



# A Fortress Made in Heaven (Namhansanseong of Gwangju) and the City of a King's Dreams (Hwaseong Fortress of Suwon)

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### *Introduction*

Namhansanseong is a mountain fortress located upstream of Han River, which flows across Seoul. Although the term mountain fortress might conjure the image of a fortification hidden high up in the steep mountains, such as Masada in Israel, Namhansanseong was a mountain fortress city where over 4,000 lived within its walls until its function no longer available.

One of the basic requirements of a city is the existence of a network of roads that enable the administrative, military, and economic exchange with other cities. Namhansanseong was not only close to the waterway via Han River but was key geographically for land transportation as it was part of the beacon route connecting Hanyang, the capital city of Joseon (present-day Seoul), with Chungcheong and Gyeongsang Provinces.

Historically, however, Namhansanseong recalls a scene of humiliation. During the early seventeenth century, when Qing was increasingly seizing power over Northeast Asia in place of Ming, Namhansanseong became the site where Joseon's king surrendered to the newly emerging forces led by the Emperor of Qing, Hong Taiji. Be that as it may, this surrender was not because of a defect in Namhansanseong's defensive capacity. It was instead a conscious choice driven by external factors, which included members of the royal household who had taken refuge in Ganghwa Island being taken hostage. The gates of Namhansanseong were tight enough to stay closed even under force, and the Joseon court poured much effort into further reinforcing the fortress after the second Manchu invasion of 1636.

Namhansanseong was inscribed on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s World Heritage List following the 38<sup>th</sup> Session of the World Heritage Committee held in Qatar,

Doha, in 2014. The committee recognized two Outstanding Universal Values out of the ten selection criteria, namely, Criterion (ii), which is about the site exhibiting an important interchange of human values, and Criterion (iv), which is about the site's value as an example illustrating a significant stage in human history.

Historically military sites such as fortresses were gruesome places of life and death, but they were also structures reflecting the most advanced architectural skills for building fortifications. While keeping in mind its value as a world heritage, the present article hopes to shed light on some of the aspects of Namhansanseong and its values that are less well known.

### **Location**

Situated 21.5 km southeast from Gyeongbokgung Palace in Seoul, the current capital of the Republic of Korea and the then capital of the Joseon dynasty, Namhansanseong was a shelter that could be reached the same day, in 8 hours and 20 minutes by walking 29 km, in case of an emergency.

Cheongnyang Mountain, the main peak of Namhansanseong 497 m above sea level, rises higher towards the west where Seoul lies and lower on the east. The slope on the west looking towards Seoul is particularly steep and difficult to climb. According to Treatise on Northern Learning (*Bukhakui* 北學議) by Bak Jega, a scholar of the school of Practical Learning during late Joseon, the terrain was as harsh as the terrain near Liaodong on the way to China, which included the infamously rugged Motianling Pass or Qingshiling Pass. In fact, the view of the snow-covered mountain from Namhansanseong during the winter, which was also when King Injo took refuge in Namhansanseong, makes it clear that the “fortress was made in heaven” as Yu Hyeongwon wrote in his *Geography of Korea* (*Dongguk yeojiji* 東國輿地誌), emphasizing how it was a gift of nature made by the heavens.

The eastern terrain, in contrast, was relatively more vulnerable. To compensate for this, the East Gate was built to be deep within the fortress, making it possible to attack any approaching enemy from both sides at once. A long staircase was also built in front of the gate to prevent horses or carriages from approaching. The area inside the fortress, which spread across 2.3 km<sup>2</sup>, was shaped like a flat basin that gently sloped down towards the east, which allowed all water within the walls to flow east.

Dasan Jeong Yakyong, one of the most representative scholars of Practical Learning in the late Joseon, wrote of the locations of fortresses that could protect the lives of the people in *Discussion of National Defense* (*Minboui*, 民堡議). Jeong Yakyong divided the terrains of Korea optimal for building fortresses into four types depending on the shapes of the mountain peaks. The first type was the *gorobong* 桂峯 type, where the land surrounded by high mountains on all sides was depressed like a basin. The second type was the *sanbong* 蒜峯 type, in which the peak of the mountain was a wide plateau that cut off abruptly on all four sides. The third was the *samobong* 紗帽峯 type, in which the fortress wall was built between two different-sized peaks so that people could reside within. The fourth type was the *maanbong* 馬鞍峯 type, which differed from the third type only in that both peaks were of the same size, resulting in a fortress shaped like a horse saddle. Among these four, Jeong Yakyong argued that the terrain best for enabling the people to protect themselves on their own was the first type and listed Namhansanseong as one of its most typical examples.

### **History**

The oldest archeological evidence of human existence discovered in Namhansanseong is the pit dwelling and earthenware presumably dating back to the Baekje period that was excavated in the garden behind the temporary place (*haenggung*). Although there are many theories that see the early capital of Baekje as being around Seoul, the more persuasive argument is based on the *Annals of Baekje* (*Baekje bongi*) of *The History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk sagi*). Here, there is an entry of King Onjo, the founder of Baekje, climbing up Buaak Mountain upon reaching Hansan Mountain in 18 BC and listening to his court officials speak of the surrounding scenery. Given their description of the landscape as “Hansu River lies along the north like a belt, a high mountain rises towards the east, a fertile meadow stretches out towards the south, and a vast sea blocks the west,” and considering the aforementioned excavated traces of Baekje, the most plausible theory is that Buaak Mountain is the peak of Cheongnyang Mountain, where the West Command Post (Suejangdae) is.

The remarkable terrain upon which Namhansanseong stood has been actively used since the Unified Silla period. The *Annals of Silla* (*Silla bongi*) of *The History of the Three Kingdoms* record that Jujang Fortress was constructed in Hansan Province in the year 672. When Baekje fell at the hands of the joint

campaign carried out by Silla and Tang in 660, Tang installed the Commandery of Ungjin (Ungjin dodokbu) as a local administrative office and even went on in 663 to install the Grand Commandery of Gyerim (Gyerim daedodokbu) in Gyeongju, the then capital of Silla, in an attempt to govern over the Korean peninsula. When Tang bared its teeth after Goguryeo collapsed in 668 by installing the Protectorate-General to Pacify the East (Andong dohobu) in Pyeongyang, plainly showing its ambitions to conquer the Korean peninsula, Silla went to war with Tang starting from 670.

The closest battles took place in the central region of the Korean peninsula along Han River. In 672, Silla constructed Jujang Fortress (present-day Namhansanseong), a stone fortress at Hansan Province overlooking the entire Han River, and created a site for other buildings within the fortress walls. Unified Silla used the fortress as a strategic point for battle, and the war between Tang and Silla came to an end after Silla won the Battle of Maecho Fortress in 675.

Not many records on Namhansanseong exist from the Goryeo period. The inscription on the gravestone of Yi Sehwa, which is featured in *Addendum to the Collected Works of Minister Yi of the Eastern Kingdom* (*Dongguk Yi Sangguk hujip*) written by the renowned writer and civil official Yi Gyubo, writes of the invasion of the Mongols and mentions Gwangju Fortress. More specifically, the inscription recounts that the Mongols invaded Goryeo in 1231, surrounded Gaeseong, and continued down south to attack the Gwangju Fortress. The fortress, however, was successfully defended by the united efforts of the people of Gwangju under the command of the then Gwangju magistrate, Yi Sehwa. Gwangju Fortress here is thought to be Namhansanseong. The people of Gwangju were exempted from their duties of compulsory labor and tribute tax as a reward for successfully defending Gwangju Fortress from the Mongols.

After that, however, with the exception of the occasional discussion of its repair, Namhansanseong seems to have been largely neglected until the Japanese invaded in 1592. The then regional defense system, the system of the garrison-command (*jingwan cheje*), which regarded each local village as a strategic center of defense, had been the way Joseon had dealt with Japanese pirate attacks. But when this defense system collapsed helplessly in face of a massive invasion of 290,000 Japanese troops, an alternative defense system that saw the walled cities as the strategic center was put into place with the founding of the Military Training Directorate (Hullyeon dogam).

Repairs and renovations of Namhansanseong began in earnest after the Rebellion of Yi Gwal. When Yi Gwal, the Army Commander (Byeongma jeoldosa) of Hamgyeong Province and one of the largest contributors in instating King Injo, was accused of treason, and when his son was taken to Hanyang, he rose up in rebellion. In consequence, King Injo abandoned Hanyang and had to flee to Gongju. Although the rebellion was suppressed, the rebellion reminded the court of the importance of defending the capital. After much consideration, particularly of the fortress's proximity to Hanyang and its key location in the travels to and from Chungcheong and Gyeongsang Provinces, a two-year project starting from 1624 to repair and further construct Namhansanseong began.

Yi Seo, the General of the Command of the Northern Approaches (Chongyungsa), who was in charge of defending the capital, was appointed to oversee the construction of Namhansanseong. A large number of Buddhist monks experienced in building Buddhist temples also took part. The Great Preceptor Byeokam Gakseong, who led the Buddhist monks as the General Commissioner (Dochongseop), divided the 8.9 km-long Namhansanseong into eight sections and saw to the repair and construction of old and new Buddhist temples in each section. Buddhist monks from all over the country took turns to come to Namhansanseong to run the eight Buddhist temples established during this time and took charge of maintaining the walls of Namhansanseong and producing gunpowder.

Upon the completion of the repair and reinforcement of Namhansanseong in 1626, the Gwangju special administrative unit (*yusubu*) was moved inside the fortress, thus forming the seat of town administration (*eupchi*), and the fortress was to be well maintained so as to serve as a shelter in case of emergency. People relocating to the fortress city were exempted from compulsory labor, resulting in around 4,000 people moving inside the newly born mountain fortress city.

The renovated Namhansanseong emerged back onto stage during the invasion of Qing, the newly emerging power of Northeast Asia. The second Manchu invasion in 1636 was Qing's attempt to firmly establish its relationship with Joseon, who had until then maintained a close relationship with Ming, the existing ruler of China.

At that time, Ganghwado Island, which had served as shelter during the Goryeo period in face of the invasion by the Mongols, was also the established shelter in case of an attack from the north. The Qing army, however, moved fast

to cut off the roads leading to Ganghwado Island, and the royal household had no choice but to turn around and enter Namhansanseong.

However, when Ganghwado Island ironically fell to the Ming navy, who had surrendered to Qing, and Grand Prince Bongnim, who had fled in advance, was caught and taken into captivity, the 47-day resistance came to an end. The king of Joseon went below the fortress to Samjeondo to surrender, thus marking the end of the second Manchu invasion. The invasion of 1636 was among the few wars of Qing in which the Qing emperor fought in person. Although Qing used weapons such as the *hongipao*, a European-style muzzle-loading culverin, to carry out a full-out attack on Namhansanseong, they were unable to bring it down.

Realizing that it would not be easy to conquer a fortress in Joseon, Qing signed a new treaty with Joseon, which included the item that no new fortress could be built in Joseon nor could any preexisting one be repaired. Nevertheless, after actually seeing how Namhansanseong served as a stronghold in defense during the second Manchu invasion, many kings visited the fortress—King Sukjong in 1688, King Yeongjo in 1730, King Jeongjo in 1779, King Cheoljong in 1862, and King Gojong in 1867—and saw that it was repaired and expanded. Namhansanseong was thus used as a shelter that guaranteed security and safety until the early twentieth century, when Japan forced its way into the Korean peninsula and destroyed the armory and storage of gun power in 1907.

### **The Walls**

Namhansanseong is constituted of a fortress body and the outer walls. The former was built upon Jujang Fortress of Unified Silla, while the latter included Bongam Outer Wall, which came under attack from the Qing army, and Hanbong Outer Wall, both of which lie towards the east, and Sinnam Outer Wall, a smaller defensive structure constructed on top of Geomdan Mountain towards the south.

Namhansanseong stretches along a total distance of 11.76 km, which is made up by 9.05 km of the fortress body and 2.71 km of the outer walls. Four gates controlled the north, south, east, and west entrances. The South Gate, initially named Jinnammun 鎮南門 following its position when first erected, was changed to Jihwamun 至和門 in 1779 during King Jeongjo's visit. By the same

token, the North Gate was newly named Jeonseungmun 全勝門; the East Gate, Jwaikmun 左翼門; and the West Gate, Uikmun 右翼門.

In addition to the official entrances, there were secret gates—twelve in the fortress body and four in the outer wall—that provided access into the fortress without the enemy's knowledge. Because these secret gates took different forms depending on the period in which they were built, they also prove useful in the periodization of the construction.

A unique feature of Namhansanseong is the long outworks (*ongseong* 豔城) that extend out from the fortress wall. Namhansanseong has a total of five outworks—three towards the south, one towards the north, and one towards the east. Early records refer to them as the South Outworks, the North Outwork, and the East Outwork, respectively. Currently, however, the North Outwork is called Yeonjubong Outwork and the East Outwork is called Janggyeongsa-sinji Outwork. The inscription on the South Outworks indicates that they were built in 1638 after the second Manchu invasion occurred in 1636. All of the outworks have a bastion installed, indicating that they were structures of additional defense in major locations after the invasion.

Structures protruding or projecting out from the walls in order to efficiently combat enemy forces climbing up the walls are called lookouts (*chiseong* 雄城). Namhansanseong has a total of five lookouts located where the outworks are, with an exception of the lookout on the east side, which is not attached to the Janggyeongsa-sinji Outwork but built where Bongam Outer Wall and Hanbong Outer Wall meet. Depending on when it was constructed, the ratio of the width to the length of the lookout differs. The lookouts with a larger width were likely built during the Jujang Fortress period of Unified Silla, while those longer in length were newly built during the Joseon period.

A variety of stones, from the stones used during the Unified Silla period to those used during the late Joseon, were used to build the fortress. Granite was mainly used during the Unified Silla era. Considering that the area of Namhansanseong is geographically constituted of gneiss, the building material would have been brought from granite supplies far away. As most of the existing historical artifacts made of stone dating from the Unified Silla period, such as stone pagodas, were made of granite, it seems safe to say that granite was the preferred material of choice in building fortresses in Unified Silla. The stones shaped for construction measured 18 to 20 cm by 25 to 35 cm with a back root of 20 to 40 cm and were curved outward, like a kernel of corn.

The stones used during the Joseon period were mainly gneiss quarried near Namhansanseong. The sizes ranged from 20 to 30 cm to larger ones measuring 35 to 70 cm, with the larger ones used at the bottom and the smaller ones used towards the top. The outward surfaces of the stones were rectangular and were not curved but finished flat.

Standing on top of the fortress body was the parapet (*yeojang* 女牆). This structure was for hiding from the gunfire and arrows coming from the enemy and for carrying out attacks more efficiently. Each parapet had three embrasures for firing guns, whose slopes varied depending on their use: the embrasure in the middle was meant for firing at short range, while those on either side were for firing at long range.

Initially, the parapet was built with unprocessed stone, but after the second Manchu invasion in 1636, traditional bricks baked in a kiln near the First South Outwork were used for its construction. According to the records of *The Revised Records of Namhansanseong (Jungjeong Namhanji* 重訂南漢志), the roof section was rebuilt with roof tiles during the reign of King Yeongjo. Following this, King Jeongjo, during the repair of the fortress body, used brick roofs. The current appearance attests to these records, as the fortress body is covered with brick roofs while the outer walls, which were not repaired during the reign of King Jeongjo, uses roof tiles.

Lying in the four cardinal directions of the fortress body and on the outer walls were command posts (*jangdae*) overseen by commanding officers. All of the command posts, except for the West Command Post, have been lost, and only traces remain of their existence. According to a map, the West Command Post and the South Command Post were two-storied structures, the second story of which were made into wooden pavilions (*nu* 樓) where soldiers could climb onto. Both the West and South Command Posts held a higher status above other command posts, evidenced by the fact that their second stories were given a separate name: Mumangnu 無忘樓 Pavilion and Taunnu 瞵雲樓 Pavilion for the second stories of the West and South Command Posts, respectively. The West Command Post in particular was where the Sueosa, the Chief Commander of the Sueocheong, the Defense Command, commanded from the highest point of the entire Namhansanseong. It was thus consequently granted a wooden nameplate with the title Sueojangdae 守禦將臺.

In sum, Namhansanseong is a fortress embodying all the stages of its construction from the Unified Silla period to the mid and late Joseon and

reflect the development of new weaponry and the subsequent defense strategies devised in response. This important characteristic fulfilled Criterion (iv) of the outstanding universal value and led to its inscription on the World Heritage List.

### ***Local Administrative Facilities***

Within Namhansanseong, the seat of town administration of Gwangju-bu coexisted with the military facilities of the Sueocheong. Initially, the Gwangju magistrate was also entrusted with the task of defending the fortress, but starting from 1632, the Sueosa was appointed separately, thus forming a dual management system in which the head of the Gwangju-bu was in charge of administration while the head of the Sueacheong took care of military affairs. This however, led to frequent conflict, and the system oscillated between a unified and dual systems before finally settling into place in 1795 during King Jeongjo's reign, when Gwangju-bu was elevated to Gwangju-yusubu, or special administrative unit tasked with mission of guarding the fortress city. Thus, the head of the *yusubu*, the *yusu*, was also the head of the Sueocheong, the Sueosa. The position was readjusted to rotate every two years in order to prevent frequent turnover.

The administrative facilities of Gwangju-yusubu that still remain to this day are Haenggung, or temporary palace, where the king stayed when he was visiting Namhansanseong; Inhwagwan 人和館, the royal guesthouse where the local magistrates stayed and performed rituals to the king twice a month; Sungryeoljeon 崇烈殿, a shrine housing the spiritual tablets of King Onjo, the founder of Baekje; Hyeonjeolsa 顯節祠, a shrine to commemorate the three scholars who lost their lives from rejecting the conclusion of peace during the second Manchu invasion in 1636; and Cheongnyangdang 清涼堂, a shaman shrine to console the souls that lost their lives during the construction of Namhansanseong.

The construction of the Haenggung in the center of the fortress began in 1625, the year after repair began on Namhansanseong, and continued until the following year. "Namhansanseongdo" (The Illustration of Namhansanseong) drawn in the late seventeenth century provides a view of how the Haenggung would have looked like in 1626 upon its completion. According to this drawing, the Haenggung comprised three courts, just like the palaces in the

capital, although on a smaller scale, thus including the outer court (*oejo*), where the court officials stayed, the ruling court (*chijo*), where the king carried out his official duties, and the resting court (*yeonjo*), where the king mainly resided in.

During the reign of King Sukjong, the Left Hall (*jwajeon*) and the Right Room (*usil*) were built on the left and right of the Haenggung, respectively, thereby providing a place to enshrine the spiritual tablets of the royal ancestral shrine and the altar for the deities of earth and grain. The fact that these facilities, which symbolized the legitimacy of the state, were also installed at the Haenggung meant that Namhansanseong was recognized as a subcapital that could replace the capital in times of emergency. After the unification of the administrative and military system under the reign of King Jeongjo, additional administrative facilities including Jwaseungdang, the local governor's office, and Iljanggak, the local administration hall, were built towards the left of Haenggung under the reign of King Sunjo, further expanding the area of Haenggung.

The architectural styles of the buildings of the Haenggung reflected the buildings' status. The central buildings holding the highest status, namely, the Naehaengjeon, the king's living quarters, and the Oehaengjeon, the king's office quarters, strictly complied with the format of the inner court of the palaces in the capital, thus installing a *daecheong*, a wooden hall, the size of three *kan*, with a room on each side, and a hallway built around the rooms. Unlike the palaces within the capital, however, the decorations were downgraded. The king's living quarters in the upper palace, where the king usually stayed when he visited, was decorated in the *iikgong* style, that is, two pieces of wing-shaped material overlapped in the wooden brackets above the pillars, and the king's office quarters in the lower palace was decorated by the *mulikgong* style, in which the ends of the wing-shaped material were not sharp but rounded, even though it was a space of governing. In addition, the buildings along the central axis inhabited by the king used round columns to signify the heavens while the peripheral buildings used by court officials used square columns to signify the earth, illustrating how the buildings meant to signify the harmony between the heavens and the earth.

Another trace of history discovered in the Haenggung during its restoration was the enormous roof tile along with traces of a site of a building dating back to the Unified Silla period. These artifacts were discovered in the lower stratum of the earth underneath the Haenggung. The excavated roof tile

weighed almost 18 kg, more than four times the weight of the more commonly seen roof tiles. The building site of the ruins measured 53 m with a wall thickness reaching 2 m, indicating that there was another fortress built inside the fortress wall.

Sungnyeoljeon, which lay beyond the mountain ridge behind the royal ancestral shrine of the Haenggung, was a place that housed the spiritual tablets of King Onjo and Wanpunggun Yi Seo, who had been in charge of the construction of Namhansanseong. The shrine of King Onjo used to be in Jiksan-eup Cheonan-si, South Chungcheong Province, in early Joseon but was lost during the Japanese Invasion of 1592. In 1638, or the 16<sup>th</sup> year under King Injo, the so-called tomb of King Onjo was relocated to Namhansanseong.

The story of how the tomb of the founder of Baekje came to be located in Namhansanseong goes as follows. In 1779, when King Jeongjo came to Namhansanseong, the Chief State Councilor Kim Sangcheol reported to the king that "The Great King Injo dreamt that King Onjo came to him and alerted him to the approach of enemy forces. The benevolent King Injo, woke up alarmed and ordered his men to survey the area, upon which it was proven that his dream was true. King Injo ordered strong men to defeat the enemy forces. Because many were captured or killed, King Injo specially ordered on the day he returned to the capital that the tomb of King Onjo be built and that ancestor worship rites be performed in the spring and autumn. Such is the mystery of things."

Sungnyeoljeon is constituted by the main shrine building, where the spiritual tablet of King Onjo is housed, and a subordinate building below it, where the spiritual tablet of General Yi Seo is enshrined. The Jeonsacheong building, where the ritual vessels and utensils were stored, also stood below the main shrine. Below the narrow gate stood the auditorium hall, an educational facility, and the main gate, a three-doorway gate in which the middle one was the tallest.

While it was a common practice to house the spiritual tablet of meritorious subjects on either side below the shrine of the king, keeping a spiritual tablet of an official of a later dynasty below that of the king of a preceding dynasty was a rare arrangement. The subordinate building enshrining the spiritual tablet of Yi Seo, which stood facing east below the main shrine of Sungnyeoljeon, became to be arranged as such, it was said, because of a dream King Injo dreamt. King Onjo apparently appeared in King Injo's dream and requested to be placed

together with an eminent subject since it was lonesome to be alone. King Injo accordingly had King Onjo's spiritual tablet placed together with that of a meritorious official who had been in charge of building Namhansanseong. Ancestor worship rites of Sungnyeoljeon have been performed on every fifth day of the ninth month of the lunar year. Additionally, on the first and fifteenth of every month, the Chambong, the person in charge of carrying out the ritual, and the Yusa, a minor officer, carry out an incense-burning rite. The ancestor worship rituals of Sungnyeoljeon have been designated as the first local intangible cultural property of Gwangju city.

Hyeonjeolsa was a shrine constructed to commemorate the loyalty and integrity of the three scholars, Hong Ikhan, Yun Jip, and O Dalje, who ultimately refused to surrender to Qing during the second Manchu invasion of 1636 and ended up being dragged to and executed in present-day Shenyang, China. The three figures had strongly argued to fight until the last man was standing even though Joseon's forces had been completely surrounded and isolated by Qing Taizong's large army of 120,000 men.

The three scholars were dragged to Qing as hostages along with Crown Prince Sohyeon and Grand Prince Bongnim. All three scholars were executed at the West Gate of Shenyang in 1638, the 15<sup>th</sup> year under King Injo, after refusing to abandon their loyalty. Despite such faithful loyalty and integrity as demonstrated by these figures, however, Qing's influence meant that the Hyeonjeolsa could not be erected immediately. In 1688, the 14<sup>th</sup> year of King Sukjong, Magistrate Yi Sebaek was able to carry out its construction. At this time, the building was named Samsinsa 三臣祠. Finally, in 1693, the 19<sup>th</sup> year of King Sukjong, a wooden plaque with the name Hyeonjeolsa was granted to commemorate the virtuous spirit of Joseon scholars who sacrificed even one's life for loyalty, integrity, and a cause. Later, in 1699, during the 25<sup>th</sup> year of King Sukjong, Kim Sangheon, the leader of those advocating war against Qing, and Jeong On, who had attempted to take his life on the day of surrender, were also enshrined in Hyeonjeolsa. Although Heungseon Daewongun later proclaimed a ban on almost all private academies, Hyeonjeolsa was among the remaining 47 that survived. The sacrificial rites have been performed in Hyeonjeolsa yearly ever since.

Cheongnyangdang shaman shrine, which lies to the left of the West Command Post, Sueojangdae, is said to have come into existence due to the difficult process of constructing Namhansanseong. In 1624, when

Namhansanseong was being built, General Yi Hoe was in charge of the southeastern side while the Great Preceptor Byeokam Gakseong was in charge of the northwest. Yi Hoe's upright character led to his being framed and to his wrongful death, but the truth was uncovered after his death. Cheongnyangdang is said to have been erected in order to console his spirit.

Among historical records, however, it is hard to find any trace of General Yi Hoe. Sim Giwon, the head of the Chongyangcheong, one of the five military divisions of Joseon, was initially appointed to be in charge of the construction of the fortress, but he was forced to leave due to a death in the household. Wanpungun Yi Seo took his place and placed the Great Preceptor Gakseong and Eungseong to be in charge of certain sections of the fortress. Records say that the magistrate Mun Huiseong, the special commander Yi Ilwon, and the adjutant general Yi Gwangchun were in charge of supervising. The name Yi Hoe, however, is nowhere to be found. Another figure with the name Yi Hoe during the similar period exists; this figure, however, was the Assistant Section Chief (*jwarang*) in the Board of Punishments in 1634, or the 12<sup>th</sup> year under King Injo, and does not match the man in charge of the construction that took place ten years earlier.

Nevertheless, during the beginning of the first lunar month, the shamans living nearby would come up and convey their heartfelt wishes. This has to do with General Yi Hoe and with Lady Song, who threw herself into the river after the wrongful death of her husband. To the right of the West Command Post is Falcon Rock. The legend is that a falcon flew there during the execution of Yi Hoe and watched it. It is said that whoever places both their hands on the rock will be granted his or her wish. Even to this day, many people came to receive the strength and energy of Cheongnyang Mountain, which shows just how much tumultuous history and stories Namhansanseong holds.

### **Military Facilities**

As one of the five military divisions for guarding the capital, many facilities related to the Sueocheong, including warehouses to store food and weaponry, existed in Namhansanseong. The military facilities that still remain even after Namhansanseong no longer performed this function include Yeonmugwan 演武館, the pavilion for command and military training; Chimgwaejeong 枕戈亭, an arsenal; Jisudang 池水堂 Pavilion, which stood by a pond formed by

collecting the water within the fortress, and Janggyeongsa 長慶寺 Temple and Mangwolsa 望月寺 Temple, temples for the management and maintenance of the fortress walls.

The main military facility related to the Sueocheong Defense Command was Yeonmugwan, the pavilion for command and military training of the Sueoyeong, the central army forces. The pavilion currently exists on a hill east to Namhansan Elementary School, which lies on a path leading down from Jonggak Avenue, the center of Namhansanseong, and down through the East Gate. Old photographs of *Pictorial Guide to the Ancient Artifacts of Joseon (Joseon gojeok dobo)* show a wide military training ground in front of the pavilion, indicating that it was a place for training soldiers. Currently, however, a parking lot, restaurants, and a police substation standing there make it difficult to image what it used to look like. The pavilion provided a view of the training grounds and this was where King Jeongjo stood to observe the examinations of civil and military officials during his visit as well as experiment with the then newly developed technique of exploding gunpowder underground (*maehwabeop*).

The pavilion was initially called Yeonmudang 鍊武堂 but was given a wooden nameplate saying Yeonbyeonggwan 鍊兵館 when the Sueosa Kim Jaeho improved and repaired the facilities during the reign of King Sukjong. Although renamed Sueoyeong 守禦營 during the reign of King Jeongjo, it was and has since been called Yeonmugwan after that.

The Chimgwaejeong Arsenal stands on the hill standing in the middle of the fortress grounds. The name Chimgwaejeong was written on a wooden plaque by the magistrate Yi Gijin in 1751, the 27<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of King Yeongjo, and meant “to lie on a spear as a pillow,” or in other words, to always be thinking of the country’s safety even in one’s sleep. Magistrate Kim Huisun repaired the Chimgwaejeong and entreated that “Always consider the enemy country and threats to the country’s security to be right in your front yard. When spotting a fault in the fortress, think of how to make it whole again; when seeing the empty stocks of military provisions, think of how to fill them again; and when seeing the ebbing morale of the army, think of how to encourage and inspire them in order to raise morale,” thus reminding the people that prevention is better than the cure.

Chimgwaejeong was known as the weapon manufacturing facility given that the *Map of Namhansanseong (Namhan jido)* shows a facility named *gungi* 軍器, meaning military weaponry, where Chimgwaejeong stood. However, the

floor plan of the building suggests an office facility rather than a warehouse or manufacturing factory. Each room was separated by installing two panels of hinged lattice doors per *kan*. Opening all of the doors created one spacious hall. The more persuasive view therefore is that it was the office of the Sueosa, the head of the Defense Command, just like Jwaseungdang, the office of the magistrate of Gwangju.

Namhansanseong, as the shelter in times of crisis, also needed to procure enough water to drink inside the fortress. The records saying that there were 45 ponds show just how advantageous the geographical location of Namhansanseong was. The water in the fortress flowed east from west following the natural topography. After the water flowed through the village, a large pond and a pondside pavilion called Jisudang were created right before the water flowed out of the East Watergate.

Old maps show that Jisudang used to be located in a square pond adjacent to two other ponds shaped like the character “匚” but after the ground collapsed during the large flood in 1925, only two ponds remain as is the case today.

Another facility in Namhansanseong are military temples (*seungyeong sachal*) for the Buddhist monk army, which took care of the construction and maintenance of the fortress wall ever since they were built in 1624. Originally only Mangwolsa and Okjeongsa temples existed within Namhansanseong, but during the construction of the fortress, several more temples—Gaewonsa, Janggyeongsa, Gukcheongsa, Hanheungsas, Cheonjusa, Namdansa, and Dongnimsa—were newly erected. Instead of existing all in one area, these Buddhist temples were evenly distributed along the fortress at important places.

Among these temples, Gaewonsa in particular was where the General Commissioner (Dochongseop), or head of the monk soldiers of Namhansanseong, stayed. The first General Commissioner was Byeokam Gakseong. Although Buddhism had been oppressed during the early Joseon, the monks’ role in constructing Namhansanseong led to a renewed interest in Buddhism. The Joseon government held the monks’ strong will to defend the country as well as their expertise in architectural technology in high esteem, and monks continued to actively participate in other construction projects led by the state after this.

Some of the monk soldiers continued to reside within Namhansanseong even after its construction was over in order to defend the fortress and carry out repairs along the section each was placed in charge of. The monks were dispatched

from all over the country—except for areas such as Hamgyeong and Pyeongan Provinces that urgently needed their own armed forces to guard against the invasion from the north—and this rotational recruitment system of monks, or a *uiseungnipbeon* system, was operated here for the first time. Since the temples ran by monks stored many weapons and large amounts of gun powder, a firewall was built in order to prevent moisture from entering the pavilion. Such features have been discovered also in the site of Hanheungsa Temple as well. The temples currently managed by Namhansanseong are Janggyeongsa, Mangwolsa, Gaewonsa, and Gukcheongsa, among which Janggyeongsa still retains features from long ago.

In sum, the arrangement of the three courts and the layout of the royal ancestral shrine and altar for earth and grain deities of the Haenggung replicated the layout of the palaces within the capital and followed the principles of the layout of the Chinese capital cities as written in the *Construction Principles of the Zhou Dynasty* (*Zhouli kaogongji*). This fulfills Criterion (ii) among the items of outstanding universal value in regard to the exchange of culture.

### **Conclusion**

The early seventeenth century was a time of tumult for the Korean peninsula. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who united Japan, led to the Invasion of 1592, thereby devastating Joseon. Joseon, in turn, had to pour all its strength and energy into restoring the war-torn land.

The Japanese Invasion of 1592 threw the limitations of the point defense strategy into sharp relief. Operated since early Joseon, the current system had fallen helplessly, not to mention create huge costs in the process of relocating only the king to a refuge without the people inside the city walls. All this consequently led to the recreation of a defense system centered on the capital area.

The Rebellion of Yi Gwal led to the king taking refuge in Gongju. Following this, the search for a shelter near the capital that could guarantee the safety of the king ultimately led to the choice of Namhansanseong. Although Namhansanseong had been constructed during the Unified Silla period, traces of the walls built then remained, providing the basis for its construction in 1624. The following year, a Haenggung where the king could stay was built as well.

Ten years later, when Later Jin, which had steadily been growing stronger in the north of the Korean peninsula, founded the Qing dynasty, the emperor Hong Taiji came to invade Joseon in person prior to their advancement into the Chinese continent. This was the second Manchu invasion of 1636. After 47 days of resistance, the fall of Ganghwado led to the opening of the gates of Namhansanseong, and Joseon surrendered in humiliation at Samjeondo. Still, the heaven-sent location of Namhansanseong proved its worth in the process. Later, notwithstanding the article on the treaty saying that “fortress walls shall not be repaired,” Joseon continued to repair and reinforce Namhansanseong to strengthen its defense strategy.

In 1711, the Left Hall and the Right Room were erected on the left and right of the Haenggung in order to house the spiritual tablets from the Jongmyo Shrine and Sajik Altar in Hanyang, respectively, in case of state emergency. The fact that this symbolic arrangement specific to the capital city was replicated in the Haenggung showed how the tradition of the capital city was passed down to and practiced in the subcapital. It also indicated that Namhansanseong was recognized as an auxiliary capital (*baedo*) virtually equal to the capital.

Namhansanseong fulfilled Criterion (ii) of the outstanding universal value items in that it exhibits traces of the exchange of Confucian traditions and Criterion (iv) of the items in that it embodied the technological developments of fortress architecture and was thus inscribed on the World Heritage List. More specifically, Namhansanseong is excellent evidence showing the development of East Asian weaponry through international wars as well as the exchange of fortress construction technology and is the only fortress city created to be used as a temporary capital in case of emergency to safeguard the sovereignty and independence of Joseon, thus fulfilling Criterion (ii). Namhansanseong also made use of the harsh landscape to build a fortress and defense facilities, thus well demonstrating the stages of the technological development of fortress architecture following the development of weaponry between the seventh to nineteenth century, thus fulfilling Criterion (iv).

## The City of a King's Dreams (Hwaseong Fortress of Suwon)

### Introduction

Turbulent times refer to a period when the surrounding circumstances undergo rapid change. Joseon during the late eighteenth century would be the prime example. Unlike the preceding feudal society, this was a time when the entire society underwent transformations based largely on King Jeongjo's reform policies in politics, agriculture, commerce, and the military.

Cultural heritage is said to be the vessel in which history is contained. Suwon Hwaseong Fortress holds all of the turbulent times it had to weather. Politically speaking, because talented individuals were not limited by preconceptions of hereditary social status in their appointment, scholars of Practical Learning, such as Jeong Yak-yong, were able to utilize the scientific technology based on Western Learning in the construction of Hwaseong Fortress. In terms of commerce, by taking apart the monopoly enjoyed by merchants of the capital city, practically all goods could be freely traded, which served as the basis upon which licensed shops and local markets were held in Hwaseong Fortress, contributing to the development of commerce.

As for the agriculture, Hwaseong Fortress and its vicinity accepted and applied new agricultural technology based on large-scale irrigation facilities such as Mannyeonje and Chungmanje Reservoirs, which led to the increase in productivity and provided a foundation for financial independence. In terms of the military, in addition to the Five Military Divisions (Ogunyeong) based on the capital city, Royal Guards called Jangyongyeong 壯勇營 were positioned separately to defend Hwaseong Fortress. Finally, administratively, Hwaseong Fortress was elevated to the *yusubu* special administrative unit tasked with guarding the capital city, thus becoming a strategic point in the defense of the south of the capital city.

Such was the social basis that led to the birth of a fortress unparalleled in history. Here, various facilities that tailored to the geographical conditions of Hwaseong Fortress first made their appearance. The city's advanced defense system was enough to make it clear that a new world had come.

Suwon Hwaseong Fortress was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1997 as a result of the 21<sup>st</sup> session held in Paris for fulfilling Criterion (ii), the value of the interchange of human values, and Criterion (iii), for being a site

that serves as evidence of a changing cultural tradition or civilization. Let us take a look at how these values can be found in Suwon Hwaseong Fortress.

### Background and Construction of Hwaseong Fortress Under King Jeongjo

As the legitimate and rightful heir following the line of descent, King Jeongjo ascended to the throne amid the political stability King Yeongjo had created. Hidden behind this stability, however, was the tragic series of events spanning three generations. The usual practice would have been for the son to succeed his father's throne; King Jeongjo, however, had succeeded the throne of his grandfather, King Yeongjo. The grandson had become the next king, for King Yeongjo had shut his son, Crown Prince Sado 慕悼, in a rice chest and starved him, leading to his death eight days later.

Unlike King Yeongjo who, following the policy of impartiality (*tangpyeong*), had constituted a politically diverse court by appointing officials across political factions, Crown Prince Sado had started to lean towards a certain faction that supported his own political philosophy. This brought further antagonism between opposing factions as well as caused conflict between Crown Prince Sado and King Yeongjo. The excessive pressure the crown prince was under even led to mental problems. In the end, King Yeongjo, criticizing the behavior Crown Prince Sado had displayed until then, brought upon his death, after which he proclaimed that he would hand the throne down to his grandson, who would become King Jeongjo.

Having experienced such a tragic situation firsthand during his childhood, King Jeongjo hid his wretched feelings in order to avoid the suspicion of opposing factions and ultimately ascended the throne as the 22<sup>nd</sup> king of Joseon in 1776, nominally as the son of Crown Prince Sado's older stepbrother, Crown Prince Hyojang. The first words King Jeongjo said after ascending the throne was the sentence "I am the son of Crown Prince Sado," a sentence that had been taboo until then. That was how deeply Jeongjo had loved and missed his father, whose life had come to a tragic end. The first thing Jeongjo did was also to elevate the status of his father's tomb. The title Sado was changed to Jangheon 莊憲, and the name of the tomb was changed from Sueunmyo 垂恩廟 to Yeonguwon 永祐園.

Twelve years later, in 1789, King Jeongjo moved the tomb of his father

to a famously auspicious site in terms of geomancy—to the foot of Hwa 花 Mountain, which had been the main guardian mountain (*jinsan*) of the former Suwon town. The newly relocated tomb was named Hyellyungwon 顯隆園, which signified his devoted reverence to his father. In preparation for the relocation of the tomb, the former town of Suwon was also moved to the foothills of Paldal Mountain, during which King Jeongjo carried out the first differential compensation policy of Joseon in order to appease the public. The specific amount of compensation depended on the size of the residents' former house.

In 1793, when the relocation was considerably underway, King Jeongjo had the name of Suwon-bu renamed as Hwaseong, elevated the Suwon district magistrate (*busa*) to county magistrate (*yusu*), a position to which only the higher officials of senior rank two or above were appointed. A general survey of the site of a future fortress that would protect and defend the new town center was carried out.

The construction of the fortress began in 1794, when the foundations of the city had settled into place somewhat. A large number of young and talented scholars of Practical Learning such as Jeong Yakyong participated in the stages of construction. The process of procuring the workforce and paying their wages was also done according to the amount of labor instead of mobilizing people in the name of corvee labor. When buying the stone material, the suggested cost depended on the size, and appropriate expenses were paid to comply with the standards. All this contributed to the early completion of the construction by providing a motivation for labor unlike the alternative of using compulsory labor tax.

The construction of Hwaseong Fortress was completed in 1796. King Jeongjo named the new fortress Hwaseong 華城, whose name derived from an ancient saying that a border guard of Hwa 華 gave the blessing to Emperor Yao. King Jeongjo explained, "Hwa Mountain is the main guardian mountain (*jusan*) of the grave of Crown Prince Jangheon, and Hwa 華 is used interchangeably with Hwa 華. Flowing south to the county is Yucheon 柳川. In Hwa Mountain and Yucheon, a million things will grow and thrive." In this way the name expressed King Jeongjo's tender affection towards his father's tomb.

### ***Location of Suwon Hwaseong Fortress***

Traditionally, places surrounded by mountains on all sides were the preferred sites for the seat of local government in Joseon. This mainly had to do with geomantic considerations (*pungsu*). Originally the town center of Suwon was 8 km south—Hwasan-dong, Hwaseong si—of where Suwon is located today. This site was also surrounded by mountains, among which Hwa Mountain towards the north acted as the main guardian mountain. The city tended to be on the smaller side, with around 1,500 people, but the site was renown as an ideal location in terms of geomancy.

In 1789, King Jeongjo relocated the tomb of his father, Crown Prince Sado, who had met an unfortunate death, and named the new tomb Hyeollyungwon. In order to make room for the tomb, the local governmental office of the then Suwon and its residents moved north to the foot of Paldal Mountain, where Suwon currently is now. Unlike the previous town center, which had been surrounded by mountains, the newly settled city of Suwon only looked toward Paldal Mountain as the main guardian mountain on the west, while all other surrounding areas were flat land.

Mountains and water are the most important elements geomancy considers when determining a surrounding environment, just as the saying "Avoid the wind, secure water" (*jangpung deuksu*) suggests. During the feudal era, the use of water in fending off invasions and the absolute influence wind upon the power of arrows were also important factors in regarding a military landscape.

Therefore, viewed purely from the stand point of the military landscape, the new site was actually far from a mountain that would shield the site against the wind and far from a river that could function as a moat, making it disadvantageous for defense. More than 100 years ago, however, Yu Hyeongwon, a scholar of Practical Learning, saw the value of this location and observed in *A Miscellaneous Account of the Man from Ban-gye* (*Ban-gye surok*) that "if the seat of local government were to be relocated towards the northern fields, it will become a key location connecting Seoul with the three southern provinces."

King Jeongjo agreed with this, remarking that "the thoughts of a person over 100 years ago seem to penetrate our reality at the moment." The importance of commerce, which was undergoing change, was recognized, and

the city was seen and accordingly planned from a new perspective beyond the traditional point of view of geomancy.

The new city was located where it faced the Yellow Sea via Namyang on the west, connected to the Jeolla Province region including Jeonju and Naju via Cheonan on the south, where Jinwi was, and connected to the Gyeongsang Province region such as Cheongju, Sangju, Daegu, and Busan via Eumseong to the east, where Yongin lay, which meant that it was the center of transportation of routes by which goods and officials could travel to and from the capital.

In particular, Hwaseong Fortress broke free from the convention of having a main guardian mountain on the north side and instead designated Paldal Mountain, which rose towards the west, as the main guardian mountain. The Haenggung was also uncommonly positioned to face the east, thus as to minimize any cause for the traffic between the capital and the southern provinces to have to circumnavigate. The intentions of the city running in all directions can be seen in the way the outworks of the main entrance gates of Hwaseong Fortress, i.e., the South and North Gates, also have entrances in the center.

### **Major Facilities of Hwaseong Fortress**

Hwaseong Fortress reflects a period of rapid change and was built in a decidedly different form and method from before. The fortress was built based on the traditional way of construction. However, it was also the result of applying Western technology, thus evidencing the beginning of the combination of Eastern ways with Western technology (*Dongdo Seogi*).

The main structures of Hwaseong Fortress include a wall 5.743 km long, which was built following the topography of the land (*pogoksik-type wall*) and constitutes the fortress body. Entrances between the walls formed gates for people and goods as well as the flow of water. Four large gates in the four cardinal directions provided an entrance for people and goods, while five secret gates provided covert passage in case of emergency. Water flowed in and out through the two water gates and two hidden ditches. In addition, two command posts were built as places to survey inside the fortress walls and lead the army. Other structures, such as lookouts, guard pavilions, artillery pavilions, guard platforms, observation towers, and archery platforms, were organically connected to the wall but built to be higher up than or protruding from the

wall in order to quickly notice the approach of the enemy.

Among these, artillery pavilions, guard platforms, hollow watchtowers (*gongsimdon*), and five holes in the upper part of the gates (*oseongji*) were new systems from China that had not been observed in previous fortresses in Korea. Unlike China, however, where the entire fortress walls were built with brick, Hwaseong Fortress used traditional stone material to build the walls and the parapet and only used bricks to build the main structures. In other words, Hwaseong Fortress was built using an unprecedented form newly created to suit the environment of Joseon. Aside from these, the most important structure within the fortress, the Haenggung, where the king stayed, was located at the foot of Paldal Mountain.

The fortress body of Hwaseong Fortress made the most of the surrounding topography to minimize the process of artificially packing the earth. While the outside of the wall was built by stacking square stones in layers, the inner side of the wall was made by piling up soil to create a slope that slanted towards the inside. If the inside was particularly higher, the foundation was built leaning on a mountain slope.

The sizes of the stones used in the external side of the wall were divided largely into large, medium, and small. The sizes of the stones constituting the fortress body ranged from 30 cm to 90 cm, with the majority of them measuring approximately 60 cm. The larger stones made up the lower part of the wall while the smaller stones were placed towards the top. To make the wall as solid as possible, the back root of the stone was made to be deeper than the planer side of the stone that faced outward in order to make them interlock with the stones filling up the wall. The height of the wall differed depending on the topography. For example, the wall built on flatland vulnerable to attack was around 5 m high, the wall on sloped land was built to be around 3.6 m, and the wall built on inaccessible mountainous land measured 2.6 m.

The parapet on top of the fortress wall measured 1.2 m to 1.6 m in height. While the parapet was mostly built by cube-shaped stones and created to be flat, they were also created to be semicircular on top of main structures by using traditional bricks. One ta of the parapet measured around 3.6 m to 4.5 m in length and included three gun-firing embrasures, which were slanted at different angles. The one in the center, for instance, was for firing at short range, while those on either side were for firing at long range.

There were four gates in Hwaseong Fortress in the four cardinal directions:

Paldalmun towards the south, Janganmun towards the north, Hwaseomun towards the west, and Changnyongmun towards the east. Among these, Paldalmun and Janganmun, the South and North Gates, which stood along the key route of travel between the capital and the three southern provinces, were given a higher status and were built to have multiple stories, albeit differently from other localities. While other local areas used the style of multi-storied gate tower using a hip-and-gable roof, Paldalmun and Janganmun were built in the style of hip roof, which was the form Sungnyemun of the capital city was built in. In other words, the same form of multi-storied gate tower was used both in the capital and in the Hwaseong Fortress.

King Jeongjo emphasized the magnificence as well as the dignity and beauty of the gates. Although the fortress was a structure for defense in emergency situations, King Jeongjo intended it to be imposing so as to both intimidate the enemy and give the people entering it an unforgettable and distinct first impression of a new city.

All of the gates had an outwork built in front of them. A guard platform was installed next to the main gates for further fortification. Generally, the opening of the outwork was placed to the side to make it more efficient to defend the gate from siege engines attacking them as well as to gain an advantage in attacking the enemy from the fortress walls. The openings of the outworks of Hwaseomun and Changnyongmun are cases in point. However, because the axis was important in Paldalmun and Janganmun, an arched entrance was made in the center of the outwork, and five holes through which hot oil or water could be poured down were created above the arch. A single-storyed gate tower stood on top of the outwork.

Between the main gates, there were five secret gates, The South Secret Gate, however, has been destroyed, and only the four secret gates in the east, west, north, and southwest remain. These auxiliary gates were built by stacking three to four layers of stone on the bottom and traditional bricks on top. Similar to the outworks, the secret gates also had five holes in the upper part for further defense.

The water gates through which water flowed in and out of the fortress were also vulnerable spots in terms of defense. The water used inside Hwaseong Fortress flowed in from the Dae Stream in the north and flowed south to Gu Stream. The North Water Gate, though which water flowed in, had a seven-stone arched gate, while the South Water Gate, through which water flowed

out, had a nine-stone arched gate in order to accommodate additional water coming from within the fortress. Iron bars were installed on the arch to prevent people from passing though the water gates, while casemated embrasures for artillery were installed in case there was a concentrated attack on the water gates. The South Water Gate, in particular, had a large room with brick walls, which could hold hundreds of soldiers to launch an attack.

On the east and west were command posts from which the commanding officer could survey the whole situation and send the signal for defense and attack. Since the West Command Post positioned on top of Paldal Mountain was the location for grasping any movements both inside and outside of the fortress, it was built as a square covered with a multi-storied roof. Any place inside Hwaseong Fortress could be seen from this structure. The East Command Post was on top of the hill towards the east and was called Yeonmudae, or training grounds, as it was used to train soldiers or hold large events such as a hogwe banquet during normal times of peace.

Lookouts were structures protruding from the fortress wall in order to defend against enemies climbing the fortress body. Lookouts were used in previous fortresses as well, but the lookouts of Hwaseong Fortress were not positioned in the usual corners, as was the convention, but throughout the entire fortress.

King Jeongjo, regarding the differences between Hwaseong Fortress and other fortresses constructed before, said "Until now, the way our country built fortresses was to encircle wall to defend against the enemy. But in the case of Hwaseong Fortress, lookouts and parapets were installed in proportion to the length. Three people can stand on each lookout and gain an overview left and right, making it quite convenient indeed to fight off the enemy." This shows how the variety of structures protruding out of the fortress wall that resemble lookouts were initially planned to be made as lookouts even though some ended up being called by different names depending on their use.

For example, if the protruding structure was on a corner and a wooden pavilion was built on top of the lookout, this corner pavilion was called *gangnu* 角樓; if there was a pavilion installed on the lookout, this sentry post was called *poru* 鋪樓; and if artillery could be fired from the lookout, this artillery pavilion was called *poru* 砲樓. Other types included observation towers called *dondae* 墩臺, an independent structure from within tubed firearms or Frankish guns could be fired; and archery platforms called *nodae* 弩臺, from which a crossbow

could be fired. In short, a wide range of structures had been planned during the planning stage of Hwaseong Fortress.

In order for a fortress to be built on such a wide area of flat land where there were not many traditional defense structures such as moats, a new defense strategy that included cannons, for example, was actively adopted. This resulted in the construction of the various structures of fortification, as mentioned above. Around the entire fortress were total of twenty-nine such structures: nine lookouts, five sentry posts and five artillery pavilions, four corner pavilions, four observation towers including *gongsimdon* watchtowers and *bongdon* beacon towers, and two archery platforms.

The structures particularly worth noting among these are the *gongsimdon* watchtowers and the corner pavilion on the northeast, or Banghwasuryujeong. The *gongsimdon* watchtower, a structure observed only in Hwaseong Fortress among the fortresses of the Joseon period, had walls made by traditional brick and an inside left empty for firing artillery. Initially it was built on the flat lands of the south, northwest, and east corners of Hwaseong Fortress, that is, weak spots in terms of defense, but currently only the latter two—the Northwest Watchtower and East Watchtower—remain after the South Watchtower was destroyed.

Although these hollow watchtowers all had the same function, their shapes and structures differed. The Northwest Watchtower was angular on the inside while curved on the outside. The lower part was built with stone up to the same height as the fortress body, but the upper story was then built by traditional brick and accessible via a straight staircase. Embrasures were placed on each floor. The Northeast Watchtower, on the other hand, had a rounded exterior and all three stories were built by traditional bricks. A spiral staircase inside connected the stories, which led to its nickname, “turban shell tower.” On top of both watchtowers stood a sentry post covered with a hip-and-gable roof. The diversity in the shapes of the watchtowers made it possible for the soldiers to use both cannon and rifles depending on the topographically optimal defense strategy.

Along with these watchtowers, Banghwasuryujeong Pavilion is also considered one of the most beautiful structures of Hwaseong Fortress. Banghwasuryujeong is the name of the Northeast Corner Pavilion standing towards the northeast of Janganmun Gate. There are four corner pavilions in Hwaseong Fortress: on the southeast, northeast, southwest, and northwest

directions. Corner pavilions were originally built to guard the corners of the fortress or defend the fortress against enemies climbing up the wall during battle. The Southwestern Corner Pavilion, with its long extended tail, is a case in point. On the northeast corner the Northeast Watchtower played that role. Consequently the Northeast Corner Pavilion was presumably built on the highest point in the northeast—above the Dragon Head (Yongdu) Rock—to make it possible to survey both inside and outside the Hwaseong Fortress’s walls, which curved in and out depending on the topography.

Banghwasuryujeong was built during the earlier half of the construction of Hwaseong Fortress. In 1795, in the middle of the construction, and again in 1797, the king visited, giving it the special status as a place where the king had come by. This was why Banghwasuryujeong became to be distinguished from other guard pavilions in all aspects, from its planar shape to the decorations.

For instance, unlike other guard pavilions, which were usually square or rectangular, Banghwasuryujeong was unique in that it was shaped as a polygon. In the center lay the ondol, the Korean floor heating system, which was surrounded by a deck (*toe*) in all eight directions, forming a “亞” shape. The deck on the west had two additional *kan* of space below. The king, when visiting, would be given the space on the northern side so that he stood against the backdrop of splendid scenery. The separate space on the west side was for the accompanying court officials of the king, who were to be there according to their rank. The Buyongjeong Pavilion of Changdeokgung Palace also shows a similar form.

Another structure besides Banghwasuryujeong showing the close relationship between Hwaseong Fortress and the royal household in the capital was the Haenggung in the center of Hwaseong Fortress. The place the king stays temporarily during his royal visit is called Haenggung. The arrangement of placing the royal ancestral shrine on the left and the altar of the deities of earth and grain on the right, and the three courts format of the Namhansanseong Haenggung, which replicated the palace arrangement of the capital city on a smaller scale, was because it may have to function as the co-capital (*baedo*) in addition to being a shelter in times of war. The Hwaseong Fortress Haenggung, on the other hand, built 170 years later, was not meant to be a place where the king stayed temporarily. Instead, King Jeongjo planned it as a place to realize his dreams of living in a constantly changing new city after stepping down from the throne. King Jeongjo’s aspirations can be seen in the clear difference

of scale between the Haenggung in Hwaseong Fortress and other Haenggung that were meant to be temporary shelters. While Namhansanseong Haenggung comprised a total of 227 *kan*—an upper palace of 73 *kan* and a lower palace of 154 *kan*—and the Bukhansanseong Haenggung had a total of 124 *kan*—the inner court and outer court were 28 *kan* each and an annex was 68 *kan*—the Hwaseong Fortress Haenggung was exceptionally larger: 112-*kan* Bongsudang 奉壽堂, 25-*kan* Jangnakdang 長樂堂, 10.5-*kan* Gyeongnyonggwan 景龍館, 67.5-*kan* Bongnaedang 福內堂, 19.5-*kan* Nangnamheon 洛南軒, 29.5-*kan* Noraedang 老來堂, 20-*kan* Deukjungeong 得中亭, 27-*kan* Sinpungnu 新豐樓, and 78-*kan* Yuyeotaek 維與宅, which comes to a total of 389 *kan*.

Efforts were taken to replicate the architectural formalities of the palaces in the capital. To reach the ruling court space, where the king carried out his official duties, his ministers would have to pass through the three gates of Sinpungnu, which corresponded to the outer palace gate; Jwaikmun 左翊門, the middle gate, and the Jungyangmun 中陽門, which corresponded to the inner palace gate. Once the ministers passed through the Jungyangmun, they would have encountered Bongsudang, the central space of the Haenggung that corresponded to the main hall.

King Jeongjo named the main buildings of the Haenggung himself. The character *pung* 豊 in Sinpungnu, for instance, was derived from Punghyeon 豊縣, which was the hometown of Emperor Gaozu, the founder of Han China. The building that was formerly Jinnamnu 鎮南樓 was consequently renamed Sinpungnu. As for Bongsudang, King Jeongjo renamed the building formerly known as Jangnamheon 壯南軒 to Bongsudang in order to wish his biological mother, Lady Hyegyeong, a long life during the banquet celebrating her sixtieth birthday, which was held in the Haenggung in 1795. Jangnakdang, the sleeping chamber, stood diagonally behind Bongsudang. The word “*jangnak*” also comes from the place the Queen Dowager of Han China had lived. The fact that King Jeongjo named it as such reflects his filial wish for Lady Hyegyeong to live a long, happy life.

The filial piety of King Jeongjo can also be seen in the arrangement of the main hall and the sleeping chamber. Usually, the main hall, which is the official space, is placed separately from the sleeping chamber, the more private space. In the case of Hwaseong Fortress, however, King Jeongjo is said to have arranged the two buildings to be nearby each other in consideration of the movement path during the sixtieth-birthday banquet of Lady Hyegyeong. The

reason why the building of Haenggung that corresponded to the main hall, i.e., Bongsudang, was not named a *jeon* 殿 but a *dang* 堂 was because Lady Hyegyeong was not a queen but officially the crown princess. If King Jeongjo had become a retired king (*sangwang*) after stepping down from the throne in 1804 as he had planned, he would have probably named it back to *jeon* to suit the status of its resident.

The buildings of Haenggung that give us a glimpse of how King Jeongjo imagined his life after abdication are Noraedang and Mirohanjeong 未老閒亭. Noreadang was a space for repose located in the entrance leading up to the back garden of the Haenggung behind Naknamheon. Mirohanjeong, which was shaped as a hexagon, was a viewpoint from which the inside of Hwaseong Fortress, including the Haenggung, could be enjoyed. There, King Jeongjo would have been able to enjoy the dynamic scene of a new city he had planned and built. The name *norae* 老來 contained King Jeongjo’s determination that he would come again in his old age, while the name *miro* 未老 reflected his King Jeongjo’s hidden intentions that although he may come, he would not be old yet.

### **Plans and Records of the Construction of Hwaseong Fortress**

In addition to its beautiful exterior and its significance, Suwon Hwaseong Fortress is noteworthy also because it is the only fortress that retains the entire records concerning its construction, from the survey and planning before its construction to the construction process and even the ceremony held to celebrate its completion.

In his early years after ascending the throne, King Jeongjo abolished the limitations of hereditary social status and appointed individuals equally across the board, including appointing sons of the secondary wives of *yangban*. This brought the effect of a large number of scholars of Practical Learning being appointed. As these scholars had moved away from previous trends of feudalism and instead had familiarized themselves with new trend of scholarship, their appointment meant that a wide range of practical suggestions found their way into the construction of Hwaseong Fortress. King Jeongjo, in particular, had books from China sent to Jeong Yakyong, who was a counselor of the Office of Special Advisers at that time. These books included *Collection of Books and Illustrations Past and Present* (*Guijin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成) and

*Illustrated Explanations of Ingenious Devices* (*Qiqi tushuo* 奇器圖說). The king had him come up with a basic plan of the Hwaseong Fortress. A year later, Jeong Yakyong presented King Jeongjo with a total of seven guideline proposals for the construction of Hwaseong Fortress: namely, *On Fortresses* (*Seongseol*), *Illustrated Description of Outworks* (*Ongseong doseol*), *Illustrated Explanation of Artillery Pavilions* (*Poru doseol*), *Illustrated Explanation of Battlements* (*Hyeonan doseol*), *Illustrated Explanation of Embrasures* (*Nujo doseol*), *Illustrated Explanation of [a Machine for] Lifting Heavy Weights* (*Gijung doseol*), and *General Remarks* (*Chongseol*). King Jeongjo subsequently ordered the compilation of *Illustrated Description of Fortress Systems* (*Seongje doseol*), which was to summarize fortress systems based on Jeong's *On Fortresses*, other books including *Treatises of Military Preparedness* (*Wubei zhi*), *Strategies of the Construction of Fortress* (*Chukseong bangnyak*), and a nation-wide survey of the current status of fortresses. With this and King Jeongjo's announcement of the blueprint of Hwaseong Fortress in the *Strategic Plan for the Construction of Hwaseong Fortress Written by the King* (*Eoje seonghwa juryak*), construction began.

After the construction of Hwaseong Fortress, the *Construction Records of Hwaseong Fortress* (*Hwaseong seongyeok uigwe*), which summarized the entire sequence of events concerning its construction, was compiled. *Uigwe* refers to the records of a state ceremony. The first version of the *Construction Records of Hwaseong Fortress* was compiled in 1796 at the point of the fortress's completion, but after several revisions, the final version was finished in 1800. Due to the sudden death of King Jeongjo, however, it was printed and published in the 9<sup>th</sup> month of 1801 by using a metal type called *jeongnija*. After the compilation of the first version King Jeongjo also had a Korean version—*Dyeongni uigwe*—published in 1797 so that his biological mother Lady Hyegyeong could read it as well.

*Construction Records of Hwaseong Fortress* is special not just because of its vast volume and its unique value as the only record of the construction process of a fortress, but most of all because it contains a detailed record of the progress of the entire construction schedule, from the seventh day of the first lunar month in 1794 to the sixteenth day of the tenth month in 1796. *Construction Records of Hwaseong Fortress* is constituted by a total of ten volumes including the head volume (*gwonsu*) and three appendices. The head volume contains the date and time of the construction process, the list of the names of related personnel, and illustrated descriptions of the structure and the construction material of the

fortress. The appendices contain separate records of the Haenggung and office buildings.

The illustrated descriptions in particular include drawings of the entire Hwaseong Fortress along with detailed portrayals of the inside and outside of various structures. It proved to be valuable material when investigating and confirming the authentic original form of the structures, as the Hwaseong Fortress and Haenggung were severely damaged during the Korean War.

### Conclusion

Hwaseong Fortress in Suwon is of unprecedented value not just in Northeast Asia but worldwide as well. The heart-rending longing for a father who met a tragic death did not simply end as the personal yearning of King Jeongjo, a late eighteenth-century king, but met with the dynamically changing times and gave birth to Hwaseong Fortress, a masterpiece of the century.

During that period, commerce flourished domestically as systemic reforms were undertaken for the people, and culture and technology from overseas flowed in through the exchange with China internationally. As soon as he ascended the throne, King Jeongjo announced that he was the son of Crown Prince Sado, relocated his father's sad tomb in Yangju to the foot of Hwa Mountain, which had formerly been Suwon town, a place known to be ideal, and moved the former seat of local government 8 km away to the foot of Paldal Mountain.

The location of the new seat of local government reflected the times: it sat at the key location that connected the capital to the three southern provinces. Hwaseong Fortress was to be built in order to guard the tomb of Crown Prince Sado and protect the Haenggung, as well as to be a place where King Jeongjo could stay near his beloved father had he stepped down from the throne in 1804 as had been his plan.

The status of Hwaseong Fortress was unique in many ways, not least because the highest man in power had planned it in person and visited thirteen times until the realization of such plans. A sizable population was moved there, thus revitalizing local markets, and irrigation facilities were repaired and installed to achieve self-sufficiency. In addition, efforts were taken to fortify Hwaseong Fortress including building a new type of structure called *gongsimdon* watchtower in important locations, actively utilizing lookouts, and using

traditional bricks for important structures. In short, it was to be a bodyguard-city with a political basis.

The Haenggung, where King Jeongjo would stay after abdicating the throne, was also differentiated from other places. Not only was it built on a larger scale, but it followed the formalities of the palaces in the capital while at the same time the main hall and the sleeping chamber were made to be connected. King Jeongjo also saw to it that there was a pavilion from which he would be able to enjoy the view of Suwon, where his dreams would be realized.

Beginning from the planning stage, a meticulous survey was done on the fortress systems of past and present, and Eastern as well as Western texts were referenced, resulting in the construction of a new city that reflected only the strengths of previous fortresses. Moreover, the steps during the entire process related to the construction of Hwaseong Fortress were fully recorded in the *Construction Records of Hwaseong Fortress*.

During the session held in Paris, France, in 1997, the World Heritage Committee pointed out the lacking state of conservation of Suwon Hwaseong Fortress. However, the role of the *Construction Records of Hwaseong Fortress* in the process of reparation was recognized, and Hwaseong Fortress was seen as proof of the exchange of technology between the east and the west, the commercial prosperity and rapid social change during Joseon in the eighteenth century, and as a fortress that demonstrated the development of technology and resulted in a new form. Based on these factors, Hwaseong Fortress was inscribed on the World Heritage List.

## Coda

Suwon Hwaseong Fortress and Namhansanseong in Gwangju are representative fortresses inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both are similar in that as the center of the capital city defense system, a separate military division was established and managed in both fortresses. Both also were designated special administrative unit called *yusubu* and became an administrative city. At the same time, clear differences, such as the backdrop behind its construction and its location, are evident.

Records show that there are more than 3,000 fortresses in the Korean peninsula besides Namhansanseong and Hwaseong Fortresses. The capital city

defense system, which links Hanyang City Wall, Yeonyungdae Fortress, and Bukhansanseong form an internationally rare and unique military landscape, and currently many efforts steps are being taken to have them inscribed on the World Heritage List as well.

Although the Korean peninsula is culturally rich in its heritage, economic development has been prioritized until now, and it is true that such heritage has been less known internationally than the cultural resources of surrounding countries including China and Japan. This is a time when more international interest on the cultural heritage unique to the Korean peninsula is particularly needed.

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