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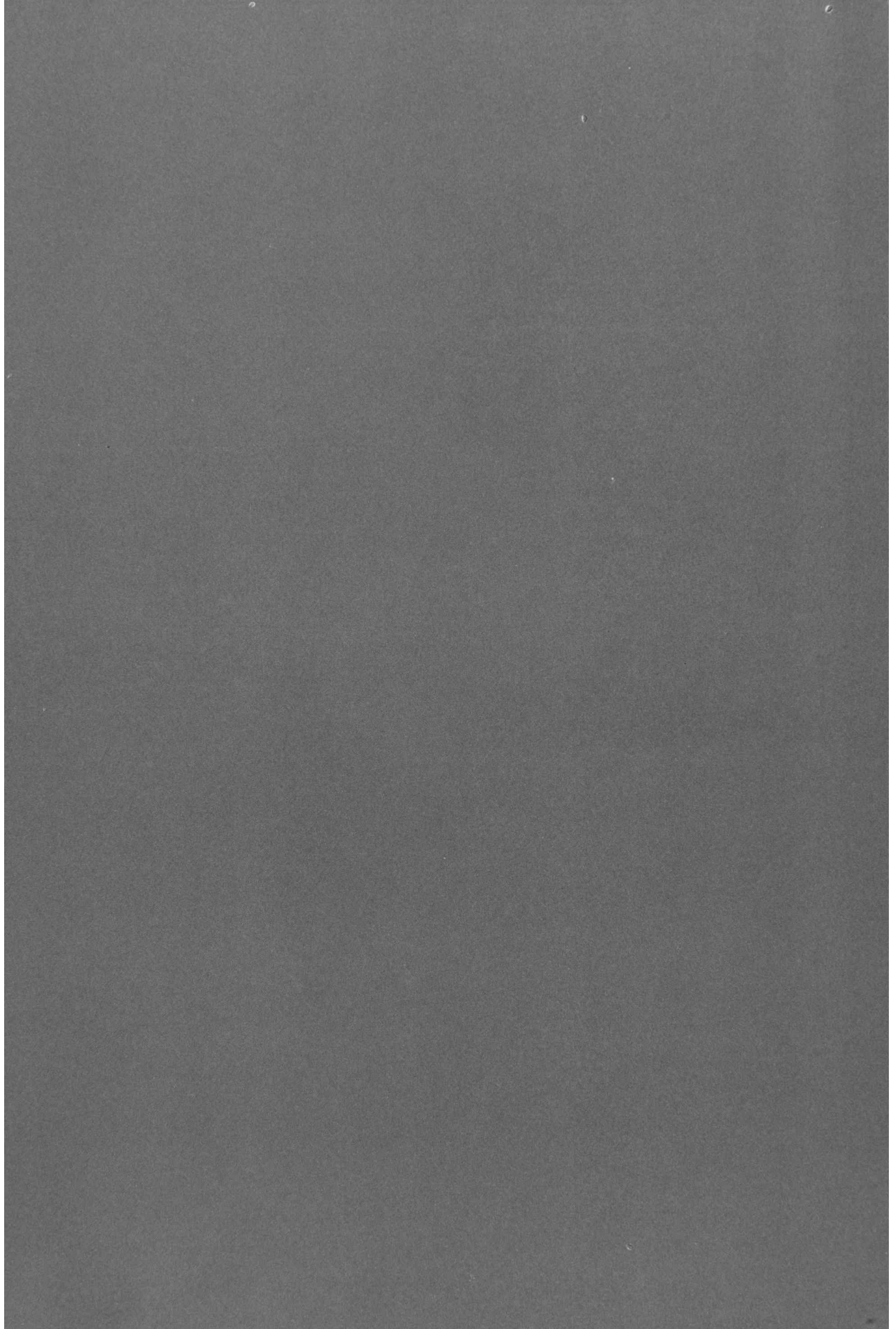
KOREA BRANCH

Paegun Sosöl, The White Cloud Essays of Yi Kyubo
translated and annotated by Richard Rutt

A Note on Yi Dynasty Furniture Making
by Edward Reynolds Wright

The Appeal of Korean Celadon
by G. St. G. M. Gompertz

Receiving the *Samsin* Grandmother: Conception Rituals in Korea
by Laurel Kendall



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of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch

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Paegun Sosŏl

The White Cloud Essays of Yi Kyubo

translated and annotated

by Richard Rutt

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Paegun sosŏl has several claims to attention. It is a collection of essays on poetry by the first Korean to write in that genre and to leave a quantity of poetry. Its content therefore merits investigation. Then comes the question of the origin of *Paegun sosŏl*, and whether it is really or entirely the work of Yi Kyubo. Finally, it turns out to be pleasant reading.

Yi Kyubo (1168–1241), a Koryŏ statesman and poet, is an important figure in the history of Korean literature, the earliest writer in Korea whose works survive completely and in notable quantity. He was a poet, writing—as was natural for his period—in literary Chinese. Like his contemporaries, he was drawn to the poets of Sung, who were the nearest Chinese to them in time and whose culture deeply affected the whole artistic culture of the Koryŏ dynasty. Although Yi Kyubo developed an affection for T'ao Ch'ien (who came to have a preponderant influence on Korean poetry) it was the Sung writers, Mei Yao-ch'en, Ou-yang Hsiu, Su Tung-p'o, and others, that attracted him most. During his last years of frailty and ill-health he felt a close affinity with the T'ang poet Po Chü-i; but Po Chü-i of all T'ang poets most resembles the poets of Sung. The Sung poets provided the writers of mid-Koryŏ with their models. Su Tung-p'o above all was wildly popular, and was imitated with indiscriminating enthusiasm—a fact reflected in Yi Kyubo's essays on plagiarism and originality.

The same Sung writers also invented *shih-hua* (in Korean, *sihwa*), 'poetry anecdotes' or brief essays about poems and poetic technique. *Sihwa* can also be considered as a special kind of *sosŏl* 'little essays'. Yi Kyubo is the earliest Korean writer known to have written *sihwa*. *Paegun sosŏl* is a collection of them. Paegun, 'white cloud', was his favourite literary name, and is the one used in the village district of Kanghwa Island where his grave is still tended. (Modern Korean handbooks frequently refer to *Paegun sosŏl* as a collection of novels. This shows, alas, not only that the writers of the handbooks have never read the work, but also that they do not know that *sosŏl* has come to

mean 'a novel' only since the end of the nineteenth century.)

Very shortly before Yi Kyubo died, his son Yi Ham collected as many of his father's writings as he could find and had them printed in the traditional form of collected works by a single author, a *chip*, under the title of *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip*, 'collected works of Prime Minister Yi of Korea' (referred to in the notes below as TYSC). This *chip* and *Paegun sosöl* are the only writings ascribed to Yi Kyubo that are known to have survived. The *chip* comprises fifty *kwön* in the woodblock edition and contains several thousand items of poetry and prose.

In comparison with the *chip*, *Paegun sosöl* is a tiny document. It is known only from manuscripts, and was never printed until after the Korean war of 1950. It forms the first part of a four-volume collection of *sihwa* called *Sihwa ch'ongnim*, 'dense forest of poetry anecdotes', and cannot be shown ever to have existed apart from that collection. *Sihwa ch'ongnim* was compiled early in the seventeenth century by Hong Manjong, a scholar whose writings reflect the developed taste of his period for literary and textual criticism. The best-known manuscript, which appears to differ very little from the three or four other known copies, belongs to Seoul National University, where it forms part of the Karam Collection, amassed by the bibliophile and scholar, Yi Pyönggi (1891–1968). A mimeographed edition was issued in *Kungmun-hak ch'aryo* 5, Vol I, pp 4–13, Mullim-sa, Seoul 1961. Another edition of *Paegun sosöl* only is in *Koryö myönghyön chip* 1 pp 573–80, Sönggyun-gwan University, Seoul 1973. Ch'a Chuhwan includes the text of *Paegun sosöl* with a Korean translation in *Han'guk kojön munhak taegye 19: Sihwa wa mallok* pp 3–35, Minjung Sögwän, Seoul 1966—but this edition omits sections II and VIII. There is another edition with a Korean translation by Chang Sönjong in *Han'gugüi sasang tae chönjip* 5 pp 398–402 and 48–64, Tonghwa Ch'ulp'an Kongsä, Seoul 1972. Ch'oe Namsön, in his revision of his edition of *Samguk yusa* (*Sinjöng Samguk yusa* pp 69–72, Samjung-dang, Seoul 1946) prints the first five sections of *Paegun sosöl* as additional related material.

Two modern essays discuss *Paegun sosöl* in detail. Sö Susaeng contributed 'Paegun sosöl yön'gu' to *Kyöngbuk Taehak nonmun chip* 8, pp 1–33, Kyöngbuk University, Taegu 1964, and expanded it for reprinting in his *Koryö-jo hanmun-hak yön'gu* pp 140–97, Yöngsöl Ch'ulp'an-sa, Taegu 1971. Yi Yonguk published 'Yi Kyubo wa Paegun sosöl' in *Haegun Sagwan Hakkyo yön'gu pogo 1964* pp 99–112.

Both Sö Susaeng and Yi Yonguk consider the question of whether Yi Kyubo himself compiled *Paegun sosöl*. Sö Susaeng inclines to believe that he did, and that he did it in his last years. Yi Yonguk thinks it likely that Hong

Manjong made the compilation when he edited *Sihwa ch'ongnim*.

Both Sŏ Susaeng and Yi Yonguk list passages in *Paegun sosŏl* which are also found in *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip*. Sŏ Susaeng found sixteen such passages, and Yi Yonguk twenty-one. In the notes to this translation I have identified the concurrence of twenty-six sections, leaving only six sections of *Paegun sosŏl* which have no traceable connection with the *chip*. Significantly, five of them are at the beginning and one at the very end. (The substantial passage in *Paegun sosŏl* 11 which does not occur in the *chip* is a special case, forming only part of a section).

The text is divided into various sections by modern editors and commentators. Sŏ Susaeng numbers twenty-eight, Ch'a Chuhwan twenty-nine, Chang Sŏnjong thirty. I join Yi Yonguk in following the divisions of the Mullim-sa edition of *Sihwa ch'ongnim*, which number thirty-two. These differences are not significant, for editorial division of the sections is bound to be arbitrary; the Mullim-sa arrangement is the most convenient.

The general plan of *Paegun sosŏl* is as follows:

1. Sections 1 to 7 are independent paragraphs in a loosely connected chronological account of early Korean poetry in Chinese. None of these sections is to be found in *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* save the account of Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn which forms section 4. Other sources, outside Yi Kyubo's writings, can be found for most of the remaining sections.
2. Sections 8 to 24 deal with Yi Kyubo's own experience and with poems written by himself and his friends. All occur in the *chip*, except for part of section 11. Sections 22 and 23 are parts of a single essay in the *chip*.
3. Sections 25 to 30 deal with general principles of poetry. All occur in the *chip*, where 25-28 are parts of the same essay, but their order is garbled in *Paegun sosŏl*.
4. Sections 31 and 32 form an appendix composed of a poem from Yi Kyubo's last years, which occurs in the *chip*, and a pendant proverb which does not occur in the *chip* and is obviously suggested by the poem.

So the whole collection is concerned with poetry, and most of it occurs in the *chip*, but not in precisely similar texts.

Some passages also occur in the great fourteenth-century anthology *Tongmunsŏn*, but not all; so *Tongmunsŏn* cannot be the sole source for *Paegun sosŏl*. The text in *Paegun sosŏl* omits many phrases and sentences found in the *chip*, while the few phrases found in *Paegun sosŏl* but not in the corresponding passages in the *chip* are explanatory notes (saving the long passage in section 11). The order of the sections in the two collections is different. The *chip* is broadly chronological in its arrangement, with an appendix (*hujip*) of pieces added later. The order of the pieces in *Paegun sosŏl* is random and

has no chronological basis. A few of the *Paegun sosŏl* sections consist of poems practically devoid of comment, thus barely meriting classification as essays, whether called *sosŏl* or *sihwa*. (This deficiency, however, is paralleled in other *sihwa* collections.) I have described these discrepancies more fully in the notes appended to the translation.

It is impossible to be sure who compiled *Paegun sosŏl* and when. If Yi Kyubo himself did it, it must be supposed that he combined a preliminary draft for a history of Korean poetry with a random collection of his essays made before his son Yi Ham began to work on the *chip*. It must further be supposed that Yi Ham either never saw this collection, or that he saw it and rejected parts of it—perhaps because he knew they were not original compositions. Remaining discrepancies between the texts of *Paegun sosŏl* and the *chip* would be explained as the results of the editorial discretion of Yi Ham in the *chip*, or a putative history of bad copying of *Paegun sosŏl*. In the context of East Asian literary history, none of these suppositions is more than a slender possibility. It appears highly unlikely that Yi Kyubo himself compiled *Paegun sosŏl*.

The text of the *chip* is so much better and fuller in most of the passages corresponding to *Paegun sosŏl* that it is more reasonable to give priority to the *chip*. A convincing reconstruction of the genesis of *Paegun sosŏl* is that at some time after Yi Kyubo's death, when *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* had become a rare book and poetry criticism was a recognized literary genre, some scholar who had memorized parts of the *chip* wrote out what he could remember of the essays in poetry criticism included in it. This comprises sections 8 to 31. Defects of memory would account for the scrambling of the sections, inadvertent changes of characters, and the omission of short passages. Confused memories or deliberate editing would explain the insertion in section 11 of a story about Yi Kyubo that did not come from his own writings, and the completion of the poem by the monk Hyemun in section 17, which would have had to come from another source.

Rightly regarding Yi Kyubo as the first Korean to leave a considerable corpus of literature, and the first Korean writer of *sihwa*, the compiler of *Paegun sosŏl* then put him in perspective by prefacing the collection of his essays with a brief summary of earlier Korean poetry (sections 1–7) drawn from other sources, dovetailing Yi Kyubo's account of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn into this section. Finally the compiler, or a subsequent copyist, appended the rhymed proverb and its trite comment in section 32.

This might well have happened in the early seventeenth century, when the Korean intellectual climate was ripe for such activity. And nobody would be more likely to have done the work than Hong Manjong. The position of

Paegun sosŏl at the head of *Sihwa ch'ongnim* lends colour to this theory, which is strengthened by the fact that *Paegun sosŏl* has not been found outside *Sihwa ch'ongnim*. Nevertheless, definitive evidence is lacking.

It is disappointing to discover that everything of importance in *Paegun sosŏl* can also be found in *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip*, usually in a better text. The parts that are not in the *chip* are all from other sources, not original to Yi Kyubo, except for two passages that have an air of folksy tradition (in sections 7 and 11). *Paegun sosŏl* tells us nothing about Yi Kyubo that we cannot learn better from the *chip*. But even negative conclusions are valuable, and studying the *sosŏl* is at least the beginning of acquaintance with the most intimately knowable personality of Koryŏ times—who happens to be amusing and attractive, as well as wise.

THE WHITE CLOUD ESSAYS OF YI KYUBO

I

Literature had its beginnings in Korea when the Grand Preceptor of Shang, Ch'i Tzu,¹ came here to rule the country, but that was so long ago that we know nothing of those early writers. In the *Yosan-dang oegi*,² however, there is an account of Ŭlchi Mundök, containing a four-verse stanza of five syllables to the verse, that Ŭlchi Mundök sent to the Sui general, Yü Chung-wen:

Your strategy involves all heaven's powers,
 Your tactics exhaust this world's resources;
 The victory is yours and all high honour
 I beg you be satisfied and now depart.

The technique of the verses is archaic and strange, devoid of ornament and grace. No later forger would have attempted to produce it. Ŭlchi Mundök was in fact an eminent statesman of Koguryö.

II

The *T'aep'yöng si* of Queen Chindök of Silla is included in the *T'ang-shih lei-chi*, and for strength and power is comparable to any of the works of early T'ang. In that period Korean culture was still immature, and no poem of the time is known apart from Ŭlchi Mundök's quatrain—which makes the queen's work all the more remarkable. The poem says:

When great T'ang began its glorious work
 And the plans of the Eminent Emperor prospered,
 Fighting stopped, men donned robes of peace,
 Civil rule resumed the heritage of earlier kings.

Heaven was constrained to bestow precious rain,
 Earth put in order and all things made bright;
 Now imperial goodness shines like sun and moon,
 The prosperity of Yao and Shun returns.

How brilliant his streaming banners,

How thunderous his gongs and drums!
Outer barbarians who oppose his commands
Suffer Heaven's displeasure and fall by the sword.

Gentle manners prevail in private and public,
Happy omens vie, both far and near.
The four seasons balance in perfect harmony,
The seven planets swing through their full courses;

The hills bring forth great ministers,
The emperor employs the loyal and good.
The Three Sovereigns and Five Rulers combine in one
To adorn the imperial house of T'ang.

The gloss says: In the first year of Yung-hui, Chindök destroyed the Paekche horde, wove some silk, wrote a poem of victory in five-character verses and presented both to the emperor. Yung-hui was a year-title of Kao Tsung.

III

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn,¹ whose style was Koun, 'lonely cloud,' had ability such as was previously unheard of, with the result that he is held in great reverence by Korean scholars. A ballad of his, written for the mandolin, is included in *Tang ūm yuhyang*,² but classified there as anonymous. Indeed the question of its authenticity remains unsettled. Some say that the verse

The moon sinks over Tung-t'ing, a lone cloud passes

proves Ch'oe's authorship, but this verse alone is not conclusive.³

There is also his ultimatum to Huang Ch'ao,⁴ though it is not in the official histories. Huang read as far as: 'Not only do all the citizens of the Empire determine to destroy you, the very devils under the earth have planned the same thing,' and involuntarily came down from his seat and submitted. Ch'oe could not have achieved this had he not been able to evoke wailing demons and direful storms.

Yet his poems are not of the best—possibly because he went to China when T'ang was in decline.

IV

The monograph on literature in the *T'ang shu*¹ mentions a book of Ch'oe Ch'iwön's 'four-six' prose,² and says that ten³ books of his *Kyewön p'ilgyöng*, 'Pen ploughings in cinnamon gardens', have also been published.⁴ I have nothing but praise for the Chinese, who, because he was a foreigner, did not subject his work to criticism, but, since his collected compositions had been published, had him listed in an official history. Nevertheless, I do not understand why there is no separate biography of him among the literary biographies in the *T'ang shu*. It can scarcely be because his life-story does not provide sufficient material. He crossed the sea at the age of twelve and went to study in T'ang; he passed the highest state examination at the first attempt; later he served with Kao P'ien, and wrote an ultimatum that terrified Huang Ch'ao into submission; eventually he was appointed censor, and when he left to return to his fatherland, a graduate of his year named Ku-yün presented him with a 'Song of a scholar immortal', of which one distich⁵ went:

At twelve he entered a boat to come across the sea;
His writings touched the hearts of the Chinese nation.

He wrote of himself: 'Dressed in plain silk I entered the flowery realm when my years equalled the peaks of Wu-hsia gorge; clad in brocades I returned to the eastern land when my age numbered the constellations of the Milky Way', meaning that he went to T'ang at twelve and returned to Korea at twenty-eight.⁶ Such clear details could be used to write his biography better than the half-page accounts given in the *T'ang shu* of Shen Ch'üan-ch'i, Liu Ping, T'sui Yüan-han and Li P'in.⁷

If Ch'oe was omitted because he was a foreigner, why was he mentioned in the monographs? And why are Yi Chönggi⁸ and Hükchisangji⁹ included among the biographies of non-Chinese generals? They were both Koreans, yet their doings are fully recorded. Why was Ch'oe Ch'iwön alone excluded from the literary biographies? My personal opinion is that the men of those times were jealous about writing skill. Ch'oe had arrived in the T'ang court as an unknown foreigner, then surpassed the great men of the day.¹⁰ Had his biography been written, they feared it might hurt them bitterly. So they omitted it. But I cannot be sure of this.

V

Korea¹ first had intercourse with China in the Hsia period, but nothing is now known of any records or writings from those times. The first writers appeared in the Sui and T'ang periods, when Ŭlchi Mundŏk sent his stanza to the Sui general, and the queen of Silla presented her ode to the T'ang emperor. These poems were recorded, but they are isolated instances. Not until Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn graduated in T'ang was a Korean well-known in China. One of his couplets goes:

Running east from Kuen-lun, five green hills;
Flowing north from Hsing-su, one yellow river.

His contemporary, Ku-yŭn, said, 'This distich is a whole geography,' because the five Sacred Peaks of China all derive from Kuen-lun-shan, and the Huang-ho rises from Hsing-su-hai, the lake of Ngoring Nor.²

A couplet from Ch'oe's 'Poem on Tz'u-ho Monastery at Jun-chou' goes:

Morning and evening, sorrow wells in the sound of the bugles;³
How many live or have lived in the shadow of these green hills?

The *haksa* Pak Inbŏm wrote in his poem 'Lung-so Monastery at Ching-chou':⁴

Swinging lanterns light the steep path with firefly flickers,
The twisting steps are ringed with haloes playing on the rocks.

The *ch'amjŏng* Pak Innyang, in his poem 'Kuei-shan Monastery in Szu-chou', wrote:⁵

My boat skims the broad waters before the monastery gate,
Where monks playing *paduk* beneath the bamboos idle the noontide
away.

These three men first made Korean poetry known in China. Writers of such quality prove the splendour of our literary culture.

VI

A well-known story has it that the *haksa* Chōng Chisang went to stay in a mountain monastery in order to study, and one moonlit night as he sat alone in the temple hall he suddenly heard a verse being chanted:

Seeing a monk, I wonder where the temple is;
Sighting a crane, I regret there is no pine-tree.

Chōng decided it must be an elfin voice. Later, when he sat for the state examination, the subject set for verse composition was 'Summer clouds cluster round the peaks', to be written to the rhyme of *pong* meaning 'mountain peak'. He immediately recalled the couplet, built a poem round it, and handed in the following stanza:

The shining sun has reached mid-heaven,
But floating clouds loom in mountainous masses.
Seeing a monk, I wonder where the temple is;
Sighting a crane, I regret there is no pine-tree.
Lightning flashes like a woodcutter's axe,
Thunder booms like a hidden temple bell.
Who says the mountains never move?
They fly away on the sunset breeze.

It is said that by the time the examiners had read as far as the second couplet they were praising his originality highly, and that in the end they gave Chōng top marks. The couplet about seeing the monk and the crane is certainly good, but the rest is childish, and I cannot see why it should have been given first place.

VII

The *sijung* Kim Pusik and the *haksa* Chōng Chisang were contemporaries and both had high reputations as poets. They were rivals of whom neither could surpass the other. The story goes that Chōng Chisang wrote a couplet:

The sutras have ended in the temple.

The sky is as clear as glass.

Pusik admired this and wanted to put it into a poem of his own, but Chisang refused to allow him.

Eventually Chisang was killed by Pusik, and became a ghost. Then one day Pusik was composing a spring poem in which he said:

The willows are green with thousands of catkins,
The peach-trees are pink with myriads of petals.

Suddenly Chisang's ghost struck Pusik's cheek, shouting, "Thousands of catkins, myriads of petals" indeed! Who counted them? Why don't you write:

"Willow trees are green, catkin upon catkin,
Peach-trees pink, petal upon petal"?"

Pusik was infuriated.

Some time afterwards, when Pusik was staying in a monastery, he went to the latrine, where Chisang's ghost came up behind him and grabbed his testicles, calling out, 'Why is your face so red? Have you been drinking?'

Pusik replied deliberately in verse, 'The scarlet maples across the valley are reflected in my cheeks.'

The ghost pinched his testicles harder and said, 'Whatever are these made of?'

Pusik, without changing his expression, said, 'Were your father's made of iron?'

The ghost pinched him even harder, and he died there and then in the latrine.

VIII

Pogyang, otherwise known as O Sejae or O Tökchön,¹ was a bold and powerful poet. His poems were widely esteemed and he was never defeated by a difficult rhyme. Once he climbed Puk-san² and wanted to write a poem about Kūg-am, 'the halberd rocks'. The man who he asked to suggest a rhyme proposed *hŏm*, meaning 'difficult'.³ Pogyang wrote:

The jagged rocks of the northern pass
Are called halberds by the local people.

They rise higher than Ts'in⁴ on his crane,
 Probe further that Hsien⁵ into heaven;
 Lightning gleams on their polished staves,
 Frost is the salt that cleans their blades.
 They might indeed make weapons
 To destroy Ch'u and save small states.⁶

Some time later an envoy who was a good poet himself came from the northern court. He heard this poem several times and admired it greatly, but when he asked whether its author were still alive, what office he held, and whether he might see him, our Koreans gave no clear answers. When I heard about this I asked why no one had said that Pogyang was a *chego haksa*. It was a pity that his reputation was so little known.²

IX

There used to be seven scholars,¹ well-known poets, who thought they were the greatest men of their day, and called themselves the Seven Sages, in imitation of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in the Chin period. They met frequently to drink wine and write poetry. They were so exclusive that they were the butt of much sarcasm.²

Soon after I had turned nineteen, O Sejae, although he was much older than me, made a friend of me, and used regularly to take me with him to the meetings of these seven. Once, when O was away in the eastern capital, I went to one of their gatherings alone. Yi Tamji looked at me and said, 'Your friend has gone off to Kyōngju and not returned. Why don't you take his place?'

I retorted, 'Are the Seven Sages some sort of official board where vacancies are bound to be filled? I have never heard that Chi K'ang and Juan Chi³ had to be replaced by successors.'

They all laughed heartily and told me to compose a poem on the two rhymes *ch'un* (spring) and *in* (man). I straightway extemporized:

What honour to attend this group among the bamboos!
 How pleasant to pour spring wine from the crock!
 But I cannot tell which of these seven sages
 Is the man that makes holes in his plum-stones...⁴

They all frowned in annoyance. I got drunk in very arrogant fashion and left them. When I was young I used to behave like that. Everybody said I was mad.

X

The year I passed the state examination, some of my contemporaries visited Tongje Monastery. Five or six of us deliberately dropped behind the rest of the party and rode slowly along in a group with saddles almost touching, capping verses as we went. One would give a rhyme and the rest of us would compose *lü-shih*. Since we were moving along the road at the time, nothing was written down, and because we considered the verses commonplace efforts we never bothered to write them down later on. Some time afterwards, however, I heard someone say that these poems had got as far as China, where the literati praised them highly. The man even repeated one couplet:

Blue hills at sunset in a lame donkey's shadow;
Crimson trees of autumn in a lone wild goose's call.

He liked those lines very much; but when I heard him I could not believe his story. Then another man recalled the next couplet:

Where does that single crane go through the sky so dark?
The traveller must go on, his road still stretches far.

But the first and last couplets of the whole poem could not be recalled. I am not clever, but I am not particularly stupid either. I must simply have forgotten what had been composed on the spur of the moment and not seriously attended to.

Yesterday the Chinese Ou-yang Po-hu came to see me, and one of those present mentioned this poem. So I asked Ou-yang, 'Your Excellency, is it true this poem has become known in China?'

'Not only known,' he replied at once, 'Everybody puts it on scroll paintings and admires it.'

The guests were sceptical. Then he said, 'If you do not believe me, I will bring a scroll painting with the whole poem on it and show it to you when I come back next year.'

Extraordinary! If this is all true, it is astonishing, and altogether too much for me. I have written a quatrain, using the rhymes of a poem I wrote some time ago, and have presented it to Ou-yang:

The shame of it! A commonplace poem

Not worth re-reading, now written on a painting!
 We know the generosity of China in judging outsiders,
 But this time the connoisseurs have slipped badly.

XI

I first learned to read when I was seven years old. Since then I have never been without a book in hand. I devoured everything from *Shih ching* and *Shang shu* through all six Confucian classics, the writers of all the schools of philosophy, and the historians, to arcane and esoteric works, Buddhist and Taoist writings. Although I could not plumb all the depths of their meaning, nor extract their hidden sense, yet I collected splendid raw materials for my own compositions. From Fu Hsi, through Hsia, Shang and Chou, the two Han, Ch'in, Tsin, Sui, T'ang, and the Five Dynasties: all their records of the successes and failures of princes and ministers; quelling of rebellions in neighbouring states; achievements and failures, goodness and wickedness, loyal ministers and upright soldiers, wily scoundrels and bandit leaders—I could not take in everything, and inevitably some things had to be skipped, but by passing over the confusing passages and selecting important pieces as models for reading, memorizing and recitation, I prepared to make appropriate use of them later on.

Whenever I took writing materials and paper to compose poetry, even when I tried to fulfill as many as a hundred rhymes, the brush always galloped untrammelled over the paper. Perhaps I did not unroll verses as lovely as silk embroideries, nor string them together like jade beads, but I never lost the poet's manner. Despite this self-confidence, I was saddened by the thought that my writings would all eventually rot away like vegetation. I hoped for the day when I should wield a five-inch brush, enter the golden portal of examination success and be posted to the Jade Hall, where I should draft documents for the king, write rescripts and instructions, briefs and patents that would be published everywhere. Then my life's desire would be fulfilled. I was not the sort of man to struggle at supporting his wife on a stipend of a few paltry hard-earned bags of rice.

I had great hopes, but alas, I neglected my talent. I was born unlucky. By the time I was twenty-eight I had still not even obtained a provincial posting. My loneliness and bitterness were such as to defy description, but they had turned my hair grey.

So if I came upon a beautiful landscape, I wrote a poem; if I came by wine, I drank it madly, and tried to escape from myself in a life of dissipation.

In spring, when the breeze was soft, the sunshine warm, and all kinds of flowers vied with each other in luxuriant bloom, I could not resist the mood. One day I was enjoying both wine and flowers with my friend the lecturer Yun, and we wrote several dozen poems together. At last our inspiration flagged and we were drowsy from the wine, when he gave me another rhyme and asked me to write a poem. I promptly gave him:

I wish my ears were deaf, my mouth dumb.
 Let my poems be my whole worldly knowledge.
 Of any ten things hoped for, eight or nine fail;
 I can talk with only two or three friends.

I aim to achieve as much as Kao Yao¹ and K'uei,²
 Determine to write as well as Pan Ku³ and Ssuma Ch'ien,⁴
 But when I think over what I have done,
 I am ashamed I cannot match past masters.

Yun said to me, "“Eight or nine” is the wrong tone to parallel “two or three”. You usually write long poems of sonorous verses, hundreds of lines at a time without pause and at tempestuous speed, but with never a single character out of harmony. How have you managed to make a mistake of tone in this little piece?”

I replied, 'I wrote in a dream, that's why I made a mistake. Change “eight or nine” to “ten million”, and it will be all right. It's dull, but unspiced meat and rough wine are better than vinegar that sets the teeth on edge. That's how the great poets do it; didn't you know?'

But before I had finished speaking, I stretched and woke up. I had been dreaming. I told Yun about the dream, and he said, 'You are telling me you dreamt you explained what you wrote in your dream? That is what you might call “a dream within a dream”.'

We both shielded our mouths with our hands as we laughed, and for fun I composed another quatrain:

The land of sleep lies very near the land of drunkenness.
 Here I am, just returned from both countries.
 The three months of spring all pass as a dream,
 From dreams I return, to be a man in a dream.

XII

I am by nature fond of poetry, but although I enjoy it at all times, I am especially addicted to it when I am ill. I cannot understand why I should be twice as keen on verse then as I am at ordinary times, but whenever I am moved by a subject I compose compulsively, and cannot stop even if I try to, so I say that poetry is a sickness in itself. I have even written poems saying what I think about this disease of versifying—making myself worse, as it were. I cannot eat more than two or three spoonfuls of rice at a time. Otherwise I merely drink wine. This distresses me, but when I read the poems Po Chü-i wrote in his old age I find that many of them were written during illness, and he drank as I do. One of his poems says in essence:

When I quietly review my fate,
Most of life seems debited to verse.
Or why do I sing like a madman,
More when ill than when I am well?

In a poem to Liu Yü-hsi he wrote:

Muffled under hempen covers,
Befuddled with sickness, I make sleepy poems.

In a poem written after taking pearl-powder medicine:

The medicine digests the day's three spoonfuls.

The other poems are similar. It comforts me to think that I am not the only one that suffers in this way, and that my predecessors did so too. It is all a matter of personality and destiny, and there is nothing to be done about it.

When Po Chü-i retired from office he took a hundred days sick leave, and from the time that I requested retirement until I actually retired I had 110 days of sick leave. Without my planning it we are alike in that point too. The matter in which we differed was Fan-su and Hsiao-man, the two concubines he discharged when he was sixty-eight, because he could no longer make use of them.

Indeed! I may fall a long way behind Po Chü-i in fame for both talent and virtue, but I am the same as him in most respects of sickness and old age.

So I have written matching poems to his 'Fifteen poems written in sickness', enlarging on this intuition of mine. Here is my response poem to his entitled 'Resigning':

In old age I abandon care to walk in peace,
 Letting Lo-t'ien be my teacher.
 My talent will never match his fame,
 but we are alike in writing poems when ill.
 I think of the day he retired, years ago,
 And find it resembles my request this year
 (The last distich is missing.)

XIII

Paegun kōsa, 'White cloud hermit', was the name he gave himself, suppressing his ordinary name, and using this instead. The reasons why he chose it, he wrote down in his *Paegun kōsa ōrok*.¹ When the house was so empty that there was nothing to prepare for a meal, he was as happy as ever. His spirit was free and unbridled; he found the universe cramping and the world confining. He would drink himself silly. Whenever he was invited out he set off at once, and later he would come back drunk. He was clearly a disciple of T'ao Ch'ien,² for he passed his time playing the *chin* and drinking wine, and indeed so it was that he came to write this about himself. When he was drunk he wrote poems like this:

Heaven and earth are my quilt and pillow,
 The rivers are my lake of wine.
 I will drink on steadily a thousand days,
 Then, drunk, I will be at peace.

And he added this epigram:

My desires are beyond creation,
 Heaven and earth cannot hold them.
 Together with form and substance
 They go into the boundless void.

XIV

In *Hsi-ch'ing shih-hua*¹ there is a poem by Wang An-shih that contains the verses:

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

When Ou-yang Hsiu saw this he said, 'Most flowers shed their petals as they die, but chrysanthemum petals wither on the stem. Why do you speak of them as falling?'²

Wang was incensed and replied, 'You obviously do not know the lines of the *Ch'u tz'u*:

At evening I eat the fallen flowers of autumn chrysanthemums.

Your objection springs from ignorance.'

My opinion is that poetry should spring from experience, and since I have seen chrysanthemum petals torn off by a rainstorm, I believe that Wang, who had stated in his poem that 'the garden grows gloomy in wind and rain at dusk,' should have told Ou-yang that he had written about what he had seen. Even though he was quoting the *Ch'u tz'u*, it would have been sufficient for him to have asked Ou-yang if he had not seen the same thing too. It was petty of him to impugn Ou-yang's scholarship. Even if Ou-yang had not been a deeply learned man, the phrase in question was not a very obscure quotation from the *Ch'u tzu*, and he could have been expected to know it.³ I have no very high opinion of Wang's manners.

XV

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

Earlier writers have pointed out Ssu Ling-yun's² verse:

Spring grasses burgeon by the pool

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

A single line divides the green face of the mountain

is beautiful, though Su Tung-p'o⁴ thought the poem a poor one. All of which makes it clear that our appreciation of poetry is far from being like that of earlier generations.

And then, T'ao Ch'ien's poetry is gentle and peaceful as solemn lute music in the quiet of an ancestral shrine, reverberating in the ear long after the playing stops. I have tried to imitate it, but could never come anywhere near it—indeed, the results were comic.

XVI

A senior monk of the Ch'an sect in Sung China, named Tsu-po, took advantage of Ou-yang Po-hu's visit to Korea in order to send a poem to our Korean monk, Konggong. At the same time he sent five lacquer bowls and a staff of mottled bamboo. He also gave the name T'ogak¹ —'rabbit's horns'—to Konggong's hermitage, wrote the name on a board and sent it with the other gifts. I admired the friendship between the two monks who lived so far apart, and since I had heard of Ou-yang's reputation as a poet and wanted to see some of his work, I composed two poems.

Between here and China lies a great dividing ocean,
But these two hearts reflect each other mirror-clear across it.

Konggong makes a beehive hut;

Tsu-po sends from far its name of Rabbit Horn;

A staff, old, but its mottled bamboo still vivid;

And bowls, mysterious, rarer than blue lotus root.

Shall we one day see you holding your jangling staves,²

Together shaking the world with the roar of the Golden Lion?³

Coming over thousands of leagues of ocean,

With poetry fresh as a clear mountain stream,

What joy you bring, eddy of Old Drunkard's torrent,⁴

Making us savor the fragrance of his name.

Soaring up thousands of fathoms, heaven-piercing tree of jade,
 You bring us nine roots of the mystic golden herb-of-life.
 Long have I hoped for your presence, but never seen you yet.
 When may I hope to hear you cough outside my door?

XVII

The dhyana-master Hyemun was a man of Kosōng prefecture. He was over thirty when he was at last accepted as a monk, but after proceeding through the various grades of monkhood in order he finally became a head dhyana-master. He used to live at Unmun Monastery, and because he was a man of noble character, at one time many famous men of the period used to visit him. He enjoyed writing verses and did so in the style of a mountain recluse. He wrote one about Pohyōn Monastery:¹

Sanskrit prayers go up with the smoke of the censer;
 Quietness brings forth the void, like the empty white room.²
 The road outside the gate is long, where men go north and south;
 The pines beside the rocks are ancient, where the moon shines now as of
 old;
 Dawn air in the silent monastery is swollen by the wooden bell,
 Autumn dew in the little yard weighs down the plantain's heart.³
 Here I loll in the senior monk's chair:
 An evening of spiritual talk is worth a thousand gold pieces.

The atmosphere of seclusion is realistic. The second distich became widely known, and Hyemun was called 'the pine-tree moon monk'.

XVIII

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

I neared the immortals' bower, the jade door creaked,
 And fairies like emerald moths came out to greet me.

They were dissatisfied with this. I did not understand why, but I tried again:

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

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

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

The rhyme, however, did not match the one I had used, so I said, 'Can spirits make mistakes in rhyming?'

As I said it I laughed and clapped my hands—which woke me up. Then I completed the quatrain.

I had done only one couplet when I woke from my dream;
So a debt remains; I must go back again.

XIX

Old Tonyu, abbot of Sŏbaek Monastery, sent me two poems. His messenger stood at the gate, impatient to go, so I dashed off my replies:

Were it not for the dew of royal grace, you would have served at court,
But, pure-mist-like, your noble heart wills to live in seclusion.
Remember, if you are bidden speed to the Crimson Palace,
You may not stay long in the green hills you love.
The sage who leaves the world likes to hide his tracks,
While those eager for government promotion stretch their necks in
 competition.
But if Sakyamuni comes again to earth
He will whisk away the taint of rats and foxes.

Do not be surprised to get a letter from the capital.
For a voice from the world dare not penetrate your misty clouds.
The moonlight of mountain monasteries is fit for quiet ascetics,
The dust of Songdo traffic suits those who mind money.
When I think of your life, ice enters my marrow,

And I regret this career that has covered my head with snow.
 Shall I someday hang up my hat and set off to some high place
 Where my weakening bones can salvage what is left of old age?

I also wrote a poem thanking him for a gift of candles:

A tenth generation grandson of Korea's Lonely Cloud
 Writes verses with his ancestor's graciousness and skill.
 He sends me a poem with two golden candles—
 The poem to cleanse my heart, the candles to banish gloom.

The abbot replied with a note:

'Fearing your verses might get lost,
 I have put them on a board and nailed
 it to the wall, so that they will
 last long.'

XX

I dreamt one night that I was given a little bottle-shaped water-dropper of green jade. It rang when it was tapped, the bottom was round, and the top pointed. It had two holes, so tiny that when you looked a second time they seemed to have disappeared. When I awoke, I thought how strange it was, and wrote a poem to explain it.

In a dream I received a jade bottle
 Of gleaming green sheen that lighted the ground.
 When I tapped, it gave a pure note;
 It was elegant, glossy, and watertight.
 It could be used to replenish an inkstone,
 Enough for a thousand sheets of verse;
 But spiritual things love to change,
 And heaven's workmanship enjoys jokes.
 It suddenly closed its mouth
 And refused to receive a drop—
 Like a fairy rock that opened
 And let out the emerald marrow within,
 Then suddenly shut again tight

And would not admit a man's finger.
 Hun-tun was given seven orifices,
 And on the seventh day he died;
 Fierce winds blow through cracks
 And give rise to a thousand distresses;
 Chü Ku¹ worried about drilling holes in a gourd;
 Pierced gems cover statesmen's anxieties . . .
 Everything is precious when whole,
 But turns to mere rubbish when damaged.
 For physical wholeness and spiritual wholeness,
 Apply to the Lacquer Garden officer.²

XXI

A multi-petalled pomegranate, such as is rarely seen, bloomed in the garden at Ch'oe Ch'unghön's house. He invited Yi Inno, Kim Kükki, Yi Tamji, Ham Sun and me, gave us a rhyme and bade us compose. This was my poem:

As soon as the wine flushes your pretty cheeks,
 A scarlet army invades your whole face,
 Beauty and fragrance join forces divinely,
 And loveliness brings followers about you.
 In sunshine your smouldering perfume draws butterflies,
 At night your flaming colour startles the birds.
 Alas for beauty born so late!
 Who can fathom the creator's purpose?

It was a reference to my own belated entry into public office.

XXII

Once in mid-autumn I took a boat at Yongp'o¹ and crossed the Naktong River to moor at Kyönt'an.² It was the middle of the night. The moonlight was brilliant, the swift current swirled against the rocks, the green hills were reflected in the water. The stream was wonderfully clear, so that when I bent over the gunwale I could count the darting fishes and crawling crabs. I rested against the side of the boat, sighing with contentment, feeling lightened and clarified in body, so other-worldly that I could imagine I was in the realm of

the immortals.³

Yongwön Monastery stands by the river there. A monk came out to greet me, and we talked together for a bit.⁴ I composed two poems.

The cool water soaks my short coat,
 The clear strip of river is bluer than indigo.
 The willows outdo the five at T'ao Ch'ien's gate,
 The mountains the three at the Yü-chiang sea.⁵
 Sky and water blend till I don't know which way up I am;
 Then the clouds lift and I can tell east from west again.
 I tie the boat for a while near a flat hump of sand,
 And a monk comes out of his little hermitage.

As dawn lit the sky I floated off from Yongp'o;
 Now in gathering dusk I moor here at Kyönt'an.
 Dark clouds obscure the setting sun,
 Wild rocks hinder the crazy waves.
 The water grows cold in autumn,
 The boat pavilion is chillier at night.
 The landscape is a magnificent picture—
 One might think it a painted screen.

These were verses written carelessly on the spur of the moment, and I doubt if they are up to standard.⁶

XXIII

Next morning I loosed the boat and let it drift, following the river down to the east.¹ When evening came I moored in front of Wönhüŋ Monastery, and spent the night in the boat. It was quiet and everyone else was asleep. The only noise to be heard was the plopping of fish in the water. I pillowed my head on my arm and dozed for a little, but the night was too cold for me to sleep long. I could hear some fishermen singing and the pipes of a group of merchants in the distance. The sky was cloudless, the water glassy, the sand and rocks gleamed white, the moonlight played with the shadows on the ripples that rocked the covered boat. Before us weird rocks loomed like crouching bears and tigers. I lazed there with my headband loosened, relishing the pleasures of the riverscape.² How much better it was than spending every day in luxurious ease among painted women singing to flutes and strings.

I wrote two poems:

*Blue heaven rides the distant water;
That cloudy islet must be fairy land.
Rosy scales dive beneath the ripples,
White birds wing through the mist.
The stream changes its name as it goes,
The mountains vary as the boat turns.
I sent for wine from the village on the bank
And sipped a cup pensively.*

*I moor at night by a sandy bank near greenish rocks,
I sit and sing under the awning, stroking my wispy beard.
The glistening water gently rocks the boat,
Pale moonlight drips from the brim of my hat;
Rushing green torrents drown a lone rock for a moment;
When the white clouds part a low peak appears.
I cannot bear the screech of pipes;
I need jade-soft fingers strumming the lute.*

(I had ordered a secretary to play on a pipe.)

XXIV

I received a royal edict putting me in charge of timber felling at Pyŏnsan. Because of this appointment I was nicknamed 'the wood-chopper'. As I rode off to do the job I composed a humorous verse on the way:

*What glory to command the coolie hosts!
What a shame to be the chief wood-chopper!*

because the work was essentially a matter of portering and wood-cutting.

It was my first visit to Pyŏnsan. The piled-up peaks and crowding mountain-tops, rising, falling, twisting, and jumbled, come right down to the sea. There are mountainous islands out in the ocean, like Hedgehog Island, which can be reached at morning and evening. The seafolk say that with a fair wind one can sail to China and it is not far.

I went once to Chusa-p'o. The moon rose bright above the ridge and lit up the sandy beach. My mind seemed to be washed clean. I loosened the

bridle and stopped spurring my horse while I gazed out at the sea for a long time, musing. The horseboy thought it very odd. I composed a poem.

Three times this spring have I passed this estuary,
 But still I have not finished my service for the king.
 Huge waves pound in from far, like snowy chargers;
 Centuries-old woods surround me like coiled green dragons;
 The sea wind soughs and whines with wild flute notes,
 The rising moon over the beach greets the returning boats.
 The lad that leads my horse thinks it odd
 That coming to such places I always stop and stare.

I had not intended at first to make a poem. It came upon me without any effort at all.

XXV

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

1. Quoting too many names of historical personages: *the cartload of ghosts*.
2. Stealing other writers' ideas, which is bad even when done well: *inept thieving for easy effect*.
3. Unnecessary choice of difficult rhyme: *the bow too stiff to bend*.
4. Attempting a rhyme beyond one's ability: *drinking too much wine*.
5. Liking obscure characters that puzzle the reader: *digging ditches for the blind*.
6. Straining to use intractable words: *forcing men to follow*.
7. Using too many colloquialisms: *yokels' parliament*.
8. Liking to oppose Confucius and Mencius: *lèse-majesté*.
9. Not pruning exuberant phrases: *the field full of weeds*.

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

XXVI

The most important thing about a poem is its meaning, the creation of which is the most difficult part of composition. The arrangement of the words is a lesser matter. The principal part of meaning is wit, and the merit—the depth

or shallowness—of a poem depends on wit. This wit, or inspiration, comes from an innate gift and cannot be acquired by study. Poets of inferior inspiration may strive hard at their technique, but they will never achieve this first prerequisite of adequate meaning. They polish their verses and point their phrases to real elegance, but there is no substance or depth in them: although they give a good first impression, they will not bear prolonged rumination.

If one is writing a poem to rhymes chosen in advance and the rhymes hamper the sense, then they should be changed; though, of course, when writing a poem to correspond with the rhymes of a poem written by someone else, one is bound to adapt the meaning to the rhymes.¹ Likewise, if one has great difficulty in finding a parallel verse, even after long mulling over it, it is best to cut one's losses and give up the attempt.²

If the idea for a poem is badly conceived, the sense is likely to become involved. It will get twisted and go wrong, and finally will not convey what was at first intended. Only when the thought is free and natural³ will a perfect poem result.⁴

There are times when a fault in the first verse of a distich can be retrieved by means of the second verse. And it is also worth remembering that on occasion a single character will settle the quality of a whole verse.

XXVII

A style that is utterly plain and frugal is fit for a mountain peasant; a style that is all decoration and artifice belongs to the palace. Only when you can mingle the plain, the noble, the decorative and the ordinary will you produce an individual style that cannot be pigeon-holed.

XXVIII

When anyone points out the faults in your verse, you should be pleased. If what he says is right, follow his advice; otherwise stick to your position. There is no point in not admitting your faults, like some king who refuses to listen to the unpalatable criticisms made by his censors. When you have finished a poem, look it over again, not as though it were your own composition, but as though it had been written by someone else, or by somebody you have always envied and whose faults you would be delighted to pick out. Then if you can find nothing wrong, you can publish the poem.¹

XXIX

One must read a great deal of a classic master's verse before one can hope to emulate his qualities. Otherwise even mere imitation is difficult. The process is like burglary: a thief must first spy out a rich man's house and acquaint himself thoroughly with all the walls and doors before he can enter the place and appropriate the rich man's belongings without their owner knowing what has happened. If he simply goes round the house peering into boxes like someone searching for eggs in nesting-baskets, he is sure to be caught.¹

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

XXX

There is a poetry anecdote that mentions this distich in Li Shan-fu's poem '*On reading the Han shu*':

When Wang Mang came it was already half submerged;
When Ts'ao Ts'ao went it sank to the bottom.¹

I think this well turned, but a certain Ko Yōngsu carped about it and said, 'It must be a poem about a shipwreck.'

I believe that in poetry any matter can be dealt with either literally or metaphorically. Li Shan-fu was comparing the Han dynasty to a boat, metaphorically speaking of it half sinking and then sinking to the bottom. If he could have answered Ko Yōngsu and said, 'You call it a poem about shipwreck, and I was indeed comparing the Han dynasty to a ship. I am so glad you got the point!' what could Ko have said in return?

The anecdote makes it clear that Ko Yōngsu was an irresponsible and frivolous critic. His remarks may safely be ignored.²

XXXI

The old saying has it that eight or nine things out of ten go contrary to one's wishes. So how much can a man hope to have to his liking during his life in this world? I have written a poem of twelve verses on the subject.

The smallest things in life go wrong,
The slightest action runs into frustration.
When I was young and poor, my wife was unhappy;
When we grew richer the dancing-girls pursued me.
It usually rains if I have to go out,
But is fine when I can stay at home.
When I have no appetite, the food is tasty;
If my throat is too sore to drink, there is wine in plenty.
I sell some treasure cheap, then find the market price is high;
Just as I get better from long illness, a doctor shows up next door.
If all my petty affairs turn out like this,
What chance have I of riding the crane of Yang-chou?

So it is: everything goes awry. On a small scale this is true of personal joys and trials, on a large scale of national prosperity and crises: nothing goes according to plan. My doggerel describes trivialities, but the same point applies to major matters.

XXXII

A familiar quatrain about the four joys says:

When glad rain comes in time of drought,
When an old friend is met away from home.
In the bedroom on the wedding-night,
When one's name is high on the pass-list.

But though it rains after drought, there will be another drought later on; though one meets an old friend away from home, one has to bid him farewell again; how can the bridegroom and bride be sure they will not be parted? How can one know that passing the state examination is not the beginning of

troubles? These things are more able to spoil our joy than to increase it. They ought to be considered as sorrows.

NOTES

I

1. Ch'i Tzu in Korean is Ki-ja, the viscount of Ch'i, supposed to have brought literary culture to Korea in 1122 BC.

2. This book is not otherwise known (though the same reference is given in *Chibong yusŏl* 13), but the story of Ŭlchi Mundŏk's poem is in *Samguk sagi* 44 and *Tongmun sŏn* 19. It relates to the defeat of the Sui army by Koguryŏ in AD 612. The description of the poem given here is technically precise, and avoids calling it *chueh-chü*.

II

Queen Chindŏk reigned 647–654. The story of the dispatch of a poem as a piece of diplomatic flattery to the newly enthroned T'ang emperor in 650 is recorded in *Samguk sagi* 5, with the text of the poem. The text is also in *Chuan T'ang shin* 11.10.3.

III

1. Ch'oe Chiwŏn lived AD 859–c 910
2. This collection has not survived.
3. The verse is otherwise unknown.
4. The whole text of the ultimatum is in *Tongmun sŏn* 49.

See also the following section.

IV

This passage is in TYSC 22.7a7–8a5.

1. i.e. *Hsin T'ang shu*
2. A form of elaborately balanced prose in phrases of four and six characters, in vogue in China from the fifth century until the reaction against it by Han Yü late in the eighth century. It continued in use, however, till Sung times, and was revived under the Ch'ing. Also referred to as 'parallel prose' (*p'ien-wen*), it tended naturally towards the artificial and mannered.
3. TYSC says 'twenty', which is correct. *Paegun sosŏl* has doubtlessly been wrongly copied.
4. Here TYSC inserts: 'and notes that he was a Korean who qualified in the state examination and was appointed to serve in Kao P'ien's expedition to Huai-nan. After reading this . . .'
5. TYSC has (instead of 'one distich') 'says in effect': but the whole poem, including

this distich, is preserved at the end of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's biography in *Samguk sagi* 46.

6. The passage 'He wrote of himself. . . . to Korea at twenty-eight', does not occur in the TYSC text. The quotation is written in 'six-four' prose.

7. Four T'ang poets. Apart from Shen Ch'uan-ch'i, they are minor figures.

8. Otherwise Yi Hoeok, a north Korean born in AD 760.

9. A Paekche general who, after the collapse of Paekche before the armies of Silla and T'ang in 660, gave his allegiance to China, where he had a distinguished career in the field.

10. Here TYSC inserts: 'which would have aroused the jealousy of the Chinese'.

V

1. The word used is *Sam-han*, i.e. the three confederations of Han tribes, the earliest political organization of Korea known to traditional historiography.

2. This verse of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn is not otherwise attested.

3. The whole poem is in *Tongmun sŏn* 12.

4. Also in *Tongmun sŏn* 12.

5. Likewise in *Tongmun sŏn* 12. The same three passages are quoted at the beginning of *Tongin sihwa*, a later collection of Korean *sihwa*.

VI

This story may be compared with Yi Sugwang's critique of the same poem in *Chibong yusŏl* 13.3a, where the same opinion is expressed, and doubt is cast on the authenticity of the poem.

VII

The contrast between the poetry of Kim Pusik (1075–1151) and that of Chŏng Chisang (died 1135) is a commonplace of traditional Korean criticism. (*Tongin sihwa* begins with the phrases of this section.) Kim Pusik, a staunch Confucian, but a military man of Songdo culture, wrote in the then popular style modelled on the work of Sung poets such as Ou-yang Hsin and Su Tung-p'o; Chŏng Chisang, with Taoist leanings and sympathies for the P'yongyang area, wrote in the more elegant style of late T'ang. Because Kim Pusik was sent to crush a rebellion at P'yongyang, in the course of which he ordered Chŏng Chisang's execution, the contrast has been enhanced by history. This *sosŏl* illustrates the sympathy later felt for Chŏng Chisang, and even the details in the emending of Kim Pusik's distich illustrate the difference between the two styles.

A story of verse-stealing and murder in T'ang is told by Yi Sugwang in *Chibong yusŏl* 14 (Sihwa: 14.27a).

VIII

This passage is in TYSC 21.15a9–b7. O Tŏkchŏn befriended Yi Kyubo in spite of thirty years' difference between their ages. He was never successful in obtaining a public appointment, so withdrew to Kyŏngju, where he died. Yi Kyubo addressed many poems to him, including a virtuoso piece of 300 distichs on the same rhyme. O Tŏkchŏn also figures in the next section.

1. The *ho* Pogyang and *cha* Sejae are not given in TYSC.

2. The north mountain or 'guardian mountain' of Songdo, the Koryŏ capital. It is frequently mentioned in Yi Kyubo's poems.

3. Or else it means simply that the man proposed a difficult rhyme. The rhymes used do not include the character *hŏm*, and though they rhyme with it approximately, they do not match it exactly in the traditional table of 106 rhymes.

4. Wang Tzu-chin or Wang Ch'iao. A sixth-century prince of Chin who became a Taoist adept and is said to have left the world riding to heaven on a white crane.

5. Wu Hsien: a diviner of legendary antiquity. Cf *Shu ching*, 5.16.7 and elsewhere.

6. TYSC 'To defeat Ch'u and destroy all other countries'. A reference to the wars establishing the Han dynasty in China.

7. i.e. the Chin or Khitan emperor.

IX

TYSC 21.6a6-b6.

1. O Sejae, Im Ch'u 1, Cho T'ong, Hwangjo Hang, Ham Sun, Yi Tamji, and Yi Inno.

2. TYSC adds 'and they became somewhat discouraged.'

3. Two of the Seven Sages of Chin.

4. Wang Jung, one of the Seven Sages of Chin, was so mean that when he ate plums from his favourite tree he always cracked the stones lest someone else should try to plant them.

X

TYSC *hujip* 4.21b10-22b6 and 23a2-3. This passage has half a dozen casual differences of text from TYSC; with the additional significant difference that the last sentence as given here consists in TYSC of some 70 characters that express Yi Kyubo's half-admitted hope that Ou-yang would bring the whole poem back from China in the following years. Yi Kyubo says that he presented Ou-yang with two poems to act as a reminder. The poem given in *Paegun sosŏl* is the first of a pair, with the final hemistich much altered. The two poems were written, as a tour-de-force, on rhymes which Yi Kyubo had already used twice in verses for Ou-yang Po-hou (TYSC *hujip* 3.3b9 and 4.15b6.)

The incident is referred to again by Yi Kyubo's son Ham in his preface to TYSC *hujip*. If the order of the poems in the *hujip* is chronologically correct, Ou-yang's visit must have been in the 3rd or 4th moon of 1238, about three years before Yi Kyubo's death.

XI

This passage presents the most intriguing editorial problem in *Paegun sosŏl*. It begins with a description, in formal prose, of the writer's early reading habits, taken from the middle of a letter addressed to the high minister of state Cho Yŏngin in 1197, begging for help in gaining an official appointment. (TYSC 26.18a9-19a5 *Sang Cho taeŭi sŏ*.) This ends in the translation at 'turned my hair grey'. The story that follows is not in TYSC, except for the quotation at the end, which is TYSC 2.6a10, where the title reads 'in response to Yun the lecturer, on a spring day when I fell asleep under the influence of wine'. The poem is praised by Ch'oe Cha *Pohan chip* 2.16 (Chosen Kankokai edition p 105), written a generation after Yi Kyubo.

1. Kao Yao: the great minister of the legendary emperor Shun, mentioned in *Shu ching*.

2. K'uei: another minister of Shun's. He was put in charge of music.
3. Pan Ku: historiographer of the Han dynasty. Died AD 92.
4. Ssuma Ch'ien: author of *Shih chi*, died c 85 BC.

XII

TYSC *hujip* 2.4. Only three or four characters differ between the two texts. The prose is the preface to Yi Kyubo's imitation of Po Chü-i's 'Fifteen poems written in illness'; the poem is the last of the fifteen. The final note, saying that the poem is incomplete, does not appear in TYSC, for the very good reason that the editor of *Paegun sosŏl* was mistaken in believing anything had been lost. Po Chü-i's original poem had only six verses.

Po Chü-i (772-846) was a favourite of Yi Kyubo, who discerned a like spirit, and imitated the T'ang poet's pen-names, as well as his verses. Hence the delight at the discovery of their similar experiences in illness.

XIII

TYSC 20.18. To all intents and purposes the two texts are the same, save for the insertion here of the poem written while Kyubo was drunk. (TYSC does, however, contain the preceding sentence about versifying when drunk. The poem is not in TYSC at all.) This was written about 1192, when Yi Kyubo was twenty-three.

1. TYSC 20.12
2. The great Chinese poet of rustic life (c365-427) who remained a paramount influence in Korean literature.

XIV

TYSC *hujip* 11.12. Two brief passages are omitted in *Paegun sosŏl*.

1. A Sung collection of poetry criticism by Ts'ai Hsiu.
2. TYSC inserts at the beginning of the next sentence:
'Although this criticism was trifling. . .'
3. TYSC here inserts: 'but in fact he was one of the great scholars of his day, and to suggest that he did not know this reference was most insulting.'

XV

TYSC 21.5.

1. Mei Yao-ch'en, Sung poet (1002-1060).
2. Ssu Ling-yun (385-433.)
3. A poet of mid-T'ang.
4. The great Sung poet (1036-1101).

XVI

TYSC *hujip* 3.7b. A sentence is omitted in *Paegun sosŏl*. It comes immediately before the poems and explains that the first is addressed to Tsu-po, the second to Ou-yang Po-hu.

1. This translates the Sanskrit *Sasa-visana* or *Sasa-srnga*, and means that all phenomena are as unreal as rabbit's horns.
2. The monk's staff had jangling rings attached to its top.
3. A metaphor for expounding *dharma*.
4. 'The old drunkard', Tsui-weng, was a pen-name for Ou-yang Hsiu.

Both TYSC and *Paegun sosŏl* here insert a note to the effect that Po-hu was an eleventh generation descendant of Ou-yang Hsiu. (This is borne out by the occasional addition of 29 to the former's name and 9 to the latter's. They may have been collaterally related.)

XVII

TYSC 37.5 is basically the same text, but is considerably longer. It has a longer prose account of Hyemun, and concludes with a dirge of twenty four-character verses. The poem given here in *Paegun sosŏl* is quoted in TYSC by the second distich only, as it is also in *Pohan chip*. The following version of the TYSC text shows in brackets those parts which are not in *Paegun sosŏl*. It is clear that Yi Kyubo could not have written the TYSC text before 1235, when he was sixty-six years old.

(My friend in the faith, the Great) dhanya-master Hyemun, (whose name was Pinbin and surname in the world was Nam,) was a man of Koyang prefecture. He came to the capital and shaved his head in the Ch'an sect at Kaji-san and became a distinguished monk. He was over thirty when he was at last accepted as a monk, but after proceeding through the various grades of monkhood in order he finally became a head dhyana-master. (Then in 1232 he went away to live at Hwaak-sa. He had been living in the capital, teaching the law at Poje-sa, but that year, because of the Mongol inroads, the court moved and the monastery was commandeered by the invaders. He was perplexed as to where to go. Eventually, he went for three years to a monk who had been a novice with him and now) lived at Unmun Monastery. (In 1234 he fell ill and died.) He was a man of noble character. At one time many famous men of the period used to visit him. He enjoyed writing verses which he did in the style of a mountain recluse. He wrote one about Pohyŏn Monastery, of which this is an extract:

The road outside the gate is long,
 where men go north and south;
 The pines beside the rocks are ancient,
 where the moon shines now as of old.

(Many people used to recite it) and Hyemun was called 'the pine-tree moon monk'. (I knew him as a friend from the time I was a young man, and I was so affected by the news of his death that I wrote the following elegy:)

Pohyŏn Monastery is in North P'yŏngan on Myohyang-san near Yŏnghyŏn. The empty room where brightness is born is a symbol from Chuang-tzu 4 *Jen chien shih*. The dewdrop in the heart of the plantain or banana plant suggests the clogging power of transitory things.

XVIII

TYSC *hujip* 1.10. The text in TYSC begins with a date: 'The third moon of 1215', (Yi Kyubo was then forty-six). At the end the poem is printed complete—i.e. with Yi Kyubo's second attempt at the first distich repeated before his closing distich. Otherwise there are a few

consistent changes in pronouns and two other minor changes in particles that do not affect the sense.

XIX

TYSC 17.2 The version in TYSC includes three notes between the distichs of the first poem, missing from *Paegun sosöl*. Both texts have a note in the middle of the quatrain explaining that Tonyu was a tenth generation descendant (perhaps collateral) of Ch'oe Ch'inön, whose pen-name, Koun, meant 'lonely cloud'. TYSC lacks the brief prose reply from Tonyu.

This section is unusual in that the title of the TYSC text, which is lacking in all other sections, is present in *Paegun sosöl* in the guise of a preface.

XX

TYSC 5.15. There are several allusions to the Chuang-tzu here.

1. Chü Ku: had a perfect gourd, too hard to cut, but useless because no water could be put into it.
2. Lacquer Garden Officer: Chuang-tzu.

XXI

TYSC 9.4. The text differs significantly only in that TYSC begins with the date: '5th moon 1199'. Yi Kyubo was then thirty. Ch'oe Ch'unghön was virtually dictator of Korea, and a note in TYSC says he was later enfeoffed as Duke Chin'gang. This poem caught his notice and led to Yi Kyubo getting his first public appointment and leaving the capital for Chönju a month later.

XXII

TYSC 6.8. The TYSC text begins '7th day of the 8th moon. I left Yongdam Monastery at dawn. The next day I took a boat at Yongp'o...'

1. Yongyön near Mun'gyöng.
2. Near Sönsan.
3. TYSC inserts 'I had no fear of sinking. Then I let the boat go'.
4. In TYSC this sentence reads: 'The monk heard me, and came out to the river to greet me, cordially inviting me to go into the monastery. I declined and persuaded the monk to come aboard the boat, where we talked together for a bit'.
5. T'ao Ch'ien's five willows are proverbial; Yü-chiang, spirit of the northern sea, is mentioned in *Shan-hai-ching*.
6. This comment is not in TYSC.

XXIII

TYSC 6.9. This follows on from the previous section, but an intervening river poem is lacking in *Paegun sosöl*. There are some minor variations of characters.

1. TYSC inserts 'The boat sped like a bird'.
2. Here TYSC inserts 'Even in sickness it would be impossible not to enjoy it'.

XXIV

An extract from 'Diary of a journey in the south' describing the itinerant part of Yi Kyubo's job at Chönju. TYSC 23.9a5;9a7-9; (date omitted) 9a9-10; 9b1-3; 10a6-8 provide the mosaic of the prose section prefacing the poem. The poem itself is TYSC 10.2. The first two sentences are not in TYSC.

XXV

TYSC 22.19a8-19b7.

XXVI and XXVII

TYSC 22.18a1-19a8. The beginning of an essay which is continued in XXV, and thereafter in XXVIII.

1. Here TYSC inserts: 'Then the sense has to take second place, because the placing of the rhymes is inflexible'.

2. Here TYSC inserts: 'But the decision is hard to make: the whole poem may be turning out well, and one verse may hold up its completion; sometimes haste brings disaster.'

3. Here TYSC inserts: 'and clear in its details'.

4. Here TYSC inserts: 'and there will be no further difficulty'.

XXVIII

TYSC 22.19b7-20a1.

1. TYSC adds: What I have said does not apply to poetry only. It applies approximately to prose as well. Old style verse is elegant prose divided into phrases with rhymes to beautify it. Good meaning and gracious language naturally prevent it from being cramped. So verse and prose hold to the same standard.

XXIX

TYSC 26.4b8-5a5 (different text for the last phrase)

1. TYSC inserts: 'and will not be able to take the goods.'

XXX

TYSC *hujip* 11.13

1. Wang Mang's usurpation of the Han Empire in AD 8 and his death in AD 23 marked the end of the former Han; Ts'ao Ts'ao's campaigns brought an end to Later Han in AD 220. Yi Shan-fu was a poet of late T'ang.

2. TYSC adds: I do not understand why the poetry anecdote does not state the fact explicitly.

XXXI

TYSC *hujip* 2b3 has the poem, but not the introductory prose sentences.

XXXII

This section is not in TYSC. The phrase *wisim*, 'frustration' (in the TYSC title and *Paegun sosŏl* preface to the previous section) is echoed in the last sentence but one of this section, and doubtless prompted the addition of this section to *Paegun sosŏl*.

The poem, in very slightly different form, appears in Ŏ Sukkwŏn *P'aegwan chapki*, an early sixteenth-century collection of essays included in *Sihwa ch'ongnim* (Mullim-sa edition 2-156). It is there described as 'a poem of early Ming'.

A Note on Yi Dynasty Furniture Making

by Edward Reynolds Wright

The finished product of the Yi dynasty (1392–1910) wood craftsmen was usually determined by the size and characteristics of his raw materials. Woods with durable qualities and ornate grains were particularly prized by upper-class families. These included zelkova, paulownia, pear, persimmon, ginkgo, pine, pine nut, bamboo, walnut, Chinese date or jujube, juniper, chestnut, maple, elm, willow, cherry, red oak, and lime—also known as basswood.

Craftsmen often used two or more woods for constructing one piece of furniture. A hardwood might be used for the front frame (pear wood or zelkova wood); a wood with a natural ornate grain for front panels or top (persimmon or zelkova wood); and a more ordinary wood for the sides and back (pine wood or paulownia wood).

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES IN TRADITIONAL KOREAN FURNITURE-MAKING

The dried wood was cut with a saw or with an adz-like instrument (*kkakkwi*), which was used for hewing and rough-shaping some wood pieces. Planing was done with an instrument called a *taep'ae*, and the wood was further smoothed with rough leaves. Other carpenter's tools included an ink-box with string (*moktong*) for plotting straight lines, and a ruler measured in 15 units called *chi*. In construction, hardwood nails were used, usually made of bamboo, birch, or jujube. Another method of joining wood panels was by dovetail joints (in Korean referred to as finger joints) held together by glue.

Various techniques were used by Yi carpenters in finishing wood surfaces. Following are brief descriptions of some of the principal ones:

1. Lacquer. The lacquer tree (in Korean, *ot namu*,) is indigenous to East Asia. The lacquer process was used especially to provide a durable finish on furniture which received frequent and heavy use, such as individual small serving tables. Lacquer was usually applied in its natural, uncolored state, but sometimes was mixed with black or red coloring. The resin of the lacquer

tree was applied in several layers with a cloth or brush. A popular but less desirable alternative for uncolored lacquering was to rub the furniture with leaves of the lacquer tree. A third and least desirable method was to extract resin by burning branches of the lacquer tree and then to rub it on the wood.

The process for making colored, inlaid lacquerware was, and is, complex. The first step is to apply pure lacquer to the wood and then dry it for seven to ten hours. Next the wood is painted with a combination of 55 percent lacquer and 45 percent rice glue. A thin piece of hemp or linen is placed over that coating, and then a new coat is applied, this time combining 50 percent lacquer, 45 percent fine burned clay powder, and five percent rice glue. After drying, the surface is smoothed by watering it and then whetting with a grindstone. At this point, decorative objects may be inlaid, made from abalone, oyster or conch shells; tortoise shell; fish skin; ox bone; brass or silver. These materials were traditionally stuck in place with fish glue. Next a combination of 40 percent fine burned clay powder, 50 percent lacquer, and ten percent rice glue is applied twice, and the surface is again smoothed on a grindstone to allow the inlaid material to show at its best. Another thin layer of lacquer is applied and allowed to dry for ten hours. Then the surface is well rubbed with ginkgo tree ashes. Finally, the best quality lacquer is applied, rubbed with ginkgo ashes and polished with fine powder (preferably made from deer's horn) and soybean oil. Women's furniture especially was often treated in this way, including jewelry and cosmetics boxes, wardrobe chests, and food serving plates.

2. Sesame oil (*tul kirum*). Several coats of sesame oil were rubbed into the surface of the finished object.

3. Animal blood. Cow's or pig's blood was rubbed into the natural wood finish. This method was used more by the lower classes.

4. Smoking process. A cruder method for finishing small wood objects was to place them over the smoke from burning rice straw, resulting in resin from the wood coming to the surface, which was then rubbed with leaves or cloth.

5. Fine red or yellow clay mixed with water or lacquer. This finish was of a red (*ppalgan hŭk*) or yellow (*noran hŭk*) color derived from a fine natural gravel or clay substance. This finish was especially applied to wood with a grainy surface, effectively filling in surface irregularities. Wooden kitchen implements, such as rice cake and other mixing bowls, often were finished in this fashion.

6. Chinese medicinal herb-based finish. Some royal and upper-class furniture used a red stain made from a medicinal Chinese herb, in Korean called *naesa ch'il* or *chusa ch'il*. Wedding chests and upper-class traveling

chests, among others, often were finished in this manner.

Finished products were usually waxed with beeswax (*mil ch'o*), ginkgo nuts, pine nuts, walnuts, soybeans, or green persimmons.

Most furniture was refurbished with sturdy, hand-crafted metalwork which was made to order by blacksmiths. The three most popular metals for this purpose were black iron; yellow brass (an alloy of copper and zinc, called in Korean *nossoe* or *hwangdong*); and white brass (*paektong*), derived from copper and zinc, with a larger proportion of zinc than in yellow brass. Another popular decorative material was ox or cow horn (called *hwagak*), used for panels of delicate women's furniture such as wardrobe chests, and cosmetic and jewelry boxes, among others. The horn, through an intricate procedure, was sliced into thin layers and painted with rural scenes, birds, flowers, and long-life symbols.

In summary, the Korean Yi dynasty produced wood craftsmen who achieved a highly developed level of skill and artistry in their trade. It is no wonder, then, that their products have been admired and copied by westerners and orientals alike.

PRINCIPAL KOREAN WOODS IN TRADITIONAL FURNITURE-MAKING

Popular Western Name	Popular Korean Name	Scientific Name	Family Name	Properties of Tree	Geographic Distribution	Use of Wood
Pine tree	So namu 소나무 (松)	<i>Pinus densiflora Siebold and Zuccarin</i>	Pinaceae	Evergreen, needle-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	All parts at most altitudes.	All parts of furniture.
Zelkova tree	Nütüi namu 느티나무 or Kwe-mok 괴목(槐木)	<i>Zelkova serrata (Thunberg) Makino</i>	Ulmaceae	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	Central and southern, altitudes of 50-1200 meters.	Principally for front panels, but all other parts as well.
Paulownia tree	Odong namu 오동나무 (梧桐)	<i>Paulownia coreana Uyeki</i>	Paulowniaceae	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	Central and southern, altitudes of 50-400 meters.	All parts of furniture. Especially good for book storage.
Persimmon	Kam namu 감나무 (柿木)	<i>Diospyros kaki Thunberg</i>	Ebenaceae Ventenat	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	South at altitudes from 100-700 meters.	Usually as front panels of furniture.
Pear	Pae namu 배나무 (梨木)	<i>Pyrus serotina Culta Rehd</i>	Pyrus	Deciduous, broad-leaved, small-sized. Hard wood.	All parts.	Most often for furniture frames.
Ginkgo tree	Unhaeng namu 은행나무 (銀杏木)	<i>Ginkgo biloba L.</i>	Salisburyaceae	Deciduous, large-sized. Hard wood.	All parts at low altitudes to 500 meters.	Front panels.
Birch tree	Pakdal namu 박달나무 (朴達木)	<i>Betula schmidtii Regel</i>	Betulaceae	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	All parts, altitudes of 300-2000 meters.	

Popular Western Name	Popular Korean Name	Scientific Name	Family Name	Properties of Tree	Geographic Distribution	Use of Wood
White Birch	Chajak namu 차자나무 (白樺木)	<i>Betula japonica</i> , <i>Sieb.</i>	Betulaceae	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	North at altitudes of 200-2100 meters.	Furniture frames and front panels.
Bamboo	Tae namu 태나무 (竹)	<i>Sasa spiculosa</i> <i>Mak. and</i> <i>Shib. (W.)</i>	Bambusaceae	Evergreen, thin-leaved, straight, usually small-sized. Hard wood.	Southern coastal areas at low altitudes.	As nails and sometimes as front panels.
Walnut	Hodo namu 호도나무 (胡桃木)	<i>Juglans sinensis</i> <i>Dode</i>	Juglandaceae Lindley	Deciduous, large-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	Central and southern, altitudes of 50-400 meters.	Sometimes for furniture frame.
Jujube or Chinese date	Taech'u namu 태추나무 (棗木)	<i>Zizyphus jujuba</i> <i>Miller</i>	Rhamnaceae Lindley	Deciduous, small-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	All parts, altitudes of 100-500 meters.	
Pine Nut tree	Chat namu 차나무 (栲)	<i>Pinus koraiensis</i> <i>Siebold</i> <i>and</i> <i>Zuccarin</i>	Pinaceae	Evergreen, needle-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	All parts, altitudes of 100-1900 meters.	Furniture front panels.
Juniper	Hyang namu 향나무 (香木)	<i>Juniperu chinensis</i> <i>Linne</i>	Juniperaceae	Evergreen, needle-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	All parts except Pyongan and Hamgyong, altitudes lower than 800 meters.	
Chestnut tree	Pam namu 밤나무 (栗木)	<i>Castanea crenata</i> <i>Siebold</i>	Fagaceae Prantl	Deciduous, narrow-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	All parts, altitudes of 100-1100 meters.	

Popular Western Name	Popular Korean Name	Scientific Name	Family Name	Properties of Tree	Geographic Distribution	Use of Wood
Maple tree	Tanp'ung namu 단풍나무 (丹楓)	<i>Acer formosum</i> <i>Carrierei</i> variety <i>coreanum</i> <i>Nakai</i>	Aceraceae	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	All parts, altitudes of 100-1600 meters.	Sometimes for furniture front panels.
Elm tree	Nürüp namu 느릅나무 (喬木)	<i>Ulmus davidiana</i> <i>Planchon</i> variety <i>japonica</i> <i>Nakai</i>	Ulmaceae	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Hard wood.	All parts, altitudes of 100-1200 meters.	Sometimes for furniture front panels.
Willow tree	Pödū namu 버드나무 (柳)	<i>Salix korensis</i>	Salicaceae	Deciduous, large-sized, large-leaved, Hard wood.	All parts, altitudes of 50-1300 meters.	Feeding troughs, wooden footwear and others.
Cherry tree	Pöt namu 벚나무 (櫻木)	<i>Prunus serrulata</i> <i>Lindley</i>	Amygdalaceae Reichenbach	Deciduous, large-leaved, large-sized.	All parts, altitudes of 100-1560 meters.	
Red Sandalwood	Hwaryu or 화류 Chadan namu 자단나무	<i>Pterocarpus santalinus</i> , L.	Santalaceae	Hard wood	Not indigenous to Korea.	Wood imported from Japan and China.
Red Oak	Ch'amjuk or Ch'amjung namu 참죽 (중) 나무 (眞僧木)	<i>Tooha sinensis</i> <i>Roem</i> or <i>Cedrela sinensis</i> <i>Juss</i>	Meliaceae Ventenat	Deciduous, broad-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	Hwanghae and the Chöllas, at altitudes of 100-600 meters.	
Lime tree or Basswood	P'i namu 피나무 (毛皮木)	<i>Tilia amurensis</i> <i>Ruprecht</i> variety <i>barbigera</i> <i>Nakai and Kawamoto</i>	Tiliaceae Jussieu	Deciduous, large-leaved, large-sized. Soft wood.	All parts, altitudes of 100-1400 meters.	Furniture front panels.

The Appeal of Korean Celadon

by G. St. G. M. Gompertz

I am not entirely satisfied with the title I have chosen for this talk; however, I cannot really think of a better. Previously, in a book I wrote on the subject of Korean Celadon and other wares of the Koryō period, I attempted to describe the aesthetic approach, but here I wish to discuss a more immediate experience, and one not confined to art historians and connoisseurs but extending more widely to those having little knowledge of artistic appreciation or criticism: in a word, the impact of the Korean wares on those with only ordinary, everyday standards and little ability to express their ideas except on the rudimentary basis—which, however, underlies all art criticism—of: this I like; that I do not like.

Some weeks ago I was pleased to receive a letter from a complete stranger, a lady living in Southern California, asking for information about an exhibition then being held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, to which I had given some assistance. She informed me that Korean Celadon had become for her a hobby—indeed, almost a passion. I have no idea how this interest of hers began, nor what opportunities she had in that locality of carrying it further; perhaps she had been able to visit the main cities of San Francisco, Boston and Washington and thus to see some of the finest surviving examples, or she may only have been able to acquire her knowledge and enthusiasm from books and articles on the subject; but the thing that impressed and delighted me was that here obviously a spark had been struck, perhaps a lifelong interest generated, with all its accompanying excitements and sidelines, in a quite unexpected part of the world, one far removed from the cultural background and milieu of East Asia which had provided the source and inspiration for these art works. Truly, as Keats wrote: 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty', and it does not require any special training or experience to perceive aspects of this pervasive fact.

I think it is a great mistake to impute too much significance to ceramic art, as has been done by some celebrated potters, for it has never been generally accepted as more than one of the minor arts. One reason for this judgement may be that it is primarily concerned with the production of practical, utili-

tarian articles: vessels of all kinds for the serving and storage of food and drink. I am not losing sight of the fact that many very lovely ceramic wares seem to have been made simply for ornament and not for everyday practical use, though opinions have differed on whether this was the case with regard to Korean Celadons. However, it cannot be gainsaid that these represented only a small minority. You will have to visit a high-class art dealer in order to seek and acquire the rare decorative porcelains, whereas any 'china-shop', East or West, will be able to supply you with a large variety of pots and dishes for daily use at the table or in the kitchen.

On the other hand, while stubbornly refusing to regard pottery-making as a vocation so exalted as to confer on ceramic artists and studio-potters special powers of interpretation or prophecy, I do most whole-heartedly subscribe to the view that there is something both mysterious and admirable about an art which is concerned with the utilization of such basic elements as earth, water and fire to fashion and transmute aesthetically satisfying articles for meeting our fundamental needs: if you have ever watched a vessel 'growing' under the almost inspired hands of the potter and later being immersed in the inert glaze liquid and converted by the white-hot furnace into an object of supreme beauty or utility, then you will understand what I mean by saying that the potter, more than any other artist, seems to be co-operating in some degree with his Maker in the act of Creation itself.

It is necessary to bear these considerations in mind when addressing ourselves to the subject under review, for I believe it is important that we neither over-stress nor minimize the significance of pottery wares: they are not and never will be great works of art in their own right; but it would be quite wrong and altogether misleading to deny that, within their limited range, they are beautiful and subtle manifestations. They exhibit in some way the power granted to man whereby he is able to accomplish by the mastery of mind over matter something which transcends most other artifacts by reason of the creative force, beauty and fitness for purpose which it manifests.

When we come to look at any example of this potter's craft which is brought to our attention—and by 'look at' I mean view it and absorb its full significance, both artistic and functional—it will be a help to realize that our purpose will be best served by keeping in mind the three aspects of form, colour and decoration which are normally involved and must be included in making any critical analysis, although we should never lose sight of the fact that it is the totality of the work which must be our eventual concern; and I have deliberately placed these elements in the above order. For it seems to me that form is the most vital of them all; yet colour must come close to it in our estimation; and what added effect can be imparted by decoration that is

well composed and suitably matched to the whole!

At this point I find it necessary to invoke the aid of two perceptive Japanese writers: Sōetsu Yanagi and Shōzō Uchiyama. Dr. Yanagi was a great lover of Korea and became a leading arbiter of taste in Japan. That master potter, Shōji Hamada, once observed to me that 'Yanagi has the best "eye" since Rikyū'—who you may recall achieved immortal fame as connoisseur and tea-master during the sixteenth century; and Yanagi's work on *Korea and Its Art Treasures*, though written so long ago and inevitably 'dated', still retains much that is of lasting value. Uchiyama is less well-known but was likewise endowed with exceptional insight. He was the author of some stimulating essays on Korean ceramic wares in journals such as Yanagi's *Kōgei* (Crafts), which exerted much influence on Japanese cultural life in the 1920's and 1930's.

It may be asked: 'But why rely on these Japanese writers for an appreciation of *Korean* products?' It is true that there were several Western connoisseurs at this period who were much impressed with the beauty of Korean Celadon—one thinks at once of those two great American collectors, Freer and Hoyt, and the wonderful examples they acquired—but these persons seem to have felt no impulse to set down their impressions on paper; and even W.B. Honey of the Victoria and Albert Museum, who wrote so much that is aesthetically illuminating about ceramic art in general and called Koryō wares 'some of the most beautiful pottery ever made', seems to have been more concerned with details of fabrication than with their overall effect.

The Koreans themselves knew little about the masterpieces produced by their twelfth-century ancestors until road and railway construction caused these to be unearthed early in the present century; while their subsequent subjection did not permit of their participating in archaeological researches, which were all in the hands of the governmental authorities. Furthermore, the educational system did not encourage them to take an interest in Korea's cultural heritage. It follows that, as Yanagi put it: 'We have the strange phenomenon that it was the Korean people who created the wares but the Japanese who were able to perceive their value'. He attributed this to the lack of any tradition of connoisseurship in Korea, such as that which had been built up over many years in Japan; also, to the 'sharp eyes' of Japanese tea-masters, who perceived that even the mass-produced pottery of late Koryō and early Yi was possessed of great artistic significance.

It could have been argued on the other hand that the Koreans had little chance of appreciating the achievements of their forbears, since they were hardly aware of their existence and seldom had the means of acquiring any for themselves, though it must in fairness be admitted that indigent peasants lost

no time in exploiting this source of income, once the possibility of recovering underground treasure had become known. I feel sure that Yanagi would have recognized the force of this counter-argument, for he had great respect, sympathy and affection for the Korean people. He would in any case never have gone to the length of one Japanese writer among the many who expatiated on the subject who maintained that, since only the Japanese really appreciated the Korean wares, these should properly be regarded as products of Japan!

I return now to the three aspects of pottery wares mentioned earlier, namely form, colour and decoration. With regard to the first of these, Yanagi maintained that 'at least half the beauty of Koryō wares lies in their form'. He went on to say that 'there are almost no straight lines, only curved lines which are so vital that they seem to be an integral part of the whole... It is more fitting to say that the gentle contour of a vessel is its life than to say that it contains the form... Its beauty is quiet, friendly and lonely—the antithesis of what we find in Chinese pottery'.

This linear beauty had been described much earlier by Yanagi in his efforts to reach the soul of the Korean people. He quoted with approval a letter he had received from Bernard Leach at the close of the latter's visit to Korea, which referred to 'that extraordinarily lovely line seen only in Korea and present in everything Korean... in the hills, in men's hats, in women's hair and in the shoes of both men and women'.

In a moving passage, Yanagi wrote: 'That long, narrow, gracefully curving line of the (Korean) ware seems to me like a prayer. How can I be parted from such wares when they speak to me like this? Ah! I touch the piece with my hand almost unconsciously...'

He felt that the Koreans expressed themselves mainly by line rather than colour or even shape and gave some concrete examples: 'Let us look down on the city (of Seoul) from the summit of Namsan. Isn't everything we see waves of endless curved lines—the roofs of all the houses? It is so different from Tokyo, where there are only straight lines such as are here confined to Japanese or Western houses... The city seems to be floating on the waves rather than resting on the earth...'

Of course, in the case of ceramic wares these sensitive lines enclose the vessel itself, seem to flow around it, as it were; and often this liquid impression is heightened by resemblance to a drop of water, caught just before it falls to earth. This is particularly true of some pear-shaped wine bottles, whose bulbous bodies are slightly elongated in a way rarely if ever found in Chinese vessels of the same type, while their long, slender necks flare outwards at the mouth much less than in their Chinese counterparts—or even in the numerous bronze bottles made in Korea about the same time.

Yanagi drew attention also to the ewers which often have spouts projecting almost straight upwards and have been provided with long, elegant handles, features which seem the reverse of practical, since they could so easily be broken—and indeed most of them have been damaged as a result of rude recovery from burial. He described the typical Korean pots as ‘tall and slender in both body and foot, instead of being round and stable like Chinese pots’ and suggested that this might be explained as an unconscious effect of the ‘sadness and suffering’ which lay at the roots of Korean life at the time.

However, I have previously criticized this constant Japanese refrain about the miserable conditions of Korean existence and pointed out that, so far as we can tell, the Koryō period was as full of light as well as shade as most other human eras; and I should personally prefer to attribute it simply to the Korean love of long, slender lines and deliciously sensitive curves, which is no more than a psychological trait and devoid of any deeper significance.

We observe, then, in Korean ceramic wares of this time a unique linear sense which expresses itself in various ways but particularly in elongation and graceful curves and, as we shall see later, is found also in many of the decorative patterns and designs.

At one time it seemed to me that the number of different forms among the Koryō wares was rather limited when compared with the great range and variety found in Chinese wares; and it came as a surprise when I was able to enumerate 32 types in my own small collection, though it must be admitted that this resulted from counting large and small examples separately where these fell broadly into two groups. However, I think that special mention should be made of the numerous bowls made by the Koryō potter, for most of these are extremely graceful, so that they are seldom surpassed in beauty even by Sung wares. Just as an early Japanese tea-master regarded ‘tea-bowl’ and ‘Korean’ as almost synonymous, so I believe that Korean Celadon may be thought of basically in terms of bowls and dishes, although the Koryō potter’s repertory was larger than appears and his inventive power almost unlimited.

Turning next to the aspect of coloration, it is evident that the Koreans preferred subdued colouring and were averse to bright hues, such as the red and green Chinese wares of Tz’ü-chou type. In later times the Koreans readily adopted underglaze cobalt blue and copper red, but they ignored the *wu-ts’ai* and other Chinese porcelains with brilliant and variegated colouring. The Korean predilection seems always to have been for sobriety and quiet effects, almost the only bright colours seen in modern times being the gay bands of red, green and yellow on children’s clothing and the ornaments used in palace and temple architecture.

Yanagi regarded these as exceptions to the rule and pointed out that

Korean potters never employed red enamelling nor made any attempt to obtain a bright green glaze from copper. The Japanese use the word *shibui* to denote quiet, subdued, restrained or 'astringent' taste, and this might fittingly be applied to the Korean ideal, though I cannot recall any Japanese writer going quite so far in his admiration as to use this almost hallowed term.

Thus, while the Koryō potters sometimes made white, black and brown glazed wares, their main concern was always the subdued yet glowing colour of Celadon, and more than nine-tenths of their production was centred on this class of ware. To untutored Western eyes Celadon may at first seem uninteresting or monotonous; but this is the result of familiarity with porcelains which rely for effect on the bright colours of floral or pictorial decoration. When one is attuned to the sobriety of Celadon ware and sensitive to its great variety of tone, ranging from an ethereal bluish green to a soft dove-grey, also to its subtle changes of lustre, at times brilliant or else withdrawn like polished marble, a whole new area of visual enjoyment is unfolded. The Koreans of the Koryō period seem to have found this completely satisfying and never regarded brighter colours as necessary; except, on occasion, to touch up or give point to a design.

In decoration the Koreans at first used incised and carved designs to great effect, while their moulded or impressed patterns seem to have a freedom and spontaneity lacking in the Chinese wares which were their models. The incised designs are at times no more than suggestions: 'a few indeterminate lines, possibly representing clouds or waves, on the inner surface of a bowl', as Uchiyama put it; or they may be more complex, 'seeping into the mind and spreading like the flowing of water' or even 'running all over the surface in an extremity of elaboration'. In either case they 'appeal powerfully to the mind' which is 'stimulated by contemplating these freely-drawn lines so that one never tires of them.'

It was in this field of decoration also that the Koryō potters made a great and original contribution to ceramic art, namely the inlaying of designs with different coloured slip—though this was limited to white and black—whereby they were emphasized and made to stand out clearly. Some of the earlier incised decoration was difficult to discern through the overlying glaze, especially when this became heavily crazed in the firing; but the inlaid decoration stood out clearly in its contrasted colours, while being in no way discordant with the general effect.

Here again the designs were often freely composed and quite spontaneous, unlike the great majority of rather formal patterns used in Chinese wares; while Margaret Medley has drawn attention to the insouciance with which the Koryō potters used various motifs, whether formal or not, with a charming

disregard for their scale, so that floral sprays could appear much larger than the diminutive cranes flying beside them.

The Korean love of linear design which was described in regard to the forms of their vessels is also apparent in the decoration. Among the more naturalistic motifs none achieved greater popularity than those of water-fowl among reeds and willow trees and cranes flying among clouds. Yanagi observes: 'The reason (for this predilection) will be obvious to everyone. Among all the trees in the world there are none with such long, fine and slender branches—regarded from the standpoint of their lines—as the willow-tree. . . . and the water-fowl disporting themselves under the willows float on flowing water, always flowing, never still. . . .'

Like other Japanese, Yanagi felt that such designs had some hidden significance and betokened a longing for a better life to come and a general 'loneliness'. With regard to the cranes and clouds design, he wrote: 'When we look at the pale, quiet bluish green Celadon ware and see the design of a few torn shreds of cloud floating in the lonely void with a few cranes flying among them, we think of the destination of the birds, vanishing high up in the sky and leaving a few sad cries behind them. . . . There are many different kinds of birds, but among them the crane is tall, with long neck and legs, and flies in the sky with narrow wings, and so naturally they would appeal to the Koreans.'

While it seems to me that Yanagi was here assuming that the Koreans shared his own somewhat sentimental feelings on contemplating their artistic designs—and in support of this conclusion I might point out that he makes no mention of the very droll antics or postures shown by some of the cranes which introduce a note of gaiety and humour far removed from the despondency he infers, one must accept that, as a fellow Oriental, he could perhaps enter into the Koreans' feelings better than can we. In any case, the descriptions are in my view quite charming and exactly suited to their subject without worrying about any mystical interpretation.

It goes without saying that the two motifs just described are seen at their best when inlaid. Indeed, this technical innovation of inlaying must be regarded as the chief glory of Koryō ceramic decoration, but it seems also to have proved the downfall of Celadon ware, for it led to excessive ornament coming into fashion. More and more attention was focused on the decorative elements, with the result that form and glaze colour showed a steady decline. However, this is a matter which is not our concern here, and may be left to art historians, while we concentrate on the striking effect of this decoration at its best.

Having thus considered Korean Celadon from the three angles of form,

colour and decoration, I now come to the most important question of all, namely its total effect. And here I find Uchiyama's views of great value, though occasionally verging on hyperbole. For example, he begins an essay on Koryō pottery with the sweeping statement: 'Koryō wares are a religion to me. If someone were to ask me "What is the pathway towards God?" I should not hesitate to reply: "Through Koryō wares".'

He goes on: 'Whenever I hold a Koryō ware, my weariness is relieved, my severity relaxed, my irritation alleviated, my parched feelings quenched and my ugly heart purified... It is because of this noble moment that I am able to endure and even enjoy this confused life in the world of today. I am deeply grateful for the strange fate which has linked me to Koryō wares'.

It seems that for twenty years he had lived, as he says, 'with a hollow feeling, as though in search of something, trying one thing after another but all in vain'. He was astonished when he was suddenly confronted with 'the world of Koryō wares' and found that this was indeed what he had been unknowingly seeking.

Uchiyama denies that this attraction he felt so powerfully lay in the external characteristics of the wares, in their forms, colour or decoration: it resided in their very essence, of which these were merely the outward expression. He believed the reason was that they were an embodiment of 'quietness' or the Absolute: 'the mind that is invested with 'non-attachment' or selflessness is the source of everything pure, beautiful and profound; and Koryō wares are the true products of this state. The forms of these wares move our hearts; their shades of colour possess unique inner depth; and their fine, freely carved designs are no less derived from this source.'

The standpoint is thus frankly Buddhist, yet it finds a close parallel in Christian idealism, and I for one would accept that there is something transcendental about Koryō wares which is not to be found in Chinese or any other porcelains. As examples of this concept Uchiyama instances an inlaid vase with a swelling body at the shoulder but tapering towards the foot, which gives an impression of tall, slender grace; likewise, a Celadon bowl with a deep blue-green glaze that resembles a lake and with incised floral designs that intrigue and beguile; and finally a white porcelain covered box which is at once too green to be called white and too white to be considered green. He concludes by asking whether it is an overstatement to say that Koryō wares are supreme manifestations of that oriental philosophical ideal of 'quietness' or the Void.

At this point it will be useful to diverge from the main argument, as does Uchiyama, to refute the contention that Koryō wares are no more than copies of Chinese Sung porcelains, which in turn were partly derived from Persia or

other lands further to the West. That this was the case historically is undeniable, but it needs only a short further step to realize that Koryō wares soon became essentially Korean in character and free from external influence. While expressing the admiration and wonder which all must feel on being confronted with such ceramic masterpieces as the ineffable white Ting wares or the Celadons of Lung-ch'üan, it must be evident that 'Koryō wares occupy a place of their own and are in no way inferior to the Sung porcelains,' which are the expression of a more practical and material culture.

In fact, Uchiyama claims that the Korean wares possess 'some deep, strange fascination, compelling profound thought in the minds of all who contemplate them', and maintains that, at least in this respect, they may be held superior even to the revered 'Kinuta' Celadons of Sung.

'If we were to judge the Korean wares inferior', he writes, 'because of their greater delicacy, tenderness and grace, then we should be allowing ourselves to be carried away by outward appearance... In general, the superiority of Chinese porcelains is in their appeal to the eye, whereas the strength of the Korean wares is their appeal to the heart... They enter the mind quietly and move all who observe them with understanding...'

It will be noted that Japanese connoisseurs make frequent use of the term *sabi-shi*, or 'lonely', when discussing the appeal of Korean Celadon. Is this merely the response felt by the sensitive but emotional Japanese, perhaps under the influence of a pessimistic view of the Korean predicament and experience in a long and troubled history? Or does it contain some hidden truth which is discernible to oriental eyes, especially to those as gifted as the Japanese, but seen less clearly by pragmatic Westerners? And to what extent does it stem from that 'Light of Asia' which is the teaching of Gautama Buddha?

Well, I must admit that the sole Korean authority who wrote perceptively about Korean Celadon at this period, that promising young scholar Ko Yu-sop, also felt that the people of Koryō were imbued with other-worldly ideals and had developed an attitude of indifference and resignation to the affairs of this life and that this was exemplified in their pottery. As he put it: 'The noise and clamour of this world were to them nothing more than waves on the surface of the ocean. The famous Koryō scholar, Yi Kyu-bo, declared: "There is no one who does not long for the world of Nirvana and stillness, because it is pure and undefiled..." What a lonely, quietist state of mind this betokens!'

This would seem to support the views of Yanagi, Uchiyama and many other Japanese on the 'sehnsucht' expressed by Korean Celadon; but Ko's learning was based firmly on Japanese studies from which he quoted liberally, and we

cannot be sure that he was taking a truly Korean viewpoint. Indeed, this same sentiment was put forward by Uchiyama when he touched on the history and psychology of the Koryŏ people, steeped in Buddhism and the hope of a rewarding after-life: 'It cannot have been an accident', he wrote, 'that the people of Koryŏ produced wares which exude quietness of spirit. . . It does not, of course, follow that the potters themselves were conscious of this state of mind; most likely they were no more than uneducated craftsmen. They were unable consciously to reflect their state of mind in their products. But simply through devoting themselves to the making of ceramic wares, as innocently and unaffectedly as clouds floating in the sky or water running in the streams, they were able to produce these porcelains'.

This penetrating passage of Uchiyama's must indeed carry a great deal of conviction, for it does exactly express the spirit of Korean Celadon; yet one must pause before accepting the proposition that the humble Koryŏ potters had absorbed the spirit of the age so deeply that they quite unconsciously reproduced it in the wares they made. The problem is whether these concepts or overtones were inherent in the wares themselves or only in the eyes and minds of their twentieth century beholders.

I must leave it to others better equipped than myself to resolve this question; but I should like to say in closing that, when I see a Korean countryman, wearing the traditional horsehair hat and flowing white garments and carrying his long, thin pipe a trifle absent-mindedly, bent on a day-long *kugyŏng*, during which he will observe the wonders of nature in a country blessed with superb mountain scenery and exchange ideas with other contemplatives on the way, then I can think of nothing that so well expresses his condition and state of mind as those often-quoted lines of Wordsworth:

I wandered lonely as a cloud

That floats on high o'er vales and hills. . .

There can, I think, be little doubt that this attitude is profoundly Korean, and must to some extent have been shaped by historical experience and centuries of Buddhism; yet I suggest that it owes as much to some peculiarly national traits such as a basically philosophical outlook, a love of natural scenery, a delightfully whimsical sense of humour, and a recognition that life has much to offer but should never be regarded as an end in itself.

Are not these characteristics equally or even more evident in the pottery they made? And have they any deeper import than their artistic love for sensitively curving lines and quiet, subdued effects?

Receiving the *Samsin* Grandmother:
Conception Rituals in Korea

by Laurel Kendall

Whether the child is brought by the stork, foretold by an angel, or conceived by a totem animal or magical monk, myths and rites surrounding conception are certain to provoke a condescending smile on the lips of the sophisticated urbanite. For the social scientist, however, beliefs surrounding conception and birth are a fruitful area of inquiry (e.g., Blackwood 1935; Hart 1965; Topley 1974; and others). As the work of various anthropologists amply demonstrates, an appreciation of cultural factors influencing such "biological" events as conception, pregnancy, and birth is essential for those concerned with population policy, mother/child health, and the status of women (Mead and Newton 1967; Nag 1962; Raphael 1966, 1975; Philsbury 1976).

In this spirit, what follows should be something more than the presentation of an exotic custom. This account of conception rituals should lend some insight into the experience of being female in Korea, an experience that has broad implications for public policy.

CONCEPTION RITUALS AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

In Korea, folklorists have recorded a wide variety of practices believed to induce the birth of sons: praying before potent rocks, lighting candles in the hollow trunks of old trees, making pilgrimages to mountain temples, and stealing the red pepper-studded hemp rope that announces the birth of a son. The noted Japanese folklorist, Akiba Takashi (1957) was perhaps the first to indicate the wealth of conception rituals found in Korea. More recently, the Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences (KIRBS) presented a compilation of conception-related folklore as part of its massive

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study on "boy preference" in Korea (Cha, Chung, and Lee 1974; 1977). In another recent study, Kinsler (1976) took the perspective of religious phenomenology in his study of conception rituals performed by shamans. (See also Kinsler 1977; Lee 1973; Lee 1974: 60-61.)

The KIRBS study rightly associates this profusion of conception rituals with the precarious status of the Korean wife (Cha, Chung, and Lee 1974: 77). An outsider in her husband's family, her position is secure only when she produces a male heir to carry on the family line and offer *chesa* (祭祀) to the family ancestors. As the KIRBS study notes, being sonless is as much a "failure" as being childless (Ibid.: 4). Not only does the sonless woman contend with family scorn and a lowering of personal esteem, she faces the very real fear that her husband may cast her off or seek a secondary wife. Some fifty percent of the women in the KIRBS study indicated that they would acquiesce should their husbands take concubines to secure male issue (Ibid.: 160; see also Lee 1972).

While the KIRBS study aptly sees conception rituals as a reflection of the infertile or sonless woman's agonizing situation, the random assortment of customs and beliefs they present conveys the impression that the childless woman, in her desperation, is the victim of naive belief and socially deleterious superstition. The study reflects an assumption that the ritual activities of Korean women, with or without the intercession of a professional shaman, are one indication of the ignorance and cultural backwardness of the Korean housewife. According to the KIRBS study: "...for most women, a process of regression starts with marriage as far as modernizing influences are concerned" (Chung, Cha, and Lee 1974: 270). Women are thus: "...an easy prey to superstitious beliefs" (Ibid.: 184).

This pessimistic view of female intelligence and judgment is, of course, to be expected in a society characterized by a profound separation of the sexes. The wife is the *anae*, the "one inside"; the husband is the *pakkat saram*, the "outside person". Even in traditional times, only the most orthodox *yangban* (兩班) could afford to strictly observe the *purdah*-like restriction of women behind the great front gate, but the ideal was widely sought and, to whatever degree possible, approximated.¹ Middle-aged rural women today consider the freedom of public appearance one of the most significant changes from the world of their youth.

If tradition holds that "woman's place is in the home", tradition also holds that the home is woman's place. In the *kosa* (告祀) ritual, the senior woman of the household offers wine, water, and rice cake to the spirits of the household, spirits encoded into the structure of the house itself. One finds among the household spirits the *Sōngju* of the roof beam, the *Chowang* (寵王)

in the kitchen, and most significant for our concerns here, the birth spirit, or *Samsin* (三神) in the inner room.² When the household is beset by ill luck, persistent sickness, or financial loss, the women consult a shaman who determines the offending spirit through divination. The shaman prescribes the appropriate ritual action to patch relations between human and spirit and restore the integrity of the house.

Thus, women serve the spirits of the house while men serve the ancestors of the family. The ritual functions of the two sexes are complementary.

There is, however, a significant difference between male and female rituals: male rituals are valued, female rituals are not. Korean social philosophers and social critics have, for centuries, hailed *chesa*, the ritual activity of men, as the quintessential expression of filial piety, *hyodo* (孝道), the foundation of the state. They have decried the ritual activities of women as wasteful, extravagant, lewd, and false (Yi 1976: esp. 84–100). The zealotry of the New Community Movement (Saemaül undong) in attacking “superstition”, *misin* (迷信), is merely the modern manifestation of an enduring posture.

Even with the current interest in shamanism as an indigenous Korean religion, one scholar suggests that these practices are now banalized for having been perpetuated over the centuries by ignorant country women (Chang 1974: 137–8).

This low regard for feminine ritual endeavor is pervasive. Village men mutter against the cost of ritual activity and visits to the shaman. Many of the women questioned in the course of this study greeted my initial inquiries with giggling embarrassment. Yet women’s rituals persist, conception rituals among them.

Why do women, fully aware of the biological nature of conception, resort to ritual to induce the birth of a son? Assuming that more is at work here than naive faith, what motivates these women? What do conception rituals do for them?

WHY CONCEPTION RITUALS? BACKGROUND AND THEORY

What follows is an analysis of one conception ritual commonly practiced in the Seoul region, “receiving the *Samsin*”, or *Samsin pannün’göt*. A *mansin* (萬神), as shamans in this part of Korea are called, conducts the birth spirit into a gourd filled with rice grains, nuts, and seeds. When the *Samsin* is present, the gourd begins to shake in the hands of the woman who would become pregnant. The woman carries the gourd into the inner room of her home. The birth spirit is now an active presence; conception is possible.³ The *mansin* induces the *Samsin* to enter the gourd in the course of simple prayers

or as part of an elaborate day-long ritual (*kut*). But, as we shall see, it is also possible to receive the *Samsin* without the aid of a professional shaman.

Receiving the *Samsin* is one segment of a broad spectrum of shaman healing ritual. By "healing" I mean no more than an attempt, through ritual means, to favorably affect a culturally defined problematic condition. The Korean *mansin* addresses all manner of problems from illness and financial loss to adulterous husbands and disrespectful children. While the healing ritual may have no direct effect on a physical or social condition, it may have an emotionally therapeutic effect. Numerous studies suggest that the process of ritual healing may rally social support around the afflicted person (Kiev et al. 1964; Turner 1967), induce the public abreaction of trauma (Levi-Strauss 1969), and transform the patient's orientation from "ill", "possessed", or "unlucky", to "cured" (Turner 1968).⁴

Recent observations of the Korean shaman's ritual *kut* indicate that here, too, a healing process is at work (Kim 1973; Yoon 1976; Kendall 1977). Does receiving the *Samsin* also have a therapeutic effect? If so, how?

It is the task of the anthropologist, insofar as possible, to get inside the ritual, to try to view it from the experiences of the participants. I will thus draw on the accounts of four women who received the *Samsin*, and a *mansin* who recently induced the *Samsin* for a client. Background information on the nature of the *Samsin* comes from interviews with village women and local shamans.

Material presented here was collected in the course of a study on shamanism and rural women conducted in a village north of Seoul. In the course of my work, I soon realized that the *mansin* who was my main informant was drawing a significant number of clients from an urban center some twenty minutes away by bus.

I sent my assistant to survey ritual practices in an urban neighborhood that had yielded a sudden influx of clients. This urban survey revealed one more case of a childless woman receiving the *Samsin* (case 4). Another woman (case 5) came from an urban center southeast of Seoul to receive the *Samsin* in a rural shaman's shrine. The conception rituals described here should not, then, be considered merely the tenuous survivals of traditional life in the countryside.

One final qualification is in order. The material presented here comes from the highly localized context of my field work and should not be taken as representative of all of Korea. While ritual manuals have gone a long way toward standardizing masculine *chesa*, women's rituals and shaman lore are learned through observation and oral transmission, and the potential for variation is considerable.

THE SAMSIN GRANDMOTHER

An appreciation of conception rituals calls for a brief introduction to the cultural nature of birth and the temperament of the birth spirit.

As noted above, the *Samsin*, or *Samsin* Grandmother⁵ is associated with the inner room of the house, "woman's place" in the traditional scheme of things. The *Samsin* oversees conception, birth, lactation, and the health of infants in the immediate postpartum period. During the birth itself and for three days immediately following the birth, the inner room, as the "birth room", becomes a ritually separated space and the entire house is closed to the polluting influence of mourners. This inner room, or *anbang*, associated with woman as the *annae*, the "inside one", could be considered a metaphoric womb within the structure of the house. It is here that the birth spirit resides, here that conception, gestation, and birth take place.

In the ideal, the mother-in-law, the new baby's grandmother, assists at the birth and delivers the child. Other women from the neighborhood are often called in to help, and they are also described as "grandmothers", older women who have had considerable experience both giving birth and attending deliveries.⁶

It is the mother-in-law, again in the ideal, who does the housework while mother and baby are sequestered in the birth room.⁷ If the mother should emerge too soon, she may catch *ch'an param* (lit.: "cold wind") and later suffer from arthritis, general susceptibility to cold, and body weakness.⁸

The women say:

Your mother-in-law delivers you, who else would deliver you? She's the senior member of the household, so you can trust her.

It's painful; she does the massage. You can't go out so she does the cooking. She keeps everything clean and protects you so you won't catch *ch'an param*. Your mother-in-law is the best one to do all that.

On the third day⁹ after the birth, when the child is first placed at the breast, the mother-in-law/grandmother sets down rice and seaweed soup by the mother's pillow and asks the *Samsin* Grandmother to make the milk flow. It is this involvement of the mother-in-law/grandmother in the birth process that leads, I believe, to the popular perception of the *Samsin* as a "white-haired grandmother", an older woman whose experienced assistance is essential to guard the safety of mother and baby during the birth and postpartum period.¹⁰

But the mother-in-law/grandmother is not an eternally benevolent figure, nor is the *Samsin* Grandmother an eternally benevolent presence. She becomes angry when her commands are ignored and when she does not receive her proper due in offerings. When an infant sickens or dies soon after birth, the *mansin* will usually divine that the anger of the *Samsin* Grandmother is the cause, as in the following case:

An eight-day old infant suffered from persistent diarrhea and cried constantly. The child's grandmother went to the *mansin's* house for divination. The *mansin* scolded the woman. After the birth, they had brought meat and chicken into the house and the whole family had feasted without making a special offering to the *Samsin* Grandmother who had been responsible for the safe delivery of the baby boy. Angry at this neglect, the *Samsin* Grandmother did not protect the child from the ghost of the child's grandfather's first wife. The dead woman, pleased with the birth of her own grandchild, reached out a hand to stroke the baby. This touch of the dead, even though well-intended, caused the infant to sicken. The shaman prescribed a special ceremony, a *Samsin me*¹¹ to patch relations with the *Samsin* Grandmother. The *mansin* urged the use of western medicine as well.

According to the *mansin*, if the family had made offerings to the *Samsin* Grandmother in the first place, the ghost of the grandfather's first wife could never have touched the infant. There were, the *mansin* said, similar problems after the birth of the first grandchild, now a healthy toddler.

Like other spirits of the house, when the *Samsin* Grandmother drops her guard, restless ancestors (*chosang mangmyōng* 祖上망명), wandering ghosts (*yōngsan* 靈山), and other noxious influences will assume an active negative presence. A *Samsin me*, held before or shortly after the birth, will insure the good offices of the *Samsin* Grandmother.

This spirit, then, like any staturesd elder, is affronted by neglect and cajoled with feasts and flattery.

As the *mansin* views it, when the *Samsin* is an active presence, conception is possible. But even when the *Samsin* is present, other spiritual influences may interfere with the conception, birth, and survival of the child.

Sometimes the ghostly influences of a family member who died pregnant or in childbirth, *haesan'goe* (解産鬼) will hinder conception or threaten a successful delivery. The ghost of a woman who "was supposed to have a child but didn't" is considered particularly threatening because the dead woman's

sense of unfulfillment would be so great. Determining the presence of such a ghost through divination, the *mansin* will advise propitiating the ghost in the process of receiving the *Samsin*.

In some families the women have maintained through generations a tradition of petitioning the Seven Stars, *Ch'ilsǒng* (七星), spirits influential in the conception of sons and the successful rearing of children. When the tradition is broken, the Seven Stars withdraw their influence and no sons are born. When the *mansin* determines through divination that a broken tradition of praying to the Seven Stars is the cause of a woman's infertility, she advises the childless woman to pray to the Seven Stars on an appropriate mountain and there receive the *Samsin*.

The *mansin* acknowledge that there is a limit to the efficacy of ritual. The spirits of the house exist within and are subject to the laws of the universe as governed by the abstract principles of Chinese cosmology—in other words, by fate. *P'alja* (八字), one's horoscope as determined by the year, month, day, and hour of birth, simply decrees that some people will be childless. In the words of a *mansin*: "Even though they go to the mountain and pray, the Seven Stars don't open their eyes. That's because of their *p'alja*."

Either the husband's *p'alja* or the wife's may be deemed the cause of childlessness. In one of the divination sessions I witnessed, the *mansin* did not hesitate to attribute a couple's long childlessness to the husband's *p'alja*, although popular opinion ever holds the wife to blame for infertility.

We can now turn to the experiences of those women who received the *Samsin* for the birth of sons.

RECEIVING THE SAMSIN

Eighty rural women were interviewed concerning ritual practices. Most of them had honored the *Samsin* with rice and seaweed soup after the births of their children. Three women, confronted with prolonged infertility or sonlessness, undertook to correct their abnormal conditions by ritually receiving the *Samsin* (cases 1, 2, and 3).

In rural Korea, conception is expected to follow fast on the heels of every marriage. The appearance of a recent bride is certain to provoke murmurs: "Is she pregnant yet?" or "They say she's pregnant already." In fact, most of the women questioned in a random survey of birth experiences reported that they had produced a child within the first or second year of marriage. In the cases described below, five years was the minimum amount of time any of the women allowed to elapse before receiving the *Samsin*. Of the three women in the birth experience survey who had their first child in the

fifth year after marriage or later, two were married at age fourteen, suggesting that a delayed assumption of conjugal life may have been a factor. The third was one of the women in the village who had received the *Samsin* (case 1).

Yoon (1977: 130-143) notes that in the Korean medicoreligious scheme of things, pregnancy is considered a "passive", "secret" state. To the consternation of public health workers, the pregnant woman rarely seeks out medical assistance in the normal course of pregnancy and birth. Infertility, on the other hand, is an "active" state necessitating the active pursuit of a cure.

The women whose experiences are recounted below defined their childlessness or sonlessness as conditions that could be cured through appropriate ritual.

Case 1. Mrs. C. is now forty-four years old. She married at eighteen but did not have a child until she was twenty-six. On the advice of a woman in the neighborhood she did the following: Standing in the courtyard at midnight, she pounded rice grains seven times with a mortar and pestle, then took the grain to the well and washed it clean. She cooked the rice and took three bowls of it to the inner room. There, she bowed three times. After that, she put a dab of rice from each bowl in white paper and pasted the packet to the ceiling (as a placing for the *Samsin*). In the fall, she burned the packet. The next year, she became pregnant.

Case 2. Mrs. K. is now sixty-four years old and active in the local Christian church. Her daughter was amazed when Mrs. K. told me the following story: She was married at nineteen and gave birth to a son when she was twenty-one. For the next fifteen years she was unable to conceive a child. She went to a Chinese herbalist, a *hanyak bang* (漢藥房), for treatment. She was told that she had a chronic condition of "cold", *naeng* (冷), in her uterus and was thus unable to conceive. The druggist prescribed Chinese herb medicine for Mrs. K.'s condition and she had acupuncture treatments on her stomach, but nothing seemed to work. Once, a friend suggested that since Mrs. K. was bored sitting at home without a baby, they should go together to consult a *posal* (菩薩), a type of inspirational diviner. The *posal* told her, "You shall have a baby." Mrs. K. was skeptical, but on the advice of the *posal*, she received the *Samsin* with the aid of a *mansin* in the neighborhood. Shortly thereafter, she conceived a child. Over the next six years, Mrs. K. produced three more children.

Case 3. Mrs. H. is thirty-one years old. Her first child was a daughter. When she became pregnant for the second time, about two years ago, she went to the

neighborhood *mansin* shrine to receive the *Samsin* and insure that this time, the child would be a boy. It was.

Both Mrs. L. and Mrs. Y., whose cases follow, came from urban centers on the periphery of Seoul.

Case 4. Mrs. L. is thirty-five years old and has no children. On a friend's advice she went with a *mansin* five years ago to pray to the Seven Stars on a mountainside. They brought rice, fruit, and seaweed soup up the mountain. Mrs. L. received the *Samsin* beside a mountain spring. Mrs. L. claims that although she was never able to conceive a child, the ritual on the mountainside made her "feel a bit happier".

All three of the rural women attribute subsequent births to receiving the *Samsin* even though neither Mrs. C. nor Mrs. K. now actively patronize professional shamans. Equally noteworthy is Mrs. L.'s reaction: even though she didn't become pregnant, she attributes positive benefits to receiving the *Samsin* on the mountainside.

We must look to the ritual process itself for an appreciation of the impression receiving the *Samsin* made on these women. Case 5 is a description by a *mansin* of a full *kut* performed for a woman who wished to receive the *Samsin*.

Case 5. Mrs. Y. is now twenty-seven years old and childless, although she was married at the age of twenty. She is a primary school teacher, and her husband works for a company. They live in an urban center southeast of Seoul. Mrs. Y.'s husband has been in America for the last several months on company business. Her own mother urged her to receive the *Samsin* so that she would be ready to conceive a child immediately upon his return. Mrs. Y.'s mother expressed her own desire for a grandchild and voiced the fear that if Mrs. Y. should remain childless, her husband might commit adultery. The *kut* was held in the shrine of a country *mansin* because, as a primary school teacher, Mrs. Y. must "...tell her students that there is no such thing as superstition." If the *kut* were performed in her own home and any of her students knew about it, she would lose face.

Three *mansin* performed a full *kut*. Throughout the morning and afternoon they invoked and manifested all of the spirits and ancestors of Mrs. Y.'s family. In the course of the *kut*, the *mansin* dressed Mrs. Y. in one of their costumes and urged her to dance before the drum. During this dance, the supplicant's personal spirit, her *momju* (몸주), is supposed to rise up and induce frenzied jumping. But Mrs. Y. was unable to dance. The *mansin* was

worried: "Some people just aren't able to do that sort of thing. I thought 'what if she can't receive the *Samsin*; what if the gourd doesn't shake in her hands?'"

When the *kut* progressed to the segment for *Chesök* (帝釋), the *Samsin*,¹² a *mansin* dressed in flowing white Buddhist robes and peaked cowl, invoked the spirit. Mrs. Y. stood before the possessed *mansin*, holding a gourd dipper filled with carefully washed rice grains, nuts, and seeds: three walnuts because they look like the placenta, three dates as seeds for the continuation of generations, and three chestnuts so the baby will grow up tough and firm. Drum and cymbals pounded away. If the gourd should shake in Mrs. Y.'s hands, the *Samsin* would be there.

Moments of anticipation passed. Then, sure enough, the gourd dipper began to tremble, ever so slightly, in Mrs. Y.'s hands. It shook and then it jerked up and down to the rapid beats of the drum. The *Samsin* was present.

Now Mrs. Y. was told to quickly eat three spoonfuls of seaweed soup and three spoonfuls of rice on the porch of the *mansin* home. She must not enter the inner room for she would bring in the *Samsin* who would settle there. Rather, she must go to her own home with her eyes cast down and not respond to anyone's greeting—this on a trip that would include two buses and a subway. Once home, she must go straight to the inner room without a word and set the gourd dipper down wherever it should feel right to set it down.

I have yet to learn whether or not Mrs. Y. conceived a child upon her husband's return from America.

The *kut* described above is the most elaborate context in which a woman may "receive the *Samsin*", but, even if the *mansin* performs only a simple invocation, all of the crucial elements are there. The birth spirit is invoked by the shaman, the gourd shakes in the supplicant's hands, and the woman carefully carries the gourd back to her own inner room.

As the climax of a ritual process, the sheer drama of the shaking gourd might communicate to the woman a graphic sense of transformation from "sonless" or "infertile" to "potentially son-bearing". The seemingly involuntary shaking of the gourd suggests that the woman has suspended normal reactions and entered into the realm of ritual. She meets the birth spirit at the point of crisis, the culmination of her most immediate hopes and fears.¹³

It takes some time to reach the point of crisis. The rice grains must be washed immaculately clean and the offerings carefully prepared. The woman bathes, then goes in secret up a hillside or to a *mansin* shrine, or she performs her own ritual at home in the dead of night. Finally, having received the *Samsin*, she must observe silence as she returns home lest she inadvertently



A mansin manifesting Samsin Chesök

give the *Samsin* away. She conducts the birth spirit safely into her own inner room, metaphorically conducting the seed into her womb.

She has exerted considerable effort, and the successful completion of this ritual might leave a woman with the feeling that she has done everything humanly, indeed spiritually possible to secure the birth of a son. If feelings of guilt and failure are associated with sonlessness to the extent that the KIRBS study suggests, then receiving the *Samsin* might relieve women of some of their ponderous burden of guilt and anxiety. Significant here is the case of the woman who, though she never became pregnant, felt better after receiving the *Samsin*.

Nor does the perpetuation of these rituals necessarily imply the perpetuation of traditional pro-natalist attitudes. The young mother in case 3, who had given birth to a daughter and was already pregnant with her second child, received the *Samsin* to insure that this next child would be a boy—probably because she wished to follow the government's injunction to "stop at two and raise them well".

Finally, to enter a more speculative realm, anthropologists are becoming increasingly aware of the influence of cultural factors on seemingly biological phenomena. Lactation, for example, is not automatic and appears to be hampered when the new mother is not given sufficient moral support (Raphael 1966, 1973). There may well be more to conception than the biology textbooks imply. It has been observed that numerous American couples who consistently fail to conceive a child for no apparent biological reason are suddenly successful once they have completed procedures for adoption (Weir and Weir 1966 cited in Wolf 1972). In rural Taiwan, folk belief holds, with some justification, that a childless young wife may swiftly conceive after receiving an adopted infant daughter-in-law (Wolf 1972: 151).

It has long been assumed that emotional stress may disrupt the secretion of gonadotrophic pituitary hormones (Greenblat 1966: 41, 44). More recent research indicates that severe stress affects the hypothalamus, thus inhibiting the release from the pituitary gland of LH and FSH, the two crucial hormones in ovulation. Ten to fifteen percent of recorded cases of women's infertility may be due to the effect of stress on the functioning of the hypothalamus.

One may speculate that severe anxiety over suspected infertility may be sufficient to disrupt the process of normal ovulation in some Korean women. Here, conception rituals might relieve tension with a sudden cathartic burst when the gourd begins to shake. The woman acknowledges in the language of ritual her willingness and capacity to become a mother. She may feel "potentially pregnant".

In short, maybe it works.

NOTES

1. Foreigners in Korea at the turn of the century frequently remarked at the extreme separation of the sexes, particularly among *yangban*. See, for example, the account of "Korean women" in Hulbert (1969).

2. While the conceptualization of household spirits is fairly consistent throughout Korea, there is considerable variation in the names of particular spirits and the mode of worship. For descriptions of this cult of the household, see Chang (1974: 163-170), Jones (1902), and Lee (1975).

3. For an appreciation of the variation in shaman-assisted conception rituals, see Kinsler (1976: 43-47).

4. These points are made repeatedly in the extensive literature on healing rites. While this is not the place to produce a full bibliography, the following additional sources are suggested for those who might wish to pursue this topic further: Harris 1957; Middleton et al. 1967; Grapanzano and Garrison et al. 1977; Werbner 1964.

5. In the village where I did the bulk of my field work, the *Samsin* was most commonly conceptualized as *Samsin Halmöni*, a white-haired grandmother. However, one of the local shamans recognized a trinity: a *yangban samsin*, a monk *samsin*, and an ancestor *samsin*. One or the other of these birth spirits might appear in conception dreams. This portrayal follows the literal Chinese character rendering of *Samsin* as "three spirits". Others suggest that the *sam* of *samsin* comes from *samgölda*, literally "tying off the umbilical cord", an expression signifying birth. (Lee Du-hyun personal communication 5/10/78).

The *mansin* equate the *Samsin* with *Chesök*, a figure borrowed from Buddhism. *Chesök* is worshipped in the *mansin* shrine and manifested in *kut*. As one *mansin* explained: "*Samsin* Grandmother in the inner room is *Chesök* in the shrine." *Chesök* is also concerned with the fertility of grain and with long life. See Chang (1974) for a more detailed description of the various manifestations of *Chesök*. See Kinsler (1976: 41; 1977: 30-31) for an appreciation of the varied conceptualizations of *Samsin*. See Jones (1902: 57-58), Sich (1977: 33), and Yi (1976: 137) for other descriptions of birth spirits.

6. In fact, only fourteen of the forty women in the birth experience survey were delivered of their first child by their mothers-in-law. Eight were delivered by their own mothers, five by midwives, three in the hospital, and the remainder by female relatives or neighbors. When a professional midwife or more experienced older woman was called in to perform the actual delivery the mother-in-law was often present in the birth room.

7. Those women who returned to their natal homes to deliver indicated that it was easier to rest and recover there because their own mothers were eager to minister to their needs. A mother-in-law might begrudge the effort. Those women who had to rely on the help of other relatives, neighbors, or a husband for help with household tasks in the postpartum period were in the worst position. They felt that they had resumed housework "too soon" and suffered ill health as the consequence.

8. See Philsbury (1976) for a similar concept of "wind" as it affects the structuring of postpartum care among Chinese women.

9. Counting from the day of birth.

10. In some villages, an old and experienced midwife may actually be given the appellation "*Samsin* Grandmother", although to my knowledge the usage was not current in the village where I did my work. (Dorothea Sich personal communication 4/30/78)

11. See Ch'oe and Chang (1967: 132) for a general description of the *Samsin me*.

12. See note 5 above.

13. Kinsler (1975: x, 101) provides a similar but not identical analysis of this ritual.

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Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1977

The Korea Branch of the RAS was founded 77 years ago by a small group of foreigners living in Korea who were concerned with the scholarly investigation of Korea and her neighbors. The Korea Branch of the RAS has grown tremendously from the original 37 members to a large society of over 1000 members with fifty meetings and tours in Seoul and Taegu this year.

Membership — As of December 5, 1977 the total membership in the Korea Branch of the RAS was 1,105 consisting of 49 Life members, 351 Overseas members and 705 Local members. Our Quarterly (overseas) Newsletter and the Monthly (local) Notices have served to keep the membership informed of our activities.

Meetings — During 1977 we had 28 meetings, 22 in Seoul and 6 in Taegu. The average attendance was 160 in Seoul and 50 in Taegu with a total of 3,720 attendees. We have offered a variety of programs including a kayagum demonstration, a mask dance presentation, 7 slide lectures, and 3 film evenings. A detailed list follows.

Tours — We had 21 day tours and 2 overnight tours this year. The average number of participants was 59 on day tours and 32 on overnights, with a total of 1,300 tourgoers. Two tours had over 100 participants. The Annual Garden Party was held at the American Ambassador's new Residence.

Publications — New books published:

RAS *Transaction* vol. 51

RAS *Transaction* vol. 43 – reprint

Virtues in Conflict: Tradition and the Korean Woman Today, edited by
Sandra Mattielli

Fifteen Years Among the Topknots, L.H. Underwood (first published in 1904)

An Introduction to Korean Music and Dance, Dr. Lee Hye-gu

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys, Dr. Martina Deuchler

RAS Zodiac Animals Calendar for 1978

The Korea Review vol. 1-6 (Periodicals from 1901-1906)

Douglas Fund — This spring we distributed two Douglas Scholarships to Mr. Chang Moo Koo and Mr. Yim Joong Ho, graduate students in Korean Studies at Sung Kyun Kwan University. Mr. Yim's scholarship was renewed for the fall semester.

1977 Meetings

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
Jan. 12	Kayagum Demonstration Lecture (Miss Cathy Shaffer)	150
Jan. 26	Shamanism and Ecstasy (Dr. Arthur Kinsler)	100
Feb. 9	Slide Lecture: "From Hongkong to Bonn by Train" (Dr. Karl Leuteritz)	400
Feb. 23	Yüan Shih-k'ai (Dr. Arthur McTaggart)	66
March 9	Film Evening: "Anapchi Pond" and "Kimchi"	180
March 23	Slide Lecture: "Korean Wild Flowers" (Mrs. Jean Macdonald)	100
April 6	Slide Lecture: "Korean Funerals" (Mr. Norman Sibley)	340
April 20	Slide Lecture: "Korean Superstition and Remarkable Number Three" (Mr. John Hughston)	180
May 4	Korean Royal Symbols and Chinese Traditional Philosophy (Dr. Kim Yong-won)	186
May 18	Mask Dance Presentation: "Yangju P'yöl Sandai Nori" (Miss Laurel Kendall)	286
June 8	Reflections on Traditional Korean Dance or Dionysus in Seoul (Miss Eleanor King)	180
June 22	The Influence of Religion on Oriental Art (Mr. John Gould)	86
July 20	Film Evening: "The Legacy" and "Koryö Ceramics"	160
August 17	Film Evening: "Gift of our Forefathers" and "Korean Genre Painter: Shin Yun Bok"	280
Sept. 7	Slide Lecture: "Caught Between Ancestors & Spirit: A Korean Shaman's Healing Kut" (Miss Laurel Kendall)	120

Sept. 21	The Sonless Dilemma: An Inquiry into Adoption, Divorce & Concubinage Practices in Yi Dynasty Korea (Mr. Mark Peterson)	100
Oct. 5	Zen and the Enlightenment Experience: An Intellectual Approach (Dr. Lee Chung-yong)	80
Oct. 19	Traditional Korean Medicine and Modern Health Practices (Dr. Dorothea Sich)	200
Nov. 2	Slide Lecture: "Traditional and Modern Forms of Cooperation in Rice Farming" (Mr. Edward Reed)	100
Nov. 16	Political Implications of the "Songs of the Dragons" (Dr. James Hoyt)	60
Nov. 30	Family Organization in Rural Korea (Mr. Ted Sorensen)	65
Dec. 14	Slide Lecture: "Pictorial Journey Through Old Korea" (Mr. Robert A. Kinney)	

1977 Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Participants</i>
April 2	Namhan-sansǒng	38
April 9	Churches in Seoul	37
April 16	Hiking Tour	18
April 24	Puyǒ, Nonsan & Kongju	102
April 30	Realms of the Immortals; Beyond the 38	92
May 7	Dam Tour	23
May 14	Puyǒ, Nonsan & Kongju	63
May 14	Inch'ǒn	34
May 21	Ch'ungchǒng-namdo	67
June 5	Yi Dynasty Seoul	24
June 11	Anniversary Garden Party	300
June 18-19	Haein-sa	33
September 3	Chǒngp'yǒng Boat Trip	36
September 10	Through the East Gate of Seoul	25
September 17	Emille Museum Tour	33
October 1	Hwayang Dong	72
October 13-15	Kyǒngju & Haein-sa	31
October 15	Inch'ǒn-Suwǒn Railroad Tour	62
October 22	Pǒpchu-sa & Songni-san	58
October 29	Magok-sa & Kongju	103
November 12	Sudǒk-sa	33
November 16	Vegetarian Dinner Tour	44
December 3	Hiking Tour	23

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