

Tea in Early and Later Joseon

Brother Anthony of Taizé

This paper was published in *Transactions*, Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, Vol. 86 (2011) pages 119-142.

Anyone who begins to explore the history of tea-drinking in Korea soon encounters a few names of writers from earlier centuries who have left their mark on the Korean Way of Tea, either by something they wrote or by their example. The life-stories of these men, who were either scholars or monks, serve to illustrate vividly some of the challenges facing the political elite in the Joseon dynasty; exile and execution are frequently recurring events. In what follows, one aim is to try to sense something of the human reality underlying dry historical facts, including the love of tea shared by each of those evoked. The first set of stories concerns a little-known scholar, Yi Mok, who composed the earliest known Korean treatise about tea shortly before his execution at the early age of twenty-eight, in the closing years of the fifteenth century. The second section begins with the life of the scholar widely known as Dasan, Jeong Yak-yong, together with some mention of his brothers, and ends with the death of the Venerable Cho-ui in 1866, covering the first half of the nineteenth century.

1. Tea and Death in Early Joseon

The Joseon Dynasty began in 1392, at the end of Goryeo, with a change in the royal family from the Wang of Goryeo to the Yi of Joseon. In the decades following, there was strong tension between aristocratic men who had been faithful servants of the Goryeo kings and had retired to the countryside rather than serve the new regime, and the “turncoats” who had accepted the new royal line and devoted themselves to serving the good of the state. Confucianist purists insisted that it was not possible to “serve two masters”.

Many people today who have heard of the marvels performed by the fourth king of Joseon, King Sejong the Great (ruled 1418-1450), do not realize what troubles followed his death. His eldest surviving son, King Munjong (1414-1452), was weak in health and died barely two years after becoming king. He left the throne to his twelve-year-old son, known as Danjong (1441-1457). Munjong's brothers, princes Suyang and Anpyeong were both dynamic, ambitious men who feared the influence of

powerful ministers over the sickly Munjong and above all, once he was dead, over the child Danjong. Suyang outmaneuvered his brother when Munjong died; in 1453 he had Prince Anpyeong exiled, then executed by poison, and killed the two ministers Munjong had appointed to act as regents. This incident is known as the *Gyeyu-jeongdan*, the first of a series of political purges named after the year in which they occurred.

Prince Suyang became King Sejo, the seventh king of Joseon, and ruled 1455-1468, having deposed his nephew, Danjong. In 1457, officials (led by the “Six Martyred Ministers”) plotted to restore Danjong, and some seventy were executed for treason (the purge known as the *Byeongja-sahwa*). Danjong, who had been demoted to the rank of prince, was exiled for several months on an isolated stretch of sand (*Cheongnyeongpo*) at the foot of a cliff in the West River (Seo-gang) at Yeongweol in Gangwon Province. He was then forced to drink poison or strangled, or perhaps both.

Sejo was by formation a very talented scholar who had been involved in many of the intellectual ventures during the reign of Sejong. But the idea that a king might be deposed was anathema to traditional ideas, and King Sejo was criticized by the more conservative families while a number of reputed scholars (the “Six Loyal Subjects”) withdrew to a life of exile in rural areas (*sarim*) away from the court. With time, some ministers gained great power by marriage with the royal family. When Sejo died in 1468, his second son became King Yejong, but he died the following year, aged barely twenty, and Sejo's grandson, the son of his elder son, who had also died in his twentieth year a few years before, became King Seongjong. The new king was still only in his twelfth year. It was not until 1467 that he reached his majority and began to exercise royal authority. From the start, fearing that the established ministers and their families (later known as the *hungu* faction) were becoming too powerful, he attempted to counter their power by bringing into court members of the more strictly Confucian *sarim* families. At the same time he took steps to diminish the influence of Buddhism, which had been encouraged by both Sejong and Sejo.

Yi Mok's teacher, Jeompiljae Kim Jong-jik (1431-1492), was one of the first to be promoted by Seongjong and is thus considered the founder of the *sarim* court faction. By 1484, several others had risen to positions of influence, all of them from the south-eastern region and all following the strict Confucian ideal of “not following two masters,” in the footsteps of those scholars who had been in opposition to the initial rise of the Joseon dynasty. In the following centuries, their influence inspired the

conservative, narrow form of Confucianism that came to dominate Joseon and which so opposed the *Silhak* (practical learning) school of men such as Dasan. At some point, Kim Jong-jik wrote a veiled attack on King Sejo's usurpation, called the *Joewije-mun* (Lament for the Righteous Emperor), a poetic text seemingly deploring the death of King Huai of Chu on the orders of the usurping Xiang Yu, in ancient Chinese history. Several years after Kim Jong-jik died, one of his pupils, Kim Il-son, inserted the *Lament* into the official posthumous chronicle of the reign of King Seongjong, who died in 1494, and it was spotted there by members of the rival *hungu* faction, who realized its hidden meaning.

Sejo's great-grandson, today known as Yeonsan (reigned 1494-1506), was at first a good king, if at times ruthless, but he is said to have become dissolute, and finally insane. His life story is so striking that it has been the subject of novels and movies, although many of the details may have been added later. The commonly received version, as found in *Wikipedia*, relates that, "Deposed Queen Yun, formally known as Queen Jeheon, served Prince Yeonsan's father, Seongjong, as a concubine until the death of Queen Gonghye, Seongjong's first wife. With no royal heir, the king was urged by counselors to take a second wife to secure the royal succession. Lady Yun was chosen for her beauty, and was formally married to the king in 1476. Several months later, she gave birth to her first son, Yi Yung, later to become Prince Yeonsan. The new queen proved to be temperamental and highly jealous of Seongjong's concubines living inside the palace, even stooping to poisoning one in 1477. In 1479, she physically struck the king one night, leaving scratch marks. Despite efforts to conceal the injury, Seongjong's mother, Insu Daebi, discovered the truth and ordered Lady Yun, now known as the Deposed Queen Yun, into exile. After several popular attempts to restore the deposed Queen to her position at court, government officials petitioned that she be poisoned." Her baby son was apparently brought up in ignorance of his mother's fate.

In 1498, the king learned from his closest advisor of Kim Jong-jik's attack on his great-grandfather, King Sejo, and launched the *Muo Sahwa*, in which many members of the *sarim* faction were killed. Kim's body was exhumed and decapitated and many of his former pupils were executed. This purge was followed a few years later by the infamous *Gapcha Sahwa* of 1504. The king seems to have gone mad on finally being told how his birth mother had died. He ordered the execution of concubines, and of many leading figures from both factions, and is even said to have provoked the death of his elderly grandmother by striking her.

Finally, his ministers deposed him in favor of his half-brother, who became King Jungjong, and Yeonsan died very soon after, in exile, although it is not clear whether he was killed. His wife and children were certainly killed, as were his closest advisers. He was no longer king at his death, so he has no “temple name” ending in -jo, he is known to posterity as Yeonsan-gun, Prince Yeonsan.

When we turn to the history of Korean tea, the first difficulty we face is the lack of documents from the Goryeo period. It is usually assumed that tea-drinking, which had been introduced from China along with Buddhism in the earlier Silla period, continued to be widely practiced in the strongly Buddhist Goryeo period. Tea trees had been planted near temples in the southern areas quite early on. Yet from the early Joseon period, when records start to be more plentiful, there is no sign of tea being drunk as a sophisticated or civilized pursuit anywhere, in the court, by scholars or by monks. It might be that this decline had already begun under Goryeo.

The only exception we find is that Jeompilje Kim Jong-jik (1431 - 1492) wrote a poem about planting a new tea field. It is preserved in volume 10 of the *Jeompilje-jip* (畢齋集卷) anthology of his writings. Kim Jong-jik was *Gunsu* (prefect) of Hamyang-gun, South Gyeongsang province, for 5 years from 1471 until 1476. He established a new tea-field. In 1474, surveying the flourishing plantation, he composed the following 2 stanzas.

茶園
Tea Garden

浴奉靈苗壽聖君
I longed to offer his majesty tea in tribute
新羅遺種久無聞
but I could not find seeds transmitted since Silla times.
如今擷得頭流下
At last I got some, gathered at the foot of Mount Duryu (Jiri-san)
且喜吾民寬一分
and I am all the happier since our people have a little more ease now.

竹外荒園數畝坡
On the wide field on the hillside beyond the bamboos
紫英鳥嘴幾時誇
how long before I can boast of russet-petal, bird-beak leaves?

但令民療心頭肉

But all that matters is to reduce the people's basic suffering,

不要籠加粟粒芽

I am not intent on producing some exquisite kind like that from Wuyi-shan.

At first sight, it might seem that we have here an indication that Joseon-era scholars continued to cultivate the Way of Tea. However, the introduction to the poem suggests a very different reason for planting the tea field. In the official list of local products from each township, *Sin-jeung-dong-guk-yeo-ji-seung-nam* (新增東國輿地勝覽, 1481 revised 1530), we find *Jakseol-cha* (tea) included as one of the local products designated to be offered in tribute by the population of Hamyang-gun. *Jaksol-cha* obviously used to grow there but at some point prior to the reign of King Seongjong it vanished.

Kim writes: “The tea which the townsfolk were obliged to offer up in tribute did not grow in the region. Every year when the levy was due they would take goods, exchange them for tea in Jeolla province and send that up. Usually the rate was one *mal* of rice for one *hop* of tea. When I was appointed, I learned of this evil practice and rather than imposing a levy on the people I borrowed government funds from the *Gwana* (government office) and so sent up the tribute tea. I had already read in the *Samguk-sagi* that in Silla times tea seeds sent from Tang China had been planted in Jiri-san. Now our town is at the foot of that very mountain, so are there none of those seeds sent in Silla times still remaining? Every time I met local leaders I would ask. Finally, I obtained a few bushes from the bamboo grove to the north of Eomcheon-sa temple 嚴川寺 (in the region of what is now Jinju). I was really happy. I had a tea-field planted. All around were people's fields so I bought the ground as government (*Gwana*) land. After a few years had passed, the plants had flourished and spread wide. If we waited 4-5 more years, we should be able to gather the required quantity. So I composed a poem in 2 stanzas.” It seems clear that he had no thought of using the tea for himself, that he knew nothing about tea-drinking as a refined pursuit. His sole concern was to help the local people grow the leaves they were obliged to send up to Seoul.

Yi Mok and Tea

It is one of Kim's pupils, Yi Mok, who brings us closer to the refined culture of tea. Hanjae Yi Mok (1471-1498) was born in the

seventh month in the second year of the reign of King Seongjong (r 1469-1495) in Gageum-ri, in what is now Haseong-myeon, Gimpo city in Gyeonggi Province to the west of Seoul, the second son of Yi Yun-Saeng (dates unknown) who had the title of *Chamui*, Third Minister. His clan was a branch of the royal Jeonju Yi clan. He began schooling in his eighth year, and in his fourteenth year became the pupil of the scholar Jeompiljae Kim Jong-Jik. In 1489, he passed the First State Examination (*Chinsa-gwa*) and entered the Confucian Academy (Seonggyun'gwan).

While he was studying, the king fell sick and his mother ordered a shaman to enter the palace and pray for his recovery. As Confucians, the students disapproved strongly; they went and drove the shaman away with clubs. The king, furious, ordered a list of the students to be made and all but Yi Mok ran away; impressed by his sincerity, the king is said to have praised him and sent a gift of wine. However, Yi Mok was later sent in exile to Gongju for a time, returning to Seoul in his 21st year. In his 25th year he went to study in Beijing for a few months. While he was in China he seems to have been in contact with scholars who introduced him directly to the Ming dynasty practices of tea and to the main Chinese texts about tea, which clearly underlie his writing about tea.

There is no indication as to when or why he composed the *ChaBu* (Rhapsody to Tea), which is unlike any other text devoted to the Way of Tea found in Korea or China, although the influence of the *Classic of Tea* and other Taoist Chinese tea texts is evident in it. The most striking absence is the total lack of any mention of tea being grown or drunk in Korea. The text is only about the Chinese tea tradition. We soon realize how intensely Yi Mok has absorbed the Taoist vision of nature that gave birth to Chinese and Korean landscape painting:

Only yonder beautiful tea tree, ahead of all the rest, advances toward early spring, monopolizing the heavens. Russet, light green, dark green, yellow, early, late, short, long, issuing from the roots, rising through branches, sending out leaves, offering shade, spitting out shoots of pure gold, lushly jade-green, forming forests luxuriantly dense, sensuously beautiful, wonderful and stately, like clouds rising and mists thickening, truly the most glorious sight under Heaven! I pick and pluck the tender buds. Buds plucked and gathered and loaded on my back, I return to the valley, playing my flute. (*ChaBu* Section 4)

Bring out a jade bowl and wash it yourself, boil water from a rocky spring, then observe how the pale steam brims at the lip of the bowl like summer clouds issuing from mountain streams and peaks, and white billowing waves form as if dashing down a swollen river in spring. The sound of water boiling blows, whistling like a frosty wind through bamboos and pines, while the fragrance of the brewed tea drifts like a ship of war, flying towards the Red Cliff. (*ChaBu* Section 5)

By allowing people to enjoy long lives, it has the virtue of longevity of the Emperors Yao and Shun; by curing diseases, it has the virtue of benevolence of the doctors Yu Fu and Bian Que; by easing people's minds, it has the noble integrity of Bo Yi and Yang Zhen; by making people's hearts glad, it has the virtue of the Two Old Men and the Four Greybeards of Mount Shang; by enabling people to become immortal, it possesses the lofty virtues of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi; by providing people with ceremony, it bestows the virtue of civility of Ji Dan and Confucius. (*ChaBu* Section 7)

Wisdom is to float like an empty boat on water; Benevolence is to admire the trees and fruit of the mountain. When the spirit moves the heart, it enters the Wondrous, even without seeking pleasure, pleasure arises. This is the tea of my heart, it is needless to seek another. (*ChaBu* Section 8)

On returning from China, he took the *Daegwa* (Higher State Examination) in 1495 and was awarded the highest place. In his 26th year he was appointed to a junior administrative position over the military in what is now South Hamgyeong Province (in today's North Korea) but in the following year he was given leave and continued his studies in private; in this year his son Yi Se-Jang (1497-1562) was born. 1498 saw the *Muo Sahwa*, and on the 26th day of the 7th month of 1498 Hanjae Yi Mok, having been one of Kim Jong-jik's most cherished pupils, was executed. He is reported to have behaved with great courage, writing a final poem, then calmly going out to execution as if nothing special were happening to him.

In 1504, during the *Gapcha Sahwa* a second condemnation was delivered against the deceased Yi Mok and his bones were dug up. After a change in factional power in 1552, Yi Mok's reputation was restored. In

1717-22 various posthumous titles and honors were bestowed on him, including the title *Ijopanseo* (Minister of Personnel). In 1726, under King Yeongjo, permission was given for him to be honored in a special shrine as well as in a Confucian academy in Gongju and another shrine in Jeonju. His grave with its modern memorial shrine in Gimpo is still the site of regular ceremonies by his descendants. Recently a small grove of tea bushes has been planted there, from which tea is made for offerings in his shrine.

2. Records of Tea in Later Joseon

Tea, we may say with some assurance, was only known in the Joseon dynasty when scholars and diplomats brought some back from China. There is no record indicating that anyone made and drank it for pleasure in Korea. The first extensive text about Korean tea-making known from the Joseon dynasty is *Bupung Hyangcha Bo* (扶風 鄉茶譜 Record of native tea made at Buan c1756) by Pilseon Yi Un-hae (1710 - ?). Extracts from the text of the *Bupung Hyangcha Bo* survived by being included in the diary of Hwang Yun-seok (黃胤錫 1729-1791) known as *YiJaeNanGo* (頤齋亂藁), following the last entry in the diary, dated the 26th day of the 6th month, 1757. The diary is preserved (as is Hwang's home) at Gochang, North Jeolla province. Yi Un-hae wrote: "I heard that there was famous tea growing at Seonun-sa temple in Bupung. Neither officials nor ordinary folk knew how to drink it, they treated the bushes as mere weeds and used them for kindling, so they were in a bad state. I sent servants from the *Gwana* (government office) to pick and bring me some. It was just the right time for making new tea so we made seven different kinds of tea."

The tea that Yi made was a medicine: "The tea mixed with the other (medicinal) ingredient is dried over a fire; once dry, it is placed in a cloth bag and kept in a dry place. First, two larger cups (jon) of clean water are brought to the boil in a tea kettle. After the water has boiled for a while, the tea is added. One jeon of tea should be used; it should be served strongly brewed and drunk while very hot."

Being a scholar, it may be that Yi knew the Chinese *Chajing* (Tea Classic), for some of his knowledge of tea seems to rely on older books from China: "Bitter tea is also called *jakseol* (sparrows' tongues). It has a rather cold quality but is not poisonous. The bushes are small, similar to gardenia bushes. The leaves grow in winter; those picked early are called "*cha*" and those picked later "*myeong*." The different names, *cha*, *ga*, *seol*,

myeong, *cheon* etc all depend on whether the tea was picked early or late. Tea produced in the last lunar month is called “barley grain tea.” Many buds are picked, pounded, formed into cakes and roasted. Tough old leaves are called “cheon.” It is best drunk hot. When cold it causes phlegm. If drunk over a long period, it removes fat and makes one dry.”

By far the most important text about tea prior to Cho-ui’s *DongChaSong* is the *DongChaGi* (東茶記 Record of Korean Tea) which Cho-ui refers to in his poem. This was written by Yi Deok-ni (1728 - ?) in about 1785 while he was in exile in Jindo, in southern Jeolla. He had been there since 1776. A full text has only recently discovered in the home of descendants of Dasan’s youngest disciple in Gangjin, close to Dasan’s home there. This text confirms what Yi Un-hae wrote about the widespread ignorance regarding tea: “In our Eastern Land (Korea) tea grows in various localities of Honam (the south-west) and Yeongnam (the south-east). The places listed in the (official geographical texts) *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (東國輿地勝覽) and the *Gosa chwalyo* (故事撮要) etc are only one tenth, one hundredth of the total. It is customary in our land to use what is known as “*jakseol*” in medicines but most people do not realize that “*cha*” and “*jakseol*” are the same thing. The reason is that for a long time now nobody has made “*cha*” (tea) or drunk tea. Supposing some diletante buys tea at a market in China and brings it back, nobody knows how to appreciate it, although our lands are close.”

One fascinating detail learned from the *DongChaGi* is that significant quantities of tea from China reached Joseon in 1760: “Once tea reached Korea by ship in Gyeongjin year (1760), the whole country learned what tea looks like. It was drunk widely for the next ten years, and although stocks were exhausted a long time ago now, nobody knows how to pick and make more. Since tea is not so important for our countrymen, it is obvious that they are unconcerned whether it exists here or not.” There are other records of a Chinese ship reaching Gunsan on the west coast in 1762 with a large cargo of “Yellow tea” which seems to have provided the limited Joseon market with enough tea for several decades.

There are no signs of any “refined” tea culture existing in Korea at this time, apart from a paragraph in Yi Deok-ni’s *DongChaGi* which indicates that at least a few refined scholars cultivated a serious practice of Chinese tea: “In the spring of Gyehae year (1743) I visited Sangodang (Oaryong-am, the home of the scholar Kim Gwang-su) and drank tea that the master had been sent by a certain gentleman from Liaoyang; the leaves were small, with no stalks, so that I thought it was like the tea mentioned by Sun Qiao, plucked to the sound of thunder. It was the third lunar month,

the flowers had not yet faded in the garden. Our host had prepared places beneath the pines, close to a tea-brazier; brazier and utensils were all Chinese antiques and we each enjoyed a cup.” Yet even there, he reports, the talk soon turned to the medicinal qualities of tea.

3. Dasan, Cho-ui and Kim Jeong-hui.

Now it is time to evoke the stories of two scholars who lived three centuries after Yi Mok and who also experienced exile and political turmoil, Jeong Yak-yong and Kim Jeong-hui, and of two remarkable monks, Hyejang and Cho-ui, who befriended them. What unites them with Yi Mok is their interest in the Way of Tea. This part of the story begins at the start of the 19th century. A scholar had just been sent into exile. His name was Jeong Yak-yong, he was in his fortieth year. His exile began in the last days of 1801, on the 23rd day of the eleventh lunar month, the 28th of December in our solar calendar. On that day, he arrived in Gangjin, South Jeolla Province. The newly-arrived exile had little or no money and no friends, he found shelter in a small room of a poor, rundown tavern kept by a widow, outside the East Gate of the walled township of Gangjin, and there he lived until 1805. He called his room “Saujjae” (room of four obligations: clear thinking, serious appearance, quiet talking, sincere actions). The story of the events leading up to that moment would be enough to fill a book in themselves. It brings us in direct contact with some of the most dramatic events of Joseon history.

From 1776 until his death in the summer of 1800, only just over a year before, the king of Joseon had been King Jeongjo, one of the most enlightened kings of the dynasty. His father had been Crown Prince Sado, whose outrageous and sadistic behavior became such a scandal that in 1762 his father, King Yeongjo, finally had him enclosed in a rice chest in front of a hall in Changgyeong-gung palace, where he was left until he died a full week later. That whole story is related in the fascinating memoirs written by Jeongjo’s mother, usually known by the title her son bestowed on her as Hong Hyegyonggung, it is not known if she ever had a personal name. The future king was ten years old when his father was killed, and it was naturally a traumatic event. For years he and his demoted mother were kept apart.

After becoming king in 1776, Jeongjo did everything he could to express his respect for his father, moving his (deliberately) humble grave to a much more honorable site at Yungneung near today's Suwon. In 1794, he began to build a new ‘temporary’ palace and walled city nearby,

Hwaseong Haenggung, now the city of Suwon, perhaps planning to move the capital away from the factional intrigues of Hanyang (Seoul). In 1796 he celebrated his mother's 60th birthday there. The man in charge of the engineering and architecture for this huge project was none other than our Gangjin exile, Jeong Yak-yong. He had been one of the deceased king's most trusted and closest advisors. So what brought him to disgrace and exile? As he began his life in that rural tavern, far from his friends and family, he must have spent time thinking about the events of recent months.

Dasan's father was Jeong Jae-won (丁載遠, 1730-1792). His eldest brother Yak-hyeon (若鉉, 1751-1821) was the son of a first wife, while Jeong Yak-jong (若鍾, 1760-1801), Yak-jeon (若銓, 1758-1816), and Yak-yong were the sons of their father's second wife, Suk-in (淑人, 1730-1770) from the Haenam Yun 尹 family. There was one daughter from this second marriage. Four other daughters were later born of a third marriage. Dasan's father's family traced their descent back to Jeong Ja-geup (丁子伋, 1423-1487) who in 1460 first took a government position under King Sejo. Eight further generations then followed his example. Jeong Si-yun (丁時潤, 1646-1713) and his second son Do-bok (道復, 1666-1720) were the last of the line, since the *Namin* (Southerners) faction to which the family belonged lost power in 1694. Si-yun retired to a house in Mahyeon-ri to the east of Seoul (now known as Namyangju) in 1699, which was to be Dasan's birthplace. His eldest son, Do-tae (道泰) lived there and was Dasan's direct ancestor. The Southerners remained excluded from official positions until a brief period that began during the reign of King Jeongjo, when Dasan's father was appointed magistrate of Jinju county, thanks to his strong links with the powerful Chae Je-gong (蔡濟恭, 1720-99), who rose until he was appointed third state councillor in 1788 and later Prime Minister.

In 1762, the execution of Crown Prince Sado by his father the king so shocked Jeong Jae-won that he withdrew from official life and returned to his home in Mahyeon-ri. As a result, Dasan grew up receiving intense intellectual training from his now unoccupied father. The source of Dasan's intellectual interests can be traced to the influence of the great scholar Udam Jeong Si-han (愚潭 丁時翰, 1625-1707) of the same clan, who taught Jeong Si-yun briefly and was then the main teacher of Dasan's ancestor Jeong Do-tae as well as his brother Do-je (1675-1729). One of the most significant thinkers in the next generation was the philosopher-scholar Seongho Yi Ik (星湖 李滉, 1681-1763) and he saw Udam as the authentic heir of the great thinker Toegye Yi Hwang (退溪 李滉, 1501-

1570). Jeong Do-je transmitted the teachings of Udam to the next generations of the family and so they were passed to Dasan's father and Dasan himself.

Similarly, Dasan's mother was descended from the family of the famous Southerner scholar-poet Gosan Yun Seon-do (孤山 尹善道, 1587-1671). Yun's great-grandson Gongjae Yun Du-seo (恭齋 尹斗緒, 1668-1715), well-known for his skills as a painter, was Dasan's maternal great-grandfather. He and his elder brother were close to Seongho Yi Ik and his brothers, and are credited with reviving the study of the *Six Classics*, as well as the thought of Toegye.

In 1776, Dasan was married to Hong Hwabo of the Pungsan Hong clan, the daughter of a royal secretary; in that year he moved to Seoul, where his father received an appointment in the Board of Taxation after the accession of King Jeongjo. When he was 15, Dasan was introduced to the writings of Seongho Yi Ik by two of his descendants, Yi Ga-Hwan (李家煥, 1742-1801) and his brother-in-law Yi Seung-hun (李承薰, 1756-1801) and he was deeply impressed, resolving to devote his life to similar studies. In 1783, Dasan passed the *chinsagwa* (literary licentiate examination), which allowed him to enter the Seonggyungwan (national Confucian academy). In 1784 the king was deeply impressed by the "objectivity" of Dasan's replies to a set of questions he had formulated. This was the start of an increasingly close relationship between the king and Dasan. After the promotion of Chae Je-gong in 1788, Dasan took top place in the *daegwa* (higher civil service exam) in 1789 and was offered a position in the Office of Royal Decrees, together with 5 other members of the Southerner faction. This alarmed members of the opposing 'Old Doctrine' faction, who soon realized the extent to which the Southerners were being influenced, not only by the Practical Learning introduced to China from Europe, but by Catholicism itself.

In 1784, Yi Byeok (李蘄, 1754-1786), a scholar who had participated in meetings to study books about the Western (European) Learning, starting in 1777, talked with Dasan about the new religion and gave him a book about it. Whatever his response may have been, Dasan's immediate family was already deeply involved in the origins of the Korean Catholic community. He himself seems later to have denied receiving baptism, while Lee Seung-hun insisted that he had baptized him with the other first converts. His older sister was married to Yi Seung-hun, the Korean who was first baptized as a Catholic in Beijing in 1784 and played a leading role in the early years of the Church's growth. The oldest of Jeong Jae-won's sons, Jeong Yak-hyeon, was married to a sister of Yi

Byeok. Another daughter, from a third marriage, later married Hwang Sa-yeong (1775-1801), author of the notorious Silk Letter.

Dark clouds began to gather in 1791. Two years before, Yun Jichung, one of the first baptized and a cousin to Dasan on his mother's side, had gone to Beijing and received confirmation. He learned that Rome had forbidden Catholics to perform ancestral rituals and that his was now being strictly applied by the Portuguese Franciscan bishop of Beijing, Alexandre de Gouvea. When his mother died in 1791, Yun therefore refused to perform the usual Confucian ceremonies; this became public knowledge, he was accused of impiety and was executed. Some Koreans who had at first been sympathetic, horrified by the Church's rejection of hallowed traditions, turned away. Jeong Yak-yong may well have been among them, for his later writings stress the significance of rituals.

The second problem was the arrival in Korea in 1795 of the country's first Catholic priest, a Chinese named Zhou Wenmo. This confirmed suspicions that this new teaching was a foreign threat. Then in 1799 the Prime Minister died, and in 1800 the king died. They had both been open-minded men who tolerated the conversion to Catholicism of some of their close advisers. The new king, Sunjo, was still only a child and power fell into the hands of the widow of King Yeongjo, known as Queen Dowager Kim or Queen Jeong-sun. Her family belonged to the factions opposed to the reformist Catholic Namin group and she had been completely powerless during Yeongjo's reign. She at once launched an attack on the Catholics, who were denounced as traitors and enemies of the state.

Jeong Yak-jong was the head of the Catholic community, he was one of the first to be arrested and executed, together with Yi Seung-hun, the first to be baptized, in the spring of 1801. His eldest son, Jeong Cheol-sang, died then too, executed a month after his father. His second wife, Yu So-sa, was later to be martyred in 1839, as were his other son, Paul Jeong Ha-sang, who had become the main leader of the Catholic community in his turn, and his daughter Jeong Jeong-hye. They are venerated as Catholic saints, canonized in 1984, but the element of factional politics involved in the 1801 persecutions has so far prevented the Catholic Church from recognizing those killed then as martyrs for the faith. There are hopes that this may soon change.

Since he was Jeong Yak-jong's younger brother, Jeong Yak-yong was sent into exile for some months in Janggi fortress in what is now Pohang, having been found after interrogation with torture not to be a Catholic believer. That might have been that, but what brought Yak-yong

to Gangjin, where he was forced to spend eighteen years, was the event that served as the final nail in the coffin of the early Catholic community. Hwang Sa-yong was a young Catholic of high birth. Fearing for his life, he hid in a cave during the persecutions and in October 1801 he finished writing a long letter to the bishop of Beijing, giving a detailed account of the recent events, asking him to bring pressure on the Korean authorities to allow freedom of religion and, disastrously, begging him to ask the Western nations to send a force to overthrow the Joseon dynasty so that Korea would be subject to China, where Catholicism was permitted. The man carrying this letter, written on a roll of silk wrapped round his body, was intercepted and the Korean authorities made full use of it to show that Catholics were by definition enemies of the state. The persecution was intensified and if it had not been very clear that Jeong Yak-yong and Jeong Yak-jeon were in no sense Catholic believers, they would surely have been executed. Instead they were sent into exile together, parting ways at Naju, from where Jeong Yak-hyeon journeyed on to the island of Heuksan-do, Yak-yong taking the Gangjin road.

One might expect Jeong Yak-yong to be feeling that his active life was well and truly over as he arrived in that remote outpost. He had not simply designed and built the Suwon Hwaseong fortress in less than 3 years, he had incorporated the most modern fortress designs from Korea, China and Japan along with contemporary science into his plans. Use of brick as a building material for the fortress and employment of efficient pulleys and cranes were also due to the influence of Silhak. Perhaps most revolutionary of all, he and the king had agreed that the men working on the construction should be fed and paid by the state, instead of being used as slave labor as was the custom. Just after the king's death, a complete 10-volume report on the entire process was deposited in the national archive, going into minute detail with blueprints, lists of materials, everything was recorded for posterity.

As a political exile, he was hardly likely to find a warm welcome in Gangjin and at first he was probably closely watched, almost confined to the tavern. By 1805, however, much had changed in Seoul. Dowager Queen Kim had died and the young king had come of age and quickly put an end to the violence against Catholics. Three hundred had been killed and many of the rest were exiled or scattered, or had stopped practicing. Jeong Yak-yong was free to move about the Gangjin area and in the spring of 1805 he walked up the hills behind Gangjin as far as Baengnyeonsa Temple, where he met the Venerable Hyejang, the newly-arrived monk in charge of the temple, who was about 10 years younger than himself. They

talked and it seems that Hyejang only realized who his visitor was as he was leaving. He forced him to stay with him and soon asked to learn from him. They quickly became close companions.

This was no ordinary monk. Born in 1772, he had been sent to become a monk as a child because his family was too poor to raise him. He spent many years at Daeheung-sa temple near Haenam. There, he studied and practiced meditation under famous masters and by 1796 had become the temple's official lecturer. He had just come to take charge of the small temple above Gangjin when our exile first met him. All accounts agree that the two men immediately established a close relationship, which was expressed in their ongoing exchanges of letters and poems. Hyejang studied Confucian and Taoist topics under the exile, who in turn probably learned more about Buddhism from the monk. It must have been a great joy for Jeong Yak-yong to find a sensitive, open-minded companion after years of loneliness. In Joseon society, Buddhist monks and *yangban* officials usually had no contact and monks were assigned the lowest social rank, together with shamans, gisaengs and butchers. No monk was allowed to enter the walls of Seoul. It might well have been the first time that Jeong Yak-yong had talked at length with an educated, intelligent monk and he clearly found the encounter deeply significant. It is worth noting that both Hyejang and Cho-ui could compose formal poems in Classical Chinese as well as any *yangban* scholar.

Most significant of all for the history of tea, there is the poem sent to Hyejang by Dasan only a few days after that first meeting. In it, Dasan explains that his digestion has been impaired by the poor food he has been eating; he has learned that tea grows on the slopes above the temple and he asks Hyejang to send him some freshly picked leaves. There is an often repeated claim among Korean tea experts that it was Hyejang who introduced Dasan to tea; recently, however, Professor Jeong Min of Hanyang University has argued convincingly that the opposite was the case. Certainly, in the poem Dasan implies that he knows what to do with tea leaves once he has them, he does not ask Hyejang to give him already dried tea and indeed it is clear from later texts that Hyejang knew nothing about tea except for what he learned from Dasan.

In the same year, Hyejang enabled our exile to move out of the tavern and for nearly a year he lived in Boeun Sanbang, a small hermitage at the nearby Goseong-sa temple, which was under Hyejang's control. By this time, the exile had found several pupils among the young men of Gangjin and the following year one of them offered him a house belonging to his family. The site is now lost. Finally, in the spring of 1808

he was able to take up residence in a house belonging to a distant relative of his mother, on the slopes of a hill overlooking Gangjin and its bay. It was a simple house, with a thatched roof, and it was there that the exile spent the remaining ten years of his exile, until the autumn of 1818. This is the site now known as “Dasan Chodang.” It is only a few hundred yards along the hillside from Baekryon-sa and wild tea bushes grow on the slopes surrounding it, as well as camellias and bamboo.

The hill behind the house was known locally as Da-san (tea-mountain) and that was to become the name by which our exile is best known today, Dasan. Here he could teach students who lodged in a building close to his, forming a close-knit community, and he could write. And write was what he did most, for during his exile he is said to have written 500 volumes. This needs qualifying, since one “work” might fill nearly 50 volumes of the standard size, but he certainly wrote a vast quantity, mainly in order to set out clearly a fundamental reform program for governing the country correctly. During the years of exile he concentrated first on the *Book of Changes (Yijing)*, writing in 1805 the *Chuyeoksajeon*. A reflection on the *Book of Odes* followed in 1809. He wrote on politics, ethics, economy, natural sciences, medicine and music. After his exile in 1819, Dasan published his most important works: on jurisprudence *Heumheumsinseo* (1819), on linguistics, *Aeongakbi* (1819), on diplomacy, *Sadekoryesanbo* (1820), on the art of governing, *Mongminsimseo* and on the administration, *Gyeongseosiryong* (1822).

The most important moment from the tea-drinking perspective came in 1809, when a young monk who had been studying at Taeheung-sa, Cho-ui by name, came asking him to be his teacher in Confucian classics and Taoism. The Venerable Cho-ui (1786-1866) was born on the 5th day of the 4th lunar month, 1786, in Singi Village, Samhyang District, Muan County in what is now South Jeolla Province. His family name was Jang, his original monk’s name was Ui-sun. In his sixteenth year he became a monk at Unheung-sa temple on the slopes of Deokyeong-san in Naju County, South Jeolla Province, under the guidance of the Venerable Byeokbong Minseong. In 1805, after an enlightenment experience on Wolchul-san in Yeong’am, he received ordination from the famed Seon (Zen) master Wanho Yunu at the temple of Daedun-sa (now known as Daeheung-sa), when he was given the name Cho-ui. In addition to his learning in the Chinese classics, Cho-ui was a skilled painter in both scholarly and Buddhist styles, and a noted performer of Beompae (Buddhist ritual song and dance). In 1809, he spent several months in Gangjin, learning the *Yi Jing* (Book of Changes) and classical Chinese

poetry from Dasan.

The scholar Geumryeong Bak Yeong-bo 錦齡 朴永輔 (1808-1872), who often met Cho-ui during his 1830 Seoul visit, wrote in a note to a poem about Cho-ui: “The Ven. Cho-ui was originally known as Uisun but he was given a new name by his master the Ven. Wanho, inspired by a poem by Li Po, “Song of the foreign monk of Mount Taibai” (太白胡僧歌序): ‘Near the central peak of Great Snow Mountain lived a foreign monk, wearing clothes made of grass (Cho = grass ui = clothing). Once he was attacked by a fierce tiger but he laid it low with his staff. . . .’” Steven Owyong notes about this:

In fact, ‘Song of the Foreign Monk of Mount Taibai’ was not written by Li Bo, but rather by his contemporary, the court poet Ceng Shen 岑參 (715-770). See Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712) and Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) et al. comps, *Qūan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Complete Poetry of the Tang Dynasty, 1705), juan 卷 199/27.). Since the “complete” compilation of Tang poetry did not occur until the early eighteenth century, I imagine that Tang poems were collected among the literati, both Chinese and Korean, catch as catch can. The key to the misattribution of the source of *cho-ui* 艸衣 is likely intimately linked to the legend of Li Bo as a *bon vivant* who adopted the binome Taibo 太白 (the planet/"star" Venus) as his alternate name. Li Bo also used the mountain and star in his poems, thus furthering the close association of Li Bo the poet with the phrase Taibo and any Tang poem containing Taibo. In fact, Taibo, as explained, was a popular image among several Tang poets. When Wan-ho named Cho-ui or Bak Yeong-bo recounted the christening according to Cho-ui, the myth of Li Bo likely overwhelmed their collective knowledge of Chinese literature. Moreover, Li Bo was a much more attractive figure than the courtier Ceng Shen, a poet who submitted and succumbed to the attractions of the court. Needless to say, the palace, officialdom, and office were anathema to Li Bo and his carefree, Daoist, and drunken ways.

The two monks, Hyejang and Cho-ui, were both outstanding and unusual figures, a worthy match and dear companions for Dasan. In 1811, Hyejang suddenly fell ill and died, although he was not yet forty. This was a cruel loss for Dasan, who wrote an epitaph that survives on a stone stele

standing at the entrance to Daeheung-sa, recording the gist of their first conversation in 1805. It was fortunate that in Cho-ui Dasan had found a similar depth of friendship. In the autumn of 1812, for example, they went as far as Weolchul-san together and each painted a painting there as well as competing together in composing poems, characteristic pastimes for Confucian gentlemen-scholars but not for Buddhist monks!

Dasan remained in exile in Gangjin until 1818, writing and teaching a group of fine young disciples. At last he was allowed to return to his family home near Seoul. He used “Yeoyudang” as his final pen-name, it was the name of the house where he lived quietly, near the Han River, until he died in the autumn of 1836, on his sixtieth wedding anniversary.

One of the most important records of the way Dasan made tea comes from a text written by him late in life. In 1830, already an old man, he wrote a letter to Yi Si-Heon (1803-1860), the youngest pupil he had taught during his 18 years of exile. It is a touching expression of his concern for the new generation and at the same time it shows that to the end he continued to drink tea, which now he could obtain only with great difficulty:

The last three years have passed in a flash. When I think of your filial affection, I wonder if I am not mad. I cannot excuse the way I have left you without news, only always vaguely thinking of you. I hope that all has gone well for you in the meanwhile? Now again a year for the State Examination has come and although I know you have no interest in acquiring glory, I expect you are intent on writing well. I wonder what you are studying? Now I am old, I have been very unwell. I have been so weak that I could not so much as leave the house. My mental powers are so exhausted, they hang by a mere thread. In such a state, how can I say I am still alive?

The tea and letter you sent previously finally arrived. Only now can I thank you. At the start of the year my digestive disorders became so severe that I found the only thing capable of nourishing my feeble body was caked tea. Now we are approaching Gogu (April 20) so I hope that you will soon send some again. But the tea you sent last time yielded a coarse powder, which is not good. It is essential to steam the picked leaves three times and dry them three times, before grinding them very finely. Next that should be thoroughly mixed with

water from a rocky spring and pounded like clay into a dense paste that is shaped into small cakes. Only then is it good to drink. I trust that you understand? Whereabouts will the exam be held? I shall surely go to Seoul if the exam is held there, and you will be able to give me the tea directly.

Our story must now leave Dasan and focus on Cho-ui. Once he was in his forties, Cho-ui withdrew to the lonely mountainside above Daedun-sa, in the far south-west region of Korea. In 1823 Cho-ui had built a hut there that he called Cho-am (Grass hermitage) and then in 1830 he built Ilji-am (One-branch hermitage) having built Do-am (Tao hermitage) on the same site the year before. He also called Ilji-am ‘Usa’ (芋社) and it had other names too.. He lived there alone for the next forty years, practicing meditation in a manner he developed and wrote about, provoking a methodological dispute that lasted long after his death. The origin of the name ‘Ilji-am’ is in a poem by the Chinese monk known as Cold Mountain (HanShan) which Red Pine translates as follows :

琴書須自隨, Zither and books are up to you
祿位用何為。 but wealth and power are useless
投輦從賢婦, Send back the carriage and heed the wise wife,
巾車有孝兒。 the good son rides in a covered cart.

風吹曝麥地, Wind blows across a threshing floor
水溢沃魚池。 water spills from a hatchery pool
常念鷓鴣鳥, Keep in mind the tailorbird
安身在一枝。 at home on a single branch.

The name Ilji-am perhaps comes from the the last line, it means ‘Single-branch hermitage’ and suggests the idea of being satisfied with almost nothing, rejecting all worldly desires in favor of a very simple life-style.

In 1828, during a visit to Chilbul hermitage in Jiri Mountain, Cho-ui transcribed a Ming dynasty (Chinese) encyclopedia text on tea. The *Zhang Poyüan Chalu* 張伯淵茶錄, written ca. 1595, is a late Ming Dynasty work on tea usually ascribed to Zhang Yüan 張源. It was inserted as section 14, *Caichalun* (採茶論 Picking Tea), in the *Zengpu Wan-pao ch'üan-shu* (增補萬寶全書 The Supplemented Encyclopedia of a Myriad Wonders), compiled on imperial command in 1595 by the Ming scholar Mao Huan-wen 毛煥文. This was the source of the text which

Cho-ui copied. Two years later, on his return to Ilji-am, he made clean copies of that text, producing the *ChaSinJeon* (Chronicle of the Spirit of Tea) destined to serve as a simple guide to the basic principles involved in making, storing and drinking tea. Rather strangely, the Ming style tea described in the Chinese text is leaf-tea, and the text was not revised to refer to the caked variety of tea that Cho-ui had learned from Dasan.

It seems from various writings of Cho-ui that he only began to make tea around this time. The method he used was that which he must have learned from Dasan years before, that known as “caked tea” described in the letter just quoted. There are records showing that Dasan taught the monks at Borim-sa temple, not far from Gangjin, how to make caked tea using the leaves of the ancient tea bushes growing wild around the temple. Cho-ui’s tea was almost certainly inspired by the tea of Borim-sa and may even have been made there, at least initially. Unless Cho-ui planted some, there was almost certainly no tea growing in the hills around Daeheung-sa at that time.

In 1830 Cho-ui visited Seoul on business connected with the monument erected to commemorate his late master Wanho, bringing with him parcels of caked tea he had made at Borim-sa. These he presented to a number of famous scholars. It seems that the tea impressed and helped establish strong relationships with a number of these highly educated scholar-officials, several of whom had been to China. They became his friends and disciples, in what Professor Jeong Min has described as a “Cho-ui boom”. These included Haegeo Doin Hong Hyeon-Ju (1793-1865) the son-in-law of King Jeongjo, and his brother Yeoncheon Hong Seok-Ju (1774-1842); the son of Dasan, Unpo Jeong Hak-Yu (1786-1855); as well as the famous calligrapher Chusa Kim Jeong-Hui (1786-1856) with his brothers Sanchon Kim Myeong-Hui (1788-1857) and Geummi Kim Sang-Hui (1794-1861). It was most unusual for a Buddhist monk to be recognized as a poet and thinker in this way by members of the Confucian establishment. As a monk, Cho-ui was not allowed to enter the city walls of Seoul and had to receive visits from these scholars while living in Cheongnyang temple outside the capital’s eastern gate or in a hermitage in the hills to the north, reading and writing poems with them.

One direct literary result of Cho-ui’s 1830 visit to Seoul was the poem *NamChaByeongSeo* (南茶并序 Preface and Poem of Southern Tea) by Geumryeong Bak Yeong-bo (錦齡 朴永輔, 1808-1872). A young aristocrat, Bak writes that Cho-ui brought tea he had made to Seoul and gave some to the scholar Yi San-jung, who in turn gave some to him. He was so impressed that he wrote this poem and sent a copy to Cho-ui. This

was the start of a lasting friendship and Cho-ui often visited his home near the Han River in Mapo, near Seoul. Bak Yeong-bo heard from Cho-ui that he had dreamed of a visit by the scholar Jaha Shin Wi just as he was about to move into Ilji-am. He told Shin Wi of that, and served him some of Cho-ui's tea, while showing him his *NamChaByeongSeo*, and as a result Shin Wi composed his own *Namchasi byeongseo* (南茶詩并序) in imitation.

Cho-ui then returned to his hermitage. In 1837 he composed the *DongChaSong* (Hymn in Praise of Korean Tea), at the request of Hong Hyeon-Ju. The text of the *DongChaSong* consists of a poem divided into 17 stanzas of varying lengths, and a series of notes by Cho-ui inserted after the relevant line. What might have been Cho-ui's purpose in writing the *DongChaSong*? The title suggests a celebration of Korean tea, and certainly there are lines where he claims that Korean tea is as good as any produced in China. But a commentary in stanza 12 perhaps indicates a more satiric or pedantic purpose:

In Jiri Mountain's Hwagae village, tea trees grow in profusion for forty or fifty ri over a wide area. I believe there to be no larger tea field in our country. Above Hwagae village lies the Jade Floating Terrace, and below it is Chilbul Meditation Hall. Those meditating there often picked tea late, old leaves and dried them in the sun. Using firewood, they cooked them over a brazier, like boiling vegetable soup. The brew was strong and turbid, reddish in color, the taste extremely bitter and astringent. As Jeong-So said : 'Heaven's good tea is often ruined by vulgar hands'. (*DongChaSong* stanza 12)

It is clear that he felt the art of making good tea was barely known anywhere in Korea, even among monks. The concluding lines of the *DongChaSong* contain a particularly resonant declaration that the state achieved by a Buddhist monk drinking a cup of tea alone in peaceful surroundings is far superior to the 'immortality' sought so laboriously by the Taoists:

The bright moon becomes my candle, my friend,
a white cloud becomes my cushion, my screen.

The sound of bamboo oars and wind in pine trees, solitary and refreshing,
penetrates my weary bones, awakens my mind, so clear and cool.

With no other guests but a white cloud and the bright moon,
I am raised to a place far higher than any immortal.
(*DongChaSong* stanza 17)

In 1838 we find him climbing to the topmost peak of the Diamond Mountains, Biro Peak, before visiting the hills around Seoul. In his fifty-fifth year, he received the title *Daegakdeunggyebojejonja Cho-ui DaeJongSa* (the Great Monk Cho-ui, Master of Supreme Enlightenment), from King Heonjong (r 1834 - 1849), a remarkable tribute at a time when monks were usually ignored or despised. In his fifty-eighth year he visited his childhood home and found his parents' graves covered with weeds, a sight that saddened him; he marked it in a poem.

Chusa Kim Jeong-hui

One scholar became a particularly close friend of Cho-ui. Chusa Kim Jeong-hui was born in 1786 into a *yangban* family well-known for producing many fine calligraphers. His family home is still visible near Onyang. His family was part of the Andong Kim clan, the Dowager Queen Kim was his great-aunt, so that from 1800 they enjoyed an important rise in status and position. For him, 1805 was a terrible year. His birth-mother had died not long before (he had been adopted by another member of the family who had no children). Soon after the death of the dowager queen, his wife died, then his former teacher, then his foster-mother. There are indications that these misfortunes reinforced his interest in Buddhism, while he rose in the social hierarchy and continued to do historical research.

Much later, from 1840 until 1848, Chusa Kim Jeong-Hui found himself in political disgrace, exiled to the southern island of Cheju. He visited Cho-ui in Ilji-am on his way there, and after his departure Cho-ui painted a 'bon voyage' painting which has survived. Before he left, Chusa wrote the name-board for a meditation hall in Daeheung-sa that Cho-ui had built, *Illo-hyangsil*, which means more or less "the fire for making tea smells good". As an act of merit by which he hoped to hasten Chusa's return from Jeju-do, Cho-ui constructed a hall at Daeheung-sa, the DaeGwangMyeongJeon. A fire had recently destroyed much of the temple and there was a lot of rebuilding.

During the years that followed, Cho-ui visited Chusa in Jeju Island no less than five times, once staying for six months, bringing him tea and company. Tea did not grow in Jeju-do at the time. The house

where they stayed, in which Chusa taught local boys the Confucian classics, remained standing until the Korean War and it has now been restored. When Chusa was freed, he visited Cho-ui at Ilji-am as soon as he arrived on the mainland on his way back to Seoul. From 1850-2 he was again exiled, this time to northern Korea. Court life in the Joseon period was clearly still extremely dangerous on account of the constant factional infighting. Kim Jeong-Hui died in the 10th month of 1856, and a little later, Cho-ui, already 71, visited his friend's grave near Asan, to the southwest of Seoul. Cho-ui remained vigorous and healthy to the end, all the time practicing meditation. Early in the morning of the second day of the seventh month of 1866 he called his attendant to help him get up, sat in the lotus position and entered Nirvana.

Epilogue

Many of Dasan's students during his Gangjin exile continued to live in their home town throughout their lives. Some of their descendants still remain in Gangjin and it is in their homes that major new texts about their relationship with Dasan, and about tea, have recently been discovered by Professor Jeong Min. Another continuity was provided by Yi Han-yeong (1868-1956), who continued to make and sell caked tea in Gangjin during the Japanese occupation (1910-1945) in a manner he always claimed to have inherited from the practice of Dasan and his students. He called his tea *Baekun-okpan-cha*. He was the only person known to have been producing and selling a specifically Korean form of tea during the Japanese colonial period. He was discovered and photographed in 1939 by the Japanese forestry worker Kazuo Ieiri. The first modern study of tea in Korea, 朝鮮の茶と禪 "The Tea and Zen of Chosen" by Morooka Tamotsu and Kazuo Ieiri, was published in Japan in 1940. This book later served as the first textbook for the Korean tea revival of the 1950s and 1960s, prior to Hyodang's groundbreaking *Hanguui Chado* of 1973.

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