Translation from Yu Sŏngnyong’s *Chingbirok*
by Wilbur D. Bacon

Seventy Years of the R A S in Korea
by Lak-Geoon George Paik

Some Reflections on *Korean Patterns*
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by Susan Lauster

Traditional Korean Poetry Criticism
by Richard Rutt

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME:

THE LATE WILBUR D. BACON, who died in March 1971 at the age of 45, was active in the RAS during his years in Korea from 1947 until the early 1960's. Mr. Bacon decided in 1967 to dedicate himself to full-time study of Korean history. He obtained his MA:in 1968 at the University of California in Berkeley and continued his graduate work there is 1969 and 1970. During this time he became especially interested in studying the Korean accounts of the Imjin War (1592–98), that tragic conflagration begun when the Japanese under Hideyoshi attacked Korea. The Chingbirok is the account of the Imjin War by YU Sŏng-nyong, who was Prime Minister of Korea at the time.

DR. LAK-GEOON GEORGE PAIK has been a leader in the Korea Branch of the RAS for the past 40 years. When the Society celebrated its 70th anniversary at the Toksu Palace in 1970, Dr. Paik presented an anniversary speech, “Seventy Years of the Royal Asiatic Society in Korea.” This outstanding talk on the history of the Korea Branch of the RAS has been expanded and updated and is presented herein. Dr. Paik is a past president of the Korea Branch of the RAS and is currently an Honorary Councilor. Among his many books and articles are several contributions to the RAS Transactions. Dr. Paik served for years as President of Yonsei University, as well as ROK Minister of Education.

PAUL S. CRANE, M. D. needs no introduction to RAS members since he has long been active in the RAS and is well known for his RAS book, Korean Patterns, which has sold over 15,000 copies since it was first published in 1967. He is not only an accomplished surgeon and writer but also a very popular speaker. When he last visited Korea in November 1971 in connection with the opening of the new Presbyterian Medical Center (at which he served as Director for 20 years), at Chŏnju, North Chŏlla Province, he spoke to the Society in Seoul on the subject, “Some Reflections on Korean Patterns.” This talk forms the base of this thoughtful and fascinating postscript to Korean Patterns.

Two able young Americans, MR. AND MRS. CHARLES LAUSTER, came to Korea 30 months ago with the U.S. Peace Corps. Both Charles and his wife, Susan, had graduated from Brown University and were assigned to teach English in Taegu. During their vacation periods they spent many weeks at Haeinsa, that beautiful and famous Buddhist temple in the mountains about 50 miles west of Taegu. They were charmed and fascinated with Haeinsa, and Susan with her gifted pen and Charles with his expert photography have brought to us the first comprehensive English-language guide to Haeinsa.

“Traditional Korean Poetry Criticism” is BISHOP RICHARD RUTT'S fifth article for the RAS Transactions. In addition, he has published two other popular RAS books, his delightful Korean Works and Days and his recent Biography of James Scarth Gale and His History of the Korean People. Richard Rutt is an Englishman who came to Korea with the Anglican Mission in 1954 and has served as the Anglican bishop of Taejon since 1968. In this article, which was done under the auspices of the Asian Literature Program, the Asia Society, New York, Bishop Rutt has chosen and translated fifty Sihwa, written by Korean poets between 1200 and 1750 A.D.
In Memory of Wilbur D. Bacon

by Warren W. Smith, Jr.

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by Yu Sŏngnyong

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CONTENTS

In Memory of Wilbur D. Bacon ........................................ 5
    by Warren W. Smith Jr.
Records of Reprimands and Admonitions (Chingbirok) .......... 9
    by Yu Sŏngnyŏng
    translated by Wilbur D. Bacon
Seventy Years of the Royal Asiatic Society in Korea .......... 25
    by Lak Geoon George Paik
Some Reflections on Korean Patterns ................................ 41
    by Paul S. Crane
A Guide to Haein-sa ...................................................... 59
    by Susan Lauster
Traditional Korean Poetry Criticism .................................. 105
    by Richard Rutt
Report of Activities of Korea Branch, R.A.S for 1971 ... 145
Constitution of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch ... 149
List of Members of R.A.S .................................................. 165
IN MEMORY OF WILBUR D. BACON

Korean historical studies suffered a great loss at the death of Mr. Wilbur D. Bacon in March, 1971, at the age of forty-five. His interest in Korea had begun twenty-five years earlier in 1947, when he was working in Seoul for the Department of Commerce of the U.S. Army Military Government. During the following years, he held various positions in Korea, principally as an official with the American foreign aid programs, and his interest in the history of the country grew throughout this period. We are indebted to him for a number of studies and publications about Korea which are listed below:

Welcome to Korea (orientation booklet). UNKRA, 1953.
Guidebook to Seoul. OEC, Seoul, 1955
"Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens". Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1957.
"Korean Buddhist Temples" (for Japanese and Korean Studies Center Colloquium). Berkeley, 1968 (mimeographed by the Center).

Mr. Bacon decided in 1967 to return to the United States and dedicate himself to the full-time study of Korean history. He enrolled in the University of California at Berkeley; obtained his M.A. in 1968; and continued graduate work in history during 1969 and 1970. During this time, he became especially interested in studying the Korean accounts of the Imjin war (1592–98), that tragic conflagration begun when the Japanese, under the leadership of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, attacked Korea as part of his plans to dominate Asia. In one seminar directed by Professor Yamaguchi Kosaku in 1968, Mr. Bacon traced the history of the war from all available Western language sources, and began to investigate official and unofficial contemporary Korean accounts. This investigation led him to embark on the task of translating the Chingbirok, the account of the war by Yu Songnyong, who was Prime Minister of Korea.
during the *Imjin* war and an active participant in the events of those years.

The *Chingbirok*, which is described briefly in the translator’s introduction, has never been rendered into English. It is a record of great importance because it is an eye-witness Korean version of the war from beginning to end, which penetrates behind the scenes to illustrate the great trials and tribulations suffered by the Koreans. Due to the high position of Yu Sŏngnyong, his account also sheds much light on the internal political struggles of the Korean court over the prosecution of the war.

This translation was begun in a course under the direction of Professor Michael C. Rogers, Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Bacon felt it might take him ten years to complete the translation of the *Chingbirok*. He had scarcely collected together the pertinent documents and begun the translation when he was struck down by the unfortunate heart condition from which he died. As a good friend of his, with similar interests in Korean history, I felt that portions of the translation which he had started could be published as a tribute to him. His widow, Mrs. Betsy Bacon, concurred in this. Then the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society generously offered to cooperate and publish the translation in one of their *Transactions*.

With some minor editing, the translation which follows has been rendered in the same form in which Mr. Bacon left it. No doubt had he lived, Mr. Bacon himself would have polished the translation and sought to improve troublesome passages. Nevertheless, as it stands, the translation is a valuable beginning in the study of an important subject. In publishing the translation, it is the hope of his widow and his friends that it will arouse the interest of others to complete the task which he had begun. This would surely have been his wish.

Warren W. Smith Jr.
TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

This is a translation of the beginning of the Chingbirok (Record of Reprimands and Admonitions) by Yu Sŏngnyong, which is an account of the Imjin war of 1592 (Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea). It is based on an edition published in North Korea by the Kwahakwŏn (Academy of Sciences) between 1959 and 1960, under the same title Chingbirok, which contains both the Sino-Korean original and a Korean translation. Although the Korean translation frequently expands and occasionally bends the original, it was very helpful in preparing this translation into English. A Japanese translation of the first two chapters (kwŏn 卷) of the Chingbirok, which cover the general narrative of events during the Imjin war, appeared in 1966: Chōhirok (J.), translated by Soga Masataka 曽我昌隆 (Tokyo: Shinkō Shobō 新興書房, 1966). The Japanese translation relied on the North Korean translation of the Chingbirok, as well as the original Sino-Korean text. However, it should be used with care, because the translation is often overly free and contains errors.

In this English translation, I have used Chinese and Japanese readings for Chinese and Japanese individuals and place names, and Korean persons and place names are of course rendered in Sino-Korean. Names of offices, etc., which are not translated, are explained in the notes. The glossary attached to the end of the Korean translation was helpful in preparing the notes.

The author of the Chingbirok, Yu Sŏngnyong (pen name: Sŏae 西_REASON_), was born in 1542 and died in 1607. He had a successful official career and held various high posts, including those of Second State Councilor and Minister of Personnel in the years just prior to the outbreak of the Imjin war, and Prime Minister during the war. He was active in the diplomatic exchanges with Japan before the war, and during the fighting was responsible for liaison with the Chinese troops. During the peace negotiations he was entrusted with the task of reorganizing the military forces in the central area of Korea. He therefore directly participated in many of the events he described. In 1604 he was exiled for a short time.
to his home near the town of Andong 安東 in North Kyŏngsang Province, and while there completed the Chingbırok, most of which had apparently been written earlier.

The Chingbırok consists basically of two parts. The first part, in two chapters, is Yu's personal account of the Japanese invasion, with a brief preface explaining why he wrote it. The remaining 14 chapters are documents relating to the war.

The Chingbırok and the diary of Admiral Yi Sunsin 李舜臣 (1545–98) are the two most quoted sources for information on the Imjin war, even by Japanese authors. I therefore hope that I will be able some day to complete this translation of Yu's narrative so that a contemporary Korean view of the war will be available to English-speaking readers.
What is the Record of Reprimands and Admonitions (Chingbirok 意思錄)? It is a record of what happened after the Japanese invasion began. But events which took place before the invasion are occasionally recorded in order to explain the affair from the beginning.

Alas! Imjin 壬辰 (1592) was indeed a year of calamities and misery. In no more than ten days, the three capitals were lost to the enemy, the eight provinces collapsed, the King fled from the capital and became a refugee. Only the aid of Heaven enabled us to survive to this day. Another reason is that the ancestors of the King were humane and beneficent thereby firmly binding themselves to the people. Also, the idea of loyalty to China had not been abandoned. As the King had been loyal in his duties toward his suzerain, the Emperor of China was greatly moved, and sent many soldiers to help us. If this had not been done, the consequences would have been perilous indeed.

As the Book of Odes (Shih-ching 詩經) says:
“I have been chastised, and I will guard against future calamities.” This is the reason for writing the Chingbirok. An unworthy person like me, who received an important government position at a time of peregrination and lawlessness, but was unable to uphold the tottering and support the falling, cannot expiate his crime even by death. That I can still gaze about me and draw breath amidst the fields, prolonging my life, is this not leniency?

Once anxiety and apprehension somewhat abated, I constantly thought about the events of former days, and there has never been a moment when I did not feel unbearable shame. Therefore, during this time of leisure, I will narrate in a rough fashion what I heard and saw, and
summarize in a few words what happened between the years of Imjin (1592) and Musul 戊戌 (1598). To accomplish this purpose, I am attaching Changgye 祥啓 memorial, \textsuperscript{5} memorials to the King, cha’ja 疏稿, \textsuperscript{6} mun ‘ 文移, \textsuperscript{7} and miscellaneous documents. Even if these are not of value, as they are all records of those days, they cannot be disregraded.

On one hand, by dwelling amidst these fields, I constantly show compliance with my vows of loyalty, and on the other hand, by writing this, I, a foolish minister, repay the debt I owe my country for not bringing criminal charges against me.

\textbf{PART I}

During the Pyongsul 丙戌 year (1587) of the Wan-li 萬歷 reign period, \textsuperscript{8} the Japanese Ambassador, Tachibana [Yūya] Yasuhiro 橘 [柚谷] 康廣 \textsuperscript{9} came to this country with a letter from that country’s King, Taira [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi 平 [豐臣] 秀吉. \textsuperscript{10} Originally, the King of Japan was a Minamoto 源 \textsuperscript{11} who established his country \textsuperscript{12} in the early part of the Hung-wu 洪武 reign period \textsuperscript{13} and cultivated good neighborly relations with us which lasted about two-hundred years.

At first, our country also occasionally sent envoys to Japan to carry out ceremonies appropriate to times of good fortune and mourning. One of those who travelled back and forth as an Envoy \textsuperscript{14} was Sin Sukchu 申叔舟. \textsuperscript{15} Later, when Sukchu was dying, King Sŏngjong 成宗 (1457-69-94) asked him if there was anything he wished to say. Sukchu replied, “What I want is for my country never to sever peaceful relations with Japan.” Sŏngjong was moved by these words and ordered First Counselor Yi Hyŏngwŏn 李亨元 and Envoy Kim Hŭn 金訨 to foster peaceful relations with Japan. They went to Tsushima Island 對馬島, \textsuperscript{17} but the envoys were so filled with apprehension by the wind and waves that they became ill. They wrote a letter to the King reporting these circumstances. Songjong ordered them to send the letters and presents they were carrying to the Lord of [Tsushima] Island \textsuperscript{18} and return to Korea. After that we did not again send envoys to Japan. Whenever envoys arrived from that country, they were welcomed with proper
cereonies and that was all.

Then Taira [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi\(^{19}\) replaced Minamoto\(^{20}\) as King. Some say concerning Hideyoshi, “He was Chinese. He crossed the water, entered Japan, and earned his living carrying firewood on his back. One day the king while on an outing, met him on the roadway, and as he was an unusual man, received him into his company of soldiers. Courageous and expert at fighting, he accumulated meritorious deeds and became a great officer. As a result, he became powerful. At last he drove out Minamoto and took over his position.” Others say, “Minamoto was assassinated by another man, then Hideyoshi killed that man and seized control of the country.”\(^{21}\) By using military force, he pacified the territory within all the islands, unified the sixty-six provinces into one country, and then turned his thoughts to foreign conquests.

Then he said, “We frequently send envoys to Korea, but Korean envoys don’t come here. This indicates that they have contempt for us.” Therefore Ambassador Yasuhiro came and demanded an exchange of envoys. The contents of the letter he brought were very arrogant; for example, it had the wording, “Now the realm has come wholly into the grasp of me\(^{22}\) alone.” Since the death of Minamoto, already ten years or so, Japanese from all the islands occasionally came to our country and returned, but fearing the strict regulations, didn’t divulge this fact, so the Korean Court didn’t know about Minamoto’s death.\(^{23}\)

Yasuhiro’s age was a little over fifty, his physique was gigantic, and his hair and beard were half white. Whenever he arrived at an inn or relay station,\(^{24}\) he insisted that he be lodged in the best room, and his behavior was imperious. This was very different from the usual behavior of Japanese envoys, and people were exceedingly outraged.

Traditionally men from the counties and towns along the route usually greeted Japanese envoys by coming to the road and holding spears in order to demonstrate the military power of Korea. As Yasuhiro passed through Indong 仁同, he glanced at the men holding spears and said laughing, “The staffs of your spears are short indeed!” When he arrived at Sangju 尙州,\(^{25}\) Prefect\(^{26}\) Song 朶洞 宋應洞 arranged a performance of \(ki [saeng]\) 妓生 (female entertainers) and music to welcome him. When Yasuhiro saw that 朶洞 was withered and hoary, the Ambassador said through his interpreter, “Because old men have spent many years on the battlefield, their hair and beards become
completely white. The Prefect spends his time with music and kisaeng and is therefore never sad. And yet his hair is completely white. Why is that?” Most likely Yasuhiro was making fun of him.

When Yasuhiro arrived in Seoul, the Minister of the Board of Rites gave a banquet for him. When everyone had become tipsy from rice wine, Yasuhiro scattered pepper corns on top of the mats. The kisaeng and musicians fought each other to grab them, and there was no longer respect for rank. As Yasuhiro returned to his quarters, he said to his interpreter, with a sigh, “Your country will definitely be destroyed. With public order already broken down, how can it expect not to be destroyed?”

When Yasuhiro returned to Japan, the King of Korea only sent with him a reply to Hideyoshi’s letter, and would not permit envoys to be sent on the pretext that sea passages were bewildering and obscure. When Yasuhiro returned with this information, Hideyoshi was very angry and executed Yasuhiro and his entire family. It is probable that Yasuhiro, with his elder brother Yasutoshi 康年 came to visit our country at the time of Minamoto and received official positions. It is said that Hideyoshi, hearing about this, suspected Yasuhiro of being a supporter of our country’s position, and for this reason had him killed.

Then Ambassador Taira [Sō] Yoshitomo 平[宗]義智 came to Korea. After Hideyoshi had Tachibana [Yūya] Yasuhiro killed, he ordered Yoshitomo to come and demand that envoys be sent to Japan. Yoshitomo was the son-in-law of Taira [Konishi] Yukinaga 平[小西]行長, General of the Japanese Army, and the trusted retainer of Hideyoshi. The Governor of Tsushima Island, Sō Morinaga 宗盛長, who had been governor several generations previously, had acknowledged the subordination of Tsushima to our country. But now Hideyoshi deposed the Sō family and replaced them with Ambassador Yoshitomo as Lord of the Island.27

Hideyoshi, believing that our message stating we were unfamiliar with the sea passage was only an excuse for not sending envoys, falsely said, “As Yoshitomo is the son of the Lord of the Island, he is acquainted with the sea passage and your envoys can travel with him.” He felt we could not conveniently refuse and, in addition, [Yoshitomo] could spy out what was false and true concerning our country. Taira no [Yanagawa] Shigenobu 平[柳川]重信, the bonze Gensō 玄蘇, and others accompanied him.
Yoshitomo was young and fierce. The other Japanese all feared him. Prostrating themselves, they crawled before him, not daring to gaze upward. He stayed for a long time in the Eastern Peace Hall (Tongp' yǒnggwan 東平館) while the demand that our envoys accompany him to Japan was discussed by the Court, which disagreed as to what should be done.

Several years previously, Japanese [pirates] attacked Sonchuk Island 損竹島 in Cholla Province; killed Frontier General Yi T'aewŏn 李太源 and carried off some of the inhabitants as prisoners. Someone said, “A fellow Sal Paedong 沙乙背同 (Sa'ūl Paedong28) living in the frontier areas, betrayed his country, went to Japan, and guided the Japanese during this attack.” This news angered the Court. Thereupon another person said “We ought to order the Japanese to repatriate all deserters. Afterwards we will discuss the sending of envoys. This will demonstrate whether or not they are sincere.” This proposal was conveyed to our guests in the reception hall for envoys. Yoshitomo said, “That is no problem.” Then he sent Taira no [Yanagawa] Shigenobu back to his country with this news.

In a short time, they seized about ten of our people who were in Japan and brought them to Korea. His Majesty came to the Hall of Humane Government (Injŏngjŏn 仁政殿)29 and, amidst a large, imposing array of soldiers, Sal Paedong and the others were brought into the courtyard bound with with ropes, questioned concerning their crimes, and then beheaded outside the city walls. Yoshitomo was then presented one of the King’s horses.

An audience was then granted to the Japanese Ambassador and his suite, and a banquet was held for them. Yoshitomo, Genso, and the others all entered the hall in order of rank and toasted the King. At that time I was Minister of the Board of Rites, and the banquet for the Japanese Ambassador was held at the Board.

But the decision concerning the sending of envoys had not been made and much time had passed. I, in my capacity as [concurrent] Grand Master (Taejehak 大提學) [of the office of Royal Decrees Yemun'gwan 藝文館], was responsible for preparing our reply to the Japanese letter. I memorialized the throne that a decision should be made quickly in order that seeds of discord would not be sown between the two countries. The next day the King discussed this matter with various officials and
they proposed, "We would not be in error if we repayed in kind the sending of envoys by Japan. Our envoys could return with a glimpse of conditions in that country." This settled the dispute at Court at last and the King ordered that envoys be selected. The high-ranking officials took Assistant Office Chief (Ch'ŏmjji 僉知) of the Privy Council (Chungch'ubu 中樞府), Hwang Yun'gil 黃允吉, and Deputy Headmaster of the National Academy (Sasŏng 司成), Kim Sŏngil 金誠一, as Ambassador and Deputy Ambassador. Hŏ Sŏng 許爌, Recorder (Chŏn jŏk 典籍) of the National Academy, was made Courrier.

In the third month of 1590 they finally departed in company with Yoshitomo and the others. At that time Yoshitomo presented the King with two peacocks, muskets, spears, swords, and other gifts. The King ordered that the peacocks be sent to the islands in the south, and that the muskets be placed in the Arsenal (Kun'gisi 軍器寺). This was the first time there were muskets in our country.

In the spring of 1591, the Embassy, including Hwang Yun'gil, Kim Songil and others returned from Japan, and the Japanese Taira no [Yanagawa] Shigenobu and Genso accompanied them. Prior to this, on the 4th month of the previous year, Yun'gil's party reached Pusan and boarded a boat for Tsushima Island, where they stayed for one month. From Tsushima they went again by water about 40 li 里 or so and arrived at Iki Island—嶋[壹岐]30. Then they passed through Hakata 博多, Nagato 長門31 and Nagoya 浪古耶 [那古耶] and finally arrived in the Japanese capital on the 22nd day of the 7th month. Probably the Japanese took them by a winding route and stayed for awhile at various places so that they wouldn't arrive at the capital for several moths.

When they were in Tsushima, Taira [Sŏ] Yoshitomo invited the envoys to attend a banquet in a temple on the mountainside. After the envoys arrived and were seated, Yoshitomo entered the gate riding in a sedan chair which he got out of when he arrived at the stairway.32 Kim Sŏngil angrily said, "Tsushima is a vassal of our country. We envoys have brought us the decrees of the King. How dare you insult us like this? I will not accept this banquet." Thereupon he arose and departed. Ho Song and the others left. Yoshitomo put the blame on the sedan chair bearers, had them killed, and presented their heads to our envoys to expiate his error. After this, the Japanese held Songil in awe, welcomed him with proper ceremonies, and got off their horses when they saw him approaching.
When the envoys arrived at the Japanese capital, they were lodged in
a large Buddhist temple. Taira [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi had just gone to
attack the Eastern Mountain Region, and they were kept waiting for
several months. When Hideyoshi returned, he was given responsibility
for making repairs to the palace and therefore was unable to receive our
official letter. The envoys had to wait in their lodgings about five months
before they were at last able to deliver the King's decree.

That country reveres an Emperor, and from Hideyoshi on down, all
the ministers show respect for him [the Emperor]. Inside his country,
Hideyoshi is not called "King", but is called Kampaku 關白 or Hakurik-
kō 博陵侯. The term Kampaku comes from a saying of Huo Kuang 霍光,
"In all matters, everyone must first of all 'inform one's superiors'
(kampaku)."

Our envoys were then received by Hideyoshi. They were permitted to
enter the palace riding their sedan chairs with flutes and horns preceding
them. They ascended into the hall and performed the proper ceremonies.
In appearance, Hideyoshi was short and common looking, the color of
his face was dark black, and nothing marked him as unusual except that
they say if he opened his eyes slightly, his eyeballs gleamed and a ray of
light shown upon people. He was seated on a bare, three-tiered mat and
was wearing a gauze hat and black robe. All the ministers and others were
seated in rows. They ushered in our envoys and conducted them to their
seats. They had not prepared any utensils for a banquet. In front was a
lone table, in the middle of which was one plate of cooked pastries. Rice
wine was passed around in a pottery bowl. The wine was unrefined.
The ceremonies were extremely simple-the wine bowl was passed around
that was all. There was no opportunity to do obeisance or to
propose toasts.

Hideyoshi then suddenly arose and went into the interior part of the
building, while all the people who were seated did not move. Suddenly
a man wearing ordinary clothes and carrying a child came out from
within and walked back and forth in the hall. Soon they perceived that the
man was Hidéyoshi. Those in attendance only bowed. A little later, he
stepped down to one of the exterior columns, ordered our musicians to
play several pieces of music, and listened to it.

Then the baby urinated upon his clothes. Hidéyoshi, laughing, called
for an attendant. A Japanese woman's voice replied and she came
running out. He gave her the child and changed into other clothes. All this was done audaciously as he pleased as though no one else were around. Our envoys then departed and did not see Hideyoshi again. He presented the Ambassador and Deputy Ambassador with 400 ryō of silver, and the Courrier, the interpreters, and those below them other gifts in accordance with their rank.

Our envoys were about to return to Korea. As there had been insufficient time to prepare a reply to our letter, the envoys were ordered to leave without it. Sŏngil said, “I am an envoy who came here bringing an official letter. If there is no reply, it is my duty to sacrifice my life as though it were a thing without value.” Yun’gil, fearing that he would be detained, hurriedly departed for Sakai, where he waited for Songil at the seashore.

The reply came at last, but the contents were outrageously arrogant, contrary to Songil’s expectations. He refused to accept it, sent it back several times for revision, and then took it and departed. Through everywhere he passed, many Japanese offered him gifts, but he refused to accept them.

As soon as Yun’gil arrived at Pusan and disembarked, he sent a mounted courier to report to the King on the facts of the case. He stated that the horrors of war were a certainty. When they reported in person to the King, he questioned them concerning what they had seen. Yun’gil’s reply was the same as his previous statement. Songil, however, said, “I did not see any indications of that.” The reason he said this was that he felt it was not proper for Yun’gil to disturb men’s minds. Thereupon one faction supported Yun’gil’s opinion, the other that of Songil. I asked Songil, “Although what you said does not agree with what Ambassador Hwang [Yun’gil] said, what alternative is there to war?” He replied, “I also feel that there is no alternative, as in the end the Japanese will unleash war. But Hwang’s words were too pessimistic, and those inside and outside the court will become bewildered and lose their self-control. That is the reason why I said what I did.”

The contents of the Japanese letter were that they intended to send troops through Korea to China. I said that we ought to prepare a memorial to inform the Celestial Court. The Prime Minister said concerning this suggestion, “I am afraid that, unless we conceal the fact, the Imperial Court will consider it was a criminal act for us to have
carried out an exchange of envoys with Japan on our own volition.”

I said, “In some situations there can be such exchanges with neighboring countries when there are countries with which such exchanges are unavoidable. In the Ch'eng-hua 成化 reign period (1465–1487) [of ming], Japan requested the establishment of tributary relations with China through the good offices of Korea. Thereupon we informed the Chinese court of the true circumstances. The Celestial Court sent down an Imperial Rescript in reply. This situation has occurred previously, not only today. If we now conceal this and do not inform the Emperor, we will not be acting in accordance with our vows of loyalty. Indeed, if those robbers really plan to invade China, others may inform the Emperor. Then the Celestial Court will unjustly suspect that we have concealed this business because we are in accord with the Japanese. In that case it cannot be supposed that the ‘crime’ will be ended with the exchange of envoys.” As many at Court agreed with my opinion, Kim Ungnam 金應南 and others were quickly dispatched to inform [the Chinese].

At that time, some Fukienes, including Hsü I-hou 許儀後 and Shen Ch’en 申陳, who were captives in Japan, secretly sent word to China of the situation in Japan. Also, Prince Shōnei 那谷 of the Ryūkyū Kingdom again and again sent envoys with information. Only our envoys did not arrive. The Celestial Court suspected that we were in league with the Japanese and there were many confused arguments. Prime Minister Hsü Kuo 許國, who had been an Ambassador to Korea, alone said, “Korea has remained loyal to sadae 事大. It cannot be in agreement with the rebellious spirit of the Japanese. Just wait awhile.” After a long time, Ungnam and the others arrived and presented our memorial. Duke Hsu was very happy, and it is said that the arguments at Court at last ended with suspicion dispersed.

The King, worried about the Japanese, selected ministers well versed in frontier affairs to inspect the three southern provinces in order to prepare for their defense. The following were appointed Inspector-Generals (Kamsa 監司): Kim Su 金持平 for Kyŏngsang [Province]; Yi Kwang 李洸 for Cholla [Province]; and Yun Sŏn’gak 尹先覺 for Ch'ungch'ŏng [Province]. They were ordered to prepare weapons and repair fortresses and reservoirs. In Kyŏngsang Province, a great many fortresses were either newly constructed or rebuilt at Yŏngch’ŏn 永川,
Ch‘öngdo 清道’s Samga 三嘉, Taegu 大邱, Sŏngju 星州, Pusan 釜山, Tongnae 東萊, Chinju 晴州, Andong 安東, Sangju 尙州, and the Army Command Posts of the Right and the Left.

At that time we had been at peace for many years and were accustomed to both internal and external tranquility. The people therefore disliked this forced labor. Murmurs of discontent filled the streets. In the same year, Yi No 李魯, a contemporary of mine from Hapch‘ŏn 陝川 [Kyongsang Province] and Recorder (Chŏn jŏk) of the National Academy, sent me a letter in which he said that it was not a good plan to build fortresses. He also said, “In front of Samga is [the stream] Chŏngjin 清津, which blocks the way. Can the Japanese fly across? Why is the labor of the people used wastefully? Moreover, if 10,000 li of ocean cannot hold back the Japanese, then to wish that only one piece of sash-like water will be impassible to the Japanese is indeed ridiculous.” At that time other people argued in the same way. The Office of Special Counselors (Hongmun’gwon 弘文館) sent letters to the King with the same arguments.

In the two southern provinces, where construction was underway, proper locations could not be obtained for all the fortresses. Also, it was deemed important to build them large enough to accommodate many people. For example, Chinju fortress originally depended for its defense on the steepness of its location. At this time it was considered too small and was moved eastward down to the plain. Later, because of this, the invaders were able to enter the fortress and it did not provide security. Usually fortresses which were strong and small were held in esteem, but at that time people were alarmed if they were not spacious.

We proceeded with the establishment of military government and the selection of generals, of whom not one in a hundred knew the methods of drilling soldiers. That is why we were defeated.

Yi Sunsin 李舜臣, who was Magistrate of Chŏngūp Prefecture 井邑縣 [in Cholla Province], was selected to become the Navy Commander of Left Cholla Province.47 Sunsin was courageous, resourceful, and an excellent horseman and archer. Previously, when he was Centurion (Manho 萬戶, 4b) of Chosan 造山 [in Hamgyŏng Province], there were many troubles along the northern frontier. Sunsin devised a plan by which he trapped the Jurchen named Ūlginæ 及. He sent him bound to the Army Headquarters, where he was beheaded. As a result, the troubles with the barbarians quieted down.
Chief of the Border Patrol (Sunch'alsa 巡察使, 2b) Chǒng Ŷnsin 鄭彥信 ordered Sunsin to guard the military farms at Noktun Island 鹿屯島. One day there was a thick fog. The soldiers all went out to harvest rice. Inside the stockade, however, there remained about ten men. Suddenly four bands of enemy horsemen appeared. Sunsin closed the stockade gate and prepared fire arrows. Then, he showered the enemy with arrows from inside the stockade and more than ten fell off their horses. The enemy was terrified and retreated on the run. Sunsin opened the gate, mounted his horse, gave a great battle cry, and pursued them by himself. The enemy was badly defeated and all that they had seized as plunder was recovered.

But as there was no one to recommend him at Court, Sunsin was not selected for advancement in rank for more than ten years, when at last he as made Magistrate of Chǒngūp Prefecture (1585).

At that time, as we had been informed of the Japanese plans, every day things became more tense. The King ordered that the [officials of] the Office of Frontier Defense (Pibyŏnsa 備邊司) each should recommend clever men worthy of serving as generals. I recommended Sunsin. He was finally rescued from Chǒngūp Preecture and became an Admiral. Others were distrustful of such a rapid rise in station.

At that time, among the generals at Court, only Sin ip 申砬 (1546–92) and Yi Il 李镒 (1538–1601) were very famous. Army Commander of Right Kyŏngsang Province Cho Taegon 曹大坤 was old in years and cowardly. Many people were afraid that he would not be able to distinguish himself in battle.

While seated where the lecture on classics is given, I requested that Il replace Taegon. The Minister of the Board of War, Hong Yŏsŏn 洪汝諧, said, “We need a well-known general at Seoul. Il cannot be sent.” Repeating the request, I replied, “In all things, previous preparations are most valuable. However, the ability to lead troops against the enemy can not, of course, be quickly discerned. If this were an incident of one morning, in the final analysis it would be unsuitable to send Il. Others would be sent. But when morning becomes a whole day, it perhaps would be advantageous to make proper preparations in anticipation of the event. But on the contrary, visiting generals gallop down to the provinces on the spur of the moment. They are acquainted neither with conditions in the provinces where they are sent nor the valor or timidity of the soldiers there. They shun the arts of war. We will certainly regret this
later.” There was no reply.

I again set out as [official] of the Office of Frontier Defense. After listening to the opinions of many people, I recommended in a memorial to the King that we revive the system of Local Command Posts (Chin’ gwan 鎮管) established by his ancestors. Very briefly, it said, “In the early days of the Kingdom, provincial soldiers were attached to Local Command Posts. In case of need, the towns belonging to the Local Command Posts each in turn awaited the orders of the Commanding General. For example, if we were speaking of Kyongsang Province, then Kimae 金海, Taegu, Sangu, Kyŏngju 慶州, Andong and Chinju would become the six Local Command Posts. If there were an enemy attack, even if the soldiers of one post were wiped out, the other posts would in turn deal with the attack and maintain a firm defense. They would not all be driven away and destroyed at the same time.

After the Ŭlmyo Incident (1555), 48 Kim Sumun 金秀文 was in Chŏlla Province. He first reformed the system of assigning troops. He broke down the province into townships, and dispersed and attached [their troops] to the Commander of Guarding the Frontier, Commander of Defense, General for Auxiliary Defense, Marshal of the Capital, and Commanders of the Provincial Army and Navy. This is said to have resulted in a ‘strategy for Victory.’ All the other provinces imitated these arrangements.

“At the present time, if we only revive the name ‘Local Command Posts,’ that, in truth, will not be itself bring the posts together for mutual support. When once a crisis arises, then of necessity generals must be moved in from far and near. If there are no generals, the soldiers first assemble amidst the fields to await the generals and marshals from 1,000 li away. If the generals do not arrive on time, and the enemy’s advance guard approaches, then the soldiers’ hearts are filled with dread, and in truth they will necessarily be dispersed. If a great crowd of them once scatters, it will be difficult to bring them together again. If the generals and marshals arrive at this time, who will they lead into battle?

“How can this be compared with the system of the Local Command Posts set up by the King’s ancestors? In peacetime it is easy to train soldiers. When there are incidents, one will be able to gather [the soldiers]; also as they will mutually respond [to messages] from every-where, and will mutually rely on those close at hand and far away,
they will not collapse and flee, even at the occurrence of a crisis.”

Kim Su 金晩, who served his native province of Kyŏngsang as Inspector-General, proceeded to end the discussion saying, “That plan for victory was used a long time ago. Such an abrupt change [now] is impossible.”

In the spring of 1592, Sin Ip and Yi Il were sent out separately to inspect preparations along the frontiers. Il went to Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and Cholla Province, while Ip went to Kyŏnggi Province and Hwanghae Province. Both returned after a month had passed. What they inspected was only bows, arrows, spears, and swords. They avoided setting down in writing a plan for each county and township. Nor was there any plan to make preparations for a long drawn-out defense.

Ip as usual gained a reputation for being cruel. Everywhere he had people killed to display his authority and the provincial magistrates were terrified. To control the people and govern the province, he set forth with extremely luxurious luggage. Even a trip by a high-ranking minister could not be compared with his. Then he was ordered to return and on the first day of the fourth month Ip came to see me in my private residence.

I asked him, “Sooner or later there will be a war, and since you are responsible for military affairs, what do you think about the power of the enemy today? Is he strong or weak?”

Ip treated this question extremely lightly and appeared completely free from anxiety.

I said, “That is not the right attitude. Formerly the Japanese depended on short weapons alone, but now they are joined with muskets which are effective at a distance. We can’t treat the affair lightly.”

Ip hastily said, “Even if they have muskets, they can’t hit anyone with them.”
NOTES

1. Seoul, Kaesŏng and P' yŏngyang according to the glossary of the Korean translation. The capture of these three cities was accomplished within two months and one week. The capture of the three capitals of Kyŏngju, Seoul and Kaesŏng took from May 22 to July 11, closer to the ten days stated in the text.


3. Korea had accepted Chinese suzerainty from as far back as the T'ang Dynasty. Early in the Yi Dynasty, Korea made itself a tributary of the Ming Dynasty and had carried out its duties as a tributary state for 200 years. The Korean for this relationship was sadae 事大, to “serve the great”.


5. changgye- orders received by Inspector-Generals (Kamsa監司) from the King or reports sent to the King by local officials.

6. ch'aja-written opinions in the prescribed form.

7. The text has muni 文移, an inversion of the characters for imun 移文, which were written documents sent to and from people roughly equivalent in rank.

8. The Wan-li reign period of Ming China was from 1573 to 1620.

9. He was in the employ of the Lord of Tsushima. His clan name was Tachibana; his family surname Yüya. Koreans often referred to Japanese by their clan names rather than family surnames. In this translation, if clan names are used for Japanese, they will be followed by the family surname in parenthesis.

10. Hideyoshi's final family name was Toyotomi. It was a custom of many military men to try to show descent from either a Taira or a Minamoto.

11. Yu is actually talking about the Ashikagas, a branch of the Minamoto family. Two of the Ashikaga shōguns accepted the title “king” from Ming emperors, the only time this title was used in Japan. Yu seems to have been unfamiliar with the title shōgun (which was not used by Hideyoshi).

12. Yu uses the Sino-Korean expression for setting up a new dynasty. It does not correctly describe the Japanese situation.

13. The Hung-wu reign period, the first in the Ming Dynasty, was from 1368
to 1398. The rule of the Ashikagas was confirmed in 1392, when the struggle between the Northern and Southern courts was resolved.

14. Sōjang 書狀, or Sōjanggwan 書狀官 is a title for envoys to foreign countries.

15. Sin Sukchu, 1417–1475, was an official who first served under King Sejong.

16. A post in the Office of Special Counselors (Hongmun'gwan 弘文館), Puje-hak 副提學, senior third rank.

17. Called Taemado in Korean. It is about 60 miles from Pusan and is easily visible from there on a clear day.

18. The ruler of Tsushima was called Shu 主 or Lord. For several centuries he played an important role in Korean-Japanese relations.

19. Hideyoshi’s dates were 1536–98. He was a follower of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 who completed the reunification of Japan and became its military ruler under the titles Kampaku 關白 and Taiko 太閣.

20. Actually not a Minamoto, but Oda Nobunaga.

21. This is the correct version. Hideyoshi was not Chinese, but he was poor in his youth and he did work his way up in Nobunaga’s service through his own ability.

22. He used the Chinese character for “me” (J., chin 朕), which was reserved for use by the Chinese Emperor.

23. The text is unclear as to whether the Japanese did not divulge the fact that Oda Nobunaga had died, or whether the local Korean officials did not tell the court what they had learned because of regulations against permitting Japanese to enter Korea.

24. The government maintained a series of relay stations to facilitate internal communication.

25. This large town in Kyŏngsang Province was later the site of one of the early Korean defeats. It was on the most direct route between Pusan and Seoul.

26. Moksa 牧使-a local official of senior third rank (3a).

27. It appears that Yoshitomo was the adopted son of his predecessor.

28. From the Chinese characters for Sal Paegdong, he was probably a man of low birth, reputedly a tanner from Chŏlla Province.

29. The audience hall of the Kyŏngbok Palace 景福宮 in Seoul. It was burned down during the invasion.

30. An island between Kyushū and Tsushima.

31. Hakata is in Kyushū, a port facing the Korean straits; Nagato is the western tip of Honshū; and Nagoya is north, in central Honshū.

32. Korean court etiquette required that a person inferior in rank get out of his sedan chair in front of the gate of the person he was visiting.

33. The Daitoku-ji 大德寺 in Kyoto.

34. The Kantō 關東 area. Actually he was laying siege to the Hōjo’s 北條 castle in Odawara 小田原. This was his last internal battle.
35. A high official during the Later Han Dynasty (25–220) in China.
36. At even an ordinary Korean banquet, the exchange of wincups is done ceremoniously and at great length.
37. The ryō was a unit used for gold and silver currency. A ryō of silver was equivalent to approximately thirty-six ounces.
38. A seaport south of Osaka which was a prominent trading center in the 15th century.
39. Korean politics after 1575 was characterized by especially acrimonious factional strife. The party of the “Eastern men” (Tongin 東人) supported Sŏngil’s point of view; that of the “Western men” (Sŏin 西人) Yun’gil’s viewpoint. Yu Sŏngyong himself was a member of the party of “Eastern men”, which split just before the Imjin war into “Northern” and “Southern” parties.
40. A pejorative term for the Japanese. Yu also frequently uses the expression “dwarfs” (waе 倭) for the Japanese.
41. The Ryūkyū islands were an independent kingdom at this time, though usually paying tribute to China, and sometimes concurrently to Japan as well.
42. Hideyoshi had sent a letter to the Ryūkyū Kingdom informing the Prince of his intention of invading China.
43. See footnote 3.
44. The Korean messenger was not sent until nine months after the arrival of the letter from Hideyoshi.
45. Kamsa was an alternate title for Kwanch’alsa 觀察使 or Governor of each province. The title kamsa emphasizes the military supervisory functions of the Governor.
46. Griffis in Corea, The Hermit Nation, relying on Japanese sources, said that the Koreans repaired castles and moats. Korean fortifications were walled towns and mountain fortresses and in no way resembled Japanese castles. I have never seen a moat in Korea. The character 池 here must mean reservoirs in which to store water to supply the needs of the defenders of the fortresses. William Elliot Griffis, Corea, The Hermit Nation, 7th edition (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons., 1904), 98.
47. For defense purposes, Kyŏngsang Province and Chŏlla Province were divided into Right and Left. Kyŏngsang Province had Right and Left military and naval commanders, and Chŏlla Province had Right and Left naval commanders, but only one province-wide military commander. Military and naval commanders were subordinate to the Provincial Governor.
48. The Úlimyo 乙卯 Incident refers to a large-scale Japanese pirate attack against ports in southern Korea in 1555.
SEVENTY YEARS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY IN KOREA

By Dr. Lak-Geoon George Paik

Long before the terminology of Korean studies was made current, several Occidental scholars toward the end of the nineteenth century pioneered in the field. To mention only a few, Dallet, Courant and Griffis, all of whom published their investigations between 1874 and 1897. These authors made Korea and her civilization their subjects of study, wrote in European languages and published outside of Korea. Among the permanent resident missionaries, Henry G. Appenzeller, George H. Jones and F. Ohlinger started the Korean Repository, the first foreign language journal in Korea. This storehouse of valuable information also had its beginning and unfortunate end before the close of the century.

The international situation centering on the country, rapid progress of the Christian mission work and the arrival of some business interests, at the turn of the century, increased the number of Occidental residents in the land. Among them, there were people who soon recognized the intrinsic as well as utilitarian values of the once highly developed culture of Korea. These men of vision and wide interests began to devote their extra time to Korean studies and gradually associated themselves in an organized efforts, which finally culminated into the inauguration of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

It will be recalled that the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was established by King George IV in 1824 for “the purpose of investigation of subjects connected with or for the encouragement of science, literature and arts in relation to Asia.” The procedure of affiliation of a branch with the parent society has not been uniform. The Asiatic Society of Bengal in India was an older organization than the parent society, but was soon affiliated with the Royal Society in the
original name. The similar procedure was also followed by the Japan Society. The Korea Branch from its inception started as a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. It appears that the former Korean Repository associates, Henry G. Appenzeller, George H. Jones and others were active spirits for the organization of the Korea Branch. Jones made contacts with Asiatic Societies in China and Japan for information on the formation of a Branch Society. He was advised to take up direct contact with the parent society in London for rules for the formation of a branch. In reply to Jones’ inquiry, the acting secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, stated that the inquiry “had been laid before the Council and that they welcomed the proposal to form an Asiatic Society in Korea and would gladly admit it when formed as a branch society, provided that the rules were such as they could approve of.” After having completed preparations for the formal organization, a notice was sent out in the name of Committee on Arrangement to foreign residents in Seoul on June 11, 1900 calling for a mass meeting to be held at 4:30 p.m., Saturday, June 16, 1900. Seventeen men responded the call, representing three nationalities, namely, Briton, American and German. The mass meeting was held in the reading room of the Seoul Union, which then stood on the present American Ambassador’s residence parking lot and the milk processing plant.

The mass meeting elected J. H. Gubbins, the incumbent British charge d’affaires, for chairman and J. S. Gale for the secretary of the inaugural meeting. G. H. Jones read the correspondence from the acting secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. In accordance with the suggestion of the headquarters, Jones presented a resolution for the formal organization of the Korea Branch, and it was unanimously adopted. Thus the Korea Branch was born on June 16, 1900. Homer B. Hulbert presented the draft of the constitution and by-laws of 18 articles each, which followed closely sister organizations in China and Japan, for adoption. The draft constitution and by-laws were also unanimously adopted. The object of the Society, as it is stated in the fundamental document, reads “to investigate the arts, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries.” The slate of officers of the first year was as follows: J. H. Gubbins, the president; George H. Jones, vice president; J. S. Gale, corresponding secretary; H. B. Hulbert, recording secretary; H. B. Turner, treasurer; and Alex Kenmure, the
librarian. The office holders included four Britons and two Americans. Upon the completion of the formal constitution of the Society, application was presented to the parent society in London for affiliation as a branch. The application was approved by the parent society and the Korea Branch was admitted formally on November 16, 1900. An extract from a letter from the honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, which appears as the frontispiece of the first volume of the transaction, reads as follows: "...... I am desired to inform you that a resolution was passed and entered in our minutes accepting your society as a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society duly affiliated under our rules."

Enthusiasm for the work of the Society ran high. The second meeting of the branch met on October 24, 1900 and Dr. Gale, who was introduced as an "acknowledged authority on Korean matters" read the first paper on "The Influence of China upon Korea," which now adorns the initial pages of the first volume of the Transactions. The third general meeting was held on November 29, 1900, and Mr. Hulbert read his paper on "Korean Survivals."

The first annual meeting was assembled on December 19, 1900, and re-elected the officers of the Society elected in the previous June, except the treasurer, Rev. H. B. Turner, who on account of his long absence from the country was replaced by Edwin V. Morgan.

It would be time consuming and unprofitable labor to reproduce records of work of the Society from meeting to meeting or even from year to year. I will, therefore, present a resume of the history under several topics, such as (1) a Survey of Developments, (2) the Transactions, (3) the Library, (4) Membership and Finance, (5) and Conclusions.

I. A SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENTS

The first three years were a time of beginnings. Important traditions from the period have been handed down to the present. The open door policy for membership is one of these traditions. The Society is officially the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, but the membership of the Korea Branch was and is open to all who are interested in the
program, regardless of their nationality, residence, religion or profession. The emphasis on the quality of the journal popularly called the "Transactions" is another important policy. The first president at one of the early meetings of the Society commented on the journal as follows: "Like all societies, we have two audiences to deal with, the audience we address through our meetings and the more distant and possibly more learned audience we appeal to through the medium of our transactions. While, therefore, it is necessary for us to win the sympathy of resident members, on whose support we are primarily dependent, it is also incumbent upon us not to forget that so far as non-resident members, the outside public, are concerned, we shall be judged by our transactions."

In the light of the high ideals set for the Society, the first president could not help but have a deep concern over the prospect of the Society. He said, "I trust members of the society will not be discouraged if sometimes there should occur a long interval during which, owing to lack of papers, no meeting takes place." When the membership was small and a few were in a position to supply papers, meetings were often omitted. No paper, no meeting was the practice.

When the Society did meet, it was a seminar of a small congenial group. The reader presented his paper on a given subject and the meeting was thrown open to the house for discussion on the subject of the paper. When the paper was ready for publication, it was turned over to the council for publication in the Transactions. The social feature of the meetings was a tea, which was refreshing in late afternoon gatherings.

After having set general principles of operations, the Society underwent a long period of silence from January 1903 to December 1910. It will be recalled that these years were most troublesome times in the country, including the international contest over Korea, the Russo-Japanese war that broke out off the shores of Inchon, and its aftermath culminating in the Japanese annexation of Korea. In the annals of missionary enterprise, we find that the hands of missionaries were tied up in coping with the mass conversion of the Korean people to Christianity. The work of the Society, which was an extracurricular undertaking for all members, had to come a halt under such political upheavals and crowded missionary engagements. We note, however, a justification of the silence in these words: "Attention was called to the fact that the
society had existed with occasional business meetings since 1902, but no paper on a Korean theme read before it.

The second period in the development of the Society from 1911 to 1930 may be called the Trollope era. The late Bishop took active part in the program of the Society from its beginning. During this period of 20 years four persons held the post of president, but Trollope was in the office long years, until his untimely death 1930. Under his able and devoted leadership, the Society published 19 volumes of Transactions containing 30 treatises. We will call attention to some of these papers later. These years were productive ones for the Society, despite the fact that Korea was entirely blacked out to the outside world. Dr. H. H. Underwood, immediate successor to Bishop Trollope in the presidency, wrote an appreciation of the man and work of Bishop Trollope, which was printed in the Transaction for 1931.

From 1930 to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Dr. H. H. Underwood, Father Charles Hunt and others, with courage and forbearance, kept the Society alive under the most adverse situation of the Japanese occupation of the country. Dr. Underwood stated in his presidential report for 1939: “The members of the society have all been working under conditions which did not lend themselves to the conduct of research work. In addition to this, some conditions have made it seem unwise to hold any more meetings than were necessary.” In fact, Dr. E. W. Koons, a loyal member and one time president of the Society was arrested by the Japanese, while he was reading proofs of a Transaction.

The elapse of the seven war years brought a new dawn to the life of the Society. Following the close of the World War II, some of the former members of the Society returned from their forced repatriation. Many did not return, but a great number of American Army officers and civilians showed interest in the work of the Society. These interested people held an informal meeting at the English Church Mission Bishop’s Lodge on November 26, 1947 and made plans for reorganization of the Society. Leaders in the movement were H. H. Underwood and Charles Hunt. A mass meeting was held on December 18, 1947 at the Bankers’ Club and formally reconstituted the Society by electing H. H. Underwood, president, and Charles Hunt, vice-president. Other office holders were also elected according to the existing constitution. The Society
continued to function in the established patterns of past operations by presenting learned papers at periodic meetings until the North Korean communist invasion in June, 1950. The Society, in spite of the transitional state of affairs in those two and one half years, 1948–1950, achieved significant records of accomplishments, such as introduction of tours, which have now become a hallmark of the RAS, and Society lectures, as well as the salvage of the library, and above all the publication of three valuable papers by the late Miss Helen Chapin, a specialist in Asiatic Arts and Monuments, who had come to Korea for two years as Advisor to the Korean National Museum. “There never has been a time when so great an interest in the Society has been shown”, so declared in 1949 the Rev. Charles Hunt, who was then the president of the Society. In the onrush of the North Korean communist invaders, the Society lost Charles Hunt, who had remained in the city and became a captive of the communists, never to return. Dr. Underwood died in Pusan in February 1951. The Society could not function during the communist occupation of Seoul, but undaunted members carried on correspondence with printers in Hong Kong for the publication of volume XXXII of the Transactions in 1951.

When Seoul was retaken, the Society took up its interrupted activities among a large number of supporters in the expanded international community in the city. As it was in the beginning, in this time of a new start, the honor and responsibility of the leadership were extended to ambassadors of friendly countries. Dr. Richard Hertz, the Ambassador from the Federal Republic of Germany and the Hon. Roger Chambard, the Ambassador of France, gave unstintingly of themselves to the work of the Society while serving as its presidents, and many able scholars and enthusiastic Koreanophiles brought the Society through a most flourishing period during the 1960’s.

As the domestic situation of the country stabilized and the international relations between Korea and world nations normalized, the international community in Seoul grew larger and many intellectually-minded newcomers showed great interest in the Society. In order to cope with the situation created by the size and background of the membership, the program policy of the Society in recent years has been shifting from the Transaction-centered pattern of pre-World War II to direct participation by members in semi-monthly lectures, scheduled tours in line
with the modern audio-visual methods, and the publication of hardcover, full-length books on various Korean subjects. Thus the former concept of meeting two audiences through the presentation and publication of papers is augmented by the idea of on the spot stimulation and immediate effectiveness. However, we must add at once that the current program has, by no means, lessened the value of the Transactions. A learned society is a living organism, it must adjust to changing situations in order to exist and grow.

Lest we forget, we should make a brief record of men, who have given their inspired and vigorous leadership in the development of the Society. Many devoted their labour to the Society in various capacities. Creditable their services are, but it is impossible to make mention all of them in this brief survey. To be sure, presidents are leading spirits of their respective times. Twenty men served the Society as presidents in 70 years. Bishop Trollope was in the office the longest, a total 13 years; H. H. Underwood, four years; Charles Hunt, and Roger Chambard three years each; Arthur Lay and Richard Hertz, two years each; and the 14 others served one year each.

II. THE TRANSACTIONS

The modern dictum "publish or perish" is not only applicable to academicians, but also to all learned societies. A high quality journal is the life of a scholarly society. The Korea Branch, from its inception, laid strong emphasis on the importance and quality of the Transactions, and they, in a sense, have become the yardstick for the measurement of the work of the Society. We will observe briefly the quantity, subject matter, and quality of this RAS journal.

The quantity of the Transactions are impressive; (this is volume XLVII of this journal). The Society published seven papers in the first three volumes from its inauguration in 1900 to the time of temporary suspension of activities during the period from 1904 to 1910. From the revivification in 1911 to 1940, when the Society had to cease its work because of the war conditions, it issued 22 additional volumes, making
the total of 25 volumes consisting of 63 papers. Since the end of World War II, the Society has been productive in issuing 20 more volumes of the Transactions. When we celebrate the seventieth anniversary this year, the Society is the proud possessor and custodian of 45 volumes of the Transactions consisting of 126 treatises contributed by 73 authors including 49 Occidentals, 21 Koreans and three Japanese. It may be of interest to note the most frequent contributors. Dr. James S. Gale stands on the top, having presented six papers and four translations. Bishop Trollope comes the next with six papers and one foreword; H. H. Underwood, five papers and one appreciation; G. St. G. M. Gompertz, five; and Charles Hunt and Richard Rutt, four each. Homer B. Hulbert, G. H. Jones, J. D. Van Burskirk, Miss Helen Chapin and James Wade also have four each; E. W. Koons, E. M. Cable, G. M. McCune, Wilbur Bacon, Gregory Henderson, (beside one "In Memoriam") and William Henthorn two each, and an additional 56 persons, one each.

Subject matter of these papers cover a wide range of interests, such as art, astronomy, history, literature, arboretum, ornithology, commerce, climate, customs, folk-lore, medicine, music, transportation, government, myth, Buddhism, Confuciansim, Christianity, numismatics and others.

The format of the journal is plain. The cover bears imprints of the emblem "Taekuk" and the name of the country "Taehan" in two Chinese characters. The emblem of "Taekuk" stayed, while "Taehan" was replaced by "Chosen" during the time of the Japanese occupation. "Taehan" was restored following the establishment of the Republic. The current cover design with four Chinese characters Kun Yok Chung A, which is interpreted, "Splendor of the land of the Rose of Sharon" was initiated with Volume 41. Early volumes were printed in Japan, in order to secure the best printing possible in the Orient in those days and to meet prevailing standard of a learned journal in every way. Later volumes were printed in Hong Kong, but now all RAS printing is done in Korea.

It will be recalled that the journal was placed for sale with such well-known Oriental book dealers abroad as Kegan Paul in London and others in Paris, Berlin, and New York.

The quality of the Transactions of the Society compares favorably with other learned journals. All the treatises appearing in the transactions are by no means equal in quality and value. Some of them are products of
a high quality of scholarship and interpretations with deep insight; others are amateurish and preliminary introductions to given subjects. No one would expect of a collection of papers on various subjects by different authors in a period of 70 years, be of equal level of quality, both in the depths of research and discernment. I will not venture into the dangerous ground of evaluation of these papers, for they speak for themselves. Some of the papers are based on original field work, but most of them are results of arduous research from original sources. A few could handle their source material in the original literature, largely in Chinese, while others had to depend on information supplied to them. It was stated that Bishop Trollope used to read literature in original Chinese for pleasure, but not many have such accomplishments. These treatises have been not only instrumental in the preservation and transmission of the ancient culture of the Korean people, but also in the introduction of the Western methods of study and interpretation. However, it would not be an over statement to note that historical, sociological and archeological studies appearing in the first half of the century are now subject to re-study in the light of newly available documents, recent discoveries and research on such new materials. It was stated in the 1950’s that the Transactions were “one of the best continuously published sources of scholarly information on Korea.”

Production of learned treatises is not an easy task for anybody at any time. It has been doubly difficult for foreign residents in Korea to work on subjects foreign to them. Consequently, publishable papers were not always available for the Transactions. In order to encourage the members to engage in research, leaders of the Society almost in every meeting exhorted members for research work, and at times circulated pertinent subjects among the members for their selections for study. Sometimes the members were challenged to response to enlightenments against falsehood and bigotry. In the minutes of the annual meeting of 1930, we note the following entry. “The question of many lies circulated about Korea was raised and the problem of whether anything could be done to correct such statements as appear in print was referred to the council.” Dr. H. H. Underwood numerated some of them in his paper on Occidental literature on Korea (TKBRAS, vol. 20 for 1931, pp. 11-12). Bishop Trollope added a section in the Transactions, “Notes and Queries” to arouse interest of the members. Even an imposition was a
way of securing a paper from a prospective member. We read in the minutes of the council meeting for March 8, 1911, as follows, "Dr. Gale was asked to prepare and read a paper in April. His silence was interpreted to signify consent."

I will close this part on the Transactions with a quotation from a statement from the first president of the Society with regard to the Society’s journal. "Since we profess to be a branch of a learned society, I trust that the scale will always turn in favor of the solid value of our Transactions and not the mere popularity of our meetings."

III. THE LIBRARY

The library is an inseparable part of the Society. The library has shared its fortunes with the Society. When the Society did not have a library of its own, Dr. E. B. Landis of the English Church Mission made his valuable collection available to members of the Society. Dr. Landis collected about 500 standard books on the Far East and deposited them with the English Church Mission. Alex Kenmure was the first librarian of the Society. He made small contributions to the library. When the Transactions were published, exchanges brought in several journals from many parts of the world. We note that there were as many as 14 exchanges in 1937, while the total accession of books in that year totalled 43 volumes.

In spite of the great value of the library it had not had a permanent depot. These books were first deposited in the British and Foreign Bible Society building, where Kenmure had his business office. Later, the library was in the English Mission Bishop’s Lodge, when Bishop Trollope was the president. When the Christian Literature Society building was erected in 1931, its Administrative secretary, N.C. Whittemore, was elected the librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society library. The library went along with the librarian to his centrally located fire proof building. Book cases of the Library decorated the Board Room until the Japanese confiscated the building and all as enemy property in 1941. Following the termination of the World War II, Robert A. Kinney,
the librarian at the time collected scattered volumes and moved them to the American Embassy building for safekeeping. He had hopes in 1950 for the restoration of the library to, at least, the pre-Pearl Harbor condition, but the North Korean communist invasion destroyed this hope. In the mid-winter, 1950–1951, through the prompt and vigorous efforts of the librarian, the books recovered after the recapture of Seoul were evacuated to the United States, and soon after the Armistice, these volumes were brought back to Seoul. The Society, having no suitable place to store the books, deposited them in the Korean Research Library building until 1968. When the Society began to have its own office, the library moved together with the office to the Research Library building compound. When the office was moved to the Korea Times building in 1970, the library was separated from the office, and is now in the British Embassy Library for safe-keeping and circulation.

We have no record of the accessions to the library. There is a report that a catalogue was made and mimeographed in 1928 and on the need of three more book-cases in 1937, but none of these is now in existence. However we have the record of 321 items, which were deposited in the Korean Research Library in 1960. There must have been additional acquisitions in the last decade, but an accurate estimate of the size of the library is not currently available. The library has specialized in the collection of old books and other standard works on Korea in European languages and has made special efforts to complete several sets of important learned journals.

When books on Korea in European languages were few in number, there were three centers of the books of Koreana, namely, the Landis Library in the English Church Mission; the Royal Asiatic Society Library; and the Underwood collection. The first has become a part of the Library of Yonsei University, and the last was burned completely in the Korean War and the Society’s library has survived to the present condition. Since Korea is on the world scene, books on the country appear in large numbers. No student can afford to have a personal BIBLIOTHECA KOREANA. The Royal Asiatic Society Library should specialize in books on Korea in European languages and the needs of the library should be a challenge to the Society.
IV. MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE

We have already noted the membership policy of the Society. The size of the membership has been relative to the size of the international community in Korea. When an Occidental comes to the country, he finds that his participation in the work of the Society is the most rewarding way of learning about the country and people. Many have joined the Society for self-development. The Society started with 17 members in 1900, but before the end of that year of the inauguration, the membership doubled. When the Society underwent the first suspension of activities, in 1903, there were enrolled 74 members. The scope of a constant membership in the pre-liberation period stood about 150-200. Membership grew rapidly, as the international community expanded in the country, specially in Seoul, following the close of the Pacific and Korean Wars. In the 1950's an average size of the membership was about 350-500, and in the 1960's 500-600. Currently, in 1972 RAS members of the Korea Branch number about 950, including life members, regular memers in Korea, and members overseas.

It will be difficult to classify the membership according to nationalities, but one can not help but note the almost total absence of participation of the French and Russians from the beginning throughout most of the past 70 years. In fact the French, as we are familiar with those monumental works done by the French, were real Western pioneers in Korean studies. Catholic missionaries in Korea, who have predominantly been French nationals, have been absorbed in their own research and publications. The late Archbishop Mutel, however, had had occasional contacts on common concern with early leaders of the Society, and it was most fitting that a biographical sketch of the venerable Archbishop has been written by an eminent member of the Society and included in a Transaction.

The first Korean member of the Society was Min Young Chan, a relative of Queen Min, brother of Min Young Whan, and one time Korean minister to Paris. He was elected in 1901. Dr. Syngman Rhee was elected to the membership in 1910 not long before he went in exile and later was elected an honorary member. Dr. Tchi Ho Yun and other names
of the returnees from studies abroad are sprinkled in the membership list in the 30s, and a few have been elected to the council and other offices. In the history of the first 50 years of the Society, one paper was read before the Society by a Korean, who was not a member, and two other papers were presented by a Korean member, but they never were completed for publication. This situation has changed. Korean members contributed 19 papers on various subject, without the mention of numerous lectures, to the Transactions between 1961–1970, while 25 papers by 13 Occidentals appeared in the Transactions in the same period. There are many qualified Korean scholars, who could make contributions to the work of the Society, but the Society does not enroll as many Korean members as the Society would welcome. This situation exists on account of the preoccupation of many Korean scholars in activities of their own learned Societies and perhaps also because of the background of the Society, with its foreign connections and predominately foreign membership. We would like to look forward to the time, when the Society is understood as an all inclusive community of students of all nationalities of the culture of Korea and the neighboring countries.

The financial policy of the Society has been one of strict adherence to self support. Sources of income have been none other than annual dues from members and the sales of Transactions and other RAS books. Income neither had been large enough to purchase all the books that the librarian recommended for acquisition nor to maintain an office with a staff in the pre-liberation years, but it has always been solvent throughout the years and also carried a small balance. The Society, in recent years has been in a position to grant scholarship aid to worthy students and subsidies to cultural organizations in the country, the kind of service the Society never could attempt before. The publication of RAS's monographs has sent out much light on Korea and also has yielded some income. The Publications Committee has also set a high standard for foreign language book publication in this country. It may be safe to assume that the Korea Branch is undoubtedly the most active branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the world today.
V. CONCLUSIONS

The present writer, as he retrospects his close connection with the Society and his personal association with the past and present leaders over the last 40 years, would congratulate the Society for past achievements and pay high tribute to the men, who have invested their many parts and patient labor for the advancement of the Korean studies through the work of the Society. We accord our honor and respect to these men of learning for their initiatives in Korean studies, and their continuous labor of research for the revivification of the culture of the Korean people and for their enduring success as evidenced by the volumes of the Transactions. They have not only stored away the results of their studies for succeeding generations of scholars, but also imprinted their personalities on these pages of the Transactions. They have lived in the country not only by their physical presence, but by their intellectual and spiritualistic companionship with great minds and noble spirits of the Korean people. Their understanding of the country and people has been profound and their written expressions carried the light of truth and weight of authority. Gale, Trollope, Hulbert, Underwood and Hunt, without listing the living, will be remembered long as advocates of the work of the Society and as heralds of the Korean culture to the outside world.

One, who examines annual reports of the past years, can not help but be impressed by the dedication of early leaders to the Society. All of them emphasized the importance of the work of the Society, and encouraged members to engage in research on Korean themes. These men loved the Society for what the Society has done for themselves and for the world. Exhorting statements of several presidents of the bygone years are challenging as well as touching. Let me quote a few of them. The Rev. Hunt wrote:

"We trust that the Bishop's (Trollope) often expressed hope will be fulfilled, that the Korean people will in the not far future come yet again to appreciate their own literature, of which they have no need to be ashamed but rather of which they may be justly proud."

Dr. H. H. Underwood left these words:

"My hope that as a society we may continue to build an increasing
storehouse of research on Korea which shall be worthy of the work to be found in the 28 volumes, which the Society has had the honor of publishing and which form a unique contribution to the study of the Far East.”

The Rev. Charles Hunt wrote as the retiring president of the Society in 1950:

“Many of the important subjects yet to be presented need a great deal of research which must necessitate a long expenditure of time besides an acquaintance with the Korean language, and many of our members are unlikely to be in Korea for any length of time and it must be left largely to those who are residents of a larger duration in Korea to do this research work.”

Another former president’s valedictory reads as follows;

“During the years I have been a member of the Society, I think I have held all the offices of the Society and now I am at the end of the route and out I go. I thank you all for the pleasure you have given me.”

I now come to the point of gazing at the prospects for the future of the Society. There is an unprecedented opportunity for greater achievement than ever before. First of all, the Society now has a large membership of men and women who are interested in Korean studies. Then, there is complete freedom of research and presentation thereof, the privilege that our predecessors could not always enjoy. We now have many like-minded scholars among the Korean academic world. Korea in her long history has lost much of its source materials for research, but in recent years, we have many important discoveries in all fields in which the Society aims to make contributions. Publications of ancient documents by the government and private sources are readily available to all who search for facts of the past. I believe that we have greatly advanced methods of research and evaluation. The pursuit of Korean studies is now ready for the appearances of scholarly works on Korea in European languages. This demand should be a challenge to many members of the Society. A foreigner, occasionally produces superior quality books on another country as established by works of Alexis de Tocqueville and James Bryce on America, and Arthur Young on France. There is a great opportunity for the trained mind to explore all that is good, true and beautiful in the heritage of the Korean people as a contribution to the world’s knowledge of the cultural development of the Korean people.
SOME REFLECTIONS ON KOREAN PATTERNS

Paul S. Crane, M. D.

On my visit to Korea in November, 1971, I had an opportunity to review the many changes that have occurred in this rapidly developing land since my childhood days in Korea from 1919–36, and as a physician from 1947–69. Physically the Korea of my childhood is hardly recognizable today, especially in the urban centers. There is relatively less change over the years in the rural village life of the average farmer.

In 1967 the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, published “Korean Patterns” as a handbook for foreigners, especially Americans, who were sent to work in Korea for short periods of time in the diplomatic corps, the military, or the various aid and missionary organizations. It was hoped that this book would be a first step in introducing Westerners to the differences in cultural patterns seen in Korea and thereby help them avoid the blunders made by so many short term foreign workers trying to adjust to life among the Korean people.

It seems now that some clarifications are necessary as well as some modifications of some of the over simplified statements made in that book. Recently an article in the Japan Times reported on an interview a Mr. Goto of the Asahi Shimbun had with Chinese Premier Chou En Lai in Peking. Following the interview, the first such granted by the Chinese after China was admitted to the United Nations, the paper stated that the Chinese Foreign Office took a week to produce the clarifications on the interview before they would release the text for publication. In similar manner, I should be allowed to make several clarifications on “Korean Patterns” some four years following its original publication. The first clarification that needs to be made results from the mistaken idea that some readers, particularly some of my Korean friends, have received, that the book is talking about Korean people. This is certainly
not the main thrust of this book. It has no relation to Korean people. It is basically a book about Systems. It is a type of systems analysis of the Korean cultural system. It is not reflecting on any people, other than the fact that people are modified and do react to any given system. As the system changes the book needs to be updated, but the book is trying to describe for foreigners the Korean traditional system. In Gari Ledyard’s delightful book, “The Dutch Come to Korea,” he evaluates the story of the shipwrecked sailor, Henrick Hamel, who came to Korea by accident in 1653 and for thirteen years made rather careful observations on the Korean system as he saw it from the position of a foreign prisoner, a view from the bottomside up in the seventeenth century.

My introduction to adult life in Korea came 294 years after Hamel, when I landed from a ship at the port of Inchon as a medical missionary doctor. I also came as a “nobody” in Korean eyes as well as in the eyes of the American Military Government which was accepting the surrender of the Japanese in Korea following World War II. At that time the newly installed military governors had a very jaundiced opinion of civilians in general, and missionaries in particular. We were odd balls. Why would anyone come voluntarily to work in Korea? There must be a catch somewhere. The military mind did not know how to use or what to do with these non-military types. Were they subversive, should they be granted post exchange privileges, should they be allowed travel orders to ride on military controlled trains and buses? All of our group were upsetting to the smooth rank and order system of the regulated military.

In 1947 civilians were absolutely “un-persons” in Korea. Even worse, I was determined to leave the good life in Seoul and head for the “Hawaii” of Korea, the Cholla Provinces, where even some of my Korean associates have been heard to remark, “a very peculiar kind of people live in the Chollas.” Thus my view of Korea was from the rural southern provinces, and I saw traditional Korea unmodified by the sophistication of the capital city. In addition to all of this, I was very young, and looked even younger, so that some of my patients even wondered if I had completed high school. When I made infrequent visits to Seoul I saw it from the angle of the lowest of the “un-persons”.

My only claim to knowledge of “The Korea” was that I had lived through high school in Pyongyang in the North, and two years in Seoul during my military service in the Eighth United States Army Medical
Corps. This could hardly balance my long years of living in Chonju.

One of the barriers that separated me was my Cholla accent. When I lectured medical students in Seoul, I found my listeners hardly able to control their amusement when I lapsed into colloquial idioms. I have gained some insight into this problem by moving recently to practice surgery in East Nashville, Tennessee. This is the area of Nashville from which the "Grand Old Opry" and the "Hee Haw" people originate. This area of Tennessee has its own dialect and adaptation of the "King's English". At a gasoline filling station a lad came to see if I had been waited on and asked, "You done been got?" There are other colorful phrases such as the man trying the describe someone with a limited I.Q. when he said, "He ain't gonna put up no rockets." In adjusting to this brand of English I have come to understand why my Korean language abilities caused so much mirth among the learned medical students of Seoul. Unfortunately when I arrived in Korea, there were no language schools for foreigners, and I was thrust immediately into the practice of medicine, and had to learn my Korean syntax from my patients, whom I tried to imitate to be able to communicate effectively with them. This method of language study may be a good way to develop rapport, and empathy, it is a very poor way to learn the standard grammatical language of a proud race of scholars. By associating with rural people and the poor, I learned to view Korea from their point of view, and I had the other unique advantage of being able as a surgeon to view Koreans from the inside out.

When you operate on someone, you immediately appreciate that the skin, the fat, the fascia, and the different internal organs of the body remain in pretty much the same relationships regardless of the external superficial cultural differences that divide races of men. I was even able to verify, contrary to popular myth among foreign troops, that the anatomical arrangements of men and women in Korea are no different from those in the West. One might say that I developed a worm's eye view of Korea and her cultural system.

I make no apology for the fact that my views on the Korean system are often different from that of the tourist of three days, the diplomat, or those who never leave the environs of Seoul. The English speaking group of Korean leaders do, in fact, exhibit many modifications and differences from the village people with the belly ache due to the in-
festation of worms. However, modern Korea is ruled by people, many
of whom had their origins in the remote villages, and their gut reactions
are set in the rural patterns, thus my observations of their system has
some validity.

In trying to understand my patients, their medical concepts, and their
emotional problems in terms of their own culture, and to translate this
into some sensible diagnosis in terms of my Western medical training,
I have learned to observe closely their basic drives, motivations, and
reactions to pain, sickness, and death, as well as birth and living. In order
to understand people, one must first understand their system.

Since returning to the United States of America I have had the op-
portunity to observe a number of Korean physicians, some of whom
I helped train in Korea. It has been fascinating to see how they are
adapting to life in their foreign culture of America. In Korea they reacted
as do most traditional Koreans in their system. In America they now
act as do most American physicians in the American culture. I am not
saying that the change is either good or bad, I am merely stating that
they have made some marked changes in their way of doing business in
in order to survive in the American milieu.

The truism that people remain basically people still holds. However,
in different systems people certainly do react differently to the same set
of stimuli. Thus it does little good to try to study people in trying to
understand their differences. They are different depending on the system
that surrounds their lives. Thus let us concentrate on the study of
systems. In the study of systems we also gain the additional advantage
of being able to rid ourselves of some of the emotional overlay that
erupts when we start describing people. When we talk about people, we
are speaking of mother, father, aunties, and apple pie and the American
flag, so to speak, all of which words carry a heavy load of emotionalism.
As foreigners in Korea making observations about Korea, we do better
to concentrate on the Korean system and leave the people alone.

One of the major differences in systems between Korea and Western
systems of culture is the difference in heritage. The majority of Americans
from Western Europe carry the Greco-Judeo-Roman load. That is the
base on which our culture and laws are based. Very few Americans share
the rich heritage of Paekje, Silla, Koguryo, Koryo, or the Yi Dynasty.
We just do not have it; poorer though we may be for it. Westerners
approach life from a vastly different point on the cultural compass from people with a Buddhist, Confucian, Taoist heritage. The set of priorities may be quite different. In the West it is assumed as an ideal, although often not lived up to, that relationships are on a more or less horizontal plane. People are "sons of God" and, therefore, "brothers" equal before the law and in value. One may immediately point to the recent history of the treatment of minority groups in America to refute this concept, but the main stream in America today is trying with great effort to rectify this deviation from the standard that all men are created equal. Any American citizen can theoretically walk into the White House in Washington and speak to the president as "Mr. President." There is no bowing, no "your majesty," there is no "your excellency" and there is no "Kak Ha," just plain "Mr." like anyone else. This is a basic horizontal assumption.

In the Far East this is not the case. The base is more vertical. It is perpendicular, a full ninety degrees on the compass in one's approach to people.

In Korea this is built into the verb endings. One may easily observe this phenomenon at a railway or bus station in Korea. Here an elderly gentleman, obviously distinguished, is accompanied by his son, or an aide. He speaks to the youths in low talk as if they were children, although each may be quite an adult. The aide in turn may speak to a porter, in equally low talk, and then both the porter and the aide will turn to address the elder in the highest forms of language. The relationship is vertical, depending on the relative social positions and status of the three men. In the Korean system no one is assumed to be equal, everyone is either superior or inferior to someone. Two twins born, of course, the first one out is forever superior to the second one to pop out of the womb, they are in an elder brother, younger brother relationship built into the system.

In modern Korea it is interesting to look for deviations from this traditional vertical approach. Some might even argue that the system is changing. Quite possibly it is changing for those with exposure to Western culture, but for the majority of people in Korea the system is not changing yet. In visiting old friends in the university community of Seoul, I found no evidence of change on this score. My span is just under forty years in Korea. The formalities between the superior and
the inferior are as rigid as ever. Only classmates and very old friends may enjoy the luxury of intimate half-talk to each other.

One of the major causes of friction and misunderstanding and frustration that Westerners meet when they come to work in Korea with Koreans is this head-on collision course between the vertical of Korea and the horizontal of the West. When we fail to take this difference into account we become emotional and uptight. This difference has often not been fully appreciated by either Koreans or foreigners working among Koreans. People always living in Korea have adjusted their personal balloons to it, and seldom even notice the problem until they meet strange long-nosed foreigners who always come at relationships from a "strange" different direction. Many Koreans interpret this as barbarian. It is certainly not cultured Korean.

It has been interesting to observe at close range Peace Corps young people from America over the past few years. One would imagine that as idealistic youths they would find no problem in being adaptable to any system, yet it has been this very group who have shown deep frustration, often a sense of hopelessness and sometimes even anger that their best efforts seem to make no shift in the slant of the vertical system of Korea. Often these highly advantaged young people have failed to appreciate that they too grew up in a rather rigid horizontal system in the West.

The Korean traditional system has many wonderful features to it. One of the most attractive features is that the system remains full of vitality and strength, even after being battered by ideas from the West for the past eighty years. When one considers the durability of this system that has survived amid turmoil, invasions, and persecution and colonialism for two thousand years, one must view it with respect, and take a long close look at it before making so many free efforts at advice on how to change it. This vitality has suddenly been turned loose in the city of Seoul which over the past two decades has grown from a sprawling town of half a million to almost six million souls. The physical changes in Seoul during the past decade are truly fantastic by any standard. Clean water, overhead highways, electricity, modern housing, and leaks that have sprung through the surrounding mountains to allow the increasing flow of vehicle traffic has expanded the city North, South, East, and West into a megapolis.
Korea faces the fact of rapid change in its physical environment, with all the attendant problems this brings to view. The question is, is this just so much concrete being poured over structural steel, or is there a real basic change being wrought in the Korean system? It would be a worthy subject for a bright scholar to study the effects of this lightning change in the life style of the rural Korean who moves from his ancient mud hut village into the modern urban life of Seoul. What has really happened to these millions who have so recently moved to the city? These once rural traditionalists occupy every level from the Blue House on down to the shanties along the river bottom. Perhaps a multistoried study needs to be made as viewed from the perch of a foreign ambassador who sees life at the highest levels, while some others may have a better opportunity to observe the changes taking place on the lower levels of society. Has the ancient system really been dented or basically changed by sudden modernization? The answer to this question may be important to Korea as well as to other rapidly emerging Asian nations.

In Korean Patterns I tried to describe the traditional, largely rural system of Korean culture. Until very recently this system fairly accurately described the majority of people living in the small towns and villages and on the farms. The system was beautifully orientated to an agricultural community lead by scholars. The Yi Dynasty (1392–1910) lasted five hundred years, the longest single family dynasty to remain in power in the world’s history, I am told. This has been the Korean system we use as our baseline for any appreciation of Korea today.

One of the main strengths of the Korean system is the fact that everyone has a clearly defined position in it, and everyone knows his relative position in the order of things. This has tended to give one a sense of personal security as long as he remained in his place. As a practicing physician in Korea for 23 years, I was always impressed that young people under the system knew where they were. They were not lost, and did not suffer an identity crisis and the attending many insecurities that plague so many children and young people in Western systems. There were very few children to be found in Korea with serious emotional or psychiatric problems. I do not know how rapid urbanization is affecting the incidence of psychiatric disorders in Korea. The old system gave children a sense of belonging, being accepted, and as a part in the stream of life.
Korea's traditional system was strong in that it gave women a remarkable protection. It protected women by making woman's place very special and private. Girls were supposed to be separated from boys at the age of seven. Contacts were at a minimum until the engagement ceremonies held with both families in attendance after the go-between had made all the arrangements for the proposed marriage contract. After marriage the wife continued to be very private, and was the "inside" person, whereas the husband was the "outside" person in the family who traveled beyond the wall that surrounds every village and town Korean home. A mother could thus raise her children without fear of being molested. Women were free to go abroad at night to visit or attend errands and men were supposed to remain indoors during the evening hours. Crimes of rape were almost unheard of in Korea under the old system.

In sharp contrast in the American system, rape is one of the more common crimes committed against women and young girls. No woman is safe to walk alone on the streets of most American cities after dark, and often even in the day time they may be attacked. This is still unthinkable in Korea. Everything related to the home, the family, the wife and the children in Korea is of utmost importance and takes precedence over other matters, often even affairs of state. The family is the central core of the society in the Korean system. The loyalties are first to the family, and a man in Yi Dynasty times would be excused from military service to return to care for an aged parent. The parents are respected as superior beings in the family, and the word of the father, or clan chief still directs the affairs of members of the family. A young man dare not go against the advise or commands of his elders in Korea. Personal wishes and needs may have to take second place to the major decisions of the family head.

This close knit family system also concentrated its resources where they might best insure the future security of the family. The brightest and most promising son was selected to be educated, and all other needs were sacrificed if necessary to see this son receive the best possible education and opportunities for promotion in society. This tended to produce an aristocracy of scholars, and social mobility was mainly possible by educational attainments. The government examinations, given locally and at the capitol, were the gates through which any bright
young man could possibly be advanced to the highest levels in the land. Failure of the examination was a major defeat for the future of a family. Even today tremendous emphasis is placed on the passing of entrance examinations to various levels of schools from kindergarten on up to the universities. Education is still a major goal of most Koreans. This system, when working at its best, was supposed to insure that the most able minds would advise the king and help lead the nation. Unfortunately, as with many grand schemes in human history, it often failed to take into account the human nature factor, and thus often was perverted and shifted off course, with less than ideal results for the history of the nation. The system basically sacrificed individual wishes and needs for the good of the whole by allowing the superior to develop at the expense of the less talented members of the family, clan, or nation.

It is interesting to look for what remnants of this once rigid system still remain in the 20th century, and are even revived as events dictate. The turn from permissiveness of recent years, as a result of foreign influences from the West, to the older system of tapping recently liberated students quite firmly on their heads to bring them back to their traditional role as students has been seen on college campuses, and by the enforced cutting of long-haired deviants by the police. Students are reminded once again that they must remain in their vertical place in the system as students. The old system remains viable, and revivable by the leadership whenever they feel threatened by foreign corrupting influences on the youth.

On a recent visit to Seoul I noticed other features that remind one of the traditional approach to problems. The recently opened scenic highways around the ridges of the high hills north of the city of Seoul illustrate this point. This tourist road offers a new honeymoon taxi ride for many newly wed couples and their friends in Seoul. Namsan was the favorite honeymoon ride destination before. However, as one approaches the new scenic highway there are signs and police warning that no photographs may be taken along this route. Of course, every newly wed couple needs to take a photograph of the wedding day festivities. What a sour note on an otherwise happy day. The interesting question is, what kind of mind would insist on withholding such a pleasure for so many citizens of Seoul and Korea? The answer is, of course, that the president’s life was threatened by North Korean agents a few years ago,
and these signs went up to prevent photographic intelligence pictures from being taken of the fortifications surrounding the Blue House for any future attempts by agents from the North.

But anyone must realize that any professional intelligence agent will not be easily deterred from taking the pictures he wishes to plan such a mission against the President by the mere putting up of signs, "No Photography Allowed". It thus seems that only the innocent tourists are prevented from having happy reminders of the beauties of Seoul by this approach. Whoever made the decision that the signs should go up, however, was making a very traditional visible sign that he at least was doing his duty in showing his concern for the life of the President. Who would dare criticize such a noble display of concern? The traditional system insists that one go through the forms, according to appearances, hyungsik, and it is this hyungsik that makes a police officer try to make signs look right, to show proper concern for the problem at hand. Once the gesture is made, the duty is performed for all the public to see. This is an example of the traditional system at work in the modern world of super sleuths, electronic monitoring, and satellites. Long live traditional hyungsik.

One other traditional feature has been the relative lack of a divorce problem. Until very recently divorce was a very rare occurrence in Korea in contrast to the increasing frequency of divorce in the West where every fourth marriage ends in the divorce courts. The Korean system protected the family and the children from the trauma of divorce until modern times. Who is to say that the family system that protects women and girls, and holds the family together, and stresses education of the gifted should suddenly be changed? Before tampering with this family system Koreans might do well to take a long look at the system before adopting Western systems that have been so unstable in this respect.

At a seminar at the Academy House several years ago I remember several Korean scholars became quite vehement in discussions when it was considered that Korea might do well to consider her history before jumping too rapidly on the bandwagon of modernization. They accused us of constant preoccupation with Korea’s past. These gentlemen avowed that modern Koreans cared nothing for the "corrupt" past, and wished to divorce themselves completely from the past. They were now concerned only with modern Korea. How do these men propose to
change Korea if they are not first willing to study the strengths and weaknesses of the past? Korea’s rich heritage has much that will bring wisdom to the present and will need to be studied by Korean as well as foreign scholars to gain insights that may be useful for the future. I have listened to many frustrated foreigners in Korea, who become quite eloquent and at times resentful over some facet of Korean culture on which they had stubbed a toe. One must not forget that many aspects of the Korean system work very well for Koreans in their situation, although they may grate the different sensibilities of foreigners.

In my view the Korean traditional system takes very good care of the problem of people living physically very close together. The emphasis on interpersonal relationships, politeness, the sensitivity to the feelings of others, the ability to make one feel comfortable and important, is little short of fantastic. Everyone’s bubble is preserved and given due respect. The system oils inter-personal tensions and reduces them when the full play of natural politeness is brought into the picture. One from the outside might make the superficial judgement that this politeness is merely shallow surface show and hypocrisy, but this may fall short of the truth. The fact is that the courtesy and deep politeness is to be found in the remotest mountain village as well as in the most educated centers of the land. It is practiced by the disadvantaged as well as the wealthy. The poor in Korea are not often poor in spirit with their grace and natural feeling for human understanding. Compared with a modern Western city ghetto, one finds little of the crudeness and raw emotions so evident among people in the crowded streets of New York City, for example, among Korean people. In a world where people are becoming ever more crowded, the Korean system that allows people to live together without too much violence or visible tension merits the serious consideration of all social scientists of every culture. There is so much we can learn in this field from the Korean traditional system.

One aspect of this Korean interpersonal relationship system is the way one comes on. In the language of youth, we in the West are “Coming on too strong”. The Korean low profile approach, this coming on to another person or situation quietly, softly, with deep bows, and self negation, reduces tension and allows for time to build relationships step by step, taking the required ebb and flow of signals from one to another, digesting them before making the next advance. The circling around
problem areas before touching them directly, the defusing of issues by working through third parties and go-betweens preserves emotions and waits for the mellow mood before making a confrontation of personalities directly. The Western approach in contrast comes on loud and clear, with a brisk handshake, no nonsense, down to business, picking brains, moving ahead with vigor with scarcely an awareness of the feelings of others, and then leaving people emotionally drained, brittle, and raw. No wonder so many in the West have duodenal ulcers. Violence is a frequent result of Western system encounters. Violence is only turned to when all else has been tried and fails in the Korean traditional system.

This system gets the desired results without causing permanent damage to the human equation in rubbing hard problems abrasively against people. The secret of this system is taking the time to study people before rushing in on them. This is part of the “Wisdom of the East” that so many from the West would do well to study and learn, for we need all the help we can get on the matter of how to live closely with people without friction.

As we all grow older, we need to look at the Korean system and the way they care for elderly people. This gracious concern for old people, the filial piety bit, the respect, the love, the good diet, the best little comforts reserved for the respected teacher or parent is a gem that the Korean system holds that is very precious. Contrast this with the dismal picture in Western lands of the neglected elderly shuttled off to nursing homes to be cared for often by professional but insensitive incompetents. The great emphasis on the youth culture in the West tends to give the impression that the aged are worthless. They should not be allowed to hang around and take up space in the home or have any influence on the young. What a miserable outlook we in the West have made for so many elderly parents and grandparents. This cruel aspect of Western culture must be very shocking to the traditional East. Before the Korean system is changed, Koreans should consider their approach to aging, and avoid the pitfalls of neglect that have become a way of life for the senior citizens in the West.

As a practicing surgeon in Korea for over twenty years I have seen much of Oriental medicine, especially acupuncture, moxa burning, and herb medicine. It is rather interesting that since Mr. Reston of the New York Times made his famous trip to China and had his appendectomy
at the “Anti-Imperialist Peoples” Hospital in Peking, he reintroduced acupuncture to the West. Some people have harshly suggested that Mr. Reston had a lobotomy along with the appendectomy; however, the point has now been uncovered for the Western world that there exists an ancient system of medical practice which has survived some six thousand years in the East. This system places its main emphasis on the good doctor-patient rapport, and emphasizes the need for the doctor to relieve symptoms and make the patient feel good. This system has little scientific interest in etiology, prevention of disease, or the cure of major medical problems. Its main interest is in the relief of symptoms, not cure of disease. It often equates relief of symptoms as “cure” of disease. When one recognizes that about sixty percent of mankind’s illnesses are self limiting, and a person will recover regardless of what treatment is given, then the relief of symptoms becomes a significant factor in therapy. If one adds to these diseases the large body of psychosomatic overlay there is in many disease states, there is obviously a wide area where any support of the patient by close doctor-patient relationship will make the patient feel better and actually speed his recovery. Merely the fact that someone cares, and takes the time to sit and fiddle with the patient, be it twirling needles and spinning a philosophical bit about the balance of forces or telling a funny tale, will divert the patient’s attention from his complaints and make him feel improved.

It is also recognized that the “gate effect” of the nervous system is such that the mind tends to receive stimuli from only one place at a time, and if needles are placed in the skin and twirled to right or left the stimuli from this area will tend to block out stimuli from other areas of the body where perhaps a surgical procedure is taking place. Pain is mostly felt only in the skin. Once an incision is made through the skin and the body cavities are entered there is no pain sensation with the sewing of bowel, or the cutting of organs, thus acupuncture has been shown to take the place of some other anesthetic agents in certain types of surgical procedures, especially in China where the modern drugs are largely not available and skilled anesthesiologists are rather in short supply. The acupuncture anesthesia is probably as good as surgery done in the past with “Six strong men and a bottle of whiskey.” Added to this is a philosophy that does not insist that all pain is somehow evil and bad and must be relieved immediately. Opium also plays its part in Oriental
medicine to a large extent, and let us face it, opium is more powerful thanas pirin.

Oriental medical systems seem to care little for followup, the keeping of accurate records, and the term “cure” is rather loosely used. Death may steal in without much pain, and one considers this as part of the natural stream of life, one is born and one dies, and why try to keep the event from taking its natural course? This acceptance of death, especially among the elderly, does not put the pressure on the doctor in the East to prolong life as is put on his colleague in the West where death is considered the great tragedy and must be prevented at all costs.

There are several aspects of the Korean traditional system that seem to me not to work very well for Koreans. These features should also be looked at to gain a balanced view of the whole system. The emphasis on making a person feel good, even to the keeping of obvious truth from him, eventually runs its course and catches up with him in the long run. The short term gain of pleasant deceit is often paid for later with serious misreactions. This wonderful expansive feeling one gets while being lathered with good stroking often has a bitter hangover when the stark reality finally breaks through and one realizes that one has been had. The bankruptcy that overtakes so many Korean businessmen and common folk who have flown too high on promises and the inflated claims of promoters is a problem for the business community. It is not too unlike the newly acquired credit card level of society in suburbia USA, where the purchase is made so painlessly until the bill arrives at the end of the month requiring prompt attention in computerized unemotional reality. The inability to limit oneself to hard reality is a problem the world over, and certainly the Korean system is not immune from this feature of human nature. Interestingly in the Korean set up, while one goes happily on wheeling and dealing in some Kisang House making unreal deals to the soft caressing of a painted doll, there seems always some minor clerk or detective in the shadows keeping little notes on all that goes on, and these eventually find their way to the police, and the once proud leader has his comeuppance and is hauled off to jail in a most distressing manner, discredited by the press, and sits ignominiously before a judge in his traditional white farmer’s clothing, where a few days or weeks earlier he rode in a seat of the mighty, untouchable by the law. This recurring playlet fills the daily press in Korea year in and year
out for all to see, but few seem to heed.

The whole problem of making decisions based primarily on personal relationships and kinship rather than on the more objective analyses of people or situations lead many traditional Koreans down the path to ruin. Impersonal analysis is not something that is often found in the traditional Korean system of calculations in my experience of living and working with Koreans.

There is one rather amusing and also delightful part of the system in Korea that is for men only to enjoy. This is the system of professional women entertainers, the *kisangs*. This is one system to keep the "boys" in line, but also it provides them in line with fun and games. Men are allowed to have extra marital pleasure, and yet they stumble home at night without any fear of being beaten on the head by an irate spouse, in contrast with the Western system where one can only play around as long as he does not get caught by his wife. Western women might strongly reject this male chauvinism, but like it or not, the Korean system faces the facts that men enjoy women and sex whereever they may find them, and yet basically want to come home to a wife they truly love and a family they wish to support with love, feeding, and care.

According to Confucius, "Woman's place is beneath the man," and there it is. The Korean system has tended to keep the woman in this place, and has also allowed the man to flirt from flower to flower, as a recognized part of manhood. Aside from the ephemeral pleasures of the *Kisang* House, this is also the private club where men may find warmth and friendliness, where men meet other men and contract much of the serious business in most gracious surroundings. No such equivalent institution has yet appeared with public approval in Western cultures. In the East the tea house is a very important place in every community for the men.

There has always been a problem for Westerners coming to Korea to live in their strange new roles as revolutionaries, as subversives, offering by their very presence a threat to the traditional system, by showing often for the first time to many Koreans that there are other ways than the Korean way, and even claiming often that their "Way" is the better way of life. Whether the bearer of change be a diplomat, a foreign aid official, a Peace Corp youth, or a devout missionary, or just an international bum, these changers find to their sorrow often that being a
revolutionary in any society is not a happy one.

Historically changers have been lynched, stoned, burned at the stake or done to death in most unpleasant fashions. Korea has produced its quota of such victims. Anyone attempting wittingly or unwittingly to change a system eventually crashes into the emotional response from people long comfortable in their system and fearful of any change that might pose a threat to their cherished way of life. The Yi Dynasty kings were absolutely correct in their estimate of the threat posed to Korea by early French Catholic missionaries who tried to sneak into Korea in the 16th and 17th centuries. They would eventually endanger the very survival of the ruling dynasty, and thus the kings drew a defense perimeter along the coastline of Korea, and threatened to kill any foreigner who dared to trespass on the sacred soil of Korea. This effort rather effectively isolated Korea until the pressures of the 19th century finally forced concessions and treaties from the Korean court, and pried open the gates for foreigners to enter the land in 1882. This entry of first Protestant missionaries, then representatives of foreign governments, and finally businessmen and tourists has profoundly changed the life of every Korean. Thus the problem of comfortable isolationism is only a memory from the past, and the problem of the flow of subversive ideas into Korea remains, whether they come from the North or the West.

Certain areas of modern Korea have and are changing very rapidly. Modern medicine has a firm foothold in Korea with Western style medical schools, hospitals, doctors, nurses, and health centers. However, the ancient herb doctor with his acupuncture needle continues to flourish and is still the main provider for medical care for the majority of Koreans. Before Korea completely abandons her traditional system with its many strengths and fine points, there is a need for the leadership in every area of life to restudy the basic traditional system and make firm decisions about what things definitely should be allowed to change, and what elements of the Old system should be held and preserved. It is easy to burn things to the ground to clear the way for sudden and violent change, but it might be possible that in Korea change might come more smoothly and naturally with less violence and death. It may require a bit of patience and sophistication on the part of many would be changers to allow this transition to take place without the wrenching that has taken place in North Korea or in China. The viable rich Korean system
has its deep strengths and abiding values that no hell-fire-bent-to-convert-the-heathen should be allowed to destroy without first fully understanding what one is trying to liberate from what. For the Western innovator in Korea there is a need for much more serious study and insight and respect for the Korean system, then he may someday be in a position where his efforts for change might be heard and his opinions carry some credibility and value for the future of Korea.

When one speaks from a different cultural point on the compass, and appears to question things long accepted, one also runs the risk of offending, and being misunderstood by Koreans no matter how “pure” and God-sent his motives might be.

The foreigner in Korea only needs be reminded that he is a foreigner, a guest in Korea, outside the traditional system, and must not run hobnail boots over the beautiful paper floors of his host’s precious home. Even the use of the appropriate word can be so difficult for the foreigner, that he may blunder where he hopes most to be understood. This point was illustrated by a Philippine doctor visiting the United States who was trying to explain to his host in his limited English the problem of why his wife could not have a child. He said, “Well my wife is unbearable.” Then realizing that this was not quite the word, he said, “She is inconceivable.” Another try, “My wife is impregnable.” Finally in desperation he said, “My wife is insurmountable.” The problem of language and cross culture remains fascinating and one that requires our best wits to help resolve. I suspect that there are no quickie and simple solutions.
A GUIDE TO HAEIN-SA

Text by Susan Lauster
Photographs by Charles Lauster

THE FOUNDING OF HAEIN-SA

Buddhism was introduced to Korea during the Three Kingdoms period of the fourth to the seventh centuries A.D., as part of a tremendous influx of Chinese culture. Buddhism, brought to China from India in the first century, was flourishing in China during the period of division following the collapse of the Han dynasty, due in part to the temporary decline of Confucian values and institutions. Chinese monks came to Korea to preach Buddhism, bringing with them Chinese translations of Sanskrit sutras and Buddhist images. According to the traditional Korean dating, the first Chinese missionary to Korea, Sundo (順道), reached Koguryŏ (高句麗) in 372, and the rulers of Koguryŏ immediately accepted Buddhism as the state religion. Paekche (百濟) followed suit in 384, and soon her Buddhist missionaries introduced the new religion to Japan. The first Korean monk, Ado (阿道) of Koguryŏ, went to Silla (新羅) where he made some converts, but the Silla court did not adopt Buddhism as the official religion until 528. Silla unified the Korean peninsula in 668, and the kings and officials of the newly united Korea used the impressive ritual and theory of Buddhism to bolster their authority.

Each sect of Chinese Buddhism soon developed its Korean counterpart. The most important of these sects during the unified Silla period was the Hwaŏm sect (華嚴宗) introduced to Silla by the Korean monk Ŭisang (義湘) in the mid-seventh century. The Hwaŏm sect especially honored the Vairocana Buddha, the ultimate Buddha from which an infinite number of Buddhas, including the historical Sakyamuni Buddha, emanate. This hierarchy of Buddhas, as well as the impressive ritual of the Hwaŏm sect, seemed to provide a justification for the hierarchy of royalty and officials in the new kingdom, and the kings patronized the
new sect lavishly. Among the monuments built by this favored sect with royal help were Pulkuk-sa (佛國寺) and Sŏkkuram (石窟庵), the most impressive remains of Silla culture today.

In 802, two Hwaŏm monks, Sunŭng (順應) and Ichŏng (理貞), just returned from T'ang China, had founded a small hermitage on Kaya Mountain in the northwest corner of South Kyŏngsang province. At this time King Aejang's (哀莊) queen was taken ill and royal messengers were sent out to find a monk who could cure her. Sunŭng and Ichŏng provided the miraculous cure. As a reward, the grateful king had Haein-sa built on Kaya Mountain and went himself to live there, at the site of the present Wŏndang Hermitage.

The temple was first named simply Kaya-sa after the mountain, but the name was soon changed to Haein-sa (海印寺). Haein, the seal or imprint of the ocean, is an important symbol in the Hwaŏm Sutra on which the Hwaŏm sect is based. It means that the Buddha’s wisdom, or the Buddha nature which is latent in man, reflects all truth as a calm sea, with neither wind nor waves, reflects all objects. Like the mirror, another important Buddhist symbol, it reflects all without discrimination between good and evil or beauty and ugliness and without attachment to anything.

In 935 the Koryŏ (高麗) dynasty replaced the Silla dynasty, moving the capital north to Kaesŏng. The Koryŏ kings, like their Silla predecessors, patronized Buddhism generously. Late Silla had seen the rise of the Sŏn (禪) or Zen sect which opposed reliance on scripture and elaborate ritual and which stressed a direct and intuitive attainment of enlightenment. Its rising popularity was due to the appeal of its iconoclastic ideas in a period of instability and to its opposition to the orthodox sects, such as Hwaŏm, which supported the Silla aristocracy. The Koryŏ kings attempted, with some success, to bring about a reconciliation of Sŏn and the other sects, and, in time, the sects became less important and divisive. Although Haein-sa was associated with the Hwaŏm sect, many Sŏn monks lived at Haein-sa, particularly in the hermitages outside the main compound. In 1424, the Yi court reduced the seven Buddhist sects to two, Sŏn and Kyo (all non-Sŏn sects) in order to weaken Buddhism. However, this also contributed to the unification of Korean Buddhism which came to be called Sŏnkyo (禪敎). Today most of Korean Buddhism is included in the Chogye sect (曹溪宗), a sect revived in 1941 to eliminate Korea’s remaining sect divisions.
Ilchu-mun.

Path from Ponghwang-mun to Ilchu-mun.
Guardian figures on the doors of Ponghwang-mun.

Venerable monk in front of Taejôkkwang-jôn.
Guardian of the south, one of the Four Deva Kings, inside Ponghwang-mun.

Guardian of the east, inside Ponghwang-mun.
Bell in Kugwang-nu rung to call the monks to prayer.

Drum in Kugwang-nu used to call the monks to prayer.
Silla pagoda in front of the main hall.

Stone lantern in front of the pagoda in the main courtyard.
Above: View of the roofs in Kunghyŏn-dang.

Top Left: Suwŏl-mun, gate to Kunghyŏn-dang.

Middle Left: Monks’ prayer robes and rice bowls.

Bottom Left: School in Kunghyŏn-dang.
Monk at 11:00 A.M. prayer in Myŏngbu-jŏn, Hall of the Underworld. The three standing figures are messengers who lead the dead to the underworld. Note the scale supported by the dog.

Taejŏkkwang-jŏn, the main hall, during a celebration for a visiting Buddhist convention.
The head monks of Haein-sa lead prayer in the main hall for visiting lay Buddhists.
Gilded wooden statue of the Vairocana Buddha in Taejökkwang-jön.

Gilded wooden statue of Munsu, the Bodhisattva of wisdom in Taejökkwang-jön.
Prayer in the main hall. Dark outer robes are worn only for prayer.

Paintings of the 8 stages of the Buddha's life: section of stage 8, the Buddha's death.

Monks praying in Taejökkwang-jön. On the far wall are the Buddha's life paintings.
The two buildings housing the Tripitaka.

Monk holding a woodblock in the Taejanggyŏng-gak.
Note the window arrangement for atmospheric control within the buildings.

Stacks containing the woodblocks for the Tripitaka.
The Seven Buddha Pŏptang (main hall) of Yongt'ap-sŏnwŏn.

Hongje-am.

The pŏptang of Wŏndang-am.
Side view of the pŏptang of Wŏndang-am.

Pŏptang of Samsŏn-am.
Ch'ilson-gak, hillside shrine at Samsön-am.

Monks' residence of Samsön-am, viewed from the pōptang.
Ch’ilsŏng-gak, hillside shrine at Yaksu-am.

View through the projection of the maru porch, Kugil-am.
Main hall of Kugil-am.

Head shaving of female monks at Kugil-am.
Hüirangdae.

Hüirangdae, viewed from below.
Painting of Sansin or the Spirit of the Mountain in the shrine at Huirang-dae.
Painting of one of the Buddha’s sixteen disciples.
Painting of Ch’ilsŏng in the shrine at Hŭirang-dae.

Calligraphy of Pŏl the character for Buddha, in Kümsŏn-am.
The bell and the wooden knocker are used to accompany chanting of the sutra.

Pisŏk or stone monument to monk Samyŏng, next to Hongje-am.
THE TRIPITAKA KOREANA AT HAEIN-SA

In Koryŏ, as under Silla, great temples thrived throughout Korea, receiving spiritual and material assistance from the court. They provided the countryside with important local institutions and with links to the highly centralized royal bureaucracy. The monks prayed and often fought for the state, and the temples brought to the countryside large organized communities, open to all levels of society, which disseminated arts, crafts, and agricultural techniques.

The most notable example of the Koryŏ court's use of Buddhism to support the nation was the production of the Tripitaka Koreana. The Tripitaka is the complete collection of Buddhist scriptures. In Southeast Asia, Hinayana Buddhists restrict their Tripitaka to the "Three Treasures" (三藏), mainly scriptures which they claim to be the words of the Buddha or of his disciples, although they were written some time after the Buddha's death. Mahayana Buddhism of Nepal, China, Korea, and Japan embraces a variety of interpretations and approaches to enlightenment. Therefore, their version of the Tripitaka includes later writings and is called the "Great Treasure" (大藏). This collection of scriptures is indeed massive, including over 1500 separate works, so that the making of printing blocks for the entire collection was a tremendous undertaking. It was first done in China from 971 to 983. Since the introduction of Buddhism to Korea, the Koreans had collected many Chinese translations of the Sanskrit texts in both manuscript and printed form. The first set of Korean blocks was carved by the Koryŏ court early in the eleventh century as a petition to the Buddha to expel the invading Khitans, a tribe from Manchuria. The petition was perhaps successful for the Khitans eventually withdrew, but this first set of woodblocks was destroyed by the next invaders from north of China, the Mongols, in 1231. The Mongols were a much more serious threat than the Khitans, taking the capital while the Koryŏ court fled into exile on Kangwha Island. Again the court undertook the carving of printing blocks for the entire Tripitaka as a prayer to the Buddha to free Korea from the Mongols. The work was done with the utmost care and craftsmanship, accompanied by frequent prayers and Buddhist ceremonies. The 81,258
woodblocks made at this time are preserved today at Haein-sa in virtually perfect condition.

However, this great undertaking did not succeed in driving out the Mongols, and the Koryo kings and officials learned to live under the domination of Mongol China. But the defeat of the Mongols in China by the Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368 was a sharp blow to the already weak Koryo court. In 1392 Yi Songgye established the Yi (李) dynasty and denounced the Buddhism of his Koryo predecessors. Confucianism replaced Buddhism as the religion and ritual of the court; the temples lost land and status; monks were forbidden in Seoul and other cities, thus depriving them of a role in politics. Yet the break between Koryo and Yi was not as complete as it may seem. Confucianism and its institutions, introduced in Silla times, had been firmly established in the Koryo dynasty, and the degree of Koryo support for Buddhism had varied from king to king. Moreover, although the Yi bureaucracy effectively opposed any revival of Buddhism, individual Yi monarchs favored Buddhism. Buddhist monks played an important role in fighting the invasion of Hideyoshi in 1592, and Monk Samyong of Haein-sa received many gifts from the court in appreciation of his patriotic effort against the Japanese.

LIFE OF THE MONKS AT HAEIN-SA

Haein-sa today has undoubtedly lost much of the grandeur it must have had when Buddhism was flourishing under Silla and Koryo. The frequent fires which have plagued the wooden temples of Korea and Japan destroyed the main complex seven times since its founding in 802. Only the Taegangkyong-gak, which houses the Tripitaka, survived the fire of 1817. Therefore, most of the buildings in the main temple area date from the nineteenth century. Only the pagoda in front of the main temple and smaller objects in the museum survived from Silla or Koryo. However, a fan at the National Museum painted by the early eighteenth century Korean painter Kyomchae (薀齋) with a picture of the layout of Haein-sa shows that the basic plan of the main compound has
changed little in over two centuries, although there are somewhat fewer buildings today. Much of the spirit of earlier days is probably preserved here today, for Haein-sa is still a large and flourishing temple, one of the biggest in Korea, with about 250 monks in residence.

The Korean temple is primarily the residence for a community of monks usually gathered far from the distractions of urban centers to follow the rigorous Buddhist path to enlightenment. However, the Korean temple system is quite different from the original organization of the Buddha’s disciples in India. There, the Buddha and his monk followers were wandering mendicants, settling down only for the rainy season. This pattern is continued in the Hinayana Buddhism of Southeast Asia, but in East Asia this life was generally abandoned, although begging is sometimes still practiced in Korea, and was replaced by permanent residence in monasteries. These temples were meant primarily for the monk, not the lay Buddhist, for the way prescribed by Sakyamuni Buddha in the sixth century B.C. offered enlightenment, and thereby salvation, only to those willing to give up all worldly attachments and devote their whole lives to seeking the truth. From this derives the great importance of the monks, as opposed to the lay believers. It is said that there are Three Treasures (三宝) of Buddhism: the Buddha, the Law or scriptures, and the Monks (佛, 法, 僧). The Buddha allowed women to enter the order, albeit in a secondary position, if they gave up all signs of being women. At Haein-sa, there are about 100 female monks or Bhikkhuni who live separately in four hermitages, shave their heads, and wear clothing identical to that of the male monks.

Among both male and female monks, the primary activities are prayer and meditation. Each hermitage, as well as the two monks’ residences on the main compound, maintains its own schedule of prayer, meditation, and meals, but most follow basically the same routine of prayer and meals. Prayers are usually held five times a day in a pöptang (法堂), a hall with an image of a Buddha or Bodhisattva enshrined in it. Praying consists of sutra-chanting accompanied by the rhythmic tapping of the wooden knocker or mokt’ak and bowing to the enshrined image. The incense and the set of candles on the altar are always lit before prayers, and frequently an offering of rice or fruit is made. The first prayers of the day are at 3:00 A.M. when all the monks get up; prayers are held again before each of the three meals and before
bed at 9:30 p.m. The hours between prayers are spent mostly in meditation, study, or work, depending on the emphasis of each hermitage. The prescribed hours for meditation vary from about six to twelve hours per day. Meditation is traditionally the most important means of attaining freedom from attachment and thereby reaching enlightenment. The Sŏn sect particularly stresses meditation (Sŏn means meditation), but almost all sects of Buddhism practice it. At Haein-sa a few hermitages, notably Yongt'ap-sŏnwŏn and Paengnyŏn-am, have separate meditation halls, but usually meditation is done in the pŏptang.

The younger monks have special work duties, helping to prepare food and to maintain the temple buildings. Most monks enter the temple in their early twenties, but hermitages sometimes take in orphaned children who often later become monks. All monks go through a period of apprenticeship before they become full-fledged monks. Full entrance into the order is marked by the taking of a Buddhist name and the choosing of an older monk to be one's guide and teacher. The diet of all the monks is completely vegetarian, a rule in keeping with the Buddhist commandment to avoid the taking of life but not dating from early Buddhism when the begging monks were required to eat whatever was put in their bowls without showing pleasure or distaste.

However, Haein-sa does not neglect the devout lay Buddhists, although they represent only a small proportion of Korea's population. It is difficult to ascertain the number of Buddhists in Korea since there is no concept of religious membership in Buddhism. The official figure submitted by the Buddhists to the Ministry of Education in 1966 was 963,572 or about 3% of the population. However, in 1967 the number had risen to 3,875,000. This dramatic increase was probably due not to a sudden rise in Buddhism's popularity but to a change in the criteria for determining who is a Buddhist. The higher figure may approximate the number of Koreans who occasionally visit a temple to pray to the Buddha, while the smaller number is probably a more realistic indication of the number of Koreans who consider themselves practicing Buddhists. These relatively few devout Buddhists, mostly older women, are welcome to live in a hermitage in order to meditate and pray with the monks, and many do, often for as long as three months. Other lay Buddhists serve the monks, particularly in the men's hermitages, where they do the cooking and cleaning and also participate in the worship. These women
are honored by the monks with the title of Posal (菩薩) or Bodhisattva, the great Buddhist saints who delay entrance to Nirvana in order to devote themselves to mankind’s salvation and who are worshipped along with the various manifestations of the Buddha. Every spring and fall, the elder monks of Haein-sa hold lectures on Buddhism for lay Buddhists in the Myŏngwŏl-tang in the main compound.

THE MAIN COMPOUND AT HAEIN-SA

The main compound of Haein-sa is laid out symmetrically in a series of tiers climbing up the mountainside. The temple compound is entered from the west through a series of three gates, each one leading to a higher level. The third gate opens into the outer courtyard containing the administrative office and other buildings not used for worship. A stairway through the two story Kugwang-nu leads to the main courtyard on a still higher level. The main courtyard itself is divided into two tiers. The main pŏptang, the Taejŏkkwang-jŏn, facing west on an axis with the gates, is situated on the higher tier at the top of a double flight of stairs. At the foot of the stairs are an old stone pagoda and lantern of the kind usually placed in front of the main Buddha hall of a temple. Along both sides of the main courtyard below the Taejŏkkwang-jŏn are the monks’ residences. On the highest tier, above the main hall, is the Taejanggyŏng-gak, the library containing the Tripitaka. This symmetrical layout is derived from Chinese temple architecture, but the Koreans were quick to adapt the formal Chinese model to the topographical requirements of the mountainous temple sites. Thus at Haeinsa the main hall and the gates are on an east-west axis, while in China the main hall always faced south and the temple compound was entered from the south. The reversing of the directional orientation and the use of tiers are obviously due to the mountainous location and to the Korean love of scenic beauty.

The first gate is called Ilchu-mun (一柱門) which means One Pillar Gate. This name derives from the fact that there is only one pillar on each side of the gate giving it a somewhat topheavy appearance.
The calligraphy on the front of the gate says “Kaya Mountain, Haein-sa” (伽倻山 海印寺). An inscription on the stone base of Ilchu-mun says that it was rebuilt in the Buddhist year 2975. This is 1945 according to the traditional Korean Buddhist dating system based on the number of years since the Buddha’s birth. However, in 1966 the Buddhist year was changed from 2996 to 2510 in order to conform with the system used by other Buddhist countries.

This gate leads up a beautiful shaded path to the second gate. On the right of the path is the stump of a very large tree said to date from the founding of the temple in 802 and to have died in 1946.

The second gate is called Ponghwang-mun (鳳凰門) or Phoenix Gate. Architecturally, it is typical of a second genre of Korean temple gates. It is a small building of three bays, with the two flanking bays used as altars for the Four Deva Kings (四天王), guardians of the four directions. The gate is about 130 years old but the paintings were done in 1933. On the front doors are painted two fierce guardian figures with swords who, like the Deva Kings, protect the temple. On entering the gate, the King portrayed on the right side in front is the guardian of the south. His title is “Increase Length Heavenly King” (增長天王). He is said to eliminate all doubt and here is pictured wielding a sword. The King on the right side rear is the guardian of the east. His title is “Uphold the Nation Heavenly King” (持國天王) and he is said to rule all beings through music, an idea which suggests the Confucian concept that music has the power to bring harmony to people’s hearts and thereby to the nation. He is portrayed here as a kindly man with a white beard, playing a lute. On the left in front is the ferocious-looking guardian of the west. He is called “Wide-Eyed Heavenly King” (廣目天王). He commands all the animals and in this painting he is holding a dragon, the most powerful of all animals. The last king, the guardian of the north, is the “Much Hearing Heavenly King” (多聞天王). He symbolizes universal virtue and here he is a stern, dark-complexioned man who is holding a white pagoda-like sculpture painted with Buddhist images. To emphasize their guardian role, each king is portrayed stepping on two demon figures.

Between the second and third gates is a small shrine called Kuksadan (局司檀). Inside there is only one small painting of the spirit Kuksa
and, as on all altars, a pair of candles and an incense burner. Kuksa is a guardian figure, dressed as an earthly military man, who watches over the affairs of the temple. This shrine is about 110 years old.

The third gate is Haet’al-mun (解脫王) which means the Gate of Deliverance from Worldly Desires. Along the front wall, on both sides of the entrance, are paintings of the Ten Ox-herding Pictures. This series of pictures, a symbolic representation of the search for enlightenment, originated with the early Zen masters of China and, in a number of different versions, has been popular in Zen Buddhism ever since. The herdsman is man seeking enlightenment; the ox represents the enlightened mind. At first the herdsman searches for the ox, then struggles to catch it. Finally they are at peace together with no need of a tether to hold the ox. In the seventh and eighth pictures only the herdsman is to be seen, indicating the overcoming of the separation between man and the Buddha mind. Enlightenment is attained when man destroys the illusion of his own ego or his individual existence. The empty circle of the final picture symbolizes the absence of all distinctions and attachments.

Haet’al-mun leads into the outer courtyard which contains two buildings. On the right is the Myŏngwŏl-tang (明月堂) or Bright Moon Hall. It consists of several large maru or wooden-floor rooms in which the older monks give lectures to lay Buddhists every fall and spring. To the left of Haet’al-mun is the Saun-dang (四雲堂) or Four Clouds Hall, which includes offices for the administration of Haein-sa and rooms for guests.

The entrance to the main courtyard is through the two story Kugwang-nu (九光樓) or Building of Nine Lights. In 1824 a prominent lay Buddhist noticed that Haein-sa did not have a building of more than one story, or Nugak (樓閣), and set about to collect the funds and have the Kugwang-nu built. The bottom floor is used for storage and, on the second floor, there is a small room containing musical instruments on one side of the entrance and a museum on the other. The musical instruments include an unusually big drum, a large bell, and a fishshaped wooden knocker or mogŏ (木魚). The drum and bell call the monks on the main compound to prayer five times a day. The wooden fish, the predecessor of the small, round wooden knocker or mokt’ak used to accompany chanting, is no longer used.
The museum contains a great variety of valuable objects belonging to the temple, some of which go back to the founding of Haein-sa and some of which are as new as a calligraphy done by President Syngman Rhee in 1953.

In the center, on a painted wooden altar, are three statues. In the middle is a copper statue of Kwanseum (觀世音) or Avalokitesvara, the very popular Bodhisattva of mercy. On the right is a copper statue of the Bodhisattva Pöpki (法起), teacher of the Buddhist law. Both of these statues date from the Silla dynasty. On the left is a wooden, almost life-size statue of Huirang (希朗), a monk who lived at Haein-sa in late Silla and is famous as the founder of the Pugak (北岳) faction of the Hwaom sect. This wooden statue was carved by Monk Huirang himself.

On the left wall are a number of painted screens. The first is a painting of flowers and birds by the famous eighteenth century Yi painter Kim Hong-do (金弘道) whose artistic name was Tanwon (檀園). Next to it is a calligraphy by the Yi king Sukchong (肅宗) who ruled from 1674 to 1720. The use of gold paper or gold ink was reserved for members of the royal family. In the corner are a number of pieces of clothing which belonged to the Yi king Kwanghae-gun (光海君) (1608–1623), his queen, and a lady of his court. The blue cloud-patterned silk coat belonged to the king, as did the white jacket. The pink silk jacket was the queen’s, while the purple silk one was the court lady’s. They were discovered hidden in the Tripitaka Library.

Of particular interest along the back wall on the top shelf is a series of paintings in book form. These are paintings of the 500 disciples of the Buddha (五百羅漢圖) done in the mid-eighteenth century by a Chinese painter. On each set of facing pages, a dried leaf is pasted on the right hand page with a painting on it, first of the Bodhisattva Kwanseum and then of the 500 disciples; on the opposite page are written Buddhist sutras, first one in gold ink, then one in silver.

To the right of the three statues, on the top shelf, is some calligraphy by five Yi dynasty kings, a set of clothes worn by a Koryo government official 700 years ago, and a calligraphy by Syngman Rhee. On the bottom shelf is an incense burner in the shape of an elephant and a pagoda, one of the most valuable objects in the museum. It dates from the founding of the temple in 802 and is made of a mixture of bronze, silver, and gold. On the right wall is the crystal jewel which was in the
forehead of the Buddha statue of the original main hall at Haein-sa in Silla times. Its size indicates how large the original hall must have been compared to the present Taejökkwang-jön.

The museum room itself is interesting for it is one of the few buildings at Haein-sa which do not have ceilings but instead reveal all the rafters of the roof. This ceiling-less type of construction was typical of the early Yi period but is rarely seen in nineteenth century buildings such as this one. The exposed cross beams are colorfully painted with dragons and spirits.

In the main courtyard, below the Taejökkwang-jön, is a stone pagoda or t'ap (塔) which was built in 802 when Haein-sa was founded. Pagodas house relics or images of the Buddha; in this case, nine statues of the Buddha were sealed inside the pagoda. Silla stone-cutters combined various features of Chinese wood and brick pagodas to create this type of stone monument which is unique to Korea. The steps under each roof, for example, are borrowed from the Chinese brick pagoda. This pagoda is a typical Silla design with three stories, a double base and a finial of different-size balls. A stone lantern was usually placed in front of the pagoda, as it is here.

On either side of the main courtyard are the monks' residences which house about 100 monks, all male. The one on the right side is called Kwanūm-jön (觀音殿) because the Bodhisattva of mercy, Kwan-seūm or Kwanūm, is especially honored here. Facing the courtyard is the meditation and study hall, and the monks’ rooms are in the rear. On the left side of the courtyard is a self-contained group of buildings, called Kunghyŏn-dang (窮玄堂), which houses about forty-five monks who are devoting themselves to the study of Buddhist scriptures. Kunghyŏn-dang has its own gate opening to the outer courtyard, although its meditation and study hall, like that of Kwanūm-jön, faces the main courtyard. The gate, called Suwŏl-mun (水月門), leads to the school used by the monks who live in the Kunghyŏn-dang. The school has a large hipped gable roof with complex, painted brackets under the eaves. Architecturally, it is quite similar to the main temple, the Taejökkwang-jön, although smaller. The other buildings in the Kunghyŏn-dang are monks’ rooms. Both of these residence halls are about 130 years old.
On the upper tier of the main courtyard, next to the Taejökkwangjön, are three small shrines. The largest one is the Myöngbu-jön (冥府殿) or Hall of the Underworld which contains a collection of wooden statues of underworld spirits. In the center of the shrine is a statue of Chijiang (地藏), the Bodhisattva who leads beings to enlightenment in the period between the passing of Sakyamuni Buddha into Nirvana in 483 B.C. and the coming of the future Buddha, Maitreya. On either side of Chijiang are two standing attendants. Next to the attendants sit the Ten Kings of the Underworld, five on each side, on thrones decorated with animal heads. When a person dies, he goes immediately to the underworld to receive judgement on his sins and merits. He goes to each of the ten kings in turn, once every seven days for forty-nine days, then on the hundredth day, then on the first anniversary of his death, and finally on the second anniversary, until he has been judged by all ten kings. This myth is not of Buddhist but of Chinese Taoist origin, for Buddhism has freely absorbed the myths both of India, where it was founded, and of the cultures to which it spread. In the Myöngbu-jön, the kings are dressed in the style of earthly kings, and each king is portrayed with some unique feature. Around the thrones of the kings are small attendants holding various objects for their masters, such as flowers, a bird, and an inkstone. Next to the kings, towards the front of the shrine, are the messengers, three on each side, who guide the dead person to the underworld. Finally next to the front windows, there are two guardian figures, one on each side, fiercely protecting the shrine with sword in one hand and the other raised in a fist. Other objects in the room are a scale, a symbol of judgement, and a round wooden mirror, a common Buddhist symbol for the wisdom of an enlightened one, which sees all things as they are, with no traces or attachments remaining to mar its ego-less purity. The Myöngbu-jön was built in 1873, and the statues of the ten kings were transferred here from another temple.

A smaller shrine facing the main hall is the Úngjin-jön (應真殿) or Nahan-jön (羅漢殿) which means Hall of the Buddha’s Disciples. On both sides of a large Sakyamuni Buddha are twenty-one small wooden statues of his disciples. Behind the statues are four large paintings, each depicting a group of four or five disciples avidly discussing sutras. The statues and paintings of the disciples were enshrined here in 1918.
Behind the Myŏngbu-jŏn is the Samsŏng-gak (三聖閣) or Shrine of the Three Holies, an unusual octagonal building. This shrine has altars for three mythological figures, the Spirit of the Mountain or Sansin (山神), the Venerable Naban (那畔尊者), also called Toksŏng (獨聖), and the Dragon King (龍王). The first two are very popular in Korean Buddhism, and side shrines to these two deities are found in many of the hermitages. The Spirit of the Mountain is portrayed as a bearded man always accompanied by a tiger; here there are two tigers. This spirit derives not from Buddhism, but from Korea’s ancient shamanistic traditions. Since mountains in Korea were sacred to the tiger, Buddhist temples situated in the mountains invariably erected an altar to this deity. Toksŏng, whose portrait is in the center, is an old white-haired man with long white eyebrows. He is said by the Buddhists to be derived from one of the Buddha’s disciples, Pindola, who vowed to help mankind in a degenerate age. However, the Solitary Sage is more Korean than Buddhist. Toksŏng’s real roots are probably in the long life symbolism of Chinese Taoism and in Korean shamanism. To the right is a painting of the Dragon King, evolved from the Nagaraja or serpent-king of Indian mythology. Since the dragon is the greatest of sea animals, the Dragon King rules over the sea, the rain, and water. Here the Dragon King is shown as an earthly king with the long fingernails of a Korean gentleman, but he is surrounded by images of the ocean and of sea animals, as well as an air-borne dragon.

The main Buddha hall or pŏptang, facing the main courtyard from an imposing height, is called the Taejŏkkwang-jŏn (大寂光殿) or Hall of the Great Void Light. This building dates from the last great rebuilding of Haein-sa in 1818. The hall is dedicated to the worship of the Vairocana Buddha, the source of all Buddhas, a Buddha of great importance in the Hwaŏm sect. Originally this main pŏptang was named Piro-jŏn (毘盧殿) or Vairocana Hall, but the name was soon changed to Taejŏkkwang-jŏn after the mythical dwelling place of the Vairocana Buddha. However, it is clear from the name “Great Void Light” that a physical dwelling place is not meant.

The building is large, with an impressive hipped gable roof supported by many boldly painted brackets. The dragon heads carved out of the corner brackets, as well as the decorative carving of interior brackets, are typical of the elaborate decoration of late Yi temple
architecture. This complex decoration may seem fussy compared to, for example, the simplicity of Japanese temple architecture, but the use of bright, primary colors and natural materials together gives Korean temples the exuberant feeling of folk art. Another feature of late Yi architecture, a hung or coffered ceiling which conceals the height and construction of the large tiled roof, is modified in the Taejōkkwang-jŏn. Here the ceiling slants up from the top of the wall to the tall interior pillars. The ceiling is only flat in the center between the inner set of pillars, leaving some beams exposed and giving a sense of lofty spaciousness without revealing the complete construction of the roof. Between the top of the wall and the flat coffered ceiling are painted Taoist immortals sporting in the clouds, a motif typical of the ceilings of Korean Buddhist temples.

The long altar on which five images are enshrined is particularly interesting for the wooden canopy which covers all five images. The canopy is a traditional feature of Korean altars, although one often abandoned in smaller temples or shrines, which derives from the Indian custom of erecting a canopy over especially revered rulers or spiritual figures. The center statue, naturally, is the Vairocana Buddha. It is a wooden statue, lacquered and gilded, dating from 1769. The end statues are of Munsu (文殊) or Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of wisdom. They are noted for the particularly elaborate crowns of the type Bodhisattvas often wear. The two smaller statues are Chijang, the Bodhisattva of the present age, and Pohyŏn, (普賢), the Bodhisattva of universal wisdom. All the altar statues at Haein-sa, outside the museum, are Yi dynasty, and they reflect the deterioration of Korean sculpture from the heights of Silla’s sculptural art. Sculpture in Korea was always a Buddhist art, and it declined as Buddhism declined.

On the left wall is an interesting series of eight paintings of the life of the Buddha. The story of the eighty years of the Buddha’s life, based on fact with a tremendous accretion of legend and myth, is traditionally divided into eight stages. Here each painting portrays a number of incidents of one of the stages. In the first painting, on the upper right, the Buddha’s mother is shown having the dream in which she conceives the Buddha, and the Buddha descends from heaven to her womb. The second picture, lower right, shows the Buddha’s mother giving birth standing up, holding on to a tree branch, and then
a few incidents of the Buddha as an infant are portrayed. In the third stage, to the left on top, in spite of his wealthy father's attempts to satisfy all his desires and shelter him from the world, the Buddha sees the four signs which lead him to seek the truth: old age, sickness, death, and a begging monk. In the fourth stage, below, the Buddha leaves home to seek enlightenment. The fifth painting portrays the years before the Buddha attains enlightenment, when he goes from teacher to teacher and practices fasting until he is near death. In the sixth stage, on the day the Buddha achieves enlightenment, the great demon Mara comes to tempt him and to prevent him from reaching enlightenment, but of course the Buddha prevails. In the seventh stage, the Buddha has attained enlightenment and is pictured preaching to his disciples and to potential converts. The last painting portrays the Buddha's death and funeral.

The Taejŏkkwang-jŏn is the most important place of worship at Haein-sa for the monks who live on the main compound and for visitors. Everyday at prayer time, after the drum and bell in the Kugwang-nu have been sounded, the monks gather in the Taejŏkkwang-jŏn with their brown prayer robes draped over their usual gray monks' outfits. One monk taps the wooden knocker and one leads the chanting, while all the other monks chant and bow together. Visitors often join them in their prayers.

Above the Taejŏkkwang-jŏn, on the highest tier of the main compound, are the two long, identical buildings which house the Tripitaka woodblocks. The 81,258 blocks, engraved on both sides, were completed in 1251, under the direction of the Koryŏ court, as an offering to the Buddha to save Korea from the Mongols. The calligraphy was done by master calligraphers, and the engraving of each Chinese character backwards must have demanded amazing skill. Tradition says that one calligrapher wrote every character but this seems virtually impossible due to the tremendous length of the complete sutras. The wood for each block was soaked in the sea for three years before carving. The salt in the wood is said to cause a chemical reaction which repels insects; the lacquering of each finished block also made the woodblocks bug-proof. The corners of each block are protected with metal pieces to prevent cracking.

Although the Koryŏ court returned to Kaesŏng in 1270, the plates
were left on Kangwha Island for safekeeping. However, by the beginning of the Yi dynasty, attacks by Japanese pirates had made the islands less secure than the mainland, so in 1398 the plates were moved to Haein-sa. Almost one hundred years later, in 1488, Monk Hakcho (學祖), with the assistance of King Sŏngjong (成宗) (1469–1494), undertook a major rebuilding of the main complex of Haein-sa. Monk Hakcho’s most outstanding achievement was the construction of this library for the Tripitaka, called the Taejanggyŏng-gak (大藏經閣). Not only was the library the sole building at Haein-sa to survive to the present, but it was constructed so as to maintain a controlled temperature range and humidity level which has allowed the Tripitaka plates to be preserved in perfect condition. One means used to control the atmospheric conditions inside the buildings was the window construction. The wooden-slat windows of both buildings on the long west walls are very large on the bottom and quite small on top, while on the east walls the top windows are larger than the bottom ones. Taking into consideration the direction of the wind in each season, the architects were able to construct the library to limit the temperature range so that the summer temperature would never exceed 68°F (20°C).

The library courtyard is entered through a small gate at the top of a long flight of stairs. In the passageway through the first building, one of the plates and, above it, a printed copy of another block are displayed. Above the passageway is a complete set of the printed Tripitaka. Many copies of the woodblocks have been printed. The first recorded printing was in 1399, and today Buddhist scholars from abroad make copies of the Tripitaka to take to their universities. Because Haein-sa has these priceless blocks of the Buddhist canon, it is called the Pŏppo-ch’al (法寶利) or Temple of the Treasure of the Law. It is therefore one of the Three Treasures Temples (三寶利), T’ongdo-sa being the Temple of the Treasure of the Buddha and Songgwang-sa the Temple of the Treasure of the Monks. The simplicity and sturdy, functional construction of the two buildings is aesthetically very pleasing and a striking contrast with the highly decorated Buddhist architecture of the late Yi dynasty. Its hipped roof is unusual, since the other buildings at Haein-sa have either gable or hipped gable roofs. At either end of the grassy area between the two buildings are two small buildings which house plates made at a later date of commentaries on the Tripitaka.
THE HERMITAGES AT HAEIN-SA

Each hermitage (庵子) is a small community of monks, independent from the other hermitages and from the main temple area. A hermitage usually began as a site chosen by a monk who wanted to isolate himself from the activity of Haein-sa in order to meditate alone or with a few disciples. The hermitages developed into small replicas of the main temple compound, each with its own Buddha hall or pŏptang, monks’ residence hall, and often a small side altar. A hermitage generally includes monks of all ages, one of whom, usually the eldest, is the head monk. They live, worship, and study communally, with only the barest of personal possessions, although the younger and apprentice monks have special work duties from which the older monks are freed. All the female monks live in four hermitages, three of which are the largest hermitages in Haein-sa. Each hermitage sets its own schedule, maintains its own traditions, and usually has its own gardens to allow economic self-sufficiency (see map on page 84 for locations of the hermitages described below).

Near the main temple is one of the newest hermitages, Yongt’ap-sŏnwŏn (龍塔禪院) or the Dragon Pagoda Meditation (Zen) Hall. This hermitage was established in 1945 in memory of the Zen monk Chinjong (震鐘) by his disciples. Monk Chinjong became a monk at Haein-sa at the age of sixteen, and in 1919 he was one of the signers of Korea’s Declaration of Independence against the Japanese occupation. He died at Haein-sa in 1940 at the age of seventy-seven. His disciples built the pagoda and, a few years later, the hermitage in his honor. Chinjong was also called Yongsŏng (龍城), so the pagoda was named Yongsŏng-t’ap and the hermitage, Yongt’ap-sŏnwŏn.

The pŏptang of this hermitage was rebuilt in 1969. It is called the Ch’ilpul-pŏptang (七佛法堂) or Seven Buddha Law Hall because it enshrines images of seven Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. They are, from left to right, facing the altar: Taeseji (大勢至), the Bodhisattva of wisdom; Chijang (地藏), the Bodhisattva of the present age; Mirük (彌勒) or Maitreya, the future Buddha; Amit’a (阿彌陀), the Buddha of faith
who presides over the Pure Realm; Yaksa (藥師), the physician Buddha who cures spiritual or physical disease; Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha; and Kwanseum (觀世音) or Avalokitesvara, the Bodhisattva of mercy. In a small room to the side of the Seven Buddha Hall is a shrine with photographs of Monk Chinjong. This hermitage also has a separate meditation hall and is in the process of building a cave-like shrine with a stone Buddha behind the pŏptang. There are now seven monks living here.

Hongje-am (弘濟庵) is probably the oldest of the current hermitage buildings. It was founded in 1608, and the monks say that this original building is still standing, although it underwent major repairs in 1771. Hongje-am consists of one very large and beautiful building which includes the pŏptang, two shrines, and monks' rooms. However, now only two monks live here. Hongje-am was founded by Monk Samyŏng (四冥) who, in the Hideyoshi invasion of 1592, fought the Japanese under his Zen master, Ch'ŏngho (清虛). When Ch'ŏngho retired, Samyŏng took over command of the warrior monks. He also negotiated with the Japanese several times in the name of the king and was honored by the Yi court for his efforts. He died only two years after coming to Haein-sa and founding Hongje-am. In one wing of Hongje-am is Samyŏng Hall with many portraits of monks. In the center are three large portraits with candles and incense in front of them; the middle one is of Samyŏng's teacher, Ch'ŏngho, and on the left is one of Monk Samyŏng. Next to the courtyard of Hongje-am are some stone monuments or pisŏk (碑石), large engraved tablets with stone turtle bases and stone tops, and some sari-t'ap, stone monuments, usually egg-shaped, which contain relics of famous Korean monks. The pisŏk dedicated to Monk Samyŏng was set up in 1612, but the tablet was broken into four pieces in 1943 by a Japanese policeman who feared that Samyŏng's example of resistance to the Japanese might inspire Koreans to do the same. The monument was restored in 1958.

Perched on a mountainside opposite the main compound is Wŏndang-am (願堂庵), the site of the hermitage built by the Silla king Aejang at the same time that he helped build Haein-sa. King Aejang lived at Wŏndang-am and directed the affairs of state from here. The front building, containing a study hall and rooms for the three monks who live here now, was built in 1970. In back of this new building is a late nine-
teenth century pŏptang called the Pogwang-jŏn (普光殿) or Hall of Universal Light. The painted wooden altar and canopy contain a trinity of Buddha images. On both sides are paintings and statues of the sixteen disciples of the Buddha. On the left wall is a painting of the Spirit of the Mountain (山神) with a tiger, a type of painting which can be found in almost every hermitage. Also of interest are a bronze mirror on an animal base, symbolic of the Buddha’s wisdom, and a gong inscribed with Sanskrit letters. In front of the pŏptang is a Koryŏ pagoda of eleven stories. During the Koryŏ period the number of stories in a typical pagoda increased, but each story became shorter and narrower in diameter. This pagoda is considerably reduced in height by the disappearance of the main stone of each story, leaving only the eleven roof stones.

Kŭmsŏn-am (金仙庵), a small hermitage housing five female monks, is located below the main temple area, close to a mountain stream. Built in 1945, Kŭmsŏn-am is a quaintly picturesque hermitage with flower designs embedded in the roof gable and a stone-filled courtyard containing gardens and a small fountain. The monks here especially worship Amit’a Buddha, chanting the name of Amit’a Buddha as a sign of faith.

Samsŏn-am (三仙庵) or Three Fairies Hermitage was founded in 1893 by a Bhikkhuni or female monk on the site where, according to temple legend, three fairies had once descended from heaven to play paduk, an oriental board game. Today it is the largest hermitage at Haein-sa, providing residence for forty female monks as well as for visiting lay Buddhists. The entrance to Samsŏn-am is through a large monks’ residence hall, built about fifteen years ago, with twenty-two rooms. The large pŏptang, raised high on a stone platform in the center of the site, was built in 1967. It contains a Buddha hall, a small altar at the end of the maru porch, and, under the hall, a large kitchen. On the hill behind the pŏptang is a small shrine called Ch’ilsŏng-gak (七星閣), decoratively painted inside and out in contrast to the simpler and newer buildings in the courtyard below. The side shrine of a Buddhist temple or hermitage is usually called either Ch’ilsŏnggak or Samsŏng-gak (三星閣). Ch’ilsŏng, which means Seven Stars, is the Great Bear constellation and is usually considered one of the Three Holies (Samsŏng) along with the spirit of the Mountain and Toksŏng. Ch’ilsŏng, like the Spirit of the Mountain and Toksŏng, is of
Chinese and Korean origin. Ch'ilsŏng is sometimes portrayed as seven secular figures, the Star Gentlemen, and sometimes as seven Buddhas, often both sets of figures are included, along with other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Other buildings on the site provide more rooms for monks and visitors.

Part way up the mountain, south of the main complex, is another large hermitage for thirty female monks, Yaksu-am (藥水庵) or Medicinal Water Hermitage, so named because of the excellent spring here. It was founded at the turn of the century, and the pŏptang, enshrining images of Sakyamuni Buddha and the Bodhisattvas Chijang and Kwanseŭm, dates from that time. The shrine on the hill behind the pŏptang is called Ch’ilsŏng-gak, as is the one at Samsŏn-am. This shrine is unique at Haein-sa for it consists of two buildings. The first, serving as a passageway, contains a picture of the Bhikkhuni who founded Yaksu-am, and the second, a little larger, has the altar. There is also a large and recently built study hall. The monks of Yaksu-am have a small side business raising bees to produce honey.

Farther up the mountain is the fourth hermitage for women, Kugil-am (國一庵). This hermitage was founded in 1637, and both the main building, which includes a pŏptang, side altars, and rooms for the monks, and the shrine above it are said to date from this time, although there have been repairs and additions. The dark unpainted wood of the thick pillars and the maru porch has aged beautifully. There are four altars in Kugil-am, of the kinds found in most hermitages. The most important is that of the pŏptang with its altar images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas because it is here that all the monks gather for prayers and meditation. Just outside the pŏptang, at one end of the maru, is a small altar enshrining a painting of a number of spirits. In a small room, opening onto the wing of the maru porch, are the portraits of the famous monks of Kugil-am, with the portrait of the founder, Monk Byŏkam, in the center with candles and incense in front of it. Unlike the other three hermitages for Bhikkhunis, this hermitage was not founded by or for female monks. The fourth altar is in the side shrine located behind the hermitage on the hillside. It is called the Sallyŏng-gak (山靈閤) or Mountain Spirit Shrine, although most side shrines are called Samsŏn-gak or Ch’ilsŏng-gak. Typically, it includes portraits of the Mountain Spirit with his tiger and of the whitehaired sage Toksŏng, as
well as Buddhist images, which may represent Ch'ilsŏng. These four altars represent the main types of altars at a Buddhist temple or hermitage, although all four types are not always included. Twenty-two Bhikkhuni live at Kugil-am, of whom the oldest is eighty-one, although most are in their early thirties. These monks are known for their rigorous practice of the Buddhist discipline, for they meditate twelve hours a day, four times for three hours each time.

Hŭirang-dae (希良臺) may be the most beautiful and is certainly the most unusual of all the hermitages. It is a small pavilion perched on top of an ivy-draped rock cliff. It contains only two monks’ rooms, a small altar room, and an L-shaped maru from which one can view the woods and the path winding up from below. Behind it, further up the rocks, is a shrine called Samsŏng-jŏn (三聖殿) or Hall of the Three Holies. It enshrines the familiar Spirit of the Mountain and the Venerable Naban or Toksŏng, as well as a Ch'ilsŏng painting. Because of the limited space in this charming location, there is no pŏptang, virtually no courtyard, and the spring is at the foot of the cliff. The site was chosen in 927 by the famous Silla monk Hŭirang as an ideal spot for meditation, but the present pavilion and shrine were built in 1941. Two monks live here now.

Paengnyŏn-am (白蓮庵) or White Lotus Hermitage is the most distant hermitage from the main compound, located high on the mountain with a commanding view. It is a large hermitage with a pŏptang, a meditation hall (坐禪室), a small sutra library (藏經閣), two small shrines on the hillside, and a monks’ residence housing ten monks. Although Paengnyŏn-am was founded in 1605, the oldest of the current buildings is the pŏptang which is sixty years old, and the meditation hall and shrines are only twenty-five years old. This hermitage is known for the many famous monks who have lived and meditated here. The present head monk at Paengnyŏn-am, monk Sŏngch’ol, is well-known for the austerity and rigor with which he cultivates the Buddhist way. It is said that he eats his vegetarian diet completely without spices and that he can read seven lines of a sutra at one glance.

Chijok-am (知足庵) is below Paengnyŏn-am, but it provides the most magnificent scenic view of all the hermitages. The pŏptang and the hillside shrine, slightly dilapidated as befits the isolation of the spot, probably date from 1893 when the previous hermitage was rebuilt and
named Chijok-am. The residence seems to be a more recent building. The tiny hillside shrine contains pictures of the Spirit of the Mountain and of the old sage Toksŏng with an interesting old wooden canopy over the altar. Only one old monk lives here now, heightening the feeling of remoteness.

Kŭngnak-chŏn (極樂殿), Hall of the Buddhist Paradise, is just south of the main temple compound. It is a hermitage for monks who are completely devoting themselves to seeking enlightenment and, therefore, is closed to outsiders.
TRADITIONAL KOREAN POETRY CRITICISM
Fifty sihwa
chosen and translated
by Richard Rutt

INTRODUCTION

Western writers have paid little attention to traditional Korean poetic criticism. This is chiefly because they have paid little attention to Korean poetry written in Chinese, and virtually all traditional Korean criticism refers to poetry in Chinese. There is an unhappy impression that what Koreans wrote in Chinese is no more than a pale imitation of Chinese models, not worth the trouble of reading, and that traditional criticism is trivial matter contained in trivial anecdotes.

The aim of this collection is to begin examining how far such a view is justified.

It is often remarked that when Koreans wrote in Chinese they were writing in a foreign language, and that therefore they cannot be expected to have written good poetry. This judgment also needs examination. It is true that Koreans were sometimes excessively eager to gain Chinese approval for their compositions, and Chinese who came on embassies to Seoul were pressed to comment on Korean poetry whether they were capable critics or not. Koreans sometimes basked in the approbation of Chinese whose discrimination is unproven; and some Chinese praised Korean writings more highly than modern critics think was justified. On the other hand, some modern writers have asked Chinese scholars for opinions on arbitrarily chosen Korean poems and placed great reliance on the unfavourable judgments they receive. I have not yet seen the opinion of a competent western critic on the Chinese-language poems of any Korean who is traditionally regarded in Korea as a poet of the first rank.

It is only in a limited sense true that Koreans from the twelfth to nineteenth centuries who wrote Chinese poetry were writing a foreign language. The Korean literatus was educated in Chinese, read no-
thing but Chinese, used Chinese for everything he wrote. Moreover, the Chinese he used was not and never had been a colloquial language. It was a conventional and literary language. He was soaked in it, and could, if he wished, converse in it, though with Korean pronunciation. It was very little more foreign to him than it was to his Chinese contemporaries. So far as he was a master of any literary language at all, he was a master of Chinese, and even a brief review of Korean poetry shows that poetry composed in Chinese was much richer and more varied than that written in Korean.

I am not, of course, suggesting that we shall unearth a Korean Tu Fu or Li Po. But we can expect Koreans to be competent in Chinese, hoping we shall find that the literature they produced was distinctively Korean, not to be measured by purely Chinese standards. Some comparison with Chinese writers is necessary, but a proper evaluation of Korean writers requires that they be judged on the basis of their own poetic criticism before we begin to apply our own standards.

This collection does no more than open up the question. It consists of fifty sihwa written between about 1200 and 1750. The period is long enough to merit analysis, but there is enough unity in its poetic theory to justify a preliminary sketch that looks for themes before delving into their historical development.

Sihwa (Chinese shih-hua) are usually referred to in English as ‘poetry talks’. This is a literal translation of the word but gives an unsatisfactory impression of what it means. Sihwa include historical notes, prefaces to anthologies, letters, comments, anecdotes, notes of conversations, even jokes, on the subject of poetry. They were first written in China in the latter days of T’ang, and are part of the voluminous literature of short sketches which go by a wide variety of names in both Korean and Chinese. They are usually classed as literary trivia, and therefore are not often included in the posthumous collected works of famous writers usually known as chip. They are more often grouped together in collections called mallok, yasa, chapki, swaerok, ch’onghwa or a dozen other names which could be translated as ‘miscellanea’ or ‘jottings’. These miscellanea vary widely in content and value; some are the merest gossip, some contain historical material of great interest. Poetry pieces are not always separated from the other matter, but various collections of poetry pieces have been made. Some of the most interesting collec-
tions exist only in manuscript form; others have been published, but usually in collected editions with other material.

The bulk and intractability of the material is daunting. James Liu, in his *The art of Chinese poetry* (London 1962) remarks of the Chinese *shih-hua* that no satisfactory attempt has been made to systematize and elucidate them, and points out the formidable obstacles in the way of studying them. Instead of attempting to describe their contents he poses some questions about poetry which he tries to answer on the basis of his reading of Chinese *shih-hua* and other sources.

The same thing could be done for Korean *sihwa*, and some widely-read scholar may one day achieve as masterly an exposition of Korean poetic criticism as James Liu has done for Chinese. In the meanwhile, there is value in presenting a modest selection of Korean *sihwa* in translation. I have selected fifty *sihwa* from seventeen writers, concentrating on those which illuminate some critical principle. I have tried to illustrate the range of the genre by including some that are little more than anecdotes, as well as some pieces of theoretical criticism; and I have looked for examples that will be intelligible in translation.

All but one of the pieces can be found in *Sihwa wa mallok* edited by Ch’a Chuhwan, and published by Minjung Sŏgwan, Seoul, 1966. This book is a collection of short Chinese pieces of the type I have described, with a predominance of *sihwa*. Many of the passages I have used are available in other printed editions: most of those by Yi Kyubo are in his collected works, *Yi Tongguk sangguk chip*; Yi Inno’s *P’ahan chip* is available in several editions; and most of the pieces by Yi Chesin, Kwŏn Úngin, O Sukkwŏn, Nam Hyo’on, Kim Siyang, Yi Ki, and Cho Sin are contained in the *Taedong yasûng* (Seoul 1909–1916, reprinted 1970). For the remainder Professor Ch’a drew on manuscripts in the library of Seoul National University, especially an important collection called *Sihwa ch’ongnim* made by Hong Manjong in 1652. Although I have made great use of Professor Ch’a’s notes, I have on occasion departed from his interpretation.

The arrangement of the pieces is more aesthetic than scientific. In the first group, *Technique*, I have included pieces which illuminate the craftsmanship of the poets; in the second group I have put pieces which emphasize the relation of the content of a poem to the poet’s own experience; in the third section are pieces which concentrate on criticism
of poetry written by others; and the last group illustrates the place that poetry held in the life of Korea.

The pieces on technique can be fully appreciated only if the reader is acquainted with the structure and nature of Chinese poetry, but there seems no need to write yet another essay on that subject. Many sīhwā tell of the problems of composing parallel couplets, and they are represented here. Several insist that the meaning of a poem is primary and the diction secondary — an idea which will surprise those who have been led to believe that Korean poets sought only for an imitated elegance of expression.

The insistence of several writers that the material of a poem must come from the poet’s own experience — whether the subject is the real behaviour of dead chrysanthemeum petals or the howling of gibbons — indicates a certain ruggedness in the Korean approach to poetry. These critics deplored vapidity. Yi Inno even rejoices at being able to reduce T’ao Ch’ien’s Peach Blossom Spring to the level of a real place and a genuine experience,

When Koreans discuss the writers of the past they are not afraid to hold opinions of their own about the Chinese masters. Their evaluation of the Chinese periods of poetry is much the same as that offered by modern western writers, and they recognize the decadence of the late T’ang poets to the point of applying that criticism to their own revered Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn. They know the qualities of the best writers and they despise poor imitations. They are on the lookout for plagiarism and quick to note a wrong attribution, but they have the typical oriental penchant for criticism by analogy rather than by analysis.

Some of these points appear again in the pieces I have labelled *Poetry and Life*. This section shows how important poetry was to the men who wrote it and read it. Poetry was used at great crises, not only on elegant occasions; on the execution ground as well as at the banquet. It could get a lad out of a scrape, it could win a girl, it could win what other bribery could not achieve. It was a matter of fierce pride, a subject of occult import, a form of humour, a relaxation and an essential skill, the expression of filial piety and elegiac sadness—not merely for professional poets, but for whole families. Even today there are traces in Korean society of the way in which poetry once permeated daily life as it has never done in the west.
Four of the writers of these pieces deserve further introduction. Yi Kyubo is the earliest and the most fascinating. He was an astute statesman who yet could laugh at himself, a devout buddhist yet a tippler, a man of deep sentiment who wrote touching poems about his pet animals and his dead daughter, as well as rollicking ones about thunderstorms and drinking. Kim Manjung was the writer of the Korean novel Kuum-mong, 'The Nine Cloud Dream'. He and Hong Manjong, together with Hong Manin, are the most recent writers represented here. Under the influence of the k'ao-cheng (empirical research') method of Ch'ing scholars, they were growing increasingly concerned with problems of textual authenticity. Hong Manjong wrote much about plagiarism and false attributions.

The western reader is inclined to ask either too much or too little of Chinese poetry: either nothing more than delicate impressionism or else explicit logicality, neither of which is its true genius. The same may be true of these stories. They are often whimsical, leaving an idea floating in mid-air in a fashion which delights some and irritates others; but even the reader of translations may begin to savour the taste of the poems and to distinguish which come nearest to fulfilling the ideals of the Korean poets themselves.

In the translations I have referred to people always by their surname and cognomen, even where the original text uses the literary or familiar name (ho or cha). This has meant a small sacrifice of the atmosphere of the originals, but will make the identification of individuals easier. The SHML numbers refer to Professor Ch'a's Sihwa wa mallok mentioned above; TYSC is Tongguk Yi Sanggukchip.

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I TECHNIQUE

On a donkey’s back I drowsed gently in spring,  
Passing through the green hills in a dream.  
When I came to, I found the rain had stopped  
And the brooks were babbling a new song.

I have no idea who wrote this quatrain, but it has often been highly praised. I disapprove, because if the brooks were babbling after the rain, the rain must have been heavy, and not at all the weather for dreaming on a donkey. Meng Hao-jan\(^1\) wrote:

I slept in spring and missed the dawn:  
Everywhere I heard birds singing.

This is truer to experience and poetically expressed, as verses ought to be. Poets should not offend against technique by concentrating on the thought; but no more should they be so eager to produce technically perfect verses that they write nonsense. Meaning is the form (\(li\)) and technique is the substance (\(chi\)) of a poem. The form must be the determining factor and the substance must be subservient—this is the basic principle of poetic composition. I wonder if any but the great T’ang poets achieved it. The Sung poets stopped with the form, the Ming poets were stuck at the substance. Of course, some of them were better than others, but they all had faults.

One writer says: ‘The great T’ang poets were good men, worthy of enshrinement; the Sung poets were old-fashioned country scholars timidly sitting with clasped hands; the Ming poets were young gallants showing off their fine horses.’ This describes them well.

Im Kyŏng (probably 17th century)  

*Hyŏnho swaedam* SHML 305

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\(^1\)T’ang poet 699–740
The most important thing about a poem is its meaning, but the creation of meaning is the most difficult part of writing; the composition of the words is secondary. The principal part of meaning is wit; the merit of a poem depends on wit, and the depth or shallowness of the work flows from the same source. This wit or inspiration comes from an innate gift and cannot be acquired by study. So poets of inferior inspiration may strive hard at their technique and never achieve the first prerequisite of sound sense. They polish their verses and point their phrases to real elegance, but there is no depth of substance in them; although they give a good first impression, they will not bear prolonged ruminations. If one is writing a poem to rhymes chosen in advance and they hamper the sense, then one should change the rhymes; but of course when one is writing a poem to correspond with the rhymes used in a poem written by someone else, one has to adapt the meaning to the rhymes. If there is great difficulty in finding a parallel verse, even after long mulling over it, it is best to cut one's losses and give up the attempt.

On the other hand, however, a badly-conceived idea for the meaning of a poem is likely to become involved; it will get twisted and go wrong, and finally will not convey what one first intended.

Only when the thought is free and unhampered will a perfect poem result. Sometimes one can retrieve a fault in the first verse of a couplet by means of the second verse, and sometimes one character will settle the quality of a whole verse.

Yi Kyubo 1168–1241

Paegun sosol SHML 24
TYSC XXII 18

As a result of prolonged consideration of the subject I have concluded that there are nine faults in poetry:

1 Quoting too many names of historical personages:
   the cartload of ghosts.

2 Stealing other writers' ideas, which is bad even when done well:
   clumsy theft for easy effect.
3 Unnecessary choice of difficult rhyme:
\[ \textit{the bow too stiff to bend}. \]

4 Attempting a rhyme beyond one's capability:
\[ \textit{drinking too much wine}. \]

5 Liking to use obscure characters that mislead people:
\[ \textit{leading the blind into a ditch}. \]

6 Straining to use intractable words:
\[ \textit{forcing men to follow}. \]

7 Using too many colloquialisms:
\[ \textit{yokels' parliament}. \]

8 Liking to go against Confucius and Mencius:
\[ \textit{offending honour}. \]

9 Not pruning exuberant phrases:
\[ \textit{a field full of weeds}. \]

If one can avoid all these faults, one can start speaking of poetry.

Yi Kyubo 1168–1241
Paegun sosöl SHML 23
TYSC XXII 19

4

As a general rule one must read a great deal of a classic master’s verse before one can hope to emulate his qualities. Otherwise even imitation is difficult. The process is like burglary: a thief must first spy out a rich man’s house and acquaint himself thoroughly with all the walls and doors before he can enter the place and appropriate the rich man’s belongings without their owner knowing what has happened. If he goes round opening baskets as though looking for eggs, he is sure to be seen and caught.

When I was young I was a gadabout, far from industrious, and not at all devoted to my reading. I read the usual Chinese classics and histories extensively, but never really plumbed their meanings. Much less did I study the poets at all deeply. Not being expert in the texts, how could I imitate their style or borrow their language? So I have been compelled to create a new style.

Yi Kyubo 1168–1241
Paegun sosöl SHML 37
When the Counsellor Hong Kwidal\textsuperscript{1} was a child, an adult asked him to write a couplet and he wrote:

Birds settle on the blossoming branches;
Some branches move and others are still.

The word ‘and’ shows the effect of having been trained to write prose.\textsuperscript{2}

Yi Chesin 1536–1583
\textit{Ch’ŏnggang shiwa} SHML 184

\textsuperscript{1}1438–1504 A statesman and noted writer. \textsuperscript{2}The word criticized is a particle such as was avoided by the T’ang poets.

Sin Kwanghan\textsuperscript{1} was taking a nap when he was awakened by the sound of raindrops being blown in and hitting the leaves of a potted lotus. A verse came to him:

My dream was refreshed by the rain-sprinkled lotus.

For years after he never succeeded in finding a parallel verse. Nevertheless he wrote an octave including this verse and left a blank line in the draft for the parallel, hoping to fit it in eventually. One day he saw Pak Nan and told him about this. Pak suggested:

My clothes were moistened by mist-bearing stone.

Sin was not satisfied, and to his dying day he never found a suitable line.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583
\textit{Ch’ŏnggang sihwa} SHML 158

\textsuperscript{1}1484–1555

Kim Inhu\textsuperscript{1} composed the verse:

Pink azaleas glow in the evening sun;
but for a long time he could not devise a parallel verse, until one day Yi Hubaek,\textsuperscript{2} an under-secretary, came to see him and he told Yi of
his problem. Yi looked at the foxgloves growing by the steps and said:

Purple foxgloves grow in the drizzling rain

and Kim was satisfied.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583

Ch’onggang sihwa SHML 156

The parallel was difficult because the word used for azaleas consisted of three characters meaning, literally, *glow-hill-pink*. Yi’s word for foxgloves [*Rehmannia glutinosa*] is literally *grow-earth-gold* and the parallelism works out like this:

*glow hill pink slanting sun within
grow earth gold drizzling rain among.*

1510–1560. One of Korea’s canonized scholars.

1 1520–1578. In later life a distinguished statesman.

When the recorder Kim Ch’öllyŏng¹ was still a child being fondled on his grandfather’s knee, someone proposed that the grandfather should cap the verse:

The clouds have cleared;
at the edge of heaven is the lonely disc of the moon,

but the old man could not do it. Kim thumped his grandfather’s shoulder and said, ‘Why don’t you say:

The wind has dropped;
in the midst of the water is a single slip of a boat?’

They were astonished; but later Kim came out top in the state examinations and became a famous poet.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583

Ch’ŏnggang sihwa SHML 157

¹1469–1504

I dreamt I lost my way deep in the mountains, and came upon a strange and beautiful pavilion standing in a valley. I asked a bystander where I was, and he said it was the Pavilion of the Fairies. Suddenly, six or seven beautiful women came out and invited me in. When I
entered and sat down, they asked me to compose a poem. So I chanted:

I neared the immortals' bower, the green jade door creaked;
Fairies peerless as emeralds came out to greet me.
They were dissatisfied with this. I did not understand why; but I tried again:

With shining eyes and gleaming teeth, they greeted me with smiles:
Then first I knew that fairies share our mortal feelings.

This pleased them, and they asked me to compose the second half of the quatrain, but I declined and asked them to finish it. One of them suggested:

It is not that mortal feelings affect us:
Because we love you, we change our normal ways.

But the rhyme character did not match the one I had used, so I said: 'Can spirits make mistakes in rhyming?' As I said it, I laughed and clapped my hands, which woke me up. Then I completed the quatrain:

I had done only one couplet and woke from my dream;
Full dues cannot be rendered till I go there again.

Yi Kyubö 1168–1241

Paegun sosöll SHML 16  cf TYSC huip I 10

10

Once upon a time a county magistrate of Mun'gyöng said to one of his secretaries: 'We are not very busy to day; how about composing some verses?'

The secretary politely asked his superior to compose the first verse, and the magistrate proposed:

Bears play before Chugöl mountain

but he deliberately used alternative characters for 'bears' and 'playing'. Instead of 'bear' he used the character for 'ability', which is the same except that it lacks a row of four dots at the bottom.

The secretary promptly replied with:
Dogs bark outside Maktong gate, using alternative characters for ‘dogs’ and ‘barking’. Instead of ‘dog’ he used the character for ‘big’, which is the same except that it lacks a dot on the top right-hand side.

The magistrate said: ‘Why did you say “big” instead of “dog”?’

The secretary replied: ‘If you cut all four legs off your bear, may I not cut one ear off my dog?’

The bystanders were vastly amused. Kwŏn Êngin (16th century)

Songgye mallok SHML 140

Poetic witticisms involving Korean puns on Chinese words, macaronic jokes, and alternative characters do not belong to serious poetry, but they were widely enjoyed and even esteemed for their value in practising technique.

11

This is On the Diamond Mountains road by Kang Paengnyŏn: ¹

For a hundred li there has been no sound of man;
Deep in these mountains only birds can be heard.
I meet a monk and ask him where the road goes;
The monk departs, and I am lost again.

It is said that when Kang recited this poem to Chŏng Tugyŏng,² Chŏng praised it, but said: ‘Alter only (tan) to mountain (san) and it will be even better.’

Kang was chagrined. I think that the whole quality of the poem depends on that character tan, and if it were changed to san the spirit of the thing would be completely destroyed. The three characters for ‘only birds are heard’ are quoted from a T'ang poem. Why should Chŏng tinker with gold to produce iron? The story is obviously not to be believed. Anyone who understands this point can discuss poetry, but anyone who does not would do better to keep away from poetry conversation.³

Kim Tûksin (1604–1684)

Chongnam ch'ongji SHML 291

¹1603–1681. Distinguished statesman and poet. ²1597–1673. Scholar and calligrapher. ³The proposed alteration was trite.
Chiri-san is also called Turyu-san. The range takes its rise from Paektu-san in the extreme north of Korea, and, like a flowering creeper with peaks for petals and valleys for calyxes, stretches south to Namwŏn county, where it coils in a thousand li of hills encircling ten prefectures. It would take a month to walk all round it. Old folk say that somewhere in the area is a valley called Chŏnghak-tong, 'the Valley of the Blue Cranes.' The way in is so narrow that a man can hardly push his way through, but if one struggles on for a few li, one arrives at a broad open space, with rich fertile fields on all sides. This is Chŏnghak-tong, so called because nothing lives there but grey cranes. Long ago people used to live in this secluded place, and the ruined remains of walls and ditches can still be traced in the overgrown fields.

Some time ago former prime minister Ch’oe — who is one of my relatives by marriage — and I thought of retiring from public life and decided to visit Chŏnghak-tong. We thought that if we stuffed two or three calves into a bamboo basket and took them with us we should be able to live there, isolated from the outside world. Starting off from the temple at Hwaŏm-sa, we went to Hwagae magistracy and spent the night at Sinhŭng temple. Everywhere we went was like fairyland: thousands of rocks vied with each other for splendour; countless streams tumbled through the valleys; thatched cottages nestled within bamboo groves under bright canopies of peach and apricot blossom— it was like another world. But we never found Chŏnghak-tong.

So I wrote a poem on a rock:

On distant Turyu-san the evening clouds hang low;
The myriad peaks and valleys are glorious as Hui-ch’i.¹

Staff in hand I tramp in search of Chŏnghak-tong
But through the woods I hear the monkeys’ mournful howls,
The place of the immortals is far beyond my sight,
The rock inscription all obscured by mossy growth.
I want to know where is that fairy spring
Whose petals floating on the stream entice a man to stray.

Yesterday in my study I happened to be perusing the writings of T'ao Ch'ien² and came upon the T'ao-yüan chi.³ I read it over again. It tells how in the days of Ch'in men fled from the troubled world of affairs and took their wives and children to live in a secluded valley, surrounded by mountains and hemmed in by streams, unknown even to the woodcutters. Later, in the reign of Hsiao-wu of Chin,⁴ a fisherman happened to find the place once, but immediately afterwards forgot the way there, and never found it again. Subsequently pictures were painted of it and songs were composed about it, and everybody thought that this 'Peach-blossom Spring' was the land of the immortals, where men live for ever, riding in chariots drawn by cranes, with aerial wheels. But they did not read T'ao Ch'ien's account attentively. The truth is that his Peach-blossom Spring was the same sort of place as Ch'ŏnghak-tong, or how could such a great thinker as Liu Tzŭ-chi⁵ have gone in search of it?

Yi Inno 1171-1259
P'ahan chip SHML 31

¹A famous beauty-spot in Chekiang. ²365-427. A poet of paramount importance as an influence on Korean writers. ³'The Peach-blossom Spring (or Vale)'. ⁴376-396. ⁵According to the Tao-yüan chi, Liu Tzŭ-chi intended to search for the valley, but was prevented from doing so.

It is not easy to create sensitive poetry simply by application of the mind. The precise words needed to evoke objects and scenes are as subtle as the changes in the atmosphere, never quite the same from morning to evening; and if one has not actually experienced things for oneself, one cannot truly understand them. It takes a sage to understand a sage.

Yi Sugwang¹ in his Chibong yusŏl criticizes a couplet from Chŏng Saryong's³ poem Sitting on the rear terrace by night:

Hills and streams resound together, the wind rises suddenly;
The river sounds loud in complaint, the moon hangs alone.

Yi objects that the phrase 'the moon hangs alone' does not fit with 'the
river sounds loud in complaint’. Hŏ Kyun, however, included this poem in his anthology *Kukcho sisan* and said of it: ‘This couplet is the best thing in this book.’ Hŏ was famous for his insight. He must have known Yi Sugwang’s adverse opinion about this verse, and I cannot believe that he wrote as he did without considering the matter carefully.

Once I was passing through Ch’ŏngp’ung, and stayed at Hwanggang post-station. During the night I was woken by the sound of the stream and opened the door to look outside: there hung the shining moon, suspended alone in the sky. I was reminded of Chŏng Saryong’s verse:

The river sounds loud in complaint, the moon hangs alone.

I chanted it over and was deeply moved. The old poets’ truthfulness to life struck me for the first time, and I realized the high quality of this poem as a record of experience.

Kim Tūksin (1604–1684)

*Chongnam ch’ongji* SHML 287


14

In the *Hsi-ch’ing shih-hua* there is a poem by Wang An-shih containing the verses:

The garden grows gloomy in wind and rain at dusk,
Lingering chrysanthemum petals fall and gild the ground.

Ou-yang Hsiu saw this and said: ‘Most flowers drop and fall, but chrysanthemums wither on their stems. Why do you speak of them falling?’

Wang was very angry and replied: ‘You obviously do not know what it says in the *Ch’u tz’ú*:’

At evening I eat the fallen flowers of autumn chrysanthemums.
Your objection springs from ignorance.’

In my opinion poetry springs from experience, and I have seen chrysanthemum petals torn off by a rainstorm. Wang had said: ‘The
garden grows gloomy in wind and rain at dusk,' and he should have told Ou-yang that he had written about what he had seen. Though he was quoting the Ch’u tz’ü he ought to have asked Ou-yang if he had not seen the same thing. That would have been enough. It was petty to impugn Ou-yang’s scholarship. Even if Wang had not been a deeply learned man, it was not such an obscure phrase from the Ch’u t’zü that he could not have been expected to know it. I have no very high opinion of Wang’s manners.

Yi Kyubo 1168–1241
Paegun sosôl SHML 12
TYSC hujip XI 12

1 By Ts’ai T’ao, a Sung writer. 21021–1086 Sung statesman and poet. 31007–1072 Sung statesman and poet. 4 An early Chinese anthology, dating from the 3rd century BC.

15

There are no gibbons in Korea, and Korean poets, ancient or modern, who mention the howling of gibbons, are wrong to do so.

In 1546, however, the Chinese envoy Wang Ho went to the Han River and wrote this couplet:

Quiet ripples on the green water are scummed like wine in spring;
The low moan of the piping wind howls like gibbons at evening.
The state secretary, Sin Kwanghan, 1 capped it with:

Just now by the waters of Han I met the splendid phoenix;
But where in the clouds of Ch’u can I hear the shrieking gibbons?

He was recalling how during the previous summer he had escorted the envoy Chang Ch’eng-hsien on the Han when Chang had brought the imperial patents. Now an envoy from Ch’u had come and Sin could refer to the howling of gibbons without spoiling his poem. Indeed, it was very skilfully turned.

Ō Sukkwón (16th century)
P’aegwan chapki 2
(no SHML no.)

1484–1555

120
Learned men have always achieved their learning by diligent reading. All great Korean writers were avid readers. It is worth considering them. Kim Suon¹ shut himself up to read and when he eventually came out he saw the fallen leaves and realized that autumn had come.

Sŏng Hyŏn² read by day and recited by night. He was never without a book in his hand, and even forgot where he was when he went to the privy, staying there an inordinately long time.

Kim Ilson³ read Han Yü a thousand times; Yun Kyŏl⁴ read Mencius a thousand times; No Susin⁵ read the Analects two thousand times; Im Che⁶ read the Doctrine of the Mean eight hundred times; Ch’oe Rip⁷ read the Han shu five thousand times, actually reading the Hsiang-tichūan ten thousand times; Ch’a Ullo⁸ read the Book of Changes five hundred times; Yi Annu¹⁰ read the poems of Tu Fu several thousand times; Yu Mongin¹¹ read Chuang tzū and Liu Tsung-yūan¹² a thousand times; Chŏng Tugyŏng¹³ read the Shih chi several thousand times. I am rather stupid and have to read a book twice as much as anyone else, so I copied out the Shih chi, Han shu, Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yūan and read them at least ten thousand times. The piece I enjoy most of all is the story of Po-i,¹⁴ which I have read 113,000 times. So my room is called ‘The hundred and ten thousand study’—Ōngman-jae, and I have written a quatrains:

I searched for books of Ch’in, Han, T’ang and Sung,
Mouthing them over ten thousand times.
Best of all I love the strange tale of Po-i
That wafts my spirit gently beyond the clouds.

In 1670 there was a drought and famine throughout the country, and the following year the towns and villages were piled with innumerable corpses of people who died of starvation and disease. Someone said to me, ‘Do you think more people have died than the number of times you have read your books?’ He was teasing me about the amount of reading I do.

Kim Tŭksin (1604–1684)
Chongnam ch’ongji SHML 275
Literary style is regarded as a minor skill, but it is a most delicate matter. It cannot easily be achieved by coarse or clumsy minds. Admirers of T'ang poetry dismiss the Sung poets as unpolished and not worth studying, while students of Sung poetry consider T'ang poets too effete to bother about. Such criticism is unbalanced: was T'ang not vulgar when it was in decline, and Sung not elegant when it reached its peak? This all affects the quality of our own work. Today's caterwaulers claim that they surpass both T'ang and Sung, that their poems are better than those in the Book of Songs or the Wen hsüan, their prose superior to that of the golden ages of Chinese writing; yet when one comes to examine their productions, one finds neither felicity of sound nor depth of meaning. They are laughable beyond words. In the Chibong yusō Yi Sugwang says: 'Some men spend their whole time in the lecture-room, restricting their horizons, talking for ever about the superior qualities of ancient writers, and forming their opinions by what they hear from others. Such men never apprehend truth nor experience things for themselves. When we come to read their compositions, in prose or verse, we find they not only fall short of the classic writings, they are more like children's lessons or the chatter of academics. A discriminating reader is filled with pity and amusement.'

Yi Sugwang must have been feeling indignant when he wrote this. I repeat it here as a warning to pedants.

Hong Manjong (17th century)
Sihwa ch'ongnim chüngjöng SHML 340

A classic Chinese anthology of pre-T'ang writings. See No 13 nn 1 and 2.

Yi Ch'ong was a genius: he never read much but his verses were wonderful. One day when there was a leave-taking at the Poje-wön and the guests were all singing and dancing, he wrote a verse on my fan:
In the eight years I have known you,  
We were rarely together and often apart.  
Now again a thousand li will part us;  
I stifle my tears to the sound of bright songs.  
The others sitting with us gaped and threw down their writing-brushes.  
When Yi Chongjun\(^3\) saw this verse he was amazed and said: ‘It beggars praise.’

Nam Hyo’on 1454–1492  
Ch’ugang naenghwa SHML 40

\(^1\)d. 1504. \(^2\)The government hospice outside the East Gate of Seoul. \(^3\)d. 1499

19.

The under-secretary Yi Hubaek\(^1\) and the supreme Court Justice Pak Sun\(^2\) were renowned for poetic skill from their student days. Pak wrote \textit{On spending the night in a monk’s quarters}:

I got drunk in the monk’s house, but now my mind clears;  
Is this not a valley of white mists deep in a moonlit night?  
Alone I walk out beyond the sparse trees  
And the sound of my stick on the stone path wakes the sleeping birds.

Yi’s poem on the same occasion was:

The little cell clings high up, close to the sky itself,  
The monk’s shadow in the moonlight flies away over the river.  
My friend from Ch’ungch’ong spends the night here with me,  
And white mists from the eastern mountains soak our ramie clothes.

Both compositions have been highly praised.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583  
Ch’onggang sihwa SHML 175

\(^1\)1520–1578. \(^2\)1523–1589

20

Here is a quatrain by Yu Ŭngbu:\(^1\)
The general’s goodness subdues the barbarians,
The dust settles beyond the pale, the soldiers sleep;
Five thousand fine chargers whinny under the willows,
Three hundred autumn falcons perch before the pavilion.

Nam Hyo’on\(^2\) said that the last two verses show the spirit of the poet, but because the whole quatrain is rarely seen, I have recorded it entire.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583

*Ch’önggang sihwa* SHML 155

\(^1\)d 1446. A military official and one of the ‘Six Loyal Martyrs’ executed for attempting to restore the deposed boy-king, Tanjong, to the throne. \(^2\)1454–1472.

21

They say that Chŏn Uch’i\(^1\) became an immortal. His poems were certainly transcendentally limpid. Once, when he was visiting Samilp’o, he wrote:

Autumn evening at Jewelled Pool; and the frosty air is clear,  
Heaven’s winds come wailing down with sounds of purple flutes.  
The blue bird does not come through the wastes of sky and sea,  
But autumn moonlight bathes these six and thirty peaks.

Just reading it produces a chill.

Hŏ Kyun (1569–1618)

*Songsu sihwa* SHML 284

\(^1\)A 16th-century eccentric and occultist.

22

When the twelve-year-old Crown Prince Sunhoe\(^1\) died, Pak Sun,\(^2\) one of his tutors, wrote an elegy:

The prince’s rooms are now a place of heartbreak,  
The water clock still bids my dawn and evening greetings.

These are deeply moving words.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583

*Ch’önggang sihwa* SHML 164

\(^1\)Son of Myongjong, died 1573. \(^2\)1523–1598. *See also No 19.*
III CRITICISM

23

When I first read Mei Yao-ch’en’s1 poems I thought very little of them and could not understand why he was so highly esteemed, but on rereading them I found that, though pretty and frail, they have an interior strength, and really are far above the ordinary run. I would even say that until you have understood Mei Yao-ch’en, you have not understood what poetry is.

Earlier writers have pointed to Szū Ling-yūn’s2 verse

Spring grasses burgeon by the pool

as a model creation, but I cannot see what is so good about it. On the other hand I think that Hsū Ning’s3 verse, in his waterfall poem:

A single line divides the green face of the mountain,

is beautiful, though Su Tung-p’o4 thought the poem a poor one.

All this makes it clear that our appreciation of poetry is far from being like that of earlier generations. T’ao Chi’en’s5 poetry is gentle and peaceful as solemn lute music in the quiet of an ancestral shrine, resounding in the ear long after the music stops. I tried to imitate it, but could never come anywhere near it—indeed the results were comic.

Yi Kyubo 1168–1241
Paegun sosol SHML 13
TYSC XXI 5

1Sung poet 1002–1060. 2AD 385–433. A landscape poet. 3A poet of the middle T’ang period. 4Otherwise Su Shih, most highly regarded of Sung poets (1036–1101) See 12 n2.

24

Yi Kyubo did not care for Mei Yao-ch’en’s poetry.1 This was because Mei’s gentle introspectiveness was the very opposite of Yi’s own extravert hedonism. But he had high praise for Hsū Ning’s waterfall poem, saying that Su Tung-p’o was mistaken in his criticism of Hsū. This was because Hsū’s poem was more concerned with fresh ideas than with elegance of
expression, just as his own poetry was. If Su Tung-p’o could have seen Yi Kyubo’s poems, he would undoubtedly have thought them bad.

Kim Manjung (17th century)
Sŏp’o man’iil SHML 343

1A comment on the previous passage.

25

Kim Sŏngnip’s1 wife was Hŏ Pong’s2 sister.3 She was an able poet, but she died young. Her brother Kyun4 collected her manuscripts together, persuaded some Chinese to write a preface to them, and published them under the title of Nansŏl chip,6 the Orchid Snow Collection. Some said it contained a great deal of plagiarizing, but I refused to believe such stories till I was exiled to Chongsŏng and first had the chance to read her poems in a book I borrowed. Among them I found an octave beginning:

Jewelled robes shake off the snow, spring clouds are warm,
Girdle pendants sound in the wind, the night moon is cold....

This is the work of Wu Shih-chung,7 a Ming poet. It made me begin to believe what I had heard. Using a composition by a Chinese to deceive the Chinese is as bad as stealing someone’s belongings and then selling them back to him!8

Kim Siyang 1581–1643
Pugye kimun SHML 199

1562–1592. Well-known as poet, but killed in the Hideyoshi invasion. 21551–1588. Mentioned here because he was elder brother of Kyun, who is now more famous. 31563–1589. Still among Korea’s most famous woman writers. 41569–1618. Said to have written the old picaresque romance Hong Kiltong Chŏn. 5The envoys Chu Chih-fan and Liang Yao-nien, who visited Seoul in 1606. 6In 1608. 7A minor poet. 8It has recently been suggested than Kyun wrote most of the poems himself.

26

The sound of silkworms chewing mulberry leaves
Is the spattering of autumn rain in the shade of green trees;
The sound of the bow ginning cotton
Is spring thunder moving behind a bank of white clouds.

These words are said to come from a tz’ü by Ŭ Mujŏk. It is no longer
possible to be sure whether this is true or not, but unquestionably the verses are a living picture of sound.  

Yi Ki (1522–1600)  
Songwa chapsöl SHML 74

Little is known of Ō Mujŏk. The tz'ŭ (Korean sa, an irregular verse from little used in Korea) is not otherwise known.

27

The verses of Yi Sanhae¹ are too soft and pretty.

Yang Kuei-fei² lay dead beneath the flowers

is ridiculous. But his couplets are sometimes wonderfully done:

White rain fills the boat, the oars thresh homewards,
Village doors are shut; autumn bean-fields blossom.

Truly this is painting with words.  

Nam Yongik (1628–1692)  
Hogok sihwa SHML 296

¹1538–1609. Statesman well-known for his landscape painting. ²The notorious concubine of Hsüan Tsung of T'ang, assassinated in 756 and more frequently mentioned in Chinese and Korean poetry than any other woman.

28

The poetry of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn¹ belongs to the tradition of Cheng Ku and Han Wo of late T'ang times. Most of it is frivolous and light. However, he did write one superb quatrain:

We strive to sing in the autumn wind
Though few know the tunes for the road of life;
Rain falls in the night outside the window,
My heart is far away beyond the lamplight.

And one couplet:

Distant trees huddle by the road at the riverside,
Cold clouds descend on the peaks before my horse.

Hŏ Kyun 1569–1618  
Sôngsu sihwa SHML 271

127
The earliest Korean whose collected writings are extant. He lived for many years at the T'ang court.

Hŏ Kyun ¹ said of Kwŏn P'il:² 'His poetry is like a beautiful woman, entirely without cosmetics, making the clouds stop in their courses by singing minor mode melodies in the candlelight, but rising to go before the song is finished.' He meant that Kwŏn's verses were natural and lovely and lingered in the memory.

Ch'a Ullo³ said of Yi Annul:⁴ 'His poetry is like the sacred peak of Heng-shan⁵ on a cloudless day, or Lake Tung-t'ing⁶ without ripples.' He meant that the verses are boldly constructed and beautiful, but somewhat artificial.

Kwon's

Lovely mountains, fallen trees, softly falling rain

and Yi's

Beside the river, singing a song of a pretty girl

were both written for Ch'ŏng Ch'ŏl,⁷ and are both so good it is hard to say which is the better of the two. Kwŏn's first lines are like the lute-playing of Chou⁸ of Yungmen, which made the hearer weep, whoever he was; Yi's closing verses are like the flute-playing that Su Tung-p'o⁹ described on the Ch'ih-pi river¹⁰, trailing after-tones like a gossamer thread, choking with endless feeling. In spite of the difficulty of comparing them, however, I think Kwŏn is superior in technique.

Nam Hyo'on 1628–1692

Hogok shihwa SHML 298

¹See No 26n 4,²1569–1612. ³b. 1559. Younger brother of Ch'a Ch'illo. ⁴1571–1637. ⁵Southernmost of the five sacred mountains of China. ⁶The great lake, in the same region as Heng-shan, repeatedly used by poets as an ideal landscape. ⁷1536–1593. A distinguished poet, now more famous for his poems in the Korean vernacular, which are probably the finest ever written. ⁸Of the Warring States period. ⁹See No 23 n 4. ¹⁰Su Tung-po's Ch'ih-pi-su was among the best known Chinese poems in Korea.

The Koryŏ monk Sinjun wrote a quatrains about hearing golden orioles:

128
The farmer’s mulberries ripen, the barley begins to grow thick,
You do well to sing to the pink wall among the green trees.
But why in this deserted village, this desolate place,
Do you sing through the woods such short snatches of song?

Im Ch’un,¹ a scholar, wrote:

The farmer’s mulberries ripen, the barley begins to grow thick,
Now first I hear the golden birds singing among the green trees,
Like travellers returning from the pleasures of the capital,
Earnestly they sing away, and never seem to pause.

Yi Inno² remarked: ‘Although the two poems have very little in common, they are both melancholy and might have come from the lips of the same man.’ I do not agree. Sinjun’s verses speak only of things and are exaggeratedly delicate; Im’s verses speak of his feelings, and the technique is sturdy. The atmosphere of the two poems is so different that I cannot see how they could both have been written by the same man. Im’s poem is modelled on a stanza by Ou-yang Hsiu:³

In May the farmers’ barley begins to grow thick,
The mulberry branches are fruiting and birds are crying there.
I do not know how many green trees are in Feng-ch’eng,
Nor whence they come, these fluttering golden birds.

He did not simply copy the idea; he borrowed many of the words too.  

Cho Sin (15th Century)

Sumun swaerok SHML 123

¹A twelfth century writer. ²1142–1220. The criticism is quoted from the third book of his P’ahan-nok, where the text of the poems is notably different. ³See No 14 n 3. He wrote a century or so before Im.

Hong Chuse¹ and Sin Ch’oe² were both famous poets. Hong wrote:

Grass in the court, flowers on the steps, shine bright;
My heart is free, my house is quiet.
All day long no one has ridden to my door;
Occasionally a single unseen bird is heard.

Sin wrote:
The ground is covered with a fragrant snow of pearblossoms,
The eastern breeze, unceasing, bears the subtle scent.
Spring sadness is unbounded, and deep as the sea;
The pavilion swallows fly in pairs about the painted pillars.

The two men were close friends and their talents were equal. I asked Yi Sik\(^3\) which of the two he considered the better poet, and he said: ‘Hong’s poems are like real plum blossom and chrysanthemums; Sin’s poems are like paintings of peonies.’

He meant that real plum blossom and chrysanthemum are unaffected, but painted peonies are carefully contrived.

Unfortunately these two men were not properly appreciated in their day and were never widely known. Does this go to prove the saying that literary ability despises good fortune?

Kim Tüksin (1604–1684)  
Chongnam ch’ongji SHML 292.
\(^1\)1612–1661. \(^2\)1619–1658. \(^3\)1584–1647, considerably senior to Hong and Sin, and reckoned one of the four great scholar-poets of the Yi dynasty.

32

Those who really understand poetry judge a poet by his compositions; others judge a poem by its author’s reputation. When I was young and not yet heard of, even if I wrote a good poem nobody thought anything of it; but as soon as I made my reputation even my poorer efforts were sedulously praised and recited. It was ridiculous.

At the time of the Manchu invasion of Korea in 1637 I wrote:

During the day I hear the wailing land,
And in my dreams I flee from barbarian armies.

Yi Sik\(^1\) admired this and told me: ‘Your poems are similar in style to those of Tu Fu: how much of his work have you read? You have ability; you must work hard at it.’

Now it was just at that time that I was reading Tu Fu. Yi was a discerning man.

Kim Tüksin (1604–1684)  
Chongnam ch’ongji SHML 294

\(^1\)See No 32 note 3.
Yi Sanhae\textsuperscript{1} was very arrogant. Once he was lolling at ease with a group who were listening to some poems written by W\"olsa\textsuperscript{2} during his embassy to Peking. Sanhae did not praise a single verse until he heard the couplet:

\begin{quote}
Spring came to life in the trees beyond the frontier,  
Day died in the hills before my horse.
\end{quote}

Then he sat up and said: ‘W\"olsa could be a good poet. He should work at it. He should work at it.’
That is how complacent he was.

\textit{Nam Yongik 1628–1692}  
\textit{Hogok shiwa SHML 297}

\textsuperscript{1}See No 27 note 1. \textsuperscript{2}W\"olsa (Yi Ch\"onggu, 1564–1635) was one of the most highly-regarded poets of the seventeenth century.

34

When Sin Hon\textsuperscript{1} was young he was famous for his precocious talents. Later, when he went to take up an official post as a teacher at Anju, in P\'y\"ongan province, his mother admonished him against the enticements of women, and his wife joined in the warning. He laughed and wrote a quatrains:

\begin{quote}
You say I go west where silk skirts are many,  
Mother says be careful, my wife says the same.  
Mother is worried about my health, which is right and proper:  
My wife is jealous of beauty, which may not be so virtuous.
\end{quote}

This stanza was widely repeated and highly praised, yet in the last verse the phrase ‘My wife is jealous of beauty’ is altogether too blunt. If it were changed to:

\textit{Can I be sure that my wife’s reasons are as virtuous?}

it would be much more interesting, leaving more to the discernment of the reader.

\textit{Kim T\'e\'ksin (1604–1684)}  
\textit{Ch\'ongnam ch’\'ongji SHML 273}

\textsuperscript{1}1624–1656
Not long ago a group of scholars were composing verses together at Pagyŏn Waterfall when a traveller — no one knew where he came from — arrived, shabbily dressed and carrying a staff. The scholars, to tease him, said: ‘Can you write verse?’

He replied: ‘Yes,’ and began to write the couplet:

The column flies straight down three thousand feet,
As though the Milky Way had fallen from the sky.

The scholars chuckled ironically together and said: ‘How do you write such marvellous stuff?’ because they recognized that he had written a couplet from Li Po’s poem about the waterfall at Lu-shan. He replied: ‘Don’t laugh! See the rest of the verse.’ and went on to write:

Now we prove this poem of Li Po,
For Pagyŏn is not second to Lu-shan.

The others exclaimed: ‘A perfect description of Pagyŏn! There is nothing left for us to write;’ and they threw down their writing-brushes.

Some say the stranger was Chŏng Minsu.²

Kim Tüksin (1604–1684)
Chongnam ch’ongji SHML 288

¹A famous beauty-spot near Kacsong. ²d 1627. The critics admired the neatly-turned superlative.
When Chŏng Kyŏngse1 was still a lad he went out with three or four other literati into the hills, and they picnicked by a stream, where they sat composing verses. A military man riding by stopped his horse, approached the group, and greeted them. One of the boys said: ‘This is a poetry party: we don’t want anyone who cannot compose.’ The stranger said: ‘I am a soldier, but I know a few easy characters. General Ts’ao Ching-tsung2 wrote a verse on the rhymes kyŏng and pyŏng. May I join your party if I can do as much?’ The young scholars were surprised but they proposed a rhyme character for him. Almost immediately he recited a couplet:

The sound of stream on stones keeps up a gentle rhythm;  
Mountains cleansed by clouds stand out like glistening swords.

Chŏng Kyŏngse threw down his brush in amazement, and asked the man who he was. The soldier replied: ‘Just a passing stranger. There is no need to ask more.’ Then he added: ‘Dusk is gathering in the hills, and I have a long way to go.’

With that he took his leave. They sent a man after him, but they could not discover where he went.

Hong Manin (d. 1752)

Sihwa hwisŏng    SHML 392

1563–1633. A much-admired writer. 2Ts’ao Ching-tsung was a general of Southern Liang who at a victory banquet given by his emperor successfully composed a quatrain on the characters for ‘rival’ and ‘sickness’, which became proverbial for difficult rhymes.

During the reigns1 of Ch’eng-hua or Hung-ch’ih a scholar named Han was studying at Tosan-sa, a buddhist temple near Yŏngan. A ragged old man who was begging for rice throughout the countryside met Han and asked him: ‘Why are you at such great pains to study? I spend my whole life begging my food, yet I am content.’
Then he wrote this quatrain:

Lean listlessly by gauze windows, and spring days go slowly;  
Bright faces grow old and useless in the time of falling flowers.  
Men's manifold busy affairs never come to anything better;  
Beat time to your songs with a wine cup — who will care?

Koreans have said: 'Our country is so small that genius cannot stay hidden: no need to worry lest some pearl be left forgotten in the sea.' But having heard this story, I wonder how many men there are, in countryside or town, that I have never heard of, like this old beggar.  
Han was a scholar, beyond question a good man, who would not have spoken frivolously; and he told me this story.

Nam Hyo'on 1454–1492  
*Ch'ugang naenghwa*  SHML 35

1465–1505

When Yu Kun¹ was governor of Ch'ungch'ōng province, a Ch'ungch'ōng man wanted to ask a favour of him and begged Yi Chōnggu to give him a letter of introduction. Yi said: 'I don't think a letter from me will have any effect on him,' but gave the man a simple letter of greeting, adding: 'When the governor sees my letter he will certainly ask about me, so tell him: 'Yi Chōnggu is always praising your poetry.' This will make him ask for details, so say: 'Yi Chōnggu says that recently somebody repeated a couplet by Yu Kun that went:

Su Tung-p'o's *Red Cliff* is now the *Green Cliff*,  
Yu Liang's *South Pavilion* is now the *North Pavilion*.

This is a marvellous couplet. If I go on writing verses all my life, I cannot hope to equal it. But he is out in the provinces and I am here in the central government. I am ashamed to think of it.'”

The man did as he was told. Yu Kun was delighted. The man got all he wanted and returned.

Kim Manjung (17th century)  
*Söp'o manp'il*  SHML 352

134
Ch’ae Yujun went for an outing in a boat at Togūm on the East River with the Royal Secretary Yi Wŏnjin.\(^1\) Ch’ae got very drunk and fell into the water. Yi fished him out and straightway Ch’ae composed a quatrain:

I thought the winecup was shallow  
And never knew the depth of the river:  
But Li Ying was in the boat  
And would he let Chū Yūan drown?\(^2\)

The other revellers praised this highly, but some said later that he had composed the verse in advance and tumbled into the water on purpose. In any case it is a good joke for poets.

Kim Tūksin (1604–1684)

\(\text{Chongnam ch’ongji} \quad \text{SHML 270}\)

\(^1\)Born 1574. He was governor of Cheju when Hamel was shipwrecked there in 1653.
\(^2\)Li Ying (d. AD 167) was a Chinese model of virtue, and Chū Yūan the great but semi-legendary poet of the third century BC who committed suicide by drowning himself.

In the house of Yang Hŭisu at Songdo there was a twelve-year-old girl called Hujin who played the lute very well. Ch’a Ch’ŏnun wrote a poem for her, and others followed his example till she had enough poems to make a scroll. In the winter of 1620 when I was returning from Peking to Seoul I stayed in Songdo for ten days, and Hujin came each day to play for me. When the time came for me to leave, the local officials gave a banquet in the Ch’ŏnsu-wŏn, and the little musician begged me most earnestly for a poem, there in the midst of the party.
Now in olden days when Su Tung-p’o\(^1\) once stayed for seven years at Huang-chou, he often wrote poetry in the course of banquets, after he was tipsy; and when he was about to move to Ju-chou the notables of Huang-chou gave him a farewell party at which the celebrated singing girl Li Yi said to him; ‘All the girls have received poems from you, but I have never dared to ask for one, because I am so inept. I suppose I shall carry this disappointment to the grave.’

Su laughed and dashed off a poem on her scarf:

Tung-p’o spent seven years in Huang-chou.  
Why did he never write a verse for Li Yi?  
It is just as though Tu Fu in Szechwan  
Had left no verse for Szechwan’s lovely roses.

Hujin’s request reminded me of this story. I was befuddled by wine, but I laughed and made her a poem on the rhymes used by Su Tung-p’o:

The sound of the lute is pretty, as yet the night is young;  
My failing years are not attuned to this maiden’s charms.  
In ten days at Songdo I have not written a single line for her,  
But vainly recall old Su’s verses on the roses of Szechwan.

Attributed to Yi Chŏnggu (Wŏlsa) 1564–1635  
by Hong Manin (d. 1752)  
\textit{Sihwawisŏng} \hspace{1cm} SHML 390

\(^1\)See No 23 n4.

When Im Che was still a youth he met a servant girl in the road who was so pretty that he followed her. She went into a large mansion and he followed her into the courtyard. The master of the house was suspicious of the lad and sent a retainer to fetch him. Im said: ‘I am a student. I saw a pretty girl in the road and followed her to this house. Please forgive me.’  

The man replied: ‘I will let you off on condition that you compose a quatrain on the rhyme characters I give you. Otherwise I will have you thrashed.’
Im heard the rhyme characters and said:

I know that spring lasts only ninety days
And weep to think that this girl's bloom will pass.
But need I speak of blossom-seeking butterflies and bees?
Is your delight in beauty, sir, so minuscule?

The girl's master was amazed. He called for the girl and gave her to Im.

Hong Manin (d. 1752)

Sihwa hwisŏng  SHML 387

1549–1587.

42

Before Yun Kyŏl first entered public office he was sitting one day at
the door of his study when a neatly-dressed servant brought him a card
from a visitor asking to see him. An official approached, a remarkably
handsome and elegant person. Yun said: 'There must be some mistake.
Why should an important person come here?'

The man said; 'I want to speak with a gentleman called Yun.'

Yun invited him inside. The visitor knelt very formally on the floor
instead of sitting on a cushion, and said: 'I am rather embarrassed.'
Yun said: 'You look as though you hold high office. Why have you come
to a poor student boy?'

The man answered: 'Chang Okpang, the mayor of Namyang, has
a girl who plays the lute well and sings beautifully. I happened to meet
her in Seoul and became so attached to her that I cannot bear to part
from her. I asked Chang to let me have her, but he will not. I got letters
from important people to back my request, but he will not give way. He
says only: "Bring me one of Yun's poems and I will lend her to you."
So I have swallowed my pride and presumed to come to you.'

Then he drew a roll of expensive gold-flecked crimson paper out
of his sleeve and said: 'Please write something for me, so that I can get
the girl.'

Yun laughed and said: 'Why don't you take another poem and say
I wrote it'?

The other replied: 'Your poetic skill is famous, and Chang wants
to have an example of it. You know I could not deceive him.'
Eventually Yun wrote a five-character octave:

The duck-shaped censer is burnt out,
The courtier guests start to leave.
The lamp cools, the little screen grows dark
The rising moon pierces the half-rolled bamboo blind.
Will my talk be naught but jealousy,
Your oaths, repeated, turn to empty words?
Do you love me as I love you,
More dearly than a hundred nacre bowls?

When it was done he gave it to the stranger, who thanked him, bowed, and left.
A few days later the man returned to thank him again and said:
‘Chang was delighted with the poem and gave me the girl.’
Some say that he was a member of the royal family.

Ch’a Ch’öllo 1556–1615

Osan sŏllim SHML 234

1517–1548. He was executed at the age of 31 for a political error, but had already established a reputation as a writer. This story must refer to some time in his teens.

Ko Kyŏngmyŏng[^1] was brilliantly gifted, even in adolescence. He had an affair with a Hwanghae singing-girl who was a favourite of the provincial governor. When he was about to leave her he composed a poem and wrote it on the lining of her skirt.

My horse waits by the river, for I hate to say goodbye;
The topmost branches of the willow-trees are tossing.
You doubt your luck and start to pout afresh,
But my heart is true, and I want to come again.
Peach and plum blossoms are falling: it is the spring festival,
Partridges fly homeward in the evening sun.
Grass grows lush by the southern creek, swollen by spring tides:
Shall we gather water-chestnut flowers there?

After Ko had left, the girl went to wait on the governor, and as
she was pouring his wine a sudden draught caught the edge of her skirt so that part of the poem was visible. The governor was surprised to see it and asked what it was. The girl dared not prevaricate and told him about Ko. The governor marvelled at the extraordinary skill of the verses, and later, when he saw Ko’s father, he said to him, very seriously, ‘Your son is handsome and gifted, but his behaviour leaves a good deal to be desired.’

The boy’s father replied: ‘He takes after his mother for looks, but he gets his habits from me.’

The governor smiled wryly.

Im Kyŏng (17th century?)

_Hyŏnho swaedam_  SHML 306

1533–1592. Died leading volunteer troops during the Hideyoshi invasion. 2Willows are a stock symbol for partings. The poem has a number of classical references.

At Namju there was a singing-girl of unusual beauty and ability, and one prefect of the county—I forget his name—was very fond of her. When he was due to leave that post, he got very drunk, and said to those with him: ‘When I have gone only a few yards from this place, this girl will have become somebody else’s property.’ Straightway he took a lighted candle and burned both her cheeks all over.

Some time later the great Chŏng Sŭmyŏng1 when he went through Namju as military commander, saw the girl and felt very sorry for her. He brought out a sheet of fine poetry-paper and wrote a quatrain for her with his own hand:

The prettiest face among a hundred flowers,
Buffetted by a gust of wind, lost its bright beauty.
Even otter’s marrow2 cannot mend those fair cheeks;
A nobleman from the capital is sad beyond words.

He told her to show the poem to any officials who went that way. She did as he said and everyone who saw the poem gave her gifts to console her, hoping that Chŏng would get to hear of it. Thus she earned double what she had earned before.

Yi Inno 117–1257

_P’ahan chip_  SHML 34

1d 1151. 2Expensive medicine.
So Seryang had withdrawn from public office and was living in the South, in Chölla province, when he was asked to compose poems for two scroll paintings of wild geese and reeds, done by Kim Si. He wrote two quatrains:

Leaves fall but reed-flowers still purvey their scent;
Listlessly the scattered birds float on the limpid waves.
Heaven’s rim last night was hardened by the frost,
And they are thinking of warm weather in the south.

Desolate lonely shadows sink by the river bank;
The smartweed’s pink has gone, both shores are drab.
Crying on the western wind, the geese call their companions,
Heedless of the myriad banks of cloud and ocean.

The poems were allegories of himself, but they deserve the highest praise because they paint such vivid pictures.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583
Ch’önggang sihwa SHML 162

1The story refers to the early 16th century.

In 1556 Liu Ying-ch’i, a Chinese who had been captured by Japanese pirates, was rescued by some Koreans. When he reached Seoul he wrote a poem:

I complain about war, but not against heaven,
Though I was taken far away from my homeland.
Worries bind my sick body and fatigue saps my strength,
Tears flood my young cheeks as I weep for lost years.
I see the moon, and my mind flies over the frontier;
I look at the clouds and my heart is in my mother’s room.
How many days I watch the creeping hill-vines,¹
A lonely boy in abject misery.
The prime minister Yi Sanhae, when he was still a young lad, wrote a poem on the same rhymes as Liu’s poem:

**Leviathan thrashes the sea till the waves touch heaven,**
**Beyond them to the south, how far away is your homeland?**
**A stranger far from home, you are a lonely shadow**
**Forced to roam in foreign lands despite your youthful years.**
**Like a dreaming butterfly you fly beyond the frontiers,**
**The wild goose takes your message straight home to your room.**
**I know: every night you think of your parents and weep,**
**Like autumn rain on your pillow, tears of misery.**

When they wrote these poems, Liu was about fourteen years old and Yi was sixteen. Although they were so young they wrote acceptable poetry. It has been thought for centuries that if a man writes good poems in youth he will die early, but Yi has become prime minster. I do not know what happened to Liu. Some say that he graduated and took public office, but I have no way of verifying this.

Kwŏn Êngin (16th century)

*Songgye mallok* SHML 136

²The quotation in Liu’s poem is from the *Book of Songs* I iii 37 *Mao ch’iu*. ³See No. 27 n 1, and No 33. ³Yi’s poem has references to Chuang-tzu (the leviathan and the dreaming butterfly). The wild goose is a symbol of homesickness.

In 1466 a country lad named Cho Kijong was lodging in the Naksŏn ward of Seoul. He studied with me at the South School. He was very young and could not yet either construe Chinese prose or compose Chinese verse. One day he dreamt that he entered an empty house. It was spacious, cool, and quiet. The jujube trees were in blossom, as though it were early summer. Grass was beginning to grow in the courtyard and the east breeze was soughing, as though it were late spring. There were two or three students like himself, but they were all unfamiliar to him. They asked him to compose a poem, and immediately he pronounced a quatrain:

**Jujube flowers bloom on the trees;**
**The empty house is silent; no one is there.**
Spring breezes blow without ceasing,
Everywhere grass is thick and fresh.
When he awoke he hurried to note it down. He recited it to his schoolfellows without altering a single character, and wrote it on the wall of his room.
The following day he died.       Cho Sin  (15th century)

Sumun swaerok           SHML 124

48

In olden days a poem that was extraordinarily subtle or mysterious was called 'ghostly'. There was, for example, the T’ang couplet:

Sky seen from a cave, in the loneliness of springtime;
There is no path for man in the vastness of moonlight.

Nowadays it is reckoned that people who write such verses will die young, because the human body cannot bear the ghostly force of such words.

The minister of state Ch’ae Paekch’ang was lying in his room when he heard one of his sons talking outside with a friend about poetry. The boy said: 'I have just hit on a wonderful couplet — perhaps I shall die very soon,' and then he recited the verses, which were so ordinary and clumsy they were laughable.

Ch’ae called out from the room: 'Here, boy, listen: you don’t need to worry overmuch. I heard your couplet; you will live to be over a hundred.'

Kim Manjung  (17th century)
Söp’o Manp’il           SHML 357

49

At the end of the Life of Söng Sammün¹ somebody has added a note saying that in the tumbril on the way to the execution ground Söng composed this quatrain:

The throbbing drums are hastening life away,
I turn my head and see the sun is setting.
There are no inns among the Yellow Springs: 2
I wonder in whose house I’ll sleep tonight.

Hong Manin (d. 1752)

Sihwa hwisông  SHML 176

1418–1456. One of the ‘Six Loyal Martyrs’ of Tanjong. This verse is recorded also in the 18th-century Yol’yo’sil kisul bk 4. 2The Yellow Springs means the life beyond the grave.

50

The interpreter Chŏng Hwa was an illegitimate son of the prime minister Chŏng Kwangp’il. 1 In Kwangp’il’s garden there was a flowering prunus, and his birthday fell in the season when the tree was in flower. A generation later his grandson, the Chief Secretary Chŏng Yugil, 2 was sitting under this tree with other members of the family drinking and composing verses about days gone by. Hwa started them off by writing:

Thirty years ago I knew this flowering plum:
Year by year it never failed to blossom on his birthday;
Now it has been damaged by years of frost and wind
And I cannot bear to come here when it blooms.

Tears welled in the eyes of the grandchildren and they laid down their writing-brushes.

Yi Chesin 1536–1583

Ch’önggang sihwa  SHML 177

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, KOREA BRANCH FOR 1971

(As adopted at the Annual General Meeting on December 8, 1971)

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society experienced an extremely active year of progress in 1971, the seventy-first year of its existence. From its new office in the modern Han Kook Ilbo (Korea Times) Building, and with the assistance of an American as part-time executive secretary, 1971 proved to be one of the most profitable and worthwhile years in the Society’s long history.

Membership: As of December 1, 1971 the total was 925, an all-time high. Of this total, 28 were life members 237 were overseas, and 660 were in Korea.

Meetings: During 1971 we held 18 meetings which were attended by a total of 2,400 persons. Included in our offerings were 2 movies, 1 puppet show, 1 panel discussion, and 14 lectures. Our speakers presented a variety of topics, from “Korean Studies in the Soviet Union,” to “Korea’s International Children: A Study of Mixed-race Children, Adoptions In-country and Abroad, and Institutional Services.” A detailed listing follows.

Tours: During 1971 we took 1,670 persons on 36 tours, including 2 overseas tours, one to Taipei and Hong Kong and one to Southeast Asia. Tours in Korea included Cheju Island (twice), Kyongju, Haeinsa, Soraksan, Chirisan, and Chinhae. We conducted 12 weekend tours of 2 or 3 days duration. The remainder were half-day and one-day tours, including 6 evening tours to restaurants. A detailed listing follows.

Publications: The year 1971 was a tremendously active one for the publication of RAS Transactions and books, highlighted by the publication of two new, long-awaited volumes: “The Birds of Korea,” a bilingual profusely illustrated text of 450 pages, co-authored by Michael E. J. Gore and Won Pyong-Oh; and “The Dutch Come to Korea” by Gari
Ledyard. We also put out Volume 46 in our Transactions series, namely, “Life in Urban Korea.” Half of the copies were published in standard paperback form; half were bound in hard covers. 1971 also saw the reprinting of an additional 1,000 copies of Richard Rutt’s extremely popular “Korean Works and Days” plus the publication of a second edition of Hahn Pyong-Choon’s scholarly “Korean Political Tradition and Law.” RAS books scheduled for publication in the next 12 months include: James Hoyt’s translation of King Sejong’s epic “Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven,” our joint venture publication with the Korean National Commission of UNESCO, which is scheduled for publication in early 1972; “Three Clan Villages,” by Pak Kihyuk and the late Sidney D. Gamble; “Contemporary Korean Politics,” edited by Edward R. Wright, Jr.; James Gale’s “History of the Korean People,” edited and with commentary by Richard Rutt; and Volume 47 in our Transactions series.

The officers and councilors of the RAS wish to thank the membership for making 1971 such an eventful year. We look forward to your continued interest and cooperation during the year ahead.

1971 MEETINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 13</td>
<td>Korean Studies in the Soviet Union (Staffan Rosen)</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 27</td>
<td>Tradition Korean Short Story (Marshall Pihl)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 10</td>
<td>Atmosphere and Content: 28th International Congress of Orientalists (Panel Discussion)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10</td>
<td>Two Images of Korean History (Hugh Kang)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 24</td>
<td>With the Korean Envoy to Peking, 1712 (Richard Rutt)</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14</td>
<td>Film “Six Daughters” with English Subtitles</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
May 12  Korea's International Children: A Study of Mixed-race Children, Adoptions Incountry and Abroad, and Institutional Services (Helen Miller)
May 26  Wildlife Conservation in Korea (Michael Gore)
June 9   Life in Urban Korea (Lee Hyo-jae)
June 23  The Peace Corps and Korea (Donald Hess)
July 21  Puppet Show
August 25 Film “Around the World” with English Subtitles
September 15  Origins of the Korean Language (Lee Ki-mun)
September 29  Introduction to Korean Music (Alan Heyman)
October 13  Flowers and Plants of Korea (Lee Yong-ro)
October 27  Glimpse at Contemporary Korean Poetry (Park Tu-jin and Edward Poitras)
November 8  Korean Patterns in Perspective (Paul Crane)
November 24  Shamanism and Korean Culture (Zozayong)
December 8  Annual General Meeting
               Political Problems Confronting Korea (Hahm Pyong-Choon)

1971 TOURS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 15</td>
<td>Restaurant (Hosung)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 24</td>
<td>Restaurant &amp; films (Seoul Club)</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 27</td>
<td>Inchon</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 28</td>
<td>Chong-dong</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

147
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 3-5</td>
<td>Chinhae</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 10</td>
<td>Sujongsa</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23-25</td>
<td>Chejudo</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24</td>
<td>National Museum &amp; Restaurant (Poonglim)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>Namhansansung</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 30-May 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2-15</td>
<td>Overseas tour (Southeast Asia)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8</td>
<td>Vegetarian meal (Pogwangsa)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 9</td>
<td>Churches of Seoul</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15-16</td>
<td>Pusoksa &amp; Suanbo</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 23</td>
<td>Soyosan &amp; Kwangnung</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28-31</td>
<td>Chirisan</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 5</td>
<td>Heangjusansung</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 11-13</td>
<td>Soraksan</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 27</td>
<td>Boating on the Han River</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 3-5</td>
<td>Chollipo</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 4-6</td>
<td>Chejudo</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 12</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 19</td>
<td>Chongmyo</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 25-26</td>
<td>Yongmunsa</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 3</td>
<td>Suwon</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 9-11</td>
<td>Kanghwhado</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 15</td>
<td>Restaurant (Odumak)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 17</td>
<td>Kyongbok Palace</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 23-25</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 31</td>
<td>North Han Valley</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 6-7</td>
<td>Popchusa</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 12</td>
<td>Restaurant (Uchongak)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 14</td>
<td>Pibong</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 21-27</td>
<td>Overseas tour (Taipii &amp; Hong Kong)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 26</td>
<td>Restaurant (Hosung)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 12</td>
<td>Restaurant (Aram)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
KOREA BRANCH
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

(As approved by the General Annual Meeting on December 8, 1971)

NAME AND OBJECT

Art. I The Name of the Society shall be THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
Art. II The Object of the Branch shall be to stimulate interest in, and promote study and dissemination of knowledge about, the Arts, History, Literature and Customs of Korea and the neighboring countries.

MEMBERSHIP, FEES AND DUES

Art. III The Branch shall consist of Honorary, Life, Ordinary and Associate members.
Art. IV Honorary Members shall be admitted on special grounds to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Korea and they shall not be required to pay either the Entrance Fee or the Annual Subscription. They shall enjoy the same privileges in regard to the distribution of the minutes of meetings, etc. as enjoyed by Life Members (See Art. VI below).
Art. V Honorary Council Members may be appointed in special consideration of long and devoted service to the Branch. They shall be residents of Korea, nominated and approved by majority vote of the members present at the Branch's annual general meeting. These honorary members of the Council may participate fully in the activities of the Council, except that they shall not have the privilege of voting.
Art. VI Life Members, in residence in Korea or abroad, shall enjoy the full right of participation in all activities of the
Branch. They shall be entitled to free distribution of a single copy of each Transaction of the Branch published following their attaining Life membership and free distribution of the minutes of Council meetings, general meetings and/or other information such as is promulgated to the Members of the Branch resident in Korea. The fee for Life Membership shall be determined from time to time by the Council.

Art. VII **Ordinary Members** shall, upon joining the Branch, pay an Entrance Fee and the Annual Subscription for the forthcoming year. The Annual Subscription rate both for resident and nonresident Members and the entrance fee shall be determined from time to time by the Council.

Art. VIII **Associate Membership** in the Branch shall be open to teaching members, students of Korean Universities and such other specific groups as the Council may determine, on payment of an entrance fee and annual subscription to be determined from time to time by the Council. Associate Members shall be entitled to participation in the activities of the Branch at Member rates, except that they shall not be eligible for free distribution of the Transactions of the Branch.

Art. IX The Annual Subscription shall cover the period of 12 months from the date of payment and shall be renewable on that date for subsequent years.

Art. X Applicants for membership who pay the required fees shall be entitled to join the Branch. If a Member, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, is guilty of conduct prejudicial to the interests of the Branch, the Executive Committee may suspend his membership and forbid his attendance at meetings of the Branch, pending the final decision of the Council.

**OFFICERS**

Art. XI The Officers of the Branch shall be:

A President
A Vice President
A Treasurer
A Corresponding Secretary
A Recording Secretary
A Librarian

COUNCIL

Art. XII The affairs of the Branch shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year, together with not more than 20 Ordinary Members. Honorary Council Members are not included among the 20 Ordinary Members.

Art. XIII Council Members who, except for due cause (as determined by the Executive Committee), miss council meetings more than twice consecutively or miss five times during the year shall be dropped from membership on the Council. Council Members may resign from the Council by written notification to the President.

MEETINGS

Art. XIV General Meetings of the Branch and Meetings of the Council shall be held as the Council shall determine and announce.

Art. XV The Annual General Meeting shall be held around the end of the calendar year at a date and time determined by the Council. Notice of the Annual General Meeting shall be mailed to all Members not later than one month prior to the scheduled date. At this meeting the Council shall present its Annual Report, which shall include the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts. The Officers for the next year shall be nominated and elected.

Art. XVI Twenty five members shall form a quorum at the Annual General Meeting and a simple majority of Officers and Council Members at a Council Meeting. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in the event of a tie between pro
and con votes. At all Meetings of the Branch or Council, in the absence of the President and Vice-President, a Chairman shall be elected by the members present at the meeting.

Art. XVII
The General Meetings shall be open to the public, but the Annual General Meeting shall be open to Members only.

ELECTIONS

Art. XVIII
The Officers and other Members of the Council shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors have been elected. Officers and Committee Chairmen shall not hold office for more than two consecutive terms. The Council shall appoint a Nominating Committee of not more than five members. The Nominating Committee shall propose the other Officers and Committee Chairmen for consideration by the general membership at the Annual General Meeting. Should the general membership at that time disapprove a nominee, the vacancy shall be filled by nominations from the floor, approved by the general membership.

Art. XIX
The President and Vice-President in concert shall fill vacancies of Officers or Committee Chairmen that may occur between Annual General Meetings and may nominate temporary substitutes in the event of prolonged absence or indisposition of an Officer or Committee Chairman.

PUBLICATIONS

Art. XX
The Publications of the Branch shall consist of the Transactions, Monograph Series and Handbook Series. The Branch may also participate in joint ventures with other organizations for the printing or reprinting of English or bilingual publications in the areas of interest of the Bran-
ch. The Transactions of the Branch may contain: (1) Such papers and notes read before the Branch as the Council shall approve based on recommendation of the Publication Committee, and an abstract of the discussion thereon; (2) The Minutes of the General Meetings, with a list of Officers, Councillors and Members; (3) The Reports and Accounts presented at the last Annual General Meeting. The Council shall have the option to accept for publication papers or other contributions of value, the technical or voluminous nature of which does not admit of their being read at a Meeting of the Branch.

Art. XXI Authors of published books or papers may be supplied with not more than twenty extra copies gratis by the Branch, the number to be determined by the Council.

Art. XXII The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance. All publications of the Branch shall be registered for U.S. interim copyright of five years’ duration.

Art. XXIII Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Branch and shall not be published without the consent of the Council. However, if publication is unreasonably delayed, or if the paper is urgently required for another and unforeseen use, and is requested to be returned by the writer, the Council may release the paper at its own discretion.

Art. XXIV The acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Branch does not obligate the Branch to publish it, but when the Council decides not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be returned to the author without any restriction as to its subsequent use. A copy shall be retained in the Branch’s permanent file.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS

Art. XXV The Council shall have the power to make and amend By-Laws for its own use and the Branch’s guidance,
provided that these are consistent with the Constitution. Additions, deletions or amendments to the By-Laws shall be promulgated to the members of the Branch who may at the next general meeting overrule the action of the Council.

ADDITIONS, DELETIONS AND AMENDMENTS

Art. XXVI  The Constitution may be amended only at a General Meeting, a quorum present, by two thirds majority vote of the members present. Amendments to the Constitution shall be promulgated to all members at least thirty days preceding the General Meeting wherein the amendment is to be discussed and voted upon.

BY-LAWS

GENERAL MEETINGS

Art. I  The Session of the Branch shall coincide with the Calendar Year.

Art. II  Ordinarily the Session of the Branch shall consist of not less than nine monthly General Meetings, of which the Annual General Meeting shall be considered one. A need for a greater or lesser number of meetings may be determined by the Council, if it is considered to be in the best interests of the Members of the Branch.

Art. III  The place and time of meetings shall be determined by the Council. Advance notice of meetings shall be promulgated to all Members resident in Korea, and to all Honorary and Life Members.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS

Art. IV  The order of business of General Meetings shall be:

   (1) Communications from the Council (Reports, etc.)

   (2) Miscellaneous Business
ORDER OF BUSINESS AT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Art. V The order of business at the Annual General Meeting shall be as follows:
1. Prior to the Annual General Meeting a draft of the Council's report, including Committee reports shall be promulgated to all Honorary and Life Members and to Ordinary Members resident in Korea.
2. The Treasurer's Report shall be discussed.
3. The Council's draft report shall be discussed, modified if necessary, and approved by majority vote of the Members present.
4. The election of Officers and Councillors shall be conducted from the slate recommended by the Nominating Committee or nominations from the floor.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL

Art. VI The Council at each meeting shall determine the time and place of subsequent Council Meetings.
Art. VII Timely notice of each Council Meeting shall be sent to every Member of the Council. With this notice shall be enclosed a draft of the minutes of the previous Council Meeting and reports of Committee Chairmen for review and subsequent discussion, modification (if required) and acceptance by the Council.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS

Art. VIII The order of business at Council Meetings shall be:
(1) Action upon the Minutes of the last meeting and reports of Committee Chairmen.
(2) Report on the proceedings of the Executive Committee.
(3) Miscellaneous business.
(4) Arrangement of business for the next Council Meeting.

COMMITTEES

Art. IX . . . . . (1) There shall be the following standing Committees:
(a) Executive Committee
(b) Budget and Finance Committee
(d) Program Committee
(e) Tour Committee
(f) Membership Committee
(g) Publications Committee
In addition, such other Committees as may be deemed necessary shall be established by the Council.

(2) All Committees shall report periodically in writing to the Council and shall act in accordance with the decision of the Council on matters concerning both policy and finance.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Art. X

1. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Executive Committee, composed of the President and/or the Vice President, one other Officer, the Chairmen of the Committees concerned with the subjects to be discussed, and such others as the President may invite. Meetings shall be called by the President, who shall invite the persons concerned. Its duties shall be to undertake any tasks deputed to it by the President or the Council,

2. When matters affecting a particular Committee are discussed by the Executive Committee, the Chairman of the Committee concerned, or a representative nominated by him, shall be present at the discussion.

3. Unless previously authorized by the Council to take substantive decisions, the Executive Committee shall
only make recommendations to the Council for final decision by the latter.

4. In cases where the Executive Committee has been authorized to take substantive decisions, a quorum of not less than half the Committee's members shall be required. Decisions shall be adopted by a favorable vote of not less than two thirds of the members present.

BUDGET AND FINANCE COMMITTEE

Art. XI

1. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Budget and Finance Committee, which shall be composed of the Officers of the Branch. The Committee may co-opt other members of the Branch whose assistance may be desired for particular tasks, but such members shall not vote. Not less than half the membership of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.

2. The Committee shall meet not less than once in each half of the calendar year, and shall prepare a budget for submission to the Council.

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Art. XII

1. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Publications Committee, composed of a Chairman to be appointed by the President in consultation with the Council, and such other members as the Council may designate.

2. The Committee shall:
   
   (a) Be responsible for the selection, preparation and publication of the Transactions and other works sponsored by the Branch, as approved by the Council;

   (b) Arrange with booksellers and others for the sale of the publications as directed by the Council, send the required number of each issue to the appointed
Agents and keep a record of all such business; and
(c) Draw up a program of future publications, with
estimates of expenditure and income, and submit this
program and accompanying estimates to the Council
for the latter's approval at least once every six mon-
thods.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Art. XIII 1. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Pro-
gram Committee, composed of a Chairman to be
appointed by the President in consultation with the
Council and such other members as the Council
may designate, at least two of them ordinarily being
being Koreans and two of other nationalities.

2. The Program Committee shall be responsible for
determining topics and finding speakers (or other
suitable material such as films) for the Branch's re-
gular meetings.

3. Honoraria and other fees shall follow norms es-
established by the Council. Exceptions shall be spe-
cifically approved by the Council membership in
regular session.

4. As a rule, programs shall be of an historical or con-
temporary nature, which support the objectives stated
in Article II of the Constitution. Where practicable,
texts of the presentations shall be filed with the Cor-
responding Secretary of the Branch, so that those
considered suitable may be printed in the Transac-
tions.

TOUR COMMITTEE

Art. XIV 1. There shall be a Standing Committee called the Tour
Committee, composed of a Chairman to be appoint-
ed by the President in consultation with the Council,
and the other members as the Council may designate.
2. It shall plan and conduct tours to places of cultural and historical interest both inside and outside Korea.

3. Tours shall be conducted by members of the Committee or by such other Members of the Branch as the Committee shall designate. Tours shall be conducted primarily for the edification and education of members of the Branch who shall receive special consideration in computing the charges for tours, and in participating in limited capacity tours. The Committee Chairman shall audit the accounts of all tours before they are submitted to the Treasurer.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Art. XV 1. There shall be a Standing Committee called the Membership Committee, composed of a Chairman to be appointed by the President in consultation with the Council, and such other members as the Council may designate.

2. The Committee shall:
   (a) Take all suitable measures to increase membership of the Branch;
   (b) Report to the Council, at least quarterly, on the status of the Branch's membership and recommend measures to maintain or increase membership; and
   (c) Keep in touch with the views of Members on publications and programs of lectures and tours arranged by the Branch, and brief the Council on the subject at each Council Meeting.

COMMITMENTS ENTERED INTO BY THE BRANCH

Art. XVI 1. Any commitment or disbursement by the Branch of more than $500 shall be specifically sanctioned by the Council, as recorded in the minutes of its meetings.
2. Any commitment entered into by the Branch with the concurrence of the Council shall, if it involves the expenditure of more than $1,000 (over whatever period), be legitimised by a document bearing the signatures of the President (or Acting President in the absence of the President), the Corresponding Secretary and the Treasurer.

3. No Officer or Member of the Branch is authorized to commit the Branch to any course of action, other than normal day-to-day business, without the express approval of the Council as recorded in the minutes of its meetings.

AUDIT

Art. XVII Before the Annual General Meeting of each year the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts shall be audited by a team of not less than two Members appointed by the President.

DUTIES OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Art. XVIII The Corresponding Secretary shall:
1. Be in charge of the office of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;
2. With the assistance of a salaried clerical staff and in consultation with the other Officers of the Branch and the Committee Chairmen, assume overall responsibility for the coordination of the Branch's activities;
3. Ensure that the Reports of Committee Chairmen and the minutes of the preceding meeting are circulated to Council Members before the next Council Meeting; and
4. Arrange for the issue of notices of Council Meetings.
DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Art. XIX The Recording Secretary shall: -
(a) Keep Minutes of General Meetings and meetings of the Council;
(b) Attend every General Meeting and every Meeting of the Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of the Council to perform his duties and shall forward the Minute-Book to him; and
(c) Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence.

DUTIES OF THE TREASURER

Art. XX The Treasurer shall: -
1. Control and account for all funds of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;
2. Respond to requests for funds necessary to maintain the day-to-day operations of the Branch. However, any expenditure in excess of $150, or its equivalent, shall have the prior concurrence of the President (or, in his absence, the Vice-President) and three other Officers of the Branch;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and present a current financial statement or, if unable to attend, depute some member of the Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary; and
4. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors and present annually a duly audited financial statement, which shall be available for examination at the Annual General Meeting of the Branch.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN

Art. XXI The Librarian shall: -
(a) Take charge of the Branch’s Library and stock of publications, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library and supervise the binding and preservation of the books;

(b) Carry out the regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Branch’s books;

(c) Send copies of the publications to all Honorary Members and to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for their subscriptions, according to a list furnished him by the Corresponding Secretary, and to all Branches and Journals, the names of which are on the list of exchanges;

(d) Arrange for further exchanges as directed by the Council;

(e) Draw up a list of the exchanges and of additions to the Library, for insertion in the Council’s Annual Report;

(f) Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;

(g) Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of publications possessed by the Branch;

(h) Act as a member of the Publication Committee; and

(i) Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters or, if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

**LIBRARY**

Art. XXII The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book-cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Members of Council resident in the vicinity; books may be borrowed on application to the Librarian.
SALE OF PUBLICATIONS

Art. XXIII  The publications shall be on sale by Agents approved by the Council and may be supplied to them at a discount price fixed by the Council.

October 19, 1971
KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LIST OF MEMBERS
(As of June 20, 1972)

LIFE MEMBERS

Bartz, Dr. Carl F., Jr.
Bertuccioli, Amb. Guiliano
Bunger, Mr. Karl
Carroll, Rev. Msgr. George M.
Clark, Dr. Allen D.
Cook, Dr. & Mrs. Harold F.
Crane, Dr. Paul S.
Curll, Mr. Daniel B., III
Daniels, Miss Mamie M.
Folkedal, Mr. Tor D.
Goodwin, Dr. Charles
Gordon, Prof. Douglas H.
Hahm, Prof. Pyong Choon
Henderson, Mr. Gregory
Kinney, Mr. Robert A.
Koll, Miss Gertrude
Leavitt, Mr. Richard P.
Ledyard, Dr. Gari
Mattielli, Mrs. Robert E.
Miller, Mr. Carl F.
Moffett, Dr. Samuel H.
Murphy, Miss Sunny Burchell
Pai, Mrs. Inez Kong
Park, Mr. Sang-cho
Rose, Miss A. M.
Rucker, Mr. Robert D.
Rutt, Rt. Rev. Richard
Smith, Mr. Warren W., Jr.
Steinberg, Dr. David I.
Strauss, Dr. William
Wade, Mr. James
Wright, Dr. Edward R., Jr.

REGULAR MEMBERS

Abe, Mrs. Akira
Acorne, Mr. Michael J.
Adams, Mr. & Mrs. Edward B.
Adler, Mr. & Mrs. Michael H. B.
Ahrens, Mr. Robert
Allen, Miss Priscilla
Althuis, Mr. & Mrs. S. P.
Anderson, Mr. & Mrs. Douglas C.
Appeldoorn, Mr. & Mrs. R.
Appleby, Miss Ruth T.
Arikawa, Mr. Hiroyuki
Audet, Col. & Mrs. Harold H.
Bachli, Miss Lisbeth
Backhaus, Miss Florence E.
Bae, Miss Sue J.
Bakee, Mr. Donald L.
Baldwin, Mr. & Mrs. James
Barker, Miss Joan H.
Barr, Mr. & Mrs. Albert
Bastian, Dr. & Mrs. John L.
Baum, Mr. Willy D.
Baugartner, Mr. & Mrs. George S.
Bayer, Dr. & Mrs. Edwin
Bemis, Miss Nancy M.
Bennett, Mr. & Mrs. Stephen S.
Bergman, P.F.C. Mark S.
Berkely, Mrs. Dorothy L.
Biggs, Mr. & Mrs. Alan G.
Bishop, Cpt. Donald M.
Blaiklock, Miss Ida H.
Blake-Pauley, Mr. & Mrs. Anthony F.
Blatt, Mrs. Betty B.
Blosser, Mr. & Mrs. C. Burt
Bonde, Cpt. & Mrs. John
Bonin, Mr. & Mrs. L. H., Jr.
Bonner, Miss Margaret
Boo, Mr. Wan Hyuk
Boose, Maj. & Mrs. Donald W., Jr.
Boreese, Miss Kathleen D.
Bourns, Prof. Beulah V.
Boyer, Miss Delores R.
Bradner, Mr. Stephen
Breitfeld, Mr. Rainer
Breshin, Dr. & Mrs. Mel
Breunig, Prof. Jerome B.
Brewer, Miss Brooke
Brown, Rev. George Thompson
Brown, Mr. Richard S.
Buckley, Mr. & Mrs. James G.
Buddhi-Baedya, Mr. & Mrs. Sirajaya
Buitelaar, Mr. & Mrs. Arie
Burger, Mr. Allen
Burkholder, Mr. & Mrs. M. Olin
Burnham, Mr. Mark M.
Burns, Mr. & Mrs. Lee H.
Burns, Mrs. Virginia T.
Buser, Miss Carolyn
Bush, Mr. & Mrs. Byron E.
Butler, Mr. & Mrs. Henry L.
Cagle, Mr. & Mrs. Dero J.
Cain, Mr. Morrison
Caires, Mr. & Mrs. Robert N.
Callahan, Mr. James R.
Campbell, Miss Alexander E.
Cann, Col. & Mrs. Richard T.
Carpenter, Dr. & Mrs. W. H.
Carter, Miss Frances M.
Carter, Mr. & Mrs. Robert G.
Carter, Miss Yvonne
Cassidy, Miss Margaret E.
Caughlan, Mrs. Gladys M.
Chambers. Dr. Aubrey Pat
Chamness, Mr. & Mrs. Robert M.
Champlin, Mrs. Connie
Chang, Mr. Homer Ai
Chang, Miss Eue Mi
Chang, Mr. Ik-Pong
Chang, Mr. Il Se
Charnow, Mr. David
Chen, Miss Marjorie W.
Cho, Mr. & Mrs. Min-ha
Choi, Miss Woo-kyung
Chong, Dr. & Mrs. Chun Hian
Choy, Mr. Cornelius E.
Christian, Mrs. Anke
Christian, Mr. Keith
Christoffersen, Mr. & Mrs. Jon
Chu, Prof. Yo-Sup
Chun, Mr. & Mrs. John H.
Clauser, Dr. & Mrs. Jerome K.
Clune, LTC. & Mrs. William C.
Cocimano, Mr. Graciano
Cohn, Dr. Fritz L.
Coleman, Mr. & Mrs. Ronald K.
Collins, Mr. & Mrs. James J.
Command Reference Library, Hq. EUSA
Condit, Mr. Jonathan
Conn, Rev. Harvie M.
Cooper, Mr. & Mrs. Robert W.
Corman, Miss Margaret L.
Courtney, Mr. & Mrs. James R.
Csenger, Mr. John F.
Cumings, Mr. Bruce G.
Curlee, Mr. Roy M.
Daly, Rev. John P.
Davidson, Mr. Duane C.
Davis, Miss Katherine L.
Dawson, Mr. James P.
Day, Miss Lois
Day, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H.
Demario, Sp/4 Charles
De La Fe, Miss Sonia
Dickie, Mr. Richard
Diltz, Mr. Donald O.
Dines, Mr. Frank E.
Dong, Dr. Chon
Dorow, Rev. & Mrs. Maynard
Dorrian, Mr. James J.
Douglass, Mrs. Martha T.
Dudley, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. B.
Dunn, Mr. & Mrs. Charles A.
Dupuy, Mr. & Mrs. L. F.
Dustin, Mr. & Mrs. Frederic H.
Eddy, Mr. & Mrs. Rodger I.
Edgar, Mr. & Mrs. W. R.
Edwards, Mr. & Mrs. B. F.
Eichberger, Mr. & Mrs. Mark K.
Elliott, Mr. & Mrs. Lester M.
Elrod, Mr. Donald R.
Ely, Mr. Christopher M.
Englehart, Maj. & Mrs. Alan R.
Espinosa, Miss Margarita
Evans, Miss Nancy S.
Fairchild, Mr. Win
Farrington, Mrs. Dolores P.
Fernandez, Mrs. Mary W.
Finch, Mr. & Mrs. Richard
Fink, Mr. & Mrs. J. S.
Fitzgerald, Mr. & Mrs. W. P.
Flagg, Cpt. David W.
Flagg, Miss Evelyn M.
Fleming, Mr. Michael N.
Flint, Mr. & Mrs. John A.
Florance, Miss Margaret
Fooks, Mr. & Mrs. Gilbert
Freeny, LTC. Robert M.
Fried, Mr. & Mrs. Bernard
Friedman, Maj. Bruce A.
Frielingshaus, Mr. & Mrs. Arthur L.
Froehlich, Dr. Dean K.
Frost, Dr. Dorothy M.
Gagliardo, Mr. Andrew V.
Galvin, Miss Gail
Garland, Miss Gay
Gassmann, Miss Nina M.
Gatbonton, Mr. M.
Gibbons, Mr. John
Gibson, Mr. & Mrs. Robert E.
Gift, Mr. R. Jay
Gillham, Mr. Gerald J.
Goldberg, Miss Brenda
Goldstein, Dr. Robert
Gompertz, Mr. & Mrs. Richard F.
Goodwin, Col. & Mrs. Jack E.
Goodwin, Mr. Tom
Gordon, Mr. & Mrs. Alan M.
Gosaynie, Mr. Waleed
Graf, Mr. Horst E.
Grayson, Dr. James H.
Green, Mrs. Mona
Griffith, Maj. Ruth A.
Gurwitz, Mr. Aaron S.
Gustafsson, Mr. & Mrs. Nils
Guynup, Miss Lois D.
Haagna, Mr. & Mrs. B.
Habib, Amb. & Mrs. Philip C.
Hahn, Mr. Churlmo
Haley, Mr. & Mrs. George S.
Hall, Mr. Edgar C.
Hall, Dr. & Mrs. Newman A.
Halpin, Mr. Dennis
Hanson, Mr. & Mrs. Jerry A.
Harrod, Miss Mary E.
Hartman, Cpt. Arnold S.
Haskell, Miss Grace
Hatfield, Mrs. Boo
Hausman, Miss Ruth Ann
Hawley, Rev. & Mrs. Morely M.
Hayakawa, Mr. Yoshiharu
Hedrick, Mr. Gary
Helwig, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph W.
Hendrickson, Cpt. Richard A.
Henneken, Rev. Werner
Henyan, Mr. Dean A.
Herbert, Mr. Kevin
Herr, Maj. & Mrs. George
Hess, Mr. & Mrs. Donald
Hibbard, Mr. Dennis
Hilburn, Sister Janice W.
Hill, Mrs. Rosa Lee Bechtol
Hills, Mr. & Mrs. Fred
Hollowell, Miss Virginia H.
Homans, Mr. & Mrs. H.
Parkman
Hong, Mr. Soon-il
Hongo, Mr. & Mrs. Tameo
Horiguchi, Mr. Mastushiro
Hoschele, Mr. Peter
Howard, Mr. & Mrs. James
Howell, Miss Joyce
Hux, Dr. & Mrs. A. Donald
Hwang, Dr. Su-yong
Hyun, Mr. & Mrs. Yung-won
Idhe, Miss Linda
Ilse, Miss Regina
Isom, Mr. & Mrs. Tom H.
Ivie, Miss Mattie Louise
Jacobs, Miss Maregaret
Jagoe, Mr. Leo J.
Janecek, Mr. Wolfgang Von
Jang, Mr. Song Hyon
Jantz, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie C.
Jennings, Mr. & Mrs. Don C.
Joe, Prof. Wanne Jae
Johnson, Mr. Chester R.
Johnson, Mr. Dennis
Johnson, Miss Jeannette S.
Johnson, Mr. R. Douglas
Jones, Miss Berenice E.
Jones, Miss Dorothy R.
Jordan Service Club
Judy, Dr. & Mrs. Carl W.
Kaelin, Mr. & Mrs. Charles L.
Kailian, Mr. G.
Kaliher, Mr. Kenneth L.
Kazimiroff, Mr. Boris M.
Keenan, Mr. & Mrs. Edward E.
Keller, Mr. & Mrs. Robert J.
Kelley, Capt. & Mrs. Lawrence W.
Kelly, Miss Colleen G.
Keltie, Miss Partricia E.
Kendall, Miss Laurel M.
Kerner, Mr. James E.
Kernodle, Dr. & Mrs. H.B., Jr.
Kidd, Dr. & Mrs. David
Kilbourne, Mrs. Ella Ruth
Kim, Dr. Doo-hun
Kim, Mr. & Mrs. George D.
Kim, Prof. Jungsae
Kim, Dr. Kesook
Kim, Dr. Roy U. T.
Kim, Mr. Sang Hoon
Kinney, Mr. & Mrs. Paul
Kinney, Mrs. Robert A.
Klassen, Mr. Ronald L.
Klein, Maj. Thomas A.
Knight, Mr. F. Marion
Knox-Peden, Miss Jenny
Koo, Dr. Youngnok
Kormann, Mr. & Mrs. Frank W.
Krankowski, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph
Kraus, Mr. & Mrs. George
Krause, Mr. & Mrs. H. Alan
Krauth, Mr. & Mrs. Charles A.
Kwon, Mr. Soon-young
Lamey, Dr. & Mrs. H. A.
Lampe, Miss Jutta
Lancaster, Mr. Richard B.
Landy, Amb. Pierre
Lauster, Mr. & Mrs. Charles
Lawson, Miss Nellie C.
Leach, Mr. & Mrs. Robert A.
Lee, Prof. Chan
Lee, Miss Jae Soon
Lee, Mr. John Reol
Lee, Mr. Kyoo-hyun
Lee, Mr. Mrs. Kyu
Lee, Mrs. Pong Soon
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