



TRANSACTIONS
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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

A Tale of the Korean War and the United States

Ha Jong Yoon

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A Critique and Reinterpretation

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A Tale of the Korean War and the United States

Ha Jong Yoon

YOON, HA JONG served as ambassador to England and Australia and is a graduate of the Political Science Department of Seoul National University. Since 1986 he has served as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Research Institute for National Unification, Ministry of Unification, and the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA).

This is a tale of the Korean War and U.S. participation in the Korean war as I privately experienced and observed.

It was an ordinary calm Sunday morning. I thought it was in the middle of the morning when I heard a radio suddenly breaking the news that all out invasion by North Korean forces are onslaughting throughout the 38th parallel line into South Korea. This was 48 years ago tomorrow.

Kim Il-sung, the stooge of the Soviet Union whom the Soviets brought into North Korea to be installed as the head of the North Korean People's Committee which was newly organized soon after, dared to venture this unprovoked aggression to "liberate" the southern half of Korea which, according to him, has occupied by American imperialists; that is, to conquer and communize the whole of Korea by force.

Kim Il-sung might have very elaborately camouflaged his personal political ambition and intention in the colour of "people's liberation" or "revolution," but it was a blatant and traitorous challenge against the paramount expectation of the whole of the Korean people to build a free, democratic and prosperous Korea after their liberation in August 1945 from the yoke of foreign domination.

This war had completely perpetuated the south-north division of Korea, let alone the untold misery and devastation of the people and the land, and the

Korean people are still suffering from every result of the war as you all now realize. Kim Il-sung's son and his dictatorial regime, on the other hand, still persistently claim the anachronistic jargon of "liberation" and "revolution" of South Korea, as if it were their holy mission and objective. In fact, the North Korean Labor Party and the regime still enshrine the theme in the constitution of the Party. I asked over and over again; what was the Korean War to the Korean people themselves and also to myself? What purpose did it serve or accomplished for Korea? I could not for some time find an appropriate answer. I believed that the Korean War was a devil's design only to destroy and castigate Korea and the people. Indeed, during the war I could not answer any meaning of the Korean war, historical, social or national. I thought it was a huge waste and degrading to this nation.

As for me, I was one of the unheroic heroes of the war. I was in the graduating class of the University before the war broke out. The invading communist forces reached Seoul in early morning of 28th June that year. In the eve of the fall of Seoul, I was drinking whisky in dismal minds with a friend of mine at my home in Shindang-dong the south-eastern part of Seoul, hearing distant sounds of artillery shellings all night which were approaching nearer and nearer.

I and the friend of mine deplored and cursed the communist aggression to the same people, calling the night "the last night of Seoul". I was woken up the next morning by my mother's loud calls and the sound of bombardment of communist artillery, and I could see the landings of the shells with the sand smoke on the hillside not distant from my home.

Instantly, I made up my mind to get out of Seoul as quickly as possible. I knew I could not stay in Seoul under the communists' occupation and their rule, since I had already known to a considerable extent how communists and their world were. I studied communism in my early days at the university, as was something of fashion in those days among students, and also lived briefly under the Soviet occupation collaborated by the Korean communist stooges in North Korea, right after the Pacific War.

While I was running in a hurry over the hillside towards the Han River, I saw perhaps the first civilian casualty of the war in Seoul. I met one woman weeping before a body who was apparently killed by an artillery bombardment of the communist tanks which by that time entered into Seoul proper from northern part of the city. The couple were living near the hill and, frightened by the shell passing over their home, they attempted to escape Seoul towards the South. The woman said he would not have died if they had stayed at home.

When I reached the northern side of Han River, I was surprised at the

huge crowd of people who gathered there attempting to cross the river which was inundated by a heavy rainfall during the night before. By the way, the Han River bridge had already been blown up prematurely by that time by the elements of retreating Korean Army Engineering units.

At the river side, throwing the bundle of my clothes into a wooden boat, which was about to leave full of retreating soldiers, I jumped into the stream to swim cross the river. Shortly after I reached the other side of the river, the same little boat with the soldiers also arrived at about the spot as I arrived. Picking up my stuff on the boat, I ran towards Suwon with the stragglers of the Army troops. By that time, the Korean army headquarters, with main elements of the Korean government had moved to Taejon, where I could reach in the evening of the next day. Streams of refugees were flowing to southwards on foot or riding on wagons. I was fortunate enough to catch a cargo-train south bound at a small railway station, squeezing into a space on the roof top of the coach.

On my way, I kept thinking in anger, why does such misery of war so frequently befall on our people throughout history? I recalled many cruel invasions by Chinese, Mongols, and Japanese. But this time, by our own people! My anger went on, those who provoked this traitorous outrage to the mother land, brothers and family should not be unpunished! This simple nationalistic and patriotic anger over the communists was the very motive of my determination to join the fighting. I only thought that we had to fight back.

On the street of the refugee capital of Taejon, a group of university students were talking about forming a voluntary student corps to join in the army. I also heard many Korean students overseas had also volunteered to join us and were returning to Korea. In fact many of them died in front with their young comrades in arms from overseas.

Towards the end of the Pacific War in 1943 and 1944, the Japanese government enforced most Korean young men into their military forces. By arbitrary legislation, Japanese drove tens of thousands of the Korean students and young men into the Japanese military camps to fight against the Allied Forces in China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific. However, I was lucky. Before they shipped me overseas, the Pacific War ended. When I was liberated from a Japanese army camp and returned to my campus again, really, I did not know how much I was delighted. This was the first time that I felt how good it is to be liberated and free. The next 5 years in the university campus were about the happiest of my life. I concentrated myself in study and reading mainly history, philosophy, literature, classics etc., as if I were to recover the time deprived and lost by having been drafted in the Japanese Army.

Then, cynical enough, however, the military training, whatever I received at the Japanese army camp was going to be my asset to serve immediately in the fight for my country against the invading communist forces. A few days later in Taejon, I went to the place where the student groups gathered. There I was found by an army major who was a close friend of mine having entered the Korean army much earlier. He took me to the Korean Army Headquarters which was seeking liaison officers with the U.S. contingent forces who were just then arriving in Korea.

In fact, I saw many U.S. troops (later called Smith battalion troops) marching the streets with some of the heavy artilleries which I had never seen before. I also saw later General Dean of the 24th Division of the U.S. Army at the Korean Army Headquarters. Then I was really convinced of the U.S. determination for participation and assistance to Korea. I remember, at the time of defeat and threatened death, the first sight of the U.S. troops indeed, was to me a image of heavenly messengers sent to us for relief and resurrection of the Korean people. I was really moved. How can a people afford the others so great a boon. Then, I had come to be convinced of our final victory. I cannot over emphasize how the prompt decision and instant assistance of the U.S. government was the greatest boost and encouragement to the Korean people at this time of the gravest crisis of the nation.

As I was doing mostly desk work like interpreting or translating at the Army Headquarters for a few days, I was more anxious and tempted to see the front lines where soldiers were actually fighting, and so asked the major to send me out to the field in front.

The first Corps Field Headquarters, then located about the central part of South Korea, was where I was first assigned. There, I was commissioned as First Lieutenant to be one of the liaison officers with the Korean Military Advisors Group members of which were dispatched to about every Korean troop. The strength of the United Nations forces increased to include the troops of 16 nations. Their retreat continued to the south eastern tip of the Korean peninsula, the Pusan perimeter, which I thought was to be our last stand within Korea. By that time, I moved to the Capital Division, and, for a few weeks, severe fightings with heavy casualties had been going on along the Pohang-Taegu line. Several times of the enemy breakthroughs including a direct surprise attack on the Division Command post took place, jeopardizing the whole of the defense line of the Division.

At this very crucial moment, the Inchon landing by Gen. MacArthur in the north was launched, and in the middle of September, general retreat of the advanced enemy army who were cut off their over extended supply routes

began in a hurry and disorder. I take up to this stage, as the first phase of the war.

From then, the advance to the north of the United Nations forces started, chasing the fleeing North Korean forces. The Capital Division was advancing along the eastern coast of the peninsula up to the 38th parallel line. After a couple of days waiting for the order permitting the crossing of the line, we crossed it into the North Korean territory as the spear head of the entire United Nations Forces. The Division with the 3rd Division advanced far to the north almost close to the Korea-China border. On the way, the Division occupied such cities as Won San, Humhung, Chungjin without meeting any substantial enemy resistance, since the main elements of the North Korean forces had already fled into North Eastern China. When the Division Headquarters was about to move to the city of Chungjin, the capital of the northern province, it received an order of withdrawal to south. In fact, the so called Chinese Voluntary Army had already secretly permeated into the northern high ground of Korea coming down further south behind our line. This was the reason for our withdrawal.

It was a particularly cold day in late November when we left Chungjin with large crowds of North Korean refugees who were following just behind the south bound troops on the highway, though they were discouraged to do so. I still cannot forget those roads full of refugee groups, in the severity of cold and starvation. Since our lines were already cut, the whole division took ships to evacuate south. On the way south, we landed on the besieged Hungnam beachhead where the U.S. 10th Corps headquarters which still remaining to collect the last elements of a U.S. Marine Division who was retreating from the northern high ground where they were sieged in the mountain by newly committed Chinese forces. At this operation, the Capital Division artillery took part in covering the retreating route of the marine troops. I cannot forget those American marine soldiers with bearded and rugged faces in raggy uniforms who were coming to our defense barricade on foot or on broken vehicles. They had been fighting a very isolated battle in the most remote and cold mountain side.

After the marines were completely rescued, the 10th Corps withdrew from Hungnam: at the same time, the Division was on board the ships again to land at the eastern port of Mukho, south of the 38th parallel. It was February 1951. From there the Division was redeployed along the present eastern perimeter of the truce line to stop the communist forces. It was a long retreat again. With the human waves of Chinese troops surging into the peninsula from the north, a general retreat of the U.N. forces took place in the western

front as well, and an entirely "new war" began.

At this juncture, I cannot go on without mentioning the most outstanding operation of the war; refugee evacuation from the Humhung enclave. Nearly 300 thousand North Korean refugees fled into this small land under enemy siege. The U.S. Army 10th Corps, regardless of heavy military pressure being afflicted at this most critical time of enemy siege, courageously took the risk of shipping all of them out to the south which was entirely out of its line of military consideration. I thought that it corresponded with Moses' crossing of the Red Sea in leading his people out of slavery. It was really a monumental humanistic achievement in entire Korean war. I thought that this rescue operation, indeed, symbolized the nature of the Korean War.

From here, the third phase of the war started. The Capital Division was defending the peaks of Hyangrobong Mountain over 1800m high, about the highest ground of the eastern range. The Division engaged mainly in trench war across the barbed wire with artillery exchanges for a few months without significant changes of activities. With the warm spring having come, soldiers in the trench seemed to have gotten bored.

In early July, one late night, I got a telephone message from Division Headquarters to report to the G-3 of the Division as soon as possible. When I reached the Headquarters early in the morning walking down the mountain through out the night without sleep, I was told by a G-3 officer that I would be dispatched to the United States for military training. At first I thought he was joking, being unable to believe his words.

Studying in the United States someday had always been my dearest hope then, but the war shattered all of this. I never thought that the opportunity of going to the States was coming so soon in that way.

We were among the first group of about 250 Korean officers who were sent to the U.S. Infantry School at Ft. Benning, Georgia and the Artillery School at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma in August 1951. Regularly every six months the same size of officers groups, were infantry and artillery, were sent for their respective basic training course for six months. This training program continued until after the war, and I stayed at Ft. Sill for about two and a half years as a translator and assistant to the instructors.

Having been assigned to the Artillery School at Ft. Sill, I lived with American officers in the same B.O.Q., in the school compound and also had close associations with American families and their communities. I was astonished in the first place at how vastly generous it was for America to take thousands of Korean officers all the way to the respective service schools in the states for training at its own expense.

There, I discovered a new country and a new culture of immense brightness and positivism. I cannot forget the wonderful American couple who were also good enough to come to my B.O.Q. every Sunday to take me to a church congregation where I could meet many families of goodwill, all were being so joyous and good to me. I did not go to church in Korea but, there, I learned something of church and Christian life. I returned to Korea on Christmas eve of 1953 after the war ended. Though, we could not repel the invaders all the way, we defended the country together with the unified forces of the United Nations. Severe tension still exists on the truce line, as they are still there, their guns aimed at us, but we made all shooting stop.

Recalling the situation immediately before the Korea War, I did not quite expect the United States' commitment to the war in the Korean peninsula. My way of thinking then might have been due to some of the disturbing Korea-U.S. relations from the beginning and the later American view on Korea, seriously lacking deep insight and knowledgeable information on the country.

Let us now come to consider Korea-U.S. relations before the Korean war. I believe that the Korean war had first of all brought the two countries and peoples inseparably close together in a quite unique way. Having said this, I was rather confused to say that, up until the war, the United States had appeared to have done even some harm in their not long history of relations since the dawn of the 20th century, except for the propagation of the Christian gospel to the Korean people by devoted American missionaries. To illustrate some of the historical instances, I first quote the incident of S.S. General Sherman in 1866 which sailed upstream Daedong River to Pyongyang asking for possible trade. Innocent local Korean officers and people who had been completely blind to the outside world except China at the time of absolute closure of the country, having been frightened by the appearance of this strange foreign ship, burnt down the American merchant ship on the river.

Apparently, to set the score of the incident and to make open the ports by force; then U.S. government sent a U.S. Navy fleet into the water of Kangwha Island in 1871. A heavy clash ensued between resisting local Korean forces guarding the fortress of Kangwha Island and American Navy forces who landed on the island after severe fighting. The fortress was destroyed by the navy gunfire. However the American contingent had also suffered heavy casualties and had to withdraw from the island to China. The first contacts between the two countries were marked by these sinister and ominous incidents. I thought these initial encounters between the Korea and the U.S. were a good contrast with the peaceful and successful negotiations having already been initiated by the U.S. Navy Admiral Perry whose fleet had previously visited Urawa, Japan

in 1854 to urge Japan to open its ports to the United States. Henceforth, the United States government had also opened its consulate office in Kanagawa for the first time in Japanese history. Some time, I wondered if the semblance of the United States' previous preference for Japan to Korea for sometime in the tripartite relations is not relevant to these contrasting earlier historical incidents involving the three countries at the start of their relations.

The Postmas Agreement in 1905 was the result of the U.S. conciliation of the Russo-Japanese war with advantageous conditions to Japan. By this war Japan had gained a dominant position for the later annexation of Korea, while, like in China-Japan war 10 years before, the whole of the land of Korea, though she was non-belligerent, became the battleground between them. In the Taft-Katsura Agreement of 1905 the U.S. had recognized the Japanese supremacy over Korea while reciprocally being guaranteed of the United States' rule over the Philippines. I thought there were a few other collaborations between the U.S. and the Japan across the Pacific as perhaps the two late comers to the Far East in the early 20th century. Towards the end and immediately after the Pacific war, I thought there also was some conspicuous American ignorant disregard and omissions on Korea.

At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the United States on its own initiative made the Soviet Union advance into Manchuria and Northern part of Korea in the way of inducing the latter to participate in the Pacific War. I believe that this Allied decision in fact, was the beginning of the partition of Korea. The division of Korean occupation was decided at the Postdam Conference in July 1945. In the reference to Korean independence in the Cairo Declaration of November 1944, the United States also adjusted the expression by asserting to add the cushioning words "in due course" in assuring Korea's independence, instead of immediate independence after the Japanese surrender. Little after the Yalta Conference, the United States had also recommended "trusteeship" Korea and it proposed this plan again at the Moscow Conference of the 3 ministers (the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union). The decision on "trusteeship" by big powers on Korea caused a great internal confusion and conflicts among the Korean people who expected an immediate self-government. After the Pacific War ended, the United States occupation forces, about two divisions strength, arrived in Korea in September 1945, though about one month delayed, in an atmosphere of a great welcome by the Korean people. However, to the surprise of the Korean people, the U.S. occupation authorities entrusted the active Japanese governor-general to continuously administer the Korean people in total disregard of their national feelings. This might have been attributed to the U.S. unpreparedness for the mili-

tary occupation in Korea, but the Korean people were somewhat dismayed at the United States' irresponsibility which were naturally ensued by many failures of its military government in Korea. This discouraging situation in the southern part of Korea was often compared with the northern situation where the Soviet Union military occupation authorities promptly established the North Korean Peoples Committee as a governing body and, among others, started to build a modern army of considerable strength. These situations produced a serious unbalance of power in the peninsula which might have caused a war.

At that time, the U.S. and the Soviet Union tacitly agreed to a simultaneous withdrawal of respective occupation troops as soon as possible which having been reflected in the U.N. General Assembly's resolution in 1947, recommending the withdrawal of the occupation forces as soon as possible. Ever since, the U.S. forces advanced to Korea for disarming Japanese forces in Korea, the U.S. seemed to have thought only of withdrawing the force from Korea. Immediately before the North Korean launching of invasion, there appeared to be a number of disconcerting gestures of the United States which might have caused Kim Il-sung to misjudge that the U.S. had forsaken South Korea. The U.S. Congress, in 1949, voted down the 1950 budget proposal of the Korean Assistance Program, both military and economic.

The U.S. military mission on the Far East headed by Gen. Wedmire which also came to Korea in 1947 recommended to the Defense Department an early withdrawal of its troops from Korea since Korea was not considered as bearing any strategic importance to the United States interest. In his statement in February 1950, then Secretary of State Achison at the Washington Foreign Correspondents Club, declared that Korea and Taiwan were outside of the U.S. defense perimeter in the Far East. In fact, this was only a reiteration of the U.S. government position of the period.

Some of the puzzling indifference and disregard to the repeated intelligence reports by the Korean Army, having had urgently warned of North Korea's impending all out attack on Korea right up to the outbreak, could be answered by such U.S. government's basic position on Korea held just before the war finally broke out.

However, the Korean War had entirely changed the whole of this U.S. position on Korea and the Soviet-China axis; The Truman Declaration of 1947 had already ensured the United States' role as the defender of the free world and democracy against communist expansionism termed as "roll back" or "containment" policy. Against the back drop of the Stalin's diabolic acts of incursion and the successful Chinese revolution in 1948, the North Korean

aggression in Korea was taken by the U.S. as a serious challenge to it in the world level. The Korean war had thus become a real start of the Cold War which lasted until almost the rest of this century. The U.S. decision to repel the communist aggression in Korea was so prompt and unshakable. Once the decision was made, the actions were quick and efficient.

The U.S. soldiers, officers and men in the Korean war, were brave and dedicated to the cause of the great nation, namely as defenders of freedom. Korean and American soldiers together with other United Nations contingent forces of the 16 nations fought in the common front shoulder to shoulder.

As a result, Korea also fought the United Nations war against its common enemy of the free world as a member of the free international society under the U.N. banner. This was the first time in its long history where the Korean people acted in such status of the free world nation with other friendly peoples. Though millions of Koreans, civilians and soldiers alike, killed in the war with the maximum misery and devastation, I believe the Koreans should take pride in its role played in the joint rank of the defenders for the law and order of the world. Though I said above that the Korea war was only a huge waste and degrade to this nation, I believe that the Korean war has upheld this historical momentum of the 20th century. That is, the momentum of peace, freedom and democracy on earth.

Exploring the Confucian Self: A Critique and Reinterpretation

Philippe Thiébault, Ph.D.

PHILIPPE THIEBAULT has lived in Korea for many years, taking a Master's degree in East Asian philosophy and language in 1984 at Sungkyungwan University, followed by a doctorate in 1994. He has taught at Sungkyungwan University, Kangwon University, and Konkuk University. The academic year of 1995 was spent as a visiting professor at the University of Southern California.

What I intend to undertake is not an easy task, especially at this time when Koreans, having gone through the turmoil and rapid developments of the 20th century are searching for their individual and cultural identity. I would like to approach the philosophical dimension of Confucianism in an age of post-modernism or post-modernity. In order for Confucianism to speak to us, it must confront its critics and be positively reevaluated. Moreover, I will approach the core of what gave a vision, a dynamism and a courage to Asians—Koreans in particular—throughout history. I will speak, finally, of the new horizon on which it would be possible to think of Korean Confucianism, centering on its particular roots.

When we hear some Western philosophers in the second half of the 20th century announcing the death of man, it is high time to reflect on both the Eastern and Western philosophical traditions.

1. LEARNING FROM CRITICS AND CONSTRUCTING A NEW INTERPRETATION

It has been said in Korea, like in China, that Confucianism is dead, in the sense that it failed to evolve, to initiate modernization, or to respond to it by main-

taining a rigid structure for many aspects of society. Conflicting views arise: sometimes Confucianism is either blamed for Korea's contemporary problems or praised for having supported the "economic miracle" through its sense of sacrifice for the group, its emphasis on education, and its strict morality. We need to reconsider Korean Confucianism in a more balanced way, its value and contribution; to do so, however, we need to examine this from a philosophical perspective. Descartes, Rousseau, and Kant helped Europeans shape their society and are not forgotten in modern political or educational views. Similarly, if we are to understand the social realities of Korea, we cannot avoid reading Korean thinkers, a few of whom will be mentioned later. Those thinkers have shaped the Korean mind over the past centuries and are the foundation of Korean society, but today many of them have been forgotten.

First, it is healthy for any tradition of thought to recognize its limitations and even its errors. The European philosophical conscience became more humble and purified due to the masters of suspicion (*Les maîtres du soupçon*)—namely, Freud, Marx and Nietzsche, and more recently the teachers of demythologization and deconstructionism. If one takes Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* seriously, one may understand how Europeans went through a deep philosophical and ethical crisis, and, as Paul Ricoeur put it, after the 'exalted cogito' of Descartes and the 'humiliated cogito' of Nietzsche¹, we have to look for a new path. On the foundation of Descartes, man became overconfident in the power of his reason, but later on he discovered dark aspects of the subconscious and was shaken in his certitude. Only in facing these new discoveries and challenges, can man reconsider himself in a more comprehensive and mature way. Similarly, Confucianism, in facing all the cleansing, challenging forms of philosophical interrogations, can be rediscovered and renewed. In learning from critiques, I mean something very different from the temptation to reject, which took place in China with the rise of communism in the 1920s, that is a careful reevaluation.

The challenge of Korean Confucianism, because of all prejudices and misunderstandings, is even greater than that of Western philosophy. Many of its values are hidden and not yet clearly expressed especially to modern readers. European philosophers, mainly due to Greek and German philosophy, hold on to their strong rationality and methodology. Asian philosophers do not feel the same confidence, because they have developed a more practical ethic rather than a pure logic. They have been denied the recognition of true philosophy since Hegel², who for example, declared that they have not reached the level of conceptual reasoning. Instead of opposing the strength of logic in the West vis-à-vis the absence of logic in the East, we could present East and

West as having a different type of logic and having complementary strong points, which I intend to show later on. East Asian philosophers like to suggest, to comprehend by reason, the dimension of what is beyond the purely conceptual. On the other hand, Western thinkers fascinated by what is in the light of reality, want to grasp clear ideas. This fact can be recognized through a comparison of Asian and Western paintings in the field of art.

There may be different ways of philosophizing, and, as plurality has been progressively recognized within Western philosophy, the otherness of Eastern thought is still to be appreciated. Attitudes are changing. François Jullien, a French sinologist, began to express the philosophical values of East Asian thought, for example, in *The Book of Changes*.³ He also studied ethics in relation to European philosophy, establishing a dialogue between Mencius, 3rd century BC, and Rousseau or Kant.⁴

My purpose is to speak, beyond the necessary critical analysis, of the need for a successful reinterpretation of what made the strengths of Confucianism unique to Western philosophy. We need new approaches to explore Confucianism. Times have changed in Asia, people have learned about Western science, the mind, other philosophical thoughts. They are exposed to the Western world. The reality of Confucianism is far more complex today. Confucianism is no longer the official intellectual and spiritual force in Korean society. Many Koreans have moved to other inspirations, and sometimes Western scholars are more attracted to Confucian values than Koreans.⁵

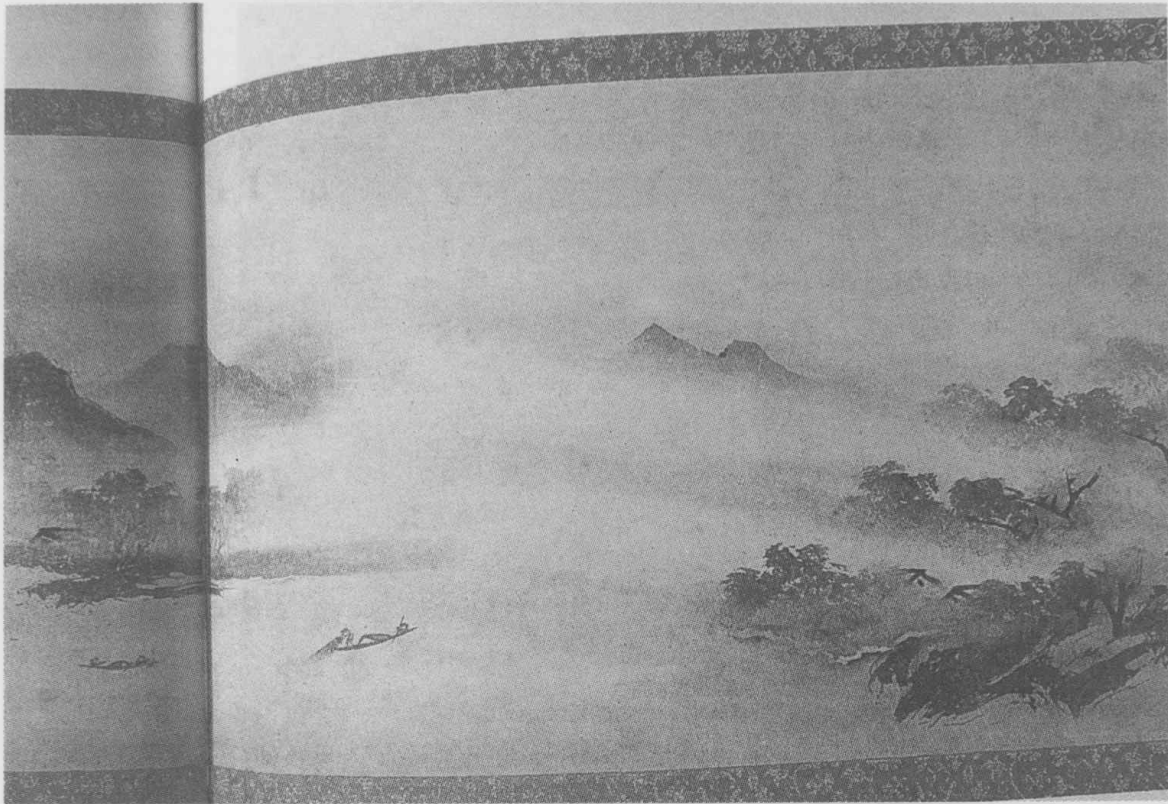
I see two directions in reinterpreting Confucianism. First, for both Asians and Westerners, Confucian texts and tradition have to be reread in its deepest meaning, reinterpreted, reunderstood with a meaning with which we can identify. We need therefore, to elaborate a well formulated hermeneutics of Confucianism. I refer, among others, to the thought of Paul Ricoeur, who, on the bases of Hegel and Husserl, has built a fruitful system of Western hermeneutics related to phenomenology. The philosopher goes back to the original texts, and carefully analyzes their structure. He does a long detour in order to overcome all immediacies in order to let the different levels of meaning appear and to make a real link with the present situation. Second, I see another possibility, a new reading of Confucianism in the dialogue of East-West philosophy, in the articulation of two ways of philosophizing. I believe it is time for Western philosophers to meditate more on the Eastern heritage.⁶

2. THE CORE OF KOREAN CONFUCIANISM

Let us mention first that Korean Confucianism is deeply rooted in Chinese philosophy and that, despite the creation of Hangeul in the 15th century by King Sejong, Koreans have mostly written in Chinese characters; in this they differ from Japanese scholars. Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) (b), a great Japanese Neo-Confucian of the 17th century wrote in Japanese. It takes time to recognize what is specifically Korean. Before dealing with philosophy, I would like to make a comparison in the field of art, first between Asian landscapes and Western landscapes; second, I will compare Korean paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries with their Chinese-Japanese counterparts; and third, Korean Buddhist sculptures of the early period, 7-8th centuries, with their Chinese and Japanese counterparts in order to appreciate the uniqueness of Korean art.

While comparing Asian and Western paintings, we can notice that Asians do not use oil paints but ink mixed with water, ink on paper, to give the atmosphere of fog, mist, and clouds. They allow us to imagine, to dream, beyond the frame of the painting. There is no fixed frame like in the West. The artist uses techniques influenced by Eastern thought like stylization, expressing an object, a form with few lines, almost like a sign. He also makes use of empty space, expressing the flow of life, its purity, its change, that which is impermanent, and eternal. André Malraux says that Asian landscapes emerge from silence.⁷ Furthermore, a careful study of the landscape paintings of China, Korea, and Japan, mainly from the 15th to the 16th centuries, allows us to approach what is Korean. And through sculptures, contrasting Buddhist and Christian sculptures, then similar Asian Buddhist sculptures, we may experience what the Asian mind, the Korean mind is. Malraux says that one knows Buddhism better through its art than through its scriptures. This brings to mind the contrast between the serenity of a Buddha's face and the great suffering often depicted in that of Christ's face. While Christian art often presents a tragic situation, Asian art brings us beyond our immediate feelings, guides us towards an internal reality, a communion with life, which is joy and peace, after giving up bonds with material desires. Malraux says: "Although indifferent to knowledge in the Western sense, East Asian art is a means of revelation."⁸

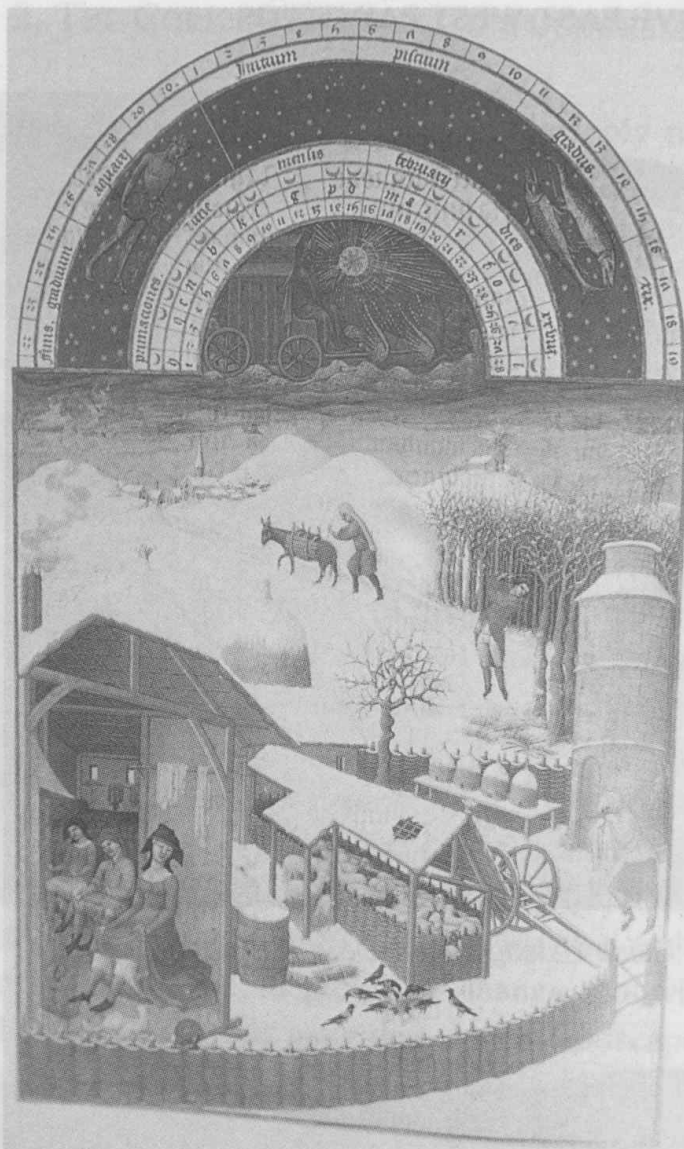
COMPARATIVE EAST-WEST PAINTINGS:



CHINA: *Mou-K'I, Hsiao Hsiang landscape, 13th century.*



KOREA: *An Kyong, 15th century (1447), Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land.*

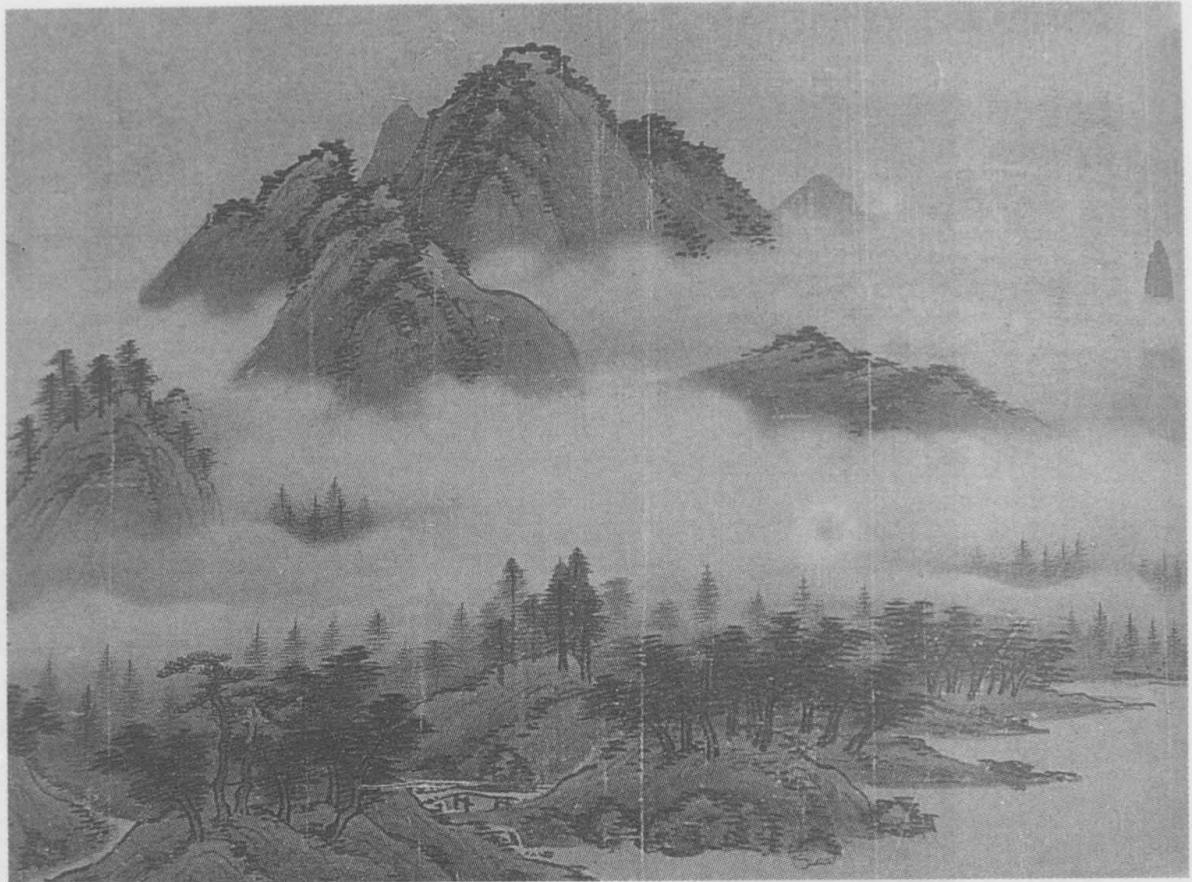


FRANCE: *The Hours of the Duke of Berry*, 12th century; Poussin, 17th century.

COMPARATIVE EAST-WEST PAINTINGS:



CHINA: *Buddha, Touen-Houang, 6-7th Century.*



KOREA: *Yi Chang-son*, end of 15th century.



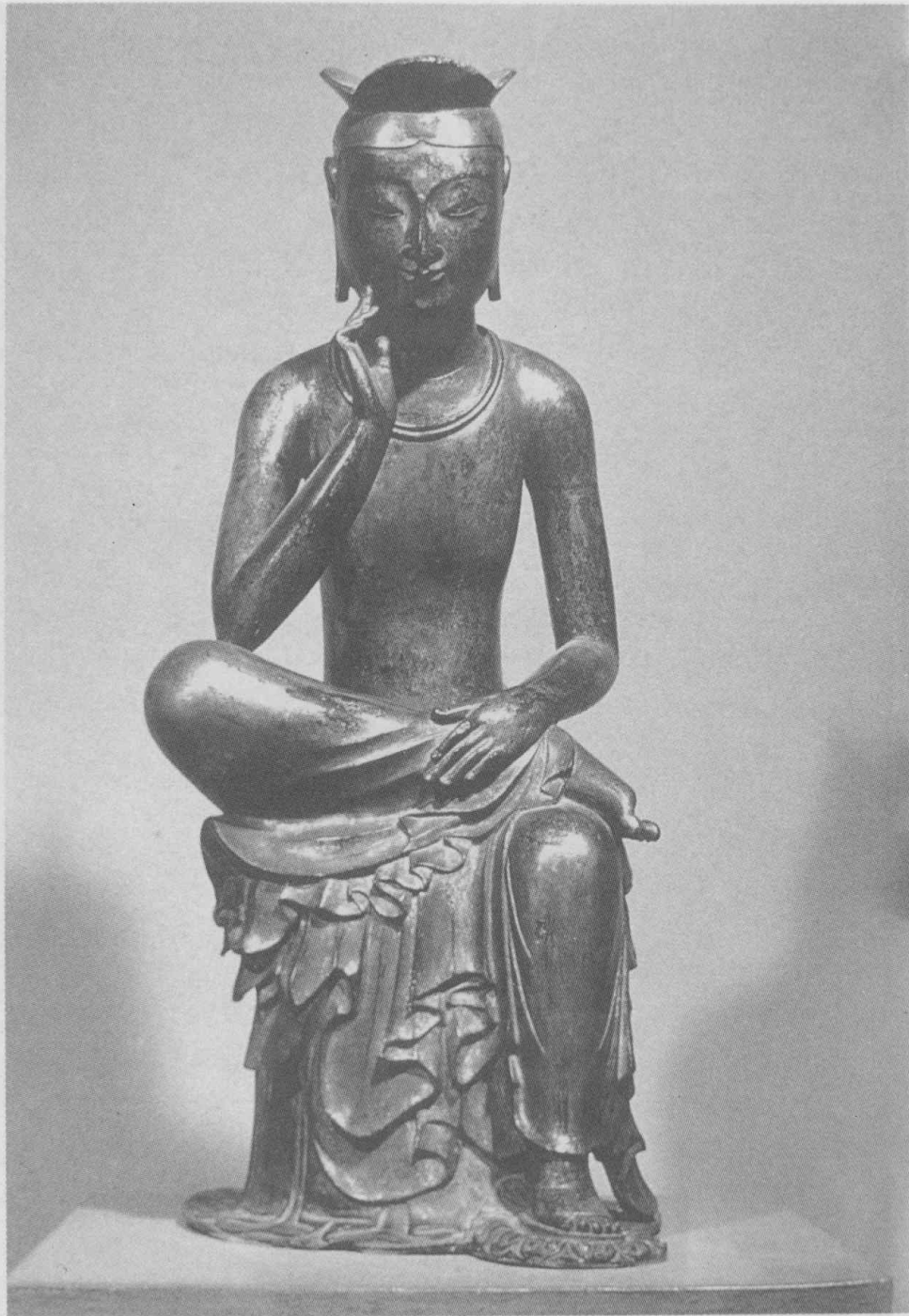
JAPAN: Seshu, *Winter landscape*, 15th century; Fukae Roshu, (1699-1757), ink, color and gold on paper, *The Ivy Lane from the Tales of Ise*.

KOREA: Parkho, *Gil-jeon's contemplative Buddhist's retreat* 1511

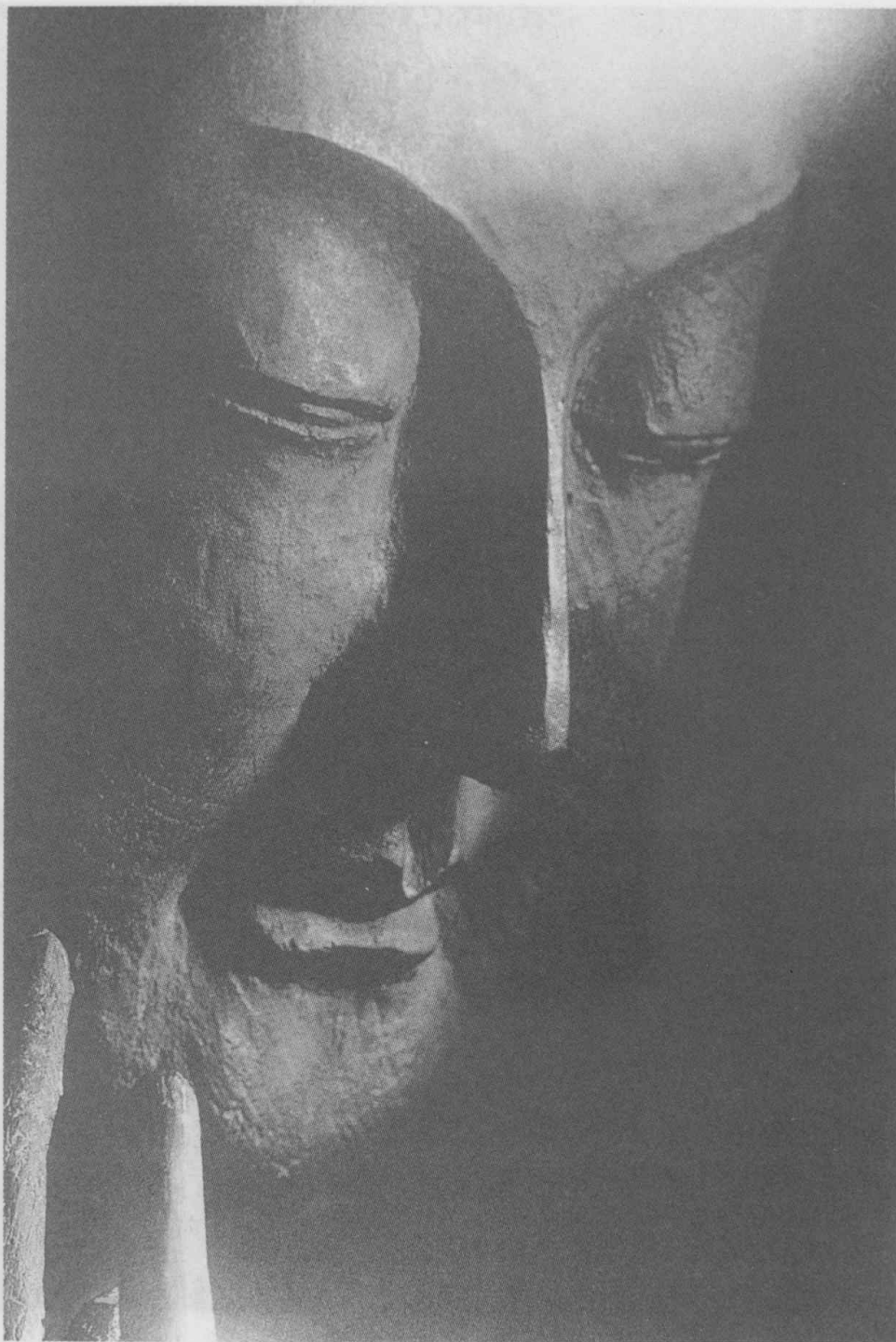
COMPARATIVE EAST-WEST PAINTINGS:



CHINA: *Bodhisattva*, 4-6th centuries.



KOREA: Paekche, Gilt-bronze contemplative Bodhisattva treasure 83.



JAPAN: *Maitreya of Horyuji, Asuka Period, 6-7th Century.*



FRANCE: Reims, Angel with a smile 13th Century.⁹

In viewing such a delicate work, we must keep in mind its pertinence to philosophy.

In order to reach some of the major philosophical aspects of Korean Confucianism, we have to overcome prejudices and over-simplifications. We must see that Korean Confucianism is not synonymous with the ideology spoken of today when referring to external aspects, social structures, or referring to the deviations it may have produced at certain times in history. I make a distinction between the 'ideology' and the true "tradition". Confucianism represents different aspects and different cultural layers. There is no such a thing as a Confucianism or a Korean Confucianism. Confucianism has developed with different characteristics at different periods of time and when introduced in Korea, was expressed by Koreans with new forms of creativity.

Koreans were first influenced by the personality of Confucius as a teacher and a leader, and we cannot understand Korean Confucianism without meeting the Master, as we could not understand Christian thought without Jesus. Koreans have also been shaped by what are called *The Five Classics*¹⁰ (c), among them *The Book of Changes* (d) and *The Book of Rites* (e), and *The Four Books* (f), *The Analects of Confucius* (g), *The Book of Mencius* (h), *The Great Learning* (i) and *The Doctrine of the Mean* (j), an important metaphysical source. Many of these texts have been meditated on and put into practice by Koreans just as the Bible has been studied deeply by Christians. This cannot be ignored easily and provides an important framework for reflection.

Chinese and Korean Confucians made a constant effort to return to the original inspiration in order to rethink their history and their social life; reforms were made respecting tradition, while Western philosophers created new philosophies, often at odds with previous systems; I think of Descartes, Heidegger and Marx. Chong Ta-san (k), the talented Confucian scholar of the Sirhak movement at the time of the encounter between Confucianism and Catholicism, at the beginning of the 19th century, balanced technical discoveries, modernization, and classical Confucianism. While respectful of the fundamental tradition, he started to demythologize established views of Chu Hsiism, a philosophy based on the Chinese philosopher Chu Hsi (l) who lived during the 12th century.

What Koreans have inherited from Confucianism from an early age is the "love of learning" (m) often expressed by Confucius. Confucius described himself as "a man, who in his eager pursuit [of knowledge] forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on."¹¹ He furthermore states, "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning."¹² What is this learning? The motivation of learning was

expressed by Confucius as “a will to learn for oneself (*n*)”.¹³ Simply stated, learning is a process of life, in the course of which we learn, to think, to realize, and to change ourselves, to broaden our minds.

Greek philosophers, particularly the Pre-Socratics, were inclined to establish a rational understanding of cosmic realities, laying the foundation for scientific knowledge. On the other hand, Confucians connected knowledge more to man's action and transformation. More than knowing things as they are, they wanted to know how things should be, how man should act, what he should become, learning for oneself, as I put in my title the “Confucian Self”. Some may object that Confucians did not develop a clear concept of a Cogito, of an ‘individual’ like in European philosophy. The importance however, of the self is visible in Confucian philosophy, particularly in ‘self-cultivation’ (*o*), which we have to understand better, and in the third point, we will come back to the Eastern mind issue. The Confucian Self not being limited to the pure cogito of Descartes, or to the transcendental subject of Kant, embraces different aspects developed in Western philosophy. As Mary Evelyn Tucker, a specialist in Japanese Neo-Confucianism, put it recently: “Self-transformation depends on moral and spiritual cultivation to recover the deepest wellsprings of the human spirit.”¹⁴

Because of the Classics and of Confucius, the Confucian Self has been rooted more in achieving a righteous life than in the transparency of reason or rational enlightenment as found in Kant's philosophy. The difficulty lies in the fact that Western thought clearly separated, through analysis, the differences among metaphysics, ethics, epistemology, logic and aesthetics, differentiating what is logical and non-logical, philosophical and religious, mind and heart reason and emotion. Eastern philosophy has always kept a sense of ‘interconnection,’ of fundamental unity, not ready to let go the unity of ‘Mind-and-Heart’, *sim/hsin* (*p*), which is at the same time a faculty of understanding the real and a faculty of relating to the real and people through intuition and emotion.

Since Aristotle, man has been viewed as a rational being and everyone knows Descartes' quotation: “I think, therefore I am,” concentrating only on “I think” and forgetting the existential foundation of “I am,” as Heidegger and Gabriel Marcel have pointed out. In Confucianism, man is more a “creative being.” Man, in relation to others, progressively discovers his situation and what remains yet unachieved in himself. The depths of his knowledge concern his own roots, his power of self-achievement which is called *In/Jen* by Confucius. Confucius said: “To subdue oneself and return to propriety, is perfect virtue (*In/Jen*) (*q*)¹⁵,” “He would love virtue, would esteem nothing above it”¹⁶ or “Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence (*In/Jen*). The Master said, ‘It is to love

all men”¹⁷ In his dialogues with his disciples, with princes, politicians and ordinary people, Confucius showed how easy it is to be satisfied with oneself, while one has reached only a weak level of “humanity,” whence his difference between what he calls the small man, *Hsiao-jen/Soin* (r) and the superior man, accomplished person, *Kunja/Chun tzu*, (s) which represent two extreme poles of development in one’s life.

Related to the *In/Jen*, we find the concept of *Tök/Te* (t) which is difficult to understand correctly. Confucius said, “Heaven put virtue (*Te/Tök*) in me.”¹⁸ According to the etymology of the Chinese character, when our mind is really centered on true principles, we can go the right way. We have to polish, to work on the gift that we received from Heaven.

Another aspect of the Self inherited more from *The Book of Changes* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*, one of the Four Books mentioned, is that man is ontologically part of the cosmos. Heidegger took great pains, in *Being and Time*, to show that man is first a being existing within the world. We will never know how much he was influenced by the East. In *The Book of Changes*, the *Tao* (u), a major Eastern concept, which we find at the root of Confucianism and Taoism, is presented. It would require a long explication to approach the *Tao*. I mention Victor Mair’s presentation, “As a religious and philosophical concept, *Tao* is the all-pervading self-existent, eternal cosmic unity, the source from which all created things emanate and to which they all return.”¹⁹ In *The Book of Changes*, the *Tao* is presented as a spring of life: “It [the *Tao*] possesses everything in great abundance: this is its great field of action (v). It renews everything daily: this is its glorious power. (w)”²⁰ The *Tao* is goodness; it gives generously to all beings. It hides, but its fruits are all visible. “It manifests itself as kindness but conceals its workings. It gives life to all things...(x)”²¹ Its fruits in man are man’s nature. “As continuer, it is good (y). As completer, it is the essence (human nature) (z).”²² As the *Tao* is the source of creativity, man is part of this creative process.

The *Doctrine of the Mean* became a reference for all Neo-Confucianists from the time of Chu Hsi, giving a philosophical support to their view of Self, and Koreans have taken inspiration from it. In the view of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, man fulfills himself in fulfilling others and his final maturity is to contribute to the fulfillment of the whole universe. “Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same for the nature of other men.../...Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth...forming a trinity with them.”²³ We recognize here the three pillars of Confucianism: Heaven, Man, and Earth. (aa)

Recent research, for example, Tu Wei-ming, a Chinese/American scholar, has developed this view of a creative Self, relating it to Christian thinking. Tu Wei-ming, author of *Selfhood as Creative Transformation*,²⁴ speaks of man as “co-creator” in the universe. “The godlike sage,” he states, “is the co-creator of the universe, not because the transcendent is totally humanized, but because the human is intimately transformed by means of a faithful dialogical response to the transcendent.”²⁵

Korean thinkers, assimilating first classical Confucianism and enriching it with Neo-Confucianism, have taken seriously external and internal fulfillment, “wisdom inside, kinship outside.” (ab) Mary Evelyn Tucker shows that “*Cultivation* is the working toward resolving the tension (between grounding and growing) through an ongoing deepening and broadening of one’s personhood. The deepening is the inner grounding while the broadening is the growing outward.”²⁶ Confucians always kept a high sense of responsibility in the success or failure of society. During the first part of the Choson dynasty, Koreans expressed their own research through two main trends of thought, namely the *Tohak* (ac) and the *Songhak* (ad) approaches. Hegel reflected on the evolution of abstract right to subjective morality and concrete morality in the state and society. If they did not develop a philosophy of right, Koreans worked on the emergence of a society rooted on higher principles, on justice and on the *Tao*, like Cho Kwang-jo (1480-1519) (ae), a figurehead of *Tohak* respected by T’oegye and Yulgok.

Yi T’oegye (1501-1570) (af), meditating on the political failures of his time, gave a touch of contemplation to Korean Neo-Confucianism. At the same time, that Western philosophers were freeing themselves from religion, T’oegye and Yulgok expressed the scholarly quest of *Songhak*, learning to become a sage. In admiring Confucius and Chu Hsi, T’oegye thought that great examples were needed to move a society in the right direction. He explored much of the heartistic dimensions of man, in an ethical-religious dimension, man ceaselessly cultivating his heart-and-mind and making his *In/Jen* shine. He initiated a debate, “The Four Beginnings and Seven Emotions” expressed first by Mencius and which became an important issue for Koreans. The religious dimension of Confucianism has only recently been introduced to the West.²⁷

Yi Yulgok (1536-1584) (a), on T’oegye’s foundation, continued learning to become a sage, but differently from T’oegye, he was open to different trends of thought, even Wang Yang-ming (ag) and Buddhism. When assuming high political responsibilities, he suffered from the rivalries and narrow-mindedness of people. This is evident from his letters and poems. What made him

an important scholar is his intense and precise expression of a philosophy connecting the ideal world and the concrete world, which he expressed by his "mysterious unifying relation of *I/Li* and *Ki/Ch'I*" (*ah*), "I-Ki chi myo". (ai) He was conscious of the limits of his time and the weakness of culture. In 1574, in the *Ten Thousand Characters Memorial* he wrote: "The reason people today do not make an effort to practice goodness is because their mind-and-heart and their will are focused on other things. Politics, education and traditions have become that way. Culture is not enlightened and people's desires are without limit. *They set their will on wealth and position; they set their will on desire and enjoyment; they set their will on avoiding difficulties.*"²⁸

3. NEW HORIZONS FOR KOREAN CONFUCIANISM

As soon as we realize that Korean Confucianism may have a philosophical value, we find that it seems to be at a loss vis-à-vis the West, and many Koreans doubt their own cultural heritage. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Confucianism has lost its official position as the Confucian scholar lost his prestige to the scientist. Nevertheless, this may give rise to a new opportunity for Confucianism to play an authentic role in the spirit of the Classics and to adapt itself to present circumstances, as a new world is being shaped. For this, we need to reflect on our time and look at new horizons. Paul Ricoeur, meditating on Heidegger, said: "Horizon is that, which at the same time, limits our expectation and moves with the traveler."²⁹

Better to understand this, we must take into account the attraction Koreans have for Western philosophy. Why does Western philosophy today have the upper hand in relation to Eastern thought? Koreans have discovered, during this century, that at the core of Western philosophy, we discover the power of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. Western people have forgotten that it took almost two thousand years after the Greeks for Europeans to reach what they call a liberation from many forms of slavery and to reach freedom through confidence in their own thinking. In 1784, Kant wrote: "The motto of enlightenment is: *Sapere aude*. Have courage to use your own understanding. Only a few, by cultivating their own minds, have succeeded in freeing themselves from immaturity..."³⁰ Later, Hegel explained in *The Phenomenology of Spirit/Mind* that the conscience must go through the stages of stoicism, skepticism and "unhappy conscience," three forms of freedom, in order to enter the realm of reason.

It must be mentioned that, although Kant and Hegel brought an important

“awakening” to the East, the reverse, which has not yet fully reached the world conscience, is that Western philosophy is not without the need to be stimulated or supplemented. Kant, as Chinese professor Mou Tsoung-tsan noticed³¹, viewed man too much as a limited, finite being, unable to reach the knowledge of *noumena*. Kant, emphasizing the role of critique, denied man an intellectual intuition, considering the metaphysical reality as impossible to reach and dealing with *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*. Here, Confucianism, in accord with Taoism and Buddhism, may answer that, on the one hand, Kant is right regarding scientific knowledge within the sphere of consciousness and empirical reality, but, on the other hand, man is able to push forward in the sphere of transcendental dimension in reconsidering the function of the mind-and-heart.

East Asian philosophers have always believed that man has an intellectual intuition related to wisdom, besides the sense intuition, and can develop a knowledge by virtue and, through it, enter the sphere of *noumena*. We could express this East-West difference by the opposition between “knowledge by consciousness” and “knowledge by intellect” (wisdom) (*aj*) or “knowledge by virtue.” (*ak*) Yulgok, reflecting on *The Doctrine of the Mean*, emphasized that there is a form of knowledge coming out of sincerity (*al*) deeper than purely intellectual knowledge (*am*). Although this issue may seem abstract, it is, in fact, directly related to practical experience, which Asian philosophy has always emphasized. Kant figured out that the approach to the deepest questions of self, freedom, and God, is possible only through the exercise of “practical reason” and is more closely related to hope.

Here I turn, for a moment, to a French philosopher of this century, Henri Bergson (1859-1941) who, refusing to sacrifice philosophy on the altar of science, allows a bridge with Eastern thought. In his work *Creative Evolution* he states:

“To a metaphysical dogmatism, which has erected into an absolute the factitious unity of science, there succeeds a skepticism or a relativism that universalizes and extends to all the results of science the artificial character of some among them. So philosophy swings to and fro between the doctrine that regards absolute reality as unknowable and that which, in the idea it gives us of this reality, says nothing more than science has said.”³²

Bergson, who was looking for a specific solution to the question of philosophical knowledge, thought that Kant could have opened the way for a new philosophy, but that he did not believe that the matter of our knowledge was going beyond its form. For Bergson, experience progresses in two directions,

not only the direction of intelligence, but also the direction of intuition, of symbols. According to his hypothesis:

“There would be a supra-intellectual intuition. If this intuition exists, a taking possession of the spirit by itself is possible, and no longer a knowledge that is external and phenomenal.” .../... “Sensuous intuition itself is promoted. It will no longer attain only the phantom of an unattainable thing-in-itself. It is (provided we bring to it certain indispensable corrections) into the absolute itself that it will introduce us.”³³

With Bergson, the barriers between intelligence and intuition, understanding and sensitiveness are fading away. This is something Kant could not admit. Bergson speaks of “a knowledge from within, that can grasp facts in their springing forth instead of taking them already sprung, that would dig beneath space and spatialized time...”³⁴ He speaks of the spirit reaching being in its depths:

“Thus combined, all our knowledge, both scientific and metaphysical, is heightened. In the absolute we live and move and have our being. The knowledge we possess of it is incomplete, no doubt, but not external or relative. It is reality itself (being itself), in the profoundest meaning of the word that we reach by the combined and progressive development of science and philosophy.”³⁵

Such philosophical research is in harmony with the Eastern way: to enter into relations, in communion with reality. Eastern thought lets us think that, if man is a being of reason, he is in an equally essential way, a being of heart. In this sense heart includes and fulfills different forms of knowledge, as well as emotions. Different concepts have been formulated in East Asian philosophy to express the multiple aspects of the mind-and-heart.³⁶ Korean scholars, under the influence of Mencius, have constantly explored the heart on a philosophical level, although not in the modern Freudian psychological sense of the term, but more in an ethico-religious dimension. The Korean debate on The Four Beginnings and Seven Emotions (*aq*), as mentioned earlier, could be reexpressed as an attempt to put into perspective the positive heartistic dimension of man, as an ongoing process of the self, above the level of passions or impulses. Ricoeur once thought of the possibility of a philosophy of heart between the transcendental analysis and the experience of man’s wretchedness as expressed by Pascal.³⁷

We are only beginning to discover what the East—be it either Confucianism, Taoism, or Buddhism—has to offer on this heartistic dimension of the Self. Let us turn, for a moment, to Yulgok and his conception of the Self. I

have analyzed elsewhere Yulgok's ontological exigence of the Self in relation to Merleau-Ponty and Gabriel Marcel. Yulgok was searching, within the scope of Neo-Confucianism, to articulate the realm of mind-and-heart and the physical world, taking both seriously and wanting to go further than idealism or realism. Giving full consideration to the "incarnate dimension" of man, he showed that man has the responsibility to let his heart flourish among the risks of life.

Yulgok helps us to deepen the Self from within our physical condition. What come first are feelings related to the physical experience, to concrete things and beings, but in experiencing feelings, man is on his way toward a very internal aspect of his nature, the *In/Jen*. "The *In/Jen*," he states, "is the totality of the virtues and the summit of all forms of goodness. The mind-and-heart is the body's subject and the all-embracing organ of human value and feelings."³⁸ It is in becoming a being of true feelings that man awakens to the depths of the *In/Jen*. Differently from T'oegye, for Yulgok, emotions comprise the Four Beginnings; although the Seven Feelings have not the full genuineness of the Four Beginnings, they are the place where the depths of human nature blossom.

Through feelings, Yulgok takes us to deeper levels of experience. The emotions are rooted in *In/Jen*; the *In/Jen* (*q*) is rooted in *Song*/sincerity (*ar*), which is at the same time the foundation of cosmic being and the foundation of human nature. " 'Origination, flourishing, benefiting, and firmness' represent the sincerity of Heaven and 'Humanity, righteousness, propriety and wisdom' represent the sincerity of human nature."³⁹ Yulgok calls this vision of the Self true heart (*as*) or real/substantial heart (*at*) related to real principle. While man is led toward the deepest level of the Self, at the same time he is connected to all dimensions of the universe and moved toward true action. As the universe does not cease to give life and to renew all things, man, who discovers and attains his true Self, is constantly active.

Yulgok does not allow himself to be enclosed in an analysis set only by the Four Beginnings, but he delves into the heart-and-mind dynamic, returning always to its original unity. He approaches mind-and-heart from different angles, but, according to him, mind-and-heart finds its true identity in a mature Self. This maturity responds to true principle and to true heart. Man has to keep these three dimensions together. He is at the same time an internal man and involved in fulfilling history and the universe. True heart is what motivates man to act and fulfill all responsibilities. What is at stake is not just maturity on a mind level according to the Enlightenment, but going toward a full maturation of mind and heart. Many 19th-20th century philosophers cele-

brated the Self as a rebellious self, Nietzsche, Marx, Camus, Sartre, Foucault et al., the Self being totally independent, emerging in revolt against God, against others, against institutions. Yulgok suggests a path for man toward the true Self as self-fulfillment, Ingan Songch'ui (*au*). A true man is a being of interrelation, mind and body, reason and emotion, self and other, on the way to sagehood, as well as on the way to full social responsibility and communion with the cosmos. Honor is to walk this path without quitting, whatever the cost, sometimes in solitude, sometimes in the midst of despair, bringing one's part to the foundation of a truer society, by becoming truer oneself.

Yulgok is conscious of the possibilities of contradiction and evil in man because of the two dimensions of the human mind and the Tao mind (*av*), although he underlines the unity of the heart-and-mind. Depth and internal strength are needed to understand what is taking place within the Self:

“The issuance of the Tao mind is like a fire to burn or a spring just issuing forth, insofar as at first they are difficult to see; hence it is described as “subtle”. The issuance of the human mind is like a hawk loosed from its tether or a horse that has slipped its bridle, insofar as their flying or galloping off is hard to control; hence it is described as “perilous”.⁴⁰

Yulgok differentiates the human mind and the Tao mind, but his final aim is that, even via the human mind condition, it is the Tao mind condition which ultimately prevails. Setting the will (*aw*) is a crucial decision for man to move toward wisdom.

Oftentimes I am asked the question “What does Confucianism have to offer?” I answer, especially during the past ten years, that much has already been accomplished concerning Confucianism in the world community by scholars of East Asian studies. Eastern specialists in various fields have progressively analyzed the many facets of Confucianism, such aspects as: the anthropocosmic view, the social ethic, the political ideology, its philosophy, art and way of life. Publications, conferences, and activities are numerous and conducted by outstanding scholars who follow the foundations laid by previous pioneers, i.e. the Jesuits in China since the 16th century, the German, British and French missionaries who systematically started translating the Classics at the end of the 19th century, just to mention a few. Among recent American studies on Confucianism, I mention a collection of articles on *The Religious Dimension of Confucianism in Japan* recently published by Philosophy East & West, which is very instructive on a crucial aspect of Confucianism.⁴¹ The authors stress how much Confucianism helps us to rethink what religion is, the relation to the absolute and life, and the relationship between

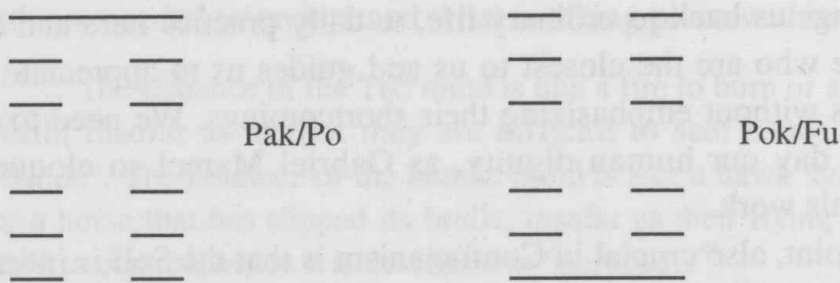
various religions. Rodney Taylor, for example, concludes his article by saying, "To be fully human for the Confucian is to be fully religious."⁴²

Among many lessons from Confucianism we might treasure, I would like to stress two points. First, in contrast to many complex philosophical theories and systems, Confucianism may guide us in rediscovering major questions with simplicity. "God is love," Christianity teaches us, "Use your reason," Kant tells us. Confucius and great Confucians tell us: "Do not cease to learn to become a real human being," which we need more than ever. Our century has been shattered by so many tragedies, and Korea is not yet out of it with the North. "How is it possible to think and to live after Auschwitz?" many philosophers have asked. There is a barbarity within man which we have difficulty controlling, despite all important religious and philosophic teachings. Confucianism brings us back to ordinary life, to daily practice here and now, starting with those who are the closest to us and guides us to appreciate first goodness in others without emphasizing their shortcomings. We need to conquer, win day by day our human dignity, as Gabriel Marcel so eloquently states throughout his work.

The second point, also crucial in Confucianism is that the Self is intimately connected to others. The West sometimes reaches the limitations of individualism, which is not the true dimension of the individual. The Confucian Self is a common Self, living in a fiduciary community to take an expression of Tu Wei-ming, although it needs to be reinterpreted today. One disciple of Confucius says of the marten's whole teachings, "It is to be true to the principles of our nature *chung/chung* and the benevolent exercise of them to others *so/shu* (*ax*) -this and nothing more."⁴³ The character of *Shu/so* expresses how people are able to vibrate to the heart of the other; it is used by Koreans when they ask for forgiveness *yongso*. (*ay*) Such is the true foundation of Confucianism. Society is to care wholly for others. To become a true Self is to establish a relationship of fidelity and sincerity with others, which is the root of society, more than any political contract or legal system of duty. In order that Confucian relations do not become formalized, it is important to go back to the source. It is significant to me that Paul Ricoeur, who spoke years ago of the impact which Eastern thought would have on the Western Greek/Judeo-Christian philosophical tradition, wrote in his book *The Self as Another*, in which he explores the ontological foundation of the Western Self concerning the experience of suffering, while looking for a practical wisdom to guide us in living a good life respectful of the golden rule, a moral principle that involves inherently a justice and real sharing in our social relations.

4. CONCLUSION

I conclude by listening to and sharing the present suffering of Koreans and Asians, after so many years of great accomplishments. It is symbolic of our human life and *The Book of Changes* tells us to be watchful, careful at a time of success and hopeful at a time of depression. Today is a time of crisis; things seem to fall apart. It is what Hexagram 23 Pak/Po⁴⁴ reveals. Among the six lines of the hexagram five dark lines have pushed away the light lines; only one remains. Wang Fu-zhi, a Chinese philosopher of the 17th century comments, "Under the autumn sky, everything is under the rain. Deep in the mountain one perceives only the light of the evening."⁴⁵



If however, circumstances seem against us and people in disarray or even doing wrong, we have left, beyond everything, the wisdom life gave us. Never does spring fail to fill us with wonder. This is expressed in hexagram 24 Pok/Fu.⁴⁶ So many difficulties remain, but the light is coming back, new ideas, new people are emerging and bringing real changes to us. While respecting the natural course of events, it is up to us to have the patience and the courage to act without acting, which Confucians share with the Taoists.

Here, in order to see what is newly emerging on the horizon, we need to learn with the great sages the importance of contemplation and meditation, to solve the complex problems of life. According to the *Yi King*, "Only through what is deep can one penetrate all wills on earth. Only through the seeds can one complete all affairs on earth. Only through the divine can one hurry without haste and reach the goal without walking."⁴⁷ And, here, Yi Yulgok and Gabriel Marcel share the same quest for the accomplished life. As Marcel put it, let us see beyond the problems which block our way and let us enter into a metaproblematic, let us enter in what he calls the ontological mystery, the deepest ontological reality in which I am participating but of which I have discovered only a small part.⁴⁸

In the end, what do we know about ourselves and man's place in society? Confucius said, "I am unknowing."⁴⁹ Lao Tzu put it this way, "One who knows

does not speak. One who speaks does not know.”⁵⁰ I leave the last words to Yi Yulgok from a conversation with a Buddhist monk:

“A jumping fish and a flying eagle
Are the rhythm of life
That runs downward and upward.
It is neither reality
Nor emptiness (*az*).
But reality yet emptiness and emptiness yet reality.
In the speech of the Confucianist
There are things that cannot be said
And even in the silence of the Buddhist
There are things that can be said.”⁵¹

NOTES

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- Shoo King; The Ch'un Ts'ew & The Tso Chuen.*
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 13. Op.cit. *Analects*, 14, 25: "In ancient times, men learned with a view to their own improvement. Nowadays, men learn with a view to the approbation of others."
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 17. Op.cit., *Analects*, 12, 22.
 18. Op.cit., *Analects*, 7, 22.
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 21. Op.cit., *The Great Treatise*, chapter V, 4.
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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

| | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------|
| a. | Yi Yulgok | 李栗谷 |
| b. | Kaibara Ekken | 貝原益軒 |
| c. | The Five Classics | 五經 |
| d. | The Book of Changes | 周易 |
| e. | The Book of Rites | 禮記 |
| f. | The Four Books | 四書 |
| g. | Confucian Analects | 論語 |
| h. | The Book of Mencius | 孟子 |
| i. | The Great Learning | 大學 |
| j. | The Doctrine of the Mean | 中庸 |
| k. | Chǒng Yak-yong, Tasan | 丁若鏞 茶山 |
| l. | Chu Hsi | 朱熹 朱子 |
| m. | Ho hak | 好學 |
| n. | Wigi chi hak | 爲己之學 |
| o. | Susin Sugi | 修身 修己 |
| p. | Sim/hsin | 心 |
| q. | In/Jen | 仁 |
| r. | Soin/Hsiao-jen | 小人 |
| s. | Kunja/Chun tzu | 君子 |
| t. | Tǒk/Te | 德 |
| u. | To/Tao | 道 |
| v. | Taeöp | 大業 |
| w. | Sǒng tǒk | 盛 德 |
| x. | Ko manmul | 鼓萬物 |
| y. | Kyejija sonya | 繼之者 善也 |
| z. | Sǒngjija sǒngya | 成之者 性也 |
| aa. | Ch'ōninch'i | 天人地 |
| ab. | Naesǒng waewang | 內聖外王 |
| ac. | Tohak | 道學 |
| ad. | Sǒnghak | 聖學 |
| ae. | Cho Kwang-jo | 趙光祖 |

| | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------|
| af. | Yi T'oegye | 李退溪 |
| ag. | Wang Yang-ming | 王陽明 |
| ah. | I/Li-Ki/Ch'i | 理-氣 |
| ai. | I-Ki chí myo | 理氣之妙 |
| aj. | Sik chí/Shi shi jí | 識 知 |
| ak. | Töksöng chí jí/dao de shih | 德性之知 |
| al. | Chasöngmöng | 自誠明 |
| am. | Chamyöngsöng | 自明誠 |
| an. | Ponsim, Tosim | 本心, 道心 |
| ao. | Totöksim/dao de xin | 道德心 |
| ap. | Yangsim/liang zhi | 良心 |
| aq. | Sadan Ch'ilchöng | 四端七情 |
| ar. | Söng | 誠 |
| as. | Silsim | 實心 |
| at. | Silli | 實理 |
| au. | Ingan Söngch'ui | 人間成就 |
| av. | Insim-Tosim | 人心-道心 |
| aw. | Ipchi | 立志 |
| ax. | Ch'ung-So | 忠-恕 |
| ay. | Yongso | 容恕 |
| az. | Saek-kong | 色空 |

Rationality, practicality and Modernity: Buddhism, Shamanism and Christianity in Contemporary Korean Society

By Hyun-key Kim Hogarth, Ph.D.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the relationship between Buddhism, shamanism and Christianity in contemporary Korean society within the context of the religious practice pattern of modern Korean people. These religions and religious belief system play important roles in the religious lives of the Korean people today. Buddhism owes its survival and growth in popularity to its inherent rationality. On the other hand, Korean shamanism, generally referred to as *musok*, addresses the basic human desire for health, good fortune and long life, which is fundamentally irrelevant in Buddhism. The increasing power and popularity of Christianity is in a sense based on its association with modernity. Although the co-existence of Buddhism, Shamanism and Christianity in contemporary Korean society is not without conflict, there exists an intricate interplay between the three.

As Weber (1922) posits, Buddhism is the most rational of all world religions, since it logically explains unjustified human suffering. However, its lofty goal of achieving impossible *nirvana* is beyond reach for most mortals. Therefore, shamanism, or other similar indigenous possession cults, has often wielded influence on buddhism, in other parts of the world. (Obeysekere, 1963, 1968; Tambiah, 1970; Spiro, 1967) When the central morality religion

of a nation is Buddhism, these cults have co-existed alongside Buddhism to satisfy the needs of ordinary people, who cannot realistically attain *nirvana*. In such cases, 'orthodox' Buddhism has been compared to the great tradition while popular Buddhism as practised by the mass, and often containing shamanistic elements has been compared, to the little tradition in Redfield's sense. (Obeyeskere, 1963) Thus the relationship between Buddhism and shamanism is usually hierarchical, with the former having supremacy over the latter, as Spiro (1967) has shown in the case of Burmese Buddhism and supernaturalism.

"Shamanism and Buddhism are like two grafted trees. You can't tell them apart," said one of my informants to me during my fieldwork. This view was echoed repeatedly by many other shamans and their followers. Her remarks succinctly sum up the extent of the syncretism between shamanism and Buddhism in Korean society over the ages. However, during my fieldwork, I came across many Buddhists, monks and laymen alike, who would not admit to the influence of shamanism on their religion. Nevertheless, there is much evidence to suggest that Korean Buddhism has undergone a considerable metamorphosis as a result of the influence of shamanism. This bears witness to the fact that the relationship between the two is hierarchical, with Buddhism occupying a superior position over shamanism. This vertical relationship has always been present since the introduction of Buddhism into Korea in the fourth century.

In contemporary Korea, the situation is more complex, since there is a multiplicity of religious practices. Buddhism, which ceased to be the central morality religion six centuries ago, has since undergone a series of crises, and its survival has often been threatened.

The existing statistics reveal that modern Korean people most frequently cite Christianity and Buddhism as their religions. Confucianism is only infrequently cited as a religion they practise, and shamanism does not get a mention at all. The general pattern has been undergoing a change in favour of Christianity in recent years (*Conggyo yŏn'gam*, 1993), which suggests the existence of a competition between the two great world religions. I will argue that this phenomenon has increased the hostility that Buddhism has displayed towards shamanism for a long period of time.

The data that I use to support my argument was collected during my fieldwork conducted among Korean shamans during 1993-1994.

THEODICY, BUDDHISM AND LAY SOTERIOLOGY

As Weber maintains (1948), Buddhism successfully resolves the problem of theodicy, or God's justification for the suffering of the innocent, which arises in monotheistic world religions. In monotheistic religions, the resolution of a theodicy could never be logical, for at the heart of it there exists a fundamental logical contradiction; an omniscient, omnipotent, wholly benevolent God could not in logic permit suffering of the innocent and good. (Obeyesekere, 1968:9). Buddhism provides a perfect solution to this problem through the Indian concept of *karma* (*õp* in Korean) the belief in the transgression of souls. So guilt and merit in this world is compensated unfailingly in the successive reincarnations of the souls. Man is doomed to the eternal cycle of births and rebirths, or *samsara*, (*yunhoe* in Korean), which is defined as suffering. Suffering in the Buddhist sense has a wider philosophical implication of impermanence than just the simple pain; all *karma*-produced actions are aspects of suffering in a philosophical sense. Hence salvation, the elimination of suffering, must entail the elimination of *karma* so that the flow of continuity can be arrested. This is *nirvana*, i.e. salvation, the final release from *samsara* and suffering.

In most world religions, salvation is the reward for a meritorious life; if you do good in this world you go to heaven in the other world after death. In Buddhism, however, even Heaven, Paradise in an earthly sense, called *kõngnak*, is a form of suffering because of its transience. Thus not only the person who commits bad *karma*, but also the person who does good, has little chance of achieving salvation, i.e. *nirvana*, since everybody continues to be reincarnated. Salvation is only possible for the individual who rises above *samsara* altogether by renouncing society and the world, i.e. by becoming a monk and observing 227 precepts prescribed for monks. In theory even a layman could attain *nirvana*, but in practice it is impossible for most people, since the conditions of any human social order are such that attachments and desire are inevitable. Hence strictly speaking, Buddhism in its orthodox principle can be said to be a religion of ascetic monks in their monastic seclusion.

As Weber (1922) maintains, however, ordinary men turn to religion 'so that they may prosper and have a long life on earth'. The inadequate provisions for the laymen to achieve salvation in orthodox Buddhist doctrines account for the development of a peasant or little tradition of Buddhism under pressure of mass needs. In South East Asian countries, where Theravada Buddhism dominates, syncretism with shamanism or other forms of indigenous archaic religions has occurred, partly because the orthodox or great tradition was not interested in lay soteriology. Therefore the 'heretical' activities car-

ried out by the masses throughout Southeast Asia are based on perfect rationality. Since the masses, because of their involvement in the social system, are incapable of achieving salvation anyway, doctrinally heretical practices such as indigenous deity propitiation or astrology make little difference to their ultimate future prospects. Therefore, they might as well improve their lot in this life and next lives by whatever means available to them. From the sociological, particularly functionalist, point of view, then the forms of secular Buddhism practised in Southeast Asia, though they involve theological 'heresy', can be regarded as the successful transformation of essentially unsocial Buddhism into a social religion.

SYNCRETISM OF BUDDHISM AND SHAMANISM IN KOREA

Buddhism was first introduced to Korea from China, in the fourth century and after some initial resistance, quickly established itself as the national religion. The type of Buddhism that reached Korea was Mahayana Buddhism, prevalent in North Asia. Mahayana in Korean is '*taesūng*' which literally means 'big transportation'. The objective of Mahayana Buddhism is thus helping a great number of people to achieve salvation. In contrast, Theravada Buddhism is referred to as '*sosūng pulgyo*', or 'little transportation', in the sense that only the chosen few, i.e. ascetic monks, can attain nirvana.

For the 'big transportation', the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism was radically modified so as to allow for the development of the Bodhisattva cult. Bodhisattvas are saviors who have postponed their own salvation in order to save others, although they have achieved enlightenment. In Mahayana countries, this doctrinal change has now become fully 'orthodox'. (Obeyesekere, 1968) Thus although the fundamental Buddhist doctrine that salvation can only be achieved by one's own effort and ascetic renunciation of the world remains the same, over time 'orthodoxy' itself has undergone changes and has diversified into different sects. Therefore 'orthodoxy' in Buddhism is not an absolute, inflexible concept, and 'heterodoxy' can become 'orthodox', if it is generally accepted, approved, and established.

Mahayana Buddhism, with Bodhisattvas and other numerous saints for the laity to supplicate, confronted little conflict with shamanism, the ancient indigenous belief system of the Korean people. Its modified doctrine made it possible for Buddhism to absorb shamanistic elements. Over time, therefore, extensive syncretism of Buddhism and shamanism has taken place. Among Korean scholars there is a consensus the view that many state-sponsored Bud-

dhist rituals, such as *p'algwanhoe* and *yöndünghoe*, of the Koryö period were in essence shamanistic rituals hiding behind a thin Buddhist veneer. (Yu, 1975:260)

The syncretism of Buddhism and shamanism, however, has always been a vertical alliance. Buddhism was the officially recognized central morality religion until the 14th century, while shamanistic elements were always held in contempt, castigated, disregarded, or at best hidden. There remain numerous historical documents recording the official condemnation of shamans and their practices.¹ On the other hand, there is much evidence to suggest that the pride of place was given to Buddhist gods in shamanistic rituals. What illustrates this point very well is a poem entitled 'The Old Shamaness', which appears in *Tongguk Isangguk chip* written in around 1241 by Yi Kyubo, a high-ranking government minister. The poem was written to commemorate the expulsion of his neighbour, an old shamaness, from the capital. It vividly describes the shamanistic practices in 13th century Korea, which reflect many Buddhist elements. Let us briefly examine lines 26-28:

"Her rafted shrine measures barely five feet high.
Yet she claims the Heavenly Buddha Emperor is there.
The Buddha Emperor properly resides in the Six Heavens.
How could He stay in your humble abode?"

The concept of the Six Heavens and the Buddha residing there itself is a deviation from the fundamental Buddhist doctrine. Despite the minister's derision of the absurdity of the shamaness's practice, his own idea can be said to have been influenced by the indigenous Korean belief in Heaven, which was deeply rooted in shamanism.²

Today, even a casual observer of the Korean shamanistic ritual called, *kut*, would immediately notice the extent of the Buddhist influence on Korean shamanism. The shamanistic shrines, both private and commercial, are, with few exceptions, filled with Buddhist artefacts, such as Buddha statues, wooden gongs and beads, Buddhist-style paintings and other paraphernalia. The costumes and some ritual procedures also reflect its influence. The shamanistic costumes for many higher-status spirits are derived from the Buddhist concept, and when the Buddhist-derived spirits descend on the scene, the animal carcass offerings are covered with a piece of white paper, in observance of the Buddhist prohibition of killing. Moreover shamans often recite the Buddhist scriptures, believing that they possess powers to chase away evil spirits.³

Some of the most important shamanistic spirits, such as Chesok (the Buddha Emperor), Pulsa (the Buddhist Guru Grandmother), Sambul (the Three

Buddhas), Shiwang(the Ten King of the Netherworld)are derived from Buddhism. What is interesting is the fact that these spirits are accorded the highest ranks in the pantheon, and therefore 'entertained' before the 'purely' shamanistic spirits, such as Ch'angbu (the Performer Spirit).

While the Buddhist influence is proudly displayed in most shamanistic practices, the shamanistic elements in Korean Buddhism are much more played down. A shrine dedicated to the shamanistic Holy Trinity, comprising the Seven Stars Spirit, the Mountain Spirit, and the Solitary Star Spirit, is usually found in all Buddhist temple grounds. However, what is interesting is the fact that these shrines are very small and insignificant in size and shape in comparison with the main temple buildings. Moreover, they are usually situated discreetly in an inconspicuous position.

Despite these outwardly low-key shamanistic elements, Korean Buddhism has undergone extensive syncretism with shamanism, particularly in terms of its ideology. (Yi Nūnghwa, 1927; Akamatsu 7 Akiba, 1938; Yu, 1975; Ch'oe, 1978; Kim Inhoe, 1987) Let us briefly examine the reasons that the ordinary Koreans give for visiting Buddhist temples. They are:

1. to attend festivals, such as the Buddha's Birthday
2. to perform mortuary rites, such as the 49th Day Ritual and 100th day Ritual to pray for the wellbeing of the dead
3. to pray for long life, prosperity and healing, and preventing other diseases and misfortune.

The above suggests Korean Buddhism is closer in ideology to shamanism, which is this-worldly, corporeal and existential. It also supports Yu's view (1975:263) that Korean Buddhism can be said to be 'Buddhism of prayer for good fortune'.

Although outwardly the influence of Buddhism on Korean shamanism has been greater than the latter on the former, in essence the opposite can be said to be true. As Kim Inhoe(1987:217)shrewdly observed, Buddhist paraphernalia merely serve as external decorations in Korean shamanism, while Korean Buddhism has undergone a metamorphosis to such an extent that Buddhism as practised by the Korean laymen can be said to be closer to shamanism than 'orthodox' Buddhism.

Among the regular sponsors of *kut* who practise a world religion, the Buddhists account for the largest proportion. Many of them switch from one to the other in the course of their lives, or alternatively, adapting to the situation, they tend to practise the two alongside each other.

Buddhist festivals bring the Buddhists and shamanists together. *Prima facie*, they are indistinguishable. However, after a few months in the field, I

learned to distinguish between them by the way they pray. I noticed that Buddhists seem to stand on one spot and bow several times with their hands held together, while the shamanists rub their hands together repeatedly and bow to all directions, turning 360 degrees in the process. The Buddhist monks and officials, who must also perceive their identity, treat all shamanists as though they were Buddhists.

It seemed to me that the Buddhist officials regard the shamanistic elements in their religion as highly undersirable and shameful. I will give an example from my field experience. *pansangje*, meaning "Liberating Life Ritual", is a Buddhist festival performed on the 3 of March by the lunar calendar. A large crowd of mainly women gather by the riverside and performs the act of releasing fish or sometimes turtles into the river for merit-making on the third day of the third month by the lunar calendar. This same ritual is called *yonggung kut* (the Kragon Palace Ritual) by the shamans and their clients, according to my veteran shaman informants. My shaman friends, Yi Chongnam, Chong Wonhae, and Pang Ch'unja told me about this *kut* to be performed on the 13 April, 1994 (3 March in the lunar calendar that year), at the Dragon Palace Shrine on a bank of the Han River, which flows through Seoul. When I got there, however, there were no signs of shamanistic activities; everybody I talked to denying vehemently that they had anything to do whatsoever with shamanism, which they said was merely a superstition. However, I could recognize some participants as shamanists by the way they prayed. I also saw prolific displays of shamanistic talismans in the buildings. It was later confirmed again by my shaman informants that *pangsaengje* and *yonggung kut* are indeed one and the same, only different terms are applied by the Buddhists and shamanists. The implications were that the Buddhists were ashamed of having any connections with shamanism, which they consider a 'primitive superstition'.

Another visual evidence of the syncretism of shamanism and buddhism is a place of worship for the Buddhists and shamanists alike, called Sonpawi (Zen Rocks), a group of rocks shaped like monks wearing peaked hats. Situated on top of Mount Inwang in Seoul, they attract large numbers of worshippers and other visitors. Oral tradition has it (Kim Yongsam, 1989:64) that the eminent Buddhist monk Muhak Taesa⁴, an advisor to the founder of Choson dynasty, King T'aejo, suggested that the Zen Rocks be included inside the city walls. On the other hand, a Confucian literati minister called, Chong Tojon, insisted that they be placed outside the walls. Eventually Chong won, which signified the symbolic triumph of Confucianism, and defeat and further decline of Buddhism and shamanism. These days, worshippers pray at the Zen

Rocks for sons, prosperity, and healing of bodies and minds. One can detect both Buddhists and shamanists judging from the way they bow in prayer, as described earlier.

I was fascinated, when Ms. Pang, one of the veteran shamans, told me that shamans climb up the steep hill to the Zen rocks on the eve of any *kut* to 'inform the spirits of the planned rituals', however late it may be. The extreme reverence that shamans and their followers hold for this very Buddhist symbol may be interpreted in several ways. It illustrates the extensive syncretism between Buddhism and shamanism, and the supremacy of the former over the latter. It also suggests that after the fall from official grace, Buddhism, may from the 14th century have absorbed the shamanistic elements even further thus, coexisting alongside shamanism at the level of the downtrodden masses during the Choson dynasty. The extent of shamanistic elements in Korean buddhism deserves further anthropological research at the grassroots.

BUDDHISM AND SHAMANISM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF MODERN KOREAN PEOPLE

At the beginning of this century, Homer Hulbert (1906), an early Christian missionary to Korea, wrote, 'As a general thing, we may say that the all-round Korean will be a Confucianist when in is in trouble'. He argues that to know a man's true religion you should see what he does when in trouble.

I have argued (1995) that Hulbert's remarks are still valid in contemporary Korean society. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the existing statistics for modern Koreans' religions reveal a completely different picture. The two most dominant religions by far are Buddhism and Christianity. According to the Ministry of Information statistics, in 1982, there were 11 million buddhists, and the Christians, combining Catholics and Protestants, numbered 9 million. The figures change in the Gallup Research statistics in 1984 to 7.4 million buddhists and 9 million christians. The 1985 census reveals a slightly different trend, with just over 8 million Buddhists to 8.34 million Christians.

The problem with these figures, however, lies in the method used, which was by self-identification. According to Yun (1988), in actual terms of religious practice, the figures should more realistically show 91% Confucianists, 49.3% Buddhists, and only 36.3% christians.

The statistics indicate that the emergence of Christianity as a more dominant religion is shown not only in quantitative terms, but also in qualitative

terms. According to *Chonggyo yŏn'gam* (1993), the Korean Buddhists suffer graver doubts about their faith than their Christian counterparts.

Why then do so many modern Koreans wish to project themselves as christians? I would argue that it is because Christianity is associated with modernity, industrialization, and advanced civilization imported from the West, while Buddhism is associated with anachronism and Korean's past. (Kusan, 1985: 32-33)

The gradual increase in the number of Christians, sporadic incidents of fanatic christian arson of Buddhist temples, and the assertions of some Christians that Korea is now a Christian country, etc. all indicate that for many Koreans Christianity symbolizes Korea's progress in the modern world.

Buddhism, which has always been a driving force in the Korean people's philosophical consciousness despite the decline and suppression during the Confucian Choson dynasty regime, faces strong competition from powerful, albeit relatively newly-established, Christianity. In recent years, it seems to me that there have been efforts on the part of Buddhist organizations to revitalize the structure of Buddhism through mass appeal. Modernization processes include mass production and distribution of tape recordings of famous monks, mass media publicity on the occasion of the death of renowned monks, and popular appeal for donations for constructions of new Buddhist temples. The self-image that Korean Buddhism tries to project is well represented by a ubiquitous poster, representing a sect of Korean Buddhism. The poster features a buddhist monk with an affluent-looking middle-aged woman with gently-permed hair, wearing sophisticated casual western clothes and smiling contentedly. the image of this woman is a far cry from my own conception of a Buddhist believer, which is that of a saintly old man or a wizened long-suffering woman of the countryside.

Against this background, for the Buddhists, any connection with shamanism, which is generally associated with 'primitiveness', can only be extremely embarrassing. This may well be the reason the buddhists when I met denied any connection with shamanism, and even showed anger at such a suggestion. I would argue that the competition between the two great world religions, Buddhism and shamanism, has contributed to the reinforcement of the hostility of Buddhism towards shamanism. Christianity, being closely associated with modernity in contemporary Korean society, condemns *musok* as a primitive superstition. Nevertheless, the Korean Christian churches, both Catholic and Protestant, also contain many shamanistic elements despite their persecution of *musok*. The detailed discussion of this fascinating subject is beyond the scope of this paper. I will just mention that I have come across some Chris-

tians, including one or two ministers, sponsoring *kut* for various reasons. Their views on *musok* were more in the perspective of cultural nationalism, than anything else. However, they would never state publicly that they had sponsored a *kut*.

CONCLUSION

Akiba, a Japanese social anthropologist, conducted fieldwork among the Korean shamans in the 1930s. One of Akiba's shaman informants (1938:312) explained to him that Buddhism was like the great house, and shamanism like the little house. It is intriguing to hear that an uneducated Korean shaman actually preempted Redfield in his theory of the great and little traditions by more than 20 years.

The existence of Bodhisattva and other saints in Mahayana Buddhism, the type practised in Korea, has made it easy to incorporate many elements of shamanism, the ancient indigenous religion of the Korean people. Their relationship, however, has been always vertical, with Buddhism having supremacy over shamanism. I have discussed how the Buddhist influence on shamanism is blatantly displayed, while the shamanistic elements in Korean Buddhism are underplayed as much as possible. That suggests that shamanism is proud to be associated with Buddhism, whereas the latter is ashamed of its connection with the former.

The religious scene in contemporary Korean society has recently undergone great changes. Christianity, after suffering a period of gory persecution, has been firmly established as the religion of 20% of the total population, and accounts for 48.6% of the religions Korean people practise these days. Moreover, there has been a steady increase in the Christian population. Christianity is associated with modernity, and is seen as the symbol of the newly-industrialized nation-state.

Buddhism, in the face of the increased competition from Christianity, has also made efforts to modernize its practices with media publicity, utilization of modern equipment in Buddhist temples and the encouragement of mass participation in the construction of new Buddhist temples, etc.

Against this background, any association with shamanism has become an even bigger embarrassment to the Buddhist authorities. The competition between these two great world religions has further forced Buddhists to deny any close link with shamanism, which has existed for centuries. In times of unexplained great disaster and/or anxiety, however, many Korean people,

including Buddhists and some Christians, turn to *musok*. There are only a few adult female Koreans who have never consulted a fortune-teller. Many fortune-tellers are actually *kut*-performing *mudang*, although of course many practise statistics-based *yŏkhak*. In the current so-called 'IMF Age', when the Korean economy has suffered a severe setback, and the unemployment situation has become grave, the number of people visiting *mudang* has increased, according to my shaman informants. Fewer *kut* are being sponsored, however, on account of the lack of, and people's reluctance to part with, ready cash, which clearly reflects the practicality of *musok*.

Even those who deprecate *musok*, cannot seem entirely to eliminate shamanistic elements in their religious lives. The manners in which Korean worshippers pray to various spiritual beings, such as Buddhist Bodhisattvas and Christian saints, to alleviate their immediate physical and mental sufferings is in essence tantamount to the shamanists supplicating various spirits. I would go as far as to say that the modern Korean praxis of Buddhism and Christianity are in principle underpinned by their indigenous belief system, i.e. *musok* or Korean shamanism.

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NOTES

1. For details, see Yi Nŭnghwa 1927.
2. See Hogarth, 1992 & 1995.
3. For details of the shamanistic incantations based on the Buddhist Scriptures, see Akamatsu & Akiba, 1938, Book II, pp 239-246. An interesting parallel can be found in northern Thailand, where the people also believe in the powers of the Buddhist Scriptures. (Tambiah, 1970)
4. Even today Muhak Taesa appears in the Shamanistic ritual in the Seoul area as a revered deity.
5. There were some serious incidents of arson of Buddhist temples in Seoul in April 1996, causing millions of pounds of damage. Fanatic Christians were suspected of the crime, although there was inadequate evidence.

On the Problem of International Status and Stages of the Socio-Political Development of Tae-gaya in the Late 5th and Early 6th Centuries

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The 1970s and 80s were a time when the South Korean academic, historical community became engaged in active and fruitful discussion on such basic theoretical problems of ancient history as the origins of the ancient state (*kodae kukka*), stages of socio-political development leading to state-formation, the exact definition of the term ancient state, and last but not least, the dating of state-formation on the Korean Peninsula.¹ As a part of these theoretical efforts, the traditional scheme of the process of state-formation, established largely by Japanese colonial scholars and Japanese-trained first generation Korean historians: Lee Byong-do, Lee Hong-jik, Son Jin-t'ae, and others, which in its most generalized form, divided the process of the creation of statehood into the stages of tribal state (*pujok kukka*), tribal league (*pujok yŏnmaeng*), and ancient state (*kodae kukka*), was sharply criticized and revised.² New concepts: chiefdom society (*kunjang sahwe*), walled town state (*sŏngŭp kukka*), proto-state (*chun-kukka*), and early state (*ch'ogi kukka*), largely inspired by achievements of Western-cultural anthropology, were gradually introduced, and, as a result, the term state - with certain attributes - started to be regarded as applicable to such societies as Chosŏn in the period of the rule of the Wiman (B.C. 194-108) and Samhan principalities of the first centuries A.D.³ As is generally known, Japanese colonial scholars as well as the first generation Korean historians, refrained from using the chronologically earlier parts of *Samguk sagi* as a historical source, based their research

mostly on *The Account of Western Outlanders*, Tung-I chuan of Sang-guo chih, and considered the degree of state centralization, active external conquests, promulgation of written laws (*yullyŏng*), and the official recognition of Confucianism and Buddhism as state ideology and religion, respectively, and official-level contacts with China as the main criteria for the existence of real ancient statehood.⁴ On the contrary, the younger generation of South Korean historians and archeologists of the 1970s and 80s was mostly in favour of acceptance, albeit critical, of earlier *Samguk sagi* records as a historical source, and, paying more attention to the underlying structures of the society, put forward such socio-political shifts as increases in agricultural productivity and population density, the existence of a standing army, the sophistication of government organs, changes in the character of the rulers from rule based largely on informal authority to that based on institutionalized power, as main landmarks of the process of state-building. In a word, simpler historical theories, largely based on the 19th C. works of L.H. Moragn (1818-1881) as they were interpreted in Imperial Japan, had to give up their places to more modern schemes of socio-political development mostly inspired by developments in American culture and political anthropology: works of E.R. Service, KV Flannery, MH Fried, etc.⁵

In connection with general developments in historical and archeological theory, the direction of Kaya studies is also undergoing serious changes. As is well known, Kaya is a general term referring to the polities which existed mostly in the Naktong River valley from the 1st to the 6th century. A.D. and shared many features of material and spiritual culture: cists with vertical entrances, long necked, lidded pottery, *propped* earthenware, etc. Known also as Imna (Japanese: Mimana), these principalities first appear in the historical records pertaining to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. in *Samguk yusa* and *Samguk sagi*, and are known to have been annexed by Silla in 532 - 562. Traditionally, from the times of *sirhak* (practical learning) historical scholarship up to the colonial period and the first post-colonial decades, Kaya was studied mostly by both Korean and Japanese historians on the basis of scarce literary sources with attention mostly focused on the location of ancient toponyms and the external relationships of Kaya political entities with Paekche, Silla, and proto-Japanese polities.⁶ Beginning from the 1970s, with the advent of new anthropological theories and the remarkable progress achieved in archeological excavations in former Kaya lands, the focus of attention shifted to the problems of the socio-political development of Kaya itself, while methodologically, the simultaneous complex use of narrative and archeological materials became a prerequisite for any serious research.⁷ Due to the increasing method-

ological maturity of the researchers and growing interest in the universal schemes of the development of a stratified society put forward by the anthropologists, it became hardly possible simply to characterize Kaya societies as minor states (*soguk*) or tribal states (*pujok kukka*), as was customary in earlier works. Instead, new terms with more precise and well-defined meanings, such as hierarchical society (*wigye sahwe*), territorial state (*yöngyök kukka*), city state (*tosi kukka*), or complex chiefdom society (*pokhap kunjang sahwe*), were applied to Kaya history by Kwon Hak-su⁸, Ch'on Gwan-u⁹, Lee Yong-sik¹⁰ and Kim T'ae-sik,¹¹ respectively.

Typically, Lee Yong-sik attempted to find materials necessary for appraising the degree of social maturity of Kaya polities, in the chronologically earlier records of *Samguk sagi* concerning border disputes and diplomatic contacts between Shilla and Kaya principalities, records, hitherto usually considered not authentic and disregarded by mainstream historiography. Using as main arguments the scale and methods of Kaya political entities' wars with neighbouring states, forms of diplomatic contacts between Kaya principalities and Silla, facts concerning the existence of hereditary monarchies and social stratification in Kaya lands, he came to the conclusion that after the late 4th century at the latest, the mightiest of Kaya societies had already achieved the level of city states, city state being one of the various forms of early statehood.¹²

The present paper is strongly influenced by the methodology and conclusions of Lee Yong-sik's work. Using the same approach Lee Yong-sik successfully applied to the Kaya-related records of *Samguk sagi*, I attempted to analyse the content of *Nihon shoki* pertaining to the social stratification, monarchical power, military organization, wars and diplomacy, and religion of one of the strongest of the Kaya polities, Taegaya, today's Koryong County in Northern Kyongsang Province also known as Panp'a and, later, Kara. Through this analysis, I want to shed light on the levels of development of social and military organization, scale and methods of warfare, character of diplomacy, and strength of monarchy in Taegaya, with the purpose of defining, at least approximately, the stage of Taegaya's socio-political development.

Admittedly, most Korean-related records of *Nihon shoki*, compiled in 720, not only in many cases dated largely arbitrarily, also includes a serious legendary element and many later literary and ideological embellishments in their content. Moreover, the suppliers of Kaya and Silla-related materials to the compilers of *Nihon shoki* were, besides the descendants of Yamato or Kyushu aristocrats once involved in peninsular affairs, mostly noble families of Paekche origins who had emigrated to Japan after the conquest of Paekche

by Silla. If the scions of Yamato or Kyushu notables, striving to glorify the past of their clan to earn better positions in the present, spared no efforts to portray their ancestors as no less than plenipotentiary deciders of Kaya's fate, the offspring of Paekche aristocracy, striving to realize on paper *post factum* the long-cherished dream of their grandfathers, depicted Kaya, in their turn, as a kind of Paekche vassal territory, sometimes rebellious, but never completely lost by its legitimate Paekche masters, until the time of Silla's villainous annexations of 532-562 of course. On top of all these manifold hidden agendas, the compilers of *Nihon shoki*, inspired by the post-Taika new version of Japan as T'ang-level world empire ruled from the very beginning on the basis of Chou-like feudal laws, with the *mikado* playing the role of the Chinese "Son of Heaven," of course, and Confucian principles, did their job in full accordance with the rules on which Confucius based his Annals (*Ch'un-ch'iu*), with only one difference: Chou and its dynasty was replaced by Japan and Yamato's rulers who claimed their descent from the Sun Goddess. Accordingly, even the earliest relationship between Japan, actually, various proto-Japanese polities, and neighbouring Korean states and sometimes even some Chinese principalities are described in *Nihon shoki* in terms borrowed from the traditional Chinese notion of a China-centered hierarchical world order: neighbouring vassals pay tribute to a Japanese *Yamato* Emperor, and, if they fail to do this regularly, are chastised by Imperial government troops. The fact that there was no unified government in Japan until approximately the mid-5th century, and even the simplest Chinese characters, not to mention sophisticated philosopho-political notions of culture and barbarism, were not in wide use until the early 7th century, did not embarrass *Nihon Shoki* compilers in their crusade for politically correct antiquity befitting the current grandeur of the law-governed state (*ritsuryo kokka*) of the early 8th century.

It is clear that the character of primary materials used in the process of compiling the *Nihon shoki*, as well as the biased attitudes of the compilers, limit the credibility of this earliest extant Japanese official historical chronicle. It is also evident that in *Samguk sagi*, compiled in 1145, which represents a much higher stage of development of Confucianist historiographical tradition, the picture of Korean antiquity is much less distorted than in *Nihon shoki*. Kim Busak (1075-1151), chief of the committee for *Samguk sagi* compilation, had subjectivity of his own, but, unlike his colleagues from 8th century Japan, he preferred just to omit the undesirable information rather than indulging in creative writing of flowery pseudo-historical passages. Nevertheless, the dearth of Kaya-related materials in *Samguk sagi* and the lack of authenticity of Kaya-related chapters of another Korean history, *Samguk yusa*, compiled in

1285 by monk Iryon mostly on the basis of Korean folklore, epigraphs, and narrative tradition, force us to resort to *Nihon shoki* in our quest for data pertaining to the socio-political development of Taegaya. In the course of our work with *Nihon shoki* texts, self-evident distortions, mutual trade on an official inter-state level through envoys being called the offering of tribute; military clashes characterized as chastisement, will be adequately corrected, and problems of reliability caused by the character of primary materials and the general attitude of the compilers will also be given due attention. Still, I hope to show that Taegaya-related articles of *Nihon shoki* do contain the nuclei of authentic material usable for historical research.

II

The article on the subjugating of the seven Kara states (加羅七國平定) found under the 3rd lunar month of the 49th year of Empress Jingu's (神功) reign revised¹³ dating, cr. 369 hardly can be taken literally in either its dating or its content; still, it seems to have reflected certain historical facts. According to the article, the Japanese expeditionary troops, led by Paekche general Mongna Kunja, using T'aksun, (Kaya polity, presumably located in today's Ch'angwon County of Southern Kyōngsang Province) as their springboard, subjugated (Sino-Japanese: 平定) the seven lands of Pijabol, Nam-Kara, T'akkuk, Alla, Tara, T'aksun, and Kara. After this, the son of Paekche King Ch'ogo, named Kwisu, at the head of Paekche troops, came, and four lands, named Piri (Chonju or Naju in Northern Cholla), P'ijung (Kimje in Northern Cholla), P'omiji (Yuhung Village in Kongju County, Southern Ch'ungch'ong), and Pan'go (Pannam in Naju County) surrendered on their own. Finally, the king of Paekche twice pledged loyalty and vassalage to the Japanese Emperor. Views of modern scholars on this tale can be very roughly classified into negativist and revisionist with a tiny minority still accepting this at its face value. The negativists, Tsuda Shokichi, Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Lee Yong-sik, etc. regard the article as pure falsification by *Nihon shoki* compilers meant to explain the emergence of the so-called Japanese Government of Mimana in the reign of Keidai and mostly composed of the distorted fragments of later records projected into the past. Revisionists, Lee Byong-do, his disciples Ch'ōn Gwan-u, Kim Hyōngu, etc. whose views I largely share suppose that the article is nothing but Paekche materials on subjugating Mahan and partly, Kaya communities by Paekche troops and concluding a Paekche-Japanese alliance all seriously distorted by the compilers: alliance was remade into Paekche vassalage to Japan,

etc.¹⁴ In accordance with the revisionist theory of Ch'ŏn Gwan-u who proves in detail that the real subject of the subjugation was rather Paekche than any of the proto-Japanese polities. I also start with the assumption that, in reality, the subjugation was that of the region of today's South Chŏlla Province by Paekche and Paekche-employed proto-Japanese subsidiary troops, with a subsequent attack against Naktong Valley-based Kaya principalities and probably Silla. The part concerning the subjugation of Silla is the least reliable here, for most *Nihon shoki* records on the Silla-Japanese relationship are based mainly on folk memory, anti-Silla prejudices of early 8th century Japan, and the anti-Silla spirit of emigre Paekche historical writings. As we can see, in this *Nihon shoki* record, the sequence of the enumeration of various Kaya polities is as follows: Pijabol, a.k.a. Pihwa-Kaya; today's Ch'angnyŏng County of South Kyŏngsang Province, and Nam-Kara, a.k.a. Kungwan, and Pon-Kaya, or Main Kaya; today's Kimhae County of South Kyŏngsang Province are listed among the first, and Kara, believed to be the matrix of future Taegaya is among the last. It is therefore surmisable that, rather than target the relatively weak Kara, Paekche, having attracted Japanese sympathies by demonstrating the excellence of its goods and its readiness to trade them,¹⁵ strove to wrest the profitable trade with the Japanese Archipelago out of Nam-Kara's hands and monopolize it. Nam-Kara, Paekche's traditional rival in the trade with the proto-Japanese, is thought to have been dealt a serious blow by this Paekche-led military operation, but Kara, which still was not strong enough to participate actively in regional rivalries, seems to have remained relatively undamaged. On the contrary, the weakening of Nam-Kara, which resulted from the Paekche-led military onslaught, could provide Kara with the much-needed opportunity to increase its influence in the Kaya region.

According to Ch'ŏn Gwan-u, the subjugation of Kaya territories by Paekche-led forces ushered in a new Kaya region era of dependence on Paekche and a subordinate relationship with the latter. Still, the position of younger scholars, Kim Hyŏn-gu and Lee Mun-gi, who maintain that the relationship between the Paekche and the Kaya regions was subordinate in form rather than in essence, and that Paekche's military and trade predominance did not mean Kaya's complete political dependence on Paekche, seems to be closer to the historical realities.¹⁶ In any case, being included to some extent in Paekche's sphere of influence and forced to maintain various contacts with the Paekche court, Kara's rulers were likely to have been seriously impressed by the military strength and cultural blossoming of Paekche's centralized aristocratic monarchy. Admittedly, the most reliable proof of Paekche influence on Kara's socio-cultural development would have been the discovery of Paekche

or Paekche-influenced relics in Kara graves of the relevant period. Unfortunately, the burials of the 4th century Koryong region are still relatively poorly known. On the other hand, among 6th century Koryong burial mounds there are three: the Fresco mound of Koa-dong, the neighbouring stone-chamber mound, and the Chölsang ch'önjöng mound of Chisan-dong built in the style of a cist with a horizontal entrance (*hwaenghyol-sik soksil-myo*) which was more widely used in Paekche and Silla than in Kaya. One of these heterogeneous graves, the Fresco mound in Koa-dong, was decorated with a Buddhist-inspired mural painting of lotuses closely resembling that found in Paekche grave No. 6 in Songsan-ni, Kongju County, and the Fresco mound of Nüngsan-ni, Puyo County.¹⁷ If certain Paekche cultural influences on Kara in the 6th century can be proven, we can also suggest that such influence, or at least, cultural contacts between the Koryöng region and Paekche, could have deeper historical roots. Moreover, Paekche diplomatic materials included in *Nihon shoki* portray Kaya territories as having become culturally, ritually, and politically nothing short of Paekche dependencies in the late 4th century.¹⁸ Certainly, there is some grain of exaggeration in the Paekche king's pompous statements about time-honoured relations of subordination between his kingdom and Kaya lands, but, on the whole, it seems to have reflected historical reality. The Paekche king could hardly completely falsify the history of his country's relations with Kaya in the letter sent to Kaya rulers, who were, as it was very well understood in Paekche, quite knowledgeable about their own history, although certain rhetorical overstatements could be made. In a word, presumably from the late 4th century onward, the process of socio-political and cultural development in Kara was to some degree influenced by Paekche, which succeeded in winning a position of predominance in the region. In M. Fried's terminology, Kara can be, to a certain extent, referred to as a secondary state, the socio-political and cultural development of which was catalyzed by a more advanced neighbouring society.

The records, which originated from the Paekche sources, about a Silla-instigated Japanese raid upon Kara, Taegaya, the flight of Kara's king to Paekche, and the ultimate restoration of Kara with the help of the Japanese Imperial Government can be found under the 62nd year of the Jingu reign in *Nihon shoki* (revised date-ca. 382 or 442). According to this article, the Japanese court was infuriated by Silla's failure to offer tribute to the "Esteemed Country" (Japan) on time and sent General Sachihiko to chastise Silla. Silla sent a beautiful woman to seduce him, and as a result of the successful seduction, Sachiko chastized Kara instead of Silla. King (*wang*) of Kara, *hanki* Kibon, with his sons Paekkuji, Asuji, Kuksari, Iramaju, and

Imunji, had to flee to Paekche at the head of his subjects. The king's younger sister, Kijōnji, petitioned the Japanese, revealing to them the fact that Sachihiko, bribed by Silla, had chastised the wrong country. Irritated, the Heavenly Emperor (of Japan) sent Mongna Kūnja, who was earlier described as a Paekche general, to restore Kara.

As Paekche materials, these records are thought to be basically authentic, although they were visibly embellished and partially altered by the compilers of *Nihon shoki*.¹⁹ The Japanese General Sochihiko or Sachihiko (Korean Sūpchinōn or Sajibigwe,) who is said to have raided Kara, was probably a pro-Silla proto-Japanese chieftain married to a Silla woman, or a Paekche official of Japanese ancestry. Mongna Kūnja, (Japanese Mokura Konichi), who is said to have restored Kara, was, according to *Nihon shoki* records under the 3rd lunar month of Jingo's 49th year reign, a Paekche general, so the saviour of Kara was Paekche, where the Kara king had fled rather than to any of the proto-Japanese chiefdoms. In a nutshell, those records initially should have described a conflict between Paekche and Silla over supremacy in the Kaya region, in which Japanese subsidiary troops were somehow hired and used by Silla. Later, in the mid-6th century, some of the officials of a Japanese mission to Ara-Kaya which was blown up into the Japanese Government of Mimana by the compilers of *Nihon shoki*, were hired and used by Silla in a very similar way, the only difference being the lack of military power on the part of the Ara-Kaya stationed Japanese mission.

One detail of this story germane to our subject is the title of king (Korean *wang*) which was purportedly used by Kara's ruler, *hanki* Kibon. As No Junguk maintains, this title could be a later interpolation,²⁰ but it hardly was possible that Paekche historians, who usually considered all Kaya lands Paekche's natural dependencies and later never called Kara by its proud native cognomen of Taegaya (great among Kaya territories) thus refusing to recognize the latter's hegemony among Kaya principalities,²¹ would have consciously elevated the Kara ruler's position. Then, we should remember that in Paekche materials, included in *Nihon shoki*, all ancient Korean official titles are usually treated extremely carefully. For example, in the accounts on the Paekche-chaired meetings for the restoration of Imna (Korean *Imna puhǎng hweūi*), found under the 4th lunar month of Kimmei's 2nd year (541) and the 11th lunar month of Kimmei's 5th year (544), many original Kaya titles including that of *hanki* (chieftain) descendant of the rulers of previously independent regional or consanguineous communities afterwards included in a bigger principality, or a ruler of smaller independent semi-state, *ch'ahanki* (junior *hanki*) descendant of the rulers of a weaker community afterwards annexed by a big-

ger one, *sangsuwi* (*hanki's* high-ranked retainer), etc., are meticulously listed. Among all Kaya rulers, only that of the two strongest principalities, Kara and Alla, Ara-Kaya, today's Haman County of South Kyongsang Province, are ever called kings (*wang*) in *Nihon shoki*, with all others routinely mentioned as *hanki* only, *hanki* being the most widely used title for the rulers of smaller independent Kaya polities. The fact that in the record in question Kara's Kibon was mentioned as both *hanki* and king suggests that at that period Kara grew in strength and raised its international status to a degree enabling its *hanki* to lay claim to the king title which would equate him with the then hegemony of the southern part of the peninsula, the king of Paekche. Judging by the fact that this title, as we can see here, appears in a Paekche source later included in a Japanese history, both Paekche and its proto-Japanese allies must have acknowledged the rise of Kara's position as implied by the use of this title. We can also suggest that such elevation of a country's international status must have been backed by a certain strengthening of a centralized government structure and a consequent military build-up. It is very probable that in pursuit of a higher degree of power consolidation, Kara rulers did emulate, consciously or unconsciously, Paekche's powerful autocrats whose reputed military machine demonstrated its superiority to Kaya people during the raid of 369. Another noteworthy fact is that in the record in question not only the name of Kara's king, *hanki* Kibon, but also the cognomina of his sons and younger sister were carefully listed. It would hardly have happened unless the children and relatives of Kibon had played a prominent role in Kara politics.²² Thus, one can suggest that the process of the concentration of power in the hands of one hereditary ruling clan, typical of the chiefdom societies at the stage of the building of an early statehood, did take place in Kara in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, too. It is also surmisable that Kibon's younger sister's²³ reported negotiations with the Japanese Emperor about military assistance against Sochihiko. Sachihiko's raid meant that, encouraged by the example of Paekche's successful alliance with proto-Japanese polities, Kara, on strengthening its administrative and military structure, also attempted to enter the stage of the international diplomacy of the period.²⁴

As we can see above, the main role in establishing the Paekche hegemony in the Kaya region (ca. 369) and repulsing the Silla-sponsored attack against Kara (ca. 382 or 442) was played by Paekche General Mongna Künja, who is thought to have belonged to the family of Mok (木, also known as Mongna, 木羅, or Mokhyop, 木協) one of the famed eight aristocratic clans of Paekche known from Chinese sources (*Pei Shih*, fascicle 90, *Account of Paekche*; *Sui Shu*, fascicle 81, *Account of Paekche*, etc.)²⁵ It seems possible that Mongna

Kūnja-led military and diplomatic actions in the Kaya region had increased his clan's influence on the affairs of that region. This supposition is backed by the content of interlinear comments on a *Nihon shoki* article under the 25th year of Ojin (revised date ca. 414).²⁶ Supposedly, the political and military influence of the Mok clan limited to some degree the independence of Kaya polities. Still this does not mean that Kara, as well as other Kaya territories, was completely incorporated into Paekche's sphere of influence. *Nihon shoki* says that the Kaya peoples retained their right to maintain independent diplomatic relationships with foreign lands, prominently proto-Japanese polities, and their ability to wage external wars. It is recorded, for instance, in *Nihon shoki* under the 9th lunar month of Ojin's 7th year (revised date ca. 396) that Kaya envoys participated in diplomatic contacts with the proto-Japanese on an equal footing with missions of the three main ancient Korean kingdoms.²⁷ No less than Paekche kings, Kaya rulers succeeded in winning over various proto-Japanese chieftains to their side and in using the latter to serve their own interests. A typical example of such a relationship is the story of Kungwol-gun (弓月君; Japanese: Yumitsuki-no kimi)²⁸ told in *Nihon shoki* under the 14th year and the 8th lunar month of the 16th year of Ojin (revised dates-ca. 403-405). According to the tale, a large group of supposedly Paekche and Kaya migrants wishing to move to the Japanese Archipelago, was blocked in Kara by Silla forces. Their leader, Kungwōl-gun, successfully solicited the military assistance of the Japanese Imperial Court, but even their representatives could not raise the blockade for three years.²⁹ We should remember that at that period the decisive element of the political situation on the peninsula was the sharp confrontation between Paekche, allied with the proto-Japanese, and Kaya on the one side, and Koguryō in league with its junior partner, Silla, on the other side. Koguryō's belligerent king, famed Kwanggaet'o (319-413) dealt Paekche a series of crushing blows in the great battles of 395 and 396, and then in 400, wiped out the latter's proto-Japanese allies who, using Kaya as their military springboard, attempted to invade Silla. During this operation, Koguryō's armies, and probably the troops of their Silla allies too, are thought to have occupied, at least partly, Kaya lands for some time. A further Japanese attempt to invade Koguryō itself (404) was also successfully repulsed. The still weaker partner, Silla, remained a target for Paekche (403) and Japanese (407) attacks, and even had to establish a friendly relationship with a proto-Japanese polity (402). Devastating war with mightier Koguryō, consequent military drafts and requisitions of property increased the number of refugees in Paekche (399) and probably in Kaya, too.³⁰ It seems only natural that, in such circumstances, a group of Paekche and Kaya refugees tried to reach friendly

Japanese lands. It is noteworthy that, being besieged by Silla forces in Kara, the group of Paekche and Kaya migrants artfully used their diplomatic relationship with the proto-Japanese to secure their emigration to the Japanese Archipelago.

Afterwards, in the mid-5th century, Silla managed to break out of its unequal alliance with Koguryŏ (450-455) and forged an anti-Koguryŏ alliance with its erstwhile rival, Paekche. Kara (Taegaya), being still under the political influence of Paekche, had to adopt a friendlier attitude towards Silla, too. Basically, the emergence of the tripartite anti-Koguryŏ alliance of Paekche, Silla and Kaya lands, of which Kara is thought to have played the most prominent role, served also the best interests of Kara itself, for southward expansion of Koguryŏ threatened its stability and trade ties with the Japanese islands. That was the reason Kara actively helped Silla to solicit the military help of proto-Japanese troops when Silla was attacked by a large Koguryŏ army some time after the Silla-Koguryŏ schism.³¹ This fact shows the active diplomatic role of Kara (Taegaya) within the tripartite anti-Koguryŏ alliance of southern Korean states and the close connections between Kara and proto-Japanese forces.

As is widely known, in 475 Koguryŏ once again scored a big victory in its epochal struggle against its arch-rival, Paekche, sacking the latter's capital, Hansŏng, and killing Paekche's King Kaero (r. 455-475). Forced to move its capital to Ungjin, today's Kongju in South Ch'ungch'ong Province, since Hansŏng and surrounding lands of the Han River valley were now lost to the northern enemy, Paekche for some time had its central government extremely weakened, with powerful noble families, Hae, Paek, etc., establishing their power bases in provinces and repeatedly revolting against monarchical authority. On the other hand, the Mok, a.k.a. Mokhyop or Mongna clan, which owed their strong positions in the Kaya region to their proximity to successful Paekche monarchs, Mokyhŏp Manch'i known as Mok Manch'i from *Nihon shoki*, is said to have escorted short-lived King Munju after the great defeat of 475. See *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 25, the 9th lunar month of the 21st year of King Kaero, was strongly affected by the upheaval, and seems to have lost part of its influence at least temporarily. Kim Hyŏn-gu, who summarized the theories of some Japanese and Korean scholars of the past, maintains that at some time between 475 and 478 a large part of the Mok family had to emigrate to the Japanese Archipelago, where the former Paekche noblemen gradually gained strength and eventually became the ancestors of the mighty Soga clan which virtually ruled Japan in 587-645.³² Due to the temporary weakening of Paekche and the territorial shift in Mok's power base, Kaya political

entities with Kara (future Taegaya) the foremost among them, had already reached a certain level of social and political maturity, and could almost completely free themselves from the traditional bonds of subordination to Paekche. Another Kaya neighbour, Silla, was at the time all too busy with checking Koguryŏ's southward expansion to pay serious attention to Kaya affairs.³³ Due to so favourable a turn in the international situation, Kara, with strong monarchical power already quite firmly established, could raise itself to the position of Kaya's regional leader and adopt a new official name, Taegaya (Great Kaya), which fully displayed the seriousness of its ambitions. As the hegemon and representative of the Kaya regional league, which is thought to have taken shape after Kaya became a dominant power, and Paekche sustained an overwhelming defeat in 475,³⁴ and Taegaya, still known to the Chinese as Kara, offered its tribute to the Southern Ch'i (479-502) in 479, and the Taegaya King Haji, known as Kasil from Korean sources, was granted an honorary Chinese title as a reward.³⁵ After this meaningful legitimization of Taegaya's new international status by what was perceived as the civilization's centre at that time - *Samguk sagi fascicle 3* records show how active Taegaya foreign policy had become: in 481, 3rd year of the Soji-maripkan's reign - Taegaya along with Paekche, rendered military assistance to Silla, which had been attacked by Koguryo and *malgal* troops, and in 496, the 18th year of the same ruler, it approached Silla with presents in an obvious attempt to protect itself from possible future encroachment by Paekche. As we can see, for approximately two decades after 475, Taegaya acted on the international scene as an equal member of the anti-Koguryŏ alliance of southern Korean states, and displayed a remarkable mastery of the diplomatic techniques of the era.

At the beginning of the 6th century, however, the political situation in the southern part of the peninsula again began to undergo significant changes. In the last years of the reign of King Tongsŏng (479-501) and during the reign of King Muryŏng (501-523), the Paekche monarchy reconfirmed its close relationship with Southern Chi' in early 490, reinforced its control over the provinces, stabilized general political conditions, and assumed the offensive in the ceaseless war against Koguryŏ thereby winning some important victories.³⁶ With the power apparatus of the centralized monarchy restored by Muryŏng's decisive and balanced measures, Paekche could resume its eastward expansion into Kaya lands. The main objectives of this offensive against Kaya entities were: first, to seize the fertile lands of the Naktong River valley and thus secure new sources of tax revenue, second, to take possession of Taegaya's famed iron mines in today's Yaro district of Koryŏng County to provide raw materials for weapons-making, third, and very important, to capture

strategically important Kaya fortresses near the Silla border, for example, Kuryemora Fortress in T'aksun territory)³⁷ thus preparing a military springboard for possible future conflict with Silla.³⁸ In fact, some Paekche diplomatic documents quoted in *Nihon shoki* promote grounds for suggesting that by mobilizing the Kaya populace and building partly locally staffed fortresses in Kaya territories bordering on Silla, Paekche wished to concentrate its own resources on the struggle with its main rival, mighty Koguryō. Paekche kings did not want to see their crack troops diverted to what they perceived as negligible border clashes until in 554 Silla unexpectedly dealt its one-time ally a first serious blow.³⁹ Also, Paekche kings could have been interested in monopolizing burgeoning Korea-Japanese trade and various contacts with the islands, which had traditionally been conducted equally by Paekche and Kaya entities.

According to *Nihon shoki* in 509 (the 2nd lunar month of the 3rd year of Keidai) Paekche forcibly returned the descendants of its refugees, who lived in Kaya lands, in some cases, 2nd or 3rd generation.⁴⁰ This action, aimed at repopulating the provinces devastated by wars, revolts, and famines, meant also the resumption of Paekche's eastward expansion once suspended by the defeat of 475. At the same time, the mention of Paekche migrants who lived in Kaya lands for generations tells us about the scale and depth of Paekche influence on the Kaya culture of the 5th century.

After this, probably partly due to the lack of any effective immediate countermeasures from the Taegaya side, Paekche continued its advance into Kaya lands. Around 512, Paekche forcibly seized, according to *Nihon shoki*, four Kaya territories, known from *Nihon shoki* (the 12th lunar month of the 6th year of Keidai's reign) as Sang-Dari (上多唎, "Upper" Tari), Ha-Dari (下多唎, "Lower" Tari), Sat'a (娑陀), and Moru (牟婁).⁴¹ Received as a grant from the Japanese government, their exact location will probably never be known; hypotheses are abundant. Suematsu Yasukazu maintained that the territories were located in today's Southern Chōlla Province; Ch'ōn Gwan-u was in favour of the theory that Paekche's eastward expansion in the early 6th century had the valleys of Naktong River's halfway up and downstream as its primary object, etc.⁴² The most reliable among them is the supposition that the four main territories were located in the Somjin River basin.⁴³ If this theory is to be believed, the main objective of Paekche's easterly advance must have been to intercept the Somjin Kaya-Japan trading route so that the brisk export of Korean handicrafts to the Japanese Islands could be monopolized by the Paekche court.⁴⁴ Threatened by Koguryō incursions from the north and constantly on the alert for potential encroachments by Silla on the east, Paekche

sometimes needed the military assistance of Japanese chieftains and was willing to repay by providing them with exquisite prestigious goods and other items from the advanced Sino-Korean culture. Thus, Kaya entities, proud of their own active and dynamic contacts with proto-Japanese kinglets, were viewed by the Paekche court as dangerous rivals. It is also quite clear that Kaya's and Paekche's trading partners on the other side of the Korean Strait must have been aware of the changes in peninsular conditions and have reacted positively to them otherwise Paekche, fully conscious of the potential aftermath from international trading networks, would not have been so audacious. Such an *ex post facto* positive reaction of interested proto-Japanese chieftains, very probably bought by generous gifts from Paekche's king, was later called in *Nihon shoki* "granting" the four territories to Paekche by the Japanese government.

Its vital trading interests being seriously affected, Taegaya had to respond to the aggression with a mighty counteroffensive. Around 513, Taegaya attacked and seized the old Kaya territories of Kimun (most historians locate it in today's Namwŏn, Koksŏng, or Imsil Counties of Chŏlla Province; Ch'ŏn Gwan-u favours Kaeryŏng in Kŭmnŭng County, Northern Kyongsang Province, as a possible location),⁴⁵ thus securing the valleys of Sŏmjŏn halfway and an important part of the trade route to the Japanese Islands (*Nihon shoki*, the 6th month of Keidai's 7th year). Interestingly, informing their Japanese partners of these events, Paekche envoys contemptuously referred to Taegaya by its old 4th century name, Panp'a, thus refusing to recognize Taegaya's current leading position in the region.⁴⁶

Struck by Taegaya's counterattack, Paekche acted promptly; at the end of 513, the Kimun region was recaptured, and scholar-of-five-classics, specialist in Confucian scriptures, Tan Yang-i, was sent to the Japanese partners to attempt to buy their consent to the Paekche-imposed changes in the control of trade between the peninsula and the islands. As we can see from many *Nihon shoki* records, Paekche scholars, skilled craftsmen, diviners, healers, and later Buddhist monks and nuns were greatly valued in the Japanese Archipelago where at that time native specialists of such kinds were totally lacking, so Paekche's attempt at a cultural-exporting diplomacy proved successful, and necessary consent was given. Taegaya's envoy, Chipchi, tried to overbid Paekche, enticing his hosts with rare treasures (珍寶), probably luxurious handiwork, but unsuccessfully: for the *haut monde* of early Japanese proto-states needed to import classical Chinese culture, but had only very scarce contacts with China proper at that period; Paekche-supplied Confucian scholars fully knowledgeable about the Chinese writing system were much more

valuable than Kaya handicrafts.⁴⁷ *Nihon shoki*, as usual, refers to this competition between two potential suppliers of advanced culture as “offering tribute,” and states that Kimun was “granted” to Paekche by the Japanese imperial court, but it is quite obvious that the latter, if the entity under such a title existed at all at that time, hardly had the military power on the peninsula able to influence the course of Paekche-Taegaya confrontation (the 11th month of Keidai’s 7th year). Archaeologically, it is interesting to note that in the Namwŏn region, presumably the location of ancient Kimun, 5th-6th century burials (Wŏlsan-ni, Kŏnji-ri, and Turang-ni mounds) still dominate Kaya material culture, represented by typically Kaya-style stone cist tombs with vertical entrances, big sabers with inlaid hilts, long-necked lidded pottery, horse armour, etc., sometimes suggestive of Taegaya influence. It co-existed with characteristically Paekche elements: serpent-head-like decorations, long iron arrow-heads, necklaces, or short-necked pottery, etc. Those elements gradually gained more and more important positions, especially from the early 6th century onwards, giving a vivid impression of the border region disputed by mightier neighbours.⁴⁸

Defeated in diplomatic competition, Taegaya had to resort to military means. According to *Nihon shoki* in 514 (the 3rd lunar month of Keidai’s 8th year), Taegaya, still contemptuously referred to as Panp’a, displaying the obvious Paekche origins of the record, built fortresses and beacon-towers in Chat’an. Kim T’ae-sik places it in Kŏch’ang; there are also Chinju and Ch’irwŏn theories⁴⁹ and Taesa (a.k.a. Tasa), the latter being an important port in the vicinity of today’s Hadong in Southern Kyŏngsang Province⁵⁰ through which much of the trade with the Japanese Archipelago was conducted. The purpose of those preparations must have been to guarantee the continuation of Kaya trade with the Japanese islands, as well as to beef up the defence of the Kaya League’s western border where incursions of the Paekche army or Japanese bands under its banner could be expected. At the same time, on having built fortresses on Kaya’s border with Silla in places known from *Nihon shoki* as Iryŏlbi usually thought to have been located in today’s Uiryŏng in South Kyongsang Province; also Suematsu pointed to Chain Township in Kyŏngsan County, North Kyŏngsang Province as another possible location⁵¹ and Masubi probably, Samga Township in Hapch’ŏn County, South Kyŏngsang Province, Taegaya troops made several raids against Silla, the Paekche ally of that time, thus enriching Taegaya coffers by plundering Silla inhabitants’ valuables and enslaving prisoners. Probably, it was the Taegaya incursions that forced Silla to build a lesser capital (*sogyŏng*) in Asich’ŏn, thought to have been located somewhere near today’s Uiryŏng,⁵² close to

Kaya's borders, and to resettle the populace of central districts there in the same year, thus strengthening the defence of its western periphery (*Samguk sagi*, fascicle 4, the 1st lunar month, the 15th year of King Chijung's reign). Bearing in mind that at that time Silla was still weaker than Paekche, did not possess sophisticated military administration-its Ministry of War, *Pyŏngbu*, was established only in 517, and until 500 was a victim of permanent Japanese plundering raids-it is easy to understand why it was easier for Taegaya aristocracy to amass their fortunes by looting Silla villages than to risk their lives in battles with the well-trained and well-equipped Paekche army.

Using their ability to provide their Japanese partners with advanced Sino-Korean logography-based culture as their main bargaining chip, Paekche in 515 succeeded, through the good offices of its envoy, Chŏmi Mun'gwi, in employing a Japanese mercenary band, led by a certain Mononobe-no Muraji, to attack Taegaya's newly fortified positions in the port of Taesa. As usual, *Nihon shoki* (the 2nd lunar month of the 9th year of Keidai's reign) tells us that Mononobe went to Korea on imperial rescript, but we have grounds to assume that Paekche had its own separate connections with the mighty house of Mononobe and the latter hardly needed formal confirmation from its Yamato sovereign whose power still was rather titular at that period, to help its continental friends. A later *Nihon shoki* record (the 3rd month of the 5th year of Kimmei) in which a Mononobe *naesol*, Paekche's 6th official rank, Kibi is mentioned as a Paekche official dispatched to Kaya, shows that the alliance between Paekche kings and the Mononobe clan went as far as promoting the members of the latter into Paekche officialdom. Phrases like "imperial rescript," obviously interpolated by the post-Taika zealots of tenno-centered order, should therefore, not be taken seriously.

Mononobe's expedition was extremely important symbolically for the development of relationships in the triangle, Paekche-Kaya-Japanese islands, for it showed that Japanese partners now favoured Paekche over Kaya and disapproved of Taegaya efforts to retain the Sŏmjŏn trade route. Militarily, however, it was disastrous for the attacking side; according to *Nihon shoki*. Mononobe's band was completely defeated by Taegaya's troops, even its clothes being taken by victorious Taegaya warriors as their trophies. Panic-stricken, Mononobe and his men fled upstream by way of the Sŏmjŏn River to the Paekche-held territory of Kimun where they were met by the Paekche envoy, Mokhyŏp Pulma Kappae. As we may remember, the Mok/Mokhyŏp clan historically had close connections with the proto-Japanese, who rewarded the hapless warriors with Paekche's traditional export items: iron weapons and silk (the 5th month of the 10th year of Keidai's reign.)⁵³ The generous pay-

ment received by the Mononobe band, despite the failure of its expedition, is thought to have made the ruling class of the Japanese islands even more pro-Paekche and further estranged from Kaya than before. To perpetuate this favourable attitude, Paekche in 516 sent one more Scholar-of-the-Five-Classics to the islands, a naturalized Chinese (漢) named Kao An-wu (Korean: Ko An-mu), who probably was meant to alternate with TanYang-i, three years before (the 9th month of the 10th year of Keidai). With the establishment of the system of permanent residence of alternating Paekche scholars in the islands, Paekche's cultural influence on the islanders increased remarkably. After some time, Paekche at last seized the port of Tasa, which subsequently became an important gateway on the route connecting Paekche with the islands.⁵⁴ Eventually, it was Paekche influence that, through exporting Buddhism, Chinese literacy, and varied advanced knowledge and techniques, made a decisive contribution to the development of 6th century Japanese culture. The prelude to this monumental series of disseminations of advanced culture was the victory over Taegaya which paved the way for progress in Paekche-Japanese contacts.

On the other hand, Taegaya defeated in the fight for control over trade with the Japanese islands, felt very isolated. It also viewed possible further advances of Paekche into neighbouring Kaya territories as a major potential danger to its leadership among Kaya communities, and in the future to its very independent existence. As a countermeasure to the Paekche assault upon Kaya's western borders, Taegaya chose an alliance with Silla, in the hope of using an imminent conflict of interests between the two biggest states of Southern Korea to its advantage. According to *Samguk saki* in 522 (fascicle 4, the 3rd lunar month of King Pophung's 9th year), at Taegaya's request, Silla, once a victim of Taegaya's looting raids, agreed to conclude an alliance by marriage with the latter, and permitted the Taegaya king's marriage to the daughter of a Silla aristocrat, Pijobu. A very similar record can be found in *Singjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, fascicle 29. In an article on Koryŏng County; in *Nihon shoki*, this marriage is mentioned, but the date is different, and explanations of the circumstances are rather far-fetched. The obvious objective of Taegaya's new politics of alliance with Silla was to balance Paekche's growing influence in the Kaya region, and thus guarantee its independence from possible future Paekche encroachment. We should admit that this kind of policy of the balance of forces when Taegaya checked Paekche's advance through an alliance with Silla, and if necessary, allied itself with Paekche in case Silla became too troublesome, worked well to preserve Taegaya's independence for more than four decades. Also, the alliance with Silla meant the

acknowledgement by Silla of Taegaya's leading role inside the Kaya league, and such recognition on the part of one of the two major states of southern Korea must have raised Taegaya's status inside the wider Kaya community. On the other hand, on having secured the neutrality of Taegaya, Silla could activate its advance into southern Kaya lands which culminated in the annexation of Nam-Kara in 532. Both the alliance between Taegaya and Silla and Silla's expansion into southern Kaya territories were anathema to Paekche which regarded it as a serious danger to its eastern borders, and as a result, the Paekche-Silla relationship was damaged beyond repair. The worsening of the relationship between the two main southern Korean states resulted in the war of 554 in which Paekche's King Sŏng was killed. After this, the more than 100 year-long rivalry between the two, which resulted in the annihilation of Paekche by allied Silla-T'ang forces, began. The fact that, being fully conscious of the possible grim consequences of the alliance with Taegaya because of its relationship with Paekche, Silla did still decide on this course of action bespeaks the importance of Taegaya to Silla policies. As a result of its alliance with Silla, Taegaya succeeded in protecting the Kaya region from further Paekche expansion, but on the other hand, made itself defenceless in the face of Silla aggression which began with the annexation of weaker southern Kaya communities but then gradually became a major threat to Taegaya, too. The struggle for independence against both Paekche and Silla expansionist drives (522-562) undeniably made Kaya social and political structures more sophisticated, but the socio-political developments of this period should be the theme of a separate paper and will not be discussed here.

III

Now I will attempt to discuss the stages of Taegaya socio-economic and political development from the mid-4th to early 6th centuries (up to 522), mainly on the basis of the *Nihon shoki* materials cited above. The general conclusion we can draw from the above sources is that Taegaya's development was strongly catalyzed by external factors, such as its diplomatic and trading relationships, especially with the Japanese Islands, and the hegemony among Kaya principalities it eventually achieved. Up to the mid 4th century, Kaya, especially southern Kaya, entities were led by the then strongest polity of Nam-Kara (a.k.a. pon-Kaya or Kumgwan) which almost monopolized trade and diplomatic relationships with the Japanese islands, and Panp'a (future Kara, then renamed Taegaya) was relatively small and weak. Due to an almost

complete lack of any relevant narrative evidence, we can not reach any conclusion about Panp'a's degree of socio-political development before the mid-4th century, but it is surmisable that Panp'a, as well as other Pyonjin communities described in the Account of Eastern Outlanders in *San-Guo Chih* was a chiefdom society in which the process of class stratification had just begun.⁵⁵

Circa 369, having established first contacts with the proto-Japanese, Paekche is thought to have attacked Nam-Kara and wrested a virtual monopoly on trade with the islands from them. The final blow to Nam-Kara was dealt by the southward expedition of Koguryo's King Kwanggaet'o in 400,⁵⁶ the emerging vacuum of political and military strength in the Kaya region was gradually filled by the growth of Panp'a, which started to use the new name Kara around this time. As we saw from the *Nihon shoki* records cited above, in 382 (or 442) the *hanki*, chief of Kara, had already started using the Chinese title of *wang*, king, and could delegate some part of his power to his sons and relatives, who conducted diplomatic negotiations on his behalf. This means that the *hanki's* political and administrative power had already been institutionalized as a clan of hereditary rulers and was duly respected by Kara's larger neighbours, especially by Paekche which is thought to have been its main counterpart in the negotiations. Taking into consideration that Paekche wielded a certain influence over the Kaya region at the time, we can suppose that Kara could consciously imitate some elements of the Paekche monarchical system and that the success of this mimicry was acknowledged by Paekche authorities who found it possible and necessary to lend a helping hand to Kara rulers. Certainly, the external stimuli to the development of more sophisticated institutions of government in Kara must have been matched by a corresponding degree of internal maturity: social stratification, formation of a separate stratum of military aristocracy topped by the ruling clan, a certain amount of wealth and political influence accumulated by this stratum. On the other hand, the fact that the indigenous and less prestigious title of *hanki* was used in parallel with the newly imported, obviously from Paekche, and more exalted title of *wang* shows the limitations placed on the fledgling monarchical system by the tradition of collective rule of the group *hanki*, chiefs of the main territorial communities Kara consisted of. Then, the fact that without Paekche assistance Kara could not drive back a band of Silla-employed proto-Japanese warriors bespeaks the weakness of Kara's military, which probably still consisted of separate detachments formed by the men of constituent communities and headed by the traditional chiefs, and did not have a regular officer corps, and its consequent dependence on Paekche protection. In a nutshell, in the late 4th century Kara still was a chiefdom society, although social strati-

fication and the formation of institutionalized power structures had made some progress.

In 369-475, the Kaya region is thought to have been under the influence of the Paekche Mok (a.k.a. Mokhyŏp, or Mongna) clan. The collateral effect of its domination was the stimulus to emulate the Paekche centralized monarchical system it had given to Kara's ruling stratum. The latter could not but recognize that only a monarchy with a regular standing army and the sophisticated administrative systems, regular taxation, corvee labour, etc., needed to support the strong military can dominate neighbouring regions and conduct active expansionist policy. In the first half and middle of the 5th century, Kara also learned from Paekche how to use military force and economic strength for the sake of diplomatic gains. Like Paekche, it maintained diplomatic and trade contacts with the proto-Japanese, used its influence on the latter to help Silla repulse Koguryŏ invasion, and participated in Paekche and Silla's battles with invading Koguryŏ troops. Such trade, and military and diplomatic activity shows the increased degree of Kara's socio-political maturity and the consequent enhancement of its international prestige. On the other hand, the fact that Kara sometimes had to resort to its contacts with proto-Japanese chieftains instead of providing its own troops shows that, militarily, Kara still was weaker than its larger neighbours and did not possess the regular and the bureaucratized professional military organization needed for conquests and external expansion. In a society in which the institutionalized power of hereditary rulers still does not have supra-tribal support, a formalized and professionalized tool of violence and in which, consequently, the ruling stratum can not expand its power externally by conquest and internally by violently destroying the pre-state forms of social organization, should be referred to as an advanced chiefdom, or semi-state, rather than as a state. Still, were it not for its comparatively high level of institutional development, Kara would probably have simply been annexed by its stronger and domineering neighbour, Paekche. In a word, Kara was not strong enough to get rid of Paekche interference, and at the same time it was not too weak, otherwise it would have been completely swallowed by Paekche.

After the great defeat Paekche suffered in 475, the weakened monarchy became absorbed in restoring its power and bringing province-based aristocracy back under its control, so Kara seized the opportunity to redefine its relationship with its one-time suzerain and recover its independence. Such changes in the international order in southern Korea were expedited by Paekche's crushing defeat, but were first of all, basically brought about by Kaya's own economic growth and socio-political development. It is interest-

ing to compare, for example, the success of the Kara-led league of Kaya polities in breaking away from Paekche's sphere of influence with the spectacular failure of Yubigi, presumably a Paekche provincial nobleman, who, after his flight to the Japanese Islands, adopted the name and title of Ki-no Ohiha-no Sukune, and his chief lieutenant, Chwaro Nagit'a Kappae, presumably a Kaya aristocrat with very close Paekche connections, who attempted in 487 to establish their own independent state on the territory of Irim which is thought to have been located in the Paekche-dominated border area strongly influenced also by Koguryō and Kaya. Taehung Township in Yesan County, South Ch'ungch'ong Province and Imsil County of North Cholla Province are the most influential of all existing surmises on Irim's location.⁵⁷ As we know from *Nihon shoki* (the 3rd year of Kenjo), Yubigi's rebellion was successfully quelled by the Paekche army, with its leaders, many of them of Kaya descent, either killed or forced to seek asylum on Japanese islands. As we can see, the attempt to seize the opportunity and get out of the Paekche orbit could lead to grave consequences for a community lacking resources and political consolidation, but that was not Kara's case. Utilizing the approximate fifteen years of Paekche's comparative weakness after the catastrophe of 475, Kara succeeded in tying a majority of Kaya polities into one political and military league under its leadership. Kara's new name, Taegaya, Great Kaya, adopted at this period, symbolized, among other things, the relation of succession between Pro-Kaya, or Main Kaya (a.k.a. Nam-Kara), the former leader of the Kaya confederation, and the new hegemon of the Kaya League. Taegaya's diplomatic contacts with Silla, which were as equals, and the most importantly Southern Ch'i, of which Taegaya became a formal tributary on a par with Paekche, meant that, as the representative of the Kaya league, Taegaya, at least, in its foreign relationships, became an equal of its former suzerain, Paekche.⁵⁸ On the basis of *Nihon shoki* materials and other narrative evidence cited above we can suggest that by the end of the 5th century Taegaya had developed to the level of an early state capable of sustaining the sophisticated diplomatic and military operations of its rulers.

As we were able to see in the *Nihon shoki* records, Taegaya maintained close trade and diplomatic relationships with the Japanese islands through the Sōmjīn route. Judging from records that indicated that Taegaya provided its Japanese partners with precious goods: silk, iron weapons etc. we can assume that a separate social stratum of professional craftsmen and artisans did exist in Taegaya, and were the professionals in the crafts who created the artistically excellent pottery, weaponry, and personal ornaments found in Taegaya noblemen's graves in Chisan-dong and Pon'gwan-dong in Koryōng. Such separa-

tion of farming and handicrafts meant that the process of social stratification had gone quite far. Highly developed handicrafts was the basis of Taegaya's brisk trade with the Japanese islands which greatly expedited the accumulation of wealth by Taegaya's ruling class and its further separation from the rest of society, and which, after 512, was constantly endangered by Paekche's attempts to forcibly monopolize it. Those attempts faced Taegaya's persistent resistance, for Taegaya's growing ruling class hardly wished to be deprived of the main source of its wealth and prestige. As could be expected, Paekche's attacks on Kaya trade routes provoked a series of armed conflicts between Paekche and the Taegaya-led Kaya league. In the process of this trade war, Taegaya successfully attacked Paekche and Silla lands, and repulsed the attack of a band of proto-Japanese warriors on Paekche. Taegaya's ultimate defeat was, in fact, more of a shift of Japanese attention toward Paekche than a simple military failure. The inhabitants of the islands were lured by Paekche's ability to supply them with the Chinese logograph-based advanced continental culture as shown by their sending the Scholars of the Five Classics, Tan Yang-i, Kao An-wu to the land where even indigenous specialists in Chinese writing, not to speak of high-level professionals of Confucian Classis, were far from abundant at that time. This pro-Paekche attitude of the nascent ruling stratum of the Japanese islands, and not merely the military superiority of Paekche over Taegaya-led Kaya troops, was the main reason forcing the Taegaya-headed Kaya coalition to evacuate the main Kaya strongholds on the Sömjin route, namely Kimun and Tasa port. In fact, in *Nihon shoki*, which is based largely on Paekche materials, no definite victories of Paekche armies over Kaya people are recorded.

The strength, shown by the Kaya troops in their confrontation with Paekche, and Taegaya's victories over Silla and proto-Japanese bands known from *Nihon shoki* records, demonstrates that a professional and well-organized army had already come into existence in Taegaya in the early 6th century. The existence of professionalized groups of soldiers and craftsmen bespeaks, in its turn, a comparatively high level of social stratification and division of labour in Taegaya. Then, the fact that, during the confrontation with Paekche, Taegaya built fortresses and beacon-towers on the territories of other Kaya polities, shows the degree of consolidation of the members of the Kaya league, as well as the existence of a system of corvee labour mobilization in Kaya communities. The existence of such a system implies also the availability of reasonably developed administrative institutions which can guarantee the organized requisition of a workforce, control over the process of construction, supply of materials, etc. We can conjecture, therefore, that, in some form, cer-

tain variants of a supra-communal ranked, and centrally controlled administrative system capable of extracting surplus value from the ruled, at least, in the form of corvee labour, did exist in Taegaya. The basically aristocratic society ruled by hereditary monarchs and capable of sustaining specialized groups of craftsmen, soldiers, and administrators can be viewed as a typical early state.⁵⁹ In fact, if the Silla court had not perceived its Taegaya counterparts as the rulers of a state equal to their own, the marriage of the Taegaya's king to the daughter of a Silla aristocrat would hardly have been possible.

Finishing this paper, I feel obliged to note three of its serious limitations. First, *Nihon shoki* materials are sometimes distorted and embellished to a point that makes rational research almost impossible, although many of them are based on reliable Paekche sources. Second, I used almost no archeological sources, although new findings in Koryŏng are giving a rare chance to observe the process of development of a Panp'a-Kara-Taegaya material culture from the mid 4th century up to the annexation of Taegaya by Silla in 562. Third, to develop and further prove the thesis of the existence of early statehood in Taegaya before the Silla conquest, I deliberately did not deal with *Nihon shoki* records for 522-562, because of space considerations. I hope I will be able to analyze these later records in my next work which will be a continuation of the present paper.

NOTES

1. Ch'oe Gwang-sik, *Kodae han'gug-ŭi kukka-wa chesa* (State and Sacrifices in Ancient Korea). Published by Han'gilsa, Seoul, 1994, pp. 88-115.
2. Lee Jong-uk, *Silla kukka hyŏngsong sa yŏn'gu* (Study on the Formation of Silla State). Published by Ilchogak, Seoul, 1982.
Lee Jong-uk, *Han'gug-ŭi ch'ogi kukka hyŏngsŏng-gwa Silla-ŭi chŏngch'i-jŏk sŏngjang* (Formation of the Early States in Korea and Political Growth of Silla)-*Hanguk sa yon'gu immun* (Introduction into Study of Korean History). Published by Chisik sanŏp sa, Seoul 1990, pp. 71-79.
Lee Hyŏnhye, *Samhan sahwe hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng yŏn'gu* (Study on the Process of Formation of Samhan Society). Published by Ilchogak, Seoul, 1984.
3. Kim Chŏng-bae, *Han'guk kodae-ŭi kukka kiwŏn-gwa hyŏngsŏng* (Origins and Formation of Ancient State Korea). Published by Koryo University Publishing Department, Seoul, 1986.
4. Mishina Shoei. *Chosen shi gaisetsu* (Outline of Korean History), Tokyo, 1940.
Chindan hakhwe (Association for Study of Korean History), Han'guk sa. Kodae

- p'ŏn (Korean History, Ancient Period). Co-authored by Lee Byŏng-do and Kim Chae-wŏn. Published by Ŭryu munhwa sa, 1959.
5. Summary of younger archeologists' opinions on the problem of the origins of statehood in Korea can be found in *Han'guk kodae kukka hyŏngsŏng non* (On the Formation of Ancient State in Korea). Compiled and edited by Ch'oe Monnyong and Ch'oe Sŏngnak. Published by the Publishing Department of Seoul National University, 1997.
 6. The logograph (倭) (Korean: wae: Japanese: wa) which usually refers to the ancient populace of Japanese Islands is usually translated as Japan or Japanese, but it should be remembered that, ethnically, the ancient inhabitants of the islands were largely heterogeneous, with whole districts and regions populated by various groups of continental migrants. Then, it is thought the Yamato regime of the Kinai region then united various provincial clans into a quite loose kind of confederative proto-kingdom only in the mid 5th century or even later, with Yamato's military domination over *de facto* independent entities on Kyushu being established only in the early 6th Century and regional autonomy rights wrested from the hands of powerful regional clans after the Taika reforms. Although in *Nihon shoki*, compiled with the aim of glorifying *tenno's* Imperial dynasty, only Yamato's rulers, *tenno's* ancestors, are described as the subject of external contacts by the Islands in antiquity. In fact, there are strong suspicions, mostly based on archeological materials, that at least prior to the early 6th century, real counterparts of Paekche and Kaya were the rulers of northern Kyushu, and then the records of peninsular contacts were remade into a history of Yamato's diplomatic relations with Korea. Taking into consideration, therefore, that words like Japan or Japanese, if applied in early times, are easily associated with the Yamato regime, predecessor of post-Taika Japan. I will translate (倭) as proto-Japanese in this paper. Through such translation, I wish it to be remembered that the question of what concrete clan and region of pre-Taika Japan conducted the contacts with Korea described in *Nihon shoki* as that of Yamato definitely remains unanswered. See: Lee Gi-dong, *Paekche sa yŏn'gu* (Study of Paekche History). Published by Ilchogak, Seoul, 1966. pp. 228-237.
 7. Kim T'ae-sik. *Kaya sa-ŭi yŏn'gu-ŭi chemunje* (Problems of Kaya History Research) in *Han'guk sanggo sa: yon'gu hyonhwang-gwa kwaje*, (Korean Historiography of the Earliest Period of Ancient History: Present Situation and Tasks). Published by Minumsa, Seoul, 1988.
 8. Kwŏn Hak-su, *Kaya chegug-ŭi sŏngjang-gwa hwan'gyŏng* (The Growth of Kaya States and Environment) *Paeksan hakpo* (Paeksan Journal of Korean Studies), Vol. 30-31, 1985.
 9. Ch'ŏn Gwan-u, *Samhan-ŭi kukka hyŏngsŏng. Sang* (Formation of State in Three Han. Part One), *Han'guk hakpo* (Korean Studies Journal). Vol. 2, 1976.
 10. Lee Yŏng-sik. *Kaya chegug-ŭi kukka hyŏngsŏng munje* (The problem of State Formation of Kaya States) - *Paeksan hakpo* (Paeksan Journal of Korean Stud-

- ies), Vol. 32, 1985
11. Kim T'ae-sik, *Kaya-ŭi sahwe palchŏn tangye* (The Stage of Kaya's Social Development)-*Han'guk kodae kukka-ŭi hyŏngsŏng* (Formation of Ancient State in Korea). Published by Minumsa, Seoul, 1990, pp. 90, 100.
 12. Lee Yŏng-sik, Op.sit.
Lee Yŏng-sik, *Silla-wa Kaya chegug-ŭi chŏnjaeng-gwa wegyo* (Wars and Diplomatic Contacts between Silla and Kaya States), in *Silla-ŭi taewe kwan'gye sa yŏn'gu* (Studies on Silla's External Relationship). 1992.
Lee Yŏng-sik, *Kaya chegug-ŭi wegyo hyŏngsik* (Forms of Diplomacy of Kaya States), in *Hanguk kodae sa yŏn'gu* (Study of Ancient Korean History). Vol 7, 1994. In this pioneer work, Lee analysed the terms used in the "Chronicles of Silla" in Samguk sagi in describing the diplomatic contacts between Silla and Kaya polities, and found that they mostly designated the relationship between equals rather than that between senior and junior states. It can, therefore, be assumed that, at least in the perception of Silla rulers, Kaya polities' international status, and consequently, its degree of socio-political development, did not differ much from that of Silla itself.
 13. It is generally accepted in Japanese studies scholarship, that in the case of *Nihon shoki* records pertaining to the reigns of Jingu, or even earlier, or Ojin, the dating was made earlier than the actual by two or three sexagenary cycles. It therefore has to be corrected by 120 or sometimes even 180 years, depending on the mentioning of corresponding events in Korean or Chinese historiography. See Mishina Shoei ed. *Nihon shoki kenkyu* Study on *Nihon shoki*. 1969, Vol. 3, pp. 104-117.
 14. Lee Gi-dong. Op. Sit., pp 211-220.
 15. The scene vividly depicting the Paekche king trying to win the Japanese over by demonstrating to their envoys the superior level of Paekche handicrafts can be found in *Nihon shoki* under the 3rd lunar month of the 46th year of Jingu's reign: The Japanese envoys were each given one roll of five-coloured silk, horn-made bows, and arrows, forty iron ingots as gifts. The King said to them that in Paekche such rare treasures were abundant and that he wanted to offer them as tribute to the Esteemed Country (of Japan). It is clear that here the tribute is nothing more than the euphamism preferred by the compilers of *Nihon shoki* for the concept of international state-level trade.
 16. Kim Hyŏn-gu, *Sa-segi Kaya-wa Paekche, Yamat'o-wa-ui kwan'gye* (Relationship Between Kaya, Paekche and Yamato in 4th Century) in *Hanguk kodae sa nonch'ŏng* (Collection of Papers on Ancient Korean History). Vol. 6, 1994, pp. 132-133.
Lee Mun-gi. *Taegaya-ŭi taewe kwan'gye*, (Foreign Relationship of Taegaya), in *Kaya sa yŏn'gu* (Study on Kaya History). Published by the Administration of Northern Kyongsang Province. 1995, p. 212.
Ch'ŏn Gwan-u. *Kaya sa yŏn'gu* (Study of Kaya History). Published by Ilchogak,

- Seoul 1991, pp. 23-26.
17. Kim Chǒng-ch'ol, *Pukpu chiyok Kaya munhwa-ui kogohak-chǒk kǒchal* (Archeological Study of Kaya Culture of Northern Region) in *Han'guk kodae sa yǒn'gu* (Study on Ancient Korean History). Vol. 1, 1988, pp. 240-241.
 18. In his messages, dated 541, addressed to Kaya rulers, Paekche's King Song (523-544) described the past of Paekche-Kaya contacts in the following way, "Earlier, in the epoch of my ancestors, Kings Sokko (Kũnch'ogo, ruled 346-375) and Kwisi (Kũn'gusu, ruled 375-384), *hanki* (chieftains, -V.T.) of Alla, today's Haman County in South Kyǒngsang Province, -V.T., Kara, T'aksun, and others for the first time sent their envoys to contact us. We firmly established friendly relationships and (Kaya chieftains) became (our) younger brothers and sons" *Nihon shoki*, the 4th lunar month of the 2nd year of Kimmei's reign; "My ancestors, Kings Sokko and Kwisu, first began to establish friendly relations with the then *hanki* (of Kaya). Through (due) ceremonies they became elder and younger brothers, and from that time on we used to regard you as sons and younger brothers, and you used to regard us as fathers and elder brothers," *Nihon shoki*, the 7th lunar month of the same year.
 19. Kim Hyǒn-gu, *Imna Ilbon bu yǒn'gu* (Study of the Japanese Government of Mimana). Published by Ilchogak. Seoul, 1991, pp. 23-26.
 20. No Jung-guk. *Taegaya-ũi chongch'i sahwe kujo* (Socio-Political Structure of Taegaya), in *Kaya sa yon'gu*, p. 156.
 21. Kim T'ae-sik. *Kaya yǒnmaeng sa* (History of Kaya League). Published by Ilchogak, Seoul, 1993, pp. 102-103.
 22. Except only one, all names of Kibon's sons listed in our record have the ending *chi/ji* (至) which is thought to have designated a noble person, a respected person. See Yang Chu-dong, *Kukhak yǒn'gu non'go* (Papers on Korean Studies). Published by Uryu munhwa sa, Seoul, 1962, p. 155. Interestingly, the person having the name Nimon (泥文) strikingly similar to that of one of Kibon's sons, Imun-ji (爾汶至), is mentioned in *Samguk sagi* (fascicle 32) as a disciple of Uruk, Kaya's best-known musician of the 6th century. Probably, this kind of name etymologically can be linked to the ancient Korean root *nimi* (modern Korean *nim*, 님) meaning the senior, "the chief". See Lee Byong-son, *Han'guk kodae kungmyǒng chimyǒng yǒn'gu* (Study on Ancient Korean Names of States and Toponyms). Published by Asea munhwa sa, Seoul, 1988, p.304.
 23. The younger sister's recorded name, Kijonji (既殿至) is amazingly similar to the name of a later Kara (Taegaya) aristocrat, found in *Nihon shoki* in two graphic variants, Kijonhae (既殿奚; the 11th lunar month of Keidai's 7th year), and Kojonhae (古殿奚); the 4th lunar month of the 2nd year, and the 11th lunar month of the 5th year of Kimmei). In both cases, the traditional Japanese reading is Kotenkei. This name seems to resemble the phonetically popular Silla cognomen of kot'a (cf. Kot'aso-nang, 古陀炤娘, daughter of Kim Ch'unch'u, killed together with her husband during a Paekche attack against Taeya Fortress

- in 642, see *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 41; Kot'aji, (居陀知), a 9th century Silla archer, mentioned in *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 2, Article on Great Queen Chinsong and Kot'aji, etc.). A similar sound combination can be found in some Silla toponyms, like Kot'aya-gun (古陀耶郡; today's Andong County of Northern Kyöngsang Province). The attempts of some Korean and Japanese scholars (Kim Sön-gi, Inoue Hideo) to link *kot'a* etymologically to such modern Korean words as big (*k'uda*), or flower (*kkot*) are interesting but can hardly be convincingly proven linguistically.
24. Kim Hyön-gu attempts to prove that, in fact, Kara's solicitations for help were addressed to Paekche. Paekche, not proto-Japanese polities, should be credited with saving Kara from the Sochihiko/Sachihiko raid. He maintains that all mention of Japan in this fragment is no more than a fabrication by the *Nihon shoki* compilers aimed at proving the existence of the so-called Japanese Government of Mimana (Kim Hyon-gu, *Op. Sit.*, p. 52). On the other hand, Kim Chöng-suk admits that in the situation of serious external disturbances, Kara could solicit not only Paekche for help, but also the proto-Japanese allies of the latter (Kim Chong-suk, *Taegaya-üi songnip-gwa palchön*, (The Formation and Development of Taegaya) in *Kaya sa yong'gu*, p. 109). Admittedly, Paekche was the undisputed hegemon of the Kaya region in the period in question and the main potential source of assistance for Kara, but the former's proto-Japanese allies, traditionally hostile to Silla, also could have been interested in checking Silla's attempts to destabilize the situation in Kaya lands, such as the Silla-provoked Sochihiko/Sachihiko raid.
25. On the subject of Paekche's eight noble families, see Lee Hong-jik, *Paekche inmyöng ko* (On Paekche's Names), in his *Han'guk kodaë sa-ui yön'gu*, (Study of Ancient Korean History). Published by Sin'gu munhwa sa, Seoul, 1971, pp. 333-361.
26. "In *Paekche gi'* (Paekche Chronicle) it is said that Mok Manch'i was none other than Mongna Künja's (son). While chastising Silla, Mongna Künja took a woman from that country, and that was the way (Mok Manch'i) was born. On his father's merits, he took complete charge of Imna's (affairs), frequented our country and used to visit the Esteemed Country (of Japan). Modelling his laws after those of the Celestial Dynasty (of Japan), he took the helm of affairs of our state. His power was totally predominant in that period. Finally, the Celestial Dynasty (of Japan), on having heard of his violent acts, recalled him." Based on Paekche sources, this account is thought to contain basically reliable information. It goes without saying that the flowery Chinese expressions, like Celestial Dynasty (天朝), were interpolated into earlier Paekche texts by *Nihon shoki* compilers. Then, it is fully imaginable that Mok Manch'i visited the proto-Japanese allies of Paekche in the capacity of a Paekche envoy. According to *Nihon shoki's* records pertaining to the Keidai and Kimmei regions, such members of the Mokhyöp family as Mokhyöp Pulma Kappae, Mokhyup Maesun,

Mokhyöp Kumdon, and Mokhyöp Munja, were dispatched as envoys to Kaya rulers and the Japanese on various occasions, but this hardly played the decisive role in his career. Then, some scholars, (including Lee Hong-jik and Kim Hyon-gu) do suppose that Mok Manch'i could have moved to one of the Japanese polities at some point in his career (see below), but it was rather political emigration than recalling by Japanese authorities.

27. People from Ko(gu)ryō, Paekche, Imna, and Silla offered their tribute together. At that time, Takeuchi-no Sukune was ordered to oversee the Koreans and make a pond. That is the reason that pond is called The Pond of the Koreans. It is quite evident that two different historical phenomena, - state-level trade of ancient Koreans with the proto-Japanese through the medium of diplomatic missions, which were later renamed tribute offerings by *Nihon shoki* compilers, and emigration to the Japanese archipelago by the highly skilled Koreans who became responsible for irrigation projects, such as pond-digging, are being mixed into this record. On the other hand, in a very similar record to the *Kojiki* chapter on the Emperor Ojin, in which it is stated that a group of the migrants from Silla made a pond named Paekche Pond, and no Kaya people are mentioned. Kim Hyōn-gu regards this as good proof that the record from *Nihon shoki* mentioned above is a complete falsification (Kim Hyōn-gu, Op. Sit., p. 81), but we should remember that, on the whole, Korea-related accounts of *Nihon shoki* are much more informative than those of *Kojiki*, for the compilers of the latter were primarily concerned with the Japanese imperial mythos and did not use Paekche sources much.

28. Two of the heroes of ancient Korea, whose names included the logograph Kung (弓, a bow) as the first component are Kungp'a (弓巴, or Kungbok, 弓福; better known under his later sinicized cognomen of Chang Bogo,) (張保臯) overlord of a vast international maritime trade network, was killed in 846 by royal order and Kungye (弓裔, founder of the Later Koguryo, dethroned by Wang Gōn in 918 and killed). In Kungp'a/kungbok, his biography in *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 44, tells us that his native place and ancestry are not known. It can mean that his family name was not known either, and there are some grounds to think that he started to style himself Chang (張) after settling in T'ang China. In Kungye, *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 50, tells us that his family name was Kim. Thus, in both cases Kung was part of the personal name, not a family name. Therefore, we can suspect that in the case of Kungwol-gun "Kung" is part of a personal name and not a family name. The second component of this name, wol, probably being a phonetic representation of the ancient Korean word al (at) - elder. "chief" (in Silla and Koguryo these names were sometimes represented by such logographs as (乙) or (闕), see: Yang Chu-dong, Op. Sit., p. 171; Lee Byong-son, Op. Sit., p.198-199). The name as a whole could mean the elder of the archers, or the elder of the bow makers.

29. No Jung-guk considers Kungwōl-gun to be a Paekche aristocrat of Chinese

ancestry (*Sa-o segi Paekche-ŭi chŏngch'i unyŏng* "Political Process in 4th to 5th Centuries Paekche," in *Han'guk kodae sa nonch'ŏng Collection of Papers on Ancient Korean History*. Vol. 6, 1994). On the other hand, the fact of Kungwol-gun's group's protracted sojourn in Kara shows that it could have connections, ethnical or political, with the Kaya populace, too.

30. See *Samgug sagi*, fascicles 3, 18, and 25; inscription on the burial stele of King Kwanggaet'o (Kwanggaet'o-wangnung-bimun, in Ho Hung-sik, ed. *Han'guk kumsŏk chŏnmun* (Complete Collection of Korean Epigraphs), Vol 1, pp. 5-11.

31. According to a rather fabulous account in *Nihon shoki*, Silla initially forged its alliance with Koguryŏ only out of fear of Japanese invasion. On establishing the alliance, one hundred of Koguryŏ's picked soldiers were stationed in the Silla capital. Being on furlough, one Koguryŏ soldier revealed to a Silla horsekeeper that Koguryŏ, in fact, was planning to encroach on Silla territories. On hearing this revelation, the king of Silla ordered his subjects to "kill the cocks being reared at home"; Koguryŏ soldiers usually decorated their hats and helmets with bird feathers. All "cocks" have been successfully slaughtered, except one who managed to flee and told the story to his king. After a large Koguryŏ army attacked Silla and the king of the latter felt that he was outnumbered, he asked the "King of Imna," presumably, a ruler of Kara/Taegaya, to solicit the military help of the generals of the Japanese Government. The latter, Kibi-no Omi Konasi, Kasiwade-no Omi Ikaruga, and others, acting on the Imna king's request, defeated the Koguryŏ army and then severely reprimanded Silla's king for the lack of deference towards the Celestial Dynasty of Japan. The next year, Silla, in its turn, attacked and defeated by another Japanese army, (the 2nd lunar month of the 8th year, and the 3rd lunar month of the 9th year of Unryaku's reign; the generally accepted corrected dates are ca. 464-465).

As we can see, the story includes some typically folklore elements, the universal motif of an accidentally revealed enemy's conspiracy, etc. and visible later interpolations, the Japanese Government on the peninsula, Celestial Dynasty, etc. Large fragments of the text are literally copied from such model Chinese histories as *Shih Chi*, *Han Shu* and *San Guo Chih*. According to Kim Hyŏn-gu, this account is based on Paekche materials later embellished and distorted by Japanese compilers, and Koguryŏ attack on Silla, which Kim maintains did take place in reality, was, in fact, repulsed by Kaya-stationed Paekche troops (Kim Hyŏn-gu, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 86-87). Still, in as much as the account also includes concrete personal names and toponyms, it is hard to consider it complete falsification. In fact, it is quite imaginable that being attacked by Koguryŏ, as he actually was in 450, 454, and 468, the King of Silla asked the ruler of Kara, who was experienced in diplomatic contacts with the proto-Japanese, to find a mercenary band which could augment Silla troops. It also does not seem strange that another proto-Japanese band attacked Silla the next year. Japanese attacks against Silla are recorded in *Samgug sagi* in 459, 462, and 463, for as Lee Hŏng-jik

- pointed out, separate proto-Japanese gangs which acted as mercenaries or plunderers on the peninsula, according to circumstances, often had conflicting intentions and were not united into one force (Lee Hyŏn-jik, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 142, 145).
32. Kim Hyŏn-gu, *Op. Sit.*, pp.55-61.
 33. Lee Mun-gi, *Op. Sit.*, P. 222
 34. As Kim T'ae-sik rightly points out, archaeological evidence shows that Kara, the Taegaya ruling class, gradually strengthened its social positions, built imposing tombs, and possessed large amounts of prestigious luxury goods beginning from the period of the mid 4th century to the early 5th century onward, so this period also can be taken as the starting point of existence for the Kara-led, Kaya league. During this period Chisan-dong tombs 32NE-1, 32SW-1, and later burials No's. 32-35, where golden crowns, decorated sabres, armour, decorative jade, and the bones of retainers or slaves, who were buried with their master, were excavated and are thought to have been built. See: T'ae-sik, *Kaya yŏnmaeng-ŭi chegaenyom pigyŏ*, (*Comparison of Various Concepts of Kaya League*) in *Kaya chegu-ŭi wangkwŏn* (Royal Power in Kaya Lands). Published by Sinsowon, Seoul, 1997, pp. 36-38; Kim Se-gi, *Taegaya myŏje-ui pyŏnch'ŏn* (Changes in Taegaya Burial System) in *Kaya sa yŏn'gu*, pp. 323-327, 357-358. On the other hand, it should also be noted that burials structurally copying those of Taegaya with Taegaya-style earthenware, started to be built in other Kaya communities only in the second half of the 5th century. (See Kim Se-gi, *Op. Sit.*, pp 361-363; Lee Hui-jun, *T'ogi-ro pon Taegaya-ui kwŏnyŏk-kwa ku pyŏnch'ŏn* = "Taegaya's Sphere of Influence and its Changes, as seen through Pottery," in *Kaya sa yŏn'gu*, pp. 412-427. Thus there are some reasons to regard this period as the time of genuine formation of the Taegaya-led Kaya league which could hardly take full shape in the era of Paekche political dominion in the Kaya region.
 35. See *Nan Ch'i Shu* (The History of Southern Chi') fascicle 58, Account of Southern and Eastern Outlanders (東南夷傳), Article on the Land of Kara (加羅國條).
 36. *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 26, reign of King Muryong, the 11th lunar month of the first year, the 9th month of the 3rd year, the 9th month of the 12th year. See also: No Jung-guk, *Paekche chibae seryog-ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn* (Changes in Paekche Ruling Class) in *Hanguk sa yŏn'gu immun*, p. 84.
 37. According to the research of Imanishi Ryu, Kim T'ae-sik, and Kim Jong-hak, this fortress is frequently mentioned in *Nihon shoki* as a strategically important point to Paekche, Silla, and Japanese expeditionary forces, which attacked on various occasions (the 9th lunar month of Keidai's 24th year; the 3rd and 11th months of Kimmei's 5th year). It was located in today's Ch'angwon or Haman County, Southern Kyongsang Province. Kim T'ae-sik even points to an old fortress site in the village (*ri*) of Kwisong, township (*myŏn*) of Ch'irwon, Haman County as a possible location of ancient Kuryemora. See: Kim T'ae-sik, *Kaya yonmaeng sa* (History of Kaya League). Published by Ilchogak, Seoul, 1993, p. 186

38. According to *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 26, the 7th month of King Tongsong's 23rd year, Paekche had already built a palisade on T'anhyon Ridge in 501, thus preparing itself for possible border clashes with Silla. Being allies in the struggle against the contemporary superpower of the peninsula, Koguryo, both Paekche and Silla were fully aware of the inevitability of the conflict of their territorial interests and expansionist ambitions.
39. In one of his 544 letters to Kaya rulers Paekche's King Song stated that if Paekche's commanders of fortresses (*sŏngju*) were not stationed in southern *Han* counties, i.e. Kaya, it would have been impossible for Paekche to defend itself from the strongest of the enemies (*kangjŏki*, obviously Koguryŏ), while simultaneously deterring Silla forces from aggression (the 11th lunar month of the 5th year of Kimmei's reign). At the time the letter was written, Paekche officers had already been stationed in the fortresses in some Kaya territories in the vicinity of the Silla border, their men presumably being drafted from the local populace. Explaining this situation which was viewed from the Kaya side as an infringement upon Kaya entities' sovereignty, King Song cited the need to maintain simultaneously two lines of defense, one against Koguryo and one against Silla, and concentrate his own main forces against the strongest enemy, Koguryo. More detailed analysis of the fragment can be found in: Lee Yŏng-sik, *Yuk segi chungyob-ŭi Kaya-wa Wae* (Kaya and Proto-Japanese in the mid 6th century) in *Kaya sa ron* (On Kaya History), Published by the Institute of Korean Studies of Koryo University, Seoul, 1993, pp. 38-39.
40. In *Nihon shoki*, this action is said to have been directed by "Japanese officials"; Kaya lands where Paekche refugees settled are called Japanese Districts and Fiefs (日本縣邑), but, taking into consideration at least the fact that the name Japan (日本) first appears in Korean sources in the late 7th century, almost before it was used in Japan itself, and the inhabitants of the Japanese Islands were usually known abroad as wae (倭), a term I translate as proto-Japanese. All mention of the Japanese officials or administrative units in 6th century Korea should be regarded as later falsifications. See Kim Hyon-gu, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 179-180.
41. According to *Nihon shoki*, Paekche offered tribute to the Japanese court, and asked for the grant of those four territories. They are said to have been granted to Paekche upon the memorial submitted to the court by Oshiyama Hodzumi-no Omi, the Japanese "Governor" (國守) of Ha-dari, who stated that those territories should be granted to Paekche on account of their proximity to the latter and their remoteness from Japan.
Inasmuch as the above record of *Nihon shoki* includes concrete Korean toponyms, it can be considered a later variation of an earlier Paekche text and, as such, credited with certain historical veracity. Still, it is obvious that the compilers of *Nihon shoki* had altered the original source to a very high degree, renaming it as was their usual way. Paekche's state-level trade with ancient inhabitants of Japanese Islands became "offering of tribute". Various proto-states of the

- islands Paekche had contact with became Japan, and proto-Japanese warlords employed along with their armed retinue by Kaya entities or Paekche became Japanese governors. It is also not impossible, that Oshiyama, with his pro-Paekche sympathies was, in fact one of the earliest Paekche officials of Japanese origin charged with authoring Paekche's diplomatic documents sent to Kaya's Japanese trading partners on Kaya-related occasions. In relation with Kaya, Paekche widely employed Japanese officials later, in the reign of King Sǒng (523-554). See Kim Hyon-gu, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 153-154.
42. Ch'ŏn Gwan-u *Op. Sit.*, pp. 40-44.
Suematsu Yasukazu, *Mimana kobo shi* (History of Imna's Rise and Fall). Published by Yoshikawa kobunkan, Tokyo, 1949, pp. 115-123.
43. Yŏn Gap-su, *Yuk-segi chonban Kaya chegug-ul tullo-ssan Paekche, Silla-ui tonghyang* (Kaya States-related Moves of Paekche and Silla in Early 6th Century) in *Silla munhwa* (Silla Culture), Vol. 7, 1990, pp. 117-119.
44. Lee Mun-gi, *Op. Sit.*, p. 223.
45. Imanishi Ryu. *Chosen ko shi-no kenkyu* (Study of Ancient Korean History). Published by Kokusho kankokai, Tokyo, 1970, p. 389.
Kim T'ae-sik. *Op. Sit.*, pp. 114-125.
Ch'ŏn Gwan-u. *Op. Sit.*, p. 43
46. Kim T'ae-sik, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 95-105. On the other hand, some Japanese historians of the older generation denied any connection between Taegaya and Pan'p'a, placing the latter in Sǒngju County, North Kyŏngsang Province (Imanishi Ryu, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 358-360), or Tanyang County, Northern Ch'ungch'ong Province (Tsuda Shokichi, *Chosen rekishi jiri kenkyu*. Vol. 1, 1913; reprinted in his posthumous collection of works, *Tsuda Shokichi zenshu*, Vol. 11, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1964, p.116.)
47. Kim T'ae-sik. *Op. Sit.*, p. 132
48. Lee Yŏng-sik, *Paekche-ui Kaya chinch'ul kwajong* (Process of Paekche's Advance into Kaya, in *Han'guk kodae sa nonch'ong* (Collection of Papers on Ancient Korean History). Vol. 7, 1995, pp. 211-215.
49. Kim T'ae-sik, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 126-128.
50. The Hadong theory is generally accepted, but Ch'ŏn Gwan-u's supposition that Tasa could have been located in today's Tasa Township, Talsǒng County in North Kyŏngsang Province (Ch'ŏn Gwan-u, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 43-44) also gained some acceptance.
51. Suematasu Yasukazu. *Op. Sit.*, p. 127.
Lee Yong-sik. *Op. Sit.*, p. 217.
52. *Han'guk kodae kŭmsŏkmun* (Ancient Korean Epigraphs). Edited by Han'guk Kodae sahwe yŏn'guso, Seoul, 1992, Vol. 2, p. 107
53. Kim T'ae-sik does not regard the Mononobe band of mercenaries and considers the scene itself a description of Paekche-Japan trade (Kim T'ae-sik, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 132-133). In any case, the record shows the importance of Paekche's exquisite

handiwork to the contemporary Japanese aristocracy which is thought to have used them as prestige symbols.

54. According to *Nihon shoki* (the 3rd month of the 23rd year of Keidai), the port of Tasa was taken from Taegaya and granted to Paekche in 529 by imperial envoys, Mononobe-no Ise-no Muraji Kasone and Kishi-no Okina, who had to travel to the peninsula to enforce the grant. Inasmuch as the record refers to Taegaya as Kara, and not as Panp'a, the oldest name of Taegaya in the days of its complete weakness; Panp'a was considered a somewhat derogatory name in the 6th century. It mentions concrete toponyms and personal names and can be regarded as a relatively reliable source, probably based on Kaya primary materials. However, it is only too obvious that Japanese envoys could hardly grant Paekche the territory the imperial troops had failed to conquer. (As mentioned, in 515 Mononobe-no Muraji's expedition against Taegaya troops which defended Tasa ended in complete failure, too serious to be ignored even by *Nihon shoki* compilers. Consequently, we have to surmise that, in fact, the territories in question were just seized by the Paekche army, and this military action was afterwards approved of by Keidai's mission. Interestingly, the mission was headed by a member of the Mononobe clan which, as we noted before, maintained a very close relationship with the Paekche court. Then, the dating of the entry is arbitrary. At its end, it is stated that, irritated by the granting of Tasa to Paekche, the Taegaya king decided to enter into a friendly relationship with Silla, traditional enemy of the pro-Japanese and a potential rival of Paekche. In fact, alienated by both Paekche and the Keidai court, the Taegaya king did ally himself with Silla, but, as I will show below, it happened in 522 when he married a daughter of a Silla nobleman, and not in 529. Consequently, we can surmise that Tasa was seized by Paekche before 522. See Kim T'ae-sik, *Op. Sit.*, pp. 134-135.
55. Lee Gi-dong, *Han'guk kodaek kukka kiwŏn non-ui hyŏn tan'gye* (Current Stage of the Debates on the Origins of Ancient Korean State) in *Han'guk sanggŏ sa-ŭi chemunje*, pp. 170-182.
56. Kim T'ae-sik, *Kwanggaet'o-wang nŭngbi mun-ŭi Imna Kara-wa Alla in yung-byŏng* (Imna-Kara of the Text of Inscription on the Stele of King Kwanggaet'o and 'Alla Patrol Troops), in *Han'guk kodaek sa nonch'ŏng*, Vol. 6, 1994, pp. 102-109.
57. Yŏn Min-su, *Op. Sit.*, pp.106-112.
Kim T'ae-sik, *Kaya yonmaeng sa*, p.246.
Lee Yŏng-sik, *Paekche-ui Kaya chinch'ul kwajong*, pp. 205-208.
58. Chu Bodŏn. *Kaya myolmang munju-e tae-han il koch'al* (A Study of the Problem of Kaya's Downfall, in *Kyŏngbuk sahak* (*Historical Journal of North Kyŏngsang Provincial University*), Vol. 4, 1982, p. 166.
59. On main theoretical criteria of "early statehood" and their applicability to ancient Korean history, see: *Han'guk kodaek kukka hyŏngsŏng non*, pp. 246-279.

In Search of Japan's Origin

by Y.D. Kim

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INTRODUCTION

Over the years, out of my own curiosity, as well as several RAS tours to Japan, I've gathered many materials in order to satisfy my interest that through understanding the origin of Japan's people and culture we could also find ways of understanding the culture of Korea.

The cultural history of Japan is divided into four periods:

- a. Jomon period, eightieth century B.C.E. to third century B.C.E.
- b. Yayoi period from third century B.C.E. to third century C.E.
- c. Kofun period from fourth century C.E. to seventh century C.E.
- d. Asuka period 600 C.E. to 710 C.E.

Despite the paucity of written documents from the ancient period, much can be known about all these periods due to the continued activities of more than five thousand people engaged in archeological research throughout Japan.

In this paper I will sketch some of the more interesting findings on Japan's origin in terms of the Korean perspective.

(I) Jomon period (8000 B.C.E. to 300 B.C.E.)¹

Jomon refers to the typical cord motif on the potteries of this period.

As the last glacial period receded about fifteen thousand years ago, the land bridge from the Korean peninsula to Japan became immersed in water and the islands of Japan were formed. Pottery culture started early in

Japan—one of the earliest in the world. With the emergence of pottery the Neolithic culture began to be transformed. The warmer and wetter climate provided a better living environment for the foragers of this period. They engaged in essentially a life of hunting, fishing and gathering. At first this seems to have been by separate family groups, but eventually they began to form collective dwelling areas, living in pit houses. These early people left many sites with their pottery artifacts such as pots, ornamental earrings or neck rings together with stone axes and stone arrowheads, etc. In each small village the shell middens or garbage dumps of these people have also been found. A rough picture of the population of the Jomon period can be discerned from the number of sites and also the human remains discovered. A typical estimate of the population is twenty thousand people about ten thousand years ago. About four thousand years later the population seems to have increased to about two hundred sixty thousand but afterward it seems to decrease to about sixty five thousand toward the end of the Jomon period circa fourth century B.C.E. What happened to these people? This is when the Yayoi period begins with rice cultivation introduced to Japan from Korea. Many archeological sites of rice cultivation have been found from the earliest stages of this period on the northern coastal areas of Kyushu.

Jomon sites are densely distributed more to the central and north eastern part of the Japanese islands in the early Jomon period but eventually the density of these sites shifts to the Kyushu area. Surprisingly the earliest Jomon site is found at Kagoshima in the southern end of Kyushu. Does this mean that Jomon culture started from this area? Latest genetic studies links these people to natives of Okinawa islands.

As to the physical characteristics of the Jomon people many studies were made on the skeletons of the people of this period. These studies suggest that the Jomon people were rather short in stature—about 155 to 160 cm in height—with the high eyebrows, narrow foreheads and broad faces typical of mongoloidal people. Jomon people declined in number to the ratio of ten to twenty percent of taller people who introduced rice culture from the Korean peninsula at the dawn of Yayoi period about four hundred B.C.E.

One of the latest studies of the mitochondria of DNA of both Japanese and Korean races matches within eighty to ninety percent.

It is also interesting to note that Jomon-type pottery and fishing hooks are found at Korean Neolithic sites such as the Tongsamdong shell middens in Pusan, suggesting that there was interaction between the people at these Korean sites and Jomon people in Kyushu.

(II) The Yayoi period (300 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.)²

The Yayoi period begins with the introduction of rice cultivation into the northern coast of Kyushu island by settlers from the southern coast of the Korean peninsula around the fourth century B.C.E. The new settlers from Korea must have come in groups since the archeological sites show extensive and well organized cultivation which would require the collaboration of large groups of people. Rice cultivation brought not only farming skills and tools but also shaman rituals and burial customs as well as a new type of pottery production.

Rice cultivation was very favorable in Japan with its warmer climate, plentiful rainfall and fertile land. Rice cultivation spread to the eastern and northern parts of Japan within a couple of centuries. As to the original people, there has been no discovered evidence of mass conflicts with new comers in the form of massacre or genocide and the studies on the skeletons in jar coffins of the time show that eighty to ninety percent of them belong to the new settlers from Korea with taller statures and other distinguishing anatomical features.³ The latest study on the mitochondria of DNA of both modern Korean and Japanese also show similarity between eighty to ninety percent suggesting that the original people declined in numbers and eventually were absorbed by the new comers.

Typical early examples of Yayoi sites include:

(1) Itatske site in Fukuoka

Remains and archeological evidence has been discovered which includes irrigation ditches, pools and remains of rice paddies; wooden farm tools together with jar coffins which contained Korean bronze daggers and bronze spears, etc. Many pots with marks of rice grains on their bottoms have also been discovered. In addition, farmer's footprints embedded in the clay bottoms of rice paddies have also been found. The reddish earthen wares are the oldest among the Yayoi earthenware and they are without any decorative marks or patterns, which are identical to those of the Kimhae area on the southern coast of Korea.

(2) Kanenokuma site in Fukuoka

Researchers have found one hundred forty five jar coffins, twenty seven burial mounds, two cysts and sixty-two human skeletons which provided excellent material for forensic studies. In the Kasuka city near Fukuoka, more than fifty sites were excavated to find jar coffins, in addition bronze swords, bronze

spears, bronze bracelets as well as jade jewelry were found and these were all similar in design to those found in Korean sites of earlier period.

(3) Sawari site in Fukuoka

The relics discovered here comprise earthenware and stone tools which were similar to the remains at the Songkukni site of Korea of Bronze age, fifth century B.C.E.

(4) Yimori site in Fukuoka

More surprising findings were made here: Bronze mirrors and bronze swords and comma-shaped jades of Korean origin were found buried in a large wooden coffin of fourth century B.C.E. The set of these three articles are considered the divine imperial regalia, symbolizing the authority of Japanese emperors even today.

(5) Yoshitakagi site in Fukuoka

There are more than seven hundred Yayoi tombs of which thirty four contained wooden coffins. In one wooden coffin was found a bronze mirror, bronze daggers and bronze spears, etc. These bronze artifacts are associated with shaman rituals like all bronze artifacts in other sites.

(6) Nabata site in Karatsu

Here are found not only rice paddies but also head bones of three pigs with holes that were used as offerings in Shaman rituals as one can see in Korea even today. Also found were all sorts of wooden and stone farming tools.

(7) Yoshinogari site in Saga, Kyushu

This is one of the most famous Yayoi sites. It covers forty hectares, spanning the whole Yayoi period and more. Here are hundreds of pit dwelling sites, high watch towers, large raised houses surrounded by double moats and a large hill of tombs. The oldest stone molds for bronze spears in Japan were found here. There are also stone farming tools, bronze mirrors, bronze daggers, etc. Among more than two thousands jar coffins three hundreds skeleton were found well preserved for anatomical studies where it was learned that most of them are from the Korean peninsula.

(8) Toro site near Tokyo

Discovered in 1943, the site held the remains of a village and adjacent rice fields, which comprised a network of waterways more than one thousand feet

long and arranged in consecutive rows of neat rectangular paddies with earthen banks. This site provided one of the best example of how Yayoi people cultivated rice.

In summary, the Yayoi culture may be characterized as follows:

(1) The earliest Yayoi type potteries are found at the northern part of Kyushu. They are similar to the Korea plain earthenware of the period in shape and materials.

(2) A ditch or moat surrounds five or more pit dwelling sites.

(3) Dolmen and jar coffins are the burial methods in its early period, where bronze mirrors, daggers, bells and jade ornaments used in shaman rituals are found.

(4) Bronze mirrors were imported from China and Korea and copies were made in Japan.

(5) From eighty to ninety percent of the skeletons of the Yayoi period belong to settlers from the Korean peninsula.

(6) Existence of about a hundred community states in Japan are mentioned in the Chinese chronicle of the Wei state, which records that Himiko or the supreme Shaman ruler sending diplomatic missions in 238 C.E. and the bestowment of a hundred bronze mirrors and other gifts. She also sent a mission to Silla four decades earlier according to the Samkugsagi or "Three Kingdom Chronicle" of Korea.

(III) Kofun period [300 C.E. to 600 C.E.]⁴

Kofun means old tomb with an earthen mound on top.

In Kyushu and along the coastal area of the Seto inland sea in Japan rice farming was introduced by early settlers. Tombs with big and small mounds were built from the fourth century C.E. until the seventh century. Especially noteworthy are the so-called keyhole shaped tomb mounds. These tombs had a peculiar shape in that the front part was square while the rear part was round. The meaning or source of this custom is not known for sure. Some suggest that perhaps the round rear part is where people were buried with various relics, while the square front was used for rituals. Several keyhole shaped tombs are also found in Korea, although their dates are not known. Since most of the remains in the early tombs are comprised of bronze mirrors, bronze bells, comma shaped jades or stone bracelets, which were associated with shaman rituals, it has been suggested that the occupants of these tombs may have been chieftains of shaman tradition or shamans themselves.

In May 1998, thirty four bronze mirrors were excavated from the Kurozu-

ka tomb at Nara, causing national excitement in Japan since this suggested the powerfulness of the occupant, who might have been the ruler of the so-called Yamato court of early unified Japan. There are seven tombs which produced more than thirty replica mirrors and some suggested that this reflected the powerful status of occupants.

Dating to the fifth century, iron weapons, iron armor, iron helmets and other equestrian artifacts are found in the tombs of this period. The earliest iron foundry site in Japan dates from the sixth century and studies on the components of these iron artifacts suggest that they were made with imported iron ingots from Kaya or that the artifacts themselves were imported directly from the Kaya area. Kaya is the name of a series of kingdoms that thrived in the southern part of Korea along the lower basin of the Nakdong river during this same time period.

In a typical tomb at the Kurofuneyama site dating to the fifth century in the Kinki region were found twenty four sets of helmets and breast armors of iron plates with iron tacks along with iron swords and iron arrowheads.

In the fifth century a new type of pottery, called Sueki in Japanese, shows up in archeological sites and tombs in Japan together with improved iron farming tools. The Sueki pottery, which means iron in Korean, is the product of a new type of kiln with a climbing tunnel. In this type of a kiln a high temperature of 1300 degrees or more in Celsius can be reached to produce gray unglazed hard stoneware which proved more useful than the earthenware of the Yayoi period. Since kick wheels were used in manufacture, pottery making became very efficient and its use became widespread. The earliest Sueki stoneware in Japan is found similar to those from Haman area in Kaya. Sueki pottery making spread throughout Japan by the early sixth century even reaching the north eastern part of Japan. There are more than one thousand and five hundred villages bearing names associated with Sueki pottery throughout Japan.

At about the same time, improved iron farming tools reached Japan, making it possible to cultivate more farm land out of intractable wild areas by more people who came from Kaya, Silla and Paekche area in south Korea and settled in Japan.

The fifth century marks the second wave of massive settlement from Korea to Japan. As reflected in the archeological findings and records in *Nihon-shoki*, one of the oldest Japanese chronicles, this was the time many settlers from Korea came to Japan in great numbers. This was due to the unstable political situation in Korea. The Koguryo Kingdom was expanding southward and engaged in battles against Paekche for more than thirty years from the

middle of the fourth century. The rising Silla kingdom was putting pressure on Kaya and other people in the southern coast of Korea. These boat people from Korea of the fourth and fifth centuries opened up new rice fields out of wild alluvial plains like the Habikino area near Nara or the Kawachi area near Osaka with new and improved iron farming tools and new stoneware for cooking and storing food along with performing religious rituals.

In tombs, dated to the late fifth or sixth centuries, relics are now abundant in golden or silver artifacts including golden crowns, gilt bronze shoes, golden rings, golden earrings or gilt equestrian ornaments. It is interesting to note that in the tombs of Paekche, Silla, Koguryo or Kaya, these golden artifacts are similarly found from about the same period.

Out of four thousand or more keyhole shaped tombs in Japan thirty six are designated as the graves of Japanese emperors or royal family members as established in 1886. These tombs are forbidden to be studied. Tomb size peaked in the fifth century with the construction of key hole shaped tombs attributed to Ojin and his son Nintoku (1600 feet long). This latter is said to rival the Egyptian pyramids in volume and it is estimated that 6.8 million person-days of labor were needed to build it. Curiously some of the relics of the Nintoku emperor's tomb were washed out during a storm in the last century and turned out to be similar to those of Paekche king Muryung's, which dates to the early sixth century C.E., while Nintoku's tomb was claimed to be a century older.

The Fujinoki tomb and other tombs in Nara area also yielded many relics similar to those of King Muryung's of Paekche, especially gilt bronze shoes with fish design, which is also found on a gilt bronze shoe from a Naju tomb of Korea. Among many other tombs that produced relics similar to those of Paekche's, the Funayama tomb in Tamana, near Kumamoto, Kyushu is especially striking in that a golden crown and a pair of gilt bronze shoes of identical shape and design are found along with many other similar artifacts. In this tomb an iron sword was also found with an inscription to the effect that this sword was offered by the great king Kaero of Paekche to bless the keeper for his eternal prosperity and prosperous posterity. In addition, the existence of a Paekche style shrine for the gods of heaven and harvest on a hill at Kikuchi, near Kumamoto, Kyushu, convinces us of the strong affiliation of this area with a tamno or colonial territory of Paekche at about this period.

In this connection Japanese King Mu's letter⁵ sent to the Lieu Sung state of China in 478 C.E. provides the most crucial clue to the connection of Paekche and the Wae court of Japan during this period. In part of the letter King Mu wrote that his father and brother died at the same time and this can

only be King Kaero of Paekche who were put to death by Koguryo army near Seoul in 475 C.E. In this letter the menace of Koguryo is mentioned as well as his determination to revenge the deaths. From this context Prof. J.C Soh⁶ suggested for the first time that king Mu must be king Muryung in youth when he was ruling in Japan since he was the only surviving son of Kaero. In the same letter King Mu wrote about how his ancestor Nyeh conquered Japan. Beginning from 421 C.E. there were five Kings of Japan who sent letters to Chinese courts. So if we accept the above argument, the ancestor Nyeh of King Mu must have conquered Japan around the turn of fifth century. This makes sense since the archeological analyses of Kofun remains eloquently bespeak the intimate connection between Paekche and the Wae court of Japan during this period.

There are additional evidences of this connection found in the inscription on two iron swords, one of which was found in the Funayama tumulus in Kyushu and the other in the Inariyama tumulus in Honshu.

The Funayama sword, according to R. Ryu⁷, bears an inscription to the effect that this sword was made by an official named Muri by order of the great King Kaero who rules the world. The bearer of this sword will be blessed forever with prosperity and longevity, etc.

Actually only the last character of Kaero is legible, but this character is used only to denote the names of Paekche persons in the historical records of Japan, and the name Kaero is the only possible one in this context.

The other sword, from Inariyama, bears the date of 471 and carries an inscription of King Kaero. It states that Oh Wakeh has ancestor so-and-so who served as the head of the guard corps for the great King Kaero for generations and assisted him to rule his kingdom. This sword was made to record the history of his service.

According to Murayama and Miller⁸, the word "Wakeh" is widely used to mean lord by Altaic speaking people and in this case it refers to the princes of the royal family of Paekche who were appointed to rule the feudal lands of Paekche. This implies that the great King Kaero was the overlord for the Wakeh or feudal lord of the lands where the swords were found.

It should be added that the earliest keyhole shaped tomb is located at Karatsu, Kyushu, indicating the spread of the keyhole shaped tombs from Kyushu to the rest of the country.

One last piece of surprise linking Paekche and the Wae court is revealed by the archeological discovery of the remains of a funeral shrine in Kongju, Korea of King Muryung's laying-in-state before his formal burial.

Similar shrine remains were also found near Nara, Japan, which matches

the description of Nihonshoki about an emperor named Jomei being enshrined at a Kudara (or Paekche) shrine for laying-in-state in the north of Kudara Palace in 642 before the formal burial as described in Nihonshoki.

In summary it may be said that the relics of the early keyhole shaped tombs reflect the Kaya influence with shaman related items in the bronze and iron wares as well as Sueki stoneware, while the later tombs suggest predominant Paekche's cultural influence and Paekche's direct rule in limited areas such as Kumamoto or Asuka area.

(IV) Asuka period(600 C.E. to 710 C.E.)⁹

This period saw the rise of Buddhist culture which was introduced by Paekche in 552 C.E. In 660 C.E. Paekche fell and in 668 C.E. Koguryo fell to the united armies of Tang China and Silla. This sent the third wave of emigrating people from Korea to Japan, bringing not only officials, learned scholars but also skilled people, contributing to the advancement of the culture of Japan to a higher level.

In 552 King Seong of Paekche sent a Buddhist missionary to Japan, where Buddhism was adopted as the state religion and Japan saw a phenomenal rise in Buddhist culture. Paekche had been sending regular missions of Confucian scholars and other artisans since 523. All these people added in laying the groundwork for the ensuing cultural development of Japan.

The first Buddhist image sent by the King Seong is still kept at a temple in Nagano, while the first Buddhist temple in Japan was built in Asuka in 596 C.E. The central Buddha statue in this temple is sixteen feet tall and still stands and is venerated even today. The old and famous temples such as Sitenohji temple in Osaka, Horyuji temple in Nara and other temples were built one after another. In fact by 624 C.E. the number of temples reached forty six and numerous monks and nuns were exchanged between Paekche and Wae Japan. High priests came from the three kingdoms to Wae Japan. In building a temple many skilled artisans are needed for tile making, carpentry and sculpture work in both wood and metal; for pagoda building and painting etc. Today we marvel at the wondrous works of art of this period in temple architecture, sculptural work, paintings and other genre. Since almost all the temples of Paekche from this period were destroyed it is a great legacy for Koreans to appreciate the artistic accomplishments of the Paekche people.

In 663, Wae Japan sent an army to support the surviving army of Paekche only to be defeated by the united army of China and Silla. At this time the victorious Tang set up commandaries in the former Paekche and Koguryo king-

doms including one in Kyushu as well as one in Kyungju with the Silla king as its commander. This upset Silla, which waged war against Tang China after the fall of Koguryo in 668. It took several years of hard warfare by Silla before they were finally victorious and made China withdraw all of her commandaries.

In 670 the Wae court of Japan adopted its new name—Japan, which means a land of rising sun. This is known to have derived from the original meaning of “land of sun” for Kaya¹⁰ in Korea. A couple of years later in 672 a coup d’etat placed a pro-Silla court in power in Japan, ensuring amicable relation with the victorious Silla, which sent twenty three diplomatic missions to Japan in a matter of thirty years.

It is most interesting to observe how Silla exerted its influence toward Japan in many ways. For example the Avatamska sutra, popular in Silla, gained popularity in Japan also, leading eventually to the constitution of the largest temple at the time, Todaiji in Nara in 752 C.E., the dedication of which was attended by ten thousand monks in Japan as well as 700 guests from Silla.

At this time all the teachings and readings of Buddhism were said to have been conducted in Korean according to studies by scholars.¹¹ This is plausible since even the famous anthology of ancient poems, Manyoshu, which was written in the mid-eight century, can be properly understood by reading through old Korean.

CONCLUSION

We have outlined the close cultural and historical relation between Korea and Japan spanning a thousand years through the archeological and documentary evidence of the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods. There was a one-way flow of people and culture from Korea to Japan in general. Practically Japan was the extension of Korean culture and people until the fall of Paekche and Koguryo in 660 and 668 respectively.

Mounting archeological and documentary evidence lead to this general observation. Of course there are aspect of culture that evolved in different ways sometimes. But the intimate relation between the two people in ancient times can not be denied and the recognition of it in a proper and correct manner would be advantageous to forming proper and tenable relations between them in the future.

We may add finally that the archaeological findings of Japan’s origin suggest also that Korea’s origin may be traced in similar manner, such that

rice farming people from the east coast of china came to settle in accommodation with earlier natives while nomadic people from the north arrived later to rule, etc.

NOTES

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2. The Dawn of Japanese Civilization, Kyoto National Museum, 1977; The Story of Kofun, M. Ueda, Iwanami Series.
3. Anthropological Science, Takahiro Nakahasi, 1998.
4. Japan-Korea Relations, Lee J. H. and Kang J. O., Hakkosa Publ. Co., 1988.
5. "Wae Japan as a Tamno", RAS Transactions 71, Y. D. Kim.
6. The World of King Muryung as Recorded in Stone and Metal, Soh J. C., Wonkwang Univ. Press, 1998.
7. Study on Idu of the Three Kingdom Period, Ryu Ryul, Korean Culture Publications, 1983.
8. "The Inariyama Tumulus Sword Inscription," S. Murayama and R. A. Miller, Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1979.
9. The Truth About the Ancient Relation Between Korea and Japan, Choi J. S., Ilchisa Publication Co., 1998.
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11. Codes of King Nukuda, Y. Fujimori, Shincho Series, 1990.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH
1998

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was established in 1900 by a group of foreign residents in Korea who sought to encourage investigation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, geography, and literature in order to deepen their understanding of the country and its people and to make them better known to the rest of the world. The original nucleus was soon joined by many others, including a number of Korean scholars. Some of the members had great scholarly gifts and their names will forever be associated with Korean studies, while many others contributed the first, and often the only papers on many aspects of Korea, leaving a legacy in the *Transactions* that are still a primary source of information on Korea in many fields. It is appropriate that at this Annual Meeting we remember the great contribution of our forbears, and remember that the primary objective of the Branch is still the encouragement of studies on Korea.

The Korea Branch is organized with a Council of twenty-six members, including the officers. To carry out its functions the Council is organized into five committees: Membership, Publications, Program, Tours, and Finance.

Membership: At present the RAS-Korea Branch has a total of 1,381 members. This includes seventy life members, 389 overseas members and 925 regular members residing in Korea.

Programs: Programs involving lectures, slide presentations and performances were held regularly on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month (except during the summer) at either the Daewoo Foundation Building near Seoul Station or at the British Embassy's Aston Hall. Late in 1998 the program venue was moved to the Goethe Institut, the German Cultural Center, located on Nam-san in Seoul. We are most grateful to the Foundation, the British Embassy, and the German Cultural Center for allowing us the use of

their centrally located space. The annual Garden Party, graciously hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Stephen W. Bosworth at the American Embassy Residence, was most successful, with an enjoyable program of Samul-nori, special book sales, and an opportunity for members to become better acquainted with each other.

Tours: A full schedule of tours through the year took members throughout the country. A total of some 1950 members and non-members participated in these tours. The tours remain one of the most popular activities of the Society.

Publications The Publications Committee had another successful year supervising book sales, reviewing manuscripts, and editing Volume 72 of the *Transactions* for publication. The Publications Committee reprinted editions of "Hamel's Journal" and "An Introduction to Korean Music and Dance". The committee also published a new book "Korean Shamanism".

Finances: The finances of the RAS-Korea Branch remained on an even keel during 1998. Although operating expenses are modest, the Society depends totally upon the support you provide as members in paying annual dues, participating in tours and purchasing publications. Remember, your support continues to be critical to the financial well being of the Society.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks for the selfless efforts of the Council members, officers and Mrs. Bae, who has been the mainstay of the R.A.S office for the past thirty years. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to the Daewoo Foundation, the British Embassy, and the Goethe Institut in making their auditoriums available for our lecture meetings free of charge.

Respectfully submitted,

Ambassador Joost Wolfswinkel

President, R.A.S.

1998 R.A.S. Lectures

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| January 15 | Therevada Buddhism Dr. Frank Tedesco |
| February 11 | A "Radical" Approach to Learning Chinese Characters James C. Whitlock, Jr. |
| February 25 | Nationalism and Democratic Thought in Modern Korean Historiography Professor Henry H. Em |
| March 11 | The Doomed Empire: Japan in Colonial Korea Professor Ma-ji Rhee |
| March 25 | On Korean Traditional Liquor Mr. Bae Young-ho |
| April 8 | Rationality, Practicality, and Modernity: Buddhism, Korean Shamanism and Christianity in Contemporary Korean Society Dr. Hyun-key Kim Hogarth |
| April 22 | Kyungahn Swamp and Its Birds Dr. Young-duk Kim |
| May 27 | Mongolian Security in the 21 st Century Dr. Alvin Magid |
| June 10 | A Neo-Confucian Model of a Civilized Society: Sejong's Theory and Practice Dr. Young-key Kim-Renaud |
| June 24 | My Recollections of the War with North Korea: Some Thoughts on Korea-U.S. Relations Ambassador Ha-Jong Yoon |
| August 26 | The Artistic World of Won Jang Hyun Mr. Won Jang Hyun |
| September 10 | Korean Hand Acupuncture Dr. Claudia Simms |
| September 22 | Ritual on the Peak David A. Mason |
| October 15 | History of the Kaya States Dr. Vladimir Tikhonov |

1998 R.A.S. Tours

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Destination</i> | <i>Attendance</i> |
|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| January 10 | Insadong | 13 |
| January 10 | Inwangsam | 11 |
| January 24 | Market Tour | 21 |
| January 25 | Winter Break Tour | 16 |
| January 27 | South Forress | 9 |
| January 27-29 | Lunar New Year's Tour | 20 |
| January 30-Feb 3 | Thailand Tour | 12 |
| February 8 | Sujong-sa | 14 |
| February 15 | Yöju Tour | 21 |
| February 21 | Embroidery Tour | 15 |
| February 21 | Traditional Music Tour | 16 |
| February 22 | Buddhism Tour II | 39 |
| February 28-Mar. 1 | East Coast Sunriser Tour | 14 |
| March 7 | Kiln, Parka Crystal Tour | 22 |
| March 8 | Birdwatching Tour | 20 |
| March 14 | Wönju and Chiaksan | 22 |
| March 15 | Tanyang Area Tour | 30 |
| March 22 | Walking Tour of Choson Seoul | 33 |
| March 22 | Munkyöng Saejae Park | 22 |
| March 28 | Realm of the Immortals | 33 |
| March 29 | Suwön Tour | 33 |
| April 3-5 | Caemllia Tour | 30 |
| April 10-12 | Chinhae Cherry Blossom Tour | 36 |
| April 11 | Kyönggi-do Cherry Blossom | 40 |
| April 17-20 | Honshu Japan Tour | 26 |
| April 19 | Shaman Ritual Tour | 38 |
| April 25-26 | Cheju-do Tour | 35 |
| April 25 | Kangwha Island Tour | 19 |
| April 25-26 | Inner Sörak | 17 |
| May 2-3 | Magnolia tour | 25 |
| May 3 | Chongmyo Tour | 41 |
| May 3 | Buddha's Birthday Tour | 86 |
| May 9-10 | Kyöngju Tour | 23 |
| May 9 | Chörwon Tour | 39 |
| May 16 | Sudök-sa | 20 |
| May 16-17 | Andong Tour | 25 |
| May 30-31 | Kangnŏng Tano Festival | 24 |
| June 19 | Ho-am Gallery | 12 |
| June 20 | Garden Party | 250 |

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|----|
| June 21 | Soyangho, Parcho and | 21 |
| June 27 | Traditional Music and Dance | 28 |
| July 4-5 | Chölla-do Tour | 24 |
| July 10-14 | Mongolia Tour | 34 |
| July 11 | Sognisan and Pöpchusa | 29 |
| July 18 | Island Hopping Tour | 22 |
| July 19 | Odaesan National Park Tour | 18 |
| August 29 | Kiln Tour | 13 |
| August 30 | Tanyang Area | 17 |
| September 6 | Ch'öngp'yöng Boat Tour | 22 |
| September 12-13 | Chungmu and Köje Island Tour | 20 |
| September 18-20 | Hongdo and Hüksan-do Tour | 16 |
| September 19 | Kangwha Island Tour | 22 |
| September 20 | Samak-san Tour | 24 |
| September 25 | Ho-Am Art Gallery Tour | 12 |
| September 26-27 | Haboe Village Tour | 32 |
| September 28 | Chörwon Tour | 16 |
| October 3-4 | Chusök: Sorak-san Tour | 20 |
| October 2-6 | Mainland China Tour | 28 |
| October 10-11 | Kyöngju Tour | 13 |
| October 17 | Sudöo-sa Tour | 26 |
| October 24-25 | T'aebaek Mountain Tour | 43 |
| October 30-1 | Chiri-san Tour | 14 |
| October 31-1 | Cheju-do Tour | 13 |
| October 31 | Youngmun-sa Hiking Tour | 13 |
| November 7 | Hanyak Tour | 19 |
| November 8 | Walking Tour of Chosön Seoul | 32 |
| November 21 | Naejangsan Park Tour | 25 |
| November 28-29 | Inner Sörak Rhapsody Tour | 11 |
| December 5 | Churches Around Seoul Tour | 14 |
| December 5 | Shopping Spree Tour | 23 |
| December 12 | Traditional Artist's Studio Tour | 19 |
| December 19 | Keyryongsan Hiking Tour | 15 |

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