書院), and five years later, escaped unscathed from Taewŏn'gun's order to close private academies. During the Japanese colonial period, the academy was repaired and rebuilt. Today, the academy boasts more than 1,000 archival documents and 3,000 books,[15] and still features memorial ceremonies for Yu Sŏng-nyong and his third son, Yu Chin (柳袗, 1582–1635).[16]

Politics of Commemoration

Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn was embroiled in power negotiation and ritual disputes between two groups of Neo-Confucian scholars in the Yŏngnam region, namely the Sŏae group and the Hakpong group. The former comprised Chŏng Kyŏng-se and other followers of Yu Sŏng-nyong, who organized around the Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn; and the latter comprised disciples and descendants of Kim Sŏng-il (金誠一, 1538–1593; penname

[11] Dorothy Field. *Paper and Threshold: The Paradox of Spiritual Connection in Asian Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: The Legacy Press, 2007), 15; see also Laurel Kendall. *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual life* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985).
[12] Lee 7.
[13] Yu Sŏng-nyong reputedly moved the Pungak Study Hall because he deemed its original location in P'ungsan (豊山) was too close to the roads and thus inappropriate for self-cultivation. Kwŏn Ki (權紀, 1546–1624), *Yŏngga chi* 永嘉誌, f. 4 書堂, as cited in Chŏng Ku-bok, "Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn komunsŏ haeje," accessed May 8, 2016, http://archive.kostma.net/Family/T3/html/sub1_2.aspx?fid=B011a.
[14] Ibid.
[15] For archival collection, see "Sojang komunsŏ," accessed May 8, 2016, http://archive.kostma.net/Family/T3/html/sub1_3.aspx?fid=B011a. Also see *Komunsŏ chipsŏng* 古文書集成, v.63 Pyŏngsan Sŏwŏn p'yŏn chŏngsŏbon 屛山書院篇正書本 (Sŏngnam: Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2002).
[16] "Introduction," Byeongsan Seowon, accessed May 8, 2016, http://www.byeongsan.net.

Hakpong 鶴峯), who organized around the Yŏgang sŏwŏn (廬江書院; later renamed Hogye sŏwŏn 虎溪書院).

Known as the Pyŏng-Ho dispute (屛虎是非), the quarrel began in 1620 over the relative rank of Yu Sŏng-nyong and Kim Sŏng-il, two disciples of the renowned scholar Yi Hwang (李滉, 1501–1570; penname T'oegye). At the time, the literati of Andong sought to foreground Yŏgang sŏwŏn, a commemorative academy for Yi Hwang, as the center of the so-called T'oegye school. As such, they enshrined in the academy tablets of his most prestigious disciples—Yu and Kim. During the process, dispute emerged around the relative placement of the disciples' tablets: the Sŏae group argued for the higher ranking (*sŏnwi* 先位) of Yu, given his illustrious service as Chief State Councilor (Yŏngŭijŏng 領議政), whereas the Hakpong group rebutted, highlighting Kim's seniority and breadth of scholarship. In 1629, when the latter group supposedly grew dominant in the Yŏgang sŏwŏn, the Sŏae group severed ties and relocated Yu's ceremonial tablet back to the Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn. At the time, Yu Chin's tablet was also enshrined in the memorial shrine. The Pyŏng-Ho dispute perdured bitterly until the end of the dynasty.[17]

Educational Activities

Students of Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn undertook various educational activities, as evidenced by archival documents compiled in the *Komunsŏ chipsŏng*.[18] Contrary to the once prevalent view that private academies of the late Chosŏn period lost their function as centers of learning (*kanggak* 講學), these documents (mostly from the late 18th century) clarify that there were at least three types of educational activities: 1) reading ceremony (*t'ongdokhoe* 通讀會), a gathering of several tens of scholars to read classics such as the Great Learning (*Taehak* 大學) from cover to cover; 2) boarding school (*kŏjae* 居齋), an intensive program for students and scholars based on age groups on a half-month rotational basis; and 3) examination (*kogang* 考講), a bi-annual review of students and their academic progress.[19]

Yu Sŏng-nyong

Matthew Lauer, UCLA

Though Yu Sŏng-nyong (柳成龍, 1542–1607; penname Sŏae 西厓) may be known primarily as the man who selected Admiral Yi Sunsin against the protest of other ministers during the Imjin War, his list of accomplishments and posts extend well beyond that specific wartime decision. His basic biographical information reveals a man with a prominent family history and extensive connections in government. The dates of his lifetime run between 1542 and 1607, enough to achieve a considerable career as a state bureaucrat and scholar. His *pon'gwan* (本貫) is that of the P'ungsan Yu, while his wife was a member of the Chŏnju Yi. His father, Yu Chung-yŏng, served as the Governor of Hwanghae Province.

Yu studied under Yi Hwang and was especially discouraged from the study of *simhak* (心學) at that time, though influences from that latter school of thought likely remained with him. In the factional disputes of that time, he began as a member of the Easterners (Tongin 東人) but, upon their split, became a formative member of the Southerners (Namin 南人). Perhaps the most significant period in Yu's official career occurred during the Hideyoshi Invasions, where he was appointed Supreme

[17] Sŏl Sŏk-kyu, "T'oegye-hakp'a ŭi punhwa wa Pyŏng-Ho sibi" [The Split of the T'oegye School and the Pyŏng-Ho Dispute], *Toegye Studies and Korean Culture* 45 (2009): 311–371.
[18] See footnote 3.
[19] Pak Chong-bae, "Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn kyoyuk kwan'gye charyo kŏmt'o" [A review on the records of education of Byungsanseowon in Late Chosŏn Dynasty], *Kyoyuk sahak yŏn'gu* 18, No. 2 (2008): 31–60.

Wartime Commander (Toch'ech'alsa 都體察使) and oversaw the affairs of the military, issues in diplomacy, and domestic politics. Under
Yu's oversight, various projects related to the defense of Chosŏn were undertaken, including military training and construction of fortresses. Perhaps most importantly, it was under the leadership of Yu, the Military Training Command (*Hullyŏn togam* 訓鍊都監), which oversaw a wide range of military affairs from logistics to training, was created. Lastly, Yu also chose Yi Sunsin and Kwŏn Yul as generals to oversee the defense against Hideyoshi. He was strongly criticized for those decisions by his contemporary ministers, though perhaps history judges him differently with the benefit of hindsight.

Among the various writings of Yu Sŏng-nyong, his *Chingbirok* (懲毖錄) undoubtedly holds pride of place. This text, completed in 1604, details the events of the Japanese Invasions of Korea between 1592 and 1598. In his introduction, Yu describes his text as a warning to future generations about the ill effects of poor policy-making. That particular tone reflects the very name of the text, which draws from a verse in the *Book of Poetry* concerning warnings about and preparations for future disasters (預其懲而毖後患).

In old age, Yu began speaking of three regrets that he felt about his life and official accomplishments. First, he regretted his inability to repay the King for his wisdom and grace. Second, he regretted having so many official posts at such high levels of power but never actually withdrawing from them on his own. Finally, he regretted that, despite dedicating himself to the study of *daoxueŏ* (道學), he never really achieved anything worthwhile in that area. These self-assessments sounds very much like the self-effacing gestures so common in writing from this period, but nonetheless may reflect something of the political and military tumult in which Yu lived and operated.

Pulch'ŏnwi 不遷位 / Permanent Tablet in an Ancestral Shrine

Ancestral shrines in the Chosŏn Dynasty carried memorial tablets (*sinju* 神主) for the purposes of *chesa* (祭祀) rites for a specified number of generations (determined by the status of individuals concerned: 5 generations for the royal house, 4 generations for *yangban*, after which those tablets were buried and a new generation of tablets was ushered in. However, there were often a set of tablets that never made it to burial—these tablets, called *pulch'ŏnwi* or "Permanent
Tablets," were constructed in honor of persons who rendered a great service to the state or society. These tablets became enduring fixtures of the shrines and allowed for the perpetual memorialization of the enshrined persons.

Two types of permanent tablets existed. The first, called *kuk pulch'ŏnwi* (國不遷位**)** or National Permanent Tablets, were intended primarily for the state shrine *munmyo* (文廟). The second, called *yurim pulch'ŏnwi* (儒林不遷位**)** / *sa pulch'ŏnwi* (私不遷位**)** or Private Permanent Tablets, were chosen for the private shrines of prominent families. Of the former, there are 18 persons in total given Permanent Tablets in *munmyo.* These persons draw from the various kingdoms and dynasties that comprise the history of the Korean peninsula (e.g. Sŏl Ch'ong and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn of Silla, An Yu and Chŏng Mong-ju of Koryŏ, as well as Yi Hwang and Song Si- yŏl of Chosŏn). All of these are considered *kuk pulch'ŏnwi.*

Many tablets of the kings of Chosŏn, currently contained in the Royal Ancestor Hall of Chognmyo (宗廟) are also considered *kuk pulch'ŏnwi.* The rules for permanent tablets here worked as follows. Five generations of kings could be displayed in Chongmyo, requiring that one generation of kings be removed upon the entry of a new generation. The expiration of a particular generation of tablets was referred to as *ch'injin* (親盡). On the other hand, kings who were thought to have performed works of considerable merit and virtue, were also kept permanently in the hall as *pulch'ŏnwi,* otherwise referred to as *sesil* (世室). From time to time, glitches emerged in the decision of which tablets to maintain and which to remove. For example, during the reign of Yŏnsan'gun (r. 1494–1506), a problem emerged when attempting to install the tablet of his predecessor, Sŏngjong (r. 1469–1494). Skipping over the dynastic

founder, T'aejo (r. 1392–1398), the plan was to remove the tablets of the second-generation kings Chŏngjong (r. 1394–140) and T'aejong (r 1400–1418). Though Chŏngjong's tablets presented no problem for accomplishing *ch'injin*, T'aejong had already been designated as *sesil* because of his particular contributions to the state, making it impossible to remove that particular generation from Chongmyo. The basic point here is that, as a matter of principle, *pulch'ŏnwi* should normally have been decided when a particular generation was slated to meet *ch'injin*; however, in practice, Kings often designated permanent tablets well before that specific moment in time, causing occasional problems for future kings.

Private Permanent Tablets were maintained by private families, especially those whose members with noteworthy accomplishments in scholarship or politics. These tablets vastly outnumber the National Permanent Tablets. The Andong region of Kyŏngsang Province was known for being a major generator of successful passers of the *munkwa* (文科) examination, trailing only Seoul and Chŏngju in P'yŏngan Province. Such prominent figures as Yi Hwang, Yu Sŏng-nyong, and Kim Sŏng-il are enshrined in this region. In fact, Andong is known to have the largest number of Private Permanent Tablets in the country, numbering 50.

Sunhŭng Ŭpnae-ri Mural Tomb

SangJae Lee, Seoul National University

Sunŭng Ŭpnae-ri Mural Tomb, or Sunhŭng-ri Tomb, now at San 29-1 Ŭpnae-ri, Sunhŭng-myŏn, Yŏngju-si, North Kyŏngsang Province, was built in 539, the 26th year of King Pŏphŭng (法興王 r. 514–540) of Silla (57 BCE–935). The Museum of Taegu University in collaboration with the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage investigated the tomb in 1985. The tomb was designated as historic site No.313. This tomb offers a rare window to better understand such subjects as ancient painting, religious view, afterlife, and other cultural exchanges with Koguryŏ (37 BCE–668) during the Three Kingdoms Period.

The tomb is a horizontally-buried stone chamber tomb (*hoenghyŏlsik sŏksilbun* 橫穴式石室墳), which consists of a burial chamber (*hyŏnsil* 玄室) and a dromos (*yŏndo* 羨道). The burial chamber is square shaped, and the dromos is shorter than the conventional tomb. There is a support for corpse (*sisangdae* 屍床臺) in the chamber, and around the corpse a few human bone fragments and some pieces of earthenware were found. Each of the four walls of the tomb has murals painted in all four directions of the burial chamber, as well as on the left and right walls of the dromos. The walls were covered with lime before the murals were painted. The objects painted on each walls are as follows:

Burial Chamber	North wall	Three mountains, Lotus, Clouds
	South wall	Inscription (*myŏngmun* 銘文) of 9 letters, Part of a portrait
	East wall	Bird's head
	West wall	Tree, House, Gatekeeper
Dromos	Left wall	A man grasping a snake
	Right wall	A brawny man with bulging eyes

According to the studies, it is assumed that two men painted on the left and right walls of the dromos were painted in order to protect the corpse buried in the tomb. The most noticeable mural is the one

painted on the south wall of the chamber, which bears the 9 letters of inscription as following: "己未中墓像人名□□." With this inscription, researchers were able to date the approximate construction year at 539 CE (*kimi nyŏn* 己未年).

Interpretations about the time and origin of the buried diverge. Based on the pointing style of the mural, some researchers argue that the tomb originated from Koguryŏ. However, another tomb in Sunhŭng with the same horizontally-buried stone chamber was recently excavated, and excavators discovered accessories for a saddle and a decorated harness in the style of Silla. This excavation supports the hypothesis that local elites in Sunhŭng had a close relationship with Silla since the middle of fifth century. Sunhŭng, located in the southern part of Sobaek Mountains, was the territory of Silla then. On the basis of this recent findings, most scholars have agreed that the Sunhŭng Ŭpnae-ri Tomb is closely related to Silla rather than Koguryŏ.

This mural tomb is a siginificant relic not only for its scarcity considering that only five mural tombs have been discovered in South Korea, but for its excellent condition in comparison to other excavated mural tombs in South Korea thus far.

Sosu sŏwŏn 紹修書院

Hyeok Hweon Kang, Harvard University

Sosu Private Academy Lecture Hall 紹修書院 講學堂 (National Treasure No. 1403)
Location: Sunhŭng-myŏn (順興面), Yŏngju (榮州), North Kyŏngsang Province

Overview

Nestled at the foot of the Sobaek Mountain, Sosu sŏwŏn was established in 1542 as a memorial shrine for An Hyang (安珦, 1243–1306; penname Hoehŏn 晦軒), a renowned Koryŏ scholar and a native of Sunhŭng. This was at the initiative of his admirer Chu Se-bung (周世鵬, 1495–1554; penname Sinjae 愼齋), magistrate of P'unggi (豊基) who ordered it to be built at the old site of An's study. In 1543, under Chu's guidance, the shrine developed as an educational institution, taking the title of Paegundong sŏwŏn (白雲洞書院) and an inaugurating class of three students. In 1549, under the auspices of a new magistrate, the famous Yi Hwang (李滉, 1501–1570; penname T'oegye), the emerging academy requested a royal charter (*saaek* 賜額). The following year, King Myŏngjong (明宗, r. 1545–1567) bestowed the title of "Sosu" (紹修, lit. "continuing cultivation"), along with books, land and slaves. From 1543 to 1888, more than 4,000 students were trained in the academy, many of whom belonged to the T'oegye School and proceeded to illustrious political careers in the central bureaucracy.[20]

Historiography

Conventional historiography has it that private academies were the harbinger of a broad shift in the dynasty's educational system from a centrally administered model based on state schools, official learning (*kwanhak* 官學) and examination studies (*kwaŏp* 科業) to a locally devolved one based on private academies, private learning (*sahak* 私學), and Tao studies (*tohak* 道學). According to this paradigm, the state schools that early Chosŏn established as centers for training potential bureaucrats had declined by the mid-16th century while private academies grew dominant in the locale, becoming cultural bulwarks of

[20] "Yŏksajŏk ŭiŭi," Sosu sŏwŏn Management Office, accessed May 8, 2016, http://www.seonbichon.or.kr/?c=2/16.

the so-called *sarim* 士林 scholars. In this paradigm, Sosu sŏwŏn, Chosŏn's first royal-chartered private academy (*saaek sŏwŏn* 賜額書院), was understood as the chief center of Tao studies led by the *sarim* scholars.[21]

Recent historiography has proposed a subtler model for understanding Sosu sŏwŏn as a "official-private hybrid" (*kwansa happyŏn* 官私合辦) to show the co-evolution of government initiatives and the local literati's contributions, as well as a mixture of official and private characteristics, in the private academies.[22] For instance, rather than the epitome of a *sarim*-led private academy, Sosu sŏwŏn first reached fame in the 16th century through the support of centrally-appointed statesmen such as Chu Se-bung and thanks to its successful curriculum for examination studies. Allegedly, by 1545, a saying had it that "all [students] who study in this academy [i.e., Sosu sŏwŏn], pass the exams within a matter of five years."[23] In fact, among 473 students who joined the academy during the 16th century, as many as 184 (39%) passed either the higher or lower exam. The education was so heavily focused on exam preparation that in 1558, Kim Sŏng-il (金誠一, 1538–1593; penname Hakpong 鶴峯) left the academy on the pretext that "if a man born into the world solely studied for the exam and did not realize erudition for the self, this is utterly shameful" (人生於世, 但務擧業, 不知爲己之學, 可恥之甚也). Starting in the early 17th century, the academy's focus on exam preparation was critiqued in a dispute about terminating student eligibility requirements (*p'agyŏk nonjaeng* 罷格論爭). By the late 18th century, Sosu sŏwŏn came to espouse Tao learning while retaining elements of examination studies. While the former grew dominant, students at the academy continued to study for the exam: of 1,805 students admitted during the years of 1790 to 1888, 204 (11%) of them passed either the higher of the lower exam.[24] As late as the 19th century, the academy made efforts to invite the support of magistrates and other officials to bolster its fisc and reputation. As such, recent studies uncovered the significance of Sosu sŏwŏn, the once-prototypical private academy, as a dynamically evolving entity, holding different blends of official and private elements over time.

Pusŏksa (浮石寺)

Yung Hian Ng, Harvard University

Pusŏksa in Yŏngju, North Kyŏngsang Province, was built in 676 under the order of Silla King Munmu (?–681, r. 661–681).[25] According to the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk yusa*), Pusŏksa was built by the Buddhist monk Ŭisang (義湘, 625–702)who was studing Buddhism in Tang China (618–

[21] Chŏng Man-jo, *Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1997), as discussed in Kim Cha-ŭn, "Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn kyoyuk ŭi kongjŏk kiban pyŏnhwa wa kŭ taeŭng: Sosu sŏwŏn saryerŭl chungsim-ŭro" [Changes in Sŏwŏn Education and Its Public Foothold During the Chosŏn Dynasty - Focused on the Case of Sosu Sŏwŏn], *Chibangsa wa chibang* munhwa 18, No. 2 (2005), 97-8. Also see Yi Sŏngmu, "The influence of Neo-Confucianism on education and the Civil Service examination system in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Korea," in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, edited by De Bary, William Theodore and Haboush, JaHyun Kim (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

[22] Kim Cha-ŭn, 95-121. Also see Kim Cha-ŭn, "16 segi Sosu sŏwŏn kyoyuk ŭi sŏngkyŏk," *Yugyo sasang munhwa yŏn'gu* 58 (December 2014), 331-358.

[23] Ibid.

[24] This statistic came from analyzing registries of admitted students at Sosu sŏwŏn (紹修書院入院). Song Chŏng-suk, "18-19 segi Sosu sŏwŏn-ŭi wŏnsaeng yŏn'gu" [An Analysis of Students of Sosu sŏwŏn in the 18th and 19th Centuries], *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 41 (December 2008): 265-287.

[25] King Munmu was the 30th King of the Silla Kingdom. Under his reign, Silla defeated Paekche, Koguryŏ and later Tang China and successfully unified the Korean peninsula, which was the beginning of the Unified Silla period.

907).[26] He had heard that the Chinese Emperor was planning to invade the Korean peninsula on his journey back home from the Tang, thus he urged King Munmu to build the temple in order to ward off national disaster.[27]

There are two stories behind the name of the temple, Pusŏk (浮石), which translates to "floating rock." The first is simply that a large rock near the Muryangsujŏn Hall of the temple appears to be floating above the other rocks underneath it.[28] The other story maintains that while Ŭisang was studying in Tang China, he met his lover, Sŏnmyo, who he had thought was dead. However, Ŭisang could not betray his monastic vows and decided to return home. Sŏnmyo then drowned herself and turned into a dragon, protecting Ŭisang all the way back to Silla. When Ŭisang met with angry villagers obstructing the construction of the temple, Sŏnmyo brought up rocks in the air, which scared the villagers into complying. This rock is said to be the one next to the Muryangsujŏn Hall now.[29]

The temple was one of the important bases from which the Hwaŏm (華嚴 Ch: *Hua yan*) school of Buddhism flourished during the Unified Silla period under Ŭisang and his disciples. Pusŏksa received much royal patronage from the Silla rulers to expand its grounds and even housed the portraits of Silla kings. Many stupas and stone lanterns were erected along with new halls. In the late Unified Silla period, Pusŏksa as the head temple of the Hwaŏm school became a famous place for many would-be monks to take the tonsure.[30]

Pusŏksa continued to play an important role into the Koryŏ dynasty, taking charge of carving woodblocks for the printing of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (華嚴經 Kr: *Hwaŏm kyŏng*; Ch: *Hua Yan Jing*)[31] in the early period of the dynasty. Even during the Chosŏn period, there were many instances of the temple receiving repairs. Kwanghaegun (1575–1641, r. 1608–1623), known for his patronage of Buddhism, ordered for the Muryangsujŏn Hall to be embellished with multi-colored decorative painting after some reconstruction works. King Yŏngjo (1694–1776, r. 1724–1776) too ordered the reconstruction of various halls after they were destroyed by fire. He also ordered for the Amitabha Buddha statue to be repainted in gold.[32]

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[26] According to the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk yusa*), Monk Ŭisang took the tonsure at the age of 29 and left to China to study Buddhism soon after. He is credited for transmitting the Hwaŏm school of Buddhism from China to the Korean peninsula, not only founding the Pusŏksa, but also many other temples of the Hwaŏm school across the southern part of the peninsula such as the Pimarasa (毗摩羅寺) in Wŏnju, Haeinsa (海印寺) on Kaya Mountain, Okch'ŏnsa (玉泉寺) on Pisŭl Mountain, Pŏmŏsa (梵魚寺) on Kŭmchŏng Mountain, Hwaŏmsa (華嚴寺) in Namak and more.

[27] *Samkuk Yusa* [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms], accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://www.histopia.net/yusa/viewDocument.php?ori=yusa_05_008&til=%E7%BE%A9%E6%B9%98%E5%82%B3%E6%95%8E&R=0

[28] Francis D.K. Ching, Mark Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, "Korean Buddhism," in *A Global History of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2011).

[29] "Buseoksa Temple," *Korea Tourism Organization*, accessed May 23rd, 2016 http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=264145; "Colonial Korea: Buseoksa Temple (Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do)," *Korea Bridge*, January 27th, 2016, accessed May 23rd, 2016 http://koreabridge.net/post/colonial-korea-buseoksa-temple-%E2%80%93-%EB%B6%80%EC%84%9D%EC%82%AC-yeongju-gyeongsangbuk-do-dostoevsky2181

[30] "Yŏksa sok e Pusŏksa; Chungch'ang [Puksŏksa in History: Rebuilding]," *Haedong Hwaŏm Head Temple Pusŏksa*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://www.pusoksa.org/

[31] The Hwaŏm school is considered one of the most influential in Korean Buddhism, and the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (Kr: *Hwaŏm kyŏng*; Ch: *Hua Yan Jing*) is the center of study of the Hwaŏm school. See Choe Yeonshik, "Huayan Studies in Korea," in *Reflecting Mirrors: Perspectives on Huayan Buddhism*, ed. Imre Hamar (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., 2007), 69–71.

[32] "Yŏksa sok e Pusŏksa: Koryŏ ihu [Puksŏksa in History: Koryŏ and after]," *Haedong Hwaŏm Head Temple Pusŏksa*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://www.pusoksa.org/; "Yŏksa sok e Pusŏksa: Chosŏn sidae [Puksŏksa in History: Chosŏn period]," *Haedong Hwaŏm Head Temple Pusŏksa*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://www.pusoksa.org/

Pusŏksa houses the most number of National Treasures and Treasures in the country after the Pulguksa in Kyŏngju. Muryangsujŏn Hall (National Treasure No. 18), the second oldest wooden building in South Korea today, was first built as the main prayer hall of the temple and rebuilt during Koryŏ's King Hyŏnjong's (992–1031, r. 1009–1031) reign. The Hall we see today was reconstructed in 1376 after it was burnt down in 1358.[33] It remains as an important relic of Koryŏ Buddhist architecture especially since many were destroyed during the Imjin War (1592–1598). The stone lantern found in front of the Hall (National Treasure No. 17) erected during the reign of Silla's King Kyŏngmun (841–875, r. 861–874) is also characteristic of Unified Silla relics.[34] The Amitabha Buddha statue (National Treasure No. 45) housed in the Muryangsujŏn Hall sits in the West facing the East, unlike the usual convention of placing the Buddha statue in the center of the prayer hall. This is because the Amitabha is the Buddha of the Western Paradise. The statue itself is also the oldest clay statue in Korea.[35] The Chosadang Shrine (National Treasure No. 19) built to honor Ŭisang contains the oldest temple mural paintings found in the country (National Treasure No. 46), an important relic of Koryŏ Buddhist art. The paintings are now displayed in the Muryangsujŏn Hall.[36]

Talsil Village (달실마을)

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Talsil Village is a Korean traditional village located in North Kyŏngsang Province. It is the ancestral home of a Andong Kwŏn family and is located in what is considered to be one of the most geomantically auspicious sites in Kyŏngsang Province. Talsil (달실) Village was originally called Talksil (닭실) Village because of the topographical features of the landscape. Talsil village, surrounded by low mountains, is said to comprise the shape of a golden egg, which is enveloped by a female chicken to the north and a male chicken to the south (*kŭmgye p'oran* 金鷄抱卵). Talsil Village currently maintains programs for both Koreans and foreigners to experience traditional Korean culture from the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910).

Following the third Literati Purge in 1519,[37] Kwŏn Pŏl (權橃 1478–1548, penname Ch'ungjae 沖齋), a scholar-official (*sarim* 士林), was dismissed from office during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506–1544).[38] Originally from Andong, Kwŏn Pŏl moved to Talsil Village, where his mother's grave was located, in 1520. Kwŏn Pŏl's descendants continue to live in the home he built (*Ch'ungjae chongt'aek* 충재종택), as well as in the village, and they are caretakers of relics and artifacts from the Chosŏn

[33] "Muryangsujeon Hall of Buseoksa Temple, Yeongju," *Cultural Heritage Administration*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://jikimi.cha.go.kr/english/search_plaza_new/EculresultDb_View.jsp?VdkVgwKey=11,00180000,37

[34] "K-Places: Treasure in Buseoksa Temple - Muryangsujeon Hall & Stone Lantern," *Korea Tourism Organization*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://www.visitkorea.com.my/k-places/5471/treasure-in-buseoksa-temple-muryangsujeon-hall-stone-lantern.html ; "Puksŏksa in History: Rebuilding," *Haedong Hwaŏm Head Temple Pusŏksa.*

[35] "Muryangsujeon Hall of Buseoksa Temple, Yeongju," *Cultural Heritage Administration*; "Pusoksa," *Digital International Buddhism Organization*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://pusoksa.buddhism.org/

[36] "Pusŏksa yumul: sŏjo amitayŏrae chwasang [Relics of Pusŏksa: Seated statue of the Western Amitabha]," *Haedong Hwaŏm Head Temple Pusŏksa*, accessed May 23rd, 2016, http://www.pusoksa.org/ ; "Mural Painting in Josadang Shrine of Buseoksa Temple," *Cultural Heritage Administration*, accessed May 24th, 2016, http://jikimi.cha.go.kr/english/search_plaza_new/EculresultDb_View.jsp?VdkVgwKey=11,00460000,37

[37] For a discussion of the literati purges in the late 15th and 16th centuries, see Edward Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[38] Kwŏn Pŏl's biography can be found in the online Encyclopedia of Korean Culture by the Academy of Korean Studies at: http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0006915 .

dynasty related to the history of their family and the ancestral village. Around 10,000 artifacts are now housed in the Ch'ungjae Museum, which opened in 2007. The museum holds five National Treasures, including Ch'ungjae's diary (*Ch'ungjae ilgi* 沖齋日記, National Treasure No. 261).[39]

Located close to the Ch'ungjae Museum, Ch'ŏngamjŏng (靑巖亭) is one of the most notable structures in Talsil Village. Constructed in 1526 in the shape of a turtle floating on water, the pavilion is encircled by a moat filled with water and is accessible by a stone bridge. Three gates enclose the pavilion on its east, south, and north sides, and the pavilion is surrounded by juniper and zelkova trees. Ch'ungjae is said to have found respite at Ch'ŏngamjŏng, which he enjoyed with friends he welcomed from the region. At the pavilion, Ch'ungjae engaged in scholarly discussions with renowned literati such as Yi Hyŏn-bo (李賢輔, 1467–1555) Yi Ŏn-jŏk (李彦迪, 1491–1553), and Yi Hwang (李滉, 1502–1571).

The *Sago* (史庫) of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910) and Kakhwasa (覺華寺) Temple

Wenjiao Cai, Harvard University

Sago, literarily "historical depositories," were historical archives of the Chosŏn Dynasty, which housed important historical documents, including *Sillok* (實錄 *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*), genealogies of the royal house, and various *Ŭigwe* (儀軌 *Royal Protocols*).

In the early Chosŏn period, four historical depositories were inaugurated, including *Ch'unch'ugwan* (春秋館 Bureau of State Records) in Seoul, and three others located at Chŏnju, Sŏngju, and Ch'ungju. *Ch'unch'ugwan* was also known as the "inner historical depository (*nae sago* 內史庫)," while the archives at Chŏnju, Sŏngju, and Ch'ungju were called "outer historical depositories (*oe sago* 外史庫)." During the Chosŏn Dynasty, Chŏnju, Sŏngju, and Ch'ungju were large county seats, located at the conjunction of transport routes, thus making them easy to access. Once historical records, such as *Sillok*, were drafted by *sagwan* 史官, or history officials, at *Ch'unch'ugwan* in Seoul, copies were made and placed in the local depositories. Highly valued by the Chosŏn Dynasty, these historical archives were given significant protection.

However, in 1538, a fire at the historical depository of Sŏngju destroyed all the documents archived there. Copies were reproduced from documents remaining at the other depositories. During the Imjin War (1592–1598), all the historical documents housed at *Ch'unch'ugwan* in Seoul, and the historical depositories of Sŏngju and Ch'ungju, were completely destroyed. Historical documents from Chŏnju alone survived, mainly in part due to rescue work led by the local residents.

After the Imjin War, the Chosŏn Dynasty established four historical depositories in remote mountain regions, including Mount Odae in P'yŏngch'ang, located in Kangwŏn Province, Mount T'aebaek in Ponghwa, located in North Kyŏngsang Province, Mount Chŏngjok on Kanghwa Island, and Mount Chŏksang in Muju, located in North Chŏlla Province. It was hoped that, by moving deep in to the mountains, these historical depositories would be protected from invasions, as well as the "three disasters"— fire, flood, and wind. A large temple was usually built nearby, and these local historical depositories were entrusted to the temples for protection and maintenance. In return, the temples were granted both land and monetary rewards.

Kakhwasa Temple is in Ponghwa County, within North Kyŏngsang Province. Initially built at the foot of Mount T'aebaek and named "Namhwasa (覽華寺)," the temple was then moved half way up the mountain, and renamed "Kakhwasa." This relocation, dated to 686, is generally considered to have been instigated by Master Wŏnhyo (元曉 617–686), one of the most eminent scholar-monks in Korean

[39] For further information about Talsil Village and the Ch'ungjae Museum, visit http://www.darsil.kr.

history. However, there is some debate concerning this issue, and other records suggest that the temple may have been founded slightly earlier, during King Munmu's reign (r. 661–681).

During the Koryŏ Dynasty, the renowned Monk Kyeŭng (戒膺), also known as Master Muaeji (*Muaeji kuksa* 無碍智國師), resided in the temple, instructing thousands of practitioners on Hwaŏm 華嚴 School of Buddhism daily. Master Muaeji was also known for rejecting multiple invitations from King Sukchong (1054–1105; r.1095–1105) to reside in his palace, and earning himself the reputation of "*T'aebaek sanin* 太白山人."

After the Imjin War, Kakhwasa was charged with the responsibility of protecting and managing the historical depository of Mount T'aebaek, and thereby becoming famous as one of the top three temples of Chosŏn.

In 1908, *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty,* housed at the historical depository of Mount T'aebaek, were transferred to the Japanese Government-General in Korea, and later to Kyŏngsŏng (or Keijō) Imperial University. The buildings from this depository were consequently deserted, and eventually disappeared. The political importance of Kakwasa Temple declined in modern Korean history.

Today, several stone sculptures dating back to the Koryŏ Dynasty (918–1392) can still be seen in the temple. Kakwasa Temple is also known for *Ch'unyangmok* 춘양목, a species of highly valued pine trees indigenous to Korea.

Yi Hwang

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Yi Hwang 李滉, known also by his penname T'oegye 退溪, was born in 1501 in Andong. He was the eighth child in his family with both a scholarly and modestly aristocratic background (Peterson, Mark). While Yi Hwang was young, others saw him as a child prodigy. After Yi Hwang's father passed away, his uncle, Yi U, began to teach T'oegye. As the official belief system of the Chosŏn dynasty, Neo-Confucianism was predominant in Yi Hwang's studies with his uncle. Under Yi U's guidance, he began the study of the *Analects of Confucius* at the age of twelve, in preparation for his civil service examinations (New World Encyclopedia).

After passing his exams, Yi Hwang began his career of service in the Korean central government. During his period of governmental service, Yi became infamous for his integrity, and his distaste for political corruption (New World Encyclopedia). As was typical at the time, Yi rotated between periods in-office in Seoul, and periods out-of-office in his country home (Peterson, Mark). Yi Hwang's true passion was never for governance, and he liked to return often to his country home away from Seoul to escape the corrupting influence of power and politics (Chosŏn Korea). In this sentiment can be seen the beginnings of Yi's philosophy of "*kyŏng* (敬)," or mindfulness. Yi believed that the inward cultivation of the spiritual self should be one of the highest priorities of any Confucian, and that study should always remain rooted in self-cultivation, and not become an end in itself (Kalton, Michael).

Yi Hwang's scholarship began in earnest only after his retirement from the government in 1549. In the coming years he would rise to great acclaim for his philosophical writings and teachings. In 1559, he left his mark on Neo-Confucian philosophical theory through his participation in the "four-seven debates," a correspondence with another scholar, Ki Tae-sŭng (奇大升, 1527– 1572). In this correspondence the two scholars debate character of and the relationship between the "Four Sprouts" and "Seven Emotions" (Ivanhoe, Philip). This debate would become the most celebrated and significant controversy in Korean Neo-Confucianism, and would ultimately reorient Korean Neo-Confucian thought onto "questions relating to the interface of metaphysics and psychological theory" (University of Washington).

Yi Hwang's last great work, "The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning" can be seen as expressing the essence of all of his learning, a summary of what he felt was essential to understand. It presents "the

essential framework and basic linkages of Neo-Confucian metaphysics, psychological theory, and ascetical practice" (Kalton, Michael). Yi Hwang wrote the Ten Diagrams in 1568 for King Sŏnjo, who he was instructing on his philosophies. As Yi Hwang grew old and ill, he could no longer instruct the King in person, and so outlined his learning briefly in the Ten Diagrams. The central theme of the text is *kyŏng*, which Yi Hwang finds to be essential for both the proper study and practice of Neo-Confucianism.

In 1574, four years after Yi Hwang's death in 1570, Dosan Seowon (or Tosan sŏwŏn), a private Korean Confucian academy, was founded in Andong, at the site of Yi Hwang's home during his retirement. Dosan Seowon serves the dual purpose of educating students on the teachings of Yi Hwang, and of commemorating his life and contributions.

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Herbal Medicine Market in Taegu (Taegu Yangnyŏngsi / Daegu Yangneongsi)

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Daegu Yangneongsi is a herbal medicine market that dates back to 1658, the first of its kind, and is still a thriving center for trade and wholesale of herbs used in "oriental" medicine today. In 2004, the Korean government deemed this particular market as a "Special Oriental Medicine Zone," and, thus, the market retains its importance as a site of particular historical significance.[40] Originally located near the backyard of an inn around the North Gate of Taegu walled city, in the aftermath of the walls being torn down by the Japanese in 1908, the market was moved to its current location. While the origins of this institution are unclear, there have been several theories suggested, as summarized by the Daegu Yangneongsi Museum of Oriental Medicine. According to the "Large City Hypothesis," the market was "established to serve as a hub for efficient collection of oriental medicine ingredients due to the need of the central and the provincial governments' planning and monetary support"; thus, the medicinal market's primary function was to serve as a "wholesale facilitator" between producers and brokers. The market's significance as a hub for herbal trade went beyond domestic markets; it has been argued that during the Chosŏn era, the market was "the center of the herbal medicine world, providing Oriental medicine to travelers from all around the world including Japan, China, Russia, Manchuria and many other countries."[41] In contrast, the "Chinese Tribute Hypothesis" foregrounds the significance of the political context of the time, and argues that "it is likely that Yangnyeongsi was an ingredient collection center for tributes to be made to China." In a similar vein, the "Japanese Export Theory" highlights the growing demand of oriental medicine ingredients in Japan during this era, asserting that the market developed in response to this demand. Finally, the "Natural Establishment Theory" takes into account the legal context of the time, thereby suggesting that the market was a "circumstantial response to the initiation of the Daedong Law, which

[40] http://dgom.daegu.go.kr/eng/sub04/sub04_01.asp
[41] http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_2_1.jsp?cid=697432

required all merchants to pay tribute to the Korean government in forms of products not money."[42] However, the historical significance of Daegu Yangneongsi goes beyond its antiquity: during the Japanese occupation, the market served as a significant location for monetary supporters of the Korean independence movement to communicate, and was thus suppressed. In 1941, the market was closed down entirely, to be re-opened after the 1945 liberation, and closed down again during the Korean War. It was only after the Korean War that the current iteration of the market, centered around Yakjeon Medicine Alley (Namsung-ro), took its current form. Today, there exists not only annual "Daegu Yangneongsi Herb Medicine Culture Festival" (this year May 4–8, hosted in its current form since 1978),[43] but also home to the "Yangneongsi Oriental Medicine Cultural Center," established in 1993.[44] While it still functions as a market for herbs and medicines, the clear shift in the marketing of the locale to cater to foreign tourists is clear, and will be worth looking into the different ways in which particular narratives of Korea as a nation-state are being constructed and perpetuated to different audiences.

[42] http://dgom.daegu.go.kr/eng/sub04/sub04_01.asp. "Daedong Law" refers to the Uniform Tax Reform (*taedongbŏp* 大同法), which replaced tribute tax in kind from household to additional tax on land. Scholars find this law spurred the expansion of commerce in Korea during the late Chosŏn period because tribute merchants were required to procure numerous material goods that central and local governments needed.

[43] http://www.koreansafari.com.au/content/experience-korean-traditional-medicine-daegu-yangnyeongsi-herbal-medicine-festival

[44] http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=1271232