

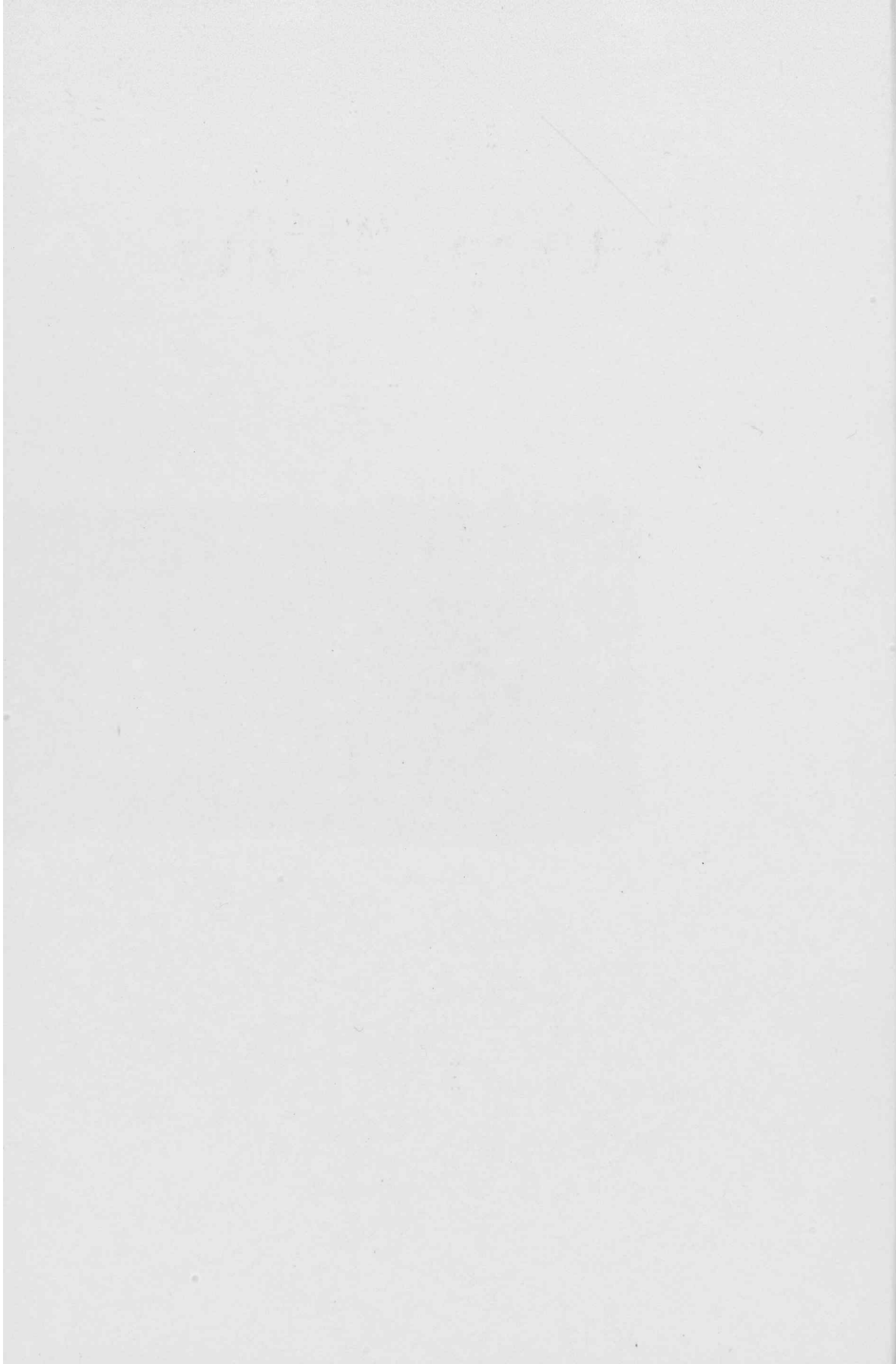
TRANSACTIONS



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Korea Branch

Volume 74-1999



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COVER: The logo of the Royal Asiatic Society - Korea Branch
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The Chinese characters '養正學社' (Yangjeonghakso) encourage reading in the
Korean language.

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COVER: The logo of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch.
The seal-shaped logo of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch consists of four Chinese Characters' which have been metaphorically interpreted to mean "Encourage Erudition in the Land of the Rose of Sharon."

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The McCune-Reischauer Romanization System for Korean

John Holstein, M.A.

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The headline in the 14 January 1984 issue of the Korea Times came as good news to the thousands of people who were looking for relief from the endless debate over which system would be used for Romanizing Korean: "Gov't to adopt M-R system." The article explained that, "The Education Ministry announced its policy to Romanize Korean words almost in strict observance of the McCune-Reischauer system yesterday, putting an end to the decades-old controversy over the matter." At long last, after all these years of confusion, we could finally stop battling over which Romanization system to use—until, in May of 1999, the message from Seoul National University Professor Lee Sang Oak appeared on the Korean Studies Forum list: "the NAKL [National Academy of the Korean Language] decided to re-open inquiry into the issue."¹ So the controversy continues. And it will probably continue as long as humans seek a better way, because neither the Korean nor the English writing system is equipped to represent all the rules of Korean pronunciation in a way that is entirely accurate, convenient and aesthetically pleasing.

WHAT IS THE M-R SYSTEM USED FOR?

The McCune-Reischauer Romanization system was originally devised, in 1939, to satisfy the need for one standard Romanization of Korean. The designers of the system did not attempt an exact notation that would include all the details of the language's phonetic system, because that would have required using arcane

symbols. "We have not intended that it be used in phonetic or in technical philological research. Rather, we have made it for general scholarly and non-scholarly use where phonetic symbols would be cumbersome and annoying and where strict phonetic exactness is not demanded. We have therefore attempted to effect a compromise between scientific accuracy and practical simplicity" (McCune, 1939). Neither did they attempt to represent to an exact degree the way Korean is written; they designed their system with the intention of providing a relatively simple method of representing what the language sounds like when it is spoken.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON ROMANIZATION SYSTEMS FOR KOREAN

Though not the first Romanization system for Korean, the Ross system, designed in 1882,² seems to be the first system used by a significant number of people, mainly missionaries. At the time of the creation of the M-R system, according to McCune, there were more than 27 systems. In 1997 the number was estimated at "more than 40" (Kim, 1997). That is not surprising in light of the fact that a standardized Korean orthography did not appear until 1933, prior to which Korean was written according to pronunciation (which varied according to dialect) instead of language structure. The first system promulgated officially by the Korean government was the Ministry of Education system of 1948 (based on the M-R system, with a few variations); subsequently, in 1959, the Ministry of Education adopted a system based on different principles, thereby causing much confusion and dissatisfaction among those who used the M-R system. All this discontent brought about two more proposals, in 1978 and 1979, and then, around 1982, after it was announced that Korea would host the 1988 Olympics, a wide and vociferous discussion erupted, again between the anti- and pro-M.R. forces, culminating in the government announcement in 1984 that it would use a slightly modified M-R system. Over the next decade, however, discontent continued to simmer, and came to a boil again in 1997 with another debate. That debate subsided with no conclusion reached, simmered for another two years, and was brought back to full boil in 1999. (You can observe this discussion, continuing into 2000, if you subscribe to the Korea Studies forum at www.mailbase.com.) Meanwhile, since 1986, while controversy has continued inside Korea, outside Korea the International Standards Organization (ISO) has been consulting with the two Koreas over adoption of an ISO standard for Romanization of Han'gŭl.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE M-R SYSTEM

Donald Clark (1997) tells us how the M-R system was conceived and developed.

George McCune was born in Korea to a Presbyterian missionary family who came to Korea in 1905. After graduating from a university in the United States he returned to Korea to continue his studies in East Asian history and pursue formal understanding of the Korean language at Chosen Christian College (the present Yonsei University) under the distinguished Korean linguists Ch'oe Hyŏnbae and Chŏng Insŭb. Many linguists of the time were dissatisfied with the existing Romanization systems, in particular the system that the Japanese government had forced on Korea. (This system, designed more for Romanization of Japanese, produced such anomalies as *Tyosen* for the more recognizable *Chosen*.) In the summer of 1937 Edwin O. Reischauer, on his way to China to collect information for a paper he was writing in Japan, stopped in Korea and was then forced by political events in China to stay in Korea for a couple of months. During this period McCune and Reischauer began development of their Romanization system with Ch'oe Hyŏnbae and other linguists; development continued after Reischauer left, until the McCune-Reischauer system was published in 1939, in that year's *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT DATES IN THE ROMANIZATION OF KOREAN

- 1835 Missionary W. H. Medhurst uses his unnamed and unpublished system in his translation of a book on Chinese, Korean and Japanese languages.³
- 1882 J. Ross's system appears.⁴
- 1874 The Dallet (French) system introduces the commonly seen digraphs *eo* and *eu*.⁵
- 1897 J. S. Gale's system is introduced in his *A Korean-English Dictionary*.
- 1933 The Korean Language Research Society publishes "Rules for the Unification of Spelling to Conform to the Unified System," and names its writing system Han'gŭl.
- 1935 Jung Insub publishes his system, "The International Phonetic Transcription of Korean Speech Sounds."⁶
- 1939 The McCune-Reischauer system is presented in *Transactions*.
- 1940 The Korean Language Society publicizes its "The Romanization of Korean Sounds," the first system devised entirely by Koreans.
- 1948 The Korean government adopts the McCune-Reischauer system.
- 1954 Samuel Martin presents his Yale-Martin system⁷ for linguistic analysis.
- 1956 The North Korean system (modified slightly in 1986)⁸ is promulgated.
- 1959 The Ministry of Education announces its change to a transliteration (spelling-based) system; from this point till 1984 different government agencies use different systems.

- 1979 The National Academy of Sciences proposes a revision of the 1959 MOE system.
- 1981 The Workshop Conference on Korean Romanization is sponsored by the Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii.⁹
- 1982 Spirited public criticism of the 1959 MOE system breaks out.
- 1984 The Korean government adopts what is popularly known as the "Ministry of Education (MOE) system"¹⁰ (the McCune-Reischauer system with minor alterations); this remains the official government system.¹¹
- 1986 Discussions begin between the two Koreas for agreement on a proposal by the ISO (International Standards Organization) system.
- 1996 A meeting is hosted by the National Commission for Romanization to get opinions from Koreans and non-Koreans in the public involved in Romanization.¹²
- 1997 The National Commission for Romanization, appointed by the Ministry of Culture and Sports,¹³ proposes government adoption of a spelling-based system (similar to the 1959 MOE system); a heated debate erupts in the press and on the Internet.
- 1998 The Ministry of Culture and Sports proscribes all further debate on which system to use.¹⁴
- 1999 ISO subcommittee decides to review proposed Romanization system three years later, in order to provide time for full agreement between the two Koreas, with possible adoption as an ISO standard at that time.¹⁵
- 1999 The National Academy of the Korean Language renews the debate on which system to use (Lee Sang Oak, 1999). Circulates a questionnaire in early October, and in November holds its first in a series of open hearings extending into 2000.¹⁶

THE MOST POPULAR ROMANIZATION SYSTEMS IN THE YEAR 2000

At present, four systems are widely used in Korea, exclusively or in combination.

The Yale-Martin system is used by most linguists in their structural and phonological study of the Korean language. Most will agree with Fouser's (1998b) statement that "The Yale-Martin system's wide-spread use in scholarship makes it a *de facto* second system along with the current McCune-Reischauer system" (if we regard the 1984 MOE system as one with the McCune-Reischauer).

The M-R system is used by "foreign organizations, institutions and persons (diplomats, military officials,¹⁷ mapmakers, librarians [including the United States' Library of Congress, which made some revisions (Choi 1999)], authors,

bibliographers, publishers and others), both inside and outside Korea" (Kaliher, 1982, p. 44). The 1984 MOE system is also used by many Koreans and non-Koreans in an individual capacity and, of course, by Korean government departments and agencies in official government publications and correspondence, textbooks, road signs, and other English language functions under the jurisdiction of the government.

Many Koreans and non-Koreans who use the M-R or 1984 MOE system actually borrow, consciously or unconsciously, consistently or inconsistently, the 1959 MOE system's digraphs *eo* and *eu* (for the unrounded /o/ and /u/) to avoid the technical difficulties encountered in rendering the M-R system's breve (ˇ); and they sometimes use *b*, *d*, *g* and *j* at the beginning of a word rather than the *p*, *t*, *k* and *ch* required by M-R and 1984 MOE when they think actual pronunciation warrants it.

One system that is not in use now but may gain popularity one day is the proposed ISO transliteration system. It consists of two "methods" for representing consonants (two because the two Koreas have not yet agreed upon one) and one method for vowels. The system is an interesting combination of the major systems discussed in this section. Method 1, preferred by the DPRK, uses the M-R system's method (*p*, *t*, *k* and *ch*), and Method 2, preferred by the ROK, uses the 1959 MOE method (*b*, *d*, *g* and *j*) for the corresponding characters; Method 1, however, uses the Yale-Martin system's method (*kh*, *th*, *ph*, *ch*; *c*) for representing aspirants and the affricate, respectively. The slightly rounded and unrounded vowels are represented by the 1959 MOE system's method (*eo* and *eu*).

TWO WAYS OF ROMANIZING KOREAN

Han'gŭl (the Korean orthographic system) is a highly sophisticated orthographic system which some Romanization systems transliterate and some transcribe. Written Korean, like written English, does not represent exactly how the spoken language sounds. In English orthography, for example, we use the same *o* in the second syllable of both *photograph* and *photography*, even though pronunciation of the *o* is not the same; Korean orthography follows the same principle.

The main difference in the Romanization systems is whether they are either mainly transliteration or mainly transcription. Transliteration (1959 MOE, Yale-Martin) puts emphasis more on how a language is written than on how it is pronounced (though the Yale-Martin system is also very informative about pronunciation¹⁸); transcription (Mc-Cune Reischauer, 1984 MOE) emphasizes how the language is pronounced more than how it is written (though information on spelling can also be retrieved). Therefore, a transliteration system represents

Korean orthography exactly; Korean orthography does not use a different letter to show a slight variation (an allophone) in the pronunciation of a basic sound (a phoneme), and neither does this type of Romanization system. A transcription system does show the change in pronunciation, by using a different letter; consequently, this kind of Romanization system frequently differs from corresponding spelling in Korean orthography. Even the M-R system, though, does not represent every sound variation.¹⁹

To illustrate the difference between the two Romanization systems, take the Korean spelling for 속리산, the mountain: in spoken language the final consonant (ㄱ) of the first syllable 속 is /ŋ/, and the first consonant (ㄴ) of the second syllable is /n/. The 1959 MOE system Romanizes 속리산 as *Sogri-san* and the Yale-Martin system Romanizes it *Sok.li-san*. The M-R and 1984 MOE transcription systems, on the other hand, get a lot closer to actual pronunciation with *Songnisan*.

Another example of the different ways these systems work is found in 독립문, the name of an historic gate in Seoul. Transliteration, which focuses on language structure and attempts letter-for-letter accuracy, represents the word as

| | HAN'GŪL FEATURE | TRANSCRIPTION | | TRANSLITERATION | |
|------|---|-------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------|
| | | M-R | 1984 MOE | 1959 MOE | YALE-MARTIN |
| 독립문 | consonant change | Tongnimmun | Tongnimmun | Doglibmun | tok.lip.mun |
| 속리산 | consonant change | Songnisan | Songnisan | Sogri-san | Sok.li-san |
| 강릉 | consonant change (also note the unrounded vowel in the second syllable) | Kangnŭng | Kangnŭng | Gangreung | Kang.lung |
| 부부 | lenis (light) stops | p <u>u</u> b <u>u</u> | p <u>u</u> b <u>u</u> | b <u>u</u> b <u>u</u> | p <u>u</u> p <u>u</u> |
| 풀 | aspirate stops | p' <u>u</u> l | p' <u>u</u> l or pul | p <u>u</u> l | phul |
| 빵 | forced stops | ppang | ppang | bbang | ppang |
| 제주도 | affricates | Ch <u>e</u> ju-do | Ch <u>e</u> ju-do | Jejudo | C <u>ę</u> yc <u>wu</u> -to |
| 전라북도 | slightly rounded vowel (also note the consonant change between first and second syllables) | Ch <u>o</u> llapuk-do | Ch <u>o</u> llapuk-do or Ch <u>o</u> llapuk-do | Je <u>o</u> nlabugdo or Je <u>o</u> nl <u>a</u> Bugdo | C <u>e</u> n.l <u>a</u> pukto |
| 금잔디 | unrounded vowel | k <u>u</u> mjandi | k <u>u</u> mjandi | ge <u>u</u> mjandi | k <u>u</u> m-canti |
| 김정호 | Name syllabification | Kim Ch <u>u</u> ng <u>h</u> o | Kim Ch <u>u</u> ng <u>h</u> o or Chong-ho | Gim Jeong <u>h</u> o | Kim Cheng <u>h</u> o |

Doglibmun (1959 MOE) or *Tok.lip.mun* (Yale-Martin). The transcribed Romanization, though, is *Tongnimmun*, which, for those who do not know the less apparent rules of the transliteration systems, more accurately represents the word's pronunciation.

HOW THE SYSTEMS COMPARE

The chart below shows examples of how the different systems deal with problems in rendering Korean in English.

PROBLEMS COMMON TO ALL THE ROMANIZATION SYSTEMS

No single Romanization system, transliteration or transcription, satisfactorily represents both the pronunciation and grammar of Korean because of three features of the language: the existence of sounds that cannot easily be represented by Latin letters, differences in the way Koreans and non-Koreans perceive the same sounds, and the nature of Korean orthography. Thus, because English does not have single letters that satisfactorily represent the Korean sounds for *ㅑ* and *ㅓ*, we must either use a diacritic that is difficult or impossible to produce on the ordinary typewriter or computer (M-R uses the breve), or digraphs (*eo* or *au*) that are either misleading, except to initiates, or differ in pronunciation according to circumstance. Because of difference in perception of sounds, a Korean perceives the initial *ㄷ* in *독립문* differently from the way an American hears it, and therefore wants to transcribe it differently from the way a native English speaker does.²⁰ (Rector, 1999, describes this and other lenis stops as “whispered and breathy,” different from an initial English /p/ or /b/.) In addition, because Korean orthography focuses on the language's structure, we have two basic types of Romanization systems (transliteration and transcription), each with limitations, and a continuing debate over which is the best type.

In a message regarding the NAKL's 1999 proposal to change the official government Romanization system yet again, John Harvey²¹ points out that

“The real question is not so much whether the current systems [*sic*] has drawbacks, or even whether some other system might be better, but whether adopting any other system would be worth 1) the huge amount of money required for making the changes on road signs, in guidebooks, and so forth, 2) the long period of confusion between two systems while those changes are being made (which would undoubtedly last through the 2002 World Cup), and 3) the probable division that would be created between the system coming into use in Korea and the system (M-R) being used by foreign scholars, governments, reference works, etc.”

Gary Rector remarks that no system for representing Han'gŭl can be perfect and that every system will have elements that seem arbitrary or nonrepresentational or are difficult to learn, and that the only way that any system can be made useful is by getting everyone to use it, which can be accomplished only by providing thorough and consistent training in its rules in school, government and the press.

PROBLEMS WITH THE INDIVIDUAL SYSTEMS

Before getting into this section, two points must be made. First, all systems of orthography and Romanization have problems when we expect from them what they were not intended to provide. Some systems cause more difficulty for native speakers, others cause more for non-native speakers. Second, the inclusion of a complaint in this section or of a proposal in the following section (regarding suggestions for improvement) does not signify this writer's acknowledgment of its validity.

YALE-MARTIN

The main limitation of the Yale-Martin system is inherent in any transliteration system. Refer above to the "consonant change" rows in the table "How the systems compare" for examples of problems with inaccurate pronunciation; a transcription system represents pronunciation more accurately more easily for the person who does not know the system's rules, which are not as immediately evident as those of a transcription system. Choe (1997b) provided a good example of what would happen if a Korean used the transliteration system of strict letter-to-letter correspondence to write an English word in Korean. The name Al Gore would look something like and would be pronounced (with Italian vowels) something like /al go-re/.

One other complaint made by those unfamiliar with the Yale-Martin system is that two of the letters that it uses, *c* for ㅈ and *e* for ㅊ, do not *apparently* represent the sound of the Korean letters that they are intended to transcribe. A related complaint is that, while no Korean basic vowel is a diphthong, some vowels (ones which were historically diphthongs) seem to be presented as diphthongs in Yale-Martin (e.g., *ay* for ㅑ). Uninitiates also have difficulty with the system's many digraphs and trigraphs to represent Korean letters (e.g., *th* for ㅊ and *yay* for ㅑ); in a word comprised of single letters, digraphs and trigraphs, it is sometimes difficult to determine where one Korean letter begins and ends.

THE 1959 MOE SYSTEM

Because it is a transliteration system with inflexible letter-to-letter correspondence, like the Yale-Martin system, the 1959 MOE system does not provide a surface representation of the pronunciation.

The main criticism of the 1959 MOE system, however, is the use of English voiced stop letters *b*, *d*, and *g* to represent Korean's unvoiced stops ㅂ, ㄷ and ㄱ at the beginning of words: the result is often quite unpleasant to the English ear. Lee Sang Oak (1982 p. 8) explains that in English there is "a paralinguistic tendency that English uses voiced consonants for many coarse and inelegant words," such as *gag*, *dung*, and *bang*. One famous instance of this problem is the 1959 MOE system's transliteration of the name of Independence Gate 독립문 as *Doglibmun*. (The agency responsible for making the sign compounded the problem by mistakenly using *r* instead of the required *l*, and then highlighted the problem by writing it in three separate syllables, ending up with a sign showing "Dog Rib Mun.") Gary Ledyard noted a few more examples of transliterations that upset or amuse the English eye and ear: "...Jong Gag, Bug A Hyeon, Bug Gang, Rag Won, Young Hag, any of which could not only get you lost but cause a serious accident as well."

The problem with the /dog/ pronunciation is not inherent in a transcription system; it is caused by the developers' decision to use *d* instead of *t* for ㄷ. The problems with *g* in *dog*, and the *l* and the *b* in *lib*, though, are inherent in a transcription system, which does not attempt to account for the sound changes that result, in the case of Korean, when a ㄱ is followed by a ㅃ, and a ㅂ is followed by a ㅍ.

The problem with *dog* brings to mind another problem with this system: The *d*, *g* and *b* are somewhat misleading representations of the Korean pronunciation; they strike the Korean ear strangely when pronounced by an English speaker unfamiliar with the conventions of this system. (In another way, the same can be said of the M-R system's representation of these same consonants as *t*, *k* and *p*; this is discussed below.) Koreans do not voice *b*, *d* and *g*, but native English speakers who are unfamiliar with Korean tend to voice these letters because they are voiced in English.

Many do not like the 1959 MOE choice of *eo* for ㅕ and *eu* for ㅜ, saying that it is another example of pronunciation misrepresentation and a cause of confusion. (Gary Rector wonders whether this digraph, originally used in Dallet's system (1874), might have originated in the French spelling of Seoul. The *eo* in Seoul might come from the French pronunciation of *e*, similar to a Korean's slightly rounded /o/. The French pronunciation *ou* is similar to the Korean rounded /u/.²²)

THE McCUNE-REISCHAUER SYSTEM

Orthography: If one does not know the complex rules for transcription in the M-R system it is not possible to retrieve the Han'gŭl spelling from the M-R spelling.

Technical difficulties: The breve (˘), a diacritic mark placed above *o* and *u* to represent the slightly rounded /o/ (ㅝ) and the unrounded /u/ (ㅜ), is one of the major causes for complaint. In fact, it is one of the main reasons that the Korean government has been looking for an alternative to the M-R system over the last couple of years. The breve cannot be typed on an ordinary typewriter; many do not know how to produce it on a computer, and even when it does get produced it cannot be read in a program that does not use or is not set up for a compatible character-encoding system.

The apostrophe has also received a lot of attention. This is used to mark both aspirate consonants and three potentially confusing syllable breaks. (The apostrophe is *not* used to clarify all syllable breaks that might possibly cause confusion. It marks only *a'e*, *o'e* and *n'g*.) The problem is said to be one of clutter, which can occur when an apostrophe that marks an aspirate appears in close proximity to an apostrophe that marks a syllable break.

Inaccuracy: While phonetic accuracy was the authors' main goal, both Koreans and non-Koreans have been wrestling with a few related problems since the birth of the system. Representing initial unaspirated and unvoiced consonants (such as ㄱ in Kim) with letters that represent unvoiced consonants in English (such as *k*) is said to cause non-native speakers of Korean to add unnecessary aspiration (Kim 1996). The reader may have seen the cartoon in the Korean Herald a few months ago that showed the non-Korean asking (in Han'gŭl) "Mr. K'im k'yeshimnigga?" 미스터 김 케십니까, in which the ㄱ was aspirated (ㅋ). This cartoon exaggerated the pronunciation problem, but one gets the point.

Confusion: Lee Hyŭn-bok, a linguist at Seoul National University, offered the widely-quoted complaint that the M-R system makes *prostitute* (창녀) and *eldest daughter* (장녀) sound the same when spoken by an English speaker who is unfamiliar with Korean and the M-R system, because non-native English speakers tend to pronounce *ch* and *ch'* the same (Kim-Renaud 1997).²³

Klein (p. 19) reported that "Another criticism often leveled at the M-R system is that distinction in words may be lost. M-R *kungmin*, for example, could represent either 국민 ("national") or 궁민 ("poor people").

Difficulty of transcription for Koreans: It is easier for Koreans to use a transliteration system like the 1959 MOE system because when they write "they think in hangul" (Fouser, 1998a), just as English speakers think in English orthography

when they write. In this respect the M-R system is sometimes difficult for Koreans because they do not make the same phonemic distinctions as speakers of English do. McCune (p. 26, footnote 1) points out that "The average Korean does not distinguish between the voiced and unvoiced sounds of these plosives, as will be seen by the fact that both are written by the same *ŏnmun* [or Han'gŭl] letter. On the other hand the average American or Englishman does not distinguish between Korean [lenis and aspirated] plosives. Three Korean words illustrate this, *p'al* (arm), *pal* (foot) and *sabal* (bowl). To an American or an Englishman the difference between the first two is very difficult to note, and many foreigners pronounce them alike. The Korean, on the other hand, often insists that he pronounces the ㅍ in *pal* and *sabal* the same, although the difference is striking to the western ear."²⁴

Origin: Some are against the M-R system for reasons other than linguistic. "The current system is dubious because it comes from a system developed by foreigners during the Japanese colonial occupation" (Kim 1996).²⁵ Others dislike the M-R system because this system with two foreign names in its title is the basis for the widely-used system promulgated by the Korean government (the 1984 MOE system), and if Koreans had the genius to create the great Han'gŭl system, the government should be able to find Koreans with the ability to establish a satisfactory Romanization system (Fouser, 1998b p. 17).

IDEAS FOR RESOLVING THE ROMANIZATION PROBLEM

In 1997 the Lingua Koreana Society conducted a survey of Koreans and non-Koreans residing in Korea to find out which of several Romanization systems the surveyed thought most accurately reflect Korean pronunciation. The Society presented a long list of single words and names written in Han'gŭl, along with their Romanizations by the different systems. Almost 57% favored the transcriptions of the M-R system; the next most popular were the transliterations of the "Hanse" system (Fouser 1998a p. 28). The opinion of most non-Koreans and many Koreans involved in the discussion over the last few years has been, "If it ain't broke...": continue to use both major existing systems, the morpho-phonemic Yale-Martin for linguistic analysis, and the phonetic McCune-Reischauer (not to exclude the 1984 MOE, which is almost identical) for other purposes. (Very few know of the Hanse system.) There are also many, though, who would like to see the government adopt one system for all purposes, and there is no lack of notable candidates: the Revised Hanse system, Lee Hyun Bok's, Youe Mahn-Gunn's, Kim Bokmoon's, an ISO (International Standards Organization) proposal on which North and South Korea are trying to come to agreement, and a

Unified Korean Romanization System, and yet others (Fouser 1998b). As mentioned previously, the NAKL has added its system to this list.

Some have tried to provide a helpful perspective to the debate, to simplify it, by asking two questions: Who, after all, is Romanization for? And *what* is it for? Instead of simplifying the problem, however, these questions complicate it by adding one more unanswerable element to it. Proponents of each system naturally answer these questions in a way that bolsters the argument for their system. Some say that Romanization is for foreigners, others that it is for Koreans; some insist that Romanization is used mainly for foreigners to be able to read and pronounce Korean with relative accuracy, others that it is used mainly for Koreans to represent Han'gŭl in writing. The fact that Romanization is for all of these people and uses does not simplify anything.

However, since non-Koreans throughout the world almost exclusively support the M-R system for the purposes for which it was intended (even if they disagree with several of its individual features), as do a majority of Koreans, this system will most likely continue to be widely used, within Korea and without. The M-R system has remained pre-eminent no matter which system the government adopted, and the ISO system currently under review, even when it becomes a standard, is a transliteration system used in situations which do not require a transcription system like the M-R. The question here, then, is not so much which system to use as how to resolve the problems in the M-R system.

VARIOUS PROPOSALS FOR FIXING PROBLEMS IN THE M-R SYSTEM

This is a representative collection of the many ideas that have been proposed, over the last few years, in the interest of improving the system's ease of use and its phonetic accuracy. A complete listing would go on for pages; as for the value of these opinions, we do not have enough space here to present all the interesting pros and cons that have been voiced over the years.

Lenis stops (k/g, t/d, p/b)

- Extend use of the voiced consonant letters (*b, d, g*) to initial positions when the final sound in the preceding word necessitates this. For example, the word for moon (달) is represented as *tal* no matter where it is located in a phrase because *t* is used for lenis stops at the beginning of a word, but this proposal would change the *t* to *d* when the word is in a medial position in a phrase and follows an *n* in the preceding word (big moon: *k'ŭn dal*) (Sohn, p. 55, Rector 1997b). The M-R system requires this change only "in the middle of a word," not a phrase (McCune p. 28-29).

Aspirate marking

- Substitute the letter *h* for the apostrophe to mark the aspirate consonants: *ph*, *th*, *kh*, *chh*, instead of *p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *ch'*.
- A mark is needed, because it is often essential to know whether the consonant is an aspirate or not, and context does not help when the reader is dealing with names. Continue using the apostrophe; the *h* is deficient aesthetically and can be confusing to one who does not have familiarity with the language or the M-R system.
- Simply eliminate the apostrophe, and use voiced consonant letters for initial lenis stops.

Syllable boundary marking

- Eliminate the apostrophe that is used to show syllable boundaries (*a'e*, *o'e*, and *n'g*).
- Replace the apostrophe with a slash. The slash would indicate a syllable break more clearly than the apostrophe, is not as conspicuous as the apostrophe (it makes less white space), and would reduce confusion and clutter by allowing the apostrophe to be used exclusively for marking aspirates.
- Replace the apostrophe with a hyphen.

Marking the unrounded vowels

- Use *eo* and *eu*.
- Use upper case. For example, ChOllapuk-do and Han'gUl.
- Omit any mark when meaning is clear without it.
- Replace the breve with another diacritic mark (circumflex, umlaut, acute, or grave accent mark) that is available in all software and works on the Internet. "Almost any accent mark can be used. Preferably, of course, it will not be one which suggests a phonetic value to many readers, like the *umlaut*—ö and ü... I would suggest the circumflex—ô and û—which has the virtue of being available as a separate character on probably all keyboards, so that, in a pinch, we can use o[^] and u[^]" (Harvey 1996). (Some put the circumflex *before* the letter.) See the key combinations table in the endnotes for creating the circumflex right above the letter,²⁶ but be warned that the reader of your e-mail will probably see garble.²⁷ "The circumflex is a good replacement for the breve because it is visually similar and because many computer users now use it informally as a replacement for the breve" (Fouser 1998 p. 30). "No matter what diacritic you use, many editors and any publisher can run a universal 'search and replace' and produce the standard McCune-Reischauer diacritic throughout your text so long as you have adopted a given diacritic and used it consistently and unambiguously" (Ledyard 1997).

- Leave it be. The computer industry will provide a standard code for creation and reading of the breve soon enough. A breve is provided in Unicode, a recent alternative to ASCII code. Unicode is quickly gaining support from the software industry (operating systems, applications and Internet). Soon it will simply be a matter of whether the software of the intended reader is set to show the breve.²⁸

CONCLUSION

From its publication in 1939 to its *hwan'gap* in 1999 the McCune-Reischauer system has remained the preeminent transcription Romanization system for Han'gŭl. It is logical to assume that it has retained its popularity because its developers had enough knowledge and foresight to deal with the intractable problems of representing Han'gŭl in an orthography so impossibly different from it in the best ways available to us.

The nature of language prevents any Romanization system—for any language on this earth—from ever fully representing the pronunciation of that language. People get used to a well-wrought system, though, and the problematic features that might have seemed so difficult to live with at the relative beginning of the system become second nature with consistent use and the passage of years, much like English speakers have got used to the different sounds for the same letters and different letters for the same sounds in their language. Besides, we are probably not being unduly optimistic to believe that one day, in Korea too, no one will give a second thought to using a p for a sound that is neither /p/ nor /b/.

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NOTES

1. As of June 28, the matter was still being discussed in a lower committee of the NAKL (Lee Sang Oak, personal communication).
2. Conflicting information: Lee (1982, p. 6) says 1882. Fouser (1998b) says 1877: "Romanization of Korean dates back to 1832, when a German doctor, Philipp Franz J. B. van Siebold, developed a romanization system for Korea.... Several other systems were devised in the mid-19th century, but three, the Siebold system (1832), the Dallet system (1874) and the Ross system (1877) exerted the strongest influence on later systems."
3. "As early as in 1835, a polyglot with such a long title as *Translation of a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean and Japanese, to Which is Added the Thousand Character Classic, in Chinese and Corean, the Whole Accompanied by Copious Indexes of All the Chinese and English Words Occurring in the Work* was published in Batavia in Indonesia by the English missionary, W.H.

Medhurst. As a matter of fact, this polyglot was a reproduction of the *Chinese (Written)-Japanese-Korean Glossary* of the 18th century published by the Bureau of Interpreters in the government of the Chosun dynasty of Korea." This information is included in an article entitled "The Official System of Romanization for Korean Currently in Use and Its Problems," presented at a meeting on romanization in December of 1996, chaired by Song Ki-jung.

4. Entries from 1882 to 1979 from Lee Sang Oak (1982; p.6).
5. "The Dallet family of systems uses the same consonants [as the M-R system], but indicates aspiration with an *h* added to each consonant (*kh*, *th*, and *ph*). The use of the *h* continues to this day in the official North Korean romanization system and the Yale-Martin system used mainly by linguists. The Dallet system set another precedent with the use of the *e* with another vowel to indicate the two vowels—which become *eo* and *eu*'... "The use of *eo* for *ㅊ* and *eu* for *ㅉ* is still popular because the breve used over *o* and *u*, respectively, for these letters is so inconvenient for many people" (Fouser, 1998b). "The first European priest to cross the border was Pierre Maubant ... That was in 1836, and presumably began the first of three-dozen Romanization systems that have been made and unmade for the last hundred years... The French mission made their system public in 1881, but the substance of the system can be gleaned from Dallet's *History of the Korean Church* published in the 1870s... The biggest nuisance to [Dallet] was the first sound of the two-syllable name of Seoul. He was not at all sure about the value of that very common sound, so he offered for that single sound three optional notations: *o*, *eu*, and *eo*. He adopted the last of his three options to produce the historic '*Seoul*' which may be as thoroughly French as *Londres*, though no Frenchman could read it and come up with anything remotely approximate to how the natives say it" (Kim, 1984).
6. Lee Sang Oak (1982, p. 6): "Ross's system (1882)...is worth noting as a sort of predecessor to Jung's system (1935)." Fouser (1998b): 1936.
7. Lee Sang Oak (1982, p. 7 footnote).
8. Fouser (1998b): "North Korea was the first to come up with a new Romanization system. The current system of Romanization in North Korea dates from 1956 and was modified slightly in 1986. It combines features from the Dallet (1874) system and the 1933 Unified Orthography system [for Korean spelling]."
9. Sohn (1982) p. 53. Also presented in this article are recommendations made at the Workshop.
10. Ministry of Education Proclamation 84-1, January 13, 1984.
11. Schiffman (1985).
Kang 1983: "The Ministry of Education, which is in charge of formulating a unified spelling system to romanize Korean words, is using the traditional system it developed in 1959. The Ministry of Education (MOE) system is used in school textbooks. Unlike the Education Ministry, the Ministry of Construction and the Seoul City government recently decided to use the McCune-Reischauer

system in romanizing the names of streets and places. In the meantime, to prevent further confusion in the romanization of Korean words, the Education Ministry last year asked a special committee at the National Academy of Sciences to draft a unified spelling system for romanizing Korean words... The special committee drafted a new romanization method for Korean words by combining the MOE system and the M-R method. The ministry, however, has not decided whether to adopt the new method as a final solution."

Fouser (1998b): "Complaints about the 1959 MOE system and wide popular use of the McCune-Reischauer system caused the Ministry of Education [to] reexamine the issue in the early 1980s... The system put in place in 1984 is, except for a few minor changes, the same as the 1939 McCune-Reischauer system. This system takes the opposite approach from the 1959 system in that it attempts to approximate the Korean pronunciation by representing surface-level phonological changes. Each Han'gŭl graph is therefore represented by one or two Roman letters. The system uses the breve diacritic mark above the *o* and *u* to create additional vowels. It also uses an apostrophe to represent the aspirated Korean consonants."

Also see the discussion "Government-adopted Romanization System" (*Korea Times*, 14 January 1984) and "Changes in Romanization" table in "New romanization system adopted for Korean words" (*Korea Herald*, 14 January 1984).

12. This Commission was established by the National Academy of the Korean Language, a government agency under the Ministry of Culture and Sports.
13. Kim-Renaud (1997): "There is not a single nonnative speaker present at the meeting[s of the Commission]... Language and writing affairs have been under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Sports for some time now, not the MOE [Ministry of Education]... They have finally arrived at a consensus that they would work for a 'one-to-one' transliteration, not very different from the Yale-Martin system, except that they would change the <p>, <t>, <k> to , <d>, <g> and doubling these letters for the tense [doubled letter] series."

Lee (1999): This tentative proposal was presented by the National Academy of the Korean Language, but was aborted after intense and widespread discussion "because of a lack of public consensus and [also because of] uneasiness about the economic crisis in the middle of 1997."

Kaliher (1997): "The government ruled that the Ministry of Education's (MOE) 1959 system be implemented on road signs nationwide, thus propagating such spellings as 'Dogribmun' for Independence Gate, and fueling a wealth of associated jokes. (A couple of examples: The MOE spelling for Cholla Pukto, or North Cholla Province, inspired the riddle, 'What does a Jeonra Bugdo that no other bug does?' And a blackboard graffito used the MOE spelling of Park Chung Hee's name to announce, 'The new Romanization system has been approved by President Bag.') Foreign travelers could be forgiven for wondering why many of the signs on the road to Kangnung read 'Gangreung.' (Gangrene

jokes abounded.)”

Lee (1983): “Dogribmun, a typical example of awkward Romanization that many “Koreigners” have enjoyed poking fun at, is in fact an illegitimate version of “Doglibmun” produced by a silly transcriber among the sign-painting authorities. According to my scrutiny of the Ministry of Education’s 1959 system, its first ‘note’ says that ㄹ after any consonant should be written *l* rather than *r*: e.g., Sinla.”

Kim-Renaud (1997): There was a public hearing on May 6, with no foreigners in attendance, “although the meeting was announced in every newspaper, radio, and TV.” However, the 1997 meeting sponsored by the Korean Language Research Center, attended by several Americans, was an attempt to get the input of foreigners.

14. *Hanguk Ilbo* (1998): “The Ministry of Culture and Sports, which oversees the National Academy of the Korean Language, announced at the end of June 1998 that all further debate on changing the official romanization system be stopped because of a lack of funds and national consensus for the change.”
15. At its July 1999 meeting the ISO Subcommittee for Conversion of Written Languages (ISO/TC 46/SC2) decided to postpone adoption of the Technical Report “ISO/TR 11941 (Transliteration of Korean script into Latin characters)” as an ISO standard (Clews, personal communication 14 July 1999). For more information, see <http://www.elot.gov/tc46sc2> and <http://asadal.cs.pusan.ac.kr/han-tl-ts>.
16. The NAKL was accused by many Koreans and non-Koreans of having ultranationalistic reasons for attempting to get the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to adopt its proposal, and the NAKL director’s admonition, “When in Rome do as the Romans do,” along with the Academy’s dissemination of a questionnaire only to Koreans and its announcement of an open hearing for the proposal only a couple days previous to the hearing, did not help defend it against these charges.

The three principles that the NAKL claims to have followed in drafting the system are:

1. “to be written as pronounced in Korea,
2. not to use any symbol other than the Roman alphabet,
3. to write one sound with one letter” [Harvey, personal communication, 18 Nov. 99; Harvey goes on to point out ways in which the system does not consistently follow all of these principles; search the archives of www.mailbase.com, Korean Studies, for the full text and many more communications about this matter. Also search the November and December 1999 archives of *The Korea Herald* and *The Korea Times*.]

Major proposed changes: Replace the M-R breve with *eo* and *eu* for the unrounded vowels; use *g*, *d*, *b*, and *j* for initial lenis stops (instead of M-R’s *k*, *t*, *p* and *ch*), represent aspirated consonants with *k*, *t*, *p* and *ch* (instead of with the apostrophe used in M-R); ignore liaison (to better represent spelling).

17. In an article opposing the NAKL's 1999 initiative to replace the M-R system, Han Dong-soo, Political Editor for *The Korea Times*, points out that "The United States Forces Korea, which uses the McCune-Reischauer romanization system, will have to make a decision on whether to follow the new linguistic guidelines. However, it is a near certainty that the USFK will not accept it. . . Will the Pentagon order the wholesale revision of military maps and the names of its military targets in North Korea—Yongbyon into Yeongbyeon for instance? What will happen to the coordination of ROK-U.S. combined forces when they use different maps and pronounce their target locations differently? Can these hypotheses be dismissed as groundless fears?" (Quoted in Bryan R. Ross's message to the Korean Studies list, 1 Dec 1999.)
18. Gary Rector provides an example of the *q*'s function: In the word *Sinselq.tong*, the *q* shows that the *t* is glottalized because of the preceding *l*. This information does not appear in either Han'gŭl or the M-R system.
19. "M-R violates its phonetic principle... by writing the silent *y* in *kye*, *rye*, and *hye* and the silent *û* in *h*?" (Harvey, 1999), and by maintaining one spelling for the possessive marker?.
20. "Users of the Roman alphabet have their own phonemic interdistinctions quite different from those of Koreans, thus perceiving certain different Korean phonemes as the same sounds and the same phonemes as different. Thus, for example, Americans perceive /bul/ (불) 'fire' and /p'ul/ (풀) 'grass' as the same *pul*, while perceiving the same phoneme ㄱ in *kakeuk* (가극) 'opera' as two different significant sounds, as in *kag*" (Sohn 51).
21. Korean Studies list, 11 Dec 99.
22. See Footnote 5.
23. Critics of this complaint question its validity. One reason is that the aspirate mark in the M-R system makes the difference perfectly clear: "In the first case, the M-R romanizations of <changnyO> and <ch'angnyO> are different, and the presence of the unexpected 'apostrophe' in the latter word will serve to indicate to even the least initiated non-speaker of Korean that some sort of 'extra phonological knowledge' is required. And that extra knowledge is present WITHIN the romanization system itself. That is, the sign <ch'> has a consistent pronunciation within the system" (Kosofsky, 1997). Another reason critics question the validity of this complaint is that a person who would not know enough to distinguish between these two words would not likely be having a Korean-language conversation in which these more sophisticated words would appear.
24. "The M-R system is very difficult for Koreans to use unless they get some training, because it requires using different Roman letters for one and the same Korean phoneme or Hang'ul letter. This is particularly the case with the initial lax consonants which are spelled *p*, *t*, *k*, *ch* and the medial counterparts which are spelled *b*, *d*, *g*, *j*" (Sohn, p. 55).
25. Actually, McCune and Reischauer developed their system in close consultation

with Ch'oe Hyŏnbae and Chŏng Insŭb, highly respected linguistics scholars of the time. Besides, the 1959 MOE system that many linguistic nationalists champion is based on the system that another foreigner, Ross, developed in 1882.

26. This table presents some of the methods for creating a circumflex.

| | Mac/U.S. | IBM/U.S. -International ^a | Word (Windows95x) ^b |
|---|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ô | Alt+i, then o | Alt+0244 | Ctrl+Shift+^, o |
| û | Alt+i, then u | Alt+0242 | Ctrl+Shift+^, u |
| Ô | Shift+Alt+j | Alt+0212 | Ctrl+Shift+^, O |
| Û | Alt+i, then Shift+u | Alt+0219 | Ctrl+Shift+^, U |

Table notes: With all of these methods, keep in mind that the reader must have software that can read these symbols. Also, the correct "character encoding" settings in the reader's software must be made. (Some e-mail programs do not provide this function.)

^aEnable the number pad..

^bOr in Insert-Font-Symbols, select the "normal text" circumflex o, u, O, or U, then assign a shortcut key before closing the box.

The information in the "Mac/U.S." and "IBM/U.S. -International" columns was provided by Frank Hoffman (1999). The information in the "Word (Windows95x)" column comes from John Harvey.

27. Gary Rector, in personal communication, presented three variables to consider when using computer diacritics in e-mail: "1) Is the [reader's] browser capable of reading the Unicode Latin Extended-A characters? (The main modern browsers can handle Unicode.), 2) Does the reader have at least one font that contains those characters and are they encoded in that font to the same codes as they are in Unicode Latin Extended-A?, 3) Does the reader have the browser set up to use that encoding and that font? (Most people just use the default settings.)"

28. For more information, see www.unicode.org.

Reception of Modern Korean Art in Germany

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For many centuries, Europe considered itself to be the centre of the world. From prehistoric times to Greek and Roman antiquity, and from The Middle Ages to the modern age, history was equated with European history. In the wake of The Enlightenment, Europe developed the concept of modernity. The modern age not only drew a line between itself and its own traditions, but also categorised non-European as traditional cultures, i.e. as cultures that had not yet attained the level of modernity.

Although some non-European cultures were considered to have highly developed pasts and even to have influenced the world, their cultural histories and art had come to an end in the age of imperialism. Political and economic power enabled Europe to conquer large parts of the world and exploit them as colonies, thus giving the European modernists a power to assert their own definitions of the world.

During the past few decades, however, the modernist self-conception has been badly shaken. A Japanese philosopher, asked about his understanding of modernity, gave the answer: Modernity after Europe! Obviously we have to see clearly; there seem to be different modernities; there is not a Western canon any more defining the aesthetics of the world. Globalisation, migration, far reaching changes in the old national states made the European world view obsolete. Since World War II, more and more intellectuals, artists and authors from the South, the so-called periphery, came into the centres of the north from where they are taking part in defining the international discourse. The number of people and artists in the international magacities has risen so dramatically that for Europe, one can say, London cannot be defined without Karachi, Lagos or the Caribbean, Paris not without Hanoi, Casablanca, and Berlin not without Istanbul. Their contributions have led to a revision of the ways in which we perceive other cultures

by laying bare colonial patterns of interpreting events and subjecting them to criticism. With his concept of hybridity, Homi Bhabha has contributed to a new self-conception of cosmopolitan social structures, and especially of the international metropolises. Europe has to redefine itself, reinvent Europe. Apart from migration to the metropolises of the West, new political and economic centres have also developed over the past few decades, especially in East Asia and Latin America. The latter were no longer prepared to accept the Western modernists' claim to possess the interpretation. On a basis of a newly gained self-conception, people in these new centres have started to assert their own positions into the international discourse.

In the nineties, the West has reacted to these developments, at the socio-political level, with two interpretation models. The globalisation model takes up the universalistic self-conception of the modernists which endeavours to define the entire world as a unity of variously linked networks. The Huntington model, by contrast, like the identity discourse of the romantics, describes the world as a multitude of cultural entities which find themselves in conflict situations - at least potentially. Whereas the globalisation terminology suggests that the triumphal advance of Western capitalist societies has come to a conclusion, the Huntington paradigm tries to mobilise the forces within the West for the coming cultural battle. It is no mere coincidence that both models of interpretation have their equivalents in discussion on art. The aestheticising approach monopolises objects of non-European origin in the name of universal modernism, whilst culturalism, following the same line of argument as the identity discourse, asserts their fundamental difference. In the first case, the "other" is assimilated, in the second it is rendered exotic.

The insufficiency of these patterns of interpretation has become clear in the reception of the Korea exhibition which took place in 1998 in the House of the Cultures of the World. At first, the critics were in a state of uncertainty. Could they apply the same standards as with other exhibitions? The fact that the usual exoticism was missing in these exhibitions was confusing. On the one hand, these artworks involved forms of expression that were similar to well-known Western ones, but on the other hand, it was obvious that they were used by artists from a different culture.

The exhibitions did not communicate the difference but they communicated that Korean artists cannot be classified under a preconceived opinion. They are using most different forms of expression in highly qualified ways; they are dealing with extremely sensitive issues from which only some are familiar to us. So one can say that these exhibitions showed, above all, that there is something for us to discover. The most interesting observation was, quite obviously, Korean

artists were using a language which was not rooted in the history and tradition of this country and at the same time using a language of form derived from their studies of Western art. This gave the performances, the works or art, a depth which was astonishing to critics because they expected the imitation of Western art forms. The critics were, as we say in German, ent-tauscht, disillusioned. What better outcome would we expect?

Culture enriches us; cultures can build bridges among people and nations, but today it is even more than that. It is the practise and acknowledgment of different aesthetic standards, of different aesthetic developments and of different values. That makes it clear that the House of the Cultures of the World is very interested not only in a short-term cooperation but in a long-term one. It would be a very welcome continuation of the Korea programme of the House of the Cultures of the World, if we could cooperate with a Korean curator in a drawing up a project describing the influence of Asian cultures on the performing arts.

The Korea Programme has been one of the most important milestones of the House of the Cultures of the World. It has shown that globalisation and identity can go together. The distinctiveness seems to be based on a strong relationship with traditions. The experience of this phenomenon could lead to a situation which gives new impetus to creativity.

We are in the process of creating a network with Asian institutions, and we hope, no, we are sure that we will here find the partner for a long-term cooperation. One of the most important goals of this network will be at first to find out together the questions and issues that are of interest for us. We will not be working as a European or Asian initiative, but as a common initiative.

The Poetry of Shin Kyong-nim

Brother Anthony (An Sonjae)

BROTHER ANTHONY, born in England, joined the Community of Taize (France) in 1969. He came to Korea in 1980 and became a Korean citizen in 1994. His Korean name is An Sonjae. He is professor of English at Sogang University, Seoul. He has published a number of translations of modern Korean literature and was awarded the 1995 Daesan Translation Award.

Shin Kyong-nim was born in 1935 in Ch'ongju, North Ch'ungch'ong Province, in what is now South Korea. He grew up in the midst of Korea's old rural culture and in later years went travelling about the countryside, collecting the traditional songs of the rural villages. His literary career as a poet officially dates from the publication in 1956 in the review *Munhak Yesul* of three poems. For years after that he published nothing, immersing himself instead in the world of the laboring classes, the *Minjung*, and working as a farmer, a miner, and a merchant. The experience of those years underlies much of his finest work as a poet. He only graduated from the English Department of Dongkuk University (Seoul) in 1967, when he was over thirty.

His fame as a poet dates mainly from the publication of the collection *Nongmu* (Farmers' Dance) in 1973, some of the poems from which were first published in the avant-garde review *Ch'angjak-kwa Pip'yong* in 1970, heralding his return to the literary scene. It would be difficult to exaggerate the historical significance of this volume in the development of modern Korean poetry. In 1974 *Nongmu* earned Shin the first Manhae Literary Award, bringing his work unexpected publicity and critical attention. Shin thus helped open the way for public acceptance of a poetry rooted in harsh social realities, a militant literature that was to grow into the workers' poetry of the 1980s.

Many of the poems in this collection are spoken by an undefined plural voice, a "we" encompassing the collective identity of what is sometimes called the *Minjung*, the poor people, farmers, laborers, miners, among whom the poet had lived. He makes himself their spokesman on the basis of no mere sympathy; he has truly been one of them, sharing their poverty and pains, their simple joys

and often disappointed hopes. Shin is one of the first non-intellectual poets in modern Korea and the awareness that he knows the bitterness he is evoking from the inside gives his poems added power.

Echoing throughout *Nong-mu* are memories of the political violence that has characterized Korea's history since its Liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. The divisions and conflicts of the first years of independence culminated in the Korean War (1950-3). Later, throughout the 1960s and 70s, the government's policy of industrialization led to a further brutal uprooting of rural populations that had already undergone severe dislocation in the course of the war, and violence continued. In those years, all forms of political opposition or social organization were forbidden and fiercely suppressed under the increasingly severe dictatorship of President Park Chung-Hee. In particular, any advocacy of workers' rights was considered to be an expression of communism, a sign of support for North Korea, and was punished as a crime against national security.

In a literary culture accustomed to the individualistic "I" speaker of the western romantic tradition, or the fairly unspecified voice of modern Korean lyrics, the collective "we" employed in *Nong-mu* was felt to be deeply shocking. The leading recognized Korean poets in the 1960s and 1970s were writing in a highly esthetic style inspired by certain aspects of French Symbolism. Poets and critics alike insisted that literature should have no direct concern with political or social issues. This had already been challenged in the earlier 1960s by a number of younger writers and critics including the poet and essayist Kim Su-yong, who was killed in a car crash in 1968. In particular, Kim's advocacy of a poetic style reflecting ordinary, everyday spoken language, with its colloquialisms and pithiness, is reflected in Shin's poems.

Nong-mu took Kim's rejection of conventionally accepted literary style to new heights and gave rise to an intense critical debate. A major literary scission occurred and the more activist, 'engaged' writers established their own movement, advocating social involvement. Shin Kyong-nim has continued to play a leading role in this movement. He has served as president of the Association of Writers for National Literature, and of the Federated Union of Korean Nationalist Artists. Members of these groups were repeatedly arrested and harrassed throughout the 1970s and 80s.

The poems of *Nong-mu* often express with intense sensitivity the pain and hurt of Korea's poor, those of remote villages in the earlier sections, but the final poems focus in part on the urban poor, those marginalized in industrial society. The first edition of *Nongmu* published in 1973 contained just over forty poems, some written years earlier and full of echoes of rural life. A second edition (1975) added two extra sections containing nearly twenty poems written between 1973

and 1975, in a more urban context. Some critics regret this expansion, feeling that these poems are less powerful, but the fuller version represents the poet's final option and I have translated it in its entirety.

Later volumes of Shin's poetry include *Saejae* (1979), *Talnomse* (1985), *Kananhan sarangnora* (1988), *Kil* (1990), and *Harmoni wa omoni ui silhouette* (1998). Shin uses easily accessible, rhythmic language to compose lyrical narratives that are at times close to shamanistic incantation, or at others recall the popular songs still sung in rural villages if not in Seoul. Much of his work composes a loosely framed epic tale of Korean suffering, as experienced by the farmers living along the shores of the South Han River, the poet's home region, in the late 19th century, during the Japanese colonial period, and during the turmoil of the last fifty years.

No poet has so well expressed, and so humbly, the characteristic voice of Korea's masses, both rural and urban. Shin never sentimentalizes his subjects but rather takes the reader beyond the physical and cultural exterior to reveal them as intensely sensitive, suffering human beings.

To give you an idea of the poetry being written and admired in Korea when Shin Kyong-Nim was beginning his poetic career, here is a poem by the leading lyric poet of the time, So Chong-ju, published in 1960. At this time, So Chong-ju had developed a strong attachment to what he conceived as the spirit of the ancient Korean culture of Shilla. He employs the voice of characters, and a variety of symbols, from the Shilla Foundation Myths to express yearnings that remain unspecified in nature. In part such poems reflect the search for an authentically Korean world-view and poetic expression after the deep traumatism of the long Japanese occupation and the Korean War. This kind of poetry is often termed 'Symbolist' or 'Imagist' because the flow of symbolic images that constitute the poem are not given any interpretation.

Flower-garden monologue

A short poem spoken by Shasu

True, songs are fine, but even the finest
will only rise to the clouds, then return;
your speeding horse with its flashing hooves
was brought to a halt at the edge of the sea.
Now I have lost all desire for wild boar, arrow-struck,
or those mountain birds that the falcons take.

Dear flowers, each dawn new created,
I love you dearly, dearest of all
yet, like a child unable to swim
viewing its face in the water's gaze,
I simply stand leaning against the door you have closed.
I beseech you! Open this door. Open the door, dear flowers.
Though the way ahead lies through fire and flood,
I beseech you! Open this door. Open the door, dear flowers.

1960 is the year of the April Revolution, when the students led the nation in its dramatic rejection of the corruptions of the Syngman Rhee regime. It is also the year when the poet Ko Un ceased to live as a Buddhist monk and although he is best known for his later career as a leading dissident and nationalist poet, the poetry he was writing around 1960 is not notably different from that of the majority of other poets of the period. Ko Un's first collection of youthful poems, *Other World Sensitivity*, was published in 1960 and there we find him writing poems like this:

Spring rain

On your sleeping silence, wave,
spring rain falls and dies.
The night dark in the water may soar up
but by the spring rain on your sleeping water
wave
far away by that rain's power
far away rocks are turned to spring.
Above this water where we two lie sleeping
a rocky mass looms, all silence.
But still the spring rain falls and dies.

I have already mentioned how Kim Su-yong began to react against the obscure symbolism and elevated, artificial language of the poems being produced in the wake of the Korean War, a poetry apparently completely divorced from the intense suffering of the time. He too had begun his career as a Symbolist, writing poems as arcane and remote from social realities as those of anyone else; but the events of 1960 represented a major turning-point in his own perception of society and the future of Korea. The following poem is date June 15, 1960

The Blue Sky

Jealous,
a poet once said that the skylark was free,
mastering the blue sky;
but that must be modified.

Those people who have soared aloft
for the sake of freedom
know what the skylark sees
that makes it sing,
they know why the smell of blood
must mingle with freedom,
why revolution is a lonely thing
why revolution
is bound to be a lonely thing.

This is obviously a very different kind of poetry, directly related to the events of only a few weeks before. However, Kim Su-yong was by nature a thinker, his poetry was always thoughtful, and he could never simply capture simple moments of experience. By contrast, here is one of Shin Kyong-Nim's first poems, written in 1956.

A Reed

For some time past, a reed had been
quietly weeping inwardly.
Then finally, one evening, the reed
realized it was trembling all over.

It wasn't the wind or the moon.

The reed was utterly unaware that it was its own
quiet inward weeping that was making it tremble.

It was unaware
that being alive is a matter
of that kind of quiet inward weeping.

That poem was first published in 1956, as one of the poet's initial works, and it was included with a few other very early poems as Section Five of the original (short) edition of *Farmer's Dance*. Most of the poems in the volume, however, are dated to the very late 60s or, above all, the early 70s and the poet has arranged them without great regard for the date of composition. As explained already, the poet is emerging at this moment from a period of complete immersion in the world he evokes. It is surely significant that for about eight years he wrote *virtually nothing*.

If we take a few of the poems in *Farmers' Dance*, it may be easier to see a few general characteristics. The first poems in the book are also some of the earliest after the break, being dated to 1965-6; they reflect life in remote rural villages:

On a Winter's Night

We're met in the backroom of the co-op mill
 playing cards for a dish of *muk*;
 tomorrow's market-day. Boisterous merchants
 shake off the snow in the inn's front yard.
 Fields and hills shine newly white, the falling snow
 comes swirling thickly down.
 People are talking about the price of rice and fertilizers,
 and about the local magistrate's daughter, a teacher.
 Hey, it seem's Puni, up in Seoul working as a maid,
 is going to have a baby. Well, what shall we do?
 Shall we get drunk? The bar-girl smells
 of cheap powder, but still, shall we have a sniff?
 We're the only ones who know our sorrows.
 Shall we try raising fowls this year?
 Winter nights are long, we eat *muk*,
 down drinks, argue over the water rates,
 sing to the bar-girl's chop-stick beat,
 and as we cross the barley-field to give a hard time
 to the newly-wed man at the barber's shop, look :
 the world's all white. Come on snow, drift high,
 high as the roof, bury us deep.
 Shall we send a love-letter
 to those girls behind the siren tower hiding

wrapped in their skirts? We're
the only ones who know our troubles.
Shall we try fattening pigs this year?

Lands Far Apart

Old Park's from Kuju. Kim's a fellow
grew up in some Cholla coastal place.
The October sunshine still stings our backs.
Stones fly, dynamite blasts, cranes whine.
Let's go to the bar there under its awning,
hand in our chits, drink some *makkolli*.
All we've got left now is our pent-up fury,
nothing more. Just oaths and naked fists.
We hear tales of outside from the council clerks
who dump their bikes beneath the big tree.
Oh, this place is too remote, we miss the city's
din here in this god-forsaken construction site.
Tonight let's get out to the bars down the road,
play cards, belt out songs at the top of our voices.
The siren wails; one final slap at the fat behind of
the woman who cooks in the chop-house,
and off we go, dragging our carts along,
covered in dust, counting the days
till pay day. Outside the drying room a dog
is barking; down the sides of the yard
where red peppers lie drying, the village kids
play at *ch'egi* using their feet. The girls,
keeping the sunlight off their heads with a towel,
giggle away the weight of the stones in their panniers;
the foreman yells at the top of his voice. In this remote
far-off construction site the autumn sun is slow to set.

The speaker in those two poems is plural, 'we', but some of the poems are more personal, although it is not necessarily the poet's own voice speaking:

The Night We Make Offerings

I don't know what dad's dead cousin's name was.

The night we make the offerings for him,
winter rain is gloomily pattering down
and the younger relations, having nothing else to do,
gather in a side room where the floor's been heated
to gamble at cards or play chess.

From the lamplit verandah rises the sound
of a hand-mill churning out a slurry of green beans.

When our uncles arrive from their distant home,
their greatcoats full of the stink of grass,
we go out with lanterns and delve
into the roof-thatch after nestling sparrows.

Tonight's dad's cousin's offerings; winter rain
patters down in my heavy heart.

Dad's cousin spent a miserable short life
and I don't even know what his name was.

Puzzlement echoes in that last line, the sense of a deep generation gap and also an unspoken question: when and how did that cousin die? We soon return to the collective mode, and the apparently happy band of rural revellers in the poem that gave its name to the entire collection:

Farmers' Dance

The *ching* booms out, the curtain falls.

Above the rough stage, lights dangle from a paulownia tree,
the playground's empty, everyone's gone home.

We rush to the *soju* bar in front of the school
and drink, our faces still daubed with powder.

Life's mortifying when you're oppressed and wretched.
Then off down the market alleys behind the *kkwenggwari*
with only some kids running bellowing behind us
while girls lean pressed against the oil shop wall
giggling childish giggles.

The full moon rises and one of us
begins to wail like the bandit king Kokjong; another

laughs himself sly like Sorim the schemer; after all
what's the use of fretting and struggling, shut up in these hills
with farming not paying the fertilizer bills?

Leaving it all in the hands of the women,
we pass by the cattle-fair, then dancing
in front of the slaughterhouse
we start to get into the swing of things.

Shall we dance on one leg, blow the *nallari* hard?
Shall we shake our heads, make our shoulders rock?

We are made to feel very strongly the underlying contradiction between the festive appearance and the harsh social reality, with the accompanying sense of helplessness. There are a number of poems in which unspoken memories of events in the past can be felt casting dark shadows:

Party Day

Dad's cousin's been drunk and rowdy since daybreak.

Cheerless leaves are falling on the awning.

Women clustered in the back yard are making a fuss,
the excited bride's boasting about her new husband.

Have you forgotten? Dad's cousin's drunk and rowdy.

Have you forgotten the day your father died?

No point in listening to his stupid voice.

Finally a proper party comes alive beneath the marquee,
the excited bride's boasting about her in-laws.

Even though the truck's arrived, drawn up in front:

Have you forgotten? Dad's cousin's drunk and rowdy.

Have you forgotten how your father died?

Some poems suggest the social climate of the period, when people longed to take to the streets, demonstrate, denounce, but dared not on account of the military dictatorship, the all-present KCIA, the danger of being accused of being pro-communist. The next poem was written in 1972, the year when virtually all political activity was banned.

The Way to Go

We gathered, carrying rusty spades and picks.

In the bright moonlit grove behind the straw sack storehouse,
first we repented and swore anew,

joined shoulder to shoulder; at last we knew which way to go.

We threw away our rusty spades and picks.

Along the graveled path leading to the town
we gathered with only our empty fists and fiery breath.

We gathered with nothing but shouts and songs

The next poem seems to suggest that the outcome of such moments is less than satisfactory.

The Storm

The bicycle store and the *sundae* soup shop closed.

All the inhabitants came pouring out into the marketplace
shaking their fists and stamping their feet.

The younger ones went pounding on *jing* and *kkwenggwari*
while the lasses came following behind them singing.

Lighting torches made of cotton wadding soaked in oil
they set up an out-of-season wrestling match in the school yard.

But then suddenly winter arrived
dark clouds gathered and dropped damp sleet.

The young men scattered and hid indoors
only the old and the women still tottered about, coughing.

All winter long we shook for dread.

And in the end the bicycle store and the *sundae* soup shop failed to re-open.

Instead, the poet focuses our attention on a momentary vignette of immense pathos:

That Day

One young woman all alone
follows weeping behind a bier.

A procession with no funeral banners, no hand-bell in front.

Ghost-like shadows

along the smoke-veiled evening road,

a breeze scattering falling leaves

down alleys with neither doors nor windows,

while people watch hiding

behind telegraph posts and roadside trees.

Nobody knows the dead

man's name that dark

and moonless day.

Another poem from 1966 comes to remind us that deep hopelessness had set in long before Park Chung-hee proclaimed the Yushin Reform of the Constitution in 1972, that the hopes of 1960 had been very short-lived and that the military coup of 1961 had encountered very little resistance:

March I

When every alleyway's soggy with sewage

and by each house with its shabby shaky wooden fence

tattered rags hang flapping like flags,

our country hates us. When the first day of March

visits this remote hill town.

When unemployed youths fill the alleyways

and the plots of the poor spread ever wider

in house agents dens, barbers' shops, *soju* bars

our country rejects us. When March the first

once again comes to this remote hill town.

We do not believe that flowers will bloom

in this dust-laden wind. We do not believe

that Spring will come riding

this dust-laden wind. And alas, we do not believe

the news of our country borne on this dust-laden wind.

When the lasses have all become whores and left,

the lads gone crazy slashing at daylight

so that all the county is sullied with blood
our country leaves us for good. When the first day of March
goes off and abandons this remote hill town.

March 1 marks Korean Independence, and should suggest national pride but
that is not what these poems suggest:

Before and After March the First

Mahjong game, dawn, wallet empty.
Step into street, face shrivelling at biting wind.
Turn into Noraengi the miser's place.
Get drunk in a flash at daybreak.

Shabby boots thick with mud at the bar.
Still early dawn, before sunrise,
but the marketeers are silent for dread,
pigs off to the slaughterhouse
shudder and scream for all they're worth.

Go staggering into the unheated room.
Lifting a face livid with poverty and fear
the wife keeps on and on pestering: Let's leave
this dreadful place before March the First.

Most of the poems in section 3 repeat this scene, with the male figure struggling but overwhelmed, obliged to go drinking with his workmates after work, while the wife waits and suffers at home, and no solution is available.

Going Blind

Once the sun weakened, the lads from the lower village
came calling on me, bringing bottles of *soju*.
The wife used to jump and cry out if even so much as
the shade of an apricot blossom touched the window;
it took only a few glasses of *soju* to stir us up
so we stamped on the floor, pranced round the yard.

After that we would start to turn just a little bit crazy.

Weeping aloud, giggling too and shouting out loud,
we'd drag the wife out to dance the hunchback's dance.

At last she fled to the lower village, her endurance exhausted,
at which my voice abruptly lost its power.

The weather was still bad despite the extra third month,
my voice calling the wife stayed pinned to the ground.

I dreamed I'd shaken off the lads
and was about to set off for some distant city.

The poems in Part 4 contain a different perspective. In Part 3, Seoul had been invisible, a far-away and undesirable place of power and corruption. Now the speaker seems to be living in Seoul, the home town has become a foreign place to which there can be no return:

Mountain Town Visit

Market day, yet business is slacker than normal.

Drought, so in the fields hot dust clouds rose while
roofs, stone walls, stood weary like the laborers.

The bus stopped in front of the common market
from where the wife's grave could be seen.
Beneath a roadside stall's awning I and the boy
drank a tepid beverage produced by foreign capital.

I wonder why my hometown friends, seen again at last
after long separation, have such bloodshot eyes?

No words. Just hands clasped
and shaken. That lying smile.

The narrow chicken-shop alley
littered with stones and sticks and hoes.

In front of the barber's shop that used to ring
with farmers' and miners' quarrels.

The rice-store path where volunteer firemen used to run.

It's market day, yet everywhere is gloomier than normal.

Rough hands grasp mine as I walk away from the wife's grave,
grasp and won't let go.

Such poems can suggest multiple layers of emotion, especially when the returning visitor finds himself confronting childhood friends and the unspoken memories of grim days long past:

A Friend

Spotty always used to get praised in composition class.

His father guarded the tombs of the Hongs of Namyang.
He worked at the cooperative rice-mill and set himself up
in an earth-walled house with no *maru*.

Wheat bran came wafting as far as the straw mats in the yard.

That friend, meeting me again after ten years, grabbed me
bought cucumbers and sour *soju*
then sent his wife to boil up some *kuksu* noodles;
his wife stammered bashfully like a young girl.

I knew her father.

I knew him; he used to deliver liquor on a bicycle,
a sturdy fellow, always in high spirits.

I know that mound of stones too, covered with bindweed
under the zelkova; he was stoned to death and buried there.

Is that why you're ashamed of your wife, and your first kid,
in third grade, shy of strangers just like her?
Of the A-frame in front of the kitchen, the rough water jar?

Old friend. Nowadays I can make my way alone
to the pine grove up behind the warehouse.

That place where my cousin and his friends
used to make charcoal, old friend.

We get even more drunk surrounded by the wheat bran
and the noise of the mill,
go out to the market, arms round shoulders.

Old friend, is that why you're ashamed?

The climax of the entire sequence comes at the end of section 4:

Commemorations

1.

Cotton *turumagi* overcoats

stinking of *makkolli*

the men squatting on straw mats

were discussing the times with haggard faces.

Fearfully emaciated faces.

Still the kids were cheerful.

In a bonfire lit under a sheltering rock

they roasted stale rice-cake *ttok* and dried pollack,

went racing in circles and toppling headlong.

2.

—Even after twenty years the home village

hasn't altered in the least. Poverty-like

smoke holds the village wrapped

and in it dogs are barking

kids are crying and they are all

shouting at me.

Speak out! Speak out! Speak out!

Alas, there is nothing I can say.

The poet is empowered to become 'the voice of the voiceless' but seems himself still to be extremely unsure about what he can say. That is surely why the poems that follow this one, in Section 5, are Shin Kyong-Nim's earliest works, his first attempt to 'Speak out' which led him only back into years of silence.

The last two sections continue to echo the voices of the village-folk, still as hopeless and alienated and unconscious as ever, but now more remote from the poet. The poems have become records of memories rather than the direct reflection of events.

Section six seems to begin with a new poetic vocation, but set now in a dream:

Night Bird

I woke from a dream
where I was pursued by a bier
round and round a zelkova tree.
Suddenly I heard a bird sing.

Wake up now, mistreated wretch.
Open your lips, downtrodden wretch.

Flying carefully through a lowering sky
with not a spare inch for so many resentful ghosts,

that night bird sobs so sadly.

One boy sobs sadly, too, pitifully
clinging to the back of the bier.

Past and present have lost their unity, the speaker has lost touch with his
past:

Year's-End Fair

I'm looking increasingly haggard,
ashamed of being alive.

Along the now dismantled rails
a little county town
a cold year's-end fair.

I shut my ears
to the sound of the biting wind
to whispers full of malice.

All day long I wandered through the market alleys
hoping to find someone I knew.

This poem is like a lot of other in the book, an evocation of almost nothing happening. Should we compare Shin Kyong-Nim with Samuel Beckett? There is

certainly a feeling of absurdity in a lot of his work; people spend whole lifetimes waiting for sense to come, but in vain it seems. The celebrations that tradition imposes only serve to highlight the lack of any will to rejoice, while any preparation for resolute action, or even protest, turns quickly into a whimper or a drunken riot. The dance of the farmers announced in the title barely rises above a shuffle except when it turns into a rough drunken shambles, and never takes off into the carefree mirth that the simple peasants are expected to enjoy in the lighter forms of pastoral and georgic. The reader in search of charm and aesthetic pleasure is going to be frustrated.

Instead, we see, the poet has brought us into direct contact with people whose lives could scarcely be more remote from that of the poetry-reading milieu of 1970s Seoul. Not that it was totally unfamiliar, since many of the people living in Seoul had come there from just such remote villages; but it was the first time that anyone had ventured to make such realities the subject of lyric verse that clearly had no other purpose. This is not activist poetry in the sense that it seeks to provoke outrage and social change. It is much closer to memorial verse, a commemoration of lost generations, like a war memorial: "Least we forget."

The last poem in the book expresses something not unlike nostalgia, it is full of the sense of turning pages; yet perhaps there is also a trace of hope in the last line? At least, history goes on and the tale is not yet fully told:

We Meet Again

We first met

in the squeaky back seat of the classroom
up the cold dew-sodden stone stairs.

Mates from Kyongsang and Cholla
as well as Ch'ungch'ong provinces,
we first grasped hands in friendship
in rain and wind and dust.

In shouts and curses and fisticuffs.

Our second-floor wooden rented room in Ch'ungmu-ro,
the grog-house down that obscure alley in Ulchi-ro,
the ruins of Myong-dong,
dark basement cafés,
that old professor's lectures on western history
echoing in the classroom,

the silence in the library on Saturday afternoons
the distant roar of trams
if you turned a page.

In winter that year I was passing through Munkyeong
so I turned into the chemists and made a phone call.

A friend came dashing out,

his great hands white with chalk,
he said one was up in some Kangwon mountain town
running a fish shop, while another was in charge
of a rice mill in a remote Ch'ungch'ong village.

We're all scattered far and wide now,
in factories, mines, even in distant countries,

we get up in the night and hold out a hand,
we look to see what's flowing in our blood,
we see things clotting in the dark:

the noise of shouting blazing up
in Cheju and Kangwon and Kyonggi provinces
in rain and wind and dust,
in nostalgia, dissatisfaction, and fruitfulness.

Shin Kyong-Nim continued to write, of course, although none of his later volumes had the impact of *Farmer's Dance*. His interest in rural traditions of song brought a deeper lyricism into his work, although that is something that hardly comes through in translation. Several later poems with titles taken from Shamanistic rites addressed the issue of the unhealed division of Korea. These poems are more dramatic and emotional than anything in *Farmers' Dance*:

Ssitkim Kut

— A wandering spirit's song

Go your way in peace, they say, go your way in peace.
With your broken neck, hugging severed limbs,
go a thousand, ten thousand leagues down the road
to the land beyond, without night or day;
go your way in peace, they say, go your way in peace.

Sleep now, they say, sleep quietly now.

Though a myriad million years pass, never open those eyes
blinded with blood as you fell in barley field, meadow,
or patch of sand;
sleep now, they say, sleep quietly now.

Seize hold, with your slashed and slivered hand
seize warmly hold of these blood-covered hands.

A new day has come, the sun is shining bright,
birds are carolling, the breeze is balmy,
so seize hold with your slivered hand, they say, seize hold.

I cannot go with my broken neck and severed limbs,

I cannot quietly close my blood-blinded eyes,
cannot seize hold, cannot seize with this slivered hand,

I cannot seize your blood-covered hands.

I have come back, with blood-blinded eyes glaring,

I have returned
with my broken neck, hugging severed limbs;

I grind my teeth and wish bitter frost may drop from heaven.

I cannot seize hold with this slivered hand,

I cannot seize your blood-covered hands;

I have come back, a dense storm-cloud,
to alleys, markets, factories, quays;

I have come back, a violent clamor.

Time will not allow much more illustration. There are two possible ways of ending this paper. One is to read one of the most recent poems of Shin Kyong-Nim that I have translated, though he has published more since I did these. I think it exemplifies his entire life and work.

Outside the Wall

Splendid trees, magnificent flowers,
all are growing inside the garden,
while there is nothing but tough grass and tiny flowers

in the stony ground stretching outside the wall,
where I sit with a bottle of soju from the tiny store, here,
where I have been laboring for thirty years past and more.
With no need to feel futile and even less call to be sorrowful,
spreading my wet socks on the wall to dry,
reclining with my head pillowed on my jacket,
I can see pale stars abandoned faint in the sky above
beyond our footsteps dimly printed across the fields.

How can I just idly hum to the bird song creeping from the ailanthus?
In the stony ground stretching outside the wall
with bent trees and shrivelled flowers,
I find myself lying mingled with abandoned stars and dreams.

The humble man of the poor village has no desire to enjoy or write about the elegant gardens of the rich and content. He has all he needs outside the wall, with stars and dreams. Or I might end by reading several versions of one poem that I did in an attempt to explore various ways of translating a poem that is particularly noted for its ballad-like qualities of language and rhythm. First, a 'standard' translation, line-by-line and as close as possible to the sense of the original:

Mokkye Market

The sky urges me to turn into a cloud,
the earth urges me to turn into a breeze,
a little breeze waking weeds on the ferry landing
once storm clouds have scattered and rain has cleared.
To turn into a peddler sad even in autumn light,
going to Mokkye Ferry, three days' boat ride from Seoul,
to sell patent face-powders, on days four and nine.
The hills urge me to turn into a meadow flower,
the stream urges me to turn into a stone.
To hide my face in the grass when hoarfrost bites,
to wedge behind rocks when rapids rage cruel.
To turn into a traveller with pack laid by, resting
on a clay hovel's wood step, river shrimps boiling up,
changed into a fool for a week or so, once in thrice three years.
The sky urges me to turn into a breeze,
the hills urge me to turn into a stone.

The Song of Mokkye Market

Turn into a cloud, the sky insists,
 become a breeze, the earth suggests,
become a breeze and wake the weeds,
 clouds scattering, the rain blown away
from the riverside bank where the ferry lands.

Turn into a peddler, haunt the fairs,
 finding no joy in bright autumn sun,
visit Mokkye market on every fifth day,
 sell Park's Patent Powder to the women there,
only three days by boat from the streets of Seoul.

Turn into a flower, the hills suggest,
 become a pebble, the river insists;
on chill frosty nights hide your face in the grass,
 in the fury of rapids wedge under a rock.

Become a wanderer, wearily resting
 outside a poor hut, your pack laid aside,
take shrimps from the river and boil them hard,
 a happy fool for a week, after so many years.

Turn into a breeze, the sky suggests,
 become a pebble, the hills insist.

The Ballad of Mokkye Fair

I heard the sky speak, and it said to me:
 Turn into a cloud, my lad;
The earth sighed back: Turn into a breeze,
 Turn into a breeze so glad

That it wakes the weeds at the river-side
 When storms and rain are gone;
Turn into a peddler all forlorn,
 To Mokkye Fair plod on,

Full three days from Seoul by boat, for sure
There the women are waiting in line
For your patent powder, your knick-knacks sweet,
When the date has a four or a nine.

I heard the hills speak, and they said to me:
Turn into a flower, dear boy;
The river murmured: Turn to stone
And let that be your joy.

Hide your face when hoarfrost bites,
Hide it in the sedge;
Take refuge when the torrents rage,
Behind a boulder wedge.

Turn into a wanderer; weary, take rest
By some poor hovel's door;
Stay there, lay your pack aside,
Boil shrimps from the river's shore.

Enjoy yourself, play the fool for a bit,
After all this time alone.
I heard the sky speak: Become a breeze;
But the hills bade me turn to stone.

Shin Kyong-Nim continues to roam; you can often meet him in Insadong of an evening, roaming with friends from one bar to another and usually spending at least part of the time in the bar called 'For Peace Making' which is often full of the very loud raucous voices of more-or-less drunken artists and writers. If he recognizes you, he will probably repeat one of his favourite greetings, one full of feeling, very simple, and completely sincere, like the poet himself: "Come along; come and have a drink!"

Notes: Shin Kyong-Nim's *Nongmu / Farmers' Dance* is available in a bilingual edition, translated by Brother Anthony and Young-Moo Kim, published in Korea by DapGae Publications and in the U.S by the Cornell East Asia Series (Cornell University East Asia Program)

On I-du: Writing The Korean Language with Chinese Characters

Kim Yongduk, Ph.D.

KIM YONGDUK graduated from U.C. Berkeley in 1957 and was granted his Ph.D. in 1961. Professor Kim taught physics at Sogang University in Seoul from 1963 until his retirement in 1996. He is a Council Member of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch and was president in 1988-1989.

In the course my search for the origins of Japan,¹ I came upon a Japanese press account² stating that the discovery in 1978 of the Inariyama Tumulus sword inscription may be ranked as one of the "three great postwar finds" of Japanese archeology and prehistory.

Another of the three great postwar finds was the discovery in 1979 of a Chinese epitaph on a bronze plate, excavated from the grave of O Yasumaro, the author of *Kojiki*, the earliest Japanese history book dated 712 C.E. Not one Japanese newspaper, however, reported that the Chinese language of the inscription contains a startling linguistic Koreanism. This means that the inscription was written in I-du, the general term used to describe the ancient system of writing Korean words or Korean sentences with Chinese characters.

The other of the three great postwar finds was a mural in the Takamatsu Tumulus, which contained paintings of four mythical animals and court ladies in color. These finds are all closely related to the ancient culture of the Korean kingdoms, especially Paekche. Muriyama and Miller⁽²⁾ often refer to the linguistic Koreanism in the text of Inariyama sword inscription. This raised questions concerning I-du or the ancient system of writing Korean with Chinese characters, Hanja.

First, I will summarize the historical developments of I-du as presented by Ryu Ryul in his book, *Study of I-du in the Three Kingdoms Period*⁽³⁾ Next I will present the I-du interpretation of the Inariyama tumulus sword inscription. In conclusion, I will make some comments on the merits of the study of I-du.

DEVELOPMENT OF I-DU

I-du refers to the system of writing the Korean language using Chinese characters or Hanja. By way of illustration, examine how the modern day Chinese are coping with the transcription of Western words. Take, for example, Coca Cola®, which is transcribed as 可口可樂 or Kokou kolau. In this example, the Chinese characters are phonetically similar in their pronunciation, but of course, have entirely different meanings from the name or flavor of the soft drink. Another example is cocktail party or 鷄尾宴 (Ji Wei Yen). The first Hanja means “cock”, the second “tail,” and the third, “party.” In this case the meaning of the original word was translated literally.

Another example is the name of a city or state. Los Angeles is transcribed 羅城 or City of Luo, where only the first syllable of Los Angeles was transcribed. America is called 美國 (Mei guo) or land of beauty (Mei), which is the transcription of the second syllable of America.

So we have seen several examples of words being transcribed into Hanja by making use of either the sound or the meaning of the particular Chinese character. This same approach was taken by Koreans two thousand or more years ago to transcribe and record the Korean language using Hanja. This system was used officially until 1897, when Hangul became the official standard writing system. We will now examine the history of the development of the writing system called I-du.

(i) Early period: Transcription of Names

In early Chinese records from the Han dynasty, 2nd c. B.C.E. to 2 c. C.E., we learn that the old Chosun or Koguryo people knew about Chinese characters and used that writing system. Several ink brushes were found in a log coffin from the first century B.C.E. in the Kara region of south Korea, attesting to the Kara people's knowledge of writing.

More specifically one of the earliest examples of an I-du transcription is the name of the capital city of the old Chosun dynasty, Nimu Komo Kuru, written 壬儉城. Often the same name is transcribed as 儉瀆, where the first Hanja stands for the syllable komo and the second for toh land; thus the land of Komo.

The capital of Koguryo was located near the Yalu river and was called Bruna Kuru in I-du writing 國內城; present Korean pronunciation would be Kuk-Nae-Sung. In this case another I-du transcription 不耐城 (Bul-nae-sung) also exists, so we can guess 國 (Kuk) in Hanja represents the Korean word for Buru (plain) and nae stands for na (land in Korean). This is an example of I-du, which

makes good use of both the sound and the meaning of Hanja in a mixed way.

The next example is the name of Paekche's second capital 熊津 (Ung-Jin) or present day Kongju (公州). This stands for the original Paekche name, Koma nari, where Koma means a bear and nari means a port. These can be inferred from the Chinese as well as Japanese records.

The name of the founding king of Silla is written 赫居世 (Hyuk-Ko-Se) or 弗矩內 (Bul-Ko-Nae), which is the I-du writing for Balkanu, meaning the one who enlightens the world. The second king is named 次次雄 (Cha-Cha-Ung) in I-du writing for the Korean word zung meaning a shaman. The words for monk 중 (zung) and teacher 스승 (susung) are said to have derived from this original word for a shaman.

The Kingdom of Kaya had many ways of writing its name; 駕洛, 加羅, 加良, 加利, 加耶, 加世 etc. These I-du Hanja transcribe the original word kara which means gold as evidenced in its later name 金州, or 金官 (land of gold).

(ii) Second stage of I-du development

Korean grammar is entirely different from Chinese. The word order is different, and Korean employs a variety of particles and endings in phrases, which is typical of an agglutinating language group, to which the Korean language belongs. Korean used specific to denote some of the more frequently used endings.

One example is the Hanja 中 or chung, to mean "in" as a date or the Hanja 節 or chul to mean a builder. These unique I-du usages may be seen in many writings⁴ One can see the specific I-du usage also in the Funayama Tumulus Sword Inscription,⁵ which was excavated in 1873 in Kyushu, Japan. Another I-du usage is the Hanja 爲 (wi), which means do or hata in Korean. The other I-du Hanja is 迂 (chun) meaning sharpen or byorunda in Korean. All of these and other detailed observations of the I-du used in the inscription lead to the conclusion that the sword was forged by a feudal lord of the great King Kaero of Paekche (455-475 C.E.).

(iii) Third Stage in I-du evolution

The final stage in the evolution of I-du writing takes place when whole texts in Korean are written with Hanja.

A typical example are Hyanga⁶ or lyrical poems, twenty-five of which were recorded in the Kyunyojon, an eleventh century biography of the Buddhist monk Kyunyo, and in the Samguk Yusa, a history of the Three Kingdoms, compiled in the thirteenth century. Many scholars have tried to read and understand these I-du

poems with varied results.

Interestingly, the I-du system of composing and writing poems crossed over to Japan years later, where an anthology of songs "Manyoshu,"^{7 8} which contains about four thousand-five hundred poems, was compiled in the middle of the eighth century. It is very difficult to understand the true meanings of these Manyoshu songs, and an increasing number of Korean scholars think they should be considered as written in I-du.⁸

(iv) Kugyul and Kana

As the readings and writings in Hanja became a necessity for courtiers, scholars and monks, Kugyul or a reading aid was developed and widely used in Korea along with a shortened version of Hanja, such as *ヒ, タ, ソ, イ, ト* etc. These Kugyul were added to the Chinese texts which then made it possible for Koreans to read these difficult Chinese works.

There had been active diplomatic relations between Silla and Japan since the fall of Paekche in 660 C.E. This was the period when Silla's Buddhism was actively transmitted to Japan. Kugyul writings were also introduced to Japan along with the earlier tradition of I-du. Kugyul evolved into Kana, the Japanese phonetic writing sometime in late eighth or early ninth century.⁹

To summarize, I-du is a system of writing Korean by using Chinese characters, but not necessarily the Chinese language or grammar, with a collection of rules governing the transcription of Korean words using the sound and meaning of the Chinese characters. Sometimes Hanja was used to represent specific Korean idioms and the Hanja text was written in accordance with Korean grammar.

I-du continued to evolve during the Koryo dynasty and more completely during the Chosun dynasty, but this later development of I-du will not be discussed here.

APPENDIX

INSCRIPTION ON THE INARIYAMA TUMULUS SWORD

A gold-inlaid iron sword with one hundred-fifteen Hanja characters was excavated from the Inariyama Tumulus near Tokyo in 1978. This caused a sensation in Japan and was studied intensively by many scholars. Research determined that the inscription carries a number of I-du usages of Hanja as noted by S. Murayama and P. A. Miller and others.

"The use of the Chinese script in Japan, like the Buddhism that followed

closely, at least in the earliest stages of the process, through Korean intermediaries and the most important of these intermediaries was those from the Paekche as number of impressive and orthographic indicators of Korean influence have already identified in the text of the inscription."²

As previously stated, I believe that the "great king" mentioned in the inscription on the sword refers to King Kaero of Paekche. Here are the findings which provide the evidence for this assertion, as reported by Ryu Ryul.

(1) 多加利 Ta-Kari

The first Hanja stands for Kana or Hana, meaning great in quality or in quantity (Ryu p. 398). The following two Hanja are variant words for Kara or Kaya (Ryu p. 488). So the name may be read Kana Kari or Hana Kari. This name sounds very close to a modern Korean word, Taegari, which means "the head of an animal." Ta-Kari could have meant the head of a tribe, and later the chief of a village or community.

(2) 工已加利 Kongyi Kari

The first Hanja 工 is read as 弓 (e) in most Japanese articles, but Ryu Ryul reads it correctly as Kong to make sense out of its usage in the Funayama inscription.

Ryu gives the example of a place name 多已 (Ta-e) that must be read as Tari which means land in Korean (Ryu p. 532). In the same way, 工已 (Kong-e) could be read as Kori in I-du. This name may be read as Kori Kari. Kori may refer to the place where Koryung (古寧) Kaya flourished for centuries (Ryu p. 539).

(3) 多加披次 Taka Pacha

Kanghwa Island was called Kabi Kosi and written as 甲非古次 in Hanja in Koguryo. Kabi becomes Kawa or river in Japanese and Kosi becomes Kuchi or mouth in Japanese (Ryu p. 229) In the same way, 披次 (Pacha) may be the transcription of pasi or peach in Old Korean (Ryu p. 326).

(4) 多沙鬼 Tasakwi

Tasa is the old name of present day Hadong in the Kaya region of Kyungsang Namdo, Korea. Tasa means east in old Korean and has passed down to be written as dong or east in Hanja (Ryu p. 357). The last Hanja stands for the Old Korean ki or fortress. So one can see Tasakwi is the I-du way of writing Tasa Ki or east fortress.

(5) 半工比 Pankongbi

After the example of I-du writing, 沙伴 *saban* for *sabara* (Ryu p. 337), the first syllable may represent *bara* which means a village or bow. The following two syllables may represent *kobi* or *kabi* (Ryu p. 229), which means sea or river in old Korean, so it may be read as *Bara Kobi*.

(6) 加差披余 Kachapayo

The first two Hanja may stand for *kasa* or *kasi* (Ryu p. 468) which means new. Since *Puyo* (夫餘) is said to stand for *puri* (Ryu p. 417), *payo* 披余 may be understood to represent *pari* or a variant of *puri* or *village*. As a whole, this name may be read as *Kasa pari*.

(7) 獲加多支鹵 Hoekkatakiro

This is the most important name of all those listed in the text.

First we notice that the last Hanja 鹵 is used in the Japanese chronicle *Kojiki* or *Nihon Shoki* only for King *Kaero* of *Paekche*. *Kiro* is shown to be a variant transcription of the original sound *karo* or *kaero* as it is used today (Ryu p. 334).

The second Hanja, *ka* (加) stands for a ruler in the old kingdoms of Korea (Ryu p. 220). The *Paekche* word for king is *arika* (Ryu p. 340), so the two initial Hanja may be read *waka* and stand for ruler.

The third Hanja, *ta* means greatness (Ryu p. 398), which is the I-du way of writing the Korean word *kana* or *hana*.

Therefore as a whole, these five Hanja may be read *waka kana kiro*. *Kiro* is the proper name, while *waka* suggests a supreme ruler and *ta* stands for great or *kana*. These five Hanja characters precede the title *taewang* or great king in Chinese, so as a whole, the five Hanja may be read supreme ruler, excellency *Kiro*.

(8) 伊珍阿鼓 Ijinashi

This is the I-du transcription of the name of the founding ancestor of Great Kaya.

(9) 伊奘諾 Izanagi

This is the I-du transcription of the name of the founding god of Japan.

These two (#8 and #9) I-du names are considered to refer to the same being.

With these observations, the inscription may be translated as follows.

"I write, in July 471 C.E. His subject, O Wake's ancestor, is called Oho Bico, and his son's name is Hana Kara Sukuni, his son's name is Kori Kara Wake; and his son's name is Tasaki Wake, his son's name is Bara Kobi, his son's name is Kasa Pari, and his son's name is O Wake. We subjects have served as the heads of guards to this day in the service of our lord. During the reign of the supreme ruler, excellency Kiro Great king, I, in residence at the Saki Palace, ordered the forging of this excellent sword to record the root and origin of our service."

My own interpretation of the Inariyama inscription suggests that the owner of the Inariyama sword is a descendant of a family from Kara in the southern part of Korea. They may have passed through Tasa or today's Hadong in Kyung-sando, Korea and eventually settled in the Inariyama, Japan area in the service of Paekche Kings.

Recent findings of other archeological evidence are consistent with this thesis. According to Soh J.C., (11) the Japanese King Mu, who sent a state document to China in 478, must be the son of King Kaero if the document is read correctly. This document suggests that King Mu's ancestor Nyeh conquered the west, north, and east of Japan. Soh J.C. also has demonstrated that King Mu, the son of King Kaero, returned to Paekche to become King Muryong in 501. In 503 King Muryong ordered the powerful governor of Kawachi or today's Osaka area to produce bronze mirrors for King Namje, who is thought to be King Mu's successor, according to Soh J.C.'s interpretation of the inscription on the bronze mirror kept at the Sidahachiman shrine in Nara, Japan.

All these interpretations of archeological findings and ancient documents in Japan are consistent with the new interpretation of the inscription on the swords from both the Inariyama tumulus and the Funayama tumulus.

It is impossible to overemphasize the enormous importance of I-du in understanding Korean culture such as Silla's Hyanga and the old Korean language. Furthermore I-du can help us understand ancient Japanese culture and history as well, since many of their ancient records such as the inscriptions on the Inariyama and Funayama Tumuli swords were written in a variant form of I-du by descendants of people from the old kingdoms of Korea. Despite the introduction of Hangul in 1445, I-du remained in use especially by low echelon officials, until 1894.

I-du phrases used during the late Chosun dynasty

| | | | |
|------|-----|--------|---------------------|
| 卜數 | 딤슈 | Dimshu | Tax |
| 上下 | 치하 | Chiha | Payment |
| 尺文 | 잣문 | Janmun | Receipt |
| 召史 | 쇼사 | Shosa | Widow |
| 進賜 | 나으리 | Nauri | Sir |
| 爻周 | 쇼주 | Shoju | Cancel |
| 件記 | 발기 | Balki | List |
| 業作 | 업질 | Opchil | Document |
| 矣身 | 의몸 | Uimom | Person |
| 作文 | 질문 | Jilmun | Registration record |
| 作紙 | 작지 | Jakchi | File |
| 役只 | 격기 | Kyokki | Entertainment |
| 的只 | 마기 | Magi | Certainty |
| 所志 | 소지 | Soji | Petition |
| 流印 | 홀니 | Hulni | Installment |
| 流音 | 홀님 | Hulnim | Copy |
| 退印 | 물이 | Mulyi | Postponement |
| 根脚 | 근각 | Kungak | Criminal's Identity |
| 斜(只) | 빗기 | Bikee | Report to office |
| 捧上 | 밧자 | Batja | Receipt |
| 推刷 | 츄쇄 | Chuswe | Recall of fund |
| 推閱 | 츄열 | Chuyul | Cross examination |

NOTES

1. "In Search of Japan's Origin", Y.D.Kim Transactions, RAS. Korea. Branch Vol.73. 1998.
2. "The Inariyama Tumulus Sword Inscription", S. Murayama and R. A. Miller, Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 5 No. 2, 1979.
3. Study on I-du in three kingdoms' names and titles, Ryu Ryul, Korean Culture, 1983.
4. Inscription on Pyung yang Wall,
"丙戌=月中 漢城下后部 小兒文濶節 自比西北行涉之"
5. Inscription on Funayama Tumulus Sword

□□□□□ 鹵大王奉爲曲曹人
名尤利工八月中用大鑄釜并四尺

迂刀八十練六十振三才上好

刀服比刀者 長壽子孫洋洋
得三思也不失 其所統作刀者
伊太於書者張安也

6. An example of Hyanga,
Choyong Song

東京明期月良夜入印游行
如可入良沙寢矣見昆脚烏
印四是良羅二盼隱吾下於
叱古二盼隱誰支下焉古本
矣吾下是如馬於隱奪叱良
乙何如爲理古

7. An example of a poem in the Manyoshu anthology.

味酒三輪乃山青丹吉奈良能山乃
際印隱万代道 印積流伊代
委曲毛見管行武雄數二毛
見放武八万雄情無雲乃隱
障倍之也

8. Japan's Manyoshu, Kim Sayup, Minumsa Co., 1983; Chonhyo Tarun Hyanga and Manyopka, Kim In-bae & Kim Mun-bae ; Manyoshu Makurakotoba dictionary, Park Byungsik, 1990; Manyoshu, Lee Yunghui, Bungei Shunshu pub. Co., 1993; Fujimura Yuka, Hitomaro's code, Shinjoshu Co., 1989.

9. Kojiki Taisei, p185, Hyoban Co., 1962.

10. Inscription on the Inariyama Tumulus Sword

“辛亥年七月中記 手獲居臣 上祖名
意富比塿其兒名加利足尼其兒名
工己加利獲居其兒名多加披次
獲居其兒名多沙鬼獲居其兒名
半工比其兒名加披余其兒名獲居
臣世世爲杖刀人首奉事來至今
獲加多支鹵大王寺在斯鬼宮時
吾左治天下令作比百練利刀
記吾奉事根原也。”

11. King Muryong's World as Recorded in Metal and Stone, Soh Jin-chul, Wonkwang University Press, 1994.

Yi I, Yulgok (1536-1584),
 A Path to Maturation and Fulfillment:
 —Poetry, Philosophy, and Wisdom—

Philippe Thiébault

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In this essay I would like to deal with the philosophical reflection of Yi I, Yulgok (1536-1584) (a) in its vivid dimension. With Yulgok, I intend to better grasp the functioning of the East Asian mind, and of the Korean mind in particular. Neo-Confucianism is often introduced with its technical concepts, but not always with a sufficient reinterpretation allowing appreciation of the meanings of this way of thinking and allowing one to connect this new understanding to the intelligence of the present.

Everything depends on how the act of philosophizing is perceived. Philosophers in the Far East and in the West went through numerous historical stages of creation within diverse contexts. In Europe, the rise of reason made the philosopher partly a scientist, the technician of a field, but Rousseau and Nietzsche rejected such a view.

The approach to understanding a philosopher such as Yulgok is something quite complex. I do it as a Westerner, recognizing my prejudices and weak points. Only some rare English translations exist and it is difficult to interpret the original in Chinese characters. Also, a Neo-Confucian looks unfamiliar, because he is not just a technician of ideas, he is at the same time a practical man, a statesman, a poet and a thinker who finds the time for standing aside and meditating.

I will introduce Yulgok's thought as a research of "maturation and fulfill-

ment of the mind-and-heart." However, I will not emphasize the technical aspect of his thought, but will first tune in to his philosophical concern and walk with him, testing how far he can be understood. There is no philosophical work of Yulgok comparable to *The Ethics* of Spinoza or *The Phenomenology of the Mind* of Hegel, although one can mention the *Sônghak chipyo* (b), *The Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage* (1575), his major work and some philosophical letters (1572). That is why, retrieving Yulgok's philosophical thought is much more arduous than in the case of a Western thinker.

Yulgok dealt with history, politics and economy. He held important positions in conformity with the Confucian spirit of serving one's nation, but very early, he attempted, within the limits of the Neo-Confucianism of his time and on the foundation of Yi Hwang, T'oegye (c), to solve difficult questions about man. I chose to appreciate his research from different angles, knowing that I cannot fully present his thought satisfactorily.

First, I will start with Yulgok's poetical creation in order to enter his universe. Poetry, in my view, is a short but intense moment, at a given stage of life, when the mind grasps itself in its depth in the flesh of existence. A poem is a privileged *locus* of emergence of an author's mind, providing the direction of the author's research.

Second, my attempt is to go further than a presentation of Yulgok's fixed ideas, for example, those of *I/Li-Ki/Qi* (d), *Sadan-Ch'il Chông* (e), and to bring to light the foundation on which he laid his reflection, to clarify how he made his own hermeneutics of the Classics and how he came, with nuances and clarity, to his comprehension of the human condition. Therefore, the second point I will present reflects the genesis of his thought, starting from the *I Ching* (f) or from Zhu Xi/Chu Hsi but also introducing the original points of his thought.

Third, I will deal with the subject of wisdom, that is to say with the becoming and accomplishing of humanity, which were Yulgok's whole objective. It is a theme again spoken of in Europe today. I mention for example, Pope John-Paul II's 1998 encyclical letter *Fides et Ratio, Faith and Reason* and the book by French philosophers André Comte-Sponville and Luc Ferry, *The Wisdom of the Moderns*.¹

The evaluation of Chinese and Korean wisdom may have a significant meaning. Such a form of wisdom is neither Stoic nor Christian, although it offers some similarities. It is not the wisdom of a Montaigne, but, nevertheless, it contributes to the project of acting well as a man. One historical fact: Yulgok wrote his mature work *Compendium of Learning to become a Sage* in 1575; that same year Montaigne was working on his *Essays*, writing, "There is nothing more beautiful nor legitimate, than to act well and duly as a man; there is no more

arduous science than knowing how to live this life well and naturally."² Yulgok, also, gave his full attention to finding the key to becoming more humane, to fulfilling oneself, aware that man walks on a ridge which on one side opens onto the highs of wisdom and on the other side plunges into animality.

AWAKENING OF THE MIND-AND-HEART IN YULGOK'S POETRY

Poetry can be seen as a starting point and as an outcome. For Confucius, it was a means to awaken the mind.³ Heidegger, among others, after arduous philosophical research, came back to ancient Greek poetry as a key to decipher the real. In starting with the relation between philosophy and poetry, I face the question of the status of philosophy which is both one and many, multiple in its approaches and contexts. Instead of dealing with philosophy separately, one may consider it in relation to poetry as an inspiration and a fulfillment, beyond words and silence.⁴

In order to reach the East Asian poetical mind, I will make a *détour* through German poetry. I pause a moment to reflect on Hölderlin who lived at the time of Hegel:

What has philosophy, the cold "sublimeness" of such a science, to do with poetry?.../... Poetry is the starting point and the term of this science.../... Pure intellect never produced something intelligent nor pure reason something reasonable.../... Without the beauty of the mind and of the heart, reason is like the foreman whom the master of a house imposed on his servants.⁵

The poet reminds the philosopher that existence is decided, to a great extent, at the level of the heart, of sensitiveness to beauty and purity. Such a poetical sensitiveness escapes pure conceptual demonstration. It is connected to the mind and at the same time remains close to what is concrete. The notion of mind in contrast to reason, *Vernunft*, should be explored further in order to find an articulation between the philosophical spirit and the poetic spirit. The second lesson Hölderlin teaches is the importance of nature in the development of the human mind. Fascinated by Greek civilization, he longed for the encounter between man, nature, and divinity.⁶ Therefore, it is in contact with nature that man awakens himself to feelings and to moral life, as Rousseau, whom Hölderlin praised, expressed it.

Far Eastern thinkers never moved away from nature and from the enthusiasm in relating to it. Taoism comes to mind, particularly Zhuangzi/Chuang-tzu, who is a model of harmony between philosophical and poetic expressions. The Confucians did not forget Zhuangzi/Chuang-tzu. Nature played an important role in their philosophical creation. I take the example of Yi Hwang, T'oegye, the

forerunner of Yulgok, for example in his *Anthology of Deep Reflections, Chasông nok (g)* (1558).

Emptying the mind and calming it, time is spent appreciating diagrams and books, admiring flowers and plants, rejoicing in the rivers and the mountains.../... It is better not to read books to the point of exhausting the mind. Only in following the passion of the heart, can meaning and joy be found.../...⁷

Among other Chinese and Korean philosophers, Yulgok is no exception. He wrote many poems, while this was rare for a Western thinker. Yulgok's poems were inspired, not only by Confucianism but by Buddhism and Taoism from different periods. Yulgok mentioned different classics like the *I Ching*, the *Book of Odes*, historical books, but also Zhuangzi/Chuang-tzu (h), Liezi/Lie-tzu (i) and great poets such as Li Bai (j), Du Fu (k), Han Yu (l) and Su Shi (Dong-Po) (m).

I will first present a poem by Yulgok which evokes the climbing of a mountain and waiting for the sunrise. Beyond this evocation of nature, one perceives a reflection on man looking for his origin, reflection which is expressed more technically in other philosophical writings.

Watching the Sun Rise from the Top of a Mountain

A snow-covered peak in the very high mountains.
 Following the dangerous path, I walk away from white clouds.
 Leaning on a stick, groping, I climb steep mountains.../...
 At first cockcrow, I get up to climb to the summit.
 At the far limits, hardly to be seen, the sky is still dark.
 A while later, the sun beams spread over the world.
 It is impossible to distinguish between sea waves and morning fog.
 Finally, the sun, like a sphere, emerges at the top of the road.
 Tinted clouds taper, forming a canopy.
 Bluish water and reddening sky are parting.
 Look afar, see the Eastern Sea like a long line.
 How distant it is! In the Eastern Sea,
 the place where the sun rises, where is it?⁸

In the light beautiful colors which progressively take over the snowy and foggy landscape of a winter morning, man confronts the inaccessible origin of the earth and of the sun. This poem reminds us of some Chinese or Korean landscapes where people are hardly seen, but where the presence of the mind is very strong in contrast with the emptiness and the silence of nature. Yulgok's poem echos these lines of Hölderlin:

Lost in the immense blue, I often raise my eyes toward the sky or lower them down upon the sacred sea. It seems that a fraternal spirit opens its arms, that the suffering of the solitude dissolves itself within the divine life.

But, what is the divine life, man's heaven, if not becoming one with everything? Becoming one with living things, returning, through a radiant self-forgetting, to the Wholeness of nature, such is the highest degree of thought and joy, the sacred peak, the place of eternal calm....⁹

With Yulgok, man not only enthusiastically unites with nature, but he looks to find the secrets of the universe and of man, as expressed in the following poem.

Writing One's Inmost Thoughts on a Winter Solstice Evening

During a winter solstice evening at midnight, the *Yang* starts moving.
It is difficult to express the mysterious dimension of Heaven's heart.
Knowing the being which is hiding within the non-being,
When the earth shakes at the sound of thunder,
kindle a new fire in the middle of the night
and stay without falling asleep,
Silently thinking of the mysterious basis.

As the pure *Yin* comes near,
all things still sleep without life.

Spring comes back to earth,
buds nourish the resurrecting will.../...
I am part of the three Ultimates.¹⁰
Such energy prevails for all beings.
Bright virtue shines,
Brilliant as sun and moon,
As what was conferred by Heaven.

A corrupted thought erodes original brightness,
At the beginning faintly and at the end violently.
Mountain trees suffer from ax and sickle.
Heaven's truth gets lost in selfishness and falseness.../...

With determination, I solemnly make a promise
And Heaven, in accord, listens to me and looks at me.
The world is an ax attacking original nature.../...
If the mind is not one in concentration,

Corrupted thought grasps the occasion;
 It confusedly rushes in and disappears,
 With the violence of a flame and the swiftness of a horse.../...

If the purified mind is as vast as Heaven,
 one fears no shame in the remotest place.
 The burden is heavy, the road very long.
 In a word, we must recognize a master in the will.../...
 Only when dust piles up, is it wiped away;
 Originally, the water and the mirror show no stain.¹¹

Through numerous poems, Yulgok let filter solitude, and sometimes sadness. Through the allusions, one understands that he moved away from political games and intellectual narrowness. He evaluated without compromise the great thoughts of his time. Above all, he challenged and dealt with the problems of death, the mystery of the universe, and the conflicts within man's heart. One also sees in the second poem the determination of Yulgok to take a road out of the duplicities, to escape what leads man away from the fulfillment of his original potential. T'oegye, repelled by man's evils, loved to contemplate trees, sources and birds and appreciated an hermit's life. Yulgok was sensitive to symbolic events happening in nature: the thunder, the return of spring, the sunrise. He was not just looking for the beauty of nature or union with it, but, within the symbolism of nature, for the truth to which one must open oneself. Within nature, he responded to a call to become more humane, impatient to give his share in straightening and improving society.

GENESIS OF YULGOK'S THOUGHT

A more challenging part of my purpose is to study Yi I, Yulgok's thought with its roots and its dynamism, and to introduce his original ideas. I drew three charts to help visualize the different layers of Yulgok's thought, its vital articulations and its conceptual structure.¹² No thinker starts completely anew; that's why what he meditated on before and during the creative process is of importance. Opposed to Descartes, who made a clean sweep in order to start thinking by himself, Yulgok, related to a strong tradition following Confucius, who considered himself more as a transmitter than a creator.¹³ A difficult point is that, in order to introduce Yulgok's original ideas, one must grasp what defines the structure and the inspiration of his thought.

Yulgok is a thinker who considered different forms of thought in their whole and who connected them. He studied Buddhism, Taoism and diverse Confucian

schools intensely, but he came back to several different sources of inspiration such as the *I Ching*, Kong Fuzi/Confucius (o), Mengzi/Mencius (p) and the founders of the Confucian renewal like Zhou Dounyi/Master Chu (q), the Ch'eng brothers, Ch'eng I (r) and Ch'eng Hao (s), and Zhu Xi/Chu Hsi (t). In creating his concepts, Yulgok used particularly the *Great Commentary* of the *I Ching* (u), Mengzi/Mencius, the *Doctrine of the Mean* (v) and Zhu Xi/Chu Hsi. He mastered the classics and often articulated them one to the other, because he kept a running thread which brought to light certain strong points of the classics.

First, I will cover Yulgok's reflection on the *Book of Changes*. Next, using the second and third columns on the first chart progressively, I will discuss his reflection on the Neo-Confucian system. Yulgok's own views will then emerge, as we see in the third column of the same chart. If we separate these factors for the sake of analysis, we must remember that the different aspects of Yulgok's thought are interlocked.

Let us see first Yulgok's meditation on the Changes called Yöksu ch'aek (w):

The fundamental meaning of the great *Changes* is nothing else than the real principles. The latter are principles of truth which never rest.../... Thanks to them, one follows the principles of human nature and destiny. Thanks to them, man penetrates the reason of what is obscure and what is clear. Thanks to them, man realizes fully the concrete situations. Their essence is great and contains everything. Their application is spiritual, divine, and everything exists due to them.¹⁴

While analyzing the *Book of Changes*, Yulgok showed first his insight into ancient classics and, second, his audacity in reinterpreting them. In his vision, the highest principles, man's original nature and concrete situations of life relate to each other. There is a rooting of man in an essential dimension, which Yulgok expressed through the concepts of basis, *bon* (x), Great Basis, *taebon* (y), and which is manifest in concrete life. There is a correspondence between the world of essence and the world of phenomena. Yulgok's onto-metaphysical research was not foreign to an ethical quest. It reminds us of Levinas' saying: "Metaphysics is not disconnected from ethical relationships."¹⁵ Discovering the universe is, at the same time, finding out about man's possible path of action. While Ontology or Metaphysics may be abstract and above existence, they are, according to Yulgok, closely connected to life and enlighten it. To Yulgok, Ontology is Ethics.

Scholars carefully studied the Changes; they deeply explained their pure and hidden meaning. They clearly demonstrated and largely introduced the *To/Dao* of opening things and accomplishing tasks.../... To understand the *To/Dao* of

Changes, one must consider as a unique source the essence and the applications, and grasp the fact that there is no space between what is manifest and what is hidden. If one does not reach sincerely the highest knowledge, one cannot discover the principles of changes; if one does not purify one's thoughts and rectify one's mind-and-heart, one cannot put the truth into practice. Therefore, knowledge and purification are one and same action at the heart of the Changes.¹⁶

Yulgok was for a practical knowledge of the universe, and the principles which he discovered guided him toward action of fulfillment. The highest knowledge is not pure knowledge in itself, it remains humane, connected to the transformation of the universe and of man. The world is not created *ex nihilo* and man is not created from an external origin. Man awakens to this present and infinite life, he takes part in the life of which he progressively discovers the meaning and the greatness. Some key texts of the *Great Commentary* of the *I Ching* are present behind Yulgok's reflection and enlighten his concepts.¹⁷

On the basis of all his knowledge, Yulgok carries out his own hermeneutics of the *I Ching*.

All things are the unique Five Elements; the Five Elements are the unique *Yin* and *Yang*; the *Yin* and *Yang* are the unique Great Ultimate. The Great Ultimate is the name one was forced to put. The essence of the Great Ultimate is called the changes; its principles are called the *To/Dao*; its applications are called the spiritual/divine(numinous) *sin/shen* (z).¹⁸

One observes here the return, through reflection, toward the unity of principles and the relation between what is the most concrete and the most high/spiritual. In the spirit of the *I Ching*, Yulgok thinks that the highest expression of the *To/Dao*, of the *T'aeguk/Taiji* (aa) is the original life in its goodness which man aspires to retrieve. One of the keys of the understanding of Yulgok lies in the third point of the statement, "The applications of the *T'aeguk/Taiji* is the spiritual/divine/spirit." It is not enough to know the universe, one has to enter into and to live within the dimensions of the spiritual/divine and of the mystery. Man is making his way toward the spiritual, not in a beyond, not in a tomorrow, but in action here and now, in the most humble situation. What astounds man in the discovery of the absolute is the fact that the absolute is at the same time high and humble, far and near, understandable and incomprehensible, as *The Doctrine of the Mean* also reminds us.¹⁹

To continue a little more with the concept of transcendence, although Yulgok was a Neo-Confucian, he was able to maintain a relationship with Early Chinese Thought. During the *Shang* dynasty, there was a belief in the transcendent as a personal ruler expressed through the Lord on High, *Shangdi/Sangche* (ab).

During the *Zhou/Chou* dynasty, in Confucius' time, there was a shift to Heaven, *Ch'ôn* (ac), although the *Confucian Analects* mention several times a personal dimension of Heaven. During the *Song* dynasty, the transcendent was identified with Principle, but Chu Hsi was not always clear. Let us add that the Far Eastern concepts are more flexible than in Western philosophy and that the different layers of thought are connected between them, allowing a reflection which may be less precise but very rich. Concerning Yulgok, he articulated the different concepts of Heaven *Ch'ôn*, *To/Tao* and *T'aeguk/Tai-chi*. At certain times, he expressed some doubts about the source of the universe and, at other times, as I searched in a number of his essays, he had several important affirmations of a personal dimension of Heaven.

Heaven cannot but make emerge the sage and give the meaning.../...
Such is the natural correspondence which constitutes the mystery of exchange between Heaven and man²⁰ and also:

When one understands that there is nothing that Heaven does not do not for man and nothing that man does not do not for Heaven, one can speak about Heaven's Will.²¹

Man discovers himself in a relation with Heaven, although he understands only progressively what is at stake in this relationship. The latter offers itself as a task to fulfill in order to contribute to the transformation of the universe.

Next, let us come to the more specific Neo-Confucian dimension of Yulgok's reflection. In fact, a shift to new concepts, particularly those of *I/Li* (ad) and *Ki/Qi* (ae), happened during the *Song* dynasty in China and the *Chos(n)* dynasty in Korea. The reassessment of these concepts in relation with Western Philosophy is only recent and leaves many problems unsolved. The concept of *I/Li* became central, a tool to organize the different dimensions of reality. *I/Li* must not be seen as a Western scientific principle, but as the way according to which a being develops and fulfills itself in the cosmos. It is more like a flow of existence manifesting patterns, the ability of self-creativity, according to modern commentators. It is not just an ordering principle, but an articulation of the way the world ought to be.

Yulgok used the Neo-Confucian philosophical frame in a new and powerful way. I will introduce briefly some aspects of his approach. Yulgok was fascinated both by the unity of the universe and by its rich diversity. The origin of the universe is one, even if its manifestations are many. Man is the heart of the universe and man's heart is one. To understand man's unity, says Yulgok, one must understand the unity of the universal principles, hence his key concept of the 'mysteriousness' of the relationship between principle and vital force/energy.

Principles are one, but a greater mystery is the life of unity which is present between principle and vital force/energy. The universe is neither unity nor diversity, it exists within a relation of unity and diversity; reality is neither what is ideal nor what is concrete, it is a relation of what is ideal and concrete. Yulgok was looking to overcome the limited views of different schools and to penetrate deeper into the metaphysical dimension of reality.

Western philosophy distanced itself from cosmology and ontology and wanted to understand man through pure reason, but with only pure reason it is difficult to follow Yulgok who attempted to grasp reality as it emerges, of unity within multiplicity.

There is a single thread running through the explanations of both principle and material force and the human mind and the Tao mind (af). If one has not comprehended the meaning of the human mind and the Tao mind, it amounts to not comprehending principle and material force. If one has already clearly understood the inseparability of principle and material force, then one can extend that to an understanding of the fact that the human mind and Tao mind do not have a twofold origin.²²

Therefore, time is needed to clarify the relation between the *I/Li* and the *Ki/Qi*. Different from T'oegye, Yulgok emphasized that it is necessary to ponder the mystery of the *I/Li* and *Ki/Qi* which cannot be separate.²³ The difficulty, says Yulgok, is to grasp how the *I/Li* and *Ki/Qi* are at the same time one and two, two and one. At the deepest of their unity, they keep their own identity and in their independence, they remain one.

Generally speaking, principle is the master of material (vital) force, and material (vital) force is what principle mounts upon (where principle is present). Without principle, material force has no grounding; without material force, principle has nothing on which to depend. They are not two(separate) things, but again they are not a single thing. They are not a single thing, therefore, they are one and yet two; they are not two things, therefore they are two and yet one.../... In the midst of their marvelous unity principle is principle and material force is material force.../... They are "interfused" with no interstice.../.... Principle has no beginning, and therefore material force likewise has no beginning.²⁴

Yulgok accurately expressed the mystery of relationships within and between beings. He showed how the possibility of such relationships comes from rooting in something which sublimates these relations and still is at the heart of them. He put great emphasis on the incarnate dimension of man, but what appeared to him even a more crucial philosophical issue was the relationship between the different dimensions of reality.

I will turn for a moment to the second chart which may help us to perceive the creative dimensions of Yulgok's thought. Let us notice Yulgok's sense of unity within the complementary relationship of *Yin* and *Yang*. Mind-and-heart is central. It must become real, substantial. As Mencius said, "He who has exhausted all his mental constitution (mind-and-heart), knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven."²⁵ Also Mind-and-heart comprehends both original nature and feelings, and for Yulgok, feelings comprehend human nature. One's task is to go to the depths of the Self until one reaches the Four Beginnings and the original Sincerity. In developing a substantial heart, man comes into harmony with Heaven which moves the whole universe through real principles, and in this mysterious relation of creativity, emerges a world of real accomplishment. This world is nothing else than a world of wisdom, of sanctity, and sincerity. In order to contribute to such a world, man has to start from enlightenment, from the "getting/finding oneself," to develop his knowledge and straighten his heart, to set his will to cultivate himself in order that not only the individual, but also family and society emerge within the context of wisdom.

Yulgok kept looking for truth, beyond pure ideas and his research is expressed through concepts which come back like leitmotiv: the spiritual, the mysterious, the oneness, the substantial/real, the authentic/sincere. He was fascinated by the dynamic relation between dimensions of reality, Heaven and man, spiritual and material, invisible and visible, but what was essential for him was the substantial creativity of the mind-and-heart. Yulgok said:

Heaven works through real principles and all things are fruitful. Man, through a real mind-and-heart, moves all things. This real principle and this true mind-and heart are nothing else than Sincerity, *Sông/Sheng* (ag).²⁶

On this basis a real efficiency is reached in action. A bridge is clearly made when Yulgok develops his view of Sincerity. What is reality or substantiality? It is not a material or external accomplishment but an internal one.²⁷ A careful interpretation of sincerity has to be done, especially due to the analyses of Heidegger and Sartre on authenticity. Yulgok emphasized that sincerity is the way of Heaven and that man works at becoming like Heaven, therefore, man's mind-and-heart is the heart of the universe²⁸; it expresses the essence of the universe; it has to balance and mature the essential nature given by Heaven and the physical inheritance.

I will end this second part by dealing some more with the complexity and depth of the mind-and-heart. As he first meditated on the mystery of the universe, Yulgok meditated on the role of man's feelings, because we grow and develop within emotions, but without always knowing their roots and their impact. Differ-

ently from other Neo-Confucians, Yulgok presented the feelings as containing human nature.²⁹ Again he insisted first on the unity of the mind, which is related to his ontological research.³⁰ Before the arousing of feelings, there is the original purity of human nature. The mind and human nature are one, the feelings are one, feelings and human nature are one. Yulgok clearly wanted to avoid dualism within man. It is easy to see that feelings or body are related to evil and original nature to goodness. Therefore as the relation *I/Li-Ki/Qi* is mysterious, the relation between human nature and feelings is mysterious.

Furthermore, if Yulgok wanted to affirm his belief in man's original goodness, he wanted, at the same time, to express his awareness of the danger of evil. In not keeping core goodness, man could allow his original nature to be hurt and damaged, as he explained in his remarkable *Essay on the Human Mind and the Tao/Dao Mind*³¹ and some letters. He said in one of his letters:

Both good and evil feelings are stimulated by things and start moving, but that whereby they are stimulated may be correct or wicked and their movement may be perfectly moderated or excessive or deficient, and so there is a differentiation between good and evil.../... This represents the starting point of the feelings when they are disrupted by the physical and lose the original condition of human nature. They are evil, therefore, and are not perfectly moderated. One does not see how they are the beginnings of humanity, rightness, propriety and wisdom. They emerge divided.³²

There is only one mind, but a split comes into it, not because the physical dimension is evil, but because the mind is not able to guide emotions and thoughts clearly, right from the start. The original purity and sincerity, instead of being nourished, are, therefore, veiled like the sun disappearing behind clouds. For Yulgok, the role of will is crucial:

When one is not able to exercise careful discernment and consider one's direction, then feelings overcome, the passions are inflamed, and the human mind is all the more in peril, and the Tao mind all the more subtle [and hard to realize]. The exercise of careful discernment, the yea or the nay, are entirely a matter of the will; therefore, in cultivating oneself nothing has priority over making the will sincere.³³

If Western philosophy in relation to Christianity has explored evil in man more, the Far East, as we see in Yulgok's works, has given more attention to how to avoid evil by constantly working at the understanding of the deep self and at the understanding and transforming of man, particularly his actions.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE FULFILLMENT OF THE MIND-AND-HEART
OR THE RESEARCH OF WISDOM

Yulgok spoke of *Sônghak* (ah), which means study to become a sage/saint. This seems, at first, outdated or obsolete for the modern mind, but, if science has conquered numerous philosophical domains, the questions of evil, injustice, immorality, and death remain enigmas. Some contemporary French philosophers clearly say that philosophy, in its depth, beyond disenchantment and deconstruction, is a research of maturation.³⁴ Despite all theories and imperatives, many people have difficulty to become and remain humane, with sound emotions. Pascal, as a Christian, spoke about man's misery. Yulgok, as a Confucian, was aware of man's degeneration. He quoted Chu Hsi: "Man's original mind-and-heart has long since been corrupted"³⁵ and Mencius: "We must look for the mind-and-heart that we lost."³⁶ This, in fact, corresponds to Yulgok's center of attention. In accord with T'oegyë, he wanted to contribute to a rebirth of the mind-and-heart and to a fulfillment of man's nature.

In his philosophical letters, Yulgok meditated the springing up of the mind-and-heart in man, the springing which, to him, seemed even more astonishing than the springing up of life in the universe.³⁷ What amazed Yulgok was not only, like Hegel, the rising of the pure reason, but even more the maturation of the mind-and-heart which finds a balanced relationship between the original nature and the incarnate nature. Reason alone cannot bring about such a relationship, but rather the mind-and-heart. "The mind/reason is absolute" says Hegel. "The mind-and-heart realizes the authentic goodness in harmony with the absolute goodness," would state Yulgok.³⁸

Far Eastern thinkers do not allow a separation between reason and heart, which can give rise to certain weaknesses, but its strong point is to integrate the spiritual dimension into reality, morals into action. Koreans and Chinese may have progressed less toward freedom, in the European sense of the term, but they remained closer to the moral source and seem to have reached a great internal freedom, a spontaneity in life beyond rules, in the spirit of what Confucius once said: "At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right,"³⁹ which seems to go beyond Kant's categorical imperative, a true freedom being its own imperative, asceticism and happiness being harmonized.

What is this wisdom by which Yulgok felt attracted and which he invites us to discover? I emphasize that Yulgok's wisdom is both realist and visionary, if not mystic and prophetic, in the sense that it goes beyond the transmitted tradition. Yulgok evoked the model of some great figures; he, also, acknowledged the

limits of people within their ordinary life. Coherently with his ontological reflection, he saw man's path in relation, at the same time, to sainthood and commonality, to sacred and secular, to self and society. The question struck him: "Is it possible to become a sage in this life?" In his mature work, the *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage*, Yulgok dealt, not only with the Self, but with family and society, for becoming human includes, beyond individual fulfillment, the complex aspects of otherness and action.

Yulgok's philosophy is a philosophy of the transformation and of the fulfillment of man, but it is, at the same time, rooted in meditation. For him, it is only from the depths of the mind that the correct action can spring.⁴⁰ Yulgok spent much time in reflection and in organizing his thinking, but all this self-cultivation finds its meaning in the action which succeeds. Yulgok, therefore, ended the three main parts of the *Sônghak chipyo* with "efficiency in accomplishment," *konghyo* (ai). Complete fulfillment may never be reached, but the important thing is not to give up along the way.

There was a modern reaction against Kant's rigid form of morals. Modern man insists on respect of his freedom, of his rights and of the fulfillment of his legitimate desires. It is, therefore, today, instead of morals, we speak of ethics, which means a good life, smoother and more human.⁴¹ Europeans, since the Greeks, were often concerned with happiness. The concern of a Confucian, like Yulgok, was not first happiness nor pure obedience to a law, but an internal joy in accomplishing what was right, virtuous, good.⁴²

Yulgok wondered: "What does it mean to be a sage? Why am I not a Yao or a Shun?", focusing, not on what I can know or do, but on what I can become.

People have an originally good nature, in which there are no distinctions of past and present, wisdom and foolishness. Why is it that only the sage reaches wisdom and that I remain an ordinary person? *It is truly because the will was not established, the intelligence was not enlightened, and the action was not upright.* (author's underlining)⁴³

Man, in order to take the path of wisdom, must decide for himself the way to take and give his utmost to all aspects of life, within the unity of knowledge and action. Reaching wisdom, for Yulgok, depends on this complete dedication.

A sage is someone who perfects his research, who fully develops knowledge, who makes his thought/will fully sincere and who completely rectifies his mind-and-heart.⁴⁴

True wisdom is when man himself lives naturally, with others, in society, in

his studies and in his work. Wisdom is not something that you can force. It has to be worked at and it is also given to you.

The sage does not wait to think and to make efforts and still, spontaneously, he reaches the highest knowledge. He makes his will sincere and rectifies his mind-and heart.⁴⁵

Wisdom may be when one does not pretend to achieve wisdom which makes us think of Hannah Arendt in her *Thinking and Moral Considerations*.⁴⁶ Yulgok used this expression of “getting naturally” *chadûk* (aj) as a symbol of fulfillment, like for the butcher who, in the story of Zhuangzi/Chuang-tzu is one with his knife to cut the meat or like the painter who, in his creation, is one at the same time with the nature he wants to represent and with his techniques. Wisdom is a natural knowledge⁴⁷ and a natural life because it is in total conformity with the original nature which is also a nature of principle,⁴⁸ hence Yulgok’s remark:

It is only after having reached the enlightenment in the study of principles that one can truly fulfill one’s action. One must first have a real mind-and-heart for realizing a substantial study. That is why sincerity is the foundation of the fulfillment of all actions.⁴⁹

By sincerity, Yulgok did not mean a subjective sincerity but the straightforwardness of principles according to which life can reach its fulfillment. It is a matter of sincerity benefiting the fulfillment of all beings in creating a world of goodness.

For the majority of people, for whom self-fulfillment is not something directly spontaneous, but requires first efforts, Yulgok suggested a path related to self-cultivation. What has value, to Yulgok’s eyes, is the “real change,” “the efficiency to become different.” The highest ideal is nothing if it is not translated into practice. Kant’s morals, although pure, may paralyze us. Yulgok looked for a path to liberate man’s heart.

If a man studies with sincerity, he can straighten his partial physical disposition and, therefore, restore his original nature.⁵⁰

What did Yulgok mean by “straightening one’s physical disposition” *kyo kijil* (ak) ? The etymology of straightening, *kyo*, means to straighten a twisted arrow, that is to say to give back to an instrument its original function.⁵¹

Yulgok relied on the Confucian optimistic belief in the goodness of human nature, on the confidence of holding evil in check.⁵² The way to straighten one’s physical disposition, said Yulgok, is to vanquish the deviating self.⁵³ When man controls his personal desires which are not correct, he brings a true relationship

between his physical disposition and his mind-and-heart. Rites play an important role in this search for balance. They are one factor which has virtually disappeared from modern society, but which can still be seen in the East, where they remain deeply rooted despite modernization. For Yulgok, discipline and maturation, through the rites, help to keep the mind-and-heart from being hurt and also help nourish it. The day by day deepening of the Self and practice of good are the keys to self-transformation as can be seen, by comparison, in the case of music.

For all techniques and arts, is there someone who has, since his birth, all knowledge? I will tentatively speak of the practice of music. A young boy or a young girl, when first learning the Korean harp and mandolin, move their fingers and start to sing; those who listen cover their ears and try not to hear, but if the students keep trying and concentrate their minds on the music, they create beautiful music and reach a high sphere. The sound is pure and harmonious and forms a smooth flow. It is even difficult to express in words the fineness of such music. This boy or this girl, how could he or she play such music from the beginning? It was in really doing their utmost, studying and practicing a lot. It is the same in all arts. How could it be different in the study whose goal is to straighten one's physical disposition? There are, however, many people who are excellent in different forms of techniques and arts but, among those who study, rare are those who work at straightening their physical disposition. They work at making their research broad and erudite and their views numerous.⁵⁴

This path of returning to the original heart implies at the same time a struggle against and an absence of action; it is to block the way of evil, and also to protect, to take care, grow, develop human nature, according to the agricultural images which Mencius used in his works. It is to ceaselessly work at one's art, as in the example of music given by Yulgok. It is to take seriously all aspects of concrete life and still not being attached to, but being free of them. It is action and non-action, individual action and common action.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, today, more than complex philosophical systems, we need new forms of wisdom for our time, and here Yulgok, among other Asian thinkers, can play a positive role. A way out of the loss of meaning that we experience is to meditate once again Eastern and Western philosophies, and the background of their traditions, go back to the great figures of the past who have not ceased to be our own teachers.

I pause briefly to cite the encyclical letter *Fides et Ratio* mentioned at the

beginning, which well expresses the challenge of our time,⁵⁵ and the importance of the East.⁵⁶

One of the most significant aspects of our situation.../...is the "crisis of meaning" .../... Philosophy needs first of all to recover its sapiential dimension as a search for the ultimate and overarching meaning of life.../...⁵⁷

We face a great challenge at the end of this millennium to move from *phenomenon* to *foundation*, a step as necessary as it is urgent.../... Speculative thinking must penetrate to the spiritual core and the ground from which it rises.⁵⁸

I appeal to philosophers, and to all teachers of philosophy, asking them to have the courage to recover, in the flow of enduringly valid philosophical tradition, the range of an authentic wisdom and truth -metaphysical truth included- which is proper to philosophical inquiry.⁵⁹

In our perception of values, we seem to be inhabited by profound contradictions, which are caused by the wounds of evil in our mind-and-heart. On one hand we can reach a sophisticated understanding of reality and on the other hand, we become the playthings of superficial views, which is the source of confusion and pain in society. A philosopher cannot just take pride in his books; his ideas involve his own life and affect the lives of others, as Rousseau well expressed it.

I witnessed many who were doing philosophy in a more learned way than I, but their philosophy was, so to speak, foreign to them.../... They studied human nature in order to speak cleverly about it, and not in order to know themselves.⁶⁰

In going deeper into Yulgok's philosophy, we realize that the core issue of philosophy is not just to be knowledgeable about Self, but to deal with the different aspects of Self, particularly those which have a tendency to be twisted and injured by evil. Every philosopher, when truthful, finds himself shallow, powerless, humbled by the failures of not reaping goodness and not reaching fulfillment. Confucius said: "To have faults and not to reform them, this, indeed, should be pronounced having faults."⁶¹ And Yulgok: "There are many people who exhibit excellence in different forms of techniques and arts but, among those who study, rare are they who work at straightening their physical disposition,"⁶² that is to say, at becoming sages or adults as Ricoeur would express it. To come back to the title, Yulgok truly opened a way to maturation and fulfillment and, in harmony with Zhuangzi/Chuang-tzu, he is saying to us: "A path becomes a path by walking it."⁶³

Glossary of Chinese Characters

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| a. Yi I, Yulgok | 李珣 栗谷 |
| b. Sŏnghak chipyo | 聖學輯要 |
| c. Yi Hwang, T'oegyŏ | 李滉 退溪 |
| d. I/Li-Ki/Qi | 理氣 |
| e. Sadan-Ch'il Chŏng | 四端七情 |
| f. I Ching | 易經 |
| g. Chasŏng nok | 自省錄 |
| h. Zhuangzi (Chuang-tzu) | 莊子 |
| i. Liezi (Lie-tzu) | 列子 |
| j. Li Bai | 李白 |
| k. Du Fu | 杜甫 |
| l. Han Yu | 韓愈 |
| m. Su Shi (DongPo) | 蘇軾(東坡) |
| n. Tot'ong | 道統 |
| o. Kong Fuzi/Confucius | 孔子 |
| p. Mengzi/Mencius | 孟子 |
| q. Zhou Dounyi | 周敦頤 |
| r. Ch'eng I | 程頤 |
| s. Ch'eng Hao | 程顥 |
| t. Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi) | 朱熹 |
| u. Great Commentary | 繫辭 |
| v. Doctrine of the Mean | 中庸 |
| w. Yŏksu ch'aek | 易數策 |
| x. bon | 本 |
| y. Taebon | 大本 |
| z. sin/shen | 神 |
| aa. T'aeguk/Taiji | 太極 |
| ab. Shangdi/Sangche | 上帝 |
| ac. Ch'ŏn | 天 |
| ad. I/Li | 理 |
| ae. Ki/Qi | 氣 |
| af. human mind and Tao mind | 人心道心 |
| ag. Sŏng/sheng | 誠 |
| ah. Sŏnghak/Chengxue | 聖學 |
| ai. Konghyo | 功效 |
| aj. Chadŭk | 自得 |
| ak. Kyo kijil | 矯氣質 |

| | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| Hidden, cannot be seen 微 | Heaven 天 | Principle 理 | Spirit 神 |
| | Great 上帝 | Nature and Destiny 性命 | One 一 |
| root, foundation Not yet aroused Substance 體 | Ultimate 本 太極 道 Tao | Nature of original disposition 本然之性 | The essence of the Great Ultimate is called changes; its principles are called Tao; its applications are called spiritual/divine. “太極體則謂之易 其理則謂之道 其用則謂之神” |
| | Creative/Receptive 乾坤 | Brilliant Virtue 明德 | |
| Great Basis 大本 What causes so 所以然 | Origation, flourishing, advantage, firmness 元亨貞利 | Humanity, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom 仁義禮智四端 | What is without form and action, but is the master of both form and action, is Principle. “無形無爲而爲有形有爲之主者理也” |
| | Divine 神 Goodness 善 | Mind- &- Heart 心 | Mysterious 妙 |
| Centrality 中 | “Thanks to them, man follows the principles of nature and destiny; man penetrates the reason of what is obscure & clear; man realizes fully the concrete situations.” Yulgok's Commentary on the I Ching. “以之順性命之理 以之通幽明之故 以之盡事物之情” | | Mysteriousness of Heaven-Man's exchange Principle of Response between Heaven-Man “天人交與之妙” “天人感應之理” |
| Commonality 庸 Function 用 | Human nature 性 | Feelings 情 | Mystery of relation I/Li and Ki/Qi “理氣之妙” |
| | Man 人 | Nature of physical disposition 氣質之性 | Not one thing; one but two 一而二 |
| Already aroused. 已發 Manifest, clear 顯 Common concepts | Action 業 | Seven Feelings 七情 | Not two things; two but one 二而一 |
| | Earth 地 | Vital Force 氣 | Real 實 True Principle/Mind/Results 實理, 實心, 實效 |
| | Book of Changes | Human Mind Moral Mind 人心 道心 emerge divided 橫出 emerge straight 直出 惡 善 | Heaven works through real principles and all things are fruitful. Man, through a real mind-heart, moves all things. This real principle and this true mind-heart are nothing else than Sincerity. “天以實理而育化之功人以實心而致感應之效所謂實理實心者不過曰誠” |
| | | Neo-Confucianism | Sincerity 誠 |
| | | | Setting the Will 立志 Correcting the physical disposition 矯氣質 |
| | | | Yi I, Yulgok |

Chart 1. Layers of Yulgok's Thought

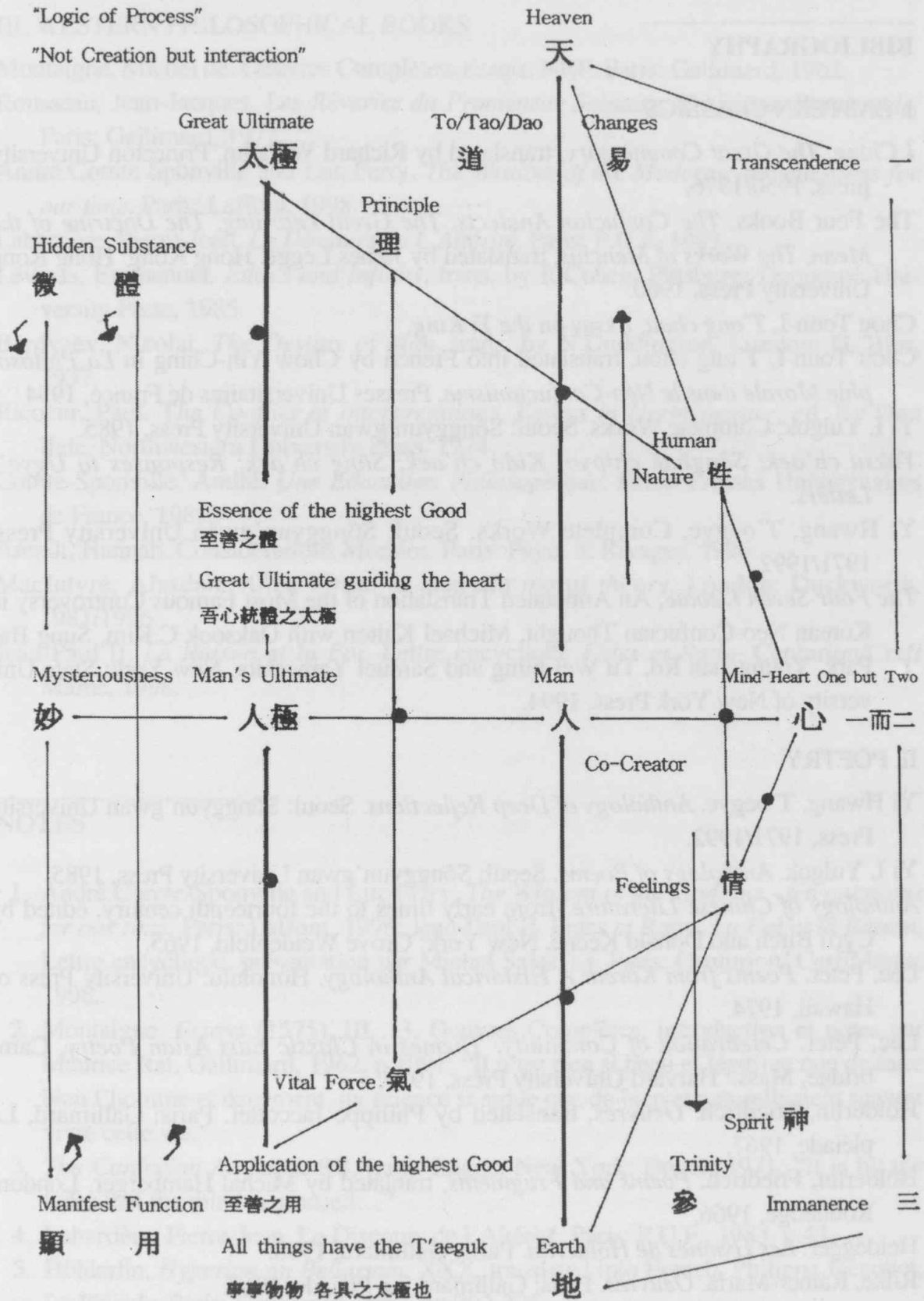


Chart 3. Conceptual Structure of Yulgok's Thought

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1. André Comte-Sponville and Luc Ferry. *The Wisdom of the Moderns - ten questions for our time*. Paris: Laffont, 1998; Jean-Paul II. *Fides et Ratio. La Foi et la Raison*, Lettre encyclique, présentation par Michel Sales, s.j. Paris: Centurion/ Cerf/Mame, 1998.
2. Montaigne. *Essays* (1575), III, 13, *Oeuvres Complètes*, introduction et notes par Maurice Rat, Gallimard, 1962, p.1091: "Il n'est rien si beau et légitime que de faire bien l'homme et deüement, ny science si ardue que de bien et naturellement sçavoir vivre cette vie."
3. *The Confucian Analects*, 8.8, trans. Legge. New York: Dover, 1971: "It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused..."
4. Labarrière, Pierre-Jean. *Le Discours de l'Altérité*. Paris: P.U.F., 1983, p.43.
5. Hölderlin, *Hyperion an Bellarmin*, XXX, translated into French, Philippe Jaccottet, La Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 1967, pp.202-205.
6. Hölderlin, op.cit, p.210: "Sacred Nature! You are in me and outside me the same.../... There will be a unique beauty: Man and nature will unite within the unique divinity in which all things are embraced."

7. Complete Works of Toegye hereafter, TC, 1.2-3 (vol.3, pp.153-154, Sōnggyun'gwan University) *Chasông nok*.
It could be compared to Victor Hugo. *The Poet is a Rich Man, Wisdom*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974, p.191:

| | |
|--|---|
| We would not produce anything valuable | The poet is the owner |
| Without the ormer, the ash and the holly; | Of the beams, the perfumes, the voices; |
| The air helps us; and the bird contributes | It is to this lonely dreamer |
| To our poems. | That belongs the echo in the woods. |
8. Complete Works of Yulgok, hereafter, YC, 1.22b-23a (vol.1, p.13, Sōnggyun'gwan University), P'ungak saneso kujônge olla Haetoti kwanggyôngul poda.
9. Hölderlin, op.cit, p.137.
10. Heaven, Earth and Mankind.
11. YC 1.28b-29a (vol.1, p.16) *Anthology of Poems*.
12. See appendix Charts 1,2, and 3.
13. YC 26.2a (vol.2. p.73, Sōnggyun'gwan University Press) *Sônghak chipyo, Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage*: "The sages in the ancient times, in relation to Heaven, established a direction for people and, starting from there, began to transmit the tradition of the Tao/Dao, *Tot'ong* (n)."
14. YC 14.50b (vol.1, p.305) *Yôksu ch'aek*.
15. Lévinas, Emmanuel. *Ethics and Infinity*, trans. R.Cohen, Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1985, p.60.
16. YC 14.53b (vol.1, p.307) *Yôksu ch'aek*.
17. *The Great Commentary*, op.cit, I. IX. 9.
18. YC 14.48b (vol.1, p.304) *Yôksu ch'aek*.
19. *Doctrine of the Mean*, trans. by James Legge, 12. 1-2: "The way which the superior man pursues reaches wide and far, and yet it is secret. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which event the sage is not able to carry into practice."
20. YC 14.49a (vol.1, p.305) *Yôksu ch'aek*.
21. YC 5.7b (vol.2, p550) *Kido ch'aek, Essay on Prayer*.
22. YC 10.11a (vol.1, p.201)
23. YC 10.11a (vol.1, p.201)
24. YC 10.2a-b (vol.1, p.197)
25. *The Works of Mencius*, trans. by James Legge, Bk VII, Pt.I, Ch.I.
26. YC 6.15a (vol.2, p.570) *Sûbu, Sông ch'aek, Book on Sincerity*.
27. Berdyaev, DM 135: "Creativity is the supreme mystery of life."
28. YC 10.21b (vol.1, p.206) *Yulgok's Response to Ugye's Fifth Letter*, op.cit, p.163
29. YC 9.34b (vol.1, p.192) *Yulgok's Response to Ugye's First Letter*, op.cit, p.113:
"The Four Beginnings do not have the comprehensiveness of the Seven Feelings,

- while the Seven Feelings do not have the genuineness of the Four Beginnings.”
30. YC 9.39b (vol.1, p.194) *Yulgok's Response to Ugye's Second Letter*, op.cit, p.119: “The not-yet aroused condition is the nature in its original state, the ‘wondrousness’ of the Supreme Ultimate, Equilibrium, the Great foundation.”
 31. YC 14.4 (vol.1, p.282) *Essay on the Human Mind and the Dao Mind*.
 32. YC 9.38b (vol.1, p.194) *Response to Ugye's Second Letter*, op.cit, p.119.
 33. YC 9.36a (vol.1, p.193) *Response to Ugye's First Letter*, op.cit, p.135.
 34. Ricoeur explains this in relation to Hegel's figures of mind, Comte-Sponville in relation to despair and Ferry in relation to the secularization of Christianity and to the process of man's deification.
Ricoeur, Paul. *The Conflict of Interpretations, Essays in Hermeneutics*, ed. By Don Ihde, Northwestern University Press, 1974, French ed., p.320, “The problem of conscience seems, to me, to be connected with the question, ‘How a man leaves his childhood, how he becomes an adult?’”; Ferry and Comte-Sponville. *The Moderns' Wisdom*. Paris: Laffont, 1998, p.535, Luc Ferry considers that “The corner of the moderns' wisdom: to become an adult -and this becoming ceases only with death- is the ultimate condition making possible an authentic *individualization* of our existence.”
 35. YC 20.23a (vol.1, p.438) *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage, Sôngkak chipyo*.
 36. YC 20.12 (vol.1, p.433) *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage, Sôngkak chipyo*.
 37. *The Doctrine of the Mean*, Chap.1, 4, trans. Legge. New York: Dover, 1971: “While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of harmony. This equilibrium is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world and this harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.”
 38. YC 9.24b (vol.1, p.187) *Response to Ugye's Letter*: “The supreme goodness is another name for the *T'aeguk/T'ai-chi*, it is the essence of the ‘illustrious virtue’ (trans. Legge) or clear *te/de*. What constitutes the precise law of the original nature, which is given by Heaven, is the essence of the supreme goodness, that is to say the *T'aeguk/T'ai-chi*, which guides my heart. What constitutes the precise law of the original nature, which is related to everyday life, is the application of the supreme goodness, that is to say the *T'aeguk/T'ai-chi*, which is contained in all things and all events.”
 39. *The Confucian Analects*, 2.4, trans. Legge, New York: Dover, 1971.
 40. *I Ching, The Great Commentary*, II, V,11, trans. Richard Wilhelm, op.cit: “The superior man perceives the seeds and immediately takes action. He does not wait even for a whole day.”

41. MacIntyre, Alasdair. *After Virtue -a study in moral theory*. London: Duckworth, 1981/1996; Ricoeur, Paul. *Soi-même comme un autre*. Paris: Seuil, 1990.
42. *I Ching*, trans. Wilhelm, op.cit, p.295: "He is active everywhere but does not let himself be carried away. He rejoices in heaven and has knowledge of fate."
43. YC 27.4 (vol.2, p.82) *Secrets to straighten the Excesses of Youth*.
44. YC 9.28b (vol.1, p.189) *Yulgok's Response to Ugye*.
45. YC 9.28b (vol.1, p.189) *Yulgok's Response to Ugye*.
46. Arendt, Hannah. *Considérations morales*. Paris: Rivages poche, 1996, p.41.
47. *The Confucian Analects*, 16.9, trans. Legge. New York: Dover: "Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge, are the next. Those who study with difficulty, but learn are another class. Come last those who neither study nor learn."
48. *The Doctrine of the Mean*, chap.20. 18, trans. Legge, op.cit: "Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity, is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought; he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity, is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast."
49. YC 21.2 (vol.1, p.463) *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage, Sônghak chipyo*.
50. YC 21.6b (vol.1, p.465) *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage, Sônghak chipyo*.
51. Chou Toun-I, *T'ong chou, Essay on the Yi King*, 7.2: "The sage teaches, helping people to change evil in themselves, to reach the Mean by themselves."
52. *The Confucian Analects*, 4. 4, trans. Legge, op,cit: "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness."
53. *The Confucian Analects*, 12. 1, trans. Legge, op.cit: "To subdue oneself and return to propriety (rites), is perfect virtue."
54. YC 21.13b-14a (vol.1, pp.468-469) *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage, Sônghak chipyo*.
55. La Croix, "L'encyclique satisfait les philosophes", Recueilli par Robert Migliorini, 17 octobre 1998. (The encyclical letter satisfies the philosophers).
56. *Fides et Ratio*, paragraph 72: "My thoughts turn immediately to the lands of the East, so rich in religious and philosophical traditions of great antiquity. Among these lands, India has a special place.../... What has been said here of India is no less true for the heritage of the great cultures of China, Japan and the other countries of Asia..."
57. *Fides et Ratio*, Paragraph 81.
58. *Fides et Ratio*, Paragraph 83.
59. *Fides et Ratio*, Paragraph 106.
60. Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Les Rêveries du Promeneur Solitaire, Troisième Promenade*. Paris: Gallimard, 1972, p.58: "J'en ai beaucoup vu qui philosophaient bien

plus doctement que moi, mais leur philosophie leur était pour ainsi dire étrangère.../... Ils étudiaient la nature humaine pour en pouvoir parler savamment, mais non pas pour se connaître.”

61. *Confucian Analects*, 15. 28.
62. YC 21.13b-14a (vol.1, pp.468-469) *Compendium of Learning to Become a Sage, Sônghak chipyo*.
63. Quoted by Hall and Ames in *Anticipating China*, State University of New York Press, 1995, p.181.

Established in 1900 by a group of foreign residents in Korea, the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS-KB) has sought, for the past 99 years, to encourage the study and appreciation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, history, geography, literature, art, music, religion, etc. in order to deepen not only their understanding of the country and its people, but also to make Korea better known to the rest of the world.

The original nucleus of founding members was soon joined by many others, including an increasing number of Korean scholars. Some of the members had great scholarly gifts and their names will forever be associated with Korean studies. Others contributed the first, and often the only papers on many aspects of Korea, leaving their legacy in the pages of *Transactions*, and are still a primary source of information on Korea in many fields.

The society has long been organized with a council of elected members, including the officers. The Council is organized into five committees: Membership, Publications, Program, Tours, and Finance. At the Annual General Meeting held on 8 December 1999, a revision to the RAS-KB Constitution reduced the number of council members to twenty-five, by combining the offices and functions of the Recording Secretary and Corresponding Secretary, and creating the new office of Secretary, while expanding the dimensions of the office staff of the society. Other minor revisions were made to the Constitution and By-laws, in order to reflect current practices and to update certain procedural matters. A full copy of the amended Constitution is published in this issue of *Transactions*.

As of the end of 1999, the RAS-KB had a total of 1,182 members. This includes 67 life members, 790 members residing in Korea, and 325 overseas members.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video programs, and music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at the Grotto Inn/Inn at the German Cultural Center in Seoul, located on Namisan.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH
1999

Established in 1900 by a group of foreign residents in Korea, the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS-KB) has sought, for the past 99 years, to encourage the study and appreciation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, history, geography, literature, art, music, religion, etc. in order to deepen not only their understanding of the country and its people, but also to make Korea better known to the rest of the world.

The original nucleus of founding members was soon joined by many others, including an increasing number of Korean scholars. Some of the members had great scholarly gifts and their names will forever be associated with Korean studies. Others contributed the first, and often the only papers on many aspects of Korea, leaving their legacy in the pages of *Transactions* that are still a primary source of information on Korea in many fields.

The society has long been organized with a council of twenty-six members, including the officers. The Council is organized into five committees: Membership, Publications, Program, Tours, and Finance. At the Annual General Meeting held on 8 December 1999, a revision to the RAS-KB Constitution reduced the number of council members to twenty-five, by combining the offices and functions of the Recording Secretary and Corresponding Secretary, and creating the new office of Secretary, while expanding the functions of the office staff of the society. Other minor revisions were made to the Constitution and By-laws, in order to reflect current practices and to update certain procedural matters. A full copy of the amended Constitution is published in this issue of *Transactions*.

As of the end of 1999, the RAS-KB had a total of 1,182 members. This includes 67 life members, 790 members residing in Korea, and 325 overseas members.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video programs, and music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at the Goethe Institute (the German Cultural Center in Seoul), located on Namsan.

The annual garden party was hosted this year by our president Ambassador Joost Wolfswinkel at the official residence of the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Seoul. A large attendance enjoyed food and drink, special book sales, and a cultural program depicting the costumes and customs of the Kisaeng—women entertainers of the Chosun period.

More than 1700 persons enjoyed a full schedule of tours, which took participants to dozens of places throughout Korea, as well as several international venues, including Vietnam, Mongolia, Japan, Laos, and China. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the society.

Volume 73 (for 1998) of *Transactions* was published during the year, along with a special Zodiac calendar for the year 2000. The story of Ch'unhyang, translated by the Rt. Rev. Richard Rutt, was reprinted from the book *Virtuous Women* and published as a separate monograph under the title *The Song of a Faithful Wife*.

While maintaining a reasonable financial position during the year, it is important for members to be reminded that their support continues to be critical to the financial well-being of the society. Every member of the Council and our General Manager, Mrs. Bae, make every effort to keep operating expenses modest, while providing members with the best service possible.

I take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation for the selfless efforts of the Council members and officers, who devote many hundreds of hours of volunteer service to the society throughout the year. I also express appreciation to Mrs. Sue J. Bae, our General Manager, who has been the mainstay of the office and day-to-day operations of the society for the past three decades. Finally, the society expresses profound gratitude to the Goethe Institute for providing to the society, without charge, their auditorium and book storage facilities for our regular lectures and meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

Yoon Chong-Hiok
Vice President/Acting President

1999 Library Report

The RAS Collection, housed in the Korea Social Sciences Library at Sajik Park, contains a total of 1,892 books and journals.

During 1999, twenty-three new titles were added to the RAS Collection. Twelve of those titles came directly from acquisitions by the RAS; eleven titles were added to the collection by the Korea Social Sciences Library.

New titles added are:

Acta Koreana, Vol. 1 (Academia Koreana-Keimyung University)

Acta Koreana Vol. 2

Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions

Discover Korea

Echoes of the Past

Kim Dae-jung

Korean Singer of Tales

Oriental Children in American Homes

Return to Korea

Song of a Faithful Wife

South Korea's Minjung Movement

Snowy Road and Other Stories

Transactions 72 (1997)

Transactions 73 (1998)

Troubled Tiger

건축장인의 땀과 꿈

문자보급운동교재: 조선일보·동아일보, 1929-1935

미륵

여성의 손끝으로 표현된 우리의 멋: 혼례자수품과 장신구

영왕-비 관련 유품 특별전

찬란한 문화유산

한국문화재: 일본소장5

해운대 백년사

1999 R.A.S. Lectures

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| January 13 | A Performance of Korean Wind Instruments Mr. Saeng-Kang Lee |
| January 27 | What Have I Done for this Country Dr. Kwak Young-Hoon |
| February 10 | Reception of Modern Korean Art in Germany Dr. Hans-Georg Knopp |
| February 24 | The Creation and Derivation of Han-gul Dr. Han Tae-Dong |
| March 10 | Form and Meaning: Blending Architecture and Culture David-Pierre Jalicon |
| March 24 | Paper Magic Professor Myun W. Lee |
| April 14 | The Secret of Sueki Dr. Young-Duk Kim and Scott Talkington |
| April 28 | The Flower as a symbol in Korean Culture and Literature Mr. Lee Sang-Hee |
| May 12 | Farmers Dance: Lecture on a collection of poems by Shin Kyong-Nim Br. Anthony of Taize |
| May 26 | Private Memories and public History: The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyong and Testimonial Literature in Korea Dr. Ja-Hyun Kim Haboosh |
| June 9 | A Path to Maturation and Fulfillment: Yi I (Yulgok) 1536-1584, Poetry, Philosophy, and Wisdom Dr. Philippe Thiebault |
| June 23 | Shamanism, Music and the Seoul Train Dr. Keith Howard |
| September 8 | Korean Influences in Two Japanese Gardens of the Nara Period Mr. Todd Stewart |
| September 29 | My Trip to North Korea Mrs. Angela Reinhardt |
| October 13 | I-du: A System of Transcribing Korean with Chinese Characters Dr. Young-Duk Kim |

- October 27 Inner Views: Role and Imagery of Women in Korean Art
Ms. Jiyoung Koo
- November 10 Paekche Paintings: Evidence of Amicable Korean-Japanese
Relationship
Ms. Virginia Moon
- November 24 Confucian Political Philosophy of China
Dr. Rhee Tong-Chin
- December 9 Korean Traditional Architecture
Mr. Shin Young-Hoon

1999 R.A.S. Tours

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Destination</i> | <i>Attendance</i> |
|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Jan. 10 | Inwangsan | 12 |
| Jan. 17 | Changdok Palace | 14 |
| Jan. 17 | Won-Tobong Mountain | 16 |
| Jan. 24 | Kwangnung | 20 |
| Feb. 6 | Market | 17 |
| Feb. 7 | Embroidery Tour | 21 |
| Feb 13 | Insadong | 14 |
| Feb. 14-20 | Vietnam Tour | 30 |
| Feb. 27-28 | East Coast Sunrise | 15 |
| March 1 | Hyunchugsa | 32 |
| March 6 | Pottery Kiln | 29 |
| March 7 | Bird Watching | 24 |
| March 13 | Trad. Music Inst. | 11 |
| March 14 | Kosu Cave and Chugjuho Lake | 19 |
| March 21 | Chickchi-sa and Kakwonsa | 18 |
| April 3 | Chorwon | 26 |
| April 3-5 | Namhaedo | 20 |
| April 10 | Kyonggido Cherry Blossom | 24 |
| April 11 | Steam Locomotive | 23 |
| April 9-10 | Chinhae Cherry Blossom | 21 |
| April 17 | Kingdom of Paekche | 27 |
| April 16-19 | Honshu JAPAN | 18 |
| April 25-26 | Chollipo | 31 |
| April 25 | Walking Tour of Choson Seoul | 27 |
| May 1 | Kangwhado | 24 |
| May 1 | Chong Myo | 23 |
| May 8-9 | Kyong Ju | 25 |
| May 8-9 | Land of Exile | 19 |
| May 8-9 | Songnisan | 29 |
| May 15 | Tonggang Rafting | 65 |
| May 15-16 | Buddha's Birthday | 42 |
| May 22 | Andong | 30 |
| May 22-23 | Trad. Music and Dance | 15 |
| June 5 | Inner Sorak | 15 |
| June 5-6 | Kojedo and Chungmu | 24 |
| June 12 | Annual Garden Party | 259 |
| June 13 | Soyangho and Paroho Boat | 17 |
| June 19-20 | Odaesan and Kangnung | 20 |
| June 25-27 | Chindo and Wando | 13 |
| July 3-4 | Chollado-Byunsan Bando | 13 |
| July 9-13 | Mongolia | 34 |
| July 10 | Chawol-do | 20 |

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|-------------|--------------------------------|----|
| July 17 | Olympic Park and DLI bldg. | 19 |
| August 15 | Tokchok-do | 18 |
| August 22 | Steam Locomotive and Sanjongho | 30 |
| August 28 | Pottery and Onggi Tour | 11 |
| August 29 | Kosu Cave and Chugju-ho | 22 |
| Sept. 5 | ChongPyong Tour | 37 |
| Sept. 16 | Butan Tour | 11 |
| Sept. 23-25 | Sorak-san | 23 |
| Sept. 23 | China Tour | 17 |
| Oct. 2 | Andong | 23 |
| Oct. 9-10 | Kyongju | 23 |
| Oct. 9-10 | Kyongju-Nam San | 8 |
| Oct. 9-10 | Kingdom of Kaya II | 11 |
| Oct. 17 | Walking Tour of Seoul | 22 |
| Oct. 16-17 | Sorak-san I | 45 |
| Oct. 23-24 | Sorak-san II | 14 |
| Oct. 30-31 | Chirisan | 17 |
| Oct. 30-31 | Chejudo | 18 |
| Nov. 6 | Hanyak Tour | 17 |
| Nov. 13-14 | Tongdo-sa and Haein-sa | 14 |
| Nov. 20 | Naejangsan | 16 |
| Nov. 20-24 | Land of Exile | 19 |
| Nov. 27 | Chorwon | 26 |
| Dec. 4 | Churches around Seoul | 12 |
| Dec. 11 | Traditional Art Studio | 12 |
| Dec. 21-28 | Laos Tour | 21 |

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 Schoefer, Mr. and Mrs. Helmut
 Schowtka, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander
 Schramm, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver
 Schroeder, Mr. and Mrs. Martin
 Schubert, Mr. and Mrs. Ullrich G.
 Searson, Ms. Isabel
 Seiden, Mr. and Mrs. John
 Seipp, Mr. and Mrs. John
 Seite, Mr. and Mrs. Jean-Charles
 Seligson, Mr. and Mrs. Fred J.
 Senellart de Vriere, Mr. and
 Mrs. Jean
 Serra, Amb. And Mrs. Sergio B.
 Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent G.
 Siebeneicher, Ms. Heike
 Simm, Prof. Min-Ja
 Simms, Dr. Claudia
 Sjogren, Mr. and Mrs. Staffan
 Slack, Mr. and Mrs. Richard
 Smith, Ms. Marley C.
 Sohn, Ms. Chung-Mee
 Solomon, Mr. Stuart B.
 Song, Mr. and Mrs. Hosang
 Spencer, Sis. Silouane
 Springwell, Mr. Lawr
 Stanley, Mr. Frank W.
 Stockinger, Mr. Friedrich G.
 Stoffel, Mr. Berno
 Stoll/Koburn, Dr. Julie/LTC
 Strand, Prof. Wilson E.
 Suh, Mr. and Mrs. Man-Kyu
 Suhling, Ms. Kerstin
 Sung, Mr. and Mrs. Henry M.Y.
 Supan, Mr. David G.
 Sutter/Flueckiger, Dr. Maj. Gen.
 Peter/Irene
 Swindall, Dr. Harold W.
 Swiss, NNSC
 Sysak, Ms. Kyra
 Talbot,
 Talbot, Mr. Tom
 Tan, Mr and Mrs Choong Kiak
 Tedesco, Dr. and Mrs. Frank M.
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 Thiebault, Dr. Philippe
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 Toomey, Mr. John J.
 Traill, Mr and Mrs. Martin H.
 Trezza, Amb. And Mrs. Carlo
 Trigg, Ms. Linda L.
 Tullis, Ms. Nancy
 Turner, Mr. Greg
 Turunen, Amb. and Mrs. Unto
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 Ulmanen, Mr. and Mrs. Tomi
 Ungo, Amb. And Mrs. Alfredo F.
 Vahn, Dr. and Mrs. Hyon S.
 Van Blommestein, Mr. and Mrs.
 Mike
 Van der Heyden, Mr. and Mrs. Len
 Van Duyvendyk, Mr. and Mrs.
 Jeremy
 Van Ho, Mr. and Mrs. Nguyen
 Vanhavermaet, Mr. Luc
 Venzo, Mr. Mariano
 Vidal, Mr. and Mrs. Emilio
 Vogt, Mr. Peter
 Vogt, Mr. and Mrs. Hans W.
 Vollers, Amb. Claus
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 Wagner, Ms. Renate
 Wams, Mr. and Mrs. Nanno W.
 Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen D.
 Weaver, Col. Frank
 Wheeler, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph
 White, Ms. Dee B.
 Wiedenhofer, Mr. and Mrs.
 Othmar and Therese
 Wiggins, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony R.
 Wilkinson, Ms. Marlene
 Willard, Mr. Charles E.
 Wilson, Dr. Brian A.
 Wirde, Colonel Bjorn
 Witek, Mr. and Mrs. Frank
 Wittenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Rene R.
 Witvoet, Mr. and Mrs. Hugues
 Woo, Ms. Jeong Keong
 Wood, Mr. Dale M.
 Wood, Mr. John
 Yang, Prof. Young-Geun
 Yeo, Mr. Hong-Il
 Yoo, Ms. Chaya

Yoo, Ms. In Sook
 Yoo, Ms. Janice R.
 Yoo, Ms. Young Hee
 Yoon, Myung-Soon and Joe Schouweil
 You, Ms. Sun-Ah
 Yu, Mrs. Inho
 Zieger, Mr. and Mrs. Dietmar

OVERSEAS MEMBERS

Adamo, Mr. and Mrs. Martin
 Aebi, Mrs. Dorris
 Andreasen, Mr. Bryan C.
 Arts, Musee National des
 Baker, Prof. Donald
 Barinka, Mr. Jaroslav
 Bark, Mr. Theo J.
 Beck, Mr. Earnest G.
 Belding, Ms. Linda S.
 Bibliotheque,
 Black, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew D.
 Blondheim, Mrs. Carrie C.
 Bosma, Mr. and Mrs. Jan
 Bradford, Mr. Edward L.
 Brown, Dr. and Mrs. Donald N.
 Byington, Mr. Mark E.
 Carriere, Mr. Frederick F.
 Cheong, Dr. and Mrs. Otfried
 Cho, Mr. Sunghun
 Clarke, Mr. Barry D.
 Cogan, Prof. And Mrs. Thomas J.
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 Driscoll, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence K.
 Driscoll, Ms. Sonia
 D'Urso, Ms. Vincenza
 East Asian Studies, Italian School of
 Eberstadt, Mr. Nicholas N.
 Erisman, Amb. And Mrs.

Hans-Peter
 Fallo, Mr. and Mrs. Glen J.
 Fast, Ms. Virginia
 Franck/Brown, Dr. M.J./Dr. G.
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 Freshley, Ms. Mary Jo
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 Gatti, Prof. Francesco
 Gault, Dr. Neal L.
 Gilbert, Mr. Gardes
 Goodall, Mr. Michael J.
 Gorell, Dr. and Mrs. Richard
 Goswin, Dr. Thomas
 Graham, Ms. Virginia
 Grayson, Dr. and Mrs. James H.
 Greening, Mr. and Mrs. Alvin R.
 Grosjean, Mr. Glen M.
 Guillemoz, Dr. and Mrs. Alexandre
 Haffner, Mr. Don
 Hall, Dr. Newman A.
 Halvorsen, Ms. Kia
 Halvorson, Mr. Curtis H.
 Hawley, Rev. and Mrs. Morley M.
 Hazard, Dr. Benjamin H.
 Herman, Ms. Heike
 Hlawatsch, Dr. George O.
 Hoare, Dr. and Mrs. James E.
 Hoff, Ms. Kyle M.
 Holzmann, Dr. Richard T.
 Hostetter, Mr. James C.
 House, Ms. Susan P.
 Hughes, Mr. Benjamin F.
 Human, Mrs. Rachel R.
 Huster, Mr. F. Thomas
 Irving, Dr. Harry R.
 Ivey, Rev. and Mrs. Michael W.
 Jakobson, Ms. Karin
 Japanologie, Insititut Fur
 Johnson, Prof. Thomas W.
 Jones, Mr. Kenneth
 Jorgensen, Mrs. Ingrid
 Judy, Dr. and Mrs. Carl W.
 Junn, Dr. Jane
 Kang, Mrs. Hildi
 Kass, Prof. And Mrs. Thomas B.
 Kater, Ms. Janet H.
 Kelley, Mr. and Mrs. Jack D.
 Kelley, Cpt. And Mrs. Lawrence W.
 Kiel, Mr. Andrew B.
 Kim, Mr. Douglas S.

Kim, Dr. Yong Jin
 Kim, Mr. and Mrs. Kwangsub
 Kim-Haboush, Prof. JaHyun
 Koellner, Dr. Patrick
 Koene, Mr. and Mrs. Ada
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 Lee, Ms. Ju-Young
 Lee, Ms. Nora
 Leland, Dr. John L.
 Letkeman, Mr. Paul R.
 Leuteritz, Dr. and Mrs. Karl
 Libararies, University of Washington
 Library, Cambridge University
 Library, Cleveland Museum of Art
 Library, Princeton University
 Library, Sheffield University
 Library, Tenri Central
 Library, Unification Theological Seminary
 Library, Yale University
 Liljequist, Mrs. Ulrika
 Lloyd, Mrs. Shirley M.
 Loken-Kim, Ms. Christine J.
 MacMillan, Mr. Michael E.
 Maguire, Dr. and Dr. Douglas
 Malouf, Mr. and Mrs. Fawzi
 Manhart, Mr. Andrew G.
 Margo, Mr. Joshua M.
 Martin, Ms. Joanne M.
 Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Carl J.
 Mathus, Mr. Roger C.
 Mattson, Dr. Marlin R.
 Mauney, Rev. James P.
 Maurer, Mr. and Mrs. William H.
 McFarland, Ms. Alyson A.
 McIntosh, Mr. Jon M.
 McKenna, Ms. Geraldine L.
 Meier, Dr. and Mrs. Walter E.
 Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Donald R.
 Miller, Mr. David B.
 Millett, Prof. And Mrs. Allan R.
 Mintz, Ms. Barbara R.
 Moe, Ltc. And Mrs. Gary S.
 Moskowitz, Prof. Karl
 Mulliken, Dr. John B.
 Murdoch, Mrs. Carol M.
 Neil, Mr. and Mrs. John M.
 Nelson, Prof. Sarah M.

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|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Nervik, Ms. Rut | Rosenzweig, Dr. Daphne L. | Thorpe, Mr. and Mrs. Norman K. |
| Nilsen, Mr. Robert A. | Roth, Dr. Robert F. | Todd, Mr. Philip |
| Orange, Mr. Marc | Rudiger, Mr. Gerhard | Tomasko, Mrs. Frances W. |
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| Orlof, Mr. Walter | Ruscansky, Mrs. Pat B. | Trover, Ms. Stephanie L. |
| Pattee library, Serials Record | Russell, Mr. and Mrs. James | Tutsch, Mr. Martin |
| Pearson, Mr. and Mrs. Michael W. | Sayers, Dr. Robert H. | University, Rice |
| Pederson, Mr. and Mrs. John | Schaffer, Ms. Patti | Urquhart, Ms. Betty |
| Perkins, Prof. Dwight H. | Scoggins, Mr. and Mrs. J. Glenn | Utting, Dr. and Mrs. W. Stanley |
| Perrin, Mr. Serge | Self, Mr. and Mrs. Josh | Van DerLugt, Mr. Hans |
| Phillips, Mr. Leo H. | Seminary, Asbury Theo. | Van Weddingen, Mr. Paul G. |
| Pickens, Mr. and Mrs. Richard H. | Seo, Ms. Maria K. | Van Wieren, Ms. Kuria |
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| Reedman, Mr. C. Warren | Song, Dr. Young-Dahl | Wagner, Prof. And Mrs. Edward W. |
| Reynolds, Ms. Shirley | Spence, Mrs. Marilyn | White, Mr. and Mrs. Reginald |
| Rice, Dr. Roberta | Stewart, Dr. Ruth G. | Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Ian H. |
| Riemer, Mr. Michael | Stickler, Mr. John C. | Wissinger, Dr. Uwe |
| Roberts, Ms. Daphne M. | Stockmann, Mr. Maik | Wood, Ms. Colleen R. |
| Robinson, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas W. | Studies, Center for Korean | Yee, Mr. and Mrs. Ward |
| Rom, Ms. Sandra J. | Swartout, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Robert | Yirchott, Mr. and Mrs. Chuck R. |
| Romero-Castilla, Prof. Alfredo | Swift, Mrs. Lois | York/Dahl, Philip/Karen |
| Rosch-Rhomberg, Ms. Inge | Szegan, Mr. Marc | Young, Mr. and Mrs. R. W. |

Constitution of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

*This Constitution was approved by the general membership on December 8, 1971;
amended 20 October 1975; amended December 8, 1999*

Name and Object

Article I The name of the Society shall be THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Article II The object of the branch shall be to stimulate interest in, and promote study and dissemination of knowledge about the Articles, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries.

Membership, Fees and Dues

Article III The branch shall consist of Honorary, Life, Ordinary and Associate members.

Article IV **Honorary Members** shall be admitted on special grounds to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Korea and they shall not be required to pay either the entrance fee or the annual subscription. They shall enjoy the same privileges in regard to the distribution of the minutes of meetings, etc. as enjoyed by Life Members (See Article VI below)

Article V **Honorary Council Members** may be appointed in special consideration of long and devoted service to the branch. They shall be residents of Korea, nominated and approved by the majority vote of the members present at the branch's annual General Meeting. These honorary members of the Council may participate fully in the activities of the Council, except that they shall not have the privilege of voting.

Article VI **Life Members**, in residence in Korea or abroad, shall enjoy the full right of participation in all activities of the branch. They shall be entitled to free distribution of a single copy of each Transaction of the branch published following their attaining life membership and free distribution of the minutes of the Council meetings, General Meetings and/or other information such as is promulgated to the members of the branch in Korea. The fee for life membership shall be determined from time to time by the Council.

Article VII Ordinary Members shall, upon joining the branch, pay an entrance fee and the annual subscription for the forthcoming year. The annual subscription rate both for resident and nonresident members and the entrance fee shall be determined from time to time by the Council.

Article VIII Associate Membership in the branch shall be open to teaching members, students of Korean universities and such other specific groups as the Council may determine, on payment of an entrance fee and annual subscription to be determined from time to time by the Council. Associate members shall be entitled to participation in the activities of the branch at member rates.

Article IX The annual subscription shall cover the period of one year, specific dates to be determined by the by-laws.

Article X Applicants for membership who pay the required fees shall be entitled to join the Branch. If a Member, in the opinion of the Council is guilty of conduct prejudicial to the interests of the Branch, the Council may suspend the member and forbid attendance at meetings of the Branch.

Officers

Article XI The officers of the branch shall be:

A President

A Vice president

A Treasurer

A Secretary

A Librarian

Council

Article XII The affairs of the branch shall be managed by a council composed of the officers of the current year, together with not more than 20 Life, Ordinary, or Associate members. Honorary Council members are not included among the 20 Ordinary Members.

Article XIII Council members who, except for due cause miss Council meetings more than twice consecutively or miss five times during the year shall be dropped from membership on the Council. Council members may resign from the Council by written notification to the President.

Meetings

Article XIV General Meetings of the branch and meetings of the Council shall be held as the Council shall determine and announce.

Article XV The annual General Meeting shall be held around the end of the calendar year at a date and time determined by the Council. Notice of the Annual General Meeting shall be mailed to all members not later than one month prior to the scheduled date. At this meeting the Council shall present its Annual Report, which shall include the Treasurer's Statement of accounts. The Officers and Council Members for the next year shall be nominated and elected.

Article XVI Twenty five members shall form a quorum at the Annual General Meeting and a simple majority of officers and Council members at a Council meeting. The Chair shall have a casting vote in the event of a tie between pro and con votes. At all meetings of the branch or Council, in the absence of the President and Vice President, a Chair shall be elected by the members present at the meeting.

Article XVII The General Meetings shall be open to the public.

Elections

Article XVIII The Officers and other Members of the Council shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors have been elected.

Article XIX The Council shall fill vacancies of officers, Committee Chairs and Council members that may occur between Annual General Meetings and may nominate temporary substitutes in the event of prolonged absence or indisposition of an Officer or Committee Chair.

Publications

Article XX The publications of the branch shall consist of the Transactions and other publications as the Council may decide.

Article XXI Authors of published books or papers may be supplied with five copies gratis by the branch except as may be determined by the Council.

Article XXII The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance. All publications of the branch shall be copyrighted.

Article XXIII Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the branch and shall not be published without consent of the Council. However, if publication is unreasonably delayed, or if the paper is urgently required for another unforeseen use, and is requested to be returned by the writer, the Council may release the paper at its own discretion.

Article XXIV The acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the branch does not obligate the branch to publish it, but when the Council decides not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be returned to the author without any restriction as to its subsequent use. A copy shall be retained in the branch's permanent file.

Making of By-laws

Article XXV The Council shall have the power to make and amend By-laws for its own use and the branch's guidance, provided that these are consistent with the constitution. Additions, deletions or amendments to the By-laws shall be promulgated to the members of the branch who may, at the next general meeting, overrule the action of the Council.

Additions, Deletions and Amendments

Article XXVI The Constitution may be amended only at a general meeting, with a quorum present, by a two thirds majority vote of the members present. Amendments to the constitution shall be promulgated to all members at least thirty days preceding the General Meeting wherein the amendment is to be discussed and voted upon.

BY-LAWS

General Meetings

Article 1 The Session of the Branch shall coincide with the calendar year.

Article 2 Ordinarily the Session of the Branch shall consist of not less than nine monthly General Meetings, of which the Annual General Meeting shall be considered one. A need for a greater or lesser number of meetings may be determined by the Council, if it is considered to be in the best interests of the Members of the Branch.

Article 3 The place and time of meetings shall be determined by the Council. Advance notice of meetings shall be promulgated to all Members resident in Korea, and to all Honorary and Life Members.

Order of Business at General Meetings

Article 4 The order of the General Meetings shall be:

- a. communications from the Council (reports, etc.)
- b. miscellaneous business
- c. the reading and discussion of papers

Order of Business at the Annual General Meeting

Article 5 Order of business at the Annual General Meeting shall be as follows:

- a. Communications from the Council
- b. Miscellaneous business
- c. The election of Officers and Councilors shall be conducted from the slate recommended by the Nominating Committee or nominations from the floor.
- d. Presentation of papers, if any.

Meetings of Council

Article 6 The Council at each meeting shall determine the time and place of subsequent Council Meetings.

Article 7 Timely notice of each Council Meeting shall be sent to every member of the Council. With this notice shall be enclosed a draft of the minutes of the previous Council Meeting and reports of Committee Chairs for review and subsequent discussion, modification (if required) and acceptance by the Council.

Order of Business at Council Meetings

Article 8 The order of business at Council meetings shall be:

- a. Reading and Approval of Minutes
- b. Reports of Officers and Standing Committees
- c. Reports of Special Committees
- d. Special Orders
- e. Unfinished Business
- f. New Business

Committees

Article 9 a. There shall be the following Standing Committees:

- (1) Budget and Finance Committee
- (2) Program Committee
- (3) Tour Committee
- (4) Membership Committee

(5) Publications Committee

(6) Such other committees as may be deemed necessary shall be established by the Council.

b. There shall be an Executive Committee, composed of the President and/or the Vice President, one other Officer, the Chairs of the Committee(s) concerned with the subjects to be discussed, and such others as the President may invite. Meetings shall be called by the President. Its duties shall be to undertake any tasks deputed to it by the President of the Council.

c. There shall be a Nominating Committee which shall consist of 3 to 5 Council Members to be appointed by the President each October. This committee shall present the slate of Officers to the November Council Meeting. This committee may also be called upon by the President to fill Council vacancies as they occur throughout the year.

d. All committees shall report periodically, in writing, to the Council and shall act in accordance with the decisions of the Council on matters concerning both policy and finance. Written reports of the Committees shall be forwarded to the Office at least 15 days prior to Council Meetings, for mailing to Council Members.

Budget and Finance Committee

Article 10 a. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Budget and Finance Committee, which shall be composed of the Officers of the Branch. The Committee may co-opt other members of the Branch whose assistance may be desired for particular tasks, but such members shall not vote. Not less than half the membership of the committee shall constitute a quorum.

b. The Committee shall meet not less than once in each half of the calendar year, and shall prepare a budget for submission to the Council.

Publications Committee

Article 11 a. There shall be a Standing Committee called the Publications Committee, composed of a Chair to be appointed by the President in consultation with the Council, and such other members as the Council may designate.

b. The Committee shall:

(1) Be responsible for the selection, preparation and publication of the Transactions and other works sponsored by the Branch, as approved by the Council.

(2) Arrange with booksellers and others for the sale of the publications as directed by the Council, send the required number of each issue to the appointed agents and keep a record of all such business.

- (3) Draw up a program of future publications, with estimates of expenditure and income, and submit this program and accompanying estimates to the Council for the latter's approval at least once every six months.
- (4) Present to the Council at the November meeting a statement of the stock of publications possessed by the Branch.

Program Committee

Article 12 a. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Program Committee, composed of a Chair to be appointed by the president in consultation with the Council and such other members as the Council may designate, at least two of them ordinarily being Koreans and two of other nationalities.

b. The Program Committee shall be responsible for determining topics and finding speakers (or other suitable material such as films) for the Branch's regular meetings.

c. Honoraria and other fees shall follow norms established by the Council. Exceptions shall be specifically approved by the Council membership in regular session.

d. As a rule, programs shall be of an historical or contemporary nature, which support the objectives stated in Article II of the Constitution. Where practicable, texts of the presentations shall be file with the Corresponding Secretary of the Branch, so that those considered suitable may be printed in the Transactions.

Tour Committee

Article 13 a. There shall be a Standing Committee called the Tour Committee, composed of a Chair to be appointed by the President in consultation Council, and the other members as the Council may designate.

b. It shall plan and conduct tours to places of cultural and historical interest, both inside and outside Korea.

c. Tours shall be conducted by members of the Committee or by such other members of the Branch as the Committee shall delegate.

d. Tours shall be conducted primarily for the edification and education of members of the Branch who shall receive special consideration in computing the charges for tours, and in participating in limited capacity tours.

e. The Committee Chair shall audit the accounts of all tours before they are submitted to the Treasurer.

Membership Committee

Article 14 a. There shall be a Standing Committee called the Membership Com-

mittee, composed of a Chair to be appointed by the President in consultation with the Council, and such other members as the Council may designate.

b. The Committee shall:

- (1) Take suitable measures to increase membership of the Branch
- (2) Report to the Council, at least quarterly, on the status of the Branch's membership and recommend measures to maintain or increase membership
- (3) Keep in touch with the views of Members on publications, programs and tours arranged by the Branch, and brief the Council on the subject at each council meeting.

Commitments Entered into by the Branch

Article 15 a. Any commitment or disbursement by the Branch of more than \$500 shall be specifically sanctioned by the Council, and recorded in the minutes of its meetings.

b. Any commitment entered into by the Branch with the concurrence of the Council shall, if it involves the expenditure of more than \$1,000 (over whatever period), be legitimated by a document bearing the signatures of the President (or Acting President in the absence of the President), the Secretary and the Treasurer

c. No Officer or Member of the Branch is authorized to commit the Branch to any course of action, other than normal day-to-day business, without the express approval of the Council as recorded in the minutes of its meetings.

Audit

Article 16 Before the Annual General Meeting of each year the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts shall be audited by a team of not less than two members appointed by the President.

Duties of the Secretary

Article 17 The Secretary shall:

- a. Attend every General Meeting and every Meeting of the Council, or, in the case of absence, depute a Member of the Council to perform the duties.
- b. Keep minutes of General Meetings and meetings of the Council.
- c. Provide the Office Manager with a written copy of all minutes for reproduction and distribution to the Council.
- d. Ensure that the Reports of Committee Chairs are circulated to Council Members before the next Council Meeting.
- e. Carry on correspondence as needed with members of the community.

Duties of the Treasurer

Article 18 The Treasurer shall:

- a. Control and account for all funds of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
- b. Respond to requests for funds necessary to maintain the day to day operations of the Branch.
- c. Attend every Council Meeting and present a current financial statement or, if unable to attend, depute a Council Member to act, furnishing information and documents as may be necessary
- d. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors and present annually a duly audited financial statement which shall be available for examination at the Annual General Meeting of the Branch.

Duties of the Librarian

Article 19 The Librarian shall:

- a. Take charge of the Branch's Library and keep its books and periodicals in order; catalogue all additions to the library and supervise the binding and preservation of the books;
- b. Arrange for further exchanges as directed by the Council;
- c. Make additions to the Library as directed by the Council
- d. Act as a member of the Publication Committee; and
- e. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or, if absent, send to the Secretary a statement on any matter of immediate importance.

Library

Article 20 The Library shall be maintained as a part of the permanent collections of the Social Sciences Library, located in Seoul. Members may use the library, free of charge, during regular operating hours of the facility. RAS books may not be borrowed or taken from the library.

Sale of Publications

Article 21 The publications shall be on sale by Agents approved by the Council and may be supplied to them at a discount price fixed by the Council

Chapters

Article 22 a. Members of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society residing outside Seoul may, with the approval of the Council, organize chapters, with arrangements for such matters as membership, attendance, books, programs,

speakers, honorariums, logistics, finance, etc. to be planned by a local committee in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Council and approved by the Council. There shall be an annual written report from each chapter which shall be submitted to the Council for approval.

b. Each chapter shall have at least one councillor who is selected by the Korea Branch in consultation with the local chapter. Such councillor shall serve in addition to the regular members of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch Council. They shall have full voting rights but may be excused from serving on any of the Standing Committees.

Article 23 The Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, as a whole, including each of its recognized chapters, is a non-profit association formed to promote friendship among its members. The Council is responsible for ensuring that all activities of the Branch shall be conducted in accordance with this form of association.

Office

Article 24 The Branch may maintain an office, and employ either by salary or by volunteer agreement an Office Manager, and any other staff members the Council might deem necessary. The Office and its staff are under the direction and supervision of the Officers of the Branch. Duties of the Office Manager and staff include:

- a. Maintaining a list of members of the Branch, sending renewal notices no later than one month before the member's term expires.
- b. Sending notices of all meetings of the Branch and the Council at least two weeks before the meeting. Notices of Council Meetings shall include the reports of the Standing Committees.
- c. Mailing the Newsletter and any other notices prepared by the Publications Committee.
- d. Assisting the Publications Committee in executing its duties.
- e. Keeping a record of all meetings and tours.
- f. Assisting the Tour Committee in arranging tours.
- g. Keeping appropriate records of all income and expense, under the direction of the Treasurer.
- h. Any other duties the Offices of the Branch may deem necessary.