Korean Travelers in China over Four Hundred Years, 1488–1887

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Introduction

In 1960 and 1962, the Sŏnggyun'gwan University in Seoul published the *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjip* (hereafter YS), a collection of diaries written by Yi dynasty (1392–1910) Koreans during trips to Peking. In two thick volumes they assembled thirty such diaries, together with a late nineteenth century catalogue of all the Korean embassies to the Ch'ing court as of 1881. These thirty diaries and the catalogue were printed photolithographically in reduced size, four leaves to a page. The diaries are quite substantial works; the two volumes together contain some 2,517 pages, or over 10,000 leaves of original text. Thus each diary averages around 325 leaves in length. Such an assemblage of on-the-spot descriptions of China surely constitutes a research source of great value for the study of Chinese history.

Unfortunately, in its present form the *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjip* is very difficult to use. The chief problem is that nowhere in the two volumes is there any discussion or identification of the thirty diaries collected. The result is that ten years after publication of this collection it is still difficult to get a good grasp of just what is contained in it. Some of the diaries were written by well-known historical personages whom Korean specialists will easily recognize; others, though written by less famous people, have acquired a well-deserved reputation independently of YS. But most are rare works hitherto unknown, or known to only a few. Moreover, the unedited photolithographic reproductions present to us quite a confusing jumble of texts. Some are printed, some are hand-

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copied; of the latter, some are in clear hand, some running and some grass, but all different in appearance and style. Some are in standard classical Chinese of clear style; in others the Chinese is sometimes rougher but still very readable. One diary is written in Korean. Some diaries are simple works that show all the signs of a sleepy traveler jotting down a few notes before snuffing out the candle; others are exhaustive and well-researched monographs on China containing a very wide range of information. All the diaries are written by Koreans and therefore show a certain unity of perspective; on the other hand, thirty separate individuals, spanning some four centuries of time, not unexpectedly show many individual perspectives and talents. Each diary is unique.

The present paper is an effort to describe these contents. It is necessarily a preliminary and sketchy job. I have certainly not read all ten thousand leaves, though I have read enough to know that there is absolutely no way to predict what kind of information will pop up on any given page. Therefore to say what can be found in these diaries would be presumptive to say the least. All that can be done is to give some idea of their richness by choosing at random some of the myriad details, imposing some kind of structure on them, and presenting them to the reader with the invitation that he start digging in himself as soon as he can.

Ideally, the writer of a paper such as this one would have a good understanding of Ch'ing dynasty history and a reasonably accurate knowledge of the city of Peking. I can claim neither distinction. But I do seem to know about this collection while many of my Sinologist colleagues do not: that perhaps is my one qualification for this task.

In the following pages references are given by stating the year of the diary and the number of the page on which the passage in question occurs. The year will identify the diary in the list at the end of this paper; that list in turn will indicate the location of the diary in YS. Thus the reference "1765" indicates Hong Taeyong's *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi* in volume 1 of YS. Pages are divided into top and bottom sections by the codes a- or b-, into right or left halves by the codes -a or -b. Thus "263ba" indicates the lower right hand part of p. 263.

Getting to China

During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, there were only two ways for a Korean to see China. The first way was to be put there by circumstances beyond one's control, as when fishermen or commuting

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officials encountered a storm at sea and found themselves washed up on the China coast; the other way was to go as a member of a diplomatic mission. Most victims of storms could expect to be repatriated after a due amount of red tape and diplomatic communication between the two countries. One of the most famous and interesting of the Korean travel diaries arose from such an incident. Ch'oe Pu (1454–1504), who had been on government business on Cheju Island, was hastening home in early 1488 after hearing of his father's death but met a storm and was blown across the Yellow Sea to the Chekiang coast. His unusual and harrowing experiences, first as a victim of the storm and then of Chinese bureaucracy, were recorded in a highly readable diary that has been translated by John Meskill (see Diary List under 1488). But it was rare that this experience happened to a literate man, much less one of Ch'oe Pu's unusual talents and character. Most victims of shipwreck were more humble folk who left no record of their troubles.

Almost all surviving diaries of trips to China are by members of diplomatic missions. The higher positions on these embassies—those of chief ambassador (*chŏngsa*), deputy ambassador (*pusa*), and secretary (*sŏjanggwan*)—were given to the most distinguished officials at court, and often to members of the royal family. But there were dozens of other positions that went to lower-ranking officials, most of them specialist jobs that required special skills, such as protocol officers, interpreters, translators, physicians, veterinarians, astrologers, clerks, copyists, painters, military aides, and other officers, not to speak of the large numbers of servants, cooks, guides, soldiers, guards, hostlers, bearers, and others. The average embassy consisted of hundreds of people, and, but for the fact that no women went on these missions, could be regarded as a representative cross section of the Korean population.

There were many different kinds of diplomatic missions. The suzerain-vassal relationship between China and Korea provided for an extensive intercourse that was as much concerned with ceremonial as with state business. In fact, one can say that the principal business of international relations was ceremony; it was no accident that responsibility for conducting these relations lay with the Board of Rites in each country. The most important ceremony was attendance at the Imperial Court on New Year's Day and the submission of the annual tribute. Often this was joined with a mission to present official birthday greetings to the emperor. These embassies generally left Seoul around the beginning of the eleventh lunar month, and because of the

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season they were called Winter Solstice missions (*tongji sahaeng*). Other types of missions were those charged with expressing obligation for imperial favors (*saŭn sahaeng*), condolence missions sent upon the death of an emperor or empress (*chinwi sahaeng*), obituary missions sent to inform the court of a death in the Korean royal family (*kobu sahaeng*), and missions sent to present a memorial or petition (*chinju* or *chuch'ŏng sahaeng*). There were also missions connected with routine administrative matters—problems on the frontier, return of castaways, border markets, smuggling, and so on (*chaejahaeng*): these were generally delegated to middle ranking officials in the Board of Rites or other appropriate organs. In general the more ceremonial the affair, the higher the officials; and the more and higher the officials, the greater the entourage.

During the stay in China the diplomatic personnel were guests of the state and were supported at Chinese expense. Chinese escorts and guards were supplied for the travel within China. In Peking there was a permanent hostel for visiting Korean envoys. It had been established during the Ming dynasty and was situated in the southeastern part of the city, close to the Jade River Bridge (Yü-ho ch'iao) and for that reason was usually referred to as the Jade River Lodge (Yü-ho kuan). After the rupture of relations with the Ming in 1636, the building evidently fell into disrepair. Ambassador Chŏng T'aehwa referred to it as an "empty house" in 1649 (1649, 105bb), but it was back in use again when he went on another mission in 1662, and it stayed in service down to the nineteenth century.

If the principal business of an embassy was ceremony, the most popular business was business. Diplomacy was the vehicle for international trade. A Korean embassy would attract all kinds of Chinese merchants and brokers, eager to secure new stocks of Korean ginseng, furs, paper, brushes, and other merchandise for which Korea was well known, while many Korean personnel, especially the protocol officers and interpreters who regularly staffed these embassies and came frequently to China, would moonlight as sales and purchasing agents for merchants back home who specialized in Chinese silks and other luxury goods. Since this trade was highly profitable for all concerned, and since it took place with most of the overhead paid by the Chinese government, it can well be imagined that the Koreans found it in their interest to send as many embassies to Peking as possible. Fortunately, the emperors were usually generous with their "favors," which meant that an embassy would have to be sent to "express obligation," during

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which the emperor would grant more "favors," thus making necessary another embassy, and so on, and so on. If it is true that the Chinese considered the receiving of embassies from abroad as a form of prestige well worth the expenses involved, then the Koreans, of all vassal states, were the most anxious to oblige. Undoubtedly, many Koreans of Confucian persuasion would have been pleased to carry out the proper ceremonies in any case, but when the ceremonies provided the occasion for securing handsome profits as well, there was even less hesitancy to flatter the imperial vanity.

The great number of diplomatic missions will give some idea of the number of travel diaries that must have been written. According to the catalogue of embassies in the appendices to the *Tongmun hwigo*, a collection of documents on Ch'ing-Korean relations published in 1881 (the catalogue is reproduced in YS, pp. 1283–1329), there were in the 245 years between 1637 and 1881 some 1,250 diplomatic missions. However, most embassies were a combination of more than 1 mission, so that the total number of actual trips to Peking was 680, or almost 3 per year. Well over two-thirds of these were major caravans containing hundreds of people. If only 5 people on each embassy kept diaries—certainly a very conservative estimate considering that many embassies had over 40 ranking officers and that Koreans almost always kept a diary while traveling—then, for the Ch'ing dynasty alone (or at least up through 1881) there would have been at the very least over three thousand diaries written. Add to this the record for the approximately 245 years of active diplomacy with the Ming (about 1390 to 1636), during which the annual number of embassies was probably greater than during Ch'ing, and it is clear that we are talking about a very large number of diaries. In this context it can be seen that the thirty diaries reproduced in YS, voluminous as they are, are only the tip of the top part of the iceberg.

The rate of loss has of course been very high. All but a few of the diaries connected with embassies to the Ming court have disappeared forever. Thousands written during the Ch'ing period have likewise perished. Many were perhaps not of a quality to be interesting as historical sources. Yet even taking into account the high rate of loss, it seems surprising that only thirty diaries should have been selected for reprinting in YS. Several others are known. The most famous is the *Yŏrha ilgi* by Pak Chiwŏn (*ho* Yon'am, 1737–1805), written while Pak was on the staff of the Felicitation Embassy attending the Ch'ien-lung Emperor on his sixtieth birthday in 1780. This work, remarkable for its

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intellectual and philosophical content, its lively short stories and satires, and other features that make it virtually *sui generis*, was undoubtedly left out of YS because of its general availability in other editions.[1] But there are other diaries that could have been included; the catalogue of the Kyujanggak, the former Yi dynasty Palace Library now housed at Seoul National University, lists twelve Peking diaries, of which only five are in YS.[2] In addition to these there are very likely others that survive in private or family collections. It does not seem unlikely that the YS collection could be considerably expanded as more works become known.

What Is in a Diary

The diaries in YS date from 1488 to 1887, a span of exactly 400 years. There are one from the fifteenth, two from the sixteenth, six from the seventeenth, ten from the eighteenth, and eleven from the nineteenth centuries. Only the first five relate to the Ming dynasty. The contents of the diaries vary widely according to the author, but there is a remarkable uniformity to the collection as a whole. Almost every diarist gives a formulaic note on his location and the weather, an occasional reference to his health or to that of others of the embassy, details of diplomatic or ceremonial business, lists of presents given and received, and records of meetings and conversations with Chinese. Most writers note interesting things along the road and give observations on local behavior and custom. Many record side excursions to temples or other famous sites, supplying notes on the signs, plaques, and inscriptions seen along the way. Once in Peking the observations become as varied as the city itself, although in general the earlier travelers were not permitted as much freedom to tour the city as the later ones.

The earlier diaries are more personal, perhaps not originally written for the eyes of others. Here we come upon candid evaluations of friends or enemies, open statements of loneliness and frustration over travel, signs of close attention to the immediate details of business, and often the texts of poems given and received as the writer threaded his way among the officials with whom he had to deal.

But beginning around the third or fourth decade of the eighteenth century, the diaries become more public. Writers seem less concerned with private matters and more interested in a display of information. There is a tendency to break up the day-to-day format in favor of topical categories or headings, or to arrange the lines in such a way as to

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separate the personal from the general entries. Poetry is less prominent, although still an important feature. One diary, that of Yi Sisu in 1812, is written completely in verse: there are 1,606 five-word couplets, or over 16,000 characters. Another work, that by Yu Tŭkkong in 1801, is devoted in large part to an anthology of poems given to Korean travelers by famous Chinese writers. Among many others, Yüan Mei, Li T'iao-yüan, and Chi Yün are represented.

As a form originally intended for private reference evolves to one for a wide audience, the writer changes from a mere traveler to tourist and the diary becomes a monograph. While this depersonalization is often effected at the cost of much intimate and candid detail, it introduces other elements that greatly enhance the general interest of the book. Yet even in the most monographic works the diary element is never completely lacking: it is always clear that however general the writer may strive to make his description, he is still writing with reference to a particular time and place where he is the observer.

Perhaps the most striking example of the transformation of the travel diary into the topical monograph is the work of Hong Taeyong (*ho* Tamhŏn, 1731–1783). In 1765, this remarkable observer contrived to get himself named Military Aide to his uncle, Hong Ŏk (1722–1809), who was Secretary on the Solsticial Embassy of that year. Undoubtedly Hong Taeyong kept a very close diary of everything he heard and saw, but that is not what he presents in his famous "Peking Memoir" (*Yŏn'gi*). Where most diarists begin with their first day on the road and give with monotonous beat the name of every post station, in order, from Seoul to Peking, Hong Taeyong starts off with a vignette that immediately focuses on Peking and his observations there:

> Conversations with Wu and P'eng
>
> On the first day of the first month (February 9, 1766), after our ambassadors' court audience was over and they were coming out of the Meridian Gate, I went over to the right side of the gate to wait for my uncle. I found him and we sat down together along the road way in front of the Covered Moon-Corridor on the western side. The chief officers of the embassy, all decked out in their ceremonial caps and girdles, were standing around in a circle.
>
> At that moment all of the officials were withdrawing from the audience in the order of their rank, and many of them had gathered to look at our ambassadors. Among them were two

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officials wearing their *p'i-chien* cloaks and with several gems pinned on their rank caps, who looked at us for some time without moving on. Both were young and of scholarly refinement. They were looking at each other and talking animatedly. When the embassy entourage arose to leave, they too moved on, one in front of the other, and even though one of our menials thoughtlessly cursed at them, they laughed and showed no sign of irritation. When we came out of the Tuan Gate, the people of the embassy stopped to rest for a while at the place where the carriages were parked, and again the two men paused and stood in the road in front of us. I gathered that their conversation was mostly about our gowns and caps, so I went up to them and asked, "What are you gentlemen thinking about as you look at us?"

The two of them broke into a beaming smile and said, "We were just looking at the people and clothing of your honorable country."

"How do you think our clothing compares with that of your Lordships?" I asked, but they both only smiled and did not answer. I asked what posts they held, and they said they were in the Han-lin Academy. I then inquired of them their surnames and found that one was Wu, the other P'eng. They then asked about the posts represented by the caps and girdles of our ambassadors and interpreters. After giving them the general facts, I asked where they were from. Wu was from Shantung, P'eng from Honan. But when I asked their addresses here in the city, I was unable to understand their replies. At that moment our Manchu interpreter, Pyŏn Han'gi, was standing close to me, and I had him ask them in Manchu. But they said they had never learned Manchu.

Just as I was about to call another interpreter, two imperial princes suddenly came galloping out of the Tuan Gate with a large escort running alongside shouting for people to get out of the way. Our entourage had to get up and move off quickly and I didn't have time to finish my question. I just raised my hands in a polite gesture, and then came back to the lodge.

When I thought about this later, it occurred to me that there must be some reason why these two men, though subservient to their foreign rulers, still looked with such delight

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> at our gowns and caps. I wanted to pay them a visit but had not caught their addresses.
>
> West of our lodge there was a Han-lin Bachelors' Residence, so I sent my groom Sep'al there to inquire after them. But he came back and said there were many officials there, several with the surnames Wu and P'eng, and he had had no way to determine who was who. I then bought a Gentlemen's Directory and checked it for the names and posts of the two people, and indeed I found them listed as Research Officers in the Han-lin Academy. Wu's name was Hsiang, P'eng's was Kuan. I again sent Sep'al off to search for their houses in the Outer City, and after ten days or so he found P'eng Kuan's house . . . (1765, 234aa–ab).

Even through this rough translation this passage emerges as one of considerable skill. By setting the scene in front of the Forbidden City, Hong immediately establishes his perspective as a member of the Solsticial Embassy. His quick introduction of Wu and P'eng, and their interest in Korean clothing, directly engages his Korean readers and leads them on. Suspense is then introduced as he contrives to lose the two gentlemen in the dust of the imperial princes galloping by. With the curiosity of the reader well aroused, he then narrates the circumstances by which he finally located the two scholars and had several long conversations with them. In this short excerpt, we can see several of the traits that mark Hong's whole narrative. He has a keen eye for small details, an ear for dialogue, and no hesitancy whatever to engage the people he is describing. Moreover, it is impossible to put him off; if Hong wants to do something, he will find a way. Thus, when told that embassy personnel should not go to the opera because of all the rowdy elements there, he goes anyway and gets himself admitted even after all the reserved seats are sold. When he arrives at the gate of two Jesuit astronomers and is told that they have been up all night observing the stars and are now sleeping, he decides to wait until they wake up. When informed that the Imperial Observatory is "forbidden ground," he contrives to get himself admitted by soft-talking the janitor. In between these exploits he investigates the underground drainage system of Peking and finds that it stinks, reads the graffiti in the public toilets, and eyes the prostitutes that hustle his servants. The city walls are measured, the names of the gates given. China's population and revenues are broken down by province and reeled off. Descriptions

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are given of architectural styles, clothing fashions, vehicle design, and weapons manufacture. We are taken through a shop specializing in antique musical instruments and given a sampling of book prices. Finally we are given complete statistics on the amount of food consumed by the embassy during its sixty-day stay in Peking (16,640 catties of meat, 1,290 chickens, 180 ducks, 300 fish, 120 jars of milk, 2,040 catties of beancakes, etc., etc.) and a list of every person in the embassy, from the chief ambassador down to the lowest menial. A fair summary of Hong's "Memoir" would fill many pages, but it is difficult to merely summarize, for the eye is constantly pulled away into reading in full about what Hong has seen and done.

Hong's book circulated widely in manuscript and inspired a long line of imitations. His was a very hard act to follow, but some of the later works are fully equal to his in scope, and a few even surpass his in organization, notably that of Kim Kyŏngsŏn in 1832. We have already mentioned Pak Chiwŏn's famous work. The century that followed the composition of the "Peking Memoir" was the heyday of the Peking diary.

Things Seen Along the Road

Travelers usually started keeping their diaries the day the embassy left Seoul. It took anywhere from two to three weeks to reach the Yalu, and then usually two hard days' travel to cross the no-man's land between the Yalu and Willow Palisade. They formally entered China at the customs station just east of Feng-huang.

Most embassies first went to Mukden (Shen-yang). In the early days of the Ch'ing dynasty this was an active center of affairs, and even in the later period it was a bustling trading post. It was no doubt for the trade that Korean embassies continued to visit Mukden long after it had lost its importance as an administrative center. From Mukden the embassy then proceeded south, passing through the Great Wall at Shan-hai-kuan, and then turned eastward to Peking. The whole trip from Seoul to Peking usually took about sixty days.

The route seldom varied, with the result that traveler after traveler described the same things. Almost everybody wrote about the famous White Pagoda in Liao-tung, and many even clambered up its thirteen stories for the view. Most people too climbed to the top of the Wang-hai t'ing for its splendid view of the Yellow Sea and surrounding mountains, although Yi Ŭihyŏn (1669–1745), hurrying home because of the rapidly breaking political developments that followed the death of King

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Sukchong in 1720, was too pressed to make the excursion and considered it "the greatest sorrow of my life" (1720, 511b). One attraction that never failed to arouse interest was the Korean village near Yü-t'ien. Supposedly populated by the descendants of a group of farmers captured in Korea during the Manchu invasion of 1627, this community continued to have a distinct existence into the nineteenth century. More than one envoy grew homesick as he looked at the paddies and fields laid out in Korean style. Even some of the food retained its old taste. The last tourist site to be visited before the embassy entered Peking was the Tung-yüeh Shrine, on the road in from T'ung-chou just outside the East Gate of the city. Founded sometime during the Yüan dynasty and lavishly rebuilt by K'ang-hsi in 1700–1702, it was an imposing edifice dedicated to the worship of the god of T'ai-shan. The huge buildings, monumental statues, and intricate paintings never failed to dazzle Korean eyes, though most writers, strict Confucians that they were, could not understand why the emperor would bestow so much expense and prestige on this Taoist cult.

Diplomacy and Ceremony in Peking

Great as the expanse of countryside was, it could not begin to match the city of Peking for variety and interest. The earlier diarists, however, were not able to enjoy the city in the way that those who came afterward did. All during the Ming and for perhaps the first seventy-five years of the Ch'ing, there were severe restrictions on the movement of foreigners within the capital. The Jade River Lodge may have been home for Koreans in Peking, but it was a home in which they were not the masters. The lodge was under the firm control of a Manchu director (*t'i-tu*) who managed all the local affairs of the embassy. It was he who supervised movement inside and outside the gate. He controlled the distribution of all the food and other supplies assigned for the support of the embassy, taking always his due portion. He kept unauthorized intruders from contacting the Koreans. On occasion he also arranged entertainment by hiring performers to give their shows right in the courtyard of the lodge; thus one sees in the diaries frequent references to magicians, jugglers, monkey circuses, and so forth. An undoubted role for every *t'i-tu*—one which they certainly imposed on themselves with great relish and anticipation—was the taking of a cut on all the commerce that was transacted in the area under their charge.

The result of this situation is that in the earlier diaries the main

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focus is on embassy affairs. Ambassador Hŏ Pong in 1574 tries to get the Ming historiography office to change an erroneous statement in the *Ta Ming Hui tien* concerning the ancestry of the founder of the Yi dynasty. He and dozens of other ambassadors who worked on the same problem were doomed to frustration, however. But despite his frustrations he was joyful over the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to attend the Imperial Court. His description is like that of many and may stand for them all (the Ch'ing ceremonial was slightly different, but the atmosphere of awe was much the same):

> . . . Various officials who were expressing their obligation for an imperial favor then gave five salutes and three kowtows. When the ceremony was over, the thousand officials present coughed as with one voice, and the sound was like the rocking of thunder.
>
> Then the announcer called out: "Bring forward the Koreans!" We followed the protocol officers on to the Imperial Path, and the announcer then said, "Kneel!" We all knelt in an even line. Four officials of the Foreign Relations Office then brought in a table and placed it at the foot of the Imperial Steps, its surface completely covered with the imperial presents. Next the three highest officials of the Board of Rites advanced to a position in front of us and knelt down.
>
> At this point the intendant memorialized as follows: "The King of Korea has sent here thirty-six of his retainers headed by Kim Hŭirip (Chin Hsi-li), and they have now arrived to offer their felicitous congratulations and wishes of ten-thousand years of longevity on the occasion of the Holy Birthday. Following precedent, we now bring them forward and memorialize that they be given their rewards."
>
> The emperor himself then uttered in jade tones: "Let them be given!"
>
> The director and the other officers of the Board of Rites then withdrew into the ranks, and we gave three kowtows. Then the announcer said, "Arise!" We then returned by the lower path to the Portal and stood by the Left Gate.
>
> We retainers were unable to hold back our extreme feelings of happiness and joy at seeing his Heavenly Majesty so close, at gazing upon his Dragon Visage so imposing, and hearing the sound of his vigorous voice. . . ." (1574, 69aa–ab).

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A measure of Hŏ Pong's awe and submission is that the owner of the Dragon Visage and vigorous voice was an eleven-year old boy, the recently enthroned Wan-li Emperor (Shen-tsung).

News of the Empire

Although tourism was difficult in the early period, there was still plenty to see and hear from the officials and merchants who came to the lodge in the course of their business. The reporting of this information in their diaries not only makes interesting reading but also preserves potentially useful source material for historians working in a period for which diaries survive. Thus, Yi Ŭihyŏn's report on the course of the Tibetan campaign in 1720 is based on information gained from a local palace informant (1720, 492b). How much it might fill in the historical record I am not prepared to say, but it has the freshness of recent news.

Likewise an interpreter's memorandum on the fate of Wu San-kuei (1612–1678), the famous collaborator with the Manchus and then rebel against them, is based on an interview with a former secretary of Wu's who was still living in 1711 in the city of Feng-huang (1712a, 350aa). Koreans were also very curious about the relations between the Manchu emperors and princes and their wives (see, for instance, Prince Inp'yŏng's frequent references on this subject in his 1656 diary, and Hong Taeyong's information on Ch'ien-lung's tempestuous relations with his second wife and empress [1765, 295aa]), and this of course is often information that is lacking in standard historical sources.

Every diary has something to offer of such "news." Not all of it is weighty grist for the historian's mill, but even the trivia give a certain feeling of the time and place. Thus Yi Kap's notice of a fire that ravaged over forty houses and did tens of thousands of taels damage to shops and warehouses in the early morning of February 9, 1778, together with his analysis of how certain features of Chinese architecture contributed to the blaze, briefly brings to our attention a forgotten and perhaps forgettable incident that yet at one time caused great grief to real people. Yi is touched, as we must be, that the emperor sent a special messenger to find out the number of families involved so that condolence money could be awarded (1777, 602ba).

Looking and Talking

Beginning around 1720, the strict restrictions against unauthorized excursions from the Jade River Lodge gradually were relaxed. As Hong

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Taeyong explains it, toward the end of the K'ang-hsi period, the Ch'ing government came to regard the military situation in the eastern part of the empire as stable and so loosened the restrictions. Even then, however, many restrictions to open sightseeing remained. By the Ch'ien-lung period, in the twenty or thirty years preceding Hong's visit in 1765, "there has been a long-lasting peace and the laws are relaxed; sightseers come and go with hardly any interruption" (1765, 245aa). Even so, the *t'i-tu* and his staff, on the pretext that incidents might occur while sightseers were circulating about the city, often chose to apply the law strictly and to prevent Koreans from extensive sightseeing. This of course was nothing but a way of saying that there was a small price for getting out of the gate. Koreans found that so long as they could make the key people feel reasonably rewarded, there was no major obstacle to almost unlimited sightseeing.

There was, however, some difficulty in making social contacts with Chinese officials. If any particular case of indiscretion came under investigation, the appropriate official could be paid and the matter taken care of. But the general paranoia made many individuals unwilling to be seen talking with foreigners. Others, such as Wu Hsiang and P'eng Kuan, the two Han-lin scholars of the passage translated above (p. 7),* were interested in talking to Koreans but were afraid to write them letters. There was an incident in which Hong addressed a note to one of these gentlemen but received no reply. Embarrassed, he later asked them about it and was told that written communication with foreigners was forbidden, although, as Han-lin scholars, it was perfectly all right for them to talk with foreigners.

When the Koreans did get out to see the city, many features of Ch'ing society engaged their attention. One was the difference in customs between Chinese and Manchus. Chinese could ride in palanquins but Manchus could not. Chinese ladies could use cosmetics but Manchu ladies could not. While all Chinese girls had to have their feet bound, Manchu girls were bidden to let them grow. Korean visitors had the impression that Chinese-Manchu intermarriage was rare, but they were careful to note the legal situation when such marriages did occur: sons followed the customs of their fathers, daughters those of their mothers. Thus the son of a Chinese mother and a Manchu father would contribute his military service under one of the Eight Banners, while the daughter would have her feet bound. The son of a Manchu mother and a Chinese

*I have been unable to find any independent biographical information on these two people.

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father would serve in a Chinese military unit while the daughter could let her feet grow normally but had to avoid cosmetics (1765, 237ab; 1803, 811ab–ba; 1832, 1181ba).

A feature of Chinese life that never ceased to shock and puzzle Korean visitors was the large number of Buddhist and Taoist shrines in China, whether under the Ming or the Ch'ing. Koreans prided themselves on their Confucian society and had the fixed notion that China, as the homeland of Confucianism, ought to have made greater efforts to inculcate the Way of the Sages among the people and to discourage the innumerable cults and superstitions that seemed to flourish everywhere. Yet, they seldom held back from touring all the leading shrines and temples in the city. As mentioned above, almost everyone took in the dazzling sights at the Tung-yüeh Shrine; just as many put the Yung-ho kung on their itinerary, as well as many other lesser Buddhist temples in and out of the city. Tamhŏn, with his usual eye for detail, observed that Korean paper was favored over Chinese for the windows of the Yung-ho kung. In viewing these great places, they were much more impressed by the building skills than by the religious aspects.

In common with tourists of all ages and places, Koreans were struck with differences in the little things of everyday life. No one ever thought much about chamber pots at home, but when he was abroad and found ones of unusual shape, he would write about them. Sometimes such differences resulted in an unexpected surprise:

> Their urine jars are shaped like the beak of a wild duck, like one of our wine flasks. When one of our people first saw one he thought it was a wine jug and took a sip. In the same way, a Manchu once got hold of one of our urine jars and used it for a rice pot. A true parallel! (1720, 504aa)

Language was of course a major problem for Koreans. Though most visitors read Chinese and had used it in their daily lives ever since childhood, few were able to understand the colloquial language, although the exceptional Hong Taeyong made a real effort in this direction. Nor were they prepared for the great differences between the spoken and written languages. Every embassy had dozens of interpreters who were much relied upon, both for Chinese and Manchu (although these latter were used only for official business and were virtually useless for general social purposes, since by the late eighteenth century even Manchus were often unable to speak the language). But the more common way of conversing was by "brush talks" (*p'iltam*).

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One carried a brush and inkstone and a supply of scrap paper, and when the need arose wrote his messages. This form of conversation had the added advantage for a diarist that when the talk was all over he had a record of it.

One place where "brush talks" were of no use at all was in the theater. Even the interpreters had difficulty with the conventions of stage diction and had to have help from Chinese companions. Those who knew no Chinese at all had to keep an eye on the placard identifying the scene and an ear open to someone who knew what was going on. Even then understanding was quite imperfect. Pak Saho recorded one such frustrating experience: "Sometimes the audience would break into thunderous laughter while we, ignorant of the language, just sat there like clay statues" (1828b, 901ba).

The Western Ocean Men

Among Peking's biggest attractions were the Jesuits and their churches. Koreans had first heard of the Europeans shortly after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511, and their attempts to gain a foothold in southern China between 1517 and 1520.[3] Over the years they had heard of Matteo Ricci and the other Jesuits who followed him, and had become sketchily acquainted with the achievements of the Western sciences and some of the dogmas of Catholicism. It is hard to tell whether at first it was the Koreans who were more curious about the Jesuits, or whether the Jesuits sought out the Koreans. In 1644, Crown Prince Sohyŏn, who had been held hostage in Mukden since 1637, was moved to Peking shortly after the Manchu conquest of that city. Here he became acquainted with Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), who gave him many religious and scientific books and artifacts. Since Prince Sohyŏn was due to inherit the Korean throne, Schall's proselyting efforts were certainly well placed. Unfortunately the prince died shortly after returning home.

But from that time on, a regular stream of information on the Jesuits flowed into Korea, and beginning about 1720 Korean visitors either sought out the Jesuits or were sought out by them. These contacts led over the course of time to a remarkably successful proselytization in Korea, without a single Western missionary ever visiting the country until 1836. By 1800 it is estimated that there were over ten thousand baptized Catholics in Korea, most of them having received the sacrament from a few diplomatic personnel who had been baptized in Peking (the first such case was in 1784). Throughout the nineteenth century

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there were major and bloody persecutions in Korea as the government tried—with considerable success at first—to extirpate a movement that had begun with a few harmless meetings between Koreans and Jesuits in Peking.

In Hong Taeyong's time, however, this threat was not perceived, much less in the time of Yi Ŭihyŏn. While the latter was in Peking in 1720, he received one morning by a messenger from Father Xavier Fridelli (Fei Yin, 1673–1743) copies of the *San shan lun hsüeh chi* (by Jules Aleni, 1582–1649) and the *Chu chih ch'ün cheng* (by Adam Schall), both religious tracts that set forth some of the basic Christian doctrines. With the books came some plain and colored paper of Western manufacture, fifteen pictures (probably of religious inspiration), and two different kinds of pills. Yi Ŭihyŏn, a hypochondriac, devoted almost his entire attention to the pills (1720, 517bb).

Hong Taeyong gave a long account of his visits with the Jesuit fathers Augustine de Hallerstein (Liu Sung-ling, 1703–1774) and Antoine Gogeisl (Pao Yu-kuan, 1701–1771). Hallerstein was at that time director of the Imperial Observatory (Ch'in t'ien chien) and Gogeisl the assistant director. This visit was not easy to arrange, since some earlier Korean visitors had behaved rudely and left a bad impression on the fathers.

> . . . With our customary pride, the earlier Korean visitors had behaved arrogantly and not in accordance with etiquette. Some had accepted presents but given nothing in return. And some of our embassy personnel, not too sophisticated, had occasionally smoked and even spat in the church, or roughly handled some of the instruments and gotten them dirty. In the last few years, the Westerners have increasingly come to dislike us and to prevent us from visiting them; or, when we did visit, to treat us coolly (1765, 240bb).

Hong was determined to improve relations, for he was keenly interested in the Western sciences and even wanted to purchase, if he could, some astronomical instruments. He first sent his liveryman Sep'al ahead with a request for an interview, but Sep'al returned and reported that the fathers were too busy with official duties to grant an interview at this time. Hong felt that he was being put off, so he sat down and wrote a letter in which he expressed his sincere hope of seeing the fathers and benefitting from their vast learning. He sent this off to-

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gether with some "unworthy local products with which to redeem the presents given to my predecessors."

This time Sep'al returned with an appointment for the next day. Hong's visit to the South Church on February 16, 1766, was one of the highlights of his Peking trip. He was struck by everything—the architecture, the paintings, the scientific instruments, the smell of the incense, and by the fathers themselves. The whole account would be well worth translating in full, but is much too long for inclusion here. Perhaps the most interesting detail is Hong's reaction to the paintings. In describing what was evidently a mural painting of a building interior, he said,

> . . . In the rooms of these brilliantly colored buildings the various shapes, concave and convex, all complement each other, and people move about as if they were alive (241ba).

The perspective and coloring of the landscapes were so carefully worked out that the observer "does not sense that it is not real" (241ba); "to stand back a few steps and look at it, you would never believe it was a picture" (242aa). One can well understand why the Jesuits gave out so many pictures as presents.

One of Hong's most curious descriptions is of the elaborate pipe organ that was shown to him. It would take a musicologist and an engineer to translate the passage accurately, if indeed Hong understood the thing well enough to make an accurate description in the first place. The proof of the organ, of course, is in the music. One wishes that the organist had not been sick that day so that Hong could have heard the music and put down his impressions of it; he had to content himself with pushing the keys himself. His description of the sounds he produced are couched in the technical terms of Chinese musicology that I cannot understand, but it is clear that they did make a deep impression on him.

A second meeting was arranged for a few days later, when the fathers indicated that they would have more time to "talk." But when the day came, Father Hallerstein had been called away on an official matter, while Father Gogeisl was busy with some "ministers and nobles who had come to worship the Master of Heaven" (243aa), and Hong and his companion were asked to come back on another date, February 27. They were met at the gate by the gateman, who, as he held out his hand for the "clear heart pills" (*ch'ŏngsim hwan*) that the Koreans customarily gave as presents to servants and other such people, explained

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that the fathers had been up all night looking at the heavens, had returned home only early in the morning, and were still sleeping. After Hong had sat for a while in the reception room, the gateman tried to suggest that they leave and come back another time, but Hong decided he would wait. Eventually the two fathers appeared and joined in a brush conversation about astronomical and religious matters, although the latter are transcribed only cursorily by Hong.

Hong was unable to buy any astronomical instruments, but Hallerstein did show him some of the devices that were kept in a small observatory built beside the church. While Hong found these fascinating, he was much more interested in seeing the larger and more accurate instruments at the Observational Platform of the Imperial Observatory. That was impossible, Hallerstein said, since the observatory "is in the category of forbidden grounds, and outsiders may not just casually go and inspect it; even princes and important persons cannot get in on their own authority" (243bb–244aa).

That would seem to have settled it, but Hallerstein probably underestimated the determination of his visitor. Let us let Hong tell the story in his own words.

> The Observational Platform
>
> The Observational Platform [*Kuan hsing t'ai*] is on the southeast corner of the city wall, under the administration of the Imperial Observatory. It is the place where the demonstrational and measuring instruments are kept. Liu Sung-ling [August von Hallerstein], of the Catholic church, once told me that this is the forbidden ground of his Imperial Highness, to which people dare not get too close. The interpreters, for their part, told me that some years ago a Korean gave a generous bribe to an observatory official, after which he climbed up and took a look around before leaving. Afterwards the affair came to light and the official was stripped of his post, and since that time the prohibition has been even more strict. I have heard that the death penalty is applicable if one just climbs the wall. The Observational Platform rests on top of the wall, and from it one can spy into the forbidden inner parts of the palace.
>
> On the platform are the demonstrational instruments, many of them made on imperial command. They are instruments of great importance to the state, [which is all the more reason]

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that people should not be indiscriminately permitted to gain admittance to them.

[On the first day] of the third month [April 9], when I was beginning the trip home, I turned off the road and came to the foot of the platform. At that moment the morning sun had just risen, and looking up from below I could see ten or so demonstrational instruments arranged in a circle within a stone railing. Their unusual shapes and strange design were such as to reflect the sun brightly but oddly. It seemed as if they were about to fly up like a kite but could not get off.

Up on the platform there was a man leaning on the railing and looking down. I stopped my horse and spoke up to him, bowing my head in the most respectful manner, hoping that he would permit me a single look. But the man shook his head, stuck his hand out and drew a line across his neck, as if to say "You may not come up: capital crime."

The gateman said, "It is forbidden ground that may not be entered. But it is early in the morning and no officials are coming. You can go in for a little while, but do not stay too long."

I thanked him and went in. West of the office section there was a level platform several feet high and perhaps several dozen steps square. On the east was an Enveloping Sky Instrument [*hun t'ien i*, armillary sphere] and an Enveloping Configuration [*hun hsiang*, smaller celestial globe]. On the west was the Simplified Instrument [*chien i*, equatorial torquetum]. This was all of bronze. Its main circle was perhaps 5 or 6 *p'a* [handfuls] [in size]. It was protected on all four sides by a stone railing. The design of the Simplified Demonstrational Instrument was quite complicated, but being pressed I was unable to examine it thoroughly. The Enveloping [Heaven] Instrument was of a Sung design, included in the Collected Commentaries to the *Book of History* [*Shu ching chi chuan*]. It was made during the Ming dynasty in the Cheng-t'ung period [1436–1449]. Although it has become obsolete and is no longer used, its twin rings, water level, and straight distance devices are still worth examination. On the north was a bronze container, presumably used to supply rushing water to turn the device. But the mechanism is lost and cannot be reconstructed.

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> The instruments up on top (on the Observational Platform) were all made in K'ang-hsi times (1662–1723) or since. These are the Six Demonstrational Instruments. . . . All of them come from the period after the transmission of Western methods to the East and are much more accurate than the old designs manufactured by Kuo Shou-ching (1231–1316). Recently, because of the complications of having six (separate) demonstrational instruments, they have made a single demonstrational instrument to combine the six functions, but the device proved even more complicated and in the end did not achieve the convenience and simplicity afforded by the six instruments used in combination.
>
> The gateman urged me to get out and I had to leave in a hurry (1765, 315aa–ab).

Judging from Hong's description and remarks, he did not gain access to the upper platform itself, but only to a room adjacent to the lower offices in which were stored some instruments apparently no longer in regular use. But he knew what they were and something of their history. Given the sternness of the laws and the possible consequences if he had been caught, one is relieved that he did not try to get to the upper platform. However he went home, having been in a place where few were permitted to go.

Markets and Shops

Yi dynasty Korea was not a place famed for trade and commerce. The traditional Confucian attitude toward merchants was taken quite seriously, with the result that such important mercantile developments as urban market districts, money and coinage, distribution networks, and other essential systems and services were slow in growing. The process was under way in the seventeenth century and well advanced in the eighteenth, but by the standards of contemporary China or Japan, Korean commerce was undeveloped. This situation was well known to Korea's leaders, but most of them considered it their pride and glory rather than a cause for concern. The first real questioning of these attitudes and values was done by the people who had traveled to China and seen that the homeland of Confucianism itself was one vast market place.

The most important commerce to members of the diplomatic missions was probably their own. There was no channel other than the diplomatic

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missions for the importation of certain much sought-after luxury goods. Every society has people who require such goods, and Korea's was no exception. Those who defended the conventional wisdom on commerce and luxury goods probably saw no threat in the commercial activities of these missions: the trade after all took place far from the country's borders, was limited to a handful of people, and was so small in volume that it had little effect on the population as a whole. It was socially safe.

Thus the commercial aspect of the missions was the commerce that the early travelers saw, restricted as they were in their general freedom to move about the city. The Chinese merchants with whom the Koreans traded appear to have enjoyed something approaching a monopoly. Yi Ŭihyŏn wrote about the prosperous Cheng Shih-t'ai, a Peking merchant whose palatial mansion and warehouses were south of the Jade River Bridge not far from the lodge. It was from him almost exclusively that the Koreans purchased their silks and most other things they needed—medicines and aromatics, books, antiques, just about anything. "Whatever people think is hard to get, just ask the Cheng family and they will be sure to have it," said Yi Ŭihyŏn. Sometimes products that the Koreans had ordered had not yet arrived from the suppliers in the south by the time the embassy was scheduled to depart. But that was no problem to Cheng Shih-t'ai. "It is well within his power to either postpone or move up the departure of the embassy," said Yi, who added, "Cheng's appearance is emaciated and dark, completely without bearing; he certainly does not look like a millionaire financier" (1720, (*man'gŭm chaeju* 510bb–511aa).

The Cheng family was still doing business with the Koreans forty-five years later, when Hong Taeyong came to Peking, although Cheng Shih-t'ai himself had passed from the scene and his sons and grandsons now had the competition of a family of merchants named Huang. Hong explains that the kind of silk required for certain fashionable Korean clothing was not a type that was popular in China. The Chengs and Huangs invested in the right kind of silk and thus virtually cornered the market with the Koreans (1765, 259aa). These and other merchants enjoyed virtually a sixty-day market when the Koreans came to town, and the last night was the busiest. This was the time when the bluffing and bargaining stopped, and what had to be bought was bought, what had to be sold was sold. The activity was so frenetic that Hong was unable to sleep; but perhaps he was staying awake trying to figure out how to enter the observatory before he left Peking forever.

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It was not only at the lodge that the Korean observers watched commerce. There were markets all over China, where anything that one could possibly want could be had day and night—such markets as Korea had were usually open only every five days. The people themselves had an insatiable appetite for business and profit. Businessmen going from one place to another filled the roads, though they were thoroughly supervised (meaning fleeced) by government officials who at any time could demand to see their identity papers showing their name, residence, and line and quantity of goods. And not only the big entrepreneurs attracted the attention of the Koreans; even the most humble Chinese was constantly thinking of new ways to turn a profit. An anonymous writer noted in 1828:

> The lengths these people will go to make a living are really ingenious. There are some who will even cut other people's hair, others who will administer baths, still others who will cut people's fingernails. There is a craftsman for every need. And there is a gadget for everything—even for picking paper out of privies or for carrying horse manure (1828a, 865bb).

The horrible sanitation conditions in the public toilets created the need for yet another kind of entrepreneur that Hong Taeyong described:

> Some people set up a little pole with a sign on it saying "Immaculate Room." Whoever wants to use the room has to pay a copper coin. Those who own the privies not only get the profit from the coins, but also from the fertilizer they sell. Such is the resourcefulness of the Chinese in doing business. (1765, 253ab)

But quite apart from the resourcefulness of individuals, it was the richness of the market place as a whole that most struck Hong Taeyong.

> Market places are most prosperous in the capital. Next are those of Mukden, next those of T'ung-chou, then those of Shan-hai kuan. In the capital, the most flourishing is the market outside the Cheng-yang (or South) Gate. Feng-huang is a frontier area and the markets are rather neglected and rustic, the goods quite plain and ordinary. Yet even there the gates of the market place are painted. When you get to Mukden, everything is in color. But in the capital—they carve the win-

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> dows and chase the doors, and everything glitters like gold and silver. In the signs and gate posters they strive to emphasize the new and curious, and the curtains and blinds are the most luxurious imaginable. Presumably if they didn't do this, business would fall off and their wealth would cease to pile up. Those who establish shops spend thousands and tens of thousands just on the external furnishings alone (1765, 337aa).

Of all the prosperous market areas of Peking, none was more dazzling than the one called the "Glaze Factory" (*Liu-li ch'ang*). This market area took its name from the fact that it was in the vicinity of the kilns where decorative and glazed bricks were made, the shiny appearance of the glazed bricks suggesting the glittering and glassy *liu-li*. The spine of this market was a street about five *li* long running east and west, off of which ran hundreds of little lanes full of shops of every description, but mostly those trading in some kind of luxury goods. This was the site of the most famous book stores and antique shops. The prices were sky-high. An interpreter with Pak Saho in 1828 asked the price of two antique ink stones, and when told it was 800 ounces of silver, "his eyes went blank and his mouth hung open; he just left, not daring to ask about anything else" (1828, 899aa).

Naturally Hong Taeyong made many trips to Liu-li ch'ang. He met some of his acquaintances in the tea shops there, and this is also where he went to buy a zither and converse with Chang Ching (*hao* Shih-ts'un), a prosperous and cultivated antiquities dealer.

> Liu-li ch'ang, The Glaze Factory Market
>
> The Glaze Factory (Liu-li ch'ang) is the factory where glazed tiles and bricks are made. These tiles and bricks, colored blue, yellow, and other colors, are all shiny and glossy, like *liu-li* stones, and therefore all the tiles and bricks made for imperial use are termed "*liu-li.*" A building used for manufacturing is called a "factory" (*ch'ang*). The factory is located five *li* to the southwest outside the Cheng-yang Gate. Along the road near the factory are markets and shops, and at both east and west ends of the road are gates with plaques that say "Glaze Factory," and this in turn has become the name of the market. This market has all kinds of books, stone inscriptions, ancient vessels, antiques, and

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curios. Many of the merchants here are *hsiu-ts'ai* from the southern cities who have come to the capital to take the examination or to seek office, and that is why, while walking around the market, you will occasionally see a famous scholar.

The market is about five *li* long. The richness of its buildings does not come up to that of other markets, but there is such an abundance of rare curiosities and items of unusually fine workmanship, and these are displayed in proximity to so many ancient and elegant things, that if one walks slowly along the street he will feel as if he has entered a Persian treasure emporium: the only thing he can see is glitter everywhere. Even if one walked around all day long he could not take it all in.

There are seven areas devoted to book shops. On three walls are mounted bookcases having as many as ten shelves. The books are all neatly arranged in regular folding cases, each with its ivory clasps and paper label. The total number of books in any given area cannot be less than several myriads. However long you can keep looking up, you cannot read all of the labels without getting dizzy.

Whoever walks in the door of a mirror ship for the first time will find it a shocking and scary experience. There are mirrors with tasseled cords hanging all around on the walls; there are mirrors mounted on platforms arrayed all along the walls on the floor. The bigger ones may be about three feet wide, the smaller ones four or five inches. If you go in and stand in the middle of the shop you will see seemingly thousands and hundreds of reflections of yourself. Just to look through the window brings on a blurry confusion, and after a while you cannot fix on anything.

I do not know how many hundreds of thousands of shops there are along this street, nor do I know how many myriads of taels they represent in goods and work. But there is not a single thing here that could be considered indispensable for the people's livelihood, either for supporting the living or burying the dead. The only things to be found here are baubles, over-crafted toys, luxury items and things that steal the spirit. The proliferation of all these strange things and

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> the daily growth of the gentleman's standard of living are among the reasons why China cannot be shaken. What a cause for regret! (1765, 319aa–bb)

It is hard for us now to imagine the depth of this feeling. It was hard even for Koreans to realize that Chinese could possibly fail to share their love of the Ming. It seemed to them, as they walked around the streets of Peking in their official uniforms, which were modeled on Ming styles, that they were offering a beacon of hope to oppressed Chinese, an island of continuity and civilization in a barbarian world. They must have been surprised to find Chinese who had accepted the Manchus, or at least seem to have accepted them. One day Hong Tae-yong, in a brush talk with a Chinese scholar, mentioned that in Korea an empty space was left in the line before mention of the name Ming—or rather Huang Ming as they always said it. The Chinese turned ashen as the evidence of treason appeared on the paper before his eyes, and he took the paper and tore it into shreds before someone should come along and see it (1765, 238bb).

On July 11, 1712, Min Chinwŏn, on his way home and tired after a day in which he had traveled seventy *li*, was resting in his room at an inn in the town of Chi-chou. He had just had a remarkable conversation and he took out his diary to write it down:

> In the evening an old man came and visited me in the inn where I am staying. He was a man of some substance and bearing. I found that his name was Chu Yen, and asked if he might not be a descendant of Illustrious Ming. His reply was, "I dare not speak." I pressed him, and he finally replied, "My grandfather was named Ssu-ch'eng. He was the fourth son of I-jan, an imperial prince who was the fourth son of the Emperor Shen-tsung. My father's name was Lun."
>
> I asked, "But did he escape the persecution at the time of the change?"
>
> "My father had gone on a campaign against the bandits and had not returned when the state perished. He hid in this region and changed his name to Ting, and thus managed to avoid the purge. I also, as a candidate for the examinations, have gone under the name Ting Han-chang, but my original name is Chu Yen."
>
> "Are there descendants of Ming in other places too?"
>
> "It is hard to know for sure."

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"In the present situation of the world, do you have any hope for a restoration?"

"Dare I hope!" he said, as he stood up with tears falling from his eyes.

"I understand that in the south some military incidents have occurred. Is there anything to this?"

"In Kuang-tung there are pirates—but they are not pirates. They are true men. Their leader is a man named Chu, who calls himself the King of Illustrious Ming. The brothers Chang Man-chung and Chang Fei-hu are his generals. Now they appear, now they are gone. No one knows when they come and when they go. For three years they have been fighting, and their strength is growing. Four Ch'ing generals have been defeated and forced to surrender, and half of Fukien has been lost."

He then went to say, "I saw the clothing and the cap that you, sir, were wearing, and I could not suppress my respect and admiration. My clothing hardly differs from what an ox or a horse would wear!"

He then took the pieces of paper on which we had been writing our conversation and threw them into the fire. With tears flowing he cried in a whisper, "I fear that someone is listening. Be careful! Be careful!"

I composed a five-word quatrain and presented it to him:

Meeting a friend on the road, it is as if we had always been together,
I still cannot speak, my feelings are held in my heart.
But hundreds of emotions well up in my breast,
I wipe away my tears as we prepare to part.

(1712, 342ab–ba)

Thus did two old men with hope in their hearts console each other during a chance meeting in Chi-chou. Perhaps of all the people in China in 1712, only this Korean could have had such a conversation. It clearly reveals the attitude that Min Chinwŏn and his countrymen held toward the Ming dynasty.

Yet it should be observed that a careful check into the Emperor Shen-tsung's descendants fails to confirm the lineage of Min's informant, and we are left with many questions about this remarkable conver-

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sation. Did Chu Yen really descend from a more remote line of the Ming ruling family but only cite the last major emperor in order to simplify the discussion? Is this a case where the genealogical information in Chinese sources is faulty and the Korean diarist has preserved an important and otherwise unknown fact? Or is this simply a case of wishful thinking and embroidered storytelling? It would be interesting to know the answer. (Though on a higher level it really doesn't matter.) What is perhaps most important is that this and many similar anecdotes in Korean travel diaries provide a precious source that in Chinese sources is a tabooed subject: the problem of Chinese identity and anti-Manchu sentiment.

But this is only one of the topics to be pursued in these valuable diaries. It is my hope that Sinologists will soon begin to make use of this rich material. When they do look into the diaries, they will find that there are many other Korean sources on China that they can ill afford to ignore.

NOTES

1. The *Yŏrha ilgi* has recently received a thorough study by Dieter Eikemeier, *Elemente im politischen Denken des Yŏn'am Pak Chiwŏn (1737–1805), ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen China und Korea* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970).
2. See the *Kyujanggak tosŏ Han'gukpon ch'ong mongnok* (1965), p. 412.
3. See *Chungjong sillok*, Chungjong 15/12/musul=1521 Jan 22. This information came from a returning envoy, and points up the fact that even though we may lack many diaries, summary reports of the embassies are usually found in the appropriate place in the Korean annals.

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燕行錄選集

List of the Diaries and Descriptions of Peking Collected in the *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjip* 燕行錄選集 (YS), Compiled and Published by the Taedong Mun-hwa Yŏn'guwŏn 大東文化研究院 of Sŏnggyun-gwan University 成均館大學校, Seoul, 1960–62, 2 vols.

Titles are arranged in chronological order by date of journey.

1. 1488 *Kŭmnam sŏnsaeng p'yohaerok* 錦南先生漂海錄, 3 *kwŏn* + app. Ch'oe Pu 崔溥 (*ho* Kŭmnam 錦南, 1454–1504). Ch'oe was the victim of a storm while crossing from Cheju Island to the Korean mainland early in 1488. Washed up on the Chekiang coast, he and party were escorted to Peking and then repatriated.

YS, 2:1–101. Printed ed. of 1725. The appendix contains earlier prefaces of 1569, 1573, and (?) 1724; also genealogical and biographical notes and a chronological biography. Ch'oe's diary has been translated, in a slightly abridged form, by John Meskill in *Ch'oe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965.

Lv Cheju	Hung-chih 1, 1*/3 = 1488	Feb. 15
Ar Chekiang coast	1*/16	Feb. 28
Ar Peking	3/28	May 9
Lv Peking	4/24	Jun. 3
Cr Yalu	6/ 4	Jul. 12
Ar Seoul	6/14	Jul. 22

2. 1574 *Hagok sŏnsaeng choch'ŏn'gi* 荷谷先生朝天記, 3 *kwŏn* + app. Hŏ Pong 許篈 (*ho* Hagok 荷谷, 1551–88), secretary on a Special Embassy of 1574.

YS, 1:1–100. The text is taken from his collected works, *Hagok chip*, printed 1707. The appendices include an extra section of the diary

*Indicates an intercalary month.

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covering the trip from the Yalu to Seoul; a chronological biography; the table of contents of the *Hagok chip*; and a postface to the 1707 edition.

Lv Seoul	Wan-li 2,	5/11 = 1574	May 30
Ar Peking		8/ 4	Aug. 19
Lv Peking		9/ 8	Sept. 22
Ar Seoul		11/ 3	Nov. 15

3. 1597 *Sŏktanggong yŏnhaengnok* 石塘公燕行錄. Kwŏn Hyŏp 權悏 (*ho* Sŏktang 石塘, 1553–1618), chief ambassador on a Special Embassy of 1597.

YS, 1:101–26. Hand copy, very clear. Diary only.

Cr Yalu	Wan-li 25,	2/10 = 1597	Mar. 27
Ar Peking		3/ 2	Apr. 17
Lv Peking		4/26	Jun. 10
Cr Yalu		5/20	Jul. 4

4. 1624 *Hwap'o sŏnsaeng choch'ŏn hanghaerok* 花浦先生朝天航海錄 2 *kwŏn* + app. Hong Ikhan 洪翼漢 (*ho* Hwap'o 花浦, 1586–1637), an aide on the Solsticial Embassy of 1624, which because of the Manchu occupation of Manchuria went to China by sea.

YS, 1:127–200. Printed ed. of 1709, taken from his collected works, the *Hwap'o chip*. Appended is a diary kept during the defensive operations against the Manchus in 1636, covering period from Ch'ung-chen 9, 12/11 (Jan. 6, 1637) to Ch'ung-chen 10, 1/30 (Feb. 24, 1637).

Lv Seoul	T'ien-ch'i 4,	7/ 3 = 1624	Aug. 16
Ar Peking		10/12	Nov. 22
Lv Peking	T'ien-ch'i 5,	2/26 1625	Apr. 3
Ar Seoul		4/18	May 23

5. 1636 *Chamgok choch'ŏn'gi* 潛谷朝天記. Kim Yuk 金堉 (*ho* Chamgok 潛谷, 1580–1658), chief ambassador of the last embassy to the Ming court, in 1636. While in Peking, the Manchus invaded Korea and forced the king to sever all relations with Ming.

YS, 1:201–30. Hand copy, clear, apparently copied from the text in *kwŏn* 14 of Kim's collected works, the *Chamgok chip*. The title given at the heading is *Chogyŏng illok* 朝京日錄, while that given in the 1637 postface of Sin Iksŏng 申翊聖 (1588–1644) is *Choch'ŏn illok* 朝天日錄, both different from the *Choch'ŏn'gi* of the modern editors.

Lv Seoul	Ch'ung-chen 9,	6/17 = 1636	Jul. 19
Ar Peking		11/ 5	Dec. 1

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Lv Peking	Ch'ung-chen 10,	4/18	1637	May 12
Ar Seoul		6/ 1		Jul. 22

6. 1649 *Yangp'a choch'ŏn illok* 陽坡朝天日錄. Chŏng
1662 T'aehwa 鄭太和 (*ho* Yangp'a 陽坡, 1602–73), chief ambassador on Special Embassies of 1649 and 1662.

YS, 2:102–24. Hand copy, clear. Diary only.

Lv Seoul	Shun-chih 6,	3/20	=1649	May 1
Ar Peking		5/11		Jun. 20
Lv Peking		5/27		Jul. 6
Ar Seoul		6/29		Aug. 7
Lv Seoul	K'ang-hsi 1,	7/26	=1662	Sept. 8
Ar Peking		9/15		Oct. 26
Lv Peking		10/12		Nov. 22
Ar Seoul		11/14		Dec. 24

7. 1656 *Songgye chip* 松溪集, 8 *kwŏn*. Prince Inp'yŏng 麟坪大君: Yi Yo 李㴭 (*ho* Songgye 松溪, 1622–58), son of King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–49) and brother of King Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649–59). He led embassies to China on eleven separate occasions between 1642 and 1657.

YS, 2:125–261. The *Songgye chip*, Prince Inp'yŏng's collected works, is largely concerned with his diplomatic travels. *Kwŏn* 1–3 contain poetry, most of it written during trips to China; *kwŏn* 4 is devoted to memoranda, letters, other documents; *kwŏn* 5–7 are devoted to the diary he kept while chief ambassador on a Special Embassy in 1656; *kwŏn* 8 has posthumous decrees concerning Prince Inp'yŏng and King Hyojong.

Lv Seoul	Shun-chih 13,	8/ 3	=1656	Sept. 20
Ar Peking		9/22		Nov. 8
Lv Peking		10/29		Dec. 14
Ar Seoul		12/16	1657	Jan. 29

–. 1662 See No. 6, above.

8. 1690 *Kihaengnok* 紀行錄. Sŏ Munjung 徐文重 (*ho* Mong'ŏjŏng 夢魚亭, 1634–1709), deputy ambassador on the Solsticial Embassy of 1690.

YS, 2:262–81. Hand copy (?) or original manuscript (?). The first leaf shows the seal of Seoul National University Library. The writing is in

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running hand, often becoming grassy. Following the diary proper is a draft of his official report on the mission. Following this, in rough hand with many added markings, is a list of books sought for but not found, and another list of books sought for and found.

Lv Seoul	K'ang-hsi 29, 11/ 4	=1690	Dec. 4
Ar Peking	12/26	1691	Jan. 24
Lv Peking	K'ang-hsi 30, 2/ 6		Mar. 5
Ar Seoul	3/18		Apr. 16

9. 1693 *Yŏnhaeng ilgi* 燕行日記. Yu Myŏngch'ŏn 柳命天 (*ho* T'oedang 退堂, 1633–1705), chief ambassador on the Solsticial Embassy of 1693.

YS, 2:282–317. The text reproduced here seems to be the original manuscript; it has the seal of Seoul National University Library. The hand goes from a running script to a rough grass. Many marginal and and interlinear changes. On pp. 307–17 is extraneous material concerning various royal audiences and local trips from 1694 through 1704.

Lv Seoul	K'ang-hsi 32, 11/ 3	=1693	Nov. 29
Ar Peking	12/23	1694	Jan. 18
Lv Peking	K'ang-hsi 33, 2/ 7		Mar. 18
Ar Seoul	3/12		Apr. 6

10. 1712A *Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄. Min Chinwŏn 閔鎮遠 (*ho* Tan'am 丹巖, Sesim 洗心, 1664–1736), deputy ambassador on a Special Embassy of 1712.

YS, 2:318–57. Hand copy, clear but reproduced on a very small scale, hampering legibility. Among seals are those of Min Chinwŏn himself and of Seoul National University Library. On pp. 318–19, a full list of the 225 people on the embassy. On pp. 320–21, a draft map of the route traveled. On pp. 322–50, the diary proper. On p. 350, an interpreter's memorandum on an interview concerning Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 (1612–1678). On pp. 351–57, a report by the same interpreter, Kim Kyŏngmun 金慶門, on an administrative mission to Peking in 1711. Among seals affixed at the end of this is Kim Kyŏngmun's.

Lv Seoul	K'ang-hsi 51, 2/22	=1712	Mar. 28
Ar Peking	4/20		May 24
Lv Peking	6/ 6		Jul. 9
Ar Seoul	7/26		Aug. 27

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11. 1712B *Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄. Ch'oe Tŏkchung 崔德中 (18th century), an aide to the secretary on the Solsticial Embassy of 1712.

YS, 2:358–416. This seems to be the original manuscript; there is a seal of Seoul National University Library. The hand is sometimes clear, sometimes running, always hard to read because of the small scale of reproduction. On pp. 358–63, description of various official ceremonies and procedures, list of presents and tribute products. Pp. 364–65, an itinerary of the whole trip. P. 366, a roster of the embassy. Among the aides to the chief ambassador is Kim Ch'ang'ŏp 金昌業, who is the author of an account of this embassy, *Nogajae yŏnhaeng ilgi* 老稼齋燕行日記, 6 *ch'aek*, in the Kyujanggak Collection: see *Kyujanggak Han'gukpon ch'ong mongnok*, p. 412. See also Fang Chaoying, *Asami Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 1969), p. 349. Finally, Hong's complete collected writings have recently been reprinted: *Tamhŏn sŏ*, 2 vols. (Seoul: Kyŏng'in munhwa sa, 1969). This is a photolithographic reproduction of a printed edition of 1939, edited by Chŏng Inbo 鄭寅普

Lv Seoul	K'ang-hsi 51, 11/ 3	=1712	Nov. 30
Ar Peking	12/27	1713	Jan. 23
Lv Peking	K'ang-hsi 52, 2/16		Mar. 12
Ar Seoul	3/30		Apr. 24

12. 1720 1732A *Togok chip* 陶谷集, 32 *kwŏn*. Yi Ŭihyŏn 李宜顯 (*ho* Togok 陶谷, 1669–1745), chief ambassador on the Solsticial Embassy of 1720, and of a Special Embassy in 1732.

YS, 2:417–520. Given here are five *kwŏn* from the *Togok chip* (printed edition of unknown date, but seemingly of late 18th century). *Kwŏn* 2–4 contain poems, many of them from diplomatic travels. In *kwŏn* 29 and the first part of *kwŏn* 30 is the *Kyŏngja yŏnhaeng chapsik* 庚子燕行雜識, notes on the embassy of 1720, arranged in general chronological and geographical order, though not a diary as such. The second part of *kwŏn* 30 contains the *Imja yŏnhaeng chapsik* 壬子燕行雜識, similar notes on the embassy of 1732. The dates below, not available from Yi Ŭihyŏn's notes, come from external sources. For the dates of the 1732 embassy, see No. 13, below.

Lv Seoul	K'ang-hsi 59, 11/ 3	=1720	Dec. 2
Ar Seoul	K'ang-hsi 60, 3/23	1721	Apr. 19

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13. 1732B *Sŭngjigong yŏnhaeng illok* 承旨公燕行日錄. Han Tŏkhu 韓德厚 (*cha* Ch'igyu 稚圭, 1680–after 1733), secretary on a Special Embassy of 1732.

YS, 2:521–55. Hand copy, clear but very small, with seal of late Yi Sangbaek 李相伯. Pp. 521–40, diary proper. Pp. 540–41, general observations on itinerary. Pp. 541–43, highlights of things seen and heard. Pp. 543–45, roster of embassy personnel. P. 545, tribute list, list of presents received. Pp. 545–48, interim reports on the progress of the embassy: from P'yŏng'yang, 8/11; from Yalu, 9/7; from Chinese frontier entrance, 9/8; from Peking, 10/22; from San-ho hsien, 11/5; from Yalu, 12/1. P. 548, special report on the western campaigns. Pp. 548–55, supplemental diary for period 9/7 through 12/1, that is, for the period during which the embassy was in Chinese territory.

Lv Seoul	Yung-cheng 10,	7/28	=1732	Sept. 16
Ar Peking		10/ 8		Nov. 24
Lv Peking		11/ 3		Dec. 19
Ar Seoul		12/17	1733	Feb. 1

14. 1765 *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi* 湛軒燕記, 6 *kwŏn*. Hong Taeyong 洪大容 (*ho* Tamhŏn 湛軒, 1731–83), aide to his uncle Hong Ŏk 洪檍 (1722–1809), secretary on the Solsticial Embassy of 1765.

YS, 1:231–430. Hand copy, clear. Postface of Wŏn Chunggŏ 元重擧, 1772. *Kwŏn* 1, Peking activities and people; *kwŏn* 2, more Peking activities and people, activities and sights while on the road, Peking generalities; *kwŏn* 3, famous sights, on the road and in Peking; *kwŏn* 4, topical notes on customs, manufactures, agriculture, revenues, etc.; also statements of expenditures and gifts given and received, etc.; also an itinerary, and roster of embassy personnel and horses; *kwŏn* 5–6, *Kanjŏng p'iltam* 乾淨筆譚, or Kan-cheng Brush talks, named from a neighborhood in Peking where many of these talks took place. The following dates are taken from Hong's work, but there is no diary proper in it.

Lv Seoul	Ch'ien-lung 30,	11/ 2	=1765	Dec. 13
Ar Peking		12/27	1766	Feb. 6
Lv Peking	Ch'ien-lung 31,	3/ 1		Apr. 8
Ar Seoul		4/20		May 28

15. 1777 *Yŏnhaeng kisa* 燕行記事, 2 *kwŏn*; *Kyŏnmun chapki* 見

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聞雜記, 2 *kwŏn* +app. Yi Kap 李坪 (*cha* Sin'gyŏng 信卿, 1737–after 1778), deputy ambassador on the Solsticial Embassy of 1777.

YS, 2:556–693. Hand copy, very clear; seal of Seoul National University Library. The *Yŏnhaeng kisa* is the diary proper, with full quotation of many official documents, rosters, lists, etc. The *Kyŏnmun chapki* is a collection of miscellaneous notes on things seen and heard. The appendix contains poems written during the trip.

Lv Seoul	Ch'ien-lung 42,	10/27	=1777	Nov. 26
Ar Peking		12/27	1778	Jan. 25
Lv Peking	Ch'ien-lung 43	2/11		Mar. 9
Ar Seoul		3/28		Apr. 24

16. 1787 *Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄. Yu Ŏnho 俞彥鎬 (*ho* Ch'ŭkchihŏn 則止軒, 1730–96), chief ambassador on the Solsticial Embassy of 1787.

YS, 2:1153–1203. Partly hand copy, clear; partly manuscript, grass. Preface by a relative, Yu Hanjun 俞漢雋 (1732–1811), undated. P. 1154, a portrait of Yu Ŏnho and a specimen of King Chŏngjo's calligraphy. Pp. 1155–59, roster of embassy, lists of animals and baggage (these parts in clear hand copy). Pp. 1160–96, diary proper, manuscript, grass hand. Pp. 1197–98, documents transmitted by embassy. Pp. 1199–1203, interim reports sent from various places along the route (these latter parts all in clear hand copy).

Lv Seoul	Ch'ien-lung 52,	10/29	=1787	Nov. 29
Ar Peking		12/25	1788	Feb. 1
Lv Peking	Ch'ien-lung 53	2/ 5		Mar. 12
Ar Seoul		3/24		Apr. 29

17. 1790 *Yŏnhaenggi* 燕行記, 4 *kwŏn*. Sŏ Hosu 徐浩修 (*cha* Yangjik 養直, 1736–99), deputy ambassador on Special Embassy of 1790.

YS, 1:431–534. Hand copy, clear. Topical notes and digressions entered under appropriate dates but separated from the diary text by small circles.

Lv Seoul	Ch'ien-lung 55,	5/27	=1790	Jul. 9
Ar Peking		7/25		Sept. 3
Lv Peking		9/ 4		Oct. 11
Ar Seoul		10/22		Nov. 28

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18. 1791 ***Yŏnhaengnok*** 燕行錄. Kim Chŏngjung 金正中 (18th century). Kim's position on the Solsticial Embassy of 1791 is not transparently clear.

YS, 1:535–611. Hand copy, clear but small. Pp. 537–42, itinerary. Pp. 542–45, letters to various people about the embassy. Pp. 545–46, preface of Chŏng Kahyŏn 程嘉賢 (? or Ch'eng Chia-hsien), dated 1793. Pp. 546–608, diary proper. Pp. 608–11, miscellaneous notes.

Lv Seoul	Ch'ien-lung 56,	11/ 3	=1791	Nov. 28
Ar Peking		12/23	1792	Jan. 16
Lv Peking	Ch'ien-lung 57,	1/28		Feb. 20
Ar Seoul		3/15		Apr. 6

19. 1798 ***Muo yŏnhaengnok*** 戊午燕行錄, 6 ***kwŏn***. Sŏ Yumun 徐有聞 (*cha* Haksu 鶴叟, 1762–after 1816), secretary on Solsticial Embassy of 1798.

YS, 2:921–1152. Hand copy. This diary is written in Korean (the only such in the *YS* collection), and copied in the ornate but hard-to-read Palace Style (***kungch'e*** 宮体) ***han'gŭl***. In the entire 232 pages, or 912 leaves, there is not a single Chinese character.

Lv Seoul	Chia-ch'ing 3,	10/19	=1798	Nov. 26
Ar Peking		12/19	1799	Jan. 24
Lv Peking	Chia-ch'ing 4,	2/ 8		Mar. 13
Ar Seoul		3/30		May 4

20. 1801A ***Naengjae sŏjung*** 冷齋書種, 3 ***ch'aek***. Yu Tŭkkong 柳得恭 (*ho* Naengjae 冷齋, 1749–after 1801), aide on a Special Embassy of 1801.

YS, 1:613–68. Clear hand copy. Pp. 616–50, the first two ***ch'aek*** are from Yu's collected works, ***Naengjae sŏ pyŏngse chip*** 冷齋書並世集, and consist of brief biographical notes of Chinese scholars met during Yu's various travels to China, and to poems received from them (lists on p. 616 and p. 635). The second ***ch'aek*** also has notes and poems of Japanese, apparently gathered by someone on the 1763–64 embassy to Edo, and of Annamese and Ryukyuan scholars met in Peking. ***Ch'aek*** 3 has the general title of either ***Yŏndaerok*** 燕臺錄 (as at the beginning) or ***Yŏndae chaeyurok*** 燕臺再遊錄 (as at the end and on margins). Pp. 651–65: biographical notes, entitled ***Kyoyu sŏngmyŏng*** 交遊姓名, of 13 students at the Shen-yang (Mukden) Shu-yüan, 41 Peking "gentlemen, licentiates, candidates and common-

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ers," and 4 Ryukyuan envoys. Pp. 665–68: miscellaneous notes, including several on the antibandit campaigns in various provinces. There is no diary proper in this work; the itinerary of the trip alone appears on p. 652.

Lv Seoul	Chia-ch'ing 6,	2/15	=1801	Mar. 28
Ar Peking		4/ 1		May 13
Lv Peking		5/ 3		Jun. 13
Ar Seoul		6/11		Jul. 21

21. 1801B *Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄. Yi Kihŏn 李基憲 (*cha* Onjung 溫仲, 1763–after 1802), secretary on the Solsticial Embassy of 1801.

YS, 2:694–799. Hand copy, clear. Seal of Yi Kihŏn himself. The work is divided into several parts: *Yŏnhaeng sinyu* 燕行詩軸 (pp. 699–717), poems written on trip. *Yŏnhaeng ilgi kyebon* 燕行日記啓本 (pp. 718–28), official diary of the embassy, as submitted, with appendix, *Mun'gyŏn sakŏn sipsamjo* 聞見事件十三條, 13 items of things seen and heard (pp. 728–31). On pp. 732–33, roster of the embassy. On pp. 734–99, the *Yŏnhaeng ilgi* 燕行日記, 2 *ch'aek*, personal diary.

Lv Seoul	Chia-ch'ing 6,	10/27	=1801	Dec. 2
Ar Peking		12/24	1802	Jan. 27
Lv Peking	Chia-ch'ing 7,	2/ 6		Mar. 9
Ar Seoul		3/30		May 1

22. 1803 *Kyesan kijŏng* 薊山紀程, 5 *kwŏn*. Sŏ Changbo 徐長輔 (*ho* Changgye 長溪, 1767–after 1804), secretary on the Solsticial Embassy of 1803.

YS, 1:669–821. Hand copy, clear. *Kwŏn* 1–4, diary proper. *Kwŏn* 5 (pp. 787–821) is an appendix, with list of positions on the embassy (but no names), itinerary, list of presents given and received, and various monographic topics (food, clothing, buildings, cult, machinery, revenue, etc.).

Lv Seoul	Chia-ch'ing 8,	10/21	=1803	Dec. 4
Ar Peking		12/25	1804	Feb. 6
Lv Peking	Chia-ch'ing 9,	2/ 2		Mar. 13
Ar Seoul		3/25		May 4

23. 1812 *Sok pukhaeng si* 續北行詩. Yi Sisu 李時秀 (*ho* Kŭpkŏn 及健, 1745–1821), chief ambassador on a Special Embassy of 1812.

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YS, 2:800–28. Hand copy, clear. Seal of Seoul National University Library. Preface by Yi Ch'i 李穉, 1813. This entire narrative is written in verse: 1,606 five-word couplets, or 16,060 characters. Pp. 823–28, various prefaces and colophons, all dated 1813. There is nothing to indicate the actual dates of the embassy; those below are from external sources.

Lv Seoul	Chia-ch'ing 17,	7/18 =	1812	Aug. 24
Ar Seoul	Chia-ch'ing 17,	12/ 1	1813	Jan. 3

24. 1828A *Puyŏn ilgi* 赴燕日記. Anonymous. Writer says he went as "physician and companion to the chief ambassador" (p. 833aa).

YS, 2:829–76. Hand copy (?) or manuscript (?), clear to running, with some marginal and interlinear corrections. Seal of late Yi Sangbaek. Pp. 830–32, itinerary. P. 833–53, diary proper. Pp. 853–60, famous sights. Pp. 860–75, monographic topics. P. 876, list of food supplied while at Lodge.

Lv Seoul	Tao-kuang 8,	4/13 =	1828	May 26
Ar Peking		6/ 9		Jul. 20
Lv Peking		8/13		Sept. 21
Ar Seoul		10/ 4		Nov. 10

25. 1828B *Simjŏn ko* 心田稿. Pak Saho 朴思浩 (*ho* Simjŏn 心田, 19th century), military aide on the Solsticial Embassy of 1828.

YS, 1:823–929. Hand copy, clear. Divided into several sections: *Yŏn'gi kijŏng* 燕薊紀程, diary proper (pp. 914–29); *Si* 詩, poems written on trip (pp. 863–80); *Yugwan chamnok* 留館雜錄, part 1, biographical notes, monographic topics (pp. 881–913); part 2, notes on conversations with various Chinese, also letters to them (pp. 914–29).

Lv Seoul	Tao-kuang 8,	10/25 =	1828	Dec. 1
Ar Peking		12/24	1829	Jan. 28
Lv Peking	Tao-kuang 9,	2/ 4		Mar. 8
Ar Seoul		4/ 3		May 6

26. 1829 *Simch'arok* 瀋槎錄. Pak Naegyŏm 朴來謙 (*cha* Kong'ik 公益, 1780–after 1829), secretary on a Special Embassy of 1829, which attended the Emperor in Mukden and did not go to Peking.

YS, 2:877–908. Hand copy, clear. Seal of late Yi Sangbaek. *Simch'a ilgi* 瀋槎日記, journal of trip (pp. 877–905). *Mun'gyŏn sakŏn* 聞見事件, things seen and heard (pp. 905–7). Tao-kuang edict (p. 908).

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Lv Seoul	Tao-kuang 9,	7/16	=1829	Aug. 15
Ar Mukden		8/29		Sept. 26
Lv Mukden		10/ 1		Oct. 28
Ar Seoul		10/24		Nov. 20

27. 1831 *Yŏnhaeng illok* 燕行日錄. Chŏng Wŏn'yong 鄭元容 (*ho* Kyŏngsan 經山, 1783–1873), chief ambassador on the Solsticial Embassy of 1831.

YS, 2:909–20. Hand copy, clear. Seal of Seoul National University Library. This diary begins and ends at Yalu; Seoul dates below are from external sources.

Lv Seoul	Tao-kuang 11,	10/16	=1831	Nov. 19
Cr Yalu		11/20		Dec. 23
Ar Peking		12/18	1832	Jan. 20
Lv Peking	Tao-kuang 12,	2/ 9		Mar. 10
Cr Yalu		3/ 9		Apr. 9
Ar Seoul		3/27		Apr. 27

28. 1832 *Yŏn'wŏn chikchi* 燕轅直指, 6 *kwŏn*. Kim Kyŏngsŏn 金景善 (*ho* Ch'ŏngp'ung 清風, 1788–after 1851), secretary on the Solsticial Embassy of 1832.

YS, 1:933–1188. Hand copy, extremely clear. Author's preface, undated, p. 933. *Kwŏn* 1–2, *Ch'ulgangnok* 出彊錄 (pp. 934–1016), diary as far as Peking, with abundant topical sections on famous sights, customs, embassy business and documentation (among the latter items, on pp. 959–64, a long report on visit of English ship *Lord Amherst* to Korean western islands in summer 1832), etc. *Kwŏn* 3–5, *Yugwannok* 留館錄 (pp. 1017–1118), diary of stay in Peking, likewise with many topical sections. On p. 1017, a diagram of Peking walls and gates—not quite the 北京全圖 of the caption. Also in *kwŏn* 5 is the *Hoejŏngnok* 回程錄 (pp. 1119–43), diary of the return trip, again with many topical sections. *Kwŏn* 6, *Yugwan pyŏllok* 留館別錄 (pp. 1144–88), monographic topics—flora, fauna, architecture, revenues, produce, etc. In addition to his own observations, Kim Kyŏngsŏn frequently cites those of earlier travelers, making this one of the most comprehensive of all the Peking diaries in *YS*.

Lv Seoul	Tao-kuang 12,	10/20	=1832	Dec. 11
Ar Peking		12/19	1833	Feb. 8
Lv Peking	Tao-kuang 13,	2/ 7		Mar. 27
Ar Seoul		4/ 2		May 20

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29. 1876 ***Yŏnhaengnok*** 燕行錄. Im Hansu 林翰洙 (*ho* Songsŏk 松石, 1817–86), deputy ambassador on a Special Embassy of 1876.

YS, 2:1204–33. Hand copy, clear but small. Seal of late Yi Sangbaek. ***Yŏnhaeng nojŏng*** 燕行路程 (pp. 1204–29), diary of trip, going and return. Very sketchy for period of stay in Peking. ***Okhagwan surok*** 玉河館搜錄 (pp. 1229–33), various notes on Peking and on China generally, including a historical sketch of Taiwan (p. 1232).

Lv Seoul	Kuang-hsü 2,	5/16 =1876	Jun. 7
Ar Peking		6/10	Jul. 30
Lv Peking		8/ 7	Sept. 24
Ar Seoul		9/24	Nov. 9

30. 1887 ***Yŏnch'a ilgi*** 燕槎日記, 4 ***kwŏn***. Yi Sŭng'o 李承五 (*cha* Kyusŏ 奎瑞, 1837–after 1887), chief ambassador on a Special Embassy of 1887.

YS, 2:1236–82. Hand copy, clear. This copy appears to have been owned by the late Kim Sanggi 金庠基, who has written several notes on pages inserted between ***kwŏn*** 2–3 and 3–4. All four ***kwŏn*** are taken up with the diary, which is mostly limited to embassy business and has very little tourist content. Colophon of Kim Pyŏngsi 金炳始 dated 1888. 崇禎紀元后五戊子季夏

Lv Seoul	Kuang-hsü 13,	4/22 =1887	May 14
Ar Peking		5/26	Jul. 16
Lv Peking		8/ 8	Sept. 24
Ar Seoul		9/29	Nov. 14

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GLOSSARY

Chaejahaeng 賫咨行
Chang Ching 張經
Cheng Shih-t'ai 鄭世泰
Chi-chou 薊州
chien i 簡儀
Ch'in t'ien chien 欽天監
chinju sahaeng 進奏使行
chinwi sahaeng 陳慰使行
chŏngsa 正使
Ch'ŏngsim hwan 清心丸
Chu Yen 朱言
Chu chih ch'ün cheng 主制群徵
chuch'ŏng sahaeng 奏請使行
Fei Yin 費隱
Huang Ming 皇明
hun hsiang 渾象
hun t'ien i 渾天儀
I-jan 毅然
Kim Hŭirip (Chin Hsi-li) 金希立
kobu sahaeng 告訃使行
kuan hsiang t'ai 觀象台
Kuo Shou-ching 郭守敬
Kyujanggak 奎章閣
Liu-li ch'ang 琉璃廠
Liu Sung-li 劉松齡
Lun 倫

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Pak Chiwŏn	朴趾源
Pao Yu-kuan	鮑友管
p'iltam	筆譚
pusa	副使
San shan lun hsueh chi	三山論學記
saŭn sahaeng	謝恩使行
Shih-ts'un	石存
Shu ching chi chuan	書經集傳
Sohyŏn	昭顯
sŏjanggwan	書狀官
Ssu-ch'eng	思誠
Ting	丁
Ting Han-chang	丁含章
t'i-tu	提督
tongji sahaeng	冬至使行
Tongmun hwigo	同文彙考
Tung-yüeh	東嶽
Wang-hai t'ing	望海亭
Yŏn'am	燕巖
Yŏn'gi	燕記
Yŏrha ilgi	熱河日記
Yü-ho ch'iao	玉河橋
Yü-ho kuan	玉河館

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for:

...millionaire financier" (1720, *man'gŭm* *chaeju* 510bb-511aa).

read:

...millionaire financier (*man'gum chaeju*)" (1720, 510bb-511aa).

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an important paragraph has been inadvertently left out following the quoted passage that ends ". . .What a cause for regret!" Please insert at this point the following:

Ming Memories

Koreans had had a very difficult time adapting to the Manchu conquest of China. No dynasty founded by barbarian conquerors could hope to have the legitimacy of a genuine Chinese dynasty, especially one in which Confucian Korea had invested so much loyalty and affection. The fall of the Ming dynasty was never spiritually accepted by many people. The last Ming year period, Ch'ung-chen, was still being used in Korea in the early twentieth century by some ever-hopeful fanatics. The Manchus may have been strong and powerful, and they may even have favored Confucian scholars and the polite arts, but they did not have that precious thing which Korea felt it had: the legitimacy that arose from faithful service to Ming.

It is hard for us now to imagine . . .

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On p. 33, line 15, the sentence "Finally, Hong's complete collected writings . . . edited by Chong Inbo" is misplaced under Item No. 11, and should be transferred to the end of Item No. 14, on p. 34.

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