

Introduction

Historical and Cultural Studies of Geomancy in Korea

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1. A JOURNEY TO THE COLLECTIVE AUTHORSHIP OF THIS BOOK

Presently a number of publications on geomancy (*fengshui* in Chinese and *p'ungsu* in Korean) are available in English for Western readers. However, most of them are practical rather than “academic” works written by practicing geomancers for general readers interested in (or curious about) the mysterious Chinese-originated art of divining auspicious locations. There are also many books on geomancy in Chinese or Korean, but again most of them are “practical and rarely academic,” written by professional geomancers to promote the practice of geomancy.

This book is not one of these publications. It is a serious, genuine academic work that endeavors to document, analyze, and explain the past and current practice of geomancy. This book may represent a milestone in the history of academic research on geomancy, for it may well be the first interdisciplinary research on geomancy in Korea. No other works on geomancy have been jointly produced by scholars from a number of disciplines, which here include geography, historical studies, environmental science, architecture, landscape architecture, religious studies, and medicine (analytical psychology). This type of interdisciplinary research may throw new light on future research on geomancy not only in Korea, but in China and other countries. I hope that new research possibilities and research directions on geomancy will come about as a result of this book’s publication. A scholar commented that all chapters in this book are innovative, but I feel that some chapters are particularly innovative as they represent the first attempt to understand geomancy in the English language from a particular academic angle, such as analytical psychology and landscape architecture. This type of research project was only possible with devoted participants at all levels, financial support, and editorial assistants who helped the editor.

The editor of this volume conceived the idea of writing this type of book a number of years ago, but in starting the planning process he soon realized that this type of study on geomancy is a complex matter, much more suitable as an interdisciplinary research project involving a number of scholars. However, this book is not an anthology of papers planned and developed by individual authors with topics freely determined by them. In-depth and systematic research into Korean geomancy requires an interdisciplinary collaboration, and the editor invited nine specialists from different disciplines to research different aspects of geomancy.

Our team's prime goal was to produce a book in English on Korea's geomantic heritage for readers in the English-speaking world. The editor assigned a research topic to each contributor and negotiated with each author regarding the research questions and discussion content they would cover. However, each author was principally responsible for researching and writing his or her own topic. All topics presented in this volume address different aspects of people-environment relationships, because geomancy is an art of people searching for an auspicious environment and using it appropriately. During their research and writing process, the authors of different chapters worked together, discussing and providing constructive criticism on their writings through three fruitful workshops. Most authors had opportunities for consultations and discussions with the editor of this volume on a one-to-one basis as well. The editor coordinated and reviewed each contributor's research to avoid research overlaps and to ensure that the important aspects of geomancy in their field were included in their contribution. This book is the product of a team effort by a group of Korean scholars who originally worked together under the banner of *P'ungsu: Historical and Cultural Studies of Geomancy in Korea*.

In early January 2009, a group of scholars representing different disciplines formed a research project team with the aim of producing a monograph length piece of research work on p'ungsu, Korean geomancy in cultural ecology. Twelve scholars participated in this project and so far we have had three workshops. The initial meeting, which was the first workshop, for planning and allocating duties, was held in March 2009 at the Graduate School of Environmental Studies at Seoul National University. Here, we settled on each member's chapter responsibilities and the participants were asked to write their reports for the second workshop.

The second workshop was held on June 6 and 7, 2009, at the residence of the head family of the Kim clan of Ŭisŏng in Kŭmgye Village, located in Andong City. The village is surrounded by geomantically evaluated hills, streams, and other landscape objects. The village is associated with many geomantic oral traditions. The workshop participants had invaluable discussions with the *chongson* 宗孫, the head of the family line of the Kim clan, about the geomantic conditions of the village, and we wish to thank him for the hospitality we received while our workshop was held at his village residence.

The third workshop was held on the January 19, 2010, at Kyunghee University in Seoul. The meeting place provided by the university was a congenial room designated for learning and debating Korean classics. Here, a more advanced stage

of research was discussed and all contributors helped each other in providing constructive criticism on the papers presented.

The fourth and last workshop was held on September 3, 2011, at Seoul National University's Graduate School of Environmental Studies. At the meeting, three chapter authors presented the revised versions of their manuscripts, and the authors of the history of geomantic theories chapters reported that they were to complete their manuscripts by the end of 2012. After this meeting each contributor completed his or her own chapter in consultation with the editor of this volume.

The journey to produce this volume was a long process for all contributors. The majority of the chapters were completed in a draft form two to three years ago, but the editing process of each author's manuscript required much more effort and time than the editor had originally anticipated. Thus, the editor and contributors of this volume agreed that if any author wished, they could publish their interim reports—earlier versions of their papers in either Korean or English—to receive feedback from the readership. Subsequently, some earlier (less developed) versions of chapters in this book were published elsewhere, as noted in the first footnotes of some chapters. However, all chapters in this volume are improved and expanded versions of earlier manuscripts through the last two years' hard work by the chapter authors, to whom I am most grateful for tolerating my comments and advice.

2. THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS BOOK

This book is not a general introduction to geomancy in Korea for Westerners who want to learn about basic geomantic principles for choosing auspicious sites. There are numerous publications on Chinese geomancy for such purposes. For Korean geomancy, Yoon Hong-key's book, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, has already introduced the general practice of geomancy in Korean culture. This book is designed to be a more advanced academic debate and an interdisciplinary discourse on the impact of geomancy on Korean culture, focusing on cultural ecological links between geomancy and Koreans' interaction with of the environment. The aim of this volume is twofold: (1) to study geomancy, the way it was introduced and practiced in its historical context, and (2) to understand its impact on Koreans' use of the environment in traditional Korean culture. The first part the book attempts to document and explain the historical development of geomancy in Korean culture; the second part examines how geomancy functioned in traditional Korean culture. A study of the relationships between a particular culture and its environmental conditions is sometimes referred to as *cultural ecology* by geographers and anthropologists. The term combines the two popular yet ambiguous and difficult concepts of "culture" and "ecology," as Melvin W. Mikesell once commented.¹ *Culture* is an anthropological term, widely used and has a number of definitions, which are in some ways related to learned behavior. The term *ecology* is a biological concept which is used very widely, and refers basically to the relationship between biological organisms and their surrounding environment. The concept of cultural ecology is

difficult to define, but in this book, it is used to point out specific links between a particular culture and a particular environment. The aim of cultural ecology is to identify and explain the pattern of relationships between a particular cultural trait and its environment. In this book, *cultural ecology* is used to identify and explain geomantic culture traditions and the Korean environment.

3. THE CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

This book consists of seventeen chapters, including this Introduction. All chapters were assigned to specialists and leading scholars in their fields, who will discuss historical aspects of geomancy during traditional or premodern Korea. In part I of the book, the first six chapters survey the historical development of Korean geomancy and its role in traditional Korean culture and society with a chronological approach. The eleven chapters in part II are devoted to specific topics relating to traditional Korean geomancy, ranging from ecological aspects of vegetation and geomancy to interrelationships between key religions and geomancy. These ten chapters are organized with a topical approach to geomancy studies.

This remainder of this Introduction (Hong-key Yoon) includes a brief consideration of the relationships between astronomy-astrology and geomancy-geography in Korean culture. Also discussed is the choice of the term *geomancy* as the suitable English translation of the Chinese word *fengshui* or the Korean word p'ungsu.

Chapter 2 (Hong-key Yoon) is a general overview of geomancy in Korean history and culture. Here the social and cultural history of how geomancy came to be accepted and practiced by Koreans is discussed, as the art of geomancy has been closely associated with sociopolitical changes of the past 1,000 years in Korea. In this chapter the Korean history of geomancy is divided into eight periods based on the sociohistorical characteristics of geomancy as practiced in Korea. This periodization method is a drastic departure from the existing scholarship, which is based on dynastic cycle as a historical unit.

Chapter 3 (Hong-key Yoon) focuses on the effect of geomancy on major social upheavals or armed uprisings in Korean history. Geomancy played an important role in major armed uprisings as an agent of social instigation. The ringleaders of socially discontented communities often manipulated geomantic ideas and organized people to stand up to the central government or the then-existing sociopolitical elite class. This chapter surveys and comments on the three most important armed uprisings in Korean history from a geomantic point of view.

Chapter 4 (Hong-key Yoon) introduces government affairs relating to geomancy during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties. The premodern Korean government established bureaus of geomancy, which were often jointly organized with bureaus of astronomical affairs. The central government regularly conducted examinations on key geomantic textbooks to recruit qualified professional geomancers. Government geomancers advised the king and royal court on geomantic affairs, including the construction of royal tombs and government buildings.

Chapter 5 (Hong-key Yoon) introduces some useful examples of environmental management through geomancy in Korean history. Geomancy aided environmental management by protecting significant forest areas around royal tombs and settlements, including some capital cities. The Chosŏn dynasty government also attempted to control rubbish dumping into streams in the city of Seoul. This chapter exhibits a few environmental management cases that geomancy played a role in and is not intended to be a complete chronological history of environmental management in Korea.

Chapter 6 (Hong-key Yoon) summarizes the principal characteristics of Korean geomancy by reflecting on the author's geomancy research over several decades. The chapter proposes seven characteristics of geomancy, including the preoccupation with grave geomancy, strong associations with the form (landscape) school, and close relationships with armed uprisings and geomantic prophecies, among others. The author also points out that most Korean geomancy characteristics are closely related to those of China.

Chapter 7 (Dowon Lee) deals with issues relating to water acquisition and management in geomantic landscapes during the Chosŏn dynasty, arguing that geomancy contributed to the ecological management of water resources in water-deficient areas of traditional Korea. The ecological implications of hydrological considerations in geomancy are reflected in (1) the preference for slow and meandering water flows; (2) watershed-based land use and a village landscape arrangement of hills in background and water in front; (3) mountain of fire anima or vitality and soil moisture; (4) a village pond; and (5) management of the village boundary. A typical geomantically located settlement at the end of a wooded foothill with a watercourse in front was ecologically significant for forest conservation. From such a forest the villagers acquired firewood, accessed clean water flowing down from upland forests, and drained excess water to watercourses on low-lying land in front of their settlement.

Chapter 8 (Kim Duk Hyun) discusses the geomantic significance of groves planted and maintained by the residents of traditional settlements. In traditional Korean settlements, people sometimes planted trees to form a grove to make up for the geomantic shortcomings of a settlement. It was a distinct geomantic way of organizing the village landscape to symbolize the *mana* (dignity and authority) of a settlement, but it also provided a windbreak and helped with flood control. Chapter 8 discusses an example of these settlement groves in Chinju city. The city had well-established bamboo groves during the Chosŏn dynasty because the locals believed that the geomantic landscape of the city was a "flying phoenix." The residents thought that the auspicious phoenix enjoyed bamboo seeds and that the grove would attract the imaginary bird to settle in the city. However, this belief is fading and the grove is now very damaged due to neglect and a new district redevelopment project.

Chapter 9 (In-choul Zho) reveals that traditional Korean architecture adopted geomantic principles as a cornerstone of site selection, the provision of building

material, and the construction process of houses. Geomancy as applied in Korea differs somewhat from that that was applied in China. Important characteristics of Korean architecture related to geomancy include a preference for locations in foothills with background hills and water in front. The Yin-Yang and Five Elements cycles of mutual birth and destruction were very seriously considered in choosing the floor plan and orientation of a building. This chapter emphasizes that traditional Korean architecture employed geomancy to determine the hierarchical order of buildings and to organize the logical story-telling aspects of building structures. It argues that traditional Korean architecture attempted to transform a mythological story into concrete landscape form by attempting to produce an ideal residential environment.

Chapter 10 (Jongsang Sung) proposes to adopt the concept of geomantic aesthetics in understanding traditional Korean gardens during the Chosŏn dynasty. Geomancy provided the effective perspectives and principles for making a garden, especially for *wollim* 園林 (*yuanlin* in Chinese), a garden in a mountainous area. The geomantic perspective was actively used when making a *wollim*. Selecting the site for a *wollim* requires an aesthetically discerning eye similar to that applied in geomancy, and the ability to consider the garden's harmony with the surrounding landscape and its compositions. Gardens or garden elements, such as *chŏngja* 亭子, a traditional Korean-style pavilion, and pagodas resolved issues by applying traditional geomantic principles. With special reference to Yun Sŏndo's *wollim* at the southern end of the Korean Peninsula, this chapter discusses how geomantic principles were applied to a traditional garden design and reveals the landscape aesthetics. It argues that geomantic aesthetics formed the mental image and influenced the overall formation of Yun Sŏndo's *wollim*.

Chapter 11 (Hong-key Yoon) investigates a cultural ecological aspect of the geomantic landscape of a sailing boat. People living in such landscapes attempted to stabilize their relationship with the landscape mainly through the six different cultural ecological links between people and the environment. An important link was the local residents' practice of forbidding well digging as a gesture to save a sailing-boat landscape (i.e., a settlement) from sinking. The practitioners' justification was that digging a well is comparable to making a hole in the bottom of a boat. However, recent research suggests that this custom may not have originated from geomancy, but is seemingly nongeomantic in origin and only later came to be associated with geomancy. The folk customs practiced in a sailing-boat geomantic landscape demonstrate that geomantic ideas favor stability and unchanging relationships between people and their surrounding environment and stand against a drastic redevelopment of an existing landscape.

Chapter 12 (Hong-key Yoon) discusses the geomantic modification of landforms in Korea to make up for the shortcomings of a geomantic landscape. Zealous practitioners of geomancy modified landscapes by building small hills (mounds of earth or stone). These human-built hills were often small and represented symbolic

gestures made to remedy a geomantically lacking landscape. However, the geomantic idea of constructing human-built hills to improve a geomantic landscape is a suitable case for comparison with the Western idea of humanity as a modifier of the environment (the idea of humanity as a geographic agent) that viewed human beings as partners of God in improving His creation. The two ideas are similar in some sense, yet are markedly different in other respects.

Chapter 13 (Cheol Joong Kang) is a pioneering piece of work looking into deep psychological interpretations of Koreans' geomantic desire to acquire auspicious sites. It is written by a practicing medical specialist-psychiatrist. The desire to obtain beauty, goodness, knowledge, and wealth are deeply rooted human desires. However, Koreans' and other East Asians' desire to obtain auspicious sites not only for their houses but for the grave sites of their descendants may be quite different from Western attitudes. Such Eastern attitudes represent deep psychological, religious, and iconographical meanings. With the aid of a Jungian psychological method, this chapter attempts to uncover what aspects of human mentality are responsible for Koreans' pursuit of these auspicious sites. It also attempts to explain how such behavior affects human mentality in general.

Chapter 14 (Won-suk Choi) explores the interrelationships between Buddhism and geomancy in Korean history. The beginning of this interaction is conjectured to have occurred after the introduction of Zen Buddhism, toward the end of the Silla dynasty (57 BC–935 AD). This chapter mainly examines a key aspect of the interaction between the two: for geomancy, the use of Buddhist installations to remedy the shortcomings in a geomantic landscape and for Buddhism, the use of geomancy for locating temples in auspicious locations.

Chapter 15 (Hwa Lee) argues that geomancy (p'ungsu) was normally granted a religious and cultural status in the neo-Confucian society of the Chosŏn dynasty. Although geomancy was obviously an art of improper heterodoxy from the neo-Confucian viewpoint, it survived and coexisted with orthodox Confucianism by being treated as "unbelievable but not disposable." There have been many discourses on the validity of geomancy by the Confucian literati. Through such Confucian discourses on geomancy, the art of p'ungsu coexisted with Confucian scholarship while accommodating people's fortune-telling behavior. These contradictory characteristics were the reality of p'ungsu during the Chosŏn dynasty.

Chapter 16 (Inshil Choe Yoon) asserts that the traditional Korean perception of preferred settlement locations in Korea, in terms of geomancy, is best dealt with in the *T'aengniji* 擇里誌 (Book of Choosing Settlements). Written in the early 1750s, the *T'aengniji* was one of the most popular and widely circulated Korean classics during the late Chosŏn period. It is still widely quoted and researched in many academic fields, such as geography, history, and architecture. The discussion of this chapter is based on Inshil Choe Yoon's recent examinations of 94 *T'aengniji* manuscripts. It reveals not only how strongly the *T'aengniji* treated geomancy as an important criteria in selecting livable settlements in Korea, but how the perception

of geomancy by *T'aengniji* readers has changed over the course of nearly two centuries since the original creation of the manuscript.

Chapter 17 concludes the discussions in the book and reflects on the process of writing this book. It contains a self-assessment of the book's contribution to academic fields and future research tasks.

Having introduced the general profile of the book, let us proceed to part I, which documents and explains the historical development of geomancy in Korean culture, before moving on to part II, which contains topical examinations of how geomancy functioned in traditional Korean culture.

4. ASTRO-GEOMANCY IN KOREA

Traditionally in Korea, the words *chönmun* 天文 (astronomy; astrology) and *chiri* 地理 (geomancy; geography) were frequently combined to form the Korean term *chönmun chiri*, or in English, astronomy-geomancy (abridged as *astro-geomancy* here). The Korean term for astro-geomancy was used to describe the embodiment of knowledge concerning the environmental system surrounding humanity, from the sky to the land and water. *Chönmun*, or astrology-astronomy, dealt with phenomena relating to the heavenly sphere, while *chiri* (geomancy-geography) covered those of the earthly sphere. Thus, the pair covered all environmental knowledge, from the study of star positions, seasonal changes, and daily weather conditions to the study of earth surface conditions such as landforms, watercourses, and vegetation. The combined term, *chönmun chiri*, was an umbrella concept embracing the traditional studies of environmental conditions. The term is used in a somewhat similar manner to the modern concepts of environmental science and environmental management, combined with cosmology-divination. This was why one government bureau oversaw both astronomical and geomantic affairs during the Chosön dynasty. The Söun'gwan 書雲觀 (Bureau for Recording Clouds)² was the court office that dealt with astronomy and geomancy, and employed professional astrologist-astronomers and geomancers who worked together in the royal court.

While *chönmun* and *chiri* were sometimes bundled together and recognized as a single detached body of knowledge, they were often treated as separate terms relating to environmental affairs. I will now briefly discuss the Korean terms used in this book to indicate geomancy. The terms, *p'ungsu* 風水 and *chiri* are both used to connote geomancy, although traditionally, the term *p'ungsu* (literally, "wind and water") more directly and exclusively referred to geomancy, whereas *chiri* (literally, "the patterns of earth" or "the principles of earth") referred to geomancy as well as a geographical gazetteer or regional geography. A traditional Korean expression, *chiri-rül ponda* 地理를 본다, referred to observing landforms geomantically or practicing geomancy, whereas *chiriji-rül ponda* 地理志를 본다 referred to reading the book of a local gazetteer or a regional geography. By briefly considering etymological meanings relating to geomancy, such as *chönmun chiri* (astronomy-geomancy),

chiri (geomancy and geography), and *p'ungsu* (geomancy), I have attempted to portray the close relationships between geomancy and geography or other related traditional fields of study that concern the environment.

Attempting to understand these traditional fields of study by referencing modern academic subject categories might be inappropriate because these traditional subjects and concepts do not squarely fit into the modern divisions of academic categories. These two traditional subjects, *ch'önmun* (astronomy-astrology) and *chiri* (geomancy-geography), studied environmental conditions very differently than modern schools of environmental science, because they included astrology and geomantic divination as part of their environmental studies. In fact, some may argue that attempts to understand past subjects using modern concepts and classifications are a form of “presentism” that interprets the past from the present point of view to justify the present situation.³ In this view, it is not appropriate to label, classify, and describe these two traditional areas of study from the present point of view using modern concepts. Such attempts may result in tracing history backward, from the present to the past, and using the present as a measuring yardstick to judge the past.⁴ But it is often not possible to interpret the past without some reference to the present and without the aid of modern concepts and classification. An explanation of traditional Korean geomancy sometimes cannot avoid such practices. Traditional geomancy is not the same as modern environmental science. However, describing its nature and function in Korean society is hard to do without any reference to contemporary fields of study, and explaining traditional geomancy with some reference to modern concepts and classifications makes it much easier to understand. Explaining Korean geomancy with reference to some modern concepts and classifications allows us to think of geomancy as the traditional version of modern environmental studies, which embraces environmental science, environmental management, and physical and human geography, while also incorporating a form of divination with reference to surrounding landforms and cosmic directions.

No single modern term is suitable to describe *p'ungsu*, because it is a type of environmental study not easily defined. Korean geomancy cannot be simply classified using modern Western classification criteria, as I have previously stated in several publications: “After studying it [i.e., Korean geomancy], one is likely to ask whether it is a superstition, a religion, or a science. My conclusion is that geomancy is none of these things. There is no concept equivalent to geomancy in the West, nor can it be understood in terms of any Western notion. Geomancy is a unique and comprehensive system of conceptualising the physical environment that regulates human ecology by influencing man to select auspicious environments and to build harmonious structures such as graves, houses and cities on them.”⁵

Korean geomancy is a traditional field of learning in Korea that assimilates elements of religion, superstition, and science into studies of the environment surrounding humans. It is a traditional field of study that can best be described using

traditional concepts relating to environmental studies. The most suitable traditional concept to describe Korean geomancy, or *p'ungsu*, is *p'ungsu* itself, not a modern concept representing a branch of a Western academic field of studies.

5. THE DEFINITION OF P'UNGSU AND KOREAN GEOMANCY

In both China and Korea, the terms *p'ungsu* and *chiri* were used interchangeably when referring to geomancy, however the term *chiri* could also be used when discussing geography. Presently in Korea, *p'ungsu chiri*, the combination of *p'ungsu* and *chiri*, has been exclusively used in reference to geomancy, despite the fact that *p'ungsu* has one meaning (geomancy) and *chiri* has two (geography and geomancy). This combined term, *p'ungsu chiri*, which contains a double emphasis or repetition of two different words meaning geomancy, became a popular Korean name for geomancy and its usage is almost certainly of Korean origin. The late Professor Yi Pyŏngdo, a noted historian, probably combined the two words and used the resulting term for the first time. In his much-acclaimed research work on geomancy and politics during the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), *Koryŏ Sidae-ŭi Yŏngu* (A Study of the Koryŏ Period), he argued (p. 21) that “Geomancy is known with original names such as *p'ungsu* or *chiri*. It is also known as *kamyŏ* 堪輿 [*kanyu* in Chinese]. However, to avoid dispute over names and confusion, I decided to use the combined words, *p'ungsu chiri* (風水地理), to denote geomancy.”

It is appropriate to say that *p'ungsu chiri* is a term coined and used only in Korea. I have not yet noticed the use of the term in either China or Japan. The term *geomancy* used in this book takes its meaning from the traditional Korean term *p'ungsu* or *p'ungsu chiri*, derived originally from the Chinese term, *fengshui* 風水.

6. WHY GEOMANCY INSTEAD OF FENGSHUI? THE ROOTS OF WESTERN ACADEMIC STUDIES OF FENGSHUI (GEOMANCY)

The concept of geomancy has long been a difficult subject to understand, and as one Western scholar declared, Chinese geomancy still remains an enigma.⁶ Some Western scholars understood it as superstition, the rudiments of natural science, or a quasireligious and pseudoscientific system.⁷ Geomancy has had a tremendous impact on East Asian culture. For instance, it has played a critical role in the layout of major East Asian capital cities such as Beijing and Nanjing in China, Seoul and Kaesong in Korea, and Kyoto and Nara in Japan (Yoon 2006, 217–73). However, this ancient East Asian system of divining locations clearly originated from ancient China and cannot be easily classified or labeled using a Western academic category such as “geography” or “environmental science.” This Chinese art has now been introduced to the West through migration and is attracting considerable attention as a curious and mysterious Chinese means of spatial divination.

For a long time, ever since Western intellectuals began writing about the art of geomancy in China, scholars have used various terms to label the practice. Some

used the Chinese term, *fengshui*, with spelling variations such as *fung shui* or *feng shui*, preferring not to adopt an English term for the Chinese art. Others adopted the word *geomancy* as a translation of the Chinese term, *fengshui*. The term *geomancy* originally seemed to refer to a form of Islamic divination, the practice of reading the figures created by throwing handfuls of earth. It is claimed that the term *geomancy* was first used “in Spain in the twelfth century as a translation of the Arabic *ilm alraml* (the science of sand),” a common name for a type of divination.⁸ However, after the art of *fengshui* from China became known to the West, especially since the nineteenth century, the word *geomancy* came to also mean the art of situating buildings and other structures auspiciously. This second definition of geomancy in an English dictionary, “an art of situating buildings and tombs auspiciously,” clearly characterizes the nature of *fengshui*. I will document and discuss more on this matter later.

I will first briefly review Western scholarship on Chinese geomancy since the nineteenth century with special attention to how the term *geomancy*, or *fengshui*, has been used. Early Western sinologists understood *fengshui* or Chinese geomancy as a folk belief system. Ernst Johann Eitel (1838–1908), the author of *Feng-shui: Or, the Rudiments of Natural Science in China*, might be the first scholar who produced a monograph on the subject (1873). In his book Eitel did not adopt *geomancy* as a translation of the Chinese term *fengshui*. He referred to the art as *feng-shui*. More substantial discourse and richer documentation are found in Jan Jakob Maria de Groot’s (1854–1921) work, *The Religious Systems of China*, vol. 3 (1897). In his book, he used the term *fung-shui* and did not adopt *geomancy* as an English equivalent. One of the first Western scholars who used the term *geomancy* in place of *fengshui* was Henri Doré (1859–1931), S. J., in his work *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* (Researches into Chinese Superstitions), which was published in French but translated into English by M. Kennelly, S. J., in 1914.⁹

Joseph Needham adopted the term, *geomancy* in lieu of *fengshui*, and labeled it as a “purely superstitious”¹⁰ or “the far-reaching pseudo-science”¹¹ in his book *Science and Civilisation in China*. British anthropologist Maurice Freedman also used the term *geomancy* when he presented his presidential address entitled “Geomancy: Presidential Address 1968” at the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.¹² He also published a long chapter, “Geomancy and Ancestor Worship,” in his book, *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung*.¹³ In his research Freedman adopted the English word *geomancy* as a translation of the Chinese term, *fengshui*. Andrew March’s article in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (1968), “An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy,” was an important scholarly introduction to Chinese geomancy for contemporary scholars in the English-speaking world. Another scholar, Stephan D. R. Feuchtwang, also used the term *geomancy* in place of *fengshui*, publishing his book, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, in 1974.¹⁴ Feuchtwang’s book may be one of the best studies on the principles of the geomantic compass and related cosmology. The most recent and most thorough fieldwork to date on the contemporary practice of geomancy in China was carried

out by Ole Bruun; his research, based on the participant observation method, is reported in his book, *Fengshui in China: Geomantic Divination between State Orthodoxy and Popular Religion* (2003). In it, he uses the words *geomancy* and *fengshui* interchangeably. Over all, although many scholars of Chinese geomancy adopted the English word *geomancy* in place of the Chinese word *fengshui*, it seems the terms are often used interchangeably in scholarly works. However, recent trends show that the Chinese term *fengshui* is more popularly adopted and the English word *geomancy* is used somewhat less frequently.

The first Westerner who commented on the practice of geomancy in Korea was probably Rev. J. S. Gale. He briefly introduced and commented on the choice of Seoul as capital city by the first king of the Chosŏn dynasty, King T'aejo, who chose the city after conducting geomantic evaluations of several worthy sites with geomancers.¹⁵ No other Western missionaries or scholars wrote any substantial work on geomancy in Korea. Compared to the rich geomancy studies in China by Western missionary-scholars, geomancy in Korea attracted very little attention from Western scholars, although geomancy was as important in Korean culture as in Chinese culture. Among non-Korean scholars who were studying Korean geomancy, Murayama Chijun, a Japanese scholar, certainly stands out. His research on Korean geomancy was fully supported by the Japanese colonial government-general of Korea at that time, and his research resulted in a landmark contribution to studies in Korean geomancy with his book, *Chosen-no Fusui* (Geomancy in Korea).¹⁶ However, his work was written in Japanese and was therefore not accessible to Western readers. Except for this major work by Murayama Chijun, virtually no other foreign scholars published any works on geomancy in Korea. Only recently have some Koreans published their works on Korean geomancy in English. Hongkey Yoon wrote a substantial work on geomancy in Korea in his PhD dissertation at UC Berkeley, printed in 1976.¹⁷ Since then he has published another book and a number of articles in English on the topic.

Now let us turn our attention to some major English dictionaries and examine how they have defined the word *geomancy*. We will attempt to document and examine the trend of reputable dictionary definitions of *geomancy* coming to include a basic description of the Chinese practice of *fengshui*. As shown below, the definition of *geomancy* started by denoting an Islamic divination method of reading figures formed by throwing a handful of earth onto a surface. But now, new dictionaries include an additional definition of geomancy that reflects the nature of *fengshui* as situating cities, houses, and other sites auspiciously. These English dictionaries confirm that the English word *geomancy* has been coined as a suitable translation of the Chinese term, *fengshui*. The first edition (1933) of the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary* has an entry on geomancy and describes it as: "The art of divination by means of signs derived from the earth, as by the figure assumed by a handful of earth thrown down upon some surface. Hence, usually, divination by means of lines or figures formed by jotting down on paper a number of dots at random."¹⁸

The second edition (1989) of the dictionary repeated the exact same definition.¹⁹ Both editions defined geomancy as the art of divination by means of signs derived from a handful of earth thrown down on some surface, and not as an art of siting cities, buildings, and graves auspiciously. However, the Oxford dictionary acknowledges that the term *geomancy* (geomancie) is used by Geoffrey Chaucer in around 1386, and by J. H. Gray in his work on China in 1878, who stated that “the houses are built according to the principles of geomancy.”²⁰

The 1889 edition of the *Century Dictionary* elaborated on geomancy in somewhat more detail: “The pretended art of divining future events, or of ascertaining the luckiness or unluckiness of any events or locality, by means of signs connected with the earth, as from the figure indicated by points taken at random on the surface, or from the disposition of the particles of a handful of dust or earth thrown down at random, or, as in China, from the configuration and aspect of a particular region in its relation to some other.”²¹

The first part of this definition confirms the original meaning of geomancy in the Oxford dictionary as “Islamic divination with a handful of earth thrown down at random.” The last part of the definition, however, describes the practice of *fengshui* in China by stating “as in China, from the configuration and aspect of a particular region.”

Modern dictionaries of the English language clearly describe the practice of *fengshui* in China as geomancy. *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary* lists two definitions of geomancy as follow: “(1) The art of siting buildings, etc. auspiciously,” and “(2) Divination from the configuration of a handful of earth or random dots.”²²

In this definition of geomancy, the Chinese practice of “siting buildings auspiciously,” which is *fengshui*, has moved to become the first definition, placed before the original English dictionary definition referring to Islamic divination practices.

The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary now also clearly acknowledges geomancy as the equivalent word to the Chinese term *fengshui* with the definition, “Divination from the configuration of a handful of thrown earth or a number of random dots,” as well as “the art of siting cities, buildings, tombs, etc., auspiciously.”²³ These Oxford dictionary definitions clearly imply that the original meaning of geomancy was “divination from the configuration of thrown earth,” but a second, newer meaning is “the art of sitting cities, houses and tombs auspiciously, a clear description of the traditional Chinese art of site selection, *fengshui*.”

The above considerations justify adopting the English word *geomancy* for the Chinese word, *fengshui*. This usage has been popular for a long time, as shown in Andrew March’s well-known article in the *Journal of Asian Studies* in 1968.²⁴ However, Western writers have recently used the term *fengshui* more frequently than the term *geomancy*, which seems to be in decline. Nevertheless, I have adopted *geomancy* in this book as being the equivalent of *fengshui* and p’ungsu for the following four reasons:

1. The definition “an art of siting buildings, etc. auspiciously,” which is a suitable description of *fengshui* (Chinese geomancy), is now listed as a standard definition

of geomancy in the recent editions of the authoritative Oxford English dictionaries, including *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary* and the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as well as a nineteenth-century edition of the credible *Century Dictionary*.

2. *Geomancy* or *Chinese geomancy* has been widely used by Western scholars as the English equivalent word of the Chinese word *fengshui* in various works of English literature, as discussed earlier. Only recently has usage of the term *fengshui* become popular.

3. The term *geomancy* is a neutral term that does not favor any one particular nation in East Asia. *Fengshui* is the art as practiced in China, while *p'ungsu* is the art as practiced in Korea, and *fusui* or *kasogaku* (the art of house geomancy) is the art as practiced in Japan. Therefore, it is more accurate to say "geomancy in Korea" than "*fengshui* in Korea," because the term *fengshui* refers to geomancy as practiced in China. If the term *geomancy* is replaced by a native East Asian term, each nation should adopt its own word for geomancy. For example, "geomancy in China" becomes "*fengshui* in China," while geomancy in Korea becomes "*p'ungsu* in Korea," and in Japan it becomes "*fusui* in Japan." In this sense the title of a book I wrote, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lexington Books, 2006), is worded incorrectly. It should be the *Culture of Geomancy in Korea* or the *Culture of P'ungsu in Korea*.

4. While *fengshui* is the current and most popular term, it is not the only Chinese term for geomancy in China. Several other names for geomancy exist. Historically, *dili* 地理 (principles of land or patterns of land, meaning geomancy as well as geography) or *kanyu* (the wagon loaded with all sorts of things, meaning heaven and earth) were popular and widely circulated terms for Chinese geomancy, and their usages were more common than the term *fengshui*. This argument is supported by numerous geomancy textbook titles and terms, such as *dili xiansheng* 地理先生 for the masters of geomancy. Terms such as *xiangzhai* 相宅 (examining a residence) or *xiangdi* 相地 (examining land) are also used to refer to Chinese geomancy in classical literature and were a traditional usage in lieu of the term *fengshui*. The term *fengshui* rarely appeared in book titles of literature on Chinese geomancy during premodern China. In my research, the term *dili* (principles of land) was used most frequently in various geomancy book titles in traditional Chinese society. For instance a popular Chinese geomancy textbook, *Dili Renzi Xuezhishi* 地理人子須知 (Geomantic Facts that All Humanity Must Know), was published during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and was widely circulated. It is still regarded as a key traditional geomancy textbook in China and Korea. This textbook, as well as a number of other books on geomancy, used the term *dili* in their titles, while *fengshui* was rarely used in geomancy book titles in premodern China. The adoption of *fengshui* as the name for Chinese geomancy seems to be a recent phenomenon, though the once-popular traditional terms such as *dili* and *kanyu* are still alive and appear in geomantic literature. Therefore, there is no reason why we should treat the term *fengshui* as the only Chinese term representing Chinese geomancy.

7. REVIEW OF MODERN RESEARCH ON KOREAN GEOMANCY

In a review of modern scholarship and research into the thought and the practice of Korean geomancy, we have to honor two book-length monumental works, one in Korean, the other in Japanese.²⁵ The 1948 Korean work, *Koryŏ Sidae-ŭi Yŏn'gu*, is by Yi Pyŏngdo.²⁶ This is a study of the impact of geomancy and geomantic prophecy on the government of the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392) and the early Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1450s). The second work is by Murayama Chijun, *Chosen-no Fusui* (1931).²⁷ Published in Japanese as one of thirty-one volumes of a survey series by the Japanese government-general of Korea, this book provides the most comprehensive study of Korean geomancy. I will now discuss some important literature focusing on key monographic works in the study of geomancy in Korea, in chronological order.

The first modern scholar who studied Korean geomancy may have been Murayama Chijun, a Japanese researcher employed by the Japanese colonial government of Korea. He documented and explained the principles and practice of geomancy in Korea in his book *Chosen-no Fusui* (1931). The Japanese colonial government of Korea extensively surveyed and documented traditional Korean customs, lifestyles, and belief systems as a part of the colonial government's ruling strategy for Korea. Murayama Chijun was employed as a temporary researcher for this purpose and he was involved in research projects on geomancy and other belief systems. The Japanese colonial government must have thought that an understanding of geomancy was deeply rooted in the Korean mentality and was therefore critically important for effective colonial rule, so they carried out extensive surveys and research on this subject. It is fair to say that Murayama Chijun's work was at least partly intended to serve Japanese colonial rule of Korea. However, this book compiles perhaps the richest and most extensive folkloristic and anthropological information on geomancy in Korea as practiced at that time. It is said that the former Korean court geomancer, Chŏn Kiung, and other well-known geomancers of the time were consultants for the research project and are assumed to have provided valuable information.

Yi Pyŏngdo, a prominent Korean historian, turned his attention to the importance of geomancy in understanding Korean history. During Japanese colonial rule, he started studying the impact of geomancy on Korean capital city site selections and on town planning at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty.²⁸ However, his most significant work on Korean geomancy was his book *Koryŏ Sidae-ŭi Yŏn'gu*, where he carefully examined in detail the impact of geomantic beliefs on the politics and society of the Koryŏ dynasty.²⁹ His book, even after 50 years, is still considered a reliable and authoritative study. Professor Yi Pyŏngdo shows how much the Korean elite was influenced in the selection and maintenance of capitals and how important geomantic prophesies have been in Korean society. After Yi Pyŏngdo's work in 1975, another historian, Chŏe Pyŏnghŏn, examined the social function of geomancy and its historical significance through the study of Monk Tosŏn (827–898).³⁰ In his article Chŏe Pyŏnghŏn evaluated the significance of geomantic ideas in the history

of Korean thought. In the 1970s research activities on geomancy in Korea became active, especially in the fields of geography, anthropology, and folk literature. In cultural geography, *Geomantic Relationships between Culture and Nature in Korea* by Hong-key Yoon was printed in English in 1976.³¹

This book was a publication of his PhD dissertation with minor modifications and additions. He published several articles on Chinese and Korean geomancy, especially on the image of nature in geomancy and on the origin of geomancy in China and its spread to Korea. However, most of his works were written in English and naturally were read more widely outside Korea, particularly in the English-speaking world.

Perhaps the most popular and influential research work on geomancy in Korea by a modern scholar might be *Han'gug-üi P'ungsu Sasang* (Geomantic Thought in Korea) by Choi Changjo, in 1984.³² This book, written in Korean, became a key book introducing geomancy to scholars as well as to the general public in Korea. Choi Changjo wrote a number of books and articles on geomancy in Korea and translated classical Chinese geomantic textbooks such as the *Qingwujing* 青烏經 and the *Zangjing* 葬經 (*Jinnangjing* 錦囊經) into modern Korean. His writing and lecturing through public broadcasts have heightened the public's interest in the geomantic belief system, and this inspired some scholars to present more critical views on geomancy. Park Sea-ik might be the first contemporary architect to enter into serious geomancy research; he has attempted to apply geomantic principles to the design of modern homes and buildings.³³ In his PhD dissertation, "A Study of the Background and Origin of *Fengshui* Theory," he advocated the possible Korean origin of Chinese geomantic theory and wrote another book on geomancy and architecture.

In 1987 David J. Nemeth published a monograph, *The Architecture of Ideology: Neo-Confucian Imprinting on Cheju Island, Korea*.³⁴ This book is based on his PhD dissertation and discusses geomancy as a key ideology in the formation and understanding of the cultural landscape in Cheju Island.³⁵ He also wrote several articles on geomantic maps from Cheju Island, and his works are among the most substantive introductions to the geomancy and landscape of Cheju Island, Korea.

Kim Dukyu is an active researcher and prolific writer about geomancy in Korea. His sympathetic view of geomancy is similar to that of Choi Changjo. He has translated two classics of Chinese geomantic discourse, *Dili Xinfa* 地理新法 (New Principles of Geomancy) by Hu Shunshen 胡舜申 of the Song dynasty and *Mingshanlun* 明山論 (Discourses on Auspicious Mountains). His book, *Chosön P'ungsuhaagin-üi Saeng'ae-wa Nonjaeng* (The Lives and Debates of Chosön Dynasty Geomancers) is the result of his research into famous geomancers during the Chosön dynasty and is based on the official historical records, the *Chosön Wangjo Sillok* (Annals of the Chosön Dynasty).³⁶

Since the 1990s, several young Korean cultural geographers have completed their PhD dissertations on geomancy in Korea. As commented previously, Lee Mong Il studied the history of Korean geomantic thought for his PhD dissertation,

which was subsequently published.³⁷ Sung Dong Hwan studied the Zen Buddhist temple locations of geomantic significance during the Late Silla dynasty in Korea.³⁸ Won-suk Choi studied *pibo* 裨補 or the geomantic ideas of reinforcing or moderating the deficiencies of a geomantic landscape in an auspicious site by artificial means.³⁹ A revised and enlarged version of his PhD dissertation is published as *Han'gug-üi P'ungsu-wa Pibo: Yöngnam Chibang Pibo Kyönggwan-üi Yangsang-gwa T'üksöng* (Geomancy and Geomantic Reinforcement in Korea: The Patterns and Characteristics of Geomantically Reinforced Landscapes in Kyöngsang Province).⁴⁰ His work is a milestone in the study of geomantic thought in Korea.

Yoon Chun Keun, a professor of Korean philosophy, published his book, *P'ungsu-üi Chölhak* (The Philosophy of Geomancy).⁴¹ In his book, Yoon Chun Keun converted rather complicated and ambiguous geomantic concepts and terms into plain modern Korean, producing an easy-to-comprehend summary of the metaphysical aspects of geomantic thought. He pointed out that classical Chinese geomantic thought clearly reflects the Chinese cultural and philosophical tradition. However, he did not consult any of a number of well-known works written in Western languages on the subject. In 2013 Ahn Youngbae completed his PhD dissertation on the development of compass school principles during the Koryö dynasty and the early Chosön dynasty.⁴² It is a good contribution to researches in the development of geomantic principles in Korea.

The above discussion about the history of research into Korean geomancy is based mainly on books or monographs of research into various aspects of Korean geomancy. There are many other works on Korean geomancy other than the above-mentioned works, including academic articles and journalistic essays. Most of these works have been published since the mid-1980s.

In summarizing research publications on geomancy by academic fields, we realized that more than 50 percent (73 out of 140) of academic journal articles published in Korea were authored by scholars in the fields of geography, architecture, landscape architecture, and city planning. This may demonstrate that the theory and practice of geomancy in Korea have been closely related to the academic fields dealing with environmental and spatial issues. Their main research interests lie in landscape planning, building design, and settlement and grave site selections. Articles on geomancy by writers from Korean literature demonstrate the importance of geomancy in Korean literature and the Korean mindset or geomenality. Geomancy has not only been an important motive in Korean folklore (oral literature), but also in other forms of literature such as poetry and novels. In contrast to the research mentioned above, contemporary historians' research into geomancy is not very active, although a prominent historian, Yi Pyöngdo, produced in 1947 a monumental research work on the importance of geomancy in Korean society during the Koryö dynasty. This demonstrates that contemporary scholarship in Korea emphasizes the spatial dimensions of geomancy but not its time dimension. To understand the role of geomancy in Korean culture, we need to study the spatial dimensions as well as the temporal dimensions of the art.

NOTES

1. Marvin W. Mikesell, "Cultural Ecology," in *Focus on Geography: Key Concepts and Teaching Strategies*, ed. Phillip Bacon, 40th Yearbook (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1970), 39–61.

2. Credit for the translation of the *Söun'gwan* as the "Bureau for Recording Clouds" goes to Professor Christopher Cullen, Needham Research Institute, Cambridge, UK. His suggestion for this rendering is based on a passage in the *Zuozhuan* (Commentary of Zuo) from the fifth regnal year of Duke Xi of Lu: "At the solstices, equinoxes and at the starts of the seasons, one must record the phenomena of the clouds 凡分至啟閉必書雲物."

3. On presentism, see David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 135; George W. Stocking, Jr., "On the Limits of 'Presentism' and 'Historicism' in the Historiography of the Behavioural Sciences," *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences* 1.2 (1965): 215; and Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1963 [1931]).

4. David Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1992), 4.

5. Yoon Hong-key, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 311.

6. Jacques Lemoine, foreword to *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, by Stephan D. R. Feuchtwang, Collection *Connaissance de l'Asie*, vol. 1 (Vientiane, Laos: Editions Vithagna, 1974; reprint: Bangkok: White Lotus, 2002), 1, stated that "If there is a subject which should have captivated Western sinologists, it is Chinese geomancy."

7. *Fengshui* (geomancy) is labeled a "purely superstitious" system by Joseph Needham in his monumental work, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4.1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 240; as the "rudiments of natural science of China" by Ernst Johann Eitel in his book, *Feng-shui: Or, the Rudiments of Natural Science in China* (Hong Kong: Lane, Crawford & Co., 1873), title page; and as a "quasi-scientific system of China" by Jan Jakob Maria de Groot in his book, *The Religious Systems of China, Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect, Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith*, vol. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897), 935.

8. Emilie Savage-Smith, "Geomancy in the Islamic World," in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997), 361.

9. Henri Doré, S. J., *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, trans. M. Kennelly, S. J., *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, vol. 4 (Shanghai: T'uswei Printing Press, 1914), 402.

10. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4.1 (1962), 240.

11. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2 (1956), 259.

12. Maurice Freedman, "Geomancy: Presidential Address 1968," *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1968* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1969), 5–15.

13. Maurice Freedman, "Geomancy and Ancestor Worship," *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* (London: Athlone Press, 1966), 118–54.

14. Feuchtwang, *Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*.

15. Rev. J. S. Gale, 1902, "Han-Yang (Seoul)," *Transactions*, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, vol. 2, part 2, 1–43. See especially pp. 5–6 in the Internet edition of the article.

16. Murayama Chijun, *Chosen-no Fusui* (Geomancy in Korea) (Seoul: Chosen Sotokufu, 1931).

17. Yoon Hong-key, *Geomantic Relationships between Culture and Nature in Korea* (Taipei: Oriental Culture Service, 1976).
18. *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 126.
19. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 461.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Century Dictionary*, vol. 3 (New York: Century Co., 1889), 2, 494.
22. Judy Pearsall and Bill Trumble, *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1955), 581.
23. Lesley Brown, ed., *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 1 (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1,079.
24. Andrew March, "An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy," *Journal of Asian Studies* 27 (1968): 252–67.
25. This review section is a revised version of a part of "Chapter 3: The Introduction and Development of Geomancy in Korea" of my book, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 48–51.
26. Yi Pyŏngdo, *Koryŏ Sidae-ŭi Yŏn'gu* (A Study of the Koryŏ Period) (Seoul: Ŭryu Munhwasa, 1948).
27. Murayama, *Chosen-no Fusui*.
28. Yi Pyŏngdo, "Yijo Chŏgi-ŭi Kŏndo Munje" (The Problem of Building the Capital during the Early Chosŏn Dynasty), *Journal of the Chin-Tan Society* 9 (1938): 30–85.
29. Yi, *Koryŏ Sidae-ŭi Yŏn'gu* (1948).
30. Chŏe Pyŏnghŏn, "Tosŏn-ŭi Saeng'ae-wa Namal Yŏchŏ-ŭi P'ungsu Chirisŏl: Sŏnjong-gwa P'ungsu Chirisŏr-ŭi Kwan'gye-rŭl Chungsim-ŭro Hayŏ" (The Life of Tosŏn and Geomantic Theory during the Late Silla and Early Koryŏ Dynasties: With a Focus on the Relationship between the Zen School and Geomancy), *Han'guksa Yŏn'gu* (Journal of Korean History) 11 (1975): 101–46.
31. Yoon, *Geomantic Relationships between Culture and Nature in Korea*.
32. Choi Changjo, *Han'gug-ŭi P'ungsu Sasang* (Geomantic Thought in Korea), Tae'u Haksul Chŏngsŏ Inmun Sahoe Kwahak (Daewoo Academic Ser. Humanities and Social Sciences), vol. 10 (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1984).
33. Park Sea-ik, "P'ungsu Chirisŏl Palsaeng Paegyŏng-e kwanhan Punsŏk Yŏn'gu: Kŏnch'ug-eŭi Hamnijŏg-in Chŏgyong-ŭl Wihayŏ" (An Analytical Study of the Backgrounds and Origins of Geomancy: For Rational Application to Architecture) (PhD diss., Koryŏ Taehakkyo [Korea University], 1987); and Park Sea-ik, *P'ungsu Chiri-wa Kŏnch'uk* (Geomancy and Architecture) (Seoul: Kyŏnggyang Sinmun, 1997).
34. David J. Nemeth, *The Architecture of Ideology: Neo-Confucian Imprinting on Cheju Island, Korea*, University of California Publications in Geography, vol. 26 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
35. David J. Nemeth, "Bright Yard, Maps from Cheju Island," *Landscape* 25, no. 2 (1981): 20–21; David J. Nemeth, "Fengshui as Terrestrial Astrology in Traditional China and Korea," in *The Power of Place: Sacred Ground in Natural and Human Environments*, ed. James A. Swan (Wheaton, IL: Quest Books, 1991), 215–34; and David J. Nemeth, "A Cross-cultural Cosmographic Interpretation of Some Korean Geomancy Maps," *Cartographica* 30, no. 1 (1993): 85–97.
36. Kim Dukyu, *Chosŏn P'ungsu-hagin-ŭi Saeng'ae-wa Nonjaeng* (The Lives and Debates of Geomancers during the Chosŏn Dynasty) (Seoul: Kungni, 2000).
37. Lee Mong Il, *Han'guk P'ungsu Sasangsa Yŏn'gu* (A Study of the History of Geomantic Thought in Korea) (Taegu, Korea: Irilsa, 1991).

38. Sung Dong Hwan, “Namal Yŏch'ò Sŏnjong Kyeyŏl Sach'ar-ŭi Ipchi Yŏn'gu” (A Study of the Sites of Zen Buddhist Temples during the Late Silla and Early Koryŏ Dynasties: A Geomantic Interpretation of the Nine Mountain Zen Schools) (PhD diss., Taegu Hyosŏng Katŏllik Taehakkyo [Catholic University of Taegu-Hyosung], 1999).

39. Choi Won Suk, “Yŏngnam Chibang-ŭi Pibo” (Geomantic Reinforcement in Kyŏngsang Province) (PhD diss., Koryŏ Taehakkyo [Korea University], 2000).

40. Choi Won Suk, *Han'gug-ŭi P'ungsu-wa Pibo: Yŏngnam Chibang Pibo Kyŏnggwan-ŭi Yangsang-gwa T'ŭksŏng* (Geomancy and Geomantic Reinforcement in Korea: The Patterns and Characteristics of Geomantically Reinforced Landscapes in Kyŏngsang Province) (Seoul: Minsogwon, 2004).

41. Yoon Chun Keun, *P'ungsu-ŭi Chŏllhak* (The Philosophy of Geomancy) (Seoul: Nŏrŭmt'ŏ, 2001).

42. Ahn Youngbae, “Koryŏ Chosŏn Chŏn'gi Igip'a P'ungsu Yŏn'gu: Chiri Sinsŏ, Tongnim Chodam, Chiri Sinpŏb-ŭi Yuhaeng-ŭl Chungsim-ŭro” (A Study of Geomancy of the *Liqi* School during the Koryŏ and Early Chosŏn Dynasties: With a Focus on the Vogue for the *Dili Xinshu*, *Donglin Zhaodan*, and *Dili Xinfu*) (PhD diss., Won'gwang Taehakkyo [Wonkwang University], 2013).