TRANSACTIONS

Centennial Edition



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY Korea Branch Volume 75 - 2000



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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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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 60 Queen's Gardens London W2 3AF

Dr.H.G. Underwood President Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch CPO Box 255 Seoul 100-602 Korea

5 June 2000

Dear Dr Underwood,

On behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) I am writing to congratulate the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, on its one hundredth birthday. This is a splendid achievement made all the more remarkable by the Society's fine record of activities, its publications and its large membership. The RAS wishes you and the Society well for the birthday celebrations on 17 June and for the years to come.

With all good wishes, Yours sincerely,

Tong Stockell

Professor A.J. Stockwell President, RAS From the Ambassador: Sir Stephen Brown KCVO



8 June 2000

4 Chung-dong Chung-ku Seoul 100-120 Republic of Korea

Telephone: 735-7341/3 Facsimile: 725-1738

Dr H G Underwood President Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch CPO Box 255 SEOUL 100-602

Dear President,

100th ANNIVERSARY ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (RAS), KOREA

As Honorary Chairman it gives me great pleasure to congratulate the RAS on its 100th Anniversary in Korea. The RAS is a society which in Korea has been remarkably successful in maintaining its relevance through a fascinating and dynamic programme of lectures/visits across Korea.

As both my wife and I, as well as countless diplomats, businesspeople, teachers and students, have discovered it is an excellent, practical and enjoyable way to learn about Korea's unique history and distinguished, yet still so vibrant, culture.

We have much enjoyed our personal association with the Society and we will take with us many happy memories of travelling with members of the society to many different parts of Korea. As we turn into the New Millennium we wish the Royal Asiatic Society continuing success for the future.

Jours survey Stople-Rosser

Stephen Brown

DER BOTSCHAFTER
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
THE AMBASSADOR
OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Claus Vollers

Seoul, April 20, 2000

Dr. H. G. Underwood President of the Royal Asiatic Soyicety Korea Branch CPO Box 255 Seoul

100 - 602

Dear Dr. Underwood,

In a long diplomatic career I have never found in any country before an organization which so warmly welcomed newcomers and gave them so readily and easily access to the culture and traditions of the host country. If so many foreigners and even Koreans from abroad get a colourful and complex picture of Korea, seeing remote beauty spots and learning to understand aspects of her national philosophy it is due to the Royal Asiatic Society and her many devoted volounteers who pass on a share of their love and understanding of Korea. You, Dr. Underwood, and your familiy ties in Korea are a good example.

Let me sincerely congratulate the Royal Asiatic Society in Korea on its hundredth birthday and express my hope that she will be going strong in the new Millennium as ever. I am proud that people from my country helped found the Korea branch a hundred years ago.

Let me also thank Ms Sue Bae for her dedicated work and wish our Society a success in the future comparable with its great service in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Claus Vallers



Ambassador of the United States of America Seoul, Korea

April 3, 2000

Dr. Horace G. Underwood President Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch CPO Box 255 Seoul 100-602

Dear Dr. Underwood:

I take great pleasure in extending my congratulations to the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, as you prepare to celebrate your one hundredth birthday.

It was in June 1900 that 17 foreigners in Seoul combined forces to extend the already venerable Royal Asiatic Society of London, founded in 1823, into the still relatively unfamiliar territory of Korea. Since that long-ago day, both Korea and the branch of the Royal Asiatic Society that they founded have undergone an extraordinary series of transformations. I think I need only note that it was a royal charter by the Emperor Kojong that brought the Korea branch into being to suggest how extraordinary those transformations have been.

One thing that has remained constant is RAS members' appetite for both knowledge and direct experience of Korea. Since the founding of the society, these complementary cravings have generated many excellent books, articles, lectures and tours that cover the whole range of Korean history, culture and society. Over the years these have made the RAS a uniquely valuable resource for anyone interested in deepening his or her knowledge and experience of this fascinating country.

From its inception, the RAS has played an important and commendable role in linking Korea and the outside world. I am confident that it will continue to do so as it enters its second century of service to Korea and the international community.

Sincerely,

Stephen W. Bosworth

Ambassador

TRANSACTIONS

of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch Vol. 75 - 2000



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2000 COUNCIL THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY The First One Hundred Years

Horace G. Underwood, Litt. D.

HORACE G. UNDERWOOD, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, is the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch.

The 1800s were a time of exuberant expansionism in the western world, with a great curiosity about the new lands being discovered or opened to exploration and trade. In this movement a few ships had touched on Korea, but Korea did its best to preserve its isolation and insulation from foreign influnce until the 1880s. Although a few writers were able to put together some information on Korea gathered from outside the country, when the first treaties were signed with western powers in 1882 very little was known of the country. The early small occidental community consisted of missionaries, minor diplomats of some half a dozen countries, representatives of major international trading companies, such as Standard Oil and Singer Sewing Machines, and a few independents. Fortunately they included a number of far-seeing, inquisitive, scholarly men and women who by 1900 had already made significant beginnings in the study of Korean history and culture. However, they believed that such study would be encouraged and strengthened if there were an organization devoted to that purpose, providing a critical local audience and a permanent record in the form of a journal. Preliminary correspondence was carried on with the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and, receiving an encouraging response, on June 11, 1900 they issued a call for a general meeting on Saturday, 16 June, 1900, for the purpose of found[ing] a Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Seventeen men gathered at the Reading Room of the Seoul Union Club (then located in what is now the front part of the American Ambassadors Residence). They adopted a constitution along the lines suggested by the parent Society, elected officers and notified the home Society,

which then officially recognized the Korea Branch. Although the official recognition did not reach Seoul until a few months later, the Korea Branch considers 16 June, 1900 as its birthday. The Centennial of the Society was celebrated at the Residence of the British Ambassador on Saturday, 17 June, 2000, with a garden party, attended by some 200 members, and a Korean folk dance performance.

Having turned one hundred years old, it seems appropriate to look at the past one hundred years of the Korea Branch and note some of the high points in that history. More detailed information may be found in three previous accounts. In 1948 Dr. H. H. Underwood wrote a brief history of the Society for the benefit of the new occidental community developing in Seoul after World War II. Then after the Korean War the first Report of the Council summarizes the re-establishment of the Branch in 1957. The most extensive report, however, was written in some detail thirty years ago, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the Branch, by Dr. L. George Paik (Paik, Nak Jun), a long-time member, Councilor and renowned Korean scholar. He wrote a detailed history of the Branch to that date, which he modestly called a resume. This account includes an introduction and five sections; I. A Summary of Developments, II. The Transactions, III. The Library, IV. Membership and Finances, and V. Conclusions. This was published in Volume 47 (1972) of the Transactions and contains much detailed information that will not be recapitulated here.

The history of the Korea Branch can be divided into four periods. It started enthusiastically, with nine papers being presented in the first three years. To preserve the concept of one Transaction per year, Volume Two was published in two parts. However, for reasons not clear but possibly because of the political disturbances related to the Russo-Japanese War and the Annexation of Korea by Japan, there were no general meetings between 1902 and 1911.

To revive the Society, a general meeting was called on 23 January, 1911, attended by nine people, including one woman. This meeting elected officers and resuscitated a membership list of between forty and fifty members. The period from 1911 to 1940 was the most productive period of the Society, in terms of significant and unique papers. Dr. Paik designates the years from 1911 to 1930 as the Trollope era, in honor of the Anglican Bishop, Mark Napier Trollope, the great churchman and scholar who was the dynamic force encouraging the Society and served as President for thirteen of those years, until his untimely death in 1930. From 1930 to 1941 Dr. H. H. Underwood had the leadership role, serving as President four times.

Twenty-seven volumes were published during this period, several in two

or more Parts, publishing fifty seven papers. These materials were usually the first and, in some cases, to this day the only studies in English on many aspects of Korean life and culture. Many of these papers were extensive enough to make a single thick volume of the Transactions. Dr. H. H. Underwood's papers on "Hunting and Hunters Lore" and "Korean Boats and Ships" are the only records existing in any language of aspects of Korea that have virtually disappeared, and Dr. Underwood's analysis of the design of the famous Turtle Boat is the basis of all subsequent reconstructions. Dr. Boots' study on Korean Weapons and Armor and Dr. Koon's paper on the Korean beacon system are still the only material available on these subjects in English. Dr. E.M. Cable was the first to make a study of U.S. Korean relations, and his report of the American naval attack on the Kang Wha forts in 1872 is still the most complete account of that incident, while Dr. Cummings' "Korean Birds", Dr. Rufuss' "Astronomy in Korea" and Mrs. Boots' "Introduction to Korean Music" were also pioneer studies in their fields. Perhaps the most famous and widely known proceedings was Volume XXIX, 1939, "The Romanization of the Korean Alphabet" by Dr. George McCune and Dr. Edwin Reischauer, to this day the most widely used Romanization system of Korean, although probably few outside of Korea are aware of its source. Other subjects touched on included Korean art, old coins, traditional medicine, food, climate, mining, the examination system, and many others. In short, many aspects of Korean history, life and culture were explored by these early amateur researchers. Yet despite this variety, the summary history of 1948 suggests seventy four topics for further study, including a catch-all Various historical subjects. Sadly, with the rapid physical and social changes of the past fifty years, some of these cultural elements suggested for study may already be so lost that information may now be virtually impossible to obtain. Even in the last fifty years, for example, many local forts and city walls have sunk into the ground or been pirated for their stones. Unlike recorded historical events, this is especially true of daily life and plebian occupational practices, about which past generations had not even bothered to take note of before they disappeared. For instance, except for possible vestige examples, Koreans no longer do pearl fishing and the native cotton, once an important crop, is no longer grown. Other fields have been explored in Korean but the information is not available in English.

The activities of the Society were brought to a close by the outbreak of the Pacific War in December, 1941. The foreign residents of the country were expelled and the Korean members were forced to dissociate themselves from all foreign organizations. After the war some of the returning members believed that the increased international interest in Korea and the large number of new

military and civilian residents made it highly desirable to re-activate the Society, with emphasis not only on study but also on instruction. Led by Dr. H. H. Underwood, the last former President, and the Rev. Charles Hunt, a small group held an informal meeting at the Church of England Bishops Lodge on 26 November, 1947. They called an open meeting for 18 December, 1947, at which officers were elected and new members received. The list of ninety four members in Volume XXXI, 1948/49, hints at the changed nature of the expatriate community, with a number of military officers, foreign aid officials and new (to Korea) businesses. The outbreak of the Korean War in June, 1950, again seemed to bring the activities of the Society to an end. Only two volumes of the Transactions were published in this inter-war period, the second being printed in Hong Kong through the valiant efforts of Mr. Robert Kinney, who served the Society faithfully for many years.

During the war the city of Seoul was heavily damaged and the Society lost practically all of its Library, possessions and records, except for a few items rescued by Mr. Kinney, who had returned to the United States. At the end of 1955 there were three former Councilors in Seoul, Dr. George Paik, Mr. H. G. Underwood (Vice President) and Mr. Marc Scherbacher (Recording Secretary). They called an informal meeting at the British Legation on 22 January, 1956 and invited Mr. Stewart, the British Minister, Mr. Dugald Malcolm of the British Legation and Father Richard Rutt of the Anglican Mission to join them in reestablishing the Society. A lecture meeting was held on 22 February followed by others until an Annual Meeting met on 27 February, 1957, which elected officers and councilors. The membership at that time was sixty nine, but as pointed out above, soon rapidly expanded.

In the years from 1957 to 1999 there have been forty two volumes of the Transactions, containing 167 papers, an average of four per volume. This reflects the vastly changed circumstances from the pre-war years. At that time members were generally long-time residents of Korea who over a period of years were able to study various topics in some depth. In the post-war years most of the members resided in Korea for short appointments so their studies tend to be much shorter and limited in scope. A rich source of interesting lectures and often of papers for the Transactions, has been the number of graduate students in Korean Studies from the United States and Europe who came to Korea to gain research materials. Martina Deuchler, Keith Howard, Fred Alford and others all spoke to the Society on their research and later went on to publish their own books on the subjects. Among these scholars have been a number of Peace Corps Volunteers who have gone to further study, sometimes inspired by what they learned through the R.A.S. In the late 1960s

an attempt was made to devote each Transaction to a single area of study. Vol. 43 (1967) has three articles on the "New Religions of Korea", Vol. 44 presents "Selected Studies in Korean Arts", Vol. 45 discusses "Mass Communications in a Developing Korea" and Vol. 46 studies "Life in Urban Korea". Aside from these four numbers, other issues include a wide variety of topics.

Membership in the Society was originally of two types: Honorary and Ordinary. Honorary Members could be appointed on special grounds determined in each case by the Council, but should not be residents of Korea and did not have to pay the membership fees. Ordinary membership has always been open to any person wishing to join, of whatever nationality, race or creed. From the time the Society was reactivated in 1911 up until World War II the membership fluctuated between 150 and 200. A few members were overseas, but most of those were persons away on temporary absence. The Bye-Laws provided for lesser fees for overseas members but did not list them as a separate category of membership. After Liberation the Constitution was changed to allow resident Honorary Members, but in practice these have been limited to the successive British Ambassadors though with an occasional special person. At that time the category of Life Member was also introduced. By the payment of a special fee, approximately ten times the annual membership, one could become a Life Member. With the growing number of people on short-term appointments who joined the society, the category of Overseas Member was formalized to encourage such persons to keep up their interest in Korea after their departure. From the 1960s the membership in all categories grew very rapidly. At the present time there are slightly over 1,300 members, including approximately 850 Regular Members, 450 Overseas Members and 70 Life Members.

The affairs of the Society are managed by a Council. Originally the Council was composed of the six officers: President, Vice President. Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Librarian, and Treasurer and three Ordinary members. However, after the Korean War the number of Ordinary (including Life) Members on the Council was increased to up to twenty to handle the increased load of arranging programs for the bi-monthly meetings, arranging and guiding the tours, and supervising the increased publication program. Moreover, life in Seoul in this period moved at a much faster pace than in pre-war days, and individual Councilors had less time to devote to the affairs of the Society. The problem of recruiting Councilors has become increasingly serious in recent years as the number of long-term residents with general background knowledge has diminished, and short-service residents with sufficient interest and time are hard to identify before they leave the country.

From its inception in 1900 to the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the Society met whenever there was a paper ready for presentation, although the Council actively solicited materials from its members and other residents of Korea. During this period meetings were usually held at the Seoul Union Club although occasionally at the homes of various Councilors. The paper, or a summary of it, would be read, followed by a discussion period and ending with a tea. These papers would then be published in the Transactions. The writers were, with few exceptions, residents of Korea who followed their own hobby interests, but were not what is normally thought of as research scholars, though the quality of their scholarship, as revealed in their papers, is very high. After the Korean War the Council felt that one of the functions of the Society should be to introduce Korean culture to the many newcomers and short service residents. To this end it initiated lectures on a variety of topics of general interest, even if not original research. The day of the meeting was fixed as the first Wednesday of each month so that in an increasingly busy community people could know well in advance when meetings were to be held. Later the format was changed again, to have meetings on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month, except during the summer months.

These talks are open without charge to anyone and are on a wide variety of topics, including popular types of talks for the general public, often with video or slide showings. The aim is to introduce Korea to the greatly enlarged and far more transient English speaking community of Seoul. Of course, more scholarly papers are read, as available, and published in the Transactions. These programs were so highly valued by out-of-town members of the Society that Chapters were organized at various times in Taegu and Taejon. These were mostly short-lived and tended to die when the one or two enthusiastic volunteer promoters left. At the time of the Centennial no such Chapters were functioning.

The meetings of the Society have been held in a wide variety of places. As stated above, in the earliest days they tended to be in the homes of members, but the Seoul Union Club, first located in front of the American Ambassadors residence and later moved to just outside Susomun (Little West Gate) soon came to be the regular meeting place. After the Korean War the location of the lectures has moved from time to time as space became available and conditions of use were changed by the successive landlords. Although circumstances sometime called for special meeting places, the Branch met for fifteen years at the auditorium of he Nursing School of the National Medical Center, and some five years each at the auditorium of the Tonga Ilbo newspaper and a seminar room in the Daewoo Foundation Building. At the

present time lectures are held at the Goethe Institute (German Cultural Center) on the slopes of Namsan.

Before the Korean War the Society did no publishing except for the Transactions. It did permit authors of some of the longer presentations to have their papers reprinted as separate books. In the late 1960s the Society decided on a program of publishing books of general interest or deemed to have special value, as well as new scholarly works. It has issued twenty five such volumes, including some in cooperation with overseas organizations. Of particular historical interest are "Hamel's Journal" and a "Description of the Kingdom of Korea", translated by Br. Jean-Paul Buys, and Father John Bridges' translation of Father Juan Ruiz de Medina's "The Catholic Church in Korea: Its origins, 1566 1784." Both are the first and only translations into English from the original sources of these valuable accounts. Other publications, such as Keith Howard's "Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals", and Pak Ki-hvuk's "Changing Korean Village", cover a variety of fields, from other early records of Korea to matters of current interest and event to guides to the modern Some of these, such as Paul Crane's "Korean Patterns" have gone through numerous reprintings. In addition, the Branch initiated a Reprint Series of important early Korean studies that were out of print but of continuing interest to the membership and to scholars. They include such classics as the six volumes of "The Korea Review, 1901-1906", Dr. J.S. Gale's "Korean Sketches" and Basil Hall's "Voyage to the West Coast of Korea and the Great Loo Choo Island", originally published in 1818. To date thirteen reprints have been issued and others are in the planning stages. The 1970s were the most prolific decade for publications, with ten original works and eight reprints, in addition to the regular Transactions. In the 1980s there were nine originals and two reprints while the 1990s saw three each.

Partly for wider sale of its own publications and partly as a service to its members and other residents of Korea, the Society became the agent for the sale of books on Korea by other publishers. Books by Korean publishers are often in limited editions and are soon unavailable. By purchasing stocks of such books the Society is able to make available material often out of print on the market. This type of service is particularly helpful for books published abroad, as it is generally awkward for the individual expatriate to purchase such books. At the time of the Centennial the R.A.S., with over 350 titles on its book list, carries probably the largest variety of books on Korea of any agency in the world.

In the 1960s the Society initiated a tour program as a supplement to the lectures in introducing Korea. At that time transportation outside of Seoul was

difficult for the non-Korean-speaking visitor and except for a few famous spots, places worth visiting were frequently unknown or difficult to find for the uninitiated. The tour program was initiated by long-time Council member, Mr. Carl Ferris Miller. A Tour Committee was established as one of the regular committees of the Council and the day to day organization of the tours was taken over by the Office Staff. Under the tour program, knowledgeable members of the Society acted as leaders, sharing their personal knowledge of the places being visited. Some seventy to eighty tours are scheduled each year, a few being repeated in the spring and autumn. Tours may be as short as half a day, most often are a full day, but with many or a weekend. Two or three times a year special overseas tours to other Asian countries are arranged. Of special interest have been tours to sites in Japan associated with Korean history and culture. Members receive 10% discounts on the price of books and tours.

Until the mid-1960s all the operations of the Society were managed entirely on a voluntary basis by the Council. However, as the clerical work of keeping track of memberships, collecting and selling books and supervising tours increased, it became necessary to establish a permanent office. Space was found in the sixth floor of the Christian Building at Yonji-dong, near East gate and Ms. Sue Bae was employed as the clerk in charge, and is now in effect the General Manager of the Society. She suggests the tour schedule for the Tour Committee and Council, prepares and circulates the monthly notices of lectures and tours, sends the quarterly news reports to Overseas Members, sees books and Transactions through the printers, and handles all the details of bus rental, hotel reservations and the other complex details for tours, and accompanies many of them herself. Much of the success of the Society is due to her faithful service over the past 33 years.

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is proud of its contribution to scholarship on and information about Korea for the past one hundred years. Literally thousands of people have been given access to a society and a culture that many have found it difficult to penetrate, and the quality of scholarship shown in the 237 papers published in the Transactions are of a quality seldom matched over so long a period by a single journal.

For Men or Women? The Case of Chinju kŏmmu, a Sword Dance from South Korea

Judy VanZile, Ph.D.

JUDY VANZILE is professor of dance at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

In 1967 Chinju kŏmmu, or the Sword Dance of the City of Chinju, was designated an Intangible Cultural Asset by the government of South Korea. At that time its choreography was fixed and it was established as a dance for eight women, although the dance is said to have been originated by men. The article examines the historical development of Chinju kŏmmu from the perspective of the gender of its performers and the functions the dance has served at different times. This is followed by a discussion of movement characteristics. The author proposes that although the dance, as performed today, retains clear suggestions of both male-female and masculine-feminine characteristics, and while features of these dichotomous categories have contributed to the development of the dance and, indeed, to its very survival, ultimately gender is not what the dance is about.

Eight female dancers walk casually into the performing space¹. They wear long blue skirts and long-sleeved blouses. Atop this traditional clothing of Korean women, they wear long dark blue jackets styled after those of male military officials of former times. Each dancers hair is pulled back tightly at the nape of the neck into a chignon, through which is thrust a long hair pin--both typical of older Korean women. On top of their heads they sport round, flat, black hats, each with a peacock feather and red tassel dropping lazily over the side and a chain of large red and yellow beads draped loosely beneath the chin--again reminiscent of former male military attire. The dancers long, multicolored sleeves, typical of female court dancers of an earlier era, hang almost to the ground, and each hand grasps a specially-made sword not

much longer than a dagger. Small metal ornaments dangle loosely from the blade and a red tassel is suspended from the handle, a design that contributes to the swords aesthetic rather than realistic function.

The dancers position themselves in two lines facing each other, both lines perpendicular to the audience. They slowly lower themselves to a kneeling position, quietly place their swords on the ground beside them, and rise to begin the dance.

They continually bend and extend their knees as they walk slowly through a series of formations in which the lines merge, open into two lines parallel to the audience, and merge and open several more times. They then remove the long sleeves fastened at their wrists and drop them to the floor at the sides of the performing area. Again the dancers change their group formation, this time moving their hands and wrists as if holding and manipulating the swords.

Upon re-forming their original two parallel lines they sit, grasp the long "tails" of their jackets, and move them to reveal the red inner lining. The dancers then tie the ends of their jacket tails behind their backs, and, while still seated, move their hands and wrists once more as if holding and manipulating the swords. They pick up one sword and then the other, and flick their wrists while bending and extending their elbows and turning their forearms. The metal ornaments on the swords clang gently and the tassels spin as the blades trace arcs in space, movements that are ornamental rather than realistic representations of combat actions. The dancers stand and change formations, continuing to manipulate the swords as they advance and retreat, and then form a circle.

By this time the tempo has increased, and the dancers do a series of individual turns at the same time as they progress around the circle, all the while continuing the complex arm movements and wrist flicking. The turns are reminiscent of movements most often seen in dances performed by men and the concurrent sword manipulation ornaments the movement rather than replicating fighting actions. The tempo then slows, the dancers walk around the circle, still manipulating their swords, form a single straight line parallel to the audience, bow, and quietly exit by backing away from the performing area. No story has been told. Only a hint of military action has been offered. The strongest impression is that of a kaleidoscopic ensemble of women who perform in unison, gently grouping and regrouping amidst a calm swishing of sword blades--all with a serious and slightly weighty quality.

This twenty-minute dance is most frequently identified as *Chinju kŏmmu*. Kŏm is the Korean word for sword and mu the Sino-Korean word for dance.

Throughout history there have been many sword dances in Korea, all of which are known generically as *kŏmmu*. Although historical documentation has clouded the precise origin of these dances, today the small city of Chinju, near the southern tip of the South Korean peninsula, is considered the home of a sword dance given special recognition by the Korean government, and referred to as *Chinju kŏmmu*².

An outline of the history of *Chinju kŏmmu*³ and an examination of the dance in relation to gender follows. A conclusion is drawn that although the dance, as performed today, retains clear suggestions of both male-female and masculine-feminine characteristics⁴, and while features of these dichotomous categories have contributed to the development of the dance, indeed, to its very survival, gender is not what the dance is ultimately about.

The early history of Korean sword dances liberally intertwines fact and fiction. An historical text compiled in the late 1600s (*Tongyong chapki*) documents two stories dating from as early as 660 A.D. There are differences in the stories, but they both relate to a young boy from the Silla Kingdom. In one story he was sent to the enemy kingdom of Paekchae to dance in the streets. The king of Paekchae heard of the beauty of the young boy's dancing and invited him to perform in the court. While performing a sword dance before the king, the young boy seized the opportunity to help his homeland by killing the enemy king with his dance weapons. He was then captured and executed. According to this story, the people in his homeland of Silla created a mask with his features and performed a sword dance to commemorate their young dancer-hero's courageous act.

The second story simply indicates that a young boy soldier was killed in battle. In sorrow, his father made a mask of the boy's face, and during funeral rituals the boys fellow soldiers performed a sword dance. It is not clear if the dancers in either story actually wore masks during the dance.

The most significant commonalities in these stories in relation to *Chinju kŏmmu* are the tie to military personnel and battle, the use of a sword, and the indication that the earliest sword dance performers were boys or men. The original dance in the first story was performed by a young boy; it is not clear, in that story, whether the people who danced to commemorate the death of the young boy dancer were male or female. The fellow soldiers who danced in the second story were undoubtedly men. Historical records are not adequate to trace completely the development of sword dances, but we do know that changes occurred in the number and gender of the performers.

For more than a century following the written documentation of their origin, references to sword dances are minimal, with significant ones not

appearing until the 19th century. At that time official records documented formal court activities and included information comparable to elaborate program notes. These and other records mention sword dances and/or include line drawings of them⁵. Some of the drawings show four female dancers and others two male dancers.

One of the richest descriptions of sword dance movements is contained in an 1896 publication by a foreigner that briefly describes a dance performed at the royal court in Seoul.

The dancers are as usual clothed in voluminous garments of striking colors. Long and brilliantly colored sleeves reach down to and beyond the hand. False hair is added to make an elaborate headdress in which many gay ornaments are fastened. The dance is done in stockinged feet, and as the sword dance is the most lively of all, robes are caught up and the sleeves turned back out of the way. The girls pirouette between swords laid on the floor and as the music becomes more lively they bend to one side and the other near the swords until at last they have them in their hands, then the music quickens and the swords flash this way and that as the dancer wheels and glides about in graceful motion. A good dancer will work so fast and twirl her swords so dexterously as to give one the impression that the blade must have passed through her neck. This dance is also done in men's clothes at times, but the cut of the garments of the sexes is so much alike as to present little external difference except that the colors of the men's are either white or of one shade, and the mass of hair worn by the dancer ordinarily is replaced by a simple hat. (Allen 1896:384)

This passage is particularly interesting because of its comments regarding the male *or* female attire worn by female dancers. Today's costume includes components of attire worn by women *as well as* those worn by men. The movement dynamics described by Allen, however, are in direct contrast to the version of *Chinju kŏmmu* performed today and described at the beginning of this article.

Despite the probability that men or boys were the earliest performers of sword dances, today the primary performers and teachers of *Chinju kŏmmu* are women in the city of Chinju who have been designated by the Korean government to perpetuate the dance. Although perhaps originally performed for ritual or celebratory purposes, *Chinju kŏmmu* is performed today primarily for entertainment or to display cultural manifestations of Koreas past. It is done in

the capital of Seoul as part of special performances of dance and music that have been designated Intangible Cultural Assets, occasionally in concert performances of traditional dance and music throughout South Korea, and, most importantly, in Chinju at an annual festival to honor a woman known as Nongae.

Nongae became a heroine in Chinju in the late sixteenth century. The city played a pivotal role in Korean battles with the Japanese, and despite attempts to maintain its stand, ultimately succumbed, on several occasions, to the powerful blows of its island neighbor. Because of her reputation as an entertainer (a kisaeng⁶), in October of 1592 Nongae's presence was requested at a Japanese victory celebration held inside the Chinju castle. Although she graciously met her obligation to fill the leisure time of the Japanese officials, she maintained her loyalty to Korea and privately lamented the death of her Korean sponsor. She lured the Japanese general she was entertaining to a precipice overlooking the Nam River, which runs through the city of Chinju. To show her support for her homeland, while embracing him in an assumed air of affection she pulled him over the brink to both their deaths in the water below. In time a shrine was erected along the river at the site where the incident took place, and an annual festival is now held to honor Nongae. What is particularly intriguing in relation to gender is that at this festival to honor a woman, eight women clad in costumes based on male military attire perform a dance with roots that apparently lie in a dance of men, with movement qualities that although suggestive, have been transformed to a quality more appropriate to women.

The quality of the movements used in todays *Chinju kŏmmu* is predominantly soft and gentle, characteristics that epitomized femininity in the Confucian-dominated Choson courts (1392-1910)⁷. This quality is sometimes layered on top of less feminine movements, such as exposing the palms of the hands. Korean court women did not expose this part of their bodies. It is likely this contributed to dance movements in which arm gestures are seldom complete until the forearm turns inward and the wrist relaxes so the fingertips point gently downward, concealing the palm. Hence, if the palms are shown, it is only in passing. Some Korean scholars also believe the desire to conceal the palms contributed to female court dancers covering their hands with long sleeves. Movements concealing the palm are present in *Chinju kŏmmu*, as are the use of long sleeves to hide the hands, but early in the dance the sleeves are removed and in one section of the dance a gentle, but nonetheless blatant, display of the palms is performed--a movement not found in any other Korean dance.

The palm display movement of *Chinju kŏmmu* begins with one arm extended forward at shoulder height and the other overhead, both turned so the palms face upward. (Figure 1)

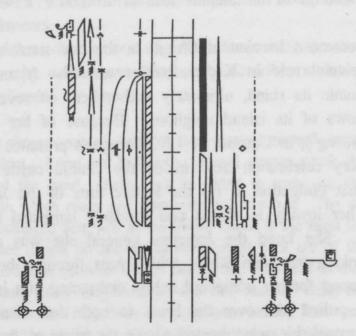


Figure 1. Palm Display Movement

The fingers are laterally closed and rounded so that the palm surfaces of the fingers lightly touch the palm surface of the thumb. The fingers then open and straighten quickly, exposing the palms, before the arms begin excursions through the horizontal and vertical planes, as the forward arm opens sideward at shoulder height, the high arm lowers to the side of the body.

A *Chinju kŏmmu* movement that is particularly unusual among traditional Korean dances and that is also counter to stereotypic Confucian female decorum is one that might be called the torso display. (Figure 2)

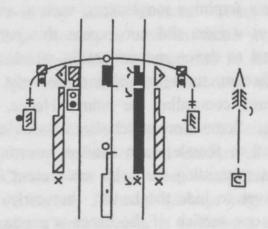


Figure 2. Torso Display Movement

Although the arms are often extended sideward at shoulder height in Korean dances performed by women, there is a tendency to move them forward a bit so they point slightly to the diagonal rather than sideward, and to round the shoulders a little to make the front surface of the chest slightly concave, de-emphasizing the female anatomy. In Chinju kommu, however, there is a movement that opens out the chest area. In one sequence the dancers rather abruptly assume a fourth position and tilt their torsos backward with their arms opened sideward at shoulder height, the palms again facing upward. This movement, which blatantly opens out the front surface of the dancers bodies, is the direct antithesis of traditional humble and gentle female deportment.

No one knows for sure the reason for these movements, unusual for Korean women as well as for Korean dance in general, nor any meaning that may have been derived from them. Nor does anyone know when such unusual movements became a part of Chinju kommu. While there are several possible answers, all of them are speculative. One native Korean dance researcher believes that the palm displaying movement was present in dances performed in the court during the Choson dynasty, and that this movement has been preserved only in Chinju kommu. In former times court dances were sometimes performed by men, and, as previously mentioned, several illustrations substantiate this. Therefore, it is possible this type of movement was originally appropriately performed by male court dancers, and was not transformed when women began to perform the dance. Thus, it is possible that Chinju kommu, as performed today, retains movements originally performed in the court by male dancers, and that the dance was originally a court dance.

A second possibility, expressed by a Chinju dance teacher, relates to the story of the origin of the dance. She feels the displaying of the palms and chest area are very strong, courageous movements and are an attempt to incorporate into the dance a sense of the strength and courage of the young boy dancer who killed the enemy king. If this is accurate, the origin and meaning of the dance may have provided acceptable reasons for women to perform movements that otherwise would have been unacceptable.

A third possibility lies in the Chinju environment in which the dance performed today is said to have evolved or to have been preserved. Because the dance was originally perpetuated in this region by kisaeng, the dancers, either because of their artistic or their social functions, may have been allowed to take liberties with movement and the display of their bodies inappropriate for other women. This explanation is tenuous, however, in light of the notion that the use of long sleeves by court dancers who were kisaeng may have originated in the inappropriateness of women showing their hands before the king. Would

not a kisaeng show a similar respect to patrons outside the court?

A fourth possibility is that standards of female propriety inhibiting the display of the palms and chest area were imposed during the Choson dynasty, with its strong Confucian ideals. If this is the case, movements displaying these body parts may be indicative of a considerably older dance style, a style preserved today only in *Chinju kŏmmu*.

The notion of *Chinju kŏmmu* pre-dating the Choson period is supported in a governmental report submitted in 1966. This document justifies the governments designating *Chinju kŏmmu* as an Intangible Cultural Asset by asserting that although there were many versions of sword dances performed at the time the report was written, and although the Chinju version had changed the overall movements from harsh to soft and graceful⁹, the Chinju version was the most authentic ¹⁰. The report goes on to state that during the Choson period two versions of a sword dance were performed in the royal court: one by male dancers for a male audience, the other by female dancers for a female audience¹¹. Furthermore, the 1966 report, together with subsequent documentation and the memories of older dancers alive in the 1980s, clearly establishes women as the performers, since the early 1900s, of what is now known as *Chinju kŏmmu*. The earliest of these female performers were *kisaeng*.

By the time of the Koryo period (918-1392), Korea had established a tradition believed by many to have been patterned after a practice in Tang China of female court entertainers. This institution of female entertainers involved a hierarchy of women who served in unofficial and official capacities with the local and/or central government. Various titles indicated the status of these women, based on their abilities and government affiliation, with *kisaeng* being the general term for female entertainer. The highest ranking *kisaeng* were those affiliated with the highest level of government.

During the Choson Dynasty there were twelve official kisaeng unions established in major provincial government areas to train young women entertainers for government officials in the provinces as well as for large, important banquets of the central government. One union was located in the city of Chinju. Although administrative authority for the training of kisaeng originally belonged to the royal court, this function was taken over by regional private schools in the early 1900s. These schools taught their own specialties, such as literature, music, or dance (Lee Byong-won 1979:80), and the sword dance known today as Chinju kŏmmu became the specialty of the kisaeng school in Chinju.

According to former kisaeng alive in the early 1980s, and in reference to a time period probably in the mid-1930s, the Chinju Female Entertainers Union

(Chinju Kisaeng Chohap) held a kind of workshop (sasup) for seven days every March. At one of these workshops dancers were specifically recruited to learn a sword dance. Thirty to forty women applied and began the seven-day session, but many dropped out because of the difficulty of some portions of the dance.

The portion considered to be most difficult was the flying part near the end of the dance. This movement done by male dancers in some Korean dances is essentially a barrel turn in which the dancer jumps high off the ground while turning. This same movement has been modified in *Chinju kŏmmu* so that the dancers do not leave the ground. The modification better suits models of stereotypic Confucian Korean feminine decorum, but retains the essence of the more vigorous movement, more usually associated with male dancers, from which it derives¹². At the conclusion of the seven-day training period, four of the remaining women were chosen to perform.

From some time after this workshop until the end of the Korean War (1950-1953), *Chinju kŏmmu* was not performed; it was, however, revived in the late 1950s. Two major changes are known to have occurred in the sword dance performed by *kisaeng* in Chinju before the 1930s and after the Korean War: eight women began to perform the dance instead of four, and the dance was considerably shortened. Older dancers state that the dance originally took one hour to perform; the full version performed today lasts approximately 20 minutes.

These two changes came about largely through the efforts of Pak Hon-bong (1907-1977), also known as Ki San, an avid supporter of the performing arts. Although not an artist himself, Pak was a strong advocate of folk traditions and strove to preserve Korean folk culture. In the late 1950s Pak requested that eight women reconstruct the Chinju sword dance. There is, however, no indication of why he requested eight performers. According to one of the female dancers involved in the reconstruction¹³, it was not difficult to bring the dance to life again. In spite of the fact that it had not been performed since the mid-1930s, it was still very much alive in the womens memories, because they had performed it so many times. Pak was then instrumental in having *Chinju pal kŏmmu*¹⁴ designated an Intangible Cultural Asset in 1967.

In preparation for bestowing the governmental honor and because of the advancing age of the early *Chinju kŏmmu* performers, a cultural institute in Chinju recruited women for a special workshop in 1966. These women were specifically to learn and carry on the tradition of *Chinju kŏmmu*. In 1967 eight women were designated National Living Treasures whose responsibility was to

perpetuate the dance. Four of the women were those originally selected from the entertainers union to perform in the mid-1930s and four were second generation dancers selected from the 1966 workshop. A third generation of dancers was subsequently selected from individuals who responded to a recruiting scheme that focused on middle-aged housewives. This group was specifically targeted rather than younger women because of the fear that younger women would leave Chinju to marry or attend college, and hence would not contribute to the preservation of the dance. These training sessions, financed by the city and offered free to participants, were initially attended by 50 women, but attrition was high. As in the mid-1930s *kisaeng* workshop, drop-outs cited the difficulty of the dance as a major reason; some also believed it was inappropriate for women to spend as much time away from home as was necessary to learn the dance. Confucian notions of the place of women and the low stature of *kisaeng* had left indelible marks¹⁵.

The focus on middle-aged housewives points to a significant difference between the first generation of clearly identifiable female dancers and those of later generations: the first generation were all professional entertainers who had learned a number of arts skills; from at least the third generation on, the dancers were housewives who were not professionals and whose arts skills focused specifically on *Chinju kŏmmu*. The third generation maintained their positions as housewives while simultaneously assuming their roles as perpetuators of *Chinju kŏmmu*. Hence, at the same time they continued the stereotypic role of the woman belonging to the house, they were entrusted with the perpetuation of one of Koreas officially-designated cultural artifacts and were in positions of significant recognition.

The primary administrative force behind the perpetuation of *Chinju kommu* in the 1990s was Song Kae-ok, one of the second generation of dancers who was eventually designated by the Korean government as one of the eight highest ranking perpetuators of the dance. Her involvement with the dance reflects a number of things relating to gender and societal attitudes. Because of a strict Confucian upbringing, Song spent her early days studying Chinese literature. Her parents maintained the commonly held belief that dance was performed by female entertainers, whose status was quite low despite their importance in government functions. It is interesting to note that during the Choson period, which ended shortly before Song was born, Confucianism barred women from most forms of education, and many women were illiterate. It was the *kisaeng* who were the primary female readers and writers. Although she had a keen interest in dance, it was not until her husband died that Song began to study it. She was then torn between her freedom to learn dance and her

family obligation to support her five children. The latter necessity led to developing a strong business sense, and it was not until the mid-1970s that she became actively involved with the *Chinju kŏmmu* dancers. Because of her sophisticated educational background and her business acumen, she has served as coordinator for the activities of the *Chinju kŏmmu* dancers since the 1980s.

What can we make of this rather complex and not-always-known historical background in relation to gender issues and the way Chinju kommu is performed today? Chinju kŏmmu's development has led to a dance that includes many movements stereotypically characteristic of other older Korean dances, some of which are performed primarily by women and some primarily by men. Additionally, some of the costume components are or were typically worn by women and some by men. All of these features are distinctively present rather than being combined in any androgynous manner. The intent of the dance is not primarily to represent literally its likely military origins nor to The 1967 designation of Chinju kommu as an represent women or men. Intangible Cultural Asset was, like many other such designations, recognition of something that displayed a distinctively Korean identity without particular regard for gender representation. It was an acknowledgment of something considered important from Koreas past selected to create a Korean identity in the present, regardless of gender issues16.

It is intriguing that a dance attributed to male military roots is now performed to celebrate the heroic deed of a woman (Nongae) important in the history of the city of Chinju. It is also intriguing that a dance with such roots became the purview first of young female entertainers and eventually of middle-aged housewives. What is particularly fascinating from a movement perspective is why a movement associated with stronger dances most usually performed by men, the flying movement, and several movements that directly contradict notions of femininity prevalent in Korea at least at one time in history the palm display and torso display movements, have been choreographed together with movements that are more stereotypically feminine. Information available today does not allow us to assign meaning to these features nor to establish a clear rationale for their existence; they remain a puzzle¹⁷.

Chinju kŏmmu may be on the brink of another change, however. In 1990, young professional women dancers of the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center (Kungnip kugagwon), a government-sponsored institute in Seoul, began to perform Chinju kŏmmu. They modified the usually full, loose-fitting costume by wrapping the skirt tightly in a style that is traditional when women are working and want to keep their full skirts out of the way. This style

reveals the contours of the female body. While for working women such a display of the female form was undoubtedly inadvertent, for the viewer of *Chinju kŏmmu* it specifically calls attention to the fact that the performers are women, and the dance these women perform has a very light, uplifting, and almost joyous quality. All of these features constitute a sharp contrast to the full-figured image of Chinju's housewife-dancers and their weighty performance quality. It is easy to envision this as the beginning of another significant change in one of Koreas officially designated dance treasures.



Photo 1



Photo 1A

▲ Chinju dancers perform Chinju Kŏmmu. Photo: Judy Van Zile



◆ Photo 2
Dancers of the Halla
Huhm Dance Studio in
Hawaii perform Chinju
kŏmmu. Photo: Judy Van
Zile

NOTES

- 1. Portions of this paper are based on Van Zile 1991a and 1991b.
- 2. The complete name of the dance is *Chinju pal kŏmmu*. *P'al* is the Korean word for the number eight, and it is the version of the dance performed by eight women that was designated an Intangible Cultural Asset by the Korean government in 1967. (For an explanation of Koreas Intangible Cultural Asset system see Van Zile 1987.) Although *kŏm* is the Korean word for sword, the dance is frequently referred to in both Korean and English as a "knife" dance (*kal chum* in Korean) because of the relatively small size of the implement used today. Hence, the title of the dance indicates the city with which it is associated, the number of dancers, and the implement used in the dance. Today the dance is sometimes performed by fewer than eight dancers in an abbreviated format, so it is generally referred to simply as *Chinju kŏmmu*.
- 3. For a fuller historical treatment of the dance see Van Zile 1991a.
- 4. The category male-female or man-woman are used here in relation to aspects identified on the basis of physiological traits; masculine-feminine is used in reference to characteristics associated with non-physiological traits. For example, some dances are performed only by men and some only by women, the labels referring to physiological traits of the performers. Movements identified as masculine may be those most usually performed by men and hence given the appellation masculine, but they may also be performed by women.
- 5. See, for example, the 1893 Kungjung chongjae mudo holgi (Written Material on Court Entertainment Dances).
- 6. Kisaeng is a Chinese compound that can be loosely translated as students of the arts performed by females. Kisaeng participated in the full panoply of social events that comprised the cultural lives of Koreas governing elite. In the capital, as members of the Court Entertainment Bureau, kisaeng presented elaborately choreographed music and dance pieces on festival days and occasions of state, twirling long crimson sashes and carrying a dazzling array of banners emblazoned with pairs of phoenixes and peacocks; when court officials required "willow waists and mouth organs to foster a party mood at private banquets they were summoned out as well". At government offices throughout the provinces rosters of kisaeng were kept so that "glistening eyebrows" and "crimson skirts" would be on hand to greet visiting dignitaries and newly appointed administrators. At the end of a long night of banqueting, they might also be called upon to "provide a pillow and ease the loneliness of the hours remaining until dawn" (McCarthy 1994:6).

- 7. Unfortunately documentation does not allow us to know precisely how appropriate feminine decorum of the period was translated into movement. Descriptions do, however, suggest softness, gentility, and humbleness: women were considered inferior to men; an unmarried woman followed the dictums of her father, a married woman those of her husband, and a widowed woman those of her son; a woman was responsible for maintaining purity in customs; women were to be strong and responsible but modest and submissive; and, above all, a woman had to be virtuous (Deuchler 1977:3-4). A wife was to be "loyal and pure, self-controlled, flexible and obedient, and serving others. She minds exclusively the domestic realm and does not concern herself with public affairs" (Deuchler 1993:574). For further comments on desirable characteristics of women during the Choson period see, for example, Deuchler 1977 and 1993, Koh 1987, and Young Hee Lee 1994.
- 8. That this movement, known as *ip ch'um*, appears in no other Korean dance performed today and is so unlike any movement found in other Korean dances makes one wonder about its origin. Unfortunately the name given to the movement does not provide a clue. "Ch'um" is simply the Korean word for 'dance.' Dictionary translations and those provided by Chinju kŏmmu dancers indicate that "ip" means 'mouth,' 'tongue,' 'speech,' 'words,' 'a beak,' and 'one's taste.' While it is possible to imagine the opening of the curled fingers that displays the palm to symbolize speech, the opening of one's mouth, or the opening of a beak, this does not bear any relationship to the nature of the dance or its origin. Some senior dancers say the movement symbolizes the shooting of a bow and arrow. This is logical in relation to the military nature of the supposed origin of the dance, but is not logical when considering that the early stories all specifically describe a sword dance. Although not attempting to translate the words "ip ch'um," one important Chinju kŏmmu dancer describes the movement as resembling the opening of the petals of a flower (Ch'ae Yae-bun: personal communication 3/18/91).

9. Kim Chun-heung et al, p. 27.

- 10. Ibid, p. 10. The report describes a number of specific movement differences between the version of the dance performed in Chinju and those performed elsewhere. It is unclear, however, in describing the specific rationale for considering the Chinju version the most authentic, authenticity being an important criteria for designating dances as Intangible Cultural Assets. The report refers to documentation contained in several important historical works at the same time it comments on difficulties in knowing precisely how the Chinju movements relate to those described in only general ways in some of the sources. The age and memories of dancers alive at the time the report was written seem to be the primary rationale for establishing authenticity, which is apparently equated with closeness to some original performance.
- 11. In both cases the dance was done by two performers (ibid, p. 21).

- 12. According to Deuchler (1977:4), The Confucian image of woman was ··· a double one: she had to be modest and submissive, but also strong and responsible. On the level of Confucian idealism, the image was considered virtuous; on the level of daily life, it often meant bondage. This notion of women having a dual image could provide an interesting explanation for taking an essentially masculine movement and modifying it for a more feminine execution.
- 13. I Yun-rae (6/14/83).
- 14. This is the full title of the dance, as described in Note 2.
- 15. Views of *kisaeng* seemed to vary. While some looked down on them with great scorn and considered them a threat to Confucian propriety (see, for example, McCarthy 1994:6), the nature of the dances they performed in the court appears to have epitomized the stereotypic notion of female Confucian propriety. They symbolically depicted the ideal while, in reality, were often accorded a far-from-ideal status.
- 16. For a discussion of Korea's Intangible Culture Asset system and issues of identity see Van Zile 1995.
- 17. It would be tempting, for example, to attribute in a Confucian framework the less feminine movements to womens movements of the 1920s that were liberating women from some of the strictures of Confucianism (see, for example, Kim 1994). But there is insufficient evidence to establish a cause-effect relationship. (For an indication of gender issues in relation to music see Howard:1995.)

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"Translations" of Hong Kildong: From Story to Classic to Icon and Beyond

Robert J. Fouser

ROBERT J. FOUSER is Associate Professor, Kagoshima University, Japan.

1. Introduction

In the middle of 2000, the National Gallery in London ran an exhibition entitled "Encounters: New Art from Old" (June 14-September 17, 2000). The exhibition featured works of 24 contemporary artists who made updated versions of works in the National Gallery's permanent collection. Some of the works were linked closely to the older works that inspired them, whereas others were abstract interpretations of ideas and motifs in older works. The exhibition focused on how artists take themes and motifs from older works of art to create new works that reflect contemporary artistic sensibilities. Only a few months later in Tokyo, the capital of another island nation that frames the Eurasian landmass, an exhibition entitled "Mona Lisa's Smile" presented an historical overview of various renditions and interpretations of the *Mona Lisa*'s famous smile. Replicas from the 17th to 19th centuries were exhibited side by side with Rene Margritte's surreal version and Morimura Yasumasa's 1998 photo-manipulation portraits of himself as the *Mona Lisa*.

What does "new art from old" in London and Tokyo have to do with Korean literature? A great deal because the idea of "new art from old" explains much about the evolution of contemporary classics, such as *The Tale of Hong Kildong* (Hong Kildong chon) and *The Tale of Ch'unhyang* (Ch'unhyang chon). In their traditional and contemporary forms, these stories and others like them are "creative translations" of the themes and motifs from the Hong Kildong story and the Ch'unhyang story that manifest themselves in many different forms. The tools of translation include parody, sarcasm, and various forms of adaptation and retelling. In the "new-art-from-old" paradigm,

as the Indian literary critic Ganesh Devy put it, "The true test is the writer's capacity to transform, to translate, to restate, to revitalize the original. And in that sense, Indian literary traditions are essentially traditions of translation" (Devy, 1999, p. 187). The translation of the Ch'unhyang story and the Hong Kildong story into different forms of artistic creation is thus akin to many translations of the Indian epic *The Ramayana* or the Chinese classics *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Sangou yanyi in Chinese; Samguk yonui in Korean) or *Water Margin* (Shuihuzhuan in Chinese; Suho chon in Korean) as they have traveled through time and space.

As the first part of an extended study on creative translation in Korean literature, this paper will be broad and somewhat speculative. In this paper, I will explore the translation of the Hong Kildong story through time and space as part of a broader discussion of the social history of the arts in Korea from the Choson period to the present. Before discussing the Hong Kildong story, I will provide a brief overview on the translation (and later commercialization) of literary themes from the English and Japanese literary tradition. Next, I will discuss how the "new-art-from-old" view of translation relates to issues in literary translation from Korean into other languages.

2. Creative Translation in the English and Japanese Literary Traditions

2.1. The English Literary Tradition

Of all literary traditions, the issue of authorship is perhaps most important in the English literary tradition. Traditionally, texts have been viewed as unique creations of a single author. As the owner of the text, the author is the ultimate authority on the text, either through a close reading of an original manuscript or through an analysis of the conditions that might have affected the author during text creation. The ultimate icon of authorship, of course, is William Shakespeare. It is no coincidence that the rise of Shakespeare as the author of valuable literary texts coincided with the rise of a commercial literary industry of publishing and theater in 18th century England (Dugas, 1999). To attract larger audiences, theaters and publishers lowered prices, which allowed works to reach a wide audience for the first time. The identification of popular works with a single author thus created Shakespeare's authorship.

Authorship is frequently a matter of controversy, and Shakespeare is no exception. Two sharp controversies over Shakespeare have raged in recent years. Among those who doubt Shakespeare's authorship, one group of scholars argues that philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was the real Shakespeare,

and another group believes that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), was the real Shakespeare. (For an overview of the debate, see a collection of short essays in *Harper's*, April 1999 and Michell, 1999). They base their arguments on the fact that there is suspiciously little information about Shakespeare's life and on the logical difficulty of explaining how the humble Shakespeare could have known so much about the world and politics in the English court.

The emphasis on authorship (or as some postmodernists would have it, the "worship of dead white males") has caused many to overlook the long tradition of creative translation in English literature. Shakespeare, of course, has been translated frequently throughout the centuries, and with the rise of the global media, has spread around the world (Davies, 1988). At least 275 films in the 20th century were based on Shakespeare's work. One of the most ingenious film translations is Akira Kurosawa's samurai film Ran (1985), a translation of King Lear. Shakespeare today has become a thriving culture industry that sustains itself through the production of popular translations not only of "original works," but also of the author's life and image. The Shakespeare industry has thus given us everything from the new replica of the old Globe Theatre in London and the film Shakespeare in Love to T-shirts and coffee mugs. In the English-speaking world, Shakespeare has the widest "brand recognition" of all literary works.

The evolution of Robin Hood offers a more useful comparison with Korean literature than Shakespeare. The Robin Hood story began as folk tales transmitted through ballads and rhymes in medieval England (Holt 1989). Much like the Hong Kildong story, the Robin Hood story most likely evolved from the acts of a noted individual, but research has yet to confirm who the historical Robin Hood was. The Robin Hood story began to appear in print in the 16th century and was published in many different versions in the 17th. By the beginning of the 18th century, the repeated publishing of Robin Hood stories led to canonization of the story, as Holt noted:

Repetition had overtaken invention. The printed versions of the ballads established a kind of canon. The tales were also issued in prose versions, as simple escapist literature which satisfied the taste for adventure and the antiquarian interests of the semi-educated (1989, p. 174).

As with Shakespeare, the influence of commercial publishing on the dissemination of the Robin Hood story was profound. From the 18th century

onwards, the story was mainly translated into prose versions, and then, in the 20th century, mainly as a children's story. The Robin Hood story has been translated on film a number of times in the 20th century, including the popular 1973 Disney version that stimulated the production of a number of material translations of Robin Hood, such as lunch boxes and board games. Robin Hood: Men in Tights, Mel Brooks's wacky 1993 parody of Kevin Costner's 1991 Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves, is, at the same time, a sarcastic comment on the commercial translation of the Robin Hood story.

2.2. The Japanese Literary Tradition

Like Shakespeare's plays, the thousand-year-old The Tale of Genji (Genji monogatari), with Prince Genji as the main character, has been translated into various forms over the centuries, which has left a rich corpus of decorated scrolls, parody, textual notes, films, animation, comic books (manga), and modern and foreign-language translations. Most recently, a passage from it has appeared on the back of the new 2,000-yen bill that was issued to commemorate the new millennium. The Japanese literary tradition, however, is much closer to the Korean because of similarities in religious and philosophical tradition between the two countries. The spread of The Tale of Genji has not coincided with the creation of a cult of authorship around Murashiki Shikibu (978?-1026?). Though discussions of her life are included in most popular and scholarly studies of The Tale of Genji, her role as author is secondary to the text itself. Indeed, asserting national ownership of the text, as opposed to aristocratic ownership, was the main concern of Edo-period Genji scholars (Harper, 1989). The original text is interesting to scholars, but in the public imagination that supports the Genji industry, the story of the search for release from formality through sexual love is what makes the story so appealing and translatable. The recent translation (1996-98) by Setouchi Jakucho became a best seller because Setouchi took liberties with the grammar by adding subjects, which makes it easier for contemporary Japanese readers to follow the narrative. In addition, the translation was sold in an attractive boxed set of hardcover books that middle-class Japanese think looks nice in their homes. Hashimoto Osamu's 1991 translation, The Transformed Tale of Genji (Yôhen Genji Monogatari), uses the first-person voice of Prince Genji to tell the story from a male perspective, thus making it the first cross-gender translation of the work. The best-selling modern translation of The Tale of Genji is no doubt the soft-porn comic book series by Yamato Waki, entitled Lived in a Dream (Asakiyumemisi, 1980-93), sold 16,000,000 copies, thus introducing the story to audiences that would not normally read literature for pleasure.

This brief survey of translation in the English and Japanese literary traditions shows the power of translation in creating Shakespeare, Robin Hood, and The Tale of Genji as cultural industries that have consumer appeal. As mentioned above, The Ramanaya and such Chinese classics as The Story of the Three Kingdoms and Water Margin also fall into this category. All developed as folk tales that were transmitted orally in various combinations of prose, poetry, and song. The rise of commercial publishing stimulated their translation into mainly prose works as part of an emerging literary canon. The rise of film and other media in the 20th century, combined with "the commercialization of everything," brought on a new wave of translation into a variety of media and turned the main character into a brand of cultural commodity in the form of icons. The late 20th-century "branding" of these works has transformed the old issues of authorship and authenticity in modern translations into areas of scholarly concern beyond the public imagination. They have become, in the language of the Internet, instantly downloadable literary brands that entertain through an appealing combination of exotic, romantic, and heroic motifs that decorate universal, if not simplistic, themes.

3. Creative Translation in the Korean Literary Tradition: The Hong Kildong Story

3.1. Overall Pattern of Translation

The translation of the Hong Kildong story follows the contours of Korean history from the mid-Choson period to the present and overall trends in "world culture." Differences in origin and theme of each work naturally effected what was translatable, but the overall pattern was similar for these and many other traditional stories. In the first period of translation, each story evolved from an orally transmitted folk tale into a written form that had a number of differing versions. The imperialist push for hegemony over Korea, which culminated in Japanese colonial rule from 1910-45, is the second period of translation. In this period, the story was translated into a "literary classic" that became codified as part of the official canon of literary works. The third period began with liberation from Japanese rule and continues to this day. In this period, the story was translated from a "literary classic" into a cultural commodity that appealed to a combination of cultural nationalism and popular sentimentalism. The appeal to cultural nationalism is a "Koreanesque" brand that provides a postcolonial reading of imagined Korean past.

3.2. The Hong Kildong Story

In the historiography of Korean literature, the Hong Kildong story fills the combined roles of Shakespeare and Robin Hood. Like works of Shakespeare, which define the potential of English as a literary language free from Anglo-Saxon baggage, The Tale of Hong Kildong is recognized as the literary work that marks the independence of the Korean language from Chinese. School children in Korea learn that The Tale of Hong Kildong, written in 1618, is the first classical novel written in hangul and that the author was Ho Kyun, who was stigmatized because he was an illegitimate son of a high government official. Like Shakespeare, The Tale of Hong Kildong is also a source of several authenticity controversies. The first concerns authorship of the text and the second concerns the authenticity of the hero Hong Kildong. Both are interesting because they indicate insecurity over using an "authorless" text with a "fictional" hero as the text that marks Korean literature's triumphant emergence from Chinese literature. If The Tale of Hong Kildong were not written in hangul, then what work would count as the first hangul novel? This question is key to a historiography of Korean literature that emphasizes the transition from classical Chinese literature to hangul literature and from aristocratic literature to popular literature. Recent research (Yi 1997), however, has shown that The Tale of Sol Kongch'an (Sol Kongch'an chon), written in 1511, is the oldest extant novel in hangul, which will no doubt affect future discussions of The Tale of Hong Kildong.

The controversy over authorship of The Tale of Hong Kildong centers on whether Ho Kyun was the author or whether the text emerged from oral tales of a mythic hero known as Hong Kildong (for overviews of the authorship controversy, see Hwang and Chong, 1984 and Paek, 1995). Standard literary historiography supports the argument that Ho Kyun was the author, based on a comment by Yi Shik (1584-1647), who wrote in The Memoirs of T'aektang (T'aektang Chapcho) that Ho used Water Margin as a model for The Tale of Hong Kildong. Those who argue against Ho Kyun's authorship, however, point out that there are no records of Water Margin being read in Korea at the time Ho was supposed to have written the story and that the structure of the stories is quite different (Paek, 1995). They also point out that none of the existing versions of the story goes back further than the late 19th century and that a copy of The Tale of Hong Kildong has not been found with any of Ho Kyun's other writings. In 1997, a complete wood-block text was discovered in Kangnung that, based on word choice and orthographic conventions, experts believe was written around 1850. Others argue that social conditions in Choson-period yangban society were not conducive to the creation of such an

anti-establishment work as *The Tale of Hong Kildong*, even for an illegitimate son of a high government official, such as Ho Kyun. Until proof of Ho's authorship other than the comment by Yi Shik is found, it is more accurate to assume that Ho Kyun was not the author.

As with Shakespeare, a creative-translation view of *The Tale of Hong Kildong* makes issues of authorship and authenticity secondary to the issue of how the story is translated through time in the hands of different groups of people. The question of how a Choson-period story has been translated amid the upheavals of twentieth century Korean history and the continuing division of the peninsula into two competing states is relevant to an overall theory of literary translation because of the wide range of social forces that have affected the reception of the story. In the rest of this section, I will focus on how the Hong Kildong story has been translated through time.

Official Records of the Choson Dynasty (Choson wangjo shillok) refers to Hong Kildong as the leader of a peasant rebellion in Yonsan County, South Ch'ungch'ong Province, around 1500. To date, most literary scholars agree that orally transmitted folk tales about the historical Hong Kildong became the basis of The Tale of Hong Kildong, regardless of whether Ho Kyun was the author or not. If Ho Kyun's authorship is assumed, then he essentially translated orally transmitted stories of peasant rebellions and the real Hong Kildong to written form, the act of which would have constituted a direct and indeed dangerous challenge to the ruling ideology of the Choson dynasty. If Ho Kyun's authorship is rejected, then the translation of orally transmitted stories took place gradually from the 16th century to the 18th or 19th century. Though the evidence of translation from oral to written form dates only to the late 19th century, it is highly probable that the translation coincided with the development of a market economy and ensuing trade in literary works in the 18th and 19th centuries (Kim 1997). This is no different from the way the rise of commercial publishing precipitated the translation of the Robin Hood story and the rise of Shakespeare as a popular author.

The Hong Kildong story entered the late 19th century as a popular tale and gradually made its way into the emerging literary canon by the early 20th century. The 20th century interest in the Hong Kildong story was noted by Keith Pratt and Richard Rutt (1999, p. 168): "There is an underlying theme of protest against injustices in Korean politics and society, which has added to the book's value for 20th century critics. . ." Though some have argued that the Hong Kildong story was a "textbook" for peasant revolution (Chin and U 1994), the evidence suggests that the Japanese allowed *The Tale of Hong Kildong* to become part of the literary canon. The March 1 Movement of 1919, however,

changed things, as the Japanese became worried about their position in Korea and adopted a more heavy-handed policy of political control. In a commentary on the first Japanese translation of The Tale of Hong Kildong that appeared in a series of translations of classical Korean literature in 1921-22, Hosoi Chô noted that Japanese authorities should be careful of The Tale of Hong Kildong because it might have helped incite the March 1 Movement (Kaiji 1986). The Tale of Hong Kildong was not banned, however, and it was made into a popular film in 1934, with a sequel following in 1936. The film attracted 100,000 viewers, making it one of the most popular Korean-language films of the colonial era. The Japanese thus permitted the use of The Tale of Hong Kildong as a critique of the Choson ruling elite that they had displaced and as a way to negate influence of the Chinese tradition on Korean culture. Indeed, Hong Kildong's search for a new "third nation" in the form of the utopian Yuldoguk that appears in the story could have been appropriated by the Japanese to legitimize their rule as a "third way" between the continuation of the Choson Dynasty and traditional Chinese hegemony. The danger for the Japanese, as has already been mentioned, was that the Hong Kildong story could incite rebellion against that economic and political injustice that existed under colonial rule. This may explain why The Tale of Hong Kildong was not published as frequently as other classical tales, such as The Tale of Ch'unhyang, during the post-1919 period. In his index of more than 500 classical novels, Skillend noted:

Kim Kidong used what might have been the first edition, 70 pages, and the same publishers advertised it in 1923 and 1935. Several other publishers listed it in 1925 and 1926, but it is rather surprising in view of the opinions now held concerning it [first novel in *hangul*], how few such lists issued by publishers of paperbacks it appears in (Skillend, 1968, p. 234).

Censoring popular media, such as film, while discussing the publication of the printed version fits in with other forms of covert thought control that the Japanese used during the 1920s and early 1930s. The official ambivalence about the Hong Kildong story is reflected in the brief evaluation of the story in Kim Taejun's 1939 *A History of the Korean Novel* (Choson sosolsa), the most influential history of Korean literature published during the colonial era. A more detailed study of production and reception of the Hong Kildong story in Korean and Japanese during the colonial period is critical to an understanding of the degree to which the story became politicized.

Liberation from Japanese rule in 1945 and the division of the peninsula into two hostile regimes put nation-building efforts in the context of a competition between North and South for legitimacy as the sole ruler of the Korean peninsula, bringing about new uses for the Hong Kildong story. The three years from liberation until the division were, as is well documented, a period of political and ideological turmoil. Culturally, however, the era was also period of great experimentation that derived its energy from nationalistic passion. The overriding concern of much of this activity was the creation of a new national culture that was progressive in its future orientation and Korean in its identity.

The interest in national culture stimulated a number of former modernist writers, such as Kim Kirim, Pak Taewon, and Yi Taejun, to explore Korean cultural and historical themes. Pak T'aewon published his version of the Hong Kildong story in 1947 (Chi, 1995). The work represents a dramatic change in the direction of Pak's work from the experimental modernism of the late 1930s, for which he is better known, to an interest in historical and nationalistic themes in the post-liberation period. Pak's interest in "classical literature," however, began in the 1940s when he started translating Ming Dynasty classics as a way to survive the intense censorship during the war years. Between 1941 and 1944, he translated The Story of the Three Kingdoms, Water Margin, and Monkey from Chinese into Korean. His translation of The Tale of Hong Kildong focuses on Hong Kildong's emergence as a rebel leader in the countryside who gradually gathers supporters in his battle for justice. The end of the work depicts a battle between Hong Kildong and his followers as they head for Kyongbuk Palace to take on the corrupt rulers. By ending with a move to conquer Kyongbuk Palace, the center of power in Choson and colonial Korea, and omitting the conquest of Yuldoguk, Pak alludes to the immediacy of the political battles over the creation of a new Korean state that were taking place in post-liberation Korea. In Pak's translation, Hong Kildong is the rebel leader who reflects the aspiration of the masses, not a martial arts super-hero who fights alone, as is common in later translations of the story.

For North Korea, *The Tale of Hong Kildong* fits neatly into the nationalistic Marxist narrative of literary history as heroic struggle against the oppressive "feudal" society (Yun, 1979 and Minjok munhaksa yon'guso, 1991). The creation of a utopian "third nation" is taken as a sign of the innate revolutionary spirit in the Korean people. The North Korean interpretation of *The Tale of Hong Kildong* is similar to the Japanese interpretation in that it draws on the condemnation of the Choson-period ruling elite and the search for a new "third nation" to suggest that the new regime is different from the past

and satisfies the desire for something new. To be too revolutionary, however, would risk legitimizing the act of rebellion. The 1986 North Korean film version of the Hong Kildong story reflects this concern. The plot pays homage to Kildong's anti-yangban feelings, but turns him into an appealing martial arts hero instead of a troublesome revolutionary. The end of the film is particularly telling because it shows Kildong leaving on a boat for Yuldoguk, but offers no vision of what the new paradise might be like. The viewer is left to assume that the "real world" is a paradise, thus negating the need to search any further. The similarity between Japanese colonial and North Korean postcolonial use of the Hong Kildong story suggests that the story has undergone only minor translation in North Korea.

The translation of the Hong Kildong story in South Korea has been much more profound. As in North Korea, The Tale of Hong Kildong plays a key role in the literary canon as the first "hangul novel." The anti-yangban message of the story, however, has been translated less as a rejection of the Choson inheritance than as a rejection of greed and corruption in the present. This, of course, serves the needs of South Korean rulers who have used the public's revulsion at corruption and misrule of the previous regime to purge political enemies and legitimize themselves as just rulers in the eyes of an apprehensive public. This served the needs of Park Chung-hee in the 1960s as he created a unique South Korean nationalism that combined pride in economic growth with a "Confucianized" national identity. Hong Kildong in the 1960s was thus turned into a comic book and animation film martial arts (= tradition) hero who fought for justice (= economic development) as a good military leader (= Park Chung-hee). The comic book in particular was a massive hit among the generation of children born in the 1960s that grew up to lead pro-democracy demonstrations in the 1980s and the Internet boom in the 1990s. It did for the Hong Kildong story what the 1973 Disney animated film did for the Robin Hood story: turned it into an enduring "children's classic."

The political message in the Hong Kildong story has been embellished in a number of recent South Korean translations. In 1993, MBC TV broadcast a madangguk translation of the Hong Kildong story as part of its Madangnori series. Madangguk is a new genre of drama performed outside, which became popular on university campuses in the late 1960s and 1970s with the revival of interest in Korean culture (Nam, 1993). In 1996, Pak Yangho published a three-volume parody of the Hong Kildong story entitled Hong Kildong in Seoul (Soul Hong Kildong) that followed the political events from the Rhee Syngman years to the 1980 coup d'etat. The stories replaced the corrupt yangban with corrupt persons in contemporary elite and Hong Kildong with a just and sincere

20th generation descendent of Hong Kildong.

The economic boom, the beginnings of which supported the success of the Hong Kildong story as a comic book and an animation film, turned South Korea into a middle-income nation by the late 1980s, which coincided with democratization in 1987. As economic growth and democracy continued to advance in the 1990s, a newly rich middle class was able to afford travel and foreign study for the first time. Together, these trends ushered in a period of unprecedented cultural diversity that tied Korea closely to contemporary global trends in which images and words have become brand-named commodities of great value and global reach.

Increased consumption levels and the "branding of culture" greatly expanded the market for translations of the Hong Kildong story. The slow transition of Hong Kildong into a children's hero, which began with the comic book and animation film in the 1960s, gathered force in the 1980s and 1990s. A series of three children's films that portrayed Hong as a martial arts super-hero appeared during this time. The 1996 animation film *The Return of Hong Kildong* (Toraonun Hong Kildong) received critical acclaim for raising the standards of Korean animation to those of Japan. The film is a simplistic battle between super-hero Hong Kildong and a monster-like *yangban* king. It ends with the defeat of the evil king, thereby establishing justice in Choson. Like Pak Taewon's version of the story, the escape to and conquest of Yuldoguk is omitted, which gives the anti-*yangban* message a moralistic immediacy. Most recently, Hong Kildong has been translated as a SBS TV drama and a computer game.

Recent discoveries about the historical Hong Kildong and the origins of the story have affected scholarly interpretations of the story. In the mid-1990s, research by Sol Songgyong (1998) uncovered detailed information on the historical Hong Kildong. According to Sol, Hong Kildong was born in Changsong County in South Cholla Province in 1443. He led a number of peasant rebellions, including a major rebellion in 1495 in Yonsan County, South Ch'ungch'ong Province, which was recorded in the *Official Records of the Choson Dynasty* (Choson wangjo shillok). In an attempt to escape Korea, he traveled south in 1500 to Haterumajima, a small island between Okinawa and Taiwan that is part of the Ryukyu Island chain. He traveled extensively in the Ryukyu Islands and died in 1510 on Kumejima. Memorial tablets and folklore relating to Hong Kildong exist on several of the islands today. This information confirms the arguments of those who believe that the story, whether authored by Ho Kyun or not, developed from folk tales about a real person name Hong Kildong. The escape to the Ryukyu Islands is particularly

interesting because it suggests that Yuldoguk is indeed a non-Choson, non-Chinese "third place."

In keeping with the times, however, Changsong County has taken the historical Hong Kildong and turned him into a local "culture industry" (see the county's Website at http://www.chonnam.rda.go.kr). In 1997, the county named the road that goes past Hong Kildong's birthplace "Hong Kildong Road." Since 1999, the county has sponsored a two-day Hong Kildong Festival in May that includes seminars and other special events in areas where it is believed that Hong Kildong lived. To help promote the Hong Kildong industry, the county devotes a considerable section of its Website to the Hong Kildong tour, festival information, and, of course, an official icon, or "county character." discovery of the historical Hong Kildong and subsequent creation of a local culture industry is a form of "retro-translation" that takes the story closer to its origins as an oral tale about an historical figure. Instead of being transmitted orally, the story is now translated "mutlimedially" through the icon, the festival, the tours, and the Internet. Perhaps this confirms the existence of a "Choson postmodernism" that corresponds to Umberto Eco's (1986) Medieval postmodernism or Karatani Kojin's (1993) Edo postmodernism. Instead of being a conscious, often state-sponsored return to the past like Neo-Classicism in 18th-century Europe, these retro-postmodernisms have appeared spontaneously in many forms around the globe.

In 1998, Changsong County and SBS fought over the rights of the use of a Hong Kildong character ("k'aerikto") (Kim 1998). In 1997, Changsong County began developing a cartoon figure as its official icon. In 1998, SBS developed a cartoon figure for its *Hong Kildong* drama series. Fearing that the SBS cartoon figure would displace its own effort, Changsong County complained to SBS, arguing that it had a patent on the use of Hong Kildong as an icon. A group of county officials came up to Seoul and protested in front of the SBS headquarters, which prompted SBS to stop development and use of its Hong Kildong cartoon figure. To complicate matters, the city of Kangnung, where Ho Kyun was born, developed a "Hong Kildong mask," and has plans to develop other Hong Kildong souvenirs. An advertising industry source in Kim (1998) said that the potential market for Hong Kildong products is huge because the image of Hong Kildong as a fighter against corruption and injustice strikes a chord with the public. The battle over the use of Hong Kildong underscores the value of Hong Kildong as an icon and the creative power of translation.

The Hong Kildong story thus entered the 20th century as a "family of works" (chakp'um kun), but left it as a "family of translations" (ponyok kun). The late 19th century works themselves were all written translations of the

orally transmitted story, but the late 20th century translations cover a wide range of media: animation, books, comics, drama, film, icon, and textbook. The translation from folk hero to literary protagonist to icon has turned Hong Kildong into a postmodern cultural product that takes multiple forms and means many things. Nothing better symbolizes this than the ubiquitous use of the name "Hong Kildong" in examples of how to write personal names appropriately in a given format. Like "John Doe," "Hong Kildong" can be whoever you want him or her to be.

In the case of English, the Hong Kildong story has been translated a number of times. In the 19th century, it was a "Korean tale" told in Victorian English (Allen, 1889); in the mid-20th century, it was a serious piece of "classical literature" told in abridged form in American English (Pihl, 1969); in the late 20th century, it was a children's story told in a storytelling voice (Kim, 1993); and, in the first year of the new century, it was an important piece of "Korean culture" told in stilted academic English alongside a Korean "original" (Kojon Munhak Yon'guhoe, 2000). There will no doubt be many other English translations of the Hong Kildong story in the future, but among them the best translations will be those that make "new art from old," that turn the story into something that speaks to new audiences in English. They may be faithful and complete translations of one of the originals or creative translations, but, in the end, the authenticity of the text and authorship will matter little to reception of the story and its eventual placement in a canon of world literature.

4. Conclusion: Creative Translation and Postcolonial Translation Theory

At the beginning of this essay, I implied that the "Encounters: New Art from Old" exhibition at the National Gallery in London had something to do with Korean literature. Through the preceding examination of the translation of the Hong Kildong story from its inception as a folktale to its current status as an icon, I have shown that the creative splendor of the Hong Kildong story comes from its multiple and never-ending translatability, not from the fame of its author, or its former status as the first novel written in hangul. It is endlessly translatable because of its simple universality. Like other great stories, such as the Ramayana, Robin Hood stories, The Tale of Genji, and Water Margin, it sets good against evil, while offering hope that liberation is possible. The times define "good," "evil," and "liberation" in different ways, but Hong Kildong is always there at the center of battle.

Creative translation as discussed in this paper offers a new perspective on

the translation of the Hong Kildong story into foreign languages. Must there be an original? If so, where is the original? How free is the translator to play with the story, to translate it creatively as has been done in Korea for hundreds of years? What constitutes a "good translation" of the Hong Kildong story? These questions apply not only to the Hong Kildong story, but also to other classical Korean stories, such as the Ch'unhyang story, that have been translated "multimedially" in Korea.

In a group interview about Shakespeare on film that appeared in the film magazine Cineaste (1998), directors were asked the following question:

It is almost always necessary to make cuts and other changes in the text when cinematically adapting a Shakespeare play. What is your own philosophy or strategy for making cuts, for updating antiquarian or obscure words, or for rewriting or rearranging scenes?

To which Sir Peter Hall, director of the 1968 version of A Midsummer Night's Dream, responded:

This is why I prefer Shakespeare in a foreign language. The best Shakespeare films to me--such as Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood* and *Ran* and the Solzhenitsyn *Hamlet*--are those that take his themes and characters and ignore his text. I think Shakespeare's text is essentially theatrical and it's dependent on an imaginative make-believe between audience and the actor, live at the particular moment that they are doing it.

Though focused on the film translations of Shakespeare, Hall's comments offer hope to those who want to translate the Hong Kildong story into foreign languages. Translators of the Hong Kildong story who worry about "loss" and adherence to the "original" as attributed to Ho Kyun overlook what is, in the words of Devy (1999, p. 187), most important about translation: "capacity to transform, to translate, to restate, to revitalize the original." With the Hong Kildong story, however, they have the added luxury of having many "originals" to choose from. The question for the future, then, is whether the translation of Hong Kildong will be taken into yet unforeseen directions or whether it will reach some outer limit of translatability.

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Accent and Vowel Length in Korean

Gary Rector

GARY RECTOR has lived in Korea since 1967, working mainly as a writer and editor while pursuing his interests in the Korean language and Korean music.

Textbooks of Korean and teachers of Korean generally assert that the standard dialect of the Korean language has no accentual system. In spite of that assertion, an attentive student of the language will notice that there is a rising or falling of the pitch of the voice on certain syllables that is fixed, i.e., that cannot be moved to a different syllable in the same word without sounding wrong or at least strange.

Native speakers and nonnative speakers who have a fairly good command of Korean can test this for themselves by taking a very common word and comparing how it sounds pronounced the usual way with how it sounds when any shift in pitch that may be present is moved to a different syllable. The holiday name Kwangbokchŏl is a good one to try. Normally, the pitch drops after the first syllable. If we move the drop in pitch to one syllable later in the word, the pronunciation sounds wrong. Now take a different but similar three-syllable word such as Kaech'ŏnjŏl. Note that the pitch in this case drops after the second syllable. If you pronounce this word with the same pitch pattern as *Kwangbokchŏl*, you will still be understood but your pronunciation will sound a bit off. This is an indication that the drop in pitch is not merely a matter of sentence or phrase intonation but is inherent in the word itself.

The casual Korean speaker who tries to figure out what rules, if any, govern this shifting in pitch is likely to come to the conclusion that it is completely irregular when he discovers, for example, that the same Chinese character is pronounced with a higher pitch than a following syllable in some words but involves no drop in pitch at all in others. Look at some sample words that contain the character chung('middle'): Chungdong ('Middle East') and chungang ('central') are pronounced with even pitch throughout or the second

syllable may be slightly raised, but in chungnip ('neutral') and Chungguk ('China') the pitch drops on the second syllable.

This is not haphazard; there is a system behind it, and this article attempts to give an overview of that system. It is not intended for linguists but for general readers or students of Korean. Therefore, the McCune-Reischauer system of romanization has been used rather than the Yale system.

This material is based primarily on a book by Son Chongsop entitled Uri marŭi kojo changdan ('Pitch Accent and Vowel Length in Korean') and published in 1999 by Chongsin Segyesa. However, the organization and format of this article, the choice of English terminology used in it, and some of the examples are solely the responsibility of this writer. This is not a translation of Son's book or even of parts of it but a summary that presents the basic aspects of the system that are of relevance to someone learning modern Korean. No attempt is made to give extensive word lists or to cover the irregularities that occur in certain verb forms and some noun-plus-particle combinations.

Although the writer has consulted other works about pitch accent in Korean (in particular, the parts of works by Samuel Martin and by Kim Ch'a-gyun relevant to this topic), these works deal not with modern standard Korean but with 15th-century Korean or the southern and eastern dialects of modern Korean. They are not, therefore, referred to in this article.

Lexical Accent and Pitch vs. Stress

Lexical accent is accentuation that is part of each word itself and is not an accident of intonation, emphasis, or contrast. In an English utterance such as "I said 'RENdition' not 'CONdition,'" the first syllable of the words in question is accented, but that accent is only a "temporary" one used for emphasis to show contrast. The lexical accent of those two words is on the second syllable, as you can see by looking in the dictionary (i.e., the lexicon).

In this connection, a word of forewarning is called for. Unfortunately, in the case of Korean you can not look up lexical accent in the dictionary, because modern Korean dictionaries do not indicate accent except for initial long syllables.

In English and most other Western languages accent is a matter of stress. Each word or phrase of more than one syllable has at least one syllable that is prominent in that it is pronounced louder than its neighbors. In some such languages (take English or Russian, for example), weakly stressed vowels may even lose some or all of their distinctive quality (like the second e in

telephone); in others (e.g., Spanish) vowels are never so weakly stressed as to change their fundamental quality. Korean fits this latter category, but we need a disclaimer here because in Korean, accent is a matter not of stress but of shifts in pitch, and vowel length also plays a part. Variations in stress may occur in Korean speech, but they are side effects of the speaker's emotion or desire to emphasize something; they are not built into the word itself.

Speakers of stress-accented languages may point out that pitch changes accompany the stress patterns of their own languages and may wonder how we can be sure that Korean pitch changes are not merely secondary effects of some underlying system of stresses. Evidence that stress is not the fundamental factor in the Korean accent system includes the fact that Koreans do not bother to match up the accented syllables of lyrics of songs with the downbeats of music and the fact that words borrowed from English do not follow the English accentual pattern but are usually treated as if they were flat throughout.

The Pitch of Accented and Nonaccented Syllables

For this discussion, the reader should note that the final syllable is never accented. When the final syllable is high, as though it were accented, this is because of intonation, not lexical pitch.

The pitch of an accented syllable is typically higher than that of its neighbors. In the standard dialect it is common to raise the pitch of syllables preceding the accent (if there are any) to nearly the same height as the accented syllable. When more than one syllable precedes the accent, this raising may occur in one step on the second syllable or may be gradual and spread over all the syllables preceding the accent, as in "Annyŏng hasimnikka" (accent on ha>) or "Han sigan chŏne watta" (accent on chŏn).

Syllables following the accent belong to the realm of intonation. When no special intonation or emphasis is involved, the pitch drops on the syllable following the accent. In the middle of a sentence this drop may be only slight, but at the end of a declarative sentence, it is quite distinct. At the end of an interrogative or imperative sentence or at the end of a phrase followed by a pause, the syllable after the last accent may actually be higher than the accented one. In any case, there is a shift in pitch following the accented syllable.

The pitch of words with no accented syllable is, in principle, even

throughout, but when such words are pronounced in isolation, as for example when they are read as part of a list, the final syllable is usually raised, as if it bore an accent. This holds true even for monosyllables.

Examples of words with no accent: sigan ('time'), Pusan, yŏngŏ ('English'), annyŏng ('well-being').

Examples of words accented on the first syllable: Soul, Namdaemun, Ilbon ('Japan'), hanul ('sky').

Examples of words accented on the second syllable: chumŏni ('pocket'), paguni ('basket'), Miari (a place name in Seoul), Pusan-hang ('Pusan Harbor').

The sharp-eyed reader will have noticed that *Pusan* is listed both as having no accent and as having one on -san. This is because of the peculiar way accent is determined in Korean, which is explained in the next section.

Types of Syllables: How Accent and Vowel Length Determined

In order to determine if a word has an accent and, if so, which syllable bears it, one has to know what types of syllables the word is composed of. There are two types of syllables in Korean: unmarked and marked. Markedness is the underlying or, as linguists might say, "deep structure" feature that determines accent. Koreans traditionally use the Chinese prosodic terms p'yŏng for unmarked and ch'ŭk for marked. The choice of English terms was based on the fact that in Middle Korean p'yŏng syllables were left unmarked, while ch'ŭk syllables were indicated by having either a single dot resembling a raised period or a double dot resembling a colon placed to their left.

Unmarked syllables and syllables with a single dot are always short. Syllables marked with a double dot are long when they bear an accent; otherwise, they are short.

In this article a period has been used for the single dot and a colon for the double dot. These marks precede the syllable they belong to.

Put in their simplest form, here are the rules for determining which syllable bears the accent:

Rule 0: A word can have no more than one accented syllable.

Rule 1: If the first syllable of a word is marked, it bears the accent. If it is marked with a double dot, it is also long.

Rule 2: Otherwise, the unmarked syllable immediately preceding the first marked syllable in a word bears the accent.

Rule 3: A word that has no marked syllable, has no accented syllable.

Now that the marks have been described and the rules stated, we can explain why *Pusan* has no accent by itself and yet acquires one in the compound *Pusan:hang*. This is because *:hang* is a marked syllable, and by Rule 2, *san* gets the accent because it is unmarked and immediately precedes *:hang*. Note that *:hang*, although marked for length, is not long in this word, because it is not accented. In the full word for 'harbor,' *:hang:*gu, by Rule 1 *:hang* does bear the accent and is therefore long.

Now we can see why *chung*, in the examples given near the beginning of this article, is accented in some words and not in others. Written with their accent markings, those examples look like this: Chungdong, chungang, chung.nip, Chung.guk.

Note that unaccented words acquire an accent when particles that begin with a marked syllable are attached to them. Thus we get *Pusan.e* ('to Pusan') and *Pusan.i* ('Pusan' as a subject), both with an accent on the second syllable, but *Pusanboda* ('than Pusan'), with no accent. This doesn't happen to words that already have an accented syllable: compare *Chungdong* ('Middle East') and *Chungdong.e* ('to the Middle East') with *Chung.guk* and *Chung.gug.e*.

The reader may wonder why we don't simply mark the high syllable in each word instead of giving a lot of "extra" information by writing in all those dots. Why bother to mark the .e in Chung.gug.e or the .gu in .hang.gu when these syllables have no effect on the accent in those words? We are following the same principle as used in Han'gul orthography: each morpheme (meaning unit) is written the same no matter how it is pronounced as long as the actual pronunciation can be determined by some rule. Thus we always write the particle .e, meaning 'to,' with the dot since we can tell from the rules given above that when it is preceded only by unmarked syllables it will affect the accent but will not have an effect when preceded by a marked syllable. In any case, it is also helpful to the learner to know, for example, that .gu (which is

the Sino-Korean morpheme for 'mouth') is long. Then when he sees a word beginning with that character, such as :gu.mi ('taste'), he will already know how to pronounce it.

That having been said, there are quite a number of Sino-Korean morphemes that are marked in some words and not in others. For instance, given the words ŏn:ŏ ('language') and :ŏ.hak ('linguistics'), one would expect the word for 'English' to be pronounced yŏng:ŏ, with an accent on the first syllable, but it is not. As shown in an earlier example, it is pronounced as yŏngŏ, with no accent at all. Nevertheless, in the vast majority of cases, morphemes do not show such irregularity.

The Need for a Proper Dictionary

Readers who have studied some Korean are probably aware that, as was mentioned above, there are no dictionaries of modern Korean that mark words for accent. Korean monolingual dictionaries do mark initial long syllables, but they do not agree with each other on this and almost all contain some errors. Until such time as a proper pronouncing dictionary is produced, students will have to depend upon their teachers and their sharp ears to learn Korean accentuation.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

In commemoration of the centennial of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Council takes great pleasure in providing for our members copies of documents relating to the founding the RASKB in 1900.

In the pages that follow are a letter from the Royal Asiatic Society in London, conveying copies of the original minutes of that Society to the Korea Branch. There is a certificate of authenticity signed by the President of the RAS London. And there are copies of two entries from the original minutes book of that Society, one for 9 January 1900 and the other for 13 November 1900.



Telephones: Library & Membership: Administration & Journal:

071-724 4741 071-724 4742

Mr Samuel H. Kidder, President, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, C.P.O. Box 255,

11th May 1995

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 60 Queen's Gardens London W2 3AF

Dear Mr Kidder,

Seoul, Korea.

I have pleasure in enclosing copies of two entries from the Minutes of Meetings of the Council of this Society.

The first entry occurs as item 8 in the Minutes of the Meeting of 9th January 1900. The second entry occurs as item 15 of the Meeting of 13th November 1900.

Yours sincerely,

D. W. Han Downey

D.W. MacDowall President





ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

60 Queen's Gardens

London W2 3AF

Telephones:

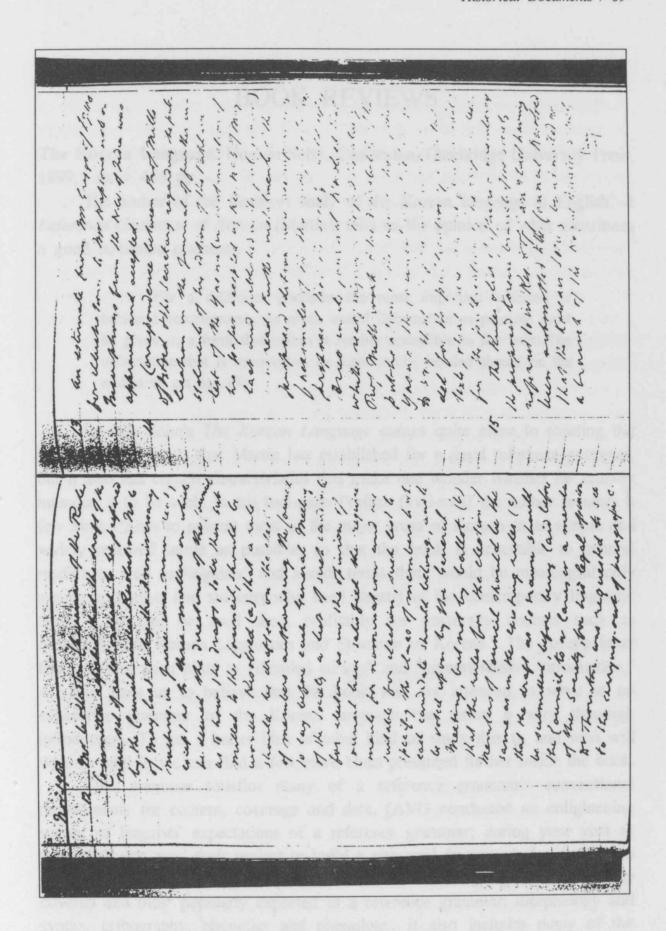
Library & Membership: 071-724 4741 Administration & Journal: 071-724 4742

This is to certify that the enclosed photographs are true copies of entries in Minutes of the Meetings of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society.

D. W. Hu Dwale

D.W. MacDowall
President

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Korean Language. Ho-min Sohn, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, xx + 445 pp.

The author of the foremost study of the Korean language in English, A Reference Grammar of Korean (Martin), tells us his opinion of what constitutes a good reference grammar.

"For a reference grammar the most important criterion is balanced completeness. As much useful information as possible must be given in a form that makes it readily accessible to the user. The information that is most often, or most sorely, needed should be the easiest to get at." (3)

Ho-min Sohn's *The Korean Language* comes quite close to meeting the general requirements that Martin has established for a good reference grammar, but it also has certain characteristics that make one wonder whether he actually intended it to be such. In his two-page Preface (xvii-xvii) the author presents a few hints: "aims to present most of the major areas of Korean in as simple and widely received terms as possible, so that the book is accessible to general readers as well as linguists" and avoids terms that "would be meaningful only among specialists and students who keep abreast of the contemporary linguistic trends"; "It can be used most profitably for university courses such as Introduction to Korean Linguistics and Structure of Korean." The cover's inner flap provides such hints as "detailed survey" and "comprehensive introduction." All this leads us to believe that the book was not intended to serve as an exhaustive grammar of the Korean language but rather a very thorough introduction. To get a better idea of what kind of study this is, and who will want to read it, we can find a few more clues presented further inside the book.

This grammar satisfies many of a reference grammar's conventional requirements for content, coverage and data. (AVG conducted an enlightening survey of linguists' expectations of a reference grammar; during your visit to their Web site, read their project to build a universal framework for description of the world's languages.) It includes the features of a language that are usually covered and most popularly expected in a reference grammar: morphology and syntax, orthography, phonetics and phonology. It also includes many of the features that make a reference grammar a major one: lexicon, dialects,

orthography, history and genetic information. Sohn's book, however, does not include coverage of two major subsystems, semantics and pragmatics, nor does it attend to these aspects in its coverage of individual elements of the language. The author claims that his chapter on grammar structure "surveys the syntactic and semantic characteristics of contemporary standard Korean" (p. 265), but this reviewer found no semantic coverage other than translation of Korean words and strings.

The content is covered in a manner conventional to a reference grammar. The most popular method (according to the AVG survey) is descriptive, and described both diachronically (language change) and synchronically (at one stage of development) but primarily synchronically, and Sohn has employed this method and manner; Chapters 2 and 3 (35 pages) are devoted to "Genetic affiliation" and "Historical development" and there are occasional references to change throughout the rest of the book, which focuses on the Korean language currently in use. Another popular expectation among linguists is that "forms and functions should be described together" (AVG). Sohn presents a form (e.g. "9.10.3 Auxiliary predicate constructions") and then lists the functions that employ this form (e.g. "9.10.3.4 Permission, concession, prohibition, and obligation").

As for quality of coverage, a comparison of Sohn's treatment of conditionals with the same in Quirk's *Grammar* and Martin's *Reference Grammar* should give you some idea. All three cover the conditional as a sub-structure (adverbial clause); Quirk discusses the element's structural and semantic qualities, Martin presents the structural rules and the element's many spoken forms, and Sohn simply lists it as an example of the rule of subordination.

The data that Sohn uses to support his coverage is plentiful and, on the whole, clearly presented. For syntax, he uses the format of transcription / structural translation / literal translation:

hal.ape-nim I kuli-sy-ess-e.yo? grandfather-HT NM draw-SH-PST-POL "Did grandfather draw (it)?"

It is not possible to determine, from the information that Sohn provides, the source of the corpus that he uses to support his coverage. For all the reader knows, he may have created it according to his needs.

Apparently, navigation in this reference grammar was not given top priority. The Table of Contents is helpful enough; it presents sub-sections to

even the lowest level. The index, however, is not very helpful to the reader looking for an element that does not represent a major topic, be it a pattern or a word. I tried to find something on the grammar for conditionals but neither 'conditionals' nor 'myo^n' was listed. In fact, only about fifteen Korean words apparently proper nouns are listed. Cross-referencing is inconsistent. To be fair, though, if the intention of the author was to present a top-down study of the language, it may be asking for too much to expect an index that includes the lowest-level details.

The author states that he wrote this book for all students of the language, from linguists to undergraduates. It is not, however, intended as a textbook for students who are learning to speak the language.

John Holstein, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul

Spirit Bird Journey. Sarah Milledge Nelson, Littleton, Colorado, RK Log Press, 1999.

This is a good read. Its content and style, however, make it a good-better-best sort of book. It concentrates on two distinct and different stories, one the story of a Korean girl, adopted by Americans, who visits Korea, and the other the tale of a prehistoric girl who lived in the Korean area. The second, the tale of the prehistoric girl, is told with sureness and delicacy and reflects the authors expertise in her field, anthropology. There is much to be learned from this section, but there is no hint of academic lecturing. New knowledge comes as result of what happens, what people do, and what they say. This is the best part.

The first story, the modern one, is not told with the same ease and flow as the one in prehistory and is a bit preachy. It is often awkward and does not carry the same conviction as the other, perhaps because the author is too close to the problems herself and also has problems with the generation gap. This is the better part.

Now we come to the good part. The fact that the author is moving back and forth between two different time periods, which are widely separated, leads to another problem, the problem of moving the story back and forth. Her method often seems forced and contrived, and when the story stays in one period for a long time, it may be difficult for the reader to get his mind working in the correct period when there is a change. The situation changes and improves for the reader as the story advances, since the time spent in one period or the other becomes shorter, and the author stops worrying so much

about getting the modern girl back and forth in time; she just does it.

Too bad! The editor/proofreader could well have done a better job. There are some pretty rough areas here and there and quite a few minor errors.

The story of the girl in prehistory is an interesting one which gives us some new vantage points from which to view the role of women in ancient times. This certainly is a great improvement over such idiocies as The Flintstones in giving us some ideas about things that might well have happened in the long ago and far away, and it is challenging to try to identify the areas of Korea covered by the story from prehistory.

This is a book well worth reading, especially, because it gives rise to many new questions about things Korean, and also because it gives many new possible or probable insights into them. It opens up many new paths for our thinking to follow concerning Korean prehistory and its results, Korean history, and probably gives the novice many new insights into anthropological studies. Would that there were more such books in English, most especially if they are like the best part.

Gertrude K. Ferrar, Seoul.

A Tiger by the Tail and Other Stories from the Heart of Korea. Linda Soon Curry, Englewood, Colorado, Libraries Unlimited, 1999, 120 pp.

A teller of tales - the tales themselves - the philosophy, culture and history revealed in the twists and turns of plot, character, time and space ··· A Tiger by the Tail shares them all.

The book begins with a true story - a baby abandoned during the Korean War - found by a serviceman and eventually adopted and raised by a loving Caucasian American family. She had a happy life, but as she matured she became increasingly aware of a need to connect with her biological roots. This she did by exposing herself to Korean culture - friends, food, music, and stories. From these stories, she learned to more fully understand herself. Out of this understanding she has retold some of her favorite tales.

The author, Linda Soon Curry, expresses in her introduction a desire to help other Koreans connect with their roots, in particular her adopted daughter. She has chosen 25 stories and added personal notes and story-telling techniques.

Folk stories from around the globe help us see into the cultures and histories that otherwise might remain unknown to the general populace. It is often through our stories, that values, identities and world views are passed to each generation. The power of stories is so great that sometimes values are passed on unconsciously. There are still young girls seeking for their handsome prince to protect and care for them in spite of the women's revolution.

Eventually, as the culture changes, so do the stories.

In most cultures, birth, marriage and death are considered major events. Western folk tales are full of royal births and the eventual quests to find the true princess or the right prince (Cinderella, The Frog Prince). There is usually a power struggle as evidenced by trickery, death and treachery along the way. By plots and spells, young maidens will prick their fingers or eat poison apples, hungry wolves devour grandmothers or grumpy goats kill those who dare trespass on their bridge. Human emotions of love, hate, goodness, evil, generosity and greed seem similarly universal. The details of how these are lived out are sometimes different in our cultural stories.

In the first section of tales, eight stories with similarities to Western folk tales are retold. Each teaches such things as the power of love and devotion, loyalty, sacrifice, the results of being greedy rather than being generous, forgiveness, respect and peace. In her notes following each story, the author compares these to Western folk tales, Shakespearean literature and The Bible. In addition to her insights, one might also see the forgiveness of HungBu to his brother NolBu (The Swallow Queen's Gift) as similar to The Prodigal Son or the reconciliation of the Kings of the North and South Kingdoms (Star Crossed Lovers) as particularly appropriate for today's North and South political peace talks.

In the second section, six stories are presented that the author feels are of particular significance regarding traditional Korean values. The details of food, family relationships and roles perhaps are typically Korean; however, the lessons depicted are universal. Like the stories with Western counterparts, greed, foolishness, lying, and snobbery are abhorred and kindness, cleverness, and accepting the heart of a person rather than looking at his/her status of birth is rewarded.

Tigers have been significant to Korean culture. The tiger is powerful, yet it can also be gentle in the presence of courage. It is magical in its ability to change from spirit to animal to human, and it has the ability to look inside to a person's heart.

Tall tales such as The Wealthy Miser, The Charming Flute, Reflections, and The First To Be Served are humorous exaggerations again with universal themes: the power of music and the folly of sneakiness, assumption and presumption.

The illustrations are delightful. The photographs are vivid with clear descriptions. Unfortunately, no Hangul is used for character names or descriptions of objects that are typically Korean. All such items are only transliterated. I feel perhaps this addition would have enhanced the power of

the book thus helping to connect the reader even further to the Korean culture.

Some ideas which seem universal on the surface may really be quite different, because we read and understand from our own world view. Is there some different underlying cultural significance to the intelligent woman in The Clever Wife than what it seems to be on the surface? Or perhaps we misunderstand the degree to which ideas are universal. In Star Crossed Lovers the daughter leaves her family for the sake of true love. Although Westerners may see that as somewhat painful for the girl, we may even consider her noble in her sacrifice. But how does that seem to a loyal traditional Korean family? Her sacrifice of leaving her family is likely far greater than Westerners could imagine or perhaps it is so improper that unfulfilled love is the consequence. It is perhaps better to read with one eye that says, Oh, I see and another which says, I need to see more deeply.

Elizabeth Else, Seoul.

BRIEF NOTICES

Korea: Art and Archaeology. Jane Portal, London, The British Museum, 2000, 240 pp.

Published to commemorate the opening of a permanent Korean Gallery in the British Museum, this book describes and illustrates over a hundred of the greatest achievements of Korean craftsmanship throughout all periods of history on the Korean peninsula. The author has included 100 color and 30 black-and-white photos and illustrations. Topics include metalwork, sculpture, lacquerware, ceramics, painting and printing.

The book is compact, well-designed, and very readable, without being simplistic or hurried. The scope of Korean history and culture has been summarized in such a way as to make the important aspects both interesting and comprehensible to the lay reader.

The author, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, is responsible for the Korean collections and Chinese decorative arts.

Think No Evil. C. Fred Alford, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1999, 218 pp.

This is a fascinating study of the contemporary notion of evil as understood and practiced in modern Korean society. The book does not

approach evil from an abstract metaethical plane, but on the level of everyday experience. The author has interviewed dozens of members of Korean society, from all sectors of human experience and religious beliefs. His examination of Korean values brings valuable and interesting commentary on the current trends of society and the economy in Korea, as well as the political climate. It deals with relationships, not just within the society, but with the world community as well. An important study, worth thoughtful consideration.

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INDEX NOTICES

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ANNUAL REPORT of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY-KOREA BRANCH 2000

At the end of the year 2000, its centennial year, the Royal Asiatic Society -- Korea Branch, had a total of 1,105 members, including 75 life members, 720 members residing in Korea and 310 overseas members. This represents a slight decline from the 1999 figure of 1,182 members

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video presentations, and music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month at the Goethe Institute

Some 1,400 persons enjoyed the full schedule of fifty nine tours, which took members and friends to dozens of places throughout Korea as well as a tour to China. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the society

Publications the year included Paul Crane's Korean Patterns in the RAS Reprint Series and a Guide to Korean Romanization, as well as Volume 74 (1999) of the Transactions. It is disappointing that the Korean government has adopted a new romanization system, but the McCune-Reischauer System in the Guide is still widely used internationally

The centennial garden party was hosted by our Honorary President, Her Majesty's Ambassador to Korea, Sir Stephen D.R. Brown, KCVO, at the official residence of the British Embassy. A large audience of some 250 members enjoyed food and drink and special book sales. A special performance depicting Chang-kuk: The Story of Hungbu and Nolbu, was presented by Song-Hee Park, Chung-Il Lee and Dr. Won-Kyong Cho, and special presentations were made in honor of the centennial.

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 moderate, while providing members with the best service possible.

As we move into the second century of our history, the increasingly

transient nature of our community makes it difficult to select new members for the Council as Councilors leave, putting a greater burden on those remaining. 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 voluntary service to the Society throughout he year. I also express my appreciation to Mrs. Sue J. Bae, our General Manager, who has been the mainstay of the office and day-to-day operations for the Society for more than thirty years.

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,
Horace G. Underwood, President
Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch

Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 13 December 2000

The meeting was called to order at 7:30 p.m. in the auditorium of the Geothe-Institut, Seoul, Korea, by Dr. H. G. Underwood, President.

The slate of nominees for officers and councilors for 2001 had been

previously published to all members, and distributed by mail.

Dr. Underwood noted that two councilors had subsequently submitted their resignations: Mr. John Holstein and Mr. Yong Eui Song. An error in typing one councilors name was noted, and the correct name given: Mrs. Renate Kostka-Wagner.

The slate of nominees was moved by John Nowell. There was a second. The chair called for additional nominees. There were none. The vote was

called and the motion carried unanimously.

Officers and councilors elected for the 2001 term are as follows:

Dr. H. G. Underwood, President

Br. Jean-Paul Buys, Vice President

Mr. Jean-Jacques Grauhar, Treasurer

Rev. S. L. Shields, Secretary

Ms. Yung-joo Lee, Librarian

Mr. Mark Baumfield, councilor

Mrs. Christine H. Bosworth, councilor

Prof. Uhn-Kyung Choi, councilor

Amb. R. N. Ferguson, councilor

Mr. Charles Jenkins, councilor

Dr. Yongduk Kim, councilor

Mr. Joo-hyun Lee, councilor

Amb. F. Machado, councilor

Mr. C. F. Miller, councilor

Mr. John Nowell, councilor

Dr. U. Schmelter, councilor

Dr. F. Tedesco, councilor

Mrs. E. Trezza, councilor

Mrs. R. Kostka-Wagner, councilor

Dr. Chong-Hiok Yoon, councilor

The meeting adjourned sine die, and the lecture previously scheduled for the evening was presented.

Respectfully submitted, Steven L. Shields, Secretary

2000 Library Report

The RAS Collection, housed in the Korea Social Sciences Library at Sajik Park, Seoul, contains a total of 1849 books and journals.

During 2000, ten new titles were added to the RAS Collection. Eight of those came directly from acquisitions by the RAS, and two titles were donated.

New Titles Added:

A Cultural History of Modern Korea
Transactions 74 (1999)
The Koreans
Mass Politics and Culture in Democratizing Korea
Korean Politics
Theoretical Issues in Korean Linguistics
Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary
American/Korean Contrasts
Agricultural Cooperatives in Korea
A New History of Korea

2000 RAS-KB Lectures

January 12	An Introduction to P'ansori Mr. Alan Heyman
January 26	Issues Affecting the Translation of Literary Works Dr. Chong-Hiok Yoon
February 9	On the Art of Ornamental Knots Ms. Eun Young Kim
February 23	The Majon-ri Settlement (Bronze Age), Nonsan City Prof. Hong-jong Lee
March 8	A Survey of Korean Cultural History James Hoyt, Ph.D.
March 22	Historical Implications of Bronze Mirrors Yongduk Kim, Ph.D.
April 12	Spirit of the Mountains: Korea's SanShin and it's Function in Buddhist Temples Mr. David A. Mason
April 26	Korean Wetlands and Water Birds: From Destruction to Conservation Mr. Nial Moores
May 10	Shamanistic Songs Revisited Dr. Michael J. Pettid
May 24	Taoism Prof. Emeritus Han Tae-Dong
June 14	The Origin of the Japanese Language Mr. Byung-shik Park

June 28	Modernity and Modern Art in Korea Dr. Jae Ryung Roe
August 23	The Komungo - The King of all Korean Traditional Musical Instruments Mr. Alan Heyman
September 21 crisis	A Changing Korea: A look at Korea since the economic and the reconciliation with North Korea Mr. Michael Breen
October 12	Taoism in Korean History Dr. Jae-Ryong Shim
October 25	Korea Yesterday Dr. Horace G. Underwood
November 8	Korea and Manchuria: "The Historical Links Between Korea and the Ancestors of the Modern Manchus" Dr. Johannes Reckel
November 22	Korea's Third Ceramic Traditionfrom Earthenware to <i>Onggi</i> Dr. (Professor) Hongnam Kim
December 13	The Tong-gang River, Korea's Gift to the World, Saved by Popular Movement Against Dam Project Mr. Sang-hee Cho

2000 R.A.S.-KB TOURS

Date		Destination	Attendance
January	8	In-Wang San Hike (morning)	10
January	8	Art Galleries, Insadong (afternoon)	11
January	16	Won-tobong Mountain & Mangwol-sa	7
January	23	Winter Break Tour: Kwangnung & Sanjongho	14
January	29	Market Tour	12

February 4-6	Lunar New Year: Sorak San National Park	25
February 13	Sobaeksan National Park	13
February 19-20	East Coast Sunrise Tour	10
February 26	Shaman Ritual: KUT	19
February 26	Embroidery Tour	35
February 27	Buddhism Tour	20
February	East Coast Sunrise Tour	10
March 12	Tanyang Area	25
March 19	Walking Tour of Chosun Seoul	22
March 26	Suwon Tour	20
April 1-2	Camelia Tour	15
April 7-9	Chinhae Cherry Blossom Tour	37
April 8	Kanghwa-do and Songmo-do Tour	15
April 15	Kyonggido Cherry Blossom Tour	24
April 15-16	Cheju-do Tour	19
April 23	Steam Locomotive to Uijongbu & Soyo Mtn.	33
April 22-23	Magnolia Tour: Ch'ollipo	28
April 29	Baeyunsin Kut	25
April 29-30	Inner Sorak	8
May 6-7	Kyongju Tour	17
May 7	Chongmyo Ceremony Tour	20
May 11	Buddha's Birthday Tour	62
May 12-14	Hongdo and Huksando	15
May 20	Ch'orwon Tour	10
May 21	Tong Gang (River) Rafting Tour	72
May 27-28	Andong Tour	23
June 3	Kingdom of Paekche Tour	19
June 17	R.A.S. Garden Party - Centennial Anniv.	250
June 18	Soyangho, Paroho, Ch'unch'onho: Boat Trip	16
July 8-9	Ch'ungmu Tour	10
July 16	Inner Sorak-san Tour	18
August 5	In-Wang San Tour	14
August 5	Market Tour	9
August 6	Won-tobong Mtn Hike and Mangwol-sa	12
August 12	Island Hopping Tour: Chawaol-Do	11
August 19	Pottery and Onggi Tour	8
September 3	Tong Gang Rafting Tour B	38
September 8-12	Mainland China Tour (Chusok)	18
September 23-24	Pyon-san Bando Tour	14

Sept 30-Oct 1	Sorak Mountain	9
October 3	Kangwha-do and Manisan	23
October 7	Songnisan and Popchu-sa Tour	9
October 7-8	Andong, Pusok-sa and Hahoe Tour	19
October 14-15	T'aebaek Mtn Tour	29
October 21-22	Chiri-san Tour	16
October 22	Surak-san Tour (Kyonggi-do)	18
October 29	Naejangsan & Paekyang-sa Tour	35
November 4-5	Kyonju Tour	18
November 11	Pyuo and Konju Tour	16
November 18-19	Land of Exile Tour : South Chollado	27
November 25	Ch'orwon Tour	23
December 2-3	Inner Sorak Tour	9
December 16	Shopping Spree Tour(afternoon)	8
December 30-31	East Coast Sunrise Tour	16

MEMBERS

(As of December 31, 2000)

LIFE MEMBERS

Adams, Drs. Dan and Carol

Chou Adams, Mr. Edward B. Bae, Dr. Kyoung-Yul Bertuccioli, H. E. Giuliano Bridges, Mr. Ronald Claude Choung, Ms. Jinja Choi, Prof. Uhn-Kyung Cook, Dr. & Mrs. Harold E. Crane, Dr. & Mrs. Paul S. Curll, Mr. Daniel B., Jr. Davidson, Mr. Duane C. Dodds, Mr. & Mrs. Jack A. Freshley, Miss Mary Jo Goodwin, Mr. James J. Gordon, Mr. Douglas H. Hogarth, Dr. Hyun-Key Kim & Mr. Robert Hoyt, Dr. & Mrs. James Irwin, Rev. & Mrs. M. Macdonald Jenkins, Mr. Charles M. Kim, Dr. Dal-Choong Kim, Dr. & Mrs. Young-duk Leavitt, Mr. Richard P. Ledyard, Dr. Gari Lee, Mrs. Elizabeth Long, Mr. George W. MacDougall, Mr. Allan M. Matthews, Mr. & Mrs. George E. Mattielli, Ms. Sandra Miller, Mr. C. Ferris Moffett, Dr. & Mrs. Samuel H. Nowell, Mr. John A. Overmoe, Mr. William J. Paik, Mr. Ki-Boum Palmer, Dr. & Mrs. Spencer J Peterson, Dr. Mark Rucker, Mr. Robert D. Quizon, Mr. Ronald P. Rasmussen, Mr. Glen C. Remmert, Mr. Brent G.

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