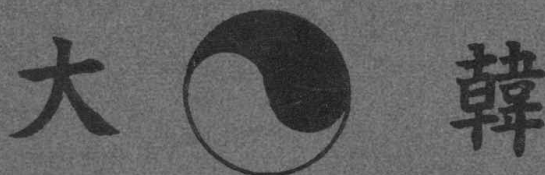


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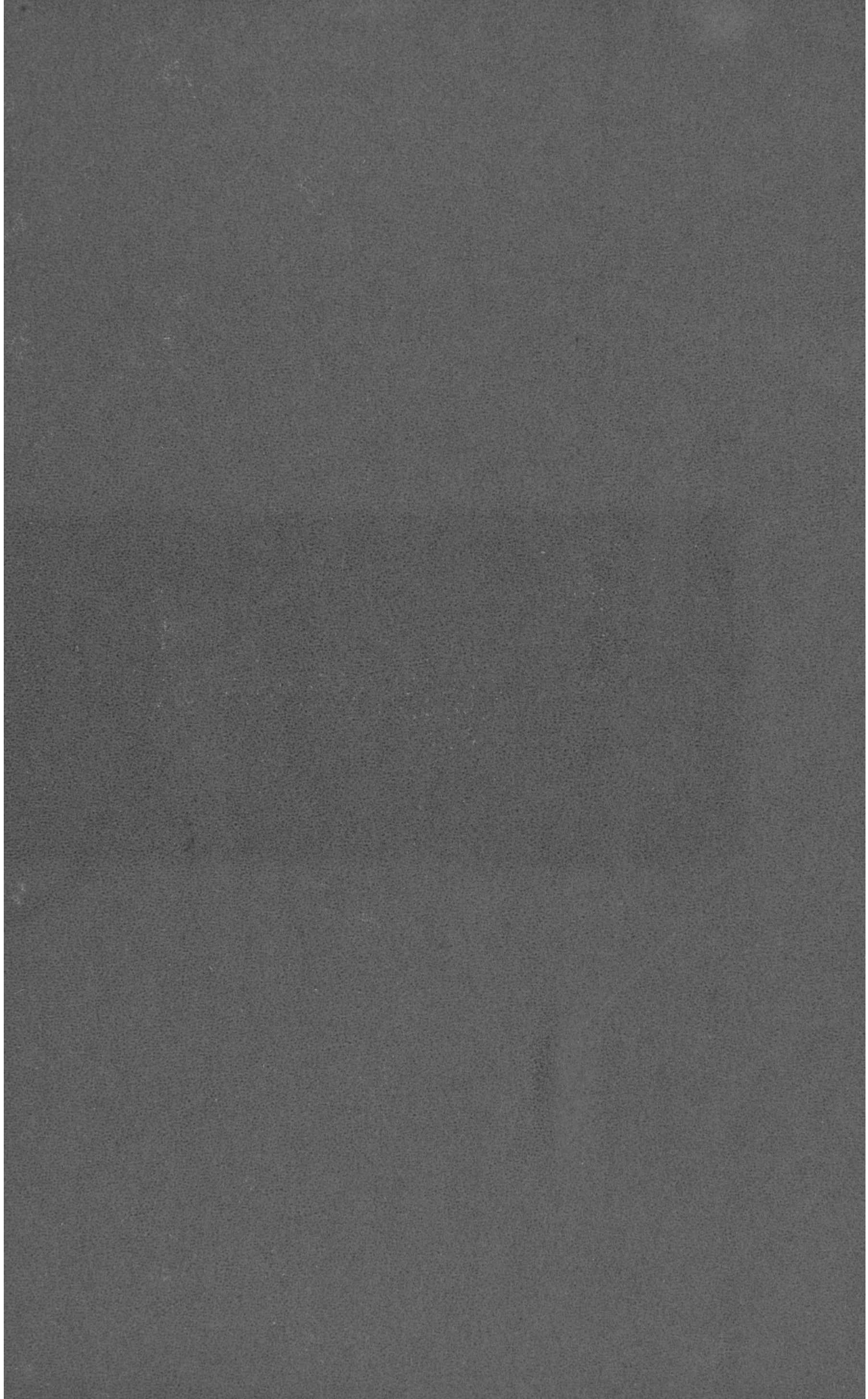
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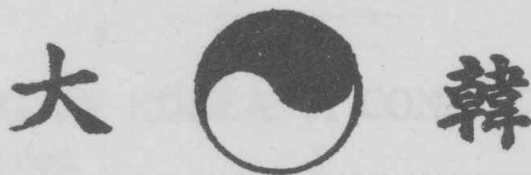
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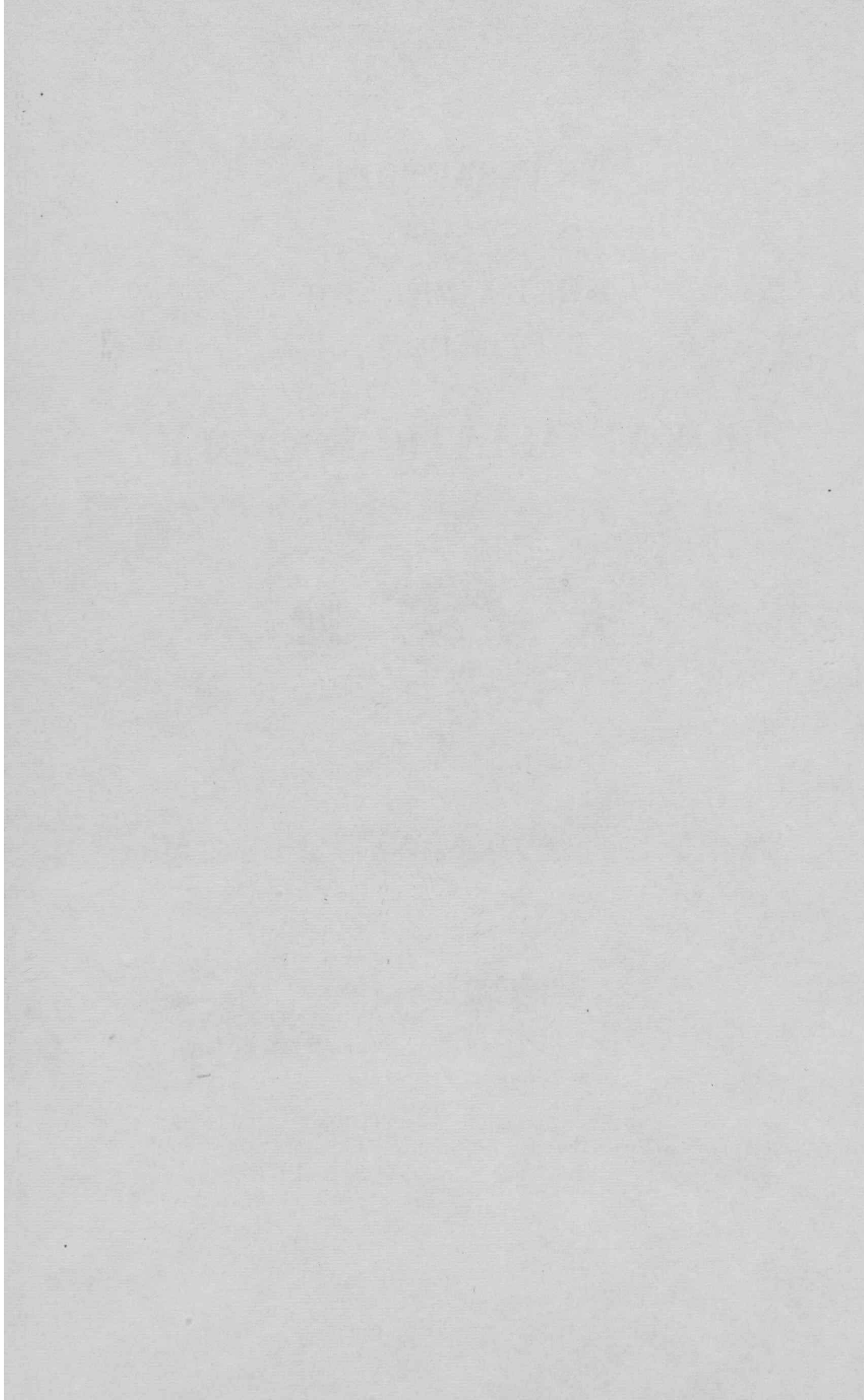
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I. INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace of books on Korea that traditional Korean education and literature have been Chinese, that the old-style Korean gentleman never wrote except in Chinese characters. But it is difficult to discover how they learned and understood their Chinese and how, if at all, it differed from the Chinese of China. Some early western writers suggested that in fact the Koreans were less expert in Chinese than they pretended to be. It is not easy to get an accurate picture.

All old books on Korea tell of the cottage schools, or *kŭlpang*, at which little boys learned the classics by rote. But they never tell us more than the famous first line of the first book that the boys studied (see below p. 35). Bishop Trollope in his paper on *Korean Books and their Authors*, (published by this society in 1932, but still the latest work in English on the subject) claimed that the old system had disappeared in 1894. This was not in fact true. The last remnants of the old system are still to be found in the villages of Korea, but they do not flourish as heretofore.

This paper is an account of the old tradition of Chinese studies as it was at the end of the Yi dynasty, attempting to show in some detail what books were used and how they were understood. Since there exists in English no description of the Korean approach to Chinese grammar, I have included a brief description of this too. And I have included examples of the Chinese compositions of rural scholars as indicators of the standard which they achieve.

By far the greater part of the information has come from Yi Yong-jik (李容植), now Father Elijah Yi, also known as Chinam (進菴), who was my catechist while I was living in Pyŏngtaekkun (平澤郡). He was born in that county, in the village of Kŭmgongni, (梧城面金谷里) in 1904. He attended the cottage school there and was a star pupil, hence designed by his family for the life of a *literatus*, that is to say to become a teacher himself. He was married

at the age of sixteen, and wore a topknot until he was twenty-two. From the age of about eighteen he attended local poetry contests and took part in them, and attended the Confucian sacrifices at the county temple (鄉校 or 文廟) at what was then the county seat of Chinwi (振威邑 now Pongnamni 鳳南里). He did in fact for some years run a cottage school of his own in the village of Töguri (青北面德佑里), a hamlet from which the glory has now departed, since the Japanese laid their new roads away from the old Korean centres. The great house of the village lies in ruins, and today there is no school there at all.

So he has returned to his ancestral house, where he lives with his father and his grandchildren. He is a teacher, but in the local Middle School at Anjungni (安仲里), where he teaches Chinese letters to the rising generation from modern textbooks, without the classics, but with more than a suspicion of the classic frame of mind. He is universally respected throughout the whole of the 'Four Myön beyond the Water' (水下四個面) in that little peninsula north of the Asan Gulf (牙山灣).

I have not been able to check to what extent the facts I gathered from Father Yi are typical of the whole country, but they are certainly a fair picture of the state of affairs in the capital province, because I have checked with various other senior gentlemen of the district. Several friends in Seoul have also checked the whole material and I owe them thanks for improving and correcting it in many details. It does not pretend to provide anything but elementary information, familiar to most Koreans, but difficult for the foreigner to discover except by long and sometimes frustrating search. I have not begun to describe the national educational system of the Yi dynasty with its various institutions. There is nothing here that might change our general understanding of the mentality of the period. But I believe that the details will have some interest for the student of Korean literature and language, and for anyone interested in the Korean folk mind.

II. THE KOREAN APPROACH TO CHINESE WRITING

It may be well to begin by clarifying a few terms and stating the relation of Korean to Chinese.

The two languages are widely different. Korean is a polysyllabic agglutinative language, which means that it has long words. Chinese is a monosyllabic language. The grammar of Korean has an order which invariably puts the verb at the end of the clause or sentence. Chinese, like English, puts its verbs before their objects, and so has a completely different word order. Korean is much richer in sounds than is modern Chinese. From all this it follows that the native speaker of either language can only learn to use the other with a considerable amount of effort.

However the influence of China on Korean culture has been enormous, and large numbers of Chinese words have passed into the common Korean spoken language. But in the process of history their pronunciation has become quite different from the modern pronunciation of the same words in China. The situation is closely parallel to the taking of Latin words into the English language.

But Latin and English both use the same alphabet, while Korean and Chinese have different ones. So that while a Korean can if he wishes write down all his spoken words, including the Chinese derived words, in his native alphabet, now called *han'gŭl*, he mostly prefers to use the original Chinese characters for the Chinese derived words. This means that he writes in a mixture of Korean and Chinese scripts, known as *kukhanmun* (國漢文). Such writing is not possible for texts in the Chinese language, but only for texts in Korean. (See below, page 23.)

Moreover it is a comparatively modern invention. In the old days all writing in Korea was done in Chinese characters only, and therefore also in the Chinese language. Chinese characters were in any case not able to express all

the sounds, much less the grammatical forms of the Korean language. Chinese texts, whether from China itself, or produced in Korea or elsewhere, are said to be in *hanmun* (漢文). This word normally implies Chinese syntax as well as Chinese characters.

So the educated Korean spoke his own language, and wrote an entirely different one, which was not only foreign, but was unintelligible if read aloud. Even a man who can read *hanmun* easily can understand it only if he can see the characters. This is because the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters lacks most of the distinctions of the tones which are essential in modern spoken Chinese. In fact *hanmun* in Korea is the language of the eyes, while Korean is the language of the ears.

Yet it is not surprising that the very forms of the characters have entered into Korean proverbs. Thus it may be said of a fickle man that he is 鹿皮에 갈뵤자 (*Nokpie karwalcha*) or "the character 曰, (meaning 'to say') written on deerskin." The idea is that the deerskin is elastic and if pulled in one direction the character 曰 will appear in the form of 日 meaning day or sun.

a. The Characters

Just as the grammar of *hanmun* is the same in Korea as in China, so, of course the characters are the same, and they have, save for very few exceptions, the same meanings as in China. Some western writers have asserted the contrary. They were either plainly mistaken, or else they were placing too much importance on the very small corpus of characters which are either used only in Korea, or have a special use in Korea. Ch'oe Nam-sŏn (崔南善), in his dictionary (新字典) first published in 1915, gives a list of 107 such characters. The Korean edition of the Telegraphic Code Book gives another list of slightly fewer characters, but the two lists do not tally exactly. In some cases they do not give the same Korean sounds for the characters, and the Telegraphic Code Book gives no definitions. Not many of the characters in either list are very well known, even

to educated people. And neither takes account of the familiar modern characters denoting the units of Western weights and measures.

Examples of special meanings peculiar to Korea are 太 meaning a kind of bean, 干 meaning ginger, or 召 meaning the jujube or Chinese date. There are also such things as 落 meaning a unit of area in measuring riceland (the *majigi*, shortened from 斗落 which when read with the Korean meanings of the characters instead of their sound, gives the pronunciation of *majigi*).

Purely Korean characters are such things as 畚 pronounced *tap*, and meaning ricefield or paddy, 鶯 pronounced *kwōk*, a surname (related to an archaic form of 鳳, the Chinese pheonix, and connected with a legend that the first ancestor of the clan was fathered by a strange bird), and 垞 pronounced *tae* meaning a house site. These three are relatively common characters, and many are not aware that they are not truly Chinese.

Some of these characters have been produced to represent sounds that cannot otherwise be rendered in Chinese character, though they occur in spoken Korean in circumstances where Chinese-derived words are normally used. Thus the common element *tol* in the names of children and servants, which is still very common in country areas, is written 珣. This is a combination of 乙 suggesting the final consonant sound, with 石 which has the same meaning (stone), as the pure Korean word, *tol*, which is really intended in the name. There are at least thirty characters that resort to such a use of the 乙 character for the same phonetic reason.

Most of these characters have been especially employed in officialese, the language of the lower scribes, which is notoriously liable to corruption in most countries, and they refer to agricultural words of Korean origin, especially to land measures, but also to crops. The same class of people are probably responsible for 縛 read *pak*, meaning pock-marked, and 鉄 read *sōk*, meaning not pockmarked, in military

documents.

As well as the *tol* mentioned above, there are several characters used in personal names. A similar country name is 釧 *soe*, meaning metal. But there are also a number of characters invented for royal names, and one or two place names. Under the same category one might also place 串 read *kot*, and meaning a promontory.

Traditional Chinese medicine is responsible for a few, like the 干 above; but they are little more than abbreviations.

Two particularly interesting ones are 枱 read *sa*, the character used for *yut*, the most popular of all Korean games, played by children and gamesters alike; and 倥, which occurs in neither of the two lists mentioned, but is used in the name of the modern religious group 大倥教 *Taejonggyo*, as a title for Tan'gun. It is also read *köm*.

Some of these characters have derived their forms from the old Korean uses of Chinese characters known as *idu* and *kugyöl* (吏讀, 口訣). These were much favoured by the scribes of official documents until the end of the Yi dynasty. But it will be better to consider them later on in connection with the Korean approach to Chinese grammar. (See below page 20ff.)

The Korean use of the characters may be described as having two elements, the *saegim* or meaning, and the *ũm* (音) or sound. There are a number of characters of each possible sound and the Koreans identify which they mean by prefixing the *ũm* with the *saegim*. Thus of several characters pronounced *dong*, we can distinguish 桐 as *odong dong* (the paulownia *dong*), 童 as *ai dong* (the boy *dong*), 冬 as *kyöül dong* (winter *dong*), 東 as *tongnyök dong* (East *dong*), and so on.

There are three main ways of making these *saegim*:

1) By prefixing the *ũm* with the meaning of the character in pure Korean. This serves the great majority of instances. Thus 水 is called *mul su* (the *su* that means water), 狐

is *yōu ho* (the *ho* that means fox), 也 is *ikki ya* (the *ya* that is an exclamation), and so on.

2) Sometimes the *saegim* is a Sino-Korean word in which the character occurs. In this case the compound word generally means little more than the single character. Examples are 禮 *yedo ye* (the *ye* in ceremoniousness), 床 *ch'aeksang sang* (the *sang* in table) 鶩 *wōnang ang* (the *ang* in mandarin duck).

In both these cases it is noteworthy that if the character is primarily in use as a verb the *saegim* is in the form of a future adjectival participle ending in ㄱ. Thus 泣 is *ul ŭp* (weeping *ŭp*), 傷 is *sanghal sang* (wounding *sang*), 在 is *issŭl chae* (being *chae*).

3) There are a few characters, mostly proper names, which have a colloquial identification, not strictly a *saegim*, that is not in the dictionaries. It is a description of the way in which they are drawn. Thus the family name 劉, properly called *chugil yu* (slaying *yu*), is generally called *myogŭmdo yu*, because it is composed of the three characters 卯 *myo*, 金 *gŭm*, and 刀 *do* combined into one. There is an obvious desire in this case to avoid the unpleasant associations of the real *saegim*. This method is also used in China, as is the second one above, while the first, of course, can be used only in Korea.

Another surname *Yu* (俞) is strictly called *malgŭl yu* (clear *yu*), but is familiarly known as *inwŏlto yu*, because it is composed of the characters in 人 *in*, 月 *wŏl*, and 刀 *to*, the — being ignored for simplicity's sake. In similar fashion the surname 全 or *onjŏn chŏn* (whole *chŏn*), is often called *inwang chŏn*, as though it were made up of 人 *in* and 王 *wang*. Many people write it like this, but in fact the top should be 入 (*ip*) and not 人 (*in*).

These inaccuracies are due to the sacrifice of truth to euphony, which is of cardinal importance to the Korean. Euphony is also at work in the description of 圭 (really *hol kyu*, or sceptre *kyu*) as *ssang t'o gyu* (twin *t'o*, meaning the

duplication of the character 士 pronounced *t'o*); and 喆 (*palkŭl ch'öl* or bright *ch'öl*) as *ssang kil ch'öl* (twin blessing or twin 吉 pronounced *kil*).

Yet another name character has one of these non-meaning *saegim*. This 鄭 properly called *nara chōng* (the *chōng* which is the name of a state), but it is jocularly called *tang nagwi chōng*, not because it actually means a donkey, but because in the handwritten form the top of the left hand side of the character is vaguely like a donkey's ears. Here we have a touch of the simple but ebullient humour of the Korean student of *hanmun*.

When a character exists in two forms, one regarded as a fuller form of the other, as in the case of the numbers 一 and 壹 (1), 三 and 參 (3), or 天 and 𠄎 (heaven), the simpler form is known as 홀 and the more elaborate as 갓은, thus 天 is 하늘 천 but 𠄎 is 갓은 하늘 천, "fully written heaven *chōn*."

These *saegim* by which the characters are identified are not absolutely fixed, because most characters have various meanings. But in the case of most of the commoner characters, and especially those most frequently used in the given names of people, there is generally one of the possible *saegim* in almost universal and invariable use. Thus 會 has several meanings, and is pronounced both *hoe* and *koe*, according to the different meanings implied, but it is always identified as *moŭl hoe* (gathering together *hoe*), and 耳 which can be used as a particle and is accurately described as *malkkŭt i*, is always called *kwi i* (ear *i*).

The *saegim* are far from infallible, and they are frequently imprecise. For example, 家, 館, 閣, 第, 堂, 宙, 宮 and 廬 all identified by the same Korean word, *chip*, meaning 'house', although they mean everything from a grasshut to a palace. And homophones are potential causes of confusion, as when *tŭl* means three different things: 野 (field), 舉 (lift up), and 入 (enter).

Some of the traditional *saegim* use words that are now

archaic or rare. One such frequent source of error is 英, called 꽃부리영 (*kkoppuri yōng*) meaning a blossom. Unfortunately the word 꽃뿌리, meaning a flower root, is pronounced in the same way, although spelled differently. The character is in common use in personal names, and is often misunderstood.

Finally, any character which is used in Chinese as a grammatical particle is called *ōjosa* (語助辭). Thus 于 is *ōjosa u*, 與 is *ōjosa yō*.

The method of describing *myogŭmdo yu* (劉) is the usual means for telling a man what a character looks like when there are no writing materials available (See page 10).

There are colloquial descriptions (equivalent to *saegim*) for most of the radicals, which are called in Korean by their Chinese name *pusu* (部首). They fall into four classes.

1) By far the largest class are described as *byōn* (邊). Strictly speaking this means side, but radicals which do not stand at the side of the character are also sometimes described in this way. Thus 木 is *namu mok byōn* (tree radical called *mok*), 舟 *pae ju byōn* (boat radical called *ju*), 馬 *mal ma byōn* (horse radical called *ma*).

Very occasionally *pyōn* is applied to such things as 宀 (*kanmōri*, the hat radical), 雨 (*pi u*, rain *u*), and even 口 is occasionally *k'ŭn ip gu byōn* (the radical that is like large version of the character called *gu* meaning 'mouth'). But this is a careless way of using *byōn* as though it meant 'radical'. It is more usual to class the first two of these examples under (2) below and to follow the names of things like 口 with *an*, a pure Korean postposition meaning 'inside'.

2) Radicals that occur at the top are described with *mit* (밑), which is a pure Korean postposition meaning 'under'. Thus ++ has the phrase *ch'odu mit*, (under the grass top), 穴 as *kumong hyōl mit* (under the *hyōl* meaning 'hole'). Instead of *mit*, *arae* (아래) is sometimes used.

3) Radicals at the bottom should be called *patch'im* (support), but in fact only one is: 辶 is called *ch'aek patch'im* (from a vulgar reading of 辵 strictly *ch'ak*).

3) A fairly large group of radicals are simply described as characters with *saegim* and *ũm*. Thus 麥 *pori maek* (barley *maek*), 隹 *sae ch'o* (bird *ch'o*) 皿 *kũrũt myõng* (dish *myõng*).

Working on this basis any character can be described. For example, 相 is *namu mok byõne nun mok* (beside the tree radical, the *mok* meaning 'eye'), and 漂 is *samsu byõne pam nyul* (by the triple water radical, the *yul* that means 'chestnut'). This last could be further described for the very ignorant as *samsu byõne, sõnyõksõ mit'e namu mok* (by the triple water radical 彳, under the *sõ* meaning 'west', the *mok* meaning 'tree'). In this way almost any character can be described.

The part of the character outside the radical is called the *mom* (몸) or body.

When read aloud the characters are always given the value of the Sino-Korean *ũm*. This is in marked distinction from the Japanese practice which often reads the characters with the pure Japanese 'saegim' (called in Japanese *kun* 訓) instead of the Sino-Japanese sound (called *on* 音): reading 水 sometimes by the pure Japanese *mizu*, sometimes by the Sino-Japanese *sui*. In the case of the same character, the Korean never reads it by the pure Korean *mul*, but always by the Sino-Korean *su*.

On certain rare occasions a Korean may read a short passage of *hanmun* aloud in a pure Korean translation. But if he does so he recognizes that he is interpreting the Chinese and not merely reading it. If he wishes in writing to use the pure Korean word, then he uses the native script, *han'gũl*.

This general rule is amply borne out in many of Korea's place names. *Tume* (두메) means a mountain village, but

in honourable Chinese character it must be written 斗梅 Tumae, meaning Great Bear constellation and plumblossom-
auspicious characters indeed, but with no meaning in this case. And the village of Hanbat, meaning Greatfield, when it became a city with its name in Chinese character 大田, had to be called Taejŏn, though the characters still mean Greatfield.

It is interesting to note that this was not always so. In the two systems of writing Korean with Chinese characters mentioned above (page 6), and described below (page 20 f), some of the characters were read according to their *ŭm*, like 羅 pronounced *ra*, but some were read according to their *saegim*, like 爲 which in *idu* and *kugyŏl* is read *ha* (its *saegim* is *hal*, meaning 'to do'), but in regular Chinese texts is always read with its *ŭm*, which is *wi*. Perhaps this dates from a time when China was less revered in Korea than she was during the last dynasty.

There is one circumstance under which the Korean does not read a character aloud with its proper value, and that is the case of the character which is an 御諱 *ŏhwi*, or tabu name of a king of the current dynasty. The character 旦, *tan*, meaning morning, was the tabu name of the fourteenth century founder of the Yi dynasty, and there are still people about who read it as though it were 朝 *cho*, another character with the same meaning. In the case of the Thousand Character Classic, this habit led to complications. Couplet 68 contains the character 旦, and the character 朝 is already employed elsewhere in the poem. Since no character can be repeated without ruining the whole purpose of the piece, and it would be undesirable for the young to get into the habit of reading 旦 aloud, another substitute had to be found. There was Chinese precedent for using 𪛗, also read *cho*, but unfortunately the top part of this character is precisely the character 旦 which has to be avoided. So all Korean editions of the Thousand Character Classic have 𪛗 in couplet 68. (See below page 66) (Ch'ing dynasty Chinese editions have to avoid the character 亥 in the first line, because it was the tabu

name of K'ang Hsi (康熙). They substitute 元.)

There does however exist a peculiar style of intermediate literary language which is composed of Chinese characters strung together in Korean order, with Korean inflexions added in *han'gŭl*, very few Chinese particles, and a strained syntax, that demands being interpreted into pure Korean if it is to be read aloud—as any missionary knows to his cost if when visiting a strange church he has been presented with an old bible printed in this style to read out of. (See below page 22.)

The *ŭm* by which Chinese characters are normally read aloud in Korea represent an ancient stage in the development of the pronunciation of the Chinese language, transformed by centuries of Korean usage. Owing to the phonological richness of Korean, they have preserved features which have been lost in China itself. This is particularly the case with the final consonants. Korea retains as finals *k*, *n*, *l*, *m*, *p*, and *ng*. King Sejong (世宗) with his Tongguk Chŏngun (東國正韻) in the fifteenth century tried to make the Koreans adopt a system with even greater variety of sounds, but he failed to enforce it.

The Koreans have long been familiar with the *fan-ch'ieh* (反切) system of indicating the pronunciation of a Chinese character. This system, which dates probably from Han dynasty Buddhist missionaries in China, uses two well-known characters to indicate pronunciation. The first of the two gives the initial sound, the second gives the vowel, final consonant (if any) and the tone. Thus the pronunciation of 他 is expressed by 湯何, meaning *t'(ang h)a*, *t'a*. (Korean), or *t'(ang h)o*, *t'o* (Chinese).

The idea is especially familiar to the Koreans from the *hsieh* (叶) or reconstructed rhymes added as annotations to the Poetry Classic by Chu H'si (see below page 40): but they call it 先去尾 後去頭 'dropping the tail of the first and the head of the second'. The system is widely used in modern Chinese dictionaries, but neither the examples found in Chinese dictionaries nor the *hsieh* in Korean

editions of the Poetry Classic give the current Korean pronunciation of the characters.

Sejong was also concerned about one feature of the pronunciation of Chinese which has almost completely disappeared from the pronunciation of Sino-Korean. This is the tone system. To the native Chinese the tone is an integral part of the meaningfulness of his words. In pure Korean it plays very little part, Korean being in this respect much more like the European languages. But the tones are important in the writing of certain types of Chinese poetry, even in Korea (see below page 45), and vestiges of them still survive in the speech of old-fashioned scholars.

There are four tones in literary Chinese. They correspond in name to the tones of modern spoken Chinese, but not always in fact. A character may well have a different tone in a contemporary Chinese dictionary from that which it has in a Korean dictionary of characters.

My scholar friends recognize the four tones: 平聲 (divided into 上平 and 下平) (the even tone, upper and lower), 上 (the rising tone), 去 (the "departing" tone), and 入 (the "entering" tone). Only the last, the "entering" tone, is infallibly identifiable by its Korean pronunciation: all characters with a final *k*, *l*, or *p*, and only such characters, belong to the "entering" tone. In the case of all the others the tone has to be memorized, or sought for in the dictionary.

But in practice the Koreans are interested in only two classes of the classical tones; one they call 平聲 *p'yōngsōng* (even tone) or 얇은 소리 *yat'ŭn sori* (shallow sound), or 낮은 소리 *najŭn sori* (low sound) and it comprises only the characters of even tone; while the rest they call 仄聲 *ch'ŭksōng* (oblique tone), or 上聲 *sangsōng* (high tone), or 높은 소리 *nop'ŭn sori* (high sound), which includes all the remaining characters, belonging to the rising, "departing" and "entering" tones. These are the only two classes which are essential for the proper composition of Chinese poetry, in Korea as in China.

Ideally these two types of tones should be differentiated in reading aloud. The even tone characters should have a clear, short sound. The oblique tone characters should have a longer sound, except for those in the "entering" tone which are recognized by their final unvoiced consonants, and may be short or long.

My friends always carefully distinguish between such things as the two surnames 丁 and 鄭, both written 정 in *han'gŭl*. The first is a shallow sound, like a short and clear *chong*, but the second is an oblique tone, and the vowel is nearer the English sound in 'work'. A similar distinction exists 榮 meaning 'glory' and 永 meaning 'eternal'. I was frequently charged with mispronouncing these in the village churches. Both are written 영 in *han'gŭl*, but 榮 is a shallow sound, and 永 is an oblique tone.

(See appendix I, page 62, for a tabulation of this information on the tones.)

When the scholars recite a *hanmun* text, or even read any passage aloud, they usually recite it in a peculiar singsong manner which has a powerfully evocative nostalgia for anyone who has heard much of it. It becomes so *habitual* to read aloud in this manner that even the men and boys sitting around the barber's shop reading the newspapers chant the day's news and the editorial comments in a quasi-liturgical fashion. It impossible to describe it at all accurately, and there are a number of variant forms of it. There is no conscious melody, but in some cases the local tradition is very strong and there has grown up a fixed way of chanting a particular book. An unfamiliar passage is chanted in a very free and *rubato* style which allows plenty of time to pause before a difficult character or clause without actually stopping reading, but I am told that three distinct styles are recognized in the recitation of known texts. The most solemn is reserved for the classics; a lighter style on a higher pitch is used for most letters and less venerable texts; and for mere recitation by heart to the teacher a rapid monotone is used. In poetry two styles of chanting are recognized: *yul* (律) and *si* (詩). These

bear a relation to the pattern of tones required by the metre of the poem. (See below, page 45).

b. The Grammar

It is sometimes claimed that Chinese has no grammar. It certainly seems, especially in the literary form, to bear a close relation to language of telegrams, where grammatical niceties are sacrificed for the sake of terseness. Nothing could be more different from the elaboration of Korean grammatical constructions. And, as I have said already, Chinese word order is very different from the Korean.

In view of all this I do not know whether it is surprising or not to discover that the Korean tradition contains no systematic teaching of Chinese grammar or composition. That there is a grammar is recognized by the use of the word *mulli* (文理), by which the Korean means classical literary Chinese writing, but more specifically the grammar of it. (Colloquial Chinese is usually referred to by its Chinese name of *paekhwa* 白話.)

The grammar of Chinese stands in the order of the words and in the use of the characters known as 'empty words' (虛字), generally called in English 'particles'. In Korean these particles are called *ōjosa* (語助辭) or 'auxiliary words'. The country scholars have no grammar book of any kind to describe the function of these characters. They pick them up from the simple fact of long acquaintance.

They are not always aware of the exact parallels between the Chinese particles and the particles of Korean grammar. For instance, 以 is known as *ssō i*, 'instrumental *i*', and its function as indicating the instrumental and various other uses of the noun are clearly recognized by the Korean because other parts of the verb *ssūda* (to use) are employed in exactly that sense in the Korean language itself. But the use of the same character 以 to indicate the accusative use of a noun is much less clearly realized, and may cause some puzzlement if you talk about it. The fact that it is not consciously recognized as having this value does not prevent the Korean from understanding the

passage correctly when 以 does in fact denote the object of a verb. The same is true of some of the many uses of the character 之 and several others.

A number of the Chinese particles correspond very closely to Korean particles. Among these one notices particularly the particle 所, which is so difficult to express in succinct English, but which corresponds almost exactly to the Korean particle *ba*. Similarly Chinese and Korean both use the metaphor of putting on (as of clothes) to express certain kinds of passive action. So the character *p'i* (被) corresponds exactly to the Korean verb *ipta*. The character is called *ibül p'i* and used both to mean 'to wear' and as an indicator of the passive voice. The same goes for other characters as well.

This is doubtless in part due to the long influence which Chinese has had upon the Korean language, but it means that once the Korean student has mastered the strange order of the parts in a Chinese phrase, if he knows the *saegim* of all the characters, he has certain clues to the meaning of the phrase without having previously learned a great deal of formal grammar.

The word order is always left in its Chinese form. Unlike the Japanese, whose method of reading *hanmun* texts involves rearranging the characters to conform to Japanese word order (which is very similar to Korean), the Koreans respect the requirements of *mulli* (文理) even when reading aloud.

But to facilitate the understanding of a connected passage and show the divisions of the clauses the Koreans have a custom of inserting certain Korean grammatical particles in addition to the Chinese ones already in the text. This is known as the inserting of *t'o* (懸吐, 토를 달다). The effect is rather macaronic, as though Latin inflections had been added to an English telegram:

Mothera sickat. Can't come est. Please send money fac.
The omission of the *t'o* makes not the slightest difference

to the sense of the original text. But the habit of inserting them is so strong in scholars of the old school that they instinctively add them to any piece of Chinese writing which they read aloud. Thus a man picking up a current newspaper with the title 韓國日報 printed in Chinese on the front will add a *t'o* to complete it when he reads the name aloud, and say *Han'guk Ilbora* (韓國日報라). The same would be true of any proper name that he read, and even more so of the headlines in newspapers or notices which he may see written in Chinese characters.

These *t'o* are in fact of three kinds. They divide the text into a series of noun phrases and verb phrases by the insertion of (1) noun postpositions, (2) elements of the verb *ida* (이다) to be (a very defective verb indicating essence or the copula, and little more than a euphonic way of adding verbal suffixes), and (3) parts of the auxiliary verb *hada* (하다) to do.

The commonest *t'o* can be classified as follows:

(1) **Postpositions.**

Appositive 은, 는	Nominative ㅣ, 이, 가
Vocative 야, 이야, 여	Oblique 에, 엔, 에야; 로, 으로
Genitive 의 (rare)	Copulative 과, 와 (rare)

It is noteworthy that 을 or 를 denoting the accusative use rarely occur as *t'o*, because the clause after which the *t'o* is inserted also contains the verb, so that if it is not treated as the end of the sentence the *t'o* is most likely to be 로, especially if the particle 以 occurs to indicate the object of the verb.

The old *t'o*, ㅣ, a forerunner of the modern Korean particle denoting the subject of a clause, is always pronounced in a diphthong with the preceding vowel (it occurs only after vowels). Thus 子ㅣ is pronounced 재 *chae*, and not 자이 *cha i*, and 道ㅣ is read 되 *toe*, not 도이 *to i*.

Certain Chinese particles regularly take the same *t'o*. Thus 故 is followed by 로 making 故로, and 使 is generally followed up with 로 at the end of the phrase. 然 is almost

invariably made into 然이나.

(2) **Suffixes denoting questions or exclamations.**

Interrogative: 오, 아, 가, 고; 리요, 러니.

Exclamatory: 저, ㄴ저.

Some of these are in fairly regular wedlock. 乎 as an interrogative is regularly 乎아, and as an exclamation 乎ㄴ저. 哉 almost invariably becomes 哉ㄴ저, or 哉리요.

(3) **Sentence endings.**

These are the various Korean final forms:

Declaratory: 이라, 하라; 이리라, 하리라; 이니라, 하니라; 이나이다, 하나이다; 이느니라, 하느니라; 이러라, 하더라; 이로다, 하도다; 이이다, 하니이다; 하노라.

Imperative: 하라, 하소서.

(4) **Simple connectives.**

Most commonly: 이고, 하고; 이며, 하며; 이어, 하여; 하사.

Between parallel clauses: 이요, | 요, 요.

(5) **Various suspensive forms**

Consecutive: 이니, 하니; 이나니, 하나니; 이러니, 하더니; 일지니, 할지니; 하리니; 인데, 한데.

Adversative: 이나, 하나; 이로되, 하되; 이라도, 하여도; 인들, 한들; 이어도, 하여도; 이언만은.

Conjunctive: 이어늘, 하거늘; 이어나와, 하니와.

Conditional: 이면, 하면; 이어든, 하거든; 킨대; 이로나, 하노니.

Interruptive: 이라가, 하다가. 이라사.

Alternative: 한지, 지언정, 언정.

Temporal: 할새.

(6) **Reported speech indicators.**

These are made by adding any *t'o* of the verb *hada* to any other *t'o* ending in 라 (reported statement), 저 (reported exclamation), or 오 (reported question). For example: 이라하며, 라하여는, 라하도이다; 저하고; 리요하

도라.

In the above listings it should be noted that the syllable 이 is mostly omitted when the *t'o* follows a character with a final vowel sound. Thus 靑春이라 but 可兒라.

The honorific particle 시 is inserted when appropriate into the *t'o* which are forms of 하다.

In old texts the verb 하다 is spelled ㅎ다, and one frequently finds the form 호다. The syllable 되 is also seen as 대. But I have modernised the spelling of all the above examples.

Other *t'o* will also be found, but these are the chief ones. The important thing is always to remember to put them in when reading aloud. If they are not inserted there may be some doubt as to whether the reader really understands his text.

The following passage should give a fair example of *t'o* and how they work. It is taken from the late eighteenth century compilation Yōnyōsil Kisul (燃藜室記述) of Yi Kūng-sang (李肯翔).

尹淮 少時에 有鄉里之行할새 暮投逆旅하니 主人이 不許止宿이 어늘 坐於庭畔터니 主人兒 | 持大眞珠出來하여 落於庭하니 旁有白鵝라가 卽吝之러라 俄而오 主人이 索珠不得하고 疑公竊取하여 縛之하고 朝將告官하되 公不與辯하고 只云彼鵝도 亦繫吾傍하라하더니 明朝에 珠從鵝後出이라 主人이 慙謝曰昨日에 何不言고 公日昨日言之則主必剖鵝覓珠하리니 故로 忽辱而待라하니라.

If this is translated with an English phrase in brackets to represent each of the *t'o*, an effect of garrulous redundance is obtained, not at all unlike the effect of the original:

When Yun Hūi was young (then), he was going to his native village (at that time). At evening he went to an inn (he did), but the landlord (he) did not give him a room (and) so he sat in a corner of the yard (he did). The landlord's child (it) came out carrying a big pearl (it did)

and dropped it in the yard (so it did). There was a white goose standing by (there was), and it swallowed the pearl (it did). Shortly (then) the landlord (he) looked for the pearl and could not find it (he could not) and suspected the lad (he did). He bound him (he did) and said he would take him to the magistrate in the morning (he did). The lad did not excuse himself (he did not), but only said, "That goose (too) should be tied up beside me," (that's what he said). The next morning (now), the pearl passed out in the goose's droppings (it did). The landlord (he) was ashamed and excused himself, saying, "Yesterday (now) why did you not speak (at all)?" The lad said, "If I had spoken yesterday you would surely have killed the goose and looked for the pearl "(he said)," and so (therefore) I put up with the insult and waited (I did)," (that's what he said).

These *t'o* have been represented in the past by selected Chinese characters, known as *kugyōl* (口訣) or *ipkyōt* (입결). (Another name for them was 釋義!) Certain characters are chosen to express the *t'o* either because they have the same sound, or because their *saegim* suggests the sound required. The system seems to have arisen in the Koryō dynasty, and continued in partial use long after the invention of the far more serviceable pure Korean script. If a piece of *hanmun* is written with *kugyōl* in it, it will present a very puzzling aspect to the reader who is familiar only with normal Chinese texts. Thus a well-known passage from the Tongmong Sōnsūp (童蒙先習 see below page 36), looks as follows:

東方涯, 初無君長爲加尼, 有神人伊, 降于太白山檀木下於乙, 國人伊, 立以爲君爲尼, 與堯奴, 並立爲也, 國號乙, 朝鮮是羅爲尼, 是爲檀君是羅。

But in practice the *kugyōl* were generally abbreviated, in a fashion not dissimilar from the Japanese *katakana*, and then the abbreviations were written in clusters, one cluster for each *t'o*, which might then contain the abbreviated forms of several characters. Thus the same passage would appear as:

東方广，初無君長𠄎，有神人𠄎，降于太白山檀木下𠄎，
國人𠄎，立以爲君𠄎，與堯又，並立𠄎，國號乙，朝鮮𠄎，
是爲檀君𠄎，

For the sake of comparison the text with *t'o* in Korean script is also given:

東方에，初無君長하더니，有神人이，降于太白山檀木下어
늘，國人이，立以爲君하니，與堯로，並立하야，國號를，朝鮮이라
하니，是爲檀君이라.

(In the Eastern region there was no ruler at first. A divine man came down on Paektusan under a sandalwood tree, and the people of the country made him their king in the time of Yao. The Kingdom's name was Morning Calm. This was Tan'gun.)

(For a fuller list of *kugyŏl* see Appendix II page 63.)

The *kugyol* seem to have been derived from an earlier system of conveying Korean sounds by means of Chinese characters called *idu* (吏讀; also written 吏道, 吏頭, 吏吐, or 吏套). It dates from the Silla period and is popularly attributed to Sŏl Ch'ong (薛聰) in the seventh century AD. But this system, which is more elaborate and more clumsy than *kugyŏl*, was originally intended not merely to express the *t'o*, but to record the Korean language. Through it some of the poems of Silla, the *hyangga* (鄉歌), have been preserved. It continued in use in certain official contexts until the end of the Yi dynasty, and some of the weird officialese mentioned earlier (page 5 f) is derived from it. But the characters of *idu* are not abbreviated, and the text in which they are used cannot be treated as a Chinese text in any sense save that the characters are in the Chinese shapes.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt a full description of *idu*, but an example will suffice to indicate its nature, and its unintelligibility to the normal sinologue.

善化公主主隱，他密只，嫁良置古，薯童房乙，夜矣卯乙，抱遣去如。

Samguk Yusa (三國遺事·卷二 武王)

In modern Korean script this reads:

선화공주님은, 남몰기, 어러두고, 서동방을, 밤의 몰 안고
간다.

(The Princess Sŏnhwa, nobody knew it,
Was given in marriage.
At night she goes secretly
To the arms of Sŏdong).

There remains one other aspect of the use of Chinese characters and Korean particles, though the scholar would be in two minds about owning it. This is the composition in Korean word order almost devoid of Chinese particles, but liberally besprinkled with Korean particles. It is widely in use in Korea today, but is a most unfortunate hybrid.

I found an example recently on the margin of a ticket issued to me when I crossed the vehicle ferry to Kanghwa Island:

船中破損은 責任이 無함.

(No responsibility is accepted for loss or damage on board.)

This is intelligible to the eye alone, and needs the order of the characters changed if it is to be read as Chinese, or the characters translated if it is to be read as Korean.

The New Testament was done into this style of language by a Korean and published in 1906. A similar style can be found in the commentaries on the Chinese text in editions of the classics with *ŏnhae* (see below page 38) and in the letter-writing books of two generations ago.

An example from the beginning of the 19th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles will illustrate the style:

바울이 上邨으로 行하여 에베소에 來하여 두어 弟子를
遇하여 問하여 曰 爾等이 信할 時에 聖神을 受하였느냐 曰
否라 我等은 聖神賜하심을 聞치도 못하였노라.

(新約全書 鮮漢文 British & Foreign Bible
Society, Seoul. 1925. 行 十九章一)

If this is read aloud it is virtually unintelligible even

to the learned. The corresponding version in idiomatic Korean is as follows (The Chinese-derived words are left in Chinese character for the sake of comparison):

바울이 윗 고을로 다녀서 에베소에 와서 두어 弟子를 만나 물어 가로되 너희가 믿을 때에 聖神을 받았느냐 가로되 아니라 우리는 聖神 주심을 듣지도 못하였노라.

(신약전서, British & Foreign Bible Society.
Seoul. 1904 version. 행 19장 1)

On the other hand, the modern practice of writing Korean in its normal order but with all the Chinese-derived words in Chinese character and the rest in *han'gŭl* seems to have come in after 1894 (甲午更張), and is possibly to some extent due to the Japanese practice of *kanamajiri*. This is now known in Korea as *kukhanmun* (國漢文), and is the usual way of printing serious books and newspapers, but it makes no pretence to be Chinese. It is normal idiomatic Korean.

Finally we will note that Chinese is used in Korea today as a kind of shorthand in slogans, notices, and newspaper headlines. But the order of the characters is the order of the Korean words, not of *mulli*. For instance during the crisis over communist scheming to get Koreans from Japan moved to North Korea, there was a slogan much seen in Seoul: 在日同胞北送反對. It is entirely in Chinese characters, but they are in the order of a Korean sentence, and could be expanded into a piece of ordinary Korean prose if some Korean auxiliary words were inserted. But as they stand they make a better rallying cry; and this fact serves to illustrate how deeply the genius of the Chinese character has influenced Korean thinking.

III. THE COTTAGE SCHOOL AND ITS BOOKS

a. The educational method

The beginning of a country scholar's learning was in the famed *kŭlpang* or *sŏdang*, (書堂), the old-fashioned cottage school. Here nothing was taught but Chinese char-

acters and literature.

I use the past tense, because although a large number of such schools are still in existence, in the district of which I am speaking they have been disappearing rapidly during the last few years. Two years ago there were more than there are now. They continued the good old tradition more or less intact, but with a few minor refinements that I will note in passing.

I have the warmest memories of them. The *kũlsori*, (글소리 or 咿唔聲), the sound of the many young voices reciting aloud many different texts at the same time, in the regular singsong chant proper to *hanmun*, could be heard from far away. It was a raucous but a comfortable noise.

As one opened the door, master and boys alike looked up with bright anticipation at the chance to relax for a visit and a chat. Most of the schools had a dozen to twenty boys, and I gather that it had always been so. They sat round the room at tiny low desks, often facing the walls. They swayed from the hips in the rhythm of their chant, each oblivious of what the others were doing. The object was to memorize the passage. There was no educational method beyond that of learning by rote. The teacher, nearly always an old man eking out a precarious living in this way, controlled the boys with a bamboo cane, heard their repetitions, imposed their tasks, and generally guided them. Occasional teachers had some idea of teaching, but most were content to let the boys absorb Chinese rather than learn it. It was a system of assimilating grammar by exposure to it.

To help ensure the number of times that they recited a piece many of the boys would spend infinite patience in making themselves a paper rosary for counting their repetitions. This they would call *sōsan* (書算) or *sōsu* (書數). It consisted of a piece of stout paper about 11 inches by 7, folded in three so as to make a triple strip about 11 inches by 2½. The central panel was cut with a penknife so that the eleven little horizontal flaps ran in a vertical line

down the centre panel of the sheet. Between the fifth and sixth from the bottom was a stencil of the character \pm meaning a scholar. The two side panels were then folded back behind the central panel and a strip of coloured paper inserted so that the colour would show through the stencilled \pm and the flaps when they were lifted. The flaps could then be used like an abacus. Starting at the bottom one flap was raised at each repetition. When all five of the bottom section were raised they would be pressed down again at each repetition. When they were all pressed down again one of the flaps above the \pm would be raised to register the figure ten. And so on until the eleventh flap at the top registered a triumphant hundred and the scholar could close the book and breathe the air of freedom.

There is something in this which is genuine schoolboy stuff, patience and solemnity over a simple artefact. The same was true of the wands which they made for themselves to follow the characters with. These they called 스승대 *sūsingdae* or sōjangdae (書杖대), a nice piece of straight wood, carefully selected from the spinney, peeled and polished, and often decorated by dipping a thread in prepared ink and winding it with great care round the wand, so as to leave a pretty spiral mark when the thread was unwound. (Northern names for it were 새핏대 and 삽잇대.)

The cottage school was a regular mixture of intense work and leisure. The teacher would almost always call for a kettle of wine to entertain a guest, and in no time the boys would have the chequers and *padūk* (the Japanese *go*) boards out. If one had been able to bring a letter in verse from a scholar in another village the welcome would be the warmer and all would crowd around to join in construing it and appreciating both the verse and the calligraphy.

In spring or summer the doors would be open and the scent of flowers and the songs of birds and insects would come in from the garden with the flies; you would hear the pigs in the nearby sty; and the doorway would be occasionally shadowed by the passing of a laden cow. In winter

the warm floor was cosy and the pungent smell of soya beans fermenting in preparation for making sauce, or the wholesome smell of stored grain would fill the room with the scent of wellbeing.

The walls were covered with graffiti, the teacher's quotes and maxims and the naiver efforts of the pupils. Everything was inkstained, from the wellworn reed mat on the floor to the papered ceiling. In one corner a pile of old newspapers was available for practice with the writing brush. The cheap inkstones were deeply pitted from much hard wear under the grinding of inksticks by vigorous young elbows. There might also be a *punp'an*, (粉板), that oriental counterpart of the old slate, a wooden board treated with a mixture of powdered scallop shells and oil. It had a shiny surface on which you could write with Chinese ink, and then rub it off. It generally bore witness to the fact the no schoolboy finds any text more worthy of contemplation than his own name and address.

Writing was also practised in a sand tray (*sap'an* 沙板) with a stick. But little boys had sheets of paper on which the teacher wrote large characters with very fine strokes, which the pupils then went over with a brush, making the strokes thicker, thus practising good shapes and proportions in calligraphy.

In the old schools in Seoul each boy was expected to take a sheet of paper with him every day, of the kind used for pasting on walls and Korean window-lattices. At the end of the writing lesson the senior boy would collect up all the used sheets and take them for resale to a paper shop. The proceeds were the perquisites of the teacher, and the shopkeeper was able to sell it again for use as undercoating on walls and floors. But by the time it got to the shop the second time it was practically black. The teacher generally wrote a column of model script on the right hand side which the boy copied till the sheet was full. Then he went back again and wrote another set of columns between the first, and sometimes even went back to cover the sheet

a third time by writing again in the spaces between the columns.

The *p'ilchōp* (筆帖) seems to have been often a family affair. It was a long strip-shaped notebook bound at the narrow end with a single large column of characters running down each page, which were used as a model for brushmanship.

The cheap editions of the books which were used are still being printed, and can be bought in the village on any market day. Or you can go to the *Sech'angsa* (世昌社) in Chong-no and buy them. But the cottage school usually had plenty of manuscript copies lying around as well, especially of the primers, of which most copies were needed.

In the old days books were bought from an itinerant pedlar, and the more advanced books had to be ordered in advance for him to bring the next time he came from the city. A man who planned that his promising son should become a great scholar would sometimes buy the whole set of books required for the *kūlpang* course, and pay for them with a cow.

Schoolfees varied, but were almost always paid in grain. In the schools I knew it varied from eight to ten *mal* (about 130 lbs) per year, and might be given partly in barley and partly in rice. In the old days the teacher also received frequent presents of rice-wine, tobacco and clothing. This has largely dropped out, but the custom of celebrating the finishing of a book by any of the boys with a party persists. This is known as *ch'aek ssisi* (册 찢이), or, locally, as *chaek sise*. The boy in question brings a present of *ttōk* (rice cakes) to share with the others, together with wine and a gift of clothing for the teacher.

Holidays used to be unknown, except for the feastedays when nobody worked, but of late many cottage schools have taken every tenth day off as a holiday—it would be the local market day. And nowadays they close down altogether in the heavy work seasons of summer and autumn.

No one can any longer afford to be a scholar pure and simple.

The boys now attending have mostly finished primary school and cannot, for one reason or another, go on to middle school. A few girls also attend. But perfect memorization is now rarely demanded; it is enough to recognize the characters and to understand the meaning.

Formerly a boy began his schooling at the age of five. He would first learn the thousand characters of the *Thousand Character Classic* (千字文), and then go on through a series of primers. These would give him his first introduction to simple sentences, as well as a first introduction to some of the basic ideas of Confucianism and his first taste of poetic diction. His learning of grammar (文理) was then done through the memorization of the *Universal Mirror* or *T'onggam* (通鑑).

The grammar was not taught analytically. As he read more and more the boy gradually came to understand the structure of the Chinese sentences. They would say that "the grammar dawns on the mind" (*mulliga nanda*, 文理가 난다).

At the age of about thirteen he should have completed the study of the *Lesser Learning* (小學) and be ready to tackle the classics. These were done in this order: the *Greater Learning* (大學), the *Analects* (論語), the *Mencius* (孟子), the *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸), the *Poetry Classic* (詩傳), the *Book of Documents* (書傳), and finally the *Book of Changes* (周易). Towards the end of the course only the brighter boys would still be studying—the gentlemen's sons and those who were to become professional scholars. The senior students worked with the teacher on a seminar system, having discussion with him instead of merely learning by rote.

The list of classics may appear deficient. The *Filial Piety Classic*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Book of Rites* are missing. These were all known to the Korean

scholars, even in rural areas, but the Filial Piety (考經) is partly included in the Lesser Learning (小學), while the Book of Rites (禮記) and the Spring and Autumn (春秋) are not included in the traditional Korean listing of the Confucian Canon, which is not 四書五經 but 四書三經: Four Books (論語, 孟子, 大學, 中庸) and only Three Classics (詩傳, 書傳, 周易).

Poetry was introduced into the curriculum somewhere about the time the boy moved on from the Primers to the Classics. It was especially a summertime occupation, referred to as *tang'ŭm* (唐音). Beginning with five character lines, and graduating to seven character lines, the boys learned to chant the works of the T'ang poets. They learned to write poems first of all by being given gobbets of verse, containing the rhyme characters, by the teacher. They had only to fit in the characters needed to finish the verses. At first the boys learned to write the ancient, unrulled poems, gradually moving on to the fully developed *saryul* (四律) poem which, for the Korean country scholar, is the *kŭl* (writing) *par excellence*. (See below page 43ff).

From an early age Chinese studies provided amusements as well as serious food for thought. Here a few examples of the humour of the *kŭlpang*, as redolent of the Korean earth as of Chinese elegance.

Three village boys saw a girl passing water among the bushes, and teased her. Her father heard about this and was very angry. He went to the school teacher and insisted that the boys be punished. The teacher called the boys and enquired about the incident.

They all claimed to have been reciting their lessons. The first said he had quoted the Thousand Character Classic:

如松之盛 (It flourishes like the pines) (couplet 34);

The second claimed to have quoted the same classic:

川流不息 (The stream flows without ceasing) (35);

The third had also quoted:

昆池碣石 (The name of a lake and a rock) (80).

Naturally the teacher had no fault to find with such studious boys, but he foretold that the first would become rich, the second would rise in dignity, while the third, whose contribution was least apt, would remain poor.

Another tale is of a stupid youth who was so silly that it was hard to get him married off. At last a marriage was arranged on a false profession of his skill in Chinese. At the wedding breakfast a cousin who was a real scholar was set next to him. The silly boy said very little until he saw a hunting dog in the yard, when he shouted 워리 산 양개, "Come here, hound." The learned cousin immediately applauded this as a magnificent poetic composition, and interpreted it as 月移山影開, which has the same sounds, and means "The moon has moved and the shadow of the mountain shifts."

The boy did not speak again until he said, 이라 동경 소, "Go away you bobtailed cow." The learned cousin promptly saw that this sentence could also be written in Chinese as 日下東景疎, meaning "The sun has set, the daylight dies."

Then the food began to appear, and he said 국수 한살 발 "Ah, a bowl of noodles." which, being interpreted by the cousin became 菊樹寒沙發 "The chrysanthemum plant blooms in the cold sand."

The bridegroom capped this with 지령반종지 "Give me half a cup of soya sauce." In Chinese transliteration this was rendered as 芝影半從地 "The shadow of the *chi* plant lies half on the earth."

He finished the meal with the exclamation 천장에 거무 진이요 "Look, a spider's nest on the ceiling." In poetic transliteration this became 天長에 去無盡이요 "The heavens are wide, there is no end to them." And the other half of this pair of lines (for the previous remarks too had been

proper *kwigŭl*—see below page 44) came out as 화로에 접불내라 “I can smell rice bran burning in the stove.” but his cousin interpreted him as saying 花老에 蝶不來라 “The flowers are drooping and the butterflies no longer come.”

Another example of this kind of joke is to write a Korean phrase in Chinese characters that make a different sense, but a similar sound, as:

분홍침하적우리 (Pink skirt and bodice)

粉紅簷下積雨裡 (The powder flower is scarlet in the constant rain under the eaves).

or 살구호도복숭아 (Apricot, walnut, peach)

殺狗虎跳伏松下 (The tiger that caught the dog leapt into hiding under the pines).

Riddles gave equal delight. A couplet of Kim Sakkat (金筮 1807—1863) is used as such:

飛來片片三春蝶이요

踏去聲聲五月蛙라

“It comes flying piecemeal like butterflies in March, it sounds underfoot like frogs in May”; and the answer is snow.

Then there is a vast repertoire of more or less clever phrases, often claimed to have been written by children, such as:

誰謂山不老하라

一夜에 白首多라

“Who said the mountains were not old?

They have gone white headed overnight.”

Or, more amusingly, the tale of the grandfather who saw his little grandson running around in Korean white cotton socks, and said;

太足에 何復襪고

“What’s this puppy doing wearing socks?”

To which the five year-old replied in perfect *hanmun*:

人口에 不當草라

“Grass is not right in a man’s mouth.” (Grandfather was smoking).

The delight of the thing consists in the exact parallelism, but it also doubtless served as a spur to encourage the

studies of many a tardy boy of more than five.

Of course there were games with the characters too. The younger boys would play first at *sōngmodum* (姓모듬) or collecting surnames. Taking any book they would search the page for characters which were known to be in use as surnames. The next stage was a game called *kolmodum* (골모듬), when character would be chosen at random from the book and the boys would try to call out the names of counties beginning with that character.

Another for little boys was to choose a particular radical, say *ip ku* (口) and then for each player to choose a regular position on the page of the Thousand Character Classic, which had sixteen characters—four columns of four—on each page. They then went through the books to see who could find the most *ip ku* in his particular place on the pages of the whole book.

A favourite with the older boys was 初中終章 “First, Middle and Last Verses”. Two boys selected a passage from some book, and turn and turn about tried to recall a quotation in which the first character of the passage came first, then one in which the second character in the passage came in the middle, then one in which the third character in the passage came last, then one in which the fourth character in the passage came first, and so on. At the end they totted up their respective scores.

An interesting feature of the scoring system of many of these *kūlpang* games was the rule 一不而殺六通. If you made one mistake you lost six points, although for one right answer you had only one point gained.

A famous story tells of a boy who in the course of this last game was confronted with the need to discover a quotation where the character 乃 appeared at the end of the verse. This is a grammatical impossibility. Nevertheless he found his passage, or claimed to have done.

其形恰似乃

“Its shape is just like the character 乃.”

He was challenged, as a liar, to produce the preceding verse

of the poem. He immediately composed:

老人依杖立

“An old man standing leaning on a stick.”

(The feat is probably more remarkable than the English rendering suggests.)

All this is a far cry from the inscription favoured for the boys' bookmarks:

一曰不讀書면

口中生荆棘이라

“If you miss study for one day, thorns will grow in your mouth.” But the jokes and games of the cottage school are interesting as well as entertaining, because they give us some insight into the humour and the acrostic obsessions that were to characterize the leisure of the scholars when they grew older. My scholar friends would speak of these things as though ashamed of them, yet it was clear that they were still very much entertained and attracted by such simple *jeux d'esprit*.

b. The books

This is not an account of Chinese literature written in Korea, but only a description of the books that are most in use by the rural scholars. Only sixty years ago almost all Korean books had a very uniform appearance. Their covers were yellow, and they were sewn through the back edges of the sheets. The paper was soft but durable, the printing was sometimes excellent, sometimes of an engaging rusticity. Most of the old books are a pleasure to handle. The cottage school always had many manuscript copies as well, and very few of the old books do not show signs of much use.

The first in order of study were the primers, and the first among the primers was an ancient work, used for the same purpose in China itself, the Thousand Character Classic (千字文). The boys learned the characters by heart. Some of the couplets stuck in their minds because their meaning was so obvious, but others were never understood, because

their meaning depended on too abtruse references to Chinese legends and geography. The book was also familiarly known as the White Headed Classic, (白首文) because of the story about its composition. It dates from the Liang dynasty (梁) in the 6th century AD. The legend says that the emperor Wu Ti (武帝) had a thousand different characters written on separate slips, and that he gave them to the official Chou Hsing-szŭ (周興嗣) to be linked together into a poem with meaning. The task was completed in a single night, but the strain was so great that the poet emerged in the morning with white hair.

It begins with some remarks about the cosmos and its behaviour, and moves on through natural history and legendary history to morals, ending up with what to modern European eyes seems a rather tame last verse explaining which characters are grammatical particles. It is written throughout in four character verses with rhymes at the end of alternate verses, but no attention to the spacing of the tones of the characters. It gave the Korean boy a first introduction to parallelism in writing Chinese phrases, and provided him with a very useful system of counting up to one thousand, for the characters of this book have often been used as though they were numerals, where a long series was needed, on coins for example.

The order of the contents is also of interest. It is substantially the same in the other books used as primers, although the proportion between the parts and the amount of Chinese proper names is different. Even today, beginners' books of *hanmun*, though they contain much contemporary material, follow the same plan in essentials. There is something very logical about starting with heaven and proceeding by way of the earth to man.

A surprising number of editions of the book are still in print and available in Seoul. There have been some good attempts to compose up-to-date Thousand Character books, and though they sometimes use the four character verse form, they rarely attempt the rhymes as well. Some people

have felt the need of a Two Thousand Character Book and I know at least two separate compositions under this title. But most interesting of all, Kang Kŭn-hyŏng (姜謹馨) has recently published a "Thousand and Three Hundred Character Classic", using the limited list of characters published in 1957 by the Ministry of Education. He starts with heaven as usual and also with rhymes, but long before the end he has had to relinquish the latter refinement. However the appeal of the form seems still to be alive after thirteen centuries. It is typical of the acrostic appeal of some departments of *hanmun*.

In recent years editions of the Classic with a Korean *ŏnhae* (see below page 38) have appeared. But the old copies have no Korean apart from the indications of the *saegim* and *ŭm* of each separate character.

The *Ch'ŏnjamun* is for ever cropping up in Korean life and history. From it are drawn placenames, pen-names, proverbs, and who shall say what else. Everybody in the land knows the opening verse 天地玄黃, and from it comes the old proverb of despair:

天地玄黃三年讀하니
焉哉乎也何時讀고

(It has taken me three years to master the first four characters of the Thousand Character Book, whenever shall I get to the end?)

Inevitably the boys parodied it, and every country boy still knows 하늘천, 땅따지, 가마솥에 누린밥 득득 긁어서, 선생님은 개밥그릇으로. 나에게 큰사발. (Heaven *Ch'ŏn*, earth earth *Chi*, scrape, scrape, scrape the big cauldron, scrape out the burnt rice, give the teacher a puppy's bowlful, give me a decent dish.....). This is a joke based on the first line of the book as the boys learned to recite it: 하늘천, 따지, 가물현, 누루황 (*Hanul-ch'ŏn, tta-ji, kamur-hyŏn, nuru-hwang* — Heaven *ch'ŏn*, earth *ji*, dark *hyŏn*, yellow *hwang* (See below page 66ff for text and translation).

The first book which the boys were expected to understand was the Primer (啓蒙篇), which Bishop Trollope called the Child's Guide to Knowledge. It seems to be quite impossible to discover who compiled it, or when. I have been told that it is comparatively modern, but with no justification. It is very short, twenty-two pages all told, in a common edition, but it remains the ideal compendium of the mental furniture of the oldstyle Korean. There is a short introductory section, and then a chapter each on heaven, earth, and man. The last is much the biggest. It contains some references to the poets, and despite its perfect Confucian orthodoxy it is not exclusively concerned with morals. After reading it a boy would know all about the five elements, the five colours, the five tastes, the names of the notes of music, and a little bit about mathematics, the basis of the calendar, and natural science. It must have been a great relief to the boys who slaved over the thousand characters to come upon interesting, even though often obvious, information. (See Appendix VI, page 76ff below for text and translation.)

With the next primer we are on surer ground, for we know the name of the author. This is the *Tongmong Sõnsũp* or 'First Reader' (童蒙先習 later often called also 童蒙必習). It was compiled by Pak Se-mu (朴世茂) in the early part of the sixteenth century. It consists of a disquisition on the five cardinal relationships (五倫) of Confucianism (between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, elder and younger, and between friends), heavily emphasizing the duties of sons and students, followed by a short account of the history of China and of Korea, the latter remarkable for its subservient demeanour towards China, and its bland description of Korea as the land of Confucian orthodoxy. It is an entirely moral book in purpose. (See below page 88 for text and translation.)

Both these books are generally found with the *t'o* (see above page 16f) in the text and with a translation in Korean after each short section (known as 諺解.)

Other books have been used as primers, but these were

the most popular. A book called *Yuhap* (類合)* consisted of a collection of useful characters arranged according to their meaning in groups. And some were brought up on another moral primer, the *Kyöngmong Yogyöl* (繫蒙要訣) by the great master Yulkok (栗谷), or Yi I (李珣). It has seven short chapters, on strengthening the will, reforming old habits, the conduct of the person, reading, serving parents, home life, and social intercourse. With it is bound up a collection of edifying stories about the behaviour of children classified according to their age until they were married, under the title of *Sukhye Kiryak* (夙惠記略) a Brief Account of Early Virtues.

The next book usually studied was the Precious Mirror of the Pure Heart, the *Myöngsim Pogam* (明心寶鑑), an anthology of edifying remarks and tales from a number of sources. It originally had twenty chapters, but recently there have been three chapters added. All the excerpts are from Chinese sources and the whole is a little text book of Confucian ethics. Its editor is thought to have been Ch'ü Chök (秋適), also known as Nodang (露堂), who lived in the 13th century. Like all the previous books it has a translation into Korean after each gobbet.

Now comes a book of a different character, the *T'onggam*, or Universal Mirror (通鑑). It is a book of Chinese history in many volumes, condensed from the great *Tzūch'i T'ungchien* (資治通鑑) of Szūma Kuang (司馬光) (1009—1086). It has been reedited many times. The Korean version seems to be one done in the Sung (宋) dynasty and is acceptable in Korea because in its preface it claims to have the approval of Chu Hsi (朱熹), whom we shall soon realize was more authoritative than Confucius himself to the Yi scholars. Not many of the boys read through all the books. What they did read was more for the sake of imbibing *multi* (文理, grammar), than for the sake of learning history, although the early part of the book is about the Chou (周) dynasty, of which the Koreans are, as devout followers of the sage, very fond.

Sometimes before, or instead of the *Tonggam*, boys

studied another history book, the *Saryak* (史略), which seems to be a Korean edition of the 十八史略 of the Yüan dynasty writer Ts'eng Hsien (曾先). It is a three volume summary of early Chinese history.

The last of the books which were treated as primers brought the young scholar unequivocally under the influence of Chu Hsi (朱熹), the great twelfth century synthesiser and remodeller of Confucian thought. This was the *Sohak*, or Lesser Learning (小學). This collection of extracts was compiled by Liu Tzū-ch'eng (劉子澄) by order of Master Chu and published, after scrutiny by the sage, in 1187. It contains instruction on deportment and good manners as a department of ethics, and draws on writers ranging from the earliest times to the Sung dynasty.

It was first translated into Korean (小學諺解) in the early sixteenth century by Ch'oe Suk-saeng (崔淑生), but the present translation is said to be the work of King Yǒngjo (英祖 reigned 1725—1777).

With this book the student had his first introduction to editions with commentaries printed in Chinese alongside the text.

There are various forms of Korean editions of classics—and the *Sohak* is practically a classic in Korea—the chief being the *wǒnbon* (原本) and the *chǒngbon* (正本). The former means original text and implies a full commentary. The second means 'correct text', but implies that the commentary contains no *soju* (小註) (see below page 39).

It may be well to describe the arrangement of the text of these Korean books. The actual text of the book is printed in large heavy characters. Almost invariably in the case of recently used students' books the *t'o* (see above page 16f) are inserted in the text. (Such books are generally marked 懸吐 on the outside.)

Immediately to the left of each paragraph or section is a Korean translation, known as the *ǒnhae* (諺解). Formerly these *ǒnhae* were printed in separate volumes. They

vary considerably in their linguistic interest, and some are in the heavily Chinesified style described earlier (see page 22). Popular report credits both the *to* and the *onhae* most commonly used for the classics to the hand of T'oegye (退溪), also known as Yi Hwang (李滉), perhaps the greatest philosopher that Korea has ever produced.

To the left of the *onhae* are the commentaries, called *chuhae* (註解) or *chusok* (註釋). The first of these is in a smaller size of type than the text, but is known as the Great Comment, the *taeju* (大註). Often popularly ascribed to Chu Hsi, they are in fact from several hands. They may be distinguished in groups called *chipsōng* (集成), *chiphae* (集解), *chipsōl* (集說), *chōngo* (正誤), or *chūngju* (增註), according to who compiled them, some of these designations indicating their nature as collections from various authors.

After these, in the *wōnbon* (原本) come the small comments, the *soju* (小註), giving even more detailed comments on the text. Finally, in a book described as *piji* (備旨 'with meaning', a popular exposition), there may be even another set of explanations. These are printed in smaller type than the *taeju*. *Soju* are also known as *seju* (細註) and *chanju* (찬註).

After mastering the *Sohak*, the scholars went on to the Four Books or *Sasō* (四書), as described above: Greater Learning (大學 *Taehak* in Korean); the Analects (論語 *Nonō* in Korean); the Mencius (孟子, *Maengja*); and finally the Doctrine of the Mean (中庸 or *Chungyong*).

There is no need to discuss these books here, but it is interesting to note some colloquial Korean remarks about them, such as were often written on the covers of the books. The *Taehak* they summarised by quotation from it: 正心誠意修身齊家治國平天下 (Right heart, sincere will, controlled person, regulated household, governed country, peace on earth), and they called it *넉출*大學, 'spreading like a vine'. The Analects they summed up in the phrase 吾道一以貫之 which has been translated as 'A single principle

runs through all my teaching.' (IV. xv.) The Mencius they epitomize as 遏人欲而存天理 黜霸功而行王道 'submitting man's desires to heaven's will' and 'abolishing force in the royal way'. But the Doctrine of the Mean was regarded as the most difficult by far, and so was named the 'Little Book of Changes' (小周易), since the difficulty of understanding the Book of Changes is proverbial. It was also called 차돌맹이 中庸, 'like a flint'.

And so the best students came to the Three Classics or *Samgyōng* (三經). They took them in the order: Poetry (詩傳), Documents (書傳), and lastly Changes (周易).

The Poetry Classic, "the Psalms of the Far East," according to my friend, was said to be like a green chestnut (生栗詩傳). The Book of Documents was called a ripe chestnut (熟栗書傳). The Book of Changes as studied in Korea was said to have had six authors: Fu Hsi (伏羲), who drew the diagrams; Wen Wang (文王), who wrote the text; the Duke Chou (周公), who wrote the comments headed 彖; Confucius, who wrote the comments headed 象; Chu Hsi, who added the comments headed 本義; and Ch'eng Ming-tao (程明道), who added the comments headed 傳.

There were of course other books beside these which were well known to the rural scholars. Especially well known was the Chinese book called the Precious Treasury of Ancient Letters (古文眞寶), which contained a great deal of verse. There were various collections of verse in the strictly regular form developed during the T'ang dynasty, often in manuscript form. They were commonly called *Tang'ŭm* (唐音). And of course the works of the greatest Chinese poets circulated in separate editions.

There were various books of rhyming literary phrases to help in composition, with titles such as *Munja Yujip* (文字類集). In this century these were being replaced by the letterwriters, known in Korean as *p'yōnjit'u* but also called *ch'ōktok* (尺牘) or *kandok* (簡牘). A good example is the book called *Ch'ōktok Taebang* (尺牘大方). All of these are very entertaining books, but they show up one of

the weaknesses of the country scholar's approach to composition: he valued aptness and ingenuity more than originality.

Finally a word must be said about dictionaries. The familiar Korean word for a dictionary of Chinese characters is *okp'yŏn* (玉篇), meaning Precious Book. The name was originally that of a great dictionary edited in China in the Liang (梁) dynasty. But in Korea it is derived from the *Chŏnun Okp'yŏn* (全韻玉篇), dating from the late eighteenth century, and based on the great Chinese K'ang-hsi Tzū-tien (康熙字典). It was a two volume work, giving only the sound of the characters in Korean script, and the explanations in Chinese. The characters were arranged in the order of their radicals.

There seems to have been no dictionary explaining the meaning of the characters in Korean until the publication of the *Chajŏn Sŏgyo* (字典釋要) by *Chi Sŏgyŏng* (池錫永) in 1909. Since then there have been a large number of character dictionaries. Several revisions of the *okp'yŏn* have appeared, but the best and most in line with Korean tradition in its arrangement and typography is the *Kukhan Myŏngmun Sinokp'yŏn* (國漢明文新玉篇) of Songjong Kim Hyŏkche (松亭, 金赫濟), which has gone through several printings, two editions, and at least four formats (not counting piratings), since the Korean war. It is thoroughly up to date, with lists of characters whose radicals are hard to trace, lists of characters easily confused, an index of characters arranged in Korean alphabetical order, and lists of commonly used characters and abbreviated forms. None of this additional material was in the traditional *okp'yŏn*. Nor was the information about the modern Chinese pronunciation of the character, nor the reference list of the 106 rhymes arranged under the four classical tones.

But, true to tradition, it shows the rhyme of each character after its entry, and all the characters that were used in the private names (御諱) of kings of the Yi dynasty are enclosed within brackets as a reminder of the tabu on their use. (See also page 11 above. It is intriguing to find the character 垠 marked as a tabu name. It is the name

of the last Crown Prince of Korea, now living in Tokyo as a Japanese subject.) The Korean *saegim* (see above page 11) are a modern feature, but much of the subsidiary information of a literary and historical nature is straight from the *Chōnun okp'yōn*, which copied it from K'ang-hsi.

The book contains about 12,000 characters, and is carefully based on the K'ang-hsi dictionary, like its model. But K'ang-hsi lists 42,000 characters whereas the *Chōnun okp'yōn* also has only about 12,000.

Ch'oe Nam-sōn's compilation (mentioned above page 4), is now out of print, but regarded by many Koreans as the best *okp'yōn* of all. It gives classical quotations to illustrate use—a rare feature in such works.

Dictionaries arranged according to the rhyme of the characters and not according to the radical order had the primary purpose of giving the correct pronunciation. They have the characters arranged under the four tones, subdivided into the rhymes recognized by K'ang-hsi for literary purposes. They are naturally in great demand by people composing poetry in Chinese. The most authoritative one produced in Korea is the the *Kyujang Chōnun* (奎章全韻), composed by the staff of the royal archives by order of King Chōngjo (正祖). He had set up the archive house and its staff under the title of *Kyujanggak* (奎章閣). The first character refers to the *k'uei-hsing* (奎星), or star that presides over literary activity, and was adopted in imitation of Chinese royal archives.

IV. POETRY

For the country scholar there is only one kind of aristocracy that really matters, the aristocracy of literature. He will refer to such and such a village as being a place where there is a scholar (*hakja* 學者) or 'a man who can write' (*kūl anūn saram*). In either case he means not merely a man who can read *hanmun*, but a man who can write and appreciate Chinese poetry just as it is written and appreciated in China itself.

There are various kinds of Chinese poetry. Our Korean scholars know of them all. The ancient style called *pu* (賦) is a kind of rhymed and rhythmic prose, dating from the 4th century BC. This is read in Korea, but rarely, if ever, composed. The same is true of the *sa* (詞), a more modern form, dating from the T'ang dynasty, and having many variations of form, but involving the tones of the syllables in the metric arrangement.

This use of the tones of the characters in a pattern that corresponds to prosody in Western poetry is the feature that divides all Chinese verse into two great departments. One is called in Korean *koch'e* (古體), or old style. In these verses the number of characters in a line may be made to accord with a fixed measure, but no regular pattern for the arrangement of the tones of the characters is observed,

From the T'ang (唐) dynasty onwards, however, after the period when the literary tones of Chinese had arrived at the state of development which is still defined in Korean and Chinese dictionaries, the arrangement of the tones came to be a major feature of poetical composition, and in consequence all poems based on the models of the T'ang poets are called *kūmch'e* (今體), or *kūnch'e* (近體), modern style poems. In Korea they are frequently called *tang'ūm* (唐音) and this is how they were known to the boys of the cottage schools, who studied them in the summer time.

There is only one form of old style poem, if we may call it such, that is at all popular as a living form in Korea. This is the *myōng* (銘), and it is basically the form employed by the Thousand Character Classic (see below page 66). Strictly speaking the word 銘 means merely an inscription, and it is mostly in use as such, especially on stones in memory of the dead. It is a comparatively free composition, without attention to the tones of the characters. It is written in lines of four characters each, sometimes rhyming the second and fourth lines of each quatrain. The following is a random example of a recent *myōng* from a memorial stone to a Christian bishop, in the churchyard at

Onsuri on Kanghwa Island (江華郡, 吉祥面, 溫水里).

律身三德 救靈衆生
十載服勞 千秋留名

“He modelled himself on the three virtues (faith, hope, and charity) and saved a host of souls. His labours lasted ten years, his name will endure for ever”. (This refers to the Anglican bishop Arthur Turner (端雅德主教), who was much concerned in the early history of the Korean YMCA.)

The Korean scholars tend to regard the word *si* (詩) as meaning the same as *hansi* (漢詩), and restrict the use of it in practice to the strictly ruled poems in the ‘modern’ style. This is to ignore the use of the word in the title of the Book of Songs (詩傳 or 詩經, see above page 40), and also the normal contemporary Korean use of the word which means the same as the English word ‘poetry’. But the *si* is scarcely recognized as having any more in common with the *pu*, the *sa* and the *myōng* than it has with plain prose. The poem *par excellence*, the *tang’ūm*, it is composed of even numbers of lines with 5 or 7 characters to the line; it has a metrical system of disposition of the tones of the characters within the lines, and it has regularly spaced rhymes at the ends of the lines.

The commonest form consists of a poem of eight lines called *saryul* (四律) or *yulsi* (律詩). Longer poems can be made and are called *paeryul* (排律). The eight lines are divided into four couplets, each called a *kwi* (句), or *kwigŭl* (句글). The two lines in each couplet are called *tchak* (짝), because they are closely paired. The first one is called *antchak* (안 짝 inside of the pair) and the second is called *pakkatchak* (밖알 짝, outside of the pair). A poem is also referred to as a *su* (首) or ‘piece’. Finally, if the poem consists of only two couplets, it is called *chōlkwi* (絕句). A *chōlkwi* is normally composed as though it were a full *saryul* with the two middle couplets omitted.

Each line or *tchak* consists of either seven (七言) or five (五言) characters, the longer line being preferred. There

is a break in the sense between the fourth and fifth characters, and generally also a minor break between the second and third. One might express the construction of the *tchak* as: 2, 2; 3, but the English stops are stronger than the Chinese ones. For example:

一片冰心在玉壺

(One-piece icy-heart in-jade-vessel). (王昌齡)

A five character line is constructed in every way as though it were a seven character line with the first two characters missing, so there is a slight break between the second and third characters only, as in

松筠起碧澗

(Pine-bamboo on-green-bank). (杜甫 册六卷十八)

Within the line the characters are arranged in a definite pattern of tone distribution. For this purpose only the even and oblique tones (平 and 仄, in Korea more often called 平 and 上, see above page 13) are taken into account. The basic pattern demands that certain tones should be even (平), certain tones should be oblique (仄), while a few can be either even or oblique. This disposition of the tones of the characters is called *yōm* (簾) or *p'yōngch'ŭkpōp* (平仄法). It is occasionally also called *kojōpōp* (高低法) or *kohabōp* (高下法). (See also above page 13.). There are twelve recognized forms of *yōm*, of which the only one much used is the *kasae yōm* or *kawi yōm* (가위簾 or 가새簾, scissors or criss-crossed pattern). It corresponds of course to the metrical construction of Western verses.

In a line of seven characters, 2 and 6 are always of the same tone, 4 differs from 2 and 6, and 5 is always the opposite of 7. The rest are indifferent, but preferably 1 is like 2, and 3 is like 4. Thus the pattern of the line is:

? O ? X O O X or else ? O ? X X O O

Since O and X have two possible sets of values (even and oblique in each case), there are four possible patterns for any line,

○平○上平平上

○平○上上平平

○上○平平上平

○上○平平上上

If the second character is even, the form is called

p'yōnggisik (平起式); if it is oblique it is called *ch'ūkkisik* (仄起式).

When two lines are combined into a couplet or *kwi* (句), the second character in each line must be of a different tone, thus, for example, if the first line has the pattern

○平○上平平上

the second line can theoretically have the patterns

○上○平上上平 or ○上○平平上上.

The couplets are arranged so that they will have a definite pattern within the whole poem. There are three acceptable combinations:

- 1) the 1st couplet has one pattern and the other three have its reverse;
- 2) the 4th couplet has one pattern and the other three its reverse;
- 3) the 1st and 3rd couplets have one pattern, and the 2nd and 4th its reverse.

In a *chōlkwi* (絕句), or two couplet poem, it is preferred for the first and last lines to have one pattern, and the middle two lines to have the other.

There are special names for certain patterns, as for instance a *saryul* in which the first couplet is different from the other three (1 above), and the second character of the first line is an oblique tone called 一鴈高飛簾, the metre of "a single goose flying high."

Poems with five character lines are treated in the same way except that the first two characters are missing from each line.

This pattern looks at first sight to be arbitrary and unduly complicated, but it is less so when one remembers that the characters represented by circles in the above schemes should preferably be like the one following in each case. It then appears that the verse is fundamentally constructed of pairs of characters, the tone difference changing from pair to pair. In an odd number of syllables one of

the characters obviously must be outside this pattern of pairs, and this odd character is placed next to the final pair, either before it or after it, but always linked to it.

The following tabulation will make this clearer:

平平	上上	平平上
平平	上上	上平平
上上	平平	上上平
上上	平平	平上上

However, on occasion, for special effect, the rules may be broken by a master. Especially is this true of the grouping of the characters in twos and threes.

The rhythm of the seven character line has a considerable effect and appeal in Korea, often quite unconsciously. It can often be seen in an attenuated form in slogans written in Korean, and it is amusingly used by schoolboys to memorise the kings of the Yi dynasty, by listing them without the regular 宗 or 祖 that comes at the end of each name. But there were only 27 kings and 28 characters are required to fill out the metre, so 繼 meaning 'to succeed' is appended:

太定 太世 文端世, 睿成 燕中 仁明宣
光仁 孝顯 肅景英, 正純 憲哲 高純繼

It is meaningless, but the rhythm helps the memory.

(This expedient differs from that used in explaining the character 蒼 in the title 蒼葉門, or Green Leaves Gate, on the Royal Tablet House in Seoul. The character is dissected into 卅, 八, and 君, meaning 28 kings, an omen of the length of the Yi dynasty. But in this case the twenty seven kings are made up to the required number by counting in the famous 'Coffin King' (莊祖) who was given kingly rank posthumously but never actually reigned. This was done for three others during the dynasty (as well as four ancestors of the first kings), but only the Coffin King is counted because he belongs to a generation which otherwise had no representative who actually occupied the throne, whereas the other three had cousins who in fact reigned.)

Yöm is also influenced by the placing of the *un* (韻) or *unja* (韻字), or *pal* (발), the rhyming character, from which verse gets its name of *unmun* (韻文), rhymed writing. These rhymes are not perfect ear rhymes in the modern pronunciation of Chinese characters by Koreans, or, for that matter, in colloquial Chinese. But the *okp'yōn* notes the classification of each character according to the 106 recognized Chinese literary rhymes, and any of the various rhyming dictionaries (韻考 *un-go*, 韻書 *unsō*, or 韻冊 *unch'aek*) actually lists the characters according to these rhymes. The books called *unbu* (韻府) list phrases according to their rhymes, such phrases being called *unmok* (韻目). They were sometimes used in learning to write verse, sometimes they were a form of arranging old encyclopaedic works. The rhyming itself is called *un-gak* (韻脚), and it never consists of more than one character at the end of a line. There is nothing corresponding to the polysyllabic rhymes of European poetry.

Characters which are used as rhymes in classical poems are almost invariably of the even tone. *Per contra*, characters at the end of lines where the rhyme is not required are of oblique tone. The rhyme can occur at the ends of lines 2, 4, 6, and 8; but it is almost always at the ends of 1, 2, 4, 6, and 8. (In the case of the four lined *chōlkwi*, following the normal rule of composing it as a *saryul* with the two middle lines missing, the rhymes come at the ends of 1, 2, and 4.)

It is a common practice to write poems on the basis of rhymes suggested by someone else. This proposing of rhymes may be done in one of two ways. Firstly, one of the 106 rhyming categories can be proposed, in which case the poet has a wide choice of possible characters on which to draw, not even being bound to use the character which is the title of the category. For instance, when the category 魚 was proposed, one poet actually used 書, 如, 初, 餘, and 除. This is described as 魚字通.

Or else all five characters can be given, and the composer must use them. This is called *un naeda* (to set the

rhymes) or *abun* (押韻) or *hamun* (限韻) and is much used in competitions.

Making the poem rhyme is called in Korean *un talta* (韻 달다).

There is another important technical feature in the choice of characters in a poem. This is the parallelism or *taeu* (對偶) between two lines. It involves the pairing off of the grammatical structure of the lines so that the characters in each correspond, verb for verb, noun for noun, number for number, and so on. It is well illustrated by the quotation from Kim Sakkat above (page 31), and also by the following couplet describing one of the villages in the P'yöngt'aek parish. It is called Kasari (佳士里) and is at the foot of a mountain called Maisan (馬耳山) at the top of which are earthworks credited to the famous general Im Kyöng-öp (林慶業). The verse is attributed to Sin Ki-ho (申氣胡) of the Koryöng Sinssi (高靈申氏):

將軍去後山猶寂
佳士來前里有名

“After the general left, the mountain remained quiet;
Before the scholar came, the village had a name”.

(It is worth noting that even in composing a stray couplet the Korean arranges for it to finish with an even-toned character such as 名. In fact he may sometimes equate the words for rhyme character (韻字) and ‘even toned character’ (平聲字)).

But parallelism has pitfalls, and the artistic instinct of the poets has led to the description of three kinds of parallelism which are faulty:

- 1) 輕重對 Light and heavy parallel, in which the very big is set beside the minute;
- 2) 陰陽對 Yang-yin parallel, in which the corresponding parts are too violently opposed, or even contradictory;
- 3) 臀對 Buttocks parallelism, where the correspondence is between ideas that are too similar.

Parallelism is essential in the 2nd and 3rd couplets of an eight lined poem, which are therefore called *yön'gwi* (聯句).

There is one other quality essential to a good ruled poem, even if it has only four lines (*chōlkwi* 絕句), and that is the construction in four parts called 起 theme, 承 development, 轉 anti-theme, and 結, 落 or 合 conclusion. Each of these occupies a quarter of the poem. In some cases, especially when the poem is about scenery, the construction is described as 起景情落, or 界景情思, but the meaning is very nearly similar.

A final characteristic is noteworthy. No character may be repeated in a poem, unless it is used twice together for some special effect.

So when a man sits down to write a poem he has always five things to consider:

- 1) the subject; 題
- 2) the rhymes; 韻
- 3) the fourfold construction; 起承轉結
- 4) the spacing of the tones; 簾
- 5) the parallelism; 對

(For a tabulation of the whole scheme see Appendix III page 64 below)

It seems to us more reminiscent of a very complex acrostic than of poetic inspiration. But we must not be misled. All the rules are in fact artistically sound, and have a better purpose than merely making the exercise more difficult. Without the strict discipline of this form it would be easy to write Chinese which was even duller than the majority of English blank verse. And the stimulation of ingenuity is no bad way of coaxing inspiration.

The subject of a poem is called *sije* (詩題). If it is some object or thing, it is called *yōngmul* (詠物). If it is an event or action it is called *chūksa* (即事), while a landscape or view is called *chūkkyōng* (即景).

Even today, on occasion poetry meetings are held at local beauty spots. A marquee is set up, a picnic meal is provided, and the subject is set. Generally the scenery or

some aspect of the place is taken. A rhyme character is chosen, often at random from a book, and others in turn call out four more rhymes that match it. Then all turn to, to compose on the basis of the same rhymes. The most elaborate of these is the national competition called Paegilchang (白日場) held at the Sönggyun'gwan (成均館) in Seoul every year on the 3rd of October (National Foundation Day 開天節). On this occasion the President of Korea himself sets the subject and the rhyme characters. Of late Chinese poetry competitions have also been run regularly by one of the national dailies.

It is extremely difficult for a foreigner to judge the quality of these poems. Chinese have told me that the Koreans can write better poems than the Japanese are wont to do. This may well be true, and due to the difference in the approach to Chinese grammar by the two nations. I append here a selection of poems written by my friends in the country. They will give idea of the standard which is attained. If the sentiments do not appear to be supremely inspired, it may be well to recall that the poets themselves say that 詩意思一船同 or "the sentiments of poetry are those of daily life."

First of all, a poem about scenery, the 即景 genre. The Yöngung Rock is a strange sharp-pointed lonely rock in a bay on the North side of the Asan Gulf. It is locally known as the Yö-ung Pawi (여웅바위), which is Sinified as above to mean the Hero's Rock. On either side of the bay are the two villages of Pömbawi (범바위, 虎岩 Tiger Rock) and Solgae-bawi (솔개바위 鳶岩 Kite Rock).

The rock was proposed as the subject and the rhymes given to mean farmer, peak, common, winter, and religion. The last characters of the poem are a reference to the kings of Korea, most of whom have them in their posthumous names (諡). Revered kings were always called either 祖 *Cho* (if they encountered and overcame difficulties) or 宗 *Chong* (if their reign was mostly plain sailing).

英雄岩

從古英雄不事農 擇居水國做奇峰
 虎又鳶岩雖別別 獸形禽屬是庸庸
 千載令名無敵我 四時裸體豈夏冬
 天然壽骨同今舊 第閱韓朝幾祖宗

The Yōngung Rock

The ancient hero was certainly no farmer,
 He chose to set up in the watery realm this strange peak.
 Although the Tiger and Kite Rocks are certainly unusual,
 The shape of a beast and the form of a bird are common.
 For a thousand years famous, I have had no peer,
 Through the four seasons, naked in summer as in winter.
 To nature's long-lasting bones the present is as the past,
 As through Korea's dynasties pass how many Cho and
 Chong.

On occasion, instead of using proper rhyme characters, a set of characters making some word or phrase may be used, making in fact an acrostic poem. A further variation has an acrostic at the beginning of the lines as well, but in the example here given only the usual places of the rhyme characters are filled by a meaningful phrase.

安仲中學校卒業生送別詩

三年習鳥此棲安 一振飛鳴競伯仲
 進勢應遷喬木上 擇心莫向棘林中
 時變不同今古文 文明混出東西學
 問君他日功名處 肯忘窮鄉是母校

Farewell poem to the leavers from Anjung Middle School

Three years through as fledglings you were sheltered in
 this nest,
 Now once you try your wings and voices to compete with
 your elder brothers.
 You set out strong and surely, straight for the tops of the
 highest trees,
 Choose well and do not make your way among the
 thornbushes.
 Times change, and yesterday's ideas are not those of today:

Progress means the mingling of Eastern with Western learning.

I beg you, on another day, when your names are bright
with fame,

Will you entirely forget your lowly home and mother
school?

The translation is free. The acrostic characters are 安仲中學校 meaning Anjung Middle School, or, individually, Peace, Younger brother, Among, Learning, School. The moral tone is characteristic of the type of the writer. So are the classic allusions. There was a bird of Chü that sat for three years in silence on a hill: 楚阜有鳥三年不飛不鳴 孔子曰飛將衝天鳴將驚人. (I have not been able to trace this reference, which was given—typically—from memory.) And the Poetry Classic speaks of a bird that flew from the dark valley to the top a tree (II. i. 5): 出自幽谷遷喬木. Here both add spice to the simple conceit of the poem.

This poem about two blue budgerigars (parakeets) is also a good example of his use of classical allusion.

青鸚

出自隴山爾貌青	啼時謹勿客眠醒
羽杯頻供文章酒	歌興不辭遊子亭
瞻彼白鷗何寂寞	較音黃鳥太丁寧
我鄉消息能傳否	言語禽中唯汝伶

Blue Budgerigars

Pretty blue birds that come from Lungshan,
Take care your early chatter does not wake our sleeping
guest.

The feathered cup was always at hand with wine for
the poet,
Exuberant song is not restrained in the man of leisure's
arbour.

Look up at that white gull, how solitary it is!
Compared with the song of the oriole, yours is much truer:
Can you give me no news of my homeland?
For alone among birds you are clever enough to speak.

The feathered cup is the wine cup of the paramount T'ang poet. Li Po (李白), who had a cup with a parrot painted on it. The first and last lines are deliberate echoes of a poem by Kai Chia-yün (蓋嘉運), another T'ang writer: 隴山鸚鵡能言語. Kai's poem also refers to receiving news from home.

There is a deliberate element of the ridiculous in the following:

蝸牛

或在水田或在潭	或依半壁兀如菴
取還兒手堪持弄	烹出貧厨供旨甘
俄看全身嫌太黑	偶移苔井襲軟藍
轉圓筒體似孤獨	卵產一邊多子男

The Water Snail.

It may be in the paddy, it may be in the pool,
 It may be stuck fast on a low wall, like a little house.
 Caught and carried home by a child in a happy game,
 It appears in the poor man's kitchen supplying flavour
sweet.
 A little ago the whole body seemed a horrid black,
 But wriggling in the well's scum it dons a coat of pale green.
 The singular rotund body looks like a lonely hermit,
 Yet it spawns many eggs and produces progeny.

This is a tour-de-force. There was an established game that whenever the poet was found ignorant of the Chinese characters for anything at all, I would set preposterous rhymes for him to make a poem on the subject. In one cottage water snails turned up for lunch, and he could not name them immediately in Chinese. I gave him the characters meaning pool, cottage, sweet, indigo, and male for rhymes, and the above was his solution. Note that the character for indigo also means water plants.

Toby the kitten was so-called because although female, she had an orange blaze on her nose. Presented with characters meaning sort, neighbour, gentle, dawn, and treasure, the poet produced this ode. (*Tobi* is the Korean pronunciation

舞童

一手指西一手東 婆娑何愛是可童
 上空聳出三層沏 平地圓成一陣洪
 巧藝每令人呵呵 紅裳能蔽日夢夢
 滿場觀客渾如醉 看看益奇恐有終 (李容植)

Dancing boys.

One hand pointing to the West, one hand to the East,
 Are they not attractive, these leaping, dancing boys?
 In the air they rise up high in three human storeys,
 On the ground they circle round in one great ring
 stretched wide.
 Their art and skill make every man draw in astonished breath,
 Their scarlet skirts extended can cloak the sun in dreams,
 The crowded square of onlookers is dazzled as though drunk,
 The more they watch the more they wonder, and fear
 that it will end.
 (Yi Yong-jik)

西洋歌舞近來東 固有調和藝術童
 長袖善搖憐彩複 屈伸任意心神洪
 踊躍伎工益巧巧 能令滿座罷夢夢
 八佾遺風稍發展 遍傳宇宙及其終 (李宅和)

Songs and dances of the West have recently come East,
 But we have our proper harmony in these dancing boys,
 With wide sleeves waving and undulating coloured coats,
 Bowing and stretching at will till the mind is dilated.
 The art of the graceful dance piles beauty upon beauty
 And the people watching around are made to dream fine
 dreams:
 The sixty-four youths in the ritual dances typify cosmic
 harmony
 Until the rhythmic universe comes at last to end.
 (Yi T'aek-hwa)

The sixty-four youths (八佾) still dance in Seoul at the annual sacrifices on Confucius' birthday. They are mentioned at the beginning of the third book of the Analects.

回回轉轉復西東 憐爾妙齡舞小童
 蹁躚似在霓虹裡 婆娑若凌宇宙洪
 亂動全身形歷歷 爭跳疾足眼夢夢
 撲蝶飛花爭甲乙 一聲金鼓一時終

(李敏承)

Twisting, twirling, round and round, turning West and East,
How graceful are your tender years, little dancing boys.

Hopping round as though you were the centre of the
rainbow.

Leaping up as though you spurned the universe so wide.
All your body active, in ever-moving patterns,
Your swift feet trip in counterpoint, dazing the eye with
dreams.

Flying butterflies and blossoms battle with each other,
The gongs and drums together sound, together make an
end.

(Yi Min-Sŭng)

It is clear enough that the composition of such poems used to play a part in the life of the Korean countryside that the crossword puzzle and the weekend competition in the literary magazine do in our own culture. And although it is almost habitual for Western writers to dismiss them as mechanical and occasional pieces, I am disinclined to approve of such a judgment. The rules may look absurdly strict, but in reality, as I have already said, they all have sound aesthetic bases. To a man with a good grounding in characters their composition is a pleasant relaxation. And I at least find the results of their leisure more satisfying than much that is published in English as inspired poetry,—perhaps the more so in that the Korean pieces have few pretensions to immortality.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The country scholar is a person of decreasing importance in Korean society, but his influence is not yet dead, and it is worth understanding him if we would understand Korea. Many of his characteristics are still only slightly below the

surface of modernized Korea. The things for which he stood still motivate much of Korean behaviour.

The most obvious thing about him is his rigid orthodoxy. We call him a Confucian, but he is really a Chu-Hsiist, for all his thoughts are conditioned by the particular brand of Confucianism confected by Master Chu (朱子). He is not always unconscious of the fact. One of them said to me on a country walk that his nation had suffered from too slavish an adherence to Chu Hsi, whereas Japan had profited by having learned much from Wang Yang-ming (王陽明).

But it is rare that the Korean can be found having studied even the classics in any other than a version edited by Chu Hsi. The primers are packed with Chu Hsi's ideas, and his terminology is accepted without question. All other schools of Chinese thought are ignored rather than opposed.

From the same source comes the formalism of our old fashioned gentlemen. And this they have passed on to younger generations. There is an enormous reverence for ceremony and etiquette in Korea. You will not find it in the buses where women fight and struggle for the best seats, nor on the streets of Seoul, and doubtless that is partly due to the fact that the classics have nothing to say about buses and comparatively little about women in the streets. But you will find it on any sort of official level, and on anything like a polite occasion: an insistence on going through the motions of the proper ceremonial, which to the westerner can be maddening. In village life etiquette and ceremonial matter enormously, and the villagers have a gift for attention to detail in such matters so great that when it is a case of a really formal ceremony the solemn atmosphere is completely lost in the anxiety to correct every detail during the course of the function.

I would be the last to mock at Confucian theories of etiquette, in spite of the fact that, like all good things, they can be overdone. The good manners of Korean village society in its daily intercourse are a precious thing and equally a product of the system of village learning. When

the Five Relationships are put into practice they help maintain a pleasant as well as a polite society, in which respect of man for man is higher than in some western communities.

The scholar, when he is mature, is the recipient of much courtesy. The schoolboys cycling home will always dismount to doff their caps to him when they meet him in the lanes. His learning is a source of pride to the village where he lives. He need not live in state, in fact he will probably be poor, but he will be a gentleman. And he in turn greatly respects the farmers, knowing at least that they are second in the old hierarchy of occupations: scholar, farmer, artisan, merchant (士農工商).

But the scholar was very aware of his superiority and its dangers. There are, he said, three kinds of pride to be avoided: rank, riches, and learning (班, 富, 文: 三驕). His morality was anything but restricted to the formalism of a merely ceremonious code. No-one could read through the traditional Korean course of Chinese studies and not gain some sort of moral insight. Unfortunately, all too often the method of teaching gave little instruction in how to make the moral education actively useful: it often left a man with knowledge, but without much initiative.

In fact the practical use to which his learning was put was limited. I have not met country scholars who cared greatly for reading. I think they mostly find protracted reading of Chinese texts rather a strain. Writing poetry is more relaxing.

However the man who is expert in the character is well equipped to refer to works on astronomy and medicine, and this he will do for the benefit of all, sometimes earning a little for exercising his skill. He understands the calendar whereas others take it on trust. He knows hard words and can explain them. Sometimes he will go further and give advice on the choice of lucky days, even the reading of fortunes and the construction of charms, or advise on the making of auspicious names, for the Chinese character has

a wondrous virtue which enters into every department of Korean tradition. Since nearly all the occult uses of characters derive ultimately from the Book of Changes, it takes a scholar to understand them properly. This is a vast subject and goes far beyond the limits of this paper, but it is worth noticing that though there are many kinds of fortune telling and soothsaying in Korea, a scholar of the classics would never condescend to deal in those which could not claim to be scientific in some sense.

As I have known these men there have been proud ones among them and men whose lives did not manifest the effects of the superior moral teaching of the sages, but most of them are men of urbanity and humour. Perhaps it is their humour that makes them most attractive, as though they still enjoyed the jokes of the cottage school. Their kind has certainly contributed a major part to the charm of the Korean character. Leaving aside the life of the spirit and any sense of mysticism, which they more or less firmly repress, they present a type of civilized man that is more praiseworthy than blameworthy.

One cannot escape the fact that the scholarly ideal was a sound one. The corruptions and oppressions of the Yi dynasty as we find it recorded in history are inescapably true, yet the ideals which it strove for deserve not to be dismissed as having been tried and found wanting. Our Korean *literatus* had a healthy basis to his thinking. His whole poetic basis of thought was firmly geared to the rhythm of the seasons and the stars; his ideal career was government—which in ideal terms means service rather than power; his study was psychology; his hope was retirement to some quiet place where he could experience the peace which is the goal of every human soul. The world can boast few more civilized attitudes to life.

As the roots of the whole Confucian culture were agricultural (cf page 73, line 82, *inter al*), so today it is in the country that we have the declining traces of the scholar's life in Korea. The cottage school may disappear in the

hurly-burly of the technical age, and the scholar with the painted fan and his four friends of the writing-table (墨紙筆硯 ink, paper, brushes, and inkstone) will soon be gone from the village altogether. But their urbanity and their culture, their wit and their sensitivity, their reverence for solid wisdom, will, please God, not be lost to their fatherland.

* It was composed by the remarkable historiographer and editor Sō Kō-jōng (徐居正 1420-1488).

Two other primers of Chinese characters are of interest, though they have not been in common use in later times. The first is the *Hunmong Chahoe* (訓蒙字會) by Ch'oe Se-jin (崔世珍) published in 1527. It contains 3360 characters, under 33 headings in logical order. (Heaven, Earth, Flowers, Plants, Trees, Fruit, Grains, Vegetables, Birds, Beasts, Fish and Reptiles, Insects, the Body, Human Relationships, Confucianism, Literature, Ranks, Buildings, Government Administration, Implements and Utensils, Food, Clothing, Boats, Vehicles, Harness, Military Equipment, Colours, Cloth, Metals and Jewels, Music, Disease, Funerals, Miscellaneous Words – this last a very large section, including numerals). The book is of additional interest because it gives valuable evidence of contemporary language in the Korean explanations and in the preface.

The second was the *Ahakp'yōn* (兒學編) of Chōng Yag-yong (丁若鏞) better known as Tasan 茶山 (1762-1836), the great would-be reformer. In 1907 it was reedited by Chi Sōg-yōng (see above page 41; he was also the pioneer of vaccination in Korea) who added Japanese and English explanations with the English, Japanese and Chinese readings transcribed in Korean script.

These all represent attempts to supplant the old Thousand Characters of Chou Hsing-szū with a more rational primer. It is interesting that none of them ever succeeded, and it is the Chinese classic, not the Korean pedagogic improvements, which alone can be readily obtained in Korea today.

APPENDIX I

A TABLE OF THE CONCORDANCE OF THE
LITERARY AND MODERN TONES

Note that the Korean literary tones are not the same as the modern Chinese tones, even in literary recitation, so that the tone given for any character in a modern Chinese dictionary may well differ from that given in a Korean dictionary.

T R A D I T I O N A L	K O R E A N	Literary name	平		上	去	入
			上	下			
		Colloquial name used in teaching verse composition	平		上 or 仄		
		Colloquial description	얇은		높은		
		Korean ideal of pronunciation	short		long		*
M O D E R N	C H I N E S E	Chinese tone name	平		上	去	
			陰	陽			
		Chinese tone number	1	2	3	4	5

*Characters with final ㄱ, ㄷ or ㅂ.

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS
USED AS *KUGYOL* (口訣)

가可	든等	시時	온溫
거巨	라羅	신申	와臥
고古	려驢	스士	은隱
과果	려戾	아牙	을乙
나那	로奴	야也	의矣
나飛	리里	에厓	이伊*
니尼	마馬	어於	이是*
다多	며跡	언言	인印
대代	면面	엇叱	저底
더加	사舍	여余	정丁
도刀	서西	여亦	하爲
두斗	소小	오五	호乎
	히尿		

*Note that 伊 is used as a postposition after nouns, and 是 is used as a verb stem.

APPENDIX III
TABLE OF THE TWELVE YOM (簾)

See above page 45. The six patterns below yield a total of twelve, if to provide the five character scheme the first two characters are dropped from each line. The circle indicates that the character may be either even or oblique, but preferably like the one following it. The rhyme at the end of the first line may be omitted, but it rarely is in Korea.

A	起	1	○平	○上	上平韻	B	起	1	○上	○平	上上韻	
		2	○上	○平	上上韻			2	○平	○上	上平韻	
	承	3	○上	○平	平平上		承	3	○平	○上	平平上	聯句
		4	○平	○上	上平韻			4	○上	○平	上上韻	
	轉	5	○平	○上	平平上		轉	5	○上	○平	平上上	聯句
		6	○上	○平	上上韻			6	○平	○上	上平韻	
	結	7	○上	○平	平上上		結	7	○平	○上	平平上	
		8	○平	○上	上平韻			8	○上	○平	上上韻	
C	起	1	○平	○上	上平韻	D	起	1	○上	○平	上上韻	
		2	○上	○平	上上韻			2	○平	○上	上平韻	
	承	3	○上	○平	平平上		承	3	○平	○上	平平上	聯句
		4	○平	○上	上平韻			4	○上	○平	上上韻	
	轉	5	○上	○平	平平上		轉	5	○平	○上	平平上	聯句
		6	○平	○上	上平韻			6	○上	○平	上上韻	
	結	7	○上	○平	平上上		結	7	○平	○上	平平上	
		8	○平	○上	上平韻			8	○上	○平	上上韻	
E	起	1	○平	○上	上平韻	F	起	1	○上	○平	上上韻	
		2	○上	○平	上上韻			2	○平	○上	上平韻	
	承	3	○平	○上	平平上		承	3	○上	○平	平上上	聯句
		4	○上	○平	上上韻			4	○平	○上	上平韻	
	轉	5	○平	○上	平平上		轉	5	○上	○平	平上上	聯句
		6	○上	○平	上上韻			6	○平	○上	上平韻	
	結	7	○上	○平	平上上		結	7	○平	○上	平平上	
		8	○平	○上	上平韻			8	○上	○平	上上韻	

APPENDIX IV
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The texts of the three traditional primers used in old Korea are not easily come by outside the country, and their importance in forming the mentality of the countryside is such that it seems well worth while to reproduce them here with translations. The Primer epitomizes the whole background of philosophy and science; the *Tongmong Sönsüp* gives as much history as many a Korean farmer ever learnt; and the Thousand Character Classic has many points of interest.

In the texts the traditional Korean *t'o* have been retained, for the sake of their intrinsic interest as an aid to young Korean scholars. Chinese readers should note that they made no difference at all to the interpretation of the Chinese text. (See above page 16.) The texts reproduced here are the ones commonly available in the country market places of Korea today.

In the translations constant reference has been made to the Korean translation or *önhae*, which normally accompanies the Chinese in Korean editions of these books. The terms of science and astronomy and proper names which are originally Chinese have been given in transliteration of their Chinese pronunciation, and not of their Korean sound. Korean names are given in their Korean sound, and in some cases the Korean pronunciation is given in brackets after the Chinese.

千字文

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1 天地玄黃 | 20 恭惟鞠養 | 39 學優發仕 | 58 陞階納陛 |
| 宇宙洪荒 | 豈敢毀傷 | 攝職從政 | 弁轉疑星 |
| 2 日月盈昃 | 21 女慕貞烈 | 40 存以甘棠 | 59 右通廣內 |
| 辰宿列張 | 男效才良 | 去而益詠 | 左達承明 |
| 3 寒來暑往 | 22 知過必改 | 41 樂殊貴賤 | 60 既集墳典 |
| 秋收冬藏 | 得能莫忘 | 禮別尊卑 | 亦聚群英 |
| 4 閏餘成歲 | 23 罔談彼短 | 42 上和下睦 | 61 杜稟鍾隸 |
| 律呂調陽 | 靡恃己長 | 夫唱婦隨 | 漆書壁經 |
| 5 雲騰致雨 | 24 信使可覆 | 43 外受傅訓 | 62 府羅將相 |
| 露結爲霜 | 器欲難量 | 入奉母儀 | 路俠槐卿 |
| 6 金生麗水 | 25 墨悲絲染 | 44 諸姑伯叔 | 63 戶封人縣 |
| 玉出崑岡 | 詩讚羔羊 | 猶子比兒 | 家給千兵 |
| 7 劒號巨闕 | 26 景行維賢 | 45 孔懷兄弟 | 64 高冠陪輦 |
| 珠稱夜光 | 剋念作聖 | 同氣連枝 | 驅轂振纓 |
| 8 果珍李柰 | 27 德建名立 | 46 交友投分 | 65 世祿侈富 |
| 菜重芥薑 | 形短表正 | 切磁箴規 | 車駕肥輕 |
| 9 海鹹河淡 | 28 空谷傳聲 | 47 仁慈隱惻 | 66 策功茂實 |
| 鱗潛羽翔 | 虛堂習聽 | 造次弗離 | 勒碑刻銘 |
| 10 龍師火帝 | 29 禍因惡積 | 48 節義廉退 | 67 磻溪伊尹 |
| 鳥官人皇 | 福緣善慶 | 顛沛匪虧 | 佐時阿衡 |
| 11 始制文字 | 30 尺璧非寶 | 49 性靜情逸 | 68 奄宅曲阜 |
| 乃服衣裳 | 寸陰是競 | 心動神疲 | 微龍孰營 |
| 12 推位讓國 | 31 資父事君 | 50 守真志滿 | 69 桓公匡合 |
| 有虞陶唐 | 曰嚴與敬 | 逐物意移 | 濟弱扶傾 |
| 13 吊民伐罪 | 32 孝當竭力 | 51 堅持雅操 | 70 綺回漢惠 |
| 周發殷湯 | 忠則盡命 | 好爵自縻 | 說感武丁 |
| 14 坐朝問道 | 33 臨深履薄 | 52 都邑華夏 | 71 俊乂密勿 |
| 垂拱平章 | 夙興溫清 | 東西二京 | 多士寔寧 |
| 15 愛育黎首 | 34 似蘭斯馨 | 53 背邛面洛 | 72 晉楚更霸 |
| 臣伏戎羌 | 如松之盛 | 浮渭據涇 | 趙魏困橫 |
| 16 遐邇壹體 | 35 川流不息 | 54 宮殿盤鬱 | 73 假途滅虢 |
| 率賓歸王 | 淵澄取映 | 樓觀飛驚 | 踐土會盟 |
| 17 鳴鳳在樹 | 36 容止若思 | 55 圖寫禽獸 | 74 何遵約法 |
| 白駒食場 | 言辭安定 | 畫綵仙靈 | 韓弊煩刑 |
| 18 化破草木 | 37 篤初誠美 | 56 丙舍傍啓 | 75 起翦頗牧 |
| 賴及萬方 | 慎終宜令 | 甲帳對楹 | 用軍最精 |
| 19 蓋此身髮 | 38 榮業所基 | 57 肆筵設席 | 76 宣威沙漠 |
| 四大五帝 | 籍甚無竟 | 鼓瑟吹笙 | 馳譽丹青 |

- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 77 九州禹跡
百郡秦并 | 89 省躬譏誠
寵增抗極 | 101 具膳殮飯
適口充腸 | 113 驢騾犢特
駭躍超驤 |
| 78 嶽宗恆岱
禪主云亭 | 90 殆辱近恥
林臯幸即 | 102 飽飫烹宰
飢厭糟糠 | 114 誅斬賊盜
捕獲叛亡 |
| 79 鴈門紫塞
鷄田赤城 | 91 兩疏見機
解組誰逼 | 103 親戚故舊
老少異糧 | 115 布射遼丸
嵇琴阮嘯 |
| 80 昆池碣石
鉅野洞庭 | 92 索君閒處
沉默寂寥 | 104 妾御績紡
侍巾帷房 | 116 恬筆倫紙
鈞巧任釣 |
| 81 曠遠綿邈
巖岫杳冥 | 93 求古尋論
散慮逍遙 | 105 紈扇圓潔
銀燭煒煌 | 117 釋紛利俗
竝皆佳妙 |
| 82 治本於農
務茲稼穡 | 94 欣奏累遣
感謝歡招 | 106 晝眠夕寐
藍筍象牀 | 118 毛施淑姿
工嘖妍笑 |
| 83 俶載南畝
我藝黍稷 | 95 渠荷的歷
園莽抽條 | 107 絃歌酒讌
接盃舉觴 | 119 年矢每催
曦暉朗耀 |
| 84 稅熟貢新
勸賞黜陟 | 96 枇杷晚翠
梧桐早凋 | 108 矯手頓足
悅豫且康 | 120 璇璣懸幹
晦魄環照 |
| 85 孟軻敦素
史魚秉直 | 97 陳根委翳
落葉飄颻 | 109 嫡後嗣續
祭祀蒸嘗 | 121 指薪修祜
永綏吉邵 |
| 86 庶幾中庸
勞謙謹勅 | 98 遊鯤獨運
凌摩絳霄 | 110 稽顙再拜
悚懼恐惶 | 122 矩步引領
俯仰廊廟 |
| 87 聆音察理
鑑貌辨色 | 99 耽讀玩市
寓目囊箱 | 111 牋牒簡要
顧答審詳 | 123 束帶矜莊
徘徊瞻眺 |
| 88 貽厥嘉猷
勉其祗植 | 100 易輜攸畏
屬耳垣墻 | 112 骸垢想浴
執熱願涼 | 124 孤陋寡聞
愚蒙等詭 |

125 謂語助者
焉哉乎也

THE THOUSAND CHARACTER CLASSIC

This translation is the work of Professor George Rainer of Seoul National University, who has also drawn upon his wide acquaintance with Chinese literature in appending the explanatory notes. The interpretation was checked by the Korean traditional commentary. The only previous English translation to which reference was made was the very inaccurate version included by H. and E. E. Vaccari in the second volume of their *ABC Japanese-English Dictionary* (1959 edition, Tokyo). They were misled into believing that theirs was the first English version. Professor Rainer notes the existence of one by S. Kidd (*The Thousand Character Classic*, Report of the Anglo-Chinese Society, 1831); *The Thousand Character Classic* translated by Dr Medhurst, with a comparative vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean and Japanese languages, Batavia, 1835; *The Tsien Tse Wan*, translated by Dr Bridgman in the Chinese Repository, Vol 4, pp 229—243; and a romanization in the Shanghai dialect with an English translation by B. Jenkins (Shanghai, 1860). There is also a French version by Stanislas Julien (*Thsient-seu-wen Le livre des mille mots*, Paris 1864), and a German version of Medhurst's text by Ph. Fr. de Siebold (Leyden 1840).

The text given here, and used for the translation, is the traditional Korean one, which differs in several minor particulars from those current in China and Japan.

THE THOUSAND CHARACTER CLASSIC

Cap I

- 1 Heaven and earth, the dark and the dun;
The cosmos a mighty waste,
- 2 The sun in his splendour, the moon in her changes,
The planets and ranging mansions.
- 3 The cold comes as summer goes,
And the harvest is stored for the winter.
- 4 The leap years correct the calendar
And the pitchpipes harmonize with creation.
- 5 Rising clouds bring rain,
Congealing dews form frost.
- 6 There is gold in the river Li,
There is jade in the peaks of Kun.
- 7 Sword of fame was the Great Destroyer,
Pearl of price was the Nightly Shiner.
- 8 Precious fruit are the gage and the bullace,
Chief of herbs are the ginger and mustard.
- 9 Seas are salt, though streams run fresh water,
Fish dive and the birds soar aloft.
- 10 Dragon Sage, Fiery Ruler
Bird Lord, and the Man Emperor
- 11 Who first scratched letters
And wore coat and gown.
- 12 Leaving the throne and yielding the realm,
T'ao-tang made way for Yu-yü.
- 13 Pity the people and punish the wicked
So Chou-fa smote Yin-t'ang.
- 14 Once enthroned, seeking for knowledge,
Hands folded, robes trailing, he reigned in peace.
- 15 He loved and taught his people.
Subjugating the tribes of the West.

1a cf Book of Changes 周易 坤. 1b cf 揚子 法言問道篇

2b The mansions are the 28 *nakshatras*.

4b cf 欽定前漢書 21a. 20—21.

6a Also known as 金沙江 in Yunnan and Szechuan, and famous for alluvial gold.

6b Kunlun-shan, stretching across Northern Tibet, and made famous by the description of Hwei Nan-tze 淮南子.

7a cf 荀子 XXIII. ii. 7b cf 戰國策, 楚一第一四 & 楚辭, 九思, 哀歲, l. 12.

10a v 佐傳昭 17年 Fu-hsi learned the trigrams from a dragon, and Shen-nung reigned by virtue of the element of fire.

10b Shao Hao called his ministers birds, and birds appeared at his accession. The Man Emperor is Huangti.

12 Yao abdicated in favour of Shun, 2255 BC.

13a ie the wickedness of the Shang royal house.

13b Chou-fa was Wu Wang, founder of Chou, 1122—1115 BC.

14b cf Book of Documents, 書經 V. III. 3.

- 16 Near and far were made one,
Owning the sway of the king.
17 The phoenix sang in the trees,
The white colt grazed in the paddock.
18 The trees and the grass bred better,
Virtue spread in every direction.

Cap II

- 19 Now, as to this body and hair:
The Four Great and the Five Everlasting.
20 Recall with respect thy nurture,
Could one wilfully harm it?
21 Women, seek to be pure and faithful!
Men, strive to be able and good!
22 Once conscious of faults you must mend them,
Once master of skills, never lose them.
23 Finding fault with another is folly,
Do not trust in your own strong points,
24 Let your promises lead to fulfilment,
Your forbearance be too great to measure.
25 Mo-tze mourned at the silk-dyeing,
The Book of Songs praises lambswool,
26 Fair conduct leads to sagehood,
Selfconquest makes a saint.
27 Strengthen your virtue, and found your name,
Your goodly looks will show your truth.
28 As the lone valleys carry a voice
And vast halls reverberate,
29 Piled wrongs result in misfortune,
Come blessings from practice of good.
30 Of what worth is a cubit of jasper?

17a cf 詩經 III. II. viii.

17b ie there were good ministers, cf 詩 II. iv. ii.

19b The Four Great are Tao or the Way, Heaven, Earth, and the king. The Five Everlasting are: magnanimity, righteousness, the rites, wisdom, and good faith; or the five relationships of Mencius: father and son (intimacy), ruler and vassal (justice), husband and wife (proper distance), senior and junior (precedence), friend and friend (trustfulness).

20b ie the body inherited from one's parents.

25a ref 墨子 III.

25b ref 詩 I. II. vii. Lambswool was white and worn by worthy ministers. The phrase 羔羊 was therefore used in early Korean and Chinese bibles for the Lamb of God. It is still in liturgical use by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches.

29 cf 易經 II, 文 App I.

30 The Great Yü was very sparing of time; cf 淮南子 原道 and 晉書 陶侃傳.

- An inch on the sundial outweighs it.
- 31 Honour thy father and serve thy liege lord,
We are told to respect and revere them.
- 32 Exert all your strength to be filial,
Lay down your life to be loyal.
- 33 Like treading ice, or the edge of a grimpen,
Rise early to care for their comfort,
- 34 Yielding far-reaching fragrance like orchids,
Growing strong like the flourishing pine,
- 35 Like the unresting flow of a river,
Like deep waters, shining in sunlight.
- 36 Your mien will be calm if your thoughts are,
And your words measured out with composure.
- 37 Zeal from childhood is comely indeed,
And ought to endure to the last.
- 38 Tis the base of a lifetime of glory
And lasting unlimited fame.
- 39 The study of these brings promotion
To managing matters of state.
- 40 In life you'll be like the sweet-pear tree
When you're gone, still your praise will continue.
- 41 As music differs in court and cottage,
The Rites mark off the noble from the lowly.
- 42 Let the lords be in concord, the people keep peace;
Let the husband sing and the wife accompany;
- 43 Boys receive training from teachers,
Girls honour their mother's example.
- 44 Let all sisters and brothers of father
Regard their nephews as sons.
- 45 Cherish ever the love of your brothers,
Breath-sharers and scions of one stock.
- 46 In intercourse with friends, do your duty,
File and polish each other to standard.
- 47 Show always mercy and pity,
Nor swerve from this ever so briefly.
- 48 Constant faith will earn honoured retirement,
And disaster will not bring your ruin.
- 49 Let your temper be calm, and your passions will rest.
If your mind is excited, your soul will be exhausted.
- 50 Guard the truth and fulfil your ambition,
Chase trifles and you will be fickle.
- 51 Ever practise your drill in good manners,
Due honour will surely reward you.

31b In the Filial Piety Classic, 孝經 聖 9 & 要 12.

33a Of reverent fear before the king; cf 詩 II. v. i.

33b ie the parents' comfort. cf 詩 II. v. ii.

40 As did the praise of Shao Kung, who gave judgment under a sweet-pear tree. Cf 詩 I. II. v.

46b cf 詩 I. v. i.

Cap III

- 52 Those two metropolitan cities,
The capitals, eastern and western,⁷
- 53 One, backed by Mount Mang, fronts Lo River,
One floating on Wei, by the Ch'ing.
- 54 A tangle of temple and palace,
Whose towering halls soar aloft:
- 55 The pictures of birds and of animals,
The paintings of spirits immortal,
- 56 The openwork screens of the harem,
The great colonnades of the court!
- 57 What sumptuous feasts those banquets,
What drumming, lute-thrumming and piping!
- 58 Tribute-bearers ascend to the daïs,
Their bobbing helmets twinkling like stars.
- 59 To the right the Imperial Library,
To the left the Muniment Hall.
- 60 Here are stored the Imperial Annals
And records of numerous worthies.
- 61 Drafts by Tu and scripts by Chung,
Books written in lacquer and the walled-up classics.
- 62 In the palaces, statesmen, commanders;
And the roads thronged with officials.
- 63 One household enfeoffed of eight counties,
To each clan a thousand retainers.
- 64 High-crowned they escort the state chariot,
Wheels spinning and tassels streaming,
- 65 Royally endowed with great riches,
Fine horses and chariots light.
- 66 Multitudinous military merits
Are lauded on stelae of stone:
- 67 Pan Hsi, and Yi Yin
Who long served the Shang as Chief Censor.
- 68 Building his seat at Chü-fou,
Who but Tan could have saved the country?
- 69 Duke Huan righted the land and made it one,
Succoured the weak and raised the fallen.

53a ie Loyang.

53b ie Ch'angan.

60a Said to refer to the reigns of the First Three Emperors and the First Five Kings.

61a 杜度 of Eastern Han was famous for his grass-writing, and 鍾繇 of Wei, for his scribe character.

61b The walled-up classics were discovered by Kung Wang, 共王 of Lu in the Han dynasty,

67 Pan Hsi, where Wen Wang met Tai Kung; Yi Yin, fl c1760 BC.

68b Tan is Chou Kung.

69a In the Chi dynasty.

- 70 The recluse Ch'ih returned to serve Hui of Han,
The statesman Yüeh influenced Wu Ting.
- 71 Nobles and scholars strove for peace,
Numerous warriors lived in tranquillity.
- 72 Chin and Ch'u alternated as hegemon,
Chao and Wei were embroiled in the turmoil.
- 73 One borrowed a road to conquer Kuo:
At Ch'entu a parley and alliance.
- 74 Shiao Ho was bound by his treaties,
Han died by an unjust sentence.
- 75 Ch'i and Chien, Po and Mu,
Those masters of military strategy—
- 76 Their sway reached the desert of Gobi,
And artists painted their portraits.
- 77 Yü left footprints in all the Nine Marches
Chin welded the hundred states into one:
- 78 Heng and Tai the sacred mountains,
Yün and Ting the chief altars,
- 79 Goose Gate and Purple Fortress,
Cock Field and Crimson City,
- 80 Kun Pool, and Granite Rock,
Ku Forest and T'ungt'ing Lake,
- 81 Far-spreading and lost to view,
Away beyond cliff and cavern!

Cap IV

- 82 The groundwork of ruling is georgic:
Hard work, and we reap rich crops.
- 83 First tilling the land to the southward,
We cultivate paniced millet.
- 84 The taxes are paid with the first fruits,
The farm-bailiffs praise or rebuke us.

70b of Shang.

73a 晉獻公 borrowed a road through Wu to attack Kuo; cf 春秋. 卷 5
僖公上 2nd year.

74a 蕭何 of Han.

74b The great philosopher 韓非 in Chin 秦.

75 白起 and 王翦 of Chin, and 廉頗 and 李牧 of Chao.

77a cf 書 III Bk 1. 9. j.

78a Hengshan in Hopei, and Taishan in Shantung.

78b ie on the slopes of Taishan.

76a In Shensi in the far North.

79b Cock Field, a city in Ningshia, Mongolia, the far Northwest, and
Crimson City, a town in Manchuria,

80a Kunming lake in Yunnan, in the far southwest, and a mountain on
the coast of Shantung.

80b Ku Forest is in Shantung. This geographical catalogue shows the
extent of the Empire.

83b A quotation: 詩 II. vi. v. 84b cf 詩 I. xv. i.

- 85 Mencius was generous and frugal,
Shih-yu gained the name of Straightforward.
- 86 You will barely fall short of perfection
If you labour humbly with diligent care.
- 87 Listen to men's speech and examine their principles,
Observe their bearing and discriminate their natures.
- 88 Bequeath to your issue some grand project,
Strive to establish it in honour.
- 89 By self-criticism silence all slander,
Beware of inordinate affections.
- 90 If shame closes on you with insults,
Seek happiness in the wooded hills.
- 91 The two Su saw their chance
And retired. Who pursued them?
- 92 Living apart in seclusion,
Immersed in silent inaction,
- 93 Go to the ancients for wisdom,
Cares flee in these pleasant diversions.
- 94 Display happiness, banish perplexity,
Withdraw from grief and summon joy.
- 95 In the gully the lotus leaves are glossy,
In the orchard the undergrowth sprouts.
- 96 The loquat is almost an evergreen,
But the eaves of paulownia drop early.
- 97 The drying roots are a-wither,
The falling leaves are a-flutter.
- 98 The travelling leviathan alone moves the ocean
And touches the rosy empyrean.
- 99 Lusting to read, study in the market,
What is kept in the eyes can be satchelled and boxed.
- 100 Careless talk must be shunned,
For walls may have ears.
- 101 Set out savoury dishes with plenty of rice,
Good to taste and filling the belly.
- 102 The surfeited loathe even dainties,
But the starved would fain eat husks.
- 103 The family friends and the children
And the old should have differing helpings.
- 104 Set the concubines spinning and weaving,
Let them wait with their towels in the bedroom,
- 105 The white silk fan, so round and spotless,

85b cf Confucian Analects 論語 XV. vi.

86a ie of the Chungyung 中庸.

91 The two brothers 疏廣 and 疏受 of Han.

98 The leviathan becomes the roc and flies up to heaven. Cf 莊子 I. i.

99 When Wang Chung 王充, the Roger Bacon of China, was young he could not afford books, so he used to read at the bookstalls in Loyang market.

103b cf 孟子 VII. I. 22. iii: 七十非肉不飽

- Silver sconces with candles shining;
 106 For dozing at noon or night-sleeping,
 Blue mats on an ivory-laid bed.
 107 When pledging and toasting, with fiddling and singing,
 Raise your beaker and grasp your goblet.
 108 Arms waving, toes tapping the tune,
 Enjoyment, content, and delight.
 109 May your true wife's male issue continue,
 Maintain the rites, autumn and winter,
 110 Prostrating themselves, again and again,
 In reverent and holy fear.
 111 Correspondence should be succinct,
 Replies carefully considered.
 112 When begrimed, consider a bath,
 When you're sticky you'll want to be cool.
 113 Asses, mules, calves and bullocks,
 Suddenly startled, leap and prance.
 114 Robbers and pirates should be beheaded,
 Rebels who flee must be apprehended.
 115 Pu the archer, Liao the juggler,
 Hsi the lutanist, and Piper Juan,
 116 T'ien of the brushpen, Paper Lün,
 Chün the ingenious, and Jen of the fish-hook,
 117 How you have eased the lot of the people,
 All equal in excellent subtlety!
 118 Those graceful ladies Mao and Shih—
 Their cunning frowns! Their lovely smiles!
 119 The years fly like arrows, each urging the other,
 The sun shines on in his splendour.
 120 With the suspended armillary sphere,
 Note the fine circle of light round the moon's dark disc.
 121 Point to the faggot and cultivate prosperity,
 Lasting peace and good fortune.
 122 With measured pace and head erect,
 Proceed in the temple courts.
 123 Gird your robe, be grave and dignified,
 In your comings and goings avoid insolent staring.
 124 An unsociable scholar loses opportunity of hearing,
 This is as blameworthy as being illiterate.
 125 As for punctuation—

, ! ? .

- 115 呂布 of Eastern Han, 態僚宜 of Ch'u, 嵇康 and 阮籍 of Wei.
 116 蒙恬 of Ts'in, 蔡倫 of Later Han, 馬鈞 of Wei, and 任公 of the
 Warring States.
 118 毛嬙 and 西施 cf 莊子 II.
 120b ie to determine the neomeny and hence the moment of the new
 year.
 121a point to the faggot is to be found in 莊子 3 at the end, in the
 phrase 指窮於爲薪火傳也不知其盡也 meaning that the body will die,
 but the soul will continue.

啓蒙篇

首篇

上有天하고下有地하니天地之間에有人焉하고有萬物焉하니日月星辰者는天之所係也 | 요江海山岳者는地之所載也 | 요父子君臣長幼夫婦朋友者는人之大倫也 | 나라以東西南北으로定天地之方하고以靑黃赤白黑으로定物之色하고以酸鹹辛甘苦로定物之味하고以宮商角徵羽로定物之聲하고以一二三四五六七八九十百千萬億으로總物之數하니라

天篇

日出於東方하여入於西方하니日出則爲晝 | 요日入則爲夜 | 니夜則月星著見焉하느니라
 天有緯星하니金木水火土五星이是也 | 요有經星하니角亢氐房心尾箕斗牛女虛危室壁奎婁胃昴畢觜參井鬼柳星張翼軫二十八宿 | 是也 | 라一晝夜之內에有十二時하니十二時 | 會而爲一日하고三十日이會而爲一月하고十有二月이合而成一歲니라月或有小月하니小月則二十九日이爲一月이오歲或有閏月하니有閏則十三月이成一歲라十二時者는即地之十二支也 | 니所謂十二支者는子丑寅卯辰巳午未申酉戌亥也 | 요天有十干하니所謂十干者는甲乙丙丁戊己庚辛壬癸也 | 나라天地十干이與地之十二支로相合而爲六十甲子하니所謂六十甲子者는甲子乙丑丙寅丁卯至壬戌癸亥是也 | 라十有二月者는自正月二月로至十二月也 | 라一歲之中에亦有四時하니四時者는春夏秋冬이是也 | 라以十二月로分屬於四時하니正月二月三月은屬之於春하고四月五月六月은屬之於夏하고七月八月九月은屬之於秋하고十月十一月十二月은屬之於冬하니晝長夜短而天地之氣 | 大暑則爲夏하고夜長晝短而天地之氣 | 大寒則爲冬이니春秋則晝夜長短이平均而春氣는微溫하고秋氣는微涼이니라春三月이盡則爲夏하고夏三月이盡則爲秋하고秋三月이盡則爲冬하고冬三月이盡則復爲春이니四時 | 相代而歲功이成焉이니라春則萬物이始生하고夏則萬物이長養하고秋則萬物이成熟하고冬則萬物이閉藏하니라然則萬物之所以生長收藏이無非四時之功也 | 나라

地篇

地之高處 | 便爲山이요地之低處 | 便爲水 | 니水之小者를謂川이오水之大者를謂江이요山之卑者를謂丘 | 요山之峻者를爲岡이니라天下之山이莫大於五岳하니五岳者는泰山嵩山衡山恒山華山也요天下之水 | 莫大於四海하니四海者는東海西海南海北

海也 | 라山海之氣 | 上與天氣로相交則與雲霧하며降雨雪하며
 爲霜露하며生風雷니라暑氣 | 蒸鬱則油然而作雲하여沛然而下
 雨하고寒氣 | 陰凝則露結而爲霜하고雨凝而成雪故로春夏에多
 而露하고秋冬에多霜雪하니變化莫測者는風雷也 | 니라古之聖
 王이畫野分地하여建邦設都하시니四海之內에其國이有萬而一
 國之中에各置州郡焉하고州郡之中에各分鄉井焉하고爲城郭하
 여以禦寇하고爲宮室하여以處人하고爲耒耜하여教民耕稼하고
 爲釜甑하여教民火食하고作舟車하여以通道路하시니라金木水
 火土 | 在天에爲五星이요在地에爲五行이니金은以爲器하고木
 은以爲宮하고穀生於土하여取水火爲飲食則凡人日用之物이無
 非五行之物也 | 니라五行이固有相生之道하니水生木하고木生
 火하고火生土하고土生金하고金이復生水하니五行之相生也 |
 無窮而人用이不竭焉이니라五行이亦有相克之理하니水克火하
 고火克金하고金克木하고木克土하고土 | 復克水하니乃操其相
 克之權하여能用其相生之物者는是人之功也 | 니라

物 篇

天地生物之數 | 有萬其衆而若言其動植之物則草木禽獸蟲魚之
 屬이最其較著者也 | 니라飛者 | 爲禽이요走者 | 爲獸 | 요鱗介
 者 | 爲蟲魚 | 요根植者 | 爲草木이니라飛禽은卵翼이요走獸는
 胎乳하니飛禽은巢居하고走獸는穴處하고蟲魚之物化生者 | 最
 多而亦多生於水濕之地니라春生而秋死者 | 草也 | 요秋則葉脫
 而春復榮華者 | 木也 | 라其葉이蒼翠요其花 | 五色이니其根이
 深者는枝葉이必茂하고其有花者는必有實이니라虎豹犀象之屬
 은在於山하고牛馬鷄犬之物은畜於家하니牛以耕墾이요馬以乘
 載요犬以守夜 | 요鷄以司晨이요犀取其角이요象取其牙 | 요虎
 豹는取其皮니라山林에多不畜之禽獸하고川澤에多無益之蟲魚
 故로人以力殺하고人以智取하여或用其毛羽骨角하고或供於祭
 祀賓客飲食之間이니라走獸之中에有騏驎焉하고飛禽之中에有
 鳳凰焉하고蟲魚之中에有靈龜焉하고有飛龍焉하니此四物者는
 乃物之靈異者也 | 라故로或出於聖王之世 | 니라稻粱黍稷은祭
 祀之所以供粢盛者也 | 요豆菽藎麥之穀은亦無非養人命之物故
 로百草之中에穀植이最重이요犯霜雪而不凋하고閱四時而長春
 者는松栢也 | 니衆木之中에松栢이最貴니라梨栗柿棗之果 | 味
 非不佳也 | 로되其香이芬芳故로果以橘柚로爲珍하고蘿蔔蔓菁
 諸瓜之菜 | 種非不多也 | 로되其味辛烈故로菜以芥薑으로爲重
 이니라水陸草木之花 | 可愛者 | 甚繁而陶淵明이愛菊하고周濂
 溪 | 愛蓮하고富貴繁華之人이多愛牧丹하니淵明은隱者故로
 人以菊花로比之於隱者하고濂溪는君子故로人以蓮花로比之於
 君子하고牧丹은花之繁華者故로人以牧丹으로比之於繁華富貴

人이나物之不齊는乃物之情故로以尋丈尺寸으로度物之長短하고以斤兩鎰銖로稱物之輕重하고以斗斛升石으로量物之多寡
 | 나라算計萬物之數 | 莫便於九九하니所謂九九者는九九八十一之數也 | 나라

人 篇

萬物之中에惟人이最靈하니有父子之親하며有君臣之義하며有夫婦之別하며有長幼之序하며有朋友之信이나生我者 | 爲父母 | 요我之所生이爲子女 | 요父之父 | 爲祖 | 요子之子 | 爲孫 | 요與我同父母者 | 爲兄弟 | 요父母之兄弟 | 爲叔 | 요兄弟之子女 | 爲姪 | 요子之妻 | 爲婦 | 요女之夫 | 爲婿 | 나라有夫婦然後에有父子하니夫婦者는人道之始也 | 라故로古之聖人이制爲婚姻之禮하여以重其事하시니라人非父母 | 면無從而生이라且人生三歲然後에始免於父母之懷故로欲盡其孝則服勤至死하고父母 | 沒則致喪三年하여以報其生成之思 | 나라耕於野者는食君之土하고立於朝者는食君之祿이나人이固非父母則不生이요亦非君則不食故로臣之事君이如子事父하며唯義所在則舍命效忠이나人於等輩에尙不可相踰어든況年高我하고官貴於我하고道尊於我者乎아故로在鄉黨則敬其齒하고在朝則敬其爵하고尊其道而敬其德이是禮也 | 나라曾子 | 曰君子는以文會友하고以友輔仁이라하시니蓋人不能無過而朋友 | 有責善之道故로人之所以成就其德性者 | 固莫大於師友之功이라雖然이나友有益友하고亦有損友하니取友를不可不端也 | 나라同受父母之餘氣하여以爲人者 | 兄弟也 | 라且人之方幼也에食則連牀하고枕則同衾하여共被父母之恩者 | 亦莫如我兄弟也 | 라故로愛其父母者는亦必愛其兄弟나라宗族이雖有親疎遠近之分이나然이나推究其本則同是祖先之骨肉이나苟於宗族에不相友愛則是는忘其本也 | 라人而忘本이면家道 | 漸替나라父慈而子孝하며兄愛而弟敬하며夫和而妻順하며事君忠而接人恭하며與朋友信而撫宗族厚 | 면可謂成德君子也 | 나라凡人稟性이初無不善이나愛親敬兄하며忠君弟長之道 | 皆已具於吾心之中이나固不可求之於外面而惟在我力行而不已也 | 나라人非學問이면固難知其何者 | 爲孝 | 며何者 | 爲忠이며何者 | 爲弟 | 며何者 | 爲信故로必須讀書窮理하여求觀於古人하며體驗於吾心하여得其一善하며勉行之則孝弟忠信之節이自無不合於天叙之則矣나라收斂身心이莫切於九容이나所謂九容者는足容重하며手容恭하며目容端하며口容止하며聲容靜하며頭容直하며氣容肅하며立容德하며色容莊이라進學益智 | 莫切於九思 | 나라所謂九思者는視思明하며聽思聰하며色思溫하며貌思恭하며言思忠하며事思敬하며疑思問하며忿思難하며見得思義나라

THE PRIMER

Phrases in brackets are editorial notes, not part of the text, but from the Korean commentary or *õnhae*.

Introduction

Heaven is above and the earth is beneath, and between heaven and earth are man, and all created things. The sun, moon, stars and planets are close to heaven, the rivers, seas, mountains and hills are borne on the earth. Father and son, ruler and subject, senior and junior, husband and wife, friend and friend—these are the great human relationships.

Direction in heaven and earth is distinguished as East, West, South and North; the colours of things are distinguished as blue, yellow, red, white and black; the taste of things is distinguished as sour, salty, peppery, sweet and bitter; the sounds of things are distinguished as *kung*, *shang*, *chiieh*, *chih* and *yü*; and the number of things is computed by 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 100 1,000 10,000 10,000,000. (The Korean commentary combines these categories into correspondences as follows: East, spring, blue, wood, sour, *chiieh* (guttural sound); West, autumn, white, metal, peppery, *shang* (dental); South, summer, red, fire, bitter, *chin* (lingual); North, winter, black, water, salty, *yü* (labial); centre, yellow, earth, sweet, *kung* (aspirates).)

Heaven

The sun rises in the East and sets in the West. When the sun is out it is day, when the sun is in it is night, and then the moon and stars are seen.

There are five planets (woof stars or moving stars) in the heavens: the metal star (Venus), the wood star (Jupiter), the water star (Mercury), the fire star (Mars), and the earth star (Saturn); and there are twenty eight stellar mansions (constellations or warp stars): *chiieh*, *k'ang*, *ti*, *fang*, *hsin*, *wei*, and *chi* (in the Eastern quadrant, or Blue

Dragon); *tou*, *niu*, *niu*, *hsü*, *wei*, *shih*, and *pih* (in the northern quadrant or Sable Warrior); *k'uei*, *lou*, *wei*, *mao*, *pih*, *tsui*, and *ts'an* (in the Western quadrant or White Tiger); and *ching*, *kuei*, *liu*, *hsing*, *chang*, *ih* and *chen* (in the Southern quadrant or Red Bird).

In one day and night there are twelve hours, and twelve hours together make a day. Thirty days make a month, and twelve months together make a year.

Some months are small months, that is they have only twenty nine days; and some years have an intercalary month, making thirteen months in a leap year. The twelve hours of the day are the twelve earthly branches: *tzü* (North, the rat), *ch'ou* (NNE, the ox), *yin* (ENE, the tiger), *mao* (E, the rabbit), *ch'en* (ESE, the dragon), *szü* (SSE, the snake), *wu* (S, the horse), *wei* (SSW, the sheep), *shen* (WSW, the monkey), *yu* (W, the cock), *hsüih* (WNW, the dog), and *hai* (NNW, the pig). There are ten heavenly stems: *chiah* and *ih* (East and wood), *ping* and *ting* (South and fire) *wu* and *chi* (Centre and earth) *keng* and *hsin* (West and metal), and *jen* and *kuei* (North and water).

The ten heavenly stems combine with the twelve earthly branches to form the sixty cyclical combinations (used for numbering the years). These go: *chiah-tzu*, *ih-ch'ou*, *ping-yin*, *ting-mao*, and so on up to *jen-hsüih* and *kuei-hai*.

The twelve months are numbered from the first and second moons through to the twelfth. And in a year there are also four seasons: spring, summer, autumn, and winter.

The twelve months are divided up among the four seasons: the first, second, and third moons belong to spring; the fourth, fifth, and sixth moons belong to summer; the seventh, eighth, and ninth moons belong to autumn; and the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth moons belong to winter. When the days are long and the nights are short and the weather is hot, it is summer: when the nights are long and the daylight is short and the weather is cold, it is winter.

In spring and autumn the daylight and dark are equal in length, but the spring weather gets a little warmer and the autumn weather gets a little colder.

When the three months of spring are over it is summer; when the three months of summer are over it is autumn; when the three months of autumn are over it is winter; when the three months of winter are over it is spring again. So the four seasons take one another's place and make up the year's course.

Things are born in the spring, grow in the summer, ripen in the autumn, and are stored in the winter. There is nothing which is not subject to this course of birth, growth, ripening and storage.

Earth

The high places on the earth are the mountains, and the low places are the waters. Small waters are called streams and large waters are called rivers, low mountains are called hills, and high mountains are called peaks.

Under all heaven no mountains are higher than the Five Peaks. The Five Peaks are Taishan (in Shantung, the East), Sungshan (in Honan, the centre), Hengshan (in Hunan, the South), Hengshan (in Hopei, the North), Huashan (in Shensi, the West). Under all heaven there are no waters greater than the Four Seas: the Eastern Sea, the Western Sea, the Southern Sea, and the Northern Sea.

Vapours from the mountains and seas rise up into the sky and become clouds and mists, come down as rains and snow, become frost and dew and give rise to winds and thunder.

Hot vapours and steam cling together and become clouds, they separate and come down as rain; cold vapours condense and the dews congeal and become frost; the rain freezes and becomes snow. Therefore in spring and summer there is much rain and dew, and in autumn and winter there

is much frost and snow; but the wind and thunder do not change their forms.

The ancient sage kings divided up the land and set up countries and established cities. There are many such countries within the four seas, and in each country they set up provinces and counties. Within the provinces and counties they made districts and parishes, walled cities to keep out bandits, houses for men to live in; they made ploughs and ploughshares and taught men to plough and sow, they made metal and earthenware vessels and taught men to cook their food, and they made boats and carts for travelling.

Metal, wood, water, fire, and earth are planets in heaven, but on the earth they are the five elements. Metal is used for making utensils, wood for houses, grain grows from the earth, and water and fire are used in cooking food, so all that man uses in his daily life is always composed of the five elements.

The five elements have a system of mutual reproduction: water produces wood (vegetable growth), wood produces fire (when burnt), fire produces earth (in the form of ash), earth produces metal (as ores), and metal produces water again (condensation). This mutual reproductive cycle of the elements has no limit, and man cannot exhaust them.

The five elements have also a mutually incompatible nature: water overcomes fire, fire overcomes metal, metal overcomes wood, wood overcomes earth, and earth again overcomes water; and the harnessing of these powers and the using of them is the peculiar ability of man.

Things

As for the number of things between heaven and earth, it is legion, but if we mention the animals and plants in their various kinds of grasses and trees, birds, beasts, insects, fish, the matter will become perfectly clear.

The flying things are birds, the walking things are beasts, the scaly things are insects and fish, and plants with roots are trees and grasses.

Flying birds have eggs and wings, walking beasts have their young born alive and milk. The birds live in nests and the beasts have lairs. The fish and insects are born by metamorphosis. They are of enormous number and many are produced, especially in the water and damp places.

Plants are born in the spring and die in the autumn. Trees lose their leaves in the autumn and sprout foliage again in the summer. Their leaves are green and their flowers are in the five colours. If their roots are deep, they will surely have abundant leaves and branches; if they have flowers, they will surely have fruit.

The tiger, the leopard, the water buffalo and elephant species live wild; the ox, the horse, the cock and the dog are kept in domestication. The ox is used for ploughing, the horse for riding and burden, the dog for keeping watch at night, the cock for announcing the dawn. His horns are taken from the buffalo, his tusks from the elephant and their skins from the tiger and leopard.

In the mountains and forests there are many untamed birds and animals, and in the streams and pools there are many unprofitable insects and fishes, and so man kills them by force, or catches them by cunning, and either uses their hair or bones or horns, or prepares foods and drinks for sacrifices or for entertaining guests.

Among beasts there is the *ch'ilin* (the unicorn, chief of the 360 furred creatures, corresponding to the element of wood); among birds there is the *fenghuang* (the phoenix, chief among the 360 kinds of feathered creatures, corresponding to the element of fire); and among the scaly animals there are the mystic tortoise (chief of the 360 kinds of shelled creatures, corresponding to the element of metal) and the flying dragon (chief of the 360 kinds of scaly creatures and corresponding to the element of water). These four are the wonderful spiritual creatures, and they appear in the times of sage kings.

Rice and millet and sorghum and paniced millet are

set in the proper vessels for sacrifices; red beans and soya beans, wheat and barley and all grains and pulse nourish the life of man, and therefore they are the most precious of plants. The pine and the cypress withstand the frost and snow without fading, and keep a perpetual spring throughout the four seasons, so they are the noblest of all trees.

Although the flavour of the pear, the chestnut, the persimmon, and the jujube are certainly good, because of their scent the tangerine and the pomelo are valued. Although there are many kinds of vegetables, such as the radishes and rape-turnips and all the gourds, because of their pungency mustard and ginger are the most esteemed of plants.

There are many flowers of plants and trees on land and water which are worth cherishing. T'ao Yüan-ming loved chrysanthemums, Chou Lien-ch'i loved the lotus, and rich extravagant people often like the peony. Yüan-ming was a retiring man, so the chrysanthemum is compared to the retiring man; Lien-ch'i was a noble character, so the lotus is compared to the noble character; and because the flowers of the peony are so luxuriant, the peony is compared to the rich and extravagant man.

The inequality of things is due to their nature, so their length is measured by *hsin* (the fathom), *chang*, *ch'ih* (foot), and *ts'un* (inch); the weight of things is gauged by *chin* (catty or pound), *liang* (tael or ounce), *tzü*, and *shu* (the twentyfourth part of a tael); their quantity is denoted by *tou* (the peck), *hu*, *sheng* (pint), and *shih* (gallon.)

For calculating the numbers of things nothing is more convenient than the nine times table; that is to say, 9×9 is 81.

Man

Among the myriad created things only man is ennobled with a soul: the intimacy of father and son, the justice

between ruler and subject, the distinction between husband and wife, the precedence between senior and junior, and good faith between friends.

Those who brought me forth are my father and mother; those I bring forth are my sons and daughters; my father's father is my grandfather; my son's son is my grandson; those with the same father and mother are my brothers; my father's and mother's brothers are my uncles; my brothers' sons and daughters are my nephews and nieces; my son's wife is my daughter-in-law; and my daughter's husband is my son-in-law.

After taking a mate a man can have children, so marriage is the beginning of human morality. Therefore the ancient sages instituted the wedding ceremony and made this estate honourable.

If a man had no parents he could not be born, and since it is at three years after birth that he can first leave his parent's bosom, therefore he strives to show filial piety to the utmost, exerting himself till death; and when his parents die he mourns them for three years, thus repaying the gifts of his birth and nurture.

He who ploughs fields eats of the king's land, he who waits at court eats of the king's bounty: so just as a man cannot be born without his father and mother, so he cannot eat without his king. Therefore the subject must serve his king just as a son serves his father. Justice resides solely in loyal devotion unto death.

If men are not to jostle one another when they are together, I must respect those who are above me in age and more honourable than me in rank, so in the village I must respect their age, and at court I must respect their station. Honouring their words and revering their virtues, this is good manners.

Tseng-tzū said: A man collects friends through his refinement, and increases his benevolence through his friends.

Since no man can be free of faults, and friendship is the way of accumulating good qualities, there is no greater power for helping a man to increase and perfect his virtuous character than a friend who is a teacher. However there are profitable friends and there are harmful friends, so the choosing of friends must be done with great care.

Those men who receive alike their parents' spirit are brothers. When man is child there is no one more like us than our brothers, who eat at the same table, share the same pillow and quilt, and receive the same loving care from our parents. So as well as loving parents, we must also love our brothers.

Although there are members of the clan who are near to us and members who are distant from us, if we examine our origins carefully, our flesh and bones all derive from the same ancestor, so if we are not in friendly and affectionate relationship with our clansmen, this is the same as forgetting our origin. If man forgets his origin then family morality will gradually decline.

For the father to be affectionate, the son to be filially devoted, the elder to cherish and the younger to respect, the husband to be gentle and the wife obedient, to serve the king loyally and treat men with respect, to have good faith among friends and to be generous to relatives of the same clan, all this can rightly be termed the perfection of virtue in a noble character.

Every man from the beginning has a righteous character and is good: love of parents, respect for elder brothers, loyalty to the king, respect for seniors are all laid up in my heart from the start. I cannot seek them outside, and I must exert all my efforts to practise them unceasingly.

If a man does not study to learn, it is difficult for him to understand what are filial piety, loyalty, respect, and good faith. Therefore it is necessary to read books and probe reasons, to seek enlightenment from the men of

old, to make the body act according to the heart, and having obtained this one good thing to strive to live by it, that is to say: filial and brotherly piety, and good faith—which naturally accord with Heavenly order.

In regulating the mind and body nothing is more important than the nine rules of deportment. These are: the feet should be planted firmly; the hands should be demure; the eye should be unflinching; the mouth should be closed; the voice should be quiet; the head should be erect; the mood should be solemn; the bearing should be stately; and the expression should be grave.

In proceeding to study to attain wisdom, nothing is more important than the nine rules of thought. These are: of seeing, think to observe clearly; of hearing, think to understand astutely; of mien, think to appear gently; of appearance, think modestly; in speaking, think sincerely; in acting, think respectfully; in doubt, think enquiringly; in anger, think sparingly; and when you see opportunity for gain think righteously.

童蒙先習

天地之間萬物之衆에 惟人이 最貴하니 所貴乎人者는 以其有五倫也 | 是故로 孟子 | 曰父子有親하며 君臣有義하며 夫婦有別하며 長幼有序하며 朋友有信이라 하시니 人而不知有五常則其違禽獸 | 不遠矣리라 然則 父慈子孝하며 君義臣忠하며 夫和婦順하며 兄友弟恭하며 朋友輔仁 然後에 사方可謂之人矣리라

父子有親

父子는 天性之親이라 生而育之하고 愛而教之하며 奉而承之하고 孝而養之하니 是故로 教之以義方하여 弗納於邪하며 柔聲以諫하여 不使得罪於鄉黨州閭하니 苟或父而不子其子하며 子而不父其父하면 其何以立於世乎리오 雖然이나 天下에 無不是底父母라 父雖不慈나 子不可以不孝니 昔者에 大舜이 父頑母嚚하되 舜이 克諧以孝하사 蒸蒸父하여 不格姦하시니 孝子之道 | 於斯에 至矣로다 孔子 | 曰五刑之屬이 三千이 로되 而罪 | 莫大於不孝라 하시니라

君臣有義

君臣은 天地之分이라 尊且貴焉하며 卑且賤焉하니 尊貴之使卑賤과 卑賤之事尊貴는 天地之常經이며 古今之通義라 是故로 君者는 體元而發號施令者也오 臣者는 調元而陳善閉邪者也라 會遇之際에 各盡其道하야 同寅協恭하여 以臻至治하니 苟或君而不能盡君道하며 臣而不能修臣職이면 不可與共治天下國家也 | 然雖然이나 吾君不能을 謂之賊이니 昔者에 商紂 | 暴虐이 어늘 比干이 諫而死하니 忠臣之節이 於斯에 盡矣로다 孔子 | 曰臣事君以忠이라 하시니라

夫婦有別

夫婦는 二姓之合이라 生民之始며 萬福之原이니 行媒議婚하며 納幣親迎者는 厚其別也라 是故로 娶妻하되 不娶同姓하며 爲宮室하되 辨內外하여 男子는 居外而不言內하고 婦人은 居內而不言外하니 苟能莊以蒞之하여 以體乾健之道하고 柔以正之하여 以承坤順之義則家道 | 正矣어니와 反是而 夫不能專制하여 御之不以其道하고 婦乘其夫하여 事之不以其義하여 昧三從之道有 七去之惡則家 | 道索矣리라 須是 夫敬其身하여 以帥其婦하고 婦敬其身하여 以承其夫하여 內外和順이라 사父母其安樂之矣시리라 昔者에 郤缺이 耨어늘 其妻 | 饁之하되 敬하여 相待如賓하니 夫婦之道 | 當如是也 | 니라 子思 | 曰君子之道 | 造端乎夫婦라 하시니라

長幼有序

長幼는天倫之序라兄之所以爲兄과弟之所以爲弟 | 長幼之道 | 所自出也라蓋宗族鄉黨에皆有長幼하니不可紊也라徐行後長者를謂之弟요疾行先長者를謂之不弟니是故로年長以倍則父事之하고十年以長則兄事之하고五年以長則肩隨之니長慈幼하며幼敬長然後에사無侮少凌長之弊而人道 | 正矣리라而况兄弟는同常氣之人이라骨肉至親이니尤當友愛요不可藏怒宿怨하여以敗天也니라昔者에司馬光이與其兄伯康으로友愛尤篤하여敬之如嚴父하고保之如嬰兒하니兄弟之道 | 當如是也니라孟子 | 曰孩提之童이無不知愛其親이며及其長也하여는無不知敬其兄也라하시니라

朋友有信

朋友는同類之人이라益者 | 三友요損者 | 三友니友直하며反諒하며友多聞이면益矣요友便辟하며友善柔하며友便佞이면損矣리라友也者는友其德也라自天子로至於庶人히未有不須友以成者하니其分이若疎而其所關이爲至親하니是故로取友를必端人하며擇友를必勝己니要當責善以信하며切切偲偲하여忠告而善道之하다가不可則止니라苟或交遊之際에不以切磋琢磨로爲相與하고但以歡狎戲謔으로爲相親則安能久而疎乎리요昔者에晏子 | 與人交하되久而敬之하니朋友之道 | 當如是也 | 니라孔子 | 曰不信乎朋友면不獲乎上矣리라信乎朋友 | 有道하니不順乎親이면不信乎朋友矣리라하시니라

總論

此五品者는天叙之典而人理之所固有者라人之行이不外乎五者而惟孝 | 爲百行之源이라是以로孝子之事親也는雞初鳴이어든或盥漱하고適父母之所하여下氣怡聲하여問衣襖寒하며問何食飲하며冬溫而夏清하며昏定而晨省하며出必告하며反必面하며不遠遊하며必有方하며不敢有其身하며不敢私其財니라父母 | 愛之어시든喜而不忠하며惡之어시든懼而無怨하며有過어시든諫而不逆하고三諫而不聽이어시든則號泣而隨之하며怒而撻之流血이라도不敢疾怨하며居則致其敬하고養則致其樂하고病則致其憂하고喪則致其哀하고祭則致其嚴이니라若夫人子之不孝也는不愛其親이요而愛他人하며不敬其親이요而敬他人하며惰其四肢하여不顧父母之養하며博奕好飲酒하여不顧父母之養하며好貨財하며私妻子하여不顧父母之養하며從耳目之好하여以爲父母戮하며好勇鬪狠하여以危父母하느니라噫라欲觀其人之行之善不善인덴必先觀其人之孝不孝니可不慎哉며可不懼哉아

苟能孝於其親則推之於君臣也와夫婦也와長幼也와朋友也에何往而不可哉리오然則孝之於人到大矣而亦非高遠難行之事也라然이나自非生知者면必資學問而知之니學問之道는無他라將欲通古今하며遠事理하여爲之於心하며體之於身이니可不勉其學問之力哉아玆用摭其歷代要義하여書之于左하노라

蓋自太極肇判하여陰陽始分으로五行이相生에先有理氣라人物之生이林林總總하더니於是에聖人이首出하사繼天立極하시니天皇氏와人皇氏와有巢氏와燧人氏 | 是爲太古라伏羲氏 | 始畫八卦하며造書契하여以伐結繩之政하시고神農氏 | 作耒耜하며制醫藥하시고黃帝氏 | 用干戈하며作舟車하며造曆算하며制音律하시니是爲三皇이라少昊와顓頊과帝嚳과帝堯와帝舜이是爲五帝라牟稷契이佐堯舜而堯舜之治 | 卓冠百王이라孔子 | 曰定書에斷自唐虞하시니라夏禹와商湯과周文王武王是爲三王이니歷年이或四百하며或六百하며或八百하며三代之隆을後世莫及而商之伊尹傅說과周之周公召公이皆賢臣也라周公이制禮作樂하시니典章法度 | 粲然極備하더니及其衰也하여五霸 | 摟諸侯하여以匡王室하니라孔子 | 以天縱聖으로轍環天下하사道不得行于世하여刪詩書하시며定禮樂하시며贊周易하시며修春秋하사繼往聖開來學하시고而傳其道者는顏子會子라事在論語하니라會子之門人이述大學하니라列國則干戈 | 日尋하여戰爭不息하여遂爲戰國하니라秦楚燕齊韓魏趙 | 是爲七雄이라孔子之孫子思 | 生斯時하사作中庸하시고其門人之弟孟軻 | 陳王道於齊梁하사道又不行하여作孟子七篇而異端縱橫功利之說이盛行이라吾道 | 不傳하니라及秦始皇하여吞二周六國하며廢封建爲郡縣하며焚詩書坑儒生하니라二世而亡하니라漢高祖 | 起布衣成帝業하여歷年四百하되在明帝時하여西域佛法이始通中國하니라蜀漢과吳와魏 | 三國이鼎峙而諸葛亮이仗義扶漢하다가病卒軍中하니라晋有天下에歷年百餘하되宋齊梁陳에南北分裂이러니隋能混一하되歷年三十하니라唐高祖와太宗이乘隋室亂하여化家爲國하여歷年三百하니라五季는朝得暮失하여大亂이極矣하니라宋太祖 | 立國之初에五星이聚奎하여濂洛關閩에諸賢이輩出하니라若周敦頤와程顥와司馬光과張載와邵雍과朱熹 | 相繼而起하여以闡明斯道로爲己任하되身且不得見容而朱子集諸家說하사註四書五經하시니其有功於學者 | 大矣로다然而國勢 | 不競하여歷年三百하니라契丹과蒙古와遼와金이迭爲侵軼而及其垂亡하여文天祥이竭忠報宋하다가竟死燕獄하니라東方에初無君長하더니有神人이降于太白山檀木下어늘國人이立以爲君하니라與堯로竝立하여國號를朝鮮이라하니라是爲檀君이라殷大師箕子 | 率衆東來하사教民禮儀하여設八條之教하시니有仁賢之化러라燕人衛滿이因盧綰亂하여亡命來하여誘逐箕準하고據王儉城

하니라箕準이避衛滿하여浮海而南하여居金馬郡하니是爲馬韓
 이라秦亡人이避入韓이어늘韓이割東界하여以與하니是爲辰韓
 이라弃韓則立國於韓地하니不知其始祖年代是爲三韓이라新
 羅始祖赫居世는都辰韓地하여以朴으로爲姓하고高句麗始祖朱
 蒙은至卒本하여自稱高辛氏之後로라하여因姓高하고百濟始祖
 濫祚는都河南慰禮城以扶餘로爲氏하여三國이各保一隅하여互
 相侵伐하더니新羅之末에弓裔ㅣ叛于北京하여國號를泰封이라
 하고甄萱이叛據完山하여自稱後百濟로라하다新羅ㅣ亡하니朴
 昔金三姓이相傳하여歷年이九百九十二年이라泰封講將이立麗
 祖하여爲王하고國號를高麗라하여歷年이四百七十五年이라朝
 鮮이雖僻在海隅하여壤地褊少하나人倫이明於上하고教化ㅣ行
 於下하니茲豈非檀祖와箕子之遺化耶리오嗟爾小子는宜其觀感
 而與起哉ㅣ너저

TONGMONG SONSUP

(The First Reader)

Between heaven and earth there is a multitude of created beings, but man alone is honourable. He is honourable because he has the Five Relationships. Therefore Mencius says that there must be intimacy between father and son, justice between ruler and subject, distinction between husband and wife, precedence between senior and junior, and good faith between friends. If man did not know these five principles he would be little better than the wild birds and beasts.

So the father must love and the son must be filial; the ruler must be just and the subject loyal; the husband gentle and the wife obedient; the elder friendly and the younger respectful; and friends must be helpful and charitable to each other. After these things man can fitly be called human.

The intimacy of father and son.

Father and son—this is a divine intimacy. The father begets and trains, loves and teaches, the son honours and succeeds as heir, reveres and tends his father. Therefore he teaches him righteousness, so that he does not follow strange doctrines, admonishing with a quiet voice so that he may do no wrong in the village or the magistracy.

Indeed if the father did not treat his son as a son, and the son were unfilial to his father, how could they hold their own in society? Although there are no such parents under heaven, if there were an uncompassionate father, how could his son yet be unfilial?

In days of old the great Shun lived in peace with his doltish father and his silly mother through the practice of filial piety; and slowly managed to control the situation and keep them out of trouble. This is the summit of filial piety. Confucius says: There are three thousand crimes that merit

the five punishments, but none is worse than lack of filial piety.

The justice between ruler and subject.

The division between ruler and subject is the relation between heaven and earth. One is high and respected, the other is lowly and base; the high and respected commands the lowly and base, and the lowly and base serves the high and respected. This is the unchanging order of heaven and earth, the same now as of old.

Therefore the ruler embodies the first principle and issues orders and commands, while the subject harmonizes with the first principle, marshalling goodness and suppressing deviations. When they meet, each must fulfil his proper role with mutual respect, so that perfect government may be attained.

Indeed if the ruler does not fulfil his proper royal role, or the subject does not fulfil his duty, the country cannot be properly governed. Anyone who says the king is not good enough is a bandit. In days of old, King Chou of Shang was cruel; Pi-kan remonstrated with him and then was killed. The virtue of loyalty here reached the limit. Confucius says: The subject must serve his lord with loyalty.

The distinction between husband and wife.

Husband and wife are the union of two families and the beginning of the birth of the people and the source of a myriad blessings. Introductions are made and the betrothal discussed, gifts are exchanged and visits are paid, and thus this distinction is emphasized. Therefore in choosing a wife one does not choose anyone of the same surname, and in establishing a home the inside and outside affairs are kept separate. The man lives in the outer rooms and does not meddle in the interior; the wife lives in the inner apartment and does not interfere in the outside affairs. Indeed,

he must be dignified in his condescension and personify the positive heavenly element, while she must be docile in her correctness and thus follow the earthly principle in her obedience. Then the way of the household will be perfect.

But if, on the contrary, the husband cannot keep control and does not govern according to his proper principle, and the wife rides the husband, serving him improperly, this means the obscuring of the Way of the Three Obediences of a Woman, and the presence of the Seven Reasons for Divorce, and the family principle is all tangled up. The husband must look to his person and lead his wife, the wife must look to her person and obey her husband, so that the outside and inside affairs may be harmoniously ordered, and the parents will be happy and content.

In days of old, when Hsi Ch'üeh was ploughing, his wife brought him food and they respected one another with the respect accorded to guests. The behaviour of husband and wife should be like that. Tzū-szū says: The foundations of good morals lie in the relation of husband and wife.

The precedence between senior and junior.

The precedence between senior and junior is a heaven-made relationship. The first born becomes the elder and the later born becomes the younger. From this comes the principle of senior and junior. In the clan and in the community everyone is older or younger, and nobody is excepted. It is proper and polite to go slowly behind one's senior; to go quickly ahead of him is improper and impolite. Therefore if a man is twice as old as me, I must treat him like a father; if he is ten years older than me I must treat him like an elder brother; if he is five years older than me we can be comrades. The elder should be affectionate to the younger and the younger should respect the elder. Then the disgrace of the junior being despised or the elder being insulted will be avoided and human relations will be correct.

Still more should brothers, who are men of the same stock, in the intimacy of flesh and bone, be friendly disposed,

and it is wrong for them to harbour anger or to nurture resentment and thus defeat the principles of heaven. In days of old, Szūma Kuang and his older brother Pai-k'ang were extremely affectionate, one revering the other like a father and the other protecting him like a tender child. The relation between brothers should be like that. Mencius says: Children in arms all know to love their parents, and when they grow up they all know to respect their elder brothers.

The good faith between friends.

Friends are men of the same class. There are three kinds of profitable friends and three kinds of harmful friends. If a friend is upright, or loyal, or learned, he is profitable. If a friend is prejudiced, or fickle, or a flatterer, he is harmful. A friend indeed is a friend of virtue. From the Son of Heaven down to the peasant everyone needs friends to perfect his character. This duty may appear to be very distant, but this relationship is of the closest. Therefore in taking a friend an upright man is to be sought, and in choosing a friend one must overcome oneself. He must exhort to goodness by means of sincerity, and urgently and courageously declare the good way; and when wrong is done, he must stop it.

Indeed, in their intercourse they must constantly aim at polishing and improving each other; for how can those who base their intimacy in pleasure and frivolity go long without separating? In days of old Yen-tzū in his intercourse with men was always respectful; friendship should be like that. Confucius says: If you are not faithful to a friend, you will not receive favour; being faithful to friends is of the Way, and if you are not obedient to your parents, you will not be faithful to your friends.

General conclusion.

These five principles are laws ordained by heaven, and intrinsically understood by man. Man's behaviour must remain within these five principles, but filial piety alone is the source of a hundred good works. Thus a filial son will

serve his parents by rising to wash his face and teeth at the first crowing of the cock, and go to his parents' place with humble mien and quiet voice to ask whether they need warm or cool clothes, to ask about their food and drink, to see that they are warm in winter and cool in summer; he will spread their bedding at dusk and greet them at dawn; say where he is going when he goes out, and where he has been when he returns; will not go far away to play, but always say where he will be while playing; and will not presume to act independently nor to hide his possessions.

If our parents love us we must be happy and not forget it; if they dislike us we must tremble but not resent it. If they overstep the mark we may remonstrate but not oppose them; if we admonish them three times and they do not listen, then we must follow them, though weeping. If they are angry and beat us till blood comes, we must not presume to be vengeful. Our respect is shown in living with them; our greatest pleasure is in succouring them; our greatest worry is their illness; our greatest sadness is their death; our greatest solemnity is their memorial sacrifice.

If any man is an unfilial son who does not love his parents, but prefers other people; does not respect his parents but honours others; is lazy in all four limbs and does not care for the succouring of his father and mother, but plays chess and *padūk* (*go*) and is given to winebibbing; does not care for succouring his father and mother, but lusts for goods and property; thinks only of his wife and children, and does not care for succouring his father and mother, enjoys his senses and gives insults to his father and mother; likes fighting and thus endangers his father and mother:

Oh dear! When we come to consider the rights and wrongs of that man's behaviour, we have first to consider his filial piety or lack of it. Is he diligent? Is he fearful? Indeed, if he can be filial to his parents, will this virtue not extend to his practice of the ruler-subject, husband-wife, senior-junior, and friendship relationships? Filial piety is a great thing for a man, and yet it is not above him, or too far beyond him or difficult to attain. Even though one is

born without knowledge, one can learn by study. And the way of study is none other than to desire the continuance of the past in the present and the future, to store it in the mind, embody it in the person. Can one cease from striving to study? For this reason the outline of history now follows.

First of all the Great Absolute split into Yin and Yang, and as the Five Elements were produced by their mutual interaction, so form (*li*) and matter (*ch'i*) came into being. Men were born in multitudes. Thereupon the first sages were born to continue what Heaven had begun. They were the Heavenly Sovereigns, the Earthly Sovereigns, the Sovereigns of Mankind, Yu-ch'ao, the Nest-having, and Sui-jen, the Fire-producers. This was High Antiquity.

Fu-hsi first drew the eight diagrams and made written contracts to replace administration by means of knotted cords. Shen-nung (the Divine Husbandman) made the plough and ploughshare and invented medicine. The Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti) used a shield and spear, invented boats and wheeled vehicles, calculated the calendar and created the musical scale. These were the Three Sovereigns.

The Five Emperors were Shao-hao, Chuan-hsü, Ti-k'uh, Ti-yao and Ti-shun. With the help of Kao, K'uei, Chi, and Hsieh, Yao and Shun governed better than any other kings, so when Confucius was editing the Book of Documents he began from T'ang (Yao) and Yü (Shun).

Yü of the Hsia dynasty, T'ang of the Shang dynasty, and Wu Wang, son of Wen Wang, of the Chou dynasty, are the Three Kings. The durations of their dynasties were about 400, 500, and 800 years respectively. Succeeding generations have not been able to match the glories of the Three Dynasties and Yi Yin and Fu-yüeh of Shang, and Shao Kung of Chou were all virtuous subjects. Chou Kung wrote the Books of Rites and Music and brilliantly codified the laws. When he was failing in strength he organised the feudatory princes into five districts and thereby strengthened the royal house.

Confucius travelled about the world as a sage sent by Heaven, but since his doctrine was not acceptable to that generation, he edited the Books of Songs and Documents, corrected the Books of Rites and Music, commented on the Book of Changes, and compiled the Spring and Autumn Annals, thereby transmitting the teachings of earlier sages to subsequent scholars. Yen-tzū and Tseng-tzū passed on his teachings, and his doings are described in the Analects. A disciple of Tseng-tzū composed the Great Learning.

The various states were for ever taking up arms against one another and there was no rest from fighting. This is the period of the Warring States. Ch'in, Chü, Yen, Chi, Wei, and Chao were the Seven Martial States. Confucius' grandson Tzū-szū lived at this time and wrote the Doctrine of the Mean. A disciple of one of his followers was Mencius, who preached the theory of government in Chi and Liang, but his teaching also was not accepted. He wrote the Mencius in seven volumes. Heresies and deviations and materialism flourished and the Doctrine could not spread.

Then came Ch'in-shih-huang, who subdued the two Chou and the Six States, did away with the feudal principalities and set up counties and prefectures. He burned the Songs and the Documents and suppressed the Confucian scholars. His dynasty died with his son. Han Kao-tsu, who was a man of low birth, became emperor. His dynasty lasted for four hundred years, and during the time of Ming-ti the western law of Buddha was first introduced into China.

Western Han, Wu and Wei were the Three Kingdoms, like the legs of a tripod, and Chu-ko Liang, while exerting his efforts to consolidate the position of Han, died of sickness on the field of campaign. Chin lasted for over a hundred years. The North and South were divided in the time of Sung, Chi, Liang, and Ch'en. Sui reunited them, and lasted for thirty years.

Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung of T'ang overthrew the house of Sui and made their family the dynastic line for three hundred

years. During the Five Dynasties what was learned in the morning was forgotten in the evening and there was universal disturbance.

When Sung T'ai-tsu first established his dynasty, the five planets met in the fifteenth constellation, and in all parts of the kingdom great men arose, such as Chou Tun-i, Ch'eng Hao, Ch'eng I, Szūma Kuang, Chang Tsai, Shao Yung, and Chu Hsi. Although each explained and illuminated the doctrine in his own manner, none received universal recognition until Chu-tzū collected together everybody else's sayings in a commentary on the Four Books and the Five Classics, which is extremely useful to scholars. But the dynasty's strength was limited and it lasted only 103 years.

When the Khitan and Mongols, and Liao and Kin Tatars were all encroaching on the country and it was about to fall, Wen T'ien-siang loyally tried to regain it for Sung, but he died in a Peking prison.

In the Eastern Region (Korea) there was no ruler at first. A Divine Man came down on the Great White Mountain under a sandalwood tree, and the people of the land made him their king in the time of Yao. The name of the country was Chosŏn. This was Tan'gun. A scholar of Yin named Chi-tzū (Kija) came to the East with some followers, taught the people manners and set up the eight branches of learning. A humane civilization was established.

Weiman (Wiman) of Yen fled for his life because of the revolt of Lu Wan and, deceiving Kijun, took the capital of Wanggŏmsŏng (P'yŏngyang). Kijun fled from Wiman to the South by sea and settled in Kimma-gun. This was Mahan. A refugee from Ch'in came to Han, and the East part of the country was cut off and given to him, becoming Chinhan. Pyŏnhan was also established in the land of Han, but its founder and date are not known. These were the Three Hans (Samhan).

The founder of Silla, Hyŏkkŏse, had his capital in the Chinhan borders, and was of the Pak family. The founder

of Koguryō was Chu Mong, who claimed that he was a descendant of Ko Sin and so had the family name of Ko. The founder of Paekche was Onjo, who established his capital at Hanam Wiryesōng (Namhan Sansōng) and had the surname of Puyō. Each of the three kingdoms guarded its own territory and there was mutual invasion.

At the end of Silla, Kung'ye set up a kingdom called T'aebong at P'yōngyang and Chinhwōn set up what he called Latter Paekche at Hwansan. Silla passed away after the three families of Pak, Sōk and Kim had ruled it successively for 992 years.

The generals of T'aebong set up the first king of the Wang dynasty and called the kingdom Koryō, which lasted for 475 years.

Although Chosōn is a little country tucked away on the edge of the sea, there humanity shines from above and instruction goes out to the lower classes. Is not this the legacy of Tan'gun and Kija? Ah, young striplings, would that you might be enthused with this inspiration!

THE OPENING OF KOREA: A CONFLICT OF TRADITIONS

THE OPENING OF KOREA A Conflict of Traditions

by

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THE OPENING OF KOREA; A CONFLICT OF TRADITIONS

Korea's crucial mission of 76 men arrived in Yokohama on the 29th day of May, 1876. There had been a dozen missions to Japan during the Tokugawa period, but this one was different from the previous ones in that it marked a turning point in Korean-Japanese relations. The old system had to be discarded and a new one established. Korea was dragged into a new relationship in spite of socio-economic unpreparedness and the *yangban*¹⁾ ideology which was rigidly bound by out-of-date Confucian doctrine. Moreover, the transmission of culture started to take a reverse course; from the west to Korea through Japan, not from China to Korea.

On the day of its arrival, the Korean mission marched the streets of Tokyo among the crowds of Japanese people.

Two Neptune-like braves with symbols of power—huge tridents—led the procession, in which was a band of twenty performers on metal horns, conch-shells, flutes, whistles, cymbals, and drums. Kim Ki-su, the chief envoy rode on a platform covered with tiger skins, and

*The stimulus for this article was provided by the newly discovered manuscript material in the Asami Collection of the East Asiatic Library, University of California, Berkeley; the manuscript seems to me to be an original diary, carrying the title, *Kim Ki-su Ildong Kiyu* 金綺秀日東記游 (Diary of Kim Ki-su's Mission to Japan), which was apparently added by Asami Rintaro, 淺見倫太郎, the collector of this material, in his own calligraphy. This book is cited in this article as KIK.

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- (1) *Yangban* 兩班 originally meant officials both civil and military, but it became a designation for the upper privileged class or caste in the Korean social stratification. Only people of this class in principle as well as practice were allowed to take the national civil and military examinations, whereby they could be appointed to governmental positions of importance.

resting on the shoulders of eight men, while a servant slave bore the umbrella of State over his head, and four minor officers walked at his side. The remainder of the suite rode in "jin-riki-shas" and the Japanese military and civil escort completed the display. The contrast between the new and the old was startling. The Japanese stood with all outward signs of the civilization that is coming in.²⁾

Many of the Japanese ridiculed this parade, but one of the Japanese newspapers warned them not to be proud of their modernization, reminding them of the visit of the Japanese envoy party to the United States sixteen years before,³⁾ when samurai swords were whirled past the wonders, mechanical and natural, of America.⁴⁾

The Korean envoy tried to maintain his dignity by behaving in the Confucian way, neglecting all the new ideas which were challenging the Confucian ideology. But this challenge was not all; he had to undergo many embarrassments from the beginning of his mission. Japanese officials, although they knew the Confucian behaviour pattern, tried hard to take every possible advantage of him. Moreover, the Japanese officials had many practical objectives in their negotiations with the Korean envoy; on the other hand, the Korean party had no positive objectives other than the mere renewal of friendly relations which had been interrupted for some years. It did not envisage any basic change in the old East Asiatic order.

Korean-Japanese relations had traditionally been conduct-

- 2) W.E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (London: 1905), pp. 432-34, also cited in Mun Il-p'yŏng 文一平 *Hoam Chŏnjin* 湖岩全集 [Collection of Hoam's works], (Seoul: 1940), III, p.33. It is notable that the modern Korean historian (the latter), in sharp contrast to the former, proudly depicts the scene.
- 3) *Shimbun shusei meiji hennen-shi hensan-kai, Shimbun shusei meiji hennen-shi*, 新聞集成明治編年史 [Chronological Meiji History Compiled from Newspaper Collections], (Tokyo: 1934-36), II, 557, cited as SSMH.
- 4) T.A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1955) p. 334.

ed in terms of "Pan-Confucianistic" ideas.⁵⁾ In the Far East, especially among China, Korea, and Japan, the western concept of sovereignty did not exist, though there were "tributary" missions. These several nations maintained sovereignty, but culturally they were closely attached to each other in an order which was described in fraternal terms: China was the eldest brother; Korea, the middle brother; and Japan, the younger brother.

I. Pan-Confucianistic Relations

Earlier relations had developed between Korea and various private groups of Japanese clans, especially in the western part of Japan, such as Tsushima, Iki, Satsuma, etc., for the purpose of trade in the guise of tribute.⁶⁾ These private groups, by sending tributary missions, tried to build up a lucrative trade in addition to forming channels for the importing of Buddhistic and Confucianistic cultures. On the Korean side, this tributary system was not only valueless but also a burden to the economy, which was built on a highly centralized system of royal economy. The policy adopted by the Koryō dynasty of restricting the tribute missions led to discontent on the part of the Japanese private groups, and contributed to the rise of piracy. Koryō was harrassed by the activities of these pirates, and the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty rose to power by defeating them. On the other hand, in Japan many of the local traders under the *Kyūshū Tandai* became powerful figures in opposition to the unification of Japan because of their lucrative trade⁷⁾ and piratic activities. They played an im-

5) F.M. Nelson used such words as Confucian order, Confucian internationalism in his book, *Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia* (Baton Rouge: 1946), pp. 3—20, but it should be understood as cultural intercourse rather than diplomatic relations. The word "Pan-Confucianistic" better explains the situation in the East Asiatic order, as the basic philosophy was more or less Confucianistic.

6) *Koryō-sa* 高麗史 9 ch., 10b, and Aoyama Kōryō, "Nichirei tsusho kanken," 日麗通商管見 *Shiratori hakase kanreki kinen tōyō-shi ronsō* (Tokyo, 1924), pp. 117—31.

7) *Kyūshū Tandai* 九州探題 was a post set up by the Kamakura Shogunate for the control of the Kyūshū area and was abolished at the time of Hideyoshi. This office was active in the trade with Korea. Akiyama Kenzo, "Muromachi shoki ni okeru Kyūshū tandai no Chōsen tonō tsukō" 室町初期に於ける九州探題と朝鮮との通交 *Shigaku Zasshi*, XLI (Tokyo, April, 1931), pp. 31—72.

portant role in the Sengoku period, especially in the decentralization of Japan. These trends were still strong after the re-unification by Hideyoshi, who felt it necessary to emasculate the western *Daimyō*; he had them initiate the war by promising in advance alienation of Korean territory.

After the Chosŏn dynasty was established, Confucianism was the only theory acknowledged by Chosŏn kings and *yangban*. Peaceful trade was opened between Japan and Korea. Among the local traders of Japan, those of Tsushima were the most active and were delegated to represent all Japanese commercial interests. Frequent *wakō* (*waegu*) raids and riots of Japanese inhabitants at Korean ports sometimes resulted in suspension of friendly relations. Whenever suspension came, Tsushima was the first to suffer from the interruption of food supplies, since it depended upon Korea for its food supply (conferred as *Segyōn-sōn* 歲遣船 [annual convoys] of rice and beans, while Korea received copper from Japan). This dependency in modern times became an embarrassing factor to the Tsushima lords.⁹⁾ Besides these food supplies, Tsushima depended upon trade for income and monopolized it as far as possible. There was some smuggling of such items as gold, silver¹⁰⁾ and ginseng. This trade ceased about thirty years prior to Hideyoshi's invasion because of the wars of the Sengoku Period. It is noteworthy that whenever Tsushima had difficulties with Korea, the *Daimyō* always asked the *Bakufu* to make efforts to re-open relations. This tendency after Hideyoshi's rise to power and the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate led to direct

8) The proper name of the widely known Yi dynasty is Chosŏn dynasty (1392—1910). The National History Compilation Committee has recently undertaken publication of the "Chosŏn Dynasty Veritable Records" (annals) under the title, *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 and claims the validity of using the proper title "Chosŏn" instead of the Japanese invention.

9) The Tsushima lord confessed to Sada (see footnote 22) the shameful fact that his ancestors received rice annually from Korea. Sada Hakubo, "Seikan-ron no kyūmo-dan" 征韓論の舊夢談 *Meiji bunka zenshu* 明治文化全集 XXII (Tokyo, 1929), pp. 40—41,

10) Obata Jun, "Chūsei kōhanki ni okeru nissen kin-gin bōeki no kenkyū" 中世後半期に於ける日鮮金銀電易の研究 *Shigaku Zasshi*, XLIII, (Tokyo, June-July, 1932), pp. 692—717; 873—912.

friendly relations between the Shogunate and Korea, although Tsushima, as a result of its previous role as a mediator, was responsible for the negotiations. On the basis of this experience the people of western Japan were later able to play an important role in foreign trade with the western countries.

After the Hideyoshi invasion, even civil officers of Korea were ordered to wear swords as reminders of their antipathy for Japan.¹¹⁾ But the Confucian theory which favours peaceful relations with its neighbours, together with the fear of another invasion by military power, impelled Korea to enter into peaceful relations with Japan. Tokugawa Iyeyasu, "the Shogun of Virtue", was as eager to re-establish friendly relations and consented to Korea's demand for the return of the Koreans captured during the invasion.¹²⁾ Moreover, Tsushima especially wanted friendly relations with Korea for economic reasons. Korea opened one port for Japanese liaison and trade, but only a very small group of Japanese missions were allowed to come to the capital. From Korea to Japan, congratulatory missions and reports were sent only on occasions of great national celebrations in Japan, although Japan wanted to have the missions come more often at the beginning. The expense of the missions, varying from 270 to 500 in number, was to be borne by the Japanese. Korean gifts were usually hundreds of cattles of ginseng, tiger skins, books, and so on, while Japan's gifts to Korea were mainly swords, silver, and so forth. But the financial burden proved too heavy for both sides, and in 1763, with the hope of reducing the cost, negotiations were conducted for receiving the Korean envoy on the island of Tsushima. The *Bakufu* again had to pay a great sum of money that year to prepare a new reception hall for the Korean mission.¹³⁾ Thus, a tremendous amount was spent

11) Yi Yu-wŏn, *Imha P'ilgi* 林下筆記 manuscript, 15 ch., 43a (unpaged, pagination my own).

12) I. Yamagata, "Japanese-Korean Relations After the Japanese Invasion in Korea in the XVIth Century" *Transactions of Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, IV, pt. II (Seoul, 1913), pp. 4-7.

13) Tabohashi Kiyoshi, 田保橋潔 *Kindai nissen kankei no kenkyū* 近代日鮮關係の研究 (Seoul, 1940), II, pp. 639-892, cited as KNKK.

after the decision to retrench had been taken. The Shogunate was having financial difficulties about this time, and the expense of the missions was one of the factors which led to the economic decay of Tokugawa *Bakufu*.

Even though Korean-Japanese relations in this period were on a basis of equality,¹⁴⁾ it is evident that partly because of the feeling of inferiority that the Japanese felt regarding their Confucian culture, the Tokugawa planned to gain the good will of Korea in order to benefit the underdeveloped Confucian culture of Japan. This is demonstrated in the Shogunate order to the Japanese people issued in 1711, at the time of the arrival of the largest of the twelve missions¹⁵⁾ sent during this period. In that year the Shogunate prohibited Japanese men and women from forming mixed groups while viewing the Korean mission at the roadside.¹⁶⁾ In short, the sexes were separated, for fear that the Korean envoy might get the impression that the Japanese were lacking in the practice as well as in the understanding of Confucian theory. The Tokugawa Shogunate, it is clear, spent enormous sums to learn Confucian culture from the Korean missions. Envoys of high rank were always busy, travelling "the Highway for Koreans"¹⁷⁾ in their palanquins supported by Japanese servants, writing specimens of their calligraphy, or composing poetry for the many Japanese leaders. For this reason the Koreans felt themselves superior to the Japanese as long as the Confucian culture was welcomed. This psychological relationship became an obstacle to the initiation of new international relations in the context of the modern period.

II. Transition to Modern Relations

Japan was forced open by Commodore Perry in 1854,

14) Sayōg-wōn, *T'ongmun-gwan chi*, 通文館志 6 ch., 7a—8a.

15) Twelve missions were sent to Japan in the years of 1608, 1617, 1624, 1632, 1643, 1652, 1682, 1711, 1719, 1748, 1764 and 1845. The last mission, which Nelson omitted from his book, was received at Tsushima Island.

16) KNKK II, 815.

17) The road was even called *Chosenjin gaido* 朝鮮人街道, as the Korean missions were so popular in those days. Yamagata, *op.cit.*, p.10.

and then signed a series of treaties with America, Britain, France, Russia, and Holland in the following four years. In 1860, Shogun Iemori informed Korea of his succession to the Shogunate, through Tsushima, in accordance with custom, but this time a separate letter was sent which explained Japan's entry into relationship with the western countries. On the other hand, Korea conscientiously informed Japan of recent sufferings at the hands of French and American invaders.¹⁸⁾ This report was received by Shogun Keiki in 1867, and it made him consider mediating between Korea and the western countries; Japan had realized through her bitter experiences of 1863 and the following year that stubborn resistance against the western countries was a result of ignorance of world affairs.

Shogun Keiki, negotiating with the French and American legations in Japan to get authorization as mediator between Korea and these nations, obtained the consent of the latter only.¹⁹⁾ The government of Napoleon III had requested the aid of the Japanese envoys in Paris in opening Korea to French trade and residence in 1862;²⁰⁾ but the French minister in Japan, when asked about this by the Shogunate, flatly refused Japanese aid on the grounds that negotiations were being conducted through China at the time.²¹⁾

With the consent of America only, Keiki sent a letter to Seoul, suggesting the participation of the Japanese envoy. This was rejected by the Korean government, because there was no precedent for such a procedure.²²⁾ Keiki was thus on the horns of a dilemma, but he did not abandon the desire to mediate. Japan, at this time, was *en route* to modernization, and the old feudal system was deteriorating.

18) The Shogunate ordered several Japanese painters to depict the parade of the Korean mission in 1711, and the scroll painting has been reproduced as a photolithographic copy in the series of the *Korean Historical Source Publications* by the Government-general. *Shotoku chosen shinshi tojo gyoretsu-zu* 正徳朝鮮信使登城行列圖 1 rl. (Seoul, 1938).

19) KNKK, I, 107—9.

20) Griffis, *op.cit.*, p. 372.

21) KNKK, I, 108.

22) KNKK, I, 110—121.

The samurai class was no longer powerful in society, and the *Chonin* was gradually rising through its accumulation of wealth. The tide of historical change had attacked the samurai financial base and loosened the feudal ties among them. Moreover, the Shogunate had to disappear with the Meiji Restoration.

The old relationship based on Pan-Confucianism came to an end with the downfall of the Shogunate, and a new one based on international law was inaugurated. The new government announced the new order through the old Tsushima channel. This letter was not received because of such terms as "Emperor," "Imperial Decree," and others, which were irreconcilable with the old relationship. Korean officials could not find any reason for the sudden change in diplomatic forms, which had been consistent until that time. An attempt to change the wordings was made on the Japanese side, but this attempt was undermined by the visit of the German warship, *Hertha*, which suddenly came into the harbor of Pusan with a Japanese interpreter on board. The Koreans understood that the Japanese interpreter guided the German warship into Korean waters to threaten Korea. Meanwhile in Japan, abolishment of the feudal *Han* system put foreign negotiations into the hands of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Still the misunderstanding was not cleared up, and the situation grew worse as time passed. Korea closed the market in Pusan, dismissed two Japanese liaison officers there, and blamed the whole deteriorating relationship on the extraordinary negotiations.²³⁾

Since the Korean problem was important, the Japanese foreign office made great efforts to recruit strong members to its staff. The officials and ministers of this time, such as Sada,²⁴⁾

23) KNKK, I, 206—222.

24) Sada Hakubo 佐田白芽 (1832—1907), Samurai of Kurume Han, strongly urged the conquest of Korea in 1869, and for that reason was appointed as an official in the Foreign Ministry. Sent to Korea to negotiate in 1870, thereafter he always prepared radical plans to conquer Korea. He preferred to fight with Korea rather than negotiate. Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden*, 東亞先覺志士記傳 (Tokyo, 1933—36), III, p. 631, cited as TSSK.

Moriyama²⁵⁾ and other Satsuma-born ministers,²⁶⁾ belonged mostly to the War party (*Seikan-tō*), whose objective was the conquest of Korea. Moriyama originally had influenced Saigo to claim the *Seikan-ron* through his knowledge and experience in the negotiations with Korea.²⁷⁾ When the claim failed, he further suggested to the ministry the sending of warships to the Korean coast.²⁸⁾ Terajima (1822—1893), Minister of Foreign Affairs, having secured the approval of the “Prime Minister” and “Vice-Minister” of the Navy, and two navy captains (all Satsuma men) sent the warships, *Unyō* and *Teibō*, to Korean waters as a demonstration in the guise of taking soundings along the coast. This plan was carried out secretly by the Satsuma group,²⁹⁾ because Itagaki and some others opposed any demonstration which might lead to war. Sanjō, the Prime Minister, who had secretly approved the demonstration, was attacked by Itagaki four times but denied all knowledge of it.³⁰⁾ Even Saigo criticized the illegal action of sounding the sea and the ensuing attack as contradictory to heavenly righteousness.³¹⁾ This demonstration was preceded by another one at Pusan, in which eighteen Korean officials of the *Tongnae*³²⁾ office

- 25) Moriyama Shigeru, 森山茂 (1842—1914), a Satsuma man, had special interest in Korean affairs. He once planned to occupy *Ullūng Island* 鬱陵島 with his comrades in 1869 and declared that the conquest of Korea was inevitable. This gave him considerable prestige and assured him the post in the Foreign Ministry. He served as a diplomat in Korean affairs for long time and most of the plans relating to Korea were instigated by him. TSSK, III, 734—5.
- 26) Both Minister Terajima and Vice-Minister Samejima were samurai of Satsuma Han.
- 27) TSSK, III, 734.
- 28) Itagaki Taisuke, ed., *Jiyūtō-shi* 自由黨史 (Tokyo, 1910), I, 211; and KNKK, I, 393—95.
- 29) Tokutomi Ichirō, *Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo-den* 公爵山縣有朋傳 (Tokyo, 1933), II, 412—13.
- 30) Itagaki, T., *op.cit.*, 212—13. The War party was out of the government in 1873, but those who were in power sympathized with them; hence, the defeat of the War party did not mean the adoption of a non-aggressive policy towards Korea but rather that Japan had to wait until she could build up enough to expand into foreign countries.
- 31) *Nihon shiseki kyōkai*, *Saigō Takamori monjo* 西郷隆盛文書 (Tokyo, 1923), pp. 101—2, cited Sin Kisok, *Tongyang oegyo-sa* 東洋外交史 (Seoul, 1955), pp. 164—5.
- 32) Pusan was a small port under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate of Tongnae, which has been absorbed by the newly grown Pusan city.

were taken on board the warship where guns were demonstrated to show them the power of modern arms and Japan's new status.³³⁾ This turned out to be very effective, as the interpreters of this office made great efforts in the signing of the new treaty.³⁴⁾

The Meiji government became the continual target of criticism by the discontented samurai group whose living standards worsened during the process of modernization. Since their existence in the new society was meaningless, their last resort was to find an opportunity to fight for the good of the country as well as for themselves. They had no choice but to fight in an area that would bring about a change which would solve the problems of their standing in the new industrialized society.³⁵⁾ *Seikan-ron* was an attempt of this kind; and when this failed, they had recourse to behind-the-scene manoeuvring in which they had the cooperation of the rationalist diplomats and the help of Satsuma naval officers. However, this was for the discontented Samurai group an unsatisfactory compromise;³⁶⁾ they were determined to take up arms, even against their government, if necessary. The Satsuma group, descendants of the western Japanese who were experienced in trade with Korea, shouted for conquest of Korea. The forts of Kanghwa opened fire on the Japanese ships as they did on the ships of the French and Americans. The Japanese proudly occupied the forts, confiscated arms, and returned with prisoners to Japan.

Korea at this time was under the power of Queen Min who forced the stubborn Regent *Hungsŏn Taewŏn-gun*³⁷⁾ to retire. The downfall of the *Hungsŏn* meant that all his policies were being reversed. Queen Min and the Min clan had to eliminate gradually the *Hungsŏn* policy, dismissing

33) Kokuryū-kai, *Seinan kiden* 西南記傳 (Tokyo, 1910—11), III, 329—30.

34) Gaimushō chōsabu, *Dai nihon gaikō monjo* 大日本外交文書 (Tokyo, 1940), IX, 26—139, cited as NGM.

35) Tanaka Sōgorō, *Seikan-ron, Seinan senso* 征韓論・西南戰爭 (Tokyo, 1939), p. 3.

36) Tanaka, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

37) Taewŏn-gun is a title which was given to the non-king father whose son succeeds to the throne. The so-called "Taewŏn-gun" is the Hŭngsŏn, Yi Ha-ŭng 興宣 李昰應.

the loyal *Hungsŏn* men. Gradual steps were taken in both domestic and foreign affairs. The Japanese policy was one which had to be re-examined by the new regime of Queen Min. Three *Hungsŏn* men were blamed for opposing relations with Japan.³⁸⁾

In addition to this, a critical situation arose upon the arrival of a report from China. According to this report, Japanese troops were postponing the conquest of Korea, pending the return of a Formosan expedition. Furthermore, it said that French and American troops would assist the Japanese in the conquest of Korea.³⁹⁾ Two of the three *Hungsŏn* men responsible for the relationship with Japan were imprisoned, and the remaining one was executed. Though this was a shocking event, it remained unknown to the Japanese because of the decreased activities of liaison officers. In Japan, new plans for negotiations in the old-fashioned way were made. Moriyama, who was sent under this plan, instituted a new change in the negotiations. A new official on the Korean side, Hyŏn Sŏg-un⁴⁰⁾ was met for the first time as an equal. Friction arose at this time caused by the unprecedented wearing of Western clothes and the return of the seals by the Japanese.⁴¹⁾ It was at this point that Moriyama suggested the demonstration by the warships. Hyŏn was one of the eighteen taken to the warship at Pusan, and he was very much impressed by what he witnessed.⁴²⁾ He must also have been overwhelmed by the execution of his predecessor. This psychological factor drove him later to make strenuous efforts in the signing of the treaty.

38) *Ilsŏng-nok*, 日省錄 1874/1/3, 10: cited KNKK, I, p. 332.

39) *Ilsŏng-nok*, 1817/6/29; cited KNKK, I, 334.

40) Hyŏn Sŏg-un 玄昔運 was an interpreter who had been replaced after the fall of *Hungsŏn Taewŏn-gun*. He served in the negotiations of Kanghwa treaty of 1876 as well as in the mission.

41) Western clothes were considered to be barbarous by the Koreans as well as the Chinese. The seals were originally issued by the Korean government to the authorized Japanese feudal lords for their identification. These seals were used for centuries by the Japanese lords and some of them were given official titles by the Korean government. The sudden return of the seals meant the nullification of the old relationship.

42) NGM, IX, 39—40.

III. Entry to New Relation

After the *Unyō* episode, Japan decided to send a special plenipotentiary mission to Korea as a coercive measure. Kurota, another Satsuma man, was selected as the plenipotentiary, and Inoue, a Chōshu man, as the vice-plenipotentiary. The government of Japan wanted a peace treaty with Korea, but determined to declare war in the event that Korea would not agree to their demands. The Japanese planned to open Korea in the same way that Japan had been opened, but actually resorted to much harsher methods. She prepared warships to imitate the precedent of Commodore Perry, but did not have as many of them as she needed. She was able, however, to prepare three warships and three cargo ships, two of which were furnished with foreign captains. At this stage Japan did not have a real naval fleet and it had difficulties in sailing because of the different speeds of the various ships.⁴³⁾

Moriyama, who had arranged the whole procedure for the conference at Kanghwa, attempted to pave the way psychologically by insisting upon the plenipotentiary's dignity. He said that the plenipotentiary had honour guards to the number of 1,500, and the same number of escort soldiers. He further threatened that 2,000 more honour guards and 3,000 more escorts would be expected to land in a few days. Korea, in accordance with her traditional policy, did not want to fight. Four hundred honour guards armed with modern rifles landed with the plenipotentiary mission and stayed together in the hotel provided by the Korean delegates.⁴⁴⁾

The conference took place. But before this mission had been sent to Korea, another mission had been sent in advance to China to ascertain the relationship existing between the Ch'ing dynasty and the Chosŏn dynasty. Korea had been an independent nation in this relationship, as judged by modern international law. This point was more or less

43) KNKK, I, 434; NGM, IX, 1-24.

44) NGM, IX, 58-65.

cleared up by the conference between Mori Yūrei and Li Hung-chang.⁴⁵⁾ But Mori's conference did not turn out to be a successful aid to Kurota's conference.

Unexpectedly, Yi Yu-wŏn, who had been sent to China to announce the nomination of the Korean Crown Prince just before the *Unyō* plot, attempted to interview Li Hung-chang in vain and left a letter for him. An answer from Li to Yi had arrived prior to Kurota's landing at Kanghwa. This letter suggested that indiscreet resistance to Japanese power might prove dangerous and recommended a peace treaty with Japan.⁴⁶⁾ This letter led the Korean court to adopt a decisive attitude at this moment.

At the beginning of the conference Japanese delegates accused the Koreans of having attacked the Japanese warship. This point had been raised at the conference between Mori and Li. Li responded that the attack was caused by the Japanese, because the Japanese warship had invaded Korean territory, since three miles of sea territory is assured in international law.⁴⁷⁾ But the Korean delegates, unaware of any idea of international law, tried to express their regret with an explanation of Korean foreign policy. The next point of discussion was the treaty itself. The Korean delegates did not see the reason for a new treaty, because Korean—Japanese relations had been conducted for more than two hundred years without any kind of bilateral treaty.⁴⁸⁾ The other points raised in the discussion were almost all related to non-customary practices. Here Korea still stood as a nation based on customary law rather than on the international law of western society. Korea unwillingly signed the treaty in response to Japanese threats, without understanding the significance of international law.

After the signature, Kurota and Inoue returned to

45) NGM, IX, 140—187; KNKK, I, 529—556.

46) *Ilŏng-nok*, 1875/12/16; 1876/1/13; cited KNKK, I, 552—53.

47) NGM, IX, 173.

48) Several agreements had been made in the past, but all the negotiations were conducted according to customary regulations. No stipulations regarding a treaty had ever been made up to this time.

Japan with the glorious fruits which the guns of the invading warship *Unyō* had produced. This treaty was supposed to have been based on equality, but only the Japanese acquired privileges: e.g., extraterritorial privileges, freedom of sounding the Korean coast, and various freedoms at the ports which would be opened to Japan.⁴⁹⁾ These were not bilateral but unilateral. Of course, the Korean side had no desire for the same privileges, as they did not think that they would need to engage in trade in Japanese ports. The sovereignty of Korea seemed to be clearly stipulated in the first article; yet this did not concede anything to Korea, since she already had been an independent nation. The Japanese at this time were suffering greatly from the unilateral treaties with foreign countries signed when they were ignorant of international law and custom. The details of the treaty with Korea were similar to those that Japan had made with the west. This was the "good-will" of Japan for the Koreans in those days.

Furthermore, Miyamoto⁵⁰⁾ asked the Korean delegates that a Korean envoy be sent to Japan to return the visit of the Japanese plenipotentiary mission and to make the equal treaty permanently effective. This was a device to eliminate future difficulties which might block fulfillment of the treaty. Apparently, it was also an imitation of the United States invitation for Japanese warriors to visit the U.S.⁵¹⁾ For the Japanese, it seemed to be necessary to show the semi-modernized Japan to Koreans.

But the envoy mission was not to follow the custom

49) Articles 8 and 10 of the treaty defined the extra-territorial privileges; Article 7, the freedom of sounding and drawing maps of the Korean coast by Japanese; and Articles 4 and 5, the residential and trade freedom of Japanese.

50) Miyamoto Koichi, 宮本小一 (1836—1916), Samurai of Bakufu, participated in the treaty negotiations of 1876 and stayed in Korea to negotiate for the sending of Korean envoy mission after Kurota and Inoue had left for Japan. He was chief entertainer to the envoy and became the chief delegate in the negotiations for opening ports in Korea.

51) Tabohashi Kiyoshi, "Heishi shūshin-shi to sono igi" 丙子修信使とその意義 *Seikyū gakusō*, 青丘學叢 XIII, (Seoul, 1933), p. 39, cited HSI, hereafter.

of previous missions, as it was based on a new treaty. Moreover, the economic situation no longer allowed either country to have an expensive mission. The Japanese wanted not a Confucian scholar as in the old days, but a man who "understood things" (one who has a receptive mind) sent as Korean envoy to Japan. In addition to this, reimbursement of all the expenses incurred by the Korean mission was to be made by Korea. (Actually, Japan did not claim it after the mission was over.) There was also a clear distinction even in the exchange of gifts and letters. But to the Koreans this new treaty was merely an expedient extension of the traditional formalized relations with Japan.⁵²⁾

Miyamoto, in further defining what the Japanese wanted in a return mission, stipulated that the envoy should not be a high-ranking man. By this evil device, he barred an envoy of equal rank with the Japanese plenipotentiary, Kurota. The Korean court, therefore, selected from a junior group of officials a Confucian scholar who "understood Confucianism" well. Kim Ki-su,* the First Compiler of the Office of Lectures and Historical Compilations, was the man selected (to understand things) and was promoted one rank to be senior official. The term "understanding things" in Korea meant to understand Confucian classics and theory. A series of preliminary negotiations regarding the programme of the mission took place, as was the custom, between the interpreters on the Korean side and the officers of Japan.

*Born 1832.

IV. Conflict Between Old and New

The Korean envoy had always lived within the bounds of Confucian doctrine and had never stepped outside it, even an inch. It was with this background he challenged all the new ideas with which the Japanese confronted him. The only way by which he could justify a new civilization was to find a place for it in the framework of Confucian ideology. His greatest efforts were devoted to denying the validity

52) Carl Bartz, *The Korean Seclusion Policy*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation for the University of California, (Berkeley, 1953), p. 157.

of new situations. He was free and safe as long as he stayed within the familiar Confucian territory. When he was on his own grounds, he was strong in his responses to the embarrassing situations caused by the Japanese.

When the Japanese officials inquired concerning his opinion about the adoption of western dress, explaining that the Japanese people were frivolous about it, the envoy counter-questioned the officials as to whether they themselves liked the costumes and wore them or not.⁵³⁾ Nor did he welcome very much the Japanese suggestion that he be shown the new arms which they had acquired, because the Confucian doctrine despised implements of war. Miyamoto, the chief entertainer of the Japanese foreign ministry, urged the envoy to take up the slogans of "strong army" and "wealthy nation," but the envoy simply thanked him and flatly refused further invitations to see the munitions factories and new agricultural instruments, saying that his party did not include any technicians. He added that the objective of his mission was mainly to renew the old friendly relationship between the two countries, and that his stay should not exceed fifteen days according to the order of the King.⁵⁴⁾

A few days later Inoue tried to awaken the envoy to the necessity of national defence by explaining the approaching danger of a Russian invasion. He further insisted that Koreans not open fire in case the Russians appeared in Korean waters. The envoy asked how the "insular barbarians"⁵⁵⁾ could have become so strong; he firmly added that, although the adoption of new armament might be good for the national defence, his country would not follow the barbarians' way of building modern arms unless this were in accord with Confucian doctrine. Furthermore, he emphatically expressed his opinion against dependence upon arms in such terms as these:

53) KIK, 3b (unpaged, pagination my own).

54) KIK, 4a, 7a.

55) The envoy understood the Russians to be inhabitants of a small island in the Black Dragon River (Amur), KIK, 7b.

We have been following the Confucian way for more than five hundred years; though we die or decay, we do not want to fight with strange arts of war, nor with dirty tricks.⁵⁶⁾

His belief in Confucianism was as obstinate as Faust's opposition to Mephistopheles.

One day he was asked to visit the new schools in Tokyo, but he firmly refused. Japanese officials finally added the Confucian Shrine to the programme and by this addition obtained the consent of the envoy for the tour. But this plan for showing the new school system failed, because the envoy took so much time at the shrine, bowing and performing the proper Confucian ceremonies, that only a short time was left for the new schools. The envoy was not impressed much with these, as his diary carries only the simple fact that he saw them, while he wrote a few lines about the Confucian shrine. Thus, the envoy cared little about the new institutions and ideas of modernization. His attitude was very different from that of the Japanese samurai mission in the U.S. in 1860.

But the envoy had to undergo many unexpected embarrassments and challenges, since the Japanese had prepared a number of tricks from the beginning of the programme. He encountered one grave challenge when he paid his visit to the foreign ministry on the day following his arrival. Upon his visit to the foreign ministry, he was suddenly given a list of the Emperor's gifts. This puzzled the envoy very much. He remarked that in the pre-arranged programme which had been agreed to bilaterally by both governments, no letter from the king to the "Emperor" was to be carried and that, therefore, no gift should be accepted by the envoy. But the Japanese insisted that the envoy accept the list of the Emperor's gifts so that they could establish the precedent of official acceptance of the Emperor as "Emperor." This was a serious matter which had interfered with the Korean-Japanese relations ever since the Meiji Restor-

56) KIK, 8a.

ation. This term had been carefully avoided in the treaty. The envoy was wary of the implication which attended his acceptance of the gift list. However, an implacable rejection of the repetitious Japanese urging was contrary to his Confucian bearing. Many times he argued, but finally he gave in. Thus, as a victim of the persistent strategy of the Japanese, Kim became the first Korean to acquiesce in the use of the term Emperor in diplomatic relations with Japan. However, in yielding, he qualified the implication of his acceptance of the list by responding with a personal gift list rather than an official one.⁵⁷⁾

The envoy was entertained with another trick. He was urgently requested to an unscheduled audience with the Meiji Emperor. He was appealed to by the Japanese officials on the grounds that Meiji had a fervent desire to see the Korean envoy, counting the days of his arrival, etc. The envoy could not avoid the dilemma, as he knew that he had to acquiesce if he was invited many times. Finally, he had an audience with the Emperor after a long argument about the date, because it was a Korean tabu day. But at the time of the audience the Emperor, who had had a "fervent desire to see the envoy,"⁵⁸⁾ did not speak a single word to him. This was simply a device to set up another precedent for the acceptance of the term "Emperor" by the Korean envoy.

The third trick concerned the visit to the ministries. The following conversation was recorded between Moriyama (vice-entertainer) and the envoy:⁵⁹⁾

Moriyama: "According to the *law of our country* and the *law of every nation* the mission of each country must visit the eight ministries upon its arrival, and when any minister is not available for interview, the rite is for you to leave your name card only....therefore another day

57) KIK, 1a.

58) KIK, 2a.

59) KIK, 2b-3a.

should be arranged for performing these rites."
(Italics mine)

The envoy: "This is a rite which has never been observed."

Moriyama: "This is the *regulation* which every country follows and there is nothing wrong in doing it; moreover, there is precedent that the former *T'ongsin-sa* [Communicatory mission in earlier relations] also visited *Gakuro* [minister of the Shogunate]." (Italics mine)

The envoy: "I was never in such a mission, but they used to submit the national letter to the *Kanpaku* [Shogunate] and stay at the reception hall a few days and upon receiving the letter of reply, return. If some visited the *Gakuro*, it was merely a visit to a friend as a friend, and is not a ritual. Our country has all the documents of our foreign relations since the Silla period....and not a single precedent of paying such rites can be found....My mission, as ordered by our king, is to visit your foreign ministry directly to render thanks for your previous mission of last spring, and nothing more. Never was I instructed to visit other ministries; therefore, I could not dare to take the liberty of observing another custom."

Arguments followed. Moriyama stated, furthermore, that his foreign ministry could not explain to each ministry in turn why the Korean envoy would not pay a visit to each separately. But the true story was different. The foreign ministry had anticipated that the Korean envoy would do whatever was asked and had requested all ministries to show some startling modernized institutions to the Korean mission, in order to demonstrate the success of the Korean-Japanese treaty to each ministry as well as to show off Japanese modernization to the Koreans.⁶⁰ Because of the arrangements made by the Japanese foreign ministry, Moriyama tried to fool the envoy by using the terms "law

60) HSI, 61.

of our country" and "the laws of every nation," but his efforts failed. The envoy did not pay any visit to the other ministries during his stay.

In many things, however, the envoy had to follow the Japanese plan. He had to go out to see the museum, the hall of the council of elder statesmen, warships and arsenals. He was also invited to parties three times, twice by official arrangement and once by Inoue.

These were all he attended; however, he refused many more invitations by making excuses on grounds of health, or by sending out his men instead. He did not like to be pulled around to the factories or other institutions, because he may personally have thought all technical training improper for the *yangban* to learn. This was natural for the *yangban* of Korea, as they despised all techniques and manual work as lower-class occupations.

When he was returning from his audience with the emperor, he was made to walk too far, so he stopped in the garden, and the Japanese fetched a *jin-riki-sha*.⁶¹⁾ Another time, he was irritated because he had to wait for his return passage. He had come on a Japanese steamer, and he could not return until the Japanese provided the passage. On another occasion he became very angry. A Japanese official asked him to see the Elder Statesmen's Hall, stressing that the second-rank prince wanted to see him. He replied gravely:

"The envoy may not be a great man, but he is the man who represents his country, and he who wants to see the envoy should come to see him and not attempt to summon him."⁶²⁾

The Japanese official apologized and explained what the Elder Statesmen's Hall was.

In all he did, his manner was reluctant, as throughout his stay he reacted against modernization. But his answers

61) HSI, 54.

62) KIK, 9b.

and responses to the diplomatic negotiations were discreet enough to avoid all pitfalls and concessions which the Japanese were trying to get for the benefit of future diplomatic relations. Whenever any serious questions or problems arose, he avoided making commitments, saying that this time the mission's purpose was merely to extend thanks for the previous mission of the Japanese and to renew the old friendly relationship.

When Miyamoto referred to the problems of the treaty and the slow procedure of Korean diplomatic negotiations, the envoy explained that no hope of any quicker measure could be anticipated because of the Korean system of politics. When Miyamoto persisted in attempting to get the envoy to elicit a quick decision concerning future relationships, the envoy refused to commit himself.

Inoue, again on another occasion, explained Japan's great efforts to modernize and to make preparation against foreign invasion, presenting a world map on which the envoy could see the geographical proximity of Russia. But the envoy simply said that he would report this to the court of his country. Inoue further tried to get some commitment from the envoy regarding special treatment in case Inoue should come to Korea after six or seven years. To this the envoy also said that nothing could be guaranteed.

At the farewell party, Miyamoto tried to secure some words which might be of benefit in negotiations six months later concerning the opening of ports. Miyamoto explained to the envoy that Japan was accustomed to take action immediately on whatever she promised and to refuse immediately in case of non-agreement; hence, quick decisions could be made in future negotiations. He further explained:

"If negotiations should take one day, we could return next day, and if they should take two days, the next day we could return."⁶³⁾

63) KIK, 11b.

To this the envoy answered that the government structure of Korea was different from that of Japan, and no quick action could be taken, *regrettable though it was.*

On his departure, the minister of the Japanese foreign ministry made this cordial statement:

*"One strong nation is by no means better than two strong nations' alliance. And Japan and Korea are like teeth and lips. So Japan is willing to help Korea when Korea needs help."*⁶⁴⁾

This elicited another careful answer calculated to avoid acceptance of a "good-will" gesture:

"We cannot help you in the slightest manner, and how could we alone want your help?"

This might have been a wise avoidance of obligation to Japan, but it was also the spontaneous reaction of his Confucian mentality.

A last talk was held between Miyamoto and the envoy. Miyamoto said that he would fully trust and completely rely upon the envoy regarding the future negotiations for opening ports, but the envoy's last answer before he left the port of Yokohama was that the future of a man is not to be counted, so how could a man like him have any influence?⁶⁵⁾

All the attempts by the Japanese to secure some sort of guarantee for future negotiations failed.

In spite of all reluctant actions, embarrassing situations, and obstinate behaviour, there were some occasions for serious reflection even on the part of the Confucian scholar-envoy.

Once he was faced with a ridiculous situation, one which provides a revealing contrast between the mentality of Tokugawa Shogunate (as shown in the order of 1711) and that of the modern period. He was asked by Inoue about

64) KIK, 12b.

65) KIK, 12b.

Korean women in the following terms:

“We are not miserly even in showing women’s music, but why do the Korean women hide themselves when we go to Korea? We won’t bite them, nor beat them, neither will we spoil them: why do they hide themselves as soon as we appear?”

The envoy answered in a joke, “They would hide themselves again if you appear again.”⁶⁶⁾ But a few days later the envoy was asked by Miyamoto again about the Korean women. Miyamoto asked the reason for the Korean women hiding themselves; then the envoy realized that the Japanese were serious about the problem and answered that the Korean women were supposed to stay at home and not to meet men in the street. He further explained that Korean boys and girls over ten years of age were not allowed to sit together, and even widows of the lower classes never remarried.⁶⁷⁾ This was true to a great extent until the beginning of the twentieth century.

V. Appreciation of the New and Justification of the Old

The Korean mission had noticed many new developments taking place in Japan, but they were able to gain very little from them. Some items were brought back to Korea by the non-*yangban* members of the mission (but not by *yangban*). Several agricultural instruments, welding irons, etc, were purchased by one of them; specimens of vaccine and a book about vaccination were acquired by another member, Pak Yǒng-sǒn, who in turn raised up the “Jenner of Korea” after his return. Vaccination and other surgical treatments were offered to some of the Koreans at Pusan by a Japanese naval doctor stationed in the steamer which was waiting for the Korean envoy.⁶⁸⁾ These modern treatments impressed some Koreans in Pusan, including the interpreter

66) KIK, 8b.

67) KIK, 12a—b.

68) NGM, IX, 203—204.

Hyon.

For the Koreans to bring new knowledge home from Japan and not from China was a reversal of the traditional direction of transmission. This was a challenge to the Confucian scholars. Even the die-hard Confucian scholar-envoy as last found himself in a similar situation to that which Faust was dragged into by Mephistopheles. The Confucian doctrine began to shake in the face of modern science. The envoy noted down appreciatively the startling operation of the naval manoeuvres, but most impressive to him was the arsenal operation. He could not go by without making some attempt at justification of modern mechanics in terms of Confucian philosophy. After a detailed and precise description of the arsenal operation, he noted:

“This [mechanical process] applies the utilization of things to human welfare; beneficial use and welfare are to be studied, not only speaking of seeing them. It was quite right for me to see them.”⁶⁹⁾

Thus, he at last reached the point of justification. The last line of his description runs:

“His invitation to see this is by no means against the *Way* and my seeing is not by my will.”⁷⁰⁾

By this last phrase he referred to three pieces of advice given to him on his departure by three different friends. Two of these recommended refusal of and restrictions on the anticipated Japanese invitations to study new institutions. The third recommendation, which he appreciated very much at this point, was that he should act in an uncompromising, though conciliatory, way. This meant that the envoy should not go beyond the *Way* and or exceed his jurisdiction, being wary of the Japanese counteractions to his behaviour. This friend further instructed the envoy not to initiate any action but to let the Japanese act first.

Seeing these new things and having made a justification

69) KIK, 17a.

70) KIK, 17a.

in his mind for them, the envoy returned. In his official report submitted to the king he discusses many things in general terms. Most notable are the following:⁷¹⁾

1. The ratio of men to women in Japan is 2 to 3.
2. Almost all the Japanese smile when they meet others, and no one deserves to be disliked,
3. Schools are attended by children of both literati (samurai) and peasant class when they are 7 or 8 years old.
4. In education, Japanese give more emphasis to utilitarian learning than to Confucian learning.
5. Japanese are most interested in the arts of promoting the wealth and strength of the nation. The increase of production amounts to ten times more than before and the prices are rising also.

His general observations were quite accurate and objective. He did not mention the embarrassments that he had to face, but evaluated the entertainment as similar to that of the old communicatory missions. Perhaps he did not regard all the embarrassment as serious.

The king asked the envoy whether he had anything to say in addition to the written report. The envoy, who on his departure had been asked by the king to examine the changes in Japan carefully, had more to say about what he had seen.⁷²⁾ The major interest of the king was the problem of importation of new techniques. To this the envoy responded that Japan's main emphasis in matters of development was laid on "telegraphy," "steam-power," and "agricultural implements." He expressed the view that those were the three items which Japan considered the most urgent problems. "Whether these could be learned and adopted" was the next question to answer. His opinion was that Korea had better learn these techniques, late though it be. This recommendation, however, was not based on an understanding of the techniques in question but on a retreat to the traditional

71) *Kim Gyoku-kin* (Kim Ok-kyun) *Den* 金玉均傳 ed. by Kogin (Kogyun) kinenkai, 古筠記念會 (Tokyo, 1944), I, pp. 83—85, hereafter cited as KGKD.

72) HSI, 63

Confucian domain. His actual recommendation was that the study and adoption of modern technology could be pursued in a segregated port area where the Japanese would be allowed to come and engage in trade.⁷³⁾ This answer was nothing more than a traditional policy which would not entail any danger of being attacked by the *yangban* class.

However, this must have stimulated the king, since it induced him to give his personal order that the talented and promising young reformist, Kim Ok-kyun, go to Japan and study the Japanese developments.⁷⁴⁾ However, Kim's scheme to modernize the country had a sinister connection with Japanese political intrigues and was dealt a deadly blow by the die-hard conservative *yangban*. The report of the envoy at least accomplished some crucial change in the frame of mind of the king. He realized that his country had to learn something from Japan, which had been regarded as inferior in Confucian culture. Moreover, the lower officials in the mission were much more interested and receptive to the adoption of modern techniques, such as agricultural implements and vaccination; the latter had made its thorny but triumphant way in Korea.⁷⁵⁾ Vaccination was probably a revolutionary act from the standpoint of Confucian doctrine which had long been a barrier to cutting the top-knots off; through it modern education was opposed by the die-hard Confucian *yangban*.

The struggle of the old and the new started in this period has been a very serious problem, but it took a different course in Korea as the rigid intellectuality of the Confucian *yangban* class interplayed with the political situation and doubled the confusion on the traditional scene of Korean history. It was not like China; even more unlike Japan.

VI. Conclusion

The envoy's actions are explicable to us only with an

73) KGKD, pp. 72—80.

74) KGKD, pp. 101—102.

75) Small pox and other diseases were considered by the Confucian Koreans as a heavenly punishment.

understanding of the psychology of the *yangban* class of the Chosŏn dynasty. But it is evident that the envoy was too deeply Confucian-oriented to give a stimulating answer or report in favour of the new norms and values of modern civilization. He recognized that modern mechanical power was beneficial for the people, but his adjustment to new norms and values within the conservative, tradition-bound Confucian society was a different matter. He must have been fully aware also of the vivid historical fact that the new norms and values of Catholicism had been tragically victimized in his rigid society.

As a result of the Hideyoshi invasion, most of Chosŏn's technicians had been taken prisoner to Japan and had subsequently been barred from repatriation because of their technical training. Neither commerce nor industry of considerable size had emerged since that time. Yet society was in the process of change, albeit gradual and slow. Land and taxation systems became lax, slave holdings were practically deteriorated, and the competition among the evergrowing *yangban* population became intense. Hence, there was an increasing tendency to observe the Confucian doctrine on its theoretical level only, while underneath its socio-economic foundation had crumbled away.

There were some progressive scholars who urged the need for practical measures such as land reform and social justice, as well as the adoption of the convenient tools of modern civilization. But since they were out of power, their ideas did not gain a foothold in society. Under such social conditions, the envoy's inhibited behaviour must have been appreciated by the *yangban* in power, since he was promoted to the post of magistrate of Tŏgwŏn (now Wŏnsan).

Once Korea had been opened by the Japanese, strict adherence to Confucianism—a product of exclusive bureaucratic *yangban* society—had to wither away. And when the Japanese embraced western industrialization, their superiority over Korea was assured. Cultural transmission after this mission was from Japan to Korea, not in the reverse as

formerly. China also lost its cultural superiority over Japan. Modern diplomatic relations had come into being; the old style exchange of missions in terms of Confucian friendly relationship vanished from history. The turning point in Korean-Japanese relations was not a simple one; it provided the stimulus for the breakdown of the class structure of the conservative *yangban* society.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY KOREA BRANCH GENERAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1959

The year 1959 has seen further increase in the Society's membership, which is now 355, and the maintenance of a full and varied programme of activities. A total of ten general meetings have been held, at each of which speakers who have made special studies in a cultural field of relevance to Korea or the adjacent countries, presented a paper or gave a talk on one of their special subjects. All meetings have been well attended. To recapitulate,

- In January Dean Lee Yang Ha of Seoul National University spoke on "The Literary Situation in Korea."
 - In February Mr Gregory Henderson read his paper on "The History of the Chŏng Dong Area and the American Embassy Residence in Seoul." This meeting was held in the American Embassy residence, by kind invitation of Mrs Walter C. Dowling. The paper is published in the 1959 volume of the Society's Transactions.
 - In March Dr and Mrs Esson M. Gale gave an illustrated talk on "The Early Foreign Community in Seoul, and Their Residences." This was followed by a paper on "The Rebellion of the Sam Byŏl Cho," presented by Mr William E. Henthorn.
 - In April Mr Wilbur Bacon read his paper on "The Fortresses of Kyŏnggido"
 - In May Mrs Ellen Conant gave an illustrated talk on "Modern Oriental Painting."
 - In June Mr Gregory Henderson displayed another aspect of his varied cultural interests, and read a paper, illustrated by slides, on "The Art of the Koryŏ Potter."
- In July and August, according to long established usage, there were no meetings, but our President, Dr. Richard Hertz, gave a talk on "Zen Buddhism," at a special meeting in July.
- In September Father Richard Rutt read a paper on "Hwarang—the Flower Boys of Old Korea."
 - In October Miss Dorothy Blair spoke on "The Story of Far Eastern Glass."
 - In November Professor Ahn Ho Sam gave an illustrated talk on "Chinese Calligraphy."
 - In December Mr Son Pow-Key's paper on "The Opening of Korea—a Conflict of Traditions" was read to us by Father Rutt.

We are extremely grateful to all these learned and very busy people who have spared time to prepare and deliver the most interesting talks which have made our meetings so successful. Thanks are also due to the management of Korea House for their constant and courteous co-operation in making Korea House available to us, and to the Director of the National Medical Centre for inviting us to hold our October meeting in the Centre's auditorium, and for the entertainment afterwards provided in the Scandinavian Club. We are also grateful to the Management and Staff of the Diplomats' Club for the courteous and willing tea and coffee service they provide at our meetings here in Korea House. On one occasion the Diplomats' Club provided us with Korean cakes, entirely free of charge.

The second of the Society's major activities, the conduct of tours to introduce to our members, and to others, the cultural sites and scenic beauties of Korea, has also been much intensified during 1959. Under the energetic and efficient management of Mr Carl Miller, the probing fingers of the Royal Asiatic Society have extended into the most remote, as well as the most renowned, places in Korea. No less than sixteen tours were conducted.

Two particularly notable events were the sea-trips to the little-known islands of Kōmundo, the most southerly islands of Korea, and Hūksando, the most westerly. Our thanks must go to Mr Carl Miller, and to the Tourism Section of the ROK Ministry of Transportation, whose *unfailing co-operation* has made these tours possible. Much is due to the personal interest of the Minister of Transportation, Mr Kim Il-hwan.

Our Society sponsored two social events of a cultural nature during the summer and autumn, the first being a concert by the Royal Court Orchestra held in the Queen's private garden of the Ch'angdōk Palace, which was followed by a conducted tour of the rarely opened Chongmyo, the Confucian shrine housing the spirit tablets of all the monarchs of the Yi Dynasty. The second was a mudang, or shamanistic sorceress's performance which was held in Korea House. This was an almost unique opportunity for our foreign members, and for most of our Korean ones too, to see a manifestation of a cult survival that has its origin deep in Korea's remote past.

The remnants of the library, which suffered from the depredations of the Communists in 1950, have been re-assembled and, augmented by gift and exchange, have been given shelf-space in the library of the Korean Research Centre, by the courtesy of Dr Dong Chon, the Director.

Dr Dong has also generously accorded to all members of the

Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, the privilege of honorary membership of the Korean Research Centre; this includes the right to use all the facilities of the Centre which has an extensive collection of Koreana and a collection of 400 reels of microfilm appertaining to the Far East, with a microfilm reader. Perhaps some of our members who have not yet visited the Korean Research Centre, may now like to take advantage of their honorary membership.

The most important accession to our library has been the munificent present from UNKRA of a complete set, in 48 volumes, of the "Annals of the Yi Dynasty."

During the year an exchange relationship has been established with a number of scholarly institutions in Korea, the United States, England, Japan, Hong Kong, and Sweden. The Asia Foundation awarded us, as a gift, a year's subscription to the "Journal of Asian Studies,"

The Society obtained and sold to members and their friends at cost price, a substantial quantity of the finely-produced illustrated catalogue of the "Masterpieces of Korean Art," (the art treasures exhibited in the United States in 1958—59), also of two numbers of the "Far Eastern Ceramics Bulletin," which were devoted wholly or in part to Korean wares.

The 1959 volume of the Transactions of the Society has at last been published, and has been distributed to members. The contents of this volume, No XXXV, are considered by the Council to be of great interest, and to maintain the uniformly high standard of the Transactions since the publication of Volume I, 59 years ago.

Next, the Council wishes to draw the attention of members to, and solicit their support for, a fund which was established by a donation of 100,000 hwan from Mr Wilbur Bacon, as a memorial to the late Mr Choi Byung Woo, former editor of the Korea Times, who is presumed to have lost his life in the tragic accident involving several newspapermen off Quemoy, in September 1958. Mr Choi was an active member of our Society, and was very concerned to promote the study of Korean history, in which he had a special interest. The object of the fund is to establish a scholarship for the maintenance of, or at least the provision of grants towards the expenses of, a deserving Korean scholar pursuing serious research work in Korean history. Any contributions to the fund will be welcomed, and may be sent to Mr Carl Miller, our Treasurer.

Finally, the Council wishes to record its appreciation of the work for the Society of Colonel A.E.E. Mercer, who has been Corresponding Secretary for the past three years and is returning to England in April 1960; and their thanks to Miss Grace Stone who has been Recording Secretary for the past year and is now retiring from that office at her own request owing to the pressure of other work.

A list of the trips and the major places visited during 1959 with the number of participants on each occasion.

1.	10—12 April	Chinhae (Naval Academy Graduation, Fishery Station, Naval Base, Cherry Blossom Festival, including farmers' bands, cruise on naval vessel in Chinhae Bay, picnic at reservoir) Chinju (Ch'oksöng-nu, Hoguk Temple and other historical sites, archery contest and Korean style bullfighting.)	105
2.	25—26 April	Onyang Hot Springs, Sudöksa (temple)	52
3.	3 May	Yongmun-sa (temple)	159
4.	15—17 May	Namwön (Ceremony and festival for Ch'unhyang), Chönju, Paegyang-sa (temple), Naeso-sa (temple), Pyönsan Peninsula	
5.	23—24 May	Pöpchu-sa (temple) and Yusöng Hot Springs	66
6.	20—29 June	Sörak-san, Hwajin-p'o, Naksan-sa (temple), Hajodae, Kangnung	125
7.	17—19 July	South Seas, Ch'ungmu, Hansando, Yösu, Kömun-do	80
8.	8—9 August	T'ongdo-sa (temple), Pömö-sa (Temple), Haeundae Hot Springs, City of Pusan, Söngjöng Beach	66
9.	22—23 August	Hongsöng and Haemi (2 walled towns with large gates), Mallip'o Beach	45
10.	5—7 September	Hüksan-do	45
11.	17—20 September	Kyöngju, Pulguk-sa and Sökkuram, Andong, Tanyang (Todam Sambong and Yöngwöl (Tomb of King Tanjong)	42
12.	10—11 October	Kwangju (Mudüng-san, Chungsimsa). Kyeryöng-san (Kap-sa). Kongju (Museum, Paekche tomb)	34
13.	17 October	Tobong-san (Mangwöl-sa)	36
14.	18 October	Kanghwa (Chöndung-sa)	175
15.	24—26 October	Chonghak-san, Kangnung, Taegwallyöng, Wölchöng-sa	45
16.	7—11 November	Chejudo (climb up Halla-san, boat trip to Tiger Island, a visit to Songdang Ranch)	20

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH**

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR 1960

*Elected at the annual general meeting held on
2nd December 1959*

PRESIDENT	His Excellency Dr Richard Hertz, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany
VICEPRESIDENT	Dr Sun-keun Lee
TREASURER	Mr Carl Miller
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RECORDING SECRETARY	Miss Grace Haskell
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	Dr George Paik
	Miss Anne Davison
	Mr Daniel Curll

TREASURER'S REPORT

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1959 (in U.S. dollars)

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand at end of 1958	419.90
Dues and Initiation Fees	2,600.00
Sales of Transactions	327.30
Sales of other Publications	786.00
Profits from Trips	220.00
Miscellaneous Income	12.06
	4,365.26

EXPENDITURE

Clerical Expenses	402.10
Printing	551.60
Refreshments	182.30
Entertainments	300.00
Trip Expenses	169.00
Purchase of Publications	380.00
Miscellaneous	73.30
	2,058.30

4,365.26
-2,058.30

Balance on hand at end of 1959	2,306.96
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CARL MILLER
Treasurer

LIST OF MEMBERS

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY KOREA BRANCH

(as of January 1960)

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MACDONALD, Mrs. D.S.	// //	// //
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WHITAKER, Mrs. Donald P.	UNKRA	// //
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WHITCOMB, Mrs. Robert	// //	// //
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Names inadvertently omitted from the above list:

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CHAMBERLIN, Mrs Lucille, USOM, TC-CD-I (143 Willow St, Brooklyn Heights, NY).

DUNN, Mr Gerald, UNESCO, New Zealand.