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A Study on Chinese Diaspora and Disaster Culture in the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition period: Centered on the phenomenon of Ming Dynasty refugees 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)

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1. Introduction

《Chinese Disaster Culture》(2019/2022), authored by Professor Chen An(陳安) and Associate Researcher Mou Di(牟笛) of the University of the Chinese Academy of Sciences(中國科學院大學), can be considered a fascinating research achievement in the field of disaster humanities, given its empirical demonstration of the so-called 'disaster determinism'. It offers an interesting perspective on what disaster humanities is all about. According to this, the phenomenological fact of diverse customs and cultures across China's vast territories and regions is determined by various types of disasters, whether they be natural calamities, human-induced disasters, or social catastrophes. Therefore, the authors categorize China into ten regions in this book, and through social, historical, and literary interpretations of the disasters that occurred in each area, they deduce and infer the causal relationship that exists between phenomena and disasters.

One of the various phenomena revealed through the perspective of 'disaster determinism' is the diverse disaster culture that emerged as a result of migration phenomena caused by disasters. In other words, in modern Chinese history, massive migration phenomena represented by 'Intruding into the East of the Fortress(闖關東)', 'Going to the West(走西口)', and 'Going to the South East Asia(下南洋)' have appeared, and the cause of such phenomena was none other than disasters. It's observed that these migrations have led to the formation of new cultures in the migrated regions. For example, during the period of the ding-wu famine(丁戊奇荒), many people from Shaanxi Province(陝西省) left their hometowns and dispersed to places like the West(西口), thus forming a migration trend known as 'Going to the West(走西口)'.¹

This large-scale 'Going to the West' phenomenon not only promoted the cultivation of land in the western regions, but also, along with population increase, became a catalyst for the birth of folk cultures such as 'Er Ren Tai(二人臺)' and 'Hequ Folk Song(河曲民謠)'.

The large-scale migration phenomenon of modern Chinese people, which took place over a considerable length of time from the early 17th century to the mid-20th century, can be divided into two main categories. One is the migration within the country to geographically adjacent regions, and the other is a kind of diaspora where migration occurred across national borders to other countries. The former corresponds to 'Intruding into the East of the Fortress(闖關東)' and 'Going to the West(走西口)', while the latter can be described as the 'Going to the South East Asia(下南洋)' phenomenon.

¹ For information regarding 'Er Ren Tai(二人臺)' and 'Hequ Folk Song(河曲民謠)', refer to Kang Hui-suk et al.(2023: 229-232).

An interesting fact is that the 'Going to the South East Asia(下南洋)' phenomenon, which refers to the migration of Chinese people from the mainland to various places, including Southeast Asia, can be paralleled with the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon, where hundreds of thousands of Chinese people migrated to Joseon during the transition period from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty in the mid-17th century. While the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon may not be comparable to 'Going to the South East Asia(下南洋)' in terms of scale and duration, it does share similarities in its direct causes and departure timing. Therefore, I believe that a more thorough observation and analysis of the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon is necessary. Therefore, this study focuses on the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon as one of the migration events of modern Chinese people caused by disasters. I aim to present the characteristics of this migration phenomenon and the aspects of disaster culture formed by it, along with the current state of records made by intellectuals and descendants of immigrants from the Joseon era, as well as examples of 'memory spaces' that still exist today.

2. Chinese Diaspora and 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' in the Ming and Qing Dynasties

From the late 16th century to the early 18th century, over approximately 200 years, East Asia experienced tumultuous events including the Japanese invasion of Korea, the rise of the Manchus, and the subsequent collapse of the Ming Dynasty. During this period, not only Joseon, which was a victim of the invasion war, but also Ming Dynasty, which had sent support troops to aid Joseon, saw a considerable number of refugees leaving their homes and crossing over to the respective countries of Ming Dynasty or Joseon Dynasty.

According to Park Hyun-gyu (2013), who attempted to study the Korean refugees during the Imjin War, at least over 10,000 Korean refugees had to cross over mainly to the Liaodong region north of the Shanhai Pass, wandering or serving in Ming households, and had to go through all sorts of hardships. While there were cases where they secured a livelihood by serving as soldiers in frontier areas, engaging in trade, hat-making, hair-dressing, and other individual occupations, the pain left by the disaster of war to the common people was something difficult to describe in words. Even if one only takes a single example from the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty, there is a record of the harsh conditions faced by refugees, as follows.

(1) At that time, there was someone who drew a picture of the refugees. In it, there was a child sucking on the breast of a dead mother, and there were people fallen with injuries. There were begging men and women, a mother who had abandoned her child and tied him to a tree root, people who couldn't speak and pointed to their mouths with their hands, those who filled their stomachs with leaves, nobles begging to become someone else's servant, people chewing on dry bones, a father and son lying together, and a mother carrying a child and staggering.(Annals of Joseon, 26th year (1593), May 9th)

Then, what was the case for the Ming Dynasty refugees who migrated and settled in Joseon via land or sea after the Imjin War?

According to Liu Chunlan(1997: 37-64), the refugees from the Ming Dynasty who came to Joseon from the end of the 16th century after the Imjin War to the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition in the 17th century can be roughly divided into three categories. The first group consists of the auxiliary soldiers who were dispatched as part of the Ming Dynasty support troops during the Imjin War and settled in Joseon. The second group comprises the Liaomin, who fled the turmoil in the Liaodong area during the standoff between the Ming and Qing Dynasties and migrated en masse to the Pyeongan-do region. The third group consists of refugees who individually sought asylum after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty in 1644.²

² 최승현(2013: 287) 참조. Refer to Choi Seung-hyun (2013: 287).

According to the 'Ming History', the Ming Dynasty dispatched 200,000 troops and over 300 generals during the seven years of the Imjin and Jeongyu wars. After the war, they left 24,000 troops in Joseon, and it wasn't until the year 1600 that they completed the withdrawal. The Ming Dynasty lost hundreds of thousands of soldiers and consumed millions of military rations in this war. The circumstances of this period, including the Joseon government's absolute reliance on Ming, and the destruction of national borders due to war, led to a large-scale diaspora of Chinese people. This diaspora can be divided into three types (Choi Seung-hyun 2011: 355).

(2) ㄱ. the settlement of deserters from the Ming army

ㄴ. the settlement of remaining soldiers due to injuries or illnesses

ㄷ. remaining after marriage to Joseon women

On the other hand, the second diaspora of Chinese during the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition period can be said to have begun with the start of the Jurchens full-scale offensive in 1618. During this period, the Chinese in the Liaodong and northern China regions fled south of the Shanhai Pass to escape the pressure of the Jurchens, or crossed the Yalu River to migrate to Joseon. After gaining control over the initiative, the Jurchens, particularly the Jin Dynasty, occupied the heartland of turmoil, Shenyang(瀋陽), and Liaoyang(遼陽) following the Sarhū Battle. Furthermore, after Mao Mun-ryong(毛文龍), the commander of the Liaodong Garrison, captured Gaudo Island(椴島) in Pyeongan Province, the influx of Chinese into the Korean Peninsula was so significant that it became difficult to estimate their numbers(Woo Kyung-seop, 2015: 182). The record stating that around 10,000 Chinese people crossed over using rafts to escape the chaos reflects the situation of that time well (Choi Seung-hyun, 2011: 356).

The third category of Chinese diaspora that occurred during the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition period emerged as a result of the demise of the last emperor, Emperor Chongzhen, in 1644, and the entry of the Qing army into Beijing, leading to the downfall of the Ming Dynasty. Unlike the second category of diaspora during this period, the diaspora in the third category is not as numerically significant, but it is characterized by primarily consisting of intellectual groups. These intellectual groups can be further divided into two types. One is the descendants of Ming soldiers who served in government posts in the Ming Dynasty, such as Jeon Ho-gyeom(田好謙), Kang Se-jak(康世爵), and Lee Eung-in(李應人), the grandson of Lee Yeo-song(李如松), or who were dispatched to Joseon during the Imjin War. The other is the figures who were released from their hostage life in 1645, a year after the defeat of the Ming Dynasty, and entered Joseon with Prince Bongrim, and they were called 'Eight surnames following the king(隨龍八姓)' or 'Nine righteous person(九義士)'.

As is well known, the Byeongja Horan(丙子胡亂) was an unprecedentedly severe war, with hundreds of thousands of people being taken to the Qing Dynasty as prisoners of war, even though it took place in a relatively short period of time from December 28, 1636 to February 24, 1637. On January 22, 1637, Ganghwa Island fell, and on January 30, King Injo, in a shameful act, performed the 'Three Kowtows and Nine Prostrations(三拜九叩頭)³ before the Qing Emperor at Samjeondo. As a result of this humiliation, on February 5, Prince Sohyeon and Bongrimdaegun, along with officials such as Cheokhwasin(斥和臣), were taken as captives to the Chinese city of Shenyang. Upon arriving in the Qing Dynasty, they had to face various hardships, such as having to travel along the battlefronts between the Ming and Qing forces.

Meanwhile, after Nurhaci established the Later Jin in 1616, the Ming Dynasty faced constant pressure and eventually began to decline, culminating in the establishment of the Qing Dynasty in 1636, which marked the beginning of its gradual downfall. During

³ 황제에 대한 경례법으로 무릎을 꿇고 양손을 땅에 댄 다음 머리가 땅에 닿을 때까지 숙이기를 3 번, 이것을 한 단위로 3 번 되풀이한 것을 말함. As a salute to the emperor, it refers to kneeling down, putting both hands on the ground, and then bowing until the head touches the ground 3 times, repeating this 3 times in one unit.

this process, there were individuals who resisted until the end, facing the Qing Dynasty's military forces or rebel groups like the Yi Zicheng(李自成), but eventually they were captured and forcibly transported to Shenyang. During this course of events, Bongrimdaegun encountered the nine Ming Dynasty scholars who were also brought as captives to Shenyang by the Qing Dynasty. These scholars, known as the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)', were the ones who entered Joseon together with Bongrimdaegun in 1645.

3. Disaster culture of 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)'

It can be said that after the Imjin War in 1592, the chaotic situation of the Ming and Qing Dynasty transition period had a great influence on Chinese immigrants who chose Intruding into Korea. The majority of Chinese immigrants who crossed over to Joseon during that time had to hide and live in remote regions outside the palace walls to evade Qing Dynasty surveillance. In particular, many of them resided in the coastal areas of Haeam in Hamsado, where they faced hardships as fishermen, enduring rough conditions. They were also subjected to discrimination and even forced to play the role of enemy soldiers during military training (Woo, Kyeong-seop, 2015: 185). The discrimination and mistreatment continued until around 1704 (the 30th year of King Sukjong's reign), prior to the implementation of Joseon's Sinocentric policies, which included dispatching troops to aid the Qing Dynasty during the Imjin War and conducting ancestral rituals for the Ming Dynasty's last emperor, Emperor Yongzheng, at the Mandongmyo (萬東廟) and establishing the Daebodan(大報壇). In the midst of such historical circumstances, it can be said that records or memorial spaces left by intellectuals or descendants of immigrants from that era serve as a form of disaster culture. In the following discussion, we will shed light on this fact and explore how these records and memorial spaces contribute to our understanding of the immigrant experience and the enduring legacy of that era's hardships.

3.1. Records of 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)'

As mentioned earlier, during the transition period of the Ming-Qing Dynasty, the Chinese diaspora that occurred, specifically the third type represented by Tum Goryeo, was predominantly characterized by the diaspora of intellectual groups. Another characteristic is that the records regarding this diaspora mainly focus on this third type of diaspora, highlighting the experiences and contributions of intellectual groups within the Chinese diaspora. When examining the records of 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)', it can be noted that the majority of the records revolve around the individual processes of settling down, personal lives, or the documentation related to the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)'. These records provide insights into the lives of individuals within the context of 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)'.

As a result of the defeat in the war, Grand Prince Bongrim, who was taken to Shenyang of the Qing Dynasty, deeply sympathized with the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' will to anti-Qing, and after coming to Joseon together and ascending the throne as the 17th king, continued exchanges and prepared for the northern invasion. However, as Hyojong passed away after 10 years on the throne, the theory of conquering the north failed to bear fruit and lost its substance. Thus, the existence of the old doctors who settled in Joseon under the care of Hyojong was also buried.

However, through the reigns of Kings Sukjong, Yeongjo, and Jeongjo, there was a shift from the Northern Expedition discourse to the Revering the Zhou Dynasty. In this process, there was a reevaluation of Ming Dynasty history and its figures. As the history of the Ming Dynasty was compiled by the hands of Joseon, various record-keeping efforts concerning Ming Dynasty figures began to emerge. In this process, the existence of the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' once again garnered attention, leading to various scholarly works by intellectuals of that time. The following is a table that summarizes the records of 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' made during this period.

Table 1. List of Joseon Intellectuals' Records on 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' and Characteristics of Content

기록물명	편찬자	내용 및 특징
<p>『너뢰낙락서』 (磊磊落落書) 『Naecheongrok (너뢰낙락서,磊磊落落 書)』</p>	<p>Lee Deok-mu (李德懋)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·The records contain information about the members of the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)', a group of approximately 720 immigrant intellectuals. It can be described as a kind of biographical dictionary, including entries for individuals such as Wang Bong-gang(王鳳岡), Hwang Gong(黃功), Pung Sam-sa (馮三仕), Jeong Seon-gap(鄭先甲), Bae Sam-saeng(裒三生). · Other individuals such as Wang Mi-seung(王美承), Yang Bok-gil(楊福吉), and Wang Mun-sang (王文祥) are briefly mentioned in relation to 'Wangbong gangjo(王鳳岡條)'.
<p>Hwangminyuminjeon(황 민유민전, 皇明遺民傳)』</p>		<p>Based on 『너뢰낙락서』, the author recorded about 574 refugees by scattering or supplementing the contents according to his own standards.</p>
<p>『팔성전』 (八姓傳)』</p>	<p>Seong Hae-eung (成海應)</p>	<p>It records the whereabouts of 'Nine righteous person(九義士)', Moon Ga-sang(文可尙), Ma Sun-sang(麻舜裳), Lee Eung-in(李應仁). It also records their anti-Qing activities in China, their activities after entering Joseon, the fact that 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' discussed the Northern Expedition with Hyojong, and their last years of life.</p>

<p>『구의사전』 (九義士傳)</p>	<p>Kim Pyeong-mook (金平默)</p>	<p>From the perspective of Wijeongcheoksa(위정척사), 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' was recorded in detail to emphasize the theory of great honor, and through their lives, they tried to sound an alarm to the shaken Joseon society at the time.</p>
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Among these records, the 『Naecheongrok (뇌퇴낙락서)』 and the 『Hwangminyuminjeon(황민유민전)』 exemplify the recording and compilation practices of Joseon intellectuals in the late 18th to early 19th century regarding the Ming Dynasty immigrants. Scholars such as Lee Deok-mu(李德懋, 1741-1793) and Seong Hae-eung(成海應, 1760-1839) produced extensive works that aligned with the contemporary atmosphere and their personal ideological backgrounds. These works demonstrate a rich volume of literature. In March 1778(the 2nd year of King Jeongjo), Lee Deok-mu went to Yanjing(燕京) as an attendant of Shen nianzu(沈念祖) of Jinju Temple. After feeling this, he collected various materials and built the <Yuminjeon(遺民傳)>, which contains the historical sites of 720 refugees from the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty. This compilation became known as the 『Naecheongrok (뇌퇴낙락서)』.

After Li demu's compilation of the 『Naecheongrok (뇌퇴낙락서)』, Sheng haiying, using it as a foundation, established a comprehensive outline and revised the complex contents, resulting in his authorship of the 『Hwangminyuminjeon(황민유민전)』. This book is not only highly comprehensive but also intriguing due to its comparative analysis with the 『Naecheongrok (뇌퇴낙락서)』, providing insights into the evolving process of compiling records on Ming Dynasty immigrants. It can be regarded as a fascinating work that allows us to glimpse the progression of documenting the history of Ming Dynasty immigrants.

On the other hand, among the records on Ming Dynasty immigrants documented by Joseon intellectuals, there are also records specifically pertaining to female immigrants. One notable example of records on the activities and anecdotes of 18th-century figures is 『Byeongsejeonrok(병세제언록)』 by Lee Gyu-sang. In this book, Lee Gyu-sang recorded the lives of various women under the section titled 『Pungcheonrok(풍천록)』. The recorded women include 'Choi Hwajeo, Yu Jeo, Ginjeo, and Guljeo', among others. It appears that most of these women held the status of palace maids or court ladies.

Among the female immigrants, the life of 'Guljeo' is documented not only in 『Byeongsejeonrok(병세제언록)』 but also in several other literary works such as 『Imha Pilgi(임하필기)』 and 『Gyeongsudang Mungo(경수당문고)』. This is a notable characteristic of various documents that record the life of 'Guljeo'. According to Kim Kyungmi (2020: 19-21), 'Guljeo' played a role primarily in transmitting Chinese culture rather than assimilating into the lifestyle of Joseon. They were known for teaching the pipa to court musicians and interacting with the lower class.

If we consider that the records on the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' discussed above were mainly composed by Joseon intellectuals, it is worth noting that there are also records from the descendants of the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)'. For example, among the members of the 'Nine righteous person(九義士)' there is Wang Yi-moon(王以文, 1625-

1699), and his descendants Wang Deo-kil and Wang Deok-gu, who produced a significant amount of written works. The following are examples of their writings.

Table 2. List of written works by Wang Deok-il and Wang Deok-gu, the fifth-generation descendants of Wang Yi-moon⁴

편찬자	기록물명	비고
왕덕일 Wang Deokil	『상생공연보(庠生公年譜)』	왕이문의 연보 W ang Yi-m oon's An nual Rep ort
왕덕구 Wang Deokgu	『열천직중록(冽泉直中錄)』, 『만력삼과방(萬曆三科榜)』, 『황명유민록(皇朝遺民錄)』, 『임진표해록(林陳漂海錄)』, 『오종보계(吾宗譜系)』, 『선무사비고(宣武祠備考)』, 『명숙유가예절(明熟有家禮節)』, 『창해가범(滄海家範)』	총 8권 8 books in total

According to Woo Gyeong-seop(2015), who conducted a study on Wang Yi-moon's naturalization and settlement, in the spring of 1636 when Wang Yi-moon was twelve years old, he and his family were attacked by marauders known as 'Yujeok(유적, 流賊)' in the Shandong region, resulting in the loss of their possessions. They sought refuge on a coastal island before eventually settling in Gado(가도), which was a favorable location for Chinese immigrants at that time. Afterwards, Wang Yi-moon became a captive of the Qing Dynasty following their conquest of Gado and was transported to Shenyang. It was there that he encountered Bongrimdaegun, who had been living as a hostage. In 1645, when Bongrimdaegun was freed from his hostage status, Wang Yi-moon, along with other individuals who would later be known as the 'Eight surnames following the king(隨龍八姓)', including Wang Mun-sang(王文祥), Hwang Gong(黃功), Jeong Seon-gap(鄭先甲), Yang Bok-gil(楊福吉), Wang Mi-seung(王美承), Yu Gye-san(柳溪山), entered Joseon together.

Wang Deok-gu, one of the fifth-generation descendants of Wang Yi-moon, who had such a background, dedicated himself to various literary compilations as part of the efforts to organize the family lineage after Wang Yi-moon's exile and to establish the legitimacy of revering the Zhou Dynasty(尊周大義). While his elder brother Wang Deok-il showed primary interest in organizing the family genealogy known as 'Gaseung(가승)', and compiled works like 'Sangsaenggongyeonbo(상생공연보)' in 1815 (the 15th year of King Sun-

⁴ For details of these records, refer to Woo Kyungs-eop (2015: 191-193).

jo's reign) as a record of Wang Yi-moon's lineage, Wang Deok-gu, on the other hand, focused on the arrangement and compilation of the 'Zunzhou Zhushu(尊周諸書)' as a means to maintain the ideological identity of Ming Dynasty immigrants in general.

3.2. Literary representation of immigrants

Another significant aspect of the records on Ming Dynasty immigrants who chose 'Intruding into Korea' is the documentation through literary representation of specific individuals. An example of this is the composition and literary imagery of Kang Se-jak, a person from Huainan, China, who crossed the Yalu River in his mid-twenties and entered Joseon territory in 1625, wandered around the Gwanseo region, settled in Hamgyeong-do, and lived until the mid-1680s.

According to Yoon Se-soon (2010), the literary representation of Kang Se-jak, a refugee from the Ming Dynasty, was largely done through two genres. One is a biography, and the other is a Chinese poem.

As a literary representation of Kang Se-jak, there are works that correspond to his biography, such as <The Biography of Kang Se-jak(康世爵傳)> and <Inscription on the Tombstone of Kang Se-jak(康君世爵墓誌銘)>. An interesting fact is that in the case of <The Biography of Kang Se-jak(康世爵傳)>, three different authors each wrote a separate piece based on the same individual. In the end, there are a total of four biographical works about Kang Se-jak(康世爵), and when summarized in a table, it can be represented as follows.

Table 3. Aspects of Literary Representation of Ming Yumin Kang Se-jak 1(Biography)

저자명	작품명	내용 및 특징
박세당 Park Se-dang	강세작전 (康世爵傳) The Biography of Kang Se-jak (康世爵傳)	· 명나라 유민으로서 강세작의 인간 됨됨이와 성격, 식견 등의 면모를 집중적으로 부각. As an immigrant from the Ming Dynasty, Kang Se-jak's human nature, personality, and insight were intensively highlighted.
남구만 Nam Gu-man		· 강세작이 요동의 전쟁터에서 겪은 일과 조선 땅에 살면서 보여준 면면들을 아울러 기술. Kang Se-jak described what he experienced in the battlefield of Liaodong and the aspects he showed while living in Joseon.
김몽화 Kim Monghwa		· 강세작을 의열지사라 칭송하여 전쟁영웅으로 재탄생시키려 함. Praise Kang Se-jak as a heroic leader and try to reborn him as a war hero.

<p>최창대 Choi Chang-dae</p>	<p>강군세작묘지명 (康君世爵墓地銘) Inscription on the Tombstone of Kang Se-jak(康 君世爵墓誌銘)</p>	<p>· 작품 사이에 의론을 끼워 넣어 강세작을 군자나 열사라 칭송하여 미화함. By inserting an argument between the works, Kang Se-jak is praised as a gentleman or a martyr and beautified.</p>
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On the other hand, the literary representation of Kang Se-jak was also accomplished through the genre of poetry. They include the five poems featured in Park Se-dang's <Bukjeongrok(北征錄)> and the poem <Seogangsohun Chuk(書康紹勳軸)> and <Kang Se-jak's iament(悼康世爵)> composed by Choi Chang-dae. The characteristics of these specimens are presented in a table as follows.

Table 4. Aspects of Literary Representation of Ming adherent Kang Se-jak 1(Chinese poem)

저자명	작품명	형식	내용 및 특징
<p>박세당 Park Se-dang</p>	<p>증강생세작 (贈康生世爵)></p>	<p>칠언절구 3수 Three Poems, Seven Character quatrains</p>	<p>· 만리타향에서 고향을 그리워하는 강세작의 심정과 나그네로 살아가는 노년의 쓸쓸함을 노래함. It sings the feelings of Kang Se-jak, who longs for his hometown in a foreign country, and the bitterness of old age living as a stranger.</p>
	<p>증강생용전운 세작 (贈康生用前韻)</p>	<p>칠언절구 Seven Character quatrains</p>	
	<p>재증강생 (再贈康生)</p>	<p>오언율시 pentasyllabic regul ated verse</p>	

<p>최창대 Choi Chang-dae</p>	<p>서강소훈축, 도강세작(書康 紹勳軸, 悼康世 爵)</p>	<p>칠언올시 seven-character oc- tave</p>	<p>· 조국으로 돌아가지 못하고 이 국에서 죽음을 맞이할 수밖에 없었던 강세작을 애도함. It mou rns Kang Se-jak, who was una ble to return to his homeland and had to face death in a for eign land.</p>
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3.3. 틈고려의 기억공간

Another aspect of disaster culture related to the Chinese diaspora who chose 'Intruding into Korea' during the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition period is the presence of memory spaces associated with the lives of these immigrants. There are spaces such as 'Hwangjo Byeolmyo(황조별묘)' built by the descendants of General Jinlin of the Ming Dynasty who came to the rescue during the invasion of Jeongyu, and 'Shrine of the Nine righteous person' and 'Daetongmyo(大統廟)' built by the descendants of the Wang family from Jinan.

First, the 'Hwangjo Byeolmyo(皇朝別廟)' is a shrine located at 317 Hwangjo Village, Deoksung-ri, Haenam-gun, Jeollanam-do, where the ancestral tablets of General Jin Rin of the Ming Dynasty, who came as a salvation force during the Jeongyu War, and his descendants are enshrined and worshiped.

Jin Rin is a person who fought against the Japanese army with Admiral Lee Sun-shin in Gogeumdo Island, Nokdo Island, and Geumdang Island with about 500 military ships and 5,000 soldiers. Jin Yeong-so, the grandson of Jin Rin, migrated to Gogeumdo in Guangdong(廣東) Province, China, following the downfall of the Ming Dynasty, where the ancestral tomb of Jin Rin was located.⁵ Afterward, they relocated to Hae-ri in Haenam, and later Jin Seok-mun, the son of Jin Yeong-so, moved to the current village and named it Hwangjodong(皇朝洞), meaning 'village of Ming refugees'. In 1680(the 6th year of King Sukjong's reign), an altar was established to Jin Rin, and in 1871(the 8th year of King Gjong's reign), a separate tomb was built.

⁵ In Gogeumdo, there was a shrine enshrining General Jinrin and Gwanwangmyo Shrine commemorating Ming soldiers who participated in the war at the time.



Figure 1. The appearance of 'Hwangjo Byeolmyo(황조별묘)' in Hwangjo Village, Haenam, Jeollanam-do, South Korea.

During his state visit in 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping, in a lecture at Seoul National University, referred to the Ming Dynasty generals Jin Rin(陳璘) and Deung Jaryong(鄧子龍) during the Imjin War, emphasizing that "Korea and China, as neighboring countries, have built a strong bond of friendship over thousands of years". He cited the fact that Ming Dynasty General Deng Zi-long and Joseon Dynasty Admiral Lee Sun-shin both sacrificed their lives together in the Battle of Noryang, and that even today, descendants of Jin Rin reside in Korea, as evidence to support his statement. Subsequently, on July 14, 2015, Ambassador Chu Guohong, the Chinese Ambassador to South Korea, visited Hwangjo Village, further increasing interest in the village. In addition, Chinese Ambassadors to South Korea, including Ambassador Xing Haiming in 2020, consider visiting Haenam as an essential part of their itinerary, highlighting the significance of the region.⁶ In addition, Chinese Ambassadors to South Korea, including Ambassador Xing Haiming in 2020, consider visiting Haenam as an essential part of their itinerary, highlighting the significance of the region.

On the other hand, there are commemorative spaces similar to 'Hwangjo Byeolmyo(황조별묘)' that were established with a similar purpose. Among them, there are 'Daetonghaengmyo(大統行廟)' and 'Shrine of the Nine righteous person(九義行祠)' established by Wang Deok-il(王德一), Jeong Seok-il(鄭錫一), Pung Jae-su(馮載修), Hwang Jaegyom(黃載謙), and others, who are descendants of the Nine righteous person of the Ming Dynasty in 1831. Wang Deok-il and others built an altar in a small valley about 200m away from Jojongam(朝宗巖)⁷ in Gapyeong, Gyeonggi-do, named it 'Daetongmyo(大統廟)', and held a memorial service for Taejo of the Ming Dynasty every January 4th [the founding day of the Ming Dynasty]. Furthermore, they also established 'Shrine of the Nine righteous person(九義行祠)', which enshrines the ancestral tablets of Wang Yi-mun(real name Wang Bong-gang), Yang Bok-gil, Wang Mi-seung, Pung Sam-sa, Hwang Gong, Jeong Seon-gap, Bae Sam-saeng, Wang Mun-sang, and Yu Gye-san, who are associated with the Nine righteous person of the Ming Dynasty.⁸ Every year on January 4 of the lunar calendar [Ming Dynasty Founding Day], ancestral rites are held for Taejo of the Ming Dynasty,

⁶ Refer to the article of 『Jeonnam Ilbo』 on July 20, 2022 (<https://www.jnilbo.com/68120778947>).

⁷ 경기도 가평군 조종면 대보리에 있는 조선 후기 승명 배청 의식을 담아 글씨를 새긴 암벽을 말한다.

1684 년(숙종 10)에 가평군수 이제두(李齊杜)와 백해명(白海明), 허격(許格) 등이 임진왜란 때 명나라가 베푼 은혜와 병자호란 때 청나라에 받은 수모를 잊지 말자는 뜻을 바위에 새기고 '조종암(朝宗巖)'이라 하였다.

⁸ 디지털가평대전(<http://www.grandculture.net/gapyeong/toc/GC07901623>) 참조.

and on January 6, for the Nine righteous person of the Ming Dynasty. Every year on January 4 of the lunar calendar [Ming Dynasty Founding Day], ancestral rites are held to Taejo of the Ming Dynasty, and to the Nine righteous person of the Ming Dynasty on January 6. As a result, 'Daetongmyo(大統廟)' and 'Shrine of the Nine righteous person(九義行祠)' are also traces of 'Intruding into Korea' left by the refugees of the Ming Dynasty, and can be said to have a meaning as a memory space similar to 'Hwangjobyeolmyo(황조별묘)'.



Figure 2. The appearance of 'Daetongmyo' near Chojongam in Gido-ga, Gapyeong.

5. 결론 및 제언

In this study, we focus on the phenomenon of 'Intruding into Korea' as one of the migration patterns of Chinese immigrants during the modern era resulting from disasters. We explore the characteristics of this migration phenomenon and examine the cultural aspects formed as a result. Additionally, we investigate the current status of historical records by intellectuals and descendants of immigrants during the Joseon Dynasty, along with the existing examples of 'memory spaces' that have survived to this day. The summary of the research results is as follows.

첫째, '툼고려(闔高麗)' 현상

둘째, 툼고려와 관련된 재난문화로는 크게 세 가지를 확인하였는바, 조선의 지식인들 또는 이주민의 후예에 의한 기록물과 함께 '툼고려'를 선택한 명칭 교체기 유민들에 대한 기록으로 또 한 가지 빼놓을 수 없는 것이 특정 인물에 대한 문학적 재현을 통한 기록이다. Second, three major disaster cultures related to 'Intruding into Korea' were confirmed. Another thing to note is the records of Joseon's intellectuals or descendants of immigrants, as well as the records of the refugees during the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition period who chose 'Intruding into Korea'. What is missing is a record through literary representation of a specific person.

셋째, 툼고려를 선택한 중국인 디아스포라에 대한 또 한 가지 재난문화로는 유민들의 삶과 관련된 기억공간들을 들 수 있다. 정유왜란 때 구원군으로 온 명나라 진린 장군의 후손들이 세운 '황조별묘'와 제남 왕씨 가문의 후손들이 건립한 '구의사(九義祠 Shrine of the Nine righteous person)와 대통묘(大統廟)' 등의 공간이 그것이다. Third, another disaster culture for the Chinese diaspora, which chose gap consideration, is memory spaces related to the lives of refugees. 'Hwangjobyeolmyo(황조별묘)' built by the descendants of General Jin Rin of the Ming Dynasty who came to the rescue during the invasion of Jeongyu, and 'Shrine of the Nine righteous person(九義祠) and Daetongmyo(大統廟)' built by the descendants of the Wang family in Jinan The space of the back is that.

이와 같은 연구는 19 세기 말엽, 구체적으로는 이후 본격적으로 이루어진 화교⁹의 디아스포라 이전의 중국인 이민사 및 이민 문화를 조명하는 작업에 해당한다고 할 수 있는바, 특히 한국 화교의 역사와 삶을 재난문화의 층위에서 이해할 수 있는 계기가 될 수 있으리라고 본다. Such research can be said to be an opportunity to understand the history and life of Korean Chinese at the level of disaster culture, especially since the end of the 19th century, specifically before the Chinese diaspora.

대륙의 중국인이 동남아를 비롯한 각지로 이주하는 현상을 뜻하는 ‘하남양(下南洋)’과 유사한 현상으로 명청 교체기인 17 세기 중엽 수십만의 중국인들이 조선으로 이주한 ‘툼고려(闖高麗)’현상을 들 수 있다는 것이다. The phenomenon of Chinese people from the mainland immigrating to various regions, including Southeast Asia, is referred to as 'Going to the South East Asia(下南洋)'. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the 17th century during the Ming-Qing Dynasty transition Period, where hundreds of thousands of Chinese people migrated to Joseon, known as the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon. ‘툼고려(闖高麗)’ 현상은 규모와 기간 면에서 ‘하남양(下南洋)’에 비할 바가 못 되긴 하지만 그 직접적인 원인과 출발 시기 차원에서 공통점이 없지 않다는 점에서 ‘툼고려(闖高麗)’ 현상에 대한 좀더 본격적인 관찰과 분석이 필요하다고 본다. While the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon may not reach the scale and duration of 'Going to the South East Asia(下南洋)', there are notable similarities in terms of the direct causes and timing of the onset. Therefore, a more comprehensive observation and analysis of the 'Intruding into Korea(闖高麗)' phenomenon are deemed necessary to further understand its characteristics.

따라서 이와 같은 연구는 19 세기 말엽, 구체적으로는 이후 본격적으로 이루어진 화교의 디아스포라 이전의 중국인 이민사 및 이민 문화를 조명하는 작업에 해당한다고 할 수 있는바, 특히 한국 화교의 역사와 삶을 재난문화의 층위에서 이해할 수 있는 계기가 될 수 있을 것으로 본다. Therefore, such research can be considered as part of the endeavor to illuminate the history and culture of Chinese immigration prior to the diaspora of Hwagyo in the late 19th century, specifically providing an opportunity to understand the history and life of Korean Hwagyo within the context of disaster culture.

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⁹ ‘화교’란 외국 영토에 거주하는 중국인을 통칭하는 용어이다. The term "Hwagyo" refers to Chinese residents living in foreign territories.