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THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Notes on its origins and development, together with a complete index
of publications in both Japanese and Korean*

by David I. Steinberg

INTRODUCTION

Many newly independent nations, those developing
societies which have had a long and proud cultural tradi-
tion, often attempt to employ the spiritual, literary or
material relics of their often impressive cultural past as
one element in fostering national unity and as a focus
which encourages disparate elements in the society to
move towards national goals. The past provides the cloak
of cultural prestige vis-a-vis foreign nations, and many
newly-created states have found that they must rediscover
such a past if they are to acquire the self-esteem which
they so badly need following extended periods of colonial
rule.

The planned exploitation of material cultural remains
can often provide one avenue for the development of the
national pride so important today when, after years (some-
times centuries), nations gain or regain their independence
in the wave of rising nationalism which is being witnessed
throughout much of the world.

"Each new nation without exception strives to clothe
itself in the dignity not only of culture but also of civili-

* The author wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Kim Che-won, Director of
the National Museum, for his extensive assistance on this article. The
opinions presented here are neither those of the National Museum nor The
Asia Foundation, but of the author, who alone is responsible for error.
zation, for each enters an intercommunicating world of civilized states, and each is equipped with an apparatus of communications by which it can achieve its desires. Particular choices to use foreign or indigenous cultural materials appear to rest on calculations of relative advantage, given certain pre-existing features of each state's cultural context."

Material culture may be especially important in societies in which religious or literary traditions have often been associated with a foreign culture, or where these traditions have lost much of their past significance. The use of the cultural past for what is essentially the political present is thus to be expected. Perhaps in some cases it should be encouraged, for it can help the development of modern nationalism, which in some states is the only cement holding together the divisive forces destructive of national unity.

While colonialism may no longer be a threat to the continued existence of these states, the wealth and thus cultural momentum of the economically advanced countries could perpetuate national humiliation without the myth or reality of a glorious tradition. In some societies which are badly split by ethnic or religious differences, appeal to an earlier and "golden" age prior to the development of such schisms within the social fabric can bring together diverse ethnic, cultural and religious groups in a way few other forces can. The Indian Government's attempt to stress the Ashokan period in Indian history is an example of an appeal which transcends present regional and religious differences. In many of the new nations of Africa much the same thing is taking place. In Burma, Buddhism

and nationalism have been and are still especially inter-related. Even Communist China has stressed archeological research since 1950. In Korea, perhaps the Silla period has evoked most interest because of the extensive, artistically mature, and concentrated remains of that great period; and also because it was not associated with foreign humiliation, as were the Koryŏ (the Mongol invasions) and Yi (the Japanese and Manchu invasions) Dynasties.

Within this context, a national museum is one natural focus for the policy of preserving and promulgating a national cultural tradition. The purpose of this paper is to examine the history of the national museum in Korea, its origins and development during the Japanese period, its role in furtherance of Japanese policy, and the development of the National Museum of the Republic of Korea and its contribution to an understanding of the Korean cultural tradition. While materials exist on the museum and its work in both Korean and Japanese, these are sketchy and nothing has been published in English on its founding and growth. In fact, no complete history of the museum exists in any language.

The interest in, respect for, and collection of antiquities has had a long and continuous history in East Asia. It is not the purpose of this essay to speculate on the nature of the collecting habit, nor of the employment of the past in East Asian thought for political purposes. Whether the concept of a traditional “golden age,” as, for example, that of Yao and Shen, made the past and by extension antiquities of greater interest, or whether Buddhism or Confucianism in East Asia furthered such collecting is questionable. However, evidence does exist that at least from the Sung period the Chinese royal families collected, treasured, and
preserved the artistic remains of previous dynasties. While these collections were for the personal use of the imperial family and may have been connected with Confucian ancestor “worship” or the legitimization of the rule of a new dynasty, this tradition may have been an important factor in developing a consciousness of the importance of the cultural achievements of the Chinese people. As early as 1388, in the early Ming period, the Koku Yaolun (考古錄), “The Essentials of Chinese Antiquities,” was published, with an enlarged edition appearing in 1462. 2

A similar pattern began to emerge in Japan from an early period as well. Buddhist monasteries performed an invaluable function in preserving the relics of a previous age. During the Nara period (8th century) the imperial family would donate the daily utensils of the recently deceased emperor to the temple, where they were treasured. The cult of the tea ceremony in Japan was another factor which helped preserve and encourage interest in old ceramics. The Imperial Household collection of art formed one focus of interest, and in the early Meiji period the Imperial Household Museum in Ueno, Tokyo, was opened and the collection expanded.

These two societies are in marked contrast to many of the cultures of Southeast Asia, which never developed the same interest in preserving the physical remains of their ancestors’ artistic tradition, even within the general context of Buddhistic influence. Knowledge of and interest in antiquities was virtually undeveloped in many areas. Temples and Buddha images were allowed to decay or become overgrown with jungle. One received more merit in the cycle of Karma in building a new pagoda than in repairing an old one. While it may be argued that antiquarian

concern is indeed far from the concept of a national museum servicing the national public interest, the encouragement of a consciousness of the importance of historical objects and remains, and a concern for comparative art history, the desire to collect these items, and indeed a market for them, may be an indication of a general historical consciousness which may provide a fertile milieu for a concept of nationhood and cultural unity. It might also provide the framework for the future development of museums and collections of art and wider acceptance of their importance in these societies, serving what by extension might be called political purposes.

In view of the very close connection between traditional Korea and the suzerain Chinese court, it might have been expected that in Korea the royal families would have developed collections of antiquities from their own and previous dynasties. The fact that the Korean royalty usually made an effort to trace their ancestors back to a previous dynasty in order to legitimatize their position in Korean society might have been expected to have encouraged this tendency. So, too, when Japanese influence began to be felt in Korea at the end of the 19th century, a growth of increased interest in things Korean as a part of increased nationalism might have been expected.

However, this does not seem to have been the case. There seems to be little written evidence, at any rate, that at any period in Korean history royalty considered collection of such antiquities as necessary to enhance their prestige and cultural legitimacy.

There are, however, several scattered references to the preservation of cultural relics in the Silla period. Mention is made of the preservation of the Three Treasures of Silla (新羅三寶), two of which were kept at Hwangyong-sa (黄
and the third, the Holy Belt of King Chin P’young (聖帶眞平王), at Nam Go (南庫), all in Kyŏngju.

During Unified Silla a “Myriad Wave Stop Flute” (萬波息笛) was preserved at the Palace Site (月城天尊庫) and later moved to the Nae Hwang Jŏn (內黃殿).

During the Koryŏ period, reliance upon the Chinese model seems to have grown. Mention is made of the construction in the Palace Compound of the Ch’ŏn Chang Gak (天章閣) in 1117 A.D., the 12th year of King Ye Chang, to house and preserve the Sung Emperor’s calligraphy and painting. Two other pavilions were subsequently constructed, the Po Mun Gak (寶文閣) and the Chŏng Yŏn Gak (清燕閣) to preserve other edicts, painting and calligraphy of various Sung Emperors. It should be noted that reference is not made to the preservation of Korean works during the Koryŏ period, and by the Yi Dynasty there seem to be few, if any, references to the preservation of Korean cultural remains.

The Korean court apparently did not collect for their own amusement. There also seems to have been little or no trade in such antiquities, in contrast to China and Japan. Why this should have been true may be the subject of much speculation. Perhaps it was that the Koreans in general underestimated the value of their own artistic tradition, placing more emphasis on their Chinese heritage, in spite of the high praise with which the Chinese traveller to Korea, Hsu Ching, wrote of Korean celadon in his report on his visit to Korea in 1123. The above references to the Koryŏ histories seem in support of this conclusion.

3. Sam Guk Sa Gi (三國史記) Vol. 12. I am indebted to Prof. Hwang Su-yong for this and subsequent references to Silla and Koryŏ histories.
However, deprecation by the Koreans of their own historical remains was not shared by Korea’s neighbors. In addition to the appreciation of Korean ceramics shown in Chinese circles, the deportation to Japan of thousands of Korean potters as an aftermath of the Hideyoshi Invasion of 1592 indicates the high regard in which the Japanese held Korean ceramic artisans. But the Koreans, perhaps because of strong Confucian influence in the court during the Yi Dynasty, seemed to have had little regard for the products of their own artisans, as the craftsmen were generally of the lower class and perhaps somewhat outside the Confucian literati tradition. It may have been considered beneath the dignity of the literati to be concerned with plebeian activities, although we know that when the royal kilns operated at Punwŏn, to the east of Seoul, scholars would come by boat up the Han to paint their own designs on the water droppers and brush stands, the symbols of their status as literati. There is no doubt, however, that the kilns were badly managed and operated for much of the time on the brink of bankruptcy.

The role of foreigners in stimulating the interest of a society in its own historical products should not be ignored. This seems to have been evident in India, Cambodia, Indonesia, and other Asian nations. It seems clear that this was also the case in Korea toward the close of the nineteenth century.

In addition to a continuing Japanese interest in Korean art, dating from the sixteenth century, the beginning of interest in Korean art among Westerners followed the signing of the first treaty between Korea and a foreign power.

(Japan) in 1876. One of the first indications from Western sources that there was an interest in Korean antiquities comes from the writings of Carles who, in 1885, purchased Koryŏ ceramics illegally excavated from tombs near Kaesŏng. Grave robbers using long iron poles prodded the ground to locate tombs in which artifacts might be found. In all probability they were looking for golden ornaments, and the discovery of pottery was a by-product of their other interests. Griffis, the prolific writer on both Japan and Korea, published in 1882 his article “The Corean Origin of Japanese Art.” This was followed by Pierre Jouy’s short article “The Collection of Corean Mortuary Pottery in the United States National Museum,” and an article in *The Korean Repository* for January 1892 mentions the existence of curio shops in Seoul, a sign of growing interest in Korean antiquities. Hulbert’s article on “Korean Art” in *The Korean Repository* of April 1897 virtually rounds out the 19th century literature on Korean art in Western languages. This was a modest beginning, and Griffis has written, “Our knowledge of Korean art history in many of its aspects is a phenomenon of our own century. Koryŏ celadon, for example, was almost completely unknown until shortly

8. *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, XXV, p. 224-9, 1882. He also noted in his *Corea The Hermit Nation* (London, 1882), quoting Kaempfer who had been in Japan in 1692, that the Japanese imported from Pusan “a certain sort of earthen pots made in Japij and Ninke, two Tartanian provinces” which were “much esteemed by the Japanese, and bought very dear.” p.149.
10. “Supplementary to Dr. Macgowan’s ‘Notes on Recent Russian Archaic Research Adjacent to Korea and Remarks on Korean Stone Implements,’” *The Korean Repository*, August 1892.
11. Mention must be made of “Koreanische Kunst,” Humberg, 1895.
before 1910 when excavated examples first came to light in any quantity.”

As a result of growing Japanese influence in Korean internal affairs following the treaty of 1876, and her political ambitions on the mainland of Asia, Japanese scholars began to take an intensive interest in Korean artifacts and culture. Japanese writers on this period have indicated several motivations behind the rise of interest in this activity. Without trying to judge the extent to which each played a role, it may be said that pure scholarship played an important part, as did the exploration of Korea for future military purposes. In addition, Japanese scholars following the reinstitution of the importance of the Emperor in Japan beginning with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, may have explored Korea in the hope of substantiating the myth of Japanese imperial domination, at least in the cultural field, over Korea in earlier periods. Some were intent upon showing that Japanese culture dominated Korean society, and they interpreted whatever archeological evidence they could gather to prove this point. Since it had been known that an early connection existed between the Paekche court and Japan at the same period, special attention was given to proving the domination of Japan over the Korean peninsula at this time. Attention was also increased just prior to the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, and the surveys of Korea conducted then may have contributed to Japanese preparedness for the war. Thus, it may be said that Japanese, with mixed motivation, made substantial contributions to knowledge of Korean archeology, while at the same time serving their own chauvinistic interests.

The continuous and serious scholarly interest of Japan

in Korea began when Dr. Sekino Tatashi came to Korea in 1902 at the invitation of a Japanese adviser to the Korean government to make a study of Korean antiquities. He examined mainly wooden construction, but also studied various stone monuments such as pagodas and Buddhist statuary. His book 13 was the first study on the subject. In 1906, Dr. Imanishi surveyed alone the area of Kyŏngju, Kaesŏng, and Seoul and published a report on his observations. He was followed in 1909 by Arai Kentaro, a Japanese adviser to the Korean government, who became aware of the drain of material culture from Korea abroad and requested Drs. Sekino, Yatsui, and Kuriyama to come to Korea to study the situation. With Dr. Imanishi, they conducted joint research and made a survey of architecture, graves, fortifications, and temple sites. Research continued after the period of the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 and was encouraged by the Government General and Governor-General Terauchi until 1915, when these reports were published in four volumes. Among the most important efforts by the Japanese was the discovery of the Kimhae shellmound by Dr. Imanishi. This was excavated by Dr. Torii, who also excavated the shellmound in Unggi in Hamgyŏng Pukdo. Among the most important early efforts by the Japanese was research on the Han Dynasty colony at Lolang (Nungnung) about the same time, including excavation of the Taedonggang Myŏn earthen fortress by Yatsui. This was first thought to have been a Koguryŏ site, but was later found to be of Chinese origin. In 1913, a stone stele was discovered which definitely established this area as a colonial outpost of the Chinese Han Dynasty. The various Koguryŏ wall paintings were also discovered at this period.

Korea offered the Japanese scholar an opportunity for research which was comparatively unlimited compared to the situation in Japan itself. It was illegal, almost sacrilegious, in Japan to excavate any royal tomb, and thus archeologists and other scholars had to be content with the accidental finds which were unearthed in the course of building, road construction, etc. There was no central authority in Japan which could sanction and control other types of excavations, and the result was that well-known Japanese scholars could be encouraged to come to Korea under official Japanese government auspices to engage in work at government expense when the same privilege was denied them in their own home. No private excavations were permitted in Korea.

Yet, the founding of the first museum in Korea was not a result of the Government General's policy, but occurred prior to the annexation and for political rather than academic motives.

THE PRINCE YI HOUSEHOLD MUSEUM

The first museum established in Korea was not the Government General Museum, but the Prince Yi Household Museum which was contemplated during the period of the Japanese protectorate (1905-1910), prior to the Japanese annexation in 1910.

The Prince Yi Household Museum was established in 1909 as a result of the activities of Mr. Komiya, Vice Steward of the Prince Yi Household. According to the Yi Household Museum Collection Album, in the winter of 1907 the Emperor of Korea announced his intention to move from Tōksu Palace to Changdok Palace.

"On November 4 (1907) Count (then Mr.) Yi Wan-yong, Prime Minister, and Baron (then Mr.) Yi Yung-yong,
Minister of the Household, paid a visit to the palace as the work (repair) was in progress. On that occasion the two gentlemen asked me to provide something interesting in the new palace for the amusement of His Majesty so that he might find a new pleasure in life.”

For this purpose a zoological garden, botanical garden, and museum were contemplated. In 1908, a bureau was created to take charge of the work. Mr. K. Suyematsu and Mr. S. Shiro Koriyama began purchasing collections of art in 1909. The museum was opened to the public on December 25, 1912 (after complete annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910) “partly with the idea of sharing his pleasure with the general public and partly with the object of contributing to the advancement of the knowledge of the public...” The original collection contained 12,230 objects.

Clearly the motivation for the formation of the first museum was, at this stage, neither academic nor artistic. The desire was to placate a monarch under the influence of another power and provide him with a variety of diversions, which later were shared with the public after Japan took over complete control, when the feelings of the Korean king no longer had to be considered.

THE GOVERNMENT GENERAL MUSEUM

The actual formation of the Government General Museum came about as a result of the Exposition of 1915 celebrating the 5th anniversary of the Japanese annexation of Korea. The exposition was largely industrial, but because

14. Yi Household Museum Collection Album, Vol. 1, Taisho 1 (1911). It should be noted that Yi Wan-yong is considered the arch-traitor of modern Korean history and is credited with the sell-out of Korea to Japan during this period.
of the interest of Governor General Terauchi it had a
cultural side as well. A two-story Western stone building
was built to be used as the basis of the exposition, and this
building later became the Government General Museum
and is presently the Office of the Bureau of Cultural Prop-
eries in Kyōngbok Palace. The exposition was largely
successful, through the personal efforts of Governor-General
Terauchi, who purchased privately the Ayugai collection
of calligraphy, paintings, and ceramics and Miyake’s mirror
collection, both of which formed an important part of the
exposition. Governor Terauchi also arranged with Count
Tanaka for return to Korea from Tokyo of the Koryō
pagoda which now stands in Seoul in front of the Bureau
of Cultural Properties in Kyōngbok Palace. It is clear that
Korea had already attracted the attention of the wealthy
Japanese aesthetes, who had formed important collections
of Korean art and artifacts.

In December, 1915, the Chosun Government General
Museum was inaugurated, using both the newly constructed
museum and a section of the old Kyōngbok Palace. It was
not an independent entity, but was a small section of the
Department of Education.

The organization of the Government Museum was un-
usual and worthy of note. It was the center of art conscious-
ness in Korea, and had the functions of excavation of items
of material culture and their display. It also bore responsibility
for the maintenance, preservation, and restoration of Korean
arts and monuments. In addition to a small staff of Japanese
in Korea, it could draw upon the resources of the best in
the Japanese academic community, and continuously scholars
from Tokyo Imperial and Kyoto Imperial Universities were
invited to Korea by the Government General to conduct
excavations, in cooperation with the staff of the Government
General Museum. The reports on these excavations were later published by the Government General Museum (see Appendix I). For the period of the Japanese occupation, the regular budget of the Museum was supplemented by additional funds allocated by the government for research and publication.

Museums worldwide seem to have been plagued by common bureaucratic problems. It was relatively easy to obtain allocations from the government for spectacular excavations yielding items of such obvious importance as gold crowns. It proved more difficult to receive funds for more basic work such as that on prehistory. To enhance general interest in the work of the Museum, a series of seventeen publications on Museum Exhibits (see Appendix I) were produced of a popular nature, as much to create internal government interest, and thus a larger budget, as to bring the materials to the notice of the public.

In June, 1916, a regulation was promulgated on ancient remains and relics which was designed to prevent private and illegal excavations. Archeological research was only to be undertaken with the permission of the Government General; but some illegal digging did occur. It also became illegal to ship important art objects from Korea to Japan, although theoretically Korea was an integral part of Japan.

Many Japanese scholars have agreed that archeology in Korea was far more developed and more rationally organized than archeology in Japan itself.15 It was only in 1930 that in Japan the Tokyo Imperial Museum began formal excavations which heretofore had been done in a haphazard manner by private groups. The reports of the Government

General Museum were a standard and model at which the Japanese themselves could look with envy. Korean preservation of cultural remains as well as excavations and publication and display were done by a single group which gave a unified approach to the problem of archeology in Korea. With less than ten personnel and with very limited funds, they were able to achieve a remarkable degree of progress, which far outdistanced similar groups in China and Japan at the same period.

In 1926, a branch museum was established at Kyŏngju on the same site as the present museum, and in 1939 another branch museum was opened at Puyŏ. Both P’yŏngyang and Kaesong had municipal museums not under the control of the Government General Museum, but most exhibits were loaned by the Chosun Government General Museum at Seoul.

How may the thirty-six years of Japanese occupation be summarized in the field of art history and museography? It is a complex subject and one which will evoke varied response and opinions. It was a mixed heritage. There is no doubt that the Japanese severely curtailed the growth of trained Korean staff in the field of museology or archeology. There were no Koreans in positions of authority on the Museum staff. None were trained for eventual assumption of such positions. Even the best qualified Japanese scholars in Korean antiquities were all located in Japan, not Korea, with the sole exception of Dr. Arimitsu Kyoichi, who was head of the Museum from 1940 to 1945. Even in the private sector, this was true. There was a Committee for the Preservation of Arts and Monuments, an advisory body the

16. Except for Dr. Kim Che-won, trained in Germany and Belgium, all other Koreans who had advanced study abroad in the field were trained after the war. Dr. Kim did not study abroad under Japanese auspices.
function of which was to determine which monuments should be preserved. This was essentially a Japanese committee, with the exception of a few Koreans such as Choe Nam-son and Kim Yong-jin.

The Government General never developed adequate facilities for restoration and preservation of Korean art. There were no chemical laboratories for analysis of finds, and no modern facilities for restoration and repair. The physical facilities were in large part neglected in favor of excavations, especially those of a spectacular nature.

There was no overall planned development of the archeological resources of Korea after the initial period of pronounced success and important discoveries. One small five-year development program was promulgated by Governor-General Terauchi, but it was never put into effect and was not followed by any other plans.

But in spite of these problems, the achievements of the Japanese period were many and varied. For the first time modern scientific archeological methods were introduced into Korea, and indeed were a standard of excellence for much of East Asia. This heritage is still felt today.

The important Japanese discoveries in Korea have had an effect not only internally in Korea, where they have contributed to an improved understanding of Korean history, but they also have furthered our knowledge of East Asia and the transmission of culture throughout the region.

The discovery of the remains of the Han Colony of Lolang, near present day P’yŏngyang, was a major event in East Asian art history, for it produced the oldest examples of the Chinese lacquer process and painting. The unearthing of the Koguryŏ frescos was another major step forward in comparative art history of the region. The full excavation of a variety of royal Korean tombs and the development
of the understanding of the artistic importance of Silla and its relationship to the art of T’ang China and to Japan have given scholars a wealth of material from which to study cultural diffusion in East Asia.

The importance of all of these studies for an accurate understanding of Korean history is inestimable. The earliest extant Korean histories, the *Sam Guk Sa Gi* and the *Sam Guk Yu Sa*, both early Koryō works of the 11th-12th centuries, have been enhanced by the findings of Japanese excavations.

Yet excavations alone have not been the only contribution. In the history of Korean art, perhaps no single monument is as important as that of Sŏkkul-am Cave. If no other artistic monument remained from the Silla period, it has been said that this alone would suffice to convince the world of the importance of Korean art. Yet this monument was unknown to the Korean authorities, and was “discovered” by a Japanese postmaster who heard that villagers were worshipping a Buddha figure in a cave on the mountain.

In the first ten years of Japanese influence, much that became known of Korean history came to light. They concentrated their attention on the past capital areas of Korea—Kyŏngju, Kongju, Puyŏ, Kaesong, P’yŏngyang, and Seoul—and much of what we know today is based upon their findings. While interpretations may change and become more sophisticated, the basic contribution of the Japanese remains. They have provided material evidence of the brilliance of the achievements of Korean art which theretofore existed only in unverifiable books. Their motivations may have been a mixture of the political, the military, and the academic, but the achievements remain and are a credit to Korea today.
AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT: 1945—1948

With the formal surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, began a new era in Korean history, and with it a new phase of development of museums in this country.

There is no doubt that the U.S. was ill-prepared for the occupation of Korea. Trained personnel among the American military or State Department on any aspect of Korean studies were almost totally lacking. The problem of Korea and its future seemed to occupy a relatively low priority among the multitude of problems facing the American military at the close of World War II. American forces were not even air-lifted into Korea until September 7, 1945, three weeks after the end of hostilities, and their retention of many Japanese in key positions (for they did not know the Korean situation) caused considerable animosity and resentment.

Prior to their arrival and following the Japanese surrender, Dr. Kim Che-won, the present Director of the National Museum, went to Kyŏngju in his private capacity, for indeed there was no institution to which he could be attached, and there he organized transfer of the Kyŏngju Museum from Mr. Osaka Kintaro, the Director, to Mr. Choe Sun-bong, a clerk of the Kyŏngju-gu (county). In a sense, this transfer may be considered illegal, for he could not act on behalf of any Korean or American institution, since neither had been formally established at that time. Uppermost in his mind was the desire, rooted in nationalistic aspirations, to establish the autonomy of Korea's cultural heritage at the earliest possible time.

On September 26, 1945, Dr. Kim Che-won was appointed Director of the National Museum, a position he still
holds today. His function was to eliminate “Japanese color” from the museum display. Following a period of intense activity, both by the Korean staff and by the American military authorities, on November 19, 1945, Captain Eugene I. Knezevich arrived in Korea, where he became officer in charge of the Culture and Arts Section of the American Military Government.

The job of opening the National Museum to the public was of first priority. Captain Knezevich wrote, “Since the National Museum is located in a palace grounds, I must now concentrate upon reconditioning the entire area, if possible, with my limited resources... The National Museum in Seoul has two main buildings, one for Korean artifacts and the other for a Turkestan collection. Another building exists on the same palace grounds, which is modern and was previously used for art shows. It has been converted into quarters for American troops. If I can arrange to move the troops elsewhere—they are not too happy with their accommodations—I may be able to restore the structure for cultural use...”

On December 3 the Museum opened with considerable ceremony. The following press release was issued by the Office of Public Information, Military Government, on this occasion.

“Closed since the war began, the Korean National Museum, on the Kyung Pok Palace grounds, in Seoul, Korea, was formally reopened today in brief ceremonies attended by Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge, commander of U.S. Forces in Korea, Maj. Gen. A.V. Arnold, Military Governor of Korea, Brig. Gen. J. R. Schetz, Provost Marshall General, and Dr. Che Won Kim, present Director of the National

Museum, and other leaders of Korean cultural life. The Museum will be officially opened to the general public tomorrow.

"The Museum, first opened on December 1, 1915, consists of the main gallery, located at Seoul, and two branches, one in Kyung-choo, the other in Pooyu. During the war, some of the articles were packed and stored in the museum buildings in preparation for removal if necessary, and most of the precious articles and some of the important documents were removed from the main gallery to the branch museums for safekeeping.

"Shortly after the surrender of Japanese forces in Korea, a Department of Arts & Religion was formed, under the Bureau of Education of Military Government. Headed by Lt. P.C. Mitchell, an instructor in Education at Columbia University before the war, the department set to work.

"First, qualified personnel, skilled in handling the varied exhibits of the Museum, had to be found—during the war years the Museum's staff had largely disappeared. Then began the tedious and painstaking work of moving, unpacking, and displaying the exhibits. Under the direction of Capt. Eugene I. Knezevich, former anthropologist of the University of New Mexico and the U.S. Park Service, more than 15,000 articles were readied for the formal opening.

"Dr. Che Won Kim, present Director of the National Museum, was graduated from the University of Munich in 1934, where he received his doctor of philosophy degree in Archaeology. He was an assistant in the archaeological department at the University of Ghent, Belgium from 1934 to 1940, before his return to Seoul, where he has served in various colleges and institutions until the present time.

"During the 35 years of Japanese occupation, according to Dr. Kim, there was no clear distinction between Korean
and Japanese culture. The Japanese minimized and discouraged or suppressed Korean culture, and emphasized those arts which stressed Japanese culture. In the present exhibit, there are many interesting articles of Korean culture, including porcelains, antiques, and wall paintings of several dynasties dating as far back as the Third Century A.D. A copy of the Kumlyun-tzong crown was displayed. The original crown, now in the Kyung-choo branch museum, was found in the vicinity of Kyung-choo in 1926, and dates back to the Old Silla Period, 6th & 7th Century A.D. The Crown Prince of Sweden, an amateur archaeologist, was present at the unearthing of the crown. Also on display is the Suchung-Chun collection, which shows the inter-change of ideas and concepts of the East and West. The figures and paintings of this collection were made by Buddhist worshippers and were collected from the Chinese Turkestan by Count K. Otani.

"A possession of the National Museum of great interest is the Divine bell, also called the Mother bell. The story associated with this bell dates back to King Hyokong, in the 8th Century, 36th King of the Silla Dynasty. King Hyokong, deciding to have a large bell cast which would be a symbol of Korea, called in a bell caster and gave his instructions as to how the bell should be made. The first bell made by the bell caster was not satisfactory because it did not possess a clear tone. About this time, the bell caster heard that if a young girl were part of the bronze used in casting the bell, it would have a true ring. So, he took his young daughter, threw her into the molten bronze, and cast a second bell. The tone of the second bell is said to resemble a Korean dialect word equivalent to 'mother' which is supposed to be the last word spoken by the young daughter as she was thrown into the molten bronze."
The National Museum became for the first time an independent organization, although it operated through the Arts and Religions Section of the Ministry of Education under the direction of Mr. Choe Seung-man. All museums in Korea were established under a single directorship, and the third provincial branch of the National Museum was opened at Kongju, Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo, on December 10, 1945, with Yu Si-jong as its Director. The Kaesong Municipal Museum also became the fourth of provincial branches (the two original branches were at Kyŏngju and Puyŏ), but its existence was shortlived due to the Korean War, as after the armistice in 1953 it fell within the borders of North Korea.

It is clear that the American Military Government demonstrated considerable interest in and desire to help Korea preserve Korean cultural remains. The Civil Information and Education Section of the General Headquarters of the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers requested Major Laurence Sickman19 of the Arts and Monuments Division to visit Korea from December 20 to 23, 1945, and his report, dated December 29, covers a wide variety of comments on the cultural remains in Korea and points out many of the problems facing the National Museum during this period. In his report Major Sickman notes:

"There are no Koreans associated with the Korean Bureau of Arts and Religion or with any of the Seoul museums who have training or experience in museum work. The undersigned was unable to learn whether or not this


19. Dr. Sickman is presently Director of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.
was also the case with provincial and branch museums. Apparently there are few if any Koreans who were trained by the Japanese to occupy key positions in museums and in field archeology."20

Major Sickman's comments on the National Museum are worthy of quotation:

"The National Museum occupies a large, modern and fireproof building in the vicinity of the Korean Capitol building. A portion of the collection has recently been taken from storage and placed on exhibition and the museum opened to the public. The material now exhibited includes early Buddhist bronzes and tiles, Korean pottery and important archeological finds of bronze and ceramics. Reproductions of the celebrated gold crowns and related objects are also shown. The originals of these gold objects are alleged to be in Japan. The material is well displayed in good cases and the labels are in both Korean and in English. The exhibitions are well protected and the building is clean and well maintained.

"Only about one-fifth21 of the collection owned by the museum is now on display. That part not shown is stored in a series of native style wooden buildings forming part of the complex surrounding the former royal throne hall, which is adjacent to the National Museum. The material so stored appears to be somewhat in a state of confusion with objects, packing cases and exhibition cases scattered about in a disorderly manner. All these store-rooms are locked, however, and there are numerous signs stating that the buildings are off limits to allied personnel. The entire compound is also guarded. One of the store-rooms had been

21. Actually about one-fiftieth.
broken into some six weeks ago and an undetermined number of objects taken from a collection of Korean folk-art (see below sub-para (7), (c)). Eventually these present store-rooms can be converted into exhibition halls, and in the meanwhile the material is apparently as safe there as it would be in any other facilities that could be provided. The keys of the store-rooms are in the keeping of the Director of the National Museum. It might be advisable as an added precaution for the doors of the store-rooms to be officially sealed until such time when it will be possible to make an inventory check against existing catalogues.

"The catalogue of the National Museum was not checked by the undersigned, but Capt. Knezevich stated that he had seen the catalogue which the Japanese had left and that it appeared to him to be quite thorough and complete. All the important items in the collection have been photographed and the negatives are on file at the National Museum office."\(^{22}\)

In addition to the National Museum, there was the Prince Yi Household Museum which at that time remained unopened. Maj. Sickman summarized the status of that Museum as follows:

"The Prince Li Household Museum is a modern, fire-proof structure situated in a large walled garden which also contains a foreign style palace, and a number of native style wooden buildings. The collection of the Household Museum contains the best medieval Korean pottery extant, the best Korean Buddhist bronzes of the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, together with excellent Korean and Chinese paintings and Korean furniture collected by the last ruling house. The collection is of very high intrinsic value and of the greatest importance in illustrating Korean cultural his-

\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 3—4.
tory. The museum is at present closed and the collections are stored. A superficial inspection was made of the store-rooms which are located in the basement of the building. The material appeared to be well protected with the most valuable items, such as the early Buddhist bronzes, kept in a special vault. Most of the pottery is arranged on the floors of the rooms where it is safe so long as the storage is not entered by unauthorized persons or those untrained in handling museum material.

"The galleries of the Museum are well supplied with glass cases.

"The status of the Prince Li Household Museum, the other buildings, and the gardens of the compound is not clear to the undersigned. At the present, the compound and buildings are administered by the Property Custodian Section, Secretariat, Office of Military Governor. The Education Section of Military Government has made application for the custody of the museum but as of 22 December action on this application was still pending.

"It was learned from a number of sources that requests have been made to the Property Custodian for this property to be turned over to agencies other than the Educational Section for use as offices and/or administration headquarters. Due to the acute shortage of office space in Seoul, the excellent condition of the buildings, and the central location of the compound, it is understandable that it should be in demand for other than museum purposes. One of the applicants is alleged to be the Korean Provisional Government headed by Kim Koo."

The Prince Yi Household Museum, which had been closed during the war years, was reopened to the public on March 1, 1946.

23. Ibid., p. 5.
There existed in Seoul at this time a Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology, which had been founded in 1945. Major Sickman notes its status as follows:

"There has not previously been in Seoul a museum devoted to ethnology and anthropology although there are several independent collections in the city. This museum is a new development sponsored by the city Arts and Religion Division. A building has already been secured from the Property Custodian. This is a large, foreign style house formerly belonging to a Japanese national and seems well suited to the new purpose. The museum is under the direction of Mr. Song Suk Ha who has himself made some collections of Korean ethnological material.

"At present there is almost no material in the museum, but plans are underway to collect objects from the following sources:

(a) Material of ethnological and anthropological importance found in property of Japanese nationals which has been seized by the Property Custodian. One such collection of Korean pipes has been found and is destined for the museum.

(b) Selected material from the collection of Po Song College.24 This collection was visited and found to contain a considerable amount of good Korean pottery and a large collection of costumes, furniture, various kinds of implements, and folk art.

(c) The collection of the former Korean Folk Art Museum, previously housed in a detached building in the Old Palace compound.

"This collection was originally formed by Mr. S. Yanagi, a Japanese national. During the war it was removed.

24. Now Korea University.
from exhibition and stored in a warehouse under the care of a Japanese named Asakawa. When the undersigned inquired about the collection from the Arts and Religion Division, Capt. Knezevich had no knowledge of it, nor had the Property Custodian any information about it. On asking Dr. Kim of the National Museum about the collection, it was found that Dr. Kim or his associates had taken possession of it and had the material moved from the warehouse to some of the store-rooms of the National Museum. Neither the Property Custodian nor the Education Section of Military Government had been notified of this action. Dr. Kim expressed the belief that some of the objects from the collection had been sold by Mr. Asakawa previous to its being taken over by the museum; however, he had no inventory or catalogue of the original collection and no concrete evidence to substantiate his belief.

"It is contemplated that this entire collection will be moved to the new museum of ethnology.

"The store-rooms housing the collection of folk-art were visited by the undersigned in the company of Capt Knezevich and Mr. Arimitsu. The material was found to be in a state of disorder with numerous small objects scattered about the floors and all manner of material strewn about in a confused way. It was learned from Dr. Kim that this room had been broken into, allegedly by souvenir hunters, and an undetermined number of small objects taken and others scattered about as we saw them. This is the only instance of looting that came to the attention of the undersigned.

"Principally because this collection is so poorly housed, it is felt that it should be moved to the Museum of Ethnology as soon as practicable."25

While throughout Korea an intense effort was made by

25. Ibid., p. 6—7.
the American military authorities, following considerable hesitation on their part in the initial stages of occupation, to eliminate Japanese personnel from positions of authority, an exception was made in the case of Mr. Arimitsu Kyoichi, former head of the Government General Museum, who remained in an advisory capacity to the Museum until the end of May, 1946, to provide continuity for the program. Dr. Arimitsu had been trained in archeology in Kyoto University. According to Major Sickman:

"Dr. Arimitsu is a Japanese national who has had considerable experience in practical archeological work in Korea. He has no compromising connections with undesirable political or military groups and is much admired by his Korean associates. The Education Section of Military Government has recommended that he be retained in view of the fact that there are no Koreans with technical training in the field of archeology. In the opinion of the undersigned, Mr. Arimitsu is a sound scholar whose experience can be of the greatest value during this transition period. He should certainly be retained in accordance with policy as established in SWNCC 176/8."

With Dr. Arimitsu in residence, Dr. Kim began to hire several Korean specialists, several of whom have become eminent in later years as specialists on aspects of Korean history. They include Mr. Lee Hong-jik, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, who is presently Director of Korea University Museum; Dr. Kim Won-yong, a graduate of Keijo Imperial University and presently professor of archeology at Seoul National University; Dr. Hwang Soo-yong, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University and presently professor at Tongguk University; Mr. Min Chung-shik, a Waseda University graduate who died after being jailed

26. Ibid., p. 3.
following the Korean War for suspicion of leftist activities; and Miss Yoo Mo-yul, a graduate of Ewha Womans University. Later in 1947 Mr. Choi Sun-woo was added.

During the period from Independence to the Korean War, the Museum continued to occupy the previous Japanese structure and, in addition, took over a large section of Kyŏngbok Palace, including the Throne Room, Kyonghoe Ru or Banquet Hall, Sa Jong Jon, the Man Ch’un Jon, which was destroyed during the Korean War, and Ch’un Ch’u Jon, which still stands. As of November 21, 1946, a report of the National Museum indicated that a total of 46,882 objects were catalogued in their collection.27

The criteria for this classification is not now known, and it is difficult to determine how many of these items were of national importance. Continuing concern was expressed by the American military authorities for the growth of administrative control over and management of cultural objects, as well as for their preservation. A series of advisers was sent to Korea by the military with a view to improving the standards of such control.

In a report on his Survey of the Korean scene, Mr. Damon Giffard, Chief, Bureau of Culture, reported on the status of such activities. A Society for the Preservation of National Treasures, Historical Relics and Sites was formed which was private in nature and the function of which was, as its name states, to work towards the adoption of an overall policy on cultural objects. It was an advisory

27. These items included the following: metal and Buddhist statues, 12,151; jade and stone, 6,841; ceramics, 15,109; horn, bone, shell, 853; wood, bamboo, lacquer, 974; leather, paper, textile, 151; painting, rubbings, 4,904; weapons, 803; inkstands, etc. 5,956.

There is a discrepancy between this figure and that given in the Status Report on the Korean National Museum (國立博物館現況) of 1961, which lists 44,322 items in the collection before Liberation, to which were added 3,263 items handed over to Korea by the Japanese following Liberation.
committee to the Ministry of Education. It was also planned to establish a separate branch of the Department of Culture dealing with the preservation of national treasures, to be headed by an American with Korean assistants. This, however, was never done, perhaps for political reasons, as it might have provided propaganda material for north Korea. Mr. Giffard also noted that municipal museums were being formed in Pusan and Taegu, using principally confiscated Japanese material. However, the Pusan Museum never opened, and the Taegu Museum operated for two or three years under city management. It was closed during the war and the collection was given to Kyŏngbuk National University with which it was incorporated.

Miss Helen Chapin was also assigned to Korea in charge of the Arts and Monuments Division of the Civil Information and Education Section to compile a comprehensive list of national treasures, including their description, location, and condition.

From the fall of 1946 until the summer of 1948, Dr. Sherman E. Lee was adviser on collections in the Civil Information and Education Section of General Headquarters, S.C.A.P. and soon after undertaking this arrangement, he was requested by Mr. Giffard to visit Seoul. Dr. Lee writes:

“The circumstances in Seoul were rather grim since the American army was using the Doksu Palace for operations and the coming and going of trucks and personnel was causing considerable havoc with many of the stone monu-

28. At a later date its function was taken over by the Bureau of Cultural Properties of the Ministry of Education.
29. “Preliminary Notes on Status of Arts and Monuments, Korea,” a memorandum dated 27 June 1946, from Damon Giffard, Chief, Bureau of Culture, Department of Education, HQ, USAMGIK, Seoul, to the Chief, Arts and Monuments Division, C.I. & E.
30. Presently Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art.
ments on the grounds of that palace. There was also no money available for the National Museum, and Dr. Kim Che-won was very much in need of advice and aid as to the administrative procedures required to effectively reactivate the National Museum. 31

In order to demonstrate the competence of the staff and to develop a program for the National Museum, the first excavations by the new National Museum were proposed. However, there was considerable opposition to this plan from American Military authorities as they feared an adverse reaction to having Dr. Arimitsu, who had been retained in Seoul, function as an adviser on the excavations. It was feared that this would be used by the north Korean authorities as propaganda against the United States. Captain Knezevich explained that since all Japanese had been removed from responsible museum positions, efforts must be made to train Korean staff in field work. Captain Knezevich was backed by Professor Langdon Warner who was in Seoul, and approval was given. 32

Excavations were begun in May, 1946, of the Ho-U and the Silver Bell Tombs, both of the Silla period. The results were published in the same year as the first publication of the now independent National Museum of Korea. 33

With the development of an independent program for the Museum came interest by foreign organizations in the Museum and the provision of trained personnel to run it. In 1947, Dr. Kim Che-won and Dr. Kim Won-yong visited the U.S. for one year under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation. The purpose of their tour was to study museum management, and both were impressed by the educational activities and community services provided by American

31. Personal communication from Dr. Lee to the author.
32. Personal communication from Dr. Knezevich to the author.
33. See Appendix II.
museums. This was a marked distinction to the previous work of the Korean museum, which had been a center of scholarly research, but of little educational service to the public; this was also true in general of European museums at that period.

Upon the return of Dr. Kim Che-won (Dr. Kim Won-yong returned to the United States later to receive his Ph. D. in Art History at New York University), the main gallery of the National Museum was opened, as was the unique collection of Turkestan wall paintings which were of international importance to the study of Asian art. A similar collection which had been in the Berlin Museum had been destroyed during the Second World War. However, after a short period of display, the SCAP Tokyo recommended that these paintings be repacked and put away because there still had not developed in Korea an understanding or interest in other Asian art of this type, and because of this the collection was feared to be damaged.

THE KOREAN WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

With the inauguration of the Republic of Korea in 1948, control of the Museum passed into the hands of the Korean Government. The Museum was still inadequately staffed by scholars who had to seek other employment in order to live because of the low salary scales at that time. However, a clear indication had been given by the new government of the importance they attached to cultural history and the Museum as the focus of that interest.

When the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, it came as a shock not only to the world at large, but also to the members of the National Museum staff, who had no time to consider the preservation of Korea’s national treasures as Seoul fell to the Communists three days after the start
of the war. There was little damage to any of the museums in Seoul or the provinces during the whole war, a rather amazing combination of fortuitous circumstances. Dr. Kim at this time thought that since the Museum was obviously non-political in character, there was little to fear; but it became evident as soon as the Communists entered the city that there had been a secret communist agent on the staff of the Museum, as well as a communist agitator. The north Korean flag was raised over the Museum, and a self-government committee of the Museum was formed at the insistence of the communist military. After three days of occupation, a representative of the north Korean Committee on Research and Preservation of Material Culture from P'yŏngyang demanded Dr. Kim Che-won transfer all authority to him. This was done; after which Dr. Kim went into hiding. Only a few close associates knew of his whereabouts.

Until September 28th, 1950, when Seoul was retaken by UN forces after the landing at Inchŏn, the Museum was not open. The staff members of the Museum had to spend all their time engaging in the usual communist seminars, discussion groups, and self-confessions, as well as working manually in the Museum garden and in transferring to the National Museum private collections of Korean art from the town.

After the first two months of the war, the Communists became less sanguine about the stability of their victory, and thought was given to the danger of reoccupation of Seoul by UN forces. So it was decided to start to pack all the holdings of the National Museum, as well as the Yi Household Museum. Efforts were also made by communist authorities to pack the Chon Hyong-pil collection of art, the finest private collection of Korean cultural objects then in existence, and five or six persons were sent there to gather it
together. By a series of delaying tactics through slow packing and repacking and remaking of inventory lists, searching for wooden boxes, and when boxes did not exist for wood and then for carpenters, as well as lack of motor transport, the staff succeeded in preventing the shipment of these treasures to north Korea. After the UN forces landed in Inchón and the fight for Seoul was in progress, Koreans were not allowed to listen to the UN Command radio stations, and as a result the lower echelon communist staff, as well as the noncommunist Koreans, had little idea that liberation was so close. The communist functionaries realized too late that the liberation of Seoul was at hand, and they fled, leaving behind in packed cases the contents of the National Museum, the Yi Household Museum, and the Chon Hyong-pil collection.

On September 28, Dr. Kim Che-won returned to the building, which had been badly damaged by the American bombing of Seoul and communist looting which took place just prior to their precipitous departure. The collection was intact. But the Museum and its collection were not yet safe.

In early December, Dr. Kim Che-won had heard from an American lieutenant and the German wife of a Korean doctor who had been kidnapped by the Communists of the danger of the reoccupation of Seoul by communist forces. It had been obvious from the previous communist attempt to pack the Museum collection that if they occupied Seoul once again, this would receive priority attention. With the cooperation of Dr. Eugene Knez,34 presently Associate Curator of the Smithsonian Institution, then an officer of USIS, Dr. Kim arranged transportation in a railway boxcar of his family to Pusan, and he went to see Dr. George Paik, who

34. This is the same person as Capt. Eugene Knezevich of AMG, mentioned earlier, who had shortened his name.
then was the Minister of Education, to discuss the possibility of evacuation of museum materials to that city. Had it become public knowledge that the National Museum treasures were being forwarded to Pusan, it would have caused panic in Seoul, and Dr. Paik upon the order of President Syngman Rhee authorized only in English the removal of materials to Pusan, rather than using Korean, which would have made the move public knowledge within the Ministry. Dr. Knez also arranged transportation of the museum objects without the knowledge of the American Embassy "for fear that their views might well reflect the political and military directives of maintaining the UN status quo in Seoul, and that Embassy personnel should do nothing which could be interpreted by the press as an evacuation..."

Since the Communists had already packed all museum materials, it was relatively easy to move them after dark to the truck arranged by Dr. Knez. They were placed in a boxcar at the Seoul Railway Station and together with families of some of the museum staff, a total of 16 people, on December 4 and 5 left Seoul for the four-day railway trip to Pusan to safeguard the Korean national treasures. During the trip Dr. Knez succeeded in telephoning the UN military authorities along the way to ensure that the boxcar was not left on a railway siding indefinitely, since all priority was given to shipment of supplies and materials north, rather than to goods southward to Pusan. About 20,000 items of cultural value were relocated from the National Museum and the Tōksu Palace (Yi Household) Museum.

Upon arrival in Pusan, the materials were first moved to the storage space of the USIS Center there, and then to the Pusan Alien Property Custodian Center. However, left behind in Seoul was the all-important Turkestan collections which, because the frescos had been painted on mud walls,
were considered too fragile to move at that time.

The north Koreans re-entered Seoul on January 4 and occupied the city for a short period. After that time and until March, when the danger of communist re-entry seemed to have passed, considerable thought was given to moving the whole collection to Honolulu, Hawaii, for safe-keeping. The Honolulu Academy of Arts, through the efforts of its Director, Mr. Robert Griffing, had agreed to take the collection on a temporary basis, but the American Embassy was much against this move, because it seemed to indicate a lack of confidence in the Republic of Korea government and its ability to continue to exist, as well as because this move might be interpreted as an effort to steal the material culture of another nation, and thus might be the subject of a north Korean propaganda barrage.

From 1951 to 1953 the Museum remained in Pusan. The office and materials were located in the warehouse, and nothing could be displayed due to the war-time conditions in the area. The Museum did once sponsor an exhibition of contemporary Korean paintings, but the basic work of the Museum could be furthered very little, except for cataloguing and repacking of these items.

Dr. Kim Che-won’s staff came back to Seoul on March 29, 1951, to take down to Pusan the remaining objects in the Museum, for it was thought that there was still danger of a communist return to Seoul. The most important collection was the Turkestan Wall Paintings. They had been left in the main gallery of Kyŏngbok Palace. Choi Sun-woo and Lee Kyu-pil, the Director of the Tōksu Museum, without authorization flew to Seoul on a U.S. plane.

Choi Sun-woo and Lee Kyu-pil arrived at the main gallery and saw that nothing had happened to the collection. In the first four galleries there were many boxes already
crated with labels on them indicating that their destination was P'yo'ngyang in care of the Committee on Preservation and Research on Material Culture. They contained the private collections of the Seoul area. Dr. Kim had received funds from the Rockefeller Foundation which were to be used for museum work, and these he gave to Mr. Choi because an emergency was expected in Seoul at any time, and the Museum did not have its own transportation. It might have been necessary, therefore, to use these funds to pay the costs of moving the materials south. First priority was given to pack the Turkestan Wall Paintings.

There was no help in the Museum except for one old museum guard too old to be worried about the danger to his life by north Korean agents. Packing materials were lacking, but papers were found in the palace left by north Koreans, and the intense packing effort alone took four more weeks.

As the north Koreans moved south again in an attempt to retake Seoul, Pusan was notified, and Dr. Kim Che-won was allotted one large boxcar from the U.S. Army at Seoul Station. A Colonel Munske, Commander of the Rear-Area Units, gave three trucks to move the collection to the railway station. One truck was also used for the materials from the Yi Household Museum. The materials were shipped to Pusan and later transported north and placed in the warehouse facilities of the Kyŏngju branch museum in that city, where they remain to date.35

In April Dr. Kim Che-won, together with Choi Sun-woo

35. The materials still remain in their original crates in that warehouse. In 1966, Dr. Arimitsu was invited back to Korea by the National Museum under the auspices of The Asia Foundation, to inspect the collection. The frescos were found to be in good condition. The following year a Dr. Tintori, a specialist on art restoration, was invited to Korea by the Museum, with a grant from the JDR 3rd Fund, to explore possibilities for their renovation and eventual exhibition.
and Lim Hyon-chin of the Yi Household Museum, came to Seoul. It was a deserted city with an estimated population of 30,000 from a city which had been 20 times that size. On this occasion, the Library of the Museum was moved by trucks to Pusan. The north Koreans did not succeed in taking Seoul again. At that time the U.S. strongly urged moving the collection of the Museum to Japan for safekeeping, but Syngman Rhee objected both because of his hatred of Japan and because such a move would be of propaganda value to the north Korean regime.

Orders came from the U.S. Navy then to take the collection to Honolulu. The Korean Government asked for approval from the National Assembly for this move, but it finally was not necessary as the war situation changed favorably and the materials remained safe in Pusan and Kyōngju.

In Pusan, the Museum staff began working on a series of museum related activities. The first of these was a study of *Korean Vocabularies in the Fields of Arts and Archeology, Part 1, Architecture*, which was later published in 1955. On June 16, 1953, excavations were begun in Kyōngju on two Silla tombs, Numbers 137 and 138. These were completed on July 6. Dr. Kim Won-yong also did an excavation of tomb No. 133 at the end of August, 1953.

In 1953, when the government moved back from Pusan to Seoul, Syngman Rhee, who felt the importance of the Kyōngbok Palace grounds more than he did of the Museum itself, objected to bringing the Museum back to its original location. At first it was housed in the former Museum of Anthropology located on Namsan (hill) in the center of the city. This building was used only to house personnel; there was no display of resources. A second exhibition of contemporary paintings was, however, held under the auspices of the Museum, but the collection remained in Pusan until
1955. A stone building was built at Pusan for the collection. It presently houses the Pusan National University Museum.

At this time, General Lee Hyong-gun, later Ambassador to London, who was then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, wished to take over the building, but Syngman Rhee intervened to allow it to remain in its temporary location. At that time the building presently housing the Museum was burned out with only the walls remaining. After consultation with the Minister of Education, Dr. Lee Son-kun, Syngman Rhee personally inspected the building site and ordered its repair. The Museum moved to its new quarters, but funds were still lacking for display facilities.

At that time, The Asia Foundation contributed $5,000 for showcases for which no budgetary provision had been made.

THE PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION

The reopening of the National Museum signaled the beginning of a period in which the Museum attempted to reorganize itself in order that it might once again continue the research, public service, and training which had been interrupted by the Korean War. It was also a period where once again political motivations, both internal and external, played a role in its activities.

Prior to the Second World War, it might be said that perhaps of all the older nations, there had been the least public recognition of the uniqueness of Korea and her culture. Her image abroad might well be considered to be non-existent. With the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, this image became a purely negative one. Korea was equated with cold, mud, snow, poverty, and misery.

At the close of the Korean War, leadership in the Republic was concerned with beginning to erase this im-
pression of poverty exacerbated by the conflict. Korean art had also had all too little recognition outside of East Asia.

In their efforts to improve the image of Korea, tarnished by the war, an essentially international political problem, the Museum arranged for the first international exhibition of Korean art from Korean museums. These exhibitions were vital to the development of improved international cultural relations, as well as to enhance knowledge of the Korean artistic tradition and its accomplishments. The first of these exhibitions involved an extensive tour of major centers in the U.S. From December 14, 1957, until June 7, 1959 exhibitions were held in Washington, D.C., New York, Boston, Seattle, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Honolulu. A total of 163,610 people visited these exhibitions, and it did much to improve knowledge of the Korean tradition. Of importance as well was the publication which acted as a catalogue of the exhibition itself.36

Following the exhibition in the U.S., a similar exhibition of 153 important cultural objects was shown in exhibitions in Europe from March 21, 1961, until May 1962.37

The European tour included exhibitions in London under the auspices of the Arts Council at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the spring of 1961, the Hague Municipal Museum, Paris, where the materials were on display at the M usee Cernuschi, Frankfort, and the Vienna Ethnographical Museum.38 Fifteen thousand visitors visited the exhibition

37. Of these 153 items, 61 were from the National Museum, 42 from the Tōksu Palace Museum, and 23 from the Chon Hyong-pil Collection.
38. Catalogues were printed in the Hague and in Frankfort, but the major illustrated catalogues appeared in London and Paris. These were The National Art Treasures of Korea, The Arts Council, 1961, introduction by G. St. G. M. Gompertz; and Tresors d’art Coreen, with an introduction by Vadime Elisseff, Chief Conservator, Musee Cernuschi.
in London alone.

The Museum also returned to its role of research and publication. Among the outstanding work conducted during this period was the report of the excavation of the Kamunsu Temple which was published in the 1961 Report of the Museum and later republished in the Japanese Museum Museum. Dr. Kim Won-yong’s survey of Ullung Island was published in 1964 and received the Samil Cultural Award in 1965, and a preliminary report of the excavations of Mr. Choi Sun-woo of the celadon rooftiles at Kangjin, Cholla Namdo, was published in the periodical Misul Charyo, the periodical of the National Museum.

Internally, the Government of the Third Republic and its political arm, the Democratic Republican Party, has been concerned that its achievements in the economic field since 1963 be matched by progress in cultural affairs. With the promulgation of the Second Five-Year Plan in 1967 came development of a similar effort in the cultural field. This involved extensive capital building of a series of cultural centers (which originally had been proposed to be centered in one area). Plans for a national museum, art museum, theater, national library, classical music institute, and ethnographical museum were later separated and the foundations for the new National Museum were laid within the confines of Kyŏngbok Palace.

Unfortunately, planning for the museum was ill-conceived. A building was proposed which was to be traditional in feeling but with modern conveniences, and had minimal relation to modern museological needs and international architectural and aesthetic standards. The staff of the National

39. See Appendix II for complete list of publications of the Museum since Independence.
Museum had not been consulted in its planning, and in fact learned of its progress through the local press, and it lacked many essential features of a modern museum. It has furthermore been based on a misconception of the desirability for display of all museum assets. In an era when museums are becoming more specialized, the building of yet another general museum posed serious questions.

As a result of the controversy, carried extensively in the press,41 construction has stopped, and the project is being reconsidered. Plans are, however, being formulated for the construction of a new branch museum in Kyŏngju.

While the accomplishments of the Museum have been many, the problems faced by the Museum have been numerous as well. The Museum is located in grounds of Tŏksu Palace controlled by the Cultural Properties Bureau of the Ministry of Education. Access to the Museum is, therefore, controlled by an organization which is not itself responsible to the Museum. So, too, within Tŏksu Palace itself two museums operate independently of each other, yet both initially concerned with partially the same function; namely, display. These are Tŏksu Palace Museum (the former Yi Household Museum) and the National Museum. Both, while under separate management, lack essential storage facilities, trained repair-maintenance staff, and laboratories for the preservation and study of cultural objects. Integration of the museums into a unified whole would do much to alleviate overlapping in display, and it would make more feasible the developments of adequate logistic support for each Museum in carrying out its functions.

The objectives of the National Museum are themselves exemplary:

"1. The National Museum aims at laying groundwork
41. See, for example, Space Magazine (空間), No.12, October, 1967."
for development of archaeological and art study and building up collections by continuing exploration and excavation of historical relics and remains, which has been the continued aim of the Museum since its establishment.

"2. The Museum was once regarded as an exclusive possession of a handful of scholars and connoisseurs. The National Museum now aims at making itself available as an institution of social education in the fields of history, archaeology, and fine arts for all scholars, students, and the general public by active enlightenment and education of the public.

"3. The National Museum aims at promoting studies in science and fine arts and training able students in the relative fields by opening the Museum to artists, students, and the general public."\textsuperscript{42}

Yet, the budget to carry out these objectives is limited. For example, the Museum lacks sufficient funds to purchase important cultural objects available in private hands in Korea. The Museum had hoped to establish children's museums in provincial areas, both in primary schools and elsewhere, which would encourage local discoveries and contribute to "developing patriotism, love of home towns, and reverence for ancestors in the minds of the children." Due to lack of funds, these objectives have remained unattained.

With only a limited number of trained personnel, the Museum operates a remarkably far-flung series of activities encompassing the country as a whole. A new museum has been built in Puyŏ which has been the subject of much controversy because it has been charged that its design was Japanese-inspired. Another is contemplated for Kyŏngju. While trained staff are limited, hope for the eventual de-

velopment of competent young people trained in the basic disciplines of archeology and art history is growing. The Department of Archeology and Anthropology under the direction of Dr. Kim Won-yong, at Seoul National University, produced its first graduates in 1965, and these young men and women have been encouraged to join the Museum staff and receive both in-service training and foreign experience.43

The present era in the National Museum will come to an end in February, 1969, when Dr. Kim Che-won retires as Director after 24 years of service in that capacity. A new director must be found who will lead the Museum in its realization of the new goals which the Republic of Korea will set for itself in the cultural field. Koreans and their foreign friends can look back with pride over the history of the National Museum since Independence.

43. Several graduates were employed by the Museum in field training functions under a grant from The Asia Foundation, which also has provided training for one staff member of the Museum in museology in Japan. A second grantee is at Harvard under the auspices of the JDR 3rd Fund.
APPENDIX I

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT GENERAL OF KOREA, 1916—1945

All reports were published in the name of the Government General of Korea, as the Museum was not an independent entity, but in actuality these were publications of the Museum.

Report of the Research of Antiquity (古蹟調査報告書), the fifth year of Taisho (1916)

Survey report on the mountain castle site on Mt. Pul'am and Pul'am Sa Temple, Yangju Gun, Kyonggi-Do by Ryu Imanishi (今西龍) 京畿道楊州郡佛巖山山城址及佛巖寺調査報告

Survey report on historical remains of Puk Han San Mountain, Koyang Gun, Kyonggi-Do by Ryu Imanishi 京畿道高陽郡北漢山遺蹟調査報告

Report of research of Antiquities in Ich'on Gun, Yoju Gun, Yangju Gun, Koyang Gun, Kap'yong Gun, Yang-p'yong Gun, Changdan Gun, and Kaesong Gun Kyonggi-Do and P'yongsan Gun, Hwanghae-Do by Ryu Imanishi (京畿道 廣州郡 利川郡 驢州郡 楊州郡 高陽郡 加平郡 長端郡 開城郡 黃海道 平山郡 遺蹟遺物調査報告)

Survey report on various royal tombs of Koryo by Ryu Imanishi (高麗諸陵墓調査報告書)

Survey report on historical sites in Unyul Gun, Pongsan Gun, Hwanghae-Do; Taedong Gun, Yong'gang Gun and Anju Gun, Pyongan Namdo; Uiju Gun, Yongju Gun and Chongju Gun, Pyongan Pukto by Katsumi Kuroita (黒板勝美)黃海道 殷栗郡 鳳山郡 平安南道 大同郡 龍江
Survey report on relics in Pyongan Namdo and Hwanghae-Do by Ryuzo Torii (鳥居龍藏) 平安南道 黃海道 古蹟調查報告書

Survey report on relics in Ittal Myon, Kangdong Gun, Pyongan Namdo by Seiichi Yatsui (谷井濟一) 平安南道 江東郡 逸達面 古蹟調查報告書

Published in the sixth year of Taisho (1917)

Report of the Research of Antiquity of the sixth year of Taisho (1917)

Survey reports on Sonsan Gun, Talsong Gun, Koryong Gun and Kimch'on Gun, Kyongsang Pukdo and Ham'an Gun, Ch'angyon Gun, Kyongsang Namdo by Ryu Imanishi 慶尙北道 善山郡 達城郡 高靈郡 星州郡 金泉郡 慶専南道 咸安郡 昌寧郡 調査報告

Survey report on antiquities of Kokuryo in P'yong'an Pukdo and Manchuria by Tadashi Sekino (関野貞) 平安北道 及 濟州 高句麗 古蹟調査報告

Summarized report on antiquities surveys in Pongsan Gun, Hwanghae-Do, Sunch'on Gun, P'yong'an Namdo and Unsan Gun, P'yong'an Pukdo by Seiichi Tanii 黃海道 鳳山郡 平安南道 順天郡 及 平安北道 雲山郡 古蹟調査略報告

Summarized report on survey of antiquities in Kwangju Gun, Koyang Gun and Yangju Gun, Kyonggi Do; Ch'on'an Gun, Kongju Gun, Puyo Gun, Ch'ong'yang Gun and Nonsan Gun, Ch'ungch'ong Namdo; Iksan Gun, Cholla Pukdo; Naju Gun, Cholla Namdo by Seiichi Tanii 京城道 廣州郡 高陽郡 楊州郡 忠清南道 天安郡 公州郡 扶餘郡 靑陽郡 論山郡 全羅北道 益山郡 全羅南道 羅州郡 古蹟調査略報)
Published in the ninth year of Taisho (1920)

Reports of the Research of Antiquities of Taisho
Songju Gun and Koryong Gun, Kyongsang Pukdo; Ch'ang-yong Gun, Kyongsang Namdo by Kosaku Hamada;
Sueji Umehara (濱田耕作, 梅原末治) 慶尙北道 星州郡
高靈郡 慶尙南道 昌寧郡

Reports on the old tombs at Pomun-ri, Naedong-myon, Kyongju Gun, Kyongsang Pukto and on various antiquities surveyed in Kyongsan, Ch'ongdo, Kimch' on and Sangju Guns, Kyongsang Pukto, and Yangsan and Tongnae Guns in Kyongsang Namdo by Yoshito Harada
(原田淑人) 慶尙北道 慶州郡 内東面 普門里 古墳及 慶山郡 青道郡 金泉郡 尙州郡 慶尙南道 梁山郡 東萊郡 諸遺跡調査報告書

Published in the eleventh year of Taisho (1922)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the eighth year of Taisho
Old Castle Site of Koryo in Hamhung Gun and the extended walls of P'youngjong Gun, Hamgyong Namdo by Hiroshi Ikeuchi (池内宏) 咸鏡南道 咸興郡に 於ける 高麗時代の古城址附平定郡の長城

Published in the eleventh year of Taisho (1922)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the ninth year of Taisho
Excavation survey report on Kimhae Shell Mound by Sueji Umehara; Kosaku Hamada (梅原末治 濱田耕作) 金海 貝塚発掘調査報告

Published in the twelfth year of Taisho (1923)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the eleventh year of Taisho
Volume I
Excavation and Survey of Kimhae shell mounds in Kimhae Gun, Kyongsang Namdo and Yangsan shell mounds in
Yangsan Gun, Kyongsang Namdo 慶尙南道 金海郡 金海
貝塚 梁山郡 梁山貝塚發掘調査
Study of temple sites and pre-historical relics in the vicinity of Kyongju, Kyongju Gun, Kyongsang Pukto 慶尙北道 慶州郡 慶州附近寺址井有史以前遺蹟調査
Summarized study of antiquities near Puyo, Puyo Gun, Ch'ungch'ong Namdo 忠清南道 扶餘郡 扶餘附近遺蹟略調査
By Akio Koizumi, Sueji Umehara and Ryosaku Fujita(小泉顯夫，梅原末治，藤田亮策)
Published in the thirteenth year of Taisho (1924)

Volume II
Han period relics in South Korea (Ipsil Ri, Woedong Myon, Kyongju Gun; Oun Dong, Kumho Myon, Yongch'on Gun, Kyongsang Pukto) by Akio Koizumi, Sueji Umehara and Ryosaku Fujita 南朝鮮に於ける漢代の遺蹟(慶州郡外東面入室里 永川郡 琴湖面 魚隱洞)
Published in the fourteenth year of Taisho (1925)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the twelfth year of Taisho
Old Tomb excavation and survey in Talso Myon, Talsong Gun, Kyongsang Pukto by Akio Koizumi and Ken Nomori
慶尙北道 達城郡 達西面 古墳発掘調査(小泉顯夫 野守健)
Published in the sixth year of Showa (1931)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the thirteenth year of Taisho
Excavation-survey report on the Kumryong (Golden Bell) mound and Sikri (Ornamented Sandal) mound at Kyongju by Sueji Umehara
慶州金鈴塚 硯履塚發掘調査報告
Published in the seventh year of Showa (1932)
Antiquity, Survey Reports for the second year of Showa

Volume I
Study of Kyeryong San Kiln Site at Nakpông Ri, Panp’o Myon, Kongju Gun, Ch’ungch’ong Namdo by Sozo Kanda and Ken Nomori

Published in the fourth year of Showa (1929)

Volume II
Survey Report on the old tombs at Songsan Ri, Kongju Gun, Ch’ungch’ong Namdo by Ken Nomori and Sozo Kanda

Published in the tenth year of Showa (1935)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the fifth year of Showa
Survey report on the old tombs at Oya Ri, Taedong Gang Myon, Taedong Gun, P’yōng’an Namdo (Tombs No. 18, 19, 20, and 21) by Ken Nomori, Kamejiro Himoto and Sozo Kanda

Published in the tenth year of Showa (1935)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the sixtn year of Showa
Survey of No. 82 and 83 tombs at Hwang’o Ri, Kyöngju by Kyoichi Arimitzu

Published in the tenth year of Showa (1935)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the seventh year of Showa
Volume I
Survey related to the old tomb (at the premises of the P’yōng’yang Railway Station) from which a brick con-
taining the marks of the ninth year of Yonghwaw was unearthed by Kamejiro Kayamoto and Ken Nomori
永和九年 在銘塚出土古墳調査（平壤驛構內）
Published in the twelfth year of Showa (1937)

Volume II

Survey of the stone chamber tomb at Ch’unghyo-ri, Kyongju by Kyoichi Arimitsu
慶州忠孝里 石室古墳調査
Published in the twelfth year of Showa (1937)

Antiquity Survey Report for the ninth year of Showa

Survey reports on Tomb No. 109 at Hwangnam Ri and Tomb No. 14 at Hwang’o Ri, Kyongju by Tadashi Saito
慶州 皇南里 第109號 皇吾里 第14號墳調査報告（齋藤忠）
Published in the twelfth year of Showa (1937)

Antiquity Survey Reports for the eleventh year of Showa

Survey of Koguryo tombs (Chijok Myon and Imwon Myon, Taedong Gun)
高句麗古墳調査（大同郡 柴足面 林原面）
Survey of old tombs in Kyongju (old tombs surreptitiously excavated at Ch’unghyo Ri and Hwang’o Ri, Kyongju Up) 建州 古墳調査（慶州邑古墳考里 皇吾里盗掘古墳）
Excavation survey on ruined temple site at Gunsu Ri, Puyo
扶餘 軍守里 廢寺址發掘調査
Survey of dolmens at Taebong-dong, Taegu
大邱 大鳳洞支石墓調査
Relics and remains in areas where decorated bricks were unearthed at Kiam Myon, Puyo
扶餘窪岩面に於ける文様塚出土の遺蹟遺物
By Sueji Umehara and others
Published in the twelfth year of Showa by Association for the Study of Old Korean Relics
Report of Research of Antiquities for the twelfth year of Showa
Koguryo Old Tomb Survey (Imwon Myon and Taebo Myon, Taedong Gun) by Tsuneichi Oba
高句麗古墳調査 (大同郡 林原面 大寶面) (小場恒吉)
Old Koguryo tomb survey at the foot at Mt. Mandal (A Summary) by Ken Nomori and Kamejiro Himoto
晚達山麓 高句麗 古墳調査 (概要)
Stone Buddha Survey on Tongnam San Mountain, Kyongju bby Tsuneichi Oba
慶州東南山 石佛調査
Ruined temple site at Won’o Ri where mud Buddha had been unearthed by Akio Koizumi
泥佛出土地 元五里 廢寺址
Sites of buildings at Mansudae and in its vicinity at P’yong’yang by Akio Koizumi
平壤萬壽台及其附近建築物址
Sites of remaining structures of the unified Silla period at Kyongju by Tadashi Saito
慶州 新羅統一時代 遺構址調査
Survey of the sites of earthen Lolang castles (A Summary) by Yoshito Harada
楽浪土城址調査 (概報)
Survey of tomb No. 25 at Oya Ri, Lolang by Shingo Takubo and Sueji Umehara
楽浪 梧野里 第25號墳 調査 (田窪貞吾 梅原末治)
Survey of the old tomb group at Nungsan Ri, Puyo by Sueji Umehara
扶餘陵山里 古墳群調査
Published in the thirteenth year of Showa (1938) by the Old Korean Relics Study Association

Report of Research of Antiquities for the thirteenth year of Showa
Survey of the site of ruined temples at Ch’ong’am Ri,
Pyongyang and survey of old tomb excavation at Pannam Myon, Na'ju
平壤清巖里 廢寺址調査 羅州潘南面 古墳発掘調査
Survey of the site of a Paek'je temple at Puyo (A Summary)
扶餘に於ける 百濟寺址の調査（概要）
Survey of old tombs in the vicinity of Taegu; Survey report
covering the temple site and the three-layer stone pagoda
at Gunsu Ri, Kyongju
大邱附近に於ける古墳の調査 大邱軍守里 寺址及三層石塔
調查報告
Survey covering the dolmen at Taebong Dong, Taegu (the
second round)
By Sueji Umehara and others
大邱 大鳯洞支石墓調査（第二回）
Published by the Association for the Study of Korean
Antiquities in the fifteenth year of Showa (1940)

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume I
古跡調査特別報告 第一冊
Tombs of the Lolang Era in the vicinity of P'jong'yang by
Tadashi Sekino
平壤附近に於ける樂浪時代の 墳墓
Published in the eighth year of Taisho (1919)

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume II
Survey report covering North Manchuria and East Siberia
by Ryozo Torii
北滿洲及 東部西佰利亞調査報告
Published in the eleventh year of Taisho

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume III
The Gold Crown Mound at Kyongju and its treasure by
Kosaku Hamada and Sueji Umehara
慶州金冠塚と其遺寶
Published in the thirteenth year of Taisho (1924)

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume IV
Relics of the Lolang era (old tombs Nos. 1—9) by Tadashi Sekino, Seiichi Tanii, Shunichi Kuriyama, Tsunekichi Oba, Keikichi Ogawa and Ken Nomori
樂浪郡時代の遺蹟 (古墳 1〜9號) 杵築縣治址 關野貞 谷井源一 栗山俊一 小場恒吉 小川敬吉 野守健
Published in the second year of Showa (1927)

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume V
The Husband-Wife Tomb at Yangsan and its remains by Koreichiro Baba and Keikichi Ogawa
樂山夫婦塚と其遺物 馬場一郎 小川敬吉
Published in the second year of Showa (1927)

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume VI
The monuments commemorating the border journey of King Chinhung and that of the Northeast boundary of Silla by Hiroshi Ikeuchi
真興王の 戊子巡壇碑と 新羅東北境
Published in the fourth year of Showa (1929)

Special Report of the Research on Antiquities Volume VII
Relics of the Koguryo Era by Tadashi Sekino, Seiichi Tanii, Shunichi Kuriyama, Tsuneyoshi Oba, Keikichi Ogawa, Juzo Tanaka and Ken Nomori
高句麗時代の 遺蹟(田中十藏)
Published in the fourth year of Showa (1929)

General Report of Research on Antiquities, eighth year of Showa
Old Lolang Tombs 樂浪古墳
Chongbaek Ri, tomb Nos. 8 and 13 by Tsunekichi Oba
貞稲里 第8, 13號墳
Chongbaek Ri, tomb Nos. 122, 17, and 59 by Kamejiro Nimoto

Chongbaek Ri, tomb Nos. 219, 221, and 227 by Seiji Umehara

By Ryosaku Fujita, Tsuneyoshi Oba, Kamejiro Himoto and Seiji Umehara

General Report of Research on Antiquities, eighth year of Showa
Old tombs of Silla (Hwang'o Ri 54th tomb, A mound and B mound) by Kyoichi Arimitsu

新羅古墳 (皇吾里 第54 號墳 甲塚 乙塚)

General Report of Research on Antiquities, ninth year of Showa
45th tomb at Chang Chin Ri, 19th tomb at Chongbaek Ri by Tsuneyoshi Oba

將進里 第45 號墳 貞柵里 第19 號墳

30th tomb at Chang Chin Ri, 212th tomb at Sok'am Ri by Akio Koizumi

將進里 第30 號墳 石巖里 第212 號墳

Kyoichi Arimitsu, Tsuneyoshi Oba and Akio Koizumi

General Report of Research on Antiquities, tenth year of Showa
255th and 257th tombs at Sok'am Ri and 4th tomb at Chongbaek Ri

石巖里 第255 號墳 257號墳 貞柵里 第4 號墳

53rd tomb at Namchong Ri and 50th tomb at Tojae Ri by Sueji Umehara

南井里 第53 號墳 道濟里 第50 號墳

Reference Materials on Surveys covering Korean Treasures and Antiquities (restricted edition) 朝鮮寶物古蹟調查資料(秘)

Kyonggi Do, Ch'ungch'ong Namdo and Pukto, Cholla Namdo
and Pukto, Kyongsang Namdo and Pukto, Hwanghae Do, P'yong'arn Namdo and Pukto, Kangwon Do and Hamgyong Namdo and Pukto

Published in the seventeenth year of Showa (1942)

Illustrated Catalogue of Archaeological Collection by Kotokichi Shiraga (Volume I of Korean Archaeological Illustrated Album)

白神壽吉蒐集考古品圖錄 (朝鮮考古圖錄 第一冊)

By Ryosaku Fujita

Published by the Korean Archaeological Society in the sixteenth year of Showa (1941) 朝鮮考古學會

Illustrated Catalogue of Archaeological Collection by Mr. Chotaro Sugihara (Volume II of Korean Archaeological Illustrated Album (杉原長太郎氏 蒐集考古品圖錄 (朝鮮考古圖錄 第二冊)

By Ryosaku Fujita

Published by the Korean Archaeological Society in the nineteenth year of Showa (1944)

Pulkuk sa and Sokkul'Am (Illustrated Catalogue of Korean Treasures and Antiquities No. 1) 佛國寺と石窟庵 (朝鮮寶物古蹟圖錄第一)

By Kosaku Hamada, Ryosaku Fujita and Sueji Umehara

Published in the thirteenth year of Showa (1938)

Buddhist Relics on Namsan, Kyongju (Illustrated Catalogue of Korean Treasures and Antiquities No. 2) 慶州南山の 佛跡

By Ryosaku Fujita and Sueji Umehara

Published in the fifteenth year of Showa (1940)

Lolang Colored-box Mound (Old Relics survey report No. 1)

槃浪彩塚冢 (古蹟調查報告第一)
No. 116 tomb at Namjong Ri, 201st and 260th tombs at Sok am Ri by Kosaku Hamada
南井里 第116號墳 石巖里 第201 260號墳
Published by the Society for Study of Korean Antiquity in the ninth year of Showa (1934)

Lolang Wang Kwang Tomb (Old relics survey report No. 2)
楽浪王光墓
127th tomb (Wang Kwang Tomb) at Chongbaek Ri, 119th tomb at Namjong Ri by Ryosaku Fujita
貞桟里 第127號墳（王光墓）南井里 第119號墳
Published by the Society for Study of Korean Antiquity in the tenth year of Showa (1935)

Museum Exhibits Illustrated Vols. 1—17 博物館陳列品圖鑑
Volume Museum of Government General of Korea, 1920
1 (bronze mirrors and Buddhist statues, and others)
2 (Publication unavailable)
3 (earthen figurines, fresco fragments, others)
4 (stone ware, earthen ware, mirrors and others)
5 (golden crown and others) 1933
6 (stone ware, old tomb fresco, others) 1934
7 (stone ware, bronze ware, others) 1935
8 (stone ware, Buddhist statues, others) 1936
9 (Buddhist statues, Buddhist scriptures, others) 1937
10 (selected items on display at Kyongju branch) 1937
11 ( )
12 (stone ware, brass ware, bricks, Buddhist statues, and others) 1938
13 (stone lanterns, pagodas and monuments on display in the rear court of Government General museum) " 1938
14 (selected items on display at Puyo Museum) " 1939
15 (post-1938 items of possession and items on display, consigned items—combined relics) " 1941
16 (selected items on display at Kaesong Museum) " 1941
17 (selected items on display at P’yong’yang Museum—relics related to Lolang) " 1943

Chosen Koseki Zufu (Album of Korean Antiquities) 朝鮮古蹟圖譜

Volume I

Lolang Gun and Taebang era (bricks, old tombs and subsidiary burial items)
樂浪郡及帶方郡時代 (碑 古塚 及 副葬品等)
Koguryo era (Kuknaesong region) (castle, old tomb, fresco, monument, etc.)
高句麗時代 (國內城地方) (城 古塚 畫畫 碑等)
Published in the fourth year of Taisho (1915)

Volume II

Koguryo era (P’yong’yang-Chang’an region) (palace site, castle, roof tile, etc.)
高句麗時代 (平壤長安城地方)
Published in the fourth year of Taisho (1915)

Volume III

Mahan era (Mahan royal palace site at Wangp’yong Ri, northern mound of the two tombs at Wangmyo Ri, etc)
馬韓時代 (王坪里 傳馬韓王宮址 王墓里 雙陵北塚等)
Paekjae period (Kongsan castle, relics at Kongsan castle and
Nungsan Ri)
百濟時代 (公山城、陵山里等遺蹟)
Mimana period (remains and relics in such areas as Chusan,
Putae Kaya Royal Palace site, Koryong, etc)
任那時代 (主山及傳大伽倻王宮址、高靈等地遺蹟遺物)
Okcho period (?) (old tombs, remains and relics at Chadang
San castle and Oro Ri)
沃沮時代 (?) (慈塘山城、五老里王塚遺跡遺物)
Yi period (?) (Puye State Earthen Castle, etc.)
濊時代 (傳濊國土城等)
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古新羅時代 (古墳 및 副葬品)
Three Kingdoms period Buddhist statues 三國時代 佛像

Published in the fifth year of Taisho (1916)

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Volume VII

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景福 昌德 昌慶 慶熙 四宮建造物（内外裝飾包含）中選擇
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Vol. IV “Archaeology of Ullung-Do Island and Naedong Ri Tomb No. 7” by Kim Won-yong, 1963


Special Report of the National Museum of Korea

Vol. I “Island off the West Coast of Korea” by Kim Che-won, 1957

Vol. II “Kam Eun Sa, A Temple Site of the Silla Dynasty” by Kim Che-won and Youn Moo-byong, 1961

Publication of the National Museum of Korea, Series A

Vol. I “Early Movable Type in Korea” by Kim Won-yong, 1945

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1. INTRODUCTION

During the early period of the Yi Dynasty (1392—1910), the handicraft industry in Korea was run almost exclusively by the court government. Most craftsmen were then employed by and registered with various offices and workshops of the government according to the types of work in which they specialized.

This government industry began to decline around the 16th century, or during the reign of Prince Yōnsan (燕山 1495—1506) and King Chungjong (中宗 1506—1544), when many underpaid craftsmen deserted the workshops which were under government control. The Japanese invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi (1592—98) must be held responsible for the financial bankruptcy of the court government, which in turn was responsible for the underpayment or lack of payment of the workers.

The nation-wide circulation of metal coins and the rapid progress of commerce and the private handicraft industry during the 17th and 18th centuries understandably discouraged the impecunious government from investing any more money in this unprofitable industry.

Thus the court government of the Yi Dynasty could not restore its handicraft industry to the prewar level, except for a few sectors such as weapons and porcelain.

Yet some bold private craftsmen ventured to challenge the government’s monopoly by producing such weapons as gunpowder, rifles and swords from the beginning of the 19th century. Although production of weapons was strictly forbidden by law, they not only sold their products at public market places but also opened wholesale stores and even organized mutual financing associations of weapon producers.
It remains to be examined, therefore, why production of chinaware for royal use was undertaken, not by private craftsmen like other commodities, but by government employees throughout almost the entire history of the dynasty.

As will be explained in the following chapters, the production of china during the closing years of the Yi Dynasty by the government factory (or Punwon) was quite well-organized and specialized on a comparatively large scale. Nevertheless, scholars tend to disregard or underestimate the importance of the Punwon in the general history of the development of the handicraft industry of Korea merely because the industry in question was placed under government supervision.

One of the prime purposes of this article, therefore, is to make extensive studies on the management of the pottery industry by the Punwon during the 17th and 18th centuries, so that the role of the government workshop may be given proper evaluation in the history of the development of the handicraft industry in this country. For this reason, I have concentrated here on management and production, and have tended to disregard consideration of technical problems or artistic quality of the products.

2. LOCATION AND FACILITIES OF THE PUNWON

The royal porcelain factory of the Yi Dynasty was first called Sagi Ponjo So (沙器燔造所) and was placed under the direct control of the Saong-won (司雍院) or the Royal Kitchen. However, no proof has so far been found to verify the exact year when the first kiln was installed.

Okuhira Takehiko (奧平武彦) has said that “the first kiln was built inside the Kwanghi-mun (光照門) or Sugu-mun (水口門) gate in Seoul, and was later relocated at Kwangju (廣州) in Kyonggi Province.” He quoted the clerks and
ceramists who worked during the closing days of the Punwŏn. However, it must be pointed out that Mr. Okuhira’s quotations were based on an oral tradition which originated in the royal kiln since its relocation to Kwangju.

Meanwhile, another Japanese scholar, Zenjo Eisuke (善生永助), said that “the Punwŏn was first installed at Hull-yŏn-wŏn (訓練院) in Seoul more than 500 years ago, in order to produce porcelain for royal use under the supervision of the Saong-wŏn. Inaccessibility of sufficient materials and fuel made it inevitable for the royal household to move the kiln to Pukhan-san (北漢山), Kwanak-san (冠岳山) and then to Songpa (松坡), Tolma-myŏn (突馬面), Silch'on-myŏn (實村面) and Toech'on-myŏn (退村面), in the county of Kwangju-gun. It was about 270 years ago when Punwŏn-ni, Namjŏng-myŏn (南終面分院里) of Kwangju-gun became the permanent location of the royal kiln.”

Mr. Zenjo made the above statements in his report of “The Pottery Industry in Korea,” prepared for the then Government-General of Chosen after a nation-wide survey he initiated about 40 years ago. But it is regrettable that he did not specify the reference materials on which his statements were based.

In my opinion, the royal kiln of the Yi Dynasty was relocated in the county of Kwangju as early as the 15th century, although it was not then officially called Punwŏn.

According to the Sejong Sillok Chiri-ji (世宗實錄地理志) there were four kilns in Kwangju county alone, namely Pŏlul-chŏn (伐乙川), Sŏsan (所山), Sŏkkulli (石掘里) and Kohyŏn (羔嶼). Regrettably, the official records did not specify whether or not they were owned by the government.

However, Sŏng Hyŏn (成僑 1439—1504) wrote that “the products of Kwangju were the most excellent of all ceramics in the country. Officials from the Saong-wŏn used to be sent
to the scene annually to supervise production of ceramics in Kwangju. During the reign of King Sejong, white ceramics were chosen exclusively for royal use.”

Song’s remarks lead me to believe that the four kilns mentioned by King Sejong’s official records were placed under the direct supervision of the Saong-wôn.

So far, there has been no historical record that called the kiln in question Punwôn. However, it is certain that the royal kilns remained in the same county since King Sejong’s time. We can find several records to support my assumption. For example, the revised version of the Tongguk Yoji Sung Nam published in 1530, or the 25th year of King Chung-jong, states that “officials from the Saong-wôn went to the kiln in Kwangju in order to supervise production of ceramics for royal use. They used to be accompanied by painters.”

Yi Kyu-gyŏng (李圭炯), a famed scholar during the reign of King Honjong (憲宗 1835—49) also wrote in his book that “the Punwôn is the only official kiln in the country. It is located on a river bank in Kwangju-gun, Kyŏnggi-do, at a distance of 70 ri or 28 kilometers from the capital. It is supervised by the Saong-wôn.”

So far it has not been determined when the royal kiln which was relocated in the vicinity of Kwangju-gun began to be called Punwôn and its products Punwôn sagni (分院沙器) or “porcelain produced in Punwôn.”

Mr. Okuhira decided that the word Punwôn was first used in 1718, or the 44th year of King Sukchong (肅宗 1675—1720) when the relocation of Punwôn to the upstream of Uch’ŏn-gang in Yanggun-gun was officially recorded. In the aforementioned book he declared: “So far as I have studied, this is the first official record in which the word Punwôn is used. I want to suggest that the history of ceramics of the
Yi Dynasty be divided into its earlier and later periods by the year 1718."

This scholar based his suggestion on the fact that the influence of the culture of the Ch'ing Dynasty of China began to be felt in Korea during the reign of King Sukchong, which coincided with the reign of Emperor Cheng-tsu (聖祖) of China. In other words, he seems to propose that the early part of the history of ceramics of the Yi Dynasty was under the influence of the culture of the Ming Dynasty, while the latter part was under that of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

However, he must have been wrong if his division of history was based not on the influence of Chinese culture, but the official record in which, he insisted, the word Punwŏn was first used. According to sources I have been able to discover, as early as 1625, or the 3rd year of King Injo (仁祖 1623–49), a plan to relocate the royal Punwŏn kiln was recorded. This predates the official record quoted by Mr. Okuhira by 93 years.

At least, it appears certain that the location of the royal kiln known by the name Punwŏn was finalized in the vicinity of Kwangju-gun and Yanggun-gun (楊根郡) prior to the 17th century. It must be noted here that the location of the kiln was determined, first of all, by its access to rich fuel sources of firewood. For this reason, the royal kiln had to be relocated from one forest to another almost every ten years, within the six myŏn (counties) of Kwangju-gun and one myŏn of Yanggun-gun.

Needless to say, firewood and kaolin constituted the most vital materials in the production of ceramics for royal use. Of them, kaolin was scarce except in some specific areas of the country which were quite distant from one another, such as Kyŏngju (慶州) in Kyŏngsang Province in the south and Sŏnch'ŏn (宣川) in P'yŏngan Province in the
north. For this reason it was impractical to move the kiln to kaolin producing districts.

However, it was much easier to find forests as fuel resources. In this regard, Kwangju was an ideal place because it had in its vicinity many forests, including Mugap-san (武甲山). The district also met many other requirements as the site of the royal kiln.

In the first place, it was famous for the superior quality of its kaolin. Moreover, it was close to the royal capital of Seoul, for which most of the ceramics were produced. Then there was the Han River, which was very convenient for transporting raw materials and products to and from the kilns.

It would be very helpful for us to understand not only the changes in the quality and shapes of the ceramics produced at Punwŏn, but also the general progress of the pottery industry during the Yi Dynasty, if comparative and chronological studies of the products from the remains of each of the ovens discovered in the vicinity of Kwangju-gun make this possible. Although more than 80 kiln sites have been discovered in the district, very few records regarding relocation of Punwŏn have so far been made available. Besides, the historical records often disagree with actual discoveries made about the remnants of the ovens concerned. For this reason, I believe a successful determination of the relocation of the ovens in chronological order is a premature endeavor at the present time.

According to the historical records I have studied, the royal furnace was mentioned as being at Punwŏn for the first time when it was relocated in 1625, the 3rd year of King Injo. However, the record fails to mention the exact location of the old and new kilns.

The next appearance of the name in the records was
in 1667, or the 2nd year of King Sukchong. "The royal kiln used to be relocated every ten years because the firewood at the authorized fuel yard could no longer suffice the need for production of the royal ceramics before the end of the period. The present furnace has remained at the same place for 12 years. For this reason, it is recommended that it be relocated to a new place during the coming autumn or winter, for otherwise it will not be able to continue to operate next spring."

The record also describes the environment of a new site recommended by an official from the royal kitchen. The report said: "A village called T’amnip-tong (塔立洞) is located near a mountain and by a river which is about 15 ri or six kilometers northwest of the present kiln. Although it is feared to be difficult to maintain a wide road in time of flood, the village provides enough space to build Punwôn. Besides, the majority opinion of the ceramists is in favor of the move to this place."

T’amnip-tong is now called T’apsôn-dong (塔仙洞) and located at T’oech’on-myôn (退村面) of Kwangju-gun, where the remains of an oven still exist. However, the location of its predecessor has not so far been discovered. Perhaps it might have been somewhere near the present Tojang-dong (道庄洞), which is about 15 ri southeast of T’amnip-tong.

If the aforementioned record that "the relocation of Punwôn took place every ten years" is to be regarded as reliable, there must have been at least four to five movements between 1625 and 1667. But I have so far failed to find any historical records to indicate this. Moreover, it is not likely that movements of Punwôn were so frequent as the record of 1676 indicates.

Nevertheless, it is not difficult to imagine that the officials and ceramists had to overcome great inconveniences
during each relocation of Punwŏn. For example, a report prepared by an official of the Saong-wŏn in 1697 (23rd year of King Sukchong) gives us a clear picture of the difficulties: “Not only the trees but also their roots in the vicinity of the Punwŏn are exhausted within ten years. This makes it inevitable to find a new location for the royal kiln. What is more lamentable is the fact that the denuded hills are cultivated as dry fields, which in turn makes it impossible to grow trees again. It is feared, therefore, that the Punwŏn will not be able to find a suitable wood supply for its relocation before long.”

Prior to the period under discussion, the Punwŏn used to be installed at a suitable place in the vicinity of the Sijang (柴場) or the royal fuel yard designated for the government kiln. When the firewood near the kiln was exhausted, the kiln was moved to a new place so that reforestation might take place in the old fuel yard. However, the field was transformed to dry field cultivation, so some other recourse had to be considered. For this reason the officials of the Saong-wŏn made some recommendations to overcome this pressing problem in 1697:

(1) That the peasants who cultivated in the fuel yard be taxed a one year supply of wood for the kiln. They were supposed to provide the annual fuel before the end of each winter.

(2) That the peasants cultivating the burnt fields within the fuel yards be taxed with fuel for cultivation and rice for a household tax. The latter (rice) should meet the need of the officials of the Saong-wŏn and the potters. The officials of Saong-wŏn claimed that by this plan a two-fold benefit was assured: that is to say for the kiln, savings on the expenses of fuel transportation and for the people, uninterrupted cultivation of land.
(3) That the Punwŏn could stay in a fixed location without moving the kiln every 10 years.

In brief, the planners wanted to keep the royal kiln at a fixed place, convenient for the transporation of kaolin and fuel, thereby saving much cost and trouble. Generally speaking, the handicraft industry, both government and private, was promoted during the period of the Yi Dynasty in a place where raw material was produced and not by such economic considerations as the marketing prospects or the convenience of transportation.

For this reason, frequent relocation of each handicraft factory was inevitable. And for the same reason, installation of each factory was rather temporary and the scale of the industries had to remain small.

This is one of the most important reasons for the slow development of the handicraft industry under the Yi Dynasty.

As for the pottery industry, the plan to keep the Punwŏn at a fixed place could provide a golden opportunity to expand its facilities to ensure rapid progress. At the same time, it indicated that the government industry had already developed to such an extent as to demand a permanent location. It seems to me, therefore, that the inconvenience in connection with the transportation of fuel was only superficial.

However, I presume that recommendations for a fixed location of the Punwŏn were not implemented immediately. An official record prepared in 1718 (44th year of King Sukch'ong), or 20 years after the recommendations, indicates that the Punwŏn was relocated somewhere along the bank of the Uch'ŏn River in Yanggun-gun. The record also indicates that half of the taxes collected from the royal fuel yard were allocated to pay the ceramists and the remaining half to purchase fuel for Punwŏn.
Both banks of the river in question, which is a branch of the Han River, are now under the jurisdiction of present-day Kwangju-gun. But according to the Taedong Yōjido (대동요지도), a map published in 1862, or the 12th year of King Chōljong (哲宗 1850–63), the area about five ri from the confluence of the Han River with the upstream of the two smaller branches was under the joint jurisdictions of Kwangju-gun and Yanggun-gun.

Now the royal kiln was located near the bank which was under the jurisdiction of the then Yanggun-gun, which, I believe, coincides with the present village of Punwŏn-ni, Namjong-myŏn (남종면) of Kwangju county.

Therefore, we may presume that the royal kiln was relocated at the present Punwŏn-ni permanently in 1718, if the official record of the year is reliable.

However, another record prepared in 1720 tells us a different story. It reads: “The Punwŏn was moved to Oyang-dong (五陽洞) of Silchŏn-myŏn in the fuel yard in 1717. But it had to be relocated at Uch’ŏn (牛川) in 1720 due to lack of fuel. Although Uch’ŏn is not abundant in firewood, it is so close to a river that it may be expected to depend on commercial firewood.”

Uch’ŏn is a small village which was then located halfway between the Uch’ŏn River and Punwŏn-ni. The villagers now call it Sonae (소내), or Ox River. I presume that the exact location of the Punwŏn mentioned by the two different records was in fact the same place. For this reason, it is hardly convincing that the relocation was realized in 1718.

Meanwhile, the record of 1721, or the 1st year of King Kyŏngjong (景宗 1721–24), confirms that the royal kiln was relocated at Uch’ŏn in the previous year, and that it purchased commercial firewood by the river.

However, a record of 1725, or the 1st year of King
Yŏngjo (英祖 1725—76), reads as follows: “It has become really difficult for the Punwŏn to obtain sufficient fuel because the firewood in the royal fuel yard in the vicinity of the six myŏns in Kwangju-gun and the one in Yanggun-gun has already been exhausted. For this reason, it was recommended in 1721 to relocate the Punwŏn at Uch'ŏn and reforest the exhausted yard. But the recommendation has not yet been implemented.”

The record also reads: “Since the situation did not permit any more delay, lower officials were sent to select a new site for the Punwŏn. According to their reports Kaoge (加五介), Sindao-ri (新多五里) and Sŏngjo-dong (聖浩洞) of Chip’-yŏng (砥平) are abundant in firewood, which may last five to six years.”

This indicates that the relocation was not realized until 1725 at least, and that it was planned to move the Punwŏn as far as Chip’’yŏng, upstream on the Han River.

It is certain that the plan was not implemented.

The record of 1726 also complains of insufficient supply of fuel: “Since the Punwŏn is distant from the river by ten ri or four kilometers, thousands of yang (兩) or coins have to be wasted to transport firewood. For this reason, immediate relocation of the Punwŏn to Uch’ŏn is recommended.”

It may be safe to say that the plan to relocate the royal kiln in Uch’ŏn was made as early as the last years of King Sukchong, but it was realized sometime between the reign of King Kyŏngjŏng and the beginning of that of King Yongjo. The record of 1732, or the 8th year of King Yongjo, reads: “Ten years have passed since the Punwŏn was relocated in Uch’ŏn and began to depend on purchased firewood transported by the river.”

So far I have introduced historical records regarding the relocation of the Punwŏn. But as was pointed out in
the beginning of this article, the available records alone are not sufficient to reconstruct the exact location of the royal kilns. Further studies remain to be done. I hope the excavations of the remains of the kilns will help to clarify this picture.

Studies on the scale of the facilities and the quality or quantity of the tools used by the Punwŏn may lead us to a more complete understanding of the development of the Punwŏn. However, the incomplete preservation of the kilns and the inadequate availability of historical records hardly enable us to do much.

We can find some specific terms in connection with the Punwŏn in a record prepared in 1676. They included kwanch’ŏng (官廳), kaga (假家), kogan (庫間), mokcho (木槽) and mok’p’an (木阪). I presume that kwanch’ŏng was meant to be office buildings; kogan, warehouses to store raw materials and products; and kaga, temporary buildings. It is uncertain whether or not the pottery factory was included in kaga. The record of 1721 introduces us to a new term, kongjak-ch’ŏng (工作廳), by which, I believe, was meant a factory where kaolin was refined, ceramics were shaped, and painters worked. Perhaps the kiln was installed in the factory. Meanwhile, the record of 1745 shows a third building type, tuga (釜家), which was probably the kongjak-ch’ŏng, i.e. the factory.

Relocation of the Punwŏn was accompanied by construction of new houses, which, I presume, were roofed with straw. The construction work and expenses were the burden of the local governments concerned.

Meanwhile, such implements as mokcho (wood tub) and mok’p’an (wood plate) were generally replaced every ten years. For example, in 1797, or the 12th year of King Chŏngjo (正祖 1777–1800), they had to replace nine tubs,
eight wide plates and three draining plates. The implements used to be contributed by the inhabitants of 12 communities in Kangwŏn Province. But the inhabitants of only four towns were told to contribute in kind, while the rest had to pay in coin due to excessive hardships for them to acquire and transport enough wood. The Seoul officials purchased the implements with the coins collected from the local people.

To be brief, the royal pottery was transferred to somewhere in Kwangju-gun as early as the 15th century. Although it is yet to be proved when it was first called the Punwŏn, or the branch house of the Saong-wŏn, it is safe to say that it was already called by the name in the early part of the 17th century.

It is very likely that the royal pottery was placed under the direct supervision of the Saong-wŏn from the beginning. But construction of a branch office was necessitated as the demand for the ceramics for royal use increased and the importance of on-the-spot supervision began to be felt.

Meanwhile, the royal factory relocated at Kwangju-gun had to move from one forest to another in search of fuel during its early existence. However, a permanent site was selected on a bank of the Uch’ŏn River somewhere near the village of Punwŏn-ni around the early part of the 18th century. Since such materials as kaolin and firewood were not locally available they were transported to the factory. This in turn presented new problems for the management of the royal kilns. The task to provide transportation expenses for firewood was one of the biggest problems.

3. PRODUCING DISTRICTS AND PROCUREMENT OF WHITE KAOLIN

Paekto (白土) or white kaolin was one of the most
important materials in the production of porcelain. Needless to say, the products of the Punwŏn have been regarded as the most excellent porcelain of all that created during the Yi Dynasty.

At the time, the producing districts and mining methods of the kaolin used by the Punwŏn must have been closely connected with the quality of the porcelain manufactured by the royal kiln.

Following the Japanese invasion of Korea, the kaolin producing districts included Wŏnju (原州) and Yanggu (楊口) of Kangwŏn-do, Kyŏngju, Chinju (晋州), Konyang (昆陽) and Hadong (河東) of Kyŏngsang-do, Sŏnch’ŏn of P’yŏngan-do, Kwangju, Kap’yŏng (加平) and Ich’ŏn (利川) of Kyŏnggi-do, Sŏsan (瑞山), Ch’ungju (忠州) and Umsŏng (陰城) of Ch’ungch’ŏng-do and Pongsan (鳳山) of Hwanghae-do.

Products from these places were used by the Punwŏn. However, their quality and the periods in which they were used differed. Mr. Okuhira wrote that the kaolin of Kwangju used to be favored exclusively by the royal kiln prior to the era of King Yŏngjo, and that materials from other districts began to be used thereafter.

However, there are abundant historical records that kaolin from such districts as Wŏnju, Sŏsan, Sŏnch’ŏn and Kyŏngju was already in use by the kiln even before the period under discussion.

I would like to discuss the kaolin from various districts.

A. KAOLIN OF WŎNJU AND SŎSAN

It seems that kaolin from Wŏnju was used by the Punwŏn during the reigns of Kings Injo, Hyojong (孝宗 1650—59) and Hyŏnjong (顯宗 1660—74). The record of 1636, or the 14th year of King Injo, states that the kaolin from Wŏnju reserved for the production of porcelain for royal use
had to be appropriated for the production of vessels for
the military because the inhabitants of Wonju had failed to
provide their share of the materials for the purpose.

Excessive burdens on the part of the inhabitants of
Wonju were responsible for their failure to meet the govern-
ment order. It is said that they had to mobilize 500 miners
and more than 200 horses to produce and transport their
share of the kaolin.

This type of excessive burden was a common phenom-
emon for the inhabitants of the other kaolin producing dis-
tricts, and was responsible for the frequent delay or shortage
of supply of kaolin for the Punwoon.

The afore-mentioned record does not specify the exact
quantity of kaolin allocated for Wonju. But 500 miners and
200 horses are suggestive enough. Moreover, the kaolin from
Wonju was never mentioned again in the historical records
after 1660, or the 1st year of King Hyonjong, because of
its quality deterioration.

Meanwhile, a considerable quantity of kaolin from SoSan
was also used during the same period by the royal kiln.
According to the record of 1658, or the 9th year of King
Hyojong, a kaolin mine in SoSan, which had once been out
of operation for some time, was revived in that year.

An official sent to the scene from the Saong-woon to super-
vise the work was removed from his post for having paid
450 earth diggers with unauthorized rice and mobilized 281
new miners, to whom he also paid 28 sok (石) of rice.
Probably he lost his job for some irregularities. However,
the record is enough to convince us that mining of kaolin
in the district was under way on a comparatively large
scale.

Like that of Wonju, the SoSan kaolin was not favored
by the Punwoon due to its rough quality. The latest uses of
the product by the royal factory were recorded in 1667 and 1670 respectively.

B. KAOLIN OF KYŏNGJU AND SŎNCH'ŎN

In 1660, or the 1st year of King Hyŏnjong, the kaolin of Wŏnju and Sŏsan was replaced by that of Kyŏngju because of the former’s bad quality. This record leads us to suppose that the Kyŏngju kaolin was used simultaneously or even before that of Wŏnju and Sŏsan. However, its rough quality and inconvenient location, i.e., a long distance from the royal kiln, seems to have discouraged the Punwŏn from ordering more of it.

Meanwhile, the kaolin of Sŏnch'ŏn was used before that of Kyŏngju. The court diary of 1682, or the 8th year of King Sukchong, records a report by an official of the Saong-wŏn. The report reads as follows:

“A total of 250 sök of kaolin to produce porcelain for royal use used to be contributed by the inhabitants of Sŏnch'ŏn since the year of Kimi (己未) of the sexagenary cycle. However, the Sŏnch'ŏn product was later replaced by that of Kyŏngju because the governor of the province concerned (P'yŏngan-do) evaded complying with the request on the pretext of excessive burden on the populace.

“Now that a big royal party is imminent, and the quality of the Kyŏngju kaolin is inferior to that of Sŏnch'ŏn and unsuitable for the production of the receptacles for the occasion, contribution of dried and pure kaolin of Sŏnch'ŏn totaling 80 mal (8.8 흚) was requested again in accordance with the precedence of the year of Chŏngsa (丁巳). But the governor of P'yŏngan-do excused himself, replying that he was not in a position to impose such hardships on the populace again.

“Therefore, the Saong-wŏn urged the king to tell the
governor to reconsider his earlier decision, explaining that the local product was needed to produce the porcelain for the big occasion, and that the present allocation of 80 mal was not a large quantity as compared with the previous ones.

"Thus the king approved the request on the condition that it would be the last allocation for the inhabitants of Sönch’ön."

According to the above record, the kaolin of Sönch’ön was first used for the royal pottery in the year of Kimi. Now the nearest year of Kimi before 1682 falls in 1679, the 5th year of King Sukchong; or 1619, the 11th year of Prince Kwanghæ (1609—1623).

Meanwhile, the year of Chōngsa falls in 1677, the 3rd year of King Sukchong; and 1617, the 9th year of Prince Kwanghæ. In this case, the year 1677, when 80 mal of Sönch’ön kaolin was allegedly sent to Seoul contradicts the year of 1679, when the local kaolin was allegedly used for the first time by the Punwŏn.

If the local material was first used in 1619, there should have been other records pertaining to the uses of the Sönch’ön kaolin between 1619 and 1682. However, so far no such record during the period has ever been discovered. For this reason, I presume that the above record of Kimi was a mistake and that the kaolin in question was first used sometime between 1674 (the last year of King Hyŏnjong) and 1677.

The contribution of Sönch’ön kaolin was temporarily discontinued because of the alleged harm inflicted upon the inhabitants of the district, although its quality was superior to any other in the country. I presume that the mining conditions of the district were somehow worse than those of other districts.
Nevertheless, the superior quality of the kaolin imposed more hardships on the inhabitants of Sŏnch'ŏn, for the material continued to be used by the royal pottery. For example, in 1688, or the 14th year of King Sukchong, when the king's mother died, the production of special receptacles to be buried with the deceased and to be used for the religious services thereof was necessary. Since inferior kaolin was not suitable, the inhabitants of Sŏnch'ŏn and Kyŏngju were ordered to contribute their products for the occasion.

By the period under discussion, the kaolin of Chinju and Yanggu was used for the production of ordinary receptacles, while that of not only Sŏnch'ŏn but also Kyŏngju was contributed for special occasions.

To be brief, the kaolin of Sŏnch'ŏn was the most excellent of all such materials used during the latter period of the Yi Dynasty. The next best quality was that of Kyŏngju.

C. KAOLIN OF YANGGU, CHINJU, AND PONGSAN

Although the kaolin of Chinju and Yanggu was inferior in quality to that of Sŏnch'ŏn, I presume that it was mined in greater quantity because it was used for the production of ordinary vessels.

The quality of the Yanggu product seems to have been comparatively superior to the rest, except for those of Sŏnch'ŏn and Kyŏngju. In 1704, or the 30th year of King Sukchong, the mining of Yanggu kaolin was suspended because the pits were too deep to continue the work. For this reason, Pongsan kaolin had to be used. But it was so hard that it had to be mixed with the Yanggu product in order to prevent excessive damage to the vessels.

The suspension of mining in the district of Yanggu was necessitated, I presume, by over-production. Nevertheless, the officials of the Saong-wŏn could not give up using the pro-
duct because of its good quality. For this reason, the court government had to concede several privileges for the inhabitants of Yanggu in order to appease them.

For example, they were exempted from their duties in the royal fuel yard in the district. Besides, the task of digging the pits other than the vein itself, and of transporting the product, was shifted to the inhabitants of the neighboring counties. Thus at least half of the entire requirement of kaolin was supplied by Yanggu.

Despite the many privileges granted by the court government, to mine kaolin was one of the hardest and even most dangerous kinds of work for the inhabitants of Yanggu. For example, Cho Myŏng Kyŏm (趙鳴謙), an official of the Sagan-wŏn (司諫院) wrote from Yanggu in his plea to King Sukchong in 1714, “Less than 500 households are engaged in the mining of kaolin. They have to climb high and steep mountains in order to mine the mineral. Sometimes they have to chisel precipitous rocks to discover the veins. No single year has ever passed without seeing miners fall or be crushed to death.” Dangerous or not, the kaolin of Yanggu continued to be used by the Punwŏn until its last days.

What should not be ignored is the fact that the gradual worsening in the quality of the porcelain produced during the period of the Yi Dynasty was closely connected with the quality of the prime material, kaolin. In other words, the kaolin of Sŏnchŏn and Kyŏngju was first used during the early period. Then the Yanggu and Chinju products were substituted because the veins of the former were exhausted. Finally, the Pongsan kaolin, which was of the worst quality, was mixed with the Yanggu product during the closing days of the Punwŏn.

Meanwhile, the exact date when the Chinju kaolin was
first used remains to be proved. The record of 1968 states that the kaolin of Chinju was not suitable for the production of receptacles for religious service because its quality was inferior to those of Sŏnch’ŏn and Kyŏngju. This indicates that the product had already been in use by the period under discussion.

For example, the record of 1707, or the 33rd year of King Sukchong, reads as follows:

“The white kaolin of Chinju has been used by the royal kiln for quite a long time. Since the 10th year of the king, sending of the Saong-wŏn official to supervise the production and transportation of the mineral has been discontinued in order to reduce the possible harm inflicted upon the populace by the official from the royal factory. Instead, the local officials have been requested to supervise the mining and transportation of the product to the Punwŏn. However, the miners and ceramicists have been so careless that the quality of the kaolin as well as the receptacles has been greatly reduced. For this reason, the Saong-wŏn has decided to send its officials to the scene again to improve the quality and insure prompt delivery.”

As early as the beginning of the reign of King Sukchong the inhabitants of Chinju contributed a greater share of the requirements, along with their counterparts in Kyŏngju. By the 16th year of the king, most of the requirements were met by the two districts. By the 23rd year of the king, the veins in Chinju were already exhausted, which in turn made it inevitable for the Punwŏn to use kaolin from Ch’ungju.

“The Saong-wŏn officials used to be sent to Chinju each autumn in order to supervise the mining of the mineral. The product would be stored at the producing district until next spring. When spring came, half of the product would be shipped to the royal kiln by chartered boats, in order to meet
the spring requirements. The rest was shipped by tax boats to meet the summer and autumn requirements.

"However, the local officials complained that the veins were exhausted and that the expense to mine new veins and to transport the product to such a distant place as the Punwôn was too heavy for them to bear. Besides, the boats carrying the white kaolin capsized on the high seas near Yonggwang of Cholla Province. For this reason, it was too late to mine and transport new kaolin at Chinju for the autumn requirements.

"Therefore, ceramists were sent to Ch'ungju and Úmsông to evaluate the qualities of the products in those districts. Since the vessels produced by them were proved to be satisfactory, the mining at Chinju was suspended and replaced by kaolin from Ch'ungju.

"Since the Ch'ungju district had a bad harvest, only ceramists instead of the Saong-wôn official were sent to the district, in order to reduce any possible harm to be inflicted upon the inhabitants by the official from Seoul. However, the ceramists were not faithful to their duties. The quality of the material brought to the Punwôn was not satisfactory. Moreover, the quantity was greatly reduced. As a result, many of the summer products for royal use were rough and even twisted.

"For this reason, a Punwôn official was hurried to Chinju to renew the production of white kaolin in the district so that the spring requirements might be met."

Although the kaolin of Chinju continued to be used until the end of the Punwôn, its quantity was gradually reduced. For example, its contribution was reduced to 200 sôk from 250 sôk in 1713, or the 39th year of King Sukchong; and to only 80 sôk during the reign of King Kojong (高宗 1864—1907).
Kwangju was one of the best minor producing districts for kaolin, as was well illustrated by its being selected as the permanent location of the royal kiln. By 1746, or the 22nd year of King Yongjo, the products of Kwangju, Yanggu, Chinju and Konyang were regarded as the most suitable materials for the Punwon. By 1867, or the 4th year of King Kojong, 1400 sok of kaolin, or more than half of the entire requirements were produced in Kwangju.

However, no other historical records pertaining to the uses of Kwangju kaolin have so far been found. Perhaps the mining of the material in the district did not arouse the curiosity of historians because of its close location to the royal kiln. Or perhaps it was in fact out of use during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Other districts mentioned in the historical records include Ch'ungju, Umsong, Ich'on, Konyang and Hadong. However, neither the quality nor quantity deserve significant attention.

D. MINING AND TRANSPORTATION OF KAOLIN

The mining of kaolin was carried out mostly by peasants of the producing districts, who had to contribute compulsory labor. Sometimes the inhabitants of neighboring counties were also mobilized. In either case, the peasants were usually unpaid or underpaid, and had to provide their own provisions.

According to the record of 1716, or the 42nd year of King Sukchong, all the peasants of Konyang were mobilized for the production of kaolin in that district. For this reason, they could not do their farm work in time.

The local officials or peasants of any kaolin producing district did their best to avoid the unprofitable task. The unpleasant obligation was often described as "unprecedented harm to this county" or "the greatest hardship, shared by no other districts."
Meanwhile, the court government took various measures to compensate the peasants mobilized for the mining. Exemption from tax duties was one thing, and payment of salaries in small amounts was another. However, most of the miners had to contribute their labor for almost nothing as compared with the ceramists of the Punwŏn, who in a sense were wage laborers.

Generally speaking, the mining was supervised by the officials and ceramists from the Punwŏn. However, the dispatches were often suspended, especially at times of bad harvest or economic distress in the districts concerned, for the officials from the court government were notorious for their practices of irregularities or embezzlement.

In this case, the supervision was usually entrusted to the local officials or ceramists alone. This in turn caused degradation of the quality of the kaolin produced, or deduction of the quantity brought to the royal kiln because of inefficient management or embezzlement by the ceramists in charge of transportation.

For example, in 1697, or the 23rd year of King Sukchong, kaolin which weighed 270 sŏk at the time of departure was reduced to 114 sŏk when it was remeasured at the Punwŏn. Perhaps the embezzled kaolin was sold to a private kiln near the government factory.

Meanwhile, the kaolin produced in various districts was transported by either land, sea or river. However, land transportation was usually restricted to small quantities. For example, in the 39th year of King Sukchong, 10 sŏk of kaolin were sent on horseback from Kap'yŏng (加平), while 20 more were sent by boat the following spring.

Of course, there were exceptions, too. For example, more than 200 horses were mobilized in order to transport the kaolin produced in the Wŏnju district in 1653, or the 4th
year of King Hyojong; perhaps because Wŏnju was located far from any big river.

To be sure, transportation of kaolin remained a big burden for the inhabitants of the districts concerned.

The ones who suffered most from the task were perhaps the inhabitants of Yanggu, who also had to mine. They repeatedly sent memorials to the throne in which they ardently pleaded with the king to relieve them of the double burdens. Thus their burden was later shared by the inhabitants of Ch'unchŏn (春川), Hongch'ŏn (洪川), Inje (麟蹄) and Nangch'ŏn (浪川).

There were two types of boats used for the transportation of the kaolin: tax boats and private boats. The private or chartered boats usually rendered more efficient and prompt service than the government boats.

For example, in the 23rd year of King Sukchong part of the kaolin produced in Chinju was carried by chartered boats in order to hasten the transportation before the arrival of spring, while the rest went by government boats. Meanwhile, the kaolin of Pongsan was transported by the tax boats of Pongsan, Hwangju (黃州) and Chaeryŏng (載寧) of Hwanghae Province.

4. PRODUCING DISTRICTS AND PROCUREMENT OF FIREWOOD

Firewood was also an indispensable material to produce porcelain. For this reason, the location of the Punwŏn was determined by the producing district of firewood as well as that of kaolin.

Since the royal kiln was first established, certain forests were designated by the court government for exclusive use by the Punwŏn. Such forests were called Punwŏn Sijang (分院
柴場）or fuel yard.

Most of the fuel yards were located in the vicinity of Kwangju, perhaps because the Punwŏn was established in the area. They were scattered around the six counties (myŏn); namely, T’oech’on-myŏn, Silch’on-myŏn, Ch’owŏl-myŏn (初月面), Toch’ŏk-myŏn (都尺面), Kyŏng’an-myŏn (慶安面) and Op’o-myŏn (五浦面).

For this reason, it is believed that the relocation of the Punwŏn was restricted to the above-mentioned districts.

The six myŏn remained the site of the fuel yards for the royal kiln throughout the period. But some of the forests were later redesignated for other government agencies.

For example, in the roth year of King Sukchong the right to fell the forest of Mugap-san in Ch’owŏl-myŏn was transferred from the Punwŏn to the Suŏ-ch’ŏng (守禦廳), the garrison command guarding the castles of Namhan-san near Seoul.

Thirty years later, the court government of King Sukchong changed its mind and redesignated Mugap-san to the Saong-wŏn again. But this time the royal kiln refused to accept the forest, on the pretext that it had already been completely cut down by the garrison command.

The fuel yards were designated to provide firewood for the Punwŏn and restricted to the six myŏn of Kwangju during the early period. However, the gradual exhaustion of the fuel in the area made it inevitable for the royal kiln to enlarge its sphere of felling rights. The new territories included Yech’ŏn (醴泉) of Kyŏngsang Province and Ch’unch’ŏn, Nangch’ŏn, Yanggu, Inje and Hongch’ŏn of Kangwŏn Province.

In addition to these, three more myŏn of Yanggŭn-gun were designated for the Punwŏn. But their names are not traceable.
Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the fuel yards in Kangwŏn Province used to transport the firewood by rafts as far as the Punwŏn.

However, as the practive inflicted too much harm on the populace, it was finally suspended in 1727, or the 3rd year of King Yongjo. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Yechŏn were taxed. It must be pointed out that the Punwŏn was never located in any of these fuel yards.

As was mentioned in the preceding chapters, the royal pottery works used to be relocated every ten years in search of new fuel sources. The exhausted yard was supposed to be reforested or left alone so that it might become productive again. However, the cut areas would be invaded by peasants only to be turned into burnt fields. Thus the number of forests for fuel yards in the vicinity of Kwangju became scarcer year after year until it presented quite a serious problem to the officials of the Punwŏn.

For this reason, they had to think of new ideas to overcome this pressing problem. The new measures included selection of a permanent site for the Punwŏn and taxation of peasants cultivating the burnt fields within the fuel yards.

The question was first raised in 1697, or the 23rd year of King Sukchong. A Punwŏn official recommended that all peasants cultivating the burnt fields, old or new, within the fuel yards be taxed and their taxes collected by the Punwŏn in order to solve the fuel problem for the royal kiln. In a sense, the official wanted to insure sources of taxation for the Punwŏn.

However, it soon became clear that taxation in kind on burnt field-holding peasants was not enough to provide all the fuel requirements. A new measure had to be taken. Thus in 1718, or the 44th year of King Sukchong, half of the household taxes levied from the burnt-field peasants was
spent to purchase fuel from the raft merchants. Some distressed peasants near the fuel yards seem to have lumbered the firewood for commercial purposes.

Taxation in kind or purchase of private firewood was indeed a new development in the management of the royal kilns. However, the proposal to purchase commercial fuel was not put into practice immediately. Moreover, it was not likely that the Punwôn had enough funds to pay for commercial firewood.

As a way out, a new source of taxation was devised to collect tolls from firewood vendors on the Han River. The passage taxes used to be collected by local officials of the coastal towns or villages along the river until 1725, or the 1st year of King Yongjo, when such places as Kaogae, Sindao-ri and Songjo-dong of Chup'yŏng were recommended as new sites for the Punwôn.

In the first moon of that year, it was decided that the tolls be collected by Punwôn officials to provide fuel for the royal kiln. The decision was implemented immediately. Thus the local officials of coastal towns and villages were sternly warned not to levy tolls upon firewood vendors. The rate was decided at ten percent of the total load.

Mr. Okuhira quoted in his book a poem written by Yun Che-gyu (尹濟奎), which, I suppose, dealt with one of the scenes in which the tolls were being collected. The literal meaning of the poem is as follows:

Boats full of firewood
Gather all day long.
Officials of the royal kiln
Busy themselves to collect tolls:
They are too honest—
Blue heaven dare not know the deceits and faults.
Elegant potteries with brushed paint
Will be the royal receptacles.

Now the annual requirements for fuel during the period under discussion totaled 8,000 charae or 40,000 to 50,000 horseloads. If we are allowed to suppose that the annual requirements were procured with the firewood taken in toll from raft vendors, then the vendors must have carried at least 400,000 to 500,000 horseloads of firewood per year on the Han River.

However, the new idea did not work to the satisfaction of the Punwōn officials. According to an official record of the 2nd year of King Yŏngjo, many vendors evaded paying the tolls on the pretext that the loads they were carrying were for military use. Therefore, it was decided that the Punwōn officials should confirm the number of boats carrying firewood for the military and collect tolls from not only commercial vendors but also the boats working for local offices and even the royal family.

Nevertheless, the results of the new policy were not satisfactory either. Therefore, the Punwōn officials had to pay the transportation fees for those who carried the firewood levied from the burnt field-holding peasants within the fuel yards.

For example, in February, 1726 the inhabitants of Puk-myŏn (北面), Yangju-gun were requested to carry 4,000 charae, or 20,000 horseloads of firewood to the river-side. But their payment was too small: only 2 tong of kamok (價木 cloth). Governor Yi Kyo-ak (李喬岳) of then Kyonggi Province complained in his report to the court government about this maltreatment. He said: “The households of Puk-myŏn total only a little over 100. It is almost impossible for them to transport 4,000 charae or 20,000...
horseloads of firewood. For this reason, the inhabitants not only refused to receive the fees or loan of grain for the spring season, but also abandoned their farms altogether."

Meanwhile, the hardships for the local populace had to be increased since the payment was only nominal and the work was almost compulsory. Besides, the disputes over the question of transporting firewood continued between the Saong-won and local officials. They were based on conflicts of interest among the officials concerned.

The court government which duly discussed Governor Yi's report of complaints reached a patched-up conclusion. Its reply to the Saong-won and governor said:

"Although it is deemed inevitable for the Punwon to have taken such an unprecedented measure as to impose upon the local inhabitants the obligation to transport the firewood for cheap payment, such grievances should never be repeated in the future because it is a regrettable thing to see the poor peasants desert their farms at a time of extreme poverty in spring.

"It is recommended, therefore, that the Punwon provide its own funds to purchase the firewood required for the production of royal porcelain."

On the other hand, the Saong-won retorted that Governor Yi's complaints had not been based on true facts. It said that the work could have hardly inflicted any harm on the inhabitants since it would not take more than a few days for the rafts of firewood to reach the Punwon if they were paid properly and aided by the ceramists in felling the trees and transporting them to the shores of the river.

It also warned the court government that it would no longer be able to continue to operate the royal kiln if no additional funds were made available. As for the justifica-
tion for its demand for an increased budget, it explained that it had to borrow money from the Ŭyŏng-ch'ŏng (御營廳) to pay the inhabitants of Puk-myŏn since it had been on the brink of financial bankruptcy.

Despite the endless disputes, no permanent solution was found for either adversary. As for the Punwŏn, it was not in a position to provide its own funds so long as it was not allowed or supposed to sell its products. Besides, it could no longer mobilize local peasants for its work without sufficient reward. And yet it had to procure the firewood somehow and at any cost.

Now the local magistrates found themselves in no less delicate a position than the officials of the Punwŏn. They believed that the peasants under their jurisdiction had done for the Punwŏn whatever they had been supposed to do. Therefore, they argued that the poor populace should no longer be put to work for unjustifiably cheap wages. Perhaps they contented themselves by giving tacit approval to the peasants' passive but desperate manner of resistance, i. e., deserting en masse.

Meanwhile, the court government agreed to increase the transportation fees and at the same time decided to mobilize the inhabitants of such neighboring counties as Chip'yŏng and Kap'yŏng to help in the work. However, it urged the Punwŏn to manage to provide funds with its own resources for the procurement of firewood in the future.

Unsatisfied with the decision, the Saong-wŏn officials submitted a new plan to the government with which to provide funds to purchase the firewood. The plan said:

"The government offices and agencies in the capital have been granted licenses to sell the surplus cloth in the possession of the local governments of P'yŏngan and Hwanghae Provinces. The profits from the sale of the surpluses have been
of great benefit to the government offices concerned. For this reason, it is requested that the Saong-wôn be granted the same privilege so that it may be able to provide funds for the purchase of the firewood."

The request was approved by the king.

However, the amount of profit from the sale of surplus cloth was not made clear. Besides, it is doubtful whether or not the profit was sufficient to pay all the transportation fees, totaling thousands of yang.

The controversies over the procurement of firewood were carried over to the following year. For example, in 1727, or the 3rd year of King Yongjo, Governor Yu Fok-myong (柳復明) of Kangwon Province requested the abolishment of five fuel yards in his jurisdiction. The request was discussed at a cabinet meeting.

Vice Premier Hong Ch'i-jung (洪致中) was in favor of the abolishment. So he said:

"The Punwôn collects about 1,000 sôk of cereals per year from the burnt-field peasants in Kwangju and considerable quantity of wood as toll from the raft vendors. This provides sufficient funds for the Punwôn to meet the requirements for firewood. For this reason, I am opposed to the mobilization of local populace for the transportation of the firewood. I propose that the fuel yards in question be abolished."

However, Mayor Yi Pyông-sang (李秉常) of Seoul, who had once worked for the Saong-wôn, opposed the proposal. He said:

"The taxes from the burnt fields are scarcely enough to support the officials and ceramists of the Punwôn. Besides, the quantity of cloth levied for the official craftsmen has been reduced year after year due to bad harvests. Therefore, the Punwôn can hardly afford to purchase firewood. Even
if it could, it would only be a temporary measure. For this reason, I propose that the fuel yards in Kangwŏn Province be allowed to remain, and that local peasants be mobilized continuously for the transportation of firewood, even if it causes some inconveniences for them.”

The king agreed to pay subsidies to the Punwŏn to cover its deficit, and decided to abolish the fuel yards in question.

We have traced the historical background in connection with the procurement of firewood for the royal kilns. In the beginning, the kilns were relocated in pursuit of the forests. In this case, the trees were lumbered by employees of the Punwŏn. Thus no problem was raised about the transportation of the firewood.

Then the royal kiln was located at a fixed place, remaining for at least ten years. In this case, each fuel yard was supposed to be reforested so that the kiln might be able to come back after a certain period of absence. However, invasion by burnt-field peasants into the exhausted forests spoilt the original plan altogether.

In the third stage, a permanent site was selected and the firewood was supposed to be brought to the Punwŏn by various means. In the early period of this stage, the requirements for firewood were met by levying taxes in kind from either the burnt-field peasants or the wood vendors utilizing the Han River.

When collection of taxes or tolls could not satisfy the demand, local inhabitants were mobilized to transport the firewood free or for nominal payment. But this plan did not work either, because not only the peasants, but also local officials were unwilling to cooperate with the Punwŏn officials.

Government subsidies or taxation on burnt-field peasants remained, therefore, the only sources of revenue for the
royal kiln to purchase firewood. However, collection of burnt-
field taxes was allegedly insufficient to support the budget, 
even if failure to insure full collection or embezzlement by 
the tax collectors were ignored. Besides, it is not likely that 
the poor court government could keep its promise to cover 
the deficits of the royal kiln.

After all, the Punwŏn was left with no other choice 
but to provide funds from its own sources of income to 
overcome the fuel crisis. But this was almost impossible 
unless part of its products was allowed to be sold in the public 
markets. On the other hand, it must be taken into consider-
ation that the domestic commerce and private handicraft 
industry were developed to such an extent as to make it im-
possible for the Punwŏn to mobilize the local populace to 
transport its firewood without paying wages.

5. LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE CERAMISTS

According to the Kyŏng-guk Taegŏn (經國大典), the 
basic codes of the Yi Dynasty completed in 1471, or the 
2nd year of King Sŏngjong (成宗 1470—94), a total of 482 
ceramists had registered with the Kong-jo (工曹) or the equiva-
tent of today’s ministry of commerce and industry. Of 
them, 380 were assigned to the Saong-wŏn, six to the Naesu-sa 
(內需司), the office of supply and general affairs of the 
royal household and the rest, 96 in number, to different prov-
incial governments.

As was mentioned in the beginning of this article, the 
royal kiln was the only field of handicraft industry that was 
still maintained under the management of the court govern-
ment until the closing years of the dynasty. Therefore, the 
ceramists comprising more than 70 per cent of the total 
worked for the Punwŏn as government craftsmen. However,
their living conditions or working conditions seemed to have undergone significant changes according to the phases of the history of the ceramics industry of the Yi Dynasty.

Generally speaking, the government handicraft industry of the dynasty began to decline around the time of the Japanese invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi. I suppose that desertion by malcontent craftsmen was one of the major reasons for the decline. For example, in 1530, or the 25th year of King Chungjong, almost half of the ceramists deserted the Punwŏn. As a plan to replace the deserters periodically, it was recommended that at least 50 replacements be recruited from bondsmen among sailors (sugun) whenever necessary.

Meanwhile, a new provision to bind the sons of ceramists to remain hereditarily in the profession was included in Taejŏn Hu Sok Nak published in 1543, or the 38th year of the king. The unprecedented regulation was necessitated, presumably, by the immediate urge to prevent the ceramists from escaping from the government workshops, on the one hand, and the need to maintain the pottery industry under government management on the other hand. The especial emphasis on the hereditary clause on the ceramists was, I presume, due to the need to keep the industry under government control, which was strongly felt by the court government. This contributed to the survival of the ceramics industry under government control until the end of the dynasty while all other industry went out of government control.

Despite the new provision, the reluctance on the part of the ceramists to serve the government industry intensified after the invasion, which in turn inflicted a great blow on the royal pottery works. For example, in 1625, or the 3rd year of King Injo, the number of ceramists and reservists assigned to the Punwŏn was reduced to 821 from the original strength of 1140, because of repeated desertions. Local
magistrates were not cooperative to help recruitment for the Punwŏn. For this reason, the court government had to send out stern warnings and threats of severe punishment to the local officials. The Punwŏn was on the verge of closing due to insufficient manpower.

Two reasons may be pointed out to explain the drastic drain of ceramists at the royal pottery works during the immediate aftermath of the Japanese invasion. On the one hand, it is conceivable that many of them were taken to Japan as prisoners of war. But on the other hand, there were quite frequent incidents in which ceramists voluntarily deserted the Punwŏn.

For example, in 1632, or the 40th year of King Injo, ceramist Yun Hi-un (尹希雲), an inhabitant of Chip’yŏng-hyon (祗平縣), escaped the government workshop to surrender to the Ōyŏng-ch’ŏng, which in turn accepted him under a false name. Angered by this incident, the chief of the Saong-wŏn demanded the immediate return of the escapee. He argued that a soldier could be substituted by any healthy young man, but it would take years to train a qualified ceramist. Besides it would encourage other ceramists to follow his example if such an event were to be allowed to succeed once, he concluded.

It must be pointed out that any registered ceramist was required to work at the Punwŏn for at least a fixed period of years. But soldiers registered in Oyŏng-ch’ŏng were allowed to pay cloth instead of doing actual service.

Therefore, the fact that ceramists wanted to escape and could somehow manage to run away from the royal pottery works was detrimental to the maintenance of the government industry.

Moreover it also could be interpreted as a sort of resistance to the hereditary social status and profession typical
of feudal society.

The trend of declining government industry continued and intensified after the invasion as many craftsmen deserted their government workshops to join private enterprises or changed their professions, which further prompted the decline of the government handicraft industry. However, the need to maintain the ceramic industry under direct government supervision was felt to be so urgent that numerous measures had to be taken to prevent further desertions by the ceramists.

The emphasis was repeated most frequently during the latter part of the 17th century, when deserters among government craftsmen were recorded in great numbers. For example, in 1633, or the 11th year of King Injo, when the reorganization of military registration was made, the chief of the Saong-wôn demanded the retransfer of 300 out of 1140 ceramists who had been reassigned to the Pyŏng-cho, or the defense ministry.

It was felt all the better to maintain the hereditary ceramists without making a new precedent.

In 1689, or the 15th year of King Sukchong, the Saong-wôn again gave stern warnings to its ceramists not to escape or change their assignments for easier jobs, and asked them to search and report hiding fellow ceramists or their children.

It is doubtful that all of the deserting ceramists did come back to the Punwôn. Other government agencies often refused to send former ceramists back, despite repeated and strong demands by the Saong-wôn.

However, it must be pointed out that enforcement of the hereditary system for the ceramists was comparatively effective, and that most craftsmen who deserted were forced to return to their original occupations. It was for this reason
that the strength of the government ceramists could be maintained even when most other government craftsmen had abandoned their workshops.

Until the immediate aftermath of the Japanese invasion of Korea in the 16th century, the ceramists of the Punwón used to be rotated with those selected from various provinces. They were supposed to be handed over to the Punwón officials who accompanied them.

When they were relieved from duties at the Punwón, provincial ceramists were supposed to produce porcelain for local governments, or be allowed to have other jobs. However, they were registered with the Saong-wón and were not supposed to change their social status.

For example, the full strength of the ceramists for Namwón (南原), Chŏlla Province, was 22 in 1725, or the 1st year of King Yongjo. Any vacancy was supposed to be filled by the local government.

Generally speaking, craftsmen were required to work for pertinent government workshops annually for a certain period of time during the Yi Dynasty, and were exempted from taxes only for the number of days they served in the workshops.

During the early period of the dynasty, the ceramists were also governed by the same rule. The ceramists had to pay taxes to the Saong-wón for the days they did not work for the kiln. However, the system seems to have undergone a change as late as the 17th century. In other words, the government ceramists were given permanent assignments without rotating their services: the Punwón ceramists and local ceramists were divided as to permanent assignments. In the first place, mobilization of local ceramists took too much time and expense for their travel to and from the royal kiln. In addition to this inconvenience, most provincial cera-
mists proved to be too inefficient to fulfill their highly skilled jobs, since they had long abandoned their hereditary profession to do other work such as farming. For this reason, assignment of exclusive ceramists for the Punwŏn was necessitated. Meanwhile, local ceramists were allowed, or rather demanded, to pay cloth as taxes instead of working for the government pottery kiln.

Thus the ceramists assigned to the Punwŏn became professional craftsmen who brought their families to settle down near the royal kiln. The number of their households increased to form “a special colony of their own” as early as 1697, or the 23rd year of King Sukchong.

After the permanent assignment of the ceramists, a sort of wage labor system developed. Their wages were paid with the cloth collected from those who did not serve at the Punwŏn.

According to the record of 1634, or the 13th year of King Injo, “the ceramists at the royal pottery works were living on the cloth collected from local craftsmen.” It added that “the cloth for the coming year should be collected by the end of November, for the ceramists would otherwise run away.”

The record of 1707, or the 33rd year of King Sukchong, tells us more details about the situation:

“Local ceramists used to be taxed in kind (cloth) for their exemptions from duties. Of the cloth collected, an equivalent of taxes for 530 persons used to be spent for the payment of salaries of the ceramists, and that for 352 for the payment of salaries for miscellaneous laborers and the purchase of various commodities.

“However, the original rate of 3 pil(円) was reduced by 1 pil since last year. For this reason, the total budget was not sufficient to pay not only the production expenses but also the salaries of the craftsmen. The production could be
completed only after the surplus cloth, totaling 330 pil, was appropriated from the Pyŏng-cho."

Although the ceramists assigned to the Punwŏn were in a sense wage laborers, their assignment was rather compulsory than voluntary. Besides, their wages were paid so irregularly that their living condition could never be stabilized.

For example, the number of ceramists and laborers assigned to the royal pottery works totaled 325 in 1697. The ceramists had to work in three shifts. Besides, more than 40 horses a day were mobilized for the work. The officials of the Punwŏn reported that "the famine prevailing in the period was so serious that one day 39 workers starved to death and 63 fell ill." They also added that "a total of 24 households deserted the royal factory due to economic distress. For this reason, the remaining craftsmen were not successfully persuaded to continue their work."

"The suspension of the production of ceramics by the Punwŏn last autumn was attributable," said the report, "to the extreme economic distress."

"For this reason," the officials continued, "the ceramists and laborers could neither be paid, nor farm nor produce pottery for general use to earn additional income."

It must be pointed out that the report was a little exaggerated because the officials had some political reasons to obtain a greater loan of grain from the central government. Nevertheless, the report may lead us to some significant conclusions.

Firstly, the report made a quite contradictory statement. It said that the ceramists could not farm because the royal kiln suspended its work the previous autumn. This apparently does not agree with its earlier assertion that the Punwŏn workers were not engaged in any other occupations, such as farming or commerce.
It remains to be proved whether they possessed their own fields or had to borrow land to farm, or were merely hired by other farmers when the furnaces were inactive. However, other historical records unanimously confirming that the ceramists in question held no additional occupations lead me to presume that they were allowed at most to work for other farmers on a wage basis. Moreover, it is very likely that they depended exclusively on production of ceramics to make their living. They were one of the most specialized professional groups in this field, at least during the period under discussion.

Secondly, the report suggests that the ceramists did not work on a permanent or periodical contract basis. In other words, they were not paid when there was no work at the Punwôn. For this reason, they had to suffer economic distress when they were inactive. Nevertheless, they were not in a position to seek other jobs or run away for good, although they had to face starvation or desert, because they were supposed to come back from exile when the work was resumed, indicating their profession was still compulsory.

Thirdly, the report confirms that the ceramists were allowed to earn additional income from the sale of private products. In view of the statement that they worked on a rotation system (three shifts a day), they could concentrate on private work for at least two-thirds of the total number of work days.

However, the report does not specify whether they had their own ovens or used the official ones to produce products for commercial purposes. It is very likely that they had to rely on the government ovens and at least part of the materials, i.e., kaolin and firewood, to make commercial porcelain, since the report implies that private work also had to stop when the official production was suspended. If this was true,
it gives us another picture of the government's handicraft industry of the Yi Dynasty.

The following report is more suggestive about the treatment given to the ceramists. It was written in 1698, or the 24th year of King Sukchong, by an official of the Punwŏn. It reads:

“The ceramists begin to work in early spring of each year when the ice melts, and do not stop until early winter when it freezes. For this reason, they can hardly find spare time to engage in private work. Besides, the repeated bad harvests of recent years reduced the buying power so seriously that they can hardly sell their private products, even if they had any.

“Moreover, the local ceramists have been exempted from all or part of their taxes due to the bad harvests. For this reason, the Chinhuyul-ch’ŏng (賑恤廳) or the Relief Office has been ordered to subsidize the Punwŏn to cover the budgetary deficit. However, the Relief Office has paid only 1.25 yang per 1 pil of cloth instead of the official rate of 3:1, which in turn further aggravated the problems of the ceramists.

“The situation is a little better for ordinary peasants because they can rely on early crops after the 6th moon. But the ceramists could not enjoy even such a trivial favor because they usually do not farm and are too busy to seek extra work to earn additional income. For this reason, a total of 13 ceramists starved to death even after the 6th moon, the time of the early harvest.

“It is very unfair,” the report continued, “to lower the exchange rate for the ceramists who have to work for the government all year round without having any means to make extra income. It should be stressed that it takes scores of years to train a qualified ceramist. Who will succeed them should they all starve to death?”
Payment of subsidies by the Chinhuyul-Ch'ong to cover the budgetary deficit of the Punwôn gives us a good illustration of the government handicraft industry. Although the reduction in the quantity of cloth collected from local ceramists was attributable to frequent bad harvests, it also must be pointed out that the decline of power and financial bankruptcy of the court government had progressed to such an extent as to make it hard for the rulers to finance even such a small handicraft industry as the Punwôn.

Meanwhile, the fact that part of the payment was made in coin leads me to presume that a significant change was being made in the wage system of government enterprises.

Therefore, the court government decided to lend grain to the ceramists on better conditions, in order to prevent them from deserting, and to keep the royal pottery works in shape. For example, in 1687, or the 23rd year of King Sukchong when 39 ceramists had died of starvation, the government loaned them 200 sŏk of rice and 100 sŏk of soy beans. This was a great increase as compared with loans of the previous year, which totaled only 13 sŏk of rice and a little more than 70 sŏk of millet.

However, the generosity was often discontinued because the government found itself unable to continue the loans due to the ceramists’ failure to return the borrowed grain. This in turn drove them to even harder distress. The desperate officials of the Saong-wôn requested the government to lend 300 sŏk of rice from the reserves for the garrison command of the castle at Namhan-san. They also demanded severe punishment for the magistrate of Kwangju, who, they asserted, had failed to take relevant relief measures for the ceramists under his jurisdiction.

Nevertheless, the ceramists were given a considerable
quantity of grain loans every year. Sometimes military grain was appropriated for them when the government had insufficient reserves. It is likely that the loans were transacted directly from the metropolitan agency to “the special colony of ceramists.” Besides, they were granted more generous repayment terms than ordinary peasants.

For example, they were permitted to postpone their repayment of grain which totaled more than 1,490 sŏk for five years by 1700, or the 26th year of King Sukchong. Of course, the generous measure was taken in order to prevent them from deserting the government pottery works.

Neither the cloth collected from local ceramists nor loans of relief grain on generous terms could put an end to the chronic hardships of the government ceramists.

In the beginning, the royal pottery works of the Yi Dynasty was operated under the compulsory labor system. Then it was gradually developed into a sort of wage-labor system after the 17th century. However, the decline of the ruling apparatus, the irreparable financial bankruptcy of the court government, and the ensuing socio-economic changes made it almost impossible for the government to provide salaries for the ceramists at the Punwŏn.

Meanwhile, the ceramists had two major sources of income: issuance of cloth collected from local ceramists and sales of their own products. During the latter period of the Yi Dynasty, the ceramists seem to have earned more income from the sale of private products than from government salaries. It must have been for this reason that the royal kiln could survive until the last days of the dynasty, despite unprofitable management and underpayment of its workers.

6. BUDGET AND TAXATION AT THE PUNWŎN

During the 17th and 18th centuries the royal pottery
works was faced with serious budgetary problems, such as shortage of salaries for its workers and transportation fees for firewood.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the metropolitan ceramists were first paid with the cloth collected from their local counterparts as taxes. When collection of the taxes became unfeasible or insufficient, they were granted relief grain of the Chihyul-ch’ŏng, or repayable grain loans such as military grain.

Meanwhile, transportation fees were paid with the tolls collected from firewood vendors on the Han River or government subsidies. However, the major sources of revenues for the Punwŏn were the taxes collected from the burnt-field peasants within the vicinity of the fuel yards. There were two kinds of taxes: burnt-field tax and household tax.

One day in 1779, or the 3rd year of his reign, King Chŏngjo (正祖, 1777–1800) asked his ministers whether or not they knew of the fact that “the officials of the Saongwŏn tax the commoners living near the fuel yards because of their felling trees in the yards.”

Then Prime Minister Kim Sang-ch’ŏl (金尙喆) replied to the king: “I have no knowledge of the year when the law was first put into force. In the beginning, they used to tax 2 mal per household. However, the rate was reduced by half a mal during the reign of King Yongjo.”

Thus even a prime minister did not know the exact date of the enforcement of the law. Magistrate Yŏ Sŏng-Je (呂聖齊) left a little more suggestive record about the taxation in 1683, or the 9th year of King Sukchong. His record reads:

“The six myŏn in the northern district of Kwangju are under the jurisdiction of the Saong-wŏn. In the beginning the royal office did not inflict any harm on the inhabitants
because the latter were only forbidden to set fire or fell the trees in the fuel yards. However, the officials began to tax 2 mal of cereals on each household and 5 mal of cereals on each piece of land for one day's ploughing. I understand that half of the taxes has been spent by the Punwŏn and the rest has been sent to the metropolitan office.”

Magistrate Yŏ's remarks lead me to presume that the taxation was started after the royal kiln was relocated at the county as Punwŏn and the six myŏn designated as the fuel yards.

What is more informative about the situation is a report submitted by an official of the Saong-wŏn in 1732, or the 8th year of King Yŏngjo. His report reads as follows:

"After the seven myŏn of Kwangju-gun were designated as the fuel yards to provide and reforest firewood for the Punwŏn, the number of inhabitants living in the fuel yards has increased to such an extent as to form villages at many places. They not only set fire to the forests to cultivate burnt fields, but also felled the trees of the fuel yards in order to build their houses and even to cook.

"For this reason, most of the fuel yards have gradually been uprooted. In 1662, or the 3rd year of King Hyŏnjong, it was planned to expel them from the fuel yards. But the plan was abandoned for fear of possible revolt by the inhabitants. Therefore, a compromise had to be innovated: They were allowed to live there but told to pay taxes at the rate of 2 mal of rice per household so as to finance the transportation fees for the firewood.”

The above record implies that the collection of household taxes began in 1662. But there is no mention about the burnt-field taxes. For this reason, it remains to be proved whether or not collection of burnt-field taxes coincided with that of household taxes.
However, the record of 1697, or the 23rd year of King Sukchong, leads me to presume that the burnt-field taxes were levied immediately after the enforcement of the household taxes. According to the record, the officials of the Saong-wŏn recommended that a permanent site be selected for the Punwŏn, that the requirements for firewood be allocated among the burnt-field peasants within the fuel yards, and that the traditional burnt-field taxes be paid in firewood instead of cereals.

Not much importance seems to have been attached to the collection of the household and burnt-field taxes when the Punwŏn could move around to find forests and the tax cloth of local ceramists could be levied as planned. However, the relocation of the Punwŏn at a permanent site and the unsuccessful collection of cloth brought about a significant change in taxation policy of the court government.

Since the collection of the taxes imposed great burdens not only on the peasants but also the local officials concerned, successive governors of Kwangju county repeatedly recommended reduction of taxes for the burnt-field peasants in the fuel yards.

For example, Governor Yi Chong-sŏng (李宗城) of Kwangju recommended in 1732, or the 8th year of King Yongjo, that all households in the fuel yards be classified into four grades according to their wealth so that they might be taxed more fairly. In other words, he requested that the rate be decreased in order by five toe (杉杉) or half a mal per grade: Grade 4 be taxed 1/2 mal; grade 3, 1 mal; grade 2, 1 1/2 mal; and grade 1, 2 mal; respectively.

However, the officials of the Saong-wŏn opposed the plan with the following "justifications."

(1) Indiscriminate classification of the households in the fuel yards is not a reasonable solution because the wealth
of each household can hardly be judged by the size or location of their houses. For example, some rich peasants here keep quite shabby houses, while others have big houses although they are in fact rather poor.

(2) The household taxes, even if fully collected, are not sufficient to cover the transportation fees of the firewood, now that ten years have passed since the permanent relocation of the Punwōn.

The officials finally proposed a compromise: That the rate be reduced indiscriminately by one half to one mal per household for the current year, since the inhabitants were sorely distressed by the unprecedented famine and calamity, and that the Chinhuyul-ch’ōng grant subsidies to cover the deficit. The compromise proposal was approved by the king.

As the reliance on household taxes began to increase, the officials of the Saong-wōn tried their best not to decrease the tax rate. However, the repetition of bad harvests and the constant insistence by the local governors compelled the stubborn officials to agree with the reduction plan.

As was mentioned above, it was during the reign of King Yŏngjo that the rate was reduced to 1 and 1/2 mal of rice per household and 4 mal of rice per piece of land for one day’s ploughing. However, numerous irregularities practised by tax collectors and conflicts over the taxation rights between the officials of the Saŏng-wŏn and the local government began to be recorded as early as the beginning of the reign of King Sukchong, not too long after the enforcement of the tax law.

The irregularities were attempted by the tax collectors from the Saong-wŏn. For example, they created new branch families by separating sons of slaves and commoners from their fathers in order to levy more taxes. They also accepted bribes in order to reduce taxes. Besides, some clerks of the
royal pottery works collaborated with the rangers only to take cloth forcibly from any peasants who happened to be discovered by the former in possession of any piece of lumber or wood. For this reason, the complaints of the taxpayers reached an unprecedented extent.

On the other hand, the local officials not only reported to the court government on the hardships inflicted on the inhabitants by the tax collectors, but also took the opportunity to take over the collection rights from the officials of the Punwŏn.

For example, Governor Ch'ŏng Ch'ang-sŏng (鄭昌聖) of Kyŏnggi Province requested and was granted the right to collect taxes from the inhabitants of the fuel yards in 1779, or the 3rd year of King Chŏngjo. As for the justifications for his request, he remarked that “the despoilment by the officials of the Punwŏn has been so merciless that the inhabitants in the vicinity, totaling thousands of households, have almost deserted their villages.

“Although there is an annual allocation of grain to be paid as salaries for the craftsmen of the Punwŏn, they collect the grain directly from the inhabitants after harvest, which, I believe, is responsible for the excessive collection.”

It remains to be proved whether or not the above decision was enforced up to the end of the history of the royal pottery works. However, it is certain that the decision drove the officials of the Punwŏn to a more disadvantageous position in efforts to provide funds for the management of the kiln.

Yet the officials of the Punwŏn had to face still more financial difficulties. For example, the court government approved a request by the governor of Kyŏnggi Province to collect the household taxes in millet instead of rice in 1782, or the 6th year of King Chŏngjo. Unsatisfied with the
new decision, the officials of the Punwŏn made a protest. It reads as follows:

“Although the rate has been decreased to 1 and 1/2 mal from 5 mal, the inhabitants demand more reduction whenever there is a bad harvest. Now they are ungrateful enough to refuse to pay the taxes at all, even in a year of good harvest like this. If the phenomenon continues to prevail, the Punwŏn will have to close down, putting an end to the production of porcelain, in the near future. For this reason, it is recommended that severe punishment be imposed on those who have failed to pay the taxes.”

The increase in the transportation fees and the unsuccessful collection of cloth from local ceramists drove the Punwŏn to depend more and more on the household and burnt-field taxes to finance its management.

However, the revenues from these taxes were reduced even further by the repeated decrease in tax rates and finally the refusal to pay taxes at all by some bold peasants. Besides, the court government was already too poor to finance the kiln.

Thus innovation and new ideas were necessitated. Although no concrete records have so far been discovered in this connection, it is very likely that introduction of private capital or commercialization of the products was attempted to finance the royal pottery.

What should be added to this chapter is the fact that some of the farm fields confiscated from traitors were given to the Punwŏn to ease its financial problems. For example, the land of a traitor in Kimp’o (金浦) of Kyŏnggi Province was donated free of taxes to the royal pottery works in 1724, or the 4th year of King Kyŏngjong.

It must be pointed out that the action was taken only after the Punwŏn was faced with financial difficulties due
to unsuccessful collection of cloth from local ceramists. So far I have not been able to determine the exact acreage of the lands, other than those in the fuel yards designated for the uses by the P'unwŏn, or find any records of other donations of land for the pottery works.

7. MANAGEMENT AND SUPPLY OF ROYAL PORCELAIN

The prime task of the P'ūnwo'n was to produce ceramic vessels for royal use. However, not all of the vessels produced by the P'ūnwo'n were necessarily supplied for royal use.

The production usually began in early spring and continued until frost. It was supervised by 8-grade officials from the Saong-wŏn. One of them was sent to the pottery whenever production was under way.

He was called either P'ŏnjo-kwan (熈造官) or Nang Ch'ŏng. The literary meaning of P'ŏnjo-kwan was the officer in charge of baking. When a baking officer was transferred to another post, he was replaced immediately.

Mr. Asakawa Takumi (溝川巧) wrote that the supervising official from the Saong-wŏn had a total of 20 assistants who in fact ran the routine business of the royal kiln. His statement was based on quotations from the Punchu-wŏn Podong (分廚院報騰) or the Reports of the P'ūnwo'n.

No standard was set for the quantity of the annual production. The number of ordinary receptacles produced in 1694, or the 20th year of King Sukchong, totaled 1,300 ch'uk (10 pieces make 1 ch'uk). The number of special receptacles or Pyolpo'n (別燔) was not included in the figure.

The vessels were used for various purposes. For example, they were used as tableware for the royal kitchen, as receptacles for religious services, as medical receptacles for the Naeũi-wŏn (內醫院 the royal dispensary) and even for receptions for foreign envoys. In 1625, or the 3rd year of King
Injo, 223 chuk of tableware were provided to greet a mission from Ming. In addition to these, the Punwŏn was also supposed to bake special receptacles to be used for auspicious occasions in the royal household.

It seems that the receptacles for the royal kitchen and religious services were kept by the offices where they were used and all or part of them were replaced with new ones after a certain period of time or whenever damaged. Meanwhile, the tableware for receptions or auspicious occasions was generally lent to the offices or officials concerned. They were supposed to be returned after their purposes were fulfilled. However, most of them were not returned for various reasons. In fact, they were often turned into private properties.

For example, the record of 1648, or the 26th year of King Injo, gives us a clear picture of the situation:

“The tableware for receptions of foreign envoys used to be baked apart from the ordinary requirements. However, in recent years there has been no additional production although the visits of foreign envoys have been more frequent than before. For this reason, the tableware for royal use had to be lent for the purpose. More than 200 chuk are needed to have a reception. And it is not unusual that 40 to 50 chuk are not returned for such excuses as damage or scratches. Last year a total of 20 chuk were not returned on the pretext of theft, making the total shortage 30 chuk.”

It is not hard to imagine that many officials wanted to possess the receptacles produced by the Punwŏn because they were of the most excellent quality. Most notorious were the officials of the Saong-wŏn itself.

For example, Prince Hwach’ang (花昌君) or Yi Yŏn (李俊) was acting chief of the office in 1677, or the 3rd year of King Sukchong. It was no secret that he often ordered the
ceramists to produce additional porcelain for his own use. The record remarked that those ceramists who disobeyed him were given severe punishment and even tortured.

Thus a considerable quantity of the porcelain produced by the royal kiln was misappropriated by the officials of the kiln itself. I presume that many of the misappropriated vessels were sold illegally among the aristocrats.

The record of 1793, or the 17th year of King Chŏngjo, states that not only high-ranking officials of the court government but also commoners possessed many of the items produced by the Punwŏn. This leads us to believe that the Punwŏn receptacles were widely used by the general public during the period under discussion.

Meanwhile, the requirements for various government offices were met by private ceramics procured from the Sagi-chŏn (沙器署) or the ceramics store in Seoul. However, the ceramics produced by the Punwŏn were also appropriated when the exclusive store could not meet the government orders.

The Sagi-chŏn was in a sense an exclusive agent for government procurement of receptacles. But it had to go out of business around the closing years of King Injo because of excessive exploitation by government offices.

Therefore, ordinary merchants were requested to supply the official requirements. Since they were not professional dealers in ceramics, they had to purchase the commodities from any possible source. But they soon met the same fate as that of the exclusive agent.

For a brief while, each government agency had its own servants trade ceramics to meet its requirements. Then the Kongjo was told to take care of the procurement of ceramics for government offices. When private products were not sufficient to meet the official demand, some of the receptacles
produced by the Punwŏn were appropriated.

According to the record of 1657, or the 8th year of King Hyojong, the receptacles for royal use used to be presented to the throne twice a year. Only one-third of the total products was accepted and the rest rejected as disqualified. Of the disqualified, about 50 per cent was pocketed by the acting director of the Saong-wŏn and the remaining half was sent to the Kongjo.

It is yet to be proved whether or not such disposal as was mentioned by the above record was prevalent throughout the history of the dynasty. But the record is enough to inform us of the historical background, in which a great quantity of Punwŏn products came to be used by various government agencies, officials and even commoners.

Meanwhile, many of the official ceramists could manage to spare some time to produce their own vessels on a commercial scale. It is quite probable that they had enough time to do so, for they usually worked in three shifts.

For most of the period the government ceramists utilized government equipment and materials such as ovens, kaolin and firewood to produce commercial ceramics. Indeed, it is not likely that any of them was rich enough to procure their own materials to earn additional income.

However, it must be pointed out that the quantity of royal ceramics misappropriated for commercial markets was rather increased, despite the fact that the court government was too poor to finance the royal kiln during the latter period. This leads me to presume that the government enterprise underwent a gradual change in the nature of its management; that is, it began to be influenced less and less by government control in the last phase of the period.
9. CONCLUSION

I have now introduced part of my studies of the management of the Punwŏn or the royal pottery works of the Yi Dynasty in such matters as location and facilities, procurement and transportation of kaolin and firewood, the living standards and working conditions of the government ceramists, budgetary problems and disposition of the products. My effort was especially concentrated on the 17th and 18th centuries. The preceding materials may lead us to the following conclusions:

(1) During the early period the royal kiln had to be relocated in search of fuel yards. However, it settled down at a permanent site which is believed to have been somewhere near the Uch’ŏn-gang in the county of Kwangju-gun in the early part of the 18th century, or during the reign of King Kyŏngjong. After the settlement, such major materials as kaolin and firewood were brought to the Punwŏn, mainly by boats or rafts on the Han River. This in turn caused a great increase in the budget needed to finance the royal pottery.

(2) Kaolin was produced at more than ten districts in the country. The mining or transportation of the material was mostly carried out by the inhabitants of the districts concerned, who had to contribute compulsory labor. Although some of them were paid wages, this was very rare and only nominal. Meanwhile, private boats were frequently chartered to transport kaolin because they insured more promptness than the tax boats in the possession of local governments.

(3) Prior to the settlement near the Uch’ŏn River, the firewood used to be felled by the employees of the Punwŏn. Later the fuel was provided with the tolls collected from wood vendors on the Han River. Sometimes local inhabitants
were mobilized to lumber and transport firewood for cheap wages. Collection of household and burnt-field taxes from the peasants living in the fuel yards also helped the royal kiln cover the transportation fees. But the socio-economic progress no longer allowed the government enterprise to depend on compulsory labor or cheap wages. Thus transportation fees remained one of the most pressing problems for the Punnwŏn.

(4) The production used to be carried out by government ceramists throughout the country, who were supposed to work for a certain period of time annually at the Punnwŏn. However, assignment of exclusive ceramists began to be favored sometime in the 17th century. They became professional craftsmen and later wage laborers. Meanwhile, local ceramists who were not assigned to the royal pottery were supposed to pay cloth as taxes to cover salaries for the official ceramists. However, the tax rate was gradually reduced so that the royal ceramists were often underpaid.

(5) The major income source was the household and burnt-field taxes collected from the inhabitants of the fuel yards. However, the repeated opposition by local officials and the reluctance or refusal to pay taxes by the peasants caused the Punnwŏn to be faced with incessant financial difficulties.

(6) The products were supposed to be used exclusively by the royal household. However, irregularities by the officials of the Saong-wŏn and other government agencies often misappropriated the products, which in turn came into the possession of not only high-ranking government officials but also rich commoners. The practice of producing commercial porcelain by underpaid ceramists was also responsible for the phenomenon.

As was mentioned in the preceding section, the numerous
factors which caused extreme financial difficulties for the Punwŏn must have caused the officials concerned to seek new sources of income so as to maintain the royal pottery works. Introduction of private capital and significant increase in the production of commercial vessels are some of the most probable innovations.

No doubt the sale of commercial receptacles was officially forbidden, in view of the original purpose of the government enterprise. For this reason, I have so far failed to find any official records about this. Besides, I could not find any traces which might have led me to a satisfactory conclusion as to the presumption, although I made an extensive examination of the remains of the ovens. I had also wished to meet some descendants of some of the Punwŏn officials who might have kept accounting books about the sale of commercial vessels. However, I was not lucky in this endeavor either.

My only comfort and delight was to meet Mr. Ham Ch’ang-sŏp (咸昌燮), an elder of 82 at the village of Punwŏn-ni, Namjong-myŏn, who was born early enough to hear about the management of the Punwŏn during its last days. According to his memories, the royal pottery works was placed under the supervision of a leader elected among the Sŏri (胥吏) totaling 30, and run almost without any interference by the Saong-wŏn. He also recalled that some rich villagers provided operation money for the royal kiln. Meanwhile, only a small portion of the production was presented to the throne, with the rest put to public sale. For this reason, the village of Punwŏn-ni was then the center of the ceramics market of the entire country.

I want to make it clear that Mr. Ham’s memories must be taken with reservation because his stories were based on what he heard only after Punwŏn had already been abolished. However, it is enough, I believe, to presume that the
royal pottery works began to free itself from the control of the court government after the 17th and 18th centuries, undergoing a significant change in the original purpose of its establishment.
We desire the rate of commercial restraints to be officially
reduced. At the original purpose of the government
agreement, I have no idea of the rate of commercial
taxes. However, I do not find any official
reduction. Besides, I could not find any
information about the rate of commercial
restraints. However, I also have trouble in this instance.

My only comfort and delight was the praise of Mr. Hand
Chang, who as the son of King of Poyang, or
Poyang, was very born early enough to brave about
the surface of the market, during the last days. Although
he had to say that the royal pottery market was placed inside
the surface of a master dressed among the Shi (17th)
market, and was almost without any interference by the
Shang-wen. He also recalled that some rich villagers provided
operating capital to the royal Shi. Meanwhile, only a
small portion of the production was presented to the market
with the rest put to public sale. For this reason, the villagers
of Poyang saw the disappearance of the ceramic market of
the entire country.

I was able to realize that Mr. Hand's memorial must
be taken with wisdom because his stories were based on
what he heard only after Tangtai had already been silent.
Although Newport is in enough, I believe, to pretend that the
PATTERNS OF FURNITURE DESIGN DURING
THE YI DYNASTY
by Pai Man-sill

1. INFLUENCE OF CONFUCIANISM UPON CRAFTSMANSHIP

The five centuries of the Yi Dynasty can be generally divided into two periods. Using the Imjin Japanese Invasion as a point of division, the early period (1392—1591) covers the two centuries before the war; the later three centuries (1592—1910) after the war.

During the early period, the Yi Dynasty inherited the Buddhist culture of the Koryo Dynasty under the overwhelming influence of the Chinese Ming Dynasty (1368—1644).

On the other hand, creative and original innovations in craftsmanship occurred in the Yi Dynasty, although there continued to be considerable indebtedness toward the culture of the Ching Dynasty (1644—1912).

At the commencement of the Yi Dynasty, the government trained prominent artists by encouraging their activities in painting landscape watercolors.

King T'aeso (the founder of the Yi Dynasty) incurred the contempt of craftsmen because of his policy of suppression of Buddhism and encouragement of Confucianism.

However, as Confucianism encouraged frugality and simplicity in life, and education achieved more and more progress in the country, temples of Confucius were established throughout the nation in conjunction with adoration of Confucius, and consequently craftsmanship was important.
Regrettably, most pre-war remains were reduced to ashes, or disappeared at the time of the Imjin invasions.

During the later period, a gradually declining trend in political and economic power of the Yi Dynasty can be seen. Confucianism merely stuck to empty formalism, so the people's interest in arts was exhausted and their enthusiasm for craftsmanship vanished. Craftsmanship at that time was inclined to be no more than an outward exhibition rather than deeply-rooted techniques.

The encouragement of a Confucianist policy took a leading role in the contemporary political and social reforms. Though peace-loving Confucianists paid no attention to national defense, the active development of Confucianism stimulated the improvement of culture and fostered the creative spirit of craftsmen.

It was not until the eighteenth century that fine craftsmanship expanded to become not only the servant of the royal household but also of people in all walks of society. Even though artisans could not easily achieve development of a new style in craftsmanship because of the supervision of the Confucianist officials, they did receive an incentive to regain creative expression out of old styles, and groped for innovation in method.

In other words, the style of art which had been the exclusive concern of the aristocracy became popular with the general public.

At that time, artisans were trying to cast off the influence of Chinese civilization and exert themselves toward a national consciousness and expression of their own original and unique culture. Therefore, religious ceremonies and recreational activities were prevalent among people in all walks of society, and they were eager to decorate their homes for the reception of their friends.
Moreover, importance was attached to the handicrafts which could be enjoyed by the multitudes: their creative impulse, which had been suppressed for so long, was expressed in a variety of artistic works.

2. MATERIALS AND PATTERNS OF FURNITURE

There was a greater production of furniture during the late period than during the early period. The most common materials and patterns are as follows.

Metal Work: Brass, copper and steel were generally used, and especially pewter was employed in decoration of wooden furniture. Copper was used in making braziers, incense burners, and candle holders, and steel was used in making pencil cases, paperweights, medicine bowls, flower vases, ashtrays, etc. Typical patterns were inlaid in lattice, animal, bird, and flower designs.

Wood Work: In furniture, wardrobes, chests, desks, cornered desks, chests of drawers, Kaegaesuri, and dining tables of the late period are found and pear, ginkgo, pine, and paulownia woods were used. The technique of making such things in the early period was not refined, but was rather delicate, and the closer one comes to the late period, the more one can catch a feeling of clumsiness. On the surface the wood work, nacre, red-lacquer, bamboo, and net were applied, or some were fashioned with lattice. The patterns are long-life ideographs, birds and flowers, landscape, fish, plants, a pair of 福, the swastika, etc. The padlock and hinges which are made of steel, silver, and white brass have patterns of bats, fairy peaches, fish, turtles, bees, a pair of 雙福 (happiness), and the swastika.

Bamboo Work: The surface decoration of wardrobe chests, pencil cases, and arrow cases belong here with raised relief work and open work.
Lacquer Work: Some delicate objects which were decorated with patterns of nacre were influenced by the Koryŏ Dynasty. But more picturesque patterns are found in this dynasty than in Koryŏ, and the designs are full of freedom and emotion. This lacquer work has its origin in the Three Kingdoms period, progressed in the Koryŏ Dynasty, but it is supposed that the most perfect and exquisite lacquer works were made in the Yi Dynasty.

Among the furniture of the Yi Dynasty, red lacquer was used for the royal family, and black was used among the officials and the common people. Especially, the queen used red-colored chests which were lined with other colors. They used many materials and made rather garish patterns. Most of the designs featured lattice, turtle, fret or the lucky-sign patterns, such as ten long-life creatures and health. This lacquer work became more complicated in the late period than in the early period.

Horn Work: Among the innumerable furniture decorations, horn patterns of the Yi Dynasty had been a typical Korean design for 1000 years. In those days, women were very fond of extreme colors, such as yellow, red, coffee-color, and gold. They were used as decorations for closets, boxes, rulers, spools, sheaths, rings, and vessels. Horn work involves the process of slicing the horn in thin layers like a piece of paper and placing it on the wood to make a design on it. The patterns are often long-life creatures.

3. INTERPRETATION OF THE PATTERNS

The craftsmen of the Yi Dynasty did not seem to seek to add new ideas in form and pattern of furniture, or try to achieve an individual fame or reputation. Because they were employed by the royal family, they tried only to give
satisfaction to the people of the court. This can be seen in several ways: the patterns of furniture through the early and late periods have almost the same themes and symbols, and they used one or two designs for several hundred years without changing. Thus, the repetition of only stereotyped patterns attained the beauty of practice and kept the long tradition, but failed in expressing talent and individuality.

Those Chinese letters with meanings such as wealth, nobility, having many sons, or long life could be found everywhere. The creatures that symbolize long life were elegantly painted on furniture, and Chinese castles, figure painting, fine landscapes, the fairies of Mt. Bong-Nae, and fairy peaches were painted. Patterns of the bats that symbolize the five kinds of happiness are found everywhere.

This kind of pattern is mythological, suggestive of long life and happiness, and represents the popular desire and ideals of the people in that period. The obscurantists those days upheld the idea that Confucianism drew the people into a life of idle ease. And this idea seemed to appear in the patterns of the various forms of furniture.

Besides, in the patterns of furniture in the Yi Dynasty, there was a tendency to take an interest in nature: birds, fish, grass, the rocks in the blue sea; flowers such as peony, lotus flower, plum-blossoms, chrysanthemum, canna, pomegranate, orchids and bamboo; animals such as deer, turtle, dragon, bat, tiger; insects such as bee, cricket, butterfly and mosquito; and birds such as mandarin duck, phoenix, crane, etc. It is interesting that they used these creatures symmetrically. Thus a pair of birds or animals on the doors of a cabinet face each other with the same pattern. They avoided using only a single one, but sought polarity. For the frame of the patterns, they used simple designs. For example, swastikas or a fretted line. These patterns seemed to be
used long before the Yi Dynasty when Buddhism had been popular.

1. Four True Gentlemen

The symbols of four flowers: plum-blossoms, orchid, chrysanthemum and bamboo. Plum-blossoms symbolize courage and bravery; orchid, friendship and elegance; chrysanthemum, abundant springtime of life; and bamboo, perfect fidelity. Figure 1 is a dining table for the first anniversary of birth. It is one and a half inches in thickness. On the round wooden top, the patterns of pine tree, crane, deer and turtle are embossed. Supporters of the table are eight centimeters from the circumference, and on each of the twelve wooden rectangular supporters, four flowers are usually drawn with patterns with the meaning of long life (Fig. 1 A).

2. Turtle Design

The turtle usually symbolizes long life. For symbols of the power of destruction, sometimes a powder-magazine on a battle-field, a bow case, or a warship in the shape of a turtle appeared. But in the patterns of furniture, the main purpose is to symbolize long life. This was found not only inside the house but also on the outside; for example, in the patterns of the brick wall of a palace, or a fence. Figure 2 is a set of beautiful lacquered furniture made as a double chest of drawers with one clothes box. On the front, the pattern of a turtle is cunningly wrought, and landscapes are lacquered on each side. Figure 3 is also a double chest of drawers of the Yi Dynasty, and in the middle of the door, we can see the design of a turtle.
3. Swastika Pattern of Lightning

This pattern had been used even before Buddhism was popular. When this swastika pattern was used in the palace, it represented divine right and dignity, but it was also applied elegantly on the furniture of the common people. Figure 4 is a red lacquered cosmetic case of the Yi Dynasty and on its lid and four sides there are beautiful swastika carvings. When we open the lid, which is connected with a hinge, we find small drawers where one could keep cosmetics. The scattered swastika patterns which are seen on the surface of this case are red lacquered, and a peony-shaped circle in the middle of this case is done in black. This contrast of red and black adds calmness and harmony.

4. Bat Design

Since the character for bat,蝠 (Korean pronunciation bok), is pronounced the same as the character 福 bok, which means good fortune, it was widely used in the patterns of the Yi Dynasty. Five bats symbolize five kinds of happiness, and this was popular not only in furniture, but in fabric designs and industrial products. Figure 5 is a design formed of bats that were applied in various beautiful forms. Figure 6 is a chest of red lacquer, with patterns of birds and flowers, with ornamental parts decorated with bat patterns.

5. Good Fortune Characters

This is a pattern that was used among the people in the Yi Dynasty who desired long life and health from the Taoist point of view. Not only in furniture, but in everything concerning ordinary life, they used designs of letters that symbolize good fortune and luck with the combination of some other patterns. Figure 7 is a pattern of such symbols, with designs of Chinese characters.
6. Phoenix Pattern

Also called the sun-bird, it symbolized immortality. And it also has a symbolic meaning of the queen or the empress, who actually had the second rank next to a king or emperor. Figure 8 is a black lacquered nacre box with the pattern of the phoenix.

7. Arabesque Design

The arabesque design of the lotus flower in Figure 9 and also the pattern of the lotus flower in Figure 10 show beauty of contour and delicate nacre work, and give us a taste of the splendid civilization of the Koryo Dynasty. The lotus flower was originally from India, and symbolized unity. White has the meaning of purity and coolness, and pink means fertility and passion.

8. Peony Design

Since the peony has the meaning of wealth, it was widely used in furniture. Figure 11 is a peony pattern, and is a beautiful work of carving on red lacquered wood.

9. Plum-Blossom Design

This was used as a signature of the Yi Dynasty, and symbolizes courage and purity. This is one of the most popular designs, along with patterns of birds and flowers.

10. Dragon Pattern

Since the dragon symbolizes the divine character, it was
applied to the throne and the clothes of kings, but later it came to be used in furniture generally. When symbolizing the divine right of China, they drew five claws on the dragon, and for the Yi Dynasty, they drew seven. The dragon is a symbol of change, but by depicting the dragon in pearl, it had the meaning "eternity." Figure 12 is a piece of furniture made of the skin of the whale, using the pattern of the dragon.

11. A Pair of 鳳

These symbolize good fortune, and were used in furniture, fabric design, interior decoration and so forth, and still are so used in many ways.

12. Taeguk Design

The Taeguk represents the principle of polarity, as in man and woman, good and evil, light and shadow, or life and death. It also symbolizes the creation of the world, and all the principles of rival actions which are found in our ordinary life. In China, man is represented as light, or black color, and woman, shadow, as red. Since Korea emulated China, blue is used in our national flag.

At each corner of the flag, the lines mean heaven, fire, water, earth. This Taeguk pattern can be seen in the Taeguk fan, furniture decoration, and elsewhere. (cf. Figures 13, 14)

13. Ten Long-Life Symbols

These symbolize the ten things that are connected with long life: sun, mountain (or bamboo), water, stone, cloud, pine tree, the herb that confers eternal life, turtle, crane
and deer. These can be seen in furniture, architecture and industrial products. Figure 15 is a double chest of lacquered drawers. The splendid pattern of nacre emphasizes these ten long-life symbols.

14. Long-Life Design

This is a symbol from Taoism, and also represents long life. Among the ten things mentioned above, two or three were omitted here and some other things added. For example, long-life grass, antler, fairy peach, or views of a landscape were sometimes added (Figures 16, 17).

15. Nature Design (Birds, Flowers and Landscape)

Bird and flower designs were among the most popular among the people of the Yi Dynasty, who loved nature. They engraved these things as in an emotional and fantastic dream. Figure 18 is a three-sectioned chest of drawers, using symbols of long life. This is a pattern of birds and flowers. It has austere nobility and elegance. Figure 19 is a landscaped box in which one can put colored thread. They ground the mother of pearl and worked with it very delicately, as if painting with a brush.
Figure 1  Dining table for the first birthday of a baby.
Figure 2
Double chest of drawers and clothes box with turtle design.
Swastika patterns

Figure 3  Double chest of drawers with turtle pattern.

Figure 4  Cosmetic case with swastika carvings.
Figure 5  Bat designs

Figure 6

Red lacquered chest with bat ornaments.
Figure 7  Good fortune characters.
Figure 8
Black lacquered box with phoenix design.

Figure 9  Lotus design box

Figure 10  Arabesque design box
Figure 11  Peony design.

Figure 12  Whale-skin furniture with dragon pattern.
Figure 13
Double drawers with Taeguk design on locks.

Figure 14
Box with Taeguk design on lock.
Figure 15

Double chest of drawers with ten symbols of long life.

Upper drawer
Figure 16  Clothes box with long life design.

Front
Figure 17
Long life design.

Top

Front

Side
Figure 18
Three-sectioned chest of drawers with nature designs.
ON THE STONE TRIAD FROM NAMSAN, KYONGJU

by Hwang Su-young

I

Visitors to the Kyongju National Museum will find a small courtyard where numerous stone carvings of the Silla Dynasty are displayed. On the western side of the courtyard is an oblong hallway, running south to north, called Chip Ko-gwan (Collection of Antiquities Pavilion), in which is placed, facing east, the Stone Triad which is the subject of this article.

There are, besides, a number of stone statues of the Silla Dynasty which were mostly moved out of old temple sites in and around Kyongju. Since these statues have been shifted from their original sites, they are no longer objects of veneration as in the old days, but instead have gained recognition as art objects.

The writer has long paid special attention to this Stone Triad among the numerous statues in Chip Ko-gwan, not merely because of its archaic style or the unusual sitting position of the main Buddha, but because of its refined carving technique, along with its babyish face, rare among discoveries in the Kyongju area, which together form an "archaic smile."

Additionally, all three statues are rounded in high relief, typical of the Korean triad style discovered since the early period of the history of Korean Buddhist sculpture.

Although there appear to be differences in style and
Wŏlnam-ni (日南里), Naenam-myŏn, Kyŏngju, and is, therefore, not part of the main Buddha. However, the writer’s investigation reveals that the pedestal is definitely part of the main Buddha and was removed from the original site to the villager’s house down the hill. As is well known, the nimbus serves as an ornamental piece together with the pedestal, thus comprising a three-part piece, along with the Buddha itself. In the case of this main Buddha, the round nimbus around its head forms part of the statue carved out of the same block of stone, and on it a single-petal lotus flower is carved in relief. There is still a trace of red paint.

The main statue faces front and is in a sitting position on a square seat, making it the oldest and indeed only example of rounded statue of stone in the Old Silla period. In proportion to the top half, the bottom from the knees down seems under-sized, giving an ill-balanced appearance, or somewhat unreal look to the carving. In other words, it is like a fat grown-up man trying to squeeze himself into a baby chair. It has plain hair and also has a round Usnisa behind the crown of the head. Its long ears drooping over both shoulders give the appearance of a man with a headcloth. Its face is quite round and lifelike, but there is no general impression of sensuality. Both eyes are extremely swollen, a unique method which is often found in gilt bronze and stone statues during the Three Kingdoms period. The same method of carving is seen in the gilt bronze standing Buddha of Koguryŏ, dated 7th year of Yŏn’ga (延嘉), found in 1963 in Uiŏng (宜寧), Kyŏngsang Namdo, and also in the seated softstone Buddha of Paekche, excavated earlier in a temple site of Kunsu-ri (軍守里), Puyŏ. In his dissertation Mr. Akio Koizumi, former curator of the P’yŏngyang Museum, referred to “Stone Buddhas of Silla with Unusual Eyes” (November, 1952, Volume I, No. 1 of Ko
era between this triad and the stone triad of standing Buddhas restored at the site of the Sunbang-gok (禪房谷) Temple on Namsan, I consider both of these deserve an important place in the early period of Silla sculptural history. Particularly, the triad in the Museum has the advantage of easy access since its removal from the original site in Chang-ch’ang-gok (長倉谷), Mt. Namsan.

Attempts have been made in the past to determine the origin, name and period of the triad through numerous visits to the museum. It is easily presumed that the statues are the work of a well-known master who created for the benefit of ardent worshippers, and that they remained objects of worship by monks and laymen alike for centuries. If it is too much to expect the revival of the sincerity and faith of ancient days among people today, it is at least this writer’s humble desire to contribute to the study of ancient stone sculpture.

II

For proper comprehension of ancient art, it is essential not only to be familiar with the work itself but to study carefully the period and all the circumstances in which such work was created. This is even more true when such work has been shifted from its original site. The writer is of the opinion that the fact that we are relatively unfamiliar with this sort of art work is due mainly to our indifference and lack of effort to understand it, rather than any ambiguity in our tradition.

Of the three statues, the main Buddha is now placed on an oval lotus pedestal of stone. It has been said that this stone pedestal was found later at the house of a villager in
Map of Changch'ang-gok
Wolnam-ri, Naenam-myön,
Kyŏngju

卐: Temple site
 Campo: Well
金字塔: Castle of Namsan
■: Namkan village
♂: Site of Stone Triad

Main Buddha in Stone Chamber
One large piece of drapery covers both the shoulders and knees, and it is noticeable that the crease of the drapery is expressed with thin, round line in relief. Especially around the knees it forms a whirl. This way of expressing the crease is also found in the main Buddha of the stone triad recently discovered in a cave on Mt. P'algon (八公山). Both hands rest on the lap. The four fingers of the right hand are held straight up and bending, palm to front. A hole formed between the thumb and the index finger indicates that the hand probably held the stem of a lotus flower or a similar object originally. The left hand is holding the tip of the drapery, also palm to front. At the belly is seen the knot of a string tying the inner cloth. In the center of the chest is a swastika, although not very clear in relief. Other examples of seated Buddhist statues bearing the swastika are the above cited softstone Buddha of Paekche discovered at Kunsu-ri, Puyŏ and the dated stone Buddha recently found in Pi-am Temple (碑岩寺), Yun'gi (燕岐), Ch'ungch'ŏng Namdo. It is of particular interest to note that these are all works from late in the Three Kingdoms or early in the Unified Silla period. At the very bottom of the plain back of the statue part of a square seat shows. One can conclude from this that this front and plain back are special features common in statues of the Three Kingdoms period. Its height of 176cm, width of 99cm, and depth on the right hand of 46cm easily make it one of the major such stone works extant. The main Buddha may even be the foremost of the early stone-carved round statues. The style and method it reveals, together with the period of its origin and its technique make it a valuable art piece comparable with the main Buddha in Sŏkkul-am on Mt. To-ham, of the Unified Silla period.
Map of Changch'ang-gok
Wolnam-ri, Naenam-myon,
Kyöngju

ɐːŋ: Temple site
#ː Well
珺ː Castle of Namsan
■ː Namkan village
▲ː Site of Stone Triad

Main Buddha in Stone Chamber
Main Buddha at Kyōngju National Museum

Attendant Bodhisattvas at Kyongju National Museum
Unlike the seated main Buddha, both the two attendant bodhisattvas are in a standing position, placed at present side by side on an oblong base-stone. In order to form a triad, these two statues must flank the main Buddha instead of being side by side. The two are roughly of equal size—107x 43x 20 cm. Unlike the case of the main Buddha, their pedestals are missing. They are carved out of the same block of stone and each has a nimbus. Their dwarf stature and ill-balanced heads and bodies repeat the unrealistic manner of the main Buddha. Their heads are each adorned with a sam-myôn bo-gwan or three-sided bejewelled crown, and a necklace. Their drapery covers both shoulders and forms a double U-shape in front before finally dropping downward along the body. Each statue holds a lotus bud in one hand. Each is slightly bending one knee, either left or right, of their short legs, which not only gives a feeling of movement but suggests their subordinate (to the main Buddha) position, evidencing attentiveness to details on the part of the sculptor.

This method of frontality and plain back is seen in all the statues, and not the slightest difference in style is discernible from the main Buddha. Especially, the baby faces and the smiles at the edge of their mouths, along with their small size, are reasons why they have been called affectionately aegi tuch'o, or baby Buddha, by villagers for ages.

The style of the seated Buddha flanked by standing attendant bodhisattvas has its parallel in the triad of a stone cave on Mt. P'algon. In the case of Mt. P'algon, the triad was placed adjacent to the innermost wall. What was the case, then, with the present triad?
Prior to discussing this question, it may be in order to find out first the circumstances leading to the removal of the triad to the present Museum site. The writer depended for this study upon various data such as the Museum’s relic cards, *Study on Buddhist Sites at Namsan, Kyŏngju*, and other Japanese books, and tales of Messrs. Choi Nam-chu and Park Il-hoon and other village elders.

These all lead to the conclusion that the statues of the triad had not been removed together, but that the main Buddha had first been discovered in a stone chamber on the mountain-top, northeast of Changch’ang-gok, north of Namsan, and then had been moved to the present Museum in April 1925. About the same time, it was discovered that two standing attendants had been hidden inside a villager’s house in Wŏlnam-ni, Naenam-myŏn, Kyŏngju. These were also later shifted to the Museum.

Although the three statues were found at two different places, there is a strong opinion favoring the contention that the two standing bodhisattvas had originally been together with the main Buddha in the same stone chamber on the mountain-top and were later moved down the mountain on A-frames, which was easy because of their light weight. Because of the proximity of the two locations and also of the similarity in style, on which everybody can readily agree, the writer has never doubted this. In support of this contention, the village elders confirmed that they had actually seen the two statues flanking the main Buddha, and explained how they had been moved down the mountain. They further stated that all three statues were originally in the same stone chamber and were without doubt a triad.
The next question is where, then, was the original site? The writer must point out first that he has always taken exception to the Japanese view on this question. In brief, the Japanese scholar maintained that these statues were in an ancient tomb originally.

In the first place, would it be possible for a triad to be found in the stone chamber of a tomb, especially a tomb of the late Three Kingdoms period? Regardless of the era—whether ancient or modern—has placing statues in a tomb been a Korean practice at any time in history?

*Study of Buddhist Sites at Namsan, Kyŏngju* (慶州南山佛蹟) published by the Korean Government-General, in its chapter on the Changch’ang-gok Stone Triad (Page 9) states:

“In the area are found five or six tombs of Ancient Silla, devastated from plundering, some from which even usual covering earth is missing. Located northernmost is the largest of these tombs which is also in a state of devastation. It has a stone chamber 230cm square with an entranceway 132cm wide and 264cm long adjoining. In this stone chamber was discovered a seated stone Buddha which was moved to the Kyŏngju National Museum in April, 1925……

“The mystery as to why only the main Buddha was buried in an ancient tomb on the top of a mountain was never explained, except to presume that originally there was a triad of Buddhas, of which two lighter ones were moved down the hill by tomb plunderers. Still, why such a triad was hidden in the tomb remains a mystery.”

Separately, Mr. Akio Koizumi in his “Stone Buddhas of Silla,” cited above, states: “The stone chamber (where the main Buddha was found) was not built for the purpose of enshrining statues, but they merely utilized the chamber in the existing tomb, built late in the Three Kingdoms period. It appears that a stone statue in a dilapidated temple nearby
was moved to the stone chamber of an old tomb for worship. This is a practice prevalent in Korea and it is not believed to have taken place too long ago. At any rate, the Buddha was discovered buried properly positioned, with its back to the inside wall.”

Mr. Koizumi assumed that the stone Buddha was moved from an old temple ruin to the stone chamber of the tomb, and that such a practice was quite common in Korea. The writer must vehemently disagree with this assumption. He has never heard of nor come across any such instance. The only exception may be the tiny gilt bronze triad (Tōksu Palace Museum) of the Three Kingdoms period unearthed from a tomb of the Koryō period. (Buddhist Sculpture Section of the Album of Photographs, Tōksu Palace Museum.) This was nothing but a private talisman Buddha which was buried with the deceased and should not be construed as the same case.

On what ground, then, did Mr. Koizumi assume that the statue was carried from the temple site up to the mountain-top? What exactly did he mean by “not too long ago”?

The writer has been able to find out, on the basis of the village elders’ information, that the site where the triad in question was found is known as Puchō-dong, or Peak of Buddha; and further, that it has been so known as long as anyone remembers. This clearly shows that the triad had been at the site for a long period of time and, therefore, the place was known as Peak of Buddha, contrary to the Japanese contention that it was not dug up until early in the Japanese occupation period. Since mutilation of tombs simply is not a traditional Korean custom, but was introduced after the Japanese occupation, the triad could not have been moved to the old tomb site until after the Japanese occupation began.
As mentioned above, the writer has long taken exception to the Japanese view. In the meantime, the writer has recently participated in the renovation work of Sŏkkul-am on Mt. To-ham. Taking advantage of that opportunity, he was able to study fairly intensively the origin and system of stone caves in Korea. In the same light, the writer seriously studied the cave on Mt. P’algong for the first time. Judging from the fact that the stone triad was discovered inside it, he wondered whether it would not be possible to find some similarity in the present triad, which was removed from its original place in Changch’ang-gok—how it was enshrined inside the cave before its removal, and so on. The writer made two trips to the original site in Namsan, Kyŏngju, to collect data, focusing on villagers’ eye-witness versions as well as relevant local terrain and relics.

At present, the area in general is dotted with private tombs. The site of the main Buddha was also occupied by two such tombs. The village elders assured the writer that the three upright blocks of stone were gate-posts leading to the Buddha’s chamber. They continued that there used to be numerous blocks of stone forming the walls of the chamber as well as the entrance before the Buddha was moved, and that they were mostly taken away for anti-erosion work and for burial. As recently as 40 or 50 years ago, there still were a number of posts 90 to 120cm high, piled up to form a natural windbreak on the southern side. Far more than these stone blocks, the writer was surprised to find pieces of roof-tile scattered all over the site along the slope. The tile was unmistakably of late Three Kingdoms or early Unified Silla period. With this concrete evidence the long-remaining
mystery, to the writer’s mind, is beginning to be solved. One of the village elders, Mr. Park, just turned 60, stated that there used to be square foundation-stones at each of the four corners, all of which have long since disappeared. Upon hearing it from the writer, he immediately refuted the Japanese contention, saying “this is Puchō-dong or Peak of Buddha and not Korijang-t‘ō or Old Tomb Site.”

The Following is a Summation of the Writer’s Views:

1. The stone relic was originally constructed for the purpose of enshrining the triad. Therefore, its floor-plan and construction technique are reminiscent of the typical style employed for stone tomb chamber construction at that time. The plan was the same as that employed at Mt. P’algong cave and caves in China, where this square floor-plan is usually seen and has close relation to the construction style of the stone chamber of Sōkkul-am on Mt. To-ham.

2. The roof-tile pieces scattered around the area indicate that there was wooden structure there—wooden building with tile roofing, probably serving as covering for the chamber or its ante-chamber. This is true in the case of Sōkkul-am on Mt. To-ham, where wooden tile-roofed buildings were actually used to cover the ante-chamber as well as the main chamber. Until the Japanese undertook the repair of Sōkkul-am in 1912, tile was used for roofing.

3. It is safe to presume that the construction of this stone chamber and wooden building occurred about the same time as the Stone Buddha period. This is compatible with the Japanese view of the late Three Kingdoms period, mistakenly based on the ancient tomb theory.

4. There were old tombs in this area with exposed round foundation-stones and triad Buddhas in the same
place. They must have some bearing upon each other—a point requiring further exploration.

In the chapter on “Chukchirang” (竹旨郎), Volume II of Sam Guk Yu Sa (三國遣事 Three Kingdoms History), there is a passage reading, “a stone maitreya is placed in front of a tomb...”

VI

Finally, the writer hopes that there will be another opportunity to go over the problem concerning the title given these statues. Briefly, however, the writer is in favor of presuming them to be a maitreya triad, rather than Yaksa Yore (medicine Buddha) or Sakyaamuni, as the Japanese seem to prefer. I do this because it is a chair-seated Buddha and, as is the case with Chinese Buddhas of the Sui and T’ang Dynasty, this peculiar chair-seated style of Buddha is considered a maitreya without exception. One cannot overlook the prevalence of maitreya worship in Silla during the Three Kingdoms period. At the same time, one should not underestimate the close relationship between maitreya worship and the Hwarang-do (knighthood) of the Silla period.

In this connection, another point needing special attention is the relationship between this site and Samhwa (三花嶺 Three Flowers) Peak. As stated above, the name “Peak of Buddha” is derived from the presence of stone Buddhas from ancient time. Also, a pass from this mountain-top to Inwang-ni and to the east of Mt. Namsan is known as Mindullae Pass. This spot commands an uninterrupted view from east to west, and toward the west down the hill is seen Namkan (南崗) Villages, beyond which is Onung (五陵), toward the east, Mt. Langsan as a whole, and then Mt. To-ham. If Namsan Samhwa-ryōng (Chapter on Priest Chungdam, 忠
談師，King Kyŏngduk, Volume II of *Sam Guk Yu Sa*) is located around this spot, visible from Panwŏlsa or Half-moon Castle, as can be easily presumed, what, then, will be the relationship between the famous maitreya to which Priest Chungdam dedicated a tea ceremony regularly on Double Three and Double Nine festivities (March 3 and September 9) and the present Triad?

At the same time there is a reference in Volume III of *Sam Guk Yu Sa* that the stone Buddha in “Stone Maitreya in Saengui Temple”(生議寺石彫勒) is the maitreya on Samhwa-ryŏng. If so, is it not possible that this is the very stone maitreya dug out in Namdong (南洞) and moved to the top of Samhwa-ryŏng, as mentioned in the above-cited book?

Judging from the style of the statue, the original site, the structure of the stone chamber, and other data, the writer is more and more persuaded to arrive at the conclusion that this triad is precisely the famous Samhwa-ryŏng maitreya. A final decision on this point must await cautious reinvestigation and excavation on the spot in the future.

*Sam Guk Yu Sa* says that the inauguration of the Saengui Temple took place in the 13th year of Queen Sundŏk, or 644 A.D. When the whole picture of this stone structure is brought to light in the near future, it is hoped that the mystery of the maitreya at Samhwa-ryŏng will also be revealed beyond the shadow of a doubt. The writer hopes that this may well lead to the complete solution of the questions surrounding one of the most important works in the early history of Korean sculpture.

This article has previously been published in *Sa Hak Hoi Chi* (Yonsei Historical Bulletin), No. 7, December 1964 and is here presented in a revised version.
NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

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Representative of the Asia Foundation in Korea between 1963 and 1968, also served as President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, during 1967. He studied at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, specializing in Burmese and Southeast Asian Studies between 1955–56. He received an M.A. in East Asian Studies from Harvard in 1957, and has done specialized advanced work at Yale, Dartmouth, and Lingnan University at Canton.

Mr. Steinberg has served with distinction on numerous committees and commissions dealing with educational policy and programs in Korea, for both the governments of the United States and Korea. He is translator-editor of Lee O-young’s book *In This Earth and In That Wind: This is Korea*, published in December, 1967.

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Assistant Professor in the College of Letters of Korea University, and history teacher at that institution. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Korea University in 1958 and 1960. He has written several scholarly articles which have appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society dealing with handicraft, the old Yi Dynasty butcher class, and a study of the relationship of the merchants and craftsmen groups in traditional society.

The primary source materials for his Punwŏn pottery study are: *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* (The Veritable Records of the Yi Dynasty); *Sungjong-won Ilgi* (Diary of the Royal Secretariat); *Pibyŏn-sa Tungnok* (Minutes of the Border Defense Council); *Il-Sŏng Nok* (Daily Review of the Royal Secretariat).

PAI MAN-SILL (裴晚實)

Professor of Fine Arts at Ewha Women’s University, received her B.A. from Ewha in 1943 and her M.A. from Columbia University in
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Professor of Buddhism at Dong Guk University and curator of the University museum, he teaches history of Korean art and Indian art and archaeology. He received his B.A. from Tokyo University in 1947. Professor Hwang is a member of the Committee of Cultural Assets of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea, and is the author of four books. He has also written more than a hundred scholarly articles dealing with Korean art.
Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
President's Report for 1967

Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society, December 13, 1967

Three score and seven years ago, the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded by a few interested foreigners resident in Korea who were concerned with scholarly pursuit of things Korean. Since that time, the nature of the society has undergone considerable transformation, the activities of the organization have expanded, and yet the purposes for which the society was founded have remained constant in spite of two world wars, the Korean War, thirty-six years of Japanese occupation, and a changing spectrum of governments in Korea: imperial, colonial, dictatorial and democratic.

From a small elite group of foreigners who occasionally gathered together to spread knowledge of Korea in English, we have evolved into a considerably expanded organization serving a variety of needs; we have a sizable Korean membership and an even larger Korean audience, although much still remains to be done to fulfill our potential role in Korea; and we reach today an international clientele, holding the attention of scholars worldwide concerned with Korean affairs.

An annual report of activities can only be understood within the context of what has been done before. What we have accomplished could not have been done without the assistance of the officers and council members of previous years, and without the participation of the membership as a whole in our activities. The following summary should not therefore be interpreted in isolation. What has been done is the product of a long gestation period, and of longer plan-
ning. It will hopefully provide another layer to the foundation on which greater plans and programs will be built in the coming years.

Recently I have been reading some materials on Korean history, and I came across the following excerpt from an article by that eminent western scholar on Korea, Homer Hulbert, in *The Korea Review* of August, 1901:

"The publication of the first volume of the Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is an event of prime importance in the literary history of Korea. It is the first time that a distinct and avowedly critical study of Korean life and thought has been begun. There have been several popular attempts at placing the Korean before the world in his true colors, but we have here the first serious attempt to deal with the facts from a purely critical standpoint. In the past we have seen in print many partial discussions and many exaggerated descriptions of things Korean. They have been interesting and entertaining but the object of the society whose publication we are now considering is something different from mere entertainment. The society stands for a just, balanced, dispassionate discussion of the many phases of Korean life. It is not the province of this society to make facts square with theories, but to make theories an outgrowth of a careful and exhaustive study of the facts. In cases where an inductive method is necessary an hypothesis should be adhered to just so long as it affords the best explanation of what few, isolated facts there may be in hand, and no longer. The Champion of a theory is a sorry spectacle to the true scientist. Facts are hard cash while theories are mere promissory notes, often discredited."

We are still working towards the goals set forth in that article, but we have had an outstanding year in relation to
the publications of the society. Two volumes of the Transactions have appeared: Volume 42, long overdue, was published in January 1967, and Volume 43 on the New Religions of Korea has appeared today. Volume 44 is presently being assembled, and promises to be an exciting issue including, among other articles, the first detailed study of the administration of the Yi Dynasty ceramic industry in English.

We have also published four books during the current year. The first two books appeared in our Monograph Series: Professor Hahm Pyong-choon’s *The Korean Political Tradition and Law: Essays in Korean Law and Legal History*, and Dr. Spencer Palmer’s *Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition*. Three thousand copies of Dr. Palmer’s book have been printed, and 2,000 copies of Professor Hahm’s. Both are selling steadily, and as yet we are just beginning to tap the overseas market for these works.

We have also published two volumes of the newly-inaugurated Korea Handbook Series of works designed for more popular consumption. The first of these, Dr. Paul Crane’s *Korean Patterns*, was originally published on August 25, 1967 and the first edition of 3,000 copies was sold out in just over two months; a second edition of 2,000 copies has been printed, and is selling well. The second volume in the Handbook Series was Lee O. Young’s *In This Earth and In That Wind: This is Korea*, which was published in an edition of 3,000 copies. We hope that these two popular works will continue to be successful over the years, and will help finance our academic publishing program. Our plans for the future are exciting. We hope that during 1968 we will be able to publish the third of the Monograph Series, Professor Zo Ki-zun’s *Economic History of Korea*, translated by Mr. Morgan Clippingger. We also hope that the third volume in our Handbook Series, Dr. Allen Clark’s *Historic Seoul*, will appear during this year.
We have also arranged with Tuttle publishers in Tokyo to reprint, under Society auspices, a paperback edition of Bishop Richard Rutt’s *Korean Works and Days*, which will soon be available. Other manuscripts are already in hand and are being considered. Members are urged to suggest to the Council any possible manuscripts for publication in either series.

During 1967, the Society conducted 20 lecture programs. A list of these programs has been distributed to the membership and forms an attachment to this report. Approximately 2,000 individuals have attended these meetings. Both members of the society and distinguished guests have lectured. We hope that they have helped provide materials for a better informed understanding of Korean affairs.

During the present year we have conducted 26 tours and special events, ranging from one day to five day trips. 1,153 people participated in this aspect of our program.

As of this date, the Society membership stands at 412, of whom 351 are resident in Korea, and the remainder are overseas members. We have attempted in the past year to increase our Korean membership, and it has grown from perhaps 5% to approximately 20% of our resident members. We hope that in succeeding years we can increase our contribution to our Korean audience and provide services to them which will encourage greater participation in our program. It has been my desire to try be of service to the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1967 and in previous years since my arrival in Korea. While I will be leaving Korea in January 1968, I hope to keep in close touch with the Society and its activities, and to be of service to the organization in Washington, D.C., where I will assist in Society activities for our overseas members.

David Steinberg
President
1967 Tours And Special Events

The Society, during 1967, sponsored 26 tours and special events, ranging from one-day trips to long weekends. The dates, places visited, and number of participants follow:

Feb. 24—26: Ski Tour to Taegwallyong (25)
March 31—April 3: First Cheju Tour (27)
April 7—9: Cherry Blossom Tour to Chinhae and Chinju (90)
April 9: Nine Kings’ Tombs and Kungok (50)
April 13—16: Second Cheju Tour (23)
April 30: Hoeam Temple (50)
May 7: Chong-myo (half-day tour) (60)
May 21: Nam Han Fortress (40)
May 26: Moon Watching Tour to Pogwang Temple (50)
June 10: Kodal-sa and Silluk-sa (40)
June 18: North Mountain Fortress (50)
June 23: Pulgogi on the Han River (130)
June 24: Kanghwa Island (50)
July 1—4: Third Cheju Tour (26)
September 10: Ch’il-gung (80)
September 16: Hungguk Temple and ROK Military Academy (50)
September 24: Nam Han Fortress (30)
September 30: King Sejong’s Tomb and Silluk-sa (40)
October 7: Suwon and Yongju-sa (50)
October 21—24: Mt. Sorak (22)
October 22: Ch’angdŏk Palace (50)
October 28: Sŏnggyun-gwan (10)
October 29: North Mountain Fortress (30)
November 11: Chong-myö (30)
November 19: Temples around Seoul City (50)

1967 Meetings

The dates of 1967 meetings and special programs, the speakers, their subjects and places of meeting were as follows:

11 January (Wednesday)—Annual RAS Meeting, Election of 1967 officers. NMC

1 February (Wednesday)—Panel Discussion (Dr. Chung Bommo, Prof. Hong Sung-chick, Prof. Kim Kyu-taik, David Steinberg) “Problems of Political Socialization in Korea.” NMC

22 February (Wednesday)—Mr. Frank P. Baldwin “The Korean Independence Movement.” NMC

15 March (Wednesday)—Dr. Han Tae-dong “The Diamond Sutra—A Search for Enlightenment.” NMC

29 March (Wednesday)—Dr. Daniel Lee “Some Problems in the Economic Development of Korea.” NMC

19 April (Wednesday)—Mr. Kevin O'Donnell “The Peace Corps in Korea.” NMC

3 May (Wednesday)—Mr. Choo Yo-han “Korea's Economic Strategy for the Next Two Decades.” NMC

17 May (Wednesday)—Dr. David Chung “Matthew Ricci and His Influence on Korea.” YMCA

24 May (Wednesday)—Prof. J. Chester Cheng “Communism and China.” NMC
24 June (Wednesday)— Mr. Lane E. Holdcroft
“Progress in Agricultural Development in Korea.” NMC
28 June (Wednesday)— Dr. Donald Frantz, Jr.
“ Impressions of Korean Culture and the Korean People Through Poetry.” NMC
30 August (Wednesday)— Mr. Boris Kazimiroff
“A Visit to Ceylon.” NMC
6 Sept. (Wednesday)— Mr. Vipin Chandra
“Indian Industrial Development.” NMC
21 Sept. (Thursday)— Dr. Robert A. Scalapino
“North Korea Today and the Communist Revolution in Asia.” YWCA
4 Oct. (Wednesday)— Dr. Kim Ok-gill
“Korean Women.” NMC
25 Oct. (Wednesday)— Dr. Kim Che-won
“Treasure from the Sakyamuni Pagoda at Pulguk-sa, Kyŏngju.” NMC
8 Nov. (Wednesday)— Dr. Sohn Pow-key
“A Prehistoric Excavation in Korea.” NMC
22 Nov. (Wednesday)— Bishop Richard Rutt
“Poetry of Chong Chol.” NMC
6 Dec. (Wednesday)— Mr. Arthur Kinsler
“Korean Shamanism.” NMC
13 Dec. (Wednesday)— Annual Meeting and Concert by Mr. Hwang Byung-ki. NMC
The Annual General Meeting of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held at the Auditorium of the National Medical Center on Wednesday, 13 December 1967, at 7:30 p.m. At that time an election of officers and members of the Council for 1968 was held. The meeting was followed by an unusual demonstration of the Kayagum by Mr. Hwang Byung-ki.

The 1967 members of the Council and officers were as follows:

Mr. David I. Steinberg  President  The Asia Foundation  
Dr. Paik Nak-chun  Vice-President  Yonsei University  
Dr. Lee Sun-keun  
Mr. Robert A. Kinney  Secretary-Treasurer  UNC/USFK  
Dr. Kenneth Bunce  Member  USIS  
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List of Published Transactions

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- The Influence of China upon Korea J. S. Gale
- Korean Survivals H. B. Hulbert
- Korea’s Colossal Image of Buddha G. H. Jones

Volume II.

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- The Spirit Worship of the Koreans G. H. Jones

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- Korean Folk Tales H. B. Hulbert

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- Catalogue of Landis Library

Volume IV

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Part II. 1913

- Japanese-Korean Relations after the Japanese I. Yamagata
- Invasion of Korea in the XVIIth Century Anon.
- The Village Gilds of Old Korea M. Ichihara
- Coinage of Old Korea

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- Selection and Divorce J. S. Gale
- The Celestial Planisphere of King Yi Tai-jo W. Carl Rufus
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Some Recent Discoveries in Korean Temples and Their Relationship to Early Eastern Christianity
A Plea for the Investigation of Korean Myths and Folklore
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Volume VI.
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The History of Korean Medicine
Afforestation in Korea
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Part II. 1915
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Hunting and Hunter’s Lore in Korea
J. S. Gale
H. H. Underwood

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F. Starr

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Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel on the Coast of the Isle of Quelpart, with Description of the Kingdom of Korea by Hendrick Hamel
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to the West Coast of Korea in 1816 (Reprint)
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W. W. Taylor

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Index to Monographs, Vol. I–XVI
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The Korean Mission to The United States in 1883
Some Wayside Flowers of Central Korea
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Sister Mary Clare

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Volume XX. 1931
Occidental Literature on Korea—
A Partial Bibliography of Occidental
Literature on Korea
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Korean Books and Their Authors—Being an
Introduction to Korean Literature.
Mark Napier Trollope

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Notes on Korean Birds—with a Description
of One Hundred of More Common Ones
The Two Visits of the Rev. R. J. Thomas
to Korea.
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The Korean Record —on Captain Basil Hall’s
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G. Paik
Supplement to “A Partial Bibliography of
Occidental Literature on Korea” by H.H.
Underwood, Ph. D., 1931
E. & G. Gompertz

Volume XXV. 1935
Introduction to the Bibliographie Coreene:
(Translated from the French by
Mrs. W. Massy Royds)
Book Production and Printing in Korea
M. Courant
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<tr>
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<td>Father Gregorio de Cespedes - Archbishop Mutel - A Biographical Sketch</td>
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<td>XXX</td>
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<td>Sino-Korean Relations at the End of the XIVth Century</td>
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<td>Yo-Ju, The Historic Town of Its Surroundings and Celebrities</td>
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<td>Puyo, One of Korea's Ancient Capitals</td>
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<td>Additional Note on Yo-Ju (Supplement to Article in Volume XXXI)</td>
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<td>Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens</td>
<td>W. Bacon</td>
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</table>
Some Notes on the Earliest Western Contacts with Korea
Kyŏngju, Ancient Capital of Silla
G. St. G.M. Gompertz
H. B. Chapin

Volume XXXIV. 1958
An Introduction to the Sijo—A Form of Short
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A History of the Chong-Dong Area and the American Embassy Residence Compound
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Britons in Korea
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Ceramic History of the Yi Period
An Historical Study of Discriminatory Legislation against the Descendants of Concubines in Korea, 1415–1894
Korean Mask and Mask-Dance Plays
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An Objective View of Japanese Archaeological Works in Korea
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Leadership and Organization in the Olive Tree Movement
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Korea's Tong-il Movement
Choi Syn-duk

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Kang Man-kil

Patterns of Furniture Design during the Yi Dynasty
Pai Man-sill

On the Stone Triad from Namsan, Kyôngju
Hwang Su-young
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(as of October 1968)

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