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COVER: The seal-shaped emblem of the RAS-KB consists of the following Chinese characters: 檀 (top right), 域 (bottom right), 靛 (top left), 菏 (bottom left), pronounced Kŭn yŏk Ch’ŏng a in Korean. The first two characters mean “the hibiscus region,” referring to Korea, while the other two (“luxuriant mugwort”) are a metaphor inspired by Confucian commentaries on the Chinese Book of Odes, and could be translated as “enjoy encouraging erudition.”

SUBMISSIONS: Transactions invites the submission of manuscripts of both scholarly and more general interest pertaining to the anthropology, archeology, art, history, language, literature, philosophy, and religion of Korea. Manuscripts should be prepared in MS Word format and should be submitted as hard copy printed on A4 paper and in digital form. The style should conform to The Chicago Manual of Style (14th edition). The covering letter should give full details of the author’s name, address and biography. Romanization of Korean words and names must follow either the McCune-Reischauer or the current Korean government system. Submissions will be screened by the Publications Committee. Manuscripts will not be returned and no correspondence will be entered into concerning rejections.

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Twenty-Seven Years with the Royal Asiatic Society: 
Reminiscences of Travels in Korea

DANIEL J. ADAMS
With CAROL CHOUL ADAMS and SUE J. BAE

Introduction
We first arrived in Korea in September of 1980, and shortly after our arrival we visited the offices of the RAS to stock up on books dealing with Korean culture, history, and religious traditions. I can still remember our first meeting with Sue Bae. She was wearing a bright pink dress, wore black framed glasses, and was seated behind her desk taking a telephone call. The RAS office looked pretty much the same then as it does today with books and papers everywhere. It was a combination bookstore, mail order room, tour agency, central office, and cultural clearing house. However, Sue had everything under control and knew where to find every book, order form, letter, and tour reservation. Little did we know that our meeting on that day would be the start of a collaboration and friendship of twenty-seven years which continues to the present.

Sue introduced us to the books we needed and then suggested that we begin our Korean experience with RAS tours. For the next two years, while engaged in full-time language study, we took almost every tour that was offered. There were few places in Korea we did not visit, and virtually all of those tours were taken in the company of Sue Bae. We marveled at her ability to make yeogwan reservations (there were almost no hotels out in the countryside in those days), arrange for meals (on some trips she brought along a cook who prepared lavish picnic lunches using commissary items that were unavailable to us ordinary folk out in the provinces), and deal with complaints ("the towels are too small," "there is only one yo and ibul and we are not close relatives," "when I brush my teeth the water runs out onto the floor," "why are the pillows so hard?" and "the guys next door were drunk and sang all night long"). Somehow
Sue never lost her temper, always had a smile and a ready answer, and seemingly could solve every possible problem. We met some wonderful "old Korea hands" who served as tour guides and became friends with a number of former Peace Corps volunteers who stayed on in Korea, several of whom served as volunteers in the RAS office.

When our two years of language study were completed, we moved down to Jeonju and began our teaching at what is now Hanil University. It was then that Sue suggested that we lead an RAS tour to Jeonju. This was the beginning of an on-going collaboration and as of December 31, 2007 we have led a total of 157 RAS tours. Sue planned the logistics for all of these tours and accompanied us on most of them. Dan and Carol divided the guide duties with Dan doing most of the formal speaking and Carol providing additional comments, distributing written information and brochures, and translating Chinese characters into English. On tours where there was considerable walking the group always divided into three sections. The fast walkers ran with Sue, the average paced walkers hiked with Dan, and the slow walkers strolled with Carol.

A significant contribution of Carol to the overnight tours was to lead the introduction of tour members following dinner. On many tours we discovered that there were often ten to sixteen nationalities represented. Professions included diplomats, military officers, professors and research scholars, teachers at international schools as well as English teachers at various institutes, missionaries from a number of differing churches and religious traditions, artists, antique dealers, business people from transnational corporations and joint ventures, and other professions and occupations too numerous to mention. Often there were short term visitors who were in Korea for only a week or two. There were at least two international tour participants who came to the bus directly from the airport. And of course, there were Koreans of all occupations, many of whom were visiting places they had not seen since class trips during their high school days. We even had one travel agent who took RAS tours in order to get ideas for his own travel agency.

On many occasions following the introductions there would, according to traditional Korean custom, be a time for singing and it was during one of these musical evenings that we discovered Sue Bae's excellent singing voice. We also learned that when her local church
participates in the annual church choir contest, she must be there so that they can take first place. On that weekend not even the RAS can compete for her attention. Listening to Sue Bae sing “Arirang” is truly an RAS tour highlight.

In our years of traveling throughout Korea with the RAS there have been three major changes that have vastly improved the tours. The first was the advent of the cellular phone and convincing the RAS Council that it would be advantageous for Sue to carry one on all tours. No longer do we have to search for a telephone in some remote mountain village to reconfirm reservations or inform a restaurant of a late arrival time. The second has been the remarkable improvement in Korea’s highway system. The paving of roads and the expansion of the expressway network has greatly reduced driving times and almost totally eliminated the horrendous traffic jams of the past as well as the late Sunday night and early Monday morning arrivals back in Seoul. The third has been the construction of small tourist hotels throughout Korea, including some memorable motels of a somewhat dubious cultural interest. While not always up to international standards, they are a vast improvement over the old yeogwans such as the Chonju Yeogwan at Chirisan (since demolished in a park renewal program) where the outside toilet was a hole in the floor surrounded by a piece of corrugated tin and totally open to the stars or the rain, as well as the bitterly cold mountain breezes. Today in the small hotels the bedding is clean, the rooms all have private baths, the ondol heating is reliable, and most even have cable TV.

What follows are some reminiscences of twenty-seven years of RAS travel in Korea as experienced by the three of us—Sue Bae, Daniel J. Adams, and Carol Chou Adams. We begin by remembering some remarkable people who were in some way involved with our tours—a diplomat, a military intelligence officer, a Buddhist monk, a retired professor, and an architect. We then move on to share some memorable stories involving transportation—two once in a lifetime boat trips and traveling by bus on an unbelievable mountain road. This will be followed by a potpourri of experiences that could only have happened while traveling with the RAS. Next we will highlight several of the temples of Korea and the unique moods and memories evoked by these visits. Finally we will conclude with memories of vanishing sights—places once visited
but which are, regretfully, no more.

**Remarkable People**
The Korea Branch of the RAS is made up of some of the most remarkable people anywhere to be found. As we look back over the past twenty-seven years there are hundreds of people from scores of countries who come to mind as being creative, well-traveled, culturally sophisticated, and intellectually stimulating individuals who have made each tour both a unique and invigorating experience. We have selected only five of these remarkable people and we beg the reader to keep in mind that these are only a representative sample; there are many others we could have chosen. Regretfully, due to space limitations we cannot include all of the remarkable people we have encountered.

Robert Hogarth, who during his years in Korea was a diplomat with the British Embassy, had a relationship with the country which extended over many decades. He served a number of tours with the embassy in Korea and had a keen knowledge of the country, its culture, and its people. He himself led many RAS tours, including the ever popular tour to the Andong area for which he wrote extensive notes. He was often accompanied by his wife, Dr. Hyun-Key Kim Hogarth, an anthropologist who specializes in the study of Korean shamanism. Robert was also an accomplished photographer and he would sometimes bring his photos to share with others on a tour. If Robert was signed up for a tour we knew that the tour would be a success, for he had a contagious sense of humor and "can do spirit" that could overcome almost any obstacle.

In the mid-1990s the tours to Chiri-san were always organized around the traffic problem at the Nogodan Pass. This was before the large parking area was constructed, and most people parked their cars along the side of the road. The problem was that cars were parked on both sides of the road effectively reducing a two-lane road to a one-lane road. If the RAS did not make it over the pass before the arrival of the day's tour busses, we became caught in a massive traffic jam as ten to twenty busses coming up one side of the pass met ten to twenty busses coming up the other side of the pass. Since the road was now one-lane due to the parked cars, nothing moved until the notoriously stubborn bus drivers were willing to compromise. And so, RAS members either ate their lunch on
the bus in order to get over the pass before noon on a Saturday, or ate their breakfast on the bus in order to get over the pass before mid-morning on a Sunday.

On one Sunday morning the traffic going over the pass was unusually slow and it took over two hours to drive from Kurye in the valley to the top of the pass, normally a drive of about thirty to forty minutes. Everyone on the bus was getting impatient and even Sue Bae was beginning to wonder what had happened. When we finally arrived at the top of the pass we saw the problem. About five busses ahead of us one frustrated driver, unable to find a parking spot, had simply left his car in the middle of the road, locked the doors, and strolled off to spend the day hiking in the mountains. Immediately Robert Hogarth sprang into action. “All of the men on the bus follow me,” he shouted, and all of RAS men answered the call. As horrified Korean bystanders looked on, the men got on both sides of car, and as Robert counted “One, two, three,” they began to rock the car to the side of the road. After about fifteen minutes of rocking, pushing and pulling, the car rested at the roadside just centimeters from the precipice. Then Robert, with a twinkle in his eye, called out, “Altogether now. Let’s pitch the car over the cliff!” Needless to say, the others in the group reminded Robert that while he had diplomatic immunity, they did not, and the car remained where it was. Amid loud cheers and applause, the movement of traffic resumed and there was no doubt in anyone’s mind that Robert was the hero of the day.

Eventually Robert retired and he and his wife settled in Canterbury, however, she often returned to Korea to carry out anthropological research. The last of our tours that Robert took was to Cholla-Do in October of 1997. He came back for a visit with his wife and, as always, his presence will be remembered. Following a delicious dinner of famed Tamyang kalbi, the Hogarths put on an impromptu shaman dance for the group. Using whatever was available Robert fashioned long sleeves and a shaman’s hat and Hyun-Key made use of a metal rice bowl and chopsticks. He played the role of the shaman and she provided the musical accompaniment. Everyone clapped and sang along and thoroughly enjoyed themselves. Little did we know that this was the last time Robert Hogarth would take one of our tours, for he passed away in 2003. Truly he was one of the remarkable people of the RAS.
Another remarkable person associated with the RAS is man we knew only as Mr. Yun. He played an irreplaceable role in our annual Cherry Blossom tours to Chinhae. Whenever we arrived at the gate of the naval base in Chinhae, Sue would phone Mr. Yun, and within fifteen to twenty minutes he would arrive in his black car. He always wore a suit and tie and he commanded great respect from all of the naval officers and enlisted men at the gate. After a few words with Mr. Yun, the gates would open. A smartly dressed naval policeman would enter the bus, give us a salute, and with Mr. Yun's car in the lead, we would be given a tour of the Chinhae Naval Base.

But with Mr. Yun as our guide, there was more—a personal tour of President Syngman Rhee's summer villa, normally closed to the public. It was here that President Rhee vacationed in the summer and it was here that he hosted the meeting of a proposed Pacific Alliance in October of 1945 between Korea with himself, the Republic of China with Chiang Kai-Shek, and the Philippines with President Quirino. Touring the villa was a special opportunity for the RAS as we were given a glimpse into the personal life of the Republic's first president. The villa contains many photographs and memorabilia as well as a secret underground escape passage entered through trapdoor in a closet floor. A visit to this villa made the RAS Cherry Blossom tour a special experience.

Back in those days, of course, one did not inquire too closely about just what Mr. Yun's position was. Over the years we were able to put bits and pieces together and surmised that he occupied a fairly high position in military intelligence. Things change, however, both personally and politically. Mr. Yun eventually retired, and Korea became a democracy under civilian rule. Local commanders assumed more control, and without Mr. Yun, no one among the naval commanders had any personal relationship with the RAS, and it was not long until the special visits to Syngman Rhee's summer villa became a thing of the past. Mr. Yun was truly a friend of the RAS who is fondly remembered by all who knew him.

A third remarkable person is a man whose name we do not know; we know him only by sight, for he is a monk of Haein Temple located on Mt. Kaya. Haein Temple or Haeinsa is where the famed wood blocks of the Tripitaka Koreana are housed in two specially designed buildings.
These two buildings are an architectural masterpiece in that they allow for a constant flow of air at a relatively stable seasonal temperature thus preserving the 81,340 wood print blocks. Usually visitors are not allowed into these buildings—they must be satisfied with peering in through the wooden slats of the windows. On at least three occasions, however, we have met this remarkable monk and he has opened the doors and given us an opportunity to view the wood print blocks up close. On one visit he even allowed the tour leaders—Sue Bae and Daniel and Carol Chou Adams—to hold one of the wood print blocks, and tour members were able to have their photos taken next to this priceless treasure. This monk recognizes that the annual tours by the RAS are not made up of mere tourists, but of people who are serious students of Korean culture, history, and religion. Therefore in the interests of scholarship he has enabled us to see and experience Haeinsa on a deeper level.

Whenever we visit Haeinsa, Carol immediately begins to search for this monk. He is one of the older monks and in recent years he has been showing his age more so than in the past and is therefore not easy to be found. It is because of remarkable people like him that tours with the RAS are special. As we visit places year after year we build up personal relationships; we become recognized. This means that monks, scholars, caretakers, and local residents will often quite literally open doors of opportunity.

Another remarkable RAS person is Dr. Kim Byong-Kuk, retired banker (Bank of Korea and Asian Development Bank), financier (Daewoo and Hanjin securities and investment firms), professor and dean (Sogang University), and visiting scholar (New York University). A prolific writer, Dr. Kim’s newspaper columns have been collected published in several volumes as have his writings on political affairs. Dr. Kim’s ancestral home is located in the Kangjin area not far from where the scholar Chong Yak-Yong (1762-1836) lived. Better known by his pen name of Tasan, he was a true renaissance man who was way ahead of his time. Kim Byong-Kuk is a recognized scholar of Tasan’s life and work. He is also a devout Roman Catholic and he has brought these two commitments together in a most unique manner.

Although Sue Bae had been a regular on the Land of Exile Tour for a number of years, we were—because of the illness of the regular tour
leader Dr. Jean-Paul Buys—asked to lead the tour with Kim Byong-Kuk in October of 1997. The tour gets its name from the fact that Tasan was exiled to this remote area because of his ties to Catholicism, his openness to Buddhism, and his progressive ideas. In addition members of the crew of the Dutch ship “Sperwer” (Sparrow Hawk) were exiled for a time to a nearby area following their shipwreck on Cheju Island in 1653.  

It was while visiting this area that we came to know Kim Byong-Kuk.

Dr. Kim has lovingly restored his ancestral home in the classic architectural style of Korean houses and today it serves as a part of the Tasan Study Center. The library contains the complete works of Tasan as well as an on-going collection of materials on Tasan’s life and ideas. Adjacent to the house is a guesthouse and convent under the care of three Catholic sisters. Funds for this building were provided in part by the German Church. We stayed in the guesthouse, were well supplied with food and drink by the sisters, and were given an intellectual treat as Dr. Kim spoke about Tasan, not as a tour guide, but from the heart as one who loves his ancestral land and its spiritual and intellectual heritage. As he and I sat talking together at a nearby Buddhist temple where Tasan and Buddhist monks used to debate the issues and ideas of the day, it seemed almost like we were transported back in time, or perhaps, that the past was transported into the present and became real for us once again. This encounter with the remarkable Kim Byong-Kuk will always be remembered.

A fifth and final remarkable person was perhaps the most flamboyant personality of all, for he was a Harvard educated architect, a champion of traditional Korean folk culture, the founder of a one-of-a-kind museum, and a firm believer in the Mountain Spirit. Zo Za Yong, with his joyous laughter, wavy gray hair, and encyclopedic knowledge of Korean folk culture and traditions was a world renowned figure of almost legendary proportions.

His first claim to fame was that it was his architectural firm which designed Philip Habib House, the current residence of the U. S. ambassador located just behind the Doksu Palace.  

Not long before Zo Za Yong’s death, the RAS in cooperation with the U. S. Embassy held a dinner party at Philip Habib House to honor Yong and his work. Unfortunately we (Daniel and Carol) were out of the country at the time
and were unable to accept the invitation to attend. Sue told us that the evening ended with Yong leading everyone in singing traditional folk songs and dancing to traditional music.

Zo Za Yong’s second claim to notoriety was the founding of the Emilille Museum. And yes, he spelled it with three ls—Emilllle. It was without a doubt the world’s leading collection of traditional Korean folk paintings as well as containing significant holdings of traditional religious paintings. Located at first in Seoul, the museum was later moved to a location near Songnisan National Park. Yong was devoted to the preservation of Korean folk religion, culture, and art work and the museum became a place where he could make his personal collection available to the public. Since it was a private museum and chronically short of funding, Yong moved it to his Samshin Camp compound at Songnisan.

The Samshin Camp was Zo Za Yong’s last major effort to promote traditional folk culture and his third claim to public acclaim. It was actually a small traditional village where Korean children and youth could come for short periods to learn about folk religion, folk art, and folk culture. In May of 1995 the RAS came to the Samshin Camp with a group of students from Seoul Foreign School. It was a time for animated lectures by Yong, hands on experience at making traditional buckwheat noodles and rice cakes, sleeping in cabins designed in the traditional country style, and enjoying folk dancing around a roaring bon fire. In honor of the occasion Yong had a pig butchered earlier in the day and we had fresh roast pork for the evening meal. A good part of the evening was spent around the dinner table in conversation with this extraordinary man.

There are, of course, numerous other remarkable people whom we could mention—people who enlivened each tour with their wit and wisdom and winsome personalities. These five are examples of the kinds of people we have met in the past twenty-seven years of travel with the RAS.

**Memorable Transportation**

Some of the most memorable stories of RAS travel involve transportation. In late September and early October of 1993 we led an RAS tour Ullung-do, an island that lies about midway between the Korean peninsula and
Tok-do in the East Sea. Under normal conditions one boards a ferry in Pohang and after a two to three hour ride, arrives at the island. The problem is that due to frequent storms and high winds one rarely encounters normal conditions. As our ferry pulled away from the dock and set out we immediately noticed that the waves seemed considerably higher than they first appeared. It was not long until the boat began to pitch from side to side and the horizon began to go up and then down and then up and then down. The seas became rougher and rougher.

After about two hours the captain announced that we had passed the halfway point so we would continue on to Ullung-do. The passengers became strangely silent as sea sickness set in, although no one in the RAS group appeared to be ill. Finally the waves became so high that there were actually waves breaking over the top of the boat! All that we could see was water everywhere—to the right of the boat, to the left of the boat, under the boat, and over the top of the boat. It was impossible to stand or walk. Everyone was hoping that first, we would survive; and second, that if we survived we would soon arrive at Ullung-do where we could set foot on solid ground. After three more hours we did in fact arrive at Ullung-do where we learned that our ferry was the last boat to make it to the island and that all ferry service had been cancelled until further notice.

We had an enjoyable two-day tour of the island. When we heard that the weather had changed for the better and that ferry service would be resumed the next morning, we made reservations for the first ferry at 5:00am to be certain that we would be able to return to the mainland. Fortunately the sea was calm and the return trip took place without incident.

There is, however, a sequel to this story. For a number of years the RAS did not go to Ullung-do, either because not enough people signed up for the tour or because the tour was invariably cancelled due to bad weather conditions. Several years ago the tour did go with Sue Bae as the tour leader. It was weekend tour—leaving Pohang on Friday evening and returning to the mainland on Sunday afternoon with a late Sunday evening arrival in Seoul. We had a tour scheduled for the following weekend, and when Sue did not phone us on Wednesday evening with details concerning the tour (as she usually did), we phoned her at the office on Thursday morning. Imagine our surprise when a tired and harried Sue Bae said,
“I’ve just come straight to the office from the tour bus! We just got in from Ullung-do this morning. While on the island a storm came up and we have been stranded there since Sunday night in the driving wind and rain.” We suspect that there will be another lull for the next few years in RAS tours to Ullung-do.

Another memorable boat trip took place on a June 1996 tour to Wan-do and Pogil-do. The weather was clear and the seas calm when our RAS chartered boat left Pogil-do for the return trip to Wan-do. We were taking a scenic route around the southern end of Pogil-do navigating between the shoreline and a large number of laver beds. Suddenly the boat lurched to a sudden stop, the engine raced for a few moments, and then everything became silent. At first there was fear that perhaps we had run aground on some rocks, but we soon learned that we had become entangled with a large underwater rope attached to one of the laver beds. The rope had become hopelessly entangled around the propeller and the boat could not move. The captain and one crew member managed to cut the rope and the boat began to drift aimlessly. After an hour of feverish work under the boat we were informed that we would have to call for help. A passing boat was flagged down, given the message to send help from Wan-do, and we were left to drift among the islands for the next three hours.

We decided that when we returned to Seoul the “official” story of what happened would be something like this: “A group of wealthy and sophisticated travelers (RAS tour members) deliberately allowed their private yacht (our chartered boat from Wan-do) to drift so that they could enjoy the quiet life of the South Sea. The afternoon began with cocktails (one can of warm beer left over from someone’s picnic lunch and a couple of equally warm bottles of water), then moved to a lavish on-board buffet (several left-over picnic lunches plus assorted snacks and a few Cheju-do oranges), and climaxed with animated conversation as we lounged on the decks (almost everyone fell asleep in the inside cabin and took a long nap).” Eventually a rescue boat did arrive and a scuba diver was able to untangle the rope and we made it into Wan-do just in time for our evening dinner.

Perhaps the most memorable transportation story concerns the old road from Hadong to Chonghak-dong (Blue Crane Village) on the
south side of the Chiri-san mountain range. Back in the 1980s and early 1990s the road was not paved and the one-way journey took an average of six hours. Chonghak-dong is a remote mountain village populated by members of a religious group who wear traditional clothing, live in thatched roofed houses, and follow the old ways of communal sharing. The road was a rough, unpaved, one-lane track that snaked along the river valley. The road was deliberately kept in this condition in order to preserve the isolation of Chonghak-dong.

There were three major problems with this road. The first were huge rocks that were the bane of many a driver. On more than one occasion we would see a rock splattered with dark motor oil, and then follow the dripping oil for a few kilometers until we found either a stalled car by the roadside or a huge pool of oil where the car was prior to being towed away. Frequently RAS tour members would have to get off the bus and walk as the bus driver carefully maneuvered around the rocks.

The second problem was the bridges. They were narrow and often located at right angles to the road. Invariably the RAS tour bus was longer than the bridges and this presented a serious obstacle to travel. We remember one bridge in particular where everyone had to get off the bus and then one or two people had to guide the driver as he slowly inched forward then backward then forward. It sometimes took as long as thirty minutes to get across this particular bridge. Of course, on some days there might be a line of busses waiting to cross the bridge and then it could take much longer.

The third problem was the tight curves on the road. If two (or heaven forbid, more than two) busses should meet on one of these curves, one bus would have to back up to a place where the other bus could pass by. One memorable curve was a notable bottleneck where busses could be caught waiting for an hour or more before being able to pass by. On one tour the wait was so long that everyone got off the bus and enjoyed their picnic lunch by the roadside.

The success of the trip in those days greatly depended upon the bus driver. If he was aggressive and assertive we could make pretty good time. If, on the other hand, he was timid and gave way to other drivers when it was unnecessary to do so, we could be stranded on a bridge or a sharp curve for hours. During the years we drove this terrible mountain
road our bus driver was a Mr. Han. He knew how to get his way on the road and absolutely no one took advantage of the RAS tour bus! We were usually the first bus into Chonghak-dong in the morning and the first bus out in the afternoon. The worst possible nightmare was to arrive late and be boxed in by other busses, since in those days there were no controlled parking areas. It was first come, first served. Latecomers risked being trapped in the village for hours until busses parked below them were ready to leave.

Usually the trip to Chonghak-dong would begin with an early morning call in Kurye and a hurried breakfast eaten on the bus as we drove through the morning fog to Hadong. From there on it was rough road all the way. On one occasion our bus almost ran out of fuel and the driver had to find a farmer’s cooperative in order to buy fuel as there were no gas stations of any kind along the entire route. On another tour, after having finally made it up to Chonghak-dong, we were enjoying a picnic lunch. It was during the spring honey season and bees were everywhere. Suddenly I bit into my sandwich and felt a terrible pain inside my mouth. A bee had made its way inside my sandwich and stung me on my tongue. Needless to say Carol took over most of the explaining for the next several hours. During an autumn trip to Chonghak-dong we were again enjoying a picnic lunch when a sudden early snowstorm blew in and sent us scurrying for the warmth of the bus. Back in those days Chonghak-dong was an isolated village where only the hardy few managed to visit. It was worth the twelve-hour round trip to see a way of life that has almost disappeared in Korea.

Today, however, everything has changed. The road is a two-lane paved highway. The curves have been straightened out and new bridges have been built. It takes less than an hour to drive from Hadong to Chonghak-dong. Chonghak-dong too, has changed. No longer isolated, it is a gateway to the Chiri-san National Park and hiking and climbing trails. The people of Chonghak-dong have opened a number of special schools for city children to come and learn traditional culture and religious traditions. New tea houses and shops and yeogwans abound. Many of the people have moved further up the mountain to guard their privacy and their religious centers of worship are now closed to outsiders. Still, if one pokes around on the back paths, it is possible to catch glimpses of their
way of life, and a hot cup of tea in the newly built "traditional" tea house makes for a delightful respite from the pressures of modern life, even as that same modern life threatens to change Chonghak-dong forever.

A Pot-Pourri of RAS Experiences
Among Sue Bae's many responsibilities is that of making arrangements for meals and lodging for all RAS tours. Usually after we arrive at our yeogwan or hotel, Sue immediately begins making arrangements for breakfast. At some hotels this is no problem as a hotel breakfast comes with the room reservations. Generally, however, we have an RAS buffet style breakfast of fresh fruit, rolls and donuts, boiled eggs, orange juice, and tea and coffee. This breakfast is usually laid out in a nearby restaurant (often where we had our dinner the previous night) or in a dining room at the hotel. In some smaller hotels or yeogwans without dining rooms or lobbies, finding a place to have our breakfast can be a real problem and Sue has to seek out creative solutions. During the spring tours we have sometimes had our breakfast on the hotel rooftops. A number of years ago we were having breakfast on the roof of a hotel in Kwangju. Everything was going fine until we noticed a rapidly approaching thunderstorm. Fortunately we were able to finish up just as the raindrops began to fall and the lightning bolts began to strike.

The story does not end here, however. The next year when the tour was being planned, Sue attempted to make a reservation at the same hotel. She was politely told that the RAS was not welcome. Why? Because all of the RAS tour members were tired and spent the entire night sleeping, and the hotel did not make enough extra money from them. The custom for most Korean guests was to remain up virtually all of the night while ordering greatly overpriced snacks and drinks from room service.

On another tour we had a late night arrival in Mokpo and we were uncertain of the exact directions to our hotel. The bus driver hailed a passing police car to ask directions and was told to follow the police car. They would escort us right to the hotel. This is exactly what we did. However, as the road became narrower and the traffic more confused we sensed that the police really did not know where they were going. Finally we found ourselves in the midst of a tiny alleyway crowded with footstalls. Meanwhile the police, probably too embarrassed to admit their mistake,
especially to a busload of foreigners, turned their car down an even smaller alley and disappeared. After backing out of the alley to a larger street, we finally had to stop and telephone the hotel and they sent someone to come and lead us to the hotel. I believe that it was shortly after this experience that the RAS Council authorized a cell phone for Sue to use on future tours.

Sometimes the police were surprisingly helpful. On one of the Cherry Blossom tours to Chinhæ we were passing through Changwon. As usual the traffic was both heavy and chaotic and somehow we made a wrong turn. There was a small one-way street about 100 meters in length that afforded a quick and easy way to get back on the right road without a lengthy detour. Whether our driver mistakenly took this street or deliberately did so really did not matter. What mattered was that he was going the wrong way and there were six (that’s right, six!) motorcycle policemen waiting at the end of the street and they all swooped down on us with red lights flashing and sirens sounding. The task fell on Sue to explain. “First,” she said, “we are the Royal Asiatic Society. Let me repeat that, the Royal Asiatic Society” with a heavy emphasis upon the word royal. “Second,” she said, “we have a number of diplomats, including several ambassadors, on the bus.” “And third,” she said, “these people are all foreigners on a study tour to learn about Korean culture and traditions.” The police were so impressed that they put away their ticket books, and two of the motorcycles gave us a police escort—with red lights flashing and sirens sounding—through Changwon right to the Chinhæ city limits!

Sometimes in those early years the Haein-sa tour would have as many as three busses, especially if it was during the spring when the cherry trees were in blossom. Following our stay at Haein-sa we would take a scenic country road to Kimchon where we would pick up the expressway. There was one place where the road divided. Both roads went to Kimchon but the route to the left was the shortest. However, the road was paved for only about five kilometers and then it became impassable for tour busses. Therefore we had to take the route to the right which was paved although a longer route. We had three busses on this tour. The driver of the first bus was the oldest of the three bus drivers but he had never been on this road before. Also on that bus was an assistant from the
RAS office who was not familiar with the road. Carol and I were on the second bus and Sue was on the third bus. The driver of the first bus assured everyone that he knew the road and that everyone should follow him even though his bus was the third in line when we left Chinhae. So he pulled ahead of the other two busses and took the lead. We came to the division in the road and the first bus turned left. Carol and I told the driver of our bus to turn right but he replied, “I know you are correct and that we should turn right, but he is the older driver. I cannot question his decision. Therefore, we must follow him.” The driver in the third bus said the same thing to Sue. And so all three buses drove five kilometers before turning around and going back to take route to the right. On that day we learned something about Korean culture and age differentiation. We also remember what it was like back in the days before the bus drivers—and Sue Bae—carried cell phones.

An interesting experience took place some years ago on a tour to Hong-do and Huksan-do out in the West Sea. We had left the village of Ye-ri for a mini-bus tour of the island and we had driven up the winding road to the top of the ridge which afforded a view of the nearby islands. Several tour members decided to hike up to the top of the mountain where there were the remains of a small fortress as well as an ancient site of a beacon light. As we looked across the water to Little Huksan-do about ten kilometers away, we noticed that the island seemed to be shrouded in rain clouds even though it was generally clear in the area. Suddenly we became aware that this was actually a violent—though highly localized—storm, and it was headed directly our way. We motioned for those on the mountain to immediately return to the bus. About ten minutes later we found ourselves in the midst of torrential rain, driving winds, and heavy thunder and lightning. The mini-bus literally shook from side to side and visibility was reduced to zero. For a few minutes we were actually concerned about our safety. And then, as suddenly as it had come, the storm was gone. The clouds parted, the sun came out, and we were treated to a beautiful evening sunset as the islands were bathed in a gentle golden glow.

Certainly one of the most unusual meals that we ever had in our RAS travels took place during the Chiri-san tour of October 1995. One of the outstanding historians of Korea was Dr. Wanne J. Joe, a professor at
Seoul’s Chung’ang University and author of the widely acclaimed *Traditional Korea: A Cultural History*.
This book was on sale in the RAS office and was frequently recommended to newcomers in Korea. Dr. Joe passed away in May of 1994 and following his death, his wife—Kim Hye-Kwang—moved to his ancestral village near Hadong in the Chiri-san foothills. She contacted Sue Bae and invited the autumn 1995 tour to her home for lunch, both as an expression of her hospitality and as a way of remembering her husband and his life of scholarship. There was, however, some confusion concerning the directions and what was to have been a mere thirty minute drive ended up being almost an hour-and-half.

In time we arrived at her village home and she was there with some neighbors and friends to greet us. Mrs. Joe was a Seventh Day Adventist and her home was also used a church by the local congregation. However this was a Sunday afternoon and she went all out to prepare lunch for us. Outside, in front of the small courtyard was a flatbed truck set up as a buffet with virtually every kind of Korean vegetarian dish imaginable. It was a feast! Several of her neighbors and friends were there to serve, pour soft drinks, and cater to our every need. Following lunch some of us went into the house and paid our respects before the memorial photo of Dr. Joe. On the bus ride back to Seoul, Sue Bae explained that Mrs. Joe was seeking to raise the funds to publish the 1,000 page manuscript of a second volume on Korea’s cultural history that was completed not long before Dr. Joe’s death. She was devoting much of her effort to this project as a final tribute to her husband’s life and work. Fortunately the funding was found and the book was published in 2000.

Sue Bae has led many overseas tours as well as accompanied other RAS tour leaders on such tours. To date we have taken only one overseas tour with Sue—the July 2004 tour to Mongolia. The tour began with several days in the Mongolian capital of Ulaan Baatar visiting religious and cultural sites and attending the famed Naadam Festival. Since the crowds were quite large, Sue had a bright pink umbrella which she held up to keep the group together and to mark meeting points. On our second day at the festival we drove about two hours into the countryside to watch the horse racing. About midway there was an *ovoo* or site for praying to the spirits where the bus could pull off by the roadside. Here was a logical place to take a toilet break. There was, however, one major
problem. There were no trees, bushes, large rocks, or anything else that could in any way give even the slightest bit of privacy to the ladies. This was, after all, the Mongolian steppes. As always, Carol and Sue came up with a solution. After some serious discussion about the matter Sue Bae took out her bright pink umbrella, opened it, and lo, the much-needed privacy appeared. Of course everyone driving along the road would immediately see the bright pink umbrella against the background of the green grass and probably guess what it was being used for. It was while wandering around the grassy hillside here that Carol found a cow’s horn which everyone said was a sign of good luck.

Following two days in Ulaan Baatar the tour divided into two groups. Group A went with Sue by air to the Gobi Desert and the world famous dinosaur fossil excavation sites first discovered by Ray Chapman Andrews who was the inspiration for the Indiana Jones films. Group B went with Daniel and Carol by mini-bus to the site of Karakorum, Mongolia’s ancient capital city where the Erdene Zuu Monastery can still be seen. They also visited the Ovgon Monastery at the sacred mountain of Khogno Khaan. The two groups then joined in Ulaan Baatar and spent two days in a remote ger camp at Dugana Khad.

Accompanying Sue on this tour was her husband, Dr. Kim Kyum-Kil, a retired dentist. A delightful man, Dr. Kim made friends easily and was always exploring off the beaten track. While at Dugana Khad he made the acquaintance of a local nomad family and joined them for several hours. As an expression of their friendship they presented Dr. Kim with a goat’s head complete with a magnificent set of horns. Sue was less than enthusiastic about this gift, and with the customs agents at Incheon Airport in mind, it had to be left behind. Dr. Kim was given another gift by Zorig our guide which he was able to bring home—a set of wolf knuckle bones which served as a traditional good luck charm. He was the only member of our tour to be presented with such auspicious gifts.

This pot-pourri of RAS experiences would not be complete without at least a passing reference to the annual RAS garden parties. For the three of us—Sue and Daniel and Carol—there are two garden parties that stand out among all the others. The first was the garden party of June 1996 held at the residence of the U. S. ambassador. The attraction for this party was a fashion show of traditional and modern Korean dress shown
by professional models. Sue had asked RAS members of different ethnic
groups to wear a special dress to show. Carol was the only one to do so or
at least the only one brave enough to actually step up on the catwalk.
Carol modeled a traditional two piece embroidered silk Chinese dress. As
RAS members’ cameras clicked Carol briefly joined the world of haute
couture which was quite a change from the usual tour attire of blue jeans
and casual wear.

The garden party of June 2001, held at the British ambassador’s
residence, was truly a once-in-a-lifetime RAS event. It was at this garden
party that Her Majesty’s Ambassador Charles Humfrey bestowed upon
Sue Bae an “Honorary Member of the British Empire” for her thirty-four
years of service to the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Sue was
cited for introducing British citizens as well as citizens of other countries
to the culture, history, religions, and traditions of Korea. This was
accompanied by a royal grant signed by both Queen Elizabeth II and
Prince Philip. Sue Bae, office manager of the RAS, now became Sue
Bae, MBE. The MBE is one of the highest civilian honors bestowed by
the British government, and one that is rarely given to a non-British
subject. This was an honor not only for Sue, but for the entire membership
of the Korea Branch of the RAS, and it is evidence of the high regard in
which the RAS and its work in Korea is held.

There are, of course, many more stories that can be told and
experiences that can be shared from twenty-seven years of travel and
involvement with the RAS. It can truly be said that there is never a dull
moment and that one never knows what will happen next.

**Temple Highlights**

There are very few RAS tours to the rural countryside that do not involve
a visit to at least one Buddhist temple, for it is here that much of the
artistic, architectural, and religious heritage of Korea is to be found.
Indeed, Buddhist temples occupy a position in Korean history and culture
that is quite similar to that of the great Christian cathedrals and churches
of Europe. No matter what one’s religious belief or perhaps non-belief,
there is something for everyone at a Buddhist temple. From the thriving
roadside markets at the entrance to the temple precincts to the rugged
mountain scenery, from the ancient stone pagodas to the newly
constructed temple museums with priceless art treasures, from the inviting teahouses to the magnificent architecture of the main buildings, and from the stillness of a meditation hall to the sound of the wind chimes on the eves of the roofs—it is possible to catch something of the essence of traditional Korea, for here are the repositories of classical Korean culture and tradition.

One of the most famous temples in all of Korea, and a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is Haein-sa located on the slopes of Kaya Mountain. The main attraction here is the Tripitaka Koreana. The RAS always plans to hike to the main temple compound in the early morning before most of the tour busses arrive and we tour the area when it is still peaceful and quiet. As we leave the area we meet numerous groups of about forty-five people, each representing a newly arrived bus. It is then that we head for some of the hermitages located in the hills surrounding the main temple compound. Since these are off the beaten track they are relatively quiet and enable us to experience the solitude that originally led to the founding of Haein-sa in this location.12

Sue Bae always takes a group to the most remote hermitage, Paengnyon-am, or White Lotus Hermitage. It was here that the Ven. Song-chol (1912-1993) lived during most of his life. He was a renowned monk, scholar, mystic, and in the latter years of his life Patriarch of the Chogye Buddhist Order.13 His stupa, built in a stunning modern design, can be found just outside the main gate of the temple. The hermitage, however, is located deep in a high mountain valley where the Ven. Song-chol lived a simple life. He guarded his privacy from casual visitors, and spent many hours each day deep in meditation. Today the hermitage is meticulously maintained and surrounded by a beautiful garden.

We (Daniel and Carol) take a group to the hermitage with the most spectacular view, Chijok-am, or the Hermitage of Tusita Heaven. From here one can look across the narrow valley to another hermitage, and from the ridge just above Chijok-am one has a view of the entire Haein-sa main compound. Just on the ridge line is a large rock which we ignored for several years. Finally on one tour a young Canadian boy scrambled to the top of the rock and proudly announced, “I have discovered the footprints of Buddha!” And sure enough, carved on the very top of the rock are the two footprints of the Buddha. Needless to say,
climbing the rock is now a must on every tour. On several occasions a monk has offered us tea at Chijok-am served under a pavilion in the hermitage garden.

The hermitages of Haein-sa are among its treasures that are overlooked by perhaps 95% of the visitors to the area. Fortunately the RAS is among the 5% who leave the crowds behind in order to experience the solitude and beauty of the natural world as well as the spiritual heritage of Korean Buddhism.

Another temple that is an RAS destination is Hwaom-sa in a valley on Chiri-san. The main attraction here, aside from the splendid temple buildings and several nearby hermitages, is the evening service held at dusk just as the sun sets over the nearby ridge. The service begins with several monks playing the drum, the fish, and the heavenly gong in the musical pavilion. This is followed by another monk sounding the bell located in another pavilion. Then the monks file into the main hall for about fifteen minutes of chanting. By this time darkness has fallen and everything is quiet except for the chanting of the monks. Usually RAS tour members are so enchanted by the service and its setting that it takes all three of us—Sue and Daniel and Carol—to get the group together for the return walk to the bus. Flashlights are a must as one descends through the three gates to the parking area and the waiting bus.

About forty-minutes from Hwaom-sa in another Chiri-san valley is Ssanggye-sa. The main attractions of this tour are two. The first is the pavilion which houses the “skull relic” of the Sixth Patriarch of Chan/Zen/Seon Buddhist, Hui Neng. It is located in an area that is often closed to visitors because of the meditation halls and the absolute demand for quiet. The pavilion is at the top of a stone staircase with three distinct levels of pavilions on either side. There is no image inside as the stupa which contains the relic is the main object of veneration. On several occasions members of RAS tours have crawled behind the stupa and put their hands inside a small opening where it is said that one can feel the hair attached to the remains of Hui Neng’s skull. After placing his hand inside at least one RAS member was seen exiting the pavilion fervently crossing himself!

The second main attraction of Ssanggye-sa is actually not part of the temple compound at all—it is the market set up adjacent to the main
parking area. *Ajumas* from the nearby villages sell all kinds of mountain herbs, medicinal roots, exotic vegetables, and fresh fruits. I always return to the bus before the departure time deadline, for after all, I have to set an example for others and I have my honor to protect. But Carol and Sue? They, and virtually all of the Asian women on the tour, are stocking up on just about everything because, as they say, “It is fresh.” As they return to the bus with plastic bags bulging with all kinds of goodies, the other women, as well as some of the men, on the tour ask, “What did you buy?” And of course, the reply is, “Come, and we will show you.” It can truly be said that no RAS tour bus has ever departed from Ssanggye-sa on time. Indeed this is the one place where even the tour bus driver usually does some shopping.

A final temple highlight is found in the vicinity of Unju-sa, located between Kwangju and Naju. The temple itself is relatively new having been a reconstruction on an ancient temple site. What is unique about this area is that the narrow valley is filled with hundreds of pagodas, stone images, and pieces of unfinished pagodas. Indeed the area is generally known as Pagoda Valley. At one time the number of pagodas and images numbered more than three thousand but now that number has been reduced to only a few hundred. Located far off the regular tourist trail, Pagoda Valley remains something of an exotic destination. Unlike Haein-sa, Hwaom-sa, and Ssanggye-sa, Pagoda Valley and Unju-sa is not a place for quiet meditation and solitude. Rather it is a place to consider the devotion of those who carved all of these pagodas and images. It does involve considerable walking as well as some scrambling up poorly maintained trails, but it is well worth the effort. It is also a place where the younger RAS tour members have the advantage over those of us who are, shall we say, showing signs of advancing maturity. Usually Sue, Daniel, and Carol have to shout to those up ahead on the trail when to stop or turn right or turn left. And when we descend, the younger members of the group are there to welcome us and lend a helping hand as we leap over the small stream at the base of the hill. But it is usually only Carol and Sue who have remembered to bring along their water bottles; everyone else must walk to the waiting bus to quench their thirst.

We know a scholar of Korean culture and religion (and an overseas RAS member) who, when he lived in Korea, attempted to visit
every single Buddhist temple in the country. After visiting fewer than one hundred temples he gave up, for he realized that there are hundreds if not a thousand or more temples scattered throughout mountains, hills, valleys, and islands of Korea. The RAS makes no pretense about visiting them all, but we do visit some of those which are truly highlights of Korean history, architecture, culture, and religious devotion.

Memories of Vanishing Sights

During our twenty-seven years of traveling the length and breadth of Korea with the RAS we have been to places where change has been so great that almost nothing of the original site remains. When the site is no longer there much of the vibrant activity of the people is also gone. Hence we speak not of vanishing sites, but rather of vanishing sights.

The first of these vanishing sights is the four-hundred year old bamboo market located along the river in Tamyang. There was a time, in living RAS memory, when the bamboo market was crowded with people selling virtually every kind of bamboo ware imaginable. There were piles of long bamboo poles in varying sizes as well as workmen cutting the bamboo, curing the bamboo, and weaving long bamboo strips into baskets and other household implements. Elderly gentlemen and elegant grandmothers dressed in traditional clothing spread out their blankets and mats and sold their wares along the roadside. It was a riot of color, activity, and commerce, and if one looked carefully, intricate design. There were always scores of professional photographers looking for that perfect photo opportunity, and more than one RAS tour member became the subject of a photograph.

The streets adjacent to the bamboo market were filled with shops which sold large bamboo mats, bamboo kitchen ware, exotic kites, and various specialty items made from bamboo. Among these was the woven jukbouim or “bamboo wife” around which the aristocratic country gentlemen would lie on hot summer afternoons as the cool breezes flowed freely through the bamboo frame. In the center of town on the main street was the bamboo museum with displays of bamboo ware from around the world. To come to Tamyang on a market day was an exciting event.

But now? All of this is gone. The bamboo market along the river no longer exists. Most of the shops have closed their doors and only about
two or three remain. The bamboo museum has moved to the outskirts of
the city into beautiful new facilities surrounded by extensive landscaped
grounds with plenty of parking. Most of the shops have relocated here as
well and two organized shopping areas line the walkway from the parking
area to the museum. But what remains of the old Tamyang bamboo
market? Only several photos in the museum and a bronze statue of a
family of bamboo makers in front of the museum remain. The bamboo
market is now, quite literally, a museum piece.

What happened, of course, is that it became cheaper to import
bamboo ware from other countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam, and
China. Even the remaining shops sell mostly imported bamboo products.
The Tamyang bamboo market is a casualty of the new economic order.
Today it exists only as a memory.

When the RAS first started traveling to the outlying islands of
Hong-do and Huksan-do one of the sights that startled everyone was a
train on a short piece of track located directly in front of the little village
of Ye-ri. It was undoubtedly one of Huksan-do’s star attractions. Here was
a steam engine, a coal tender, and one passenger coach on a remote island
that has never had, does not now have, and probably never will have a
railroad. How did this train get to this remote location? Who brought it
here and why?

The answers to these questions go back to the 1970s when Korea
was an underdeveloped country. Then President Park Chung-Hee paid a
visit to Huksan-do where there is a Korean naval base. At that time most
of the residents of the island had never been to the Korean mainland. This
was also before the advent of television and reliable electrical power in
the outlying islands, so most of what they knew about the Korean
mainland was by hearsay. President Park was surprised to hear that the
children on the island had never seen a train and that most of them
dreamed of someday riding on a train. In response he had a naval
detachment bring a train out to Huksan-do by barge and it was set up in a
small park area opposite the main harbor. The children of Huksan-do and
the surrounding islands were overjoyed and they came to play on this train
and to imagine what it would be like to actually ride on a train someday.

As the years passed by Korea became more developed. Electricity and television came to the islands as did regular passenger
ferry service. Children went to the mainland for high school and university studies and it was not long until almost everyone had the experience of riding on a real train. In time the train became a mere curiosity for the islanders and a tourist attraction for visitors. However some thirty years of exposure to the salt of the sea water during storms and the constant winds from the sea took their toll and it was soon obvious that the train was literally rusting away. By the early 2000s the train had become something of an embarrassment, and one year when the RAS arrived on the island the first thing we noticed was that the train was gone. This footnote to history was a casualty of the saltiness of the sea. Today it exists only as a whimsical memory.

When we first arrived in Jeonju in the early 1980s, one of our language teachers took us on a Saturday hike up to the Wipong Fortress and the Wipong Temple. We drove to the end of the paved road and then drove several kilometers further on a rough unpaved road to a small village where the local bus made its final stop before turning around. From here one hiked for an hour or more up a steep trail to the fortress, a small mountain village, and a rustic temple hidden among the pine trees. We made the trip again one winter with two Buddhist nuns and we struggled together over icy patches and through the snow on the trail. It was a delightful hike through the countryside offering spectacular mountain scenery as well as glimpses of traditional rural life as lived in a village untouched by modern transportation. Of course we soon added this to the RAS tour schedule. Even after a rough unpaved road was put in (that was impossible for the RAS tour bus to navigate) the RAS continued to visit this area, hiking up the road rather than the steep mountain trail. In the autumn the persimmons were drying in neat rows, the leaves were turning brilliant colors, the rice fields surrounding the village on the mountain top were a golden yellow, and it was exhilarating to hike atop the fortress walls and watch the farmers bringing in the harvest. We always looked forward to this opportunity to experience something of the traditional rural life of Korea.

Today, however, this area is almost unrecognizable. A two-lane paved highway now goes up the mountaintop, through the village, and down to a large reservoir on the other side of the mountain which is being developed as a resort area. The entire region has been developed with
numerous restaurants, minbaks (rented rooms), and even a fashionable art
gallery. The rustic temple has been modernized and enlarged by a group of
Buddhist nuns. The village now boasts several hillside villas owned by
city residents who come out for the weekends. Even the fortress walls
have been restored so that they look almost new. Of course all of this is
much better for the residents of the area. They are no longer isolated and
cut off from the outside world and they now have easy access to
transportation routes enabling to get their farm produce to the market.
Busses make regular stops in the village and weekend visitors to the area
restaurants have been a boost to the economy. It should be no surprise that
the RAS no longer comes here, for this little bit of traditional rural Korea
is beginning to look more and more like modern urban Korea. The
Wipong Fortress and Wipong Temple area as we knew it ten years ago is
no more, for it has become developed. The hikes up the trail and the
winding unpaved road are but memories.

It was the Greek philosopher Heraclitus who said that “You
cannot step twice in the same river, for fresh waters are ever flowing in
upon you.”15 Change will always be with us. Economic changes mean
traditional markets close. Changes in the weather mean that even trains
will eventually rust away. Rural areas change into suburban and urban
areas. The process of change cannot be stopped. In the past twenty-seven
years of travel with the RAS we have experienced many changes in Korea.
Many of the remarkable people we have met are no longer with us.
Memorable roads have been paved and widened. Certain experiences can
never be repeated for the geographical and social contexts have changed.
Even Buddhist temples have changed with the removal of valuable art
works to newly built museums, the installation of security systems, and
the ever present CCTV. In the 1980s one of the main attractions of
Wipong-sa near Jeonju was a series of panels depicting ten-thousand
Buddhas. After a theft of several of the panels the remaining panels were
moved to a secure location and now can be seen only by special
appointment. And some of the sights are but memories. We have
witnessed this change because twenty-seven years ago Daniel and Carol
Chou Adams walked into the RAS office and met Sue Bae, and together
we have been traveling throughout Korea ever since.

The past twenty-seven years have been good years, but they are
only a slice of the rich history of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Much of this history has yet to be told. And yes, there are still tours to lead in the coming months and years, more remarkable people to meet, and memorable experiences to enjoy in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Notes

2 In August, 2005, while attending a seminar at Oxford University, we visited Dr. Hyun-Key Kim Hogarth in Canterbury where we paid our respects at Robert Hogarth’s grave.
3 It should be noted that Korean presidents still take their summer vacations at secluded villas located within the Chinhae Naval Base grounds. On one RAS tour our movements on the base were restricted as the president was officially on vacation at his nearby summer villa.
7 The Emillle Museum also published several books of folk art. See, for example The Life of Buddha in Korean Paintings (Seoul: The Emillle Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1975). Unfortunately following Zo Za Yong’s death the museum collection was sold to different buyers and the opportunity to maintain the collection intact was forever lost.
8 For a description of Chonghak-dong as it was prior to the construction of the new road see Maggie Dodds, “Off the Beaten Path: The Way,” Arirang (Fall 1984), 4-9.


The Temple on a Hill in Seoul

F. J. SELIGSON

These poems were composed over a period of years living at the foot of An-san (Saddle Mountain) and 10 minutes down the road from Bong Won Sa Temple, which serves as an entry to the numerous walking paths there.

The morning and evening temple bells can be heard from my residence. Often, I climb up to the temple to look around at the carp in the pond, at the ancient trees, the old and numerous temple buildings, and listen to the wind chimes, the frequent ceremonies, often funeral songs, and the witness the many temple pageants with their celebrated monk artists: including national human treasures among the dancers, singers, musicians, painters, even photographers.

In late summer the temple court yard is filled with portable lotus ponds, and flowers are blooming in different sizes, colors and fragrances all over. At night, the frogs take over for the monks and do the chanting. Many a quiet and solitary night have I stood there and listened to the frog choruses.

Many an afternoon have I sat before the Medicine Buddha or the Mountain God, or the Giant Golden Buddha, or stood outside before the white statute of the Bodhisattva of Mercy and put forth a request for a loved one or for an inspiration.

Every spring I watch the azaleas and magnolias blossom again. Every Buddha’s Birthday we come here to wash the Baby Buddha and enjoy the colorful lit lanterns under the night sky.

For so many more occasions do I journey up this hill, and ever do
I have in my pocket a small notebook and a half pencil for recording the important events of a day. Here are some highlights.

"Caught" fishing through the hills
just behind our house in S(e)oul

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I have in my pocket a small notebook and a half pencil for recording the important events of a day. Here are some highlights.

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our

flowers
As other fliers can clearly see, our fragrances rise not from pink petals.
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wombs.
From our green uteruses come six pink seeds of life ...

All bear a jewel of

The Lotus.”
Gray

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down
As
you
nod,
each
bows
(o'
so
graciously)
to
the
Buddha
in
me
Fish chimes
  tinkle
  in
  a
  circle,
  from
  one
  roof
  to
  another,
  with
  you
  in
  the
  center
Thru
five
color
lattices,
you
spy
the
gold,
mustachioed

Buddha
Under the jade roof,
curly Buddha sits on his lotus chair.
So

alone

in

a

cave,

his

3rd

Eye

gives

off

light
Circling
the
chamber,
old
Hunch
Back
puffs
out
flickering
candle
lights
Nose

Hair

says,

"Kind

children,

left

alone

this

night,

you

must

follow

your

own

delights."
Surrounded

by

Buddhas,

a

big

baby's

quietly

snoring
Forty-nine
days,
your
white,
stringy
beard-
sons
&
daughters
(robets
&
dresses)
grand
kiddies,
too
Old

priests

 tooting

 kazoos

clanging

cymbals

pounding

drums,

chanting
Young nuns dancing through the court yard & white butterflies over a stream, chasing
One

Korea's In hospitable Shores: Shipwrecked on an Island

ROBERT NEFF

hundred years

Of a single day

mourning

The word "Chosen" has often been translated as the Land of the Morning Calm, but in the eyes of many Westerners, especially in the 1800s, Chosen Korea was viewed as an almost mystical land that was violently disposed to anyone who the misfortune to be cast upon its shores. Hendrick Hamel's famous account of the treatment he and his companions received at the hands of the Koreans has been cited as proof of Korea's ill treatment of shipwrecked survivors. The account is clearly biased in that it emphasizes the negative aspects of Korean behavior and de-emphasizes the hospitality accorded to the Dutch, which was superior to that they would have received in northern Japan. The later accounts of Western contact with Korea that are often used to validate Korea's hostility towards foreigners are few, but the many accounts of kindness shown to the shipwrecked survivors are often ignored or merely mentioned as a footnote.

Most of these early encounters took place in the waters around Cheju Island. Cheju Island, also known in the past as Quelpart Island, is located about sixty miles off the southwest coast of the Korean mainland where the shallower and warmer East China Sea meets the deeper Korea Strait and the Kuril-Ryvo (Black Sea) of Japan. As a result, this area is notorious for typhoons, especially in late summer, and in the past often claimed Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese ships caught out at sea. Many of these ships simply disappeared beneath the sea's punishing waves, but
Korea's In hospitable Shores:
Shipwrecks of Cheju Island

ROBERT NEFF

"....Alone, alone, all, all alone,
Alone on a wide wide sea!
And never a saint took pity on
My soul in agony...."!

The word Choson has often been translated as the Land of the Morning Calm, but in the eyes of many Westerners, especially in the 1800s, Choson Korea was viewed as an almost mystical land that was violently disposed to anyone with the misfortune to be cast upon its shores. Hendrick Hamel's famous account of the treatment he and his companions received at the hands of the Koreans has often been cited as proof of Korea's ill treatment of shipwrecked survivors. The account is clearly biased in that it emphasizes the negative aspects of Korean behavior and de-emphasizes the hospitality afforded to the Dutch, which was superior to that they would have received in northern Japan. The later accounts of Western contacts with Korea that are often used to validate Korea's hostility towards foreigners are few, but the many accounts of kindness shown to the shipwrecked survivors are often ignored or merely mentioned as a footnote.

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others managed to make their way to the rocky coasts of Cheju Island where they and their crews were smashed upon the jagged rocks.

After Japan opened to the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and later the Dutch, it was only a matter of time before Western ships started wrecking off the coast of Cheju. Most of these shipwrecks occurred in the same area – the southwestern coast, pushed by the currents and the winds of the typhoons that often plagued the China Sea. These extraordinarily powerful storms claimed many ships in the past and still occasionally claim large modern ships.³

While the wreck of the Sperwer and the subsequent journal of Hendrik Hamel are well-known to most people with an interest in Korea, the other wrecks covered in this article are virtually unknown to all but a small number of scholars. It is these accounts that show the true attitude of the Cheju Islanders, as well as the rest of Korea’s, towards the Western shipwreck survivors and not the often repeated and unsubstantiated claims that Koreans were hostile to all Westerners unlucky enough to be thrown up on their shores.

The First Shipwreck

Perhaps the first Westerner to set foot on Korean soil was a Portuguese or Spaniard who was shipwrecked off Cheju Island’s coast in 1582. According to the Annals of Ching T’ak, he called himself Ma-ri and was dressed in black clothing. He was taken to China by the annual embassy, but what became of him is unknown. It has been speculated that he was a Catholic priest, but Father Manuel Teixeira has suggested that Ma-ri was a Portuguese sailor, possibly from the Sao Sebastiao, a junk that was bound for Japan in 1577 when it was caught in a storm and forced into Korean waters where it was attacked by the Koreans who slew most, if not all, of the crew. Perhaps he was a survivor of the attack, but if so, where was he for the five years following the attack?⁴

It seems highly unlikely, but another Portuguese ship in 1578, bound from Macao to Nagasaki, was caught in a typhoon and wrecked off the coast of Korea, probably along Cheju’s coast.⁵ Is it possible that this ship was the Sao Sebastiao?
Hendrik Hamel and the Sperwer

Perhaps the most infamous shipwreck in Korea is the Sperwer that wrecked off the west coast of Cheju on August 15, 1653. It is not my intention to write much about this incident because it is so well documented in one of the survivors’ [Hendrik Hamel] journals and by several modern researchers in their excellent books and on their websites, but I will give a brief account.\(^6\)

The Sperwer [Sparrowhawk], under the command of Captain Reijnier Egberstz, had a crew of about 35 men and was bound for Nagasaki, Japan, from Formosa (Taiwan). In addition to the cargo, there were around 30 passengers, probably employees of the Dutch East Indies Company, who took passage aboard the ship. The ship encountered a powerful typhoon and was forced towards Cheju Island. In the middle of the night the island was sighted, and like many of the victims over the next few hundred years, they immediately lowered their anchors, only to discover that the anchors could not gain a stable purchase. The ship was slammed onto the jagged rocks and by morning only thirty-six of the sixty-four people aboard had survived the shipwreck.

The survivors found themselves tossed onto the desolate shores, the wreckage of their ship still being battered by the winds and sea. When the winds at last died down they were able to make a crude tent from one of the sails, but were unable to build a fire to warm themselves. They thought they were alone on the island, but this proved to be an erroneous assumption.

After they were discovered the following day by a small group of Koreans they were able to finally make a fire, but they also gained the attention of the local officials and a band of 100 armed Koreans was sent to watch over them. The following morning an army of 1,000 – 2,000 Korean soldiers arrived and eventually escorted them to the island’s capital.

The survivors were well acquainted with the natives of Formosia who were infamous for their head-hunting and cannibalism; thus, they feared a similar fate from the Koreans who were also reported to be extremely hostile to foreign intruders. However, for the most part the shipwreck survivors were treated well, and in some ways treated like Koreans. They desired to return home, but were prevented from doing so
by the Korean government. They were surprised to discover that they were not alone – there was another Dutchman, Jan Jansz Weltevree, who was captured along with two other companions [at this point already dead] by the Koreans when they had gone ashore seeking water.\textsuperscript{7} He, too, had tried to convince the Korean government to release him so that he might return home, but had been told by the Korean king: “If you were a bird you might fly there. We do not send strangers away from our country. We will take care of you, giving you board and clothing and thus you will have to finish your life in this country.”\textsuperscript{8}

The survivors were not willing to spend the rest of their lives in Korea and some began planning their escape, but their attempts failed and they were severely punished. The survivors were warned by Weltevree that the Japanese would kill them if they made their way to Japan because of Japan’s anti-Christian sentiment. Nonetheless, the men were determined to escape. It wasn’t until the first week of September 1666 that eight of the surviving sixteen managed to escape to Japan, and to notify the Japanese authorities that there were still other surviving members being held in Korea. The following year, the remaining eight survivors, through the aid of the Japanese, were allowed to return to Japan, but one chose to remain in Korea – his fate after 1667 is unknown.

It was the survivors of the \textit{Spewer} and their accounts that gave the world its first in-depth information on this unknown part of the world, and also the start of the Koreans’ reputation for being inhospitable to foreigners who they either killed or held against their will.

The fascination with Korea is evidenced by the large number of copies of Hamel’s and subsequent books written about the incident. Yet, many of the subsequent incidents of shipwrecks on Korea’s coasts were unreported except for a single column or article in the local newspapers.\textsuperscript{9} It is some of these accounts that we will examine next.

\textbf{Victims of a Mutiny}

On a windy late-summer day in 1801, a large ship, Western in appearance, suddenly appeared off the west coast of Cheju Island. As the Koreans watched from their hiding places they were surprised to see five men, two of them black, row ashore in a smaller boat carrying casks or buckets and begin to search for water. The winds were severe and the
large ship began to sail away, firing its cannons as it departed.

After the ship left the Koreans confronted the five men. The men were dressed in bright colored clothing, blues, yellows, reds, and white; some had earrings; all had rosaries, and four of them had shaven heads. The Koreans were able to communicate with them through sign language and learned the men's names and ages: Venancio (22), Ferdinando (25), Andre (24), Fernando (32), and Mariano (32). The last two were probably black slaves from Macao.  

After a short time the five men were taken to the mainland and then transported to China with the tribute embassy in October 1801. One of the men soon fell sick and died while en route to China. In China, the Chinese government refused to accept them, claiming that it did not know their home country and thus could not repatriate them. The Koreans were forced to bring the remaining Westerners back to Cheju Island. For the next five years there are some accounts of the men sprinkled through the Korean records. In 1805, one of the men died from an illness, leaving but three.  

Throughout the Choson Era, Cheju Island was the scene of frequent shipwrecks. Some of these shipwrecks will be covered in other parts of this book, but in 1806 another ship wrecked on the island, this time a Spanish or Portuguese ship sailing from the Philippines. The Korean Governor tried to get this ship's crew to take the three Portuguese with them when they left, but they refused. There was another attempt to have the Portuguese sent to China, but whether they ever departed or what their final fates were is lost in the past.  

Their subsequent fates as well as the history of these men is a matter of speculation, but they were possibly from the Portuguese brig *Sto Antonio*. Thirty passengers, some of them slaves, and ten crew members, departed Timor bound for Macao. At some point in the journey, the crew mutinied and murdered their captain and officers. How many passengers and crew were killed in the mutiny is unknown, but at least fifteen were alive when the ship stopped at Cheju Island. The survivors had no knowledge of navigation and were forced to drift at the mercy of the elements; their arrival at Cheju Island was fortunate and the men probably went ashore to get water, but because of the wind the ship was unable to remain and was blown away. The ship then drifted to the Japanese Goto
Islands and the ten remaining survivors were rescued after they convinced the Japanese officials that they were not Christians. Of these survivors, several were sent back to Macao to stand trial for their roles in the mutiny.\textsuperscript{13}

**Giuseppe Santori and the Wreck of the Bianca Pertica\textsuperscript{14}**

Genoa, during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, was one of the leading merchant centers in Europe. It was a vibrant city known for its trade and its sailors and their exploits throughout history, perhaps the most famous of whom was Christopher Columbus. This incident is about one of Genoa’s citizens and the small and unintentional role that he played in early Korean-Italian relations.

Giuseppe Santori\textsuperscript{15} was not a famous man; in fact, we know almost nothing about him. We know that he was an Italian from Genoa, in his late teens or early twenties, who, like many young Italian men, chose the sea as his source of livelihood and adventure.\textsuperscript{16} He was a sailor aboard the large Italian two-masted barque, *Bianca Pertica*,\textsuperscript{17} which was commanded by Captain Tancredis, who, again, almost nothing is known of. Considering the size of the ship, 666 tons, the thirteen man Italian crew Captain Tancredis hired seems too small to sail a ship of this size very far into the open sea, but that is just what they did – they traveled to the distant and exotic Far East.

Exhaustive searches have failed to reveal where and when the *Bianca Pertica* departed Europe, or conclusively what its cargo might have been, but circumstantial evidence suggests that it might have carried ‘Cardiff coal’\textsuperscript{18} from Wales. A similar Italian barque, *Emilio V*, commanded by Captain Merella, arrived in Nagasaki on June 28, 1878, from Cardiff, England, with a load of coal and, in the months that followed, transported lower quality coal between Nagasaki and Hong Kong on at least two occasions. Considering that there were very few Italian ships operating in the Japanese waters, it seems more than a mere coincidence that these two ships would arrive at Nagasaki when they did. Perhaps these ships were chartered by the same company.

According to the ‘Arrival and Departure’ page of Nagasaki’s English newspaper, on September 8, 1878, the *Bianca Pertica* arrived in Nagasaki from Hong Kong. I assume that this was her first trip to
Nagasaki because there are no other records of her visiting the port. Besides, the lack of Asians amongst her crew and the crew’s inability to communicate in Chinese seems to indicate that the ship was new to the Far East.

Nagasaki was the first Japanese port opened to the West and on several occasions served as a forward port for Western navies operating in the Far East. Nagasaki was a rough port with a large transient population of sailors and merchants who supported an infamous thriving entertainment industry composed of drinking establishments and brothels, and thus is it not surprising that the local newspaper noted “naval officers regard Nagasaki as their favorite resort on the Eastern Station.” The Italian community in Nagasaki was very small, probably only six or seven people, but there were at least two hotels operated by Italians, the Hotel de Garibaldi, and its chief competitor, the Belle Vue Hotel, owned by C.N. Mancini and his wife. It is unknown if any of the Bianca Pertica’s crew stayed in either of these hotels, but as we’ll later see, the owner of the Belle Vue Hotel played a role in the ship’s story.

Because Italy had relatively few commercial interests in Japan, and very few Italian ships visited Nagasaki, there was no Italian consulate in the city; all consular activities were handled by Mr. A.E. Olarovski, the Russian Consul, who also held the position of Italian Acting Consul. I was unable to find any records that indicate Captain Tancredis, or for that matter, Captain Merella of the Emilio V, ever visited the consul, and considering the consul later seemed unaware of the Bianca Pertica’s fate, it is my opinion that neither ship’s captain did. More than likely, they weren’t even aware that there was an Acting Italian Consul and, having no need of assistance, did not bother to enquire. The Duke of Genoa complained of Italy’s lack of interest in the Far East when he visited Japan two years later and gathered and brought back to Italy a great amount of information and specimens from the Far East in an effort to awaken Italians to the opportunities in the Orient. His efforts appear to have been unsuccessful for even as Korea opened up its land and markets to the West in 1882, a British Government document noted there were no visits by Italian merchant ships to Japan in 1882.

The crew probably spent most of the ten days finding a customer, reloading the ship, drinking, visiting the infamous brothels, and
purchasing mementos to take home. On September 18, 1878, after taking on supplies, the *Bianca Pertica* departed Nagasaki, Japan, bound for Hong Kong with a shipment of Nagasaki coal consigned by a local merchant, Tankosha.\textsuperscript{25} Nagasaki was important not only to the West as a naval base in the northern Far East, but also as a *supply of dependable and high quality coal which came from the nearby Takashima mines*.\textsuperscript{26} As more and more navies and shipping companies switched from sailing vessels to steamships, the importance of coal quickly became apparent and Nagasaki was “the only place in the East where coal was mined in any quantity.”\textsuperscript{27} This coal was often exported to Hong Kong and other major seaports to be used by commercial and naval ships, and it commanded a good profit. I believe that the *Bianca Pertica* was brought to the Far East to serve in the *same manner* as the *Emilio V*, a transport to carry coal from the coal mines of Nagasaki to Hong Kong, and then return either empty (with ballast) or carrying a cargo of general goods – probably the captain’s personal venture.

The day of *Bianca Pertica*’s departure was a beautiful summer day and showed promise of an easy voyage. A light breeze from the east filled its sails and conveyed the ship through the calm waters at a lively pace. However, to the east the sky grew darker as the day progressed and the wind increased in ferocity and, though they might have noted it, none could have imagined the danger that they were in.

August and September are prime months for typhoons in the region, and although typhoons are *fairly common in these waters, this particular one was unusually strong. *Bianca Pertica*’s* captain, unaware of the strength of storms in these waters, did not heed the warnings and continued on his course, confident that his ship could endure a summer storm. He was not the only one. There were other captains far more familiar with these waters, who were caught unprepared and suffered similar results as we shall see later on in this chapter.

As the day progressed, so too did the wind’s strength, and by evening the light breeze that had filled the sails of the ship quickly developed into a violent typhoon force wind that threatened to overwhelm it. Captain Tancredis, realizing his ship was in danger, ordered the crew to take in part of the sails, but as the storm continued to strengthen, part of the main-sail was blown away from its riggings and flapped wildly in the
howling wind. Realizing that the sail could be blown away or cause additional damage to the ship, Tancredís ordered the crew to quickly secure it. The men sprang to the task, but as they were complying with his orders, a sudden burst of wind blew away the fore top-sail and snapped its yards.

In an effort to protect his ship, Captain Tancredís, with his remaining sails, turned the ship with the eastern wind at his stern and sailed west in an attempt to run from the worst of the storm. The maneuver was not without its dangers. As he turned the ship, huge waves began to crash over the sides, and water poured into the lower deck, further endangering the ship by slowing its response to the helm. The captain ordered the crew to man the pumps; throughout the night, and exposed to the elements, the men pumped in a desperate effort to remain afloat.

Morning brought a little relief: the storm still raged, but the water in the holds had been pumped out sufficiently that Captain Tancredís felt safe to leave only four men to continue bailing and pumping while the rest of the crew tried to bring in the remaining sails. With the ship rising and falling in the surging waves, the men cautiously made their way to the riggings, and began to pull in the sails, but suddenly the wind shifted from the east to the south, and blew away the remaining sails. The ship was without sails and thus at the mercy of the wind; it began to drift to the north.

Again the ship was awash in the sea and water began to fill the cargo holds, causing pieces of coal to be swept about the ship, further endangering it. The pumps were again manned by the entire crew, but at around 10 o’clock that night, it was discovered that the pumps were clogged with small chunks of coal and rendered inoperable. Unable to do anything while the seas were raging and the pumps clogged, the captain ordered the men to return below decks, where they were greeted with six feet of water, which had flooded the holds, making the already dire situation more desperate and miserable.

Perhaps the men reassured one another that they had seen the worst of the storm, and that it would soon die down, but instead of the storm weakening, it only grew stronger. Sometime in the early morning of the 20th, the waves washed over the decks so violently that every timber in
the ship shook and groaned and the railings were smashed and washed away. It was now impossible for them to work with any safety on the decks. The ship was still filling with water, and the pumps were still clogging with the floating coal.

Captain Tancredis ordered the pumps moved to the forward part of the ship, in an effort to avoid the floating debris. The effort failed. They continued to reassure one another that the captain would get them through the ordeal, and probably joked that in the future they would all tell their children and grandchildren about this great voyage to the Far East, but deep in their hearts and left unspoken, all feared that the ship was doomed. However, it wasn’t until the boatswain, Pascuale Chelini, 28 announced that they “all were lost” that the façade of hope and confidence collapsed and each was forced to face the reality of their situation. Unable to steer the ship because the ship was bereft of sails, the holds were filled with water, and the pumps were inoperative, the ship was completely at the mercy of the merciless sea.

With this realization each man made ready to meet his fate in his own way. Santori later recounted that “part of the crew were crying, some praying, and some, seeing no hope, got drunk in despair.” Captain Tancredis, a true leader, tried to reassure the men that they would all be saved and that the ship would reach shore before nightfall, but amongst the men, all hope was gone and his reassurances fell upon deaf ears. Even though many of the men were demoralized, the captain continued to maintain his confident composure and tried to set an example for the rest of his crew to emulate.

Throughout the day the waves relentlessly battered the ship and the holds continued to fill – the ship was slowly sinking. The men continued to battle the sea, but at the same time began gathering food and water in the event that their worst fears should become reality. At 4:30, the doomed ship’s bow began to sink beneath the water and the men moved to the aft of the ship where they unlash the lifeboats in anticipation – they did not have long to wait. The ship suddenly sank violently when a large wave slammed into it, and even though the men had anticipated the ship’s demise, none had expected it to occur so quickly. Some of the men were able to get into the boats, others, clutching pieces of splintered wood, were swept away by the waves,
their screams for help smothered by the howling of the wind. Captain Tancredis, true to the romantic notion of heroic duty, refused to abandon the ship, and instead opted to go down with it.

Santori, and two of his mates, Pilade Taddei²⁹ and Leone Bacchione, were able to get into a lifeboat, and desperately sought to rescue the remaining members of the crew before they were swept away by the waves. In the howling wind they were unable to hear the calls for help, and the driving rain and towering waves made it difficult to see, but they were able, only with a great deal of difficulty, to rescue Cesare Paoli, the chief mate, and Pascuale Chelini, the boatswain.

For several hours the men battled the storm, as the gloominess of day gave way to the darkness of night. As senior man aboard the boat, Chief mate Paoli assumed command and directed their bailing efforts while he continued to assure the men that with the winds they would soon reach the coast of Korea and safety, but at present they had to ensure that their small life boat remained afloat. They struggled to bail water out of the boat, but almost as quickly as they bailed the sea rushed in and refilled it. They bailed for as long as they could, but the men had not slept in more than two days, and one by one, they fell into an exhausted sleep.

They were awakened when a large wave overturned their boat and cast them all into the foaming sea. Although suddenly thrown into the sea, they recovered their senses enough to swim back to their overturned boat, clutch the sides and hold on as the seas tossed them about. However, after a short time, chief mate Paoli, exhausted and perhaps older, was unable to maintain his grip any longer, and, although the men risked their own lives trying to prevent it, he was washed away. Eventually, the survivors were able to right the boat and haul themselves aboard where they huddled together in an attempt to keep warm while they assessed their situation. The effort and strain upon them was fantastic, especially for the boatswain, Chelini, who was described as being “more dead than alive.” Except for the will to survive, they were left with nothing: no food, no water, not even oars to paddle the boat.

There was no time to dwell upon their losses. Although the storm had weakened, the lifeboat threatened to sink under the endless pounding of the waves. They tried to protect the violently shivering Chelini from the wind and rain to the best of their ability, but they could spare little time to
administer to his needs as they worked throughout the night bailing water from their precarious sanctuary with their bare hands. It was in the dim light of the morning, during the lull of storm, that they discovered the boatswain had slipped into unconsciousness and had died quietly in the darkness of the night. They now only numbered three.

On the morning of the 21st, the storm abated and they found themselves drifting in the ocean current towards Quelpart Island. Prior to the chief mate dying, he had told them that he believed the island was some fifty miles away to the north and that they should try and reach the island if no other options were available.

That day and the following the life boat continued to drift towards the island. Gone were the dark rain clouds and the cool winds, only to be replaced with a clear sky and a furious summer sun beating down upon them mercilessly, blistering their skin with its heat and compounding the misery of their thirst. On the 22nd, Piladi, unable to endure the heat and thirst any longer, became “very ill and delirious,” and raved with visions that only he could see, further tormenting his fellow survivors. Perhaps it was merciful to all that he died the following day.

Finally, on the 23rd, the rocky coast of Quelpart was sighted some twenty-five miles off in the distance, but almost mockingly the wind changed direction. The life boat was no longer drifting towards the island but, in fact, was drifting away from the island. Santori noted later in an interview: “As we had no oars, no sails, and no provisions of any sort, we did not know what to do.” The Italians could only stare at the island as they drifted further away, but they did not abandon hope, confident that God would watch over them.

The following morning the wind once again changed direction – this time it blew from the east and pushed them back along the island’s coast. In desperation, the two surviving sailors, Santori and Bacchione, pried a long piece of wood from their boat and made a makeshift mast and a crude sail from their clothing and that of their fallen comrades. It was probably at this point that they buried at sea the bodies of their fallen comrades in an effort to lighten the boat.

Their efforts were successful and slowly the craft inched closer and closer to what were deemed inhospitable shores by most sailors, but to the desperate castaways a sanctuary. Half naked, they were cruelly
abused by the beating sun, blistered skin burned by the irritating sea spray. They sought shelter in the shadow of the their sail, and although it did provide some relief it did nothing for the burning thirst that tormented them and threatened to drive them mad. On the morning of the 25th, after nearly twenty-four hours of sailing with a makeshift sail, they found themselves just about ten miles from the rocky shores of Quelpart, but their progress was slow, and doubt and fear again replaced jubilation and hope.

On the morning of the 26th, the burning sun greeted them with Quelpart's southwestern shores just six miles in the distance. For six days they had been without fresh water – the only water they had was probably in the form of rain (but with no containers it is doubtful that they gathered much) or the morning moisture; their lips were cracked, their tongues swollen, and the desire for water outweighed reason. It seems almost ironic to suffer from thirst while upon a vast body of water, the very water itself tempting you to drink from it, its coolness beckoning you. Only a strong man could possibly resist the temptation for long, but eventually all fail. Against Santori's hoarse protests, Bacchione, "unable to stand the thirst any longer, drank a quantity of salt water, which did him much harm."

As Bacchione lay sick upon the floor, retching and writhing in pain as his kidneys failed, the wind died, and the sail of their boat became useless upon the calm sea. Santori pulled down the mast and converted it into a paddle in an attempt to paddle the boat to shore. At first, Bacchione assisted as much as he was able, but as his condition worsened, he soon told Santori that he had no more strength to assist in rowing and then went and lay down at the bow of the boat. Delusional, retching, and burning with fever, he died later that night, leaving Santori alone.

Fortunately, fate is fickle and on the 27th a warm wind began to blow. A grateful Santori once again reassembled and raised his makeshift sail. It is interesting to note that although he was concerned about lightening his craft, he did not bury Bacchione's body at sea. Perhaps, as morbid as it might sound, he found some comfort in it – a mute companion to share his ordeal.

Throughout that day and the following day the wind held and he steadily drifted closer to the tantalizing coast. On the morning of the 29th
he awoke to find himself only 40 yards from the shore, but unbelievably the current shifted and started to carry him away from the shore. Weak and probably delirious, he jumped overboard without a moment’s hesitation, leaving his last comrade, dead, to drift on the sea alone.

Santori was extremely fortunate: a large percentage of sailors during this era could not swim, and considering that Santori’s ordeal began on the 18th, and he had been without any measurable amount of water for nearly nine days, the mere fact that he was able to keep his head above water clearly demonstrates his strong will to live. Jumping into the water was clearly an act of desperation, but one that spared his life.

Santori was too exhausted to actually swim, and was only able to maintain his position, as the current threatened to pull him back out into the rough sea, due to his frantic desire to live. For nearly two hours he weakly treaded water, convinced that he was going to die, but unwilling to surrender his life. Fortunately for him, a large swell swept him upon one of the huge jagged volcanic rocks that lined the shore like teeth - ready to rend ship or man to pieces. Lying upon the rock he was safe for the moment from the sea, but he was “more dead than alive,” and was unable to move from his position, thus still being at risk of being swept back into the sea by another swell.

His struggle to safety was not without witnesses. A group of Koreans watching from shore ventured out on to the rock and carried the water-logged and exhausted Italian to safety. His rescuers wore white clothing and spoke a language that he could not understand. In his exhausted and thirst-induced delirium he probably thought they were going to kill him, for he had undoubtedly heard tales of the Koreans unfriendliness and brutality to strangers. The Koreans questioned him, but considering his condition, he lapsed into unconsciousness soon after his rescue. The Koreans took good care of him: they built a fire to warm and dry him, and then gave him food and water. Santori does not state how long he remained with these Koreans, but he undoubtedly spent at least a couple of days with them in recuperation.

He was probably treated in a similar manner to the shipwreck victims before and after him – given shelter and food, but carefully watched to make sure that he did not wander from his sanctuary. Word was sent to the capital of Cheju Island and at least one minor official and
several soldiers were sent to take charge of him. It is highly doubtful that
he spoke Chinese, so when he was healthy enough it was conveyed to him
through body language and pantomiming that he was to be moved, but
where he was to be moved to and for what purposes, he was unable to
discern.

A pony was brought for him to ride, and like many of the
foreigners before and after, the local population gathered along his route
to catch a glimpse of him. As he was being escorted along the coast we
can only speculate as to what he was thinking, but there must have been
some fear. After all, Korea had the reputation of being hostile to
shipwrecked victims, and all who were aware of Hamel’s saga knew that
he and his mates had been kept in Korea against their will..

According to Santori’s reckoning, he was escorted for nearly
fifty miles along the coast before he finally reached his eventual salvation.
Before we discuss the next part of his adventure we must look at another
shipwreck – the Barbara Taylor.

The Barbara Taylor

The Bianca Pertica was not the only ship to encounter the storm.
The typhoon had ravaged the northern coast of China and the southern
coast of Japan, raining terror and destruction on everything in its path. At
least two Japanese junks and the British barque, Barbara Taylor, were
driven aground on the southern shore of Cheju Island, while other ships,
more fortunate and further out at sea, managed to return to port damaged –
some of them severely.

The Barbara Taylor was a small 352 ton schooner with a crew of
twelve men commanded by Captain John Taylor. The Barbara Taylor
often traveled between ports in Japan and China, and occasionally even to
Vladivostok, mainly transporting general goods. On September 9th it
departed Shanghai, China, bound for Vladivostok, Russia, with a
consignment cargo consisting primarily of bales of tea and some general
mercantile items that were highly prized in the Russian port. It was around
the twentieth that the Barbara Taylor encountered the storm at its full fury.
The sails were blown away in the heavy gales, blowing the ship in a
northerly direction. Captain Taylor had few options and guided his ship to
the rocky coast of Cheju Island. As the ship neared the jagged coast,
Captain Taylor observed a small sandy beach at the base of a small hill, guarded by a line of jagged rocks just off shore, but it appeared to be the only place that sanctuary could be found. With little other choice, he guided his ship towards the beach, striking the rocks in the late evening. With the shore so tantalizingly close, but the water so rough, it was decided to send a volunteer with a rope to shore in hopes of belaying a lifeline on shore so that the remaining sailors could pull themselves ashore one by one. Chief Mate George Grieve volunteered for the dangerous task, jumped overboard with the rope and swam to shore. As he drew near the shore, he observed a large group of Koreans on the beach watching the victims of the shipwreck. He sought their assistance in helping to secure the line, but the Koreans menacingly gestured for him to go away by pointing to the sea and then drawing their hands across their throats, staring at him as if they were ready to immediately pounce upon him and cut his head off. Unarmed, outnumbered, and exhausted from his struggle to reach shore, Grieve realized that there was little he could do to prevent the Koreans from killing him, so he turned his back upon them and continued to assist aiding his fellow survivors to shore. Soon the entire crew was standing in the relative safety of chest-deep water. With no other option, they turned and approached the Koreans.

The Koreans had observed the ship and its plight from afar, and when they realized that it would attempt to land they rushed to the shore to prevent the foreigners from landing. However, once it was discovered that the men were truly shipwrecked, the Koreans quickly offered them assistance. The men were helped ashore and were led to a low stone fence where the Koreans sheltered them from the elements by building a low wall of bundled hay around them while suitable quarters were sought. Soon they were led to a vacant hut and a fire was lit so that they could warm themselves.

Although this was not the first time that foreigners had had the misfortune of wrecking upon the shores of Cheju, the local Korean population crowded around the hut gazing upon the foreigners as if they were exotic “wild animals.” Within an hour of their confinement, they were served a porridge made from corn meal that they readily gulped down. The entire time that the Barbara Taylor’s crew remained in Korea they were well provisioned – mainly with rice, but also with the luxury of
meat in the form of chickens.

For two days the crewmembers were kept in the hut, a source of entertainment for the local population who were kept at bay by the village headman and his servants who carefully guarded them while awaiting word from the capital. Soon a Korean official with a retinue of soldiers arrived from the capital and took charge of the foreigners. It was only with their arrival that Captain Taylor and his men were allowed to return to the wreck with an escort of Korean soldiers and salvage what clothing they could. While at the ship Captain Taylor discovered that part of the ship’s cargo had escaped the ravages of the sea and, through his Chinese interpreters, beseeched the Korean official to have the intact cargo removed from ship and protected. “After a great deal of correspondence with headquarters they commenced to discharge cargo, but when they found it was tea after taking 50 packages they stopped. Giving me to understand they could not eat tea and that no tea was used on the island; would not be able to pay for the labour.” Captain Taylor pleaded with them to save the cargo and that upon returning to Nagasaki or Shanghai he would have rice sent to the island. His pleas were eventually accepted and the cargo was quickly unloaded and stored.

After several days of pleading to meet with the island’s governor, Captain Taylor and two of his Chinese crewmembers were sent to the island’s capital on horseback, escorted by a “guard of about 100 men on horseback and on foot, banners flying, trumpets blown, drums beating and considerable quantity of other music.” Word that the procession of soldiers and the foreigners would soon pass through had been sent ahead to all the villages along the fifty mile route to the capital, along with the command to have fresh mounts and supplies ready. Not all villages were ready when the procession arrived, and the headmen of these villages were seized by their top-knots and placed in a prone position upon their bellies. Then “summary justice” was administered by the lash, the number determined by the Korean official. The Korean in charge of administering the lash on several occasions used the lash too sparingly and consequently “received punishment himself on account of leniency to the delinquents.”

There was no real road that they traveled over - it was more like a series of paths, but after two days of travel, they finally arrived on October 1st at the main gates of the capital city, where they were kept
waiting for sometime before the gates were opened. Captain Taylor and his two crew members were not the only ones who had been brought to the city. They were joined by five Japanese, who were members of two Japanese junks that had been driven ashore during the same storm that had wrecked the *Barbara Taylor*.

Captain Taylor later noted that “the whole inhabitants of the city turned out in their best clothes” to watch him and the other shipwrecked victims enter into the city “just the same as though a show of wild beasts had been on exhibition.” Armed with spears, soldiers lined the streets as the foreigners were escorted to the governor’s house, where they were ordered to dismount and “walk bowed half down to the ground for about ten paces,” then were forced to bow three times and then “walk ten more paces more and go through the same ceremony.”

Finally they were led into the governor’s chambers where Captain Taylor and his two Chinese sailors were on one side, and the Japanese on the other. While served vast amounts of cakes, fruits, and drinks, they were questioned by the Korean officials. Captain Taylor, with the assistance of his Chinese steward, was able to explain to the Korean governor that if he were allowed to proceed to Japan he would be able to bring back assistance to remove his crew and the cargo of his ship, and he would gladly pay with rice for all the effort and expense that the Koreans had incurred in saving the crew and cargo. The Korean Governor listened politely to the men and then had them taken to a small house in the city where they were confined – prohibited from leaving, but well taken care of, while the Korean Governor decided what to do with them. There was no furniture to speak of in the house, and they were forced to sleep on the bare floor, the Japanese on one end, and the Chinese and Captain Taylor at the other end. Each night they were visited by Korean officials who continued to gather information about them while the governor waited to hear from the government.

Finally on October 3rd, after two days of confinement, it was announced that Captain Taylor and the Chinese were to be returned to their vessel to gather what they needed before he and one Chinese crewman were to be conveyed to the least damaged Japanese junk, after which they and the Japanese would sail to Nagasaki. After being escorted back to his ship by another large military escort, Captain Taylor and his
Chinese steward quickly gathered some clothing, reassured the rest of the crew that they would return as soon as possible, and then were taken nearly twenty-five miles to the Japanese junk where they departed “the island with a favourable breeze.”

The Japanese junk sailed from the island to the Goto island group, then to the small city of Hirado, and then finally, after eight days of travel, arrived at Nagasaki where Captain Taylor told his story to all that would listen. He stated that he and his crew had been well treated by the Koreans, but almost immediately his story was distorted and exaggerated, even by the local English language newspapers. The Japan Gazette reported that the shipwrecked survivors were “being held in durance vile on an uncivilized island” and that “the natives immediately locked up every one on board in jail,” and had “roughly treated” them. Captain Taylor had been summoned by, and then forced to crawl in the presence of the high official of Cheju. However, the paper did note that the Captain denied that his crew had been ill-treated and felt that they had been placed under a guard to protect them from the natives “who he saw were not an agreeable looking lot and every man was armed.”

Captain Taylor notified the British Consul of the accident and immediately sought transport to Cheju Island in order to rescue his crew and to recover as much of the cargo as possible. Finally, after a couple of days of searching, he found a ship that could be chartered – the 906-ton Norwegian steamer S.S. Hakon Adelsten, under the capable command of Captain Bergh, with a crew of twenty-two men. The Hakon Adelsten might have been available when no other ship was because of a recent cholera scare. Just a little over two months previously, the Hakon Adelsten had been quarantined for several days because of suspicion that members of its crew were infected with cholera – eventually this proved to be false, but the efforts of the acting Norwegian and Swedish Consul, Victor Roehr, were required to verify that the ship’s crew was healthy. Naturally this caused some damage to the reputation of the ship and may have caused some potential customers to seek other transport for fear their cargo would be quarantined.

Preparations soon commenced. Cheju Island is located relatively close to Nagasaki so few supplies were needed. The rice that Captain Taylor had promised and some trading goods to be used as gifts for the
local Korean government were loaded, but the majority of the holds were left empty for the Barbara Taylor's cargo of tea. A number of small wooden boats known as dambies were also brought to be utilized in transporting the goods from the wreck to the Hakon Adelsten. The rescue party consisted of Mr. Paul, the British Consul's representative; Mr. Ringer, agent for the ship's owners; Mr. Takeda who acted as the interpreter; Mr. Gower; Mr. Mancini, the Italian restaurant and hotel owner; and twenty Japanese coolies who were to provide the brawn for the recovery of the cargo. The officials at the Japanese Customs House were also notified that the ship was bound for the "hitherto almost unknown" island of Cheju to rescue a "European crew being held in durance vile on an uncivilized island." Even though this was deemed a rescue operation, the Japanese Customs House displayed little charity and demanded an export duty on the dambies before they left Nagasaki, and an import duty when they returned to Nagasaki.

On the afternoon of October 21st (Monday), the Hakon Adelsten left Nagasaki bound for Cheju Island. The weather was clear and the sea calm. Thus, the steamship sailed quickly through the perilous Straits of Korea and arrived off the southeast coast of Cheju the following morning. For a couple of hours they followed the rocky coast west until they finally spotted the wreck and the small huts and tents that served as the living quarters for the shipwrecked survivors. Using their telescopes they were able to spot the survivors amongst the white-clothed Koreans and were relieved to note they appeared to be in good health.

When the Koreans sighted the approach of the Hakon Adelsten they immediately notified the local officials and began to make preparations to meet with the rescue party. Captain Taylor, Mr. Paul, and the Japanese interpreter took their places in a small boat and were rowed towards the wreck, seeking a safe place to land as most of the shore was lined with jagged masses of volcanic rock that would easily rip the bottom from the boat. They found a small sandy spot where they were able to safely beach their boat and were greeted by a great crowd of Koreans: the common people dressed in white and the officials in blue and scarlet. As soon as Captain Taylor landed he was embraced by some of the exuberant Korean officers who showed him "every sign of the kindliest feelings and friendship."
The landing party was escorted to the wreck where they were welcomed with Korean music and met by other local Korean officials and the survivors of the *Barbara Taylor*. It was at this point that they discovered there was another Westerner mixed in with the *Barbara Taylor*’s crew: the young Italian sailor Guiseppe Santori, the only survivor from the *Bianca Pertica*. Giuseppe Santori probably arrived a few days after Captain Taylor had departed for Japan. The injuries the young man had sustained during his own harrowing shipwreck had healed and he was in relatively good health considering his ordeal. The sight of Mr. Mancini must have brought great relief to the young sailor, and Mancini undoubtedly took the young man as his personal responsibility.

The chief Korean official was an old man who was regally dressed in a long garment of dark brown satin with scarlet and yellow sleeves and trousers of blue silk which greatly contrasted with the white and straw colored clothing of his subjects. Around his neck was a necklace of coral and amber, and he held a baton in his hands as a sign of authority. He claimed to be 67 years old, but because he was missing one eye and several of his upper front teeth he appeared older. Although his appearance was rather severe, he was nonetheless kind to his Western visitors and, through the translator, welcomed Captain Taylor’s return and expressed his willingness to assist him in recovering his cargo, although he would appreciate it if the Japanese were not allowed to come ashore.

Captain Taylor and Mr. Paul in turn thanked the Korean official for taking such good care of the survivors and for protecting the goods and the wreck from the elements and theft. After the short meeting, Mr. Paul informed the official that the landing party would return to the *Hakon Adelsten* in order to make preparations and would return in the early afternoon. The translator was left behind to answer the Korean official’s questions; what these were is unknown, but they probably related to the Westerners’ origins and general questions about Korea and China. True to his word, Mr. Paul and an even larger party of Westerners returned in the afternoon bringing with them gifts as appreciation for the Koreans’ kindness. Thirty bags of Japanese rice (the payment promised by Captain Taylor), pieces of shirting, a bundle of Japanese umbrellas and two bottles of gin were brought and presented to the Korean chief official. Except for the gin, which the old official promptly drank and declared
“that it warmed his heart,” all gifts were refused. Despite Mr. Paul’s and Captain Taylor’s continued entreaties, the Korean official would not change his mind, and eventually the two Westerners were forced to accept the official’s refusal.

As the afternoon wore on the weather changed from the calmness of autumn to the storminess of late summer. The wind began to howl from the south, making the sea choppy and turbulent, and it was decided that the wrecked cargo would be transported the following morning when the sea was calmer. The landing party then returned to the *Hakon Adelsten* to wait out the storm, but prior to their leaving they gathered up their earlier proffered gifts, except the umbrellas which they intentionally forgot on the beach knowing how much the Koreans valued them. Although it is not stated, because the *Hakon Adelsten* was a small ship with cramped quarters most of the *Barbara Taylor*’s crew probably remained ashore in the huts and tents that had served as their homes while awaiting their rescue.

Aware of the dangers of storms in the region, captain Bergh ordered the *Hakon Adelsten* to raise anchor and then sailed a couple of miles off the coast and waited out the stormy night. The following morning the steamer returned to its anchorage, but the sea was still rough, causing the steamer to drag its anchors several times. However, time was of the essence and it was determined that, despite the choppiness of the sea, at least part of the *Barbara Taylor*’s cargo could be loaded.

At the old Korean official’s bidding, nearly 100 Korean men were sent to the wreck where they assisted in transporting the merchandise to the beach where the Japanese coolies loaded it onto the dambies and then transported it to the steamship. Several Korean policemen, their clothing blue and white and armed with short clubs, ensured that the Korean men worked quickly and diligently and that there was no pilfering of the cargo. Those who failed to work quickly were often chastised and corporally punished with staves and clubs, an event that in the Westerners’ opinion occurred with alarmingly frequency. Within a short time a large quantity of the dried tea and other goods had been moved to the beach, and then on to the *Hakon Adelsten*.

Before the *Hakon Adelsten* had departed Nagasaki it was speculated that the *Barbara Taylor* would be salvaged, but after
examining the wreckage of the ship, it was determined infeasible and it was decided to salvage what they could from the ship. While the cargo was being transported from the wreck by the Koreans and Japanese, the crew of the *Barbara Taylor*, along with several members of the rescue party, went aboard the wreck and started to strip the ship of all the salvageable items such as copper, yards, ropes, blocks, and any of the cargo that had been overlooked or not unloaded.

Mr. Paul had invited several of the Koreans to visit the *Hakon Adelsten* in the afternoon. The high official and three young women attendants were accompanied by a large number of Korean men, who, because of the large number and the roughness of the sea, had some initial difficulties boarding the ship. Once aboard, however, the events went smoothly. The Koreans brought two bottles of native wine and a few dozen hams as gifts for Mr. Paul and Captain Bergh, but these were refused on the grounds that the Koreans had not accepted the Westerners' gifts. Only after the Koreans explained that they would be severely punished if the gifts were not accepted did Mr. Paul reluctantly agree to accept them.

The Korean visitors were given a tour of the ship and were quite impressed, especially with the steam whistle that startled several of them when it was sounded for the first time. They were given refreshments and especially enjoyed the gin "which they drank without water, by the half tumbler, and without even winking, calling out chiotah, chiotah [the Korean word for good]." Some of the visitors over imbibed in the refreshments, including the old high official who drank half a bottle by himself and became somewhat drunk. The event soon became festive; some of the crew of the *Hakon Adelston* played their musical instruments to the delight of their Korean guests. The Koreans reciprocated by bringing out their own musical instruments and began to play and sing. Korean women were rarely observed by Western men. Those few that had been observed were usually elderly and generally not pleasant to gaze upon. Thus, the crew especially delighted that the Korean official had brought his young girl attendants. However, it was soon discovered to everyone's amazement and disappointment that the three young women with long braided hair and white flowing clothing were in fact young beardless boys who were male attendants to the high official. The
ribald thoughts and banter that the crew had exchanged amongst themselves quickly died down.

As the hour grew late the Koreans were again set ashore and the operations of recovery ended for the day. Because the weather had improved throughout the day the ship remained at anchor in the bay that night. Captain Taylor was satisfied with the day’s progress and was convinced that the recovery of the cargo would be completely finished the following day, but he did not take into account the will of Mother Nature. The following morning, Thursday, work began at daybreak, but within a few hours it became apparent to all that another storm was blowing in and that the recovery operations at sea would be delayed. Captain Taylor remained on shore to continue the salvage operations on land while the rest of the crew re-boarded the *Hakon Adelson* and rode out the rough weather a few miles out at sea. During a lull in the storm, they returned for only a short time in the evening to recover Captain Taylor and then returned to their position off the coast.

They passed the night eating Italian food which Mr. Mancini had prepared in an effort to pass time, and probably in deep conversation, discussing their adventures on the island. The poor weather improved during the night and at daybreak on Friday morning they returned to their anchorage off the wreck and began to finish their recovery of the *Barbara Taylor* and her cargo.

Another Korean delegation arrived at the *Hakon Adelson* during the early morning – many of them had recently arrived from the capital of Cheju Island and had come not only to pay a visit to the Westerners, but also to return the umbrellas that had been purposely left on the beach. The Korean delegation, ironically, had brought with them dried awabi, a hundred pounds of awabi shells, chickens and two small live pigs as gifts for their Western guests. Flabbergasted, Mr. Paul refused to accept these gifts unless the Koreans accepted a gift from the Westerners. A compromise was reached: the Koreans would accept the umbrellas, and Mr. Paul would accept their most recent gifts. The delegation’s visit was short, on account of the sea still being a little rough, and several of the Koreans, unaccustomed to boats, became very sea-sick and ill.

Throughout the day the salvage operations continued. The sails, rigging and ropes were stripped from the wreck, and even the masts were
chopped down and conveyed to the steamer. After all that could be salvaged from the wreck was safely stowed aboard the steamer, the Westerners met with the Koreans for the last time. They expressed their great appreciation to the High Official for all that he and the Korean villagers had done in aiding the survivors and for keeping the wreck and its cargo safe— even refusing compensation for all their efforts. The Korean official replied that he and his people were only doing their duties and that payment was not desired or acceptable. Koreans in many of their encounters with shipwreck victims noted that it was a natural act to treat victims humanely and to safe-guard their goods. The high official did state that once the steamer left he planned on having the wreck set ablaze so that the natives of the island would not be tempted to pilfer it.

After saying their final goodbyes, the crew of the *Barbara Taylor* and the sole survivor of the *Bianca Pertica* were loaded aboard the *Hakon Adelston* at 5 in the evening. After securing all the boats, dambies, and stowing all the gear, the steamer departed at 5:30, dipping its flag three times and sounding the whistle as a sign of respect. It was not surprising that the steamer, shortly after leaving the island of Cheju, encountered severe weather. It was in the middle of the night that one of the crew members thought he heard someone screaming for help. A quick check was conducted to see if anyone was missing, but all were accounted for, and the ship continued to sail on to Nagasaki. It was in the morning, when the coolies gathered together for their breakfast, that it was discovered that one of the coolies was missing, and it had probably been his screams that had been heard the previous night after the hapless man was washed overboard.43

The *Hakon Adelston* arrived in Nagasaki later that day, and upon its return one of the Westerners, a crew member of the *Hakon Adelston*, countered the earlier allegations made in the newspapers regarding the Koreans’ reputation for killing foreigners. Cheju Island had “hitherto been looked upon with dread by the storm-tossed mariner on account of the supposed cruelties inflicted by the inhabitants on shipwrecked sailors.”44 He stated that the Koreans had been extremely kind to the shipwrecked survivors and that not one “unpleasant remark” had been made towards any of the Westerners while on the island. He summed it up by saying that he “would gladly revisit and thoroughly explore it [Cheju Island] could
permission be obtained.”

The young Italian sailor, Giuseppe Santori, stayed in Nagasaki for a short time, probably at the Belle Vue Hotel which was owned by Mr. Mancini, and recounted his adventure aboard the Bianca Pertica to the local newspaper. He then proceeded to Shanghai, China, and except for his account reprinted in the local newspapers in Shanghai and Nagasaki, disappeared from the pages of history. He doesn’t appear in any of the directories for China, Japan or the Philippines that year or in the following years, so he probably returned to Europe on one of the many steamers that operated out of Shanghai. He did, however, play his own small part in future Italian attempts to establish relations with Korea as will be seen later in this book.

The wreck of the Barbara Taylor and the kind treatment the survivors received from the Koreans provided the British Minister, Harry S. Parkes, with the opportunity in November of the same year to send one of his staff, Ernest Satow, aboard a British warship to Cheju and Pusan to thank the local Korean governments for the kind treatment they had provided. He was not very successful. The Koreans made it clear that it was only natural that they should have treated the shipwreck victims in the manner they had, and that thanks and compensation were not needed. Mr. Satow tried to present the local authorities at Pusan with a letter from the British government, but they refused to accept it, making it clear that the Koreans did not wish to have relations with the British.45 Parkes and Satow were later criticized by the British government for using a warship to convey the thanks, if that was what their true purpose was.46

As for Captain John Taylor, a Naval Court was convened in Nagasaki and he was found guilty of only “certain errors in judgment,” and given a reprimand, but not held liable for the loss of his ship.47 He was lucky - Captain Watt of the British brig Mary wasn’t.

The Schooner Mary48

In Nagasaki in late June 1881, Captain Watt and his wife purchased the small three-masted 240-ton schooner Mary for 4,100 taels.49 Captain Watt’s background is unknown; perhaps he was a captain on another ship and had used his savings to purchase the Mary so that he and his wife could be the masters of their own fates. The seas of the Far East
were filled with these small ships, many owned and commanded by men
accompanied by their families, who braved storm and pirate infested seas
in an effort to make their fortunes. Few were successful and, unfortunately,
Captain Watt and his wife were not one of the few.

The Mary often traveled between the ports in northern China,
Japan and Vladivostok, and was occasionally chartered by large
companies such as Jardine Matheson & Co., so it was probably making a
good profit. The crew undoubtedly remained with the ship even after its
sale and consisted of ten Chinese (three from Canton and seven from
Chefoo), and one Englishman named W.T. Guy, who was the chief mate.

It is difficult to determine where the Mary traveled after Captain
Watt purchased her because there were two schooners of about the same
size named Mary operating in the same waters – the other commanded by
Captain T. Cubbin\textsuperscript{50} - but more than likely it continued to follow the same
route that it had prior to Captain Watt's purchase. We do know that on
September 18, 1881, the Mary departed Chefoo, China bound for
Vladivostok with 60 tons of general goods, 90 tons of ballast, and twenty
three Chinese passengers. The weather was fine, with a light breeze
blowing, and the ship slowly made its way across the Yellow Sea and
along the coast of Korea until it reached Cheju Island on the morning of
the 23\textsuperscript{rd}. It is unknown how familiar Captain Watt was with these waters,
especially during the summer typhoon season, but he chose to sail the
relatively narrow channel between the Korean mainland and the island,
perhaps thinking it would be safer or, more likely, just taking the quickest
route. He could not have known that this trip would be his last.

On the afternoon of the 24\textsuperscript{th} storm clouds started gathering and a
strong wind blew from the northeast, causing the Mary to tack back and
forth. As the day progressed the storm grew in strength, the wind howled
and the rain beat down, causing the sea to turn into a tempest and forcing
the ship to bring in most of its sails as a precaution. By nightfall the storm
was blowing at full force and the darkness and rain made it almost
impossible to see. At three in the morning Captain Watt summoned his
crew and ordered the sails brought in and the anchor dropped in an effort
to keep the ship from smashing into the rocky coast, but it was too late.
Just as soon as the anchor was dropped the ship struck some submerged
rocks and was stuck firmly in place. Unable to ride the waves, the waves
soon started washing over the deck of the ship and any actions on the deck were nearly suicidal. It was decided to ride out the storm until morning.

The morning light revealed that the Mary was about sixty yards off shore, but the sea was still rough and it was decided to wait until high tide before attempting to have one man swim ashore with a rope so that the ship could be abandoned safely. When the tide was at its highest, the chief mate, W.T. Guy, jumped into the water and swam to shore with a rope around his shoulder. Fortunately, he made it with nothing more than a badly bruised shoulder, but as the crew aboard the Mary hauled upon the rope in an effort to make it taunt and secure the rope slipped and, despite their best efforts, they could not get another rope ashore.

The ship could no longer take the constant pounding of the sea and began to break apart. One of the Chinese crew members and a passenger jumped into the water and tried to swim to shore, but they were carried away by the waves and drowned. Most of the crew and passengers climbed out on the jib boom while the Captain and his wife climbed up onto the bow sprit, seeking sanctuary from the grasping waves. Their efforts were in vain: unable to endure the sea’s pounding, the ship broke apart, washing those on the jib boom ashore, but dropping the Captain and his wife into the roiling maelstrom – they were not seen again.

As the survivors were struggling to reach shore, several Koreans appeared on the beach and began to assist them. When no more survivors could be found, the Koreans took those whom they had rescued to a small hut, built a fire, fed them wheat gruel, and sent word to the high official of a nearby village of the survivors’ plight. The high official soon arrived and commanded that the survivors be taken to the village where they were given food and shelter in one of the small huts. Exhausted from their ordeal, they slept through the night. The following morning the survivors returned to the beach and discovered that their ship was completely destroyed. They salvaged what they could, and with the Koreans’ assistance gathered the battered bodies of their ship mates and buried them. Sixteen Chinese were buried that morning, their names and the location of their graves lost in time, and two other Chinese were never recovered, their bodies lost at sea. In all there were seventeen survivors: G.T Guy was the only Westerner; there were three Chinese from Canton and thirteen from Chefoo.
Throughout the rest of the day they gathered what items they could salvage from the ship and then returned to the village where they spent another night. The following morning they were met by a procession of small ponies and soldiers. Each of the survivors was mounted upon a pony with two Koreans who acted as handlers and guards. They left early in the morning and arrived at the island's walled capital at around noon where they were given an audience with the island's highest official. He demanded to know who they were, and for what purpose they were on the island. The Chinese from Chefoo engaged in most of the communication which was done through written Chinese, declaring that they were from Chefoo bound for Vladivostok, and that the Westerner was an Englishman. They further went on to explain that all Englishmen were bad.

Once the island's magistrate's questions were answered to his satisfaction, he commanded a feast be arranged to honor his guests. Word was also sent to Seoul asking the central government what was to be done with the survivors. A house was given to the survivors to use as their own while they awaited word from the capital. They were treated relatively well, especially the Chinese, who took every opportunity to speak poorly of the Englishman and of Westerners in general.

Finally, after seventy-one days of waiting, word arrived that the survivors were to be moved to Tatao and then sent on to Nagasaki. They departed in a Korean junk accompanied by two Korean officials and their suite. According to W. T. Guy, they traveled in the junks for nearly twenty days before arriving at their first destination, Lam Hoi (Nam Hae?). Here the Korean officials from Cheju turned them over to the local Korean officials and then departed. For nearly twenty days they remained at Lam Hoi as reluctant guests, well-treated by the Koreans. The Chefoo Chinese acted haughtily, demeaning their Cantonese companions and, of course, Mr. Guy, against whom they seem to have harbored strong negative feelings.

Again they boarded two junks and were accompanied by two Korean officials. They were told that they were bound for Ma Loong Chuen, and from there would be sent to China or Japan. For forty-one cold, wet, and miserable days they were confined to the junks with little food, often going hungry. When they finally arrived at Ma Loong Chuen they were again faced with a long stay, this one nearly two months, while
the Koreans apparently waited for instructions on how to send the survivors on the next leg of their journey. Finally word came down that they were to proceed, again, in two small junks for He Chu (Haeju?). Fortunately for them, they encountered a Chinese fishing boat after a day’s sailing, and after a quick conference between the Korean officials and the Chinese captain, it was decided that the fishing boat would take them to China if they were supplied with their own food and water.

Crowded aboard the small Chinese fishing boat, they were fortunate not to encounter rough seas and reached the Chinese mainland about seven days after leaving the Korean junks. Once on the mainland, Guy walked and, later, rode a mule to Chefoo, where he reported the loss of the Mary to the British Consul and with the help of the foreign community, recuperated from his seven-month ordeal in which he had ‘suffered great privations.” What became of him is unknown.

Conclusion

It is unknown how many ships have wrecked off Cheju’s coast over the centuries; undoubtedly great numbers of Japanese and Chinese ships have been stranded on the island, and there is the possibility of ships from Okinawa, southeastern Asia and the Middle East having been stranded on the shores of this island as well. If so, the records, if they exist, are still undiscovered, perhaps lying undisturbed in some library or museum.

Cheju Island’s position ensured that it would be one of the first, if not the first, Korean territories visited by Westerners. The only real opportunity for Westerners to encounter Korea was via Japan. However, Japan was closed to the West, except for the small Dutch trading post at Dejima Island, in Nagasaki Bay. As the West expanded into northeast Asia, particularly after the opening of Japan by Perry’s expedition in 1853, it was only a matter of time before Korea would be confronted by Westerners, especially missionaries and traders.

Thus it is no surprise that most of the Western ship wrecks off Cheju Island’s coasts occurred during the late nineteenth century. The Mary was probably not the last shipwreck on Cheju Island, but it does appear to be the last Western shipwreck on the island reported in the English language newspapers of Japan and China prior to Korea being
opened to the West.

Korea, especially Cheju Island, had a reputation for being hostile to shipwreck victims, but the accounts given in this article are evidence that the shipwreck victims were well treated; in some cases, they were treated better than shipwreck victims on the coasts of Japan and China. The West used the excuse of poor treatment afforded shipwreck survivors to demand that Korea negotiate treaties and to pry open its closed doors. Western enlightenment and improvements were eventually introduced after the Hermit Kingdom’s doors were pried open by force and diplomacy but it came with a price: the eventual fall and loss of Choson Korea.

Notes
1 Samuel Taylor Coleridge from *The Ancient Mariner*
2 Bernadou, John Baptiste, “Korea and the Koreans,” The National Geographic Magazine Vol. II No. 4 1890 (reprint), p. 239
3 On September 10, 1980, one of the largest ships in the world, the *Derbyshire*, a container ship, sank off the coast of Japan during a violent storm. It has been suggested that the ship sank due to a small hatch at the bow of the ship inadvertently left open, while another theory is the ventilation covers were not able to withstand the beating of the sea and water leaked into the holds causing the catastrophic accident that claimed the lives of the 17 crew members.
7 It is unclear where they were captured, but Cheju Island seems a likely candidate. Nahm, Andrew C., *Introduction to Korean History and Culture*, p. 126
9 In August 1719, two Dutch East Indies ships, the *Catharina* and *Meeroog*, while en route to Japan apparently encountered a typhoon in the Straits of Korea and
sunk. There are no reports of any survivors landing in Korea. Courtesy of Hugh Brown.


14 This is based mainly on the account of the accident as given in The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express, November 6, 1878 and repeated in North China Herald, November 21, 1878.

15 The original newspaper gives his name as Guiseppe Santori, but following the advice of two Italian friends; I have chosen to write his name as Giuseppe Santori

16 According to the Japan Daily Herald, Tuesday, November 19, 1878, page 2, Giuseppe Santori was a “young Italian sailor,” and I am assuming that he was in his late teens or early twenties.

17 The exact name of the ship is unknown: some accounts claim that it was Bianca Porzia.

18 This high quality coal was prized by naval ships for its clean burning resulting in very little smoke in comparison to other coal which gave off a very dark and thick cloud of smoke which could be used to alert an enemy of the ship’s location.

19 The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express, October 23, 1878

20 “Commercial Reports of Her Majesty’s Consuls in Japan 1882[C-3799],” Japan No. 4 (1883), pp. 46 lists only six Italians with two business establishment in Nagasaki on December 31, 1882. In fact, there are no other Italians listed in this document. For a short history on Italians at Nagasaki see Lane R. Earns “Italian Influence in the ‘Naples of Japan,’ 1859-1941,” http://www.uwosh.edu/home_pages/faculty_staff/earns/italian.html

21 C.N. Mancini arrived at Nagasaki in 1864 and remained in the city with his wife and family until about May 1879 when he and his family moved to Hiogo [Kobe], Japan. The summer of 1880 was extremely hot, and at the end of August, like many of the residents of the city, he sought relief by going on a picnic with
his family and friends. The sun proved too much for him and he passed away of a
heatstroke. Lane R. Earns, "Italian Influence in the 'Naples of Japan,' 1859-
1941," http://www.uwosh.edu/home_pages/faculty_staff/earns/italian.html
22 Also spelled as Olarovsky.
23 "From 1870 to 1874, a consular agent from the Netherlands (initially, the
Dutch merchant W. F. Gaymans) oversaw Italian concerns in Nagasaki. From
1875 to 1892, and then again from 1916 to 1924, the Russian Consul served as
Acting Consul for Italian affairs. The years 1893 to 1915, saw the German Consul
in charge of Italian interests, and finally from 1925 to 1939, the British handled
Italian concerns." The North China Herald, August 31, 1880; Lane R. Earns,
24 Commercial Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan 1882[C-3799]," Japan
No. 4 (1883)
25 The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express, September 18, 1878, and The North
China Herald, November 14, 1878
26 The Takashima mines were located on four small islands located about ten
miles southwest of Nagasaki. These mines were long used by the Japanese, but it
wasn't until Thomas Glover, a Scottish merchant living in Nagasaki, in 1868
became part owner of the mines and introduced machinery. Unfortunately the
eyearly efforts did not generate enough profits and in 1870 Glover & Co. went
bankrupt and the mines were then passed on Bauduin, a company in Netherlands,
until 1874 when it was purchased by Shojiro Goto, who, in turn, later sold it to
the Mitsubishi Steamship Company. The mines remained a vital industry to Japan
until their closure in 1986.
27 James Hyde Clark, Story of China and Japan, pp. 117
28 The original newspaper gives his name as Chelini Pasquaili, but following the
advice of two Italian friends; I have chosen to write his name as Pasquale Chelini.
29 The original newspaper gives their names as Piladi Taddei and Bacchione
Leoni, but following the advice of two Italian friends; I have chosen to write their
names as Pilade Taddei and Leone Bacchione.
30 Open Letter from Tamaso di Savoia [Duke of Genoa] to the Governor of Torai-
fu [Pusan], August 3, 1880
31 This is based mainly on the accounts of the accident as given in the The Japan
Daily Herald, November 19 and 26, 1878.
32 The Japan Gazette, October 18, 21 and 23, 1878
33 The Japan Gazette, October 23, 1878
34 The Japan Gazette, October 18, 21 and 23, 1878
35 The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express, August 28, 1878. The incident occurred on the morning of August 19, when Johannes Olsen, a twenty-two year old stoker, became violently sick and Dr. William Renwick, who had been treating Olsen for his chronic diarrhea for nearly three weeks, was summoned to the ship. Dr. Renwick felt that it would be better for Olsen to be admitted to the Govern Hospital in Nagasaki and sent him there, but he did not send Olsen’s medical records with him. There Olsen was misdiagnosed as having cholera by Dr. Van Leeuwen, and “sent in the dead of night to a temporary hospital about five miles away, over one of the roughest roads in the neighbourhood, at which so-called hospital he was left to the mercy of the Japanese till the time of his death, they all the time believing the case to be one of cholera, of which disease they entertain no little dread.” The Japanese Governor demanded the ship be placed in quarantine to protect Nagasaki’s community, and it was only after Dr. Renwick’s protests and the medical investigation of the crew conducted by the Acting Swedish and Norwegian Consul and three medical officers from the United States and England, that aside from the twenty-three year old stoker Ole Antonsen - who suffered mild common diarrhea, the ship’s crew was healthy. The paper noted that the scare “ended in nothing worse than a pecuniary loss to the owners of the Hakon Adelsten and a difference of opinion amongst our medical authorities.”
36 It is unclear why Mancini went with the rescue party, as he obviously was unaware that the Italian ship had sunk. The North China Herald, November 14, 1878, reported that Mr. Olarovsky, Russian Consul at Nagasaki who also took care of the Italian concerns stated: “Giuseppe Santoro, who was found on Quelpart island by Mr. Mancini, who had gone to that place for the purpose of bringing aid to another shipwrecked vessel.”
37 The Japan Gazette, October 31, 1878
38 The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express, November 13, 1878
39 The Japan Daily Herald, November 19, 1878
40 Umbrellas were highly prized by the Koreans who saw them as status symbols.
41 The Japan Daily Herald, November 19, 1878
42 Korean males wore their hair long and in braids until they were married. A male was not considered an adult, regardless of his age, until he married. Upon marriage he wore his hair in a ‘top-knot’ and was afforded all the respect and rights of an adult. Later, after Korea had opened to the West, recently-arrived
Westerners often mistook these young boys as pretty women and were ridiculed by their more knowledgeable friends. One of the men who accompanied the rescue mission to Cheju Island noted that “the women seemed to be very hard-worked in the fields; they were studiously kept away from us, and I must confess I did not see a pretty one.” *The Japan Daily Herald*, November 26, 1878

This coolie was lost during the night when he fell overboard during rough seas. Due to some confusion it was not realized that he was lost until the following morning when the Japanese coolies assembled for breakfast. *The Japan Daily Herald*, November 26, 1878

_Deuchler, Martina, Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys*, pp. 109-110


*The North China Herald*, November 21, 1878

This is based on the account of the accident as given in the *North China Herald*, May 5, 1882.

Ironically, Captain T. Gubbins died of dysentery at Chefoo, China, a little over a month after Captain Watt was lost in the shipwreck. *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, November 12, 1881.

*The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, May 6, 1882. According to this short article he spent nearly eight months in Korea.

Ha, Tae-Hung, *Korea — Forty Three Centuries*, p. 62

_Nahm, Andrew C., Introduction to Korean History and Culture*, p. 76

The Portuguese and Spanish were the first to visit Japan and were soon followed by the English and Dutch. Due to the anti-Christian sentiment in Japan, the Spanish and Portuguese were expelled after their missionary activities were discovered. The Portuguese tried to re-establish trade with Japan in July 1640 when they sent Paes Pacheco and his entourage from Macao, bearing documents pledging to repay the Japanese merchants, to Nagasaki aboard a Portuguese merchant ship. The Japanese were less than pleased and decided to teach the Portuguese a lesson. Pacheco and his entourage of 60 men were executed, only seventeen servants were allowed to return to Macao by a Chinese junk, and the Portuguese merchant ship was burnt. By 1641, only a small number of Dutch
were allowed to dwell in Japan and only on Dejima Island. There was little opportunity for Western ships to explore the waters off Japan for fear of offending the Japanese and being expelled from Japan. Fei, Chengkang, *Macao 400 Years*, pp. 103.
Jirisan: Sacred Aspects and Assets

DAVID A. MASON

Introduction

Korea's folk-shamanist shrines and Buddhist temples, and the practices and artworks they house, are very interesting to foreign tourists, especially Westerners, but they are as yet vastly under-utilized as draws for Korea's inbound cultural tourism. South Korea has an ancient tradition of considering some of its mountains to be especially sacred or holy, inhabited by powerful San-shin [Mountain-spirits], which are depicted in strikingly original and colorful icons in characteristic shrines. It also has many Buddhist monasteries whose presence, architecture and practices add to the sacred character of the mountains that host them. If the character and meaning of these places is properly explained, they can be very attractive to foreign tourists. The culture of these "holy mountain" shrines and temples is ancient but yet still quite contemporary, still evolving and growing in a fascinating way.

Jiri-san or the Exquisite-Wisdom Mountains is the Republic of Korea's oldest and largest National Park. It is a great treasure-house, holding a vast cultural wealth which is so far virtually un-utilized as an inbound international tourism attraction. There can be no doubt that it is one of the most sacred mountains in all of Korea. However, the fact of its being regarded as sacred since ancient times, and its contemporary religious assets, such as temples and shrines, are not very well-known, particularly outside of Korea itself; information about them in English has been scarce.

China and Japan both have well-known "sacred mountains" (such as Tai-shan and Fuji-san) that are featured in their international tourism-promotions. Korea has quite a few "sacred mountains" yet under-utilizes their reputations and aspects for this purpose. I believe that increasingly doing so would be of widespread benefit to both Korea's national reputation and its tourism industry. Therefore, in this paper I want to
discuss the aspects and factors of Jiri-san which make it one of Korea’s most sacred mountains, and provide details on its physical religious assets, especially its many Buddhist temples and mountain-spirit-oriented folk-shamanism shrines. They have been found by this author to be of unique variety and vivid, colorful interest.

Even within South Korea itself, and in the international publications concerning it, the topic of sacred mountains has received little attention in either popular or scholarly publications. I have extensively searched for books or papers in the English language written by academic scholars (both Korean and non-Korean) on this subject, but have not found any at all. There are a few written in Korean or Japanese, but I could not find any that offered useful detailed listings. Nothing can even be found on the Internet, beyond the few statements that I reference in this paper. In South Korea’s tourism-promotion literature, both national and local, including both printed materials and Internet webpages, there are only passing references to the sacred character and religious assets of the Jiri-san National Park and the areas close around it.

In both the cases of China and Japan, the idea that certain mountains are highly sacred, and designations of sets of nine or three most-sacred mountains, are extensively used for international tourism promotion in order to attract inbound tourists, particularly from Western nations. Sacred mountains of this kind are a unique type of attraction, offering combinations of beautiful natural scenery, adventurous and health-promoting hiking and profound cultural interest (at the temples and shrines on the slopes and peaks). Adding the cultural atmosphere and assets of such a place to its natural assets raises it far above any ordinary, beautiful mountain in its potential interest to sophisticated travelers, who may already have some interest in the Asian religions represented. A general survey of tourist-oriented brochures and websites available in English from these nations shows widespread use of these mountains and their sacred character as factors in drawing tourists, whether in the spirit of viewing exotica or of sincere pilgrimage.

The English tourist brochures and websites of South Korea, however, make very little mention of the sacred character of Korea's many sacred mountains as reasons or enticements for foreign tourists to visit. In promoting visits to the great mountains, or to the nation in general, the
concept of sacred mountains with fascinating religious sites on them is generally absent. There is no mention at all of a systematic set of "Korea's Most Sacred Mountains," which might spark or heighten the curiosity or interest of international travelers. This is a good promotional opportunity that is simply being missed in Korean tourism.

**Criteria and terminology for the sacredness of Korean mountains.**

The factors that I have discovered in the course of my research that lead to Korean mountains being considered sacred can be divided into two categories: factors that are more physical and others that are more cultural. These are interrelated and cumulative; to be considered "highly sacred" a mountain must be seen to have at least several of them, having only one will not be considered sufficient. Every mountain in question has its own unique and characteristic set of and balance of these factors, which combine to establish and maintain its reputation.

1. Physical Factors:
   a) unusually-high peak(s) or great size / outstanding prominence
   b) significant geographical position
   c) unusual, strange or outstanding topographical features
   d) serving as the origin of a major river
   e) being a member of the Baekdu-daegan Range or one of its major branches
   f) serving or having served as the geographical "guardian" mountain of a city or region, perhaps with a military fortress on it

2. Cultural Factors:
   a) the mountain's name has a profound / auspicious religious meaning
   b) people have had, and/or are said to have had spiritual experiences or visions, or attained enlightenment and wisdom, on that mountain
   c) social heroes having been born, trained or educated there, gaining special powers
   d) old folk or religious myths or legends being sited there, including myths of that mountain's "spirit" appearing, manifesting or causing some phenomena
   e) the mountain has served as the spiritual "guardian" mountain of a city, being thought to have powers to generate or ensure abundant fecundity, or
simply to protect against disaster
f) presence of one or more important Buddhist temples
g) presence of one or more major Shamanic shrines
h) presence of significant historical/archaeological remains
i) previous governments established shrines there for worship of its spirit
j) previous governments including it in a numeric-based system of sacred mountains

Contemporary Koreans themselves rarely refer to any such criteria when mentioning that a certain mountain is sacred; that it meets one or more of these criteria is usually only implied, and usually assumed to be generally known by everyone, not requiring detailed explanation. "Myeongsan" is the most common term used to designate a sacred mountains - the Hanja character myeong employed here was apparently originally the one meaning "bright" with Shamanic-Daoist religious overtones, but is now its synonym meaning "famous". Other Korean terms used in this way, although less commonly, are Yeongsan [spirit(ual) mountain], Shinseong-hansan [spirit-holy big-mountain] and Shinryeongsan [mountain with a (strong) spirit].

Basic features of Jiri-san.
Jiri-san is really a group of mountains long known under one name. It was designated as Korea's first National Park at the end of December 1967 by President Park Chung-hee. It has three main peaks - Cheonhwang-bong (1915m), Banya-bong (1751m) and Nogo-dan (1507m) - and more than a dozen major subsidiary peaks over 1000 meters high along their main ridge, each with their own distinct religious character, often with specific associated myths.

There are six southern spurs respectively dominated by Chail-bong (1008m) / Wonsa-bong (579m), Hyeongjae-bong (912m), Wangshiri-bong (1243m), Hwangjang-bong (942m), Samshin-bong (1355m) / Shiri-bong (1200m) / Hyeonjae-bong (1115m) / Ju-san (832m) and Gugok-bong (961m); a northeastern spur comprising Ssukbat-jae (1323m) / Wangdeung-jae (936m) / Wang-san (923m) / Eungseok-bong (1099); two northern spurs respectively led by Samjeong-bong (1225m) / Baekun-san (903m) / Sambong-san (1187m) / Beobhwa-san (990m), and
Nam-gori-bong (1305m) Manbok-dae (1433m) / Buk-gori-bong (1305m) / Barae-bong (1165m) / Deokdu-bong (1150m); and two western spurs respectively comprising Yeongjae-bong (878m) / Gyeondu-bong (775m) / Cheonma-san (656m) / Gitdae-bong (691m) and Ganmi-bong (728m) / Jicho-bong (601m). Most of these peaks listed here are within the National Park boundaries. They extend outside those boundaries into various districts of Gurye City of South Jeolla Province; Hadong County, Samcheong County and Hamyang County of South Gyeongsang Province; and Namwon City of North Jeolla Province.

Alpine springs of very high-quality water flow down into two dozen dramatic valleys and famous scenic gorges. Three great ancient Buddhist temples (all among the Republic of Korea's 20 most important monasteries), more than two dozen other "traditional" (founded before the 20th Century) temples and hermitages, and several dozen more modern ones are found around the slopes, along with several significant Shamanic and/or Daoist shrines and well-known historical and/or folk-culture sites.

Sacred aspects of Jiri-san.

Jiri-san certainly meets all the physical criteria for a sacred Korean mountain. It is relatively gigantic, and dominates all the surrounding countryside. It divides into separate provinces the entire southern quarter of the Korean Peninsula, serving as both the military and spiritual "guardian" mountain of all the south-coast region between Jinju City and Gwangju City; there are several sites of former military fortresses on its slopes. Its topographical features are dramatic, and of a wide variety (as outlined in the previous section). It serves as the origin of the Seomjin-gang River, which flows to the south coast, and the Imcheon-gang River to the north. It holds a primary position in what we might call the "sacred geography of Korea" (according to Pungsu-jiriseol theories established long ago by National Master-Monk Doseon-guksa and others, still widely referenced and utilized today), serving as the southern end of the Baekdu-daegan earth-energy and water-source range.

The name of this set of mountains itself expresses its highly-sacred character; "Jiri" can be translated as "Exquisite Wisdom", a Buddhist-based term meaning spiritual wisdom that is above-the-ordinary, refined, precious and rare. The term "exquisite wisdom" is used in the
great Diamond and Lotus Sutras as the type of wisdom possessed and employed by Munsu-bosal [Manjusri (Skt), Wenshu (Ch) or Monju (Jp), the Bodhisattva of Wisdom] to enlighten each Buddha before he manifests into our world, and to potentially enlighten all beings in the universe. This massive mountain has long been associated with this key Buddhist deity, and several of the temples found here reflect that emphasis.

As a result, there is an old Korean saying that residing, studying and conducting spiritual practices for a while on the slopes of this mountain will transform foolish people and make them wise. There are a wide variety of historical records and legends claiming that many Koreans have in fact done so, including some of Korea's greatest Buddhist masters: Uisang-daesa, Jin-gam-guksa, Doseon-guksa, Jinul Bojo-guksa and Seongcheol, and cultural saints such as Choi Chi-won.

Half of Korea's eight high-altitude Buddhist temples are found in these mountains, and higher altitude has long been associated with sacredness in Korean culture, due to the strong function of mountains on mountain spirits in its spiritual traditions.

In most instances that can be found in contemporary writings, when Koreans list the three or five most sacred mountains of their nation, Jiri-san is always included as one of them. It has been the most sacred set of peaks in the southern quarter of the Korean peninsula since at least the 6th-Century Shilla Kingdom. The Shilla kings regarded Jiri as one of the outer "O-ak" or five great outer mountains protecting the kingdom, and built a shrine for its San-shin [mountain-spirit] at Cheonhwang-bong [Heavenly-King Peak, the highest, on the eastern end], holding rituals up there for the well-being of the nation and its citizens despite severe weather. There were both Buddhist-style and Daoist-flavored royally sponsored ceremonies honoring its spirit(s) and beseeching protection and fortune during the Goryeo Dynasty, at first at a shrine on Nogo-dan [Crone-Altar Peak, the third highest, on the western end], and later down on its lower slopes.

One of the most enduring and vivid demonstrations of Jiri-san's sacred character is the continued holding of the Namak-je [Southern Peak Ceremony], successor to the official rituals described above. In the 1700s the Joseon Dynasty officially established a system of three holy peaks which would be semi-annually worshiped in the Neo-Confucian style,
under lavish royal patronage; Jiri-san was the southern one (Gyeryong-san was the central, and Myohyang-san was the northern). A large shrine was built at the western foot of the Nogo-dan slopes, in Dang-dong [Shrine Village] of what is now Jwasa-ri of Sandong-myeon District, at the western foot of Galmoi-bong Peak (now called Nam-gori-bong). It was moved to its current site just east of the entrance road to Hwaeom-sa Temple in 1737 by the Namwon Magistrate, and titled Nam-ak-dan [South Peak Altar], or the Ha-ak-dan [Lower Peak Altar]. It was torn down by Japanese invaders in 1908, as they launched their early-20th-century colonial occupation of Korea its remains were further destroyed during the Korean War.

However, the tradition of holding rituals to respect Jiri-san was slowly revived by local monks and people during the late 1950s. The relatively small shrine building, now called Namak-sa [South-Peak Shrine] was rebuilt in 1964 by an association of Gurye County residents, who then began the modern local revival of the ancient royal Namak-je [Southern Peak Ceremony], in the Neo-Confucian style. It is held just once a year, on the traditional date "Gok-u" (one of the 24 seasonal divisions by the old Oriental Solar Calendar, usually falling in April of the modern Solar Calendar and during the Third Moon of the traditional Lunar Calendar), in conjunction with the local Gurye Festival called the Yaksu-je [Celebration of Medicinal Water, referring to both the clean, healthy waters flowing down from the mountain and consumption of sap of the Acer Truncatum trees that grow abundantly in this area]. Every year the costumes and performances have gotten more elaborate, and ever more people attend. I have attended and photographed it twice; it is now about two hours long, solemn, profound and even beautiful. The Mayor of Gurye County and other prominent locals officiated, and the Abbots of major nearby Buddhist temples attended, all with evident sincerity, demonstrating the importance they believe this ceremony has for their community. Holding the ceremony has come to mean a lot for the pride of the residents in their own ancient cultural forms and values. The official website of Gurye County states:

The most representative of the folk cultural festivals held in each district adjoining Mt. Jiri is the Jirisan Namakje. This festival has a
long history and is of such a scale that it is known by Koreans nationwide. Every Goku-jeol, participants offer a sacrificial rite to the mountain-gods of Mt. Jiri to wish for national peace and safety. This festival dates from the Silla Dynasty. At Mt. Jiri, one of Korea's five famous mountains, Goku-je was held to pray for a good harvest and peace for the people. At this time, the Hwarang (elite youth corps of the Shilla Dynasty), as well as local townspeople participated in the vibrant festival and several competitions such archery and traditional wrestling were held. Until 1999, this festival was only called Yaksuje, but it was renamed Namakje in 2000.

It is also quite significant that the government of Samcheong County has established a new shrine for public ritual-respect of Jiri-san, with a large statue of the female San-shin of Jiri’s Cheonhwang-bong, at a popular eastern trailhead of the mountain. This action also followed along with ancient precedents; the effort and money spent demonstrate how the old traditions of Jiri-san as one of Korea's most sacred mountains continues to the present-day.

In addition to all of its important Buddhist and Shamanic shrines, Jiri-san also gains in reputation as a sacred mountain due to several other factors. It hosts the Hwagye-dong Valley, which was Korea's original site of growing green tea (strongly linked to meditational Buddhism) and is still producing the nation's highest-quality teas. Further, it contains Cheonghak-dong, a famous alpine valley that is home to two unusual nationalistic religious cults (one Neo-Confucian millennialist, the other Daoist). Recently, it has become the site of attempted re-introduction to the wild of one of Korea's most famous animals, the nearly-extinct bandal-geom bear.

Sacred assets of Jiri-san.
From my visits and study of maps, I have determined that the entire Jirisan region can be usefully divided into twelve sectors for cultural-geography and tourism-geography purposes. These sectors, with their major Buddhist temples, Shamanic or Daoist shrines, scenic-gorges and other significant sacred features are listed here, as a summation of Jirisan’s sacred assets:
(** indicates one of the 3 great ancient Buddhist temples at Jiri-san, and * indicates one of the 26 other important traditional temples, hermitages or shrines there)

1. Far-Southwest Sector (west of Nogo-dan, northern Gurye County):
   a) * Cheon-eun-sa ["Hidden Spring" Temple, implying that it is a source of esoteric but life-enriching spiritual wisdom], founded in 828. Its present configuration and some of the buildings are from a reconstruction in the late 1700s. Its main current fame is as a charming place, with easy access for tourists driving up the paved road to Nogo-dan. It holds a 1776 Sakyamuni Buddha altar-painting (Treasure #924). Following the ancient tradition, before paintings and statues began to be used in the late 1700s, Cheoneun-sa's only San-shin icon was an uncut stone set in a rock-shrine behind the Main Hall, against the temple's back wall. Carved Hanja characters read "Monument of Mountain King". There are two more examples of these primitive crude-stone San-shin icons nearby here and a few more nationwide; they are now rare.
   b) * Sudo-am, a newly-rebuilt Hermitage featuring Korea's largest Sanshin-gak [Mountain-spirit shrine] and Sanshin-do [Mountain-Spirit painting]
   c) * Sangseon-am, the remote "Upper Meditation" Sanctuary-Hermitage
   d) Nogo-dan, the "Crone-Altar Peak" of 1507 meters, newly dedicated as a spiritual residence of the mythical divine mother of Founder-King Pak Hyeokgeose of the Shilla Kingdom, revered as a national guardian-deity, and reputed training-site for Shilla’s Hwarang warrior-youths. It enjoys easy vehicle access, hence its popularity today.
   e) several other small hermitages with interesting artworks.

2. Central-Southwest Sector (south of Nogo-dan, northern Gurye County):
   a) ** Hwaeom-sa, the Temple named after the Hwaeom [Flower-Garland, Skt: Avatamsaka, Ch: Huayen] Sutra one of the most important scriptures of doctrinal Buddhism, was founded in 544 by a missionary-monk named Yeon-gi-josa, who may have come from India. It remains the greatest of all Buddhist temples at Jiri, and one of Korea’s largest, most-important, most-venerated and most-visited. Great Master Uisang, who brought the Hwaeom-Sect teachings back to Korea after extensive study in of them in
China, reconstructed and greatly expanded it with royal support from Queen Seondeok in the mid-600s. On this site he authored one of the key documents of Korean Buddhism, the *Hwaeom-ilseung-beopgye-do*. Hwaeom-sa was refurbished in the late 800s, with magnificent, unique and treasured granite artworks in the courtyard, by Master of Geomancy and Meditation Doseon-guksa. They include the East and West Pagodas in the Lower Courtyard (Treasures #132 and #133), a gigantic Stone Lantern (National Treasure #12, the largest of its kind carved before 1960 or so), the Four-Lion-Pillars Saria-budo funerary-monument (Treasure #300) and the famous Four-Lion-Pillars Three-story Pagoda (National Treasure #35) which features a standing monk-statue inside the pillars and a unique Lantern-on-pillars with another monk kneeling in respect towards it (probably representing a disciple of Yeon-gi); on both these latter the four lions have monkeyish faces displaying four cardinal human emotions – anger, laughter, sorrow and serenity. Since then its buildings have been burnt and rebuilt several times, with its stone monuments remaining in excellent condition and great halls hosting thousands of monks and lay-worshippers, including the Gakhwang-jeon Main Hall (National Treasure #67) dedicated to the Biro-bul [Buddha of Infinite Cosmic Light].


c) Munsu-sa, a large newly-built monastery dedicated to the Bodhisattva of Wisdom

d) * Osan Saseong-am, the Four-Sages Hermitage, now a popular temple to visit in the near-SW foothills of Jiri-san just east of Gurye Town, with fantastic views, a cliff-carved Buddha and legends of the four enlightened master-monks who lived and practiced there; it was founded in 544 CE by Yeon-gi-josa; Wonho, Doseon and Jin-gam practiced there.

e) * Taean-sa [Grand Peace Temple] at Bongdu-san (a.k.a. Dongri-san), in the far-SW foothills of Jiri-san just west of Gurye Town, founded in 742 CE, high-point of the Unified Shilla Dynasty, by Master Nosa. Great Master Hyecheol reconstructed it much larger (said to have 132 rooms) at the beginning of the Goryeo Dynasty, and it became one of the leading monasteries of Jiri-san. This is now a major Meditation Retreat temple of the Jogye Order, and is therefore generally not open to the public, and contains no San-shin or other folk-shamanism shrines. Its treasure-assets
include the Gwangja-seonsa Pagoda (NT #274) and the Hyecheol-guksa budo-sari-tap stone monument (NT #273).

3. Eastern-Southwest Sector (south of Samdo-bong, northern Gurye County):
   a) * Yeon-gok-sa, another major temple, possibly founded by Yeongi around the same time as Hwaeom-sa, reconstructed after several tragic destructions; containing a budo funerary-stupa that might be for Doseong-guksa, one of Korea’s most important monks.
   b) Pia-gol Gyegok Scenic-Gorge, very famous for viewing the autumn leaves
   c) Minor Temples: Bullak-sa, Hansan-sa & Cheonwang-sa

4. Central-South Sector (west of Samshin-bong, northern Gurye County):
   a) ** Ssanggye-sa, the Twin-Streams Monastery, was founded in 722 by monks Sambeop and Daebi, disciples of the great Hwaeom Master Uisang-daesa. It is said that they were guided to the location by a Jiri-sanshin in the form of a tiger, after being instructed by him in dreams to look for a site where arrowroot flowers blossomed through the snow. They had traveled China for study, and returned with the skull of and a portrait of Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch of Seon [Zen] Buddhism, which they respectively buried and enshrined here. In the early 800s it was expanded by Meditation-Master Jin-gam, who was responsible for planting Korea’s first green tea field outside of its gates. It was burned to the ground by Japanese invaders in 1592 during the Imjin War, and then rebuilt and renovated several times from the 1600s until now. It serves as one of the Jogye Order’s "District Headquarters" temples, remaining a major site of pilgrimage and tourism. It contains a famous monument written by Daoist culture-saint Choi Chi-won.
   b) the center of Korea’s Green Tea tradition, near Ssanggye-sa
   c) * Guksa-am, the National-Master Hermitage, founded by Jin-gam in the early 800s
   d) * Bulil-am Hermitage, founded by Jin-gam in the early 800s, and Bulilpokpo (one of mainland south Korea’s highest waterfalls)
   e) * Chilbul-sa, the Seven-Buddhas Temple of Beob-wang-gol [Dharma-King Valley], at an altitude of about 800m, is one of Korea’s primary meditation-retreat temples. This small but important monastery
was founded around 560, when the Shilla Kingdom gained control of this region, conquering the Gaya Federation and overthrowing its last ruler Suro-wang. It is said that the seven sons of King Suro realized that further resistance was futile, and so retreated to this sacred site and built a hermitage. They all intensively meditated here without distraction and reached full enlightenment -- people said that the Seven Princes had become Seven Living Buddhas -- thus the name Chilbul-sa was adopted, and its fame grew. Aja-bang may be Korea's most-renowned Seon [Meditation] Hall, built in the shape of an equal-armed cross with what may be the thickest ondol heated-clay/stone floor; for every summer and winter gyeolchae [traditional Korean intensive meditation sessions, of at least two months], there is a long waiting-list of monks applying for the honor and privilege of sitting in this building.

f) Daeseong-gyegok, the Great Sage Scenic-Gorge dedicated to Choi Chi-won.

5. Far-South Sector (south of Samshin-bong, northern Hadong County):
   a) Akyang-myeon District and Hadong Town host a dozen small Buddhist temples
   b) Cheonghak-dong, the "Azure-Crane Village," is a nationally famous alpine valley home to two unusual nationalistic religious cults. One is revised-Neo-Confucian millenialist and operates the Jinju-am Shrine, the other is Daoist (very rare in Korea), claiming to have been there for 300 years, building the * Samseong-gung [Three Sages Palace] dedicated to Korea's mythical founding-kings Hwan-in, Hwan-eung and Dan-gun.
   c) Middle and Lower Cheonghak-dong Valley, with several other small temples and shrines.

6. Inner-Southeast Sector (southwestern Sancheong County):
   a) Cheonhwang-bong, the Heavenly-King-Peak, Jiri's summit at 1915 meters, very popular with hikers. The entire area around it features many temples and shrines devoted to the national "Holy-Grandmother San-shin" (a female Mountain-spirit, once common but now a rare phenomenon in Korea), depicted in many statues and paintings. She is identified with the mythical origins and general prosperity of Korea, and also thought of as the spirit of Queen Wisuk, mother of Founding-King Taejo of the Goryeo Dynasty, "whose prayer was believed to make the unification of the Three Kingdoms possible".
b) * Beobguy-sa Temple, one of Korea's highest-altitude temples at 1300 meters, said to have been founded in 544 by Yeon-gi-josa

c) * Cheonhwang-sa, a small temple where the ancient stone statue of the "Holy-Grandmother San-shin" is now enshrined.

d) Sanshin-Halmae-dang Shamanic Shrine

e) Seokcheon-sa Shamanic Shrine

f) Gilsang-am Buddhist Hermitage

g) several other Buddhist and Shamanic Temples & Shrines of the Naedae-cheon Valley

7. Eastern Sector (western Sancheong County):

a) * Naewon-sa, a medium-sized temple founded by Muju-guksa in 888, with two ancient National Treasures, a pagoda and a Biro-bul [Vairocana, Buddha of Cosmic Light] statue.

b) * Daewon-sa, a larger temple founded in 548 by Yeon-gi-josa a very popular trailhead for climbing Cheonhwang-bong, and famous for its nine-story (only 8 remain) granite pagoda that is said to glow with a bluish light when the nation is in danger (T #1112).

c) several other smaller Buddhist temples, featuring rare female San-shin icons

8. Far-Northeast Sector (northwestern Sancheong County):

a) Wang-san, the King's Mountain, featuring the pyramidal stone tomb of Gaya King Guhyeong-wang and the * Muryang-sa Temple on its north slope and the large Wangbok-sa [King Fortune Temple] on its east slope.

b) Ungseok-bong, the Bear-Stone Peak, featuring Jigok-sa and Shimjeong-sa Temples

9. Inner-Northeast Sector (southern Hamyang County):

a) * Byeoksong-sa, a charming small temple founded in the Shilla Kingdom era

b) West Hermitage next to Byeoksong-sa, with monumental new Buddhist cliff-carvings

c) Chiseong-gyegok, the Seven-Immortals Scenic-Gorge

d) Beobhwa-san, the Dharma-Blossom Mountain, with three significant temples including the * North Beobhwa-sa and the large new South Beobhwa-sa

e) * North Munsu-sa, Jeokjo-am and other small temples

f) Gyeonbul-sa, the major new "Viewing Buddha Temple"
g) Baekmu-dong & Hanshin Scenic-Gorges
h) Seseok-pyeongjeon alpine flower-field & the Seseok-cheon mineral-spring
10. Upper-North Sector (east & north of Samjeong-bong):
a) ** Silsang-sa, one of the "Gu-san-cheol" [original Korean Zen temples], founded in 828 by National-Master-monk Hongcheok-guksa, expanded by royal order in the early 900s according the advice of geomantic master Doseon-guksa. Contains a famous iron Yaksa-yorae Medicinal Buddha.
b) * Yaksu-am, Geumdae-am, Anguk-am, Seojin-am and * Baekjang-am Hermitages
c) * Yeongwon-sa Temple, famous for its remote serenity, founded in 650 CE during the reign of the Shilla Kingdom's Queen Jindeok
d) * Godam-sa, founded in the early Goryeo Dynasty, with a large cliff-carved stone-relief Buddha
e) legendarily remote smaller temples including Sambul-sa, * Muju-am and Dosol-am Hermitages, and * Sangmuju-am Hermitage, known as the site of the final enlightenment of National Master Jinul Bojo-guksa (founder of the dominant Jogye Order).
11. Inner Northwest Sector (far-northeastern Namwon City):
a) Baemsa-gol Scenic-Valley, site of mystical legends and famous for unspoiled beauty
b) Samdo-bong Peak, 1500m, where borders of the three southern provinces meet
c) Banya-bong, the Prajna-Wisdom Peak, South Korea's third-highest at 1751 meters
d) Myohyang-am Hermitage, Korea's highest and most remote
e) the remote and unspoiled Unbong-myeon District, with Manbok-dae, Gori-bong, Segeol-bong, Barae-bong and Deokdu-bong Peaks, and several small temples
12. Outer Northwest Sector (eastern & southern Namwon City):
a) several small but significant temples of Namwon, Korea's City of Romance (due to being the site of the very popular Joseon-dynasty story Chunhyang), including * Unseon-sa, * Yeonhwa-sa and * Juji-am.
b) several small shamanic shrines on the Northwestern Slopes
c) Surak Waterfall and its scenic-gorge
d) the Jiri-san Hot Springs Resort (a major tourism asset but of no
Conclusion

Jiri-san meets all the criteria for being considered a sacred mountain, and has an extraordinary wealth of sacred assets that could individually and collectively be promoted to attract higher levels of inbound foreign tourism. The combination of its scenic beauty and excellent hiking trails along with its good level of tourism infrastructure (accommodation, restaurants, transportation access, sales of local products etc.) already make it a well-known and popular domestic tourist destination for Koreans, and a small number of international residents and tourists. With greater knowledge of and promotion of its sacred aspects and assets, I believe that it could attract many more international tourists to Korea.

National and local tourism authorities, as well as private tour-companies, ought to make greatly-increased efforts towards:

1. Further assessment and systemized categorization of Jiri-san’s sacred aspects and assets, as have been listed in a preliminary way here.
2. International promotion of the results, particularly to Western nations, Japan and China, in order to let potential visitors know about the unique things Jiri-san has to offer them, particularly from the "spiritual and pilgrimage tourism" point of view.
3. International promotion of the more general idea that Korea has a number of sacred mountains, comparable in tourism value to those of China and Japan, and that Jiri-san is a leader among them (comparable to China’s Tai-shan and Japan’s Fuji-san); and
4. Implementing measures to ensure that Jiri-san’s sacred aspects and assets are made more accessible to international visitors, in particular the upgraded use of English and other non-Korean languages to clearly indicate and describe them on-site, enhancing the visitors experience with historical and spiritual depth of understanding.

I would like to propose, that since Jiri-san hosts a dozen major ancient sacred places, mostly located at its base, very nearly in a circle (oval, elongated on the east-west axis) going about 80% around the entire National Park area, a long-term project should be undertaken to create a pilgrimage trail between them all, linking them in a single well-sign-
posted hiking trail. Places to rest and stay overnight at the temples, and
places to eat characteristic local cuisine, should be established with proper
foreign-language support at appropriate intervals along the way. This
circular Jiri-san pilgrimage trail, although not having ancient roots, could
itself become a significant attractor of spiritually-minded international
tourists (as well as those merely interested in long healthy walks through
beautiful natural scenery). More research should be conducted on this idea
by tourism geographers and concerned local officials.

References
Most of the data and ideas about Jiri-san presented in this paper were
obtained through my own repeated travels to and hikes on that mountain, and
analysis of the photos obtained during them. For extensive details and
photographs of all the sacred places and aspects of Jiri-san discussed in this paper,
please see the several dozen web-pages on my own website devoted to Korea's
sacred mountains, starting at: http://www.san-shin.net/Jirisan-01.html

Other web-sites devoted to this topic on the global or local scales, which I found
useful in developing the perspectives and arguments of this paper are:
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Korean Patriot and Tea Master: Hyodang Choi Beom-Sul (1904-1979)

BROTHER ANTHONY OF TAIZÉ

Childhood and Youth

Choi Beom-Sul was born on the 26th day of the 5th lunar month of 1904 in Yulpo, Sacheon, South Gyeongsang Province. This village stands very near the temple of Dasol-sa, of which he was destined later to become the Juji (head monk); but when he was five, his family moved to So-ri in Seopo-myeon (now part of Sacheon-si) and there he began his studies in a traditional Confucian school. In 1910, after years of gradual encroachment, Japan finally annexed Korea. Although he was still only a child, Choi Beom-Sul rejected the Japanese yoke like so many of his compatriots. When he was only nine years old, he was expelled from Gaejin Primary School with several other pupils after playing a leading role in the boycott of a brutal Japanese teacher there.

That precocious act of autonomous choice was only a start. After completing his primary school studies at another school in 1915, he was so impressed by the Buddhist scriptures he heard being chanted during a visit to Dasol-sa that he received his parents’ permission and became a Buddhist monk at Dasol-sa early in 1916, enrolling in the monastic school at Haein-sa Temple the following year. He was still barely twelve years old when he made that decision! At Haein-sa he received consecration from the Venerable Im Hwan-gyeong. His original monastic name was Geumbong; he later adopted the name Hyodang to indicate his resolve to dedicate his life to making more widely known the teachings of the great Korean Buddhist thinker, the monk Wonhyo (617-686).

The third sign of his early maturity was an act that might have cost him his life. Although he was still only fifteen, when the Independence Movement was launched on March 1, 1919, Hyodang encouraged the student monks in Haein-sa to make thousands of copies of the Declaration of Independence that he had been sent. These they
distributed throughout the south-eastern regions of Korea. As a result he was arrested and so severely beaten that he could not walk, then transported in fetters to Jinju. So many other had been arrested that there was no room in the yard of the prosecutor’s office and since he was still very young he was set free and carried home. There he stayed for two months, being treated with traditional remedies that included drinking human excrement; the damage to the muscles of his back and shoulders as well as the sinews and bones of his legs meant that for the rest of his life he suffered pain whenever the seasons changed. In early July of 1919 he was able to return to school at Haein-sa, where he and the other student-monks were glad to exchange news on what had happened to them.

The years in Japan: 1922 - 1933

In 1922, after studying many of the major Buddhist sutras as well as the Indian logic known as Hetu-vidyā, and having completed 100 days of prayer, he set off for Japan for further studies. In this he was following the example of many other young Korean intellectuals of the time, for whom Japan’s schools and universities offered a depth of learning both modern and traditional not to be found anywhere in Korea. In addition, the recent triumph of the Russian revolution meant that Tokyo offered many possibilities of learning more about the new political philosophy known as Socialism. For Hyodang, now eighteen, this departure marked a new beginning, and the years in Japan were to be full of many kinds of experiences, both painful and rewarding. These were the truly formative years that determined the course he followed for the rest of his life.

He and a fellow-monk arrived in Tokyo on the morning of June 6, 1922 and went to live with his nephew Choi Won-Hyeong, who was 3 years older and had already been studying in Tokyo for several years. It was this nephew who had sent a copy of the Independence Declaration to Hyodang at Haein-sa; he had also smuggled Manhae Han Yong-Un’s Letter on Korean Independence (조선 독립 서) out of Seodaemun Prison a couple of years later. He continued to be active in the Independence Movement and died a martyr’s death in prison in Daejeon only a few months before Liberation in 1945. He is buried in Daejeon National Cemetery, not far from Hyodang.

In Tokyo, Hyodang began to work delivering newspapers over a
wide area. Hearing one day of a Korean living on his route, he visited him and so met the noted anarchist Bak Yeol (1902-1974), who was living there with his remarkable, equally celebrated Japanese wife, Kaneko Fumiko. After that, he would often visit and discuss with them. It ought to be noted that the Korean and Japanese “anarchists” of this period often did not adopt the very negative ideas about society and its organization generally associated with the anarchists of the West. In particular, many Korean anarchists were idealists eager to participate in the formation of a government overseas fighting for an independent Korea. Japanese anarchists, too, were often ardent advocates of positive human rights, in particular the rights of women who, in traditional Japanese society, had no identity. Frank Hoffmann writes:

In the 1920s the anarchists were one of the very important groups. They were mostly people who had been shocked by the brutality with which Lenin had the Kronstadt sailors killed when he brought himself to power, and who were disappointed by the American style of democracy after Wilson's 14-points at the end of WWI were not applied to Korea. So, during most of the 1920s the anarchists were one of three major parties, with activities going on in Korea (center in Taegu), Japan, China, and even in Paris and Berlin. Later, some of the former anarchists were involved in South Korean politics till the early 60s. Yu Rim (elected Speaker of the Korean National Assembly) and Jeong Hwa-am are good examples. Half of those in Chinese exile went back to North Korea, some long after the Korean War.

Bak Yeol later introduced Hyodang to a group of nationalistic Koreans who were making and selling taffy in order to support high-school students all over Korea. Hyodang soon joined them as a taffy-seller, but also did many other lowly jobs as he learned more about Japan and the Japanese. Also at this time he happened to visit a small temple, Fusenji (普泉寺), where he met a Japanese monk, Sakato Chikai (坂戶智海), who welcomed him kindly, introduced him to the Tiento teachings, and in later times helped him when he was in difficulty.
Hyodang was admitted to the 3rd year class of Rissho Middle School, and also became involved in the struggles of the many poor Koreans living and working in the surrounding industrial area. Bak Ryel had founded the Black Current Society (Kokutokai) in 1920 but in 1922 that had split, giving rise to the Black Fellowship Association (Kokuyukai), while the first anarchist labour union among Koreans in Japan, the Black Labour Association (Kokurōkai), was established in August 1923 by the same group.

Soon Hyodang (who was known at this time as Choi Yeong-Hwan) became a member of a group of Koreans established in May 1923 by Bak Ryel, called the Futeisha (不逞鮮人社 Society of Rebels), who published two numbers of a review and generally encouraged a resistant, disrespectful attitude toward the Japanese authorities. Bak Yeol and his anarchist companions in the Futeisha developed a plan to detonate a bomb during the wedding of the Japanese Crown Prince (later the Emperor Hirohito) planned for September. Hyodang received some money from Bak Ryel and, although utterly innocent of the ways of the world, went across to Shanghai and with help from a young sailor brought back explosives. Finally, some details about the plot leaked out and most of the conspirators were arrested by the Japanese police on September 3, just after the terrible Kanto earthquake of September 1, 1923. News of the planned assassination, declared an act of high treason, made a great impression in Japan and in Korea, the case having been amplified by the Japanese authorities as part of their attempt to justify a violent crackdown against the Korean population in general and especially the anarchists, who had begun to cause trouble in the factories. They were accused of having “caused” the earthquake and thousands of Koreans were massacred by frenzied crowds in the following days.

Bak Yeol and Kaneko Fumiko were sentenced to death for high treason, but after international protests this was commuted to life in prison. Bak Yeol was only set free in 1945, after the Japanese surrender. His companion wrote her memoirs (published in English as The Prison Memoirs of a Japanese Woman) and then died in 1926, hanging herself as a political gesture asserting her right to dispose of her own life (see: Hélène Bowen Raddeker). Bak Yeol is reported to have died in North Korea on January 18, 1974, having been taken there during the war after
returning to South Korea in April 1949. Hyodang’s role in obtaining the explosives remained completely unknown at the time; only Bak Yeol seems to have known of it, and he claimed to have received the explosives from Manchuria, in order to deflect suspicion from Hyodang. The facts of the matter were only revealed much later, after Liberation by Hyodang himself (in a series of articles “Cheongchuneun areumdaeweora” in the Gukje Sinbo starting January 26, 1975).

At the time of the great earthquake, on September 1, 1923, Hyodang had been out delivering newspapers, and escaped harm. Teams of Japanese were soon out challenging those they suspected of being Koreans, seeing if they could pronounce correctly “Rarirurero,” which for most Koreans was impossible with its repeated “r” sounds. Those caught were then lynched, in a strange kind of mass hysteria that considered the presence of foreigners to have been the cause of the disaster. Hyodang escaped detection and was able to hide in Fusenji temple until October 5, when the police came and took him to Shibuya Police Station. Legally, a person could not be detained for more than 29 days, but in his case he was regularly re-arrested the moment he was released and he effectively spent the next 3 years in prison without ever being charged.

In March 1927 he was admitted to the preparatory courses in the Buddhist Studies Department of Taisho University; in 1930 he moved to the main course of studies and graduated in March 1933. During his years in Japan, he was not only active in the Korean resistance movement, especially through his involvement with the anarchist groups, he also supported himself by doing a great variety of often very humble, dirty and menial jobs, which brought him in close touch with many different aspects of Japanese society, and in particular gave him a profound insight into the realities of the working classes.

At the same time, he studied intensively, mastering Sanskrit and Pali, learning about Buddhist traditions in different countries, early Buddhism, and the development of the basic Buddhist sects, as well as taking courses in sociology, economics, Buddhist art, etc. He was especially interested in the writings of the Indian founders of Mahayana Buddhism, Nāgārjuna, Asanga, Dinnāga and Vasubandhu. His graduation thesis was about “Hinayana and the teachings of Vasubandhu” and it received high praise from the five professors who examined it. All the
while, he continued to nourish a special interest in Wonhyo, whose teachings he had first read about in Haein-sa when he was only 16.

The years when he was studying in Japan were a time when many world-famous figures came to lecture there; Hyodang was thus able to attend a week-long course of lectures by Albert Einstein on the Theory of Relativity, and listen to Tagore reading his poems in Bengali and English, which impressed him deeply. Another fateful meeting was with Anagarika Dharmapala (1864 - 1933), the Sri Lankan who devoted his life to the restoration of the great Buddhist temple of Bodh Gaya in northern India. He was traveling round the world bringing minute particles of relics (sari) of the Buddha to every country. For Korea, he entrusted three fragments to Hyodang; these were later enshrined in a special pagoda at Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan. But equally significant were lectures about current social issues he heard given by great Japanese scholars who were socialists, anarchists, and activists. Perhaps the most impressive among these were the speeches given by the radical anarchist Osugi Sakae (1885-1923), which greatly inspired Hyodang in his social vision. Yet he never disregarded the vision comprising his identity as a Buddhist monk, nourished by Zen meditation practice.

In the meanwhile, he had been appointed head monk of Dasol-sa in July 1928, despite his youth, so was obliged to spend his summer and winter vacations in Korea; at the same time he was active in the ongoing Independence Movement among Buddhists. In 1932 he joined the Mandang Squad (만당결사) that had been founded in 1930 under the inspiration of Manhae by noted Buddhist Korean independence fighters. He also published a review with other Buddhists studying in Japan, Geumgangjeo (金剛杵), which was destined to help rekindle the vitality of the Buddhist community in Korea.

**Service in Korean Buddhism under Japanese rule**

Hyodang had barely graduated in 1933 when he received news that he had been chosen as chairman of the central executive committee of the Buddhist Youth League so he was obliged to travel quickly to Seoul and that marked the end of his years in Japan. Henceforth, Korea was to be the scene for his activities. The main inspiration for the Buddhist Youth League, as for so much of what happened in the anti-Japanese Buddhist
circles around Hyodang, was provided by Manhae Han Yong-Un (1879 – 1944), the great Buddhist monk, leader of the Independence Movement and poet. It is a pity that no record seems to indicate just when Manhae and Hyodang met for the first time.

Manhae is above all famed as the leader of the 33 signatories of the March 1 1919 Independence Declaration. For that he was imprisoned, of course. In October 1925, he finished his one collection of poems, titled *Nimui-chimmuk* (Lover's silence). In 1933, he married Yu Suk-won, and from then on mainly lived in a house known as *Simujang* in Seongbuk-dong, Seoul, where he composed a series of long novels that were serialized in the *Chosun Ilbo*.

**Hyodang's activities in the 1930s**

This was a difficult time for Korean Buddhism, with conflicts arising among the monks who were teaching at the new Buddhist School, and tensions about the financial support to be provided by temples for a centralized administration. At the same time, Japanese supervision and control was growing increasingly strong and restrictive. Manhae seems to have hoped that Hyodang might be able to find solutions to these problems and that seems to be part of the reason why he was selected. Since some of Hyodang’s most trusted friends and colleagues had recently been forced out of the central Buddhist administration, he invited them to move, together with their families, down to Dasol-sa, where he would provide housing and food, although it was hardly a large or wealthy temple. Among them was the very talented scholar Gim Beom-bu and his brother, the future novelist Gim Dong-ri. Already it was Dasol-sa that was covering the living expenses of Manhae. In addition, they were in constant confrontation with monks who actively supported the Japanese.

Meanwhile, members of the Seoul Young Women’s League had been demanding the establishment of an educational facility for Buddhist girls. In June 1933, Hyodang established Myeongseong School for Girls in Seoul and he was installed as its first principal for 2 years. The school grew rapidly, counting 300 students by the start of its third year. This school still exists, the only middle and high school for girls directly run by the main Buddhist organization.

The arrival of a whole series of known opponents of Japanese
rule at Dasol-sa meant that the temple was under constant police supervision. In April 1933, Hyodang proposed that the Mandang Squad should be dissolved, since it had been infiltrated by pro-Japanese elements. Some members dissented, but finally it was dissolved while its former members remained active in the Buddhist Youth League. The large number of intellectuals gathered at Dasol-sa needed to be justified, and the suspicions of the authorities set to rest, so in 1936 Hyodang set up a Buddhist Academy there, with Gim Beom-bu, Gim Beop-rin and Gang Go-Bong as lecturers.

In March 1934 he had already established Gwangmyeong Institute at Wonjeon, a few miles from Dasol-sa, to provide primary education for the children of the local farmers. Gim Dong-ri, the younger brother of Gim Beom-bu worked as a teacher there for a time, and his experiences provided the material for some of his most famous novels, written in later years. Soon after this, Hyodang was arrested and remained in custody for some 8 months.

Among those frequenting Dasol-sa in those years were some of Korea’s first Communists, Bak Rak-Jong, Jeong Hui-Yeong, Ha Pil-won; in fact the “Goryeo Communist Party Manifesto” was composed there. Later, in 1935, when those founding Communists were involved in incidents at Daejeon and Imsil, Hyodang was detained for 3 months at Imsil Police Station. Ha Pil-Won in particular lived for a number of years at Dasol-sa with his Russian mistress Agnya. With many other significant figures in the Independence Movement coming and going, the temple played a major role in the anti-Japanese movements of those years, especially in the south-eastern regions.

Meanwhile, in addition to his role at Dasol-sa, Hyodang had become administrative head (님부) of Haein-sa at the start of 1934, at the request of the head monk. There, Hyodang supervised the tenth complete printing of the Tripitaka Koreana from the temple’s 80,000 printing-blocks. In addition, for the first time he examined and printed out the texts contained on the blocks preserved in the smaller western and eastern chambers of the Haeinsa library, that no one had ever bothered with, and this led to the discovery of hitherto unknown works by Wonhyo, among other treasures, with some of the blocks being of great antiquity.
Hyodang’s relations with Japanese Buddhism

1938 saw many young Koreans being drafted to fight for Japan in the Japano-Chinese war, and an increased crackdown on every kind of dissent. Dasol-sa, with its group of known dissidents, was particularly scrutinized. In August, several members of the group residing there were incarcerated at Jinju Police Station and in October, Hyodang and other leading monks were incarcerated at the Gyeongi Province Police Station, having been arrested in Seoul.

One incident that has sometimes been misrepresented as a sign of Hyodang’s alleged pro-Japanese activities happened soon after that. Perhaps because he felt a need to establish his credentials as a devout Buddhist in the eyes of an increasingly suspicious civil administration, in September 1939 he invited 48 scholar-monks of the Japanese Tientai sect for ceremonies in the Ha-an-geo at Dasol-sa, where Master Gim Beom-bu lectured for 7 days on esoteric thought (현리사상). Outwardly, it seemed to be a time of religious retreat and sharing but we may think that inwardly Hyodang saw this as a chance to affirm the superiority of the Korean Buddhist tradition over the Japanese by direct confrontation. That is surely a far more probable interpretation than any claim that Hyodang had suddenly become a turncoat siding with the Japanese attempts to corrupt Korean Buddhism by introducing Japanese influences. During the ceremonies, some of the greatest singers of Korean traditional Buddhist chant, “Beompae,” were present.

The long-lasting, close relationship of Hyodang with Manhae Han Yong-Un was marked by a visit the latter made to him and the other former Mandang members living at Dasol-sa in 1939, to celebrate his 61st birthday (a major celebration in Korean tradition), that fell on the 12th day of the 7th lunar month that year; this visit was made just a few days after the main celebration organized in Seoul.

There is a fascinating vignette in a memory of his visit that Hyodang transmitted: in the evening, after the celebrations were over, the two men sat together in Hyodang’s room, and composed poems in Chinese characters until late at night, as Korean scholars and monks had always done. A page of their compositions written that night has survived. This visit gives us a very clear indication that, so far as Manhae was concerned, Hyodang was as strongly involved in the independence
struggle as ever, and was in no sense compromised with the Japanese.

The following year, in April 1940, Hyodang returned the visit of the Japanese monks, and was invited to give a special lecture at the conference hall of Kanon Temple in Asakusa, Tokyo. Some 5,000 people attended and heard Hyodang explain how the temple enshrined a statue originally made by Korean craftsmen; he then went on to remind them that throughout history, many kingdoms, particularly Chinese, had attempted to crush Korea, and all had failed and been crushed in turn while Korean culture and language had survived. He compared that to Israel’s providential survival in Old Testament times. Now Japan might, he feared, be making the same mistake as the enemies of ancient Israel and Korea. This lecture, too, serves as a manifest sign that Hyodang was in no way prepared to acknowledge Japanese claims of superiority, and rather saw his visit as part of an effort on behalf of Korean Buddhism and Korean national culture, stressing its importance for Japanese Buddhism.

After this, Hyodang visited a number of major Japanese temples before making the classic, immensely grueling 3-week pilgrimage of Hiezan (Mount Hiei) outside Kyoto, that all great monks are supposed to complete (if they cannot make the full 1000-day pilgrimage, which usually takes about 7 years). The courageous way in which Hyodang completed the pilgrimage despite the physical difficulties he encountered impressed the Japanese monks. The first Buddhist temple on Hiezan was built by the founder of the Tientai (Tendai) Buddhist school in Japan, Saicho, who is also sometimes credited with introducing tea to Japan, when he returned from a visit to China in 805. After the rigors of the mountain, Hyodang visited some of the main temples in Kyoto, and also some of the famous tea-plantations there.

There is no sign in all this that his fierce opposition to Japan in its attempt to deprive Korea of its national, cultural identity had in any way weakened. One of the most important keys to any defensive strategy is often formulated as the simple command, “Know your enemy.” Hyodang knew Japan, his nation’s enemy, intimately; that does not mean that he has surrendered to it in any way, on the contrary. In 1941 Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 marked the beginning of the Pacific War. Hyodang’s numerous spells under arrest in the wartime years also testify to the negative view of him held by the Japanese authorities.
Hyodang and Shin Chae-Ho

On March 1, 1942, Hyodang with other scholars launched a plan to prepare an edition of the complete works of Danjae Sin Chae-Ho (1880 – 1936). It might be helpful to evoke very briefly the quite extraordinary story of this very important Korean nationalist, intellectual and historian, if only to show the kind of person for whom Hyodang felt such deep respect.

Danjae Sin Chae-Ho was born in Daejeon into an impoverished branch of an illustrious family. Despite their poverty, he was admitted to study in the local Confucian school, then completed studies at the Confucian Academy in Seoul, Seonggyun-gwan. But after the declaration in 1905 of the Japanese protectorate over Korea, he began to work as a member of the editorial boards of two major nationalistic newspapers, the Hwangseong sinmun and the Daehan Maeil Sinbo. He can be seen at this time as part of what has been called the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement. His greatest contribution, perhaps, lies in the ideas first formulated in a series of articles he published in the Daehan Maeil Sinbo in August – September 1908, entitled Toksa sillon (A new reading of history). For him, the Korean people, the minjok, are descended from their divine progenitor Dangun and it is they, not the ruling dynasty or the geographical space of the Korean peninsula, that should be the central focus of Korean history. That history, he believed, began in Manchuria and one of his major concerns was that Korea should expand to reoccupy that original space. The notion of the minjok, the ordinary Korean people as a whole, was to play a vital role in later rewritings of Korean history and identity. Toward the end of his active life, Danjae was tending to use the even more radical term minjung, in place of the earlier minjok.

Just as Korea was losing its last vestiges of independence, early in 1910, he left the country for ever, resolved to seek for strategies by which the nation might regain its freedom. He studied international relations and world history in Beijing, taught patriotic young Koreans, and also lived and worked for a time in the Russian Far East (in Vladivostok). Early in 1919, the Korean Independence and Justice Corps (Daehan Dongnip Uiginbu), formed in Jilin City, published a “Declaration of Daehan (Korean) Independence,” also known as the “Mu-o Declaration of Independence.” The declaration includes the claim that the use of armed
force would be the only way for the independence movement to succeed. Danjae’s name is included among the declaration’s signatories, but they are numerous and include many others who, like him, probably had nothing to do with its formulation.

In April 1919, Korean exiles decided to establish a unified provisional government in Shanghai and Syngman Rhee was chosen to head it, but only arrived there from the United States at the end of 1920. Danjae, after a time of being associated with it, quit to be active in a variety of militarized groups of Korean exiles elsewhere in China. It is sometimes claimed, almost certainly wrongly, that he was close to the Daejong-gyo religion, a nationalistic new religion whose first leader, Hongam Na Cheol, committed suicide in an ultimate form of anti-Japanese protest in 1916. Although he shared with the cult a particular veneration for Tangun, whom he saw as the originator of the Korean minjok, there is no reason to suppose that he felt any sympathy for their religious aims. He was in fact systematically hostile to all forms of religion, and expressed as much in his writings.

In 1923, he composed The declaration of the Korean revolution (朝鮮革命宣言) which advocated a violent revolution and by 1928 he was clearly an anarchist, convinced of the need to use violent means himself. In order to obtain funds needed to set up a bomb-making factory, he forged a high-value bank-note which he intended to take to Japan to cash but he was caught and identified as a leader of the Korean independence movement. He was incarcerated in a Japanese prison in Lushun (also known as Port Arthur, in Manchuria). His health, already weak, worsened during the years of prison until he died there in 1936. During his life, he expressed himself in many ways; he wrote fiction, poetry, and above all a series of major books about Korean history and culture, all intended to inspire a spirit of nationalistic pride and resistance to Japanese domination; above all, he contributed articles to many journals and newspapers.

Returning now to Hyodang, with the beginning of the Pacific War, the Japanese authorities launched a fierce crackdown on all aspects of Korean culture; people were obliged to take Japanese names, publications in Korean language were banned, and all books recording independent Korean history were confiscated. Hyodang had in his
possession manuscript copies of Danjae Sin Chae-Ho’s *Ancient History of Korea* (*Joseon Sangyeoksa*) and *History of Ancient Culture* (*Godaemunhwasa*) when Japanese police suddenly raided Dasol-sa in September 1942. Fortunately, a Japanese woman living at the temple who had just given birth was able to hide the books under her baby's bedding and they were saved. But Hyodang’s project of publishing Danjae’s works never came to fruition and a 4-volume edition of his “complete works” only appeared in South Korea in 1972. Hyodang’s interest in his work is symptomatic of his own strong nationalistic views and reminds us of his anarchist links during the early years of his life in Japan; it is also in a sense prophetic of the difficulties he experienced under Syngman Rhee’s rule. For the ideas expressed by Danjae were also anathema to Rhee and much praised in North Korea. For many years, his work was virtually banned in South Korea. It was only later, among the resistance to Park Jung-Hee’s rule, that historians in South Korea rediscovered his work and raised him to his present level of fame.

**Hyodang’s activities: 1940 -1945**

In July 1942, a notorious case had involved the arrest and imprisonment of many members of the Korean Language Society (*Hangeulhakhoei*). The ultimate sign that Hyodang was in no sense a pro-Japanese collaborator is the fact that he and his companions at Dasol-sa, as well as many other leading monks, spent much of the war under arrest in atrocious conditions at the South Gyeongsang Province Police Headquarters; others confined there included a number of Protestant pastors and lay-people who had refused to perform the obligatory Shinto rituals in honor of the Japanese Emperor. The buildings were overcrowded, prisoners were mistreated and tortured. Many died.

It should be obvious from all this that by the end of the Japanese period, Hyodang had come to occupy an outstanding position among the ranks of those who resisted the Japanese attempts to bring Korea to its knees and rob its people of their values, culture, and language. He had been closely connected with Manhae, who died on June 29, 1944, and with the leading Buddhists associated with him, as well as with many other intellectuals, and he had already shown his interest in improving the educational facilities available in Korea. At the same time he was known
nation-wide as an outstanding scholar and social thinker, as a devout Buddhist in his practice, as well as an unconditional defender of Korean identity and of its independence from Japan.

In the end, the strongest, most compelling reason for rejecting any suggestion that Hyodang ever did anything that could be considered “pro-Japanese” is a very simple one. Hyodang, more than any other figure involved in the independence struggle, perhaps, never lived alone and never acted alone. The Dasol-sa community, by its very nature, is the strongest guarantee of Hyodang’s integrity. The people who gathered there, as we have seen, lived close together for sometimes years on end. They were in some cases more radical in political thought and action than Hyodang himself; we must recall them, sometimes over a hundred at a time, sprawled on the temple’s grassy lawn, seemingly relaxing and sun-bathing in positions designed to mislead the Japanese observing them through binoculars from far off, while they debated the ways and means of their ongoing anti-Japanese struggle. It is perfectly obvious that none of them would have remained there if there had been even the slightest suspicion concerning Hyodang’s attitude.

Hyodang’s activities after 1945

On August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered and the Japanese soon began to leave Korea, as demanded in the surrender document. At once, in another indication of his anti-Japanese credentials, Hyodang was appointed the General Secretary of the Sacheon National Foundation Association, for the region around Dasol-sa; in 1946 he was selected to be a member of an Emergency National Assembly. On February 2 1947 he was nominated to represent Korean Buddhist groups on the U.S. - Soviet Joint Commission and on February 15 1947 he was selected to be head monk of Haein-sa.

The interest he had manifested in earlier times in promoting education continued. In July 1947, he and Haegong Shin Ik-Hui took the first steps toward founding Gukmin College (that was later to become Gukmin University) in Seoul. Hyodang became the first chairman of the college’s board of governors. It was to be an entirely Buddhist establishment, with funding coming from a variety of Buddhist foundations including Haein-sa. In April 1950, Hyodang even found himself appointed the president of the college as well, for a brief time
before the outbreak of the war. On May 10, 1948, Hyodang had also been elected a member of the Constituent Assembly that inaugurated the Republic of Korea. At a period when many people were establishing political parties, he remained firmly independent and was elected as such.

We have seen the close links that united Hyodang with some of the most significant anarchists, idealists, and communists of his age; he was obviously a revolutionary by temperament, or at least a radical, if by that we mean a person who dreams of establishing a society far different from that in which he finds himself; Hyodang nourished a strong hope of helping to found a single Korea, independent, socialist and democratic, where all would share freely in the construction of a new national identity, a land where a privileged few would not be allowed to dominate and oppress the masses who made up the general population. This dream, common to many Korean idealists, was anathema to Syngman Rhee and the corrupt politicians around him. Hyodang was certainly seen by them, not as a heroic independence fighter, but as a dangerous extremist.

The North Korean army attacked South Korea on June 25, 1950, and on June 28, as the invading forces entered Seoul, Hyodang was captured by them, transported around Seoul in a cabinet, and finally he found himself installed with fifty other National Assembly members in the Seongnam Hotel. On September 15, the allied forces landed at Incheon, in a dramatic, unexpected move that threatened to cut the North Korean lines of communication with their army, that had moved very rapidly further south. Control over the territory in and around Seoul shifted in a flash, and, in a dramatic change of situation, on September 19 a liberated Hyodang went north with the American fleet. There he was put in charge of the Hamheung Ilbo newspaper for 3 months before being evacuated southward on December 12. He moved to Haein-sa, of which he had been made head monk, and on July 25, 1951, as the war came close, his well-known nationalistic credentials were such that he was able to convince the leaders of the Communist militia who had captured Baekryeon-am hermitage, just above Haeinsa, not to bombard the main temple, so saving the temple and the wood blocks of the Tripitaka Koreana.

His interest in education had not abated, and that same year, in the midst of wartime turmoil, he established Haein Middle / High School; then early in 1952 he obtained permission from the then minister of
education, Baek Nak-Jun, to re-establish Gukmin College at Haein-sa under the name of Haein College, for which he was appointed college head. Soon the incursions of partisans from Jiri Mountain made life there too dangerous and Hyodang moved the little college to Jinju. Deeply painful episodes in the following years probably have their explanation at least partly in the political differences that existed between Hyodang, who to some degree at least supported the opposition Democratic Party, and those connected to Syngman Rhee’s ruling Freedom Party. Hyodang went so far as to advocate the need for revolution in his opposition to Syngman Rhee’s dictatorial regime. Rhee personally disliked Hyodang and all that he stood for; thanks to the enmity of the notorious Gim Chang-Ryong, head of Syngman Rhee’s intelligence services, that earned him 6 months’ imprisonment in Seoul’s Seodaemun Prison, until early in 1953.

Hyodang had long dreamed of establishing a new, Wonhyo-inspired Buddhist order, Wonhyo-jong, that would be centered on Dasol-sa. It was to be a kind of Utopia, open to people irrespective of their social, political orientation, or class. For this, a source of funding was essential and Dasol-sa had little beyond that one property, that had been the site of a Japanese temple. Intent on wresting this wealth from his control, his adversaries set out to blacken Hyodang’s reputation by spreading reports that made him appear as the unreasonable party, guilty of greed if not of dishonesty, while newspapers published lurid reports distorting his true intentions. The planned Wonhyo-jong never saw the light of day.

The later years: 1957 - 1979
From 1957, Hyodang often lectured at Dasol-sa to large groups of monks and students on Manhae, then later on the thought of Wonhyo. That was the prelude to the project to collect and publish the complete writings of Manhae, a task that took him and a team of scholars many years and that was only finally completed with the publication of seven volumes in July 1973. All through these years, from the later 1950s, Hyodang resided mainly at Dasol-sa, and his practice of tea, which he had long been developing, became a familiar part of life there. In particular, he planted very many new tea bushes on the slopes above the temple.

In November 1966, a Korean residing in Japan, Gim Jeong-Ju, came to visit him and asked him to write about the Korean practice of tea.
The result was a small booklet that Hyodang had duplicated, and later printed, Hangukui Chasaenghwalosa (History of Korea’s Tea-life); in the course of the following years, he developed that into his major work on tea, Hangukui Chado (The Korean Way of Tea) that was published in its final form in 1973. This book was destined to serve as the foundation text of the great revival of interest in Korean tea he had initiated. Some 300 pages in length, it covers every aspect of its subject in detail. The second half of the book is composed of a series of classical texts about tea, in Classical Chinese, with translations and commentaries, including the Classic of Tea and the major texts by Cho Ui. In addition, beginning in early May 1974, he started to publish a series of sixteen articles about tea in the Dokseomin Shinmun. In August the same year, he published a more general book about his vision of life: Sarameun eotteoke saraya hana (How should people live?). But it was above all through a constant series of lectures, presentations, and personal conversations that he stimulated a widespread tea revival that bore its main fruits in the years after his death, with the multiplication of tea-rooms, tea study associations, tea makers and tea-lovers. He could hardly have imagined that tea would soon be taught as an integral part of Korea’s traditional culture in at least a large number of Korean high schools.

During the 1970s, the rule of Park Jung-Hee grew increasingly harsh, with the promulgation of the “Yushin” (Revitalizing) Constitution at the end of 1972 provoking widespread opposition to which the regime responded with arrests, torture, prison and even death on trumped-up charges. At the heart of the struggle were students and figures from all sections of society, writers, artists, churchmen, monks, workers. Many of these found their way to Dasol-sa and to Hyodang, some looking for support, some for help, and for shelter. A number spent months there in hiding and Hyodang’s reputation as an independence fighter and a member of the Constituent Assembly surely helped to keep the police at bay.

Following the philosophy of Wonhyo, Hyodang believed that the Buddha requires that compassion should be shown especially to those in trouble; he therefore gave monastic ordination to quite a number of people who were in deep disfavor with the ruling powers, and to the children of people who had been condemned as communists. Another specific
characteristic of Wonhyo’s vision of Buddhism is its stress on practical realities. For Hyodang, being a monk did not mean chanting sutras while pious rich women looked after his every need; he demanded that everyone residing at Dasol-sa do a full day’s manual labor out in the fields and around the temple, so constituting a truly communitarian Utopia, during the years of anti-Japanese struggle as during the decades of military dictatorship.

Other visitors to Dasol-sa simply came looking for instruction in Buddhism and whenever Hyodang lectured to groups of students, he would always include the Way of Tea among his topics. In 1969, Chae Jeong-bok, a student from the history department of Yonsei University in Seoul, came to ask for Hyodang’s help in writing her graduation thesis and she finally remained with him for the next ten years, until his death, as his wife and mother of his children. To her, as to no-one else, he transmitted his experience and vision of tea in all its aspects and she continued to teach and promote Hyodang’s Panyaro tea tradition after his death. In the early 1970s, people close to him began to suggest that he should launch an association devoted entirely to tea, in order to support the growing public interest in the topic, but it was only in 1976 that he finally agreed and preparations for the first meeting of the Hanguk Chadohoi (Korean Association for the Way of Tea) began to take shape. In those days, very few Koreans had ever drunk tea, and it was agreed that only people who had at least once drunk tea with Hyodang should participate. That still meant about 100 people, and the resources of the temple were insufficient for such numbers; food would be already a problem, and there was very little room for them to sleep. The meeting was therefore limited to the space of a single day, January 15, 1977.

Hyodang’s troubles were still not over, however. After Liberation in 1945 the order of unmarried monks (soon to be known as Jogye-Jong) received government support in its often violent attempts to gain control of the temples that were, almost entirely, being controlled by the married monks (today known as Taego-Jong). It is a familiar, scandalous story that after the Korean War the Jogye order recruited considerable numbers of young, unemployed thugs as monks; these formed gangs who expelled the married monks from temples with ruthless brutality before going on to take control of the major sources of income belonging to their own order.
It should be admitted that the married monks at major temples also sometimes had their protective gangs.

For many years, physical violence that at times led to death or permanent disability continued as Jogye-Jong monks slowly won control of most of the Korean temples. This battle was frequently justified to popular opinion by simply terming the married monks "Japanese-style" while the unmarried monks claimed to represent the authentic Korean tradition. But even these apparently nationalistic credentials could not prevent the growth of a widespread feeling that almost all Buddhist monks were mainly interested in worldly wealth. This had probably been part of Syngman Rhee's intention. Already by 1970 the Taego order controlled only 50 major monasteries, while the Jogye order controlled 950 temples. In the late autumn of 1977, this ugly reality at last reached Dasol-sa. With the temple blockaded by Jogye warriors, and the local police refusing to intervene, Hyodang found himself obliged to leave. He went up to Seoul, where he had many friends. Using his home there as his own school, he continued to teach, and drink tea. Many old colleagues and friends were now university professors, artists, writers and professionals of various kinds in the new urban society. Many came to share tea with him and deepen their understanding of Buddhism, especially of the thought of Wonhyo.

After a series of weekly lectures, in May 1978, a group gathered around Hyodang in Seoul decided to establish the Cha-Seon-Hoi (Tea-Zen Association). Not long after that, in June 1978, he fell sick and underwent major surgery but his days were numbered and his life came to an end one year later, just after midday on July 10, 1979. He was cremated and his remains were at first placed in a stone urn near the entrance to Dasol-sa but with the passage of years his family and friends came to feel that, given the violent way he had been expelled, this was not the right place. Finally, in 1996, his remains were transferred to a grave in the National Cemetery at Daejeon where he rests alongside many others whose lives were dedicated to the Independence Movement and who, often, had to suffer like him in the years after 1945.

**In conclusion**

What, we might ask, forms a unifying bond between Hyodang's
various activities, beyond the pain they brought him? The Buddhist monk, the advocate of an independent Korean cultural, national identity, the founder of schools, the quiet opponent of dictators, the friend of dissidents, the communitarian visionary, the tea master . . . From time to time we have noted his attachment to the teachings of Wonhyo (617 – 686). Wonhyo is, I believe, the key to Hyodang’s entire life. This immensely popular Buddhist figure from ancient Silla is hardly known in the West, for obvious reasons. Even in Korea, the difficulty of his many writings makes his teaching hard to grasp. His life-story is more accessible, but the deeper vision underlying the tales of his various strange and eccentric acts is not always well understood. One of the most characteristic features of Hyodang’s life is his openness to everyone, but especially to those who are suffering. We may cite his welcome at Dasol-sa of so many different kinds of marginalized people, his readiness to accept as monks people who did not conform to standard models, his ready mingling of monks and ordinary people in the community there, his conviction that monks too should work with their hands and perform menial tasks. Even his readiness to reach out in positive ways to Japanese monks, although clearly part of his conviction that Korean Buddhism had as much to offer as any Japanese tradition, can also be seen as showing his universal compassion.

Wonhyo was convinced that all human beings were utterly equal since each and everyone had an inalienable, fundamental Buddhist nature, the potential of attaining buddhahood (il-sim). In his own life, Wonhyo stressed that freedom (mu-ae) and compassion were the two essential qualities of a Buddhist (or human) life. He stressed the need to struggle to overcome false distinctions (hwa-jaeng), rejecting all the we would term “clericalism” and even reckoned total enlightenment was a potential snare, if it were seen as dispensing those monks who had attained it from practicing compassion toward suffering humanity. The socialist or anarchist radicalism observed by Hyodang in his youth must surely have appealed to him above all by its rejection of divisive, elitist attitudes. Like Wonhyo, Hyodang refused to practice a distinction between the monastic life and ordinary life. Unlike him, he was not inclined to sing and dance in the streets, banging on a gourd in an eccentric lifestyle; but like Wonhyo, he placed his monastic vocation firmly on the side of those poor and
suffering under the demands of current social and political realities, as a challenge to the powerful and privileged. Hyodang’s sympathies clearly lay, from his earliest days in Japan, with the exploited victims of society.

When we see how often he wrote the four characters 茶道無門, “the Way of Tea has no doors,” we are reminded of that same deep, universal, all-embracing vision. His assertion that to prepare and drink a cup of tea is in itself a practice of Zen, a search for enlightenment, challenges the need for years of practice in monastic seclusion. Like Wonhyo, he is affirming that anyone, monk or lay, here and now, in this present life, no matter what their education or status or morality even, can fulfill their essential Buddha nature in the simplest possible ways. Tea drinking becomes a school of compassion, so of enlightenment, and therefore the tea is named Panya-ro, the dew of enlightening wisdom (Prajña). For Hyodang, as for Wonhyo, no pretension or ambition to special privileges had any place in Buddhism or in human society, and for Hyodang that was expressed in the openness of his tea practice. Not for him, the claims of this or that “tea expert” to special veneration or superior authority in the world of tea. Perhaps that helps explain why, although in his later years he had certain very close tea-friends, he left no one who could claim to be his “jeja” (disciple) in the common Korean manner. For if he had, then he himself would have been claiming the role of “master” and the total equality of each and all in tea would have been undermined.

In conclusion, rather than try to evaluate separately Hyodang’s achievements in the many very different areas in which he was active, we would do well to stress their common quality as manifestations of the Wonhyo thought to which he had dedicated his whole life: the inner oneness of all beings, their essential interconnectedness, the compassion of Buddha by which we are rendered free of all determining bonds. And we can be grateful, if that already sounds complex, for his realization that everything that matters can be experienced by means of a very simple cup of tea, the sign that indeed we all are one.
Resources and sources


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2007 ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

President’s Annual Report

Founded in 1900 by a few interested foreign residents who were concerned with scholarly pursuits of things Korean, the Royal Asiatic Society - Korea Branch has undergone considerable transformation. Yet, the purposes for which the Society was founded, have remained constant – encouraging investigation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, geography and literature in order to deepen members’ understanding of the country and its people, and to make Korea better known to the rest of the world.

At the end of the year 2007, the Royal Asiatic Society – Korea Branch, had a total of 742 members, including 77 life members, 510 members residing in Korea and 155 overseas members. This represents a slight increase from 2006.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video presentations, plus music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Tuesday of each month at the Residents’ Lounge, 2nd Floor of Somerset Palace, Seoul. A total of 19 lecture meetings were held with approximately 960 participants, which is at least 20 percent more than the previous year.

Of special note, for the first time in years, we have recaptured that very special camaraderie that hallmarked our society in years past. During these past months, we have witnessed many people coming to our lectures to meet up with like-minded members and friends, as well as to listen to our speakers. Our after-lecture gatherings at the neighboring Jacob restaurant for beer and pasta have proven to be increasingly popular.
Some 949 persons enjoyed a full schedule of 46 tours, which took members and friends to dozens of places throughout Korea as well as to Japan, China and Mongolia. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the Society. We also belatedly instituted emailed monthly notices to the majority of our member, which is both a welcomed convenience to our members and reduced some of our operating costs.

Publications during the year included Volume 81 (2006) of the RAS Transactions, and Early Encounters with the United States and Japan by Dr. Lew, Young-Ick.

The 2007 Garden Party was hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Warwick Morris, and the Officers and Councilors of the Society, at the official residence of the British Ambassador. Thanks to the bright weather, a large audience of some 220 members enjoyed food and drink and a special book sale. The event featured a Korean traditional music / dancing performance by the Samulnori / Nongaknori Group, Gwang-Myoung.

While maintaining a reasonable financial position by keeping operating expenses moderate, we have reached a critical moment for soul-searching as we prepare the next phase of the history of the RAS-KB. An effort for fund-raising by the Action Committee has started to bear fruit, as the Korea Exchange Bank has committed to contributing a small amount, as has the HSBC. The following comments are by our Treasurer, Tom Coyner:

Thanks to the creativity and due diligence of our Councilors and Mrs Sue Bae – not to mention the generous assistance from Korea Exchange Bank, HSBC and the Somerset Palace, we have done a very good job in reducing the cost of some exceptional lectures while providing an excellent and accessible venue.

As good as it may seem – in fact, in some ways, it is even better than ever -- we are running on an at-cost basis that could well threaten the long-term well-being of the Society.

First of all, we have continued to over-rely on the remarkably enthusiastic work of Mrs. Sue Bae, who has over the past 40 years put in time and devotion that we cannot expect to replicate upon her retirement, roughly a years from now. We have been extremely fortunate to have a superwoman to handle
the wide variety of office tasks and outside lectures as Mrs. Bae has done. It would be reckless for us to believe we will be able to find just one person to carry on when Mrs. Bae chooses to retire.

At the same time, and beyond the need to hire and train eventual replacements, many of the less obvious needs of the Society have been neglected. Specifically, we have a truly invaluable collection of irreplaceable books – some 150 years old – that need desperate restoration. And we need to make copies of these fragile documents, so that these important resources can become truly available to the public.

In addition, we need to upgrade our office from where we have been since the 1960’s into a modern and much more accessible location for the general public. Ideally, we would like to include an attractive book store with contemporary book payment options, together with the required accounting system, as we are now a registered organization with the national government.

Given all of this, we remain committed to keeping participation fees at a minimum so as to encourage the fullest public participation possible, without participants’ income levels ever being a factor. To reconcile our tradition of free or low-cost lectures and the above-stated needs, we have initiated a W5,000 donation per lecture program for all non-members who attend our lectures. I am pleased to report that community support for these minor donations has been strong and enthusiastic. We continue to have a formal sponsorship program that aims to address our immediate, mid-term and long-term needs to insure that the RAS-KB may complete its second century of education and service on behalf of Korea to the international public. Without this additional support, it is not an exaggeration to say our future may not be well guaranteed. I hope you will help us by sponsorship or introduction to those whom may sponsor the Society.

As I reflect on the past 24 months, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Council members and officers who devoted much of
their time and efforts for the Society throughout the year. I also thank our General Manager, Sue Bae, who has been the mainstay of the office and day-to-day operations for the Society for almost forty years. Finally, the Society expresses profound gratitude to Somerset Palace, Seoul, for providing to the Society, without any charge, their Residents’ Lounge for our regular lectures and meetings.

Respectfully submitted

Jang Song-Hyon, President, Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
2007 RAS-KB Lectures

January 9  “Sacred Aspects and Assets of Jiri-san”  
Professor David A. Mason

January 23 “America’s Man in Korea in the 1880s: The Travels and Tribulations of George C. Foulk”  
Mr. Samuel Hawley

February 13 “Child-Race in an Evil World: Understanding North Korea Through its Propaganda”  
Prof. Brian Myers

February 27 “Min Yŏnghwan (1861–1905): Statesman Diplomat and Patriot”  
Prof. Michael Finch

March 13 “Brilliance or Breakdown – The Future of Korea Inc.?” (Based on the book “Diamond Dilemma: Shaping Korea for the 21st Century”)  
Mr. Tariq Hussain

March 27 “Korean Patriot and Pioneering Tea Master: The Venerable Hyodang”  
Brother Anthony of Taizé (An Sonjae)

April 10 “Yi Kwangsu’s Mujong (The Heartless 1917) and the Origins of Modern Korean”  
Prof. Michael Shin

April 23 “Human rights and North Korean refugees”  
Dr. Norbert Vollertsen
May 8  "The Life of an Eminent Koryŏ Monk"
Dr. Sem Vermeersch

May 22 "Politics of Conscription: Militarized Statehood in
Postcolonial Korea"
Dr. Vladimir Tikhonov

June 12 "Korean Reunification and ideology on Christianity
and the Juche Idea"
Prof. Don Clark

June 26 "Elizabeth Keith and Korea"
Prof. Song Young-dahl

August 27 "The Future of Korea and U.S. Relations and East
Asia"
Dr. Yang Sung Chul

September 11 "The North Koreans in the Borderland: Chinese
North East and North Korea from the 1980s to the
present"
Dr. Andrei Lankov

October 9 "Psychonomic trends in Korea: Korean
psychological lifestyle from youth generation to pre
386 generation"
Mr. David Richardson

October 23 "Representation of Korean Peninsula and
Cartographic Perception reflected in the Western
Maps: From 16th century to 19th century"
Prof. Lee Don-Su

November 13 "The Baekdu-daegan Expedition"
Prof. David A. Mason Roger Shepherd and Andrew
Douch
November 27  "Korean folk music: from p'ansori to sinawi and sanjo"
Dr. Yeonok Jang

December 11  "The World of Buddhist Devotional Practice in Silla Korea"
Dr. Richard D. McBride II

The RAS gratefully acknowledges the support of the Somerset Palace, Seoul, which beginning in February 2006 granted free use of its residents' lounge as the Society's new lecture venue.
## 2007 RAS-KB Tours

<table>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Guide</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 21</td>
<td>Snow Scenery Train</td>
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<td>A. Choi</td>
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<td>Jan. 28</td>
<td>Sanjong Lake</td>
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<td>Mar. 3</td>
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<td>Geumgangsan</td>
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<td>Apr. 6-8</td>
<td>Namhae &amp; Jinhae</td>
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<td>Apr. 11</td>
<td>Gyeonggi-do Cherry Blossom Tour (I)</td>
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<td>Apr. 15</td>
<td>Suwon</td>
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<td>Apr. 22</td>
<td>Magnolia Tour: Chollipo Arboretum</td>
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<td>May. 5</td>
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<td>May. 11-14</td>
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<td>May. 26-27</td>
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<td>D. Adams</td>
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<td>May. 27</td>
<td>DongGang Rafting Tour</td>
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<td>S. Bae</td>
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<td>June. 9</td>
<td>R.A.S Garden Party 2007</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>Kim Yong-Duk</td>
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<td>June. 10</td>
<td>Kanghwa Island</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>Guide</td>
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<td>June 17</td>
<td>One day tour to Jawoldo</td>
<td>S. Bae</td>
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<td>July 8-15</td>
<td>Mongolia Tour</td>
<td>K.Y. Bae</td>
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<td>July 15</td>
<td>Deokchok-do</td>
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<td>Aug. 11</td>
<td>Inwang-san Hike</td>
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<td>Aug. 19</td>
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<td>Aug. 26</td>
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<td>Sept. 1</td>
<td>Ceramic Kiln Tour</td>
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<td>Sept. 8</td>
<td>Naejang-san Tour</td>
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<td>Sept. 15</td>
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<td>Sept 21-25</td>
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<td>Sept. 23</td>
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<td>Bukchon Walking Tour</td>
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<td>Oct. 12-15</td>
<td>Honshu, Japan Tour</td>
<td>S. Han/S. Bae</td>
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<td>Oct. 13-14</td>
<td>Gyeongju -Silla Kingdom</td>
<td>D. Mason</td>
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<td>Oct. 20-21</td>
<td>Sorak Mountain Hike</td>
<td>S. Bae</td>
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<td>Oct. 27-28</td>
<td>Jirisan National Park</td>
<td>D. Mason/ S. Bae</td>
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<td>Oct. 27</td>
<td>Bugak Mountain Fortress</td>
<td>W.N Cha</td>
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<td>Oct. 28</td>
<td>Ganghwa Island</td>
<td>Yong-Duk Kim</td>
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<td>Oct. 27-28</td>
<td>Jirisan Nat’l Park Tour</td>
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<td>Nov. 2-4</td>
<td>Geumgang-san Tour</td>
<td>A. Choi</td>
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<td>Nov. 3-4</td>
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<td>Nov. 11</td>
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<td>Nov. 17-18</td>
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<td>S. Bae</td>
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<td>Nov. 25</td>
<td>Cheorwon Bird Watching</td>
<td>S. Bae</td>
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<td>Dec. 1</td>
<td>Yeoju</td>
<td>S. Bae</td>
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<td>Magoksa Temple</td>
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<td>Dec. 29-30</td>
<td>Seoraksan Nat’l Park</td>
<td>S. Bae</td>
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Members of the RAS-KB
(As of December 31, 2007)

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Hosokawa, Ms. Noriko
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Kim, Ms. Hwa Kyung
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Kim, Ms. Keum-Sook
Kim, Ms. Kil Ok
Kim, Ms. Kyungseun
Kim, Ms. Myung hee
Kim, Ms. Myoung Sun
Kim, Ms. Young-Ok
Kim, Prof. Chunsung & Kwon Ohok
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Krebill, Mr. & Mrs. Richard E
Kucher, Mr. Andreas
Kumar, Mr. & Mrs. Akhil
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Kwak, Ms. Inok
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Lah, Mr. Young Soo
Lakshmanan, Ms. Savisthri
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Lee, Mr. & Mrs. Richard
Lee, Mr. Hae-Kyun
Lee, Prof. & Mrs. Sang Oak
Lee, Mr. Su-Wan
Lee, Ms. Su-Ok
Lee, Ms. Young-Ok
Lee, Prof. & Mrs. Don-Soo
Lee, Prof. In-ho
Lee, Mrs. Joo-Ho
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Lim, Mrs. Young-Ae
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Ng, Ms. Kwee-Lin
Nguyen, Dr. Huan
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O'Brien
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Reynolds, Mr. Thomas
Rhee, Ph.D Joong Geun and Mrs. Park, Eunseung
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Ritcheie, Mr. David
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