



TRANSACTIONS

VOLUME 63, 1988 SEOUL

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

KOREA BRANCH

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Royal Asiatic Society, 1900-1950

by Harold M. OTNESS

Traditional Korean Susŏk

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New Year's by the Sea

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Transformations

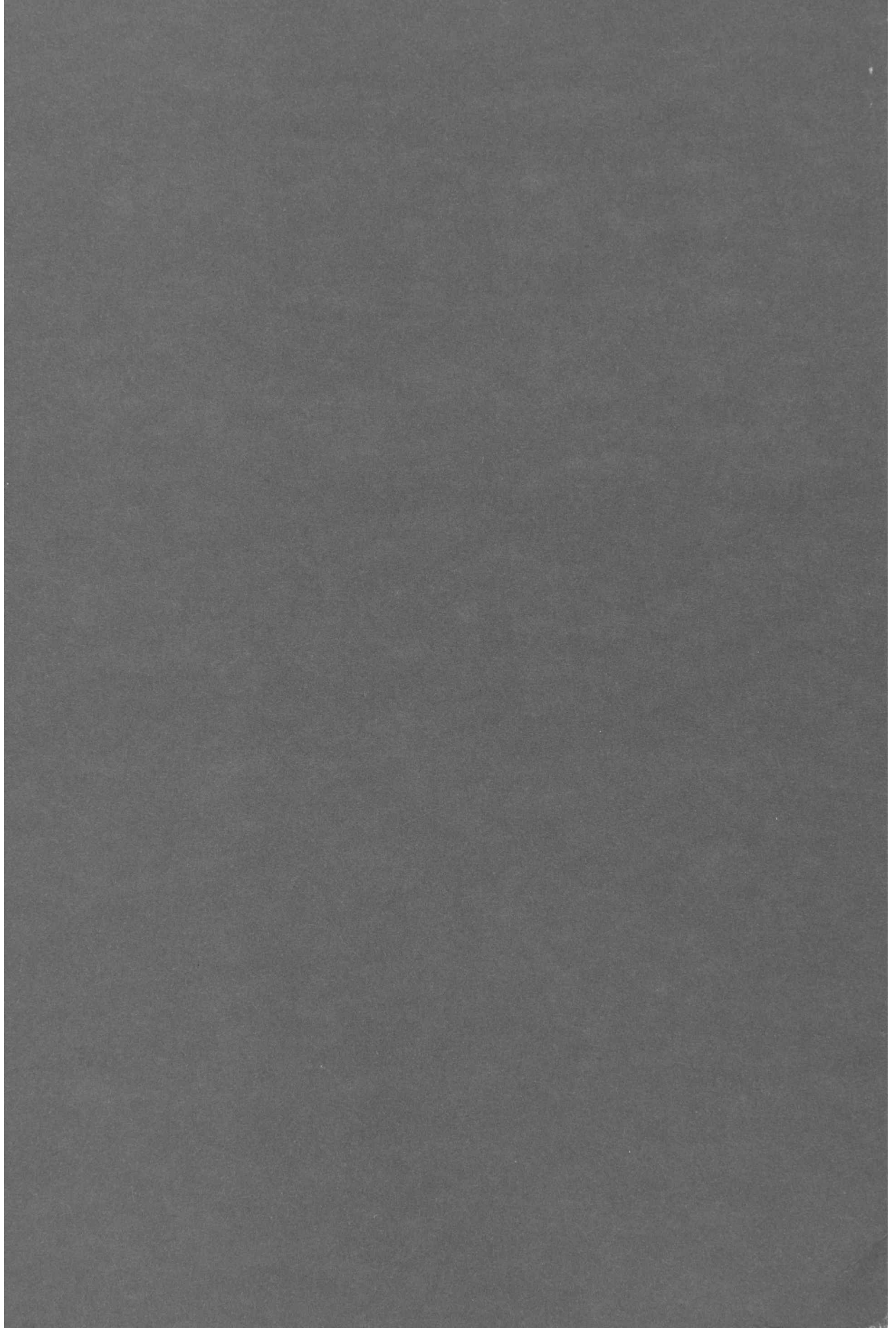
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Printed in Korea by Seoul Computer Press

TRANSACTIONS

of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch

Volume 63, 1988



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A History of the First Fifty Years of the Library of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1900 to 1950

by Harold M. OTNESS

The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was officially formed in 1823 in London as, in the words of its first President Sir William Jones, "a Society for enquiring into the History, civil and natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia".¹ In time it came to establish, or recognize previously established, branches in the expatriate communities of Asia itself. While a thoroughly British institution in conception, from its early days it accepted members from other Western nations, and, in time, Asians as well. It was neither a political nor a missionary society, although many diplomats, government employees, and missionaries were members. It was a scholarly society comprised of curious and serious amateurs, in the British tradition. Each branch maintained some sort of meeting place in which to gather for lectures and other activities. Most branches also published scholarly journals, and the more successful among them attempted to build library collections as well.

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was formed much later than its counterparts in India (Calcutta 1874, Bombay 1804, Madras 1812), Southeast Asia (Ceylon 1845, Singapore 1871, China (Hong Kong 1845, Shanghai 1857), and Japan (1872). The Korean peninsula was more remote to Westerners, and it appeared to offer fewer commercial, political, and religious opportunities than either China or Japan.

It was the missionaries in Seoul who formed the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1900, and kept it going, often under very difficult circumstances, over the years. In both China and Japan the counterpart organizations had a more equitable mix of diplomats, government employees, merchants, and academics, as well as missionaries. In Korea, where the expatriate population was heavily missionary, the Society was essentially theirs in the early days. Of the original 37 members, both honorary and "ordinary," no fewer than 25 were missionaries. The remainder were government officials and teachers. There were no Korean charter members.²

In fact the Society was one of the few organizations that the missionaries could agree upon and work together in. Missionaries were a particularly contentious group, judging from the expatriate literature of the day. Dr. Horace Allen, a medical missionary himself who set aside his calling to become the U.S. Consul general in Seoul, supported the formation of the Society to get the missionaries off his back. In a letter to a confidant, he wrote, "I encourage it, as it tends to keep (the missionaries) out of mischief".³ Dr. Lak-Geon George Paik, in the only paper so far written on the history of the Society, reported that the

... rapid progress of the Christian mission work and the arrival of some business interests, at the turn of the century, increased the number of Occidental residents in the land. Among them, there were people who soon recognized the intrinsic as well as utilitarian values of the once highly developed culture of Korea. These men of vision and wide interests began to devote their extra time to Korean studies and gradually associated themselves in an organized efforts [sic], which finally culminated into the inauguration of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.⁴

Paik's excellent paper on the history of the Society devoted only a page and a half to its library. This paper expands on that source by drawing on the annual reports of the librarians and other officers as published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, and other sources. The records for this library are particularly spotty. The *Transactions* is an annual publication, but it did not come out every year, and those years in which it did appear, it did not always include a librarian's report. There were few other contemporary Western language publications in Korea to shed light on this library. The library was apparently never open to the public in the sense that counterpart libraries in Shanghai and Tokyo were, and was therefore not likely to have been seen and used by visitors, and commented upon by them in their published writings. The Japanese colonial administration kept the Society low-key from 1905 until World War II when it essentially ceased to exist. That war, and the ravages of the Korean War which followed, destroyed not only most of the collection, but the records of it as well, including the catalog of holdings. As Paik stated:

We have no record of the accessions to the library. There is a report that a catalogue was made and mimeographed in 1928...but none...is now in existence...[An] accurate estimate of the size of the library is not currently available.⁵

The Society held its first meeting in 1900, in Seoul, and named Alexander Kenmure, a British missionary attached to the Bible House in Seoul, as its first "honorary librarian." The librarian was expected to see that the *Transactions* got published and distributed to members and exchanged with other organizations, as well as oversee whatever kind of library could be assembled. Among the ten duties of the librarian spelled out in the Constitution and By-Laws were these:

- (a) Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Publications, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library and supervise the binding and preservation of the books.
- (b) Carry out the regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books.
- (f) Draw up a list of exchanges and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report.⁶

"The Society's Rooms and Library shall be in Seoul...and The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book-cases being in the possession of the Librarian... and books may be borrowed on application to the Librarian," the document continued.⁷ However, in the beginning, there was no library and there were apparently no books.

The first library location was in the British and Foreign Bible Society in Seoul where the Society held some of its early meetings.⁸ The first books were some loaned volumes from Kenmure along with a collection from the estate of Dr. Eli Barr Landis, an English medical missionary at Chemulpo (now Inchön, the nearby port for Seoul) who had died of typhoid fever in 1898. Landis was described as "an industrious student of Korean Chinese" who had accumulated a library which though "not extensive, contained a considerable collection of native works and of foreign books and papers on Korea and neighboring lands."⁹

Landis' books had been in the possession of the English Mission, which, in turn, loaned them to the Society. However they were never merged with the other books and periodicals the Society was gathering. The Landis

Collection was kept separate and added to over the years, and it remained in the English Mission. Paik reported about 500 volumes in the Landis collection at the turn of the century, but this number may have been high.¹⁰ A printed catalog of the collection appeared in the *Transactions* in 1903 and it only showed about 200 titles, including serials.¹¹ However it was probably the most comprehensive collection of Koreana in Western languages assembled in Korea to that date.

Kenmure's efforts to establish a Society library are not well documented today. He had a short tenure as librarian and was succeeded in 1902 by the Rev. H. G. Appenzeller of the Methodist Mission in Seoul. Appenzeller drowned while a passenger on a Japanese ship soon after, so Kenmure once again took the reins of the library.¹²

In 1903 the Rev. M.N. Trollope, author of *The Church in Korea* and one of the most scholarly of the early missionaries, loaned his collection to the Society, but the arrangements of that loan and the nature of his collection is not clear today.¹³

With the Japanese consolidation of power in Korea soon after, the Society became moribund, and from 1903 until 1910 its members met only sporadically. There were no *Transactions* published to record any activities.

In 1911 the Society once again came to life, this time under the leadership of the now-Bishop Trollope. Regular meetings were held in various facilities, including the U.S. Consulate, Dr. Scranton's Sanitorium, and the British Consulate. F. M. Brockman was appointed librarian and thought was given as to what kind of library the Society should develop. It was decided that Korea should be the focus of the collection, and that China and Japan would receive only secondary consideration. A bookcase was authorized for purchase, but whether for library or administrative use is not clear.¹⁴ A formal, although brief, "librarian's report" appeared in the 1914 *Transactions* which included a modest list of exchanged journals, mostly with other Royal Asiatic Society branches, but "only six books were loaned for reading during the year." Gerald Bonwich was now the librarian.¹⁵

The Rev. S. A. Beck replaced Bonwich in what was becoming an almost annual turnover in librarians, and in 1917 a second modest accession list was issued. The membership resolved that the librarian circulate among members a list of books currently held and requested. In return, a list of books they would like to see added to the collection was solicited.¹⁶ The By-Laws were amended in 1919 to state:

The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day [sic], the keys of the book-cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Members of Council resident in the vicinity, and books may be borrowed on application.¹⁷

The first catalog of the collection appeared in 1920 under yet another librarian, Dr. J. D. Van Buskirk. It was an abbreviated author-title list which showed only about 80 books, a dozen journals, and such miscellaneous items as a "Commercial Map of Japan," and some annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution. About half the books were specifically on Korea; the remainder concerned China and Japan. No mention was made of the Landis Collection, and there were apparently no publications in the Korean language.¹⁸ If this was the catalog of the complete collection, it was still a modest library.

In 1922, the Society made what appeared to be its first purchase of books, as opposed to donations and exchanges. Thirty-three volumes were purchased from the library of the late Dr. W. B. Scranton for 300 yen, titles not specified, and another eight volumes, all on China, were accepted as gifts. Just where the library had been housed during the last ten years was not recorded in the *Transactions*, but it was then reported to be in Bishop's Lodge of the English Church Mission.⁹

During the 1920's, librarians continued to come and go with almost annual regularity. This turnover must have been disruptive to collection-building efforts. Among the "honorary librarians" were Thomas Hobbs, Dr. W.M. Clark, and W. G. B. Boydell. While the libraries of counterpart societies elsewhere in Asia were growing, the Korea Branch appeared to make little progress. The foreign colony was smaller, of course, and it cannot be assumed that the Japanese colonial government was particularly supportive of the Society. Librarians' annual reports were referred to in the *Transactions*, but often not printed therein. The 1930's, however, showed more library activity. In 1931, the Rev. J. E. Fisher, as librarian, breathed life into it. He reported that the collection had been moved "into its attractive quarters in the new Christian Literature Society Building," and that there were now "comfortable chairs and tables" for readers.²⁰ A bookplate was designed and placed in each volume, along with a check-out card. A cabinet was made to hold the new card catalog, which included, apparently for the first time, full author and title cataloging based on a "simple system which was devised to meet the needs of the library".²¹

Fisher also listed twelve new books, of which five were purchased, and eleven journal exchanges, including the American Oriental Society at Yale, the Royal Geographical Society, and the American Philosophical Society, along with counterpart societies in Shanghai, Colombo, Bombay, and Tokyo. New bookcases were acquired and several recommendations were made: that there be an annual appropriation for acquisitions, binding, and clerical help; that the membership be canvassed to fill in missing gaps in the *Transactions*, and that that set be bound in half leather; that members return periodicals they had borrowed in the past; and that members be urged to donate appropriate books to the library.²² At long last, the library seemed to be heading in the right direction.

Fisher was soon replaced by the Rev. Norman C. Whittemore of the Christian Literature Society, and Whittemore was able to report in 1932 a total of 28 additions to the collection, including 19 that were purchased. Total expenditures were 92.05 *yen*. Whittemore requested 150 *yen* for the following year, and he apparently got it. He also reported that the cataloging was up-to-date, "with the exception of cross referencing cataloging, which has never been attempted very much in our library".²³

The next year, Whittemore was able to report 42 new titles, including some from the Government General, the first recorded support from Japanese colonial officials. He also reported that on a trip to the United States he was able to purchase a few used volumes. And he asked for donations:

I would also make an appeal to our members when they are clearing out their superfluous books and pamphlets, for backfiles of Korean publications may very often be acceptable for our library, and I trust they will keep this in mind.²⁴

Whittemore did much for the Society's library, but in 1935 he "left unexpectedly for America" and the pattern of rapid turnover of librarians resumed.²⁵ Jessie McLaren was commended for devoting "some time to putting the library books in proper shape," but the next librarian, W.M. Clark, reported:

The Society owns some very valuable books, and it is a pity that these books are not used more by the community.²⁶

He went on to suggest that if the expatriate organizations in Seoul maintaining libraries, such as the Seoul Foreign School, the Seoul Women's Club, and the Federal Council Library, along with the RAS,

would combine their collections, they could collectively hire a full-time librarian and run a proper library. He suggested that it be situated at the Seoul Foreign School.²⁷ It appeared a good idea, but apparently nothing came of it.

The next year the Society spent 104.31 *yen* for the purchase of books, 40.40 for binding, 80.00 for three bookcases, and 158.40 for unspecified "clerical work," perhaps the employment of a Korean assistant. Total receipts for the Society for the year amounted to 3,557.85 *yen*, so the library accounted for less than ten percent of its annual income.²⁸

The library remained in the Christian Literature Society's offices, and members could obtain keys to it at the Information Desk. A "complete index," apparently on cards, was available. Members residing in Seoul could borrow up to two books for a period of one month; out-of-town members could keep them for two months. The library must have been unstaffed because borrowers were asked to sign and date the circulation cards and leave them on the desk for the librarian to file later. Bound magazines could be checked out, but not the more current loose issues. There was no mention of library access for non-members, nor borrowing privileges for them.²⁹

McLaren was again the librarian in 1939, and she reported that her efforts had been "largely conservative." Only one volume had been added in the last year, and it concerned "spirit worship in Korea." No correspondence had been undertaken, but she had put all books and magazines in order. She referred to "the unfortunate illness of previous librarians," and ended her report with these words:

Members of long standing have doubtless read most of the books in the Royal Asiatic Society Library, but newer members may be glad to know that there is valuable material in both books and magazines and that such may be borrowed from the Society.³⁰

During World War II, the collection was stored in basements of both the Christian Literature Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. Following the war, they were "stored in cabinets" on the second floor of the Christian Literature Society.³¹ In 1950, they were moved to Room 412 of the American Embassy Building. Robert A. Kinney, the librarian in 1950, reported that the card index had been lost during the war, and that many books were "known to be lost." However he praised what had survived the war, naming runs of *Korea Review Magazine*, *Korean Mission*

Field Magazine, Korean Repository, Annual Reports on Administration of Government-General of Chosen, 1910-1939, "most volumes" of the *Catalogue of Ancient Monuments and Historical Remains in Korea*, and "about 500 other individual volumes".³² This was a fair-sized collection and it may have included volumes from other foreign library collections in Seoul that didn't survive the war intact.

Kinney asked for donations to bring the library up to its pre-war status, and reported that he had already received 50 donations during the year. He also reported that a new catalog was being compiled which would soon be distributed in mimeograph form to members.³³ However, a footnote to his report tersely stated:

Almost all of the books in the Library of the RAS, Korea Branch, were lost during the Communist occupation of Seoul in 1950. A few books, recovered by the Librarian after his return to Seoul in September 1950, were shipped to the United States for safekeeping until peace is restored in Korea.³⁴

In recent years, in the words of Horace G. Underwood, the Society "has made no serious attempt to maintain a library, although the matter has been discussed a number of times by the Council," and in 1986 the title of Librarian was dropped.³⁵ Most recently the Society has entered into an agreement with the Social Science Research Library in Seoul for a "corner" in their library to keep publications belonging to the Society. But no more formal a library is apparently contemplated.^{36*}

With no surviving catalog, the extent and contents of the library of the Society can only be a matter of speculation. Judging from the landmark work "A Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature on Korea" compiled by Dr. Horace H. Underwood in 1930, it was probably only the third best of the Western-language Korean collections developed in Seoul during the first half of the twentieth century.³⁷ Perhaps it was only fourth best because the Japanese colonial administration collected actively in this field for its Government General Library as evidenced by its 147-page catalog of Western language publications which it issued in 1927.³⁸ Underwood compiled over 2,800 titles, including periodical articles, in his bibliography, drawing in part on the holdings of three Seoul collections—his own extensive library, the Landis Library (which was donated to Yonsei University just prior to World War II), and the Society's collection. Underwood thanked Bishop Trollope for making the Landis Library available to

him, and called it "that fine collection of Koreana".³⁹

Underwood's bibliography was divided into thirty categories, ranging from "Early Works to 1880" to "Art, Miscellaneous," of which the largest category, "Protestant Missions, General" numbered 375 items. Eighty-four percent of the items were in English, but there were 56 in Russian, nine in Dutch, and eight in Swedish. For each listing, the holding library or libraries were given if the item was in one or more of these three collections, so it is possible to partially reconstruct the catalog of the RAS as of 1930.

All three collections were shown as holding the major popular books on Korea including those by Hulbert, Bishop, Allen, and Gale; and all had the *Korea Review* from 1901 to 1906. But beyond that the collections differed considerably. The following gives a comparison of relative holdings:

	Early Works to 1880	History	Travel & Description	Social Conditions
Total Items	152	199	288	178
Landis	41	35	43	17
Underwood	18	30	36	13
RAS	6	14	9	6

It is clear that the Landis Collection was the strongest in early works of exploration and history in general, and was probably the most scholarly collection of the three. Underwood was very strong in missionary publications. The RAS Library was weak on missionary publications, but better on scientific and technical publications. It had only a few publications of the Japanese colonial government. Overall it had very few publications that were not in the other two collections; an exception being the journals of its counterpart societies in Japan and Shanghai with whom it maintained exchanges. It had some art books, but only three titles classified as "Fiction and Poetry." Rhodes summarized it as "Small but with files of Japan, India and other branches of the R.A.S., and some works not found elsewhere".⁴⁰

Estimating the size of the RAS collection based on the Underwood bibliography is difficult because that bibliography included both articles and books. Of the books listed in Underwood, the Society held about 200.

It probably had at least an equal number of books on Asia in general and on the countries adjacent to Korea. Of the three libraries covered by Underwood, the RAS appeared to have the best scholarly journal runs because of its active exchanges worldwide. In 1930 the Society probably had a library of 500 volumes plus extensive runs of journals. By comparison, its sister institution in Shanghai had nearly 10,000 volumes.⁴¹

It would appear that the library of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the first half of this century was never able to become much more than a somewhat miscellaneous collection of primarily donated and exchanged publications. Yet it complemented the Landis and Underwood Collections to some extent. Had the three libraries been merged, as was several times suggested, a major collection of Western language works on Korea would have been the result.

There is no evidence that Korean language publications were ever a part of this collection, nor is it certain that non-members and the Korean public were welcome to use it. The library seemed to be little known outside of the Society itself. Yet it represented a partially successful attempt to document the history and culture of Korea on the part of some Westerners living there. It was formed during a difficult period for them, and viewed in light of the political conditions under which they lived, their limited numbers, and their relative remoteness, their commitment and achievement deserves commendation.

NOTES:

*The RAS Korea Branch is happy to report that the staff of the Social Science Research Library has kindly offered to prepare a professional catalogue of the RAS collection—*Ed.*

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Traditional Korean *Susŏk* (Rock Arrangements)

by MIN, Kyung-hyun

A country's garden culture depends on such natural elements as weather and topography, as well as the people's spiritual values regarding nature and religion. Consequently, each country's garden art has a unique beauty that is part of its national culture.

At a mean altitude of 482 meters above sea level, the Korean mountainous peninsula has four distinct seasons which account for the varied abundance of its trees and plants. More than 1,000 varieties of trees and over 3,000 types of native plants flourish here.

In ancient times, Koreans worshipped nature — the sun, stars, water, rocks, and trees. They especially believed that rocks had more power than water and other objects or elements of nature. They also believed that rocks engendered heaven's goodwill. Therefore, arranging rocks, often of considerable size or fanciful shape, appropriately is considered an essential element in designing traditional Korean gardens. In general, Korean *susŏk* (수석 rock arrangement) garden culture can be described according to its stages of development.

Korean *susŏk* garden culture evolved out of rock arrangements made for religious purposes. Such arrangements can be traced back to prehistoric dolmens or menhirs that can be found in various places on the peninsula. Rock arrangements for shaman rituals were also built as shrines or altars. During the Three Kingdoms period (57 B.C.-A.D. 668), graveside rock arrangements were made, and palace gardens including rocks as integral parts of the garden were erected on a grand scale. From the early Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) when Buddhism was established as the national religion, Buddhist temples often included Sŏn (Zen) rock arrangements. During the following Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), *susŏk* gardens were popular in many homes as well as in the palaces. In recent years, scholars have found some 300 documents written during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties that contain detailed records about traditional Korean gardens, many of which survive and can be visited today. And, in fact, in recent years, there has been a revival of interest in *susŏk* garden culture.

Let us consider each of the types of *sosŏk* in more detail.

RELIGIOUS ROCK ARRANGEMENTS

Rock arrangements for religious purposes include the tribal dolmens and altars. An existing example of a stone altar is Ch'amsŏngdan altar (510 cm×450 cm) on the top of Mani-san, a small mountain rising 468 meters above sea level on Kanghwa Island off Korea's western coast near Seoul. The altar features a stone structure that symbolizes the ancient cosmological belief in a round heaven and a flat, square earth. According to historical records, official rituals were conducted here during the reigns of King Yuri of Koguryŏ (19 B.C.-A.D. 18) and of King Piryu of the Paekche Kingdom (304-343).

This kind of stone altar can also be seen at Chongpy'ŏng Temple on the top of Kyongun-san (776 meters above sea level) in Kangwŏn province. The altar (210 cm×90 cm) was built in the tenth century during the late Silla period. It is said that the last king of Silla, Kyongsun (927-935), ordered the altar to be built while he was staying at the temple.

Other forms of religious *susŏk*, *sŏnghwadang* (shaman shrines) and *sŏdol* (menhirs), were built where prayers could be offered for such benefits as good harvest, good fishing, prevention of disease and prosperity for villages. Dating from the neolithic period which such worship was common, approximately 200 such shaman shrines remain throughout the country.

GRAVESIDE ROCK ARRANGEMENTS

From ancient times, rocks were arranged at gravesites for the dead. This type of rock arrangement can be found today at a royal tomb from the third century on top of Mt. Kaya in north Kyŏngsang province. This earthen tomb is surrounded by rocks on its east and west sides: there are thirty-three dragon-shaped rocks on the east and fifteen turtle-shaped rocks on the west. Another such arrangement from the sixth century is located at King Yang's grave in Samchong, south Kyŏngsang province. A large stone grave faces east, and seven tiers of stones rise behind it. Lady Im's tomb in Namwŏn, north Chŏlla province, built in the seventeenth century during the Chosŏn dynasty, has twenty-five rocks arranged on the south side and thirty-three rocks on the north side. The northern rock mound is higher than the southern to provide an elevated background for the tomb.

These graveside rock arrangements partly symbolize the Taoist and Buddhist traditions. They represent the awesome power of creation with the east

signifying birth, the west death. The thirty-three dragon rocks seem to represent thirty-three deities who were believed to reside in heaven. The microcosm and the macrocosm are also symbolized by these rocks. This style of rock arrangement seems to have been a major influence on the *karesansui* (dry landscape garden) of Japan. This leads to the belief that rock arrangement was introduced to Japan by the Korean Paekche Kingdom.

PALACE GARDENS

During the Three Kingdoms period splendid palace gardens with rock arrangements were built; a few can still be seen today at the old palace sites. Among those belonging to this category are the Anhak Palace garden, about 15 kilometers north of P'yōngyang at the foot of Mt. Taesōng, now in north Korea, and the Anapchi lake garden in Kyōngju, north Kyōngsang province, the ancient capital city of the Silla dynasty.

The Anhak Palace garden, built in 427 A.D. during the reign of King Changsu of Koguryō, consists of numerous buildings facing different directions and all of their courtyards are decorated with rocks. An arrangement of large rocks is found in the courtyard of the south palace where an artificial hill is adorned with beautiful rocks laid in groups around a pond and a pavilion. The rear courtyard features a landscaped garden which depicts the scenery of the Kūmgang (Diamond) Mountains. These rock gardens represent advanced landscaping techniques of high artistic level.

Built in 674 A.D., during the reign of King Munmu of the Silla kingdom, the Anapchi lake garden features about 1,000 rocks arranged around the lake's shore. The rocks are mostly sandstone and granite. A few hundred sandstone rocks are arranged on the side of a small hill that rises above the lake, and more than seven hundred granite rocks lie flat at the foot of the hill. The rock arrangements vary: single large stones are set apart or are scattered on a gentle rise, and grouped rocks are arranged at attractive spots on a steep slope.

This garden also had an artificial waterfall: two tanks purified the water before it flowed into small ponds and cascaded downwards into the lake below. This unique waterfall arrangement influenced Japanese garden art. The Anapchi garden is built according to Taoist and Buddhist notions of paradise and purity, and has been praised as one of the best landscaped gardens in the world.

TEMPLE GARDENS

By the middle of the seventh century when Buddhism had become the dominant religion of the Three Kingdoms period, there were approximately 1,000 temples with surrounding gardens. At the beginning of the tenth century when Sŏn Buddhism was prominent in Korea, gardens reflecting its ideology were built.

Munsuwŏn garden, a typical Sŏn garden built around the twelfth century, remains today in Chunsŏng, Kwangwŏn province. The garden has three parts spread over a large area: a middle garden with a pond, and south and north gardens with pavilions. The slope of the north garden is arranged with about 200 rocks. Near the rock slab used for meditation, a site for a pavilion was built. In the southern garden, meditation slabs and rocks are neatly arranged along small ponds.

Nungsan Temple, about 22 kilometers east of P'yŏngyang in north Korea, was built in the early fifth century near the tomb of Koguryŏ King Tongmyŏng (39-19 B.C.). The garden of the temple features a rock arrangement designed to resemble the famous Manmulsang Peaks of the Kŭmgang Mountains. This peculiar rock arrangement is believed to have been made in honor of the founding king of Koguryŏ, the kingdom that dominated the northern part of the peninsula and Manchuria.

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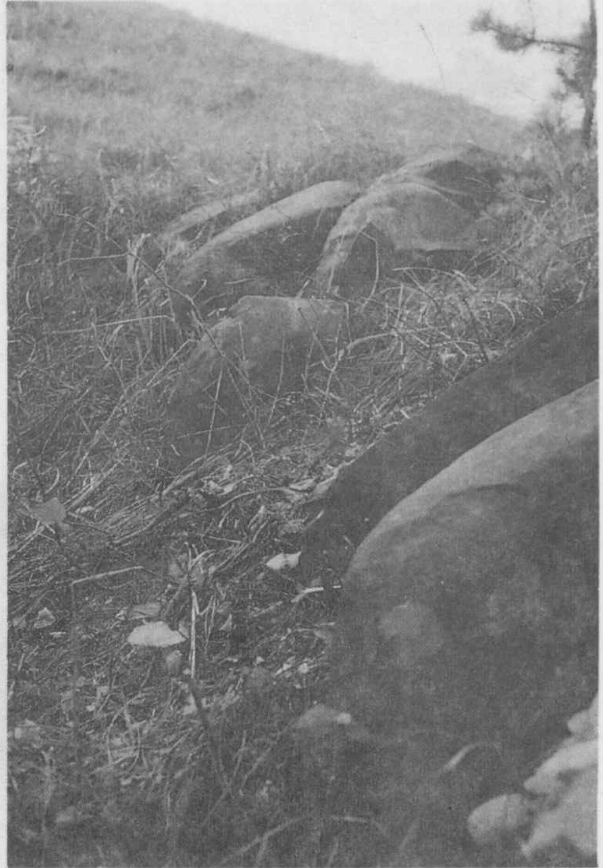
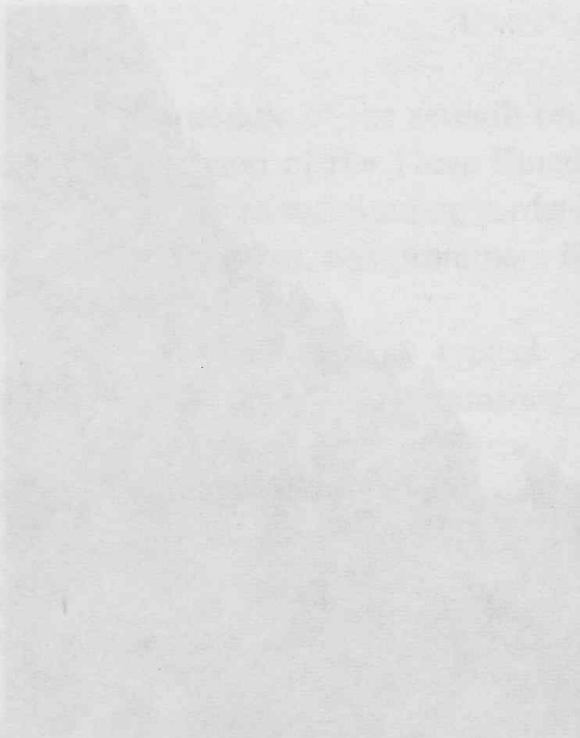
Koreans are proud that their traditional gardens are in harmony with the surrounding environment, as well as in a perfect ecological symbiosis with man and nature. All types of gardens in Korea, including the gardens of palaces, houses, and temples, strive to maintain a harmony with nature and to fit the given surroundings with man's humble spirit, which is also an element of nature. Korean *susŏk* well illustrates such harmony with nature.



Inspiration for religious and ornamental rock arrangements—natural rock formations (Sōrak-san, Kangwōn province).



A sōndol (menhir) found in Ibam-ni, Sannae-myōn, Namwōn-gun, North Ch'ōlla province.



Dragon-shaped rocks on the east side of a royal tomb built in the third century on Mt. Kaya, North Kyōngsang province.



Turtle-shaped rocks at the same tomb on Mt. Kaya.



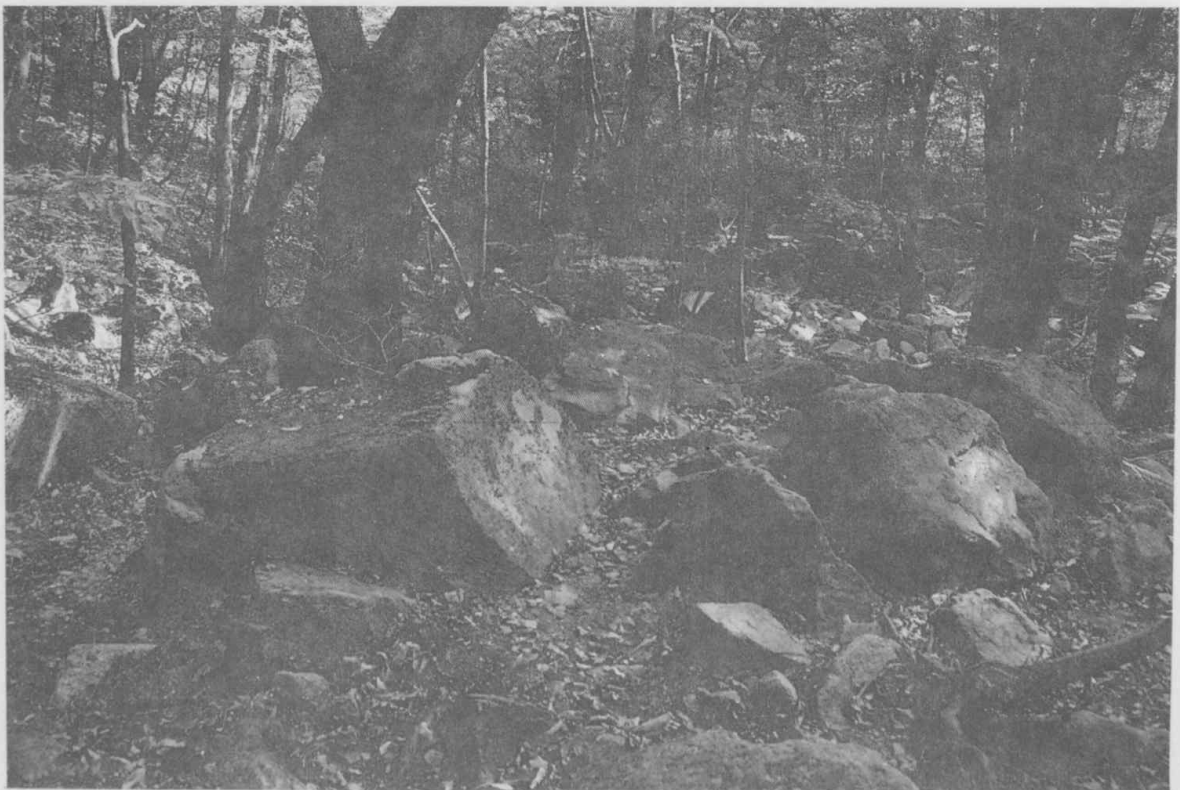
A view of Anapch'i garden, built in 674 A.D. and recently restored. Kyŏng-ju, North Kyŏngsang province.



A Buddhist Sŏn center near the Kuksadang shaman shrine, Seoul.



The western hill of Kaejo-am temple garden representing Buddhist Elysium. Built in the seventh century, Kangwŏn province.



Used for Sŏn meditation, these rocks are found in Sŏrak-dŏng, Sokch'o-si, Kangwŏn province.

New Year's by the Sea:
The Ritual Landscape of a Cheju Island Village

by Timothy R. TANGHERLINI

A Lecture to the Royal Asiatic Society

June 8, 1988

(This lecture has been slightly edited to fit the requirements of the reader of the printed page — *Ed.*)

Most discussions of lunar new year celebrations in Korean villages center around either the ceremony associated with the *simbang* (female shaman) and her followers, the *cheil kut* (제일굿), or the male dominated Confucian ritual, the *p'oje* (포제). While the two form distinct and separate ritual entities, to fully understand the ritual landscape of a village, both types of ceremonies should be considered together. Although both the *cheil kut* and the *p'oje* function independently of each other on the surface level, both play roles in the protection, cleansing and well-being of the village and the villagers in the new year. The village would not be able to move into the new year without successful completion of both rituals.

The lunar new year is a liminal period in the calendrical life cycle of a village and is approached with as much anticipation as caution. Throughout Korea, rituals are performed to secure the well-being of the entire village and provide divinations for the fate of villagers during the coming year. The new year arrives before the new planting season and during a time of lessened economic activity in village life *nonghangi* (농한기). The rituals offer a chance for villagers to reaffirm the identity of the village and their social positions. "Sunshine" village provides an interesting model for study as many of the women contribute directly to the village economic life, working as *chamsu* (잠수 diving women). The economic prosperity of both the men and women is integral to the prosperity of the village as a whole.

Domestic rituals are not included in this discussion because, although they comprise part of the entire village ritual landscape, they are oriented towards individual households and not the collectivity of the households which makes up the village. Like the village rituals, the domestic rituals also split along Confucian and *min'gan sinang* (민간신앙) lines. However, because

of the household orientation of both types of rituals, there is a far greater gender cross-over.

The *kut* held for the village at the new year is referred to as the *cheil kut*. In this particular village, the *kut* is performed by a *k'ŭnsimbang* (큰심방), who is a village resident. There are only eight to ten *k'ŭnsimbang* on the entire island. Rather than being a hereditary *simbang*, she is a possessed *simbang*, having experienced possession sickness at age thirty-three. She performed her first *kut* at age thirty-four. Originally, she came from nearby Cow Island, moving to the village at age thirty-six. The majority of the *kut* she performs are for individuals and the domestic gods, primarily taking place in the domestic space. However, at certain points in the calendrical life cycle of the village, she is called on to perform extra-domestic rituals for the welfare of the villagers as a close homogeneous group, as is the case with the *cheil kut*. Attendance at the *kut* is exclusively female.

The *p'oje* is one of two major Confucian village rituals which take place each year. Unlike village lineage rituals, in this ritual, as Dix says, "the village is united symbolically as a group of equivalent households" (1987:98). Participation is strictly limited to village males.

The *cheil kut* and the *p'oje* are held only once a year, acting as complements to each other. In the village ritual landscape, the *kut* may be seen as the ritual of *ŭm* (음), dominated by women, and the *p'oje* the ritual of *yang* (양), dominated by men. Internally, both rituals rely on the oppositions of *ŭm* and *yang*. Thus on both the macro and micro scales, the rituals try to unite the oppositions fundamental to both belief systems. In this manner, the village guarantees harmony in the coming year. The transition from old to new, agricultural decay to rebirth and lessened economic prosperity to gradual relative prosperity is expressed in both rituals.

Sunshine village is an hour's drive by bus and then a twenty-minute walk from the city of Cheju on Cheju Island, off the southern coast of the Korean peninsula. The village is part of a larger township, but is distinctly separate from the other villages which make up the township. Several roads criss-cross the village but none of them are much wider than a single bus. All of the houses are single story dwellings, usually with three *ondol* (온돌) rooms, a central *maru* (마루 wooden floor and occasionally an indoor kitchen. Most houses have an attached outdoor cooking area and a small courtyard. Like all houses on Cheju island, they are completely surrounded by a chest-high stone wall. The language spoken in the village is a dialect of Korean, referred to as *cheju-mal*. The latest population figures from the town administration show that 761 men and 704 women live in 276 households, twenty-five of which are

headed by single women. With the exception of eleven fishing households and eight store-owning households, the occupation of the village men is farming. This figure, however, includes the eighty or so households in which the woman works as a *chamsu*. Of the twenty-five women-headed households, only one, that of the *simbang*, is not headed by a *chamsu*. The majority of the non-diving women supplement the family income by working in the fields as day laborers. Even though many households have incomes from two sources, average yearly income is only 5.8 million *wŏn*, a per capita income of 1.1 million *wŏn*, less than half the national average.

Besides a bus running from the village to the township every hour, transportation is limited to eight privately owned cars and fifty privately owned motorcycles. The village is broken into three hamlets (east, center and west) although the physical distinction between one hamlet and the next is nearly impossible to make. Because the most frequently attended high school is in Cheju city, most high school students move to the city and live alone, in boarding houses or with relatives. Therefore, the population figure is exaggerated and the age distribution in the village is slightly skewed towards young children and older adults. Sunshine village is a homogeneous village with no class distinctions to speak of, even gender distribution, consistent standard of living and similar work patters. This homogeneity leads to a high degree of village cohesion. The village rituals not only express this homogeneity, but also reinforce it.

The first village wide ritual held for the new year is the *cheil kut*, so named because it is the first *kut* of the new year. The ritual is held in the village *kuttang* (굿당), located several hundred meters from the outskirts of the village by the sea shore. The building and the land are owned by the village *simbang*. The *kuttang* is a small, unheated building made of volcanic rock, with one door opening towards the sea in the east, the direction of yang. The *kuttang* is used for all but one of the village oriented *kut*, and is dedicated to the village god, T'ongjigwan (통지관), the fifth son of a god couple. Certain prohibitions accompany participation in the *kut*, primarily a ban on the attendants from eating pig meat for three days prior to the ritual.

The *kut* is performed by the *simbang* who is assisted by three *somi* (소미), whose primary function is to play the musical instruments used to accompany the chants and dances. The *somi* are not apprentices *sinttal* (신탈), but rather *simbang* who practice on their own in other villages. The *simbang* represents all of the villagers to the village god and prays for their well-being in their stead. Village women attend the *kut* to help with the offerings and guarantee that the *simbang* represents them well to the deity. The *kut*

also provides a chance for the women of the village to gather and reaffirm their social and personal ties.

On the day of the *kut*, villagers leave for the *kuttang* long before the sun has made any indications of rising. At the *kuttang*, the audience, the *simbang* (called "Sonhi's mother" since married Korean women with children are referred to by the child's name) and the three *somi* lay out all of the offering foods on the *chedan* (제단 offering table). The offerings consist of *tollaettök* (돌래떡 round, unsalted rice cake), apples, mandarin oranges, *öktom* (억돔 dried fish), eggs, rice, both cooked and uncooked, and *soju* (소주 sweet potato alcohol). Many of the women present are dressed in *hanbok* (한복 traditional Korean dress) although, because of the cold, this is covered by heavy sweaters. Women who attend *kut* are referred to as *tan'gol* (단골). Sonhi's mother is dressed in a bright pink *hanbok*, over which she wears a red-trimmed blue cape tied at chest level with a green belt. Over her shoulders, she wears a yellow belt, and in her hair, she wears a red band. Throughout the *kut* she wears the same clothes, only occasionally removing the blue outer cape.

The *kut* begins with no advanced warning while the women are still talking among themselves. Besides Sonhi's mother and the three *somi*, thirty-seven women are present, most of whom are *chamsu*. The *kut* begins with Sonhi's mother performing *ch'ogamjae* (초감제), bowing to the *chaedan* and the entrance of the *kuttang*. These are initial supplications to T'ongjigwan and *munjön* (문전). Sonhi's mother asks all of the *tan'gol* to bow to the *chaedan*, as a *saebae* (세배) to the T'ongjigwan. Bowing in order of age reinforces the importance of seniority and its accordant position of respect in village society, establishing the social order at the very beginning of the *kut*. The *saebae* proceeds in sets of threes. Although the *saebae* originally consisted of only two bows, the influence of Buddhism has led to a change, all of the *tan'gol* bowing thrice. The only interruption is a rooster which gets loose in the room, but is quickly recaptured. As soon as the *saebae* are over, Sonhi's mother starts a slow chant accompanied by occasional bell ringing, her voice rising and falling hypnotically. The chant includes the date, time, and location of the *kut*. She also enumerates the *tan'gol* present, the number of *tan'gol* in each hamlet, and the elders of the village who are represented. As such, Sonhi's mother catalogues the social organization of the village, primarily along geographic lines. The village catalogue lasts nearly thirty minutes.

The second section of *kut* is performed by one of the three *somi*. She is dressed in normal attire. In her left hand she holds a bowl of *soju* and in her right hand two swatches of paper. Accompanied by loud, frantic music, she

dips the paper in the *soju* and waves it over the *tan'gol* and out the door. This purifies the area of *pujǒng* (부정 impurity) before the village god is called to the *kuttang*. As in the section before, all of the *tan'gol* are catalogued and broken down by class — *hatan'gol* (하단골), *chungtan'gol* (중단골) and *sangtan'gol* (상단골), a second definition of the village organization. The classification of *tan'gol* follows the system used to classify the *chamsu* according to their abilities. Thus, this classification of *tan'gol* follows economic lines and stresses the importance of the *chamsu* in village economic life, as well as their close connection to *min'gan sinang*.

Whenever a ritual is held and goods put out at the *kuttang*, greedy, hungry spirits are always the first to arrive, blocking the arrival of the desired god. Before they will leave, they must be placated. These greedy spirits do not like to be photographed. Therefore, the *somi* feeds the hungry spirits who have come to the *kuttang* by throwing rice at the *chaedan* and out the door. Once these spirits are fed, they leave. The rest of the ritual segment focusses on purifying the *kuttang*. The *somi* does this by spraying *soju* through her teeth on everyone and everything present, to the accompaniment of deafening music.

The next section is performed once again by Sonhi's mother. In an accompanied chant, she asks T'ongjigwan if the "door" is being opened. Sonhi's mother exits the *kuttang* and returns twice to the accompaniment of frantic music, jumping, whirling and dancing. At the end of the section, Sonhi's mother uses the *sink'al* (신칼 god knives) and *chǒnmun* (전문 brass divination coins) to determine whether or not the door is open. The divination consists of throwing the *sink'al* and *chǒnmun* onto the floor and, by looking at the direction of the knives' cutting edges and the number of right side up coins, Sonhi's mother receives a response from the god. All of the divinations during the *kut* rely on change of this nature, although Sonhi's mother can produce the desired result almost at will. The repeated divinations heighten the tension of the *kut* and the enjoyment of the *tan'gol*. During this section, many of the *tan'gol* beseech the god for protection.

The next section begins with no real break between segments. This segment can be considered the climax of the *kut* because at this point the village deity T'ongjigwan arrives at the *kuttang*. Sonhi's mother ties a red band on her right arm and a white band on her left. The *tan'gol* all rise to their feet and bow repeatedly, while one of the *somi* sprays *soju* around the *kuttang*. As the music becomes deafening, Sonhi's mother runs in from the outside, wide-eyed and possessed by T'ongjigwan. She throws the *sink'al* to see if the god has stuck to her; he has. When Sonhi's mother is satisfied that the god is safely

inside the *kuttang*, she burns white rice paper, money in the spirit world, as a token of thanks and a supplication for a good blessing from the god.

The music slows and the atmosphere calms a bit. Sonhi's mother prays for the good fortune of all the *tan'gol*. She throws grains of rice into the air, catches them and, if the number caught is even, she hands them to a *tan'gol* to eat. The uncooked rice grains which are eaten are an expression of expectation of increased fertility, bountiful harvest and rebirth of the village into the new year. A handful of rice grain is eaten by each *tan'gol* for every grouping that makes up the village. These groupings include the young men's club, the Saemaul group, who need all the help they can get these days, people who drive cars and the like. Each one of these groupings is represented by a specific *tan'gol*. Groupings such as the police and soldiers who are not represented by any specific *tan'gol* at the *kuttang* have their rice eaten by a *tan'gol* who lives in vicinity of their installations. Representation before the village god thus takes place by proxy. The village is identified before the deity as a set of interdependent groupings. This breakdown does not fracture village identity, but rather reinforces it, as the entire village social structure is identified and presented as part of the greater whole.

After the blessings have been received, the god has to be persuaded to leave, something he seems reluctant to do. A collection basket is passed and all of the *tan'gol* contribute one to two thousand *wŏn*. The money, the *sink'al* and *chŏnmun* are thrown to the floor to see if the offering has been accepted. It has not. The music increases in tempo and, at the urging of *somi*, more money is offered to the greedy god. This time he leaves.

In the final section of the *kut*, a live rooster is sacrificed to the *choso* (조소), who would otherwise claim the life of a villager as a sacrifice. The sacrifice of a live animal acts as a deterrent to the death of a villager. Death in the village involves a period of social disruption and a reshuffling of obligations. A death at this time in the village ritual life would be particularly bad as it could cause delay or cancellation of the *p'oje*, also necessary to guarantee the prosperity of the village in the coming year. The *kut* ends as soon as the rooster has been sacrificed.

Most of the *tan'gol* remain at the *kuttang* after the *kut* is over. Some sit outside, eating the offering foods, which tastes remarkably bland. One informant explained that the spirits had eaten all of the taste out of the food. Others remain inside, receiving personal prophecies from the *somi* and Sonhi's mother for the coming year. The focus of the ritual activity moves from the village as a collective whole to the small units within that whole, namely families or individuals. Nevertheless, village unity is stressed, as the

divinations take place in the public space of the *kuttang* as opposed to the private domestic space of the home.

The *kut* follows a pattern of separation, assertion of village identity and organization, supplication to the village god and reintegration. The separation is both ritual and physical. On the ritual level, the *tan'gol* are expected to avoid *pujŏng*, while on the physical level, the *tan'gol* all remove themselves to the *kuttang*. The village organization is given three times during the ritual — first along geographic lines, then along economic lines and finally along subgroup lines. The appeals to the village deity center on fears of possible calamity which would disrupt village unity and desires for collective village prosperity. Once the god has been fed and the village presented as a whole, the *tan'gol* begin to function as individuals again, through personal divinations. After the *tan'gol* have reestablished their individuality, they can return to the village and resume their daily life, safe in the knowledge that the village has been presented as a unified entity to the guardian deity.

Even before the *kut* has finished, preparations for the village *p'oje* begin. The *p'oje* of Sunshine village has a history even longer than the history of the village itself. The ritual finds its roots in one that was held in a nearby village starting in 1894. At that time, Sunshine village did not function as an independent social unit, nor was it officially recognized by the government as such. The present ritual took its form in 1933 when Sunshine village had grown large enough not only to be officially recognized as an individual village, but also had developed its own infrastructure to the degree necessary financially and socially to support its own ritual. Performance of the ritual requires substantial monetary support and a relatively large pool of male family heads along with an organizational structure to select the ritual officiants. Now, for the past fifty-one years, the men of Sunshine village have held the *p'oje* in the same ritual spot, offered the same ritual foods and chanted the same prayers for the prosperity of the village in both agriculture and fishing. The history of the *p'oje* is marked by continuity, and the ritual celebrants take great pains to maintain this continuity. Understandably, they are proud of the village ritual and their ability to preserve its form as much as its function.

The *p'oje* should not be confused with the domestic ancestor rituals which make up part of the private ritual landscape. Although the domestic rituals *kije* (기제), *kijesa* (기제사) and *ch'arye* (차례) play an important role in the male-dominated ancestor worship in the village and *ch'arye* are offered at nearly all the houses during the lunar New Year period, these rituals are concerned with the agnatic kin of the individual households and are not

offered by the village as a collective whole. The *p'oje*, like village *kut*, is oriented towards the being of the entire village. This particular *p'oje* is offered to the male village Confucian god, *kuksinjiryōng* (국신지령), and to *chōnsin* (전신 god of heaven).

The choice of ritual officiants takes place at a meeting twenty-five to thirty days before the date of the *p'oje*. At this meeting, the date of the *p'oje* is also set. The method of selecting the day of the ritual is complex and left in the hands of a village elder. He relies on the book *Yōnyōkkam* (연역감), which relates the five elements of the universe, the five directions and twelve zodiacal signs in such a manner that a good day can be chosen for the village. The day must fall during the first lunar month. One informant said, "To explain the manner of choosing the day is to explain all of oriental philosophy," and thus a clear explanation of the day selection was not possible. As a matter of contingency, two days are chosen as possible days for the ritual. This particular time, the best day was one of *chōng* (정) and fell on lunar February 22, 1988). The second day was one of *hae* (해) eight days later. Because there were no difficulties with encroachment of impurity in the ritual area or among the ritual participants, the first choice day was able to be used, a propitious sign for the village.

At the meeting, the ritual officiants are chosen by consensus rather than election. Certain criteria apply to selection and not all village males are eligible to be selected. Selection is not made on basis of lineage nor is there any emphasis on the importance of the eldest son position. A single representative is not chosen from each lineage, but rather officiants are chosen to represent each lineage; thus several Kims could be chosen although the village has only one Kim lineage. However, all of the officiants must be married, imposing an implicit age restriction. Informants agreed that the average age of marriage in the village was twenty-seven. The candidates can not be from households with a death in the immediate family within the past three years, nor can there be an impending death in the immediate family. This latter rule seemed to have been violated as the mother of one of the officiants was close to death at the time of the ritual, heightening the tension surrounding the successful completion of the ritual. If the woman had died, the *p'oje* would have been postponed and, quite possibly, cancelled. Cancellation of the *p'oje* would leave the village open to attack by hostile gods and in bad favor with the village god. The mother of a ritual official being on her death bed was in direct violation of the traditional prohibitions. Thirteen officiants were chosen in all and ranged in age from thirty to sixty-four, with an average age of forty-eight. All of them considered their occupation to be farming.

Each of the *chegwan* (officiant) has a specific title and a role to play during the ritual. The positions for the officiants are divided as follows: *ch'ohön'gwan* (초헌관 first offerer), *ahön'gwan* (아헌관 second offerer), *chönghön'gwan* (정헌관 last offerer), *chönsagwan* (전사관 preparer of ritual food), *chimnye* (집례 progress of rite), *taech'uk* (대축 large celebrant), *ch'anja* (찬자 respondent), *alja* (알자 usher), *pongnyang* (병향 incense offerer), *pöngno* (병로 incense carrier), *pöngjak* (병작 food offerer), *chönjak* (전작 cup offerer) and *sajun* (사준 pourer). Among the chosen officiants, there is always at least one person, and usually five or six people, who has performed the ritual before. At this particular ritual, the most experienced participant had performed the rite ten times and was chosen as the *chimnye*. Besides his ritual functions, he is also charged with the task of instructing first time participants in their ritual duties. This position is usually given to the most experienced person among the *chegwan* although it is occasionally given to a person with no prior experience, which was the case in 1987. The second most experienced participant was chosen as the *taech'uk*, who was also in charge of the logistics of the ritual, including the finances. He had performed the rite six times. Several other officiants had participated once or twice before. Because of the large pool of men in the village and the constantly changing eligibilities among them, it is rare for an officiant to take part in the ritual several years running. Although this hinders the ability of the participants to maintain absolute continuity, variation is minimized through following the written rules used from one year to the next.

Three days before the *p'oje* is to take place, all of the officiants move to a ritually clean house, the *p'ojejip* (포제집). The house is chosen at the village meeting and the house owner must also fit the criteria used to select the officiants, especially the lack of death or impending death within the household. Since it must house the officiants and various guests (including a folklorist) during the three-day period, the house must fit a certain size criterion. Interestingly, the *p'ojejip* is never one of the officiant's houses. The three-day period is set aside to guarantee the purity of the officiants and prevent them from coming in contact with impurity of *pujöng*. Impurities include dead people or animals, blood, dog or horse meat, and any meat slaughtered by a *sangnom* (상놈 impure person). Menstruating women are included in the category of impure elements, and in general women are not allowed into the area of the *p'ojejip*. The only exceptions to this are the women who prepare the meals in the adjoining kitchen, all clean by these standards. None of them, however, is allowed into the house and serving food was relegated to the two youngest officiants, the *chönjak* and the *sajun*. To guarantee the purity of the

house, admonitory left-twisted ropes are strung across the road passing by the house and the driveway to the house. Attached to these ropes are small pieces of white paper inscribed with admonitions warning unclean people to stay away.

In the village, quite a few men qualified to attend the *p'ojejip* and so they did. The first day proceeded in a rather hectic manner. The officiants arrived in the morning and registered with the *taech'uk* who, along with the *alja* and the *ch'ohön'gwan* sat in an *ondol* room off to the right side of the house entrance. Each official brought money from the families he represented, generally either thirty or fifty thousand *wŏn*, and a bottle of *soju*. Each of the officiants wore *hanbok* while in the *p'ojejip*. There was an implicit prohibition against non-officiants wearing the same. During the day, various village men came to the house and, after bowing to the three eldest officiants, offered an envelope of money and a bottle of *soju*, implicitly to guarantee their representation to the village god. While the official cost of the *p'oje* is between five hundred and five hundred and fifty thousand *wŏn*, this amount only covers the purchase of the *chemul* (제물 ritual goods). Much greater expenses are incurred in supporting the officiants in the way of food, cigarettes and ritual clothing, not to mention the small sums given to the house owner and the women who prepare the food.

Most of the men who come to the *p'ojejip* do not leave immediately after paying their respects, but rather remain a while for conversation and "play." Play consists primarily of gambling. The first day, the games of choice are *changgi* (장기 Chinese chess) and *yutnori* (윷놀이). The former is quite sedate and played only for small change if any betting is done at all. On the other hand, the *yutnori* is quite lively and forms the focal point of the house, the playing mat occupying the entire central *marubang*. Two players take turns tossing their wooden playing sticks and a neutral observer moves their counters around the playing board. Not only are the two players betting against each other, but the spectators as well place bets on the outcome. I managed to win twenty thousand *wŏn*. The result is a very loud, boisterous and exciting game, made more exciting, or at least important, by the sizable bets riding on the outcome. The game continues through the night, with people occasionally wandering into a heated room to sleep. It ends about the time breakfast is served, and most non-officiants leave at this time.

The morning of the second day is dedicated to an explanation of the ritual positions and how the ritual will proceed. The explanation is given by the most experienced among the officiants. However, officiants who had participated previously interjected comments and discussions arose over

certain ambiguities in the ritual procedures. The explanation lasted only forty minutes and was not accorded a great deal of attention or significance. Soon thereafter, village men came to the house once again to talk and play. In the early afternoon, a card game, *hwat'u* (화투), began in a room off to the left of the house entrance. The betting stakes were quite high, averaging fifty thousand *wŏn* a hand, with several million *wŏn* making up the total pool. The monies represent a substantial portion of a farmer's annual income. One informant mentioned that wives often hide the household funds before the *p'oje* to prevent large gambling losses. Because of the general fatigue and a lack of money, guests leave the house near eleven at night.

The third day at the house is markedly different from the previous two days. Whereas the first two days centered on greetings, conversations and games with ritual preparations taking a back seat, ritual preparations are the focus of this day and no visitors come from the village. Early in the morning, the finances of the *p'oje* are put in order and debts incurred to the local store are paid. Focus then turns to the preparation of the ritual tools and offerings. Two lanterns are made by vertically slitting bamboo poles, wrapping them with paper and placing candles in the center. Two bamboo poles are also cut which will be used to mark the gate at the ritual area. Amid great excitement and joviality, the *chegwan* catch and slaughter a female pig which has stayed within the confines of the *p'ojejip* yard and is therefore ritually clean. While the pig slaughter seems to violate the prohibition on seeing blood or dead animals, an informant explained that since the animal was ritually clean, as was the man who slaughtered it, the prohibition had not been violated. The pig is the main offering of the *p'oje* and is referred to as the *hwasaeng* (화생 sacrifice). Twenty squid are brought and one of the officiants spends the morning cleaning them. The *yukŏn* (유건 ritual hats) for the ritual are also made; an informant explained that these hats were originally made of horse hair but now are made from nylon, a typical example of the encroachment of modern life on the ritual landscape. The officiants try on the *ch'ŏngdoŭi* (청도의 ritual robe) and hem the ones that are too long, an interesting assumption of a female role by males, precipitated by the prohibition on women entering the house. The robes are ankle length and tie at the chest with both a belt and pendants. Gaiters of the same material cover the shins. When the officiants are fully dressed, they run through the list of ritual offerings which are then packed into baskets. Only the large pig offering is not brought into the house. These preparations mark the last activities carried out at the *p'ojejip*. The offerings are loaded onto a truck, the sacred ropes over the road and gate are taken down and the officiants leave the house. At this point, they

can not return to the house until after the ritual since it may have become contaminated after their departure. Women of the village abstain from going outside at this time of day for fear of meeting the *p'oje* officiants, and possibly ruining the three days spent in the *p'ojejip*.

The *p'ojejip* has a far more important function than simply a place to stay for purity reasons while waiting for the ritual to take place. It serves as a means for separating the officiants from normal village life, underscoring the importance of the ritual and marking the transitional phase in the village life. Village men come to assure their representation before the village deity and to express their solidarity with the officiants in the face of possible collective misfortune. Village male cohesion is reinforced by the game playing and gambling. Although the gambling could have deteriorated into arguments, it did not. Instead a feeling of comradeship prevailed, the arguments which did occur being jocular in nature, avoiding a threat to the harmony of the *p'ojejip*. The society of the *p'ojejip* acted as a microcosm of village organization, despite certain incongruities. A definite separation was made between the elder, high officiants and the younger, low officiants both by sleeping arrangements and activity. The elder officiants did not play games with as much frequency or enthusiasm as did the younger ones. Rather, they sat in a heated room discussing the intricacies of the ritual and its finances. The higher status village men came to this room to pay respects. These men often left without gambling. The younger, lower officiants dominated the rest of the house, particularly the *maru* where they took their meals and played *yutnori*. The traditional female roles of serving food and cleaning the house were carried out by the two youngest men. While the normal organization of deference to elders was maintained, the youngest officiants were forced into accepting female positions, underscoring the element of separation from normal community life and the social confusion of the new year period.

After leaving the *p'ojejip*, the officiants moved to the ritual area situated outside the village on a rise overlooking the sea to the south and the village to the north. The area is marked off by a chest-high semi-circular stone wall open to the south. Near the mouth of the semi-circle, the *chegwan* erect two long bamboo poles just inside two pine saplings, forming the gate of the ritual area. On either side of the offering table, they place the two lanterns made earlier in the day. Other bamboo poles, laid flat on the ground, mark off the officiant's ritual positions. The ritual area is used only twice a year, once for the *p'oje* ritual and once in July for its complement, the *pyölje* (별제). The ritual area is considered to be clean. Near the ritual area is a small shelter and kitchen for the preparation of the offerings. A tent is erected over the walls of

the shelter where the officiants wait until the designated time of the ritual.

The *chegwan* hold a practice session to make sure all of the participants are familiar with their positions. After this, they return to the tent and prepare the ritual foods. The most important of these foods is the *okokpap* (오곡밥 five grain food). Its preparation is carried out with utmost care, and since it was prepared well, it was interpreted as a propitious sign for the village. Men's preparation of food, normally a woman's job, underscores the social confusion associated with this liminal period. Half an hour before the ritual begins, the offerings are arranged on the table according to strict guidelines, utmost attention placed on the order of foods on the table. No explanation could be found for the order of the food placement other than, "This is the way it has to be done."

The ritual itself proceeds quickly and seems anticlimactic compared to the built-up tension. The officiants enter the ritual area according to position, wash in a small bowl and bow. The *chimnye* is charge of chanting the instructions. The *samhön'gwan* (삼헌관 three main offerers), offer in order at the *chedan*. After the initial offerings and *saebae*, the *ch'ohön'gwan* moves to the *umbogwi* (음복위) for drink, and drinks a cup of *soju*. This signifies that the village has received the good luck from the god. The *taech'uk* then chants a prayer to the god. Afterwards, along with the *ch'ohön'gwan*, he removes the god tablet, burns it and buries it. This marks the end of the ritual. The *samhön'gwan* leave the area without bowing, while the officiants bow before they leave. The ritual is over twenty minutes after it began.

The ritual offerings are removed from the table and brought to the tent. The pig is cut up, parts roasted and parts boiled, while the rest of the food is eaten with great relish. The feast ends shortly after dawn, when the officiants clean up the site and return to the village.

The *p'oje* is marked by separations and inversions of traditional duties. The time surrounding the ritual is given equal importance to the ritual itself. The *p'ojejip* allows the village men to reaffirm their ties and bolster village solidarity. The *p'oje* allows the village to move into the new year as a single cohesive unit. The men represent only one part of the economic make-up of the village, engaging primarily in farming. The excessive gambling may be an expression of increased economic expectations for the new year as normal economic rules are suspended during this liminal period. First, the officiants are separated from their normal socio-economic lives when they are moved to the *p'ojejip*. Village life for them stops and they are deprived of their normal activities. The second separation comes when they move to the ritual location. The offering is made outside the village, emphasizing the separation of daily

and sacred lives. The move away from the village in the evening and the subsequent return in the morning clarifies the transitional element in the ritual life of the village. Despite voiced desires to keep the ritual as true to form as possible, innovations such as a battery-powered microphone used during the ritual added a bizarre element of Western culture to the otherwise solemn ritual. The reintegration into society of the officiants is much easier than their separation and passes essentially unnoticed. Once the god has been celebrated, the danger of the period has been removed, and the village can move self-confidently into the new year.

The village *kut* and the village *p'oje* are based in separate traditions and function independently of each other for distinct village groups divided, in this case, along gender lines. However, when the ritual landscape of the village is viewed as whole, neither ritual can be deemed more important than the other, nor could the village move into the new year successfully without the completion of both rituals. On a religious level, both function with the same goals in mind, namely prosperity of the village in the coming year. Both make appeals to their respective gods and ask them to give benevolent aid to the village. On the social level, both rituals provide the participants a chance to reaffirm the social structure and friendship ties, presenting the village as a unified front against the possible ill will of the god(s) or misfortune.

On first inspection, the *cheil kut* and the *p'oje* exhibit few if any similarities in their performance. The *kut* makes use of one central performer, the *simbang*, who serves the village *tan'gol* in this capacity throughout the year. She is assisted by three *somi* who mainly play musical instruments. The *tan'gol* who attend constitute a partially engaged audience, present at the *kut* primarily to insure proper representation of the village to the protecting deity. In contrast to this, the *p'oje* comprises thirteen specially selected officiants who have no ritually significant positions in the village during the year. At the *p'oje*, there is no audience. Instead, the "audience" visits the officiants at the *p'ojejip*, offering money and *soju* to insure proper representation to the village god. While the *cheil kut* is thoroughly dependent on oral transmission with the *simbang* acting as both the repository and the conveyer of the tradition, the *p'oje* makes exclusive use of a written text. An interesting question is how much variation takes place from year to year in the rituals. While the *p'oje* has a fixed text, it has variant performers. The *kut* has a constant performer but lacks a constant text; rather, it has a constant framework.

Ūm and *yang* symbolism abounds in both rituals, reflecting the prominence of this essentially Taoist concept in both belief systems. The *cheil kut*, dominated by women, can be taken as the village *ŭm* ritual, while the *p'oje*,

dominated by men, can be taken as the village *yang* ritual. Interestingly, the *kut* makes use primarily of *yang* symbolism. The *kut* is held as the sun is rising, and all of the supplications to the male god are offered in the east. Finally, the main sacrifice is male — a rooster. Conversely the *p'oje* is replete with *ŭm* symbolism. It is held at midnight during the first new moon of the new year. The main sacrifice is female — a sow. Finally, during preparation of the ritual, the male participants assume traditional female domestic roles such as cleaning, food preparation and sewing. The *ŭm* segment of the community performs a ritual filled with *yang* to establish a harmony between these oppositions. The *yang* segment performs a similar ritual replete with *ŭm* symbolism. In this manner, the two distinct social groups achieve harmony with the opposing group, the result being the establishment of village-wide harmony for the new year.

Though the *kut* and the *p'oje* could be effectively studied independently of one another, such a study would necessarily neglect the larger context of the village itself, focussing on one gender group or belief system, thereby ignoring the other equally important interdependent segment of village social structure. The lack of female ritual deference could be due in part to the major contribution the women play in the village economic life. While the two belief systems represented by the *kut* and the *p'oje* generally coexist separately in village life, at certain times such as the lunar new year the two function synchronically for similar purposes. When such instances occur, it is necessary to study both sides of the ritual coin.

NOTES:

Park, So Yong collaborated with me in this research and the Luce Foundation provided me with the opportunity to study in Korea. Finally, my special thanks to Kim Sam-Gi of the National Folklore Museum and Kim Yon-Su and O Chu-Sok of the National Museum for all the help they gave me, and a very special thanks to the people of the village.

Most portions of this lecture were previously published in the UNESCO publication the *Korea Journal* and used here with the editor's kind permission.

Tangherlini, Timothy R., and So Yong Park. "The Ritual Landscape of Sunshine Village, Cheju-do Island at Lunar New Year." *Korea Journal* 28:5 (May 1988), 21-37.

Confucianism: Tradition and Transformation in Korea

by CHUNG, Chai-sik

A Lecture to the Royal Asiatic Society

March 9, 1988

According to Menander (343-292 B.C.), the Greek writer of comedies, "‘Know thyself’ is not well said. It were more practical to say ‘Know other people’".¹ In trying to know other people, which is to grow in the understanding of a culture, an interpretive understanding of the sources that shaped, directed, and transformed the bases of a culture identity in a society or civilization is essential. Among others, the study of *ethos*, or the conscious beliefs about the nature of man and the cosmos from which peoples in a civilization derived their moral and ethical values, is fundamental. Traditionally, the Chinese and the Koreans and, to a certain extent the Japanese as well, called their ethos "the Way of Confucius." The "Way" meant the principles governing the nature of man and the world. The Way of Confucius was the most sacred spiritual legacy of the Chinese people, and it underlies Chinese and East Asian character today. As broad rules of ethical conduct, Confucianism provides the web of relations that holds society together. But of no less importance, Confucianism has given the East Asian peoples what can be called "transcendental" ways to their civilization. As Greek philosophy, the Upanishads, Buddhism, or Biblical Judaism have given the peoples in the Near East, Greece, or India the way by which to transcend the givenness of everyday life, Confucianism has provided the East Asian peoples a kind of perspective to rise above and go beyond the limits. What, then, were the essential teachings of Confucianism? And in broad generalization, how did it find its way into Korea, forming, pointing, and transforming the bases of Korean society and, in turn, in the process, how was it transformed into a peculiarly Korean variant of Confucian tradition?

CONFUCIUS AND THE WAY

Central to the teachings of Confucius, found in the *Analects*, is the "Way" or Tao. "Tao is a Way, a path, a road," and more concretely it means "the right way of life, the Way of governing, the ideal Way of human existence, the Way of the cosmos, the generative-normative Way (pattern, path, course) of existence as such".² The metaphor of traveling the road is the imagery that appears frequently in the *Analects*.³ The right path or way that we should travel makes us aware of the gap that exists between the human order as it ought to be and as it actually is. The Way points us to the ideal path of human life, the means by which everyday life can be transcended, both in religious and ethical terms.

Confucius was a great teacher and a gentleman. He was born in 551 B.C., a generation before the Buddha in India, and died in 479, a decade before the birth of Socrates in Greece. The times preceding and including the life of Confucius is known in Chinese history as the Spring and Autumn period, when the moral and religious authority of the Cho Dynasty (1122-249 B.C.) had begun to collapse and in the absence of the bonds of loyalty, all the states struggled with each other for survival. The Spring and Autumn period was followed by the Warring States period (463-222 B.C.) when the ancient moral order completely crumbled and princes fought each other and dictators arose. During these periods, "wandering intellectuals" preached conflicting doctrines of moral and political solutions of the problems of the day. The fact that the so-called "hundred schools" were wrangling with each other about how to save the world bothered Confucius, who was himself one of the wandering intellectuals from the state of Lu in present-day Shantung province. He took this as a disturbing symptom of moral chaos or the situation in which the Way had either been lost or not yet found. Like Socrates, attracting to himself a host of disciples, Confucius became a teacher — the "transmitter" of the Way. But unlike Socrates, he became a "cultural hero" to the Chinese people. Even today many tradition-oriented Chinese continue to venerate Confucius as the truly essential embodiment of the "Chinese mind," and in a more or less similar way he is regarded as one who provided one of the basic orientations of East Asian cultures.

The vision to shape an ideal moral and political order that he presented is found in the collection of brief dialogues and aphoristic sayings in a collection called the *Lun-yu*, translated by James Legge as *Analects* and by Arthur Waley as *Selected Sayings*. A central concern that pervades the *Analects* is that "The Tao does not prevail in the world," that "The Tao is not practiced."

The fact that good moral order did not prevail in the world at that time, coupled with his great disappointment about the way things were, prodded him to look for a way out of this moral chaos. Unlike Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, who were critical of their Hellenistic past, Confucius came to believe in lost golden ages. Through his knowledge of the classics (i.e., the *Book of Documents* and the *Book of Poetry*, he believed that the truly good society had already been achieved in the past and that the hope of the future was to recapture the lost splendor of Hsia, Shang and especially, the early Cho dynasties. Although one might label him “reactionary” or “conservative,” these labels do not do justice to what he really stood for. Although he saw himself as a “transmitter” and not as “one who makes up anything on his own” he wanted to add fresh insight and an innovative touch to the heritage of the Tao, or good moral order, that had been preserved in records.⁴

If we take the word *Tao* as an inclusive concept that refers to the outer domain of the sociopolitical order, as well as the inner moral life or man, on the more concrete level *li* (in Korean *ye*) — another basic concept in Confucianism translated into English as ceremony, rites, or etiquette — refers to “the behavior of persons related to each other in terms of role, status, rank, and positions in structured society.” *Li* refers to all those concrete prescriptions about proper behavior of father to son, husband to wife, elder brother to younger (and vice versa).⁵ These social rules may have grown out of a primitive animism in which the spirits of land, wind, and water played important roles in the human world. By Confucius’ time, and thereafter, it became a common belief that improper human conduct could throw the natural world out of whack. With particular emphasis Confucius preached that proper observance of the rites toward the spirits of ancestors and nature was a sign of the perfect social order. To him, a correct observance of the rites was a sign that all was well in human society and nature, and to abuse or neglect the outer form of rites was to abuse the inner moral order that they represented.⁶ To many of us, the *li* may seem rather formalistic and stuffy: how to speak and behave in the presence of superiors, where to sit, how to receive a highly honored guest, and how far to go in seeing him off. A good East Asian host still is quite fussy about good manners, the social face, and the details of etiquette. The importance of doing things according to the correct ritual form has persisted to date in East Asia and even in China under the Communists.⁷

Li teaches human beings to perform their separate roles well in a society and thereby maintain harmony within a large whole. *Li* requires that within the family the father exercises authority and power. The child owes his parents

filial obedience as the minister owes his ruler obedience and loyalty. Thus hierarchy and authority were the necessary bases of society. But *li* also required reciprocity. In return for a child's filial piety the parents owe their children parental love. In dealing with his minister, who renders obedience and loyalty, the ruler "should be guided by the prescriptions of ritual".⁸ Confucius had a vision of a better world, or cooperative world in which "antagonism and suspicion, strife and suffering, were largely unnecessary".⁹ In contrast to Plato's elitist vision in the *Republic*, Confucius envisioned the model of government in which the harmony of an ideal family reigns rather than a government in which hierarchy and authority are based on "brute force or mere interest without any sense of spiritual-moral constraint".¹⁰ Confucius' major concern was the problem of how one humanizes the exercise of authority and inequalities of social power. According to Herbert Fingarette, *li* — as "sacred ceremony" or "holy ritual" — has the power to shape and humanize those who participate in them by dint of their "magical quality".¹¹ "Men become truly human as their raw impulse is shaped by *li*. And *li* is the fulfillment of human impulse, the civilized expression of it — not a formalistic dehumanization".¹² Cordial human gestures like bowing and ritual rites are "characteristic of human relationships at their most human" according to Fingarette; and he insists that "we are least like anything in the world when we do not treat each other as physical objects, as animals or even as subhuman creatures to be driven, threatened, forced, maneuvered".¹³

What was the inner meaning or spirit of *li*? Simply, it mean the spirit of yielding to others as it was stated in the *Analects*: "If it is really possible to govern countries by ritual and yielding, there is no more to be said. But if it is not really possible, of what use is ritual?".¹⁴ The spirit of yielding to others would overcome such passions as "the love of mastery, self-aggrandizement, resentment and covetousness".¹⁵ An "ultimate concern" of Confucius was to achieve a community of man by the spirit of spontaneous yielding, and this, he said repeatedly was "the only thing that mattered, more than the individual's life itself".¹⁶

While Confucius was greatly concerned with the outer space of social behavior of man, he was, in fact, just as much interested in the inner moral life of the individual person. The key concept to understand this inner dimension of reflective individual was the famous word *jen* (in Korean *in*), which is translated as love, benevolence, and humanity. *Jen* is "the perfect giving of oneself to the human way".¹⁷ *Jen* embraces all the social virtues that make up true humanity at its best, and with *jen* on can perform *li* in the proper spirit. It is "an existential goal" which one can achieve for himself after one has done

what is difficult, that is, "by curbing one's ego and submitting to *li*".¹⁸ As a matter of fact, to Yen Hui, one of his disciples who asked, "What is *jen*?" Confucius replied, "He who can submit himself to ritual is good".¹⁹ As Fingarette stated it, "*Li* and *jen* are two aspects of the same thing".²⁰ "*Li* directs our attention to the traditional social pattern of conduct and relationships; *jen* directs our attention to the person as the one who pursues that pattern of conduct and thus maintains those relationships".²¹ To put it differently, a man who cannot make a disciplined effort to overcome those evil impulses that prevent the expression of what is best in man, (that is, *jen*) in the relationship between man and man, can have nothing to do with *li*. On the other hand, to relate oneself to others in reciprocal good faith and respect as defined by civilized pattern of conduct and relationships (*li*) is *jen*'s way.

To Confucius, according to Lin Yutang, "... the kingdom of God [was] truly within man himself".²² Confucius spoke about the self-realization of humanity, but he did not put this problem in terms of "individual" and "society," as we are accustomed to think in Western categories. Rather, he maintained that man is born into the world with the potentiality to be socialized into a true human being. He emphasized the process of self-cultivation and learning, which he compared to the process of continuous "cutting, filing, chiseling, and polishing".²³ By developing a unique dignity and power inherent in man through the process of self-cultivation or education, man can be civilized and thus become a truly human man. To become a civilized being is "to establish human relationships, of an essentially symbolic kind, defined by tradition and convention and rooted in respect and obligation".²⁴ Man is at his best when he "is transformed by participation with others in ceremony which is communal".²⁵ Thus "the noble man is the man who most perfectly having given up self, ego, obstinacy and personal pride follows not profit but the Way".²⁶

Confucius had a vision that humanity could find happiness only as a cooperative community of spontaneous moral beings. In the ideal community that Confucius envisioned, the use of legalistic sanctions and punishment is clearly contrasted as an "undesirable alternative to the use of virtue *te* (in Korean *tōk*), of humaneness (*jen*), of ceremonial propriety (*li*), and of such related strategies as "yielding" *jang* (in Korean *yang*).²⁷ In contrast to the use of legal punishment, which people will evade shamelessly, Confucius insisted to govern them by moral force (*te*), appealing to their sense of shame *ch'i* (in Korean *ch'i*) or "self-respect" and "keeping order among them by *li*".²⁸ Here we may raise the questions whether Confucian "shame" comes the closest to Western "guilt" or whether the Confucian view of man provides

the conception of man as a tragic being tormented by inner crisis and guilt as we find the Orphic, Hebrew, and Christian imagery. The central moral issue in Confucius' thought does not seem to have been the responsibility of morally autonomous being with an inherent capacity to choose among alternatives. Instead he was merely expected to be civilized by education of the Way to become a true human being.²⁹ Those who wanted salvation from the profound tension between human potentiality and frustrations had to look for a way out in such heterodox religions as Buddhism and Taoism. But Confucius' vision that provided a basis for personal dignity eventually became China's official ideology, or orthodoxy, dominating the Chinese mind for more than two thousand years.

The development of Confucianism in Chinese history, however, is too complex to delineate even its outline here. In gross generalization, it may be pointed out that Confucianism became the state ideology 350 years after Confucius' death. In 213 B.C., under the short-lived Ch'in dynasty, Confucianism went underground and Legalism reigned. But during the time of Emperor Wu, who reigned from 140 to 87 B.C., the situation was reversed and Confucianism was proclaimed as the state ideology. Later, with the establishment of the imperial university for the study of Confucianism and the examination system, the vision of Confucius that provided a basis for personal dignity eventually became China's official ethos, and it remained as such until 1911. During the long process of its development the transcendental and ethical vision of Confucius was syncretized with the cosmological philosophies of Taoism and other naturalist schools, taking on a kind of religious trapping. Under official patronage, the idea of a morally conscious person *chun-tzu* who could criticize the existing order was compromised; he came to assume more of the role of a model official who blindly obeyed the commands of his ruler. Legalism, a thought antagonistic to early Confucianism, also seemed to have played an important role in the development of official Confucianism.

The philosophy of Mo Tzu (circa 480-390 B.C.), called Mohism, emerged as a principal rival to Confucianism in the centuries of the Warring States period, posing a considerable challenge to the Confucianists. But the more plebeian, anti-establishment-oriented, and stern philosophy of Mo Tzu, which denied all natural human feelings in search for an impersonal and practical society of universal love, had little lasting appeal to the Chinese people. Shortly after the first century B.C., it disappeared from sight. Interest in Mo Tzu was revived only recently under Communist rule.

Buddhism that spread to China from India around the beginning of the

Christian era offered an attractive new way of spiritual life to the Chinese, dominating the Chinese mind for roughly a thousand years. Ironically, Buddhism also played a significant role in the formation of Neo-Confucianism, which arose during the Sung dynasty (960-1279) as a counter to the religion from India. But despite all these ideological challenges, in the end it was the simple and humane teachings of Confucius Mencius, who was born about a century after Confucius' death and defended Master Confucius, that became China's dominant ethos.³⁰

THE CONFUCIAN TRADITION IN KOREA

The Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) is often called "Neo-Confucian," whereas the societies of Silla and Koryŏ (918-1392) that preceded it are generally labelled as "Buddhist." This is, of course, only a generalization of the prevalent ethos that informed the institutions, values, customs, and lifestyles of the respective dynasties. Even in the most strictly Confucian-oriented Chosŏn dynasty, other religions such as shamanism and Taoism coexisted with Confucianism to meet the religious needs of the people. Confucianism was only one of the religions that formed the total religious landscape of Korean society. In fact, none of the religions that appeared in Korea has been able to establish itself as a monolithic tradition entirely eclipsing the others. Buddhism in Silla and Koryŏ and Neo-Confucianism in the Chosŏn dynasty, for example, seemed to have attained the predominant position, but none could entirely overwhelm the others; eventually they all blended into a syncretic whole in the spiritual life of the people. Thus, even today, it is not unusual for a Korean to adhere to all these different religions at the same time with no sense of conflict. The Korean can pray to Buddha for consolation in times of trouble, but in order to bury his parents, with all the respect of Confucian ritual, he will consult the Taoist geomancer to pick out an auspicious place for burial. In times of harvest or drought, he may very well resort to shamanistic rituals for celebration or prayer for rain. And it is not impossible for the same person to have a Christian wedding ceremony in church as a modern touch.³¹

Confucianism appeared in Korea as early as the time of the Three Kingdoms (circa 57 B.C.-A.D. 668). The Confucian beginnings in Korea seem to be traceable all the way back to the period around the third and fourth centuries when Koreans had begun to adopt Chinese writing. But the traces of the early stage of the beginnings of Confucianism remain obscure. By A.D. 372, Koguryŏ had founded a university for the teaching of Confucian classics and

history. From an early period, therefore, we may surmise that the Confucian classics continuously influenced the intellectual life of the scholar-officials. Yet overshadowed by the native cults, shamanism, Taoism, and Buddhism, Confucianism could not make any substantial progress until the rise of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1392. However, it is true that from the late tenth century Confucianism had served to provide the state of Koryŏ with educated civil servants. As Ch'oe Sung-no (927-989), the famous Confucian statesman, put it, while Buddhism was mainly interested in the other-worldly salvation of the individual, Confucianism served as the "basis for regulating the state" here and now.³² The kind of Confucianism Ch'oe and his contemporaries understood was still limited at the level of statecraft in the form of Han and T'ang "imperial Confucianism".³³

Toward the end of the 13th century, however, the emerging scholar-officials in Korea began to be attracted to Neo-Confucianism, which arose in China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this new system of thought, they found a promising alternative to the decadent Buddhism long dominant in medieval Korea. Neo-Confucianism came to be known in Korea as the Ch'eng-Chu learning (Chŏngju-hak), or better as the Chu Hsi learning (Chuja-hak), because its history was traceable from Chu Hsi (1130-1200), the great Chinese thinker. Chu Hsi is often compared to Thomas Aquinas, the great theologian who systematized Christian doctrine with the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Like the famous Church Doctor's efforts at synthesis, Chu Hsi put classical Confucian thought together with the rivalling thoughts of Buddhism and Taoism, forming an elaborate systematic philosophy of human nature and the cosmic order. The Chu Hsi learning had the potential to fill the need in the inner space of the spirit, a need the classical Confucianism could not meet; and it also retained the means to deal with the outer world of society and ethics, a means Buddhism lacked.³⁴

The old Confucianism in Koryŏ had primarily served as the chief means of training scholar-officials in the composition of prose and poetry for the civil service examination, and it lacked a fresh moral meaning and spiritual impetus. The Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi was different. Armed with the elaborate metaphysics of Buddhism and Taoism, it rationalized that the Confucian moral principles undergirding society were founded on the heavenly principle of nature. The new Confucianism, as interpreted by Chu Hsi, offered a fresh moral meaning to bring order and direction to Korean society floundering in moral confusion on the eve of the founding of the Chosŏn dynasty. Yi Sŏng-gye, the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, who had overthrown in Koryŏ dynasty, teaming up with the emerging scholar-officials,

adopted Neo-Confucianism as the official ideology of the new dynasty. The change from Koryŏ to the Chosŏn, meant the replacement of Buddhism with Neo-Confucianism and the restructuring of the government and society after the models laid out in Chu Hsi's exegesis of Confucian classical literature. By initiating a reform program of unprecedented scope, Korea was set to become more Confucian than China.³⁵

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN CONFUCIANISM

The Confucianization of Korean society, however, did not take place overnight. It was well after more than a century had elapsed that Korean society was transformed into a Confucian-oriented state. For example, it was not until roughly 1600 that Chosŏn Korea could finally organize the social structure on the basis of a highly structured patrilineal descent group. In early Chosŏn Korea, the old tradition of the Koryŏ dynasty still persisted; and with an uxorilocal, or a matrilineal kin group, daughters, even after marriage, retained close ties with their natal group instead of joining the husband's patrilian. After 1600, patrilineages and primogeniture prescribed by Chu Hsi became firmly established.

Chu Hsi insisted that for social control and continuity, the family should be the basis of society and that tracing the descent through the male line and passing all properties and the right to handle ancestor worship from a father to the eldest son be strictly observed. In order to insure the continuity of the family and the solidarity of the clan, the Koreans honored their ancestors and took their origins more seriously than the Chinese. Clarifying the line of descent and establishing the head of the descent group, through meticulous attention to genealogy and ancestor worship, became the most important matters of concern to the Koreans. In fact, these matters became the bases upon which the whole social order rested.³⁶ Today, in translating the English word, "society," we use the Chinese characters, *sa-hoe* (社會). The characters, *sa*, consists of two ideographic elements: the one on the left (示) stands for "spirit," and the one on the right (土) means "soil or earth." the character *hoe* (會) stands for "assembly or gathering." What these characters mean literally is that people gather round on the earth under which lies the spirit of the ancestor. Thus, society in Korea and East Asia literally means the natural community of blood lineage grounded on ancestral land. The problem of how to stay home or of keeping the ancestral ground and maintaining the solidarity of the family and clan became an utterly important matter to the Koreans. Living with one's parents until death, venerating

parents and ancestors throughout one's life, and leaving descendants to continue the family—these were matters of ultimate concern.

In culture like that of the United States where “the autonomy and self-reliance of the individual” is emphasized, the primary problems of childhood are “separation and individuation.” As soon as children are ready they are packed off to schools and camps to be prepared for the all-important event of “leaving home.” In America, leaving home is the normal expectation, and childhood means partly to prepare for it. In Confucian-oriented East Asia, however, the expression “leaving home” was reserved for those who entered Buddhist monastic life.³⁷ One of the reasons why the Neo-Confucian scholar-officials in the Chosŏn dynasty consistently blasted Buddhism was that Buddhism stood for leaving home, or neglecting the family, destroying the basis of society. For the same reason they attacked the abstract principle of “universal love” of Mo Tzu, which gives no priority to the family as does Confucianism, as a heterodoxy.³⁸ The common Korean expression *ch'ulga*, which literally means “leaving home,” is also used when a daughter is married out of her natal home to join the husband's patrilines, revealing the importance of the agnatic principle of descent in Korean society. In contemporary usage, *kach'ul* (reversed form of *ch'ulga*) denotes a juvenile delinquent running away from home.

The familistic orientation of the Koreans can be seen in how seriously they took the so-called “learning of ceremonial rite” (*Ye-hak*), which was primarily concerned with learning the three rites of passage appropriate to capping (of the scholar-official's son at his coming of age), marriage, and mourning and sacrifice to the spirit of the ancestor according to the *Family Rituals* of Chu Hsi, *Chu Tzu Chia-li*. For example, people wrangled endlessly over such problems as the succession to the throne by the son of a legal wife and whether the spirit tablet of a second wife should be enshrined besides that of the original primary wife or the duration of the mourning period for the second wife.³⁹ Even today, we live with this legacy and, in the eyes of outsiders, Koreans appear to be overly concerned with elaborate ceremonies of marriage, funeral, and sacrifice. In Korea today, to be a successful Christian pastor, one has to be able to cater to the family-orientation by managing wedding and funeral ceremonies in a pleasing manner.

Defining the characteristics of the Korean Confucian tradition is not easy. Besides familism, Koreans also showed an extremely zealous commitment to guarding the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. How is one to interpret the fact that Koreans showed a more ardent commitment to stand for orthodoxy than the Chinese and the Japanese?

It took nearly a century for the Chosŏn dynasty to establish its ideological direction, but it was not until the sixteenth century that Neo-Confucianism finally secured a position of unrivalled preeminence as the state's official ideology. When Max Weber characterized Confucianism as "an innerworldly morality of laymen" oriented to "adjustment to the world," perhaps he overstated the case. Yet it cannot be denied that Confucianism was not an independent religious force, such as Christianity was, to develop a doctrine of salvation or an autonomous ethic and education, which might possibly compete with the power of officialdom.⁴⁰ In the spirit of Confucius, who had never discussed "prodigies, feats of strength, disorders or spirits",⁴¹ Confucianism was opposed to magic powers and the manipulation of spirits. Such magical activity was allowed to go on as "the religion of the masses" with contemptuous indifference, as long as it did not threaten the status quo. Nevertheless, "the proud, masculine, rational, and sober spirit of Confucianism",⁴² which was the state cult and the official status ethic of the *yangban* or the scholar-official class, could not appeal to the feminine emotional touch, as Buddhism did. As it turned out, during the initial centuries of the Chosŏn dynasty, compassionate buddhas and bodhisattvas, and other popular religions such as Taoism and shamanism, still had a large following among women and the people in the lower strata of society, meeting their personal, religious needs. And so the *yangban* elite, who were set build the new society in the model of clearly defined human obligations and rational social order, took to suppressing Buddhism and popular religions as "heterodox" religions that posed threat to the state and society.⁴³

The Ch'eng-Chu philosophy could rise as the orthodox ideology only through protracted battles with the lingering influences of Buddhism and popular religions. In the process of prolonged conflict with these religions, the Korean *yangban* came to develop a defensive or polemic attitude to condemn any ideas that differed from their views or threatened them as dangerous "heterodoxy" (*sa*, morally off the correct path; or *idan*, literally the "other strand"). In fact, after the seventeenth century, the Confucian establishment in Korea reacted to the challenge of Christianity by labeling the religion from the West as "heterodox," if anything, worse than anything that they had known before.⁴⁴ From the middle of the nineteenth century on, as the pressure on Korea grew stronger for her to open the doors closed to the Western nations and Japan, the Confucian ruling elite continued to condemn the outsiders as "heterodox," an alien force, refusing to open the country to the outside world. In the process of holding on stubbornly to the stagnant tradition, the Korean Confucian leaders, as a whole, proved themselves to be

too rigid and closed-minded to adjust with flexibility to the changing realities in the modern world. Rigidly stifling tradition to which the Korean leaders were bound has often been pointed out as one of the reasons why Korea could not adapt to the modern world as effectively as the Japanese.⁴⁵

The traditional Korean Confucian intolerance toward other religions can be put into sharper relief when we place it against the traditional Chinese Confucian attitudes toward other religions or philosophies. In China, Buddhism, Taoism, and other popular beliefs and practices were "outsiders," or pagans to Confucianism, just as paganism was alien to Christianity in the West. Yet such religions did not suffer severe repression but were allowed to exist together with Confucianism. In Korea, however, the situation was quite different. Korean Confucian literati stigmatized not only these religions as heresies, but condemned as heterodox even the Wang Yang Ming School, which grew out of Neo-Confucianism, offering an alternative to the Buddhist approach to mental cultivation. Since "there was no room for *idan* (heterodoxy)," the Ch'eng-Chu philosophy was the only thing that was permitted to go on in Korea.⁴⁶; and religious conflict, if any, took place within the Chu Hsi learning camp, surrounding the problem of how to correctly interpret the authoritative commentary of the Chinese Classics by Chu Hsi and his views. Over the question of who has the final say about the correct interpretation of Chu Hsi's axiomatic stance, the scholars were engaged in endless debates, at times lasting for years and even resulting in factional strife and deaths. The sad clash between Song Si-yol (1607-1689), a fanatic defender of Hsi orthodoxy, condemning Yun Hyu (1617-1680), who revised Chu's interpretation of the Doctrine of the Mean and the Great Learning was a famous case in point. Whereas Song adhered to Chu Hsi's views to the letter, Yun dared to question the master Chu's commentary while he still insisted that he was the one who truly understood Chu Hsi.⁴⁷

During the reign of Sŏnjo (1567-1608), the Neo-Confucian literati, with their monopoly on access to learning and influence through the private academies (*sŏwŏn*) and village code (*hyangyak*) along with their agricultural landholdings, finally came to dominate the political and intellectual process. But this came only after the struggle for power, over a period of half a century or more, with the entrenched bureaucrats in the central government, the heirs to the meritorious elite. Seriously devoted to learning in the Confucian classics, the literati's attitude toward learning and life was marked by moral idealism and commitment, distinguishable from that of the bureaucrats in the capital. The literati's moral bent was deepened further by a series of political purges (*sahwa*) they had to undergo before eventually seizing dominant political

power. In the process of the successive purges many of the literati came to turn away from the cruel political struggle in the center and began to pursue Confucian studies in the periphery of the "mountains and forests" (*sallim*). The unremitting factional purges left a solemn impression on the minds of the literati with regards to the depth of human destructiveness and the degradation of social morality. The orthodox Chu Hsi scholars began to reflect on the problems of cultivating man's moral character and improving human nature and society. Along with this awakening of moral consciousness, the speculative metaphysical foundation of Chu Hsi's thought began to receive more attention.⁴⁸

Among these scholars, Yi Hwang (1501-1570), better known as T'oegye, often referred to as the Chu Hsi of Korea, for one, was persuaded that there should be moral reconstruction in politics and social life, despite excessive egocentric forces that disturbed society's moral integration, and that it should be founded on the enlightenment of the Way of the sages in the minds of the individual and in the community of Confucian scholars so that the individual would value the public more than himself.⁴⁹

In Chu Hsi's metaphysics, man, all things, and the world are held to be accountable in terms of two inseparable components, *li* (principle, in Korean *i*) and *ch'i* (material force, in Korean *ki*). *Li* is a formative principle that accounts for what things are and how they should be. *Li* is not only the structural principle behind all things of heaven and earth but also the principle of the original goodness of human nature and the source of human morality. *Ch'i* is the concretizing material force that accounts for physical form and substance and plurality and change in all things of heaven and earth. The two are interdependent and inseparable. However, in accounting for man and things in the world, one can give primacy to either *li* or *ch'i*. Because Chu Hsi was primarily interested in the ethical problems of moral cultivation, rather than metaphysics, he learned to emphasize *li* more than *ch'i*. He spoke more of the ethical problem of how to realize *li*, that is, the original goodness in man, by overcoming *ch'i* which obstructs the full manifestation of the original goodness of human nature. Chu Hsi, however, left the problem of the relation between *li* and *ch'i* somewhat ambiguous. It was T'oegye who stated more clearly than Chu Hsi that principle has priority over material force in respect of value.

In accounting for the relation between principle and material force involving the famous "Four-seven Debate," or the problem of the issuance of the Four Beginnings (which constitute the inherent goodness in human nature) on the one hand, and the Seven Feelings that may work for either

good or evil on the other, T'oegye emphasized the active and dominating character of principle in an effort to underline the spontaneous goodness of man's moral nature. Yi I (1536-1584), another great Confucian thinker better known as Yŭlgok, two years after the death of T'oegye, took the master to task for his definition of human nature, which was bent to the ethical problem of manifesting principle in man. By interpreting human nature within the broader framework of metaphysics, Yŭlgok maintained that material force alone was responsible for the functioning of the mind. Yŭlgok thus became a viable rival of T'oegye.

The issue that greatly concerned these two scholars and their later followers, was the problem of human nature rather than the phenomenal world of universe and nature, as was the case, partly at least, in China and Japan. As a matter of fact, the development of Korean Neo-Confucian thought unfolded almost entirely within the context of how to account for the nature of man. Little wonder, then, that in Korea Ch'eng-Chu teaching came to be called a philosophy of "human nature and principle" (Sŏngni-hak). Simply stated, the issue was whether human nature should be studied primarily as a matter of emphasizing the moral principle in man and society (*i-hak*, or *li-hsueh* in Chinese) or whether it should be interpreted in the context of the metaphysics of the cosmos. T'oegye, an orthodox heir of Chu Hsi in Korea, represented the former position, commonly known as the School of Principle (Churi p'a); whereas Yŭlgok stood for the latter position, known as the School of Material Force (Chugi p'a). As it is said that the history of Western philosophy consists of a series of footnotes to Plato, it can be generalized that the mainline of the Chosŏn dynasty philosophical tradition consists of a series of footnotes to what T'oegye and Yŭlgok had said about the nature of man. Though the dialogue between the two may appear hairsplitting, as was sometimes the case, the intellectual and moral seriousness with which they and their followers approached the problem of human nature not only clarified certain ambiguities in Chu Hsi's thought but also deepened understanding of human nature in terms of a profound, inward, and personal experience, which was unmatched even by Chinese scholars. With T'oegye and Yŭlgok, although Korean Chu Hsi learning reached its golden age, the philosophical differences between the two had sown dissension among their followers, embroiling them in wrangles over such problems as principle and material force and nature and feeling. Soon these philosophical quarrels developed into factional struggles for political influence, wealth, and social position. In the process, the uncompromising censure, intolerance, and the manipulation of truth, through a textual interpretation of the classics, developed. As a

result, a belief that there is only one right path and that a variety of philosophical views could not exist side by side permeated almost all areas of intellectual and social life. This belief came to be deeply entrenched after the sixteenth century, foreshadowing the eventual fossilization of Chu Hsi orthodoxy by the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ The remnant of this undesirable legacy remains with us still today.

What is most distinctive about the Korean tradition of Confucian thought is that the Korean scholars approached the problem of the world of the mind not just as a cognitive knowledge but more as matter of taking a proper religious attitude of all seriousness (*kyōng*, in Chinese *ch'ing*). This was especially the case with the School of Principle, which emphasized the understanding of principle more as a deep, inward, and personal experience than as the intellectual understanding of principle as the law of being of material force. In this school, a man of high moral integrity with utmost commitment to his conviction was idealized as model man.⁵¹

Chu Hsi saw education and self-cultivation as a life-long process involving the dual, balanced processes of learning the Confucian Classics to plumb the principles governing man and the cosmos (*ch'iung li*, in Korean *kungni*), on one hand, and meditation, or quiet-sitting (*ching tso*, in Korean *chōngjwa*), like the Buddhist, to abide in reverence (*chu-ching*, in Korean *kyōgyōng*), that is, to be watchful over evil thoughts and impulses in the self that come from the physical, sensual nature, on the other. In the case of most Korean orthodox Neo-Confucians, however, the balance seems to have shifted more toward maintaining a "reverence with a moralistic and puritanical 'seriousness'" and proper behavior than intellectual endeavor, although the latter was not slighted.⁵² T'oegyē, for one, associated the image of the mind as a battlefield in which a life-or-death struggle went on between ever-present selfish human desires and moral will to live a correct life by nourishing and preserving his inherent good nature, or principle. The greatest enemy of man is not in the outer realm of political and economic institutions but man himself, that is, the human selfish desires that "gnaw" at the mind. And "reverence" or "seriousness" means nothing less than to give the mind control of itself through moral striving in order to cultivate the inner self and consequently to regulate the outer space of politics and society.⁵³

In the spirit of Chu Hsi, the emphasis on reverence or seriousness as the root of all things made the scholars morally conscious, devoting even their lives to the cause of moral principles of loyalty and filial piety, for example; but, on the other hand, such a life style had the pitfalls that left long-lasting marks in the Korean personality and culture. To take moral principles seri-

ously is to take propriety and ceremonies that embody them with equal seriousness. The kind of Confucian thought and behavior pattern that prevailed in Korea did unwittingly encourage such traits as attentiveness in manners, solemn silence, obedience to authority, and a rigoristic and ascetic attitude toward human desires and emotions. An ideal Confucian gentleman who maintain a serious attitude toward life is not taken lightly by others because he has an aura of seriousness and dignity that reflects his state of mind. He also has that "immovable" mind unperturbed by unexpected happenings in life or by various temptations of the flesh. A legalistic attitude, which tends to adhere to the letter rather than to the spirit, and a rigorously methodical character may also result from such a life orientation. Excessive adherence to marked ceremoniousness and the weight of tradition and custom can easily stifle individual spontaneity, creativity, and freedom.⁵⁴ Free thinking — spontaneous and creative thinking — was a quality of the mind that was very much limited in traditional Korean society.

By the middle of the nineteenth century it became very evident that Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi, which had earlier started as a vital ideology to define the direction of Chosŏn Korean society and to fill the void left by decrepit Buddhism, was drained of its spiritual vigor and strength in the course of prolonged scholastic controversies and factional strifes. Reduced to a mere *traditum* handed down from the past and secure of its orthodox status, the ideology of the *yangban* had not longer the vibrant capacity to adapt to the needs of the changing times. The *yangban* intellectuals, who had lived their lives according to the beliefs and values defined by Neo-Confucianism orthodoxy, found themselves completely disoriented when the axiomatic philosophy of Chu Hsi was suddenly challenged by new outside influences — Western culture, Christianity, and modernization.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: CONFUCIAN TRADITION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CONFLICT TODAY

By 1976, Korean had been opened to the modern world for one hundred years. The year 1984 marked the centennial of the Korean Protestant missionary movement. At this point in the life of Korean society, one wonders if the outlook of the Korean people has not been influenced more deeply by Christianity and by Western ideologies such as scientific rationalism, democratic liberalism, and Marxism-Leninism. While we are impressed by the fact that the Confucian tradition and other strands in Korean tradition still have a tenacious hold on the people, we also recognize that Korea can never return to

its past. In the process of forming its own modern (civil or democratic) culture, while maintaining the values of the past, Korea is most likely to make a syncretistic adaptation of one kind or other.

From a comparative historical perspective one might question why China, Japan, and Korea, whose cultural and religious traditions have so much in common, showed such great differences in the process of modernizing changes. Korea passed through the general stages of rejection, selective accommodation, and search for integration, which most non-Western societies experienced upon contact with the modern world. What is striking is that Korea was the last of the East Asian countries to enter the modern world because it stubbornly clung to the myth of the superiority of the Confucian tradition for a longer period of time than either China or Japan. One may notice that even today that flag of Korea is represented by the symbols of Neo-Confucian cosmology.

Surprisingly alive, even today, is the idea that adaptive means of economy, science, and technology may be borrowed from the West but that Western social, political, and cultural ideas should be adopted with scrutiny. Selective borrowing of cultural elements, however, involves many complicated philosophical and practical problems, and the Korean search for a synthesis of the old and new will not doubt continue.

Korea today is faced with the urgent problem of reorienting its concepts of man, society, and the world. What are some of the more outstanding areas of conflict between Confucian tradition and modern values? Democratic populism, now in style in Korea under the slogan of *pot'ong saram* (average or common people), is in conflict with the strong remnants of *yangban* elitism and authoritarianism. The principles of reciprocity and harmonious human relations, prescribed by Confucian tradition, are not congruous with the modern social processes characterized by endless competition, maneuvering, bargaining, and conflict. The modern universal values of equality and freedom are not compatible with inherited hierarchical expectations in human relations or the pattern of relations based on the particularistic ties of school, regional origin, and blood lineage. The problem of leaving home rather than staying home faced by adolescents today, equal rights for women and the young, women's right to education and career, the rise of the nuclear family with all its social implications — these are only some of the more salient problems that come to mind as we reflect on the meaning of Confucian tradition for Korea today.⁵⁵

NOTES

1. From *Thrasyleon. Fragment*, quoted in *Familiar Quotations* by John Bartlett, 13th & centennial ed. (Boston, Toronto: Little Brown & Co., 1955), p. 27b.
2. Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius-The Secular as Sacred* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 19.
3. *Ibid.* H.G. Creel points out that *Tao* is used most frequently in the *Analects* to mean "the way" above all other ways." See his *Confucius and the Chinese Way* (New York: Harper & Row, 1949), pp. 122-123.
4. Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 56-57; see also Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way*, p. 144.
5. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, pp. 67-68.
6. According to Max Weber, Confucianism is rationalist because it is marked by "the absence of all metaphysics and almost all residues of religious anchorage." However, Weber spoke of Confucianism, not of Confucius. See *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, 1958), p. 293. It seems that Confucius himself did "retain, in the idea of Heaven, a sense of an impersonal ethical Providence." He seems also to have had "a sense of an ideal cosmic harmony." See Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way*, p. 120, and also pp. 113-120.
7. See Fox Butterfield, *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea* (New York: Times Books, 1982), pp. 52-62.
8. Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1938), bk. 3, chap. 19, p. 99. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, pp. 70-71.
9. Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way*, p. 123.
10. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, pp. 69-70. The idea of the state viewed as a large family is clearly pointed out in Vitaly A. Rubin *Individual and State in Ancient China*, trans. Steven L. Levine (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 16-19.
11. Fingarette, *Confucius*, p. 6.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
14. Waley, *Analects*, bk. 4, chap. 13, p. 104.
15. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, p. 73.
16. Fingarette, *Confucius*, p. 17.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
18. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, pp. 75-76, 77.
19. Waley, *Analects*, bk. 12, chap. 1, p. 162.
20. Fingarette, *Confucius*, p. 42.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of Confucius* (New York: Random House, 1938, 1943), p. 17.
23. Waley, *Analects*, bk. 1, chap. 15, p. 87.
24. Fingarette, *Confucius*, p. 76.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
28. Waley, *Analects*, bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 88.

29. Fingarette, *Confucius*, pp. 28-36.

30. Materials to summarize the development of Chinese thought are many, but for a concise overview, see H.G. Creel, *Chinese Thought from Confucius Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Mentor Books, 1953).

31. See Chai-sik Chung, "Korea: the Continuing Syncretism," in *Religion and Societies in Asia and the Middle East*, ed. C. Caldarola (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam, 1982), pp. 607-628.

32. Koryōsa [History of Koryō] (reprint ed., Seoul: Yōnse Taehakkyo tongbang yōn'guso, 1955), 93:19a.

33. For general survey of the development of Confucianism in Korea, see the following: Hyon Sang-yun, *Chosōn Yuhak-sa* [A study of Korean Confucianism] (Seoul: Minjung sogwan, 1949); Yi Pyong-do, "Charyo Han'guk Yuhak sa ch'ogo" [A draft history of Confucianism in Korea], mimeographed in 3 pts. (Seoul: Soul taehakkyo, 1959; and also his more up-to-date work based on the abovementioned work, *Han'guk Yuhak-sa* [A study of Korean Confucianism] (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1987).

34. Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind and Heart* (New York: Columbia University, 1981), pp. 1-66, 68-69.

35. For the introduction of Neo-Confucianism and its ensuing adaptation to Korea, see the standard work, *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). For the changeover to Neo-Confucianism and the Confucian state in the early Chosōn dynasty, See Chai-sik Chung, "Chōng Tojōn: 'Architect' of Yi Dynasty Government and Ideology," in *Ibid.*, pp. 59-88.

36. See Martina Deuchler, "Neo-Confucianism in Action: Agnation and Ancestor Worship in Early Yi Korea," *Religion and Ritual in Korean Society*, Korea Research Monograph (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1987), 26-55.

37. This point is well put in Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Sten M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 56-58.

38. See Chai-sik Chung, "Chōng Tojōn: 'Architect' of Yi Dynasty Government and Ideology," pp. 79-80.

39. For example, see the famous rites dispute of 1674 between Song Si-yōl and Yun Hyu and how serious they were about Chu Hsi's *Family Ritual* in Miura Kunio, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Seventeenth-century Korea: Song Si-yōl and Yun Hyu," *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. de Bary and Haboush, pp. 419-420, 434-436.

40. Weber, *The Religion of China*, pp. 142-143, 152-153, 235.

41. Waley, *Analects*, bk. 7, chap. 20, p. 127.

42. Max Weber, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, trans. ed. Hans H. Gerth (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 203.

43. Han Woo-keun (U-gŭn), "Chosōn wangjo ch'ogi e issosō ūi Yugyo inyōm ūi silch'ōn kwa sinang chonggyo" [The practice of Confucian ideals and the traditional beliefs and religions in the early Yi dynasty], *Han'guk saron* 3 August 1976): 147-228; see also Han Woo-keun (U-gŭn), "Sejong cho e issosō ūi tae Pulgyo sich'aek" [The policy toward Buddhism during the reign of King Sejong] in *Chindan hakpo*. 25, no. 6 & 7 combined edition (December 1964): 67-153.

44. Chai-sik Chung, "Christianity as Heterodoxy: An Aspect of General Cultural Orientation in Traditional Korea: in *Korea's Response to the West*," ed. Yung-Hwan Jo (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Korea Research and Publications, 1971), pp. 57-86.

45. Chai-sik Chung, "In Defense of the Traditional Order: Ch'oksa wijong," *Philosophy East and West* 30, no. 3 (July 1980): 355-373.

46. See the remarks about the ideological condition in Korea by Pak Che-ga (1750-?) in his *Chōng'yu chip, pu Pukhak ūi* [Collected works of Pak Che-ga with Discourse on Northern Learning], (Han'guk saryo ch'ongsō, no. 12) (Seoul Kuksa p'yōnch'an wiwōnhoe, 1961), pp. 437-438.

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48. For the purges, see Edward Willett Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Yi Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). Yi I's reflections on the aftermath of the purges of 1519 and 1945 in his memorial of 1574 in *Yŭlgok chōnsō* [Collected works] (Seoul: Sōnggyun'gwan taehakkyo, 1958), 1:97b. See also 1:60b, 88ab, 320a.

49. Abe Yoshio, *Ri Tai-kei* (Tokyo: Bunkyo shoin, 1944), pp. 45-49.

50. Chai-sik Chung, "The Rise of Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Problem of Conformism in Korea," in *Korean Social Science Journal* 22 (1985): 7-25.

51. In comparison to Japanese Confucianism, according to Takahashi Toru, Chu Hsi-dominated Confucianism in Korea is characterized by its "very religious" orientation. See his "Chosen ni okeru jukyo" [Confucianism in Korea], *Shibun* [Confucianism] 5, no. 2 (April 1923): 9-19; see also Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 2:455-495. For the characteristics of the School of Principle, see Abe Yoshio, *Nihon Shushigaku to Chosen* [Japan's Chu Hsi school Korea] (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1965), pp. 528-534; Inoue Tetsujiro, *Nihon Shushigaku ha no tetsugaku* [Philosophy of the Chu Hsi School in Japan] (Tokyo: Fuzanbo, 1933), pp. 410-436, 449-456.

52. Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Sagehood as a Secular and Spiritual Ideal in Tokugawa Neo-Confucianism," in *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University, 1979), pp. 130-133.

53. Yi Hwang, *Toegye chonsō* [Complete works], 2 vols. (Seoul: Sōnggyun'gwan taehakkyo, 1958), 1:195a-211a, 354a, 2:644a, 816a-818b, 868a.

54. Yamaga Soko (1622-1685), a Japanese Neo-Confucian, turned against his early education in the Ch'eng-Chu School, which appeared to him too grave, silent, closed, and shallow. He found the practice of quiet-sitting to maintain reverence (*jikei*, in Chinese *ch'ih-ching*) too constraining, while he found Taoism and Buddhism much more liberating. Likewise, Ito Jinsai (1627-1705), a younger contemporary of Yamaga Soko, characterized the "reverence" or seriousness of the Ch'eng-Chu school as deadening and a "fretful prudery." See their critiques of "reverence" quoted in Sagara Toru, *Kinsei no Jukyo shiso* [Premodern Confucian thought] (Tokyo: Hanawa shobo, 1966), pp. 91, 92, and also 73-84, 95. Their critiques may have relevance to understand some pitfalls of the Neo-Confucian attitude. See also de Bary, "Sagehood as a Secular and Spiritual Ideal in Tokugawa Neo-Confucianism," pp. 139-146, 146-154.

55. Chai-sik Chung, "Confucian Tradition and Values: Implications for Conflict in Modern Korea," in *Religions in Korea: Beliefs and Cultural Values*, ed. Earl H. Phillips and Eui-yung Yu (Los Angeles: Center for Korean-American and Korean Studies, California State University, Los Angeles, 1982), pp. 99-116.

Traditional Beliefs and Adequate Prenatal Care in Urban Korea

by Emily E. KIM

INTRODUCTION

Regularly visiting a medical doctor is only one of many prenatal options available in developing countries such as Korea where health care, fragmented into competing modes, reflects changing values in society. The gamut runs from hospitals and private clinics with Western-trained doctors to herbalists ready with Chinese medicines, from elders full of advice drawn from folklore to pharmacist-diagnosticians stocked with a myriad of drugs, some quite potent, that they dispense according to one's ailment. Clients may consult one source, none, or several, the last labeled the "gambler's mentality" — a non-systematic cafeteria-style approach to medical care: a check-up here, an herb there, some vitamins tomorrow, and taboo food restricted today.¹

Although the incidence and character of traditional birthing beliefs and the pervasiveness of traditional practitioners have been studied in rural Korea,² there have been no studies on the extent and character of traditional beliefs in urban women to examine the effects of these beliefs on prenatal care. Prior literature reflects the relevance of such demographic factors as education and infant death on family planning and fertility issues,^{3,4} while recognizing the impact of such traditional values as son preference.⁵ This paper quantifies indices of traditional beliefs and examines the impact of those beliefs on the adequacy of prenatal care sought by clients who delivered at two university hospitals located in Seoul. Specifically, this study examined whether adherence to traditional beliefs involving acceptance of Confucian prenatal tenets or herbal medicine use interfered with completion of full prenatal care.

METHODS

A cross-sectional study was conducted among women delivering at either of two university hospitals in Seoul during the month of June 1985. Seventy-one women who had delivered in Severance or Sunchanhyang hospitals were identified after delivery and interviewed before discharge during one of the

biweekly visits to each institution. Not included in the study were women who had delivered on or after a given day of interview, yet were discharged before the subsequent day of interview. For example, those patients who delivered Friday, thus unavailable that day for interview, were discharged by Monday, the next interviewing day. Oral interviews were structured with a standard set of questions and conducted by a native Korean Red Cross Volunteer with five years experience in an obstetric unit. Responses were recorded at time of interview. Medical records were consulted for verification of demographic data. No refusals were met in the course of the study.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain information on parity, age, educational level of respondent and husband, source of prenatal care, timing and number of prenatal visits, usage of alternative care (midwife, church), and usage of traditional care as well as traditional concepts about child-bearing.

Adequacy of prenatal care was classified by Kessner's methods.⁶ Adequate care was defined as nine or more visits with the first visit occurring in the first trimester. Inadequate care consisted of four or fewer prenatal-visits or care that started during the third trimester. Combinations other than these are considered intermediate care.

Traditional care is defined by a high score on answers to questions about physiology, endorsement of the tenets of *taegyo* (Confucian-based prentional beliefs), and the use of *hanyak* (Chinese herbal medicine).

Each respondent was asked three questions concerning the physiology of conception and childbearing. Scientific answers were rated at 1, traditional answers at 5, and common sense retorts at 3 (a category containing religious or don't know answers as well). The scale of responses ranged from a low of three to a high of twelve. These were the questions asked:

(a) How is the fetus conceived?

1-egg and sperm 3-intercourse 5-no menses

(b) How is the gender of the baby determined?

1-X, Y chromosomes 3-God's will 5-acidity of diet

(c) How can one discover the gender of the baby?

1-amniocentesis 3-don't know 5-shape of tummy
ultrasound

The Confucian tenet *taegyo*, translated literally, means umbilical cord teaching evincing the belief that baby and mother are more than physically linked — that emotions and ideas are transferred as easily as oxygen and

nutrients are through the umbilical cord. Respondents were asked whether they believed in *taegyo* and what that entailed. Recommended practices included listening to nice classical music, reading good books, thinking good thoughts, and keeping peace of mind (by, for example, not arguing with one's husband). Looking at attractive babies in pictures was advocated as a means towards achieving a pretty baby of one's own.

Other traditions require an actual transaction for goods or services. In this category fall seeking the services of an herbalist, a fortune-teller, or a shaman, in order of present popularity. Herbal medicine is a convenient treatment which requires only a visit to report one's symptoms to the herbalist who in turn will create a medicine to treat the condition. The fortune-teller and shaman consult and control unseen powers and spirits.

RESULTS

Overall, 55% of the women received an adequate level of prenatal care, 31% an intermediate level, and 14% an inadequate level of care as defined by Kessner (Table 1). This rate of participation compares favorably to that of urban women in the United States⁷ and surpasses Korean national statistics.⁸ The group was remarkably homogenous, consisting of married Korean women between the ages of 22 and 36 years, inclusive (Table 1). Conspicuously absent from any group were distinctions of age, marital status, or race that are associated with high rates of inadequate care in other countries, i.e., no teenaged, single, ethnic minority women. Older women (28 years and greater) were more likely to have adequate care. The women as a whole were well educated, averaging 13.2 years of schooling.

A lower educational level was associated with inadequate care. Forty-four percent of women with less than twelve years of education received inadequate care versus eleven percent of those completing high school. The education level of the husband, a rough indicator of the couple's socio-economic level, was similarly associated, with a slightly higher significance (Table 1), a parity greater than one correlated with inadequate care. Thirty percent of women with at least one previous child received inadequate care versus eight percent of nulliparous women (Table 1).

Table 1. Adequacy of prenatal care by maternal demographic characteristics

	Levels of Prenatal Care		
	Adequate	Intermediate	Inadequate
TOTAL	39 (55%)	22 (31%)	10 (14%)
AGE			
22-24 years	8	1	2
5-27 years	13	3	3
28-30 years	12	12	3
31-33 years	4	5	2
34-36 years	2	1	0
EDUCATION OF MOTHER			
more than 12 years	2	3	4
12 years	18	13	4
less than 12 years	19	6	2
EDUCATION OF FATHER			
more than 12 years	0	4	
12 years	11	7	3
less than 12 years		23	15
PARITY			
1st child	31	16	4
previous child	8	6	6

A score of less than nine on responses concerning physiological beliefs (that is, more scientific responses) was far more prevalent in women receiving adequate care (91%) than those receiving intermediate (71%) or inadequate (64%) care. Answers ranged from a sophisticated grasp of physiology encompassing the union of egg and sperm, X and Y chromosomes, ultrasound and amniocentesis to more earthy conjectures regarding the joining of man and woman, acidity of foods, the relative strengths of the man and woman, and the way the baby sits in the womb and kicks (Table 2).

Traditional beliefs remain strongly entrenched in the women in this sample. *Taegyo*, a central tenet of traditional care, was cited by 79% of mothers as a beneficial influence on the baby's health. Advocates of *taegyo* monopolized the group receiving adequate care. Fully 92% of mothers receiving adequate care cited *taegyo* versus 64% and 60% among women receiving intermediate and inadequate levels of care, respectively (Table 2).

Fortune-tellers and shamans have little appeal in this population (three consultations for the former; none for the latter), but herbalists continue to prosper. Twenty-four percent of the women took *hanyak* during pregnancy, 76% of users for pregnancy-related reasons (Table 2). Unlike the more popular *taegyo*, however, *hanyak* usage is not associated with any difference in the adequacy of prenatal care.

Table 2. Adequacy of care by components of traditional care

	Levels of Prenatal Care		
	Adequate %, N=39	Intermediate %, N=22	Inadequate %, N=10
PHYSIOLOGY BELIEFS			
less than nine	90*	77	50
TAEGYO	92	64	60
HANYAK	18	27	0

* all percents are column percents

Table 3. Adequacy of care by components of traditional care, stratified by age

Component Age	Levels of Prenatal Care		
	Adequate %, N=21 N=18	Intermediate %, N=4 N=18	Inadequate %, N=5 N=5
PHYSIOLOGY BELIEFS			
less than nine			
more than 28 years	90	25	20
less than 27 years	89	89	20
TAEGYO			
more than 28 years	86	33	60
less than 27 years	100	72	60
HANYAK			
more than 28 years	24	0	0
less than 27 years	11	33	0

OTHER EXPLORATORY FINDINGS

Mothers garnered information on antenatal care from a variety of sources (Table 4). Fifty-two percent of mothers consulted some form of media (TV, magazines, books); twenty-three percent consulted their elders. Thirteen percent remained aloof from advice and relied on "common sense" or prior experience; 23% did not cite any of these resources. Women in the last category, labeled "other," learned from school, doctors, friends, and family. (These sources were consulted by women in the previous categories as well.) Women who consulted the media were more likely to receive adequate care (65%); those who shunned the influence of media and relied only on "common sense," prior experience, or the advice of elders were more likely to receive intermediate or inadequate levels of care.

Table 4. Adequacy of care by sources of prenatal information consulted

	Levels of Prenatal Care		
	Adequate %, N=39	Intermediate %, N=22	Inadequate %, N=10
None (0)	3*	18	40
Elders (1)	8	18	20
Media (2)	51	27	40
Both (1) & (2)	15	5	0
Others (4)	23	32	0

* all percents are column percents

SUMMARY

Although prenatal care is one aspect of medical care in which minimum standards have been agreed upon regarding the initial visit, the number of visits, and the content of care,^{6,9} the problem of participation remains — motivating and enabling expectant mothers to seek prenatal care and to follow medical instructions. Studies in Britain, the United States, and France suggest that certain demographic features — such as being a young, single mother, of high parity, low social status, and low educational level, who

belongs to a disadvantaged ethnic group — characterize those women who received inadequate prenatal care.^{7,10,11} Similar studies of smaller scale in urban areas of Papua New Guinea and South Africa associate inadequate prenatal care with unstable relations with partners, inferior financial support, high parity, and rural residence, while previous troublesome deliveries and pregnancy related symptoms encouraged attendance.^{12,13} The South African study found the use of traditional healers associated with an increased likelihood of obtaining adequate care in the case of a spiritual healer; no association was noted if an herbalist was consulted.

In this study, demographic features, wherever present or distinguishable, paralleled results of previous studies in the field. A higher educational level of wife or husband and lower parity were associated with adequacy of prenatal care. Women with inadequate care were more likely to have a less sophisticated grasp of physiology and to believe in *taegyo*. A low traditional physiology score (80% of women) and an endorsement of *taegyo* (79%) were associated with a seven times and four times increased likelihood of adequate prenatal care, respectively. Multivariate regression analysis showed that *taegyo* and *hanyak* remain significant despite controlling for demographic factors of age, education, and parity. *Hanyak* (24%) was not associated with any difference in adequacy of prenatal care, and other traditional approaches to care were quite uncommon.

It appears that there was a simultaneous embracing of two seemingly disparate health care systems, *taegyo* and Western medical care, among women in the adequate care group. This behavior is not in line with the “cafeteria-style” approach to health care cited earlier, which Yoon (1) associated with haphazard and discontinuous medical treatment, but resembles instead a more conservative and safety conscious “cover-the-bases” mentality.

Medical systems available for consultation included cosmopolitan (Western or scientific), East Asian (*hanyak*, acupuncture), folk (fortune-teller, shaman), and popular (*taegyo*, elders, relatives). The cosmopolitan sector was consulted usually on an ongoing basis by these women. In contrast, *hanyak* was used for spot treatments of specific symptoms such as morning sickness, indigestion, “anemic tendency,” and vaginal discharge. Several special concoctions were available as well — a traditional mother’s medicine taken early in pregnancy, an “expecting” medicine taken one month before delivery, and a miscarriage prevention medicine to firm the uterus. Considered milder by users than Western medicines because of its herbal nature, *hanyak* is deemed less likely to injure the fetus. Indeed, only two women notified their doctors of *hanyak* usage. The folk sector was rarely consulted by these women,

although some admitted that their mothers or mothers-in-law would seek advice from the fortune-teller or shaman, usually for gender determination.

The popular sector of health care contains the individual, family social network, and community beliefs. It is a lay, non-professional orientations in which illness is first defined, health care activities initiated, and sickness sometimes managed. Self-treatment by individual and family is the first therapeutic entity resorted to by most people across a wide range of cultures. Indeed, only two women did not suspect pregnancy within eight weeks. This section has been little studied; it is typically regarded as crude and folksy. For example, in this population, elders regarded the maternal diet as a factor in gender determination (a function of acidity) and in fetal malformations (raw fish, squid, and clams considered weakening to fetal bones). Pregnancy itself was considered beneficial to the health by ridding the body of bad blood.

Taegyo is demarcated from such elders' recommendations by its easy coexistence with Western concepts and care and easily distinguished from the "common sense" approach to prenatal care of women following no health regime. *Taegyo* is a popular health belief retained by "modern" women. Although mothers-in-law in the past have enjoyed great authority over their daughters-in-law, younger women have partially thrown off the yoke. Only half preferred a son, 20% a daughter, and 29% either. These women are compromisers who, although they themselves reject fortune-tellers, allow their relatives to consult them. They are aware of, but rebuke elders' beliefs, turning instead towards more scientific approaches to physiology. These women were not the "pregnant part of the family" noted in rural studies, passive and accepting. Yet family cohesion was evidenced by the rarity of a woman who was alone in the hospital without relatives sprawled on adjacent beds or floor. Western medicine had not severed the family from the mother; indeed in most cases, family members stayed with the mother day and night, sleeping on empty beds or on the floor.

This study has several important limitations. University hospitals are the top rung of the referral ladder. As prestigious institutions housing sophisticated technology and well-trained staff, they provide tertiary care for emergency deliveries received via the emergency room or by referral from lesser equipped facilities. However, the majority of patients arrive of their own volition; they choose a university hospital from reputation, recommendation by family, doctor, or friends, or prior experience with that particular hospital whether for prenatal care or a previous medical problem. Whatever the reason for admission, the woman is cast into a select group. Only 69% of urban women deliver in a hospital or institution.⁸ As noted earlier, the group of

women in this study was quite homogenous, lacking a differentiation in age, ethnicity, and marital status; however, this situation is more common in Korea, a country of one highly conforming race, than in countries of diverse races and creeds such as the United States or Britain.

CONCLUSIONS

These findings suggest that some traditional and modern practitioners and practices can coexist without one infringing on the other, and furthermore, may actually work to mutual benefit by encouraging health-seeking behavior. This finding is in concordance with the South African study that found the use of spiritual healers positively associated with obtaining antenatal care yet found no correlation with the use of herbalists.¹³ Health services can be evaluated by analyzing cures as dangerous, neutral, and positively beneficial. Clearly, *taegyo* falls in the neutral and perhaps beneficial category. On the positive side, *taegyo* provides a social context for pregnancy that professional health givers may not, and it is associated with adequacy of prenatal care. There appears to be no negative effects. The effects of *hanyak*, in contrast, have not been well evaluated. Although users deem it milder than Western medicines, other Korean mothers eschewed medications of any type. Usage of *hanyak* is neutral in its association with adequacy of prenatal care. An informed evaluation would require that the many *hanyak* medicines be evaluated pharmacologically.

Findings indicate several interventions available to increase adequacy of prenatal care: increased educational level, health education at school and in the media, targeting of multiparous women, and non-discouragement (if not encouragement) of *taegyo*.

NOTES:

A multiple regression model was used to examine and identify the independent contribution of age, education, parity, and three factors of traditional care, *taegyo*, *hanyak*, and the traditional physiology score. Factors paralleled the univariate analysis. *Taegyo*, parity, the physiology beliefs score, and education remained significant (in order of significance); *hanyak* and age remained insignificant.

Table 5. Multiple regression analysis of adequacy of prenatal care

Risk factor	Standardized regression coefficients	r	Probability (p) value
Constant	0.000		0.095
Age (years)	-0.142	.013	0.211
Education (years)	0.283	.171	0.013
Hanyak*	0.018	.007	0.867
Taegyo	0.283	.077	0.008
Parity**	-0.269	.057	0.017
Traditional Score***	0.214	.039	0.053
Total		.364	

* scored 0 for none, 1 for user.

** scored 0 for no previous child, 1 for previous child (ren).

*** scored 0 for 9 or more, 1 for less than 9.

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Kyōngno-dang of Korea

by Peter H. KUNKEL

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INTRODUCTION

Kyōngno-dang (敬老堂) are neighborhood clubs for elders in the Republic of Korea. There are more than 9,000 of them in the country (personal communication from Mr. Park, Jae-Gan, Director of the Korean Institute of Gerontology, 1984). Hereafter, we will refer to Kyōngno-dang as "KNDs."

This report presents preliminary findings from research carried out on fifty-two KNDs located in the southeastern part of the Republic: 29 in Pusan, a large city; 15 in Andong, a small city; and 8 in Ūisōng-gun, a rural county. Our purpose is to introduce the KND as an institution, showing both similarities and differences among the three samples. Although our presentation will be mainly descriptive, we do have an initial hypothesis — that KNDs serve the needs of Korean "senior citizens" by relieving their families of responsibility for their care during daylight hours, thus making the three-generation stem family household a viable institution, despite the pressures of modernization and urbanization.

In our research we have used two different types of interview schedules. One was a set of questions used to interview the chairpersons and other officials of each KND and was mainly concerned with identifying key characteristics of the KNDs as institutionalized groups. The other schedule was used in interviewing KND members and included somewhat different questions concerning demographic, family and health characteristics. Thus we have 29 interviews from Pusan officials but 288 interviews from respondent members of the KNDs. From Andong we have 15 official interviews and 79 KND member interviews. From Ūisōng-gun we have 8 KND official interviews and 40 KND member interviews.

The present report is only a partial analysis of data in the interviews and is based mainly on KND official interviews. However, a few salient features of

KND member characteristics, based on the KND member interviews, will be presented.

KND MEMBERSHIP

The important Korean "rite of passage" at age 60 in effect creates eligibility for KND membership. After age 60, most Korean men cease to work at economically gainful occupations; hence the daylight hours tend to become idle time. At the KND of a *dong* (동) or neighborhood these men can meet and fill the hours with talk, games, food, drink and TV-watching. Women may also be KND members; but they are more likely to still be active in the households.

So far, we have been unable to discover the origin of the KND concept. Some Korean informants say that it goes back to the distant "traditional" past, essentially Yi dynasty times. But we believe this is merely a poetic reference to the old *sarang pang* (사랑방), gatherings in the "guest rooms" of important lineage heads (Brandt 1971:20).

Our KND officials interview data indicate that most KNDs were founded within the past 27 years (i.e., since 1970): 86% in our Pusan sample (26 out of 29 KNDs); 80% in our Ŭisŏng-gun sample (really 4 out of 5, with 3 yielding no data); 93% in our Andong sample (14 out of 15).

We suspect that there is some connection between the recent proliferation of KNDs and the Saemaul movement, a community development program initiated by the Korean government in the 1970s, first in rural areas, later in cities. At present it seems that each *dong* within a city, town or village has at least one KND center. A *dong* is a formal subdivision of a *ku* (구), which in turn is a large ward-like subdivision of a city. In rural areas the comparable units seem to be villages *ri* (리) and perhaps their subdivisions.

KND centers are open seven days a week; all of our KND official interviews report this. Hours during the day vary, mainly from 8 to 12 hours, but a few KNDs report being open round-the-clock, 24 hours a day.

The small city and rural county KND members report somewhat more education than the large city members. Andong-si reports 57% with some schooling; Ŭisŏng-gun reports 53%; but Pusan reports only 44%. This difference is mainly because Andong and Ŭisŏng-gun both had 17% reporting education in traditional private schools called *sŏ-dang* (서당), contrasting with a reported less than 1% for Pusan. With respect to public school education, all three samples are approximately the same (Primary: Andong=25%, Ŭisŏng-gun=25%, Pusan=29%; Secondary: Ŭisŏng-gun=10%,

Andong=15%, Pusan=14%). Only Pusan reports college or university education (2 individuals, less than 1%).

There is a general subjective impression in Pusan that KND members are "always" from the poor, lower class levels of the population and there is a tendency to apply this as a generalization for the entire country. However, a comparison of the main occupations of KND members during their most active years suggests some variation in social stratification, both within and between specific samples.

In the Ūisōng-gun sample, 27% reported themselves as in business, political office or other administrative or ownership categories. In addition, 67% reported agriculture as an occupation while 5% reported being in the "labor" category. Both Andong and Pusan scored higher in the business/administrative/owner category: Andong with 36%, Pusan with 30%. The rest of the Andong respondents reported agriculture as occupation — 67%. Pusan had a surprising 32% reporting agriculture, 18% reported labor and 20% reported "no occupation." The occurrence of agriculture as an occupation in the second largest Korean city may seem a paradox. However, two possible explanations can be offered: (1) a Korean city includes a surrounding rural area within its administrative boundaries, peripheral to the urban core; and (2) the city has usually grown outward, to include within its urbanized core formerly rural areas. The *dong* included in our Pusan study include several in the northern part of the city which were rural and agricultural thirty or forty years ago.

We cannot evaluate reported agricultural occupations in terms of social status without more information — such as: Were the respondents owners or hired workers? If owners, how much land did they own?

The 20% of Pusan respondents reporting "no occupation" probably involves women who did not participate in, or identify with, their husbands' occupations. No female respondents reported "housewife" as an occupation.

Our general impressions concerning social status, as reflected in occupations, are these:

(1) There is some heterogeneity of social position, with significant percentages of "white collar" occupations, some "blue collar" and very large numbers (and percentages) of respondents reporting agriculture as an occupation;

(2) The small city, Andong-si, has a larger representation of "white collar" respondents than the other two samples, with the large city, Pusan, showing the lowest and Ūisōng-gun intermediate;

(3) Former political officials were prominent in the Andong and Ūisōng-

gun samples (13% and 7%, respectively) but were absent in the Pusan sample;

(4) We can probably assume that most of the "white collar" occupations reported were of a "lower middle class" sort.

HEALTH CARE FOR KND MEMBERS

In our research we are especially concerned with health problems of the elderly. Therefore, one question on our KND officials' interview schedule asked if the KND has an arrangement for emergency health care with clinics, hospitals, individual doctors (Western or Eastern practitioners or other possible health care sources. Only four of the 29 Pusan KNDs reported such an arrangement — 14%. The statement, in each case, is simply, "(Government) health centers check on the health of members."

At present we have comparable data from the fifteen Andong KNDs, obtained quite recently in a "check-back" by Yi, but none from Ŭisŏng-gun. Unfortunately, the pertinent question was not part of the original version of the interview schedule that was used in Andong and Ŭisŏng-gun.

The data obtained on this point from fifteen Andong KNDs are, however, interesting in detail. There is a good arrangement with a health clinic, which provides the following services for KND members: (1) free physical examinations once a year (in April or May); (2) free X-rays; (3) free liver function tests; (4) free medical examinations in any emergencies; (5) free care until recovery for any members who have tuberculosis — including free medicine and free injections. The interview data conclude with the following comment: "The Center doesn't have arrangements with a hospital or doctors dislike aging persons and poor persons." Presumably, this comment applies to private physicians since the health clinic probably has one or more doctors associated with it.

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE OF KND MEMBERS

We have an initial hypothesis that KND membership of elders aids the families of these elders in performing their obligations to provide residence in three-generation households. Several questions on the KND members' interview schedule were concerned with this. These questions probed for information concerning respondents' residence at three different time periods: Now, respondent's Age-50, and respondent's Age-10. Because respondents' current ages vary from 60 to 86, their Age-50 and Age-10 data naturally cover considerable numbers of years in the past. However, most Age-50 data fall in the

post-World-War-II period, during which Korea has again been an independent nation. This contrasts with the time period covered by the Age-10 data, most of which fall into the Japanese Occupation of 1910-1945.

The Age-Now responses revealed remarkable similarity among the three samples. In all three, over 70% of the respondents were living in a son's household: 77% of Andong respondents, 72% of Ŭisǒng-gun and 79% of Pusan respondents. We assume that most of these were three-generation households, of the sort we call "patristem," since most of the sons must have been married, with families. KND members living with spouse only varied. Andong and Ŭisǒng-gun were similar — Andong 23%, Ŭisǒng-gun 22%; but Pusan had only 11%.

Data from the 1980 Census of Korea provide some interesting contrasts. For all of Korea only 16% were three-generation households (about 8% specifically patristem) and 53% of the households were of the 2-generation nuclear sort (parents and children, with no other relatives). (1980 P&HCR, Vol. 1, Table 3.)

For the total Korean population we can safely assume that a majority of the nuclear families involved children in the junior generation. This contrasts with our assumption concerning the families of KND members who lived with sons — i.e., that the second generation would generally be adults and that a third generation of children can frequently be assumed.

Actually, we only have to assume this for the Pusan elders. We can demonstrate it quantitatively for Andong and Ŭisǒng-gun. Three-generation patristem families make up 62% of our Ŭisǒng-gun sample, 69% of our Andong sample. Nuclear families are 10% and 8%, respectively, and in all cases the younger generation consists of unmarried adult sons and/or daughters.

Age-50 and Age-10 data for elders in our samples show a pattern more similar to that for contemporary Korea as a whole. Nuclear families were predominant, with children as the main portion of the junior generation. There are some variations among the three samples. At Age-50, Pusan has 86% nuclear families, Ŭisǒng-gun has 62% and Andong has 57%. At Age-10, Pusan has 86% again, Ŭisǒng-gun has 70% and Andong has 63%. Patristem families are almost completely absent at both time points for Pusan. But Ŭisǒng-gun has 35% patristem at Age-50 and 37% at Age-10.

Three-generation extended families or two-generation joint families (each involving two or more brothers living together, with their families) occur occasionally for all three samples at one time or another, at between 1 and 2 1/2%. Koreans refer to both extended and joint families as "grand families"

and such large households may have been more frequent during the 19th century.

Our inability to be more precise about household structure for Pusan at Age-Now is due to the fact that the specific question concerning this was missing from the schedule used in Pusan, though present on the (earlier) schedules for Andong and Ŭisŏng-gun. The question "Who are you living with?" was used for Pusan Age-Now. Responses to this indicated predominant residence with sons but not information concerning the total household pattern.

SUMMARY

Basically, a KND is a neighborhood gathering place or "club" for elderly persons. Memberships average around 50; thus primary group relations are possible and seem to occur frequently. Most KNDs are open just during the daytime; but a few are open on a 24-hour basis (thus enabling some elders to sleep in the KND building?). Males outnumber females, over-all, as members in the KNDs we have investigated. Some KNDs have exclusively male membership; a few have exclusively female membership. Others have both male and female members. KND officials are usually men.

A majority of KND members have low socio-economic background, if we assume that agricultural occupations are mostly low in status. However, a significant minority of respondents are clearly from at least lower middle-class backgrounds.

Health-care arrangements seem to be minimal or absent in Pusan but rather satisfactory for the fifteen KNDs in Andong. We lack data on this point for Ŭisŏng-gun. Korean medical practice does not yet seem to include geriatric specialization. We suggest a growing need here. The Korean government and/or the Korean medical profession should begin to promote geriatric specialization. This could be very efficiently and economically channeled through the KND structure.

Household data tend to confirm our initial hypothesis that KNDs help support 3-generation households (usually patristem) to care for elders over age 60.

NOTES:

Prof. Shin, Ph.D., Professor of Nursing Science at Pusan National University Medical College, supervised collection of Pusan data. Ms. Yi, a teacher in Andong Girls' High School, Andong-si, North Kyōngsan Province, supervised data collection in Andong and Ūisōng-gun.

Data from the 1980 Census of Korea were obtained by two students (sisters) in a University of Maryland class on social problems held in the fall 1987 in Pusan: Ms. Park, Hae-jun and Ms. Park, Hae-shin.

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- Population and Housing Census Report. Vol. 1. "Complete Enumeration, 12-1 Whole Country." National Bureau of Statistics, Economic Planning Board, Seoul, 1980.

IN MEMORIAM
EDWARD REYNOLDS WRIGHT, JR.

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society marks with special sadness the passing of one of its past Presidents, Dr. Edward R. Wright, Jr., who died on August 16, 1988, in Kyoto, Japan, after a prolonged struggle with malignant melanoma. Dr. Wright was President of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1975, and during his many years in Korea was active in the Society's publications program and an enthusiastic supporter of R.A.S. tours.

Dr. Wright served from 1967 to 1978 as Director of the Korean-American Educational (Fulbright) Commission in Korea, and during those years contributed to a wide variety of academic and cultural activities. Dr. Wright taught in universities in the United States, was a Fulbright-Hays lecturer in Political Science during 1963-1964 at the University of Saigon, and in 1966 taught at Van Hahn University in Saigon. While in Korea, he taught in the Political Science Department of Seoul National University.

Dr. Wright was known as a connoisseur and collector of Korean furniture, an astute commentator on the Korean political scene, and an avid supporter of the arts in Korea. His representative collection of Korean furniture and pottery has been donated to the University of Minnesota Art Museum where it will be available as a resource for future generations. A special scholarship fund will encourage the use of the Edward Reynolds Wright Collection for research.

Upon completion of his term of service with the Fulbright Commission in Seoul in 1978, Dr. Wright became a special lecturer in the English Department at Doshisha University in Kyoto, where he served until 1987 when he resigned because of failing health. In Japan, Dr. Wright continued his involvement in American Studies as Associate Director of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar.

Dr. Wright was the only child of the late Mr. Edward Reynolds Wright and Mrs. Eunice L. Wright, who resides in Florida. Korea loses a loyal friend with the passing of Dr. Wright. Many are indebted to him for encouragement and help, for keen insight and direction, and for innumerable contributions to careers, publications and projects. Dr. Wright's friends will miss sharing his enthusiasm for exploring human achievements in

society and the arts, his colleagues and students will miss the stimulation of his inquiring mind, and all will regret that he did not live to see even more of the new Korea to which he contributed in so many varied ways.

Seoul, March 19, 1989

Edward W. Poitras

IN MEMORIAM
GREGORY HENDERSON

Gregory Henderson died on October 16, 1988, following an accident at his home in Medford, Massachusetts. He was 66 years old and is survived by his wife, Maia von Magnus Henderson.

Scholar, diplomat, professor and friend, Professor Henderson was an iconoclast and a maker of metaphors. Possibly his most powerful metaphor was his description of Korean politics as a vortex. His book *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* is still one of the best books on Korean political culture and continues to be widely read by foreign students of Korea. Presumably it has influenced Korean political scientists, historians, and politicians as well.

Koreans may remember Professor Henderson, however, not so much for his scholarship, as for the force of his personality and the role he played in many of their lives during his two tours of duty at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. During the period of turmoil in Korea in 1960-1961, Henderson was a major presence in Seoul through his close friendship with many of the key actors of that period. Professor Henderson had a deep and genuine love for Korea. His distinctive views on the Korean situation, however, were sometimes misunderstood in Korea and elsewhere. His strong opinions also made it difficult for him to pursue a diplomatic career, which sometimes requires suppressing one's own positions in support of government policy. He left the diplomatic service in 1964.

Mr. Henderson was a councilor of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society during both of his tours in Korea. He served as corresponding secretary (1949-1950) and as librarian (1959-1960).

From 1964 until his death, Professor Henderson pursued his research and taught at major universities in the northeastern part of the U.S. and in Germany. He lectured widely, speaking to American diplomats preparing for assignments in East Asia and at Asian Studies and international relations conferences in the U.S. and around the world. Professor Henderson visited Korea on several occasions in recent years to participate in conferences and to meet with his many friends. He also visited north Korea and was supportive of Korean aspirations for unification.

Gregory Henderson was an unusual man. His distinctive personality and sharp intellect endeared him to many and left indelible impressions on

all who encountered him. He loved Korea and the Korean people deeply. Those who knew him or were familiar with his scholarship, especially Koreans and those who love Korea, have lost a good friend and a source of inspiration.

Seoul, June 10, 1989
Ronald J. Post

Gregory Henderson was an American scholar, diplomat, professor and friend. He was 66 years old and a devoted... his home in... by his wife, Main... Scholar, diplomat, professor and friend, Professor Henderson was an... and a maker of... Possibly his most... was his description of Korea... the book 'Korea: The... of the Yonsei is still one of the best books on Korean political... to be widely read by foreign students of Korea... Presumably it has influenced Korean political students, ministers, and... politicians as well... Koreans may remember Professor Henderson, however, not so much... for his scholarship, as for the force of his personality and the role he played... in many of their lives during his two tours of duty at the U.S. Embassy in... Seoul. During the period of turmoil in Korea in 1960-1961, Henderson was... a major presence in Seoul through his close friendship with many of the key... actors of that period. Professor Henderson had a deep and genuine love for... Korea. His distinctive views on the Korean situation, however, were some-... times misunderstood in Korea and elsewhere. His strong opinions also made... it difficult for him to pursue a diplomatic career, which sometimes requires... suppressing one's own position in support of government policy. He left... the diplomatic service in 1964... Mr. Henderson was a counselor of the Korea Branch of the Royal... Asiatic Society during both of his stints in Korea. He served as corresponding... secretary (1949-1950) and as librarian (1958-1960)... From 1964 until his death, Professor Henderson pursued his research... and taught at major universities in the northeastern part of the U.S. and in... Germany. He lectured widely, speaking to American diplomats preparing... for assignments in East Asia and at Asian Studies and international rela-... tions conferences in the U.S. and around the world. Professor Henderson... visited Korea on several occasions in recent years to participate in confer-... ences and to meet with his many friends. He also visited north Korea and... was supportive of Korean aspirations for unification... Gregory Henderson was an unusual man. His distinctive personality... and sharp intellect endeared him to many and left indelible impressions on...

Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1988

The Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, is one of several branches of its parent organization, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Founded in London in 1824 under the royal patronage of King George IV, the purpose of the Society as a whole is to study the "progress of knowledge in Asia and the means of its extension." Since its founding in Seoul in June 1900 by a small group of foreign residents, the Korea Branch has been devoted, as its constitution requires, to stimulating interest in, promoting the study of, and disseminating knowledge about the arts, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries. To meet these requirements, the Korea Branch sponsor lecture meetings, tours, and publications. Among the requirements of the Branch's constitution is one that specifies an annual meeting at which a report of the year's activities should be made to the membership. The annual report follows:

Membership: From its founding 17 members in 1900, the Korea Branch has increased to an impressive 1,714 members, this being the number registered in 1988 at the time of this report. The total figure includes 64 life members, 522 overseas members, and 1,128 regular members residing in Korea. Membership includes not only those who participate in the activities of the branch in Seoul but also those who are members of the Taegu Chapter.

Meetings: During the year, 19 lecture meetings were held in Seoul and seven in Taegu.

Tours: Full schedules of tours were carried out by the branch in both the spring and the fall of 1988 with participation totalling more than 1,950.

Publications: The Korea Branch is justifiably proud of its accomplishments in producing and distributing works in English about Korea. Besides its annual *Transactions* Volume 62 for 1987, which was distributed free to members, two new books were printed in 1988: *Yŏgong: Factory Girl* by Robert F. Spencer and *Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals* by Keith Howard.

Finances: Monthly statements from the treasurer report that because of the continuing sale of its publications, the Korea Branch enjoys a state of financial health which allows it to continue to meet its commitment to contribute to the "progress of knowledge" about Korea and her neighbors.

Douglas Fund: The Douglas Scholarship was awarded to Ms. Park, Moo-young to pursue her studies in the Department of Korean Literature at Ewha Womans University.

1988 R.A.S. Lectures

Seoul Branch

<i>Date</i>	<i>Lecture Title and Lecturer</i>
January 13	Nature Poets: Kim Sowöl and Robert Frost Dr. Daniel Kister
January 27	Korean Roof Tiles Prof. Lee, Eun-chang
February 10	Buddhism: A Southeast Asian Perspective Amb. Chithambaranathan Mahendran
February 24	A Visit to Manchuria and Paektu-san Rev. Don C. Jones
March 9	Confucianism: The Tradition and Modern Transformations Prof. Chung, Chai-sik
March 23	Korean Newspapers in China Dr. Chang, Won-ho
April 13	Early Korean Typography Dr. Sohn, Pow-key
April 27	Benevolent Dragons: Beneficent Rain Mrs. Dorothy Middleton
May 11	The Naturally Empty Mind: Personal Experiences in Christianity and in Buddhism Ven. Do Gong
May 25	Confucians, Wise and Otherwise Dr. Michael Kalton
June 8	New Year's by the Sea: The Ritual Landscape of a Cheju Island Village Mr. Timothy Tangherlini
June 22	Near Ink One is Stained Black: Factors in the Identity of Korean Folk Musicians Dr. Keith Howard
August 24	Korean Traditional Classical Music: Kayagŭm Performance Ms. Yang, Sung-hee
September 14	Korea, Old and New: A Multi-media Presentation Mr. Michael O'Brien
October 12	East Meets West: The Encounter of Confucianism and Christianity Fr. Christopher Spalatin, S.J.

October 26	Tilting the Jar, Spilling the Moon Fr. Kevin O'Rourke
November 9	Mass Media and the Seoul Olympics Prof. Lee, Jae-won
November 23	The Saga of Ginseng in the Eighteenth Century Prof. A. Owen Aldridge
December 14	Unique Aspects of the Korean Mother-Infant Interaction Dr. Elizabeth Choi
Taegu Chapter	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Lecture Title and Lecturer</i>
April 20	O My Prophetic Seoul, My Uncle: Uncle-Nephew Conflicts in History and Literature Dr. John L. Leland
May 18	The Fourteenth Century Chinese Treasure Boat Excavated at Sinan, Korea Dr. Kim, Wondong
October 20	Literary Reflections on Korean Industrial Workers Dr. Yom, Syung-sop
November 17	Assessment of President Roh's Detente Policy Dr. Dan Sanford

1988 R.A.S. Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
January 17	Kimch'i Tour (Insadong)	25
January 25	Winter Break Tour (Kwangnŭng)	22
January 30	Yongpyŏng Ski Tour	25
January 31	Sujong-sa and Tonggu-nŭng	18
February 13-15	Sorak-san Tour	34
February 20	Embroidery Museum	9
February 21	Hyŏndŭng-sa Hiking	9
February 27	Kiln Tour	19
February 28	Kut (Shaman ritual)	116
March 1	North Fortress Hiking	25
March 12-13	Andong and Pusŏk-sa	36
March 19	Samak-san Hiking	17
March 20	Yŏju (Sillŭk-sa & Kodal-sa)	25
March 25-27	Ch'olla-do (Whaŏm-sa, Tamyang)	42
April 2	Kanghwa-do	41
April 3	Realms of the Immortals	26
April 5	Kŭmsan-sa Arbor Day Hiking	30
April 8-10	Cherry Blossom Tour	41
April 17	Puyŏ & Kongju Tour	41
April 23-24	Muju Kuch'ŏn-dong Valley	17
April 30	Naksŏnje and Piwŏn	58
April 30-May 1	Magnolia (Ch'ollip'o) Tour	18
May 1	Obong-san Hiking	28
May 7-8	Magnolia (Ch'ollip'o) Tour	18
May 13-15	Cheju-do Tour	38
May 22	Exotic Shrines Tour	16
May 22	Taedong Kut	12
May 23	Buddha's Birthday Tour (City Temples)	82
May 28	Sudŏk-sa and Haemi Tour	25
May 29-30	Tanyang Discovery Tour	21
June 4-6	Kŏje-do Tour	63
June 18-19	Kangnŭng and Tano Festival Tour	35
June 25	R.A.S. Garden Party — 88th Anniversary	250
June 26	Pyŏkche Environs Tour	26
July 2-4	Hongdo and Hŭksan-do Tour	27

July 9-10	Taech'ŏn Beach Tour	16
August 20	Kiln Tour	25
August 21	Hwayang-dong Valley and Kagwŏn-sa	24
August 27	Hanyak (Korean Traditional Medicine)	14
August 27	Kangnam (Pongŭn-sa and Sŏnjong-nŭng	8
August 28	Patriot's Tour (Ewhajang & War Museum)	14
August 28	Town of Art Tour	8
September 3-4	Ch'ŏllip'o Tour	25
September 10	Silk Tour	36
September 11	Ch'ŏngp'yŏng Boat Tour	72
September 24	Kanghwa-do and Sŏng-do	22
October 8-10	Chiri-san Tour	25
October 14-16	Kyŏngju and Yangdong	19
October 16	Surak-san Hiking	40
October 22-23	Chŏnju Tour	28
October 29	Inch'ŏn to Suwŏn Railroad Tour	25
October 30	Yongmun-san Hiking	40
November 6	Temple Talk and Dinner Tour	26
November 12-13	Odae-san Hiking	12
November 19	Hyŏnch'ung-sa	16
November 20	Magok-sa Tour	15
November 26	Kimch'i Factory and Market Tour	17
December 3	Panmunjŏm Tour	43
December 4	Artists' Studios Tour	16
December 10	Shopping Tour	10
December 31	Ch'ilgap-san Hiking	23

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(as of December 30, 1988)

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