



TRANSACTIONS

VOLUME L 1975 SEOUL

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

KOREA BRANCH

Master Eibokken on Korea and the Korean Language:
Supplementary Remarks to Hamel's Narrative

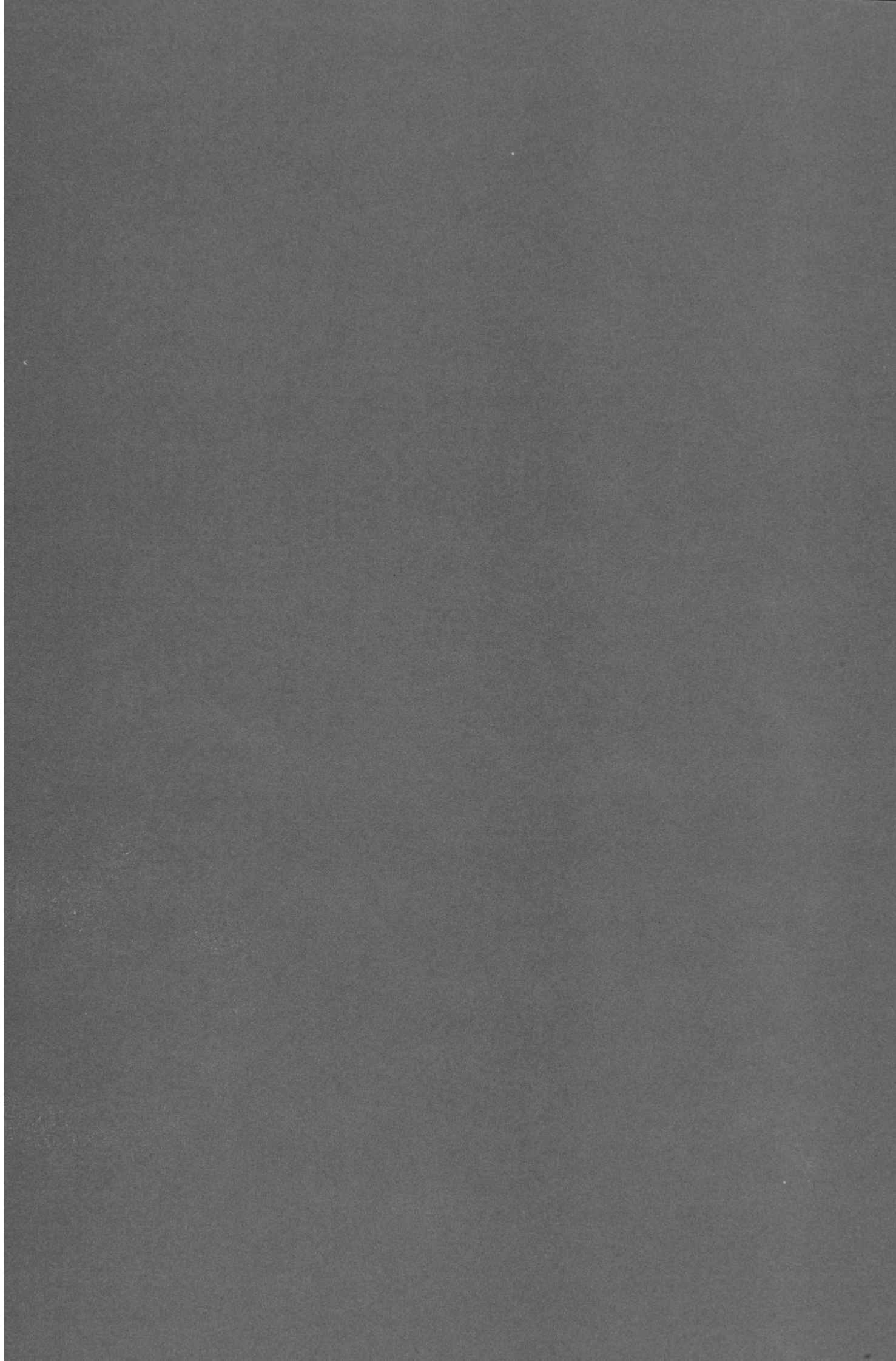
by Frits Vos

The Sacrifice to Confucius in Korea and Its Music

by Robert C. Provine

Some Korean Maps

by Shannon McCune





ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

KOREA BRANCH

CPO Box 255 - Seoul 100 Korea

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE KOREA BRANCH
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: PIERRE LANDY,
EDWARD POITRAS, JAMES WADE, Co-chairman
GRAHAM WEAKLEY, EDWARD R. WRIGHT, Co-chairman

CONTENTS

Master Eibokken on Korea and the Korean
Language: Supplementary Remarks to Hamel's
Narrative, *by Frits Vos, page 7*

The Sacrifice to Confucius in Korea and
Its Music, *by Robert C. Provine, Jr., page 43*

Some Korean Maps, *by Shannon McCune, page 70*

Presidential Address on the Occasion of the
Seventy-fifth Anniversary Celebration of the
Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, *by Edward
Reynolds Wright, page 103*

The Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society, 1974, *page 107*

The Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society, 1975 *page 112*

List of Members as of December 31, 1975, *page 117*

VOLUME L

**1975 COUNCIL OF
THE KOREA BRANCH OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**

OFFICERS

Dr. Edward Reynolds Wright	President
Mrs. Barbara R. Mintz	Vice President
Mrs. Marjorie Neil	Corresponding Secretary
Mrs. Pamela Morris	Recording Secretary
Mr. Horst E. Graf	Treasurer
Mr. W. Graham Weakley	Librarian

COUNCILORS

Adams, Mr. Edward B.	Poitras, Dr. Edward
Beckman, Mr. Robert	Skillingstad, Rev. M. Delmar
Blowers, Mrs. Clara	Song, Prof. Yo-in
Boo, Mr. Wan Hyuk	Tieszen, Miss Helen
Clark, Mr. Donald N.	Underwood, Dr. Horace G.
Deuchler, Dr. Martina	Van Weddingen, Mr. Paul G.
De Vries, Mrs. W. CH. E. A.	Wade, Mr. James
Grayson, Prof. James H.	Yangas, Mrs. Rosalinda
Joe, Prof. Wanne J.	Yoon, Mr. Young-il
Kim, Prof. Jaihiun	
Landy, H. E. Pierre	
Lauteritz, Dr. Karl	
Macdonald, Mr. Donald	
Moffett, Dr. Samuel H.	
Nowakowski, Mr. Joseph	
Pae, Prof. Yang Seo	
Perchard, Mr. Colin W.	

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Frits Vos is Professor of Japanese and Korean language, literature and history at the University of Leyden in the Netherlands. This article was originally an address before the Society membership on October 1, 1975.

Robert Provine is a pre-doctoral candidate in ethnomusicology at Harvard University. In 1974–1975 he was engaged in research in Korea under the auspices of the Fulbright-Hays educational exchange program. He delivered lectures on the subject of his article at RAS meetings in Seoul and Taegu in April of 1975.

Dr. Shannon McCune is Professor of Geography at the University of Florida. In the fall of 1975 he served as a Fulbright-Hays visiting professor at Soong-jun University in Seoul. He gave lectures on "Maps of Korea" at RAS meetings in Taegu and Seoul in December of 1975.

Dr. Edward Reynolds Wright is Executive Director of the Korean-American Educational (Fulbright) Commission in Seoul, and Lecturer in political science at Seoul National University. He was RAS president during 1975.

Master Eibokken on Korea and the Korean Language: Supplementary Remarks to Hamel's Narrative

Frits Vos

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is to be commended for its publication of Gari Ledyard's *The Dutch Come to Korea*¹ as Number 3 of its Monograph Series in 1971. The book gives an excellent and richly annotated description of the sojourn of Hendrik Hamel and his companions-in-distress in Korea (1653–1666/'68). Dr. Ledyard's main contribution to our knowledge of the adventures of the Dutch is his translation and astute interpretation of a large number of Korean and Japanese official and unofficial sources, some of which had already been published and commented upon by Korean and Japanese scholars, but which have been practically unknown in the West until now.

In his preface Dr. Ledyard writes that he "was rather surprised to find that [Hoetink's splendid edition of Hamel's Narrative of the Shipwreck and Description of the Kingdom of Corea²] — consisting of a long and detailed introduction and many documentary appendices, in addition to the previously unpublished text of the manuscript version of Hamel's account — has been virtually unmentioned and certainly unused by any Western author writing in English."³

¹ Henceforth abbreviated as *LD*. For a list of abbreviations used in this article the reader is referred to the bibliography.

² Abbreviated. For the full Dutch title of this work see the bibliography *sub* Hoetink.

³ *LD*, p. 13.

Although Ledyard often refers to Hoetink's text and notes, he has contented himself with appending the so-called Churchill version⁴ of Hamel's Narrative to his otherwise admirable study.

Dutch publishers of Hamel's Narrative had already changed the order of the original⁵ and/or made sensational additions of their own invention; these mutilations of the text have indiscriminately been adopted in the French, German and English translations. The text has usually been divided into two parts: 1. the account of the experiences and adventures of the castaways, and 2. the description of the Kingdom of Corea.⁶ The most notable and ridiculous addition is that concerning the existence of crocodiles and the like in Korea: "We never saw any Elephant's there, but Alligators or Crocodils of several Sizes, which keep in the Rivers. Their Back is Musket proof, but the skin of their Belly is very soft. Some of them are 18 or 20 Ells long, their Head large, the Snout like a Hog. The Mouth and Throat from Ear to Ear, the Eye sharp but very small, the teeth white and strong, plac'd like the teeth of a comb The *Coresians* often told us, that three Children were once found in the Belly of one of these Crocodils."⁷

An annotated English translation of Hamel's original text as edited by Hoetink remains an important *desideratum* for all Koreanologists unacquainted with [17th century] Dutch.

Hamel was not alone in introducing 17th century Korea to Occidental readers. Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717) provides us with

⁴ Abbreviated as *CA*, *vide* the bibliography *sub An Account of the shipwreck*, etc.

⁵ Cf. *HV*, pp. XXII-XXIII.

⁶ The sequence of the description has also been changed in some instances. The description of the Korean fauna, for instance, precedes the paragraph on writing etc. in the original text (*HV*, p. 50), but has been inserted in the beginning of the Churchill and French versions (*CA*, p. 207; *RN*, pp. 310–311). A comparison of *CA*, pp. 222–223, and *RN*, pp. 340–342, with *HV*, p. 49, is also rewarding in this respect.

⁷ See *CA*, p. 207; *RN*, pp. 310–311.

much interesting information about that country in his *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*⁸, the second edition of which is most useful for our purpose.⁹

Witsen, whose motto was *Labor omnia vincit*, was the scion of a prominent and wealthy family in Amsterdam. He studied law, philology, mathematics and astronomy at Leyden University where he took his L.L.D. in 1664. He also applied himself to the study of geography, cartography and hydraulic engineering. He was an able etcher and became a specialist in shipbuilding. In 1697–98 he taught this art to Czar Peter the Great who was then studying in the Netherlands.¹⁰ Between 1682 and 1705 he was thirteen times mayor of Amsterdam; he represented that city nearly continuously in the States of Holland and the States General of the Netherlands. As a young man he had also served his country as a diplomat in Moscow.¹¹

For his description of Korea Witsen made use of the following sources:

Martini, Martino, *Novus atlas sinensis*, Amsterdam 1655; Montanus, Arnoldus, *Gedenkwaerdige Gezantschappen aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Memorable Envoys to the Emperors, i.e. Shōgun, of Japan), Amsterdam 1669; a report of a court journey (Nagasaki-Edo) made by the Dutch in 1637; a description of Korea by a 'certain Slavonic (i.e. Russian) author'; information provided by Anreas Cleyer, chief merchant at Dejima in 1683 and 1686; 'a' report from Japan.

Eye-witness information was furnished by Benedictus Klerk and

⁸ First published in 1692 at Amsterdam. For the full title of the second edition see the bibliography.

⁹ Published in 1705 at Amsterdam. 21 pages of this book, i.e. ca. 14,000 words, are devoted to Korea. Cf. *HV*, pp. XXI-XXII. The chapter on Korea has been translated into Japanese by Ikuta Shigeru in his *Chōsen yūshū-ki*, pp. 117-174.

¹⁰ It is said that Czar Peter learned more about his Empire from Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* than he knew before he came to the Netherlands!

¹¹ Cf. A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* XX, pp. 354-359.

Master Mattheus Eibokken, two of Hamel's companions-in-distress.

Benedictus Klerk¹² of Rotterdam was a twelve-year-old ship's boy when he arrived in Korea. The larger part of his information concerns whaling; some of his remarks about Korean religion and customs have been translated in the notes accompanying this article.

Mattheus Eibokken¹³ of Enckhuijsen (= Enkhuizen), between 1500 and the middle of the 17th century one of the most important harbours on the Zuyder Zee, was a junior (third) surgeon on the ill-fated *De Sperwer* and 18 or 19 years old when he arrived in Korea. Ship's surgeons in that period actually combined the functions of physician and barber, and were especially expert at applying leeches. Among the survivors of the shipwreck he was considered as a man of some importance, for on October 19, 1653, he was—together with Hendrick Janse (chief pilot)¹⁴ and Hendrik Hamel (secretary/accountant)—invited to visit the Prefect of Cheju-do at his residence.¹⁵ There they met Jan Janse Weltevreë who had arrived in Korea in 1627¹⁶ and who was to act as an interpreter and guide for his fellow countrymen until March 1656. Eibokken is mentioned once more in Hamel's journal¹⁷; from the passage concerned it becomes clear that he was one of the five Dutchmen living at Sunch'ŏn 順天 since February 1663.

He was one of the eight captives who escaped from Korea on

¹² His family name is also given as *Clercq* and *Clerck* (sometimes preceded by *de*), cf. *HV*, pp. 73, 78 and 87.

¹³ Also called Mat[t]heus Ibocken, Matthijs Bocken or Mattheus Ybocken. Cf. *HV*, pp. 60, 73, 77 and 87.

¹⁴ For his tragic end see *LD*, p. 62; *CA*, p. 189; *HV*, p. 26; *RN*, p. 276. Cf. also *infra*, n. 43.

¹⁵ See *LD*, p. 26; *CA*, p. 180; *HV*, pp. 12–13; *RN*, p. 259.

¹⁶ For Jan Janse Weltevreë or Pak Yŏn see the excellent digression in *LD*, pp. 91–99, and Yi Inyŏng, "Nambanjin Boku En kō."

¹⁷ *HV*, p. 60. In *CA* (p. 204) and *RN* (p. 305) his name is only included in the list of "Names of those that return'd from Corea (Noms de ceux qui sont revenus de Corée)," in the English version mutilated as *Cbroyken*.

September 4, 1666, and arrived at Nagasaki nine days later. On July 20, 1668, he and six of his comrades arrived in Amsterdam.¹⁸ On August 13 of the same year the *Heeren HVII*, i.e. the Directors of the East India Company, decided to pay him a gratuity of 150 (!) guilders in compensation for the hardships suffered in Korea.¹⁹ Further details about his life are unknown, but if we consider the fact that he acted as Witsen's informant, either when he was nearly sixty years old or even later²⁰, he must have been a man of remarkable intelligence and blessed with a retentive memory. One might suppose that he had kept a diary or had prepared a list of words during his stay in Korea, but in that case some grave lapses in his vocabulary would remain unexplained.²¹

Witsen's presentation of Eibokken's information is rather confused and unsystematic; his use of verbal tenses is very curious. In my translation I have 'sliced' his often very lengthy sentences and limited his use of capitals, but have maintained the italics. Witsen's narrative follows:

* * * *

Mattheus Eibokken, surgeon, likewise²² one of those who became captives on *Korea* in the year 1653, has orally reported [the following] to me. It is practically impossible to travel from *Korea* to *Tartarye* or *Niuche*²³ because of the height of the mountains and the wildness of the land. Very few people are living there, and a profusion of tigers, brown bears and wolves renders the passage very dangerous. Snow always covers the mountains there. The root *Nisi* or *Ginseng*²⁴ grows

¹⁸ See *HV*, pp. XIII-XIV.

¹⁹ See *HV*, pp. 86-87 and cf. pp. XIV-XV.

²⁰ Only in the second edition of *WNOT* (also containing his vocabulary) is he mentioned by name.

²¹ See the vocabulary at the end of this article, nrs. 11, 59 and 96.

²² I.e. like Benedictus [de] Klerk.

²³ I.e. [the country of the] Jurced (Chin. Ju-chen 女眞) who established the Chin 金 Dynasty (1115-1234). See Henthorn, *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*, pp. 1, 5, 24-25, etc.

most luxuriantly in that desert. From there it is transported under great danger to the large cities of *Korea* and also across the sea to *Japan* and *Sina*. Those roots which are whitest are considered fresh. They are not found in the southern part of the country.²⁵ [The plant] has shining leaves.

That there exists a passage from Tartary into *Korea* may be clearly demonstrated by the fact that, during his (= Eibokken's) sojourn, the Emperor of *Sina* presented the King of *Korea* with six horses²⁶ which were sent by land from *Niuche* to *Korea*. He himself had seen them arrive; they were speckled like the skin of a tiger with yellow and black dots on a white ground. Their mane and tail were white, hanging down to the ground.

The Tartars are²⁷ called *Thartse* by the Koreans, or—in the Chinese way—*Tata*.²⁸

The east coast of *Korea* extends between north and south; more correctly, however, it extends to the north-east. Consequently the people there think that the ocean is located in the north-east where there are always heavy storms and the waves are restless, as in the Spanish Sea. How far Tartary extends to the north is unknown to them, however, since they do not travel far, either by land or by sea—this being forbidden to the inhabitants [of *Korea*]. Likewise, no foreign vessels arrive on the east coast except Japanese ones, and those only at a place where they have a settlement allotted to them.²⁹

²⁴ *Nisi* is a corruption of Sino-Japanese [*Chōsen*] *ninjin* [朝鮮] 人參. It is curious that Eibokken does not mention the Sino-Korean name *insam*.

²⁵ This is not true; ginseng is found in the mountains of Chōlla-do. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 1.

²⁶ An improbable occurrence. Perhaps horses imported from China are meant. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 2.

²⁷ The text reads 'were': an example of the curious use of tenses by Witsen.

²⁸ *Ta-ta* 鞑靼, Sino-Korean: *Taltan*. Originally this name was used to denote a Mongolian tribe living in the north-west, later it was applied to the Mongols in general as well as to the Manchus. In Hamel's Narrative we read: "They call the Tarter Tieckese and Oranckaij" (*HV*, p. 48; cf. *CA*, p. 222, and *RN*, p. 341). Tie-

The passage by land from Tartary is not only difficult, as mentioned before, but also prohibited.

As there are a great many whales in the neighbouring north-eastern sea, they put out to sea—though not far—in order to catch these. They know how to kill them with very long harpoons of the same type as those of Japan.

Although they rarely sail to Japan, they know in which direction and at what distance it is located. Without this knowledge which the captive Dutchmen obtained from them they would never have been able to steer their course for Japan, to which country they escaped, for they had no map and none of them had ever been there. From this one may conclude that, if the Koreans say that Tartary extends to the north or rather to the north-east, although they do not know how far, this is like their other pronouncement that *Jeso*³⁰ is an island separated from the Tartarian coast.

The Netherlanders found a Dutch harpoon sticking out of a whale which floated ashore as a carcass. It could be clearly distinguished from a Korean or Japanese harpoon, as the Dutch harpoons are hardly a third of the size of the Korean or Japanese ones. The natives said that they frequently discovered such harpoons in whales which they obtained through their being washed ashore. This one had come floating as a carcass, and [the harpoon] was bent; I was told that it often happens that harpoons become bent when they are shot at the fish. It may, nay, it must be, that this fish, having been harpooned in Greenland, yet swam so far away, was finally washed ashore, and died. The sea there has strong tidal currents and the water is greenish

ckese = Ch'iksa 勅使 (Chinese: Ch'ih-shih), Oranckaij = Ollyanghap 兀良哈 (Chinese: Wu-liang-ha), a Mongol tribe. In Europe Tartary has been a designation of Central Asia since the Middle Ages.

²⁹ This refers to the so-called Waegwan 倭館 at Pusan. See McCune, "The Japanese Trading Post at Pusan," and Nakamura, *Nihon to Chōsen*.

³⁰ I.e. Ezo 蝦夷, present-day Hokkaidō, about the shape of which little was known at that time.

as it is usually coloured in an ocean. The above-mentioned sailor³¹, who has wandered for so many years in *Korea* and who frequently went whaling near Greenland and around *Nova Sembla*, is of the opinion that there is a passage from there to *Jeso*³², but he thinks that navigation in that direction is impracticable because of the amount of ice and for other reasons. And as for whales, it seems that they escape from Greenland in wintertime because of the too severe cold to the coasts of *Jeso*, *Korea*, *Japan* and surrounding [regions]. For it is then that they are most present there: when they have disappeared from Greenland, but are being shot in large numbers by the Japanese with their long harpoons.

The northern and eastern coasts of Korea are very fine and suitable to be called at: until far above, or north of the Great Wall, so that it would be good to sail there. The above-mentioned person³³ holds the opinion that one could very easily sail between *Korea* and *Japan*, both straight up along the Tartarian coast as well as in the direction of the Isles of *Jeso*. Then it would not be necessary to direct one's course far towards the east of Japan as the Dutch did in the year 1641.³⁴ To the north of Korea's sea-coast simple fishermen dwell; inland there are few people.

³¹ I.e. Benedictus [de] Klerk, cited on pp. 43-44 of *WNOT*.

³² Cf. also *CA*, p. 206; *HV*, p. 33; *RN*, p. 308; *WNOT*, *loc. cit.* Hamel's original text mentions "whales with harpoons from us and other nations in their bodies", *RN* "les crocs & les harpons des François et des Hollandois" (*CA*: French and Dutch harping-irons!) Dr. L.D. Brongersma, formerly professor of zoology at Leyden University, confirmed to me that Greenland whales use the passage to the north of Canada and Alaska.

³³ It is not clear whether this refers to Klerk or Eibokken.

³⁴ In 1639 Matthijs Hendriksz Quast and Abel Jansz Tasman were sent out by the Dutch East India Company on an expedition to search for the hypothetical 'Gold Islands' to the east of Japan and to discover the Country of Corea. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171, n. 6; *HV*, p. XL. By order of Anthony van Diemen, Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, Maarten Gerritsz. Vries sailed in 1643 to the 'north and east' of Japan, on which occasion he visited not only Ezo, but also Sakhalin and the Kuriles. See P.A. Leupe, *Reize van Maarten Gerritsz. Vries*.

The *Koreans* have no relations with the Northern Tartars and say about them that they are meat-eaters, milk-drinkers and savages. In the north of *Korea*, by the border with Tartary, one finds dreadful snow-clad mountains; in that region as well as on the sea at the same latitude it is always foggy and tempestuous. Although the countries border upon each other, the Tartars, too, seldom or never come to *Korea*.³⁵

The roofs of the houses of persons of high rank consist of both [regular] tiles and tiles baked from porcelain-clay of different colours, hence presenting a pleasant sight. The ordinary houses are straw-thatched. One may come across roof-trusses of twenty feet in length.

There is a custom that military men in the service of the King wear small wooden boards on their chest, on which their name and function are inscribed.³⁶

As the Tartar Emperor³⁷ has such great authority now, they are less afraid of the Japanese. The soil is everywhere cultivated. From wheat and rice good beverages are made, comparable in taste to Spanish wine.³⁸ The horsemen carry bow and arrows, but the foot-soldiers use muskets.

There are quite a number of islands off the mainland; on some of them tobacco is cultivated, on others horses are raised for breeding.³⁹ Porcelain is exported in such quantities and so cheaply that much of it is exported to *Japan*.⁴⁰ The silks which are woven there are very beautiful.

The technique of drawing up water from a lower place to a higher one for irrigation is unknown to them. Consequently they are even

³⁵ *WNOT*, pp. 44-45.

³⁶ The so-called *hop'ae* 號牌. See Lee Kwang-rin, "Census-taking in the Yi Dynasty," and cf. *LD*, p. 52.

³⁷ I.e. the Ch'ing 清 (Manchu) Emperor of China.

³⁸ I.e. sherry (*jerez*) which also has a similar alcohol percentage.

³⁹ Cheju-do (Quelpart) in particular was (and is) well known for horse-breeding.

⁴⁰ This refers in the first place to tea utensils. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 171, n. 12.

less able to exploit metal-mines.⁴¹ Diamonds are not found there, but occasionally one comes across them and they are highly valued.

[The Koreans] still wear long hair as the Chinese of old were wont to do.⁴²

The walls of the palaces and the houses of persons of high rank are made of brick. The same applies to the fortresses and the ramparts of the cities, but they are very weakly and miserably constructed, so that they would very easily be smashed by shooting at them.

One sees there fields entirely occupied by mulberry-trees for the production of silk.

If the master of a house acts against the orders of the King or commits some crime or other, all the members of his household must die together with him. Therefore, when the pilot, the leader of the captive Dutchmen, trying to escape with the Tartar envoy, was decapitated⁴³, all the others were threatened with death.

Temples of two or three storeys, entirely built with stones, are found there.

In *Korea* junks with two decks and twenty or twenty-four oars are built. Each oar is occupied by five or six men; they are manned with 200 or 300 hands, both soldiers and oarsmen. [The junks are] mounted with countless small pieces of iron, and [armed with] a large number of firearms.⁴⁴

⁴¹ In curious contradiction to statements recorded below. Perhaps this is an interpolation of a statement by Benedictus [de] Klerk. Cf. also *infra*, n. 75.

⁴² I.e. they did not shave their hair in front and did not wear 'pigtales' as the Chinese were compelled to do under Manchu rule. Unmarried men, however, wore braids.

⁴³ Hendrick Janse of Amsterdam. Elsewhere it is said that he died in prison. Cf. *LD* pp. 59-62; *CA*, pp. 188-189; *HV*, pp. 25-26; *RN*, pp. 274-276.

⁴⁴ This seems to be a reference to the turtle-boat (*köbüksön* 거북船) of Admiral Yi Sunsin 李舜臣 (1545-1598). Cf. *CA*, p. 209; *HV*, pp. 35-36; *RN*, pp. 314-315. See further Murphy, "Yi Sun Sin: Admiral of the Eastern Sea"; Middleton, "Hyön Chung Sa: Shrine to Yi Sun Sin"; Park Yune-hee, *Admiral Yi Sun-shin and his*

The Koreans wear peaked hats.⁴⁵ They eat with spoons as well as chopsticks.

It is remarkable how cold it can be in that country, so that at a latitude of 40 the rivers are solidly frozen every year and it is just as cold there as in our country. The mountains are always covered with snow. Perhaps this cold is brought about by the strongly nitrous character of the soil. Grapes are growing there, but they rarely ripen, and wine is not made from them. Pruning trees is not a custom there, and they do not know how to cultivate fruit. There is a certain fruit called *canoen*⁴⁶ which is very tasty when dried and resembles a fig.⁴⁷

Mattheus Eibokken has reported to me that they have a pagan faith in that country, partly corresponding with that of *Sina*. However, nobody is forced in matters of religion and everybody may believe as he wishes. [The Koreans] tolerated his and the other Dutch captives' mockery of the idols. The priests there do not eat what has received life, and they have no intercourse with women on pain of being beaten heavily on the shins, nay even being punished by death—as has happened more than once. When there is a war the monks, too, are obliged to take the field and to do duty.⁴⁸

They sacrifice many pigs and other cattle to the devil (although recently the King has ordered the demolition of the majority of the temples dedicated to the devil⁴⁹, for which reason he is not so much

Turtleboat Armada; Underwood, "Korean Boats and Ships"; Underwood, "The Turtle Boat of Yi Sun Sin."

⁴⁵ 'High-crowned' would be a better description. For hats see Yi Kyu-tae, *Modern Transformation of Korea*, pp. 78-83.

⁴⁶ This must be a mistake for *kam*, 'persimmon.'

⁴⁷ *WNOT*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁸ Cf. *CA*, p. 208; *HV*, p. 35; *RN*, pp. 313-314. Monk-soldiers served in the war against the Japanese invaders (1592-98) and several priests, like Sōsan Taesa Hyujōng 西山大師休靜 (1520-1604) and Samyōngdang Yujōng 泗溟堂惟政 (1544-1610), gained immortal fame. Troops consisting of monk-soldiers were called *ch'iyōng* 緇營, 'black batallions.'

⁴⁹ In 1662 according to Hamel, cf. *CA*, p. 222; *HV*, p. 49; *RN*, p. 340. In the 5t month of the third year of Hyōnjong 顯宗 the Governor of Chōlla-do, Yi T'aeyōn

worshipped or respected anymore), and [afterwards] they eat the offerings. Sacrifices are in great vogue with them; if somebody is going to travel, sacrifices are made in the hope of a good journey. The same happens when somebody is ill. The priests have their heads shorn bald. The number of monks living in the monasteries is almost countless.

Every year the King visits the tomb of his ancestors in order to sacrifice there and to give a feast in honour of, and for the well-being of those in the other world. [Eibokken was able to tell me about this,] because he had accompanied the King himself as far as the burial-place which is several hundred years old. It is located six or eight miles outside the capital in a hollowed-out mountain which one enters through iron doors.⁵⁰

Corpses are placed in coffins of iron or tin. They are embalmed in such a way that they are preserved without decay for some hundreds of years—as the dead bodies of the Kings have been preserved in the above-mentioned mountain. When a King or Queen is entombed a beautiful male and female slave are left behind alive in the vault. Before closing the iron doors they leave some provisions for them, but when these are eaten they must die in order to serve their master or mistress in the other life.⁵¹ [On the occasion of the visit to his ancestors]⁵² 15,000 soldiers attended the King, among them a

李泰淵, reported to the Throne that the Buddhist statues in the temples of his province were perspiring. Against [this report] the Chief Censor, Min Chǒngjung 閔鼎重, memorialized the Throne as follows: “[The perspiration of the statues] is due to the humid air, but T’acyōn is [using this phenomenon] to delude and cause disorder among the people. I request that he be removed from his post and the perspiring statues be destroyed.” The King consented. Cf. *YH*, p. 85, n. 1.

⁵⁰ Here Eibokken’s imagination seems to have run away with him. The tomb of each King was located at a different place; *vide* Bacon, “Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens.” We may, of course, assume that he accompanied King Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649–1659) on a visit to the tomb of his father, Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649) which was then located in P’aju-gun Pug’unch’ 郊 邑 浦 翁 池. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 27, nr. 31.

⁵¹ This custom certainly did not exist in the Yi period!

Dutchman as a body-guard.⁵³ As these people are very swift-footed and are able, with shouldered muskets, to keep pace with a horse, our man had great difficulty in following them.

Firelocks are unknown to them, for they use only matchlocks. They also employ leather guns, on the inside mounted with copper plates of a gauge of half a finger; the leather is two, four or five inches thick and consists of many layers. These guns are put on horses, two on one horse, and are carried in the rear of the army. Their length is about one fathom, and rather large bullets can be fired from them.⁵⁴

The sterns of their ships are flat and slant, in the same way as their prows do, somewhat over the water.⁵⁵ While they are sailing they also use oars; they are unable to cope with foreign guns. Without special leave they neither dare nor may sail far out of sight from the mainland—neither are they suitable [for such undertakings]. They are very lightly built, hardly any iron is used, the timber being dovetailed and the anchors made of wood. Most of their navigation is directed towards *Sina*.⁵⁶

Gunpowder as well as the art of printing have been known to them—so they say—for more than 1,000 years. The same applies to the compass, although it looks different from the one in our country, for they merely use a small bit of wood, sharp in front and blunt behind. Thrown into a tub with water the sharp tip points to the north; the magnetic force is probably hidden inside it. They dis-

⁵²In my opinion the following description refers to the specific occasion of the visit to the Royal tomb. According to Ikuta (*op. cit.*, p. 160) it is a general statement.

⁵³This body-guard was probably Jan Janse Weltevree.

⁵⁴Such guns are not described in Boots' excellent article "Korean Weapons & Armor."

⁵⁵*Vide* Underwood, "Korean Boats and Ships."

⁵⁶Cf. *CA*, p. 206; *HV*, p. 33; *RN*, pp. 308–309. The sea route via the coast of the Liaotung Peninsula to Shantung was in fact only used until Korea's surrender to the Manchus. In Hamel's time communications with China were maintained over land. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 158.

tinguish between eight points of the compass. The compass may also consist of two bits of wood joined crosswise; the tip which points to the north protrudes somewhat.⁵⁷

Eibokken was of the opinion that *Korea* extended further to the north than is shown in our maps—as is also stated by the Korean people. Up to the northeast there would be an ocean with waves as savage as those of the Spanish Sea. To the north or northeast [of Korea] there must therefore be a sea which is difficult to navigate.⁵⁸

The River *Jalo*, also called *Kango*⁵⁹, separating *Sina* from *Korea*, is full of rocks and, at times, thickly frozen over—as was the case when the Tartars crossed it and occupied the country, for that was very difficult by land over the practically impassable mountains.

They are not well-acquainted with glass; their windows are covered with oil-paper. When objects made of glass like rummers or small bottles, imported in Japan by the Netherlanders, were brought over from Japan they were highly valued. It was unbelievable to them that in our country window-panes were made of glass.

It is a custom there to sing of all kinds of events in ballads and therefore every day one hears songs about the deeds of heroes of ancient and recent times.⁶⁰ Their printed books are also full of these.

There are idols in Korea nearly as big as whole houses in this country.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that in almost all their idolatrous temples

⁵⁷According to Klerk the Koreans had—like the Chinese—no notion about the use of the compass! See *WNOT*, p. 47.

⁵⁸Repetition of a former statement.

⁵⁹According to Ikuta (*op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 23) Eibokken is confusing the Han-gang 漢江 with the Yalu (Amnok-kang 鴨綠江), but then it remains strange that he uses the Sino-Japanese name of the Han-gang (Kango = Kankō?).

⁶⁰This must be a reference to the *kwangdae* 廣大, professional entertainers “who recreated, dramatized, and sang known tales and narratives.” See Peter H. Lee, *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes*, p. 86. The *kwangdae* were especially active in Chōlla-do. See also Kim Tong’uk, *Ch’unhyang chōn yōn’gu*, pp. 17–32.

⁶¹Perhaps Eibokken refers here to the more than 18 metre high Ŭnjin Mirūk 恩津彌勒 of the Kwanch’ōk-sa 灌燭寺 (Ŭnjin-myōn, Nonsan-gun, Ch’ungch’ōng Namdo) which he may have seen on his journey up to, or down from Seoul (June

one finds three statues placed side by side.⁶² They have the same shape and ornamentation, but the middle one is always the biggest. From this Master *Eibokken* deduced that some adumbration of the Holy Trinity was hidden here.

When there is an eclipse the common people think that the moon is struggling with some kind of snake.⁶³ They have an artificially made snake at hand and, while the eclipse continues, they make all kinds of sounds and noises with drums, horns and bassoons until the eclipse is over. Then they say that the snake has been subdued and they chop up their own clay snake in revenge and anger against the snake in heaven that had the insolence to fight against the moon. Since they have not reached the same perfection in mathematics as the Europeans, it is, however, marvellous that they are able to calculate the time of an eclipse.⁶⁴

There are many kinds of fruit in *Korea*, most of them known in our country as well as many others, such as nuts, chestnuts, cherries, morelloes, quinces, pomegranates, rice, oats, wheat, beans, salad, and various tuberous plants.⁶⁵ It is said that there is much ambergris to be found. [Further there is] a lot of lesser gray mullet in the sea, and there are lots of poultry, pheasants and tortoises on land.

1654 and March 1656). For an old-fashioned, but charming description of this statue *vide* Jones, "Korea's Colossal Image of Buddha [*sic*!]."

⁶²The so-called *Samjon* 三尊, the Three Honoured Ones, e.g. the deified historical Buddha Sākyamuni (Sökka [moni] 釋迦 [牟尼]) flanked by Manjusri (Munsu 文殊) and Samantabhadra (Pohyön 普賢), representing his omniscience and all-goodness.

⁶³This is originally a Chinese tradition: the uneducated thought that in the case of an eclipse the sun or moon was devoured by a snake. Cf. Lübke, *Der Himmel der Chinesen*, pp. 21–22; Pernitzsch, *Die Religionen Chinas*, p. 17. The Chinese character for 'eclipse', 蝕 (Sino-Korean: *sik*), may be explained as 'being eaten by a reptile.'

⁶⁴Calendars based on Western astronomical calculations were imported from China. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 35.

⁶⁵Klerk refers in this connection to the preparation of *kimch'i*: "They have a custom there of pickling food of all kinds, especially tuberous plants." See *WNOT*, p. 47.

They do not use coins, but pay in small ingots according to weight.⁶⁶

These people possess a vague knowledge of the Flood.⁶⁷

They estimate the world to be many thousands of years old and [hold the belief] that in due time this world will turn into a renewed or new world—just as they assert that there are many worlds to come and [many that] have been.⁶⁸

By way of punishment people in *Korea* were beaten to death on the shins.

There is an abundance of cattle, but they hardly partake of butter and cheese, and even less of milk, saying that this is the blood of animals. Dogs—with the exception of red ones—as well as horses are eaten by them, as they judge these [animals] to have very tasty meat. They know how to prepare excellent salt from sea-water. The Netherlands' captives salted herring with it; although it could have been done by them, they were not knowledgeable about [this process]. The salt water is boiled for this purpose, but they do not have salt-pans as in Portugal and elsewhere.

These people are very good-natured. God—so they say—is good, but they must remain friends with the devil, that he shall not harm them.⁶⁹

When they styled the Dutch they called them 'men from the

⁶⁶Cf. *CA*, p. 224; *HV*, p. 50; *RN*, p. 343. In 1633 the so-called *sangp'yŏng t'ongbo* 常平通寶 had been minted for the first time, and in 1651 a decree was issued ordering the people to use coins, but we may assume that they were not in general use in far-away places like Chŏlla Namdo. *Vide* Ichihara, "Coinage of Old Korea," pp. 60–61, and Sohn, Kim & Hong, *The History of Korea*, p. 162.

⁶⁷Popular traditions about deluges are of Chinese origin; cf. Son Chint'ae, *Chosŏn minjok sŏrhwa-ŭi yŏn'gu*, pp. 7–11, See also Krieg, *Chinesische Mythen und Legenden*, pp. 14–16; Kim So-un *The Story Bag*, pp. 66–75; Son Chint'ae, *Chōsen no minwa*, pp. 18–25; Zong In-sob, *Folk Tales from Korea*, pp. 16–18.

⁶⁸This refers, of course, to the Buddhist concept of [Great] *Kalpas* (*kŏp* 劫) or aeons. Cf. McGovern, *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, Vol. I: *Cosmology*, pp. 45–48.

⁶⁹These people are not unconscious of the fact that there is a God; they revere the devil out of fear" according to Klerk (*WNOT*, p. 47).

south'⁷⁰, and in the beginning they believed that [the Dutch] could live under water. As their knowledge is limited to *Japan*, *Sina* and their neighbour *Tartarye*, they have trifling thoughts about those who are living farther away, e.g. that there are people without heads and people with eyes in their chests. [They also think] that there are regions occupied only by women who, when they become voluptuous, spread their legs in the direction of the south wind which impregnates them by blowing in between, and more of such things.

The King was so rarely seen that some people living somewhat our of the way believed that he was of a superhuman nature—such it appeared to us and therefore we queried them. They believe that the less the King goes out and is seen by the people the more fruitful the year will be. No dog may run in the streets where he appears.

They believe in the resurrection of the dead and the possession of a soul which will experience good or evil according to this life.

All foreigners are refused admittance to this country with the exception of the Japanese who—as has been mentioned before—have a settlement for their own use in the City of *Potisaen*.⁷¹

They are very much afraid of sick people; they often bring them out into the fields and leave them alone in hovels, so that there is hardly anybody who tends and treats them.⁷²

The people there become very old: *Eibokken* had known many of more than 112 years; they live in a very frugal way.

There are rather good surgeons among them. They do not know that the world is round, and think that the sun goes to rest in the sea at night.

Very able artisans are to be found there. The women, too, are skilful at embroidery; he (*Eibokken*) had seen entire battles em-

⁷⁰I.e. *namman*[in] 南蠻[人] (Sino-Japanese: *namban*[jin]), 'Southern Barbarians,' a term first applied by the Japanese to the Portuguese and the Spanish.

⁷¹=Pusan, cf. *supra*, n. 29.

⁷²Cf. *CA*, p. 222; *HV*, p. 47; *RN*, pp. 339–340.

broidered on silk.

It is a custom there to have rooms, under the floor of which there is a vault of one foot in height. Through this [vault] they apply warmth to the entire room by means of the smoke from the fire in stoves standing outside.⁷³ The King also has rooms covered with copper plates which are used to torture, nay, even to kill people.⁷⁴

They pay much attention to soothsayings, and good and bad omens. He (Eibokken) had seen one of the King's horses killed because it had hesitated when leaving the gate [of the palace] with the King on its back. This was considered to be an ill omen and [the horse was killed] to appease and prevent any evil.

He had seen gold- and silver-mines there as well as copper-, tin- and iron-mines.⁷⁵ There are lots of silver which special people have been allowed to mine, since the King levies taxes on it. The copper there is very lustrous and has a clear tone. He had seen gold-veins in mines. He says that he even obtained some gold-dust from the bottom of some rivers by diving. Yet the gold-mines were not so much exploited as those of silver and other metals. He was unaware of the reason for this.

The *Koreans* are extremely afraid of the Tartars and the Japanese, because they are very faint-hearted—to such an extent that when a battle or fight is going to take place some hundreds hang themselves out of fear on the day before.⁷⁶

Christianity has not yet found acceptance there. In their temples he had seen large paintings, on one side of which sensual enjoyments

⁷³Cf. *CA*, p. 216; *HV*, p. 42; *RN*, p. 329. For a description of the Korean heating system *vide* Viessman, "Ondol-Radiant Heat in Korea."

⁷⁴Cf. *CA*, pp. 210–211, *HV*, p. 37; *RN*, pp. 317–318; *YH*, p. 72, n. 1.

⁷⁵See the short historical survey in Mills, "Gold Mining in Korea," especially, pp. 10–11.

⁷⁶Cf. *HV*, p. 47. This form of suicide is not mentioned in *CA* and *RN*. Klerk: "The Koreans are very faint-hearted. Therefore they often hang themselves out of fright or fear. This is, however, deemed honourable there." See *WNOT*, p. 47.

of all sorts were depicted, [while] the other side [represented] tortures of all sorts.⁷⁷ In this way they express [their belief] that good and evil people would reap the fruits of their merits in the other life.

There is a royal prison there⁷⁸; important persons who are imprisoned there seldom come out again. The reason for this is that there is an executioner living inside who is also not allowed to go out often. He is ordered to dispatch this one or that one at the King's pleasure.

Justice is severely administered there, and it is very safe to travel through the country, as the people are modest, gentle, goodnatured, compassionate and polite.

Those who had sold to the captive Netherlanders the vessel with which they escaped by sea to Japan, were put to death; so severe is the law there.

In this country there are emeralds, sapphires and other precious stones which are unknown here.

Ladies of distinction wear veils, and conceal themselves from unknown men.

The Island of *Tussima*, also called *Teimatte*⁷⁹, located between *Japan* and *Korea*, belonged formerly to *Korea*, but by war and treaty it remains under the Japanese.⁸⁰

Korea is very populous and perhaps the King could call five times 100,000 men to the colours. The soldiers there receive no pay, as the inhabitants have to do duty gratis and for nothing.

The cities are not too well fortified.⁸¹ The capital is easily as large

⁷⁷Such paintings may be found in a special Myōngbu-ch'ōng 冥府廳, 'Hall of the Palace of Darkness', in larger Buddhist temples. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 173, n. 31.

⁷⁸According to Ikuta (*op. cit.*, p. 173, n. 32) this would refer to the prison belonging to the Chwa[do]-suyōng 左[道]水營, Left Provincial Naval District, of Chōlla-do, located at Nae[r]ye-p'o 內禮浦. Cf. also *LD*, p. 70.

⁷⁹=Taema-do 對馬島, Jap. Tsushima. Hamel writes *Tymatte*. In *CA* (p. 223) we read *Ceuxima*.

⁸⁰In 1420 there was a government order to the effect that Tsushima be annexed to Kyōngsang-do. Cf. Joe, *Traditional Korea: A Cultural History*, p. 314. See also Ikuta, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99, n. 149.

as Amsterdam. The King may not be looked in the face by the common inhabitants. When he comes near everybody must conceal his face or turn around.

After their death priests are cremated in a thick coffin [placed] under a wood-stack, but the hermits are buried like other people. The ashes and burnt bones are not collected; they remain lying in the fields unnoticed. These priests may abandon their profession and then marry.

The King has the power of life and death over his people. Their customs resemble those of *Sina* in many respects. He who comes to dine with them must carry the remains of the food home with him.

There are beautiful horses in *Korea* and the people sit astride them as in our country, i.e. not in the manner of the Tartars. They let them run wild on some islands for breeding.⁸²

The *Koreans* are good at writing. It is told that a Tartar envoy visiting the Court asked by what means the Kingdom was protected and ruled, and that the King replied: "By the brush." Thereupon the Tartar took an arrow from his quiver and said: "Herewith we protect and rule our country."⁸³

Saltpetre is produced there in abundance, and they make good gunpowder. This is moulded into big hard lumps. When it is going to be used these are reduced to fine dust like flour, for grains of powder are unknown to them.⁸⁴ Quicksilver is also found there.

*Soy*⁸⁵ is much used there. It is prepared from horse-beans which

⁸¹Klerk: "The cities there are not well fortified The city walls are made of clay and extremely weak." (*WNOT*, p. 47)

⁸²Cf. *supra*, n. 39.

⁸³An interesting dialogue which cannot be checked!

⁸⁴Klerk: "The gunpowder they make is not so strong as that made in these (i.e. European) countries." (*WNOT*, p. 47)

⁸⁵Spelled *sooi* in the 17th century; modern Dutch: *soja*, derived from Sino-Japanese *shōyu* 醬油 (Sino-Korean: chang[yu]).

⁸⁶Japanese. *sake*.

are well cooked, dried, kneaded into lumps, and pickled with salt in a pot or tub, layer upon layer. Some water is added to it and then it is left to putrify and soak for some time, whereupon the heavy parts sink to the bottom. After these thick or turbid parts have been lifted out with little baskets the rest is the *Soy*.

In the same way the beverage *sakki*⁸⁶ is made from coarsely ground wheat mixed with cooked rice, the bulk [of the mixture] consisting of rice. This likewise having been left to ferment for several days and being putrid, the pure and filtered juice is the *sakki*.

The *Koreans* are very clean and tidy. When they make water they do so squatting. It is generally their habit to marry only once, but when a wife dies they take a concubine; the majority of the women there may be taken as such.

For the sake of fortification most of their cities are located on high mountains surrounded by walls.

The east coast of *Korea* is subject to many storms, thunderstorms and fog. At a latitude of 43° it is as cold there as in the Netherlands at 52°. Around the southern [part of the country] are the best seaports.

There are many male and female slaves, but they are all of their own nationality.

Very much tea is produced there. They drink it in powdered form and mixed with hot water, so that the whole [concoction] is turbid.

The bigwigs let some of their slaves (of which some of them keep a few hundreds) learn the healing art, but if the gentleman in question comes to die, the surgeon rarely survives him for long.

Along their beaches there are everywhere watch-towers standing in groups of four. If a fire is lighted on the first one, this means small alarm, but in case the danger becomes greater the fires on the second,

⁸⁷Cf. Koons, "Beacon-Fires of Old Korea," especially. p. 50.

third and fourth towers are lighted.⁸⁷

The villages in that country are countless. Gripping somebody by the hair is [considered] quite dastardly and contemptible.

They write with brushes like the Chinese [do]. Porcelain is made very well there, and especially bowls of rugged appearance, having been gilt as per order, are highly valued and in great demand in Japan. As to delicacy [Korean porcelain] surpasses that of Japan. It is mostly made by women.

They can make a red beverage, as tasty as wine, which makes one tipsy, with which the King once regaled the Netherlanders at his Court.⁸⁸

The Emperor [*sic!*] often trains his soldiers and has them fight against each other pretending that one part are *Koreans* and the other *Japanese*. The Japanese, however, are generally inferior and, after a lengthy battle, they feign to flee. During the time he was a body-guard Master *Eibokken* once saw twice 40,000 men fighting each other in such a manner.

The King often takes counsel with his eunuchs.⁸⁹ These wear hairnets consisting of golden strings and golden rings; nobody else wears such golden strings.

The larger part of the religious service of the *Papists*⁹⁰ in the monasteries consists of sacrifices. A constant stream of citizens as well as countrymen come there with gifts such as cloth, silk, rice, food, etc., to be sacrificed on their behalf.

The sounds of the language of *Korea* have nothing in common with the Chinese. This was Master *Eibokken's* opinion, because he

⁸⁸Perhaps referring to a beverage prepared from *tültchuk*, the berries of a kind of dogwood, *Cornus officinalis*. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 38.

⁸⁹Klerk: "The King keeps many eunuchs; his Court has many ponds and fountains." (*WNOT*, p. 47)

⁹⁰I.e. Buddhist priests. As a good Protestant *Eibokken* refers to them—as Hamel does—as 'Papen.'

spoke the Korean language very well, but was not understood by the Chinese at *Batavia*. Yet they can read each other's writing. They possess more than one system of writing. Their *Oonjek*⁹¹ is comparable to our running hand: all letters are attached to each other. This [kind of writing] is used by the common man. The other syllables [*sic*] are the same as those of *Sina*.

The Court of the King is about the size of the Town of Alkmaer. It is surrounded by a wall of stones layed in clay and crowned with indentations resembling cockscombs. The city-walls are weak; they are not accustomed to fortify them with guns. Inside the Court there is a multitude of residences, both big and small, as well as pleasure-grounds. Here his consort and concubines also dwell, for he—like all the people—possesses only one real wife. This Court is situated inside the capital *Tijozian*⁹² or *Sior*.⁹³

At the time of Master *Eibokken*'s [sojourn] the King⁹⁴ of *Korea* was a large-limbed and strong man, so that it was said that he could draw a bow by holding the string under his chin and pushing away the bow itself with one hand.

The *Koreans* of high rank are in the habit of having small pouches of poison attached to their girdles. If in their opinion necessity requires to do so, they can at once do away with themselves.

In this country much silk is produced, but no foreigners buy it, for which reason it is very cheap. But by way of *Sussima* or *Tussima*⁹⁵ there is now some trade with the Japanese, which is annoying to the Netherlands' silk-trade in *Japan*.⁹⁶

* * * *

⁹¹*Oonjek* = önyök 諺譯, actual meaning: 'translation [from the Chinese] into *čnmun* 諺文 = *han'gŭl*.'

⁹²This word resembles Chosŏn 朝鮮 (Hamel: *Tiocen* [Cock 國]), but Ikuta identifies it with *Taewang-sŏng* 大王城 which would agree with Hamel's *Conincx stadt* (King's City).

⁹³= Seoul (Sŏul), spelled in the same way by Hamel.

⁹⁴I.e. Hyojong, cf. *supra*, n. 50, and *LD*, p. 57.

⁹⁵Hamel also gives the spelling *Suissima* (*HV*, p. 32). See also *supra*, n. 79.

Eibokken's information contains several valuable additions to Hamel's "Description of the Kingdom of Corea." His most important contribution to Witsen's work, however, is his vocabulary of 143 Korean words as listed below (words requiring additional commentary have been marked with an asterisk).

He uses the following Dutch transcriptions for Korean vowels and diphthongs: *a* or *ae* for 아, *a* or *e* for 어, *ey* for 애 or ऐ, *e* for 으, 어, ऐ and 으, *o* for 오 or 오, *oo* for 오, *oe* (occasionally *ou*) for 우, *i*, *ie* or *y* for 이. Dutch *j* (and sometimes *i*) corresponds to English *y*, e.g. *Jang* = *yang* 羊양 (nr. 75), *piaer* — *pyöl* (64).

For *k* as a medial or final he nearly always writes *ck*. Instead of *n* he sometimes writes *d* (cf. nrs. 4, 14, 108). Because of typographical errors an original *u* may have been rendered as *n* (cf. nrs. 16, 19).

Several items in Eibokken's vocabulary⁹⁷ evoke rather interesting speculations and observations.

* * * *

[The way of] counting in *Korea*, among persons of high rank, is—from one to ten—as follows:⁹⁸

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
1. <i>Ana</i> , een	one	<i>hãna/hana</i>	
2. <i>Toue</i> of <i>Toel</i> , twee	two	<i>tul (tu)</i>	
3. <i>Sevve</i> of <i>Suy</i> , drie	three	<i>set (se)</i>	
4. <i>Deuye</i> , vier	four	<i>net (ne)</i>	
5. <i>Tasset</i> , vyf	five	<i>tasãt/tasõt</i>	
6. <i>Joset</i> of <i>jacet</i> , zes	six	<i>yõsãt/yõsõt</i>	

⁹⁶WNOT, pp. 55–59.

⁹⁷WNOT, pp. 52–53.

⁹⁸If the pronunciation of the word in question in the 17th century was different, it is listed first under the heading 'Corrections in transcription' and followed by the transcription of the modern pronunciation. These readings are separated by a slash mark (/). My *ã* stands for 어, *ãe* for ऐ. In the case of dialect words the items in question are followed in the same way by the readings in modern standard Korean. At the end of the vocabulary further explanations are listed according to the numbers preceding the words.

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
7. <i>Girgop</i> of <i>jirgop</i> , zeven	seven	<i>nilgop/ilgop</i>	
8. <i>Joderp</i> of <i>jadarp*</i> , <i>acht</i>	eight	<i>yödäpl, yödülpl/yödöl[p]</i>	
9. <i>Agop</i> of <i>ahob</i> , negen	nine	<i>ahop</i>	
10. <i>Iaer*</i> , thien	ten	<i>yöl</i>	
The common man counts as follows:			
11. <i>Jagnir*</i> , een	one	<i>hän il /han il</i>	
12. <i>Tourgy</i> , twee	two	<i>tul i</i>	
13. <i>Socsom</i> , drie	three	<i>sök sam</i>	
14. <i>Docso</i> , vier	four	<i>nök sä/ nök sa</i>	
15. <i>Caseto</i> , vyf	five	<i>tasät o/tasöt o</i>	
16. <i>Joseljone</i> , zes	six	<i>yösät yuk/yösöt yuk</i>	
17. <i>Jeroptchil</i> , zeven	seven	<i>nilgop ch'il/ilgop ch'il</i>	
18. <i>Jaderpal</i> , acht	eight	<i>yadal p'al/yödöl[p] p'al</i>	
19. <i>Ahopcon</i> , negen	nine	<i>ahop ku</i>	
20. <i>Jorchip</i> , thien	ten	<i>yöl sip</i>	
21. <i>Somer</i> , twintig	twenty	<i>sümül/sümul</i>	
22. <i>Schierri</i> of <i>siergan</i> , dertig	thirty	<i>sör[h]ün</i>	
23. <i>Mahan*</i> , veertig	forty	<i>maän/mahün</i>	
24. <i>Swin</i> , vyftig	fifty	<i>swin</i>	
25. <i>Jegu</i> of <i>jeswyn</i> , zestig	sixty	<i>yesyun/yesun</i>	
26. <i>Hierigum</i> of <i>jirgun</i> , zeventig	seventy	<i>nirhün/ir[h]ün</i>	
27. <i>Jadern</i> of <i>jadarn</i> , tachtentig	eighty	<i>yödün</i>	
28. <i>Haham</i> of <i>ahan</i> , negentig	ninety	<i>ahün</i>	
29. <i>Hirpee</i> of <i>jyrpeik*</i> , honderd	100	<i>ilbäek/ilbaek</i>	
30. <i>Jjrpeyck</i> , twee honderd	200	<i>ibaek</i>	
31. <i>Sampeyck</i> , drie honderd	300	<i>sambaek</i>	
32. <i>Soopeyck</i> , vier honderd	400	<i>säbäek/sabaek</i>	

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
33. <i>Opeyck</i> , vyf honderd	500	<i>obaek</i>	
34. <i>Joeckpeyck</i> , zes honderd	600	<i>yukpaek</i>	
35. <i>t'Syrpeyck</i> , zeven honderd	700	<i>ch'ilbaek</i>	
36. <i>Paelpeyck</i> , acht honderd	800	<i>p'albaek</i>	
37. <i>Koepeyck</i> , negen honderd	900	<i>kubaek</i>	
38. <i>Jyrtciē*</i> , een duizend	1000	<i>ilch'yōn/ilch'ōn</i>	
39. <i>Fijetciē</i> , twee duizend	2000	<i>ich'ōn</i>	
40. <i>Samtciē</i> , drie duizend	3000	<i>samch'ōn</i>	
41. <i>Sootciē</i> , vier duizend	4000	<i>sāch'yōn/sach'ōn</i>	
42. <i>Otciē</i> , vyf duizend	5000	<i>och'ōn</i>	
43. <i>Joeectciē</i> , zes duizend	6000	<i>yukch'ōn</i>	
44. <i>t'Syertciē</i> , zeven duizend	7000	<i>ch'ilch'ōn</i>	
45. <i>Paertciē</i> , acht duizend	8000	<i>p'alch'ōn</i>	
46. <i>Koetciē</i> , negen duizend	9000	<i>kuch'ōn</i>	
47. <i>Jyroock*</i> , thien duizend	10,000	<i>ir'ōk</i>	100,000
48. <i>Jyoock</i> , twintig duizend	20,000	<i>iōk</i>	etc.
49. <i>Samooock</i> , dertig duizend	30,000	<i>sam'ōk</i>	
50. <i>Soeoock</i> , veertig duizend	40,000	<i>sāok/saōk</i>	
51. <i>Ooock</i> , vyftig duizend	50,000	<i>oōk</i>	
52. <i>Koeoock*</i> , zestig duizend	60,000	<i>kuōk</i>	900.000 (yug'ōk)

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
53. <i>t'Siroock</i> , zeventig duizend	70.000	<i>ch'ir'ök</i>	
54. <i>Joeeock</i> , tachten-duizend	80.000	<i>yug'ök</i>	600,000
55. <i>Paeroock</i> , negentig duizend	90.000	<i>p'ar'ök</i>	800,000
56. <i>Jyoock*</i> , honderd duizend	100.000	<i>chyö/cho</i>	one million

Some Korean terms follow.

57. <i>Pontchaa*</i> is their name for God	God	<i>ponjon?</i>	
58. <i>Mool*</i> , een Paerd	a horse	<i>mol, mäl/mal</i>	
59. <i>Moolhoot*</i> , meer Paerden	more horses	<i>mol. . . .?</i>	
60. <i>Hiechep</i> , een Wyf	woman, wife (derogatory)	<i>kyejip</i>	
61. <i>Hanel*</i> , Hemel	heaven	<i>hanäl/hanül</i>	
62. <i>Hay</i> , de Zon	the sun	<i>häe/hae</i>	
63. <i>Tael</i> , de Maen	the moon	<i>täl/tal</i>	
64. <i>Piaer</i> , de Sterren	the stars	<i>pyöl</i>	
65. <i>Parram</i> , de Wind	the wind	<i>päräm/param</i>	
66. <i>Nam</i> , Zuiden	South		
67. <i>Poeck</i> , Noorden	North	<i>pük/puk</i>	
68. <i>Siuee</i> , West	West	<i>syö/sö</i>	
69. <i>Tong</i> , Oost	East		
70. <i>Moel</i> , 't Water	the water	<i>mül, mul</i>	
71. <i>Moet</i> , d'Aerde	the, earth	<i>müt, mut</i>	land, <i>terra firma</i>
72. <i>Moel koikie*</i> , alderhande soort van Vis	fish of all kinds	<i>mulkoegi mülkogi/ mülkogi</i>	
73. <i>Moet koikie*</i> , alderhande soort van Vlees	meat of all kinds	<i>mutkoegi, mütkogi/ mutkogi</i>	
74. <i>Sio</i> , een Koe	a cow	<i>syö/so</i>	
75. <i>Jang</i> , een Schaep	a sheep	<i>yang</i>	
76. <i>Kay</i> , een Hond	a dog	<i>kahi, kae</i>	
77. <i>Sodse</i> , een Leeuw	a lion	<i>sajäe/saja</i>	
78. <i>Jacktey</i> , een Kam-eel	a camel	<i>yaktae</i>	

(originaltext)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
79. <i>Toot*</i> , een Varken	a pig	<i>tot/twaeji</i>	
80. <i>Tiarck</i> , een Hoen	a chicken	<i>tälk/ta[l]k</i>	
81. <i>Koely*</i> , een Haen	a cock	?	
82. <i>Kookiri</i> , een Olyphant	an elephant	<i>k'okkiri</i>	
83. <i>Kooy*</i> , een Kat	a cat	<i>koe/koyangi</i>	
84. <i>t'Swy</i> , een Rot	a rat	<i>chwi</i>	
85. <i>Pajam*</i> , een Slang	a snake	<i>päyam/paem</i>	
86. <i>Tootshavi*</i> , een Duivel	a devil	<i>toch'aebi/tokkaebi</i>	
87. <i>Poetsia</i> , een Afgod	an idol	<i>put'yö, put'ye/puch'ö</i>	Buddha
88. <i>Kuym</i> , Goud	gold	<i>küm</i>	
89. <i>Gun</i> , Zilver	silver	<i>ün</i>	
90. <i>Naep</i> , Tin	tin, pewter	<i>nap</i>	lead, solder
91. <i>Jen</i> , Loot	lead	<i>yön</i>	
92. <i>Zooy</i> , Yezr	iron	<i>soe</i>	
93. <i>t'Sybi</i> , een Huis	a house	<i>chip (chibi)</i>	
94. <i>Nara</i> , Land	land, country		
95. <i>Jangsyck</i> , Rys	rice	<i>yangsik</i>	provisions, victuals
96. <i>t'Saet*</i> , een Pot	a pot	?	
97. <i>Saeram</i> , een Mensch	a human being	<i>saräm/saram</i>	
98. <i>Kackxie*</i> , een Vrouw	a woman	<i>kaksi</i>	
99. <i>Ater</i> , een Kind	a child	<i>adäl/adül</i>	son
100. <i>Aickie*</i> , een Jongen	a boy	<i>aegi/agi</i>	baby
101. <i>Boejong</i> , Lynwaet	linen	<i>mumyöng</i>	cotton cloth, cotton
102. <i>Pydaen</i> , Zyde	silk	<i>pidan</i>	
103. <i>Samson*</i> , stoffen	cloth	<i>samsüng</i>	hemp cloth
104. <i>Koo</i> , de Neus	the nose	<i>k'o</i>	
105. <i>Taigwor*</i> , 't Hooft	the head	<i>taegal</i>	
106. <i>Jyp</i> , de Mond	the mouth	<i>ip</i>	
107. <i>Spaem*</i> , de	the cheeks	<i>ppam/ppyam</i>	
108. <i>Doen</i> , de Oogen	the eyes	<i>nun</i>	
109. <i>Pael</i> , de Voeten	the feet	<i>pal</i>	
110. <i>Stock</i> , Brood	bread	<i>ttök</i>	rice-cake
111. <i>Soer</i> , Arack	arrack	<i>sul</i>	rice-wine
112. <i>Podo</i> , Druiven	grapes	<i>p'odo</i>	

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
113. <i>Caem</i> , Orangie Appel	orange	<i>kam</i>	persimmon
114. <i>Goetsio</i> , Peper	pepper	<i>huch'u</i>	
115. <i>Satang</i> , Zuiker	sugar	<i>sadang</i>	
116. <i>Jaeck</i> , Artzeny	medicine	<i>yak</i>	
117. <i>t'So</i> , Edik	vinegar	<i>ch'o</i>	
118. <i>Paemi</i> , de Nacht	the night	<i>pam</i> (<i>pami</i>)	
119. <i>Jangsey*</i> , de Dag	the day	?	
120. <i>More</i> , Morgen	to-morrow		the day after tomorrow
121. <i>Oodsey</i> , Overmorgen	the day after to-morrow	<i>ōje</i>	yesterday
122. <i>Pha</i> , Ajuin	onion	<i>p'a</i>	
123. <i>Mannel</i> , Look	garlic	<i>manäl/manül</i>	
124. <i>Nammer*</i> , Groente	vegetables	<i>namul</i>	
125. <i>Nammo</i> , Hout	wood	<i>namo/namu</i>	
126. <i>Jury</i> , Glass	glass	<i>yuri</i>	
127. <i>Jurymano</i> , Spiegel glas	plate-glass	<i>yuri, mano</i>	glass, agate
128. <i>Poel</i> , Vuur	fire	<i>pul</i>	
	<i>Jurimano</i> , a precious stone, a word also used for 'glass' by them.		
129. <i>Pangamksio*</i>	is the word they use for tobacco and this means 'a herb coming from the south,' since the seed of tobacco seems to have been brought to them from <i>Japan</i> where it was introduced by the Portuguese.		
130. <i>Jangman</i> , Edelman	nobleman	<i>yangban</i>	
131. <i>t'Jangzio</i> , Overste	commander-in-chief	<i>changsu</i>	
<i>Names of the Months</i>			
132. <i>Tiongwor</i> , January	January	<i>chyöngwöl/chöngwöl</i>	
133. <i>Jyewor</i> , February	February	<i>iwöl</i>	
134. <i>Samwor</i> , Maert	March	<i>samwöl</i>	
135. <i>Soowor</i> , April	April	<i>säwöl/sawöl</i>	
136. <i>Ovoor</i> , Mey	May	<i>owöl</i>	
137. <i>Joevoor*</i> , Juny	June	<i>yuwol</i>	
138. <i>t'Syrvoor</i> , July	July	<i>ch'irwöl</i>	
139. <i>Parvoor</i> , Augustus	August	<i>p'arwöl</i>	
140. <i>Koevoor</i> , September	September	<i>kuwöl</i>	
141. <i>Sievoor</i> , October	October	<i>siwöl</i>	
142. <i>Tonsyter</i> , November	November	<i>tongjittäl/tongjittal</i>	
143. <i>Sutter</i> , December	December	<i>söttäl, söttal</i>	

(8) In the Chölla dialect we find *yadal* and, especially in Chölla Namdo, *yadap*.⁹⁹

(10) *yal* instead of *yöl* is—according to Chong & Kim, *Chosön koö pang'ön sajön*—Hamgyöng-do dialect.

(11–20) In all these instances the Korean and Sino-Korean readings of the numbers are combined, e.g. *Jeroptchil* (17) = *nilgop* 닐곱 *ch'il* 七. In the case of *hän il*, *tu i* (not: *tul i*), *yödöl*[*p*] *p'al* and *yöl sip* the meanings of the compounds may refer to the radicals 1, 7, 12 and 24 (一, 二, 八, 十).

23 In Chölla Namdo: *maun*, *mahun*; a pronunciation like *mahän* is very plausible.

29 It is interesting to note that Eibokken does not give the pure Korean words for 100 and 1000 (cf. 38): *on* and *chümün*.

38–46 Eibokken's *oock* (*ök* 億) should have been *man* 萬. Probably he forgot the word *man* or the correct meaning of *ök*. He probably had not had much to do with such large numbers of anything! Nowadays *ök* is 100 million, but formerly it stood for 100.000 (十萬爲億).

(52, 54, 55) We may assume that either Witsen or the printers got the numbers mixed up.

(56) *Jyooock* (*chyo/cho* 兆 or does Eibokken mean 十億?) is nowadays a trillion, but formerly it stood for one million (十億爲兆).

(57) Ikuta (*Chōsen yūshū-ki*, p. 154) obviously assumes a typographical error (*n = u*) here and identifies *pontchaa* (*poutchaa*?) with *poetsia* (87), but then God and idol would be the same. . . . *Ponjon* 本尊 (*satyadevatā*), 'the most honoured of all Buddhas', 'the chief object of worship in a group'¹⁰⁰, seems more probable heré. Phonetically *ponsä/ponsa* 本師 (the original Master or Teacher, i.e. Sākyamuni) seems closer to *pontchaa*, but this term was (and is) hardly used in

⁹⁹Much of my information concerning the Chölla and other dialects I owe to Chöng T'aejin & Kim Pyöngje, *Chosön koö pang'ön sajön*.

¹⁰⁰Cf. *supra*, n. 62.

Korea.

(58) *mol* is Chölla dialect.

(59) Inexplicable. *Moolhoot* could hardly be a typographical error for *moltäl/maltü!*

(61) In Chölla Namdo dialect also: *hanöl* and *hanul*.

(72) *koegi* is Chölla dialect.

(73) *Moet koikie* (*mutkogi*) was a common term in the Yi period, meaning 'meat of land animals (*mut-chimsung*).'¹⁰¹

(79) Modern *twaeji* is probably the result of regressive synharmony: *tot* > *todi* > *toji* > *toeji* > *twaeji* (spelled *toaeji*).¹⁰²

(81) Has the curious word *Koely* been inspired by *kugu*, 'cluck! cluck!', also used when calling chickens to feed them?¹⁰³

(83) Actually *koe* is the word for 'cat' used in Hwanghae-do and Ch'ungch'öng Namdo; in Chölla Namdo (as in Seoul) a cat is called *koengi*.

(85) *päyam* in Middle Korean.

(86) *toch'aebi* is found in the dialects of Chölla and Cheju-do.

(96) Inexplicable.

(98) In Middle Korean *kaksi* was also used in the sense of 'woman', nowadays it only means 'doll' or 'bride.'

(100) *aegi* is a variant of, and Chölla Namdo dialect for *agi*. The reading *aegi* is, of course, also due to regressive synharmony.¹⁰⁴

(103) *samsüng* 三升 is a kind of cotton cloth, according to Gale (*A Korean-English Dictionary*, p. 507) imported from Mongolia; *samsüngp'o* 三升布 = *söksaebe*, 'coarse hemp cloth.'

(105) In Middle Korean *tägori* has the meaning of *mörit'ong*, 'the bulk of one's head.' Cf. Yu Ch'angdon, *Yi-jo ö-sajön*, p. 188. In the modern language *täegari* (*taegal*) is a vulgar word for 'head.'

¹⁰¹Cf. Nam Kwang'u, *Koö sajön*, p. 223.

¹⁰²Cf. Vos, "Historical Survey of Korean Language Studies," p. 20.

¹⁰³Hypothesis of Mr. Kim Ilgün 金一根 (Seoul).

¹⁰⁴Cf. Vos, *loc. cit.*

(107) *ppam* is Middle Korean and still used in the dialects of Chölla-do, Kyöngsang Namdo and Hamgyöng Namdo.

(119) *Jangsey* is inexplicable. In contrast to *pam* one would have expected *nat* (day, daytime) here. The *yang* is probably 陽 as in *t'aevang* 太陽卜 (sun).

(124) In Cheju dialect: *nämäl*.

(128) The correct reading is *nammanch'o*. Hamel writes *Nampancoij*.¹⁰⁵ (137, 141) From his use of *yuwöl* and *siwöl* (instead of *yug'wöl* and *sib'wöl*) we may deduce that Eibokken remembered certain peculiarities of the Korean language very well!

* * * *

From this vocabulary we may draw the following conclusions:

a. It is evident that Master Eibokken lived for many years (1656–1666) in Chölla Namdo (cf. nrs. 8, 58, 72, 86).

b. Several words may be identified as belonging to Middle Korean¹⁰⁶ (cf. nrs. 73, 79, 85, 107).

c. Eibokken must have been able to read, and probably also to write, *han'gül*. From the fact that a word like *ttae* 때 (time) was written as 때 around 1590, as 때 in 1617 and 1632, and afterwards again as 때¹⁰⁷, it becomes clear that the consonant clusters ㅈ and ㅊ were pronounced in the same way—i.e. as *tt*—in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁰⁸ Since Eibokken spells *ppam* (107) and *ttök* (110) as *spaem* and *stock*, he must have known the old spelling of these words. Other evidence of his ability to read (and write?) the Korean alphabet is furnished by his renderings of ㅎ as *hay* (62), ㅅ as *sio* (74), ㅊ as *tiarck* (80), ㅈ as *zooy* (92), and ㅊ as *aickie*.

d. That he had no notes at his disposal, but quoted from memory

¹⁰⁵CA, p. 223; HV, p. 49; RN, p. 341. Cf. *supra*, n. 70.

¹⁰⁶For a definition of Middle Korean (1446–1824) *vide* Seung-bog Cho, *A phonological study of Korean*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Nam Kwang'u, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹⁰⁸See also Cho, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–204, and Kim Hyönggyu, [*Chüngbo*] *Kug'ö-sa yön'gu*, pp. 65–70.

becomes clear from such strange items as *moolhoot* (59), *koely* (81), *yangsey* (119) as well as from his wrong translations of *more* (120) and *odsey* (121).

It is remarkable and regrettable that Eibokken's early contributions to Korean studies, and especially his pioneer vocabulary, have not attracted more attention in the scholarly world, but this is probably due to the fact that Witsen's work appeared only in Dutch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbreviations: *CA* = Churchill, *Account* (see *An Account of the shipwreck*, etc.) -as reprinted in *LD*, pp. 169-226.
HV = Hoetink, *Verhaal* (*vide Hoetink*).
LD = Ledyard, *The Dutch Come to Korea*.
RN = *Relation Du naufrage d'un Vaisseau Holandois*-as reproduced in *YH*.
TKBRAS = *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
WNOT = Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*.
YH = Yi Pyöngdo, *Hamel p'yöryu-gi*.
- Aa, A.J. van der, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, etc., Vol. XX, Haarlem 1877.
- An Account of the shipwreck of a Dutch vessel on the coast of the isle of Quelpaert, Together with the description of the Kingdom of Corea (A collection of Voyages and Travels IV by John Churchill*, London 1704, reprinted in *LD*.
- Bacon, Wilbur, "Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens," *TKBRAS* XXXIII (1957), pp. 1-40.
- Boots, John L., "Korean Weapons & Armor," *TKBRAS* XXIII, Part II (1934), pp. 1-37.
- Cho, Seung-bog, *A phonological study of Korean. With a historical analysis*, Uppsala, 1967.
- Chöng T'aejin 丁泰鎮 & Kim Pyöngje 金炳濟, *Chosön koö pang'ön sajön*, Seoul: Ilsöngdang söjöm, 1948.
- Churchill, John, see *An Account*, etc.
- Gale, James Scarth, *A Korean-English Dictionary*, Yokohama: The Fukuin Printing Co., Ltd. 1912.
- Henthorn, William Ellsworth, *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*, Leiden, 1963.
- Hoetink, B. (ed.), *Verhaal van het Vergaan van het Jacht De Sperwer en van het Wedervaren der Schipbreukelingen op het Eiland Quelpaert en het Vasteland van Korea (1653-1666) met Eene Beschrijving. vandat Rijk door Hendrik Hamel (Werken Uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging XVIII)*, Gravenhage, 1920.
- Ichihara, M., "Coinage of Old Korea," *TKBRAS* IV, Part II, pp. 45-74.
- Ikuta Shigeru 生田滋, *Chösen yüshü-ki* 朝鮮幽囚記 (*Töyö bunko* 132), Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969.
- Joe, Wanne J., *Traditional Korea: A Cultural History*, Seoul: Chung'ang University Press, 1972.
- Jones, G.H., "Korea's Colossal Image of Buddha," *TKBRAS* I (1900), pp. 57-70.

- Kim Hyönggyu 金亨奎, [Chüngbo] *Kug'ö-sa yön'gu*, Seoul: Ilchogak 1969.
- Kim So-un, *The Story Bag: A Collection of Korean Folk Tales*, Rutland Vermont/Tokyo, 1960.
- Kim Tong'uk 金東旭, *Ch'unhyang chön yön'gu*, Seoul: Yönsé taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1965.
- Koons, E.W., "Beacon-Fires of Old Korea," *TKBRAS*, XVI (1925), pp. 46-52.
- Krieg, Claus W., *Chinesische Mythen und Legenden*, Zurich, 1946.
- Ledyard, Gari, *The Dutch Come to Korea*, (Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, *Monograph Series* No. 3), Seoul, 1971.
- Lee Kwang-rin, "Census-taking in the Yi Dynasty," *TKBRAS*, XXXV(1959), pp. 31-50.
- Lee, Peter H., *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes* (The Association for Asian Studies: *Monographs and Papers*, No. XVI), Tucson, Ariconá 1965.
- Leupe, P.A., *Reize van Maarten Gerritsz. Vries in 1643 naar het Noorden en Oosten van Japan*, etc., Amsterdam, 1858.
- Lübke, Anton, *Der Himmel der Chinesen*, Leipzig, 1931.
- McCune, George, "The Japanese Trading Post at Pusan," *Korean Review* I, 1 (Washington, D.C. 1948), pp. 11-15.
- McGovern, W.M., *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, Vol. I: *Cosmology*, London-New York, 1923.
- Middleton, Dorothy H., "Hyon Chung Sa: Shrine to Yi Sun Sin," *AWC Journal* X, 4 (Seoul, March-April 1973), pp. 26-29.
- Mills, Edwin W., "Gold Mining in Korea," *TKBRAS*, VII, Part I (1916), pp. 5-39.
- Murphy, Sunny, "Yi Sun Sin: Admiral of the Eastern Sea," *AWC Journal* X, 4 (Seoul, March-April 1973), pp. 12-20.
- Nakamura Hidetaka 中村榮孝, *Nihon to Chōsen (Nihon rekishi shinshō)*, Tokyo: Shibundō, 1966.
- Nam Kwang'u 南廣祐 *Koö sajön*, Seoul: Tong'a ch'ulp'ansa, 1960.
- Park Yune-hee, *Admiral Yi Sun-shin and his Turtleboat Armada*, Seoul: Shinsaeng Press, 1973.
- Pernitzsch, G.M., *Die Religionen Chinas*, Berlin, 1940.
- Relation Du naufrage d'un Vaisseau Hollandois, Sur la Cote de l'Isle de Quelpaerts: Avec la description du Royaume de Corée (Recueil de voyages au nord, etc., Nouvelle Edition IV)*, Amsterdam 1732, reproduced in *YH*.
- Sohn, Pow-key, Kim, Chol-choon & Hong, Yi-sup, *The History of Korea*, Seoul: National Commission for UNESCO, 1970.
- Soothill, William Edward, and Hodous, Lewis, *A Dictionary of Chinese with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index*, Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1970.

- Son Chint'ae 孫晉泰, *Chosŏn minjok sŏrhwa-ŭi yŏn'gu* (*Chŏsŏn munhwa ch'ongsŏ* I), Seoul: Ŭryu munhwasa, 1950.
- Son Chint'ae, *Chŏsen no minwa* (*Minzoku mingei sŏsho* 10), Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1956.
- Underwood, Horace H., "Korean Boats and Ships," *TKBRAS*, XXIII, Part II (1934), pp. 1-99.
- Underwood, Horace H., "The Turtle Boat of Yi Sun Sin," *AWC Journal* X, 4 (Seoul, March-April 1973), pp. 21-25.
- Viessman, Warren, "Ondol-Radiant Heat in Korea," *TKBRAS*, XXXI (1948-9), pp. 9-22.
- Vos, Frits, "Historical Survey of Korean Language Studies," *Papers of the CIC Far Eastern Language Institute*, The University of Michigan 1963, Ann Arbor, 1964, pp. 11-21.
- Witsen, Nicolaas, *Noord en Cost Tartaryen: Behelzende eene Beschrijving van Verscheidene Tartersche en Nabuurige Gewesten in de Noorder en Oostelykste Deelen van Aziën en Europa*, Amsterdam, 1705.
- Yi Inyŏng 李仁營, "Nambanjin Boku En kō," *Keijō teikoku daigaku shigaku kaihō* 7 (May 1935), pp. 35-43.
- Yi Pyŏngdo 李丙燾, *Hamel p'yŏryu-gi*, Seoul: Ilchogak, 1954.
- Yi Kyu-tae, *Modern Transformation of Korea*, Seoul: Sejong Publishing Co., 1970.
- Yu Ch'angdon 劉昌惇, *Yi-jo ō-sajŏn*, Seoul: Yŏnse taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1964.
- Zong In-sob, *Folk Tales from Korea*, London, 1952.

The Sacrifice to Confucius in Korea and Its Music

Robert C. Provine, Jr.

Photographs by Jean W. Provine and the author

INTRODUCTION

In 1967, a group of musicians from Korea's National Classical Music Institute took their instruments to Taiwan and performed, among other things, the music for the semi-annual Sacrifice to Confucius as it is currently celebrated in Korea. Chinese musicians and scholars were deeply impressed with the stately antiquity of the music, dance, and instruments, and the Koreans' performance was an important factor in the Chinese decision to research, revise, and renovate the music for their own Sacrifice to Confucius. The reconstructed music, as performed in a 1968 Sacrifice held in Taipei, was a convincing achievement.

In 1973, another group of musicians from the National Classical Music Institute took the Confucian music on their tour of Europe, and the music again made a lasting impression. Interestingly enough, this deliberate music played on bronze bells, stone chimes, flutes, and drums was particularly admired by German *avant-garde* composers; that is, musicians concerned with creating music of the future.

As usual, the Koreans themselves take a here-and-now view of this remarkable music which sounds to the outside world both ancient and futuristic. Ever practical, the Koreans address this music to the benefit and fulfillment of living persons, as well as to the ageless spirits of Confucian sages from bygone eras.

In traditional Korea, sacrifices to Confucius were performed on several scales, corresponding to social levels, from the royal court down to the countryside. The ceremony at the royal level was, of course, the most elaborate and highly considered, and this is the ceremony which survives today as a semi-annual event at the shrine called *Munmyo* 文廟 in Seoul. This article is concerned primarily with the *Munmyo* ceremony and examines the music and some ritual context, excluding more complex questions of Confucian philosophy, details of sacrificial offerings and ritual procedure, and celebrants' duties.¹

SACRIFICIAL RITES IN YI DYNASTY KOREA

Chinese Confucian philosophy traditionally juxtaposes the concepts of *li* 禮 (Korean *ye*), proper ritual behavior, and *yüeh* 樂 (Korean *ak*), music. This pair of concepts was embraced by Korean Confucianism, but ritual behavior almost always received the greater attention in philosophical tracts, music being taken for granted, even if indispensable.

In the royal court of the Yi dynasty (1392–1896) there were five broad categories of rites, based on Korea's position in the Confucian hierarchy as a vassal kingdom under the Chinese empire. The five were:

1. *Killye* 吉禮, "Auspicious Rites"
2. *Karye* 嘉禮, "Congratulatory Rites" (for high appointments, royal weddings, etc.)
3. *Hyungnye* 凶禮, "Mourning Rites"
4. *Pillye* 賓禮, "Guest Rites" (for state guests)
5. *Kullye* 軍禮, "Military Rites"

1. Much of this information will be found in Spencer Palmer's forthcoming work on Confucian rituals in East Asia.

The *Killye*, "Auspicious Rites," are more descriptively termed "sacrificial rites." While westerners tend to think of sacrifices as being for ill purposes (such as sacrifices to the devil or sacrifices of a virgin), a sacrificial rite in Korea is a happy, auspicious event addressed to a benevolent spirit. This is evidenced, for example, by the collection of spirit tablets at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (*Chongmyo* 宗廟), where sacrifices are held to honor the line of Yi dynasty royal ancestry: tablets for the two notoriously evil monarchs, Yŏnsan-kun 燕山君 (1494–1506) and Kwanghae-kun 光海君 (1608–1623), are conspicuously absent.

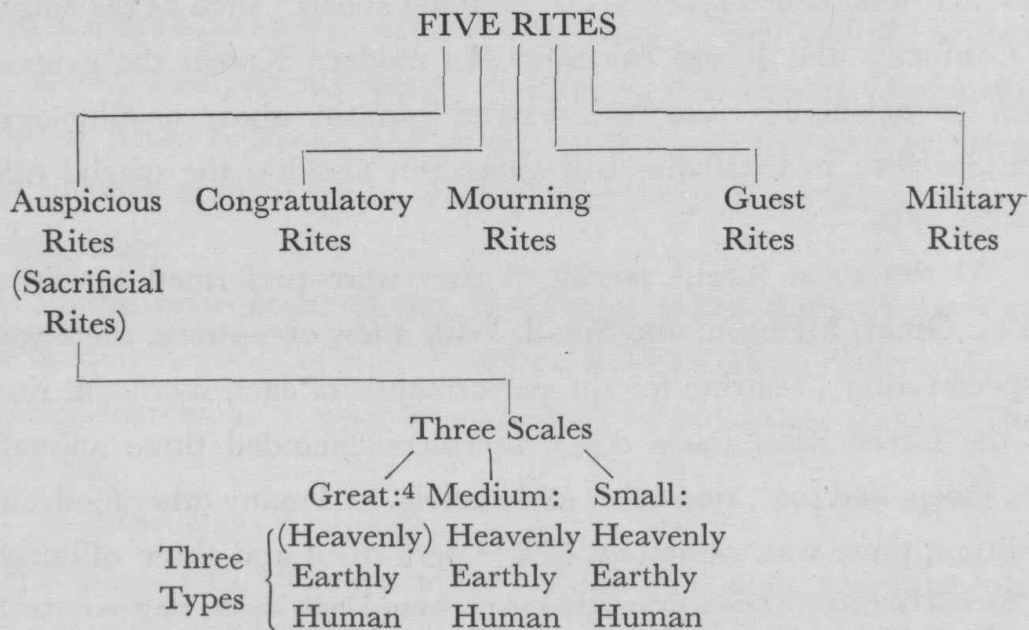
The set of sacrificial rites was categorized according to the type of spirit honored: sacrifices (called *sa* 祀) to "heavenly spirits" such as the spirits of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, and Rain; sacrifices (called *che* 祭) to "earthly spirits" such as the spirits of Land and Grain; and sacrifices (called *hyang* 享) to "human spirits" such as the spirits of Confucius and Royal Ancestors. In modern Korea, the general term for sacrifices is *chesa* 祭祀, derived from the above terminology. The Sacrifice to Confucius is a *hyang*, but also has the special title *Sŏkchŏn* 釋奠.

At the royal level,² sacrificial rites were performed on three scales: Great, Medium, and Small. With a few exceptions, there was a special altar or shrine for the performance of each sacrificial rite. In the Great Rites (*taesa* 大祀), sacrifices included three animals (ox, sheep, and pig), rice-cakes of six colors, and many other foods; in addition, there was music (*aak* 雅樂)³ performed and three offerings

2. Sacrificial rites of various sorts were also performed individually by government office holders and even commoners. We are concerned here only with the rites performed by the king or his proxy.
3. Korean music is traditionally divided into three categories: 1) *aak* 雅樂 ("elegant music"), ritual music of Chinese origin, presumably played in Chinese style; 2) *tangak* 唐樂 ("music of T'ang"), ceremonial music of Chinese origin (not limited to T'ang dynasty) played in a heavily Koreanized style; and 3) *hyangak* 鄉樂 ("indigenous music"), music of purely Korean origin. The modern court music repertory is much diminished: there are only two short pieces of *aak*

of wine presented. An example of a Great Rite was that to the spirits of Land and Grain (*Sajik* 社稷), performed three times a year. The Medium Rites (*chungsa* 中祀) used two sacrificial animals (sheep and pig), rice-cakes of two colors, and smaller amounts of other sacrificial food than the Great Rites; but still there was music (*aak*) performed and three offerings of wine presented. An example of a Medium Rite was that to the spirit of Sericulture (*Sŏnjam* 先蠶), performed once a year. Numerically, about half the sacrificial rites were Small Rites (*sosa* 小祀), which used only a single sacrificial animal (pig) and no rice-cakes; music was rarely used, and there were variously one or three offerings of wine presented. An example of a Small Rite was that to Famous Mountains and Great Streams (*Myŏngsan taech'ŏn* 名山大川), performed twice a year.

Chart I



surviving, those used in the Sacrifice to Confucius; similarly, there are only two pieces of *tangak* (*Pohŏja* 步虛子 and *Nagyangch'un* 洛陽春), historically traceable to the Sung dynasty (960–1279). All the rest is *hyangak*. In this article we are concerned with only the *aak* category.

4. A Great Rite to heavenly spirits was performed in Korea in the Koryŏ dynasty and early in the Yi dynasty, at an altar called *Wŏn'gu-tan* 園丘壇. But King Sejong (ruled 1418–1450) abolished the rite on the grounds that it was appro-

Names and descriptions of the various sacrificial rites are to be found, with minor variations, in many Yi dynasty sources from the *History of Koryŏ* (*Koryŏ-sa* 高麗史, 1451) through the great Korean encyclopedia, *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo* 補增文獻備考 (final version, 1908). The list of Great and Medium Rites in Chart II is taken from the legal codes of the early Yi dynasty, *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典 (1469); with the exception of *Yŏktae sijo*, which lacked music, these are the sacrificial rites which were musically significant.

Chart II

Rite	Spirits	Type
Great:		
<i>Chongmyo</i> 宗廟	Primary Royal Ancestors	Human
<i>Yŏngnyŏng-chŏn</i> 永寧殿	Secondary Royal Ancestors	Human
<i>Sajik</i> 社稷	Land and Grain	Earthly
Medium:		
<i>P'ungunnoeu</i> 風雲雷雨	Wind, Clouds, Thunder, and Rain	Heavenly
<i>Anhaedok</i> 岳海瀆	Mountains and Streams	Earthly
<i>Sŏnnong</i> 先農	Agriculture	Human
<i>Sŏnjam</i> 先蠶	Sericulture	Human
<i>Usa</i> 雩祀	Rain	Heavenly
<i>Sŏkchŏn</i> 釋奠	Confucius	Human
<i>Yŏktae sijo</i> 曆代始祖	(Korean) Dynastic Founders	Human

With the demise of the Yi dynasty and Korean Empire (1897–1910) came the abolishment of most of the sacrificial rites; by 1908, all except those for Royal Ancestors and Confucius had been discontinued. With some interruptions and alterations, these two ceremonies have continued to the present. Only four of the original altars and shrines remain in Seoul today: the Royal Ancestral Shrine (*Chongmyo* 宗廟), Confucian Shrine (*Munmyo* 文廟), Altar of the Spirits of

priate for performance only by the Son of Heaven (=Chinese emperor), and not by a vassal state. When the brief Korean Empire (1897–1910) was established, the *Wŏn'gu* sacrifice was reinstated as one of the symbolic trappings of an empire.

Land and Grain (*Sajik-tan* 社稷壇), and the Altar of the Spirit of Agriculture (*Sönnong-tan* 先農壇).

MUSIC IN THE RITUAL STRUCTURE

In the Yi period, music (*aak*) was performed during all important sections of a Great or Medium sacrificial rite, according to the following general program:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Yöngsin</i> 迎神 | “Welcoming the Spirits” |
| 2. <i>Kwanse</i> 盥洗 | “Cleansing the Hands” |
| 3. <i>Süngjön</i> 升殿 | “Ascending into the Shrine” |
| 4. <i>Chönp’ye</i> 奠幣 | “Offering of Tribute” |
| 5. <i>Chinch’an</i> 進饌 | “Offering of Sacrificial Food” |
| 6. <i>Ch’ohön</i> 初獻 | “First Wine Offering” |
| 7. <i>Ahön</i> 亞獻 | “Middle Wine Offering” |
| 8. <i>Chonghön</i> 終獻 | “Final Wine Offering” |
| 9. <i>Ch’ölbyöndu</i> 徹籩豆 | “Removing the Vessels” |
| 10. <i>Songsin</i> 送神 | “Ushering Out the Spirits” |

In fact, the same pieces of music were performed for all the various sacrificial rites which used music, but in transpositions and arrangements selected specifically for the individual rites. The selection was made according to schemes prescribed by a Chinese classic, the *Rituals of Chou* (*Chou Li* 周禮, ca. fourth century B.C.). First, there were three ways to perform the music for the initial and final sections (“Welcoming the Spirits” and “Ushering Out the Spirits”), corresponding to whether the ceremony honored heavenly, earthly, or human spirits. Second, the intervening sections (numbers 2–9, above) were to be performed in two alternating musical keys chosen from the six pairs available from the twelve different pitches in an octave. The *Chou li* prescribes this second selection as follows:⁵

5. For convenience, this article takes *hwangjong* 黃鍾 to be the pitch C.

‘‘Play C and sing C# . . . to sacrifice to heavenly spirits.
 Play D and sing B . . . to sacrifice to earthly spirits.
 Play E and sing A . . . to sacrifice to the four directions.
 Play F# and sing G . . . to sacrifice to mountains and rivers.
 Play G# and sing F . . . to sacrifice to deceased mothers.
 Play A# and sing D# . . . to sacrifice to ancestors.’’⁶

Interpretation of the Chinese classics has always generated considerable controversy, and this matter of pitch selection was no exception. Nevertheless, the basic concept of the two-part selection process was clear enough, and the Koreans made a sincere effort to abide by the ancient precepts. The famous music theorist Pak Yŏn 朴堧 (1378–1458), for example, came to grips with this very problem in one of his many memorials to King Sejong 世宗 (ruled 1418–1450): the music for ‘‘Welcoming the Spirits’’ and ‘‘Ushering Out the Spirits’’ in the Sacrifice to Confucius had traditionally been performed in the proper set of keys, but the use of E and A in the intervening sections was puzzling. E and A belonged to the four directions (see above quotation), and their appropriateness for the Sacrifice to Confucius was not readily evident. Pak Yŏn reconciled the anomaly by observing that Confucius had dwelled in a distant land and that the keys of the four directions might thus be considered appropriate. The same set of keys is still used today at the Sacrifice to Confucius.

Parenthetically, the Sacrifice to Royal Ancestors at the *Chongmyo* was, after the mid-fifteenth century, a lone exception to the above musical scheme. During the reign of King Sejong, the *Chongmyo* ceremony had used standard *aak* in the same manner as the other sacrificial rites; but King Sejo 世祖 (ruled 1455–1468) rearranged some *hyangak* 鄉樂⁷ (supposedly written by Sejong himself) and used it for the *Chongmyo* ceremony. This is the music which survives today, performed in the annual ceremony.

6. *Chou Li*, Spring Officials, *Ta-ssü-yüeh* 春官大司樂.

7. See footnote 3.

THE MODERN SACRIFICE TO CONFUCIUS

Before examining the music in more detail, it is necessary to survey its ritual and physical context. The title "Sacrifice to Confucius" is in fact a partial misnomer: it would be more accurate to call it a "Sacrifice to Confucian Sages," since the ceremony presently serves thirty-nine different human spirits. The ceremonial focus, of course, is on Confucius and four primary disciples: Yen Hui 顏回, Tseng Tzu 曾子, Tzu Szu 子思, and Mencius 孟子. Confucius' spirit tablet rests on an oversized chair in the center of the shrine building and faces south, while the tablets for the four disciples face east and west, placed in pairs on Confucius' left and right. Behind the disciples are ten philosophers of ancient China, six Chinese sages of the Sung dynasty, and eighteen canonized Korean sages. The current arrangement of the thirty-nine spirit tablets in the main shrine building is shown in Chart III.

Until recently, the father of Confucius, the fathers of the four disciples, and ninety-four additional Chinese sages were also honored, in separate buildings, for a grand total of 138 spirits. In 1949, four Sung sages, the ten philosophers, five fathers, and ninety-four Chinese sages were removed from their positions. But in 1952, the four Sung sages and ten philosophers were reinstated, the ritual also undergoing some renovation.

The ceremony is performed twice yearly, according to a scheme based on the sexagenary cycle of the East Asian lunar calendar. The ceremonial days are in the second and eighth lunar months, in each case on the first day using the cyclical character *chōng* 丁.

The National Confucian Academy (*Sōnggyun-kwan* 成均館), which included the compound of the shrine buildings, was first

Chart III

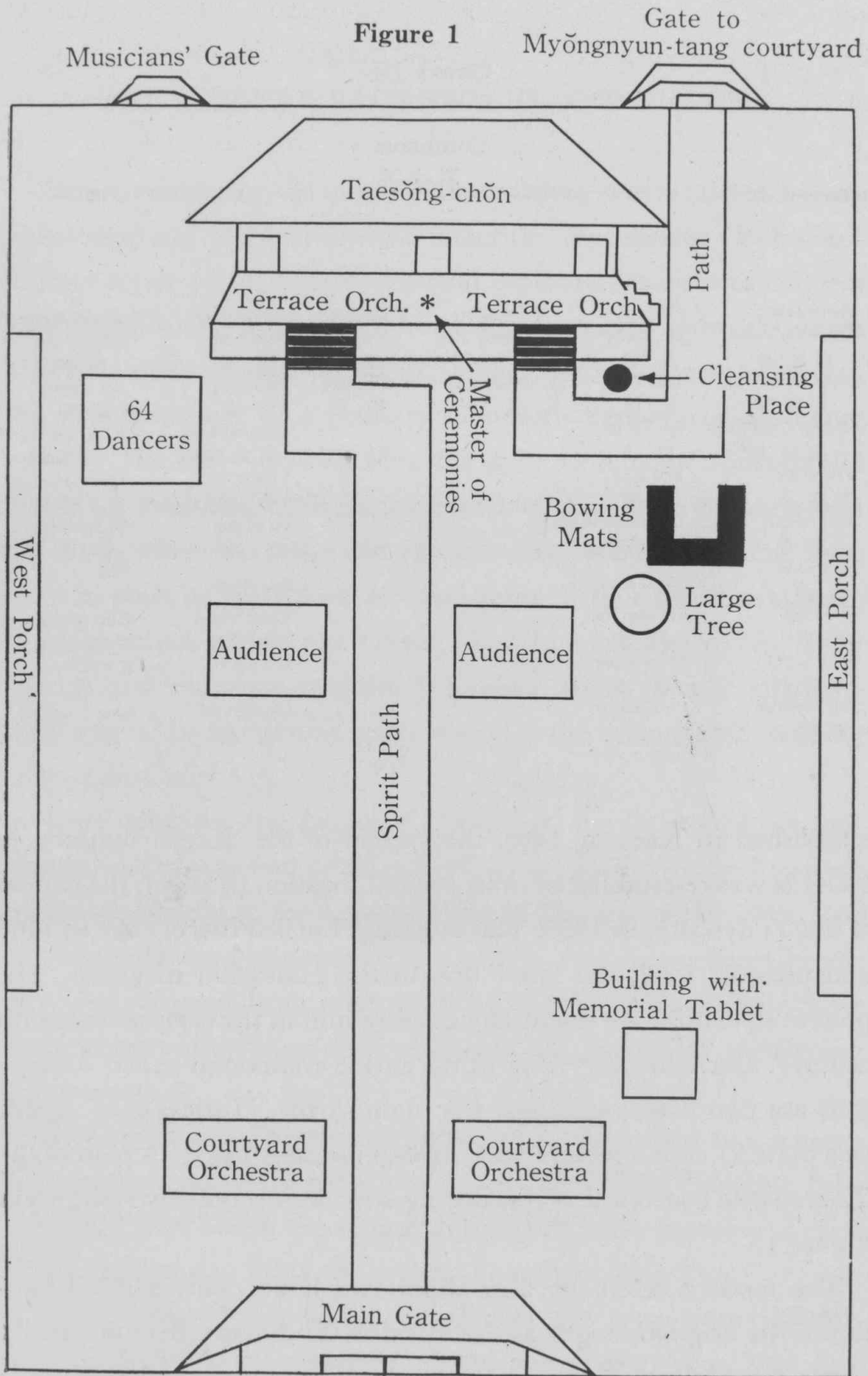
Confucius
孔夫子

9 Korean Sages:	5 Philosophers:	2 Disciples:	2 Disciples:	5 Philosophers:	9 Korean Sages:
Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn 崔致遠	Jan Keng 冉耕	Tseng Tzu 曾子	Yen Hui 顏回	Min Sun 閔損	Sŏl Ch'ong 薛聰
Chŏng Mong-ju 鄭夢周	Tsai Yü 宰予	Mencius 孟子	Tzu Szu 子思	Jan Yung 冉雍	An Hyang 安珣
Chŏng Yŏ-ch'ang 鄭汝昌	Jan Ch'iu 冉求			Tuan Mu-ssu 端木賜	Kim Koeng-p'il 金宏弼
Yi Ŏn-jök 李彦迪	Yen Yen 言偃			Chung Yu 仲由	Cho Kwang-jo 趙光祖
Kim In-hu 金麟厚	Chuan Sun-shih 顓孫師			Pu Shang 卜商	Yi Hwang 李滉
Sŏng Hon 成渾	3 Sung Sages:			3 Sung Sages:	Yi I 李珥
Cho Hŏn 趙憲	Ch'eng Hao 程顥			Chou Tun-i 周惇頤	Kim Chang-saeng 金長生
Song Si-yŏl 宋時烈	Shao Yung 邵雍			Ch'eng I 程頤	Kim Chip 金集
Pak Se-ch'ae 朴世采	Chu Hsi 朱熹			Chang Tsai 張載	Song Chun-gil 宋浚吉

established in Kaesŏng 開城, the capital of the Koryŏ dynasty, in 1304. It was re-established in its present location in Seoul, the capital of the Yi dynasty, in 1398. The buildings burned twice, once in 1400 and once in 1592, the latter due to the Hideyoshi invasions. The present structures are essentially those rebuilt in the early seventeenth century. Currently surviving in the shrine compound called *Munmyo* 文廟 are two basic buildings: the main shrine, *Taesŏng-chŏn* 大成殿 (see plate 2), and a lecture hall, *Myŏngnyun-tang* 明倫堂. A plan of the *Taesŏng-chŏn* courtyard as it is during a modern ceremony is shown in Figure 1.

The modern ceremony lasts about two hours, only a small fraction of its original length as described in Yi dynasty documents. At about ten o'clock in the morning, the participants and celebrants

Figure 1



enter the *Taesŏng-chŏn* courtyard via a gate from the *Myŏngnyun-tang* area; the celebrants make four bows, there is a salute to the Republic of Korea flag, and the musicians and dancers enter from a different gate and take their places. Not long after, the massive doors of the main gate are swung open, with tremendous creaking sounds, and the doors to the shrine building itself are opened. Some celebrants enter the building to make final preparations, and at about 10:30, the ceremony proper begins, with the section "Welcoming the Spirits." The basic program is like that described above (page 48) for a typical Yi dynasty sacrificial rite, but in the course of abbreviation, the *Kwanse*, *Sŭngjŏn*, *Chŏnp'ye*, and *Chinch'an* sections have been severely abridged, so that only a single section, called *Chŏnp'ye*, remains in the modern program: the several actions are still carried out, in a much condensed form. The resultant program is as follows:

1. *Yŏngsin* ("Welcoming the Spirits"): The honored spirits are welcomed via the main gate and spirit path.

2. *Chŏnp'ye* ("Offering of Tribute"): Offerings of tribute (especially silk) and sacrificial food are presented to the spirits of Confucius and the four disciples; the spirits are thought to sample the essence of each offering.

3. *Ch'ohŏn* ("First Wine Offering"): A first offering of wine is presented to Confucius and the four disciples.

4. *Ahŏn* ("Middle Wine Offering"): A second offering of wine is presented to Confucius and the four disciples.

5. *Chonghŏn* ("Final Wine Offering"): A third and final offering of wine is presented to Confucius and the four disciples. When this action is finished, a single offering of wine is presented to the other thirty-four spirits honored in the ceremony; this is the only time those other spirits are specifically acknowledged.

6. *Ch'ŏlbyŏndu* ("Removing the Vessels"): The vessels of tribute

and food are moved back away from the spirit tablets.

7. *Songsin* (“Ushering Out the Spirits”): The honored spirits depart, down the spirit path and out the main gate. This section concludes the ceremony.

All the actions of the celebrants are carried out inside the main shrine building, out of view of the audience, so that in fact the only outward manifestations of the above sections are the loud pronouncements of the master of ceremonies and the sectionalization of the musical performances and dancing.

HISTORY OF THE MUSIC

Several Korean historical sources report that the Chinese emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 bestowed *aak* instruments on Korea in the year 1116. Presumably, appropriate music was brought to Korea at the same time, but the sources are not specific on this point. These instruments were superb in sound and exquisite in construction. When the Red Turbans invaded Koryŏ and captured the capital Kaesŏng in 1361, almost all the instruments were destroyed; however, some old musicians tried to preserve the sets of bells and chimes (see plates 7 and 8) by throwing them into a pond. In 1368, Emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 bestowed replacement instruments, but their construction was coarse and the sounds ugly. Furthermore, mistakes and additions had, over the course of centuries, crept into the music, and it was impossible to correct the *aak* which was in living tradition at the end of Koryŏ and the beginning of Yi.

The fourth monarch of the Yi dynasty, King Sejong (ruled 1418–1450), was deeply concerned with the deterioration of ceremonial music and commanded his officials to rectify the situation. The officials investigated authoritative Chinese writings on music, searching for the proper instrumentation, instrument construction, and musical

structure. Sejong sent a musician to see how China herself was taking care of *aak*, but the man reported back that even China's music was erroneous, popularized, and contrary to ancient precepts.

Unable either to rely on the current practices of China or to correct the music passed down in Korea, Sejong had to re-create suitable music, based entirely on deductions made from written sources. For instruments and their construction, Sung dynasty writers such as Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Ch'en Yang 陳暘 (fl. ca. 1100) were taken as authority, and the Koreans made many new instruments. As indicated above, musical theory was based, at least in part, on ancient classics such as the *Chou Li*.

Given instruments and authoritative music theory, the Koreans next had to find a source of ritual melodies which could be prepared for use as *aak*. The source selected was the *Ta-sheng yüeh-p'u* 大晟樂譜 (*Music for the Confucian Shrine*), written by a Chinese named Lin Yü 林宇 in 1349. This book contained, among other things, sixteen melodies with texts for the Sacrifice to Confucius. In 1430, twelve of the tunes were revised and codified as music to be used in the various sacrificial rites (not just the one for Confucius); independent texts appropriate to the various rites were set to the same melodies. The revised versions were published as an appendix to the *Annals* (*Sillok* 實錄) of King Sejong, along with a copy of the melodies as they originally appeared in the *Ta-sheng yüeh-p'u* (see plate 1). As it happens, all traces of the *Ta-sheng yüeh-p'u* have vanished in China itself, so this Korean copy is the unique surviving source of these melodies.

It must be strongly emphasized here that the music used in Korean sacrificial rites was a Korean re-creation, based on written sources, and not music brought from China in a living, oral tradition. The Koreans recognized the fact that the authentic tradition of Chinese *aak* had been lost, never to be recovered. Rather than give

up the project, however, they re-created some music which bore at least technical similarity to the ancient music and hence might be appropriate for use in sacrificial rites.

This suggests a practicality on the part of the Koreans, a trait often mentioned even today as distinguishing them from their East Asian neighbors. Practicality and utility go very deep in Korean music and are two of its most essential features. Performance of music for the Sacrifice to Confucius, for example, has changed a great deal since its inception, alterations frequently being made to suit real situations and problems. If this music were ever to become fixed and invariable, it would be a fossilized museum piece, having lost the very characteristics which most keep it alive in Korean musical tradition. This variability, of course, can be highly frustrating to scholars who prefer neat consistency and who often mistake Korean flexibility for carelessness.

The history of the orchestra on the terrace of the shrine building (see plate 2) is a case in point. According to Chinese theoretical sources, only singers and string instruments should be used in the terrace orchestra. It was found, however, in the Sejong period, that the string instruments were not loud enough for the singers to hear, so that they all sang off pitch. The Koreans effected a most practical solution: they incorporated a set each of bells and chimes in the orchestra, since these instruments gave out loud, unmistakable pitches. As time went by, wind and percussion instruments were also added. After the Hideyoshi invasions of the late sixteenth century, the number of instruments was greatly reduced, though the essential format was maintained. Since then, the traditions of both singers and string instruments have been lost, so that in fact, neither of the original two essential components of the orchestra remain. Some changes continue even today, and in the most recent performances, the musicians have again begun playing string instruments in the

terrace orchestra.

Whatever changes may have occurred in composition of the orchestras, the melodies themselves seem to have survived in an oral tradition ever since their inception in 1430.

INSTRUMENTS IN THE ORCHESTRAS

There are two orchestras, one (*tŭngga* 登歌) located on the elevated stone terrace of the shrine building (plate 2), and one (*hŏn'ga* 軒架) located in the courtyard just in front of the main gate (plates 5 and 6). They correspond, respectively, to the principles *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 in Chinese cosmology. Each orchestra has a leader who plays the wooden clappers *pak* (plate 10), and each is divided into two parts: the courtyard orchestra is divided in half by the spirit path; and the terrace orchestra is similarly in halves, located at either end of the stone terrace (see Figure 1 above). Chart IV shows the instrumentation and arrangements of the two orchestras as they have appeared in recent ceremonies.

Chart IV

a) Terrace Orchestra

			拍 <i>pak</i>			
	琴 <i>kŭm</i>				瑟 <i>sŭl</i>	
敌 <i>ŏ</i>	編磬 <i>p'yŏn'gyŏng</i>	特磬 <i>t'ŭkkyŏng</i>	祝 <i>ch'uk</i>	節鼓 <i>chŏlgo</i>	特鐘 <i>t'ŭkchong</i>	編鐘 <i>p'yŏnjong</i>
	遂 <i>chŏk</i>	簫 <i>yak</i>	埴 <i>hun</i>	簫 <i>so</i>	篴 <i>chi</i>	篴 <i>chi</i>

b) Courtyard Orchestra

					路鼗 <i>nodo</i>	
晋鼓 <i>chin'go</i>	編鐘 <i>p'yŏnjong</i>	缶 <i>pu</i>	敌 <i>ŏ</i>	祝 <i>ch'uk</i>	編磬 <i>p'yŏn'gyŏng</i>	路鼓 <i>nogo</i>
遂 <i>chok</i>	簫 <i>yak</i>	埴 <i>hun</i>	拍 <i>pak</i>	篴 <i>chi</i>	篴 <i>chi</i>	篴 <i>chi</i>

Traditionally, the various instruments are categorized by construction material, as follows:

1. Metal:

a) *t'ŭkchong* 特鐘: a single bell with the sole function of starting pieces played in the terrace orchestra.

b) *p'yŏnjong* 編鐘: a set of sixteen bronze bells (plate 7).

2. Stone:

a) *t'ŭkkyŏng* 特磬: a single stone chime, used only for stopping pieces in the terrace orchestra.

b) *p'yŏn'gyŏng* 編磬: a set of sixteen stone chimes (plate 8).

3. Silk:

a) *kŭm* 琴: seven-string zither.

b) *sŭl* 瑟: twenty-five-string zither.

4. Bamboo:

a) *chi* 簾: transverse flute with raised mouthpiece and five fingerholes.

b) *yak* 簫: vertical flute with three fingerholes (plate 15).

c) *chŏk* 簫: vertical flute with six fingerholes (plate 15).

d) *so* 簫: a set of sixteen pan-pipes.

5. Clay:

a) *hun* 埙: globular flute (plate 15).

b) *pu* 缶: large bowl, played with split bamboo (plate 14).

6. Leather:

a) *chŏlgo* 節鼓: medium-sized barrel drum.

b) *chin'go* 晉鼓: large barrel drum (plate 9).

c) *nogo* 路鼓: pair of long barrel drums in a wooden frame (plate 6, left).

d) *nodo* 路鼓: pair of small drums held on a stick and shaken by the player (plate 11).

7. Wood:

a) *pak* 拍: six small wooden slabs strung together; director's

instrument (plate 10).

b) *ch'uk* 祝: wooden box played with a mallet through a hole in the top (plate 12).

c) ǒ 敵: sitting tiger, scraped with split bamboo (plate 13).

DANCE

According to the Chinese sources, an empire (that is, China) should have sixty-four dancers in sacrificial rites, arranged in a square formation, eight rows of eight each. Vassal kingdoms like Korea should have thirty-six dancers, in six rows of six, and indeed this was the number used throughout the Yi dynasty. But Korea had, from 1897 to 1910, a short-lived period as an empire, and the number of dancers was appropriately increased to sixty-four, the number still used today. Recently, the dancers have been students of the High School of Traditional Music (*Kugak kodŭng hakkyo* 國樂高等學校).

There are two types of dance, civil (*munmu* 文舞) and military (*mumu* 武舞), both of which consist of stately arm motions, bowing, turning, and posturing, with little foot motion: the position of the dancers remains stationary. Each of the slow basic movements corresponds to a single note of music, and the dance pattern repeats with every four notes of music. There is one version of the civil dance and two slightly differing versions of the military dance.

The costumes and properties for the two dances are somewhat different. For the civil dance (plate 16), a black hat is worn, a flute (*yak* 簫) is held in the left hand, and a dragon's head (*ch'ok* 翟) (plate 17) is held in the right. A red hat is worn for the military dance, and the dancer holds a small shield (*kan* 干) in his left hand and a small battleaxe (*ch'ok* 戚) (plate 18) in his right. At one point in the military dance pattern, the shield and battle-axe are struck together, making a tremendous clacking sound.

MUSICAL PROGRAM

The two orchestras take turns in performing pieces and alternate between *yin* and *yang* keys (see page 57 above). The music is, in practice, absolutely subservient to the ritual procedure: when a ritual action within the shrine building is concluded, the music must come to a halt, regardless of whether or not the piece has been finished. The civil dance is performed from "Welcoming the Spirits" through "First Wine Offering," after which there is a change of costume and properties for the military dance. There is a distinct name for the music accompanying each section, even though the melodies may be the same (see next section below). The program is summarized in Chart V.

Chart V

SECTION	MUSIC TITLE	MODE NAME (KEY)	ORCHESTRA	DANCE
1. Ushering in the Spirits <i>Yōngsin</i> 迎神	<i>Unganjiak</i> 凝安之樂	<i>hwangjong-kung</i> (C) 黃鐘宮	Courtyard	Civil
		(played 3 times)		
		<i>chungnyō-kung</i> (F) 仲呂宮		
		(twice)		
		<i>namnyō-kung</i> (A) 南呂宮		
		(twice)		
		<i>ich'ik-kung</i> (G) 夷則宮		
		(twice)		
2. Offering of Tribute <i>Chōnp'ye</i> 奠幣	<i>Myōnganjiak</i> 明安之樂	<i>namnyō-kung</i> (A) 南呂宮	Terrace	Civil
3. First Wine Offering <i>Ch'ohōn</i> 初獻	<i>Sōnganjiak</i> 成樂之樂	<i>namnyō-kung</i> (A) 南呂宮	Terrace	Civil

“Empty Music” <i>Kongak</i> 空樂	<i>Sōanjiak</i> 舒安之樂	<i>kosōn-kung</i> (E) 姑洗宮	Courtyard	(Change of properties)
4. Middle Wine Offering <i>Ahōn</i> 亞獻	<i>Sōnganjiak</i> 成安之樂	<i>kosōn-kung</i> (E) 姑洗宮	Courtyard	Military
5. Final Wine Offering <i>Chonghon</i> 終獻	<i>Sōnganjiak</i> 成安之樂	<i>kosōn-kung</i> (E) 姑洗宮	Courtyard	Military
6. Removing the Vessels <i>Ch’ōlbyōndu</i> 徹饗豆	<i>Oanjiak</i> 娛安之樂	<i>namnyō-kung</i> (A) 南呂宮	Terrace	(No Dance)
7. Ushering Out the Spirits <i>Songsin</i> 送神	<i>Unganjiak</i> 擬安之樂	<i>hwangjong-kung</i> (C) 黃鐘宮 (once only)	Courtyard	(No Dance)

THE MUSIC

Although Sejong’s scholars provided twelve ritual melodies for use in sacrificial rites, the indications are that only two were ever used, and this is the number used today. The first melody is played, in various transpositions, for all sections of the ceremony except the last, “Ushering Out the Spirits,” for which the second melody is used. Both tunes have thirty-two notes, played in a very slow and perfectly regular rhythm, about four seconds for each note.

Each instrument plays a very specific role in the musical per-

Example 1

Welcoming the Spirits

Bells × Chimes

Winds

Pu

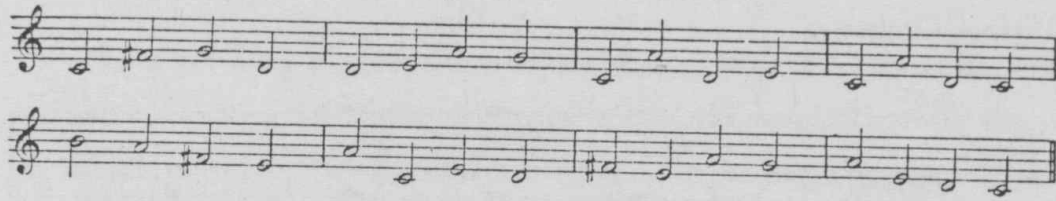
Chin' go

Nogo

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each with five staves. The top staff is for Bells x Chimes, the second for Winds, the third for Pu, the fourth for Chin' go, and the fifth for Nogo. The Pu part features a complex rhythmic pattern with triplets and sixteenth notes. The Nogo part has a similar rhythmic pattern with triplets. The Winds part consists of a melodic line with some grace notes. The Bells x Chimes part is a simple melodic line. The Chin' go part is mostly rests with some notes at the end of phrases.

Example 2

Ushering Out the Spirits



formance. The bells and chimes simply play the skeletal melody. The wind instruments also play the pitches of the melody, but each note tapers off with an upward glissando which lends a rather ethereal quality. The clay bowl, *pu*, is played with an accelerating roll as soon as each note of the melody has been started by the melody instruments. In the courtyard orchestra, the *chin'go* and *nogo* drums are struck twice after every group of four notes, as a sort of musical punctuation corresponding to the dance patterns; in the terrace orchestra, the *chölgo* alone serves this purpose. This musical structure is shown in the first musical example, which gives the music for "Welcoming the Spirits" as played in the courtyard orchestra. Performed in a similar manner would be the second tune, of which the second example shows only the skeletal melody.

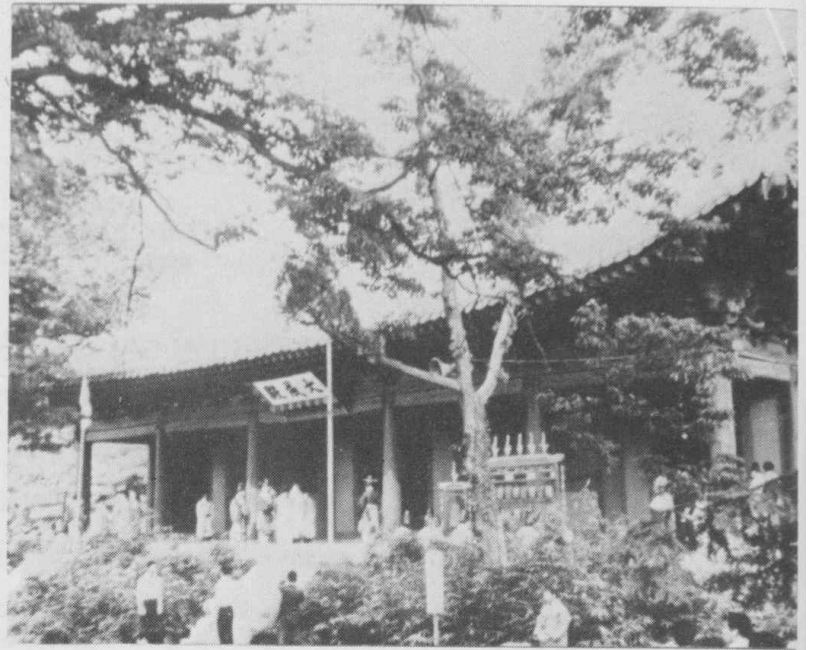
There are special opening and closing patterns played in both orchestras, framing the actual melodies shown above. The most essential instrument in the opening patterns is the wooden trough, *ch'uk* (plate 12), and the tiger, *õ* (plate 13), is equally essential for the closing patterns. The *õ* is played by striking the tiger's head three times with a split bamboo stick and then scraping the stick down the tiger's serrated back; the pattern is then played twice more. The complete opening and closing patterns are shown in Example 3 (rhythmic relationships are not precise in the closing patterns).

There are several recordings of this music commercially available in Korea. The only recording available in the United States is an excellent one, made by John Levy in 1969 (Lyrichord LLST 7206).

CONCLUSIONS

In attending a performance of the Sacrifice to Confucius, one is struck far less by the distinctive qualities of the music than by the way it blends with and elegantly contributes to its environment: beautifully costumed celebrants moving deliberately in and out of the shrine, venerable gentlemen in the audience obviously knowledgeable of the proceedings, stately dances, announcements of the master of ceremonies, and the simple fact of being outdoors. Confucian philosophers always considered music and ritual in the same breath, and it is unfair to separate this music from its ritual environment. Many Koreans find the music lacking when performed as a concert piece, as indeed they should, since a concert ignores the real meaning, utility, and context of these five-century old pieces. But this charming ceremonial music will continue to fascinate those fortunate enough to attend a Sacrifice to Confucius, one of the great treasures of Korea's cultural heritage.

元朝林宇大成樂譜 至正修格所載無清琴又有以宮為變宮以變宮為宮處	迎神奏擬安之曲九變	黃鐘宮	三成
大哉宣聖	道尊德崇	維持王化	斯民是宗
典祀有常	精純並隆	神其來格	於昭盛容
生而知之	有教無私	成均之祀	威儀孔時
惟茲初丁	潔我盛筵	永言其道	萬世之師
大簇為徽			二奏
聽聽堂	其道如天	清明之象	應物而然



1	2
	3
	4

Plate 1: First page of
Lin Yü's *Ta-sheng yüeh-p'u*
Plate 2: *Taesöng-chön*,
with terrace orchestra
Plate 3: Chief celebrants
Plate 4: Audience

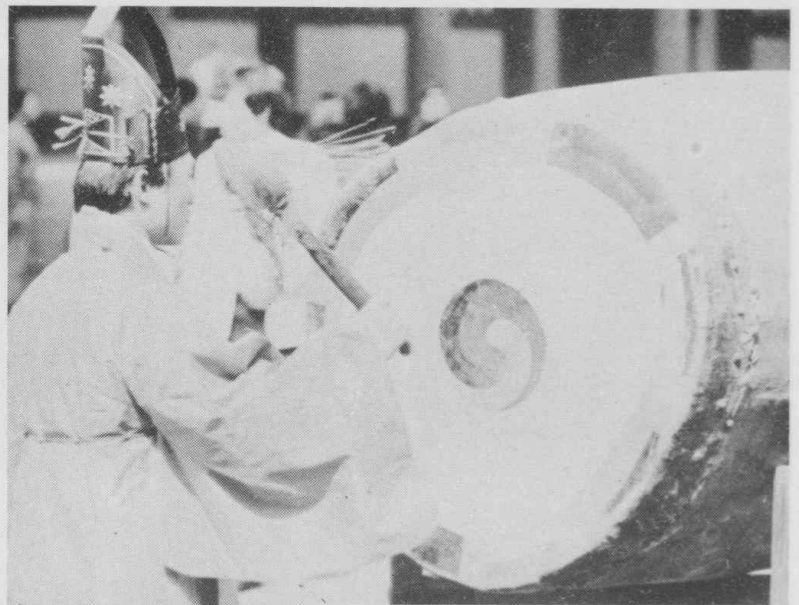
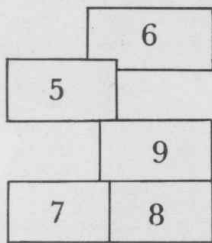
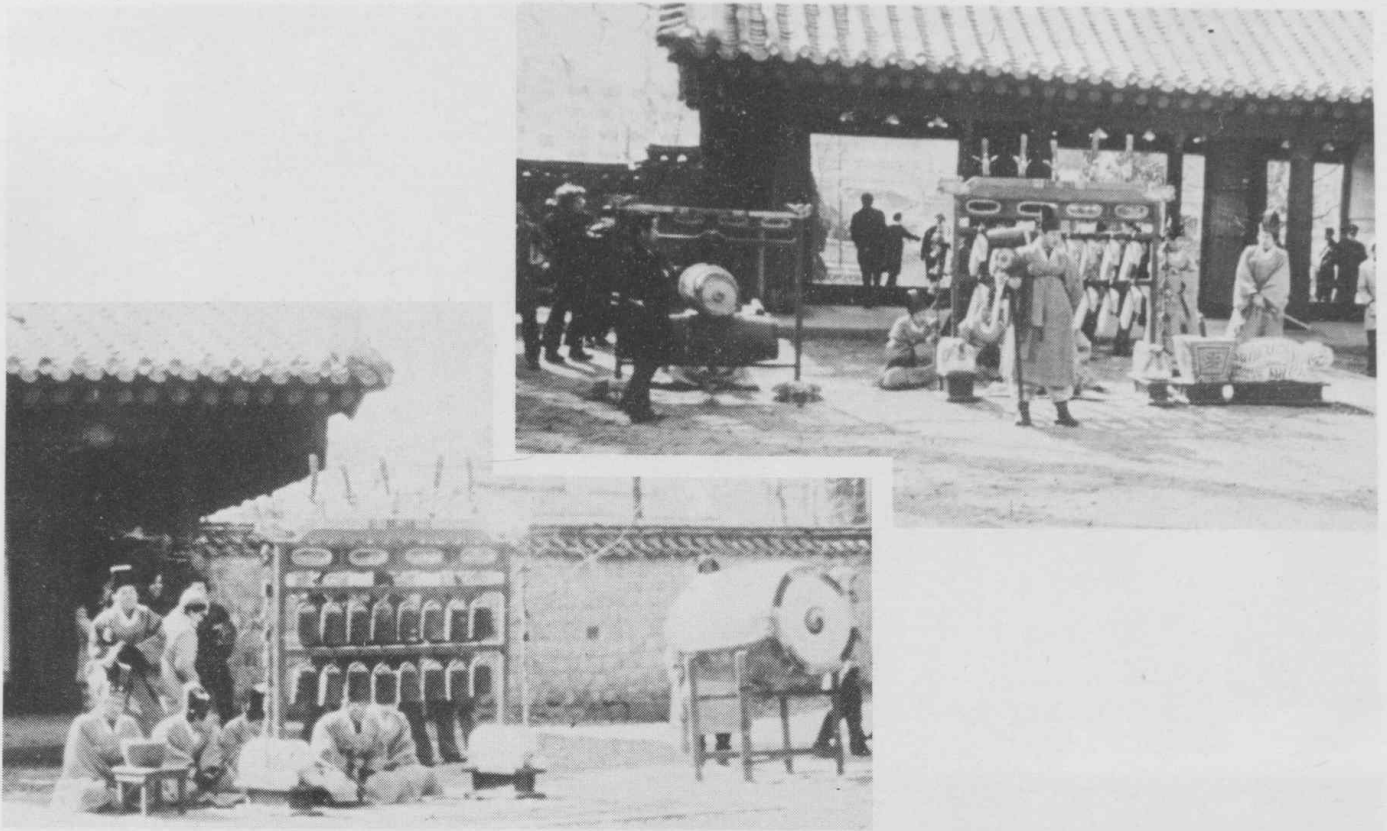
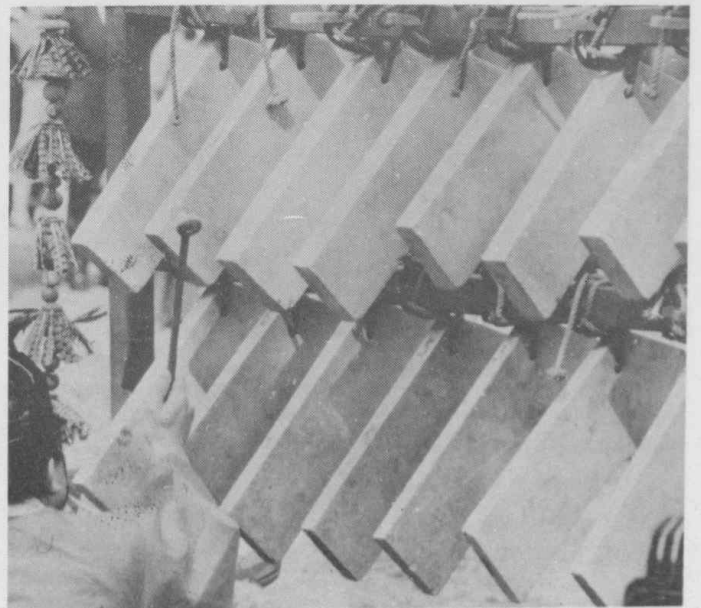
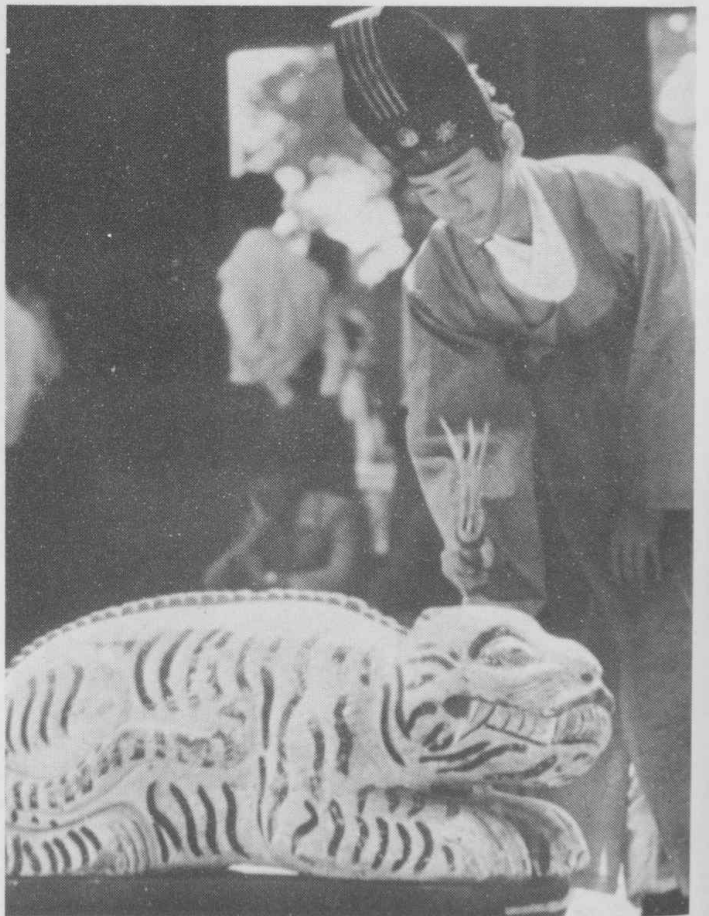


Plate 5: Courtyard orchestra, west half
 Plate 6: Courtyard orchestra, east half
 Plate 7: *P'yŏnjong*
 Plate 8: *P'yŏn'gyŏng*
 Plate 9: *Chin'go*





10	11
12	13

Plate 10: *Pak*
 Plate 11: *Nodo*
 Plate 12: *Ch'uk*
 Plate 13: *Ō*



14	15
16	17
18	

Plate 14: *Pu*
 Plate 15: Shield and battleaxe
 Plate 16: Dragon's head
 Plate 17: (Left to right)
 Hun, yak, and chŏk
 Plate 18: Civil dance

Some Korean Maps

Shannon McCune

Every eighteen days a satellite passes over the Korean peninsula taking remote sensing imagery of its landscapes. This imagery, sent back to earth by sophisticated communications systems, is used for the updating of the maps of Korea.¹ Checked in the field and more commonly by using conventional aerial photographs, the modern Korean maps are indeed accurate and useful for all purposes. This new excellent cartography is in the Korean scholarly tradition.

There are many maps of Korea which merit study and comment. Only some of these maps are discussed in this paper which is part of a research project on the transmission of geographical information about Korea.² In the recent resurgence of research in Korean carto-

¹Much information on the Earth Resources Technology Satellite (ERTS) imagery and its usefulness for research is available. An informational summary, including a map of the coverage of Korea by the 26 rectangles into which it is divided for imagery, was prepared in Korean for Korean geographers by Lee Chung-myon, "The Prospects of Remote Sensing Techniques", *Chiri Hak (Geography)*, Korean Geographical Society, No. 11, June, 1975, pp. 79-93.

²I summarized information on the maps of Korea available after World War II in an article: "Maps of Korea", *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 2, May, 1946, pp. 326-329. A short article, including bibliographical references' was written on "Old Korean World Maps", *Korean Review*, Vol. II, No. 1, September, 1949, pp. 14-17. An old map of the northern frontiers of Korea in the *Haedong Yoksa* by Han Ch'i-yun (b. 1765) was briefly described in an article: "The Northern Defence of Korea", *Korean Survey*, Vol. 7, No. 10, December, 1958, pp. 3-5. Though I have done some research on the European cartography of Korea and have assembled an interesting collection of original and copied maps, I have not written on this subject until I had an opportunity of seeking knowledge of the old Korean cartography. Being a Fulbright Research Professor at Soong-jun University in Seoul gave me this opportunity in the fall of 1975; I am grateful for this appointment and for a research leave from the University of Florida.

graphy it is interesting to note that the only book-length study in the Korean language on the history of the cartography of Korea was published in P'yongyang in 1965.³ Some Seoul publisher should commission a well-illustrated study by an acknowledged authority such as Ch'an Lee of Seoul National University.⁴

Some notable collections of maps may be found in libraries and family archives in Korea; frequently it takes considerable tenacity to get to see these maps. Some libraries are burdened by heavy layers of bureaucracy which seem more designed to frustrate the scholar than to help him. Notable among the library collections in Korea are those at Seoul National University, Yonsei University, Korea University, Soong-jun University, the National Library, the Royal Palace Library in Seoul and at Yonnam University in Taegu. Some of these have catalogues of their maps.

Various centers of cartographic work within the Republic of Korea and some private map companies, notably the Chungang Chido Munhwasa, publish sheet and wall maps of Korea. The major cartographic center is the Geographic Research Institute, since No-

³A North Korean publication on the history of Korean cartography available in the Library of Congress and other libraries is by Mok Yong-man, *Chido Lyagi*, (*The Story of Maps*), P'yongyang, Kunjung Munhwasa Ch'ulp'ansa, 1965, 352 pages. Though rather poorly printed, this book includes reproductions of some old Korean maps and a commentary on the history of Korean cartography.

⁴Ch'an Lee of Seoul National University has written numerous research papers on the cartography of Korea and has a noteworthy collection of photographic reproductions of old maps of Korea. One article in English and a monograph with an English abstract illustrate his research work: *Korea Old World Maps—Chonha-do and Hanilgangni-Yokdae-Kukdo-Chido*, Graduate School of Education, Seoul National University, April 1971, 40 pages and "Old Maps of Korea: Historical Sketch", *Korea Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 4, April, 1972, pp. 4-14 and 32.

Woo Nak-ki of the Korean Geographical Research Institute, a personal research organization, has prepared a full length book in rough draft on Korean cartography which he kindly showed me. He served for some years as a research assistant to Yi Pyung-do, the eminent Korean historian, who has also written on Korean cartography.

I am much indebted to Chan Lee and Woo Nak-ki for information they have given me as I was engaged in this study in the fall of 1975.

vember 1, 1974 an independent institute under the Ministry of Construction. In 1972 the Institute prepared a booklet in Korean with a brief English abstract on *The History of Mapping in Korea*. This includes some reproductions of old and modern maps.⁵ The Institute has also published a composite reproduction of a famous Korean map, the *Taedong-Yojido* of Kim Chong-ho of 1861. In the booklet is promised a new and more thorough history of Korean mapping. This is certainly much needed and should be distributed widely, so that scholars throughout the world will be aware of the nature of Korean cartography.

Maps are used universally in Korea and are found in many forms. Though such an enterprise has been discussed, Korea does not yet have a National Atlas, similar to those of other countries. Because history and geography are very closely intertwined in Korean scholarship many historical works have maps within them. Maps are often seen at places of tourist interest and tourist maps are widely sold and given away. In some palace grounds ancient ponds are shaped in map form. When replying to an inquiry of location, a Korean will frequently sketch out a map on a dirt road or on a piece of paper. Maps are even used to illustrate effectively the themes of some Korean postage stamps. Today maps are used in Korea for all the myriad functions of government. Though it is obvious that maps are indispensable for military operations, the use of maps for peaceful purposes is also recognized. This is in line with the Korean tradition which was well expressed by the Korean cartographer, Kim Chong-ho, who wrote concerning a map he had produced in 1861:

“My map will be used to defeat the enemy and to suppress violent mobs, when the nation is troubled; and to carry out policies, govern every social affair and enforce economic policies

⁵*The History of Mapping in Korea*, National Construction Research Institute, Seoul, 24 pages plus 17 reproductions, 1972, has a brief English abstract, unpagged.

in times of peace.’⁶

MODERN MAPS

A wide selection of modern maps is available for persons interested in research and general geographical information on Korea. The basic series of maps for all of Korea is at the scale of 1:50,000, or four-fifths of a mile to the inch. The mapping at this scale was a major effort made by the Japanese in their early days of control of Korea. The mapping project was started in 1914 and finished in 1918, when 722 sheets were completed.⁷ The 1:50,000 sheets were (and are) very handy maps, for they include topographic details through the use of contour lines, except for some mountainous areas in northern Korea where only spot elevations and shading are used. Land use and built-up areas are shown by symbols; transportation routes are drawn in various categories. The original Japanese series are attractive maps

⁶The quotation from Kim Chong-ho is taken from an article by Chong Hyung-u, “Kim Chong-ho’s Map of Korea”, *Korea Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 11, November, 1973, pp. 37-42. Another article on this famous Korean cartographer is that of Woo Nak-ki, “Geographer Kim Chong-ho’s Three Achievements”, *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, The Korea Research Center, Number 38, June, 1973, pp. 69-83.

⁷The 1:50,000 maps of Korea published by the Japanese were produced in the following sequence according to *The History of Mapping in Korea, op. cit.*

Date	Number of maps	Area (Sq. Km.)
1914	34	13,047
1915	147	47,022
1916	199	60,852
1917	281	79,813
1918	61	20,157
	<u>722</u>	<u>220,891</u>

This mapping project with which was associated a cadastral (or land ownership) survey was financed in part by a loan which the Japanese government floated in Paris.

and are of value for historical research purposes.

The 1:50,000 series of topographic maps was up-dated by the Japanese and used as the basic source material for their mapping of Korean urban areas at various scales. During World War II, the 1:50,000 series was reprinted in various ways by the United States Army Map Service and more recently the same grid has been used for maps produced by the United States Defense Mapping Agency. Some of these maps are published in bi-lingual form. The Chungang Map Company sells a modern Korean series at the scale of 1:50,000 which covers South Korea in 239 sheets; these have been up-dated through aerial photography and field survey. The 1:50,000 maps are easy to use for travel and field work. They are attractively printed in four colors to which green for forest control areas is sometimes added. Occasionally English names are included in the title of the sheet; however, these maps may be used without a knowledge of Korean, for their contours and symbols follow international usage.⁸

Each of the areas of South Korea covered by the 1:50,000 sheets is in turn divided and covered by four maps at a scale of 1:25,000. These also are very useful sheets, though perhaps a little awkward to handle in the field (especially if one is travelling on a crowded bus!). The 1:25,000 maps have more detail than the 1:50,000 maps with the land use usually given in green symbols. Maps of some parts of South Korea, the area along the Demilitarized Zone and some of the coastal areas, for example, are not available to the general public. However, 762 sheets in the 1:25,000 series are available from the Chungang Map Company.⁹

⁸An interesting book giving many examples from the topographic maps of Korea is that of Lee Ji-ho and Lee Yong-jak, *Gukto wa Jido (Landscapes and Maps)*, Po-jinji, Seoul, 2nd Edition, 1974, 156 pages. This book also reproduces some historical and thematic maps of Korea. Though in Korean an index includes the English romanizations of the places from which the 258 maps are taken to illustrate the varied landscapes in Korea.

⁹The Chungang Chido Munhwasa, or Chungang Map Company, has its main

The 1:25,000 maps are in turn being utilized for a very worthwhile effort of land use mapping with the use of aerial photographs and field surveying to obtain up-to-date information on land utilization. Unfortunately, these land use maps are restricted to use by government agencies and in government-sponsored or approved research projects. Printed in many colors, the land use maps give interesting mosaic-like pictures of the varied land use of Korea. Not all of South Korea has yet been covered by the 1:25,000 land use maps, though progress on publishing them has been rapid.

In addition to these basic map series at scales of 1:25,000 and 1:50,000 many more series of maps of Korea are available at various scales. Some of these are published by the United States Defense Mapping Agency and by the Republic of Korea mapping agencies. At the Library of Congress in Washington maps published by the North Korean regime at various scales may be found. The set of 1:500,000 maps published by both the Republic of Korea and the United States Defense Mapping Agency which covers all of Korea in eight sheets is useful for general purposes; a set at 1:250,000 is in molded relief. The sets of 1:200,000 maps of the provinces of Korea are well suited for someone travelling in Korea or for wall use. Various city maps have been published at different scales, including 1:50,000, 1:25,000, 1:10,000 and 1:5,000. These are useful for urban studies, though they are usually only in Korean. English language equivalents of some have been published by the United States Defense Mapping Agency but it takes some cutting of red tape to obtain them.

In addition to the maps noted briefly above, there are many wall maps and thematic maps of Korea. Two very useful, cartographically attractive and inexpensive maps, one of North Korea and the other of

office on a side street southeast of the intersection of Ulchiro and Namdaemoonro in central Seoul very near the Chosun Hotel. The address is 199-34, Ulchiro-2, Chung-Ku, Seoul. The company has branches in the leading cities of the Republic of Korea.

South Korea, each including thematic inset maps, have been published by the United States Central Intelligence Agency and may be purchased from the Government Printing Office outlets throughout the United States. Many thematic maps are produced in very limited numbers in Korea and consequently are difficult to obtain. The best known thematic maps, the geologic maps, bi-lingual and in many colors, at a scale of 1:250,000 cover all of South Korea. A number of excellent geologic folios with bi-lingual maps and comments cover in detail the geology of certain areas of geologic interest in Korea. Various thematic maps of soils, climates, forests, water supplies and so on are also available from Korean government agencies; they may take some searching to find and when found require the cutting of considerable red tape to obtain. All in all, the number and character of the maps available on Korea is most remarkable. It illustrates the importance which the Korean people have placed on maps.

OLD KOREAN MAPS

Throughout Korean history maps have been valued, almost as much as they are today. Unfortunately many of these ancient maps, produced only in manuscript form before the days of printing, have been lost. Though it is known that maps were made before the start of the Yi Dynasty in 1392, copies of such early maps have not been found. The *Samguk-Sagi* and the *Koryo-sa*, histories of the early periods of Korea, contain interesting geographical information. In the Koryo period the histories note that Korean maps were sent to China in the early XI century and in the mid- XII century. Little is known, however, of these early Korean maps, though some Korean scholars have been writing on the subject.¹⁰

¹⁰Two general articles by Korean scholars on early Korean cartography are: Roh Do-yang, "History of Korean Geography", *Korea Journal*, December, 1973, pp. 19-30 and Hyung Kie-joo, "Materials of Old Maps in Korea", *Chiri Hak*,

The earliest map by a Korean scholar is now in a library in Japan. It is a map of the then-known world drawn in 1402. Kwon Kun, a Korean scholar who had been in China procured maps, some of which had been adapted by the Chinese from Arabic sources.¹¹ On his return, combining the information on these maps and maps of Japan which had been obtained by other Korean scholars, he had drawn for him a map of the world. The Peninsula of Korea on this map was inordinantly large in scale and may have been copied from a map made by another Korean cartographer, Yi Hoe; it is remarkably accurate in shape. Other maps of the world were obtained from China in later periods, but these did not show Korea with much accuracy. One such map, showing Korea as a peninsula with a long border on Manchuria, was included in the so-called Mongol atlas, originally drawn in 1320 but extensively revised in 1541 and 1555.¹²

Perhaps the best known old map of Korea and one that was used for centuries by Korean scholars is a map of the eight provinces of Korea which was published in the famous geographical encyclopedia, the *Tongguk-Yoji-Sungnam*. The first edition, completed by No Sa-jin and others in 1481, was revised in 1486, 1491 and 1530. This last re-

(*Geography*), No. 1, July, 1963, pp. 97-109. The latter is in Korean with some reproductions. Sang-woon Jeon, *Science and Technology in Korea: Traditional Instruments and Techniques*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, has a discussion of Korean geography, pages 273-315.

¹¹Chan Lee in his *Korean Old World Maps, op. cit.*, discusses the world map of Kwon Kun. This map is also noted in a brief note by Walter Fuchs, "Development of Chinese Maps", *Seminar Series*, The Korea Research Center, No. 1, January, 1962, pp. 7-10. An article emphasizing the work of the other Korean cartographers who worked at the behest of Kwon Kun is by Chang Bo-Woong, "A Study of Some Maps which were made in the 15th Century in Korea, the Early Part of the Yi Dynasty", *Chiri Kwa Hak (Geographical Science Papers)*, Tongguk University, Vol. 16, February 1972, 9 pages.

¹²A reproduction of the map of Korea, Map 42, from the 1555 edition of the "Mongol Atlas" is given in Walter Fuchs, "The 'Mongol Atlas' of China by Chu su-pen and the Kwang-Yu-T'u", *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking*, Monograph VIII, Fu Jen University, Peking, 1946, 32 pages and 48 reproductions.

The map of Korea in the *Tongguk-Yoji-Sungnam* was fitted onto two sheets of paper with a binding area of varying size down the middle of the map. The proportions of the map were adjusted to the size of the paper sheets. In fact the size of the paper used was a major factor in the shapes of the areas shown on early Korean maps. The size of an area being mapped was lessened or exaggerated depending upon the dimensions of the paper sheets. Thus, these early Korean maps have no exact scale. Map making was an art form and aesthetics played an important part in the presentation.

Korean atlases, which came into use in the early part of the Yi Dynasty and continued to be produced throughout this period, are especially interesting. Korean scholars used maps on screens and on scrolls, as did the Chinese and Japanese. They also assembled the maps into atlases much more commonly than did their neighbors. It is difficult to ascertain the reasons for the popularity of atlases among Koreans; perhaps it was because they could be stored or carried more easily in this form. The maps in the early atlases are in single or double sheets, mounted often back to back, or mounted in such a way that they can be folded out quite simply.

The common Korean atlases which may be found in map collections and for sale in old book and antique stores are in manuscript form, variously colored, or in wood-block print form.¹³ The latter are

¹³These atlases have been very easy to obtain and at relatively low prices, but in recent years the prices have been grossly inflated. Leo Bagrow, one of the great scholars of cartography, who visited Seoul in 1914 and in 1919, noted in the foreword of his *History of Cartography* (Edited by R.A. Skelton, Harvard University Press, 1964) that "in 1914 there were still many little book shops about the walls of the imperial palace in Seoul in Korea, where one could find ancient native maps. Five years later, these little shops had been demolished and heaven knows what became of their stock."

In 1938 and 1939 I bought a number of Korean atlases at second-hand book stores in Seoul for the equivalent of a dollar to five dollars each. I gave some to libraries in the United States and still have four or five copies of various styles. The present day prices for inferior manuscript copies usually start at thirty to fifty thousand won, a highly inflated price.

more authentic and valuable, though not so decorative. The atlases have a rather standard arrangement of maps. A map of the world is followed by maps of China, of Korea, of each of the eight provinces of Korea, of Japan and of the Ryukyu Islands. The order of the maps may vary and maps of Seoul, of P'yongyang and of Mukden may be added. In some atlases diagrams of the stars and constellations may be included as well as notes on the place names and tables of distances. The Japanese cartophile, Hiroshi Nakamura, published in 1948 a definitive article on the Korean world map included in these atlases. He categorized the wood-block atlases into twelve major types.¹⁴

The Korean atlases are of value for the maps within them. The map of China and the maps of Japan and of the Ryukyu Islands are of contrasting quality; the accuracy of the map of China is far superior to the others, an indication of the relative paucity of geographic knowledge of Japan and the Ryukyu Islands in Korea. Most of the maps of Korea and of the Korean provinces are copies of the maps in the *Sinjung-Tongguk-Yoji-Sungnam* and are fitted to the size of the paper

A brief description of the atlases in an American collection is given in a note on "An Early Korean Atlas" in "Some Notes from the Tall Tree Library", *Imago Mundi*, Vol. XIII, 1956, pp. 163-164. The maps of China and of P'yongan Province are reproduced.

An elaborate reproduction of many of the maps from a Korean manuscript atlas in the British Museum was published in France in 1896. The explanatory note was by Henri Cordier: "Description d'un Atlas sino-coreen manuscript du British Museum", *Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir a l'histoire de la geographie, depuis de XIIIe siecle jusqu'a la fin de XVI-Section cartographie*, Paris, 1896, pp. 6-12, 13 maps.

¹⁴Nakamura, Hiroshi, "Old Chinese World Maps Preserved by the Koreans," *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 4, Stockholm, March, 1948, pp. 3-22. Dr. Nakamura collected many Korean maps during his stay in Korea as a Professor in the Medical College of Keijo Imperial University; he also collected maps on trips to Europe. This article was scheduled for publication in 1939 but was delayed in publication by World War II, somewhat to his dismay. Dr. Nakamura has published a number of books and articles, mainly in Japanese. His *East Asia in Old Maps*, East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1963, 84 pages, is an English language abridgement of a Japanese work published in 1958; unfortunately, considering his interest in Korean maps, this book has only passing mention of Korean cartography.

in the atlases.

The world map, or *Chonha-Do* (Under Heaven Map), has had more attention than perhaps it deserves.¹⁵ As Dr. Nakamura pointed out in his article in *Imago Mundi*, the world map was based on antecedents in Buddhist maps. The many exotic place names were derived from Chinese romantic and mythical accounts, particularly from the Chinese classic the *Chan-hai-king* written in the third century B. C. The world map has China in its center and shows cartographically the dominant position of the Middle Kingdom in the minds of Korean scholars. The Korean scholar, Ch'an Lee, who has written on this world map, notes that such a map is uniquely Korean.¹⁶ Though the world map and the other maps in the Korean atlases were based on

¹⁵The world map in the Korean atlases has been reproduced in many publications. Two of the early articles in English were those of Yi Ik-seup, "A Map of the World", *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 1, 1892, pp. 336-341 and H. B. Hulbert, "An Ancient Map of the World", *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, October, 1904, pp. 600-605.

An American visitor to Korea, Percival Lowell, in his *Chosen, the Land of the Morning Calm*, Boston, 1886, 412 pages, reproduced the map, as did Maurice Courant in his *Bibliographie Coreene*, Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1895, Volume II, No. 2187, page 480. An Italian, Carlo Rossetti, reproduced the map in his book *Corea e Coreani, impressioni e ricerche sull' Empero de Gran Han*, Bergamo, 1905. Some years later Stewart Colin reproduced it in an article "A Korean Map of the World", *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, 1925, pp. 183-193.

The recent articles and monographs by Ch'an Lee, Shannon McCune, and Hiroshi Nakamura, already cited, give additional references to reproductions of this map and comments on it. The map has become a common illustration in books on the history of cartography. The American Geographical Society reproduced a copy they had received from H. B. Hulbert as a Christmas card a few years ago.

¹⁶Ch'an Lee notes in his monograph on *Korean Old World Maps*, *op. cit.*, that his "study suggests that the *Chonha-do* may well be originated by Koreans during or before the Yi Dynasty was founded in 1392." A different view is expressed by Hiroshi Nakamura in his "Old Chinese World Maps Preserved by the Koreans" *op. cit.*, who concludes that " . . . this mappemunde is purely Chinese. It bears no trace of anything specially Korean, which is understandable when we consider that the sciences and the arts of Korea were almost always slavishly modelled upon those of China." This rather sweeping over-generalization by a Japanese scholar does not explain why the *Chonha-do* persisted so long in Korea. A Korean perception of the outside world is well illustrated by this map.

ancient sources, they had an amazing popularity and were copied and reproduced in wood-blocks for many centuries during the Yi Dynasty.

Change did come to Korean cartography, however. One of Korea's most famous cartographers, famed in part because he broke away from the tyranny imposed by the size of the sheets of paper used for maps, was Chong Sang-gi, who lived from 1678 to 1752.¹⁷ He was a descendant of a famous scholar, Chong In-ji, one of the revisers of the *Koryo-sa*, who lived from 1396 to 1478. Chong Sang-gi's descendants in turn became well known cartographers. His best known map is the *Tongguk-Chido* (Map of the Eastern Country) which is in fact an atlas comprising a map of all of Korea followed by maps of the individual provinces with small Kyonggi and Ch'ungch'ong provinces on one sheet and large Hamgyong province on two sheets. The provincial maps may be fitted together to make a total map of Korea at a scale of roughly 1:420,000.

Chong Sang-gi used a *scale* on his maps, a device he derived from Chinese practices which were in turn obtained through Arabic and European sources. In commenting on his map Chong Sang-gi said:

"Maps of our country which exist today are numerous. Whether manuscript or wood-block maps, almost all of them are distorted in direction and distance, because the drawings were restricted very much by the sizes of the paper. . . . If one travels around the country with this kind of a map as a guide, it may be said that he is travelling in the dark! Regretting such an event, I have drawn this map."¹⁸

¹⁷The well-known Korean historian, Yi Pyung-do, discussed the work of Chong Sang-gi in an article "Chong Sang-gi and *Tongguk Chido*", *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Societies of Korea*, No. 1, 1960, pp. 5-16. A reproduction of the provincial maps and a study of the *Tongguk-Chido* are given in an article by Norman J. W. Thrower and Young-il Kim, "Dong-Kook-Yi-Ji-Do: a recently discovered manuscript of a map of Korea", *Imago Mundi*, Vo. XXI, 1967, pp. 30-49. This article is also valuable for the extensive bibliographical notes on Korean cartography which it gives.

The *Tongguk-Chido* (copies of which are sometimes called *P'aldo-Chido*, or Eight Provinces Map) is generally dated around 1730. Originally in manuscript form, various copies were made. One fine example at the Royal Palace Library is dated 1790, long after Chong Sang-gi's death in 1752. Another copy, probably drawn as late as 1889, is in the library of the University of California at Los Angeles; this has been reproduced and analyzed by Norman J. W. Thrower and Young-il Kim.¹⁹

Another famous Korean cartographer is Kim Chong-ho, who lived from *circa* 1804 to 1864. Although much has been written about his life and work, actually not too much is known.²⁰ Not coming from a well-known scholarly family, Kim Chong-ho is noted for two maps of Korea which he drew. He also wrote a geographic description of Korea, the *Taedong-Chiri*, completed in 1864.

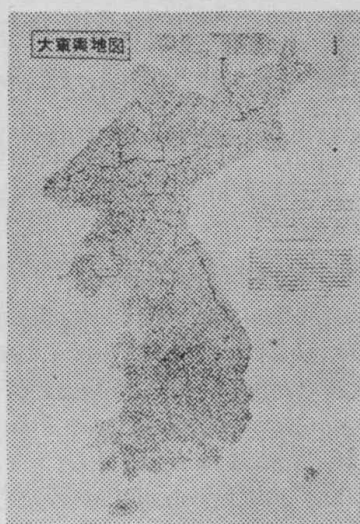


Figure 3. *Taedong-Yojido*, 1861, a photographic reduction by the Geographical Research Institute of the 23 fascicles of the map by Kim Chong-ho.

¹⁸The quotation from Chong Sang-gi's explanatory note on the North Hamgyong sheet of the *Tongguk-Chido* was translated by Ch'an Lee in his article "Old Maps of Korea: Historical Sketch", *op. cit.*

¹⁹Norman J. W. Thrower and Young-il Kim in their article "Dong-Kook-Yu-Ji-Do", *op. cit.*, give the impression that the copy at the University of California at Los Angeles is rather unique; actually there are many manuscript copies of Chong Sang-gi's *Tongguk Chido* in libraries and private collections. It would be beneficial

The first of his maps, dated 1834, the *Chonggu-do*, was in manuscript form and was usually bound into two or four volumes. The atlas was circulated initially with a preface by a Korean scholar, Ch'oe Han-gi (1803–1879), who was also interested in maps. The *Chonggu-do* includes explanatory notes and historical maps of Korea of past periods. There are various manuscript copies available in libraries; one of the best and most beautifully copied is in the Royal Palace Library. A reprint of the *Chonggudo* has been made, though unfortunately the copy used for reproduction was not of high quality or clarity.²¹

The map of Korea in the *Chonggu-do* is in two sections or volumes, north and south Korea, divided almost along the 38th parallel, oddly. The maps were drawn on a grid system and the place names indexed, making it relatively easy to find the desired sectional map. The scale for the sectional maps is roughly 1:160,000, or three miles to the inch. Cheju island, for example, is shown on six sectional maps. Rivers are drawn in exaggerated size on the maps. Place names and roads are shown; the names of county seats or magistracies are enclosed in boxes; boundaries are shown by dotted lines. Walls around some

if it could be reprinted in a satisfactory manner.

²⁰The somewhat sensationally-worded article by Chong Hyung-u and the more scholarly article by Woo Nak-ki have already been cited. Almost every article on Korean cartography comments on the life and work of Kim Chong-ho, though as Woo Nak-ki has pointed out there are only two historically reliable statements about him. Ro Jeoung-shik has noted in an article, "A Study on the Jigu-Jeonhu-Do Engraved by Kim Jeong-ho", *Collection of Papers of Taegu Teachers College*, Vol. 8, 1972, pp. 257–266, that Kim Chong-ho engraved on wood blocks a world map in two hemispheres so that he was knowledgeable on latitude and longitude and map projects, even though his maps of Korea did not have latitude and longitude, only a grid system for locational purposes.

There are many Korean geographers who are interested in Kim Chong-ho in addition to those whose work has been cited. Almost every Korean geography teacher considers himself an authority on the subject and welcomes an opportunity to discuss his life and work. An American Peace Corps volunteer, Curtis Evans, is also doing a study of Kim Chong-ho.

²¹The reprint of the *Chonggu-do* was published in two volumes as No. 47 and No. 48 in the series, *Kochun Gukyak Chongsu*, published in Seoul in 1971.

cities and defensive posts in northern Korea are shown. The mountains are drawn as individual peaks or groups of peaks rather than as ranges. On those on which the signal beacons were located, a symbol of a triangle-shaped fire is drawn. The shape of Korea in the *Chonggu-do* is remarkably accurate. As Kim Chong-ho explained in a foreword he used a series of concentric circles to depict distances and then fitted places together in their correct locations. He reduced the scale of the map by a grid system which he also explains in the foreword.

Kim Chong-ho continued to gather geographical information and in 1861 made another map of Korea, an improvement upon his map of 1834. Instead of an atlas form he used sheets which were pasted together and could be unfolded. The result was a folio of 23 map fascicles, including one of the whole country for the title page, one for Seoul, and one for Cheju. The remainder of the country was presented in 20 sectional maps. This map was entitled the *Taedong-Yojido* (Map of the Great Eastern Country) and was engraved on wood-blocks. He is reported to have done the carving of the wood-blocks with the devoted assistance of his daughter. A second edition of this map, based on new wood-blocks, was printed in 1864, because requests for the map had exceeded the original printing and the wood-blocks had become worn. The *Taedong-Yojido* could be fitted together, though it was usually kept in the 23 fascicles, since no normal space could contain it if it were spread out. This, however, was done photographically by the Geographical Research Institute so that a single sheet map for decorative purposes could be printed.²² The original map has a scale of roughly 1:162,000 and is more accurately shaped than the *Chonggu-do*,

²²The Geographical Research Institute's reproduction at a reduced scale of the *Taedong-Yojido* is very attractive. There is a brief English explanatory note which notes: "In 1861 . . . Sir Kim Jong Ho finished compiling a Korea map . . . This accomplishment was due to the faithful efforts of his daughter. They made their own reconnaissance and field checks on foot, using only a compass and cloth measuring tapes. They roamed every mountain, path, valley and town in Korea to accomplish their goal."

though very similar to it. One major change is that the mountains are shown in ranges rather than in peaks, so that the drainage systems stand out more clearly. Ch'an Lee calls this "a projected-mountain-shadow method",²³ a uniquely Korean topographic relief symbol.

Some scholars have written that when the Taewon-kun, the Regent of Korea and its virtual ruler in 1864, saw Kim Chong-ho's *Taedong Yojido* with its great detail of geographical information accurately presented, he flew into a rage and imprisoned Kim Chong-ho as a spy for a foreign power, Japan.²⁴ Whether Kim Chong-ho was killed in prison or whether he went into quiet retirement is not known; he is reported to have died shortly after the completion of the second printing of the *Taedong-Yojido* and the accompanying geographical description of Korea, the *Taedong-Chiri*.

Many Korean geographers and cartographers revere Kim Chong-ho as a hero for his desire to preserve the freedom of geographical inquiry and for his insistence that, as quoted earlier, maps are equally important "in times of peace" as "when the nation is troubled". Kim Chong-ho's *Taedong-Yojido* was much used by Japanese and Western visitors in the decades after it was published. In 1936 a reprint and an index of the place names on it prepared by the Japanese scholar, Y. Suematsu, was published.²⁵ Recently Korean reprints of the Japanese reprint have been published.

²³Ch'an Lee gives this epitomization in his article "Old Map of Korea: Historical Sketch", *op. cit.* Dr. Lee notes that through this method of drawing mountains "it is like a shadow of mountains projected onto the plain from a 45-degree angle above." When well drawn as they are on the *Taedong-Yojido* they are very effective in showing the relief.

²⁴This account of the fate of Kim Chong-ho is given in Chong Hyung-u, "Kim Chong-ho's Map of Korea", *op. cit.*

²⁵Suematsu, Yasukazu, *Shinzo Tokoku Yochi Shoran Sakuin, (Index to the Revised Survey of Korean Geography)*, Government General of Chosen, Keijo, 1937-1940, 2 volumes. One volume is composed of the reproductions of the 23 fascicles and the other volume is the index to the place names on the *Tongguk Yojido*. There have been reprints of Suematsu's work published in Korea in recent years.

The works of only two eminent Korean cartographers have been stressed but there were many more Korean scholars interested in maps and in the drawing of maps in the late Yi Dynasty.²⁶ Almost every Korean scholar had in his library an atlas, a screen map or a set of scroll maps. Students copied these as a part of their studies. Detailed maps of the counties were kept in the magistrates' offices and were often corrected and up-dated by zealous clerks. Copyists often improved on the appearance of the maps and turned them into things of beauty as well as of instruction. They added commentaries and even drew sketches of notable places to supplement the maps. Place names were written in Chinese characters, not in Korean syllabary, and this added the artistry of calligraphy to the maps. It is truly a joy to sit with a Korean scholar and study the maps he may spread out on the floor of his study.²⁷

European Maps of Korea

While these developments in cartography were taking place within Korea during the Yi Dynasty, European cartographers were becoming interested in Korea and other areas of the Far East. Though the Western cartography of Japan has been studied in detail and many beautifully illustrated books have been published on the subject, relatively little research has been done on the equally interesting Western cartography of Korea.²⁸

²⁶The articles already cited include references to some of the other Korean cartographers. It is of interest to note the continuing cartographic activities of such scholarly families as the Chong family. Woo Nak-ki in his unpublished manuscript on Korean cartography mentions a large number of Korean cartographers.

²⁷One of the most enjoyable evenings which I spent in Seoul in the fall of 1975 was sitting on the heated floor of the study of Dr. L.-J. George Paik while he spread out some of the maps in his collection. This collection of books and maps is being given to Yonsei University where Dr. Paik served as Dean and President for many years.

²⁸One of the few articles on the history of European cartography of Korea is

The earliest Western knowledge of Korea was obtained from Arab scholars who spoke of Sila; this name was derived from the Silla Dynasty which controlled much of the Korean peninsula from 57 B. C. to 935 A. D. One of the early Arabic writers, Ibn Khardazbeh, noted in 848: "At the extremity of China is a country named Sila, very rich in gold. The Moslems are so seduced by the beauty of the country that when they reach there they settle themselves and do not wish to leave."²⁹ Another Arabic writer, Masudi, in 943

Auguste Pawloski, "Historique de la connaissance de la Coree, d'apres la cartographie", *Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie de Rochefort*, Vol. 26, 1904, pp. 216-225. Since this was so obscurely published I translated it and published it as "Pawloski's History of the Geography of Korea", *Research Monographs on Korea, Series G*, No. 2, August, 1948, 13 pages. The article was based on research in European libraries and map collections and includes a bibliography of materials about Korea published in Europe. Though he calls "the French missionary Regis, the first European historian of Korea", he seems to be confused as to Regis' contribution to the development of the European cartography of Korea.

A German article on the development of the cartography of Korea notes the early European maps briefly but discusses at greater length the European and Japanese maps of Korea made in the 1800's, such as Andre Kim's map of 1846 and the various European expeditions along the coasts of Korea. This article was published as a note without a designated author: "Die Entwicklung der Kartographie von Korea", *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Vol. 29, 1883, pp. 341-344. The article was reproduced in *Acta Cartographia*, Vol. 13, 1972, pp. 1-4.

Many of the articles, monographs and books on the European cartography of China and Japan incidentally include material on Korea and reproduce maps which include Korea. The writings on China and Japan include those of Walter Fuchs, Henri Bernard, Henri Cordier, Albert Kammerer, Paul Teliki, George Kish, M. Ramming, Boleslaw Szczesniak, William Hung, Sen-dou Chang and many others. Specific references to their publications which have been of value to me are too lengthy to be included here; they may be found in standard bibliographies. There is truly a vast literature on the subject of European cartography of the Far East and Japan in Japanese language publications.

²⁹The quotations from Arabic sources given here are from "Arab Accounts of the Geography of Korea", *Research Monographs on Korea, Series G*, No. 1, August, 1948, 7 pages. This monograph comprises translations I made of references to Korea in "Relation de Voyages et Texts Geographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs a l'Extreme-Orient du VIIe au XVIIIe Siecles" by Gabriel Ferrand who translated the original Arabic sources into French in *Documents Historiques et Geographiques Relatifs a l'Indochine*, Paris, 1913-1914.

A brief article noting some of the same sources is by Chung Kei-won and George F. Hourani, "Arab Geographers on Korea", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,

amplified the idea that the Moslem visitors who had come to Korea did not want to leave "since the air there is healthy, the water pure, the soil fertile and all comforts abound." This theme of the Moslems enchantment with Sila continues through the Arab descriptions even to 1332 when an Egyptian writer, Nurayi, noted: "It is recounted that strangers who establish themselves in this country never can decide to leave it, even though they may resign themselves to living in a state neighboring on poverty, since the air is pure and the water clear." These Arab views of Korea are similar to those held by many of the present foreign residents in Korea; few who come wish to leave, though the air is less pure and the water less clear than it was in the past!

The first European cartographers, using information derived from Arabic and Chinese sources, located Korea on the eastern edge of China. The name used on the early maps was Corai, derived from the Chinese pronunciation of the Koryo Dynasty that controlled Korea from 935-1392. The name was variously spelled, some European cartographers inserted an N into the word and used the place name Conray. The problems of romanization of Korean place names on the maps of Korea for Western use began early!

The first European maps to show Korea, therefore, depicted it only as a place name on the coasts of China. A good illustration of this is the map of Japan of Fernao vaz Dourado of 1568 which shows the Costa de Conrai in a rather picturesque style on the continent west of Japan. As Western knowledge of the Far East expanded,

Vol. 58, no. 4, 1938, pp. 658-661.

One of the Arab visitors stayed in Korea in 1274 and founded a Korean clan, what is called the Deogsu Jang clan. This is described along with the subsequent lineage of 12 branches of the clan in a bi-lingual book by Choe Sang-un: *Relations between Korea and Arabia*, Korea Saudi Arabia Association, Seoul, 1971, 90 and 115 pages. Unfortunately Professor Choe did not quote from Arab geographical writings, though he quoted comments about the Arab visitors from Korean writings such as the *Koryo-sa*.

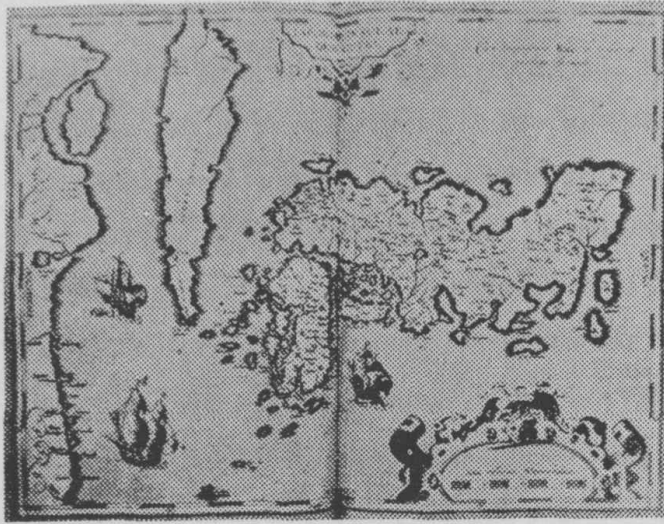


Figure 4. *Japoniae Insulae Descriptio*, 1595, Luis Teixeira, in A. Ortelius' *Theatrum*, Copy in William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, reproduced by George Kish, 1947.

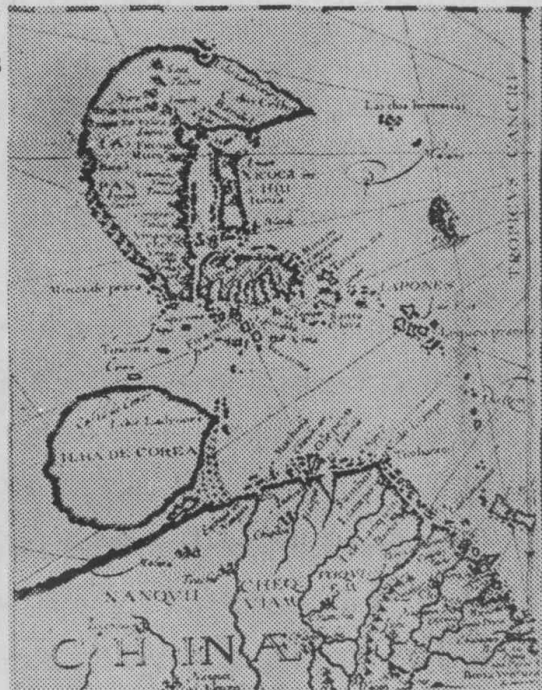


Figure 5. *Exacte & Accurate Delineatio. .Insulae Japan & Corea*, 1596, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, Copy in William E. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, reproduced by George Kish, 1947.

particularly through the contacts with the Japanese by missionaries and traders, better information on Korea began to appear on European maps. A famous map of the Far East by the Dutch cartographer, Linschoten, dated 1596, shows Korea in the shape of a circular island. It was called *IIha de Corea*, but a note was added: "One can-

not certainly affirm whether this land is an island or a part of the continent."³⁰

Another way that Korea was shown in these early maps was as an elongated island. This shape appeared on many of the maps in the atlases that were published in Europe from 1550 to 1650. For example, Gerhard Mercator's atlas of 1569 had Korea as an elongated island. This same shape was on a map published by Ortelius in 1595 which was drawn by the Portuguese cartographer, Luiz Teixeira, who used largely Japanese source materials.

New accounts of Korea began to come to Europe through letters and maps sent by Jesuit missionaries in China. These contained much more accurate information on Korea than that which had been derived from Japanese sources. One famous Jesuit priest-cartographer was Matteo Ricci who drew world maps for the Chinese from 1584 to 1608. European cartographers began to accept the fact that Korea was a peninsula rather than an island, though on their maps they accentuated the Yalu and Tuman rivers which separated the peninsula from Manchuria. The shape of Korea, though shown as a peninsula, was still elongated, on some maps exceptionally so.

Many of the Jesuit missionaries in Peking at this time were skilled cartographers. The Korean envoys to the Imperial Court in Peking met with these learned Jesuit scholars in East-West contacts that fostered the rise and development of *Silhak*, or modern learning in Korea. One facet of this intellectual exchange was the furnishing of geographical information about Korea to the Jesuits and in turn

³⁰Linschotten's note was given in the commentary accompanying his map in Latin: ". . . quae an sit insula an pars contentis nondum constat." This is noted in "Pawlowski's History of the Geography of Korea", *op. cit.*, There has been some research on Linschotten and his various comments on Korea, on Quelpart (or Cheju) Island and on Causien, which he notes is the same as Chausien "which is the Chinese name of Korea". These remarks are noted in Albert Kammerer, "La Decouverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIeme Siecle et la Cartographie des Portulans", *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Supplement to Vol. XXXIX, 1944.

providing to the Korean scholars information about the outside world. Among the materials which the Koreans received was a map of the world which Matteo Ricci had had printed in 1603. On this map Ricci had corrected the mis-information on the Far East, including Korea, which was currently on European maps.

This 1603 map of Matteo Ricci is a significant one in the history of cartography. The map was printed in eight panels which could be mounted on sections of a screen. Matteo Ricci had prepared numerous editions of a world map and there is a lengthy literature on the subject.³¹ The 1603 edition, one of the best of his world maps, was brought to Korea by a Korean envoy, a member of the Huang family, who kept the map in his home. Perhaps at a subsequent time of religious persecution, or when the *Silhak* was considered subversive, the map was sealed in a package, marked 'Something Never to be Opened' and placed in the family vaults of the Huang family. In 1936 a young member of the family who had been in a university in Japan, disobeying the injunction, opened the package and found the map. Japanese scholars, greatly interested, photographed the map since it was the only copy of the 1603 edition known to be in existence.³² The subsequent preservation of this map during World War II and through the Korean War is difficult to trace. However, this world map of Matteo Ricci is now one of the prized possessions in the collection of old Korean maps held in the Christian Museum on the campus of Soong-jun University in Seoul. The whole collection

³¹The bibliography on Matteo Ricci is so extensive it is not feasible to give references here; they can be found in standard bibliographies. A brief summary in Korean is by Ro Jung-shik, "Eastward Movement of European Geography-Chiefly on World Maps Introduced to Korea", *Collection of Papers of Taegu Teachers College*, Vol. 5, 1970, pp. 225-255. Other articles in Korean are by Chang Bo-woong and Kim Yang-son.

³²The story of the discovery of the Huang family map is given by Ayuzawa, Shintoro, "Matteo Ricci's World Map Published in 1603", *Chirigakushi-Kenkyu*, (*Research in the History of Geography*), Kyoto, Japan, 1957, pp. 1-19, in Japanese with an English abstract and a reproduction of the Ricci map of 1603.

is of interest and the writings of the founder of the Museum, the late Professor Kim Yang-son, on the Matteo Ricci map and other maps are of great value.³³

Decades after the time of Matteo Ricci, in 1674, another world map on two hemispheric projections was made in Peking by Father Ferdinand Verbiest. This map was brought to Korea where wood-blocks were carved so that the map could be reproduced. Some of the Korean copies of the Verbiest map were sent to Japan where they were much prized. In later years after the first Korean wood-blocks were lost or became worn, a new set of wood blocks was made. Unfortunately, two of the eight sets of wood-blocks have been lost; the remaining six panels are now housed at Seoul National University. The six panels comprising the map portion of the Verbiest world map were used for a reprinting on modern paper under the supervision of the Japanese scholar, Taro Takahashi, in 1933.³⁴

Both the Verbiest map and the Matteo Ricci map, as well as some others made by other Jesuit missionaries, while showing Korea as a peninsula, portrayed it in a rather simplified and distorted shape. These world maps obtained from China were used by Korean scholars in various ways. In some cases the latitude and longitude from them were copied onto their existing world maps such as the *Chonha-do*, which thus resulted in a map of largely mythological places with parallels and meridians superimposed on them! New world maps of small size to fit the dimensions of Korean paper or to insert in Korean atlases were also made. Kim Chong-ho in circa 1834 cut the wood blocks for one such map which showed the world in two hemispheres. A good example of this type of atlas is

³³Kim Yang-son's major writings were reprinted in a memorial volume in Korean published by Soong-jun University after his death.

³⁴Professor Takahashi very kindly gave me a set of the modern reprints of the Verbiest map in 1953. I had them mounted on six scrolls and they hang in my office at the University of Florida.

in the Yi Clan Museum in Chonju.

Father Regis' map of Korea

An important event in the history of the cartography of Korea was the publication in Paris in 1737 of the *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine* . . . This atlas was called new because an earlier atlas, *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, prepared by Martin Martini had been published in Amsterdam in 1655. The Martini atlas had been copied in large part from a Chinese version of the "Mongol Atlas" of 1541. The *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine* of 1737 had a long title and contained maps which were drawn by a French cartographer, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville. Some of the maps in this atlas had also been used in Father Du Halde's *Description . . de la Chine* . . which had been published in Paris in 1735. The atlas was designed to accompany Du Halde's book. Among the maps in the atlas and the book was a map of Korea which was attributed to the work of Father Jean Baptiste Regis, a Jesuit missionary in Peking.

As they had been since the days of Matteo Ricci, Jesuit missionaries were employed in the early 1700's at the court of the Manchu Emperor of China, Kang Hsi. They had shown their cartographic skills on a number of projects and were asked (or ordered) by the Emperor to make a map of each of the provinces of China and of the bordering lands. Thus a party of the Jesuit missionaries, headed by Father Regis, went into Manchuria in 1709 to map this area which they called Eastern Tartary. After completing their surveying work in Manchuria they sought permission to enter Korea in order to obtain data for a map of the peninsula. However, they were forbidden entry by both the Korean and the Chinese officials. Thus, Father Regis had to be content with going along the lower Yalu river. Through astronomical observations he and his colleagues made in this

area and elsewhere in Manchuria, they were able to ascertain the correct latitude and longitude of the border areas of Korea.

Upon his return to Peking, Father Regis made contact with an official of the Manchu court, a person whom he called a "Tartar Lord". This official had been an envoy to the Court of the King of Korea in 1710. It is not clear if this Tartar Lord had been expressly designated to obtain a map of Korea on his visit to Seoul, but at any rate *Father Regis received a map of Korea from him. It was said to have been "copy'd from one in the King of Korea's Palace."* Accompanying the Tartar Lord had been an official of the Mathematical Tribunal of China who had measured the distance from a city near the entryway to Korea to Seoul and had through observation of the stars recalculated the latitude of Seoul.³⁵

With his own geodetic measurements and with those of the Chinese official, Father Regis redrew the copy of the Korean map given to him by the Tartar Lord. The new map was completed with place names written in Chinese some time before 1714. The map was engraved and included in the so-called Jesuit Atlas of China which was presented to the Emperor Kang Hsi in 1718.³⁶

The map of Korea in the Jesuit Atlas shows the Korean peninsula rather too broad at its southern extremity. The island of Cheju is crowded close to the southwestern shore and the island of Ullung is located close to the eastern shore of southern Korea. The rivers are shown by two parallel lines for most of their distances, so that they are exaggerated in size. The mountains are shown in simple symbols of two or three overlapping, inverted V's; islands, moun-

³⁵The latitude of Seoul measured by the Chinese officials was 37°38'20" North Latitude according to Father Regis' account. The official latitude is given as 37°34', though the present day city has such a sprawl it encompasses the latitude as estimated by the Chinese mathematician.

³⁶A study of the Jesuit Atlas and a reproduction of it was prepared by Walter Fuchs, "Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kang-hsi Zeit", *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph Series IV, Catholic University Press, Peking, China, 1943, iii, 414 pages.

tains and rivers are all named. Towns and cities are designated by small circles. A square denotes the capital; this is called Choson, rather than Seoul, and is located midway between the coasts in the center of the peninsula. Paek-tu-san, the mountain area between the headwaters of the Yalu and the Tuman rivers, is quite prominent. South from it along the interior slopes of the mountains there are symbols which may be interpreted to stand for large trees or forests. The map is on a grid of latitude and longitude. The longitude is given in degrees east from Peking; the meridians are slightly slanted to the northwest. Though a few areas such as peninsulas and plains are named, the provincial boundaries and names are not given on the map. This seems rather extraordinary, for Korean maps almost always include the provinces. There are many outposts named along the northern frontier. The seas on each side of the peninsula are not named, only the character for "sea" is given.

A copy of the Jesuit Atlas was sent to Paris from Peking around 1725. In Paris, the Secretary of the Confessor of the King of France, Father Du Halde, undertook the task of editing the various "lettres edifiantes" and other materials sent by the Jesuit missionaries in Peking and assembling them into a four volume work on China: *Description . . . de la Chine*. This was published in Paris in 1735. An English translation was published in London a year later with the title: *The General History of China . . .*³⁷ The editions of Du Halde's *China* included maps of Korea similar to the map in d'Anville's *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine*. A 1741 London edition of Du Halde's *China* had a full page map of Korea which was copied from d'Anville's

³⁷The full title of the English edition of du Halde's book takes up a page in the style of the time: "The General History of China, Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the EMPIRE of CHINA, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet. Including an Exact and Particular Account of their Customs, Manners, Ceremonies, Religion, Arts and Sciences. The Whole adorn'd with Curious Maps, and a Variety of Copper-Plates." Done from the French of P. Du Halde, 4 volumes, London, John Watts, 1736.



Figure 6. *The Kingdom of Korea*, 1741, Edward Cave, London, Derived from the *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine* by d'Anville, Paris, 1737, Copy in the Library of the Toyo Bunka, Tokyo.

map.³⁸

Though the d'Anville map and its copies were adapted from the map of Korea in the Jesuit Atlas, there were some slight changes. The shape is very faithfully copied and the grid of latitude and longitude kept. However, the symbol for the mountains is changed to a more hachured one and the rivers are drawn in single lines. The coastline is accentuated by drawing closely spaced lines out from the coast parallel to the parallels for short distances. The town symbols are small castle-like drawings. The capital is called King-Ki-Tau, which is the Chinese pronunciation of Kyonggi-do, or Kyonggi Province. The symbols for forests are omitted. However, added to the map are dotted lines for provincial boundaries and the names of the provinces. The boundaries are not too accurate; they may have been derived from an interpretation of the "Geographical Observations of the Kingdom of Corea, taken from the Memoirs of Pere Regis" which was included in Du Halde's *China*.

³⁸The 1741 Edition which was in quarto size in two volumes was entitled in part: "A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary, Together with the Kingdoms of Korea and Tibet. . .", London, Edward Cave, 2 Volumes, 1741.

The map of Korea drawn by Father Regis and used by d'Anville and Du Halde was subsequently used by many European cartographers to correct their maps of the Far East in the following decades. Eventually this map came back to the Far East in some form and was used by Japanese cartographers to depict Korea on some of their maps, despite the fact that they had more accurate maps of Korea available to them.³⁹ The map of Korea by Father Regis did indeed mark a turning point in the history of the European cartography of Korea.

But—and this is an intriguing mystery—but what was the map which was in the King of Korea's palace which was copied by the Tartar Lord and in turn adapted by Father Regis? There has been some speculation as to this map by Korean and Western scholars but no definitive answers have been published. Some persons have been confused by the dates, thinking that the map in the palace would be one of Chong Sang-gi's maps, since d'Anville's *Atlas* was published in 1736. But this is a wrong assumption, for the map used in the Jesuit Atlas given to the Emperor Kang Hsi was drawn before 1714. The Korean map would have had to pre-date 1710 in order for it to have been obtained or copied by the Tartar Lord. A person who likes the exotic might say that it was copied from the Pando-ji, the pond in the shape of a map of Korea near which a pavilion was built in 1642 in the Secret Gardens in Seoul. This explanation, though romantic, scarcely seems feasible! The Tartar Lord told Father Regis that "he had likewise been kept under great restraint; that there were Persons in his House who constantly watched him and that everything he said was carried to the Palace by young Persons placed at convenient distances along the street." Being under

³⁹An eminent Korean geographer, Pak No-sik, Vice-President of Kyunghee University, kindly gave me a copy of a reprint of a Meiji 3rd Year (1871) map of Japan and adjoining areas which has the Korean peninsula in the identical shape as that of the map of Father Regis.

such surveillance it was hardly possible for the Tartar Lord to copy any map of Korea without the blessing of Korean officials. It is, of course, possible that the Korean officials furnished to the Tartar Lord an old map of Korea, such as an elaborated copy of the map in the *Tongguk-Yoji-Sungnam* which has a somewhat similar shape to the map of Father Regis. It is hoped that they did not give him a map to copy that was purposely misleading. It is also possible that the Tartar Lord was not a very accurate copyist. All of these speculations are intriguing but not very helpful.

The late Kim Yang-son, a Korean scholar who founded the Christian Museum at Soong-jun University, conjectured that the map might have been similar to one drawn by Kim Suh-hong and published in a wood-block edition about 1700.⁴⁰ This is a possibility, for the shape of southern Korea is fairly close to that on the map of Father Regis. The islands of Cheju and Ullung are drawn in similar positions close to the peninsula. The capital, though accentuated in size in Kim Suh-hong's map, is located in the center of the peninsula. However, the area of northern Korea as shown on Kim's map is quite different than that of the map of Father Regis. Another possibility is the map of Korea in Hong Manjong's book *Tongguk-Yoktae-Ch'ongmok*, a history of Korea written around 1700.⁴¹ However, this map, obviously drawn to fit the paper, is essentially a copy of the map in the *Tongguk-Yoji-Sungnam* and does not have the detail of the map of Father Regis. Neither Kim Suh-hong's nor Hong

⁴⁰I have studied the wood-block map of Kim Suh-hong in the collection of the Christian Museum at Soong-jun University and was very kindly given photographs of it. Kim Yang-son only conjectured that this map was a possibility of a prototype of the Regis map in a conversation with me in 1970 and in one of his articles in Korean.

⁴¹Copies of the *Tongguk-Ch'ongmok* may be found in a number of libraries. In making copies of the map from different editions and copies of the book I have been impressed by how widely the copyists varied in their skill and exactness of reproduction.

Man-jong's maps were likely to have been readily available in the Royal Palace.

In the years after the abolition of the Yi Dynasty, the books and maps in the Royal Palace were widely dispersed. Maurice Courant in his *Bibliographie* of Korean scholarly works lists under #2204 a map without a title which he says was the map of Korea which was in the palace in Seoul and of which a copy was used by the Jesuits at the start of the XVIII century.⁴² But Courant gives no details on the Korean map or even where he had seen it, so this reference is only tantalizing rather than helpful. Courant may have been referring to some well-known but undated maps of Korea, the *Choson-Chido* or the *Haedong-Chido*, both wood-block printed maps, sometimes copied and colored in manuscript form and which may be seen in a number of collections. However, these maps do not have the shape of the map of Father Regis.

The search for this elusive map despite the frustrations has been a very enjoyable experience. It has resulted in contacts with all sorts of persons. Some operator-types have been disappointed that some fabulous sum of money was not forthcoming for a map or atlas. They thought of an American research scholar as a Tartar Lord, not recognizing that the present rules and regulations forbid the ex-

⁴²The reference to this map is #2204 in Maurice Courant's *Bibliographie Coreene, op. cit.* The Introduction to Courant's bibliography was translated by Mrs. W. M. Royds and published in the *Transactions, Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXV, 1936, pp. 1-99. Courant noted that the Koreans "have made a great number of maps of Korea" and particularly lauds Kim Chong-ho's map of 1861 as "a work of remarkable accuracy, and in addition is admirable as it was made only by indigenous processes".

The standard references to Korean bibliography have mention of only the major geographical works and atlases. The catalogues of the collections at the various government and university libraries usually have a section on maps which lists their holdings by title. Catalogues of map exhibitions held at Seoul National University in 1971 and at Yongnam University in 1970 list and have brief comments on the maps displayed. However, there is no overall master catalogue of Korean maps; such a catalog, well annotated, would be very helpful.

port of Korean maps of venerable age. However, many enjoyable and valuable discussions have been held with scholars and with knowledgeable librarians and book dealers about old maps of Korea. There is a joy to the feel and appearance of an old map; there is always the hope that, when leafing through a set of maps, a map similar to that of Father Regis would appear.

It is possible to conjecture that the map copied by the Tartar Lord and used by Father Regis was a Korean map drawn to fit the dimensions of the sheets of paper used. It was probably in manuscript form rather than in wood-block reproduction. It was not drawn to scale as was Chong Sang-gi's map of a few years later. It would have been of a fairly large size in order to include all of the place names used, and the map probably accentuated the rivers and mountains of Korea. It may well have been that this map quickly went out-of-date and was superseded by Chong Sang-gi's excellent *Tongguk-Chido* which appeared some time after 1730. Thus the map copied by the Tartar Lord and furnished to Father Regis may well have gone into oblivion and not been copied or reproduced, explaining why no copies are to be found. The search has not ended. Newspaper articles and a magazine article that have been published in the fall of 1975 may help in the search. Who knows? Somewhere there may be another map like that of the Matteo Ricci map of 1603 lying rolled up and dust covered in a family vault, the discovery of which will solve the mystery.

The search for the Korean map used by Father Regis has been rewarding. Through it much has been learned about Korean cartography and of man's eagerness to chart his way; centuries ago it was to the next continent, now it is to use satellites to gain remote sensing imagery of the earth's resources. The Korean map which has been sought is an interesting example of the ways in which knowledge has moved between the East and the West. It is evidence of the

kind of cooperation which took place almost three centuries ago between some Korean court officials, a Tartar Lord, a Chinese mathematician, a Jesuit missionary-cartographer, a French cartographer, a British cartographer and probably a lot of other persons. The Koreans did share their geographical knowledge and their maps and helped the outside world gain a more correct understanding of the geography of Korea. It is hoped that such will always be the case with Korea, and that the maps of Korea will always be available to the outside world.

Presidential Address on the Occasion of the Seventy-fifth Annivesary Celebration of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch

I feel both awed and honored to stand on this auspicious spot this afternoon in the physical and spiritual presence of so many of those who have excelled in Korean scholarship and professional activity. Nonetheless, I shall attempt to perform my required task with a proper degree of decorum.

The original Council of the Society, formed on June 16, 1900, included such familiar names as Horace Allen, J. H. Gubbins, James Gale, Homer Hulbert, H. S. Underwood, Samuel A. Moffott, H. G. Appenzeller, George H. Jones and others. Past presidents of the Society over the years included the names of Gubbins, Gale, Trollope, H. H. Underwood, Koons, Lay, Hunt, Clark, H. G. Underwood, Hertz, Chambard, Paik, Steinberg, Kinney, Samuel H. Moffett, Carl Bartz, Trench, Kim Jung-sae, Landy, Rutt and Wanne J. Joe.

The Society has tried, often through difficult times, to retain its original purpose, as drafted by Homer B. Hulbert for the first Constitution: "to investigate the arts, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries." It hasn't always been easy for one reason or another. I am struck by H. H. Underwood's statement in his presidential report for 1939: "The members of the Society have all been working under conditions which did not lend themselves to

*Delivered by Edward Reynolds Wright, President of the Society, at a lawn-party celebration at the official residence of the British Ambassador, William S. Bates, on June 21, 1975. 200 members were present for the occasion.

the conduct of research work.” The ups and downs of the Society have generally coincided with the ups and downs of this fascinating land of the not always so morning calm. But for the endeavors of the founders of the Society, it might have died in the early years when Korea was an object of international dispute among great powers, culminating in the Russo-Japanese War and the Japanese annexation of Korea. From January 1903 to December 1910 there was no activity by the Society. There were many years when the *Transactions* were printed in Japan or Hong Kong either for practical or political reasons or both. In 1950, on the outbreak of the Korean War, three of nine Council members were forceably taken north, and one did not survive. In another instance, the minutes of the Council meeting of June 2, 1961, reflect concern over the implications of the “Security Martial Law” for RAS meetings. It was decided not to set a date for a next meeting until the situation could be clarified. However, the topic for a next meeting, whenever it could be held, was decided upon: “Korean Butterflies.” The fact that only fifty volumes of the “annual” *Transactions* have been printed over 75 years further reflects the periods of crisis on the Korean peninsula. For a more detailed survey of the Society’s history I commend to you the address delivered five years ago by Dr. Lak-Geon George Paik entitled “70 Years of the RAS in Korea,” printed in Volume XLVII of the Society’s *Transactions*.

The underlying purpose of the Society has always been to interpret Korean culture and society to foreigners. This has been done in three principal ways: publications, programs and tours. The original philosophy of RAS membership seems to have been one of a relatively exclusive group of persons with a scholarly interest in Korea. This has evolved in the 1960’s and 1970’s into a philosophy of membership which invites participation by all persons with a serious interest in Korean culture and society. The membership in 1900 numbered

35; in 1920, 162; in 1936, 225; in 1939, 124; in 1957, 87; in 1971, 788; and at present, 1,100, of whom 350 are overseas members. The Society's growth made it necessary to hire one half-time corresponding secretary to direct day-by-day activities. The first of these was Mrs. Helen Russell, who served for one year. She was followed by the dynamic Dr. Harold Cook, who helped expand various Society programs. For the past two years Mrs. Marjorie Neil has worked closely and effectively with the Council in this role.

In the early years, programs were occasional, and papers presented were intended for inclusion in the annual *Transactions*, which was a focal point of RAS activity. Reactivation efforts following the Korean War were instigated in 1955, and by 1957, meetings had become monthly affairs, and by 1969, semi-monthly. Average attendance at meetings over the past three years has been about 160.

RAS tours were begun in the late 1950's, organized primarily by Carl Miller. These are now an integral part of RAS activities with about 1,200 participants last year.

Concerning publications, the annual RAS journal, *Transactions*, was begun in 1900, and fifty volumes will have been produced by the end of this year. The RAS book publication program began in 1967 with four titles. The names most associated with the beginnings of this program are Robert Kinney, David Steinberg, and Spencer Palmer. Since 1967 ten more works of a scholarly or cultural nature have been sponsored or co-sponsored by the RAS. During the current calendar year (1975) five more new titles will be produced. In addition, a new RAS reprint series of out-of-print western-language works on Korea from the 19th and 20th centuries will be inaugurated later this summer. Five titles in the reprint series will be reissued under the RAS imprint by the end of this year. By the end of 1975, then, the Korea Branch of the RAS will have issued 50 copies of the *Transactions* and 18 original and six reprinted books. In the RAS library,

there are now 500 volumes, including a number of rare works.

In closing, I reiterate that our Society welcomes to its membership any foreigners and Koreans who are seriously interested in the RAS activities. We have attempted in our various programs to maintain a relatively high level of scholarship and creative endeavor. While such aspirations are susceptible to pitfalls, and can never be perfectly met, we shall continue to strive to develop our Society in ways that are true to the goals set by those 35 founders on that undoubtedly hot and muggy, but fortuitous, day 75 years ago, June 16, 1900.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1974

The year 1974 has seen another active year in the life of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. We have continued along the path laid down by the Founding Fathers in 1900, that is "to investigate the Arts, History, Literature and Customs of Korea and the neighbouring countries". This is our aim through our programs, publications and tours.

We were very disappointed to learn, after his election as President of the Society, that the Right Rev. Richard Rutt had been appointed as Suffragan Bishop of St. Germans in Cornwall. The Council took the occasion of his address to the Society in April to honour him for all that he had done for the Society during his years in Korea.

Following is an account of important events in the life of the Society in 1974.

1. Office location: 1974 saw another office change for the Society. We moved in October to the 9th floor of the Christian Building at Chongno 5-ka.
2. Membership: As of December 1, 1974 the total membership stood at 941; of this total 42 were life members, 281 overseas, and 618 in Korea.
3. Meetings: During the year, the Society held 32 meetings of which 10 were held in Taegu. Meetings were attended by 4,980 people during the year.
4. Tours: During the year 800 persons participated in 30 tours. Thanks are due to Mr. Yoon Young-il who has made all the tour arrangements and to those members of the Society who have gladly given time to lead tours, notably Mr. Edward Adams, Dr. Samuel Moffett, Dr. Horace G. Underwood and Mr. Cornelius Choy.
5. Publications: There have been no new publications but *Korean Patterns* by Dr. Paul Crane was again reprinted. A number of publications projects are in preparation for 1975.

1974 Meetings

Date	Event	Attendance
January 9	Pirate Incursions on the Korean Coast during the Medieval Period (Mr. Robert Chudy)	100
January 10 (Taegu RAS)	Buddhist Art (Mr. Lee Musselwhite & Miss Carol Beecher)	37
January 23	Mr. Carpentier—a French Mining Engineer in Korea 1899–1902 (Ambassador Pierre Landy)	110
February 6	Slide Evening-RAS Armchair Tour (Mr. Paul Van Weddingen)	200
February 14 (Taegu RAS)	Korean Pottery Old and New (Mr. Ron duBois & Mr. Lee Musselwhite)	60
February 20	Korean Temple Bells (Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)	150
March 5	Early Stone Age Excavations in Korea (Dr. Sohn Pow-key)	120
March 14 (Taegu RAS)	Curvillier Slide Collection (Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)	57
March 20	Some Korean Painters and Their Paintings (Mr. Graham Weakley)	125
April 3	Yi Kyubo and his White Cloud Essays (Rt. Rev. Richard Rutt)	250
April 11 (Taegu RAS)	Korean Folk Dance in a Cultural Context (Mr. Kim Se-chung)	42
April 17	An Introduction to the Kayagum and other Korean Instruments (Ms. Coralie Rockwell)	70
May 8	Research on Korea—U.N.C.U.R.K. (Mr. Norman Thorpe) Research on Korea—Urban Migration (Mr. John Sloboda)	65

May 16 (Taegu RAS)	Korean Traditional Weddings	60
May 22	Curvillier Slides (Dr. Horace G. Underwood)	300
June 12	Some Aspects of 16th Century Korean Landscape Paintings (Dr. Ahn Hee Jun)	121
June 13 (Taegu RAS)	Some Korean Painters and their Paintings (Mr. Graham Weakley)	30
June 26	Changes in Korean Family Life (Dr. Herbert Barringer)	100
July 10	Korea from a Helicopter-slide Evening (Chaplain Louie Walter)	130
July 24	The Kayagum and other Korean Musical Instruments (Mrs. Coralie Rockwell)	150
September 11	Buddhist Ceremony	150
September 19 (Taegu RAS)	Little Known Places Within Taegu City (Mr. James Grayson)	31
September 25	Modern Korean Poetry (Prof. Kim Hai-hiun)	80
August 22	Film Evening—The Legacy of Korea, Land of Contrasts	160
October 9	Korean Buddhist Sculpture (Dr. Lena Kim Lee)	100
October 23	Korea Before and During the Korean War (Mr. Robert A. Kinney)	310
October 26 (Taegu RAS)	Hahoe Mask Dance Group	110
November 6	Research on Korea— Chinese Music in Sacrificial Rites (Mr. Robert Provine) Research on Korea— Traditional Background to Early Modern Korean Verse (Mr. David McCann)	68

November 20	Life in Seoul Half a Century Ago (Dr. J. Earnest Fisher)	130
December 4	Slides of Korea from the Pre- 1900 Period (Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)	160
December 5 (Taegu RAS)	Korean National Personality (Dr. Lee Shi-hyung)	35
December 18	Annual Meeting An Introduction to the Korean Drum (Mr. Kim Byong-sup and Mr. Gary Rector)	100

Tours 1974

Date	Place	Participants
April 5-6-7	Cheju Island	17
April 13	Kangwha Island	52
April 19-20-21	Chinhae, Chinju	21
April 27	Namhan-sansong	64
May 3-4-5	Kyongju-South Mountain	22
May 11	Inchon-Suwon Railroad	78
May 18	Yuju	39
May 25-26-27	Andong Pusoksa	58
June 1	Vegetarian Dinner	38
June 8	Puyo & Nonsan	65
June 15-16	Haeinsa	28
June 22	Haengju-sansong	16
June 28-29-30	Mallipo	20
September 8	Kangwha Island	37
September 14	Yongwol	14
September 21	Emille Museum	80
September 28-29	Popchusa	19
October 5	Pukhan-sansong	25
October 12-13-14	Chungmu	25
October 20	Military Academy	28
October 25-26-27-28	Chiri-san	25
November 2	Ewha & Yonsei Museums	16
November 9	Kimchi Making Tour	42

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1975

Following are vital statistics for the Society in 1975.

1. Membership: Total members—1,006 (Life members: 44; local members: 624; overseas members: 338).
2. Tours: Total participants—1,089 persons (One-day tours: 894 persons; eight weekend tours: 195 persons).
3. Publications: 1975 was a banner year for RAS publications. In May two volumes were published: *Korean Politics in Transition*, edited by Edward Reynolds Wright and published by the University of Washington Press for the RAS, and *The Life of Buddha* as depicted in Korean Temple paintings by Zozayong. In August Gertrude Ferrar's retelling of Korean folk tales, *Mr. Hong and the Dragon*, was published, followed by *Transactions* 49 in November. In December the first issues of the new RAS reprint series were published, as follows:
 - James S. Gale, *Korean Sketches* (originally published, 1898)
 - Horace N. Allen, *Things Korean* (1908)
 - William F. Sands, *Undiplomatic Memories* (1903)
 - Andrew J. Grajdanzev, *Modern Korea* (1944)
 - A. Ireland, *The New Korea* (1922)
 - N. F. Nelson, *Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia* (1930)

In press were two books to be published in early 1976: *Some Korean Journeys* by William and Dorothy Middleton, and *The Changing Korean Village* by Pak Ki Hyuk with the late Sydney Gamble.
4. The Douglas Scholarship, administered by the Society, was awarded to Mr. Chung Tae Hwan, a graduate student in Korean studies at Sung Kyun Kwan University.

1975 Meetings

Date	Event	Attendance
January 15	Life in a Korean Village (Mr. Paul Dredge & Mr. Charles Goldberg)	180
January 16 (Taegu RAS)	Film Program	—
January 29	Some Anthropological Impressions of Chejudo (Dr. Yoon Soon Young)	200
February 12	An Evening Wasted with James Wade	260
February 26	Korean Women and Their Activities for the Amendment of the Family Law (Dr. Lee Tai Yong)	152
March 12	A Study of Status and Mobility in Post-1600 Ulsan (Dr. John N. Somerville)	100
March 20 (Taegu RAS)	An Evening Wasted with James Wade	40
March 26	Lecture Dance Program on Korean Mask Dance (Mr. Alan C. Heyman)	185
April 9	Music in the Confucian Ceremony in Korea (Mr. Robert Provine)	105
April 10 (Taegu RAS)	Music in the Confucian Ceremony in Korea (Mr. Robert Provine)	35
April 23	Korean Fortune-Telling (Dr. Han Tae Dong)	136
May 7	Topics in Early Yi Dynasty Social History (Dr. Martina Deuchler)	89
May 15 (Taegu RAS)	Introduction to the Korean Drum (Mr. Kim Byong-sup and Mr. Gary Rector)	35

May 21	Early Korean Emigration to Hawaii: 1902-1905 (Mr. Wayne Patterson)	44
June 11	Reflections on Life in Korea: 1935-75 (Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Kinney)	156
June 25	Korean War Reminiscences (Dr. Horace G. Underwood Dr. Elmer Kilbourne Prof. Song Yo-in Mr. Yoon Young-il)	150
July 23	Korean Snakes, 1000 B.C. Until Now (Dr. Maria Silvia Codecasa)	50
August 20	Film Evening—Tumulus 98	160
September 3	An Evening of Traditional Korean Music (Mr. Cho Chaeson—narrator)	250
September 18 (Taegu RAS)	Film Evehing-Tumulus 98	40
October 1	Master Eibokken on Korea and the Korean Language—Supplementary Remarks to Hamel's Narrative (Prof. Dr. F. Vos)	83
October 15	Korean Tokkebi (Mr. Zozayong)	350
October 22 (Taegu RAS)	Slides of Korea—Pre-1900 (Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)	60
November 5	Slides of Early Korea Including the Independence Movement (Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)	320
November 15 (Taegu RAS)	Korean Buddhist Temple Paintings (Mr. Carl Strom)	40
November 19	Demonstration Lecture on Traditional Korean Dance (Christine Loken)	112

December 3	Annual Meeting Curvillier Slides (Dr. Horace G. Underwood)	115
December 10 (Taegu RAS)	Maps of Korea (Dr. Shannon McCune)	42
December 17	Maps of Korea (Dr. Shannon McCune)	50

Tours 1975

Date	Place	Participants
April 6	Yoju	37
April 12	Suwon-Inchon narrow guage railway	64
April 19	Soraksan	38
April 19-20	Kongju & Magoksa	32
April 26	Namhan-sansong	38
May 2-3-4	Soraksan	38
May 3	Kumgok	20
May 4	Chongmyo	45
May 10	Palace	65
May 16	Buddha's birthday	82
May 24-25-26	Kyongju	22
May 31	Kiln & Potsherd Collecting	31
June 7	Kwangnung & Pongsonsa	27
June 15	Paju-miruk & Pokwangsa	33
June 14	Hyunchungsa	28
August 30-31-Sept. 1	Pyunsan Beach	14
September 8	Chong Pyong	80
September 13-14	Kangwha Island	24
September 21	Puyo and Nonsan	73
September 28	Birdwatching	66
October 4	Pukhan-sansong	30
October 11-12-13	Mujukuchon-dong	24
October 11-12-13	Taegu & Kyongju	10
October 18	Kwanaksan	31
November 1	Yongmunsa	51
November 8	Koryo Kiln	60
November 22-23	Maisan & Chonju	22

LIST OF MEMBERS

(as of December 31, 1975)

LIFE MEMBERS

Adams, Mr. Edward B.
 Bartz, Dr. Carl F., Jr.
 Bertuccioli, H.E. Giuliano
 Bridges, Mr. Ronald Claude
 Bungér, Mr. Karl
 Carroll, The Rev. Msgr. George
 M.
 Clark, Dr. Allen D.
 Cook, Dr. & Mrs. Harold F.
 Crane, Dr. Paul S.
 Curll, Mr. Daniel B., III
 Daniels, Miss Mamie M.
 Dines, Mr. Frank E.
 Folkedal, Mr. Tor D.
 Goodwin, Dr. Charles
 Gordon, Prof. Douglas H.
 Hahm, H. E. Pyong Choon
 Henderson, Mr. Gregory
 Kinney, Mr. Robert A.
 Koll, Miss Gertrude
 Landy, H.E. Pierre
 Leavitt, Mr. Richard P.
 Ledyard, Dr. Gari
 MacDougall, Mr. Alan M.
 Mattielli, Mrs. Sandra
 Mill, Cpt. Charles Stuart, Jr.
 Miller, Mr. Carl F.
 Moffett, Dr. & Mrs. Samuel H.
 Murphy, Miss Sunny Burchell
 Pai, Mrs. Inez Kong
 Park, Mr. Sang-cho
 Quizon, Mr. Ronald P.
 Rasmussen, Mr. Glen C.
 Rucker, Mr. Robert D.

Rutt, The Rt. Rev. Richard
 Sleph, Mr. Gerald
 Smith, Mr. Warren W., Jr.
 Steinberg, Mr. David I.
 Strauss, Dr. William
 Terrel, Mr. Charles L.
 Underwood, Dr. Horace G.
 Wade, Mr. James
 Wright, Dr. Edward R.

REGULAR MEMBERS

Ahn, Prof. Byong Man
 Ailles, Maj. Craig R.
 Alliband, Mr. Graham
 Amirault, Mr. Jacques
 Anderson, Mr. & Mrs. Joe D.
 Ashley, Mr. & Mrs. Fredrick
 Backhaus, Miss Florence E.
 Bae, Ms. Sue J.
 Baker, Mr. Edward J.
 Banks, Mr. Thomas Wilson
 Barker, Miss Joan H.
 Barlag, Mr. & Mrs. Theodor M.
 Bayer, Mr. John
 Barhouse, Miss Kitty
 Beecher, Miss Carol Ann
 Bell, Mr. & Mrs. Kevin J.
 Bemis, Miss Nancy M.
 Bennett, Miss Grace V.
 Berger, Dr. Egon P.
 Bergeron, Miss Annie
 Bindenagel, Mr. & Mrs. James D.
 Bilyeu, Miss Mary E.
 Birdsall, Mr. & Mrs. John W.
 Blachman, Miss Lynn
 Blakeslee, Mr. & Mrs. Geo A.

- Blom, Mr. John
 Blowers, Mr. & Mrs. Jay H.
 Boisvert, Mr. & Mrs. Louis
 Bolin, Dr. & Mrs. Stanley F.
 Boo, Mr. Wan Hyuk
 Boose, Maj. & Mrs. Donald W.,
 Jr.
 Bosman, Mr. & Mrs. C.
 Boudreau, Miss Mary
 Bouldoire, Mr. & Mrs. Jean-Louis
 Bowen-Ashwin, Mr. & Mrs. R. J.
 Brooks, Mr. & Mrs. William T.
 Boyer, Mr. & Mrs. Marc
 Braddock, Mr. & Mrs. Wm. R.
 Brady, Mr. & Mrs. James
 Brofee, Miss Jane C.
 Buser, Miss Carolyn
 Cairns, Mr. & Mrs. Alistair
 Callahan, Miss Elizabeth
 Cameron, Mr. & Mrs. John E.
 Caplan, Mrs. Eleanor
 Carroll, Dr. & Mrs. Tom W.
 Casey, Dr. Marion Therese
 Caughran, Mrs. Gladys M.
 Chang, Mr. Ik-Pong
 Chang, Mrs. Yonhong
 Chang, Mr. Yoon Deuk
 Charles, Mr. & Mrs. E. M.
 Chenault, Mr. & Mrs. Steven L.
 Cho, Miss Hae-soon
 Cho, Mr. Min-ha
 Choi, Miss Eun Kyung
 Choi, Miss Kyu Ryun
 Choi, Miss Woo Jung
 Chon, Miss Soo-young
 Choy, Mr. Cornelius E.
 Chudy, Mr. Robert John
 Claassen, Mr. & Mrs. W. R.
 Clark, Mr. & Mrs. Donald N.
 Clasper, Mr. & Mrs. Tom
 Clavenad, Miss Maire-Madeleine
 Cochrun, Mr. & Mrs. L. F.
 Cogan, Mr. Michael Anthony
 Cooksey, Miss Esther Ruth
 Coughlin, Miss Mary L.
 Corbett, Mr. & Mrs. Edward F.
 Cozin, Mr. & Mrs. Mark L.
 Crifo, Miss Hope G.
 Cummings, Mr. & Mrs. John R.
 Current, Miss Marion E.
 Daly, Rev. John P.
 Daniels, Br. Michael J.
 Daryanani, Mr. & Mrs. Ram
 Day, Mr. & Mrs. John
 Day, Miss Lois
 Dean, Mr. Eric T., Jr.
 De Camp, Rev. & Mrs. Otto
 Dege, Dr. & Mrs. Eckart
 De Silva, H. E. & Mrs. John Denis
 Deskin, Mr. & Mrs. Harry
 De Vries, Mr. & Mrs. W. CH.
 E. A.
 Diacopoulos, Mr. John P
 Dials, Cpt. & Mrs. George E.
 Dickie, Mr. Richard
 Dinwoodie, Mr. & Mrs. John¹P.
 Diltz, Mr. Donald O.
 Doerfler, Miss Lynne L.
 Donaldson, Mr. & Mrs. Peter J.
 Donovan, Mr. Joseph R., Jr.
 Dorow, Rev. & Mrs. Maynard
 Dorsie, Miss Helene
 Dougherty, Miss Kathleen
 Driskell, Dr. Stanley W.
 Driskell, Dr. Stanley W.
 Duffy, Mr. William J.
 Duffield, Miss Lesley Janet
 Dunn, Mr. & Mrs. Charles A.
 Dunlop, Mr. & Mrs. D. F.
 Dustin, Mr. Frederic H.
 Duvall, Mr. & Mrs. G. Warren
 Dyson, Mr. & Mrs. Peter B.
 Eddy, Mr. & Mrs. Rodger I.
 Edwards, Mr. & Mrs. B. F.

- Eng, Mr. & Mrs. Richard T.
 Enger, Mr. Dale
 Evans, Mr. Curtis
 Farr, Dr. & Mrs. William L.
 Fernandez, Mrs. Mary W.
 Fernandez, Miss Melanie P.
 Ferrar, Mrs. Gertrude K.
 Fisk, Dr. & Mrs. John R.
 Fisher, Miss Jo-anne
 FitzGerald, Mr. & Mrs. William
 P.
 Flood, Miss Marjorie
 Fluck, Mr. & Mrs. P.
 Flye, Miss Patricia A.
 Freeman, Dr. & Mrs. Steven
 French, Mr. & Mrs. David G.
 Frudden, RADM. & Mrs. Mark P.
 Gallop, Miss Barbara H.
 Ganatra, Mr. & Mrs. Jay
 Gardner, Mr. & Mrs. Frank A.
 Geddes, Mr. John M.
 Geier, Sis. Dolores Cecelia
 Gillman, Mr. & Mrs. D.
 Glaser, Mr. & Mrs. Joachim
 Goggin, Mr. Terry
 Goodwin, Mr. James J.
 Graf, Mr. Horst E.
 Grayson, Prof. James H.
 Gragert, Mr. Edwin H.
 Grieshaber, Mr. Raymond W.
 Grubb, Rev. & Mrs. William A.
 Guillemoz, Mr. Alexandre L.
 Gurney, Miss Margaret
 Guynup, Miss Lois D.
 Hagman, Miss Lorri
 Hahn, Miss Arlene C.
 Hahn, Mr. & Mrs. Zachary
 Hall, Mr. & Mrs. Edgar C., Jr.
 Halus, Maj. & Mrs. Michael B.
 Hamelberg, Miss Lynne
 Hane, Mrs. B. K.
 Harmon, Mr. William D.
 Harper, Mr. & Mrs. Robert E.
 Harris, Mr. & Mrs. Richard
 Hart, Mr. & Mrs. William M.
 Haskell, Miss Grace C.
 Hatley, Miss Ronalee M.
 Haugh, Mr. Edward M., Jr.
 Hauswirth, Mr. Toni
 Hellman, Mr. & Mrs. Hillel
 Henne, Miss Ada L.
 Henneke, Mr. & Mrs. Fred
 Henyan, Mr. Dean A.
 Heran, Mr. & Mrs. William
 Herrick, Col. & Mrs. Louis E.
 Herrick, Mr. & Mrs. Peter P.
 Higa, Miss Hatsue
 Hill, Mrs. Nancy Lee W.
 Hobbs, Mr. Mrs. Peter W.
 Hong, Mr. Soon-il
 Hong, Prof. Sung-Chick
 Holdich, H. E. & Mrs. Roger
 Hoschele, Dr. Peter
 Houdart, Mr. Michael
 House, Mr. & Mrs. David L.
 Hugel, Mr. & Mrs. Ronald C.
 Hunt, Mr. & Mrs. Everett N., Jr.
 Huntsberry, Mr. & Mrs. Howard
 Hyun, Mr. & Mrs. Yung-won
 Janoe, Mr. & Mrs. Leo J.
 Jang, Mr. Song Hyon
 Jantz, Mr. & Mrs. Leslie C.
 Jenebelly, H. E. & Mrs. Gaston
 Joe, Prof. Wanne Jae
 Johnson, Mr. & Mrs. Chester R.
 Johnson, Mr. & Mrs. John E.
 Johnson, Ms. J. L.
 Johnson, Mr. & Mrs. Michael T.
 Jordan Recreation Center
 Jorgensen, Mr. & Mrs. Finn
 Judy, Dr. & Mrs. Carl W.
 Jung, Mr. Nai Dong
 Kay, Miss Marion L.
 Keeton, Mr. Jon W.

- Kennedy, Miss Diana L.
 Keuffel, Mr. & Mrs. Gerd H.
 Kilbourne, Mrs. Ella Ruth
 Kim, Miss Charlene C. H.
 Kim, Miss Eun Sook
 Kim, Miss Ho Soon
 Kim, Prof. Jai Hiun
 Kim, Dr. Kesook
 Kim, Prof. Tae-Jin
 Kim, Prof. Kyu
 Kim, Mr. Sang Hoon
 Kim, Rev. & Mrs. Soung Soo
 Kinderen, Mr. & Mrs. Peter J.
 Kindrachuk, Miss B.
 King, Lt. Col. Henry J.
 Kirby, Mr. & Mrs. J. A.
 Klassen, Mr. Ronald L.
 Kloth, Mr. Edward W., Jr.
 Koharian, Mr. Brian S.
 Koo, Mr. Youngnok
 Korfker, Mr. & Mrs. W. L.
 Krale, Miss Charlotte
 Krause, Mr. & Mrs. Frederick C.
 Krauth, Mr. & Mrs. Charles A.
 Kunz, Miss Carol Ann
 Kurcz, Mr. Robert
 Lamey, Dr. & Mrs. H. Arthur
 Lamont, Mr. & Mrs. Barry W.
 Larner, Mr. & Mrs. Jeremy
 Lassiter, Mr. & Mrs. David
 Lee, Miss Eun Chong
 Lee, Mr. Hee Kak
 Lee, Prof. In-ho
 Lee, Ms. Jae Soon
 Lee, Mr. & Mrs. John Reol
 Lee, Mr. Kyoo-hyun
 Lee, Prof. Pong Soon
 Lee, Mr. Robert C.
 Lee, Miss Susan
 Lee, Dr. Young-ho
 Le Forestier, Mrs. Claudie
 Leuteritz, Dr. & Mrs. Karl
 Lewis, Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth H. C.
 Lenz, Mr. David F.
 Lienhardt, Miss Brigitte
 Lim, Mrs. Sandra Ann
 Linton, Mr. James
 Loken, Miss Christine
 Long, Mr. & Mrs. Peter G.
 Longmuir, Mr. & Mrs. D. Gordon
 Loomis, Mr. William R., Jr.
 Lorenz, Mr. Robert J.
 Lowrey, Mr. & Mrs. Francis Wm.
 Macdonald, Mr. & Mrs. Donald S.
 MacIver, Miss Elizabeth A.
 Maguire, Mr. & Mrs. Michele
 Mahler, Mr. & Mrs. Henry R.
 Maris, Mr. & Mrs. W. D.
 Mason, Miss Lilian S.
 Mattielli, Mr. Robert E.
 Matusche, Miss Petra
 Mathieson, Mr. J. A. G.
 Maynard, Mr. & Mrs. Egan P.
 McClelland, Miss Mary A.
 McCracken, Mr. & Mrs. Henry E.
 McCullough, Miss Sherri
 McCune, Miss Barbara A.
 McEachern, Mr. & Mrs. Bob
 Mckee, Miss Kathryn E.
 McPheron, Mrs. Gladys M.
 McReynolds, Mr. & Mrs. John A.
 Meeker, Mr. & Mrs. Virgil W.
 Meisner, Miss Helen
 Melrose, Miss Marie
 Mestaddin, Mr. & Mrs. Syed
 Milburn, Miss Margaret
 Mintz, Mrs. Barbara R.
 Moltzan, Mr. & Mrs. Walter H.
 Moore, Mrs. James H.
 Morgan, Ms. Jeanette
 Morris, Mr. & Mrs. Warwick
 Moskowitz, Mr. Karl
 Muller, Miss Ilse
 Moon, Dr. Seung Gyu

- Murphy, Rev. John J.
 Murphy, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph W.
 Murton, Lt. Col. & Mrs. Dana K.
 Musladin, Mr. & Mrs. James P.
 Myers, Mrs. Charlotte E.
 Nanbara, Miss Mary
 Nance, Miss Marian O.
 Neil, Mrs. Marjorie
 Nelson, Mr. Charles Norman
 Neville, Miss Mary C.
 Newman, Miss Mary Ann
 Nicks, Mr. & Mrs. Gordon S.
 Nowakowski, Mr. Joseph V.
 Nowell, Mr. & Mrs. John A.
 O'Brien, Mr. & Mrs. Michael F.
 O'Brien, Miss Patricia A.
 Oh, Prof. Byung Hun
 O'Kelley, Ltc. & Mrs. Wm. C.
 Olof, Mr. Allard Maarten
 O'Rourke, Rev. Kevin
 Overholt, Miss Kay M.
 Overton, Miss Joyce M.
 Paarlberg, Mr. Don
 Pae, Prof. Yang-Seo
 Paik, Dr. Nak Choon
 Park, Mr. & Mrs. Francis H. Y.
 Park, Mr. Ki-nam
 Park, Dr. Yongse, D. D. S.
 Park, Miss Youngwha
 Peck, 2Lt. Michael
 Perchard, Mr. & Mrs. C. W.
 Perkins, Mr. & Mrs. John D.
 Petersen, Col. & Mrs. Peter B.
 Petersen, Mr. Richard
 Pi, Prof. Chyun Deuk
 Platt, Mr. & Mrs. Alfred H.
 Plumer, Mrs. Madeline
 Poitras, Prof. Edward W.
 Porter, Mr. & Mrs. Allen W.
 Pressey, Miss Suzanne
 Priem, Col. and Mrs. Charles M.
 Prince, Dr. & Mrs. Clarence E.
 Pankin, Dr. & Mrs. Alexander
 Ramsey, Mr. & Mrs. D. C.
 Rector, Mr. Gary C.
 Reizman, Mr. & Mrs. Victor J.
 Reuthe, Mr. Helgard
 Rhoads, Mr. & Mrs. Paul A.
 Richter, Mr. & Mrs. Ronald R.
 Rickabaugh, Rev. Homer T.
 Riemer, Rev. & Mrs. Hilbert W.
 Robb, Dr. & Mrs. Ian S.
 Roberts, Miss A. J.
 Roberts, Col. Robert B.
 Robinson, Mr. & Mrs. Alonzo
 Roethe, CDR. & Mrs. Edward A.
 Roth, Miss Elizabeth
 Ruslina, Miss Tinti A. K.
 Sacks, Miss Phyllis
 Saia, Miss Stephanie
 Savage, Mr. Mark
 Savino, Mr. D'amico
 Schabel, Miss Marjorie L.
 Schiendelman, Mr. & Mrs. Leon
 Schroer, Mr. & Mrs. George
 Schut, Mr. & Mrs. Hupo
 Seeger, Mr. & Mrs. William
 Seel, Dr. & Mrs. David J.
 Sentic, Mr. & Mrs. Ante V.
 Shaw, Miss Marion A.
 Sheppard, Mr. & Mrs. Peter Ed.
 Sherman, Mr. & Mrs. Philip D.
 Shin, Mr. Jung Won
 Sich, Dr. Dorothea H. E.
 Skerman, Mr. R. B.
 Skillingstad, Rev. M. Delmar
 Sloan, Mr. & Mrs. Lindley S.
 Sloane, Mr. & Mrs. Ian
 Smart, Rev. & Mrs. Clifford E.
 Smith, Mrs. Ellen
 Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Leon B.
 Synder, Miss Alice L.
 Sobbe, Miss Andrea
 Song, Prof. Yo-in

- Spath, Mr. & Mrs. G.
 Speyer, Mr. & Mrs. Hans-Jorgen
 Spitzkeit, Rev. & Mrs. James W.
 Staddon, Dr. & Mrs. Arthur
 Stanley, Rev. & Mrs. Arthur
 Stanley, Miss Christine
 Stanton, Dr. & Mrs. George W.
 Stelter, Mr. & Mrs. Richard
 Stephens, Miss D. Kathleen
 Stevens, Mr. & Mrs. G. D.
 Stewart, Mr. Warren A.
 Stickler, Mr. John C.
 Stiles, H. E. & Mrs. John A.
 Stilwell, Gen. & Mrs. Richard
 Sturdivant, Miss Phyllis O. S.
 Suh, Miss Seung-Jin
 Suh, Dr. David Kwang-sun
 Sveda, Mr. Russell J.
 Synn, Dr. & Mrs. Ilhi
 Tack, Cdr. & Mrs. C. A.
 Taylor, Miss Mildred D.
 Teruyama, Mrs. Etsuko
 Theill, Mr. E. V.
 Thiem, Mr. & Mrs. Klaus
 Thodey, Mr. & Mrs. Alan
 Thomas, Dr. & Mrs. L. P.
 Tieszen, Miss Helen R.
 Tomich, Miss Anne D.
 Tori, Mr. & Mrs. Ugo
 Topp, Mr. J. Laurence
 Torp, Col. & Mrs. Richard P.
 Townsend, Mrs. Ruth R.
 Tudor, Mr. & Mrs. Eric J.
 Underwood, Mr. Richard F.
 Unruh, Mrs. Ellen
 Urquhart, Prof. Betty A.
 Utting, Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Stanley
 Van Acker, Mr. & Mrs. Frank, Jr.
 Van Bever, Mr. & Mrs. Ayons
 Van Buuren, Mr. & Mrs. J. P.
 Van Lierop, Rev. & Mrs. Peter
 Van Weddingen, Mr. & Mrs. Paul G.
 Von Borstel, Mr. & Mrs. Uwe
 Von Leffern, Mr. & Mrs. Edward
 Vouillot, Mr. Alain
 Vincent, Mrs. Vera L.
 Wailes, Mr. & Mrs. Graham
 Walcott, Mr. & Mrs. Wm. H., Jr.
 Wallace, Mr. & Mrs. Kevin J.
 Walraven, Mr. B. C. A.
 Ward, Mr. & Mrs. Nicholas W.
 Warnick, Mr. & Mrs. Frederick D.
 Watka, Miss Violet A.
 Watson, Miss Dorothy
 Watson, Mrs. Theresa C.
 Weakley, Mr. W. Graham
 Welden, Mrs. Wilma
 White, Mr. & Mrs. Link S.
 Whitehead, Mr. & Mrs. P. J. D.
 Whitely, Mr. & Mrs. Jim
 Wickett, Mr. & Mrs. R.
 Wickman, Mr. & Mrs. John
 Wiersma, Mr. & Mrs. Donald
 Wilkinson, Mr. & Mrs. Larry C.
 Wilson, Mrs. Rebecca
 Wilson, Dr. & Mrs. Stanton R.
 Wong, Mr. & Mrs. Choong Yow
 Wray, Miss Genie
 Wright, Miss Barbara
 Wright, Mr. Soren M.
 Yang, Mr. Dong-pyo
 Yang, Miss Gehjeong
 Yaxley, Mr. & Mrs. Murray L.
 Yi, Mr. & Mrs. Ku
 Yim, Mr. & Mrs. Chang-ho
 Yohe, Dr. & Mrs. John M.
 Yoon, Mr. Chong-hiok
 Yoon, Dr. Soon Young
 Yoon, Mr. & Mrs. Young II
 Young, Ltc. & Mrs. Leon A.
 Yun, Mr. Woh Sop
 Zabor, Miss Charlatte
 Zzborowski, Dr. & Mrs. Hans-
 Juergen

OVERSEAS MEMBERS

- Abrahamson, Mr. Rodney P.
 Allen, Dr. & Mrs. C. N.
 Alleton, Mme, Viviane
 Allison, Dr. & Mrs. Roy W., Sr.
 Anderson, Rev. Robert K.
 Audet, Dr. & Mrs. Harold H.
 Austin, Mr. Donald A.
 Baker, Mr. Robert H.
 Baker, Lt. Col. John M.
 Barnett, Mr. & Mrs. Kent
 Beach, Mr. Charles
 Beckman, Mr. Robert
 Benesch, Mr. Ralph K.
 Bennett, Mr. Gordon D.
 Bishop, Cpt. & Mrs. Donald M.
 Black, Mrs. Andrews D.
 Blum, Mr. Paul C.
 Boyer, Miss Delores R.
 Braat, Mr. Douglas
 Bridge, Mr. Peter John
 Brown, Dr. & Mrs. L. Edward
 Brown, Dr. & Mrs. Wm. M., Jr.
 Browne, Mr. & Mrs. Allen C.
 Brushel, Mr. W. Sam
 Burchett, Mr. Robert B.
 Butman, Dr. Burton B. M. D.
 Cain, Mr. Morrison G.
 Carriere, Mr. Frederick F.
 Cart, Cpt. Carl E.
 Carter, Mr. & Mrs. Robert G.
 Chamberlain, Mr. Gordon B.
 Chang, Mr. Yunshik
 Clapp, Mr. & Mrs. Leallyn B.
 Clarke, Mr. Hugh
 Clarkson, Mr. Larry Graham
 Clauser, Dr. & Mrs. Jérôme K.
 Cohn, Dr. Fritz L.
 Codecasa, Mrs. Maria Silvia
 Comber, Mr. Leon
 Conard, Mr. & Mrs. George P.
 Corbin, Mr. Robert M.
 Cornelius, Cpt. & Mrs. Jeffrey
 Courtney, Mr. & Mrs. James R.
 Crockett, Mr. & Mrs. C. V.
 Culbertson, Mr. M. C., III
 Curlee, Mr. Roy M., Jr.
 Cutts, Mr. Robert L.
 Davey, Mr. Keith A.
 Davidson, Mr. Duane C.
 Derrick, Mr. Peter E.
 Deschamps, Mr. Christian
 Deuchler, Dr. Martina
 Dirks, Miss Barbara
 Douglas, Dr. & Mrs. William L.
 Driscoll, Mr. & Mrs. David J.
 Du Bois, Mr. & Mrs. Ron Perry
 Duggar, Dr. George S.
 Dyall, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph
 Eikemeier, Dr. Dieter
 Elliott, Mr. Lester M.
 England, Miss D. Joan
 England, Mr. John M.
 Erickson, Mrs. Charles L.
 Ericson, Mr. Mark D.
 Ferren, Mr. Earle N.
 Fisher, Dr. J. Earnest
 Fowler, Dr. H. Seymour
 Flagg, Cpt. David W.
 Frantz, Dr. & Mrs. Donald H., Jr.
 French, Col. & Mrs. Frederic A.
 Freedman, Mr. James Michael
 Frisch, Mr. Michael H.
 Furniss, Mr. & Mrs. J. M.
 Ganstine, Mr. & Mrs. Robert
 Gardner, Mr. Arthur L.
 Gault, Dr. N. L., Jr.
 Gaw, Mr. & Mrs. Robert J.
 Gearhart, Mr. & Mrs. William E., Jr.
 Gift, Mr. R. Jay
 Gilbert, Mr. & Mrs. Robert

- Gillham, Mr. & Mrs. Gerald J.
 Gilliam, Mr. Richard D., Jr.
 Goldberg, Mr. Charles N.
 Gompertz, Mr. G. M.
 Gompertz, Mr. & Mrs. Richard F.
 Gould, Dr. John H.
 Graves, Mr. & Mrs. John C.
 Gray, Dr. & Mrs. Paul W., Jr.
 Griffing, Dr. Robert P., Jr.
 Griffith, Dr. & Mrs. Raymond
 Grosjean, Mr. Glen M.
 Grutter, Mr. Werner
 Hall, Dr. & Mrs. Newman A.
 Halma, Dr. J. Robert
 Hansen, Mr. Morgan
 Harvey, Miss Barbara Sillars
 Harvey, Mrs. Young-sook Kim
 Harwood, Mr. John W.
 Hartman, Miss Roberta
 Hawley, Rev. & Mrs. Morley M.
 Hazard, Dr. Benjamin H., Jr.
 Held, Miss Marilyn L.
 Herrington, Mr. William S.
 Hlawatsch, Mr. George O.
 Hollowell, Miss Virginia H.
 Holton, Mr. Paul R.
 Horvath, Mr. & Mrs. Jules
 Hostetler, Mr. James C.
 Hubrich, Mr. Aristid
 Huffman, Mr. James L.
 Hughmanick, Prof. John H.
 Hyun Dr. Jayson
 Ilse, Miss Regina
 Institut fur Japnaologie
 Irish, Mr. Gerald K.
 Jacobs, Dr. Norman
 Jameson, Dr. Gloria R.
 Janelli, Mr. Roger L.
 Jeffery, Mr. Finis B., Jr.
 Johnson, Mr. & Mrs. Chester R.
 Johnson, Prof. Thomas Wayne
 Jordan, Mr. David K.
 Keller, Dr. Robert J.
 Keltie, Miss Patricia E.
 Kidd, Dr. & Mrs. David
 Kim, Mr. Bruce B.
 Kim, Mr. Han Kyo
 Kim, Rev. Sam-Woo
 Kitchin, Mr. Kirk
 Klem, Mr. & Mrs. Charles
 Klein, Mr. Edward F.
 Knez, Dr. & Mrs. Eugene I.
 Koh, Dr. & Mrs. Kwang Lim
 Kormann, Mr. & Mrs. Frank W.
 Kubota, Mr. Gaylord C.
 Kunst, Mr. & Mrs. E. D.
 Kuznets, Prof. Paul W.
 Lady, Dr. & Mrs. Harold W.
 Lam, Maj. & Mrs. David M.
 Landreville, Mr. Neil
 Langford, Dr. Roland E.
 Lebra, Prof. William P.
 Lebrecht, Mr. David G.
 Lee, Prof. Chong Sik
 Lee, Mr. Robin C.
 Lee, Mr. Tae M.
 Lehmann, Mr. & Mrs. Glenn A.
 Lennon, Miss Florence
 Libby, Mr. Gerold W.
 McCance, Cpt. & Mrs. William D.
 MacDiarmid, Ltc. Colin H.
 Macdonald, Prof. D. Ross H.
 Mackeprang, Mrs. Lois L.
 Mathonnet, Mr. Roger
 Matrin, Mr. Lee Thomas
 Mattson, Mr. Marlin R.
 Maurer, Mr. William H., Jr.
 McAllister, Miss Victoria
 McCleary, Miss Katharine E.
 McCune, Dr. & Mrs. Shannon B.
 McGovern, Prof. Melvin P.
 McKenna, Mrs. Geraldine L.
 McMillan, Mr. Michael E.
 McNabb, Miss Albena A.

- McWilliams, Mr. Paul
 Meech-Pekarik, Miss Julia
 Mercer, Ltc. A. E. E.
 Meier, Dr. Walter
 Merrill, Mr. John R.
 Merritt, Mr. Richard S.
 Meyer, Mr. Donald R.
 Middleton, CDR. & Mrs. W. D.
 Miller, Mr. Roy Andrew
 Moos, Dr. Felix
 Morgan, Mr. Lawrence
 Mori, Mrs. Barbara
 Morrison, Miss M. Marie
 Mueller, Mr. Heinz Eb.
 Mulliken, Dr. John B.
 Murray, Mr. Bruce C.
 Najima, Miss Dorothy K.
 Neil, Mr. & Mrs. John Malvin
 Nelson, Dr. Sarah M.
 Nervik, Mr. Rut
 Noah, Col. & Mrs. Max
 Orange, Mr. Marc
 Ormes, Mr. Ashton H.
 Owen, Mr. Victor Legrande
 Owens, Dr. Donald D.
 Owens, Mr. Walter R.
 Palmer, Dr. Spencer John
 Parente, Dr. William J.
 Parker, Mr. & Mrs. A. G. C.
 Parmetler, Miss Cecilia
 Payne, Miss Rebecca E.
 Perkins, Mr. Dwight H.
 Petersen, Amb. & Mrs. Jeffrey C.
 Phillips, Mr. Leo Harold, Jr.
 Pierce, Mr. Philip
 Piltz, Dr. Arne C. G.
 Provine, Mr. & Mrs. Robert C., Jr.
 Pirazzoli, Mrs. M.
 Pitts, Dr. & Mrs. Forrest R.
 Pond, Miss Marion F.
 Pore, Mr. William F.
 Proudfoot, Miss Linda G.
 Prunner, Dr. Gernot
 Pyo, Mr. Mark
 Rehnert, Mr. Robert
 Renaud, Mr. Bertrand M.
 Renshaw, Prof. Rosette
 Rice, Dr. Roberta G.
 Robinson, Dr. James C.
 Rockstein, Prof. Edward D.
 Rockwell, Mrs. Coralie J.
 Rogers, Dr. Michael C.
 Ruetman, Dr. Henn M.
 Runyan, Mr. Jon Thomas
 Russell, Mrs. Helen
 Salmon, Miss Patricia
 Sasse, Dr. Werner
 Saxe, Mr. & Mrs. William Edmund
 Scherbacker, Mr. Marcus W.
 Schneeberger, Mr. Jost W.
 Schulze, Mr. & Mrs. Raymond C.
 R.
 Schwarz, Prof. Henry G.
 Sharrer, Mr. John H.
 Sherman, Mr. & Mrs. Derek
 Shin, Mrs. Susan
 Schmick, Mr. & Mrs. William J.,
 Jr.
 Shin, Mr. & Mrs. Armour Upch-
 urch
 Shoemaker, Maj. David J.
 Shryock, Dr. Henry S., Jr.
 Skillend, Prof. W. E.
 Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Frank W.
 Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Roderick L.
 Solf, Col. Waldemar A.
 Song, Mr. Bang-song
 Spencer, Dr. Robert F.
 Sperl, Dr. Barbara M.
 Stieler, Mr. George A.
 Stockton, Miss Elsie L.
 Stoll, Mr. Irwin D.
 Strom, Mr. & Mrs. Carl
 Stroud, Mr. James T.

Strout, Mr. John E.
Stubbe, Mr. & Mrs. Clifford M.
Stubbs, Mr. Robert S.
Sullivan, Mrs. Helen B.
Summers, Mr. Roy Edward
Swartout, Mr. Robert Ray, Jr.
Tanner, Mr. V. Jordan
Teggemann, Mr. & Mrs. Detmar
Tellier, Mr. Raymond E.
Thompson, Mr. Laurence G.
Toby, Mr. Ronald
Towne, Mrs. Allen E.
Towne, Rev. Larry Edward
Thorpe, Mr. Norman K.
Treece, Mrs. Donna L.
Trover, Miss Stephanie L.
Ushiroku, Mr. & Mrs. Torao
Van Vugt, Mr. William
Vann, Dr. Sarah K.
Van Oort, Prof. (Dr.) H. A.
Vea, Mrs. Matt R.
Vleck, Ms. Linda L.
Voran, Mr. Dallas
Vos, Prof. Dr. Frits
Wagner, Prof. & Mrs. Edward W.
Walter, Dr. & Mrs. Louie W.
Weems, Dr. & Mrs. Benjamin B.
Weininger, Prof. Michael A.
Weinberg, Dr. & Mrs. Stephen
Weiss, Dr. & Mrs. Ernest W.
Wengert, Mr. John Michael
White, Mr. Peter T.
Williams, Mr. Homer F.
Williams, Dr. & Mrs. George E.
Williams, Mr. Robert L.
Williams, Mr. Von C.
Wilson, Prof. Brian A.
Wilson, Mr. & Mrs. Ian H.
Winn, Mr. & Mrs. Gregory F. T.
Wimberly, Mr. James Wilson, Jr.
Winkelman, Mrs. Stanley
Worth, Miss Evelyn
Wright, Mrs. Eunice
Yang, Mr. Key P.
Yangas, Mr. & Mrs. Robert A.
Young, Dr. Alfred Byron
Yu, Prof. & Mrs. Hyuk
Yuan, Mr. Waiming G.
Yum, Dr. Kwang S.

