

Historical Places of the Colonial Period through the Eyes of a Female Traveler

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This paper aims to reveal the meaning and significance of Hwa-Seong Park's two trip essays, "Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja" (Visiting Longed-for Ancient Remains) and "Haeseogihaeng" (A Writing of Travel to Haeseo). With development of tourism industry in modern times of Korean history, many people started to go on a trip for sightseeing purposes. However, they were mostly men. During the Japanese colonial period, it was very rare that Korean women made a trip with personal reasons. The author describes the true aspect of Korean women as a traveler in modern age in her two trip essays. In this paper, her perspective on the women she met at tourist destinations as a tourist has been investigated. In particular, her trip was closely related with the cultural site trip which was boomed during the 1930s as one of the most common types of trip in Korea. The colonized people's trip to historical sites during the colonial period can be very paradoxical because their consciousness may not be matched with the reality unwittingly. From this perspective, this paper has thoroughly examined the paradox of the trip to historical sites during the colonial period through news articles, trip essays and school trip essays. And then this paper has tried to discover the meaning of her trip essays by analyzing the historical space during the Japanese colonial period.

Keywords: Park Hwa-Seong, travel writings, female traveler, historical places of colony, ancient capitals

1. Introduction

In April 1899, Ehwa hakdang (Ewha Girls' School) took all its students to Jahamun and celebrated an event welcoming spring. This was the first picnic by schoolgirls in Korea. An article in *Daehan Kristoin hoebo* (The Bulletin of Korean Christians) on May 10, 1899, stated that this picnic was connected to

hygiene and the modern theory about physique. “Adequate sanitation is not only to move a body, eat temperately, and wash clothes frequently. It is also about hygiene as well how to take it easy, put forth one’s strength, go to beautiful mountains in two and threes, be pleased with flowers and red leaves, enjoy fragrant smells and fresh air, and give vent to one’s pent-up feelings...” (*Daehan Kristoin hoebo*, May 10, 1899). The reason the health of the schoolgirls was important was that “they would be full of vigor and would bear mature babies in their adulthood because they had been freely moving their bodies since childhood” (*Daehan Kristoin hoebo*, May 10, 1899). This was the ultimate purpose of the short picnic. And this point of view hadn’t changed much by the latter half of the 1920s, thirty years later.

The physique and health of Joseon women is lamentably in bad condition. Compared with Western women, there is such a difference as night from day. The reason is that a Korean woman is confined in a house when young, and is confined like a prisoner in a house and lives a static and passive life even after marriage. Recently, though many schoolgirls have wonderful physiques and have become healthy because of the development of physical education, they will lose their good physiques and health when married.

Apart from physique and health, being confined to the house shuns society and Nature. How then can a character be preserved and the children of the next generation be nurtured? In this respect, picnics by a housewife are essential.

The conventionalities that traveling is only for men should be done away with... Of course, it is our present circumstances that a housewife can’t leave her house for long and take a trip because of her family and economic reasons. However, it cannot be impossible if only the couple agrees with each other and the husband understands his wife. (Donga ilbo, April 27-28, 1928)

Because of the positive effects of traveling, it is suggested that women participate in a short picnic and if impossible take a long trip or a one-day trip. Since traveling was connected with health and children, this article’s viewpoint is the same as the article from *Daehan Kristoin hoebo*. However, one noticeable thing was the unchanged condition of women despite the passage of time. According to the article, common women during the latter half of the 1920s “were in a con-

dition of being unable to dream of a trip, much less going on a picnic often” and in the case of married women, “they didn’t go out anywhere and spent time as a slave inside the home”(Dong ilbo, April 27, 1928). Since its first issue, the magazine *Sonyeon* (Boy) urged the importance of traveling, including a round-the-world trip. However, the *Donga ilbo* article tells us that it was impossible for a woman to go on a picnic or make a one-day trip without her husband’s understanding until the latter half of the 1920s.

Thus, it was very rare for a woman of modern Korea to take a trip at all and especially independently. But in the case of a group outing, such as a school or an office, it was relatively easy. Some examples are: picnics or school excursions, sightseeing tours for female teachers to Japan made by the Japanese Government-General of Joseon, and study visits and sightseeing tours for women by various organizations. Some personal cases of trips are because of migration, exile, performance, lecture, or studying abroad, and these trips are secondary to the main purpose. The common point of writings from these travels is the lack of subjectivity and self-purpose. That is, there are few cases of trips made independently by women. Even with personal trips, most travel was done with others. Thus, it is not easy to find a female traveler to be a subject of travel or take a trip for its own sake.

The travel writings of Park Hwa-seong, “Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja” (Visiting Longed-for Historic Remains) and “Haeseogihaeng” (A Record of Travel to Haeseo) are significant. She traveled to Gyeongju, Buyeo, Kaesŏng, the ancient tomb of Gangseo in P’yŏngyang, and the nine valleys of Seokdam in Haeju during the autumn and early winter of 1933. She serialized her travel writings in *Chosun ilbo*, but the travel writings to Kaesŏng and Gangseo didn’t survive to the present. They supposedly disappeared during the Korean War (Park and Seo 2004:186-7). Through these two travel writings, Park Hwa-seong showed a decent aspect of a modern female traveler. Accordingly, this paper will review how she viewed the objects she saw as a female traveler. In particular, her traveling was related to visiting historical locations, a popular type of tourism that boomed in colonial Korea.¹

1. From the viewpoint of a travel record, these two writings are important for their quantity and quality, but discussion on them was excluded from studies which (A Treatise on Park Hwa-seong) by Seo Jeong-ja of Sookmyung University that was the starting point (Byeon 2000:11-21).

2. Travel to Historical Places and the Consciousness / Unconsciousness of the Colonial Subject

Park Hwa-seong traveled to Gyeongju, Buyeo, and Haeju. was propelled by so-called imperialist others,² so was the method of discovering national land. Moreover, since traveling was varied according to the relationship with others' imperialist character others it was a pilgrimage through ancient capitals" (Park 1934b) and traveling to Haeseo was ambitiously made "in order to write the first travel piece about Haeseo in our country" (Park and Seo 2004:187).

In the latter half of the 1920s and the 1930s, traveling and sightseeing were generalized and popularized. This was related to the fact that this was a period of the consumption of popular culture. That is, Koreans at that time became tourists enjoying not only historical places but also places of scenic beauty, and in the process the colonial territory became consumers' goods. During that time, there was a flood of springtime holiday picnickers as well as excursionists viewing autumnal leaves. The country was called "Joseon of Flowers" (Donga ilbo, October 3, 1937) and sightseeing ancient capitals reached its climax.

During the latter half of the 1930s Kaesŏng was famous for its plentiful remains and beautiful cherry blossoms. It was "flooded with groups on school excursions and sightseers coming from the whole country in the spring" and it had a shortage of hotels to accommodate the tourists (Donga ilbo, May 5, 1936). The increase of tourists naturally changed this city into a tourist city.

I know that to develop Kaesŏng as a sightseeing city the government authorities have tried to change the appearance in many ways: beautifying parks, planting roadside trees, and constructing roads. But visiting parks, such scenic spots as Seonjukgyo and Manwoldae, the incompleteness of facilities and filthiness is really shocking.

There isn't a bench to sit on to relieve fatigue, nor a safe place to sit down on the lawn because of the filth, nor water service to relieve thirst. To make it worse, as there are no such facilities at Manwoldae, which is fre-

2. Seo Gyeong-seok's analysis of Yeom Sang-seop's *Mansejeon* led him to infer such a method about colonial Korea. That is, to Lee In-hwa, a hero of the story who came to recognize the feudalistic and colonialist character of colonial Korea through the modern rationalism that he had learned in Japan, Japan was nothing but "an existence like a mirror reflecting Korea" (Seo 2002:18-21).

quoted by every tourist without fail, complaint is widespread. Though it is the site of a lost palace, grown-ups and children recklessly relieve themselves here and there, which is lamentable from the viewpoint of sanitation, social morals, and mental hygiene. I wonder whether the government authorities know about this miserable situation and when they will construct some facilities. As it is really a matter for regret, I send this inexpert letter to the government authorities and hope there will be reconsideration soon. (Donga ilbo, June 14, 1936)

The above article urges the government authorities to improve the area appearance of 'a sightseeing city' (Donga ilbo, April 26, 1938).

Through the example of Kaesŏng through the process of vulgarization. He indicates that as the political character of archeology of the colony of imperialism through such mechanical reproduction works "by very deep standards," it is difficult for "most of the people including officials of the colony" to grasp the political tactics. Thus, the travels to the historical places hide the tactics to vulgarize and consumerize them behind a cause of 'history.'

The result can be seen in the contents of a 1928 advertisement by the Bureau of Railroad contained in *Joseongongnon* (Yun 2008:63-4). On the one-page advertisement, the phrases, "Gyeongju, a historical site; Geumgangsán, natural beauty; Sambang Valley, famous for bracken" are written along with the phrase, "following summer green." These three places are advertised in a single identical meaning. That is, Gyeongju, Geumgangsán, and Sambang Valley are just one of the sightseeing places tourists can choose. The colony itself is a material object to the empire. And in this process, the people of the colony become consumers consuming their own territory and are separated from their own territory.

In particular, the historical and spatial journeys to ancient capitals and cultural remains cause the people of colonial Korea to experience the paradox of self-revelation. It seems superficially to strengthen their historical identity but after all, it is impossible to escape the Japanese Empire. This duality derives from the fact that such a subjective attitude is made under the subsuming tactics of the empire. The travel writing of Kim Won-geun about Gyeongju enables us to glimpse at the foundation of the empire spread over the recognition of Gyeongju's cultural remains.

A few years before the establishment of the Gyeongju Museum, a certain person found remains filled with nearly fifteen or sixteen boxes while

digging at the roadside. He gave them to the Japanese Government-General of Joseon. Some society personages of Gyeongju asked the Government-General for Gyeongju Province to take care of them. The Government-General said that as they were very precious, it would permit their preservation when Gyeongju Province could provide a considerable fortune to preserve them. The society personages of Gyeongju were able to collect quite a sum (60,000 won) and established a judicial foundation. They rent an inner house of “East Building” where the Gyeongju governor had lived and made it a museum. As a result, the Japanese Government-General of Joseon gave the remains back. In addition to the remains, stone coffins, stoneware, and porcelain were displayed. It became convenient for common people to visit and view them.

... Now, a society for preserving the relics has been established. Therefore, the happy days of the remains began. Preserving them well and encouraging the rebirth of ancient skills, it is expected that mysterious arts will be developed again. (Kim 1926:38-40)

Kim Won-geun’s “Gyeongjugojeokyuramgi” (A Travel Writing to Gyeongju) confirmed that the management of Gyeongju’s cultural remains and the beginning of managing relics depended wholly upon the Japanese Government-General of Joseon. *Gojeokbogwanhoe* was the society that preserved the relics (suggested in 1913 and established in 1915) and was related to the policy of the Government-General that developed the excavation project beginning in 1915 (Choe 2002:116). The paradox is that the “happiness” of the “surviving remains” was being achieved by a Government-General project.

The paradox is also shown in Gwon Deok-gyu’s “Gyeongjuhaeng” (Traveling to Gyeongju). This writing shows the consciousness and unconsciousness of a colonial nationalist, which clearly reveals the standpoint of a national subject at the “marginal”³ point between the empire and the nation during the colonial period.

3. Heo Byeong-sik also recognized “the unconsciousness of colonialism” “at the marginal line between ‘the empire’ and ‘nation’” in Gwon Deok-gyu’s travel writing. In particular, in “the narrative that their own value of culture was ratified through the piercing eyes of a Japanese doctor,” “the self-recognition of the people of the colony to imagine their own identity by presenting someone who has ‘an eye of the Empire’” is connected with ‘the consciousness/unconsciousness of the colonial subject’ in this paper (Heo 2007:91-2).

(1) I heard Dr. Sekino's explanation that this Dabotap at Bulguksa is the world's unparalleled treasure together along with Seokguram. He said, "There isn't such construction and architecture in India or Tang China. If there are any, they are not as delicate. The design was made only by the idea of a Joseon person. If there were any similar ones in India or China, it is important they were made by the hand of a person from Joseon." Therefore, they will become treasures of not only Joseon but also the world. Dr. Sekino said repeatedly, "Moreover, Dabotap is wonderful in its form and elaborate in its spirit and is made of granite ingeniously as if it were wood." He continued, "Seokgatap, also known as Muyeongtap and standing opposite Dabotap is simple in its technique but large in size. As its balance is elated, Seokgatap is not only very graceful and beautiful but also has an airy temperament." ...I was exultant with Dr. Sekino's compliment.

...And a Japanese scholar, Mr. Dorii, said like this. "Looking at Seokguram, I feel it is more lovable and friendly than solemn and grandiose. So to speak, it is womanly. If it was manly, it will be applicable to a lovable and static man." (Gwon 1921:71-3)

(2) An inspector engineer in charge of repairing said "The construction of Seokguram is a geometrical composition. Situated in a wonderful place, it is marvelous that the sunlight and moonlight shine directly into the grotto when each rises. The people of Joseon said that the reason this grotto was constructed toward the East Sea was to conquer Japan. I don't think so. The placement of the grotto was done to worship the sun and the moon or to protect the sailing ships. Also, one of the Four Devas is wearing shoes the backside of which is of Korean style and the front side of Japanese style. I am very proud of the cooperative idea between Japan and Joseon." I don't agree with him. It is needless to say that ancient civilization flowed from the continent to Japan. The same thing is applicable to these shoes. Referring to Lee Hyeon-seok's *Yuchaejip*, there is plenty of evidence that the system of straw and wooden shoes flowed from the continent to Japan. And the history of Seokguram hasn't been fully explained in comparison with Bulguksa's Gucheungtap (Nine-Storied Tower) and Seokgyo (Stone Bridge). Accordingly, speaking of the history of the construction of Seokguram, I think it would be better to contain the explanation the engineer wanted to omit. (Gwon 1921:74)

Gwon Deok-gyu's writing presents how the traveler should view the relics. Sekino Tadasi (關野貞) investigated ancient Joseon buildings by order of the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1902 (Jo 1991; Choe 1999). Dorii Ryuzyou (鳥巨龍藏) investigated and researched Korea's Stone Age culture and religion as a part-time employee of the Japanese Government-General of Joseon from 1910-1917. Here, travelers view vernacular remains through the mediation of imperial archeologists. Hence Gwon Deok-gyu was angry at the theory of assimilation between Japan and Joseon. The second quote reveals vividly the limitations of the colony to be critical of the superficial and minor theory of assimilation between Japan and Joseon that it couldn't help but be unconsciously assimilated into because of the underlying aspects of imperialism.

During the colonial period, school excursions are a good example of historical spatial journeys. For example, the Second High School of Gyeongseong made it a rule to go on an excursion every spring: Incheon or Suwon (1st year); Kaesŏng (2nd year); Gyeongju (3rd year); Geumgangsŏn (4th year); and Manchuria or Japan (5th year). The lower grades went on excursions to nearby places and the upper grades went to farther places (Park 2002:143-4). The reason for the excursions to Manchuria and Japan was to have the Joseon students realize the national power and the identity of Japan and national morals.⁴ Excursions to ancient capitals such as P'yŏngyang, Gyeongju, and Buyeo had something to do with the Japanese policy of assimilation. The only difference being that the intention of excursions to the ancient capitals was not brought to the surface contrary to those to Manchuria and Japan. Gyeongju and Buyeo were related to Japan's political project on preserving Joseon relics. Gyeongju was the place where Kougou (神功皇后) had subjugated the Three Han⁵ and Buyeo became famous as a sacred place of "Japan and Joseon are One Entity" or a territory of

4. Excursions to Manchuria went to industrial sites to confirm the economic power of Japan and modern cities and old battlefields to inspire loyalty toward the nation. Excursions to Japan helped the Joseon students feel Japan's long history and its power and to inspire them with the self-realization as imperial subjects by showing the economic and military power of Japan (Park 2002:143-54).

5. Sekino Tadasi investigated the remains in southern provinces from September 20-December 17, 1920, by order of the Japanese Government-General of Joseon. One purpose of his investigations was to find traces of Japan's ancient culture (Choe 1999:103). Also, a record stated: "From our standpoint, Gyeongju was the place Kougou (神功皇后) had subjugated and also the place Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded. Also, there was a king of Yamato origin and many naturalized citizens. Thus this place belonged to Japan in ancient times and was a colony of Japan" (Yun 2008:64).

Japan (Choe 2003). P'yŏngyang was the site of a victory during the Russo-Japanese War and the place was advertised to show off the power of Japan.

However, the significance of the ancient capitals to the students was very different from this. Lee So-ran's "Gyeongjuhaengmun" (A Travel Writing to Gyeongju) shows that the students saw Gyeongju as "the place that bore us." The railroad station "that was constructed as a tile-roofed house of Joseon style was as clean and pretty as a bride" reminded us that the place was Joseon. (Lee 1926:44-45)

Cheomseongdae! It may be the providence of nature that joy comes after sorrow, warm spring after cold winter, sorrow after joy. Though our ancestors lived well thousands of years ago and even their astronomy excelled others, everything has fallen behind nowadays. Can it be a principle of nature? Go! Let's try! Thinking by myself that we can do anything, I began to walk again....

This is the end of a school excursion we longed for earnestly. What did I realize at this place? Have I realized that we are a race of excellent talent and got courage and strength to go forward? (Lee 1926:47-50)

What is the unconsciousness inherent in the expression "Can it be a principle of nature?" Adaptation to the reality of colonized Joseon as a principle of nature is immanent here. It is the unconsciousness of the writer revealed in an instant in the consciousness of inspiring and encouraging herself.

Thus, the imperialist tactics inherent in school education is underlain in an excursion. School excursions also show another characteristic of the modern journey. Ju Yo-seop enumerated the aims of an excursion: 1) supplementary learning of history and geography, 2) relaxation, and 3) pleasure (Ju 1935:16). But the students felt that they learned nothing from an excursion. "At the educators' seminar sponsored by Donga ilbo some time ago, every secondary school principal agreed unanimously to the uselessness of an excursion" (Ju 1935:16). The question of the maintenance or abolition of excursions began in the latter half of the 1920s and was discussed continuously during the 1930s. The main reason for their abolition was economic. Consumption behavior at the tourist places included not only excursion expenses but also sundry expenses (Kim 1929:20; Chosun ilbo, October 5, 1931). Thus school excursions were about spending at historical places rather than learning about history and geography. Through this, the significance of traveling to historical places during the colonial

period cannot be simply discussed as the national and historical consciousness of Joseon. Through Park Hwa-seong's travel writings the effects of this significance will be reviewed.

3. Ancient Capitals and the Multiple Viewpoints of a Female Traveler

"Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja" was travel writings about Gyeongju and Buyeo that were serialized in thirty-four installments from February 8-March 31, 1934. Though her travel writings about Kaesŏng and P'yŏngyang have been lost, the installments that still exist reveal Park Hwa-seong's view on cultural relics and the history of the colony. Park Hwa-seong's appreciating attitude during her trips to the ancient capitals was "realistic appreciation" and "a real appreciation felt in the heart." Her independent appreciation was based not on the viewpoint of a historian, poet, or archeologist⁶ but of "a modern woman" and "youth." This enabled her to recognize the complicated significance of ancient capitals and relics during the colonial period. Furthermore, free from the nostalgia and sadness Koreans were apt to fall into, she looked at the ancient cities and relics with a penetrating and realistic mind.

Park Hwa-seong viewed the ancient capitals through various lenses. While she was free from the policy on preserving Japanese relics, seeing the ancient capitals, she was filled with sorrows from her feeling of helplessness and the uncertainty of life in the midst of the brilliance of the past and the misery of the present. However, what was important was her effort to neither stay here nor lose her critical mind that enabled her to read correctly the historical symbols that were distorted as relics. This begins the subjective and national consciousness of Park Hwa-seong. Another way she views the capitals was from a class perspective. Her reputation as a "companion writer" (Kim 1979:318; Lee 1979:435) allowed her to remind us of ancient popular artists who were mobilized in the construction of highly bureaucratic works of art. The last one is her feminist viewpoint and appears as an affection and interest in historical female

6. The will of Park Hwa-seong to be faithful to her senses appears in an independent and positive way. It seems that Japanese archeology exerted almost complete power over the study of Joseon remains at the Japanese his independent eyes.

figures. Though sort of formal, the multiple viewpoints toward ancient capitals resulted in a new way of recognizing and appreciating the remains of ancient capitals.

To Park Hwa-seong Gyeongju was “a bare ancient capital” and “an ancient capital filled with tears,” (Park 1934b) while Buyeo was “a history full of tears and regrets,” Buyeo of “worried songs,” “an ancient capital of sadness” and an “unhappy” ancient capital. Not only Gyeongju but Buyeo was also a place filled with a narrative of defeat and national ruin. Anapji in Gyeongju reminds us of the last Silla king, Gyeongsun-wang, and Nakhwaam in Buyeo, the last Baekje king, Uija-wang. Intellectuals read first the traces of defeat and frustration rather than the hopeful ones of nation building in the history, e.g., the travel writing of Lee Gwang-su to Buyeo. His travel writing and trip to Buyeo follow the way Uija-wang and the crown prince had fled Baekje (Lee 1933:58). The ancient city of Buyeo where Lee Gwang-su trod along the traces of ruin was a place causing sorrow mixed with ‘national ruin’ and ‘sadness.’ Park Hwa-seong wasn’t free from the feeling of sorrow, either.⁷ Such a feeling only increases a sense of shame, as the colonial people only saw the brilliant history of the past. Such a feeling is shown in the following poem written after viewing Dabotap and Seokgatap in Gyeongju, “Every traveler praises ancient skills. What does he do after that? Pine trees were laughing and playing.” (Park 1934b)

What is important here is that Park Hwa-seong neither stays where she is nor loses her critical mind toward the generalized contemporary recognition. This is the difference between her and Lee Gwang-su, apparent in their descriptions of Pyeongjetap.

(1) After taking a short rest, I went to Pyeongjetap which stands in the midst of a line of green bamboos. Though the name that means Tang destroyed Baekje is shameful, the culture of our ancestors which left such an ever-lasting masterpiece is worth being praised. The tower against the sunset seems to soar up into the sky with its wings spread. What a wonderful conception and a marvelous technique! What a noble spirit has the

7. Park Hwa-seong admitted that she had read Lee Gwang-su’s travel record. Her act of being intoxicated in Nakhwaam derived from her deep impression after she read it. It can be easily guessed that Park Hwa-seong and Lee Gwang-su had something in common in their recognition.

master artist created such a harmonious, majestic, and beautiful image! How noble was the spirit of our ancestors producing such a master artist! Though all the writings of history disappear like smoke, the sublimity and refinement of the spirit of our race will never be forgotten as long as Pyeongjetap stands steadily where it stands in the ancient capital of Baekje. It is probable that this blood of our ancestors is flowing through our blood veins. Therefore, it is firmly believed that with a new figure and sunlight, flowers will surely bloom brilliantly.

Who can actually believe that the people of today's Joseon are the descendants of those who made Baekjetap? The people of today's Joseon have become deteriorated, corrupted, evil, and incompetent. (Lee 1933:60)

(2) According to the doctor, this tower was built not during the conquest of Baekje but during the period of Baekje. The evidence is that this site was surely that of a grand temple, that there was a stone Buddha and that the first phrase of the same epitaph as that of Pyeongjetap was engraved on the stone water tank.

It is said that they called it Pyeongjetap because in July of the 20th year of Uija-wang Baekje was destroyed and on August 5 So Jeong-bang had the phrase "Tang conquered Baekje" engraved on every side of the tower's first story in memory of his achievement.

Whether it was constructed during the period of Baekje or as a memorial tower in memory of conquering Baekje, it is never pleasing to see the five-storied tower that has the awful name of Pyeongjetap stand firmly at the southern area of Buyeo. (Park 1934b)

At present, the formal name of Pyeongjetap is 'Buyeo Jeongnimsaji Ocheung Seoktap' and the name Pyeongjetap is obsolete. However, during the Japanese colonial period the tower was called Pyeongjetap and was one of the eight famous scenic places in Buyeo. Pyeongjetap was the tower built in memory of conquering Baekje and its name derived from the victorious writing engraved on the first storey of the tower by So Jeong-bang of Tang. An effort to inform correctly the origin of the name shows the dependence of Joseon upon China and to correct the history of the tower properly has been made. In particular, in the first edition of *Gaebyeok* (June 1920) there was a short essay to correct the date of the construction and the misunderstandings.

In the writing (1), Lee Gwang-su simply mentioned the name of Pyeongjetap as a “shameful name” and explained nothing else. What he strongly emphasized was the artistic character of this tower. In the process of describing the tower, he put an emphasis on such artistic characters as harmony, majesty, and beauty of Baekje towers that had not been inherited by the people of Joseon, who declined and became corrupted and evil. After all, the brilliance of the ancient arts became a basis for Lee Gwang-su to deny the people of today’s Joseon. Such an attitude toward historical relics coincided with the imperialistic tactics on displaying ancient remains which only emphasized the artistic characters.⁸ Lee Gwang-su’s impression of Pyeongjetap was just an unconscious reflection of imperialist tactics on displaying ancient remains. It is because he maximized the artistic characteristics of Pyeongjetap but explained nothing about its context, that is, its symbolic and historical significance.

In contrast, Park Hwa-seong began her description with an antipathy toward the name Pyeongjetap. She expressed her feelings of anger and hatred without filtering, “This is called Pyeongbaekjetap and what a shame it is! Why do you have such a horrible name betraying the homeland though you were made by it? What a chagrin it is to look at the epitaph engraved on your body in memory of the victory of General So Jeong-bang of Tang! What a bitter feeling to look at the excellent calligraphy of Gwon Hoe-so!” (Park 1934b) In the quote above (2), she again raised the question about the distorted origin of its foundation and name. The way in which she expresses her anger about the name Pyeongjetap denounces the subjectivity of the history of Joseon and explains it theoretically; thus the subjective mind of our nation can be read.⁹

Park Hwa-seong doesn’t always blindly beautify or romanticize the historical remains of ancient capitals from a national viewpoint. On the contrary, she “doesn’t show an utterly friendly feeling for and pay her respects to” ancient

8. There are three ways to examine an ancient remain: artistic character, sign and symbol, and significance. Pearce said, “As ancient remains have artistic characters, symbolic characters like signs and subsequent significance, the exhibition of artistic remains should have a function to emphasize their symbol and significance as well” (Pearce 1990:156).

9. This attitude is similar to Lee Byeong-gi’s and his travel writing about Buyeo titled “A Travel Writing to Nakhwaam. He clearly revealed Pyeongjetap was Jeongrimtap, which had been built during the period of Mu-wang (Lee 1940:124). Lee Byeong-gi gave a lot of space confirming and transmitting historical facts, anecdotes, and legends through historical records. What we can read here is the sincerity not to blindly accept contemporary viewpoints and the history of Joseon as a sorrowful one but to find out the symbolic problems properly and correct them.

capitals. (Park 1934b) What she revealed clearly in “Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja” is her viewpoint on class. Admiring the artistic character of Dabotap, she recalls unknown stonemasons. Expressing an affection and pity for them, she has a critical attitude toward the creation of artistic works focusing on bureaucrats. Through this discussion, she emphasizes that the culture of Joseon began in the brains of unknown artisans and designers and with the skills of plasterers and stonemasons. Such a viewpoint reached its climax at Poseokjeong. According to her, Poseokjeong was a relic “that the then ruling classes had made to spend their time and wealth pleasantly and lavishly and hadn’t made any cultural contribution at all.” (Park 1934b) Therefore, it is a place “inspiring an impulse to trample on” (Park 1934b) and “anger.” (Park 1934b) This anger can be interpreted as an emotion toward defeated history. However, in an attached poem, “While people are filling the national treasury with blood and sweat, the king has been indulging in drink with subjects. How can’t such a country decline?” (Park 1934b) clearly shows her critical viewpoint toward the ruling classes from a class viewpoint rather a national concept. Also, through her affection toward the ruled classes and pity for their pains, her viewpoint of class becomes evident.

Throughout “Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja” there are not many parts that reveal clearly the self-consciousness of a female writer. There are only a few inconveniences mentioned: there is more luggage for a female traveler than for a male traveler in the first installment; and because of her rather heavy traveling outfit, she needs the help of men in the third installment. When writing about Cheomseongdae her inclination toward the people and the self-consciousness of a woman appeared together. To her, Cheomseongdae is “My affection reach out toward Cheomseongdae because it attracts me the most of all the remains of Silla.” (Park 1934b) There are three reasons: it is a pure scientific relic; it is a relic of the people built during the period of Queen Seondeok; and unlike Dabotap, its aspect is rather simple and innocent. Park Hwa-seong criticized the descriptions in *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) that spoke ill of Queen Seondeok, saying they were “closed thoughts” and “reckless Confucian conclusions.” Her saying that “Uplifting the fact that an observatory undreamt of by other kings was built during this period, I’d like to moderate all the men who think less of women”(Park 1934) shows her belief that Cheomseongdae is connected with the self-consciousness of a woman.

As stated above, the viewpoints of Park Hwa-seong traveling to Gyeongju and Buyeo is neither a sad feeling like Lee Gwang-su nor concentrated on the

confirmation of national consciousness like Lee Byeong-gi. Her enjoyment of the ancient capitals is complicated and diversified. First of all, she indicates without fail that on the train from Daegu for Gyeongju all the passengers except her were Japanese. “Are all the businessmen in Daegu and other areas only Japanese and do they have a great attachment to ancient capitals of Joseon?” (Park 1934b) Such questions recall the economic power of Japan in Korea and she also indicates that popular travels to ancient capitals are ultimately related to it. In this respect, she grasps that the preservation of the relics is connected with an economic business and consequently, the remains have become commodities in modernized society (Park 1934b).

Looking around Bulguksa, she stays the night at a nearby inn. After having dinner, she walks to Bulguksa. Looking at the relics like Dabotap and Seokgatap in the darkness, she comes to recognize the relics in a different phase than ever before.

Even the stone lion that looked like an eccentric thing during the daytime seems incredible in the darkness. It seems that the two eyes absorb even the light and the dim body is moving and trembling.

Stone lantern seems to walk standing and Dabotap seems to fall apart at this moment. The volume of Seokgatap seems to grow bigger and bigger and take up the whole garden by itself. It was a tremendous and horrible scene. A feeling of unknown fear arose. I have a doubt. Why do the friendly treasures during the daylight cause such an awful fear in the darkness? My stream of thought glitters like a shooting star in the darkness.

I realized why. It is because a monster of darkness has absorbed their gorgeous, delicate, and elegant structures and sculptures.

In the darkness, they have lost the light of essence of fine arts and in my eyes they are no longer noble artistic works but only pieces of common stone.

How can I find life among pieces of stone in the darkness? Even though the spirit of fine arts were engraved back to the bone, I cannot help but take them as lumps of stone when my eyes cannot see them. (Park 1934:23-4)

The relics she saw in the darkness were nothing but “common lumps of stone.” Here, Dabotap and Seokgatap become things deprived of ideological significance. Though there was no deep analysis, it can be guessed that such an experi-

ence works as an opportunity for meditating on the significance of the structures. She meditates superficially about the act of giving a meaning to treasures, the nobility of artistic works and the spirit of fine arts during the night versus the day. An aesthetic appreciation that breaks from the convention and doesn't view the relics of ancient capitals only as the history of Joseon and the remains of a declined colony are apparent.

4. Historical Places in Nature and Viewpoints of Symbiosis toward Nature

In late November, not long after she had finished traveling to the ancient capitals, Park Hwa-seong traveled to Haeju. While “Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja” focused on ancient capitals, “Haeseogihaeng” (A Writing of Travel to Haeseo) focused on the natural beauty in the high reaches and nine valleys. In her “Haeseogihaeng,” looking at the monument for Baekisukje built halfway up Suyangsan, “I don't feel able to control my anger while watching the big stone monument violate the beautiful scenery of Suyangsan.” She reveals. (Park 1935)

At the beginning of the serialization, Park Hwa-seong stated her purpose. She wrote, “Instead of admirable seasons like spring, summer and fall, to make a trip alone in late November which others deleted from their travel diary came from my ambition to glimpse at my aspiration and mind toward scenic places in winter” (Park 1935). Here, she revealed only her hopes and ambition of traveling in winter. In “Nunboraui unha” (A Canal in Blizzard), she describes them more concretely. As a writer who wanted to be the first person in the country to write about Haeseo, it derived from her ambition toward writing. By traveling to Haeseo with such assurance, the self-consciousness of the writer is faithfully reflected. Above all, this travel was made alone. Visiting a descendant of Yi Yulgok at Seokdam and asking for travel guidance, the descendant was surprised at Park Hwa-seong's traveling alone. Considering the situation of female travelers at that time, it was not a frequent case.¹⁰ Moreover, Seokdam was not a popular sightseeing site at that time. Suyangsan and Guwolsan were famous as sight-

10. The travel record of Na Hye-seok to Europe and the United States is well known as a modern female travel record, but in fact she did not travel alone but accompanied her husband. In the case of other female travel records, Heo Jeong-suk accompanied her father and Baek Sin-ae her brother.

seeing sites near Haeju.¹¹ Thus, instead of choosing a well-known sightseeing site at that time, she visited the high reaches and nine valleys to appreciate natural beauty alone. “Geuripdeon yet teoreul chaja” shows complicated emotions including a nationalistic emotion intermediated by imperialism while the control of spatial character called ancient capitals worked strongly. But in the travel to the high reaches and nine valleys, the traveler is much freer from ideological interpretation toward space and target.

I am neither a student of Confucianism nor an elegant and free scholar respecting Zhu Xi or Yi Yul-gok as seniors. I think it is a natural duty of a traveler to visit hills and waters of the nine valleys and admire their scenic beauty rather than to visit the relics of the deceased and respect their aspects and virtues as a junior. (Park 1935)

“A traveler to visit hills and waters of the nine valleys and admire their scenic beauty” is an ideological metaphor that nature doesn’t matter too much to Park Hwa-seong. (Park 1935) Here, free from the metaphor of history, nation and relics, she came to enjoy the space of relics as an independent object of beauty and nature. Such an attitude is similar to *Geumgangsanyugi* (A Travel Writing to Geumgangsan) by Lee Gwang-su. Though the trip started as a pilgrimage, his views on Geumgangsan were those of a modern rational citizen and objective tourist (Seo 2004:257-67). Its greatest characteristic is to see Geumgangsan not as a national symbol but as an aesthetic object. Similarly, Park Hwa-seong didn’t connect symbolically with the high reaches and nine valleys through the poems of Yi Yul-gok or the idle nine valleys of Confucius but tried to enjoy them as objects of beauty. However, while Lee Gwang-su had an attitude of a rational observer and aesthetic analyst that analyzed closely, observed minutely and described objects, Park Hwa-seong took an emotional attitude faithful to sensible description and responses, which is apparent through her description of nature using colors and sounds (Park 1935).

Another of her attitudes toward nature is that nature is not only an object of beauty but also a source of life that can be used for living.

11. Suyangsan was well known as a sightseeing site around the middle of the 1930s and Guwolsan was known as the sacred place of Dangun and had become a scenic place that nationalists had frequented since the middle of the 1920s (Joseonjungang ilbo, December 6, 1935 and May 14, 1936; Donga ilbo, October 21, 1926; Baek. donga ilbo, August 26-September 26, 1927; Ahn 1934).

After walking a while, I took a shortcut and went along a mountain path. What surprised me here was the huge amount of dried stumps of scrub trees and weeds in the mountains and fields, which reminded me of the fields of a primitive age.

There is a rumor everywhere that cutting pine trees secretly was checked by a forestry officer. It is not unusual to see firewood cutters in a farm village or a mountain village. The colder it becomes, the more dangerous trees become. Nevertheless, there are trees and trees around us here....

“Why don’t they take these trees instead of letting them rot?” I asked with rebuke.

“What’s the use of taking them? Trees are plentiful around here.” The young man grinned at me. “The world where you are living is different from this place.” He seemed to make such a comment, looking at my eyes full of avarice.... (Park 1935)

Trees are not only an object of beauty but also firewood to Park Hwa-seong. This is the nature grasped by a person who lives an ordinary life. She is very impatient about the fallen leaves rotting. “These two fallen leaves would be enough to boil tea and a straw basket of fallen leaves would cook rice for my family of five without a doubt (Park 1935). Thus, she has the same attitude objectifying nature as an object divided from humans whether it is an object of beauty or the usable resources of livelihood. This means that nature has become an object, that is, a thing in modern times. In this process, the space between civilization and nature is divided. Therefore, enjoying nature not as a union of nature and humans but as an object is the viewpoint of modern men who divide nature from civilization. It is because nature can be an object of beauty when it is grasped and divided by civilization (Seo 2004:260-2). This has brought a division between where the young man lives and where the writer lives, heavenly place and mundane place. She has divided the high reaches and nine valleys into the space of nature and the space of civilization.

What is more important is her attitude neither to create a hierarchy of civilization and nature nor to govern nature from the viewpoint of civilized men.

I wade across a stream, stepping on dry stones un-swamped into water. Striking against the stones I galloped on, the pearly drops of cold water are breaking on my instep. The moment I look at them, I lost my footing

and trampled into the water. As the feet of a common person made the water unclean, my shoes filled with water. (Park 1935)

The nature of a person who lives an ordinary life is fallen leaves, scrub trees piled on the ground, and dry stumps of weeds. An attitude to exploit and govern nature cannot be seen here. On the contrary, she takes an attitude of symbiosis toward nature. Park Hwa-seong sees nature as a modern thing. It reveals tacitly that a common person as a civilized man can ‘trample upon’ the world of nature. This is absolutely different from the view of nature that the civilized world should be developed through exploitation and government. Here, the recognition of Park Hwa-seong toward nature that is both modern and beyond modern can be seen.

5. Conclusion

This paper reviewed historical places from the colonial period through the travel writings of Park Hwa-seong. Since the 1920s, ancient capitals and cultural relics became the destinations for pilgrimages by nationalist intellectuals, school excursions and sightseeing tours sponsored by newspapers. The cultural and political significance of such traveling has been actively discussed; however, a discussion focusing on female travelers has not. It was mainly because there were few female travelers. In this respect, the travel writings of Park Hwa-seong are significant. However, she doesn’t reveal only feminist viewpoints in her travel writings. It is more accurate to say that she shows an aspect of a traveler, rather than a female traveler. It is because, in reality, she reveals not only female viewpoints but also multiple viewpoints.

The facts of where Park Hwa-seong traveled and when she traveled coincided and had a close influence on her recognition toward objects. The historical places are the places reminding the colonial people of their national identity because the Japanese imperialists pursued a paradoxical cultural policy for political benefit. Travel writings to historical places at that time showed how colonial intellectuals took up their positions and recognized their own vernacular relics. Eventually, this meets with the issue of self-recognition.

The characteristic of Park Hwa-seong is not to limit the historical traces of Joseon but to recognize them freely and broadly. As a result, she sometimes shows the unconsciousness of the people who were subsumed by the imperial

tactics like contemporary intellectuals and at the same time shows subjective national consciousness and popular and female viewpoints. Also, in the high reaches and nine valleys of Haeju, she shows her aesthetic appreciation as a person enjoying the beautiful scenery Yi Yul-gok introduced. There is also the aspect of a traveler free from the metaphorical significance of the objects. Meanwhile, unlike the general public her enjoyment of nature wasn't about the consumption of goods. It extended to the symbiotic view of nature. That is, in spite of objectifying nature, it is based upon a symbiotic and sympathetic attitude. Through such an attitude toward historical relics and nature, this paper reviewed the flexible and broad viewpoints of Park Hwa-seong that didn't shun the ruled classes from the viewpoint of not only females, individuals and intellectuals of the colony but also the ruling and the ruled.

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