Located in Sŏngnam in Kyŏnggi Province, the Academy of Korean Studies (Han'guk Chŏngshin Munhwa Yŏn'guwon) was established by the government in 1978 to undertake studies in the heritage of the Korean people. The Academy sponsors research projects in the fields of history, philosophy, education, society, literature, arts and other attributes of traditional Korean life and culture. Graduate courses commenced in 1980, with master and doctorate programs now well established in most fields of Korean studies. Unlike normal graduate schools in Korea, the academy is not affiliated with an undergraduate program. Graduate students are exempted from tuition and accommodation fees, and they live on campus, thus encouraging their complete devotion to their studies. An allowance is granted to students who maintain outstanding grades. To promote the study of Korean culture overseas, enrolment opportunities are offered to overseas students interested in Korean studies. Foreign students receive similar privileges and the same level of instruction as Korean students.

Adoption

Characteristics

Traditional methods of adoption (yangja) in Korea were radically different from what is connoted by the accepted English meaning. The primary focus of the adoption was not the child, but the parent. Traditional adoption meant the selection of a relative of the next lower generation, to serve as the heir for a man, and to provide rituals for him after he died. Many adoptions, in fact, did not take place until after the father had died; and in most cases, the 'child' was a full-grown adult.

In traditional Korea, society was based on the principles of patrilineage, that is to say, a lineage resting on patrilineal inheritance and organisation. The patrilineage was patrilineal in its inheritance practices, patriarchal in its authority structure, and patrilocal in its marriage practices. In other words, inheritance was from the father to his male heirs, political and social authority was completely in the hands of males, and upon marriage the newly-weds settled in the home of the groom's father. The patrilineage can be described as 'men, related to men, through men.'

In such a society, when a man did not have an heir (meaning he had no children or had only daughters), he would have to adopt. The adopted heir would have rights to the adopter's property, and would be obligated to watch after him if still alive, and perform ancestor ceremonies for him after he died. In ideal practice, the adopted heir was the son of one's brother. If the brother did not have more than one son, then a near cousin's, or if necessary, a distant cousin's son would be a candidate for adoption. An elder brother, or the heir to the main line of the lineage (or sublineage), that is, the eldest son of the eldest son for several generations, would have claim on the older son of a younger brother or cousin. However, a younger brother (or cousin) could only ask for the younger son of his older brother or cousin.

Adoption in the Koryŏ Kingdom

From early Koryŏ times, households with no natal male child were legally empowered to adopt an heir from the husband's close relatives. When this was not possible, however, it
was permissible by law to adopt from the close kin of the wife. Yet, as the patriarchal system became firmly entrenched in late Koryŏ, in practice the adopted child was chosen only from the husband's close kin. Since an illegitimate son did not have the right to continue the lineage, a family without a male heir had no recourse but to adopt a male child from their relatives to carry on the lineage. The distinction within the family between legitimate and illegitimate children, which can be said to have had its origins in Koryŏ, developed into full-blown discrimination and existed throughout and even beyond Chosŏn (1392-1910).

Adoption during Chosŏn

The adoption laws of Chosŏn were mostly decreed during King Sejong's reign (r. 1418-1450) and they emphasised the importance of the continuation of the patrilineage. They may be summarised thus:

1) When the eldest son did not have an heir, he was to adopt the child of a younger brother if such a nephew existed. As a last resort, where there were no sons or nephews, it was permissible to adopt an illegitimate male child, either of the eldest son's own procreation, or that of his brother. While adoption from the wife's kin was acceptable, the person adopted was not given the full legal rights of succession.

2) The eldest son of a given family could not be adopted, even in the case of being an orphan, without special dispensation from the government.

3) When a son was born after the adoption of an heir, the adopted, not the natal son, held full legal rights as the heir to the lineage.

4) When an adopted child's natural family lost its eldest son, the adoptee was to be encouraged to return to his natal household to serve as heir and continue the lineage.

5) The adopter household was required to report the adoption to the Yejo (Board of Rites), which recorded the adoption and issued the necessary validating document.

Although strict regulations existed, in practice these were not observed to the letter of the law and ways were devised to circumvent them. These included paekkol yangja (white bone adoption), su yangja (foster adoption) or shi yangja (orphan adoption). Paekkol yangja involved taking the name of a deceased relative of the second generation in order to adopt a grandchild. By this method, the generation of the one adopted did not need to be changed. Su yangja was the adoption of a child under three years of age from a different lineage, with the adoptee being granted the equivalent rights of a natal child; while Shi yangja used the adoption of a foundling (also under three years old), ostensibly for the welfare of the child, but in practice mainly for the purpose of providing additional labour for the adopting family.

As Chosŏn society became more thoroughly indoctrinated in neo-Confucian ideology, the importance of perpetuating one's family line became increasingly important. Moreover, the most important tenet of neo-Confucian society was that of filial piety and while this was achieved by various means, producing a male heir to carry on one's lineage was paramount. Hence, when one was not able to procreate an heir, adoption was a necessity. It is, therefore, not surprising to discover, based on both governmental documents and private genealogies, that less than one per cent of the population was involved in an adoption in the fifteenth century, but by the eighteenth century, over fifteen per cent of the men were adopted to be heirs to their uncles.

Modern Adoption Practices
In modern Korea inheritance laws have been re-written to grant heir status to daughters once again, but old customs die hard and many families still prize sons highly and arrange an adoption if deemed necessary. With the current trend towards smaller families, many families will not have a male heir; yet how the situation will be resolved, and whether adoption will continue to be practised as it was in the past, remains to be seen. Moreover, the growth of the women’s movement in Korea has caused a revaluation of those practices that systematically discriminated against females, and the resultant new societal mores indicate that future generations will be less inclined to feel compelled to perpetuate a society based on patrilineal inheritance principles.

As for the adoption of Korean children by overseas families, during the chaos of the Korean War and thereafter, foreigners began to adopt Korean orphans. Throughout many western countries Korean-born babies have grown up with western names in western families and are culturally completely westernised. Many adoptees, who are now adults, serve in government, business, education, and other occupations. However, the practice of handing-over infants to people from foreign countries came to be criticised by North Koreans and by some South Koreans too. Consequently, the South Korean government has instituted laws restricting overseas adoptions, and has resolved to prevent them altogether.

In the meantime, within Korea, the number of people who are practising western style adoption, that is, the rearing of an infant or child with whom there is no blood relationship is increasing. In some cases, when a couple cannot have children, with the help of one of the three authorised agencies, they arrange to adopt an infant before the child is born. Sometimes, the adoptive mother goes through a charade of padding her clothes and then going off to stay with a relative until the child is born, then returning with the child and the illusion that she was the birth mother. Thereby, the family avoids any stigma that might befall the child from some traditional segment of society that would criticise the rearing of a child who is of a different bloodline.

Bibliography


Agricultural Cooperative Associations

Advancement Society (Ilchin Hoe)

Aerophones

Agency for National Security Planning (Kukka Anjong Kihoek Pu) [History of Korea]

Agricultural cooperatives are organizations designed to assist farmers independently in diverse matters, such as increasing production, and providing economic and social advancement. In August 1961, the Agricultural Cooperative Law (Nongŏp hyŏptong chohap pŏp) was enacted and forms the basis for the agricultural cooperatives in Korea today. These cooperatives manage the economic activities of firms in a partnership with the farmers themselves. There are two basic types of cooperatives. The first is the specialized cooperative that focuses on one particular activity such as stockbreeding, sericulture, or fruit production. The other is the general cooperative that covers many diverse activities. The latter type is most common in Korea.

Korea has a long history of agriculture-based community organizations. Chief among
these are rural community agreements (hyangyak) and the mutual assistance groups known as kye. There are records of a kabae kye organized in Shilla during the reign of King Yuri (r. 24-57 CE) that provided resources for holding a harvest festival. In the early Choson period there were many types of kye such as hak kye which were established to provide funds for education and honsang kye which funded wedding and funeral expenses. Many kinds of kye exist today, to provide funds for a broad range of items. The hyangyak began in the Chinese Song Dynasty and entered Korea by the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544). The hyangyak agreements provided funds for items such as community rice warehouses and famine relief. In traditional times in Korea, the structures of kye and hyangyak provided relief and assistance to Korean farmers in times of need and were based upon the principle of mutual cooperation.

The first modern cooperative was established in 1907 in Kwangju under the provisions of the Regional Financial Union Regulations (Chibang kümyung chohap kyuch’ik). The cooperatives organized under these regulations provided funds to farmers. After liberation, the financial aspect of cooperatives fell chiefly under the control of the agricultural banks (nongōp ānhaeng) and were codified by the Agricultural Bank Law (nongōp ānhaeng póp: 1957). The cash flow problems of some farmers stem from the fact that they receive the bulk of their income once a year, and if this proves insufficient on occasions to meet both living and production expenses, they then must find a financial source to help with their next crop. The financial institutions under the umbrella of the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NACF: Nongōp Hyŏptong Chohap Chūnganghoe) serve to relay funds from the parent organization to the members of the various agricultural cooperatives who are in financial need. The NACF member institutions provide about ninety-five per cent of the total credit needs for farmers.

The superstructure of the agricultural system under the NACF consists of the parent organization with provincial branch offices located under it and then either specialized cooperatives or general cooperatives. Farmers become members of their local cooperatives by buying shares in them, which then enables them to use the various services the cooperatives offer. Some of the services include credit extension facilities; purchasing of fertilizers, pesticides and farming implements, which are in turn resold to their members; buying grains and vegetables from the farmers; aid to member families; and processing services for the grains that the farmers grow. Since the NACF can purchase from wholesalers in bulk, it can offer fertilizers and pesticides to its members at lower cost than they would get elsewhere. Likewise, the credit services that are extended to members are at lower interest rates than small farmers could reasonably hope to secure individually.

Other services that are performed by various levels of cooperatives include the storage of agricultural goods and transportation of these products to markets, both of which are generally handled by the county-level cooperatives. Cooperatives also provide information to farmers, including technical advice for the implementation of new enterprises, and market research which assists farmers to cultivate crops that are in demand. In addition to their primary function of providing agricultural assistance and management advice, the cooperatives, along with government programs such as the Saemaul undong (New Village Movement), have also supplied funds for improvements to the rural communities. The NACF, through its local organizations, has sponsored the building of many community halls where members can hold meetings, farmer education classes, weddings and so on, and it also provides funds that permit the operation of local health clinics, barber shops and public baths.

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*HMMTS*, vol. 5.
Agricultural rites

Agricultural ceremonies tend to have shamanistic origins, but also were heavily influenced by introduced belief systems such as Buddhism and Confucianism. The origin of agricultural rituals extends to the oldest historical records in Korea which are in the form of foundation myths. One such example is the Tan'gun Myth which shows the subjugation of the hunting people of North-east Asia to an entity that controls the forces of agriculture; specifically, the wind, rain and clouds. Another is the Sŏkt''alhae Myth which reveals a deep relationship with the Sŏk clan farming ceremonies. The Sŏk clan was originally from a fishing area, but moved inland to the Kyŏngju region. Also, the myth surrounding the birth of the founder of Koryŏ, T'aejo, was expressed in Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ) as if it was deeply related to the planting of millet. All of these myths, albeit in an indirect manner, disclose concepts of farming deities and grain spirits, and they indicate the processes of the early agricultural rituals.

In addition to the allusions to agrarian rituals in the foundation myths of Korea, there are many references to these myths in other ancient records of, and concerning, Korea. The records of large festivals held in the spring and autumn, such as Yonggo, Tongmaeng, Much'ŏn and Chech'ŏn, were recorded in Chinese historical accounts such as Sanguo zhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) and Beishi (The History of the Northern Dynasties), and are all thought to be representative of ancient farming rituals. In Beishi there is a mention of the people of Koguryŏ building special shrines at every house and holding sacrificial rituals. Moreover, in the winter Koryŏ people held a rite to yŏngsŏng (the star spirit) and the sajik (the gods of the earth and grains). These actions can be directly linked to the seasonal farming rites of the present day. From the records in the Samguk sagi (The History of the Three Kingdoms) we know that there were many periodic ceremonies held in Shilla including New Year's Day, Kabae, Tano, Yudu and Hunong, and that while these may not have been exclusively agricultural ceremonies at their core, they all had the purpose of praying for an abundant harvest or offering thanksgiving for a successful harvest innate. In Koryŏ, there were many rites that held import as farming ceremonies. Chief among these were the P'alganhoe and Yŏndŭnghoe, large national festivals in the autumn and spring that had many attributes as links to agricultural rituals. The hallmark of these farming rituals from ancient days is that they are large-scale in nature, in contrast to the smaller-scale ceremonies of more recent times.

Chosŏn agricultural ceremonies are notable for their dual nature. On the level of the common people of farming communities, the rituals continued, much as they had for centuries past. The major change was the inclusion of Confucian elements into the belief systems of the people. The rituals that heretofore had been offered to various shamanistic deities now incorporated a Confucian flavour and in some manner emulated the sacrificial rituals performed by the upper classes to their ancestors. The agricultural rituals conducted by the monarch, presented the ruling classes with a conundrum since the official belief system of the state, Confucianism, did not allow for adherence to shamanistic rituals. Nonetheless, the king performed sacrificial rituals at Sajik Altar to the shamanistic gods of the earth and of the grains to entreat them to deliver a bountiful harvest to the nation. This reveals the importance of the harvest to the welfare of the kingdom.

In general, agricultural ceremonies can be divided into four categories: prayer ceremonies, planting ceremonies, cultivation ceremonies, and harvest ceremonies, in accord to the processes of farming work. The prayer ceremonies act to either pray for an abundant harvest or to divine the result of a pending harvest. There are a number of different prayer ceremonies, such as the nae nongjak or the ka nongjak, both based on the belief that an abundant harvest would follow their performance. The first record of such ceremonies being performed is in the thirtieth volume of Sejo Shillok (The Veritable Records of King Sejo) which states that shrines were erected in the homes of commoners on the fifteenth
day of the first lunar month to pray for an abundant harvest, and that in 1464 this was even done in the palace. Another type of prayer ceremony is the ritual of *chisan papki* (treading down the earth spirits). This consists of a masked dance performed by young people who go about the village disguised as various spirits and perform incantatory dances at each house. The villagers offer gifts, which are then offered in proxy by the dancers to the spirits of farming.

Other prayer ceremonies are represented by ritual games such as tug-of-war, stone and torch-fighting games which all serve as divination methods to predict the outcome of the coming harvest. These folk games are recorded in the *Tongguk seshigi* (Annual Customs of Korea). Tug-of-war contests were waged by two teams, East and West. The West team represented the female powers of reproduction and if it won, it foretold of an abundant harvest. The joining of the East (male) and West (female) ropes and the actions of pulling back and forth represented fertility rites. By holding this contest in the rice fields, the farmers sought to bring fertility to their land.

Prayer ceremonies also had a purpose of divining the outcome of the crop. Some of the methods used were very passive, such as the custom of *Chomsaengi pogi* (Observing the Pleiades - six visible stars in the constellation Taurus) which was done on the sixth day of the second lunar month. It was believed that if the Pleiades appeared close to the moon it foretold of a plentiful harvest. However, if the constellation was too distant from the moon it was a bad omen. Other divination methods involve the use of grains, ashes and the moon’s shadow, to predict the harvest of the coming year. Most of these rituals were performed on the first full moon of the first lunar month.

Planting ceremonies were performed in the appropriate season to pray for an abundant crop. These ceremonies were not common in Korea but, nevertheless, may be the origin of traditional holidays. For instance, the making of flower-cakes (*hwajon*) took place on the third day of the third lunar month, which would have been shortly before planting commenced. Another custom, one that imitates the actions of planting is *Moshimkki norium*. However, this ceremony is observed during the first full moon of the new year which is well before the planting season. Nonetheless, it serves to entreat the mountain god (*sanshin*), the guardian deity of the village, to ensure a good crop. To perform this ritual, one villager plays the role of the *sanshin* and rides on the back of a cow to the place where the other villagers are pretending to plant rice.

Cultivating ceremonies are rituals that pray for the abundance of crops during the growing period. Some examples include the Tano Festival, the shamanistic *P’ut kut* ritual and rain ceremonies. The Tano festival has origins in China but it incorporated many indigenous Korean customs, such as the folk games with their emphasis on combat, and mask dances too. These acts have their purpose in petitioning the spirits for an abundant harvest. The *P’ut kut* is a shamanist ceremony generally held after the second or third sowing of the fields. It, too, implores the spirits to ensure a bountiful harvest.

Representative agricultural rituals of the harvest season include the *Yudu ch’önshin* held in the middle of the summer, the *Ch’usok ch’önshin* held in mid-autumn, and *Kosa ch’önshin* in early winter. Their purpose is to express gratitude to various deities for the harvest. The *Kosa ch’önshin* is considered as one of the most fundamental harvest ceremonies in Korea. It is a household ritual performed by women to various guardian deities, including the tutelary deity of the household. This ceremony is still common to the present day.

Agricultural ceremonies are seasonal rituals in which the various deities of farming are petitioned for an abundant crop. Another reason is to assuage the anxiety a farmer may have in regards to his crops, in addition to entreating the supernatural forces that govern farming, for a copious return. Many present-day customs and holidays have their origins
in these rituals. Some examples include the Tano Festival, *Ch’usŏk*, and many folk games. The preponderance of the number of agricultural rituals in traditional Korea indicates the great importance attached to a successful harvest, which would determine the ability of the farmers to survive for another year.

**Bibliography**


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**Agriculture**

Early Periods

The earliest period of agricultural activity in Korea was the Early Chūlmun which dates from 6000-3500 B.C.E., and is denoted by the subsistence gathering of various fruits, tubers and grasses. The Middle Chūlmun period (3500-2000 B.C.E.) is characterized by primitive farming activities and the intermittent cultivation of millet. Man began to use simple tools such as grinding stones and various digging implements, and the development of such tools marked a step forward in primitive farming methods. The size of vessels increased which points to the possible use of pottery as a means to store grain. By Late Chūlmun (2000-100 B.C.E.), grains such as rice, barley, and buckwheat were being cultivated.

The tools used in these early stages were very basic. The grinding tools would have been used to either shell or grind foods such as acorns, chestnuts and seeds, and these implements have been found at many archaeological sites throughout Korea. The digging tools were simply short hoes that evolved into the metal *homi*, still used today to gather wild greens and tubers. This hoe was later modified with a long handle that enabled it to be used in planting and in turning the soil.

In China during the early part of the Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.E.) bronze implements began to be used in farming. Bronze ploughs were crafted and these were used for the cultivation of grains and beans, including rice. By the Warring States Period (5th c. - 3rd c. B.C.E.) iron-tool farming had begun in China. It is thought that this culture spread to Korea and around this time metal tools came into use on the Korean peninsula. The first such implements used in farming were iron ploughs, hoes, and a weeder known as a *ttabi*. It is recorded in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) that these items were being used by the time of King Yuri (r. 24-57 B.C.E.) of Shilla. In addition, there have been archaeological finds of pottery decorated with depictions of men using farming implements such as hoes and *ttabi*.

By the advent of the Three Kingdoms, agriculture had become more established on the Korean peninsula. In this period, the production of iron became prevalent. It is thought that since this technology entered Korea from China, the use of iron farming implements became widespread during Koguryŏ. The region surrounding the Yalu River in northern Korea has been the site of many archaeological finds of ancient farming implements. From that location iron technology spread south. One region in which agrarian culture became most pronounced was the Han River basin. This area had been inhabited by man since the early Neolithic period and it became the site of many agricultural advances in Korea. Using tempered-iron farming tools, the inhabitants were able to exploit the fertile alluvial plain of the Han River. Archaeological discoveries of settlements such as Amsa-dong and P’ungnap-dong denote them as among the oldest in Korea and reveal that the cultivation of crops was common there. The *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) records that in the time of King Taru (r. 28-77 C.E.) rice farming had begun, and that in King Kiru’s
reign (r. 77-128) the Han River flooded causing much damage to the surrounding rice fields. To combat this problem, a reservoir was constructed, together with the reinforcement of the river banks. It is noted in both the Nihon shoki (Kor. Ilbon sogi) and Kojiki (Kor. Kosagi) that details of these flood-control and irrigation measures were transmitted to Japan via the Paekche Kingdom.

In the Samguk sagi it is recorded that by the fourth or fifth century the cultivation of barley had begun in Shilla. After this came rice cultivation and at that time irrigation and river control were being undertaken in earnest. The farming culture of Greater Shilla reached a high level, evidenced in the fact that much of this and the farming technology of Shilla has been passed down the ages. For example, holidays with origins in this period such as New Year, the first full moon of the New Year, the Tano Festival, Ch'ilson, and the Han'gawi Harvest Festival are all still observed today in Korea.

Koryo Period

From Greater Shilla and Later Paekche, Koryo adopted much of its land and farm system, and then reformed, taxed and regulated this with vigour. On the other hand, various tax reforms, farm implements, cattle and the like were periodically provided to the populace to soothe grievances. However, with an increasing population, public poverty worsened and the Koryo government saw the expansion of farming lands as a way to alleviate this problem. Accordingly, the plains to the north were the target of reclamation projects. The northern frontier was a dangerous area and the presence of a depleted Koryo military force gave scant security to the farming population. Moreover, the effort of land reclamation required a large amount of farming labour and technical skill, and drew heavily on the stocks of farming implements, as well as on water resources. Eventually, by King Sǒngjong's reign, (r. 981-997), every military foundry in both province and county was given a quota for farming implements. It is noted in Koryo togyōng (Illustrated Account of Koryo) that the farming techniques of Koryo were generally quite similar to those of Sung China, and that further improvement seemed possible.

A policy of encouraging agriculture was adopted during the long reign of King Munjong (r. 1046-1083), and in each area an official was charged with this task. This policy was further reinforced under King Myǒngjong (r. 1170-1197), and by the time of King Ch'unγnyǒl (r. 1274-1308) a central government office for the purpose of encouraging agriculture, Nongmu togam, had been established. At its peak, the Koryo state-financed central farming policy was quite succesful. The Koryǒsa (History of Koryo) records that the people were so self-sufficient, that rice in the huge storehouses was left to mould. The Koryo togyōng notes that every warehouse was chock-full of rice, as security against war, flood, and drought.

Chosǒn Period

Early Chosǒn farming policy centred around autocratic reform. The land-tenure system of the first king, T'aejo (r. 1392-1398), revised and strengthened the tax system. Also, in several regions agricultural encouragement policies along with irrigation works were established. During the reign of T'aejong (r. 1400-1418) farm surveys were again carried out by the government and various documents concerning agriculture and sericulture were published. In the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) a rain gauge was invented; copies of Nongsa chiksǒl (Straight Talk on Farming) were distributed; almanacs were published; and the overall level of farming technology was raised. In King Munjong's short reign (r. 1450-1452) plans were made for irrigation works, river embankments and reservoirs. In the reign of King Tanjong (r. 1452-1455) horse farms were established, and silkworm distribution (for raising) escalated. King Sejo's reign (r. 1455-1468), saw dams for irrigation purposes built, books on farming published, and several stock- breeding and sericulture farms established. The quarter-century during which Sǒngjong (r. 1469-1494)
was king brought a stepping-up of the manufacture of various farming implements, and in the official encouragement of farming. As indicated earlier, the farming policies of early Chosón were quite successful. However, with the misgovernment that occurred during the reign of King Yónsan (r. 1494-1506) the country suffered greatly and farming went into decline. Yónsan’s reign was a blot on the fortunes of early Chosón and caused many hardships among the populace. The subsequent reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) saw the revival of enlightened farming policies. A principal accomplishment was the promulgation of the Village Code (hyangyak).

Early Chosón was marked by the shift in dry-field to wet-field cultivation. Irrigated areas increased considerably and allowed farmers with newly-acquired or increased water resources to produce crops that were less affected by fluctuations in rainfall. As well as irrigation, improved methods of field fertilization were developed. This was an important step forward, encouraging farmers to better nourish their crops, without having to let the fields lie fallow for a year or more. The use of improved fertilising techniques brought economic gain from increased crop yields.

When compared with early Koryó, productivity per kyŏl (a traditional unit of measurement for agricultural land) increased from six to eleven sok (one sok equals about five bushels) to a range of twenty or thirty to fifty or sixty sok, which represents a massive increase. The greatest portion of this increase can be attributed to the shift to wet-field farming and more efficient fertilisation, but there were also significant advances in farming technology and medical knowledge which contributed to this increase, directly and indirectly. The advances in medical knowledge brought better health and longer life, which increased the population over time and provided more labour for agriculture. Technical advancement included the publication and wide distribution of books on farming techniques, and also the increased utilisation of dykes, water wheels and other irrigation methods.

In mid-Chosón, government policy in regard to agriculture was that of first relieving the country’s famine conditions. Some of the measures taken by the government included the reduction by half of the rice and cloth tax; a cut in the amount of rice allocated to the military; the curtailment of the presentation of local products to the king; the abrogation of the law requiring government approval before land contiguous to rivers was reclaimed for agricultural use; prohibition on the cultivation of tobacco and the brewing of liquor; and there were other urgent adaptations to the difficult circumstances of the time. From mid-Chosón, the government was cognizant of the need to increase public welfare through an enlightened farm policy, and it maintained its critical view of farming methods, with an eye to their improvement.

After the Japanese Invasion of 1592, Korea began to cultivate crops that were introduced through both China and Japan. Also, from the Americas, red pepper, squash and tobacco were introduced through these countries during the reigns of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) and King Kwanghae (1608-1623). Soon these crops were grown throughout the country. Squash and red pepper proved to be vegetables well-suited to the Korean palate and were relatively easy to cultivate. In particular, red peppers created a major change in the recipes and dishes of Korea. Tobacco was cultivated to meet a growing demand.

The lives of mid-Chosón farmers were regulated by the twenty-four divisions of the calendar that detailed which farming tasks should be done at certain times of the year, such as winter field preparation, weeding, and harvesting tasks. In addition, farming technology was also improved with the publication of Nongga chipsŏng (Compilation for Farmers). This work provided an insight into the most efficient way to plough a field, which crops to plant in certain soil conditions, how best to harvest crops, and much other advice for farmers.

Late Chosón saw the establishment of many government offices to supervise and
administer the farms of the nation. During the reign of Yongjo (r. 1724-1776), the Office of Embankment Works (Cheďonsa) was established, and with it many dykes were repaired, water wheels manufactured and installed, and the irrigation policy was strongly implemented. The Equalized Tax Law (Kyunyôk pôp; 1750) was declared and its provisions lessened the heavy tax burden of the commoners. To replace revenue so lost, taxes were collected on fisheries, salterns and boats, in addition to a tax on the so-called ‘hidden fields’. Other laws saw the growing of tobacco again prohibited since it was said to deplete the soil, and after a cattle epidemic devastated the country’s herds to such an extent that the farmers had no recourse but to plough with human labour, a ban on the slaughter of cattle was enforced.

In the 1600s, the shirhak (Practical Learning) movement swept through Korea and this was reflected in the agricultural policies of the time. In the 1700s, Nongp’o mundap (Dialogue of Nongp’o) by Chông Sanggi was published and shortly thereafter Pan’gye surok (Pan’gye’s Treatises) by Yu Hyông’won appeared. These works served as the dominant writings for the next one-hundred years. The shirhak scholars took the actual conditions of Chosŏn as their point of departure and then advocated reforms in such areas as the land system, the administrative system, and the military organization, with the goal of creating an agricultural economy based upon the independent, self-employed farmer.

Natural disasters often struck, causing poor crops and famine, and as a consequence other crops were introduced. New crops included sweet potato, potato and corn. Of these, corn had the greatest impact. In 1736 seed sweet potatoes were introduced and after considerable experimentation they too became a well-established crop. About sixty years after sweet potatoes were introduced, seed potatoes were brought to North Hamgyông Province, and within ten years they were being grown throughout the country. During this period many varieties of corn were introduced, as were peanuts in 1778.

Problems that occurred in late Chosŏn resulted from poor water and crop management. The use of the water wheel and extensive irrigation projects became so widespread that water resources were considerably depleted. Cotton was a prominent crop, but as a result the sericulture industry declined to the extent that it became nothing more than a part-time occupation for women and consequently the yield of silk declined every year. As crop farming declined, the cultivation of ginseng and cotton increased. Amidst the overall fall in farming productivity, these two crops showed remarkable resilience with high crop yields and a ready market for the product. This was due, in large part, to the technical knowledge which had developed in regard to the cultivation of these crops.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Western culture was flowing steadily into Korea. As in many other parts of Asia, this also had a major influence on farming technology. In 1884, an experimental crop production area and a cattle breeding facility were established, along with an enterprise to cultivate silkworms and mulberry trees. Also in this period, American farming implements were introduced. New writings on farming appeared, such as Nongjông shinp’yŏn (New Approaches to Farm Management) by An Chongsu, and Chamsang ch’waryo (Essentials of Sericulture) by Yi Ugyu in 1884, which were followed by Nongjông ch’waryo (Essentials of Farm Management) by Chông Pyŏngha in 1886. These works incorporated the new ideas and technologies brought into Korea during this period of enlightenment.

At this time, the Japanese, who were entering Korea in large numbers, saw a retarded farming system. Dry-fields were being planted only with a single crop, and the rice varieties were a mixture of with both hardy and weak strains. Rivers and waterways were not being fully utilized and there was an insufficient number of reservoirs. In addition, the farming implements used were very crude and inefficient. The yield of the rice crop for the entire country was extremely low at nine to twelve million sŏk per year. One salvation, however, was the ginseng industry, with excellent cultivation techniques and a superior
product of both red and white ginseng. Another successful export was the market for Korean cattle, with most (upwards of 13,000) going to Japan and Russia in the late 1880s.

Japanese Colonial Period

During the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910, against a strong backdrop of Japanese capital, the Japanese agricultural industry profited greatly from Korean grown rice, cotton, fruit, tobacco and ginseng. Particularly with an eye to solving the food problems in their own country, in 1920 Japan introduced the Plan for Increasing Rice Production (Sanmi ch'ungsan kyehoeok) in Korea.

The Japanese colonial occupation of Korea resulted in a transformation of Korean agriculture, and this change was most notable in rice yields. In 1910, the year that Japan officially colonized Korea, there were 1.32 million ch'ôngbo (one ch'ôngbo = 0.992 hectare) under rice cultivation, with an annual yield of 12.4 million sôk of rice. By 1941, there were 1.64 million ch'ôngbo under cultivation which produced a harvest of 24.88 million sôk. Together with the improved rice yield came the introduction of improved varieties of other crops, irrigation facilities were augmented, and the amount of chemical fertilizer applied to crops was markedly increased. However, Japan was the principal recipient of Korea’s agricultural endeavours. The following table demonstrates the degree to which Korea was exploited by Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Exported*</th>
<th>Utilization</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Per Capita Consumption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;----------million metric tons-----------&gt;)</td>
<td>(million)</td>
<td>(kilograms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-30</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-35</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*All exported rice is to Japan.

This decline in rice consumption in Korea points directly to economic pressure, whereby an incomplete substitution of inferior cereal grains for rice, occurred and where food shortage intensified. There were also other areas in which Korea was exploited, but perhaps the most dramatic view of this is visible through the manipulation of the rice harvest.

Another very visible factor at the conclusion of the colonial period was the exploitation of Korean farmers. Although in 1945 about seventy-five per cent of Koreans earned their living from the land, this is not reflected in figures concerning land ownership. Eighty-one per cent of all Korean farm households only accounted for ten per cent of total land ownership. The high concentration of land in the hands of the few was the product of two factors. One is the colonial land policy of the Japanese, and the other is the economic exploitation of tenant farmers by landlords.

Korean Agriculture After Liberation

After liberation, agriculture was so disrupted that production markedly declined. The American Military Government’s land reforms improved the situation somewhat, and in 1948 the newly-founded Korean government quickly declared its own land reforms, with the Farm Land Reform Act (Nongji kaehyökkpöp; 1949). In addition, there were various agriculturally-related master plans such as a three-year agricultural policy and a nine-year stock-breeding policy. However, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 brought all
of these plans to an abrupt halt.

When peace came to Korea, farming modernisation activities resumed. The 1953 and successive harvests brought a respite from food shortages and at this time foreign aid was received in large quantities. The existing five-year plan for agricultural development was modified to provide additional farmland development programs; irrigation project improvements; farmer education programs; along with other policies designed to both stimulate and modernize Korean agriculture. As a result, the harvest in 1959 reaped 27 million sŏk of grains and the 1960 harvest was of similar capacity.

From 1962 the First Economic Development Plan under President Park Chung Hee commenced, and farming policy within this was aimed at the modernisation of Korean agriculture and the securement of increased income for farming households. The manifestations of these policies saw an increase in the number of experimental farms and a focus on the realignment and extension of farming lands. Agricultural production policies concentrated on developing and improving fertilizers, pesticides and farming implements, and on diffusing this technology to the farmers. The Second and Third Economic Development Plans also had the modernisation of agriculture as the cornerstone of their agrarian policies.

The trend of modernisation and use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides continued at a pace throughout the 1970s. By 1977, there were seven chemical fertilizer plants with an annual production of three-million tonnes for domestic use and another half-million tonnes for export. With the modernisation of farming methods, came an accompanying increase in harvests. By 1975, Korea had achieved self-sufficiency in rice and barley, her two staple grains. Rice harvests continued to rise throughout the 1980s. However, more than half of the country’s demand for corn, wheat and beans was still met by imports.

By 1988, Korea was producing 6 054 000 tonnes of rice; 565 000 tonnes of barley and wheat; 302 000 tonnes of soybean; and about 260 000 tonnes of potato annually. The harvest of fruits such as apples, peaches and pears totalled 1 714 000 tonnes. Vegetables such as Chinese cabbage; radish; red pepper; garlic; and onion were grown extensively and found ready markets. As a result of the various mechanization programs, farm machinery made the planting, cultivation and harvesting of these crops less burdensome for farmers. In addition, the widespread use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides increased the per acre yields. Meat production averaged 724 000 tonnes of beef, pork and chicken annually.

With the opening of the Korean agricultural market in the 1990s, as a result of free-trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), government agricultural policies turned towards a fine-tuning of the agricultural sector. The basic thrust of the policies now aimed at supporting the special requirements of selected sectors of agriculture in order to prepare for the advent of market liberalization. In addition, policies sought an improvement in quality levels and reductions in production costs. In agricultural areas, these changes were seen in an improvement in the labour structure, realignment of farmland and technical reform. In 1995, the Korean rice harvest was 4.7 million tonnes, and the barley harvest added another 282 000 tonnes. Overall, grain self-sufficiency was 54.3 per cent, which was an increase of 1.5 per cent from 1994, but still decisively lower than the 1988 yield. Vegetable production in 1995 was 10.59 million tonnes, up by 15.0 per cent from the previous year. The consumption of meat continued to rise in the 1990s with a total of 1 231 000 tonnes in 1995.

The lifestyle of Korean farmers continues to improve as do the methods they use to cultivate their crops. The total income of farming families has almost doubled in the period 1990 to 1995. Despite increases in farming costs and an overall rise in the cost of living, the average farming family saw its available income, after expenses, rise from about 2.5
million wŏn in 1990 to over 6.3 million wŏn in 1995. The modernisation of Korean agriculture has given farmers a livelihood which now equates roughly to the standard of living that Korean city-dwellers enjoy.

Farmland

Land and Climate

Korea consists of a 1 000 km-long peninsula, together with 3 900 islands. The peninsula lies between 124°11'00" and 131°52'42" East longitude, and between 33°06'40" and 43°00'39" North latitude. To the north lie China and Russia, with the Chinese mainland directly to the west and the Japanese islands to the east. At its closest point, the Shantung Peninsula of China is 190 kms. from the west coast of Korea, and from the southern port of Pusan to the Japanese island of Honshu is 180 kms. The total land area of Korea is 221 764 sq.kms., and the peninsula is divided politically into two parts: the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). The Republic of Korea occupies about forty-five per cent of the peninsula with a total area of 99 793 sq. kms.

The peninsula is very mountainous with about seventy per cent of its land so covered. As a result, only about twenty-one per cent of the land-mass is arable land. The plains that have developed along the rivers are the major rice producing areas in Korea. However, the wider plains near the river mouths abruptly change to narrow flood plains a short distance upstream. Moreover, the alluvial soils are relatively thin and fragile, making them easily subject to damage from erosion.

Korea is considered to have a monsoon climate, with a dry winter and a wet summer. Average rainfall is about 1 300 mm. which should provide sufficient water for most crops. However, the bulk of the rain falls in the summer. Upland crops very often suffer from dry spells caused by uneven rainfall patterns. Because of the rainfall variance, many fields have to be irrigated -- seventy-two per cent of all rice fields are dependent upon man-activated watering. There are many large-scale multi-purpose dams throughout Korea providing water for irrigation, flood control and the generation of electricity.

Temperatures on the Korean peninsula are influenced both by the Asian continental land-mass and the oceans that touch its shores. The seasonal climatic change is distinct, and marked by short spring and autumn seasons. Summer is hot with a record high temperature of 40° C recorded in Taegu in 1942. Temperature variations between the north and the south regions of the peninsula are not extreme in summer, but in winter there is a large difference between the two regions. Winter is cold with a dry climate that is mainly influenced by the Siberian weather system and lasts for about four months in the central and southern regions of Korea. In the peninsula's north most rivers are frozen over for several months. The lowest temperature on record is -43.6° C. in Chunggangjin, in 1933. Winter temperatures have an important bearing on agriculture, in that only those regions where the weather is less severe can double cropping, usually rice and barley, be grown.

Traditionally, Korea was divided into six regions that shared similar geographic features. The Kiho regions encompasses much of the area of today's Kyŏnggi Province. This area is known for its production of fruits and vegetables. Since it is close to Seoul, the major population centre of Korea, the production of high-demand products is achieved year round through the use of greenhouses (largely of plastic sheet construction). The proximity to Seoul makes for the easy transport of perishable goods to the markets there. The area also is known for stockbreeding, particularly cattle.

The Kwandong area encompasses much of Kangwŏn Province and North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. This area is mountainous which is not conducive to rice growing. However, it
does have many dry-fields and its produce includes potato, sweet-corn and other vegetables. It is also a major centre of cattle breeding.

The Honam region includes North and South Cholla Provinces and South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. This is the major rice and barley producing area in Korea, and accounts for sixty per cent of the annual total for these grains. Of all the cultivated land in this area, sixty-five per cent is rice paddy. The relatively mild winters in this region also allow for double cropping which is the season when barley is planted. Other major products of the region include fibres, such as cotton, hemp and ramie.

Cheju Island is also sometimes included in the Honam region, but in actuality it is a very distinct region. Originally, Cheju farmers cultivated dry-field crops such as sweet potato, barley and rape, but from the 1960s the focus shifted to fruits and vegetables. The island has a mild climate that permits the cultivation of fruits for which the climate elsewhere in Korea is too harsh. Of all the cultivated land on the island, thirty per cent is dedicated to orange groves, with mandarin as the main crop. Stockbreeding also plays an important role in the Cheju economy.

The Yongnam region is composed of North and South Kyongsan Provinces. Next to the Honam region, this area is the second largest producer of rice with about sixty per cent of its cultivated land being paddy. The mild winters allow for double-cropping with barley. The region is also well known for the apples grown in Taegu, and the pears grown in Kimhae and Kup’o. Other products of the region include the cultivation of medicinal herbs and a thriving sericulture industry. The mulberry groves serving the sericulture farms in this region account for about forty-five per cent of the country’s total.

The Kwansŏ region consists of North and South P’yŏngan Provinces and Hwanghae Province. Before liberation in 1945, the cultivated land here was seventy-five to eighty per cent dry-fields. The region receives only about 1 000 mm. of rainfall a year, so rice cultivation is difficult. However, this is adequate for crops such as wheat, barley, millet and Indian millet (sorghum). Under the Japanese, the region was the largest producer of these grains.

The Kwanbuk region includes North and South Hamgyŏng Provinces. This is the driest (600 mm rainfall per year) and coldest region in Korea. Only dry-field farming is possible, with potato, oat and millet as the common crops.

Land Ownership

During Chosŏn, tenant farming was common as much of the land was owned by the ruling class. In the Japanese colonial period, this land-tenure system allowed for the systematic exploitation of the tenant farmers, and it became more formal and codified. In the early years of the colonial period, from 1913-1917, landowners who worked their own farms accounted for 21.8 per cent, part-owners 38.8 per cent, and tenants 39.4 per cent of total farms. A comparison with 1938 statistics shows that 19.0 per cent were owners, 25.3 per cent were part-owners, and 55.7 per cent were tenants -- a marked increase in the numbers of tenants and part-owners. Over eighty per cent of Korean farmers at the close of the colonial period did not fully own the land which they worked.

After liberation in 1945, the lands that the Japanese had owned did not pose a problem for redistribution to Koreans. However, over eighty per cent of leased land was owned by Korean landlords. The U.S. Military Government did not have a unified land reform policy but was able to repartition some 240 000 hectares of former Japanese-controlled land, mostly to the tenant cultivators of the land. The formation of the Republic of Korea in 1948 brought about more sweeping land reforms with the enactment of the Land Reform Act of June 1949. Under its provisions, the government had purchased and distributed about 330
000 hectares of farmland by 1952. In addition, the sale by landlords to tenants of over 500,000 hectares of land was concluded. The result of these sweeping reforms was that the number of owner-cultivators in 1964 was almost 72.0 per cent, up from a low of 13.8 per cent in 1945. Tenant farmers accounted for just 5.2 per cent of the total in 1964. The end result of the land reforms in Korea was that the vast majority of farmers either fully or partly owned the land they worked.

The size of individual farms in South Korea remained small after the land reforms. The government established a 3 chōngbo (roughly 3 hectare) limit on the size of landholdings, excluding land reclaimed by the farmer. In traditional times, a farm of over 3 chōngbo would rely upon hired labour to do much of the work, but those under this size could be worked by a single family. This limit seems to have effectively eliminated the landlord class. However, holdings of less than 0.5 hectare, which accounted for 45 per cent of the total in 1953, proved too small to provide sustenance for a family. As a result, the number of these farms declined to 32.4 per cent of the total in 1973. The average landholding in 1986 was 1.12 hectares.

Farm Income

During the early stages of industrialization, the income level of those in rural areas and those in urban areas was similar. For example, in 1963 the average rural income of 83 000 won per year was 103 per cent of the total of those residing in the cities. This parity of rural and urban income was the result of indifferent harvests in the early 1960s, which escalated farm produce prices, and to the fact that industrialization was then in its infancy. However, by the late 1960s the difference in urban and rural incomes was substantial. In 1967, rural incomes were only 56 per cent of those in the cities. Korean agriculture contributed little to the great economic growth of the late 1960s to the 1980s, except in the supply of its surplus labour to industry. Industrialization, however, brought about modernisation of the agricultural sector. This helped to increase productivity of the farms and also released additional labour from the agricultural sector for work in the industrial sphere. Nonetheless, standards of living and income of those engaged in agriculture remained below those in the urban areas.

The 1970s brought the Saemaul undong (New Village Movement) to the rural areas in an effort led by the government to modernize the rural sector. This movement can be described in simple terms as a self-help program for the rural areas aimed at improving productivity and living standards. The Saemaul undong has been in existence for several decades and its benefits to the countryside have included road and bridge construction; the beautification of rural villages; the replacement of thatched roofs with cement or slate tiles; and various farmer-education programs. From the late 1970s farm income came to approach the levels of urban workers, and the overall standard of rural living improved markedly. Programs focusing on improved rural medical services and education also brought about better living standards for the rural communities. (The Saemaul undong is referred to again below under Modernisation Programs.)

The outcome of farming-directed government programs was a steady increase in the income and living standards of Korean farmers. The size of farming households has declined gradually from 6.29 persons in 1965; to 5.63 in 1975; to 3.77 in 1990; and to 3.32 in 1995. This steady shrinkage of farm households has been counterbalanced by an increase in the amount of mechanisation available to farmers, and farm productivity has actually increased. Farm household income still remains lower than urban households, but the gap has narrowed and in 1995 the average income of a Korean farming household was 21.8 million won, which represents almost twice that of the 1990 figure of just over 11.0 million.
Farming Techniques

Rice

Of all the crops grown in Korea it can be said that rice holds the most importance as both a staple grain and as a symbol for Korean agriculture. Rice was introduced into Korea during the Neolithic Period in the second or third millennium B.C.E., and its cultivation was improved upon and expanded during the Three Kingdoms. In Chosón, rice became the staple food, and (as noted above) the government policies on agriculture centred on flood control and irrigation projects, which had the result of steadily increasing the rice yields. The advent of the colonial period brought about a great increase in the size of the rice harvest due to the increased use of chemical fertilizers and land reclamation projects. However, this increase was not realized by Koreans who saw their actual per capita consumption of rice reduced by almost fifty per cent (see Table above). After the end of the Korean War in 1953, rice yields began to climb and reached three million tonnes in 1960. Rice production doubled from 1955 to 1986, and in part at least this can be attributed to the development of hybrid rice varieties, notably the t'ongil, as well as to improved rice cultivation techniques.

In the growing of rice, water is by far the most important element. Wet-fields are superior to dry-fields in their respective yields. Moreover, wet-fields are more efficient in regard to labour used and fertilization needs. Another distinctive feature of wet-field cultivation is that regardless of the original fertility of a given piece of land, after several years of continuous cultivation, through the process of podzilisation, the fertility of the land is not diminished. This is another positive feature of wet-field farming which allows soil fertility to be maintained for many years. For planting rice, seed beds are used for the initial propagation. This is done since it is quite wasteful to sow seeds directly to the field, and the use of seed beds also permits more economical use of water and fertilizers. Today, seed beds are first prepared with either a tiller or tractor and then fertilized with chemical fertilisers. Transplantation of the seedlings from the seed bed to the field takes place when the seedlings have reached a height of twenty to twenty-five centimetres, which usually takes from one to two months, depending on the variety of the rice. Transplanting encourages higher yields by strengthening the root system of the plant. By planting the seedlings in neat rows, weed and pest control are greatly facilitated. The seedlings are then fertilized, traditionally this was done with manure and compost, but today with commercial nitrate and phosphate fertilizers. Weeding is also important to the yield as it rids the fields of overpowering weeds that not only deprive the rice plants of water and nutrients, but which also harbour pests and diseases. Today, chemical pesticides and herbicides are often used as control agents.

Once the rice is fully ripened, there are several steps in getting the grain to the white rice stage. The first step after harvesting is the threshing of the plants in which the husk of the rice is stripped and discarded. The grain produced from the threshing is known as brown rice. This is then polished in a mill until it reaches the desired quality and becomes the white rice favoured by Koreans. However, polishing the rice removes many of the nutrients. Brown rice has about ten per cent protein, while white rice contains seven per cent. Traditionally, the rice-milling process was done in many kinds of mill, such as water mills, treadmills and those mills powered by either oxen or horses. Today, the threshing and milling of rice is as mechanized as that used to process other cereals.

Grains, Vegetables and Fruits

Although rice is the most important crop, other grains and legumes play a role in the diets of present-day Koreans. Barley is the second major crop after rice. Corn, millet (including sorghum), rye, soy and other kinds of beans, and wheat, are grown throughout Korea and play a major role in agriculture. Barley is widely grown as a double-crop during winter.
Upland or dry-field crops are of great importance in those areas where rainfall is insufficient or suspect for the cultivation of rice. North and South P'yongan Provinces and Hwanghae Province receive only about 1 000 mm. of rain annually, so the main crops of these areas are barley, millet and wheat. Even less rain falls in the northern-most regions of South and North Hamgyong Provinces, with millet, oats and potato as the main crops. During the early months of growth (for a spring crop this would be in May and June), the country often experiences a lack of rain which, however, does not set-back these crops to any great extent. The monsoons reach the peninsula in July and August, when dry-field crops require most water, but by harvest time the rains have again subsided.

In general terms, there are two kinds of dry-field. Some ‘short-term’ fields grow crops that are harvested, for the most part, every year. In the south-central area, yearly double-crops are planted -- barley or wheat followed by a crop such as (several varieties of) bean, cotton, sweet potato, or foxtail millet. In the central mountainous regions, potato or some other vegetable is followed by the planting of beans of various kinds. In the northwest, the pattern is to plant three crops every two years, and this might consist of a planting of wheat followed by bean and then foxtail millet to complete the cycle. The crops are adjusted for the particular conditions of each region and economic considerations.

The other type of field is one devoted to long-term crops. These are generally in the form of orchard fruits or dedicated mulberry tree plantings. Such undertakings require a relatively long investment of time and a strong input of capital before a harvest can be reaped. Tea plantations are also in this category. Tree and vine production includes apple, pear, peach, grape and mandarin orange. North and South Kyongsang Provinces are well known for their fruits and the bountiful harvest of mandarin on Cheju Island give the farmers there one of the largest per capita agricultural outputs in Korea.

As Korea has increased her self-sufficiency in staple grains such as rice and barley, the demand for vegetables for the table has also increased. The largest vegetable producing region in Korea is Kyonggi Province which surrounds the city of Seoul. The proximity to the capital enables farmers to get their produce to market quickly. The vegetables produced in the greatest quantity are Chinese cabbage, onion, potato and radish. In 1995, the harvest of Chinese cabbage exceeded 2.8 million tonnes. In addition to these dry-field vegetables, many other types are cultivated in forced conditions under ‘greenhouses’ largely of framed, plastic-clad construction. This type of farming (more appropriately -- market gardening) has extended the growing season considerably, with some crops now being harvested on a ‘year-round’ basis. The trend during the past two decades or so has been towards an abundance of dry-field vegetable farms located in close proximity to the major urban areas.

Stock Breeding

Stock breeding and growing consists mostly of beef and dairy cattle, pigs and poultry. The largest landholdings are those concerned with cattle-raising, even though almost twice as much pork is consumed as beef annually. The consumption of beef climbed steadily throughout the 1990s, with domestic beef accounting for about fifty-one per cent of the market in 1995. The self-sufficiency rate of beef production, however, declined in the 1990s, with the opening of the Korean beef market to overseas producers.

The development of pasture land in Korea has its origin in the colonial period. Following liberation, the Korean government established a stockbreeding farm in South Ch'ungch'ong Province. This was followed in 1962 by the establishment of a 1.2 million p'yong national stockbreeding facility in Taegu under the supervision of the Rural Development Administration (Nongch'on chinhungch'on). The development of pasture land did not, however, begin in earnest until the 1960s. The expansion of and scientific research into improved methods of animal husbandry was stimulated by the need to increase beast quality on improved pastures. There were cattle farms before the 1960s,
which relied primarily on native, largely unimproved, pasture. With increased research and experimentation came an increase in the number of cattle which could be maintained per acre and also in the meat yield per carcass. The amount of pasture land was increased and by 1984 had reached 113 030 hectares, with much of this land being sown with varieties of grasses best suited to cattle grazing. Nevertheless, most of the cattle are owned by small farmers, who keep them as an adjunct to their main farming activities. Statistics show that the average stock farmer in Korea had only four head of cattle, in 1992.

**Modernisation**

**Mechanisation**

The first modern farming implements and equipment came to Korea through Japan at the end of the nineteenth century. They consisted mainly of ploughs; grain blowers; water wheels; wooden rice-hulling machines; and sieves. However, the large-scale mechanisation of Korean farming did not begin in earnest until after liberation, and (like much of Asia) it came in three basic stages (but with some overlap between them): (a) the mechanisation of grain processing; (b) the substitution of power equipment for human labour; (c) the introduction of small and large tractors.

The first stage of mechanisation began from the Japanese occupation, with the introduction of improved wooden rice-hulling machines. By the late 1950s, this stage was almost complete and resulted in a great amount of labour being freed to perform other tasks, either on or off the farm. In traditional times, the processing of grains was very time-consuming, but the introduction of machines both simplified and expedited the irksome tasks involved. The number of grain processing machines in Korea increased markedly during the thirty years after liberation. In 1951 there were just over 40 000, but by 1975, the figure had almost tripled, to 110 000.

The second stage of farm mechanisation was the greater substitution of machine power for human labour. For example, the transfer of water from river, dam or reservoir to irrigate crops is a grossly inefficient task when done by hand with water scoops, or even by animal or hand-powered water wheels. A motorised water pump does the job in a fraction of the time, with little use of human resources. The number of water pumps increased from below 7 500 in 1956 to over 286 000 by 1985. With the introduction of threshing machines, essential labour became available at times of peak demand, since the planting of a second crop usually follows closely on the heels of the threshing of the first crop. This release of labour enables the farmer to concentrate on the essential activity of planting his second crop. The extent of the industrialisation of farms can be seen by a comparison of the 1951 figure, when there were exactly 93 threshing machines in Korea, to a 1985 figure in excess of 300 000. The second stage of mechanisation was well underway by the early 1970s, and was virtually complete by the early 1990s.

The third stage of farming mechanisation is the use of small and large tractors for specific and general farm tasks. This process began in earnest in the early 1970s, with small tractors, or tillers. Their use became widespread in Korea over a short period of time, and even farmers who did not have such a machine themselves, might borrow a neighbour's or a friend's tiller/tractor. Today, almost every farming household owns at least one power tractor/tiller. In 1964 there were less than 1 000 of these small machines in use on farms, but this had increased to almost 600 000 by 1985. The number of standard and large size, multi-use (power take-off) tractors has also dramatically increased: from almost a zero figure in the early 1960s, to over 12 000 in 1985.

Other machine-driven farm equipment is also in large-scale use throughout the ROK, with or without the use of tractors as the primary source of power. Rice transplasters, binders, combines, dessicators and sowing machines are all part of the modern process of planting,
tilling and harvesting. Since the average size of a farming household has continued to decline, the necessity for machinery to replace, or at least assist, human labour is evident. The present-day high levels of production would not be possible without the use of modern farm machinery.

Modernisation Programs

Notwithstanding the number of programs directed at the development of the countryside since the founding of the Republic of Korea in 1948, it was not until 1962 that the government made a determined effort to promote increases in agricultural productivity and farm income. However, even these early efforts were rather limited, with most of the nation’s resources and attention being directed towards development in the industrial sector. The first government office to operate with the furtherance of rural community values as its brief, was the Office of Rural Development (ORD) established in 1962, and which gradually expanded its sphere of activities. The ORD undertook many and varied projects in the rural areas to increase productivity on the farms and thus pave the way for increased farm income. It also looked at the utilisation of idle land; the training and education of country people who could become leaders in the agricultural sphere; the dissemination of technical information; general improvements to the standards of rural living; and strengthening the cooperation among various institutions such as the ORD, agricultural colleges and agricultural high schools. The present-day operative arms of this organization are the Rural Guidance Offices (RGO), which are located in every county. The RGO’s are in touch constantly with the rural communities and are aware of trends and problems among the farmers. They in turn contact the ORD, where the central planning and decision-making process is conducted.

A major turning-point for rural Korea came with the launching of the 1971 Saemaul undong (The New Village Movement) by President Park Chung Hee. This rural development movement was promulgated in order to combat several major problem areas, such as: (a) a low rate of increase in agricultural productivity and a stagnant rural economy that could not keep pace with the growing food demands of the urban population, thereby calling for large amounts of foreign exchange being used for grain imports; (b) the exodus of the rural population to the cities, which added to the administrative burdens of the cities and the consequent potential for social discord; (c) the growing economic inequities between the rural and urban populations; and (d) the results of the 1971 presidential election which revealed that President Park had lost much of his following in the predominantly rural areas of south-west Korea.

The Saemaul undong has proved an overwhelming success in raising the living standards of those in rural Korea. Its key is that it is a pro-active, self-help program in which the rural residents play a direct role in the improvement of their own communities. Major accomplishments in the program included the building of about 65 000 bridges in the rural areas in the four-year period of 1971 to 1975, which enabled almost all villages and farms to be accessed by motor vehicles. Also, through the program, high-yield rice seed was distributed to the farms, which resulted in the average rice yield per hectare increasing from 3.5 tonnes in 1971 to 4.9 tonnes in 1977. Since the movement emphasised cooperation, many projects were undertaken by entire communities and this resulted in better living conditions for everyone. The Saemaul undong has now moved beyond its original scope and has extended to urban communities where it is trying to create the same type of cooperation and spirit of self-help.

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Agye yugo (Posthumous Works of Agye)

_Agye yugo_ is a collection of poems and writings by Yi Sanhae (1539-1609) who held the position of Chief State Councillor (yŏngŭijŏng) before and after the 1592 Japanese Invasion. The original work, published in 1659, consisting of six volumes was woodblock-printed. The _Agye yugo_ was included in the 1981 _Hansan munhŏn ch'ongsŏ_ (Hansan Literary Library).

Although _Agye yugo_ is composed mostly of poetry with themes drawn from various stages of Yi’s life, there are discrete entries such as funeral odes and discourses that seem to have been added by his descendants when compiling the collection. Some pieces were written by Yi while in exile, and there are also his petitions to the crown offering his resignation, which points to his distress with the turmoil surrounding Chosŏn at that critical time. Yi’s work is praised both for its literary quality and historical value.

Ahn Eak-tay (An Ikt’ae, 1906-1965)

Composer and conductor An Ikt’ae was born in P’yŏngyang. He began studying music at the age of six, and was given tuition in violin by a missionary, and later the trumpet and cello as well. In 1919, An was expelled from P’yŏngyang missionary school for his youthful involvement in the March First Movement, a large-scale protest against Japanese colonial rule. But with the help of his school principal, Dr. E. M. Mowry, he was able to enrol in the Seisoku Middle School in Japan in 1921, with music again his chosen field. He went on to major in cello at the Kunitachi Music School in Japan, where he continued his education in music with other Korean musicians, like Kim Wonbong and Hong Sŏnggyu. During his summer vacations, An returned to Korea and gave performances around the country. It was during this time that he was absorbed with the national interest in Western music. In P’yŏngyang, he got to know Yi Sangje, Cho Manshik, and other political advocates of Korean independence, who re-kindled his interest in the nationalist movement. In 1931 An graduated from Kunitachi School and was invited to give recitals at concerts in Tokyo and Seoul.

After further study at the Curtis School of Music in Philadelphia, An went on to major in cello and composition at the Cincinnati Conservatory. While there, he joined the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra's cello section, then (in 1934) travelled to Germany, where he was engaged both as composer and conductor. Spending some time in Austria, he became a pupil of composer Richard Strauss in Vienna. In Berlin, in 1936, An composed the stirring Korean national anthem, based on the words of Korean activist An Ch’angho and a sermon he had heard in a San Francisco Korean church, setting his words to a haunting melody which is said to have come to him in a dream. From Germany, he travelled to Hungary and joined the Budapest National School of Music. At the outbreak of World War II, An was a guest-conductor in Germany and Austria, and by then had conducted the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the Rome Symphony Orchestra and the Budapest Symphony Orchestra.

As WW II drew to a close, An moved to Spain, where in Barcelona he continued work on his compositions. At a reception given in his honour, he met Lolita Taravera, the daughter...
of a Spanish count. They married and settled on the island of Majorca, in the Balearic Islands, where their three daughters were born. An helped to establish the eighty-member Majorca Symphony Orchestra, actively enlisting financial and popular support for the orchestra; eventually becoming its assistant director of music and permanent conductor. In the late 1950s, he visited London as a guest conductor, conducting among other works, his Korean Fantasy for orchestra and choir, based on themes from his national anthem composition. Despite his resounding success in Europe, his prior association with Richard Strauss prevented him from obtaining a visa to travel to America until well after the end of World War II. (Strauss elected to stay in Germany during the Nazi period, though his attitude to the regime remained ambivalent).

An returned to Korea in 1959 to conduct the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) Symphony Orchestra and the Seoul Symphony Orchestra in performances of his compositions - Kangch'ŏn sŏngak (Sacred music descending from Heaven) and the Korean Fantasy. In 1962 he returned, to conduct the opening of the first annual Seoul Music Festival, with which he held a closed association for the following three years. In 1964, however, he was the subject of much controversy when he was invited to return to Japan to conduct the NHK Symphony Orchestra in an international broadcast premier performance of his symphonic poem Non'gae. An wrote the piece in honour of the historic martyrdom of the sixteenth-c. kisaeng Non'gae, who in order to stem an attack by the Japanese, leapt to her death from a cliff above the South River, pulling the enemy general with her. An's invitation to conduct the NHKSO was eventually approved by the Korean government and his performance was successful enough to warrant a standing invitation to return and conduct the same piece each year.

In the Royal Albert Hall in London on 4 July 1965, An was guest-conductor with the New York Philharmonia Orchestra in a performance of what were to be his last compositions, Ae (Sorrow) and Non'gae. He was already seriously ill with beriberi and died in hospital in Barcelona on 17 September 1965. During his lifetime, An Ikt'ae had conducted well over three hundreds of the world major orchestras, and was awarded Korean presidential medals in recognition of his accomplishments. A world-respected figure in music as a conductor of post-romantic works, An enjoyed most of all conducting the music of Beethoven, Brahms, Dvorak, Sibelius and the works of his mentor Richard Strauss. But, to Koreans, he is best remembered for the timeless refrain from the national anthem,

'Land of the Rose of Sharon,
thousand miles of fairest land;
guarded by her people,
may Korea ever stand.'

Herbert Mahelona

Ajou University

Ajou University (Aju Tachakkyo) is a private university located in Suwŏn in Kyŏnggi Province. Founded by Pak Ch'angwŏn as Aju Kongŏp Ch'ogŭp Taehak (Ajou Industrial Junior College) in December 1972, it opened in March 1973. When the college became a four-year college of engineering in 1974, it changed its name to the Ajou Institute of Technology. In March 1981, the college attained university status and its colleges then included those of Engineering; Business Administration; and Liberal Arts and Sciences. In the same year, the University started its master's degree program. A doctoral program commenced in 1993.

Today, the university consists of six colleges with thirty-three academic departments.
Twenty-eight of these offer degrees at master's level and eighteen offer doctorates. In the mid-1990s, the university liberalised its undergraduate curriculum, allowing students to take subjects other than their declared major and also to pursue majors outside their main field of study. Other changes which greatly widened the scope of undergraduate courses were also introduced.

In 1995, the university graduate school commenced courses given in English to eighteen graduate students from Romania. The Graduate School of International Studies was launched in 1996, together with three other graduate schools (International Studies; Public Affairs; and Education) entrusted with meeting the challenges of globalisation and regional decentralisation.

**Akchang kasa** (Text of music composition)  
**Akhak kwoeböm** (Guide to the Study of Music)

In 1493, a team of scholars headed by Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504) received a royal decree to compile every type of music that had been composed in past times, into a guide to the study of music. *Akhak kwoeböm* (which was the outcome of the decree) is an illustrated treatise on ceremonial music, Chinese music, and native songs, which deals painstakingly with all aspects of the three, from musical notation to the staging of the actual performances. It consists of nine volumes in three fascicles.

Notable among the contents of this work are the various forms of palace music that display distinctive rhythms and the explanations of their use. The work also contains a few folk songs including *Tongdong* (*Tongdong Refrain*) and *Ch’ŏyong ka* (*Song of Ch’ŏyong*). The explanations aid the understanding of early Chosŏn music and that of late Koryŏ. Moreover, the data in this work can be used for studies of the changes that occurred in Chosŏn musical styles after the reign of King Sŏngjong (1469-1494). As such, it is highly valued by votaries of Chosŏn music. The original edition was destroyed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, and the oldest extant version is the 1610 T’aebaeksan-pon edition, now in the keeping of the Seoul National University Library. *Akhak kwoeböm* was reissued in 1979 by Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe under the title of *Kugyŏk Akhak kwoeböm*.

Allen, Horace Newton  
American Forces Korea Network (AFKN)

**Amnok River** (Yalu River)

The Yalu flows from east to west along the border between North Korea and China. About 790 kms. in length, the Yalu is the longest river in Korea. As the crow flies, it is about 400 kms. from the river’s source to its mouth, but in fact it flows almost twice that distance because of the many sharp turns and winding course. The Yalu begins near the peak of Mt. Paektu from whence it flows west past Hyesan, Changgangjin, Manp’o and Shinŭiju before entering the Yellow Sea. During Koguryŏ the river was known as Ch’ŏngha (Blue River).

Prehistoric relics have generally been found on the Yalu’s tributaries rather than close to the river itself. Palaeolithic relics have yet to be found, but there are a number of Neolithic relics such as the remnants of dwellings, as well as earthenware, stone tools and bone implements. A number of Bronze Age implements, such as earthenware, spindles, semi-lunar knives, stone axes, swords and arrowheads, have also been excavated from around the river, and Bronze Age stone tombs have been found at P’ungnyong-dong and Konggwı-dong in Kanggye. Early Iron Age artefacts, including coins, have been found
During the Three Kingdoms, the river was part of Koguryo’s territory. As a result, there are many Koguryo relics from before the fourth c., when the kingdom had its capital in the area. After the fall of Koguryo, most of the riverain became part of the Parhae (Chin. Pohai) Kingdom, while a section of the lower reaches was annexed by China’s Tang Dynasty. After the fall of Parhae, some of the kingdom’s nomads set up a small state on the middle section of the river while the Jurchen people resided in the lower section. In the late tenth c., however, the Khitan people took control of both the middle and lower sections. Around this time, the Koryo kingdom managed to gain control over the Kanggye and Uiju (modern-day Shinju) areas. The remainder became Koryo territory when the Mongols moved the Tungning Commandery from Sogyong (modern-day P’yongyang) to Manchuria in 1290.

During Chosôn, continuous efforts were made to establish the Yalu River as the kingdom’s northern boundary. To this end, Chosôn followed a policy of resisting Jurchen invasions, while establishing its military forts and fortifications. However, denoting the river as border was problematic at times due to the large number of deltas and islands which were formed by floods and erosion. Even in modern times, there have been occasional signs of friction between China and North Korea concerning ownership of this alluvial land. In September 1963, however, the two countries established their international border as the deepest point of the Yalu River bed, instead of the geographic centre of the river. China and North Korea now hold an annual conference where they discuss boundary problems, such as changes in the river’s course.

In modern times, the Yalu has served as an important source of generated electricity. Since the 1920s, large hydro-electric dams have been set up on the river and its tributaries. When the Pujon River Power Plant was built in 1929, it was the largest in northeast Asia. More hydro-electric plants were constructed nearby. The electricity from these plants is now used by Sŏngjin, Ch’ŏngjin and Hŭngnam’s nitrogen fertiliser factory. On the nearby Changjin River, a hydro-electric power plant was constructed in 1931. Before 1945, power from this plant reached places as distant as Seoul and P’yŏngyang, but since the division of the country, it has been used for Hŭngnam and the region generally. Dams were built on the Ungi River and Hwangsuwon River in 1941. Water contained by the dams is piped through the Pujŏnnyong Mountain Range from which it drives the turbines of power plants located on Tanch’ŏn’s Namdae Stream.

Between 1937 and 1944, the famous Sup’ung hydro-electric plant was created in Sakchu County in North P’yŏngan Province. Although the dam’s effective head is only one-hundred metres, the 345-sq.km. Sup’ung Lake that the dam creates ensures a sufficient flow of water. The dam is the source of the 640 000 kilowatts output of electricity that is shared with China. On the Korean side, this electricity is used by Shinju and P’yŏngyang, and also to power factories in the riverain. Other hydro-electric plants on the river include the Unbong Power Station (completed post-1945) in Chasŏng County and the Tongno River Power Station in Changjin County.

The Yalu River is also used to transport timber. Before the Manp’o and Hyesan railways were built, logs were transported all the way to Shinju by boat. Nowadays, however, they are sent to Kilchu, Sŏngin, and other places via the Hyesan railway or to P’yŏngyang, etc. via the Manp’o railway. As well as its commercial uses, the river serves as an important habitat for numerous wildlife species. Fish varieties in the river include catfish, eel, carp, snakehead mullet, chagasari (Liobagrus mediadiposalis), pŏdŭlch’i (Moroco oxycephalus), saemi (Ladislavia taczanowskii) and yŏlmogŏ (Brachymystax lenok). Because of the Yalu river’s sparse population, fishing is not a major source of employment.

An Ch’angho (Tosan, 1878-1938)
An Ch'angho was an independence fighter during the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910-1945). An's achievements note him as one of the most prominent activists for national independence and as an educator with a vision for his country that included not only independence but modernization; a patriot who played an important role in his country's struggle for freedom. With the pen-name Tosan, An was born to a farmer's family in Kangsŏ in South Pyŏngnan Province, now in North Korea, in 1878.

When China and Japan fought a war in 1894-95 to wrest control of Korea, An, although only sixteen, decided to play his part in the enlightenment of the Korean people. In 1897, he joined the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏph'oe), which had as its main thrust the preservation of Korea's independence and freedom from foreign power servitude. He went to the United States in 1902 and while there organized a group of Koreans living in the San Francisco area, to improve their living standards and to promote support for their homeland.

Promulgation of the Protectorate Treaty (Ul'usa poho choyak) between Korea and Japan came in 1905, and two years later An returned home to participate in the independence movement. He was the linchpin in the clandestine New People's Association (Shinmin Hoe), in co-operation with a number of journalists, businessmen and military leaders, to combat Japanese control of Korea.

In 1911, the year following Korea's subjugation to Japan, An's subversive activities came to light and he had to flee the country to avoid the close attention of the security police. Again he went to the United States and to San Francisco, where he founded the Society for the Promotion of Activities for National Independence (Taehanin Kongnip Hyŏphoe). This organization played a leading role in the United States in the movement for a free and independent Korea. In 1919 patriots in Shanghai had established the Korean provisional government, which An joined in 1926, soon becoming a key member.

In 1932, the police net closed and An was arrested in Shanghai, after Yun Ponggil (a member of the Aeguktan (Patriotic Association) had assassinated several visiting Japanese army commanders in a bomb explosion. Taken to Seoul An was imprisoned for almost three years. He died in 1938 at the age of fifty-nine, while serving a further prison sentence for his nationalistic principles.

An had argued that Korea must meet two prerequisites to gain independence. One was through education to raise the level of knowledge and awareness and the moral standard of the Korean people. In this respect, he had founded Hungsadan (Society for Fostering Leaders) in the U.S. in 1913, underlining his philosophy of sincerity and diligence, for straight-dealing with his contemporaries. The other was to achieve economic strength through industrial development. While his primary emphasis was aimed at informing and educating the people of Korea, he worked towards creating a base for independence movements overseas. His ideas on national strength and independence are expounded in his writings, which include, 'The Collected Works of Tosan' (An Tosan chŏnjip).

Bibliography

An Chŏngbok

An Chunggün (1879 - 1910)

A name known well to Koreans and most always preceded by the word patriot, An is not remembered for his dynamic oratory or historic compositions and the like, but for his prowess as an independence fighter. His distinguished role in the anti-Japanese struggle was the assassination of Japanese statesman Itō Hirobumi in 1909. This singular act eventually cost him his life, but was an inspiration to Koreans everywhere in the ensuing independence movement and throughout the Japanese occupation of Korea.

Little record exists of An's early life. He was born during the period of Korea's opening to foreigners and grew up as Japan was systematically moving to control the peninsula. His birthplace is said to be Haeju, in Hwanghae Province, where he spent much of his youth in the mountains nearby. In 1905, he moved to Chinnamp'o and founded a school where he taught for a few years.

An had become an admirer of a famous namesake, An Ch'angho, and was very taken with his thoughts on Korean independence. In 1907, or thereabouts, he travelled to Manchuria where he helped organise other Koreans in the Korean Volunteer Army, which aimed to disrupt Japanese operations in the region. While in Manchuria, he heard of the pending visit of Itō Hirobumi to Harbin and laid plans to assassinate him.

Itō had been named the first Resident-General of Korea in 1905 after the Japanese defeated the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The Treaty of Portsmouth, which negotiated the end of the war, gave Japan virtual control over Manchuria and all of Korea's foreign relations. Japan moved quickly to control its new possessions by installing commissioners in Seoul and in every province. After Itō arrived in Seoul all foreign legations were soon withdrawn. Following the abdication of King Kojong (r.1864-1907) in 1907, Itō helped conclude an agreement that even further strengthened Japan's control of Korea. On the same day of the agreement a press law was instituted which banned all nationalistic books and restricted or closed some newspapers. Within a week, the Korean Army was also disbanded and the Japanese assumed control of the police and judicial systems. For these and other reasons Itō is often labelled as the engineer of Japan's takeover of Korea. He had become a symbol of colonialism on which Koreans could focus their hatred. Itō later became the chairman of a group that advised the Japanese emperor on territorial expansion. As part of his duties, he planned to travel to Harbin to meet with the Russian Minister of Finance and inspect northern Manchuria in October of 1909. He left on the inspection tour and arrived in Harbin at about nine o'clock in the morning of 26 October.

By passing himself off as a Japanese press reporter, An was able to obtain access very close to the arriving dignitaries. Itō's first act on his arrival at the railway station was to inspect a contingent of Russian Army troops, which had been turned out for the occasion. At that moment, An burst from the crowd, aimed his pistol and shot Itō three times, in the chest, stomach and shoulder. Further shots missed their mark, but some hit other Japanese dignitaries travelling with the party. An was quickly arrested by the Russian military police and later taken to a prison in Manchuria.

Throughout his captivity, An insisted he should not be treated as a common criminal but as a prisoner of war. He argued that he was leading Korean troops against the Japanese at the time and killed Itō as an act of war. The Japanese, of course, did not agree. An was sentenced and later executed on 26 March 1910 in Lushin Prison in China. Less than five months later, Japan officially annexed Korea.
Still venerated today, An is one of the most celebrated of Korea's independence fighters. A museum dedicated to him is located in the park on Namsan mountain in the centre of Seoul. A large statue and outdoor memorial are also to be found there. Further recognition, in the form of displays and a statue are located at the Independence Hall in Ch’ŏnan. A few photographs and other memorabilia of An’s can be seen at the Chŏltsusan Shrine, in Map’o, in western Seoul.

**An Hyang** (1243-1306)

An Hyang’s original name was Yu and his birthplace was Hŭngju (Present P’unggi, Yŏngju County, N.Kyŏngsang Province). His father, Pu, was qualified as a medical doctor, but served as a local clerk in the government administration. Later in life, however, Pu was appointed deputy commissioner of the Security Council. An was studious and as a very young man he passed the civil service examination. In 1275, the second year of King Ch’ungyŏl’s reign (r.1274-1308), he was appointed area administrator in Sangju and it was there that he confronted shamanism head-on. An would have none of the shaman disturbances of the peasant community: he abhorred the shamanistic perpetuation of superstition and resolved to rid his district of shaman activity.

An is traditionally accredited with the introduction of Neo-Confucianism to Korea. His initial exposure to Neo-Confucian ideas came from his study of *Chū Xi quan-shu* (Complete Works of Zhu Xi), read during his stay in the Yuan capital, while he was a member of a Koryŏ embassy there. Impressed by the idea of Zhu Xi (1130-1200), An made a copy of the Complete Works and brought it back to Koryŏ. He was a determined disciple of Zhu Xi’s work, and his contribution to Neo-Confucianism is principally not from his own speculative thought, but from his promotion of Confucian education and the propagation of Zhu Xi’s ideals. An does, however, make his own major contribution to Confucian theory, as in citing social ethics in his discussion of Confucius’s legacy, he is introducing a major recurring theme of fourteenth c. Korean Neo-Confucianism.

In 1318, twelve years after An’s death, King Ch’ungsuk (r.1313-30) ordered a Yuan artist to paint a portrait of An, in recognition of the great scholar’s achievements. That portrait can be seen today in the academy dedicated to An, the Sosu Sŏwŏn near Andong in N. Kyŏngsang Province. The Sosu Sŏwŏn, the oldest private Confucian academy in Korea founded in 1542 by Chu Sebong, still hosts ceremonies to An Hyang.

An is also known by the name An Yu. His given name had to be changed two centuries later, because Hyang was also the given name of King Munjong (r.1450-52), and thus out of respect to the sovereign, it had to be avoided by others. An is considered to be the founder of the Sunhŭng An lineage, which includes most persons with the surname An in present-day Korea. An Hyang was the third person to be inducted into the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy.

Within a century of its introduction by An, Neo-Confucianism flourished, with a major focus of the curriculum in the highest academic institution. It became the prevailing ideology of Chosŏn (1392-1910), and one which was firmly supported throughout by the Chosŏn court’s commitment to Neo-Confucianism.

An Ikt’ae (see Ahn Eak-tay)

**An Kyŏn** (?)

An Kyŏn is a representative painter of early Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Chigok, his courtesy name was Kado and his pen names were Hyŏndonja and Chuhyŏng. The majority of his works are from the time of King Sejong’s reign (1418-
1450), so An is presumed to be of this era. It is known that he was a government artist and served in the Painting Academy (Tohwawon), first as a sixth grade painter (sŏnhwa) and with later promotion to fourth grade (hogun).

An is undoubtedly the most highly-praised painter of early Chosŏn. He synthesised the techniques of the great masters to produce famous landscapes such as Mong yu towŏn to (Dream of Strolling in a Peach Garden), which is still acclaimed as a masterpiece. This work is said to be an artistic representation of a dream that Prince Anpy’ŏng, the son of Sejong, had. An is counted as one of the three great masters of the five-hundred year-long Chosŏn period, along with Kim Hongdo (1745-?) and Kim Chŏnhŭi (1786-1856). It is unfortunate that many of An’s paintings have not survived and that their only record is in literary documents. However, paintings such as Sashi p’algyŏn to (Eight Scenes of the Four Seasons) and the aforementioned Mong yu towŏn to attest to the artistic brilliance of An, as does the influence he had on future generations of Chosŏn artists.

Anam

[Industry]

Andong

Located in North Kyŏngsang Province, Andong (pop. 200 000) comprises the town of P’ungsan and the townships of Namsŏn, Namhu, Nokchŏn, Tosan, Pukhu, Sŏhu, Waryong, Ilichik, Imdong, Imha, Yean and P’ungch’ŏn. Surrounded by high mountains, the city itself is built among hills. The Naktong River flows through the city and provides water to the region. In 1976, the Andong Dam was built to the northeast, creating Andong Lake.

With afforestation covering nearly three quarters of the city and its environs, arable land is necessarily limited. Even so, fertile soil combined with relatively modern agricultural methods have led to fairly high crop yields. In the fertile areas of the P’ungsan plain in the northeast, rice is cultivated, while elsewhere, other grains along with dry-field crops such as red pepper, onion, potato and tomato are common. Andong soju, (a distilled liquor), is a celebrated local speciality. A number of stock-breeding farms exist and there are mining operations in the region also. The city’s industrial sector is limited to several small textile factories.

Tourists look to the area’s numerous cultural sites. Pongjong Temple, located in Sŏhu Township, contains the oldest extant buildings throughout Korea. Here, one finds Kŭngnakchŏn (Paradise Hall, National Treasure No. 15), Taeungjon (Main Buddha Hall, Treasure No. 55), Hwaŏm Kangdang (Avatamsaka Lecture Hall, Treasure No. 448) and Kogŭmdang (Old and New Hall, Treasure No. 449). Built during early Chosŏn, the temple’s Main Buddha Hall is acknowledged as a fine example of multiple bracket roof construction.

There are numerous ancient pagodas in the city, including a seven-storey brick pagoda (National Treasure No. 16) in Shinse-dong. Built during Greater Shilla, this 17-metre high pagoda is the oldest and largest brick pagoda in Korea. As for Buddha sculptures, there is a seated Buddha statue at Anjŏng Temple (North Kyŏngsang Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 44), a Buddha carved in relief at the Oksan Temple site, a seated Buddha statue (Treasure No. 58) from Greater Shilla in An’gi-dong, a statue of the ‘benevolent king’ at the Sŏak Temple site and a large Buddha figure (Treasure No. 115) commonly known as the ‘Chebiwŏn Maitreya’ in Ich’ŏn-dong. The Chebiwŏn figure’s body was carved from a large rock face, while the head was sculpted from a separate stone and then placed on the torso. Standing 12.38 metres high, this majestic figure is believed to have been carved in the twelfth century.
Andong is famous also as an area which has preserved its Confucian heritage. As a result, there is a fairly large number of Confucian artefacts and buildings. Located in Tosan Township’s T’oegeye Village, Tosan Sowon is one of the most important Confucian sites in the area. The school was founded in 1574 by the disciples of Yi Hwang (1501-1570, styled T’oegeye), one of Korea’s foremost Confucian philosophers. It was one of the forty-seven sowon (private academy) that survived the reforms of Taewon’gun (Yi Haëng, 1820-1898) at the end of Chosön. The school’s buildings now serve as a small museum. Other Confucian schools in the area include Pyongsan Sowon, Hogye Sowon, Andong Hyanggyo (founded during Chosön and rebuilt in 1986) and Imch’on Sowon which was founded in 1607 in honour of the scholar-official Kim Sôngil (1538-1593).

When Andong Dam was constructed in 1976, a large number of traditional houses were threatened by the rising water level. In order to preserve these historical buildings, Andong Folk Village was built on safe ground near the dam. Many of the old buildings here now serve as restaurants offering traditional Korean meals.

Hahoe Village, one of Korea’s most authentic folk villages, is located on the Naktong River in P’ungch’ön Township. Unlike many ‘folk villages’ in Korea, this is an actual settlement with a history going back hundreds of years. During Chosön, Hahoe was home to many famous Confucian scholars and government officials. In addition to its Confucian heritage, the village maintains several Shamanist traditions. The Pyolshin kut performed here is a Shaman ritual performed exclusively on the east coast of Korea. During part of the complex ceremony, performers don masks depicting various stereotyped roles. Villagers also produce handcrafted masks for sale to the public. In order to encourage these traditions, the city held the first International Mask-Dance Festival in October 1997. With financial support from the government, the residents have maintained about 130 traditional houses in the area. In recent years, the electricity supply lines running through the village have been placed underground in an attempt to maintain the site’s atmosphere. As an accurate picture of a Chosön community, the village has also become a popular location for the filming of historical scenes.

There are several schools of higher education in Andong. In 1979, Andong National College was established in Songch’in-dong, and Sangji Junior College is located to the east of the central business district.

**Andong National University**

Located in Andong in North Kyongsang Province, Andong National University was originally built as Andong Normal School (Andong Sabön Hakkyo) in 1947. In March 1962, it became Andong Junior College of Agriculture (Andong Nongông Ch’ogüp Taehak) and from 1965, the Andong Junior College of Education (Andong Kyoyuk Taehak).

In 1979, a presidential decree established the school as the four-year Andong National College (Andong Taehak), with Kim Haksu as its first dean. The college initially consisted of the Departments of Sino-Korean Literature; History; Folklore; Business Administration; International Trade; Home Economics; Music; and Fine Arts. In 1980, the Departments of English Education and Mathematics Education were added, followed by the Departments of Korean Language & Literature and Public Administration, in 1981. Throughout the 1980s, the college continued to expand, with the opening in 1988 of the Graduate School containing the Departments of Sino-Korean Literature; Folklore; Business Administration; and Chemistry.

In March 1991, the college was raised to the status of a university with Dr. Nam Gyu-chang as president. Today, Andong National University consists of the Colleges of Arts & Physical Fitness; Education; Engineering; Humanities; Life Science; Natural Science; and Social Science; as well as the Graduate School. Institutes within Andong University include
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902

Animals

The Korean peninsula is a part of the Palaearctic zoogeographical zone, and its geographical history, topography and climate divide the peninsula into highlands and lowlands. Areas included as being part of the highlands are the T’aebaek and Myohyang mountain ranges, and the Kaema Plateau, which have high altitudes and similar climatic conditions to the Amur-Ussuri river region of northern Manchuria. The flora of this region is characterised by dense boreal forests, and many of the highest mountains were covered with glaciers in the Pleistocene era. Accordingly, the animals found in this region are quite similar to those found in the boreal zones of Manchuria, China, Siberia, Sakhalin and Hokkaido. The lowlands form the majority of the peninsula and are distinguished by a more temperate climate. The fauna here are similar to those found in southern Manchuria, central China and Japan.

Species

There are six orders, seventeen families, forty-eight genera and seventy-eight species of mammals indigenous to Korea. Of the six orders, the most numerous is the Chiroptera (bat), with some twenty-eight subspecies followed by the Rodentia (rodent), with eighteen and the Carnivora (carnivore), with sixteen subspecies. There are also eleven subspecies of the Insectivore (shrew) order, seven subspecies in the Artiodactyla (ungulate mammals) order and two subspecies of the Lagomorpha (rabbit) order. Of the species found in Korea, some twenty-eight are reported to be endemic to Korea and include the *Hydropotes inermis argyopus* (a small deer; korani); *Meles meles melanogenys* (a badger; osori); *Nictereutes procyonoides* (a racoon; nöguri); *Erinaceus europaeus koreensis* (a hedgehog; kosümdoch’i’i); and *Talpa wogura coreana* (a mole; tudöji). Korea also has large animals, such as tiger; leopard; lynx; bear; wolf; wild boar; roe deer; and Amur goral (*naemorhedus goral raddeanus*). These larger mammals, however, are increasingly difficult to find in the wild and are thought to exist only in the more remote areas of the peninsula. There are also two endemic species of dog in Korea, the *Chindo-kae* and the *P’ungsan-kyon*.

There are eighteen orders, sixty-seven families, 189 genera and 191 subspecies of birds in Korea, with the largest portion of these being migratory. Some twenty-four genera or subspecies of birds have been designated as natural monuments by the Korean government, and include the White-bellied Black Woodpecker (*Dryocopus javensis richardi*; k’iinak sae); Japanese Crested Ibis (*Nipponia nippon*; taogi); Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*; komdok suri); Whooper Swan (*Cygnus cygnus*; k’un koni); Manchurian Crane (*Grus japonensis*; paek turumi); Mandarin Duck (*Aix galericulata*; wönangi); Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus*; pada mae); and the Great Bustard (*Otis tarda dybowskii*; nöshi). Other, frequently-seen birds include the Marsh Tit (*Parus palustris*; soe paksae); Siberian Ground Thrush (*Zoothera sibiricus sibiricus*; hwin nunsöpchí ppagwi); Black-naped Oriole (*Oriolus chinesis*; kkoekkori); Magpie (*Pica pica*; kkäch’i’); Carrion Crow (*Corvus corone*; kamagwi); House Swallow (*Hirundo rustica*; chebi) and the Tree Sparrow (*Passer montanus*; ch’amsae).

There are two orders of reptiles in Korea: Testudinata (turtles) and Squamata (snakes). The turtles of Korea can be divided, for the most part, into sea turtles such as the Leatherback Turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*; changsu köbuk); the Sea Turtle (*Chelonia japonica*; pada köbuk), and the freshwater or land turtles such as the Japanese Terrapin (*Geoclemys reevesii*; namsaengi) and the Snapping Turtle (*Amyda japonica*; chara). Poisonous snakes can be divided into three families and nine subspecies while non-venomous snakes account...
for an additional three families and fifteen subspecies. Some representative snakes include the Yellow-spotted Serpent (*Dinodon rufozonatum; nüng kurôngi*), Pit Viper (*Agkistrodon halys; salmu sa*) and the Thread Snake (*Zamensis spinalis; shil paem*).

Amphibians in Korea are separated into two orders, the Urodela (salamander) and Salientia (frog). There are three subspecies of salamander, including the Giant Salamander (*Hynobius nebulosus; toryongnyong*) and the Four-Toed Newt (*Salamandrella keyserlingii; nebal karak toryongnyong*). The frog order is represented in Korea with eleven subspecies such as the Red-Bellied Frog (*Bombina orientalis; mudang kaeguri*); Green Tree Frog (*Hyla arborea japonica; ch'ong kaeguri*); Golden Frog (*Rana nigromaculata chosenica; kim kaeguri*) and the Toad (*Bufo vulgaris; tukkôbi*).

Salt and freshwater fish in the waters on and around the Korean peninsula are divided into the Cyclostomata (bryozoans), composed of two orders, two families and five subspecies; Chondrichthyes (cartilaginous fish), which are composed of three orders, twenty-one families and fifty-nine subspecies; and Osteichthyes (true-bone skeleton fishes); which are divided into twenty-three orders, one-hundred and seventy-three families and eight-hundred and eight subspecies. Of these fish, about one-hundred and fifty are freshwater species. Commercially-popular fish are mostly saltwater varieties and include Mackerel (*Sawara niphonia; samch'i*); Yellow Corvenia (*Pseudosciaena manchurica; ch'am chogi*); Yellow-fin Tuna (*Elagatis bipinnulatus; ch'amch'i*); and Anchovy (*Engraulis japonica: myölich'i*). Korean waters are also rich in shellfish, and cephalopods such as octopus and squid. A large number of species are endemic and significant among these are some twenty-eight subspecies of carp (*Cyprinus carpio; ingô*) and five subspecies of herring (*Clupea pallasii; ch'ôngô*).

Arthropods compose the greatest number of creatures in Korea, there being three-hundred and sixty subspecies, or thereabouts, of Anachnoidea (spiders), five-hundred and thirty subspecies of Crustacea (marine or freshwater arthropods), and about five-thousand subspecies of the Insecta (insect) order. Among the insects, the Lepidoptera (butterfly) order is the largest with about one-thousand, four hundred subspecies; and this is followed by Coleoptera (beetles) with about one-thousand, one hundred and fifty subspecies; Hymenoptera (bees) with nine-hundred and twenty subspecies, Hemiptera (locust) with eight-hundred and eighty subspecies; and Diptera (flies) with four-hundred and forty subspecies. The Long-horned Beetle (*Callipogon relictus; changsu haniil so*) is counted among the natural monuments of Korean fauna.

**Utilisation of Fauna**

Fauna has long been important to the survival of the Korean people. From earliest times, humans have looked upon fish, animals and birds as a form of subsistence, which is evidenced by the presence of bones and shells in excavations of ancient sites. Large animals, such as mammoths, further supplied the early Koreans with bones, from which crude tools were made, and skins that protected them from the elements. Early man occupied those regions in Korea along waterways or the coastline, which provided a steady source of food. Excavations of coastal and riverside sites often reveal stone sinkers that were attached to the fishing nets. Rudimentary stone and bone arrowheads, and spear-tips reveal that ancient man had developed the skills necessary for hunting larger mammals including deer, wild boar and bear.

As ancient Korean societies emerged from the hunting and gathering communities in the late Neolithic period, agrarian skills were developed which made for more permanent settlement. The use of animals for food, however, remained an essential aspect of these early Korean states, with both fishing and hunting skills being further refined. It is also during this period and the early Bronze Age, that man began to domesticate oxen, horses and dogs. The horse was valued not only for transportation, but also as a means to increase
the ability to wage war, and by the advent of the Iron Age, implements made for the use of horses in battle had substantially increased. Therefore, as the ancient Korean states began to form confederations by either alliances or force, the horse became essential to aggressive acts and the defence of territory. The use of domesticated animals for agrarian purposes, however, was not accomplished until much later. Records in the *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) show that oxen were used in farming by at least the sixth century CE, but it is thought that in reality they had been domesticated and utilised earlier than this. Certainly, by the early Three Kingdoms, domesticated animals such as oxen played a major role in Korean agriculture. As society developed to higher levels, animals continued to be important to the survival and welfare of the people; but with hunting still a substantial factor in providing meat for their table and hides for their clothing.

Animals still play a major role in modern Korean society, although they are no longer used for transportation purposes, having given way to a variety of machines. Nevertheless, cattle, pig, poultry and dairy farms are all represented in Korea today, and each of these agricultural divisions has become a highly technical, scientific and economic enterprise. Likewise, marine products are being harvested through a variety of means, including deep-sea fishing and coastal shellfish beds. Additionally, animals serve an important role in the psyche of today’s Korean in that pets such as dogs and cats provide companionship and a means to alleviate stress. Further, fauna in the wild is greatly appreciated by many Koreans, as witnessed in the growing popularity of ornithology. While in past times the fauna of Korea was at risk through senseless slaughter or environmental pollution, today the national consciousness has grown in regard to the importance of preserving the natural environment and in maintaining natural habitats for fauna. This provides a new horizon for the protection and preservation of the diverse fauna of Korea.

**Bibliography**


**Animism**

Animism, the doctrine of *anima mundi*, is the attribution of living soul to plants, inanimate objects and natural phenomena. It is the behavioural system founded in the veneration of natural objects and the endowment of these objects with supernatural powers. Often, the worship of natural objects discloses a hierarchy in which, for example, a sky or heaven god is given a higher status than an earth or mountain god. The objects held sacred by the ancients reveal four basic groups: celestial bodies, geographic items, physical objects and animals. Celestial bodies included the heavens, with the sun, moon, stars; and the traits of nature (such as thunder and lightning), cloud formations and rain. Geographic items might include mountains, rivers, seas, and the earth itself. Of the physical objects, caves, grains, rocks, trees and small bodies of water were included; while animals held sacred included the bear, crow, dragon, (certain types of) fish, tiger, magpie, and snake.

Ancient Korean man held animistic beliefs, in combination with shaman convictions. Many natural objects were seen as being possessed of supernatural qualities, or the presence of a ‘soul’ that denoted immortality. Early men and women believed in the human soul and this belief is seen in the development of burial customs and rites. These sought to protect the corpse from evil spirits by covering it with stones, and also to provide the dead with the tools and hunting articles needed in the life to come. The ‘souls’ of natural objects were thus venerated by ancient man as the means of invoking their supernatural powers to act for the good of man. From these beliefs, rudimentary incantatory rituals developed among ancient communities, and these in turn evolved into the state rituals practised in the ancient
Korean kingdoms of Puyŏ, Koguryŏ and Ye.

Animistic Rituals

One ancient ritual that gives fragmentary glimpses of the animistic beliefs of ancient Koreans is the Much’ŏn of the Ye Kingdom. Accounts of this ritual are found in Chinese sources, like the Sangou zhi (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the Houhan shu (History of the Later Han). They relate that in the tenth lunar month the people of Ye gathered to perform a ritual to the heavens, and this included song, dance, food and drink. The Ye people held the tiger in great esteem and rituals were performed to supplicate it for the benefit of the kingdom. The Yŏnggo ritual held by the Puyŏ people was similar in many aspects to the Much’ŏn, and the underlying rationale for holding this ceremony was to offer thanksgiving for a successful harvest. Like the Ye ritual, the Yŏnggo was offered to the celestial forces that governed agriculture. Its importance in Puyŏ society can be seen in the fact that the king acted as the chief officiant of the ceremony and that the entire population participated in the ritual activities. Therefore, from these and other records we can ascertain the importance given to various animistic deities by early Koreans.

Animistic-based ritual continued to exist in Korea even after religions such as Buddhism entered Korea. Animism, with its close cousin shamanism, is deeply imbedded in Korean folk practices, many of which are still in existence. An examination of the belief system that surrounds the cult of Sanshin shinang (beliefs in mountain gods) shows that animistic practices are still prominent in many aspects of Korean folk religion. Ritual offerings, prayers or other supplications have long been offered to the deity of a particular mountain in the desire to receive supernatural assistance in one form or another. Sacrifices are commonly offered to sanshin, either by individuals or communities, to bring about an abundant harvest, to usher in a fortuitous year or in the case of many women, to allow them to give birth to a male child. Hence, the practice of making pilgrimages to certain mountains, or offering sacrifices to the deity of a mountain, remain common manifestations of animistic beliefs.

There are other practices in recent times and some present-day folk customs which also represent the continuation of animistic beliefs, although due to the syncretic nature of folk religions in Korea, it is sometimes difficult to clearly differentiate between animistic and shamanistic belief systems. Many villages in former times (and today, too), have spirit trees (shin namu) at which offerings are made to tutelary deities on behalf of the village or an individual. These trees are believed to be growing where the guardian deity of the village resides, and so invocations are made directly to the tree. Sottae (spirit poles) and changsŏng (guardian posts) represent respectively, the presence of a tutelary deity and the protective powers of a guardian deity. These materialisations of supernatural powers are often used in conjunction with one another, and thus serve to protect the village from baleful forces. A further example of animism in contemporary Korean folk beliefs is evidenced in sushin shinang (belief in water deities), which is particularly strong in coastal villages. Rituals are offered to the sushin to protect seafarers and also to ensure an abundant catch. The sushin is often represented by the Dragon King (yŏngwang), a deity that has many rituals offered to it in order to secure its blessing.

Animistic Deities

Foremost among animistic deities are the gods of the heavens, sun, moon and constellations such as the Ch’ilŏng (Big Dipper and Ursa Major). Belief in sky or heaven gods usually focused on explaining the origins of the universe, its structure and its dynamics. The god of the heavens is often based in a masculine ideology, which can be contrasted with the earth goddesses that are predominantly female. The gods of the sun and moon are both deities which are believed to be protectors of man. Specifically, they illuminate the world and protect mankind from the evil forces which control darkness. The
seven deities of Ch’ilsŏng have been ascribed various powers depending upon period and region, including rainfall regulation; functioning as protectors of young children; and being capable of influencing the fortunes and longevity of humans. The deities of the celestial bodies are considered to be in the upper echelon of animistic deities.

Along with the aforementioned mountain and water deities, the most numerous of the animistic gods are those embodied by animals. Perhaps due to the agility, strength, beauty or sheer size of animals, ancient man held these creatures in awe and thus sought to invoke the superior qualities of the animals on his behalf. Moreover, the fear that ancient man held for larger animals such as tigers and bears may also have been the psychological basis for the veneration of certain animals. Some creatures were thought to be capable of defining the future - magpies, spiders and ants were included here - such as the song of a magpie being an auspicious omen foretelling a visit. On the other hand, the sighting of a spider in the evening was thought to be a bad omen. Tigers and dragons are perhaps the most prominent subjects of animal veneration. The tiger, almost always closely associated with the sanshin, was honoured as the supreme deity of the mountains and rituals offered to it were thought to prevent disaster. The dragon, although an imaginary beast, was closely aligned with water, and so supplications were often offered to the Dragon King to prevent or end droughts. Other animals such as snakes and foxes were also highly venerated in ancient animistic practices.

**Animistic Beliefs in Literature**

The prevalence of animistic beliefs among early Koreans is strongly evidenced by the presence of animistic themes in literature of the times. The themes are especially strong in the foundation myths of the ancient kingdoms and in family origin legends. Representative of the manifestation of animistic beliefs in foundation myths are found in legends like the Tan’gun shinhwa (The Myth of Tan’gun) and Tongmyŏng shinhwa (The Saga of King Tongmyŏng). In the Tan’gun shinhwa the bear is deified and by virtue of its patience, is transformed into a human. The bear-women then becomes the mother of the king of Ko Chosen, Tan’gun, as a result of her union with the heavenly being, Hwanung. In the Tongmyŏng shinhwa, not only is the founder of Koguryŏ, Chumong, born from an egg carried from heaven by a winged-horse, he is also the recipient of supernatural aid from animals. Therefore, Tongmyŏng shinhwa shows clearly the desire of humans to control the forces of nature, and in particular, the animal kingdom. Other foundation myths of the early Korean states reveal similar beliefs based in the worship of animals and the desire to possess their powers. Family origin myths often incorporate similar themes as those in the foundation myths. The origins of the founders of the Pak, Sok and Kim clans of Shilla are all tied to animals and reveal the aspiration of these early clans to elevate their status through the vinculum of animals and their supernatural powers.

Animistic beliefs are also manifested in folk culture through the medium of folk beliefs and folktales. Thus, tales in which animals provide assistance to humans such as the turtle that rescues the father of the protagonist in Sukhyang chŏn (The Tale of Sukhyang); the magpie that shelters the abandoned princess in Pari kongju (The Abandoned Princess); and the swallow that repays the kindness of the principal in Hŭngbu chŏn (The Tale of Hŭngbu), all demonstrate animistic elements. Particularly strong in Korean folklore are those themes that exhibit animals as either benefactors of humans or as maintaining reciprocal relations with humans. Other folk beliefs founded in animistic beliefs display convictions of gaining the benefit of supernatural forces present in water, mountains, stones, trees or celestial bodies, through prayer and ritual offerings. Thus, rituals offered to a mountain deity in the hope of bearing a son, or for the prosperity of one’s family are also deeply influenced by animistic beliefs. On examining the myths, legends and folk customs of Korea, it is clear that animistic concepts are quite common and have had a crucial impact on the evolution of Korean folk culture.
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Ansan

Ansan is in Kyŏnggi Province, and is located in a coastal area south of Shihŭng and Taebu Island. Except for Mt. Ma (246m) in the northeast, the city’s terrain is flat. The Hwajŏng and Ansan streams flow through the city centre into Kyŏnggi Bay.

As a satellite city of Seoul, Ansan is connected with the capital and to Suwŏn and Inch’ŏn by an extensive network of highways and railways. Many of the city’s residents either work in Seoul, or in local factories which produce fabricated metal, chemicals, textiles and foodstuffs. Taking advantage of the area’s paper mills, many printing works and shops have also opened here. Fishing and fish-farming also contribute to the local economy.

The city’s tourist industry is centred around sports fishing along the coast and in Hwarang Farm Reservoir. Wild orchid and reed grow around the reservoir, which is frequented by flocks of skylark, wagtail, water fowl and sparrow. On weekends, large numbers of tourists from Seoul come to the markets here to buy fresh seafood.

As for historical relics, prehistoric artefacts including dolmens, stone tools and pottery shards have been found in the area. In addition, the original site of the grave of Queen Hyŏndŏk (King Munjong’s wife and King Tanjong’s mother) is located in Mongnae-dong. Legend has it that after King Sejo deposed the child King Tanjong and had him murdered, the queen appeared to him in a dream, threatening revenge. In an attempt to get rid of the vengeful spirit of the queen, King Sejo had her coffin removed and thrown into the sea. However, a farmer who later saw it floating by secretly buried it in an auspicious spot in a pleasant sunny area.

Ansŏng County

As part of Kyŏnggi Province, Ansŏng County is comprised of the town of Ansŏng and the townships of Kosam, Kôngdo, Kŭmgwang, Taedŏk, Miyang, Pogae, Samjuk, Sŏun, Yangsŏng, Chuksan, Ilchuk and Wŏn’gok. Mt. Mai (472m), Mt. Tŏksŏng (521m), Mt. Ch’irhyŏn (516m), Mt. Sŏun (547m) and other peaks of the Ch’aryŏng Mountain Range run along the county’s southeastern border, while Mt. Ssangnyong (491m) and Mt. Talgi (415m) rise in the north. Streams from these mountains flow into the Kosam, Kŭmgwang and Midun reservoirs.

Apart from its mountainous terrain, much of the county consists of flat terrain conducive to rice cultivation. Fruits and dry-field vegetable crops are also grown here, and Ansŏng grapes are especially famous for their delicious flavour. Speciality crops include ginseng, which is grown in the Pogae and Yangsŏng townships, and tobacco, which is grown in the Ilchuk and Ijuk townships. Beef and dairy cattle, deer and chicken are also raised, chiefly as a secondary source of farming income. The county’s mines excavate tungsten and coal, while local factories produce textiles, chemicals, machinery, paper and brassware. Ansŏng brassware is one of the area’s traditional products. Yet the area’s industrial sector is relatively underdeveloped compared with other areas in Kyŏnggi Province. As a result, Ansŏng has been able to avoid many of the pollution problems that plague much of Korea today.
The county’s clean environment and its scenic beauty have made it a haven for artists. A large community of artists centres around Omma Ranch in Ansong. This ‘ranch’ contains both recreational and lodging facilities, as well as places where artists can gather to exchange ideas. Every May, the ranch hosts the Norigul Festival which exhibits installation art, ballet, folk rituals and art exhibitions.

Tourists from Seoul visit the area to picnic and fish by the reservoirs and streams, and to see the various historical sites scattered around the county. Since Shilla times, the area has had close connections with Buddhism. National Master Hyeguk, Grand Master Ön’gi (1581-1644) and Grand Master Pyŏnggŭng all came from this area, and there are several ancient Buddhist temples, including Ch’ilch’ŏng Temple at Mt. Ch’ilchang, and the Sŏngnam and Ch’ŏngnyong temples near Mt. Sŏun. As for Confucian schools, there is the Tōkpong Sŏwŏn in Yangsŏng Township, the Ansong Hyanggyo (founded in 1533), the Chuksan Hyanggyo in Ijuk Township and the Yangsŏng Hyanggyo which was built during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720).

**Ansong Stream**

The origin of Ansong Stream is in Ansong County, Kyŏnggi Province, in the townships of Kosam and Pogae. It flows through P’yŏng’taek before entering Asan Bay. This 76 km-long stream was first known as Ansŏngnam Stream. Where the minor stream of Chinwi, Ipchang, Han, Ch’ŏngnyong, Osan, Todae and Hwangguji converge with Ansong Stream, there is the alluvial Ansong Plain. Made up of rich sedimentary deposits, this fertile plain, along with Kimp’o Plain, has traditionally been the main rice-producing region in Kyŏnggi Province. Until Asan Dyke was built on the stream’s lower reaches, tidal waters reached Shinho Village in P’yŏng’taek, but the construction of the dyke led to the reclamation of a large area of level land which was eminently suitable for farming. On the upper reaches of the stream, Kŭmgwang Reservoir was built in 1956 and Kosam Reservoir in 1958. Originally constructed for irrigation, these reservoirs have become popular fishing places.

**Anyang**

Anyang is located southwest of Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. Mt. Samsŏng (456m) is to the north of the city, while Suam Peak (395m) and Mt. Suri are in the south. Streams from these mountains flow into Anyang Stream which runs through the centre of the city.

As a satellite city of Seoul, Anyang has had rapid industrial development. Although the amount of cultivated land has continued to decline as a result of the area’s urban spread, rice is still cultivated in the level area south of Hagŭl Stream. There are also stock-breeding and poultry farms. Excellent transportation networks link the city to Seoul and Inch’ŏn, and numerous large and medium-sized industries have been established, producing textiles, chemicals, machinery and foodstuffs.

The city’s tourist industry attracts visitors from Seoul and elsewhere who come to visit Anyang Resort and the city’s Buddhist temples. Historically, the most important monastery is Sammak Temple on Mt. Samsŏng. Believed to have been founded by Wŏnhyo during the reign of Shilla’s King Munmu (r. 661-681), this ancient temple contains a large number of artefacts including a relief carving of a Buddha and attendant Bodhisattvas, a bronze bell, a three-storey stone pagoda and a stele commemorating events at the temple (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 94, 95, 112 and 125 respectively). The Main Buddha Hall and Myŏngbu (Lord of Death) Hall have also been designated as historical objects.

At the old site of Chungch’ŏ Temple in Sŏksu-dong, there is a pair of stone bannerpole supports (Treasure No. 4) that were erected in 827 along with a three-storey pagoda.
thought to date from the mid-Koryo period. In Sŏksu-dong, there is Manan Bridge, which was built in 1795.

**Aphae Island**

Aphae Island is located about two kms. northwest of Mokp'o in the Yellow Sea. Administratively, the island is part of Aphae Township in South Cholla Province’s Shinan County. The island has a total area of 47.47 sq. kms and coastline of 79kms. Mt. Inmae (125m) is in the north of the island and Mt. Songgong (231m) in the west. Chiefly because of its remote location, Aphae island served as a place of exile during Chosŏn. Sites of historical interest include dolmens in Kwangnip Village, remains of Songgong Fortress in Songgong Village and Kŭmsan Temple in Karyong Village.

Aphae Island has an annual rainfall averaging 1125mm annually, but its snowfall is usually light. Over half of the island is arable land and of this about 9.0 sq. kms grows rice. Dry-field crops grown include barley, legumes, sweet potato, garlic, hot pepper and sesame. Most of the island’s workforce engages both in farming and fishing. Fishing vessels bring in catches of yellow corbina, grey mullet and octopus. On the southwest coast, there are oyster and laver farms as well as salt flats.

**April Nineteen Revolution, The**

The discipline of archaeology was introduced into the Korean peninsula by Japanese researchers in the late 1800s and developed there under the aegis of the Japanese colonial government between 1910 and 1945. Some of the major projects involved excavation of the Luolang commandery headquarters at T’osŏng-ni and nearby tombs (e.g. Tomb of the Painted Basket, Tomb of Wang Kuang); many Koguryŏ tombs in both Jian (modern China) and around P’yŏngyang; several Shilla tombs in Kyŏngju (e.g. the Golden Bell tomb, Gold Crown tomb); mountain fortresses, temples and dolmen sites, etc. The site reports appear in several series, mainly published by the Governor General of Chŏsen (Chosen Sotokufu). These are still indispensable to archaeological research today.

The Japanese government maintained a museum in the Chosŏn capital of Kaesŏng, but a new purpose-built museum was opened in P’yŏngyang in October 1933 to house the artifacts from the Luolang commandery, tombs, and excavations in P’yŏngyang. These materials now reside in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul.

**Modern North Korean archaeology**

Excavations by North Korean archaeologists began immediately in the post-war period, with To Yuho considered ‘a pioneer’ in archaeological research. By 1950, the Sŏp’o-hang-dong and Kungsan shellmiddens and the Anak tombs 1, 2 and 3, and the Ch’o’odo sites had been investigated. Reports of these excavations were published through the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Academy of Science; in the late 1960s; this Institute was divided into separate institutes housed in the Academy of Social Sciences. In the mid-1960s, unusual cooperative work was carried out with Chinese colleagues, such as at the Gangshang and Loushang tombs in Liaodong in 1963-65 and at the Kwanggaet’o stele in 1966. Currently, the Institute of Archaeology conducts most excavations, with additional work done through Kim Il Sung University or local museums such as Shinŭju Museum, Kaesŏng Museum and Chosŏn Museum of History. The ‘pooling of minds’ is also a noted feature of North Korean cooperative research, where interpretations are arrived at by consensus.
The laws governing site and artifact preservation were promulgated early: the Regulation of the Preservation of National Relics and the Natural Environment was passed in 1946 and the Principles of Preservation of Material Culture in 1948. In 1972 a new constitution was enacted, under which the Juch‘e (self-reliance) philosophy of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) became the official ideology governing the interpretation of archaeological remains. In essence, it requires the demonstration of autochthonous development without outside influence. Whereas South Korean scholars readily derive the source of the Korean Bronze Age from Siberia and Manchuria, and openly acknowledge the presence of a Chinese Han Dynasty commandery on the peninsula, North Korean scholars are constrained to view the Bronze Age remains and those of the Luolang commandery as local developments—assigning the latter to the proto-historical Mahan group. Under this philosophy also, the centralized societies of Chosön (2nd c. BCE) and Koguryó (1-668 CE) are judged to have been consolidated states whose rule extended well into the Manchurian Basin. Thus, the North Korean view of early Korean society differs from South Korea in four basic ways: 1) outside influence is rejected; 2) Koreanness is projected over a much greater region of Northeast Asia (especially modern-day northeast China but even to Japan); 3) a Marxist framework provides for materialist interpretations (Old Chosön is described as a slave society and the Three Kingdoms as a feudal society); and 4) periods such as the Neolithic, Bronze Age and the early Chosön state are assumed to extend farther back in time than in the South.

Most archaeological work has been published through the Institute of Archaeology (and Ethnology), but several journals and monograph series receive provincial reports for publication: Munhwa yumul (1949-50), Munhwa yusan (1957-1963), Kogo minsok (1963-67), Kogo minsok nonmunjip (1969-1984), Kogohak charyojip (1958-), Chosön kogo yŏn’gu (1986). Syntheses of peninsular archaeology published in the north include the pre-Juch‘e work of To Yuho, Chason wonshi kogohak (1961), followed by the heavily Juch‘e-influenced works edited through the Institute of Archaeology, Chosön kogohak kaeyo (also in English, 1977) and Chosön chon’sa (33 vols., 1979). As apparent in these titles, much of the emphasis of North Korean research concentrates on the large proto-historic states in the north: Old Chosön (dated by them to the 1st millennium BCE); what the Northern researchers consider Chosön's direct descendent, Koguryó (which they date to 4-3rd c. BCE-CE 7th c.) and Koguryó's successor, Parhae (713-926). Among the Koguryó sites to have been excavated are the Taesŏng and Ch'angsu fortresses, Anhak Palace, King Tongmyong's tomb, Chŏngnŭngsa Temple, and the Yŏkp’o district of P’yŏngyang. Because of direct access to material remains, North Korean researchers have excelled in reconstructing their brand of social history for the Koguryó, while South Korean scholars are allegedly limited to analysis of documents for study of political systems and international relations.

Modern South Korean archaeology

Government control of and policy relating to Korea's cultural properties, including archaeological activities intended to discover cultural relics, is exercised through the Cultural Property management Office.

Archaeology is organised through three different types of organisations in South Korea: the universities (and their affiliated museums, which host the archaeological teams, publish the reports and house the artifactual results); the national museum system (headed by the National Museum of Korea in Seoul with at least nine branches in the major cities of Kyŏngju, Kŏngju, Kwangju, Chŏnju, Ch'ŏngju, Chinju, Puyo, Ch’unch’ŏn, and Taegu); and the Research Institute of Cultural Properties Preservation in Seoul, which maintains teams at outlying excavation sites. The last also incorporates a Conservation Science Department which can process special finds, such as metal objects, from excavations throughout the country.
Unlike other countries, there is currently no clear division between academic and public archaeology domains. Most of the rescue work is demanded by governmental activity in building dams, transportation networks, etc. Teams from both museums and universities, as quasi-governmental bodies, are commandeered to work on the rescue sites.

The largest projects have been investigations of proposed dam sites, requiring surface survey to identify sites and then archaeological excavation of the most sensitive. The work is usually extended over several years, and the research is carried out by several institutions, often with special teams (chosadan) created for the project. The teams are advised by members of national bodies such as the Central Cultural Properties Office (Chungan Munhwajae Uiwon), the Central National Museum (Chungan Kungnip Pangmulgwan), and local Cultural Properties Offices. An example is the Hapch’on Dam project begun in 1984 when the dam site in South Kyongsang province was found to contain Kaya period mounded tombs and kiln sites from the late Three Kingdoms to early Greater Shilla periods. Excavation started in 1986, with the Donga University Museum responsible for the Pan’gye-ri Tomb Cluster and the Chinju National Museum responsible for the Chukchung-ni Temple Remains. The excavation team, headed by the Director of the Chinju National Museum, was comprised of individuals from the National Museums in Chinju, Kongju, Chonju, Kwangju, Seoul and Kyongju; from various schools such as Pukdae Hakkyo, Taejon Kaebang Taehak, S. Kyongsang Hagye Yonggwan and Kyongbuk University; and other bodies such as Hoam Art Museum and Shilla Folk Village. The reports for such projects are published by the institution of the project director. In the case of the Pangyeje excavations, work at three locations was carried out between October 1986 and April 1987, and by December 1987, the report on two of the locations had been submitted for publication. Such reports are circulated among institutions and are not available for sale, though individuals can obtain copies if requested.

This kind of cooperative organisation is unusual in the rescue archaeology world. Many countries either have local government teams in charge of excavations in a specified administrative area, or work is put out to tender with specialised contract companies who bid for the job. The latter kind of contract archaeology is unknown in Korea, and the system there is reminiscent of Japan’s cultural properties organisation before museums and universities began refusing to do governmental excavations in the early 1970s, forcing the Japanese prefectural Boards of Education to install their own teams of government archaeologists.

In addition to reports compiled for rescue projects by the special chosadan teams, national museums and university museums have their own series for excavation reports. These are available on an exchange basis. The major society journal is the Han’guk Kogo hakbo (whose antecedent was Kogohak), published by the Han’guk Kogohakhoe (Korean Archaeological Society), currently based at Hanyang University. Both this society and the Central National Museum produce monthly new letters of archaeological activities and discoveries.

Many universities in South Korea teach archaeology at the undergraduate level, but graduate students traditionally travelled abroad for Ph.D. degrees, beginning with archaeology doyen Kim Wonyong at New York University in the late 1950s. This trend has resulted in a far greater number of degree-holders in archaeology than in neighbouring Japan, for example, where Ph.D. degrees are not required even for university teaching positions. With the institution of local degree programs in archaeology in the late 1980s, e.g., at Seoul National University and Hanyang University, more home-trained students are now filling university posts.

Korean cultural history
The succession of periods in Korea’s prehistory and protohistory resembles the Western scheme: a Palaeolithic of uncertain beginnings (perhaps as early as 400,000 BCE) lasting to the end of the Pleistocene period around 10,000 BCE; the Chūlmun period (6,000-2,000/1,500 BCE), often described as ‘neolithic’, with textured pottery but without agriculture; the Mumun period (2,000-700 BCE) of plain pottery and beginning agriculture (both rice and millet); the Bronze Age (700 BCE-CE 0), heralded by the advent of an unusually shaped bronze sword from the Manchurian region; the Iron Age, beginning in the north around 400 BCE and in the south at 0 CE. Because of its differential start, this period is usually split into two segments, the Early Iron Age (400 BCE-CE 0) and Late Iron Age (CE 0-300), the latter of which is often called the Proto-Three Kingdoms period because of the founding of complex societies during this period or also the Luolang period because of the Han Dynasty occupation of the northern peninsula under the Luolang commandery. The beginning of the Three Kingdoms period (CE 300-669) is marked archaeologically by the advent of monumental tombs and signified in the literature by the destruction of Luolang by Koguryō in 313. The three major kingdoms (Paekche, Shilla and Koguryō) plus the southern confederacy of Kaya polities vied over territory, with Shilla eventually unifying the peninsula south of P’yŏngyang, while much former Koguryō territory became the Parhae state. The Greater Shilla period (669-935) is marked by capital and temple building during the formalisation of the state’s administrative structure along the lines of Tang dynasty China.

With an extensive governmental programme to reconstruct archaeological sites for public consumption, the visitor to South Korea is able to see and experience architectural forms from almost every prehistoric period. For the neolithic Chūlmun period, Amsadong site near Seoul has several reconstructed pit-houses and a site museum. Bronze Age dolmens can be seen near Seoul and Kwangju cities, while the Masan shellmound site near Pusan can be climbed to reach a small site museum. Restored tombs are most prolific: the Pan’gi-dong and Sokch’n-dong tombs in Seoul and King Muryŏng’s tomb in Kongju represent the Paekche Kingdom, while Kyŏngju’s Tumulus Park preserves the Shilla Kingdom royal cemetery—with one tomb, The Flying Horse tomb, open inside as a site museum. Walled fortresses of the Three Kingdoms period are excellently represented by Mongch’ŏn T’osŏng, now constituting the Olympic Park in Seoul.

**Chronology of Korean Prehistory** to be inserted.

**Bibliographies**


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G Barnes
Architectural Institute of Korea

Located in Sadang-dong in Seoul, (Taehan Kǒnch’uk Hakhoe) had its origin (September 1945) as the Chosŏn Architectural Technique Organisation (Chosŏn Kǒnch’uk Kisul Tan). Its name was changed to the Chosŏn Architectural Technique Association (Chosŏn Kǒnch’uk Kisul Hyŏphoe) in 1954 and it acquired its present name when new Articles of Association were adopted. The Institute meets formally in the spring and autumn and publishes monthly, Architecture, and Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea. July 1995 statistics show that the AIK had 3 976 members.

Architecture

Traditional Korean Architecture

Traditional architecture in Korea is classified into three categories which basically accord to the materials used in the construction: wooden structures, stone structures and brick structures. Most buildings used as residences or in which people worked or studied were made of wood, including houses, palaces, government offices, kaeksa (official guest house), munmyo (Confucian shrine), hyanggyo (Confucian academy), and so on. Stone structures included buildings such as pagodas, bridges, and fortresses, while those made of brick also included pagodas and tombs.

Wooden architecture comprises 'columnar architecture', which can be classified as either, 'mindori structures' or 'kongp’o structures'. Mindori consists of joined columns, beams, cross beams, and roof trusses, whereas kongp’o is a type of 'eave-support structure'. Kongp’o is composed of capitals and brackets, and supports the roof beams at the top of the columns with a horizontal member, which can be seen between the columns.

Residential architecture mainly used the mindori structure which developed from the dugout hut constructions of the Neolithic period. Kongp’o structures, which already existed during the Koguryó Kingdom (B.C.E. 37- C.E. 668), were used in the construction of authoritative architecture, such as palaces, government offices, temples, and the like. During the Chosŏn Kingdom (1392-1910) the principal architectural designs used wooden columnar structure. However, by the end of the 19th century, Korea's political situation had changed and Western countries, as well as Japan, strongly pressured Korea into opening its ports. Eventually, as a result of the Kanghwa Treaty in 1876, Korea opened the port of Pusan to foreign ships. With this treaty the number of foreign residences increased, and foreign delegations and many business enterprises were founded. As a result, Korea was introduced to many new types of buildings.

It is not known for certain exactly where the first Western-style building was located, but there is reason to think that it was built by the late 1870s. In 1880, the Japanese construction company Daikuragumi built a two-storey, western-type consulate building. The first commercial building was a telephone exchange office which had three single level brick buildings and a high chimney. The British legation was built in Chŏng-dong (1890), followed shortly by the legations of Russia, France and Belgium. All of these brick buildings were designed in a quasi-Renaissance style. During this same period there were also buildings of various religious organizations constructed in Seoul such as the Paejae Academy (1886), the Myŏng-dong Bishop's Residence (1890), and the gothic-style Myŏng-dong Cathedral (1892-98).

From 1910 Korea was under the colonial rule of Japan. The Governor-General designed and constructed the main administration building of the Japanese government together with a considerable number of government offices and public schools, among other buildings. The head office of the Chosŏn Bank, Kyŏngsŏng Metropolitan Prefecture Post Office and Kyŏngsŏng Metropolitan Prefecture Railroad Station are representative of the buildings in
this era. In the 1930's, rationalistic and modern architectural style buildings were constructed, such as Hwashin Department Store (1931) and the Chosŏn Newspaper Building (Chosŏn Ilbosa, 1935).

Conversely, from the 1930's Korean architects graduating from specialized educational institutions, designed many buildings and subsequently handed down their values to the next generation, and to the post-independence generation. Two prominent architects of this period were Pak Killyong and Pak Tongjin. After liberation, Yi Chonsŏng and Kim Hŭijun influenced the architectural trends of the period, particularly during the Korean War. Perhaps born of the necessities of the times, their styles leaned towards functionalism.

**Buddhist Temple Architecture**

Korean Buddhist architecture commenced with the building of the Cho'mun and Ibullan Temples. There are three basic designs that resulted from this period. First, is a design that has a pagoda located in the centre of the complex and is surrounded by three main halls which are located to both sides and to the north. The second design features a temple with a pagoda located in front of the main hall. The third design has a pair of pagodas for each of the main halls. The first and second designs were established during the Three Kingdoms Period (B.C.E. 1st--C.E. 7th century), but the third belongs to the Greater Shilla Period (618-935 C.E.).

Another factor that influenced the design of temples during the period of Greater Shilla was the relocation of temple sites. Owing to both geomantic concerns, and the prevalence of esoteric Buddhism and the Zen Buddhist sect (Kor. sŏn), Buddhist temples, which had been built on level sites and centred around the capital, moved to sites deep in the mountains. The remote location of Buddhist temples became a distinctive feature and factor influencing their design throughout Korea.

The site of Chŏngnŭng Temple shows a distinctive layout, with the two main halls housing an octagonal pagoda at their centre, that differs from the three general temple sites listed above. The sites of Kŭmgang Temple at Chongam Village of the Koguryŏ Kingdom, Kunsu Village Temple at Puyŏ of the Paekche Kingdom, Hwangyŏng Temple at Kyŏngju of the Shilla Kingdom, and the site of Manbok Temple at Namwŏn of the Koryŏ period are all classified as being of the first design above. The second general temple design mentioned above can be seen at the site of Chŏngnim Temple, and Kŭmgang Temple in Puyŏ, which was the capital of the Paekche Kingdom. Hŭngnyun Temple in Kyŏngju is an example of a Greater Shilla period temple that is described in the third classification above.

Most Korean temples, including such well-known temples as Pulguk, Pŏmŏ, and Hwaŏm, are located in mountainous regions so it was necessary to adapt the temple sites to the terrain. It is notable that the central axis of each building does not lie in a straight line, but at an angle. Therefore, the symmetrical balance of the whole of each building as it rises is gradually imposed. By using alternating open and closed breaks, a hierarchy of space is formed. All of these factors together, result in traditional Korean temple architecture that brings out the dynamic spatial characteristics of the temples very expressively.

**Chogye Temple**

Chogye Temple is located at 44 Susong-dong, Chongno-gu, in Seoul. This temple houses the headquarters of the Korean Buddhist Chogye sect, the largest of the eighteen Buddhist sects in Korea. This temple is ideally suited for the headquarters with its location in Seoul. Notable structures include Taewung Hall which was built in 1910, the Buddhist-Assembly Hall, the Buddhist Purification Memory Hall, the Bell Pavilion, the Temple Bell,
seven-storey stone stupa, and the Sari Pagoda among others.

Chŏndŭng Temple

Chŏndŭng Temple is located on Kanghwa Island on the estuary of the Han River north of the Port of Inchŏn. The temple was built by the Buddhist priest Ado in 381 C.E., in the eleventh year of King Sosurim (r. 371-384) and initially named Chinjong Temple. It was later renamed Chŏndŭng Temple, which means the temple of the transmitted lamp, after Princess Chonghwa, the first wife of King Ch'ungyŏl (r. 1274-1308), presented a jade lamp to the temple in 1282.

The main hall (Taeungbo) and Yaksa Hall have been designated as National Treasures along with a nine-hundred year old temple bell (of Chinese origin). Also within the compound are the sites of a repository for historical records and a library, Sŏnwŏnbo, where the genealogical records of the royal family of the Chosŏn Kingdom were kept.

Haein Temple

Haein Temple, located at the foot of the majestic Kaya mountains in Hapchŏn

County, South Kyŏngsang Province, is famous for being the place in which the Tripitaka Koreana (P'alman taejanggyŏng), an over 80,000 wood-block set of Buddhist scriptures which were carved in the Koryŏ period to protect the nation, is stored. With the presence of the Tripitaka Koreana, Haein Temple is considered one of the Three Jewels of Buddhism in Korea, and represents the dharma (natural laws). Haein Temple was founded by two Shilla priests, Sunung and Ijong in 802 C.E.. The temple is comprised of numerous buildings and halls, including Taejokkwang Hall, Myŏngbu Hall, and Samsŏng Pavilion. It also boasts many National Treasures, especially Changgyŏngp'an Repository (Tripitika Hall) which is designated National Treasure No. 52, and where the wooden blocks of the Tripitaka Koreana, Second Edition, (National Treasure No. 32) are stored.

Hŭngguk Temple

Hŭngguk Temple is located in Yŏch'ŏn City, on Yŏngch'wi Mountain in South Chŏlla Province, and is recorded to have been founded by the National Master Chinul in 1195 during the reign of King Myŏngjong (r. 1170-1197). It has been rebuilt and repaired many times, with the last major renovation being done by the monk Kyet'ŭk in 1624.

The temple is rich in valuable relics such as Taeung Hall (Treasure No. 396), ten other wooden structures including P'alson Hall and Pulcho Hall, an altar painting (Treasure No. 578) located behind the Buddha in Taeung Hall, wood blocks for printing scriptures, and an arched bridge (Treasure No. 563).

Hwaŏm Temple

Hwaŏm Temple is located at the foot of the Chiri Mountains in Kurye County, South Cholla Province and is recorded to have been founded by the Buddhist priest Yongi in 544 C.E., during the reign of King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576) of Shilla. It was one of ten temples used by the priest Ŭisang to propagate Hua-yen (Kor. Hwaŏm) Buddhism, one of the five major doctrinal sects of Buddhism during the Shilla period. The National Master Tosŏn, whose teachings combined Buddhism with geomancy and Taoist elements, expanded the influence of Buddhism through his teachings here.

In Hwaŏm Temple, such artefacts as Kakhwang Hall (National Treasure No. 67), Taeung
Hall which houses a statue of Buddha (Treasure No. 299), a 6.36 metre high stone lantern (National Treasure No. 12), a stone pagoda supported by four lions (National Treasure No. 35), can be found among many others.

Kūmsan Temple

Kūmsan Temple is located in Kimje County ten kilometres southwest of Chōnju, the capital of North Chōlla Province. It is recorded that Kūmsan was built in 599 C.E. during the reign of King Pōp (r. 599-600) of Paekche. It was rebuilt by the Ascetic Chinp'yo from 762 to 766, during the reign of King Hyegong (r. 756-780) of Shilla. The temple was again destroyed during the 1592 Japanese invasion. It was reconstructed under the supervision of the priest Sumun and others in 1635 during the reign of Injo (r. 1623-49) of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

There are more than ten notable structures and artefacts at Kūmsan Temple including Miruk Hall (National Treasure No. 62), the Noju Stupa (Treasure No. 22), a five-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 25), a stone lotus stand (Treasure No. 23), a stele honoring the Royal Preceptor Hyedŏk (Treasure No. 24) and the three-storey pagoda in the courtyard of the Shimwŏn Hermitage (Treasure No. 29) among others.

Naksan Temple

Naksan Temple is located on a low hill along the east coast, in Chōnjin Village, Yangyang County halfway between Sokcho and Yangyang. Naksan Temple was first built by the priest Úisang in 676 C.E. during the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681) of Shilla. Legend has it that Úisang was inspired to build the temple by Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Kor. Kwanŭn posal) who appeared to him while he was praying in a seashore cave that was believed to be frequented by the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva is said to have given him crystal prayer beads and instructed him to build the temple.

In the courtyard of the hall is a seven-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 499) and a bronze bell (Treasure No. 479). The traditional adobe walls, especially the walls around Wŏnt'ongbo Hall reveal an exquisite il-wŏl damjang (sun and moon-patterned wall).

Pŏpchu Temple

Pŏpchu Temple is located at the foot of Songni Mountain in Po'ün County, North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. The temple was built by the priest Úishin in 553 C.E.. It was repaired by Chinp'yo in 776, but razed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion. The present structure dates from 1624 when the temple was rebuilt by the priest Pyŏgam during the second year of King Injo (r. 1623-1649) of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

A number of National Treasures are found at this temple. These include a stone lantern supported by twin lions (National Treasure No. 5); P'alsang Hall (National Treasure No. 55) which is the only five-storey wooden pagoda in Korea, a lotus-shaped basin (National Treasure No. 64), the Four Deva Kings Stone Lantern (Treasure No. 15), and a Buddhist statue carved in relief on a huge rock (Treasure No. 216).

Pongjŏng Temple

Pongjŏng Temple is located in T'aejang Village in Andong, North Kyŏngsang Province. The temple is recorded to have been founded by the Buddhist priest Úisang. He is said to have chosen this site for the temple when a paper phoenix kite he was flying at nearby Pusŏk Temple landed at the foot of the Ch'ŏndŭng Mountains. The temple has been repaired many times with the last restoration recorded in 1363, during the reign of King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) of Koryŏ, making Kŭngnak Hall (National Treasure No. 15)
Korea's oldest surviving example of wooden architecture. Taeung Hall (Treasure No. 55), Hwaöm Hall (Treasure No. 448), Kogüm Hall (Treasure No. 449) were all constructed during the early Chosón period.

Pulguk Temple

Pulguk Temple is located at the base of Toham Mountain in Kyöngju City, North Kyongsang Province. The construction of this temple was begun by Prime Minister Kim Taesong in 751 C.E. and completed in 774. At the time of its completion, it was one of the largest Buddhist temples in Korea with more than eighty wooden buildings. The entire temple complex was reduced to ashes by Japanese invaders in 1592.

Although the main hall and a few principal buildings were rebuilt, it was not until 1969-73 that the temple was completely restored after the completion of thorough research and excavations of the ancient temple site. During this work of restoring the Temple, important cultural relics dating from the Greater Shilla period were unearthed, including the two-stone pagodas, Tabo Pagoda (National Treasure No. 20) and Sökkka Pagoda (National Treasure No. 21). Also, there are such bridges as Yönhw Bridge and Ch'ilbo Bridge (National Treasure No. 22) that lead to Kungnak Hall, and the Ch'ongun Bridge and Paegun Bridge (National Treasure No 23), which are both actually staircases to Chaha Gate. All of these artefacts are representative of Shilla period stone work. The seated bronze gilt, Vairocana statue (National Treasure No. 26) in Piro Hall, the seated bronze gilt Amitabha statue of Kungnak Hall (National Treasure No. 27), and other Buddhist relics attest to the flowering of Buddhist art and culture during the Shilla Kingdom. Pulguk Temple was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in December 1995 in recognition of its great historical and cultural importance.

Pusök Temple

Pusök Temple is located on the slopes of Ponghwang Mountain in Yöngp'ung County, North Kyongsang Province. After a royal decree in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681), the temple was built under the supervision of the priest Úisang in 676. Pusök Temple is the leading temple of the Hwaöm Sect that was founded by Úisang. Pusök, the Temple of the Floating Stone, is so named because of a large rock in the western part of the main hall which appears to float without attachment to the ground beneath it. According to legend, when Úisang came to this place to establish the temple, there were a large number of heathens who opposed the establishment of a temple and tried to thwart its construction. Úisang sought help from Buddha who sent a huge rock from heaven which frightened the heathens who then converted to Buddhism. This is the same rock that now appears to float in the main hall.

The second oldest extant piece of wooden architecture in Korea, Muryangsu Hall which is designated as National Treasure No. 18, is located at the temple. There are also other National Treasures located here including a stone lantern (National Treasure No. 17) in front of Muryangsu Hall which dates from the Shilla period, Chosa Shrine (National Treasure No. 19), a seated clay statue of Amitabha (National Treasure No. 45), a mural in Chosa Shrine (National Treasure No. 46) which was painted towards the end of the Koryó period, a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 249) and flagpole supports (Treasure No. 255) among others.

The Site of Sach'öonclick Temple

The site of Sach'öonclick Temple is located at Paeban-dong, Kyöngju City in North Kyongsang Province and has been designated as Historic Site No. 8. The temple was built in 679 C.E. on the advice of the Buddhist priest, Myöngnang. The original design of the temple was in the configuration of a main hall with two pagodas. However, because of a
railway constructed by the Japanese colonial government, all that is extant today are two wooden pagodas and the flagpole supports.

Sudŏk Temple

Sudŏk Temple is located in Sachŏn Village of Yesan County, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. One legend concerning the establishment of this Temple states that it was built by the priest Chimyŏng in 599 C.E.. Some of the extant buildings and structures include Ilchu Gate, Taeung Hall, and a three-storey stone pagoda among others. Large-scale renewal took place in the mid-1980s but some of this work departs from the original design. Taeung Hall (National Treasure No. 49) is a variant of the chushimp'o-style building (a type of eave support that uses a wooden bracket attached to the top of the columns), and is acknowledged as one of the most beautiful structures of Korean traditional architecture.

Shillûk Temple

Shillûk Temple is located in Chŏnsong Village in Yŏju County, Kyŏnggi Province. The temple was constructed during the Shilla period, but was largely rebuilt in 1379 by the priests Kakshin and Kakchu. The priest Naong is said to have led a contemplative life of virtue within the temple and the rebuilders of the temple erected a stupa to honor his righteousness.

Considerable restoration of the temple took place in 1440. The compound was expanded and in 1473 it was renamed Po'un Temple. The complex is richly endowed with many Treasures, including Chosa Shrine (Treasure No. 180), a multi-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 225), a multi-storey brick pagoda (Treasure No. 226), a bell-shaped stupa dedicated to the venerable Poje (Treasure No. 228) with an attached stele (Treasure No. 229), a stone monument commemorating the Tripitaka Scriptures (Treasure No. 230), and a stone lantern (Treasure No. 231).

Sŏkkuram Grotto

The Sŏkkuram Grotto, located in Kyŏngju City, North Kyŏngsang Province, is one of Korea's best known and most frequented temples. The grotto has been designated as National Treasure No. 24. It is a man-made grotto high up on Mt. T'oham, constructed on the order of prime minister Kim Taesŏng (? c. 750). The grotto is composed of a square ante-chamber, a passageway (also square) leading to a large rotunda. In its layout and in a practical sense it resembles a complete temple. Eight guardian demons, two Vajradharas and four Devas are engraved in relief on granite slabs lining the walls of the ante-chamber and the passageway that lead to the rotunda. In the rotunda, a relief statue of the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy (Kor. Kwanâm) is engraved directly behind the statue of the majestic Buddha. The walls to the left and right each have an engraved relief figure of a standing Deva and a Bodhisattva along with relief statues of the Ten Disciples of Buddha. The domed ceiling has ten niches in which are the seated statues of various Bodhisattvas. In the centre of the rotunda the seated Buddha, measuring 3.48 metres high, is enshrined. The rotunda was constructed to enable a beam of early morning sunlight to enter through an aperture in the rear wall above the Goddess of Mercy and briefly fall on the face of the Buddha. To witness this is a special moment for devout Buddhists and leads many to come to the grotto at daybreak. The statues in the ante-chamber, passageway and rotunda are designed in such a way so as to give the effect of constantly watching the worshipper, whether he might be entering the grotto, walking around it or leaving it.

Songgwang Temple

Songgwang temple is located Shin'yang Village, Sŏngju County, South Cholla Province. It was constructed by the priest Haerin towards the end of the Shilla Kingdom.
This temple is one of the Three Jewels of Korean Buddhism along with Haein and Tongdo Temples, and represents the sangha, or Buddhist order. In this temple sixteen priests, together with the National Master Chinul, appeared in sequence. Their portraits are enshrined in the Kuksa Hall.

Of the existing relics and structures of this temple, there is a wooden Buddhist triptych (National Treasure No. 42), and buildings such as Kuksa Hall (Treasure No. 56), Hasa Hall (Treasure No. 263), Yaksa Hall (Treasure No. 302), and Yongsan Hall (Treasure No. 303) among others.

Taeheung Temple

Taeheung Temple is located in Kurim Village, Haenam County, South Cholla Province. After the priest Ado constructed this temple in 544, it was rebuilt and renovated many times up through the Chosön period. The largest renovations were made by the monk Chajang in 617 and the National Master Toson in 875. This temple's original name was Taedun Temple. Many disciples of the priest Sosan, who raised a large volunteer army of monks to resist the aggressors during the 1592 Japanese invasions, are on display in the temple's museum.

The extant relics and structures of the temple include a stone seated Buddha (Treasure No. 48), a bronze bell now at Taesan Temple (Treasure No. 88), three-storey stone pagoda in front of Pungmirik Grotto (Treasure No. 301), a three-storey stone pagoda (Treasure No. 320) in front of Ungjin Hall, two smaller halls (one for the thousand Buddhas and one for the disciples of the Buddha) among other items.

Tongdo Temple

Tongdo Temple is located in Chisan Village of Yangsan, South Kyongsang Province and was constructed by the priest Chajang in 646. This temple is in particular considered a Buddhist National Treasure since the sarira of Sakyamuni are enshrined here. This temple is considered to be one of the Three Jewels of Korean Buddhism along with Haein and Songgwang Temples, and it represents the Buddha in this trinity. Since the sarira of Buddha are enshrined at this site, there is not a statue of Buddha in the Main Hall. The Main Hall (Treasure No. 144), a stupa (Treasure No. 471), a three-storey stone pagoda (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Property No. 18) and a stone lantern (South Kyongsang Province Tangible Cultural Property No. 70) are among the extant relics and structures.

Wolchong Temple

Wolchong Temple is located in Tungsang Village, P'yŏngchang County, Kangwŏn Province. It was built in 646 C.E. by the Vinaya Master Chajang who, believing Odai Mountain to be a sacred place frequently visited by Buddha, built a hermitage here to await the advent of Manjusri Bodhisattva (Kor. Munsu), the Bodhisattva of wisdom. He also built a prayer hall, Chôngmyŏl pogung, and enshrined Buddha's sarira in it. Other relics at this temple include an octagonal nine-storey stone pagoda (National Treasure No. 48) and a seated Bodhisattva among others. This temple is considered as one of the twenty-five Head Temples of the Chogye sect.

Kwanum Temple

Kwanum Temple is located in Kaesŏng City, North Korea. This temple was constructed first in 970 C.E. under the supervision of the National Master Pobin and expanded to a larger scale in 1393. Originally there were five buildings, but now only a Main Hall, a nunnery, a seven-storey stone pagoda and the Kwanum Cave remain. The Main Hall is a three by three kan structure (one kan = 2.2 square metres) with a hipped and gabled roof.
To the west of the Main Hall, is a seven-storey stone pagoda that measures 4.5 metres high that dates from the Koryŏ Kingdom.

Pohyon Temple

Pohyon Temple is located at Hyangam Village, Yongbyŏn County of North P’yonan Province in North Korea. This temple was constructed in 1042 and underwent major repairs in 1765. During the Korean War the temple was burnt down. However, the main hall was rebuilt in 1976 and various other buildings in 1979. These are the only structures that still exist.

Songbul Temple

Songbul Temple is located in the Chŏngbang Mountains, Hwangju County of Hwanghae Province in North Korea. This temple was constructed during the Greater Shilla Kingdom in 898 and was repaired several times after that. Today there are several buildings and structures remaining, including Kungnak Hall, Ungjin Hall and a five-storey pagoda. Of these buildings, Umgjin Hall, which was built in 1327, is notable in that it features a gabled roof design with bracketed eaves projecting to both the inside and the outside.

Shimwŏn Temple

Shimwŏn Temple is located at the foot of Chabi Mountain, in Hwangju County, Hwanghae Province in North Korea. The temple is said to have been founded by the National Master Tosan at the end of the Shilla period, but by the end of the subsequent Koryŏ period it had fallen into disrepair. The exact date of its construction is not known, but according to historical sources it was repaired in 1374.

Extant structures include Pogwang Hall, Ungjin Hall, Hyangno pavilion, Chŏngpung pavilion and Chilsŏng pavilion among others. Pogwang Hall is a three by three kan structure with three tiers of brackets projecting to both the outside and inside of the structure above columns using entasis. These eaves, which are bracketed in a tapo (multi cluster style), are the oldest extant in Korea. This is an important building since it is one of the oldest temples still remaining that is built in the style of the Chinese Yuan Dynasty.

Sŏgwang Temple

Sŏgwang Temple is at the foot of Sŏlbong Mountain, in Anbyŏn County, South Hamgyŏng Province of North Korea. This temple was constructed towards the end of the Koryŏ Kingdom and originally consisted of fifty-eight buildings, but it burnt down during the Korean War. Now only Puri and Chogae Gates, along with a few structures including Sŏlsŏngdong and Yongbi pavilions remain. Of the buildings destroyed during the Korean War, Umgjin Hall, which was constructed in 1368, was historically very important as it was a place that Yi Sŏnggye (the founder of the Chosŏn Kingdom) frequented.

Pagodas

Pagodas and temples in Korea were built concurrently with the introduction of Buddhism from China. Pagodas are generally classified into three types: wood, stone and brick, based on their construction materials. The remains of the wooden pagodas, that were the first built, can be seen at the site of Kŭmgang Temple that dates from the Koguryŏ period. In addition, there are remains at Kunsu Village and Kŭmgang Temples of the Paekche Kingdom. The pagoda at Mirŭk Temple is an early type of stone pagoda and indicative of the period that saw the change in construction materials from wood to stone. By the time of the construction of the stone pagoda at Chŏngnim Temple of the Paekche Kingdom, the form of the stone pagodas was fixed. Brick pagodas are mainly seen in Manchuria which
once was the territory of the Koguryo Kingdom. Similar in style to the brick pagodas is the Mojonsok Pagoda, which is a pseudo-brick pagoda built with brick-shaped andesite blocks at Punhwang Temple.

Stone Pagoda at Mirük Temple

Mirük Temple was built during the reign of King Mu (r. 600-641 C.E.) of the Paekche Kingdom. The pagoda is on the west end of the temple site, which is located in Kiyang Village of Iksan County, North Cholla Province, and has been designated as National Treasure No.11. It is the one of the oldest stone pagodas in Korea, dating from the early years of King Mu's reign. Its height is 14.24 metres and originally may have consisted of nine storeys, but today only six remain. It is commonly acknowledged as the prototype for Korean stone pagodas, and illustrates the transformation from the stage of wooden pagodas to that of stone.

Five-storey Stone Pagoda at the Site of Chongnim Temple

This five-storey stone pagoda, which has been designated as National Treasure No.9, is located at the site of Chongnim Temple in Tongnam Village of Puyo County, South Ch'ungch'ong Province. It was built during the Paekche Kingdom and rises five storeys to a height of 8.33 metres. The structure and shape of this pagoda, which is typical of stone pagodas in Korea, along with the stone pagoda of Mirük Temple marks the change in the chief construction material of pagodas in Korea from wood to stone. When compared to the stone pagoda of Mirük Temple it presents a more simplified structure.

The foundation of this pagoda is representative of stone pagoda structures and from it rise the five storeys of the pagoda. The foundation's style is quite similar to that of wooden pagodas. The first storey is higher than that of the other four storeys. Each storey features corner pillars on each side and the body of the pagoda is composed of stone slabs. The stone eaves of each roof gracefully turn upwards and rest upon beams placed atop the corner pillars.

Stone Pagoda at the Site of Punhwang Temple

This stone pagoda is located in Kyongju City, North Kyongsang Province and is designated as National Treasure No. 30. It is thought that this 9.3 metre high pagoda was built in 634 during the Shilla Kingdom. Although the construction material is andesite the pagoda was constructed in a manner to resemble a brick pagoda. The base of the pagoda is thirteen metres on each side and over one metre high. On each corner of the base is a seated lion, two of these are male and two are female. On each side of the body of the pagoda there is an entrance to the interior, and to each side of these entrances there are relief statues of a guardian diety. In the interior of the pagoda there is a statue of Buddha enshrined, but this is not what was originally inside the pagoda. Presently, only three storeys of this pagoda remain.

Ten-storey Marble Pagoda of Kyongjon Temple

This ten-storey marble pagoda is presently located on the grounds of Kyongbuk Palace in Seoul but was originally constructed at Kyongjon Temple which is in the Puso Mountain Fortress in Kyonggi Province. It has been designated as National Treasure No. 86. During the Japanese colonial period, the pagoda was taken to Japan, but after Korea was liberated in 1945 it was eventually returned and re-erected in 1960. The pagoda is decorated with engravings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, along with floral designs on the pedestals of each of its levels.

Ten-storey Stone Pagoda at Wöngak Temple
This ten-storey pagoda from the early Chosôn period is twelve metres high and represents one of the few marble pagodas in Korea. It has been designated as National Treasure No. 2 and is now located in Pagoda Park in Seoul. The pedestal and the first three storeys are shaped like a plus sign (+) when viewed from above. From the fourth storey up, the storeys are all square-shaped. In the corners of the body of the pagoda are round sculptered pillars. The pedestal itself is three-tiered.

The pagoda features ornate carvings of dragons, lions, peony and lotus flowers on the lowest tier, human figures, birds, animals, flowers and trees on the middle tier, and on the top tier are the Disciples of Buddha and the Buddhist Saints. The style of this pagoda is similar to that of the ten-storey Kyŏngjŏn Temple pagoda.

Confucian Architecture

Munmyo (Confucian Shrine)

*Munmyo* are shrines dedicated to the memory of Confucius and are located at the Confucian academies (*hyanggyo*) throughout the country. During the Chosôn period a *munmyo* was always included whenever a Confucian academy was built. The main *munmyo* is located at the National Confucian Academy (*Sŏnggyun'gwan*) in Seoul and was constructed in 1398. The chief building of the *munmyo* at the National Confucian Academy is Taesŏng Hall in which the memorial tablets for Confucius, Mencius and other exemplary Confucian scholars are enshrined. To the east and west of Taesŏng Hall are the *Tongmu* and the *Sŏmu*, where other memorial tablets to various other Confucian scholars were kept, including eighteen Korean Confucianists. During the height of Confucianism in Korea, there were 132 tablets housed in the three buildings, but later all but thirty-eight tablets were removed. Today the remaining tablets are enshrined in the main hall and *Tongmu* and *Sŏmu* stand empty. Memorial services are still held at the *munmyo* biannually in the second and eighth lunar months.

*Sŏnggyun'gwan* (National Confucian Academy)

The *Sŏnggyun'gwan* was the highest national educational institution during the Chosôn period and its function was to train Confucian scholars. It is located in Seoul and is to the north of the Confucian shrine, *munmyo*. Myŏngyun Hall is the main building of *Sŏnggyun'gwan*, and all the other buildings were planned around it. Construction on the main buildings began in 1395. *Dongjae* and *Sŏjae*, which served as dormitories for the students, were located in front of the main hall to the east and west.

At present, the extant buildings include Myŏngnyun Hall, Chongyŏng, which served as the library, *Tongmu* and *Sŏmu*, and the Kyojik-sa service quarters. Today the old *Sŏnggyun'gwan* is located on the campus of a modern university that bears the same name. *Sŏnggyun'gwan* still hosts biannual sacrifical rites in the second and eighth lunar months to honour past Confucian scholars such as Confucius.

Hyanggyo (Confucian Academy)

*Hyanggyo* were government established institutes which functioned as local Confucian schools during both the Koryŏ (918-1392) and Chosôn (1392-1910) periods. These schools were built in each county along with a *munmyo* (Confucian shrine). *Hyanggyo* served to both give the students in the provinces a Confucian education and also to strengthen the central government's ruling apparatus in the provinces. The first *hyanggyo* were established in the Koryŏ period and their numbers grew throughout the Koryŏ and Chosôn periods. The schools were supported by grants from the government in the form of fields and slaves. This provided both an income and the labour needed to guarantee the
upkeep of the schools.

_Hyanggyo_ were generally arranged with a Confucian shrine in the front of the compound and the facilities for the students to the rear. The shrine at the _hyanggyo_ housed the ancestral tablet of a meritorious vassal to whom Confucian rituals were offered. The lecture hall generally was to the back of this and behind it the other facilities needed for the upkeep of the school were located. To the east and west of the lecture hall were the dormitories for the students. The entire compound was most commonly surrounded by a wall that served to segregate it from the world outside.

There are many extant _hyanggyo_ scattered throughout Korea such as the Naju _hyanggyo_ in South Cholla Province, the Kangnūng _hyanggyo_ in Kangwŏn Province and the Milyang _hyanggyo_ in South Kyŏngsang Province.

_Sōwŏn_ (Private Confucian School)

_Sōwŏn_ were private Confucian schools of the Chosŏn period that featured a shrine that was dedicated to a specific Confucian scholar. Moreover, like _sŏdang_ (village schools) they were privately-operated schools which is in contrast to the _hyanggyo_ and the _Sŏnggyun'gwan_ which were established by the government. The first _sōwŏn_ was the Paeg'undong _sōwŏn_ which was established in 1543 by Chu Sebung to honour the Confucian scholar An Hyang. In 1550, the school was given the name of Sosu _sōwŏn_ by King Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567) and along with this supplied with books and servants by the government. This was tantamount to official recognition from the government.

During their zenith, there were many _sōwŏn_ such as Tosan _sōwŏn_ , Todong _sōwŏn_ and P'iram _sōwŏn_ among many others. By 1741 _sōwŏn_ and similar institutions numbered near one-thousand. However, by the late nineteenth c. this was reduced to a mere forty-seven by royal edict.

_The Sōwŏn_ buildings generally consisted of a main lecture hall, a shrine dedicated to a specific scholar and other structures associated with the upkeep of the facilities and the preparation of food. The premises were usually isolated from the outside by a series of gates.

**Royal Palaces**

The construction of royal palaces in Korea began during the Three Kingdoms period. In the Koguryŏ Kingdom, the first royal palace was built in 37 B.C.E., and in 32 B.C.E. Kumsŏng Palace was built by King Hyŏkkŏse of the Shilla Kingdom. After these, many other royal palaces were built during the Three Kingdoms period. Other palaces of note from the Koguryŏ Kingdom include Kugnaesŏng and Changansŏng, and from the Shilla Kingdom Wolsŏng, all three of which are fortress palaces.

The first royal palace in the Koryŏ Kingdom was Manwŏldae which was built in the capital of Kaesŏng by King T'aegyo in 919. The design of the palace took full advantage of the terrain. The foundation follows the contour of the land closely and the layout is very asymmetrical. The laws of geomancy were followed closely in both the design and construction of the palace. Manwŏldae served as the main palace of the Koryŏ Kingdom until 1361 when it was destroyed by an invasion from the north.

The first of the royal palaces of the Chosŏn Kingdom was built in 1394, the year when its first ruler, King T'aegyo, relocated the capital from Kaesŏng to Hanyang (present day Seoul). T'aegyo ordered the construction of Kyŏngbok Palace to serve as the main royal palace. Subsequently, King T'aegjong (r. 1400-1418) commanded the building of Ch'angdŏk Palace, and then Ch'anggyŏng, Kyŏnghŭi and Kyŏng'un Palaces were built.
These five palaces are often referred to as the five royal palaces of the Chosŏn Kingdom.

Kyŏngbok Palace

Kyŏngbok Palace was the main royal palace and the most magnificent palace of the Chosŏn Kingdom. It was completely destroyed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion and remained in ruins until King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) ordered its reconstruction in 1865. However, after the advent of the Japanese colonial period many of the structures within the palace were destroyed or altered. The Japanese Government-General Building was built directly in front of the palace and obstructed views of it. Moreover, some of the buildings were demolished and their timbers used in construction projects.

Originally the palace was constructed with three general spheres. The first was that of chijo and is the area of the palace affairs of this kingdom. The second sphere was the woejo where the state ministers looked after political affairs. The third area was the yŏnjo where the royal family lived.

Two of the more notable buildings in Kyŏngbok Palace are Kŭnjong Hall which was where the king held court, and the pond-surrounded two-storey Kyŏnghoe Pavilion that was used for entertaining diplomatic envoys and banquets. Kŭnjong Hall uses tapo style brackets, which are highly decorated and are arranged in clusters, for support of the roof beams. There are three tiers of brackets on the outside and four tiers on the inside. The building has a hipped and gabled roof, and therefore the ceiling hides the roof members. Directly above the throne, clouds and a pair of dragons have been carved into a recess in the ceiling. A passage behind the throne led to the king's bedchamber.

Kyŏnghoe pavilion is accessed by a stone bridge from the east, or if by boat there was a staircase on the west side that served as a boat ramp. The upper storey of the pavilion is supported by forty-eight stone pillars. The entire structure is elaborately decorated with stone and wood carvings. The roof is hipped and gabled, and the eaves are decorated with carvings of dragons and other figures.

In recent years there has been much reconstruction of the various palace buildings and renovations designed to return the palace to its former splendour. In addition, the Japanese Government-General building was demolished in 1996 and thereby the view of the palace is once again unobstructed.

Ch'angdŏk Palace

Ch'angdŏk Palace was built in 1405 by King T'aejong (r. 1400-1418), as a detached palace or a royal villa. During the 1592 Japanese Invasion the palace was destroyed by fire. Reconstruction work began in 1607 and was completed in 1610. There was another large fire in 1803 that destroyed some of the major structures, most notably Injong-jŏn, but these were subsequently rebuilt.

After Kyŏngbok Palace was destroyed by the 1592 Japanese Invasion, Ch'angdŏk Palace served as the main palace of the Chosŏn Kingdom for a period of about three-hundred years. Of the five royal palaces of Chosŏn, Ch'angdŏk is often cited as the one that was built in the greatest harmony with the natural terrain of the palace grounds. Many of the original structures are extant, including the main hall (Injong Hall and several gates such as Tonhwa and Injong. In addition, to the rear of the palace grounds is the extensive Pivol Garden which was a place for the royal family to relax.

Ch'anggyŏng Palace
Ch'anggyŏng Palace was built in 1419 by King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) for his father, King T'aejong (r. 1400-1418) who had abdicated the throne to his son to ensure a peaceful transition of the monarchy. When first built, this palace was called Sugang Palace, but later during the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) it was rebuilt as a detached palace and renamed as Ch'anggyŏng Palace. The palace was destroyed by fire during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, but was rebuilt in 1616 during the reign of King Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623).

In 1909, the Japanese Governor-General ordered a zoo and botanical gardens built within the palace grounds. In addition, in 1911, the ordered the construction of a museum and had the palace renamed Ch'anggyŏng Garden, which served to demote the status of the former royal palace. However, in 1983 reconstruction work was started and the name of Ch'anggyŏng Palace was restored. During the reconstruction, buildings such as Munjŏng Hall which had been destroyed during the Japanese colonial period were rebuilt. Today the palace has been restored to much of its original splendour and buildings such as Myŏngjong Hall and gates like Myŏngjong and Honghwa can be seen.

Kyŏng'un Palace (Tŏksu Palace)

Kyŏng'un Palace differs from the other four of the Chosŏn royal palaces in that it was not originally built as a palace, but as a private villa for the royal family. Originally King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) built the palace as a villa for his elder brother, Grand Prince Wŏlsan. However, a century later when all of the royal palaces had been destroyed during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) returned to Seoul and took up temporary residence at the palace. With the rebuilding of Ch'angdŏk Palace in 1611, the residence of the king moved from Kyŏng'un Palace. The name of the palace was changed to Tŏksu Palace by Emperor Sunjong (r. 1907-1910) in 1907.

Tŏksu Palace, which is located in the centre of Seoul, has many notable buildings including the main hall of Chungwha. In 1909 the first Western-style building to be erected on the palace grounds, Sŏkcho Hall, was constructed. The location of the palace across the street from City Hall provides for a peaceful retreat from the bustle of the city.

Kyonghui Palace

The construction of Kyonghui Palace began in 1617 when King Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623) wanted to have another palace to replace Ch'angdŏk Palace which he felt was ill-omened. The construction of this palace lasted until 1620 and it was originally named Kyongdŏk Palace. After the reign of Kwanghae, the palace was used mainly as the residence for the crown prince. It underwent major repairs in 1693, but in 1829 a major fire destroyed most of the palace. Repairs began slowly, but by 1830 one building had been rebuilt, and by 1860 a major portion of the palace had been restored. Finally, in 190, other parts of the palace were rebuilt.

Even prior to the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese began to assert their influence on Korea. In 1907, the Japanese Government General designated the west side of the palace as a middle school. In 1910, after the loss of Korean sovereignty to Japan, the palace became the property of the Japanese government. In 1915 the Kyŏngsŏng Middle School was established on the site of the palace. During this process of the Japanese takeover, the entire palace was again destroyed, except for relics which were transferred to other sites. After liberation, the site was used for the Seoul Middle and High School until 1974 when these schools moved to other sites. In 1986 a public park opened on this site, which is designated as Historical Site No. 271.

Gardens
Gardens of traditional Korea reflected both the mountainous landscape of the country and the aesthetic qualities that the people believed to be both beautiful and propitious. The respect that the Korean people held for nature is evidenced in the fact that they did not attempt to unnecessarily alter the natural topography by damming streams or levelling hills. Moreover, they did not attempt to change the innate beauty of nature by artificial alterations such as extensive pruning and shaping of trees and plants. Generally, Koreans would build their homes on sites that were deemed to be geomantically auspicious. Such a site would require a hill with ridges running up from where the house would be located, and preferably a stream that flowed down from the west ridge. The house would face to the south and the back garden would utilize the hilly terrain, and the front the stream.

Often the back of the house would be left to nature's design. The sought-after effect was not a functional garden that one could stroll through, insomuch as a visually satisfying garden. A key aspect of the garden's function was to provide respite from the worries of the world, albeit for a brief moment. The garden, with its trees, flowing water and stones would allow the inhabitants of the house a moment to enter this utopian world.

The fundamental concept of Korean gardens is based upon the principle of inch'a, which is a way to preserve the natural topography of the garden and then utilize these features in the design without trying to impose artificial structures upon nature. In addition, the structures that are built for the house should blend well with the landscape and provide suitable locales for viewing the garden. This concept is a central tenet of gardens throughout East Asia.

There are differences in the gardens of Korea, China and Japan despite the countries sharing a common guiding philosophy. In China gardens sought to recreate nature in miniature. Mountains, falls, valleys and the like were recreated in small scale in the gardens. In Japan there are many rules and restrictions for creating a garden and therefore, the result is an imitation of nature that is too contrived. In Korea, however, gardens reflect the materials that the gardener is presented with. If there is a hill, the gardener will utilize it in his garden. If there are large stones, they too will become a part of the garden. The fundamental aspect of a Korean garden is its harmonisation with nature.

Soswaewon Garden

Soswaewon Garden is located in Chigok Village of Tamyang County, South Cholla Province. It was designed by the middle Choson period literati, Yang Sanbo, and is renowned for its natural beauty and the large number of pavilions that overlook its many scenic spots. The garden is located in a valley and is over 1800 m² in area. A number of streams wend their way through, creating several small ponds on their journey. The entrance to the garden is via a narrow path through a stand of bamboo and skirting two small ponds. A stone wall surrounding the garden has two large inlets enabling the mountain streams to trickle through. The garden has long been a source of inspiration for poets and painters, and has been designated as Historical Site No. 304.

Piwon Garden (Secret Garden)

The garden behind Ch'angdok Palace is popularly known as Piwon, or Secret Garden, but this term is relatively new having been coined during the Japanese colonial period. Originally, the garden was called Kümwön (Forbidden Garden) during the Choson period. In addition, since it is located to the north of the palace compound, it was commonly called Pukwön (North Garden), and being located to the rear of the palace, it was also called Huwon (Back Garden). The garden is composed of low hills, valleys, and flat areas, and is widely acknowledged as the most beautiful of the palace gardens.

Piwon Garden dates from early Choson and had pavilions and other structures added to it throughout the Choson period. It occupies about 103 000 p'yông (one p'yông equals 3.3
54 sq.m.) and is characterised by the abundance of natural qualities. It has no artificial, needless touches and utilises the existing topography for its beauty. Piwon Garden has been designated as Historical Site No. 122.

Traditional Housing

The origin of man-made houses in Korea can be found in dugout huts, or umjip. These were built from the Neolithic Era of about 5000 B.C.E. to around 300 B.C.E. These structures could be either round or square in design, and as the name implies were dug into the ground. The floor of the hut would be dug about one metre in the ground from which poles would be erected. The poles were then covered with a thatch of straw, twigs and branches that was designed to keep both the wind and rain out of the interior of the hut. In the centre of the hut a fireplace was located that was designed to both provide warmth and serve as a place to cook the food for the inhabitants. Since living on a dirt floor was not comfortable, the people soon developed walls that went up from the floor to the roof and provided more comfort and warmth to the inhabitants.

From these early dugout huts evolved the later stage of traditional frame houses of Korea. The method used to bind together the columns, rafters and purlins in a building further developed in the houses of the next stage and this is known as a mindori structure. This structure used beams, with or without brackets, to hold up the roof of the structure. Moreover, the spaces between the beams were filled with square wood strips. It is thought that the abundance of trees such as pines in Korea led to the wood frame being the main structural member in traditional housing.

The interior of the traditional house was composed of spaces heated by an underfloor system of flues known as ondol. Ondol is a unique heating system that is designed to heat enclosed rooms in extremely cold climates. The prototype of the ondol heating system is known as kudil and has been found in excavations of homes from the Iron Age (3rd century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E.) in the Suwon area. The ondol system of heating houses was spread throughout Korea, but most widely used in the colder northern and central regions of the peninsula.

In order to combat the heat and humidity of the summer, traditional houses in Korea also employed rooms known as maru.. These rooms had wooden floors and were open with no walls between the pillars that supported the roof. The size and number of maru rooms varied depending on the region, but often there would not only be a maru room, but also a maru verandah that extended along the exterior of the house.

The combination of ondol and maru rooms provided a balance between the seasons and the size of each would vary depending upon the region in which a house was located. Colder climates would have a lesser amount of maru rooms and greater amount of ondol rooms, whereas homes in warmer climates would be constructed in an opposite manner. The ondol and maru rooms also provided a contrast between open space and closed space that is characteristic of traditional Korean homes.

Common rooms within the traditional Korean home include dirt-floored rooms such as the kitchen, storeroom and shed, and rooms designed for the men and women of the house. The courtyard or garden of the home generally also included a well, and a terrace on which crocks of soy sauce, red pepper paste, bean paste and other condiments were kept.

The main room of the women's quarters was the anbang. This room is located in the centre of the house and all other rooms are built around it. It served as a sleeping chamber at night, but in the day it was the room from which the lady of the house managed her household. The decor of the anbang would be luxurious and echo the status of the mistress of the house. The anbang in larger homes often was connected to a loft above the
kitchen known as a tarak. The tarak was used to store the valuables of a household and the only access to it was through the anbang. Thus, the financial control of a household was in the hands of the mistress of the anbang.

For the man of the house the sarangbang was the area in which most activities were carried out. This room was generally detached from the main house and served as a room where the master of the house could entertain his male guests and conduct his studies. The decor of the sarangbang generally featured stationery and writing materials along with the books of its occupant. The sarangbang was only found in the aristocratic homes, as a poor family could not afford to maintain such a room. The inclusion of separate rooms for the males and females of each household reveals the strict Confucian mores that restricted the socialization of males and females.

The size and shape of one's house was determined by his wealth and social status. The simplest style was a line of rooms under a single roof beam. A house such as this most commonly was the dwelling of either slaves or peasants. The next step up was a double line of rooms under a single roof beam, which commonly served as the dwelling for a poor farmer. Larger farm houses could either be constructed in a U or L shape. The house of an aristocrat commonly was constructed in a double-L style which was enclosed by a compound wall. However depending on the region, housing styles varied throughout Korea.

The size of houses ranged from the meagre to the grandiose limit of 99 kan for the largest houses (one kan equals about 2.2 sq. m.). In the early Choson Kingdom, houses for commoners were limited to 10 kan, while a house for a prince was limited to 60 kan. However, the interpretation of a kan proved to be so flexible that these guidelines were difficult to enforce and other restrictions were adopted that governed the height of columns, the length of purlins and so on.

In the location and construction of a house, close attention was given to matters concerning the geomantic qualities of an area. Houses would invariably face to the south and be located on sites that were deemed to be auspicious. Despite the official adherence to Confucianism, areas within the housing compound also paid homage to a host of shamanistic deities such as the sŏngju which was the guardian god of the home. These ceremonies were generally conducted by the womenfolk of the house.

**Traditional Villages**

**Yangdong Village of Wŏlsŏng**

Yangdong Village is located in Kyŏngju County of North Kyŏngsang Province and has been designated as Important Folklore Material No. 189. For generations, this village, which consists of about 150 large and small traditional houses, has been home for two of Wŏlsŏng County's most prominent clans: the Son clan which originated here, and the Yi clan which originated in Yŏgang. According to historical records, Son So (1433-1484) first settled here and from that time this village was the home of the Wŏlsŏng Son clan.

The village represents a typical yangban (ruling class) village. In addition, Yangdong is recorded as the birthplace of five of Korea's most famous scholars, including Son So's second son Son Chungdon (1463-1529) whose pen name was Ujae, and a grandson Yi ŏnjŏk (1491-1553), a Confucian scholar whose pen name was Hoejae. The slopes of the mountains surrounding the village have several ravines flowing down their sides creating crevices that provide perfect seclusion for the landlord's house and the surrounding servants' quarters which can barely be seen from the village. The head house of the Wŏlsŏng Son clan is located here.
The village area includes many traditional houses and structures such as Much'ŏm-dang (Treasure No. 41), Hyangdan (Treasure No. 412), Kwang-joòng (Treasure No. 442), Wol'sŏng Son house (Important Folklore Material No. 23), the Nak'sŏn-dang (Important Folklore Material No. 73), and the Yi Wŏnbong house (Important Folklore Material No. 74.) among many others.

Hahoe Village

Hahoe Village is located in Andong County of North Kyŏngsang Province and has been named Important Folklore Material No. 122. This village is a yangban village of the Chosŏn period, and is said to have been built upon a site known for its auspiciousness. The P'ungsan Yu clan has lived here for many generations, and the founder of the village was Yu Ch'onghye. In later generations, Yu Sŏngnyong (1542-1607) and his brother Yu Unnyong (1539-1601) who were both noted Confucian scholars were born here.

This village is divided into south and north sections and has distinctive houses in each. In the north section, many of the houses surrounding the Yangjin Shrine are representative of the north and those around Ch'ung'nyŏng Shrine represent the southern region. There are many traditional structures and the southern section of the village has been designated as Important Folklore Material No. 90, and the north as Important Folklore Material No. 84. The houses in the southern section are characterised by an open method of construction, whereas those in the north feature a closed, square construction style. The area is a popular destination for tourists and provides a glimpse back into the traditional modes of living in Korea.

Sŏngüp Folk Village

Sŏngüp Folk Village is located in South Cheju County on Cheju Island and has been designated as Important Folklore Material No. 188. It is located on a rise about 125 metres above sea level, and was built in 1423 when the former Chŏng'u County Office was moved to this location. This fortress town remained the county seat for almost five centuries until 1914.

The fortress and accompanying town are typical of the Chosŏn period. The fortress itself is constructed in a square shape, but with rounded corners. Inside the fortress are various private homes, government offices and a hyanggyo (Confucian academy). There are also various shrines set up to pay homage to various tutelary deities within the fortress walls. In 1984 in order to preserve the village and its traditional way of life, it was declared an Important Folk Material.

Fortress Architectural Types

Fortress architectural design in Korea is classified into three groups. The first category is that of do or capital fortress. Next is the san or mountain fortress and the last category is that of up which are the fortresses built around the towns where the regional government offices were located.

In all the kingdoms of Korea, fortresses fringed the capital cities and were designed to protect the ruling powers from hostile bands. In the Three Kingdoms Period there were capital fortresses built in all of the Kingdoms such as Kugnae and Chang'an in the Koguryŏ Kingdom, Hansan, Kongsan, and Puyŏ in the Paekche Kingdom, and Kŭmsŏng and Wol'sŏng in the Shilla Kingdom. In the Koryŏ Kingdom, at Manwoldae located to the south of Sŏngak, Kaesŏng the capital was built (ca. 919), but an outer fortress wall was not constructed until 1029. During the Chosŏn Kingdom, a government office to supervise the construction of the capital fortress was established in 1395, and the following year saw the building of the Hanyang Fortress (present day Seoul).
Mountain fortresses were designed to protect the country from invasions by securing key passages within the mountains. The safety of these fortresses also served to protect the people who would locate their homes close-by. There are many historically important mountain fortresses including Anshi and Hwando of Koguryǒ, and Samnyǒnsan of Shilla, from the Three Kingdoms Period. Mountain fortresses also played a key role in the Koryǒ Kingdom during the Mongol invasions, and in the Chosǒn Kingdom the Namhansan and Pukhansan mountain fortresses that surrounded the capital were also a key to its defence.

The town fortresses were designed to protect the government offices that were located at some distance from the capital. These fortresses also provided the people who lived in the area some protection in times of invasion. It is not clear when town fortresses first appeared in Korea, but they are thought to have been in use by the time of the Samhan Commandaries. Town fortresses were scattered throughout Korea and many are extant.

Nagan Village Fortress

Nagan Village Fortress is located in Sŭngju County, South Cholla Province and has been designated as Historical Site No. 302. Due to frequent raids by Japanese pirates that had been occurring since the end of the Koryǒ period, in 1397 Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Kim Pin'gil, constructed this fortress of mud. In 1424 a project to rebuild the fortress in stone was commenced, and this work reached a stage of practical completion by about 1450.

The fortress has a circumference of 1385 metres. Originally, there were plans to construct twelve look-outs, but only four were ever built. Access to the interior of the fortress was through three gates, east, west and south. The interior of the fortress features several government office buildings and civilian houses, along with two wells and two ponds. The moat that was to encircle the exterior of the fortress was never constructed.

Nagan Village Fortress provides one of the finest examples of a Chosǒn period fortress, and has many extant traditional structures.

Sungnye Gate

Sungnye Gate, commonly known as Namdaemun (Great South Gate) served as the southern gate of the capital fortress, Hanyang (present day Seoul), and has been designated as National Treasure No. 1. Sungnye underwent major repairs in 1448 and again in 1479 and then, five hundred years later, a major renovation (1961-62).

The gate is constructed using a large arch which is in the centre of a platform built of stone blocks. The gate building itself is two-storey and is covered by a four-storied sloping roof. The style of the eaves construction is known as tapo, which results in the two sets of brackets that support the eaves projecting to both the inside and outside of the lowest-placed roof. The uppermost roof has three sets of brackets projecting outwards and two sets to the interior.

Today, the gate is surrounded by one of the main thoroughfares in Seoul that leads to the main sections of the city such as Myǒngdong and Kyǒngbok Palace. Floodlights illuminate the gate at night and it remains as one of Seoul's principal tourist attractions.

Hŭngin Gate

Hŭngin Gate, commonly known as Tongdaemun (Great East Gate) was built as the east gate to the fortress of Hanyang (present day Seoul) in 1397 and has been designated as Treasure No.1. It was rebuilt in 1452 and then burnt down during the 1592 Japanese
invasion. In 1869 the gate was again rebuilt.

Hüngin has an outer baffle wall that differs from that of Sungnye Gate. However, on this is a platform atop of which is a two-storey gate house and a tiered roof that is quite similar to that of Sungnye Gate. This gate also utilises tapo-style eaves construction and the lower level of the roof has two bracket sets, one that supports the eaves projecting outwards and the other the eaves to the interior. The upper roof has three bracket sets projecting both inward and outward. Since the gate was rebuilt at the end of the Chosŏn period, its style is very distinctive of late Chosŏn.

Like Sungnye Gate, Hüngin Gate is one of the best known landmarks of Seoul. It is located on a main thoroughfare and there is a large market nearby. It also has had lights added to illuminate the gate at night.

Royal Shrines (Myo) and Altars (Tan)

Chongmyo (Royal Ancestral Shrine)

Chongmyo is located in Chongno-gu of Seoul and houses the ancestral tablets of the kings and queens of the Chosŏn Kingdom. It has been designated Historical Site No. 125. The main building of Chongmyo is Chong-jŏn Hall. Originally Chong-jŏn Hall was called T’aemyo since it is where the ancestral tablet of King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398), the founder of the Chosŏn Kingdom, is located. After four generations the ancestral tablets in Chong-jŏn Hall were customarily transferred to a secondary shrine, Yongnyŏng Hall, where they were enshrined. Also kept in Chong-jŏn Hall were the tablets of those kings who had rendered special service to the nation.

Chongmyo was constructed in 1395 and rebuilt in 1608 after it was reduced to ashes in the 1592 Japanese invasion. Chongmyo is modelled after the Chinese royal ancestral shrines and is located on the left edge of the palace grounds. Chongmyo is where the royal family regularly performed ancestral rites during the Chosŏn period. Chong-jŏn Hall now houses the ancestral tablets of nineteen Chosŏn kings and their queens, and Yongnyŏng Hall holds the tablets of sixteen kings and their queens. Chong-jŏn Hall has been designated as National National Treasure No. 821.

Ch’ilgung

The Ch’ilgung is a shrine for honouring the natural mothers of the kings during the Chosŏn period. It is located in Chongno-gu, Seoul. The first ancestral tablet was placed here for the mother of King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776), Lady Sukpin Ch’oe, in 1725 and the shrine was then called Sukpin myo. In 1753 the name was changed to Yuksang myo. In 1908 five other shrines of Lady Chogyong, Lady Taebin, Lady Yŏnu, Lady Sŏnhŭi, and Lady Kyŏngu, were transferred here. In 1929 the shrine of Lady Tŏgan was also moved to Ch’ilgung bringing the total to seven. At this time the name was changed to Ch’ilgung, or the seven shrines.

Tan (Altar)

There are many types of tan, or altars, which served as places to perform sacrificial rituals to various guardian deities throughout Korea. One of the most prominent of these altars during the Chosŏn period was the Sajik Altar which is located in Chongno-gu of Seoul. The Sajik Altar has been designated as Historical Site No. 121. At this altar the king would perform a sacrificial ritual on behalf of the people to the gods of the earth and of grains asking for an abundant harvest. The altar built to the god of the earth was located to the east, and the altar to the god of grains was on the west side. The belief in these deities and the practice of offering sacrifices to them dates from antiquity, as the Samguk sagi (History
Construction on the Sajik Altar compound was begun in 1395 with the outer altar constructed in 1414 and Sajik Altar being completed in 1432. The entire complex was burnt down during the 1592 Japanese Invasion, but was subsequently rebuilt shortly thereafter.

**Bridges**

P'yŏngyang Chudae Bridge, built in 413 C.E., is the first bridge recorded to have been constructed in Korea while Pulguk Temple's Ch'ŏng'un and Paeg'un Bridges, built under the supervision of Kim Taesŏng in 750 C.E., are the oldest extant bridges in Korea. These two bridges are both designed of stone and are arch-type bridges, and in actuality are staircases leading to the main hall of the temple. In addition to these two bridges, the foundation stones of Wŏljŏng Bridges from the Greater Shilla period are still in existence. As for the bridges of the Koryŏ Kingdom, there are Sŏnjuk Bridge, located in Kaesŏng and Komak Bridge, also called Tok-dari Bridge, built by the monk Komak in 1274. There are many extant bridges of the Chosŏn period including the longest bridge of the period, Chŏn'got Bridge, which was built over a period of seventy-three years from 1420 to 1493, and stretches across the Han River. Another representative bridge of the Chosŏn period is the Sup'yo Bridge which crosses Ch'ŏnggye Stream in Seoul. This bridge has two functions, one a bridge, and the other to serve as an indicator of the water level.

The bridges of the Chosŏn period can be classified into two types according the materials used for construction. One category of bridges are those built of wood, and the other are those made from stone. Furthermore, bridges also can be classified accordingly to their structure; the Chosŏn period features both girder bridges and arch bridges.

There are also many types of bridges built in Korea in traditional times that were not constructed by the government or designed for aesthetic purposes. The bridges that spanned the many streams and rivers of Korea and that were built by commoners for the main purpose of crossing a body of water have many forms. Some of the forms are extremely simple such as the placement of stepping-stones across a relatively shallow part of a body of water. There are also bridges that simply use the trunk of a tree balanced on stones on either side of the water to provide passage from one side to the other. Other bridges required more of a communal effort and spanned larger or deeper bodies of water. One of these, the so-called sallaeg-dari (shaking-bridge), is composed of a branch and thatched roadway balanced upon sturdy tree limbs. The name is derived from the effect of walking across this bridge as it sways to and fro. Finally, Koreans also constructed simple stone bridges over streams and rivers. These were generally located at more heavily travelled locales and were simply constructed of stacks of stone blocks of equal heights covered by a roadway of stone planks. Many of these simple forms of bridges can still be found in rural settings at the present time.

The bridges built in the last century in Korea have also been of many types. In 1900 a truss bridge, the Han'gang ch'il Bridge, was built over the Han River and is considered to be the first modern bridge constructed in Korea. Another bridge using this technology, Che 1 han'gang Bridge, was erected in 1917. This bridge had a width of 18.4 metres and an overall length of 840.9 metres. Both of the above bridges were designed by Westerners. The first modern bridge designed and constructed entirely by Koreans was Che 2 han'gang Bridge which was built in 1960. Since the construction of these bridges there have been many others built throughout Korea using such advanced designs as the Langer girder and the Nielson arch. Moreover, bridges such as the Olympic Bridge that spans the Han River have come to represent the modern image of Seoul.

Ch'ŏngun and Paegun Bridges
Ch’ŏngun and Paegun are two bridges located over the front of a large platform leading to the main hall of Pulguk Temple, in Kyŏngju City, North Kyŏngsang Province. They are the oldest extant stone-arched bridges in Korea, having been built in 750 C.E. These two bridges do not actually cross a body of water, but instead are more like two staircases that lead up to the main hall of the temple. The bridges symbolically allow people to cross from the secular world to the sacred world of Buddha inside the temple. These two bridges have been designated as National Treasure No. 23.

Yŏngje Bridge

Yŏngje Bridge crosses the forbidden stream of Kyŏngbok Palace located in Seoul. This is an arch bridge which has one arch composed of stone. The shape of the handrail is hexagonal, and the support posts are sculpted to appear as one upright and one upside down lotus blossom. The front and the rear of the bridge are protected by four auspicious stone statues of animals. Some of these animals are crawling in the water, while others are crawling out of the water. This bridge dates from the Chosŏn period.

Chŏn'got Bridge

Chŏn'got Bridge was the first bridge to be built across the Han River in Seoul. Construction began on this bridge on the order of T’aejong (r. 1400-1418) in 1420 and continued for seventy-three years until 1493. The bridge is seventy-eight metres long and six metres wide, which made it the longest bridge constructed during the Chosŏn period. It is also known as the Salkkochi Bridge. Its construction used stone pillars topped by a flat stone roadway. It has been designated as Historical Site No. 160.

Architecture of the 20th Century

With the opening of Korean ports after the Treaty of Kanghwa Island in 1876, many new architectural styles came into the port cities of Pusan, Wŏnsan, Inch’ŏn and even Seoul. The main force behind the new building styles were the Japanese, but also the sudden advent of foreign consulates in Korea created many new buildings. The building of the Russian, British, French, Belgium and German legations around the end of the nineteenth century, all of which were two-storey, quasi-Renaissance style buildings that marked a major change in Seoul. In addition, the opening of Korea led to a surge of missionaries and with them churches and schools. The Paejae Academy (1886), Chŏngdong Church (1898), Yakhyŏn Cathedral (1892) and Myŏngdong Cathedral (1892-1898) were all Gothic style buildings.

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and the resulting treaty, the major influence in Korea was Japan, which now had begun taking steps to colonise Korea. However, buildings such as the State Council Building (1907) and the Korean Empire National Assembly Building (1908) were built for the new Korean government. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese also constructed many buildings in Korea, with the most notable example being the quasi-renaissance style Government General Building built in front of Kyŏngbuk Palace.

After liberation in 1945, activity in architecture was sluggish due to the economic condition of the country and became further slowed with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. But while the South Korean Army was in refuge in Pusan, a tower commemorating the faithful spirit of the army was designed. After the armistice agreement that halted the hostilities was signed, activity in architecture gradually increased.

The primary buildings of the 1950s, include the main building of Dongguk University (Song Mingu, 1956), Myŏngbo Theatre (Kim Chungŏp, 1957), the main building of Pusan
University (Kim Chungŏp, 1957), Seoul National University's Agricultural College Building (Kim Hŭich'ŭn, 1957), the Science Museum of Chŏngshin Girls' High School (Kim Chŏngsu, 1958), the Hyehwa-dong Cathedral (Yi Hŭit'ae, 1958), and the National Meteorological Observatory (Chŏng In'guk, 1959). These buildings were all built in a general manner patterned after an international style.

In the 1960s, after the May 16 Revolution in 1961, architectural activity became active along with the rapid industrial development that swept Korea. In this period, important buildings include the Seoul Civic Assembly Hall (Yi Chŏnsŏng, 1961), the French Embassy (Kim Chungŏp, 1962), the various buildings Walker hill Hotel (Kim Hŭich'ŭn and others, 1962), Myŏngdong Holy Mother Hospital (Kim Chŏngsu, 1963), Hanyang Country Club (Yi Kwangno, 1964), Liberal centre (Kim Sugŭn, 1964), Assembly Hall of the Arts (Kang Myŏnggu, 1964), Kyŏnggi Provincial Office (Kim Hŭich'ŭn, 1967) and the Church of the Martyrs (Yi Hŭit'ae, 1967). These buildings all revealed a tendency towards an international style and moreover, the buildings manifested the architects' interpretation of how the buildings should express themselves to the public in a characteristic manner.

The distinctive features of the architectural activities of the 1970s were large sized buildings of the major corporations, construction of massive apartment blocks, and a rapid increase in the amount of monumental type architecture. Major projects of this period include the National Theatre (Yi Hŭit'ae, 1973), National Assembly Building (Kim Chŏngsu, 1975) and the Sejong Cultural centre (Om Tŏgmun, 1978). These buildings reflected both the influences of modernism and Korean influences in their designs. Major buildings of the corporate sector in this period include the Tongbang Life Building (Pak Ch'unmyŏng, 1976) and the Daewoo centre (1976). The business buildings reveal a tendency towards both a rational and modern design. The many apartment buildings that were constructed during this period reflect both a rational and functional approach in their design that marked a systematic change in their appearance.

The 1980s were characterised by the work of young architects, who had been educated in Korean universities, designing outstanding works. In addition there were other exemplary architects who had studied in America and Europe, now returning to Korea and making their presence known by the design of many buildings. Particularly prior to the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, there were many design competitions held and many new buildings that were constructed for this monumental event. Images of such grandiose projects such as the main Olympic Stadium were broadcast around the world. Other major projects of the 1980s include the 63 Korea Life Building that reaches sixty-three storeys into the Korean skyline and numerous other major buildings that reflected the new status of Korea as an economic force in Asia. The buildings of this period reflect various styles that range from attempts to blend modernism with the legacy of Korean traditional forms, and such new theories of design as neo-rationalism, deconstructivism and advanced technology.

In the 1990s, the government created massive apartment housing in satellite cities located in the suburbs of Seoul and the other major Korean cities, in an effort to build 2 million new homes. Moreover, with the selection of Taegŭn as the site for the 1994 World Expo, massive construction projects for this international event were carried out. Many public institutions were also constructed during this period, with most holding design competitions to select the model that best suited the project aesthetically and functionally. Other major projects now underway in Korea include the construction of the new international airport on Yongjong Island and the National Museum of Korea. These projects should further enhance the image of architecture in Korea.

Bibliography

Prehistory

Neolithic man, who is characterised by the use of polished stone tools and pottery, probably appeared on the Korean peninsula about 4000 BCE. A thousand or so years later, his pottery began to display geometric designs, often referred to as ‘comb pattern pottery’ (pitsal muni t’ogi), and is considered to be a feature of the Neolithic period. This comb-patterned pottery has a ‘V’-shaped base and the exterior is marked with parallel lines that suggest the use of a toothed tool. The widely-scattered areas in which this pottery is found, stretching from South P’yongan province to the present-day Seoul area, reveal that Neolithic man occupied a great deal of the Korean peninsula. Also, pottery with identical designs has been found in many regions, including eastern-Siberia, the basins of the Amur and Sungari rivers in Manchuria, and in parts of Mongolia. This indicates the wide geographical distribution of the people who made this pottery, as well as their probable southern and eastern migrations.

Art of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in Korea leaned towards function, but came under the strong influence of the shamanistic religion that dominated the lives of the people. Crude figurines, made of clay, stone, or bone, are thought to have been manifestations of tutelary deities that early Korean man believed would be talismanic against injurious forces. By the advent of the Bronze Age, art had developed considerably from its earliest stages, as witnessed by extant bronze daggers and ornamented bronze mirrors. As in the Neolithic period, geometric patterns continued to be the dominant form of ornamentation, and this is common to many regions of Siberia, Manchuria and Mongolia, thereby indicating a shared cultural background. While this abstract tendency in early Korean art was later dominated by a naturalistic style entering the historical period, it remained the underlying current of Korean art until the end of Chosön. Opinion is that the abstract trend in Korean art is a product of the northern origins of the Korean people, while the naturalist tendencies are thought to be a by-product of the influence of Chinese culture on Korea and the change of a
heretofore nomadic people into settled agrarian communities.

Bronze Age art continued to be marked by its close relationship with shamanism. And so the artifacts that have been recovered from this period seem to be largely ceremonial in their use. Elaborately ornamented dagger hilts, bell-clusters, bronze mirrors and a wide array of objects engraved with representations of horses, tigers, deer and other animals reveal the range that early Korean man fashioned from bronze. Given the amount of time needed to make such articles, it is thought that the owners would most likely have used them for ritual purposes and that they were manifestations of the ability to control supernatural forces. Also extant from this period are rock drawings and carvings, which depict either hunting and fishing scenes or geometric designs, which indicate the desire of ancient man to record important events in his life.

The Three Kingdoms

With the advent of the third century CE, the Koreans had extended their art forms to painting, sculpture and architecture. The introduction of Buddhism to the peninsula in the fourth c. also had a major effect on the development of Korean art. From then, the naturalistic tendencies in art began to appear, revealing the beginning of the influence of Chinese culture on Korean civilisations.

Koguryo, by virtue of being the northern-most of the Korean kingdoms, was heavily influenced by Chinese civilisation almost from its inception. Koguryo art, however, retained a distinctive style throughout its existence, and this became even more pronounced in the later periods. Hence, Koguryo art does not have the decorative and graphic qualities of Chinese art, but instead exhibits sharp and angular lines, with dynamic and forceful lines of animal drawings displayed in both bronze and stonework. Particularly of note is the difference manifested in Koguryo and northern Chinese Buddhist images. However, the Koguryo images reveal softer and more rotund faces, with less decorative drapery folds than do their northern Chinese counterparts. Accordingly, we can see the trends of softness in lines and modelling, which lend to the emotions of serenity and harmony, as the essential characteristics of Koguryo art.

Paekche, located in the southwestern region of the Korean peninsula, had the greatest diversity in its contacts with foreign countries, which ranged from Japan to the southern regions of China. The influence of southern Chinese art on Paekche Buddhist art is quite evident as the sculptures and drawings in the Korean kingdom reveal the same smooth and sensuous qualities found in the Chinese models. Perhaps the most famous piece of Paekche art is the gilt-bronze seated Maitreya, which has a serene, round face with just the trace of a smile; elegant feminine fingers that lightly touch the check; beautifully formed arms; and an unbroken line of body that together reveal a level of artistic achievement that heretofore had not been even closely approached. There are also extant examples of Paekche art in Japan which display similar qualities. Therefore, Paekche art is denoted by its understanding of the human form, and the elegance and natural manner in which it is represented.

The early art of Shilla reflects the relative isolation of the formative period of the state. Thus, characteristics of simplicity in form and colour, along with a harmony of functional and non-functional implements can said to be manifested in much of the early Shilla art. The desire of Shilla artisans to create objects reflecting the qualities present in nature is best seen in the pottery of the early period. Here, the natural approach is seen in the imperfections present in the pottery and the lack of attention to detail. These imperfect vessels, some not symmetrical and others with ill-fitting lids, were not viewed as being inadequate, but instead as mirroring the conditions found in natural objects, which is exactly what the Shilla artisans desired to capture in their art.

The art of the Korean Three Kingdoms, when compared with that in China, can be said to
have a greater emphasis on natural appearance and human warmth, rather than on precise
detail. While the art of this period may not have the depth of detail as Chinese art does, it
cannot be labelled as inferior in terms of qualities such as sophistication and skill. The
fundamental characteristic in the Korean art of this period was, however, not in detail but
instead in reflecting the beauty of nature.

Greater Shilla and Parhae

The art of Greater Shilla is notable in that it represented the northward expansion of the
Shilla art-style along with an eventual blending of this style with those of the former
Paekche and Koguryo kingdoms. Moreover, during this period the cultural influence of the
Chinese Tang dynasty had a major effect on the art of the Korean peninsula.

There is room for support of the argument that the zenith of Shilla art is to be found in
Buddhist temples such as Pulguk Temple and the Sokkuram grotto, both of which date
from the mid-eighth c. While only the stonework remains from these structures, it reveals
the high level of artistic achievement of the Shilla artisans. The art of this period was more
refined than in former times, and while the styles used are uniquely Korean, they do show
the strong influence of Tang. The sculptures and relief carvings at Sokkuram demonstrate a
great interest in human anatomy and physical beauty, but unlike Chinese or Indian
sculptures, do not display eroticism. Shilla sculpture reflects more than mere physical
beauty; it imparts a sense of spiritual beauty to the viewer. The stone pagodas at many
temples and temple sites provide a linear harmony not present in either China or Japan. As
well, the use of stone in Korea shows marked differences with China and Japan, which
predominantly used bricks and timber, respectively.

While there are few remains of art from Parhae, those that have survived, along with
historical records, reveal that the chief influence was from Koguryo, whose refugees
founded this northern kingdom. Many artifacts of Parhae indicate close ties to the art of
Koguryo, such as Buddhist statues and the lotus blossom motif with which certain roof
end tiles were decorated. Along with the Koguryo influences, however, there were many
aspects of Tang artistry incorporated into the structures of Parhae, thus creating a more
refined art than that found in Koguryo. Unfortunately, the few remains from Parhae do not
allow a thorough analysis of the artistic qualities of this kingdom.

Together with the disintegration of Shilla in the ninth c., was a proportional breakdown of
sculptural techniques. This change is most notable in the faces of Buddhist images which
lacked emotion and no longer displayed spiritual depth. While this was generally a period
of decline, one distinguishing feature was the popularity of memorial stupas, which were
often erected in honour of monks.

The artistic qualities of these monuments are worthy of note, with their display of dramatic
lines and vigorous swirl-design motifs, which well reflect the tumultuous period in which
they were created.

Koryo

Koryo was not only a period of change in politics, but also one of great movement in art.
With the transfer of the capital from Kyongju to the northern city of Kaesong, a new
vitality was injected into the art of the people. Buddhism remained the central force in art,
but it is the Koryo celadon that best exemplifies the artistic achievements. The upper classes
led luxury-filled lives and this is exemplified not least in the pottery of Koryo.

Koryo celadon is claimed, both by the Koreans and the Chinese, to represent the perfection
of Sung dynasty pottery. While it may have been created by the upper classes of Koryo in
an attempt to emulate the Chinese, the artisans of Cholla Province developed it far beyond
the Chinese exemplar. This excellence is seen first in the beautiful colour of the pottery.
Although some Koryo celadon may be yellow-green or yellow-brown in hue, it is the jade green pieces that are most highly prized. Then, the unique and varied designs of Koryo celadon took many different forms which expressed the emotions of the artisans; as shown in the exquisitely-shaped incense burners and water-droppers crafted in the shape of lotus flowers; rabbits; turtles; parrots; dragons; lions; tigers; and many other diverse objects. A further feature of Koryo celadon is the intricacy and beauty of the engraved or inlaid designs. Included among the many images found on the pottery are cranes; deer; chrysanthemums; willow; bamboo; grapes; and stylised gourds. Koryo celadon also continued the tradition of mimicking nature in that there were no uniform or standardised qualities to the pottery, but each piece was individually crafted, likening it to nature, which itself does not create exact copies.

Other noteworthy Koryo art includes Buddhist sculpture, primarily between the tenth and twelfth centuries, which revised some of the skills of Shilla. Particularly, the images created were given the warm countenances that graced the Shilla statutes, although the figures tended to be more rotund than their predecessors. The advent of the period in which Koryo was dominated by the military forces led to a decided decline in artistic traditions and skill, and as a result, the door was opened for new trends in art to emerge during the subsequent Choson dynasty.

Choson

With the coming of neo-Confucian philosophy as the guiding ideology of Choson, Buddhism was subjected to severe suppression by the government and accordingly, lost its position as patron of the fine arts. The yangban ruling class had neither the financial ability nor the interest in acting as patron of the arts, and their artistic inclinations leaned to painting and calligraphy. This is not to say that there was a complete neglect of the arts during Choson, as artisans were unrestricted, resulting in perhaps a more dramatic expression of emotion in art than in former times. Nonetheless, the principles of Confucianism must be to the fore when discussing Choson art.

The combination of the traditional naturalism manifested in Korean art with the Confucian influence clearly created a special type of decoration in Choson art. This is evident in paintings; ceramics; architecture; and even in garden landscapes. Therefore, in architecture, simple buildings that harmonised with the surrounding landscape are the standard, and this is easily seen in structures such as Kyongbuk Palace. Gardens were developed using the natural terrain to its full advantage and these were without the artificial features that dominate Japanese landscapes. Even the furnishings of Choson homes reflected this same simple naturalism. Wood-crafted pieces are functional and this enhances the aesthetic qualities of furniture, while the strong lines emphasise the utilitarian features.

Ceramics also hold an important position in the discussion of Choson art. Initially, pieces of a soft blue-green were preferred, but by the end of Choson, the most common colour was white. The lines of Choson pottery were simpler than those of Koryo, and the bases of pieces were larger, thereby creating a more practical vessel, which gave a sense of both functionality and sturdiness. As well, the ornamentation was (in keeping with the spirit of Choson) quite simple when compared to that of Koryo. In all, the ceramics of Choson well reflect the changes from Koryo that were manifested in art as a whole.

As the end of Choson drew closer, ideological changes such as the shirhak (practical learning) movement had their impact on the art world. Realism came into vogue in painting as artists sought to capture the natural surroundings of the countryside, as they saw them. Genre painting, too, became fashionable as artists such as Kim Hong do (1745-?) and Shin Yunbok (1758-?) sought to capture scenes from everyday life in their works. The rise of genre painting is thought by some scholars to be a backlash against the oppressive Confucian ideology, which diminished the importance of human life. Likewise, during late
Chosŏn, ceramics underwent substantial change as the technique for making blue pigment became widely known. Consequently, blue on white porcelain gained widespread popularity, and although these ceramics were more elaborate than those of early Chosŏn, they still emanated the fundamental Korean characteristic of naturalism.

By the close of Chosŏn, many new types of artistic expression had found their way to Korea. Western art, particularly, had the most substantial impact on Korea for the first half of the twentieth c., as Koreans discovered the many artistic avenues of the West. Accordingly, the first half of the twentieth c. was a period of artistic experimentation and discovery. Korean artists did, however, preserve many of the fundamental elements that had long been present in Korean art, creating a synthesis of Western and Korean art. Therefore, when examining representative artwork of this period the influences of both Western and Korean traditions are distinctly evident to the discerning eye.

Bibliography


Art galleries (see under each art gallery)

Asan

Situated in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Asan consists of the town of Yŏmch’i, and the townships of Togo, Tum’o, Paebang, Sŏnjang, Songak, Shinch’ang, Yŏngin, Ùmbong, Inju and T’angjŏng. Combining the areas formerly known as Onyang City and Asan County, the city covers an area of 509.75 square kilometres. Mt. Kwangdŏk (699m), Mt. Manggyŏng (600m) and other peaks of the Ch’aryŏng Mountain Range run along the city’s southern border, but most of the city area is low hills and flat land. Numerous reservoirs are found scattered throughout the city, and to the northwest, Asan Bay links the area with the Yellow Sea.

With relatively level land and ample water for irrigation, the city is well-suited for rice growing. In the northern hilly areas there are orchards and cattle farms. Dry-field crops grown in the city include barley, Chinese cabbage, turnip, leek, garlic, cabbage, red pepper, carrot, corn and watermelon. Fruit crops include apple, pear, peach and grape. In addition, speciality crops such as cotton and tobacco are cultivated. Fishing and sea-salt extraction were formerly common in Asan Bay, but the marine products industry went into decline after the creation of the Asan and Sapkyo Stream sea-walls. However, several eel farms are to be found in the area. Factories in the city produce textiles, pulp and other wood products, foodstuffs, ceramics, electronics, dressed stone and chemical products.

Asan’s tourism is centred around its famous hot springs. During Chosŏn, or perhaps before, kings came here to bathe, and the Onyang Hot Spring is acknowledged as one of Korea’s oldest and most popular hot spring resorts. The spring has a high sulphur content and its temperature can reach 50c. In Togo’s Kigok Village, is the Togo Hot Spring. This has a somewhat lower water temperature than Onyang, but as the bathing can be combined with a number of recreational facilities, including horse riding and golf, it is equally popular with visitors.

Tourists also come to see the various historical sites scattered around the city. Important Buddhist artefacts in the area include a stone pagoda and Buddha statue at Kwan’ŏm Temple just west of Highway 39, a multi-storey pagoda at nearby Shinshim Temple, an interesting Maitreya statue with features carved in intaglio in Yŏngin’s Shinhyŏn Village, a five-storey pagoda in Yŏngin’s Asan Village and a stupa and a child-like Buddha figure in Onch’ŏn...
dong near the city centre. As for active temples, Ponggok Temple (founded in 887) lies at the foot of Mt. T’aehwa in Songak.

One of the most famous historical sites in the city is Hyönch’ungsa, an old ancestral shrine situated at the foot of Mt. Panghwa in Paegam Village. Founded in 1706 in honour of the famous admiral Yi Sunshin (1545-1598), the shrine was rebuilt in 1932. Within the main shrine building is a memorial portrait of Yi, painted by Chang Usong in 1953. In the shrine complex one can also see the old house where Yi grew up. Next to the house, there are two gingko trees that are said to be over 500 years old and a range where Yi practiced archery and martial arts.

The city also contains a number of Confucian schools, including Asan Hyanggyo (founded in 1575) just west of Highway 39 in Yongin, Shinch’ang Hyanggyo (restored in 1872) just north of Highway 21 in Sŏnjang, Insan Sŏwŏn (founded in 1610), Chŏng’t’oe Sŏwŏn (founded in 1634) and Onyang Hyanggyo (founded in 1871) in Umnae-dong just west of Highway 39. Asan has three universities -- Hoseo Paebang Township, Soon Chun Hyang in Shinch’ang Township and Sun Moon in T’angjŏng Township.

Asia Broadcasting Company (ABC) [Broadcasting Companies]
Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation [Australia and Korea]
Aston, W.G. [United Kingdom and Korea]
Astronomy (see Science and Technology)

Australia and Korea

In October 1889, prior to the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia, missionaries from Victoria arrived in Korea as a vanguard of what was to become a distinctly Australian presence, a presence that was to continue till expelled by the Japanese in 1941. The first missionaries were the Rev. J. H. Davies and his sister Mary who after staying in Seoul for five months set out for Pusan with the intention of establishing a mission. Before reaching Pusan, however, the Rev Davies contracted smallpox and pneumonia and died on 5 April 1890. Following his death his sister returned home. It was not until October 1891 that replacements arrived in Pusan. The party consisted of Mr and Mrs Mackay with Misses Menzies, Fawcett and Perry of the newly formed Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union. Due to poor living conditions Mrs MacKay died within three months of arrival and Mr Mackay fell ill. Although never as large in numbers, nor as wealthy as other “national” missions, the Australians developed a reputation not only for their religious work but also for their grass roots practical activities and common sense approach, establishing schools, a leprosarium, an orphanage, clinics, hospitals, trade and farm institutes and social work.

Under their direction the Ill Shin School (Pusan), the Myoora Orphanage (Pusan), and schools in Chínju (Kwang-nim and Si-wun), Masan (D.M. Lyall, Eui-sin (Ŭishin) and Chang-sin(Ch’angshin)) and Tongnae (J.B.Harper Middle School), were established. On the medical front dispensaries and later hospitals were established at Pusan, Chínju, Masan, T’ongyŏng while the doctors, additional to their own responsibilities, gave of their time to assist at Severance Hospital for short periods each year. By 1939 all mission schools closed as a result of the education registration policy of the colonial government. For the entire period, till they were forced to leave, the Presbyterians who continued to come largely from Victoria were centred in the south, particularly in South Kyŏngsang Province where they eventually undertook responsibility for the whole province. In addition to their responsibility for the province, Australians were also seconded to the staff of the Union Christian College in Pyongyang, the Severance Union Medical College in
Seoul., Australian s were also to serve on the board of managers of the Severance Hospital. Interestingly the a majority of Australian missionaries were single women. The fact that there was a distinct Australian presence allowed them to act in a mediating role within The Comity of Missions, particularly among the "competing" American factions, and in co-operative efforts with Australian members of the Salvation Army in social work, eg girls lured into prostitution in Japan were often stopped in Pusan and sent to Seoul to be cared for by the Salvation Army.

Just prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War the majority of Australian missionaries had fortuitously left for Australia on leave. All remaining missionaries were interned in 1941, sent to Japan in June 1942, returning home in November of the same year. The expulsion of the missionaries brought to a close over 50 years of Australian contact with Korea.

With the end of the Second World War not only did missionary interest in Korea revive but the Australian government itself took an interest in Korea. As part of an expanded foreign policy that was the direct result of its desire to participate in the peace negotiations with the allies as a party principal and a belief that Australia had a right, due to its contribution in the Pacific War, to be fully involved in any final Pacific settlement Australia assumed a more independent and aggressive foreign policy, with a subtle shift away from the UK toward the US. Australia wanted a harsh peace treaty and was willing to push its claim by adopting a higher international profile both at the Peace Conference and at the newly emerging United Nations. To establish its international profile but in line with the internationalist outlook of its foreign minister, later first president of the UN Dr H.V. Evatt, Australia pushed for inclusion in the Moscow Conference. Although not granted a seat at the Conference, Australia was able to have the UK advise the other parties that if the Korean Trusteeship was established Australia would replace Britain as a member. With the transfer of the deadlock on Korea to the United Nations, Australia took a very active role. Australia accepted membership on the United Nations Temporary Commission On Korea (UNTCOK) and its members were participants in the team that were to monitor the first elections.

The United States hoped the elections would allow for the establishment of a Korean government that would be acceptable to the West. It was believed that it would be dominated by the southern sector as the majority of Koreans were living in that half of the peninsula. When it became obvious that the USSR might thwart this possibility the US pushed for elections to be held only in the south, a position at variance with Australia which feared any move that might formalise what was meant to be a temporary division. Even after the elections, the Australians restricted the US sponsored UN resolution aimed at declaring the elections in the south as forming the only legitimate government for the whole Korea. Australia was able to modify the resolution to state that the government, to be formed from the election, was the only legitimate government in that area in which it had been possible to monitor elections. The resolution accepted by the General Assembly on 12 December 1948 not only established a legitimate government but also called for a new commission, The United Nations Commission On Korea, to continue the work of UNTCOK.

Just as Australia had established a high profile on UNTCOK so it dominated UNCOK from the outset with the arrival of Shaw and Jamieson in February 1949. By 15th August 1949, Australia extended diplomatic recognition to the ROK government, it having seen the UN resolution and recognition as separate questions. On November 22nd 1949, Australia in the Political Committee requested the Security Council consider the ROK for UN membership. By May 1950 Australia was the only country to have responded to requests for military observers and it was the Peach/Rankin report delivered to UNCOK on 24th June 1950 that greatly assisted in UN deliberations, the report clearly indicating that the attack came from the north. Although evacuated to Fukuoka on 27th June Jamieson, Peach and Rankin were instrumental in having UNCOK return to Korea on 30th June and
remaining throughout the war.

The Korean War was also to mark the period of greatest direct Australian involvement in Korea. On the 28th June 1950 HMAS's Shoalhaven and Bataan were put at the disposal of General Macarthur, two days later 77 Squadron was committed and on 26th July the acting Prime Minister A.W. Fadden committed the 3rd Royal Australian Regiment. Australia's commitment was to continue at roughly this level until the armistice, the last Australian troops finally leaving in 1957. Although involved in many battles the Australian troops are perhaps most remembered for the battle of Kap’yong on 24th April 1951. Throughout the Korean War Australia’s casualties were 275 killed, 1034 injured and 37 missing in action.

Between the end of the Korean War and the establishment of an Australian embassy in Seoul in 1962, Australia maintained its presence on the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Reconstruction of Korea (the successor to UNCOK) even though the role of the commission was restricted by its terms of reference and the position of the ROK government. This membership on UNCURK was a quasi diplomatic presence that allowed for Australian-ROK contacts. With the Australian diplomatic presence formalised and the activities of UNCURK scaled down direct bilateral exchanges were very limited for the next decade. In April 1967 H. Holt was the first Australian Prime Minister to visit the ROK with President Park Chung Hee visiting Australia the following year. 1968 also saw the arrival of the first official Korean migrants to Australia, Choi Yung Kil his wife and daughter. The main area that saw any real growth was in trade, which increased twelve fold between 1961/2 and 1971/2. As trade increased Australia and Korea entered into several agreements. In 1965 the first Australia-Korea trade agreement was signed followed three years later with Australia’s first ever agreement, with any country, on annual trade talks at the ministerial level. In an attempt to broaden the relationship a Cultural Agreement came into force in June 1971. Although UNCURK was to continue till 1973, with Australian participation on all commissions, it had outlived its usefulness signalling, however, a formal end at UN attempts to unify Korea and thus Australia’s participation.

The relationship had grown largely as a result of trade and despite minor trade friction was a friendly, though somewhat detached, until 1973 when the Australian move to recognise the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea strained the relationship. The Whitlam Labor government’s intention to extend recognition to the DPRK incensed the ROK as did the ROK’s kidnapping of Kim Dae-jung strain the relationship from the Australian viewpoint. Although the bizarre departure of the DPRK from Canberra in 1974 ended the concerns from the Korean end, human rights were to remain a strain on the relationship for the next fifteen years.

By 1975 it was necessary to renegotiate the bilateral trade agreement and four years later there was agreement on nuclear co-operation and the transfer of materials. Regular meeting were also commenced on raw materials and their processing. These were followed by agreements on shipping(1979), fishing(1979;1983;1984;1985;1986; 1987), taxation(1982),extradition(1990),civil aviation(1992;1993), assistance in criminal matters(1993).

That the expansion of the relationship from the mid 60’s to the mid 80’s was almost entirely economically driven is clearly illustrated by reference to the trade figures for the period. From 1962 till. 1983 Australian-ROK trade grew from A$3.6million to over A$1.3billion

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By 1990 Korea had overtaken New Zealand as Australia’s third most important export market and by 1996 it had become the second most valuable export destination.

Main Items of Trade

Australia

The major items of Australian exports to Korea still remain bulk raw materials but there has been and is a concerted effort to diversify into more processed and semi-processed goods.

Iron Ore

As the Korean economy developed in the 1970’s so too did the demand for iron ore, a demand Australia was only too keen to fill. By 1990 Australia was the largest supplier of iron ore (A$267million) to POSCO.

Coal

In line with the demand for iron ore so there has been a similar growth in the supply of coal. By 1990 Australia was the largest supplier of coking coal (A$325million) and the second largest supplier of steaming coal (A$247million).

Beef

The Korean beef market was opened, to a limited extent, in 1988. By 1990 Australia was the largest supplier of beef to the Korean market (A$142million).

Aluminium

Exports of aluminium only stalled in 1980 and were at a very low level. Within ten years, however, Australia was able to capture approximately 50% of the Korean market (A$255million).

Other Raw Materials

By 1989-90 Australia had obtained significant market shares in Korea for the following items

| Raw Sugar | 43% |
| Wheat     | 12% |
| Cotton    | 8%  |
| Wool      | 80% |
| Gold      | 99% |
| Zinc ore  | 56% |

It was not till the mid 1980’s that there was a broadening of the base of Australian exports away from raw materials. Since that time there has been a steady growth in items such as motor vehicle parts, computer related equipment, office equipment, and photographic film. Apart from visible trade growth, receipts from invisibles also began to increase in importance from this time. Australia was increasingly seen by Koreans as an educational destination. Just as there was a blossoming of educational services so was there an explosion in the number of tourist visiting Australia. In 1986 4,800 Koreans visited Australia, increasing to 23,00 in 1991 and 168,000 in 1995 representing 5% of all visitors. The growth in the numbers being the direct result of the liberalisation on travel by the Korean government and the establishment and expansion of direct flights by QANTAS and Korea Air and more lately the addition of flights by Ansett Australia and Asiana.

Republic of Korea

Virtually all Korean exports to Australia consist of manufactured or semi manufactured goods. Although there has been a steady growth in the value of Korean exports to Australia.
the growth has not been as rapid as the growth in Australian exports but it has meant a continuing lessening of the trade imbalance from over 5:1 in the 1960's to 1.7:1 in 1990. The major items have included passenger vehicles, footwear, iron and steel products, rubber tyres and cases, textile yarn, musical instruments, man made fabrics, ships and boats, computers, VCRs and other electronic goods. In addition to the merchandise items, Korea because of its strength in shipping was able to have a favourable balance on invisibles till the mid 1980's but with the influx of tourists to Australia and the sale of Australian educational services the balance has generally moved in Australia's favour.

Not only was there a broadening of the Australian export base in the mid 1980's but there was a more general realisation that the whole relationship itself needed to be broadened and more formal mechanisms were needed to deal with the developing trade frictions. In general Australia's complaints related to a perceived tardiness on the part of Seoul with regard to trade liberalisation, particularly in the area of farm products and processed foods while Seoul was concerned with the continuing, though declining, trade imbalance.

Koreans in Australia.

Although it can not be substantiated it is believed that the first Korean resident may have come to Australia in the 1920's. The White Australia policy ensured that no Koreans were permitted to reside in Australia, although there were a few exceptions such as the Korean wives of an American veteran and an Australian diplomat who served in the Australian Embassy in Seoul. The abolition of the policy in 1966 did not see any initial increase in Korean migration and the first of those who did settle were generally those who had worked overseas for Korean companies. Because of a lack of English and a general lack of formal educational qualifications this first wave of immigrants generally had a difficult time in adjusting to Australian society. Toward the end of the 1980's a second wave, of younger, more upwardly mobile Koreans with English language skills moved to Australia in search of a better quality of life. This trend has been accelerated through tourists returning to Korea. The newer arrivals also tend to have entrepreneurial and managerial skills. In 1981 there were 4,515 Koreans living in Australia, 9,248 in 1986 and by 1991 there were 20,901 Koreans in Australia with approximately two thirds living in Sydney.

Increased Co-operation

The results of the desire to broaden the relationship has resulted in increased co-operation between the two countries, not only on a bi-lateral level but there has been joint co-operation in regional matters. The most obvious example of this is Australia's and Korea's efforts in relation to Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The initiative was announced by Prime Minister Hawke of Australia in Seoul in January 1989, attracted support from Seoul and both countries have continued to play an active role in the development of the concept.

The visit by President Roh Tae Woo (only the second Korean leader to visit Australia to that time) in 1988 resulted in the establishment of a joint Cultural Commission and an Australia - Korea Forum. The Forum met in Canberra in 1989 and in Seoul in 1991. The result of the meetings was the establishment of a series joint organisations to promote understanding and exchange. The Australia-Korea Foundation was to encourage greater co-operation in education, culture and the media. As a recognition of Korea's ability to adapt research and Australia's strengths in basic research a Korea-Australia Science and Industry programme has been established to utilise this complementarity. Another result of the Forums was the development of co-operation between educational institutions, student exchanges and the promotion of Korean studies, including language, in Australia and the introduction of Australian studies to Korean universities. Greater dialogue between the two countries on security and political matters also resulted, eg Korean OECD membership,
drift netting by the ROK, concerns regarding Antarctica.

The realisation of the importance of the relationship has been expressed by an increase in the frequency and duration of visits and the leaders of both countries are at pains to maintain a personal relationship that can be used to solve potential problems. Given the desire by both parties the relationship should continue to grow and strengthen, however given the uncertainty surrounding the DPRK and the various scenarios surrounding possible reunification one can only speculate at the direction and form that relationship might take.

Relations with the Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea

Australia’s relations with the DPRK have always been very limited and of little practical importance. After the Second World War the Australian government had viewed Korea as one entity and adopted policies it hoped would ensure unification. Australia was not successful in its efforts, despite continued attempts by UNTCOK and UNCO to engage north Korea in a dialogue. The 1950 invasion of south Korea by the DPRK was to set the tone of the Australian outlook on the DPRK which was maintained by consecutive governments until the Whitlam Labor government came to power and in 1973 set out to quickly recognise the northern state. Contacts up till the change in government had consisted almost solely of a limited trade involvement. The move to recognise Pyongyang deeply worried the ROK who warned of possible consequences to the growing relations between it and Australia, a threat treated lightly by Australia. The change in the political complexion of the government from Liberal/Country Party to Labor was the underlying reason for the change in an established policy where the Labor party indicated that it wanted a more even handed approach to the Korean question and the left wing of the party had serious doubts as to human rights issues in the ROK. The DPRK established an embassy in Canberra on 30 December 1974, but, ostensibly in response to Australia’s voting in the UN, suddenly withdrew all its staff on 30th October the next year, expelling the Australians from Pyongyang on 8th November allegedly for misconduct. Although there have been recent attempts by the DPRK to revive the relations, which at the present are classified as interrupted, Australia has given a cool response, citing an unsatisfactory explanation for the departure from Canberra, money owed by the DPRK to Australian exporters, DPRK international behaviour and more recently the nuclear issue. The nuclear issue has proved a serious stumbling block due to Australia’s interest in the restriction of nuclear weapons and adherence to the IAEA conventions. At present there would appear little likelihood of the situation changing until there is a change in the DPRK position as any trade with the DPRK would be insignificant in comparison with trade with the ROK.

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Australia-Korea Forum
Australia-Korea Foundation  [Australia and Korea]
Bank of Korea  [Banks]
Bank of Seoul  [Banks]

Banks  (see Financial Institutions; Economy)
Basic Glossary of Korean Studies

*Basic Glossary of Korean Studies* was compiled by Ki Joong Song (Song Kijung) of The Academy of Korean Studies to provide students of Korean studies and scholars with standardised terminology for historical and contemporary Korean words and names. The glossary was published in 1993 by the Korea Foundation and consists of 338 pages. The first of its kind in Korean studies, the glossary gives each term in Korean and Sino-Korean characters, if applicable, and then gives the English translation of the term. Categories include archaeology; art; education; language; literature; music; dance; philosophy; political science; public administration; and religion. Additionally, the work incorporates many terms for Korean history found in *A New History of Korea*, written by Ki-Baik Lee (Yi Kibaek) and translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz. The *Basic Glossary of Korean Studies* also includes the names and dates of many personages from Korean history.

*Basic Glossary of Korean Studies* includes a list of explanatory notes and abbreviations; the list of entries arranged by Korean alphabetical order; and appendices listing the names of government and private institutions in South Korea; frequently occurring post-positional mono-syllabic terms; and the dynastic lineages of the Korean kingdoms. It is an extremely useful work for establishing standard terminology for Korean studies. It does, however, have a few faults including some errors in both spelling and dates, and moreover, does not include any of the terminology related to Korean folklore studies because of the difficulty in establishing English language equivalents. Nonetheless, it is valuable for the contribution it makes to the standardisation of terminology in Korean studies.

Bethell, Ernest [United Kingdom and Korea]

Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources

The *Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources* is a work of five-hundred and eighty pages by Tai-Jin Kim (as author and editor), published by the Asiatic Research Centre of Korea University in 1976. Kim provides bibliographical notes on some one-hundred and forty-eight Korean sources from Shilla through Chosŏn. He includes a brief description of the authors, content, and the circumstances surrounding these important literary and historical documents. Much of the information contained in Kim’s work was hitherto unavailable to those not competent in Korean.

The *Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources* provides many useful comments on the authors of the various works, and at times gives short biographical sketches on notable people. The work, however, is not error-free, particularly in regard to dates given and in some of its historical information. Nonetheless, for non-specialists particularly, it has opened a door to much useful bibliographical information.

Bibliography

Most European languages have a technical term that has its origin in the term *bibliographia*. In English usage (c. 1814), ‘bibliography’ has historically been used to designate a description of books. In today’s usage, however, it holds the meaning of a list of books or other literature on or relating to a particular subject, and the theory behind these compilations. Moreover, ‘bibliography’ can often vary to a degree, and may include such aspects as the investigation of particulars of the authorship, publication, and printing of a certain work. In the nineteenth c., the term ‘bibliography’ also included the science of the book and the organisation of libraries. This is commonly referred to as ‘historical bibliography’ in contemporary English language scholarship.
In the Korean language, the term *sōjihak* is used in the same manner as the English 'bibliography'. *Sōjihak* literally means the 'study of the records of books,' which reveals that the aims of this academic discipline in Korea are essentially the same as they are in Western scholarship.

**Original Text Bibliographies**

The start of bibliography in Korean history can be found during the Three Kingdoms. In this era, books of many kinds were brought from China, and in the process of propagation, these were re-copied. As an integral part of the copying process, any mistaken or confused characters were adjusted, along with the correction of poorly written or erroneous sentences in the original text. In particular, any inconsistencies in the original would be rectified, and in the case of Buddhist texts, discrepancies would be compared with translations of the original in classical Chinese and even with other versions, in order to ascertain the correct word or phrase. With the advent of printing technologies, the need to ensure accuracy of the text became all the more important. An examination of the *Dharani Sutra* (*muguchōnggwangdaetaranikyōng*), which is dated 751 C.E.(denoting it as the world's oldest known printed material), reveals the care in which it was edited. Likewise, the *Pohyŏbin taranikyōng*, which was printed in 1007 at Ch'ŏngji Temple, is significant in that it corrected many of the errors present in the version transmitted from China.

The importance of the individuals who undertook the editing and engraving of woodblocks for the printing of Buddhist scriptures can be seen in both the establishment of the Kyojang Togam (Directorate for Buddhist Scriptures) and also at the end of the works, where the name of the monk who had ensured the accuracy of the work is clearly indicated. Therefore, an examination of an ancient Buddhist text will show the name of the monk, or monks, charged with the proof-reading and editing of the work. The meticulous care given to the correction of mistaken characters, sentences and inconsistencies in the various Buddhist texts is seen in the completion of the *P'alman taejanggyŏng* (*Tripitaka Koreana*), which was compiled both from earlier efforts and Chinese sources. There is a thirty-volume record of the many corrections, entitled *Koryŏguk shinjo taejang kyojong pyŏllok* (Record of the Corrections of the New Carving of the Tripitaka of Koryo), written by the monk Sugi. The thoroughness of Sugi is attested in that the *P'alman taejanggyŏng* carved during Koryŏ is accepted as the most accurate in the world, being almost flawless insofar as omitted characters and erroneous sentences are concerned.

During Chosŏn, procedures for editing and ensuring the accuracy of works before printing were taken to an even higher level than those practised in Koryŏ. Works edited at government offices were assigned to government officials, who completed the corrections. When a book was printed, regardless of whether it was with metal type or woodblocks, the errors in the original were corrected and then noted with a 'corrected' (*kyojojang*) stamp. In the case of a book which was to be printed with metal type, a special official at the Office of Compilation and Corrections (Kamgyugwan) was given the task of correcting the work. The ultra-serious attitude in the compilation of books is seen in the legal code of the *Taejŏn husongnok* (National Code supplement), which prescribed harsh sanctions for errors in a printed work. The government official responsible at the Office of Compilation and Corrections, or any other governmental institution that had participated in the editorial and revision process would be punished by flogging, removal from his post, or by a reduction of pay. Quite clearly, therefore, accuracy in the compilation of books was very important. Consequently, the works printed with metal type during Chosŏn are distinguished by their accuracy and their fine quality.

After Korea’s liberation from the Japanese in 1945, the main thrust of activity in bibliography was expressed in Ch’oe Namsŏn’s revision of the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and in the Society for the Advancement of National Culture (Minjok Munhwa Ch’uujin Hoe), which also published revisions of the *Samguk*
yusa and the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms). Also, at this time, Cho Pyongsun compiled Chungsu poju samguk sagi (Supplemented and Enlarged History of the Three Kingdoms). A thesis published on the subject of bibliography is ‘Saero palgyonhoen kop'an pon samguk sagi’ (Newly Discovered Ancient Editions of the History of the Three Kingdoms) by Ch'on Hyebong. There are other other works by Korean scholars which seek to analyse the origins and contents of Korea’s ancient works.

Bibliography Systems

The importance of bibliographical techniques in the compilation of books in Korea was traditionally greater than in China, and this was due to the Korean desire to create accurate woodblock-print works. Today, the oldest extant bibliographical examinations are the three volumes of Shinpyo chwol chongkyog chongnak (New Catalogue of Buddhist Sectarian Writings) written by Uich'on when he was editing the Palman taeganggyung, and Taejanggyung mongnak (Catalogue of the Tripitaka Koreana), which is also in three volumes. In compiling Shinpyo chwol chongkyog chongnak, Uich'on consulted scriptures, laws, commentaries and other Buddhist writings from Koryo, Song China, and Japan, et al, in order to prepare an accurate version of the Buddhist scriptures. Uich'on's work is notable in that it represents the first such work in East Asia and therefore, remains a valuable bibliographical resource to the present-day. The Taejanggyung mongnak, which is now kept at Haein Temple, is highly regarded for the study of the compilation process of the later compilation of the Palman taeganggyung in that it deleted the supplements contained by the Shinpyo chwol chongkyog chongnak and replaced the original omissions. And so, it provides an accurate record of the editorial process in the compilation of the Palman taeganggyung.

During Choson, with the intent to republish documents printed before the 1592 Japanese Invasion, materials were gathered from every corner of Korea for the Kosa ch'waryo. Serving a similar purpose for works printed after the invasion is Koch'aept'an sojae ko (Treatise on the Whereabouts of Ancient Printing Blocks); which is a catalogue of works up until the mid-nineteenth c. Falling between these two works is Só Yugu's 1796 catalogue, Nup'an ko (Treatise of Printing Plates), which is considered the principal authority on bibliography throughout Choson. Other bibliographical catalogues of Choson include, Kosó mongnak chipsong (Catalogue of Ancient Books) and Han'guk ch'aept'an mongnak ch'ongnam (Catalogue of Korean Printing Blocks).

With regard to those bibliographic works that introduce various aspects of Korean scholarly works, Kim Hyu's Haedong munhón ch'ongnak (Bibliography of Historical Documents) catalogues various literary records dating from Shilla to mid-Chosón. This work, compiled during the reign of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), contains records of some 670 documents. Other works include, Naryý yemun chi (Literary Records of Shilla and Koryŏ) and Naryý munjok chi (Catalogue of Shilla and Koryŏ Documents), which both focus on the early periods in Korea. Other bibliographies from late Chosón include those written by foreigners such as the Bibliographie Coréenne (Bibliography of Korea) compiled by M. Courant in four volumes, and Kosen satsufu (Record of Ancient Korean Books) compiled by Maema Kyôsaku in three volumes. A number of contemporary works have been widely acclaimed for their discussion of bibliographical explanation, such as the eight-volume Han'guk chonjok chonghap mongnak (Complete Catalogue of Korean Works) published by the Society for the Preservation of National Literary Materials (Kukhak Charyo Pojon Hoe) from 1974 to 1980, and which contains a catalogue of private libraries.

Present State of Bibliographic Studies

Today, bibliographical studies in Korea encompass many facets of the discipline. Some of the aspects covered include the development of commentary concerning books, their origin and title changes. The shape and form of the book is also under scrutiny, with
bibliographers looking at the changes in binding types, in printing technology and printing methodology, among other aspects. Their research is highly-specialised, with many bibliographers focusing on a particular era or genre of book, thereby making significant contributions to academic research.

Vast areas of scholarship still remain to be thoroughly examined in Korean bibliographical studies, such as an understanding of which particular qualities in Korean literature are uniquely Korean; and which elements of the Korean lifestyle are represented in literature and Korean consciousness, value systems and ideological beliefs. Today, academic enquiry in the field of bibliographical study seeks to find answers to these and other questions, through a deep understanding of Korean literature and its developments over the past 1,500 years.

Bibliography


Bird-Bishop, Isabella Lucy (1831-1904)

Isabella Lucy Bird-Bishop was a world traveller of the late nineteenth c. Born in England to a wealthy family she began travelling with her parents at an early age. Her independent adventures began with a trip to the Hawaiian Islands in the late 1860s, and it was in Hawaii that she discovered both her passion for exploring foreign cultures and for horsemanship. As a result of her time in Hawaii, she wrote The Hawaiian Archipelago (1886), which established her reputation as both a world traveller and as a writer. On the return journey from Hawaii in 1872, Bird-Bishop stopped in Colorado and became so enamoured with the Rocky Mountains that she stayed there for a period and operated a cattle ranch. In 1881, she married Dr. J.F. Bishop, an eminent Edinburgh physician, but he died a short three years thereafter. After this, she resumed her travels and journeyed to central Asia, China, Japan and Korea, as well as other countries. During this time, she met with the monarchs of many countries, and her writings served to introduce these lands and peoples to many Western readers. Some of her notable accounts include The Golden Chersonese; The Malayan Travels of a Victorian Lady (1883); Korea and Her Neighbours (1898) and The Yangtze Valley and Beyond (1899).

Bird-Bishop visited Korea a total of four times between January 1894 and March 1897, with the intention of studying the ‘Mongolian races’. She pens her first thoughts on Korea as, ‘My first journey produced the impression that Korea is the most uninteresting country I ever travelled in, but during and since the war, its political perturbations, rapid changes, and possible destinies, have given me interest in it; while Korean character and industry, as I saw both under Russian rule in Siberia, have enlightened me as to the better possibilities which may await the nation in its future.’ Her two-volume account of Korea provides the author’s insight to many aspects of the situation that prevailed in Chosŏn in the late nineteenth c. Also notable are the personal contacts she had with King Kojong (r. 1863-1907); the Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (1820-1898); and Queen Min (1851-1895). Thus, she provides her readers with first-hand knowledge of these major figures in the declining years of Chosŏn. Bird-Bishop was not a scholar nor fluent in the language of any of the Asian countries she travelled in, being dependent on interpreters and accounts given to her by others. Her works, therefore, contain many inaccuracies and misleading statements. But they do provide valuable, albeit small, glimpses of Korea and the other Asian countries she visited.

Blake, George [United Kingdom and Korea]

Bone-rank system (see kolp’um che) [Society]
Brandt, M.A.S., von

Broadcasting

History of Korean broadcasting

Radio

Broadcasting under Japanese occupation forces (1910-1945)

Korea's first taste of the new technology of radio came relatively early for such a poor and under-developed country. In 1915, engineers at the Ministry of Communications conducted an experiment in which the Japanese anthem was transmitted via wireless telephone over a distance of 800 metres. In 1924, a radio laboratory was established on an experimental basis. Programs were initially broadcast in Japanese, but with burgeoning public interest, Koreans were invited to participate in limited broadcasts. On 30 November 1926, Kyongsong Broadcasting Station transmitted its first radio program. The main source of revenue was from listening fees, fixed at two won a month. Rigorous censorship by the Ministry of Information meant that broadcasts in Korean were restricted to entertainment programs, even though programming was increased to sixteen hours a day. The Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and the Pacific War in 1941, suppressed Korean programs to a point where they became a propaganda tool for Japan's expansionist ambitions. Radio soon had as its main purpose the purveyance of bulletins prepared by the Japanese Government-General and Korean broadcasting became little more than an appellation.

Broadcasting under U.S. Military Government (1945-1948)

Following Korea's liberation on 15 August 1945, the Kyongsong Broadcasting Station was placed under the supervision of the United States Military Government in Korea. One reason for this was to fend off the political left's pressure for control of broadcasting.

Broadcasting had to change to integrate with the transformation of Korea into a modern society. Initially, Kyongsong concentrated on programs aimed at restoring and developing a national culture, hitherto shrouded under Japanese rule. It then focused on the novel idea of democracy and on furthering public welfare through educational programs.

Concomitant with relative freedom of news coverage came restrictions on its distribution. The military government dealt harshly with critics of military policy and coerced the closing down of local newspapers as a censorship measure. Nationwide censorship resulted when an article in Haebang Ilbo blatantly criticized the military rule; set aside only when new ordinances circumscribed press activities and a special committee convened to arbitrate conflicts of interest. Significantly, American broadcasting practices predominated in the ensuing reorganization of the KBS and new program formats. In January 1946, Voice of America first broadcast under the name, San Francisco Broadcast. Under strong U.S. influence, the domestic radio station, nominally public, was actually commercial in content and programming.

Broadcasting under the New Government (1948-1953)

Although the military government initially returned the radio station to the Choson Broadcasting Committee (later, Taehan Broadcasting Committee) in June 1948, a reshuffling of government jurisdictions placed Kyongsong under Ministry of Information
control. The station was quickly nationalized, its employees becoming public servants, signifying the beginning of the state-run Korean Broadcasting Station (KBS). Program reorganization brought diversity in news reporting, with programs such as 'Local News' and 'News Parade'.

During the Korean War, KBS came under control of the Ministry of Defence and its broadcasting functions were drastically reduced, partly because of financial stringencies. The American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) was established at this time to serve the needs of its military force. KBS gradually materialized into a public broadcasting station and with its headquarters in Pusan, the temporary war capital, established branch stations in major locales. Strict censorship of newscasts made it increasingly difficult to remain unbiased and pro-government reporting predominated.

Rise of private, commercial broadcasting (1954-1960)

Following the armistice (27 July 1953) all government institutions were located in Seoul. After restoration of damaged plant and some expansion of broadcasting equipment, there was (from 1957) a striking improvement in the general quality of radio programming. Airtime was doubled and the introduction of a transcription reporting system added vitality to radio programs. In addition, telegraph soon permitted the direct reception of foreign news. Thus, despite the emergence of television, the 1950s were still predominantly radio-oriented.

Pusan MBC (Munwha Broadcasting Company), the first commercial radio network in Korea, and the Christian Broadcasting System, were established, relying on advertising to finance operations. Their reporting activities enlightened the public on the merits of co-existence, for competition warranted greater reporting accuracy. Relay broadcasting of international sporting events, production of educational and informational programs of quality focusing on a developing civic consciousness, and the introduction of serial dramas characterized the major improvements of the decade.

The other side of the coin, however, was that the news reporting aspect of broadcasting was severely restricted by political instability and consecutive dictatorships of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee. The two regimes decreed press policies aimed at circumscribing the activities of KBS, whereby fairness and objectivity always played a secondary role to the propagation of government policy.

Commercial broadcasting and the television era (1961-1979)

The 16 May 1961 coup d'état made effective use of broadcasting facilities, especially those of state-run KBS, which was restructured to allow for two extra channels, one for international transmissions and another for AM/FM broadcasting. Park Chung-Hee's administration legislated to permit private ownership of radio and TV stations. The industry underwent significant changes during this period as commercial broadcasting became more conventional, radio and television duelled through intense competition, and communication satellites diffused the innovative idea of relay broadcasting.

Commercial broadcasting, being intrinsically profit-oriented, held a propensity for entertainment programming and cheap imitations of foreign shows. Serial dramas were the most popular. As television's appeal grew, radio's appeal declined. In time, commercial broadcasters challenged official opinion in the public forum. The 1970s brought about social changes which had a direct effect on the industry, significantly Yushin Hŏnpŏp (revitalizing) reform designed to combat domestic and international instability. Yushin imposed severe censorship on the commercial-orientation of television.
The inauguration of the Korean Broadcasting Corporation and MBC-TV’s incorporation of all affiliated broadcasting stations under the Munwha Broadcasting network, were major events. MBC also assimilated the Kyunghyang Daily, thereby combining its broadcasting and newspaper functions. When Yushin ended, broadcasting had deteriorated into stereotyped programs of low appeal and law amendments (1973) strictly regulated all material deemed damaging to public morals.

Era of public broadcasting (1980-1990)

Structural change saw a complete shift from commercial to public broadcasting in 1980, leaving in its wake only the two stations KBS and MBC. TBC TV and Radio were integrated into the KBS, as KBS 2 and KBS Radio 3. Dong-A Broadcasting Station (DBS) became KBS 4 (Radio Seoul). In addition, MBC gradually acquired a controlling share interest of twenty-one local stations. The Education Broadcasting System (EBS) which managed to gain independence from KBS 3, came under the bailiwick of the Ministry of Education (and still uses transmitting facilities provided for by KBS.)

Radio - popularity and decline

The first relay station went into operation in Pusan in September 1934, followed by an expansion of district networks as regional stations emerged. The Korean Broadcasting System was reorganized to consolidate control over these stations and with the birth of the Republic the existing network came under direct government control.

KBS introduced Voice of Free Korea radio to its network on 1 December 1955, to contribute to information and cultural exchange within the international community and to convey the message of reunification to North Korea. Short-wave broadcasting across Asia was in Korean, English, French, Chinese, Japanese and Russian. Foreigners in Korea could listen to a daily English broadcast on medium-wave.

The 1960s was a period during which the various radio stations, RSB, (Radio Seoul, later to be known as TBC), KBS, CBS, MBC and DBS, could compete with each other free from the magnet of television. MBC soon expanded into a nationwide network, while DBS, affiliated with Tonga Ilbo, had to endure lack of support and facilities and limit its goals to the Seoul audience. RSB experienced steady growth and rising popularity.

Commercial radio and its ratings competition saw the survival of stations tied to advertising revenue. A significant development was the establishment of Munwha Broadcasting Corporation in Pusan in 1959, which also attracted a wide audience in Seoul. As a private corporation totally dependent on local advertising, MBC pioneered a solid-base advertising industry for Korean products. Its entertainment-oriented programs acquired the highest ratings.

Radio’s displacement by television can be seen when the number of TV receivers reached half a million in 1973, only ten years after TV was introduced, while the number of radios remained less than one million some fifty years after its introduction. Radio then had to find program genres which accentuated its traits as a medium, such as convenience and flexibility, while conceding entertainment functions to TV. It turned to spot news, popular music and information segments. In the 1980s, KBS Radio modernized and expanded, concentrating on wide-scope informational programs. Local radio networks also implanted a new image of themselves as instruments of regional development by disseminating local topics to the rest of Korea. This helped to reduce rural alienation, as well as acquainting city dwellers with traditional lifestyles and values. Today, KBS, MBC and SBS attempt to achieve a certain level of specialization and differentiation.
Broadcasting stations - Radio and Television

National and regional stations

* American Forces Network (AFKN)
  Buddhist Broadcasting System (BBS)
* Christian Broadcasting System (CBS)
* Educational Broadcasting System (EBS)
  Far East Broadcasting Station
  Korean Broadcasting Station (KBS)
  Munwha Broadcasting Corporation (MBC)
  Pyungwha Broadcasting Corporation (PBC)
  Seoul Broadcasting Station (SBS)
  TBC
  Traffic Broadcasting System (TBS)

* See text below

American Forces Korea Network (AFKN)

AFKN began operations in 1950 as a mobile radio station, and broadcast its first TV program in 1957. It has expanded to cover the ROK through a sophisticated cable and microwave system, with twenty-two transmitters.

Primarily for American service personnel and their families, AFKN is also popular with young Koreans. To students wanting to improve their language skills, AFKN-TV offers idiomatic, colloquial English and provides uncensored domestic news, reports from ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN. But critics have denounced AFKN's programming, claiming that the youth of Korea is being inundated with material of a sexual and violent nature. AFKN broadcasts twenty hours a day during the week, twenty-four at weekends. It is advertisement free, but includes community-type announcements.

Christian Broadcasting System (CBS)

The Christian Broadcasting Station (CBS) commenced in 1954 to introduce Christianity to Koreans. However, except for a few religious programs, it did not differ widely from the commercial stations. In 1962, CBS obtained a commercial broadcasting licence, which allowed it to rely, in part, on advertising revenue. It was well-received and a desire to extend its coverage soon became apparent. To achieve this goal it gained the support of the U.S. Audiovisual Committee (one of its biggest financial supporters) to establish local, affiliated stations throughout Korea.

Guidelines regulating CBS news coverage served to emphasize the significance of unbiased reporting. This came through strongly during the 1960 student uprising, when CBS, unlike KBS, fulfilled its public responsibilities through prompt, objective reporting. It also kept Koreans informed on the volatile domestic situation by transmitting 'Voice of America' reports, and editorials printed by major U.S. newspapers.

Educational Broadcasting System (EBS)

EBS offers countrywide FM radio and UHF/VHF television coverage. Programming is based on EBS's founding principles - to improve the quality of school education, to expand educational opportunities, to satisfy educational demands and to strengthen democratic ideals.
International exchanges (e.g. BBC, NHK) have fostered new audience interest in the EBS and improved ratings attest to its success. EBS aims to solidify a special channel identity with programs aimed at broadening international perspectives and by nurturing scientific and modernized thought forms to motivate social development.

**Television**

Inauguration and development

Television broadcasting in Korea came in 1956 with the inauguration of HLKZ-TV (Korean RCA Distribution), a commercial TV station. Leaning heavily on the practices of American commercial TV and RCA assistance, HLKZ-TV began regular broadcasting for two hours on alternate days. Financially dependent on commercial advertising (at a time when most people could not afford television sets), its distribution plans were increasingly frustrated as entrepreneurs were unwilling to invest in advertising. Despite its attempts to give better service, the station was soon to be taken over by Hankook Ilbo under the name Daehan Broadcasting Corporation (DBC). In turn, following a disastrous fire, DBC-TV was gradually absorbed into the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) which began operations in 1961.

U.S. influence over the emerging local industry was strongly evident, especially evident in AFKN-TV. RCA, which initially introduced television to Korea, had basically tapped a very lucrative market for its radio and television receivers. Despite Korea's internal difficulties it became the fourth country in Asia to launch television broadcasting, relying heavily on a longstanding technological relationship with the US.

In 1981, KBS launched a third television channel, KBS 3, justified under the pretext of furthering public interest. Control and manipulation of broadcasters by the government were prevalent phenomena, yet also made possible were large-scale features more attuned to audience tastes. The introduction of colour TV resulted in a marked growth in the number of viewers and CTV sales. The information needs of Koreans became more diverse and expenditures for production and management underwent notable changes.

The end of the 1980s brought stronger realism to TV programming, with investigative reports and live variety shows emerging as stalwarts of prime-time. Table 1 summarizes the distribution of program types by the four television networks.

When the Seoul Broadcasting Station (SBS) made its debut (December 1991), the three established networks were faced with a serious challenge. A full-scale competition war characterized by an incredible preoccupation with ratings was launched. SBS introduced cluster-programming to prime-time by grouping similar types of programs together, a strategy geared towards maintaining audience flow. The four networks now offer four hours of daytime programming beginning at 0600 and from 1800 until midnight. No programs are aired in the afternoons on weekdays, but all have an additional five hours (1300-1800) at weekends.

Although KBS 1, KBS 2 and SBS put some effort into achieving channel differentiation, the norm is to place similar programs in the same time slot. Broadcasting cheap facsimilies of American and Japanese shows, as well as modifying popular formats used by a competitor, is commonplace.

**Table 1. Program Distribution Among the Four Korean Networks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>KBS-1</th>
<th>KBS-2</th>
<th>MBC-TV</th>
<th>SBS-TV</th>
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<td>%</td>
<td>ITV</td>
<td>2TV</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>News</td>
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<td>18.51</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>9.50</td>
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<td>10.99</td>
<td>4.62</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Sports</td>
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<td>9.03</td>
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<td>9.62</td>
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<td>23.80</td>
<td>20.53</td>
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<td>8.19</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>5.66</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comedy Shows</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>4.32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Variety Shows</td>
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<td>5.86</td>
<td>9.48</td>
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<td>Children's programs</td>
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<td>8.23</td>
<td>8.58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural/educational</td>
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<td>20.40</td>
<td>15.17</td>
<td>6.65</td>
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</tr>
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<td>11.21</td>
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<td>4.97</td>
<td>2.11</td>
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<td>Talk shows</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.64</td>
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<td>3.32</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td>9.77</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>7.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commercial television (1990-)

The KBS monopoly of television broadcasting was challenged and with new broadcasting laws, came pressure for a commercial broadcasting station. Thus, the Commission on Broadcasting Institutions was formed in 1989, and with it the decision to establish a commercial station, the Seoul Broadcasting Station. SBS began operations on AM radio, but within a year established a TV station. This signalled an end to longstanding KBS-MBC exclusiveness. However, SBS is a local broadcasting station covering only Seoul and its vicinities, but is expected to widen its horizon. With SBS as an example, the government plans to establish private television networks in major cities.

Informational and educational programs

Under the Broadcasting Law, Korean TV networks are required to show programs which hold affinity to diverse cultural or educational pursuits. Such programs focus on promoting a sense of national identity or the teaching of specific skills, languages or crafts. Traditionally, such programs go to air in the morning session.

The fact that fixed, regular programs are obviously quite meagre in quantity and inconspicuous in quality, reflects the lack of investment and motivation in television's information purveying role. The weight placed on a certain program can be quite accurately determined by its time slot. Prime time in Korea is comprised mostly of entertainment shows with an extensive newscast in between, with informational/cultural programs usually deferred to the post-2200 hours slot.

SBS is often cited as the mover behind this trend, for at its outset, many had wondered as
to its survival tactic in the face of relative giants like KBS. Not surprisingly, SBS went all-out in the direction of 'commercial-type' entertainment (foreign imports dubbed in Korean or superficial domestic shows). MBC and KBS are routinely criticized for following suit.

Regulation of the media

Censorship influence

The program content of the media, what it is and what it should be, dominates current dialogue across the broadcasting spectrum. News, current affairs and cultural value programs are only one part of broadcasting; programs with violence, sex and nudity make up the rest. This division justifies censorship influence over media space and time, and thus government is given a plausible reason to interfere.

Broadcasting history has reflected public concern every time a new medium appeared. Government responsibility is to monitor those forces which threaten valued cultural norms, controlling and regulating broadcasting through the statute book and self-regulation through codes of ethics. Also, extra-legal controls operate through pressure groups or lobbying parties. Over its sixty years, Korean broadcasting has experienced tremendous governmental restrictions, first by the Japanese and then by successive Korean governments and the bureaucracy.

Following independence, a public system was favoured over private, thereby ruling out the need for encompassing broadcasting-related laws. The only quasi-legal regulations which existed were concerned more with the administrative aspect of broadcasting, but with the appearance of commercial stations, improving public welfare and cultural standards were cited as broadcasting's primary goals. 'General Broadcasting Standards' were drafted and disseminated to the various stations and served as indices to guide the quality of programs.

Legal protection of broadcasting

When commercial broadcasting burgeoned, the need for legal protection of broadcasting activities was recognized. The 'Broadcasting Law' was thus enacted (16 December 1963), providing for freedom of the press, the establishment of the Korea Ethics Commission on Broadcast (KECB) to safeguard the public interest, and various regulatory measures. Also, the need to diffuse the TV service to the provincial areas resulted in the 'Cable Operations Law' which sought to ensure rapid, accurate delivery of government policy and to promote cultural improvement of rural workers' lives. However, the law which provoked the most controversy and dissent was the 'Basic Law' (31 December 1980); an unconstitutional document and a ramification of the Fifth Republic's dictatorial ways. It stifled the media under the pretext of preventing monopoly and greed for almost a decade before repeal.

Cable television

An experimental CATV broadcasting system covered 8,000 households in two densely populated areas of Seoul. CATV is considered to be a separate medium and accordingly outside the scope of the Broadcasting Act. The regulatory agency is the 'CATV Broadcasting Commission' which operates under the umbrella of the Ministry of Information. There are restrictions on the ownership of CATV stations by anyone who owns or controls the licence of a television broadcasting station, a daily newspaper or other means of communication. Religious and political organizations are debarred from CATV ownership.

Licences for providing video programming are controlled by the Cable Television Broadcasting Commission, which limits foreign input to 30 per cent, and enforces strict requirements for the duration and content of advertising. The Commission also has the role
of 'maintaining public responsibility, ethics, and qualitative improvement of the general content of cable television broadcasting.' It has broad censorship powers, but as a regulatory agency, it acknowledges Government control of what is actually shown on CATV.

Socio-cultural contribution

Broadcasting has permeated everyday life to the extent that it is now regarded as the public spokesman. Its valued social roles are to promote public welfare and maintain the national identity and Korean media have produced cultural programs to uniquely serve these functions. A prime example is EBS, which strives to lead the audience down the specific avenues of social, educational and cultural development.

Documentaries on foreign culture and history, or those concentrating on politics, the economy or environmental protection offer Koreans a world formerly unknown. National identity is enhanced by objective comparison with a uniquely different culture, while educational programs help disseminate the dominating ideology of a society. Culture transmission and identity constitution through broadcasting implies that such media are naturally more conservative, and serve to reinforce existing values rather than change them. But the average Korean switches on TV or radio more for quiet relaxation and stress release than for enlightenment. With many programs targeting families as opposed to a specific demographic group, it is not surprising that television's effect on social/sexual roles is a key issue of contention among sociologists today.

TV has also brought about considerable changes in people's perceptions of the older generation. No longer are senior citizens the symbols of patriarchy - venerated beings under Confucianism - especially on contemporary television where their views are neither welcomed or respected. Elementary school students spend most of their leisure watching TV, to which a certain amount of their socialization is attributable. Adolescents, however, watch less TV, due to study workload, but are more vulnerable than adults and succumb more easily to television stimuli. Korean teenagers are also inclined to transfer ideas through television directly into action.

Financial structure

As a state-run broadcasting system, KBS initially relied entirely on government funding. The government used postal-service employees to collect fees, and despite the inefficiencies involved, revenue in 1951 totalled 166 million won. The financial strains of the Korean War severely curtailed network development, but despite funding limitation to KBS, the government appropriated 20 million won for special broadcasting equipment.

Until 1966, KBS-TV remained dependent upon government funding. Then, the total revenue from reception fees jumped to 138 million won as the number of registered TVs increased (to 690,000 in 1967). Criticism arose against the financing structure of KBS which, although a state-run broadcasting company, received funding from both reception fees and through selling advertising time. Responding to public pressure, KBS discontinued its advertising function (5 May 1969). TBC-TV was inaugurated in 1964 and displayed fifty-six 'commercials' in its first broadcast. As the only private TV station in the television advertising market it made every effort to attract a large number of clients by providing quality service. As TBC also operated a radio station, it often marketed joint television & radio advertising packages for big events.

Shortly after KBS discontinued advertising, MBC TV was launched, creating fierce rivalry between it and TBC. As TBC had a five year head start, it held the dominant market share, but could not retain this prominence. TBC then restructured and the quantity of advertisements led to strengthening of the corresponding regulatory framework. The
government first controlled only the number and amount of advertisements with its 1963 broadcasting laws, but by amendments went on to control content (placing this within the ambit of the Broadcasting Ethics Committee).

Today, media advertising is a mammoth industry and the broadcasting sector captures a big share of the market, even though it lags behind that of the newspapers. Table 2 gives the media advertising turnover for 1993. (Source: Cheil Communications Inc/Korea Annual 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>1993 Outlay</th>
<th>1992 Outlay</th>
<th>Growth rates</th>
<th>Composition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Television</strong></td>
<td>896,813</td>
<td>835,885</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Radio</strong></td>
<td>137,122</td>
<td>129,584</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Newspaper</strong></td>
<td>1,332,657</td>
<td>1,140,919</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Magazine</strong></td>
<td>123,953</td>
<td>121,374</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td>2,490,545</td>
<td>2,227,762</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>132,089</td>
<td>113,582</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,622,713</td>
<td>2,381,557</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technological development

The 'Universal and Intelligent Communication Network'

The primary goal of the communications industry in the 21st c. is the implementation of the 'Universal & Intelligent Communication Network'. Broadcasting's version is the 'Integrated Services Digital Broadcasting' which when installed, will allow higher quality programming of wider diversity.

The technology which serves as a foundation for such quality and diversity is comprised of micro-electronics, digital technology, fibre-optic cable, and satellites, which combined with broadcasting, communication and computer technology will lead to the digitalization, systemization and broadening of TV coverage. In order to keep pace with these developments, KBS, MBC, and SBS have formulated medium to long-term plans.

The task of improving production and transmission facilities has been ardently pursued by all stations. In 1992 CBS extended its facilities to a sweeping complex. KBS plans two branch stations in Pohang and Sokcho to alleviate its space problems. MBC opened its Namwon FM radio and TV stations in 1992. SBS which had initially targeted only Seoul prepares to expand coverage and build two large studios in the new city of Ilsan.

Technology has become a dominant factor in broadcasting, as cable television and satellite broadcasting increasingly rival established networks. Korea has implemented steps to cope with the increased demands of information exchange, including satellite communications, cable broadcasting, and its planned 'Information Highway'.

Satellite broadcasting

Korea's 1995 broadcasting/communication satellite is named Mugungwha, but from January 1992, in order to create a base market for satellite services, and to familiarize itself with satellite administration, Korea Tele Communications began accessing the Intelsat Satellite #5a. Mugungwha is a 650 kg satellite in which 300 billion won is invested and is a product of the General Electrics Company.

Cable Broadcasting
Cable television planning targets areas where topographical barriers make normal reception difficult. An expansion of the pilot scheme now operating in Seoul is currently being planned, and it is expected that up to 130 cable broadcasting and 28 production organizations will be approved by 1996.

The Information Highway

The government has an ambitious plan to build a national 'Information Super Highway' system. In its simplest terms this is a network of fibre-optic cables and microwave stations linking every home, business and institution in the Republic. By 2015, a total of US $55 billion will be expended, aimed at upgrading Korea's multi-media information industry to a world-class level.

Plans are in hand to develop 100 public databases every year and distribute 10 million terminals for information distribution. Government finance will flow to the project through sales of Korea Telecom stock, income from communications services, and from the general budget. Following finalization of the masterplan, construction of a pilot project information network will begin, connecting Seoul and Taedok Science Town (approx. 140 km) with fibre-optic cables having a capacity of 2.5 Gbps (at 1 Gbps 4,000 pages of newsprint can be transmitted per second).

The masterplan for State and Public information networks is in three phases: Phase 1 (1994-97) divides Korea into five areas of optical cable networks providing basic transmission facilities to inter-connect even small cities. Construction of the Public information network will start in densely populated areas (including large commercial buildings). Phase 2 (1998-2002) will provide an ATM exchange system, enabling voice, data, and video images to be transmitted and received, interconnecting the five areas, expanding the optical cable network and supplying additional services. The Public information network will be extended to small to medium size companies and densely populated areas. Optical transmission devices operating at 10 Gbps, will be in use. Phase 3 (2003-15) allows for data transmission services between super computers, and will become possible by enhancing the speed of the State network to tens of Gbps. The Public information network will become accessible to households via optical cables and microwave networks to provide multimedia services and image information services of high definition TV quality.

High Definition Television

HDTV, having twice as many lines as conventional television, is much talked about but is still not yet a commercial reality. Japan and the U.S. are both readying themselves for the overhaul of the television industry, but first of all, the HDTV sets themselves must be widely available. The second barrier to commercial HDTV broadcasts is that because of increased resolution there is also a huge increase in the requirements of the transmitting system, as the amount of information which must be transmitted increases drastically. Thus, Korea's 'Information Super Highway' is crucial to the operation of its HDTV broadcasting system.

Video Dial Tone Service

Broadcasting companies

American Forces Korea Network (AFKN)
Asia Broadcasting Company (ABC)
Buddhist Broadcasting System (BBS)
Broughton, Captain William

Buddha Land Company Ltd.

Located in Changch'ung-dong in Seoul's Chung Ward, the Buddha Land Company Ltd, was founded on 28 August 1992. With Kim Hyönggyun as editor, the company specialises in works related to Buddhism, Eastern philosophy and the liberal arts.

Buddhism in Korea

1. Introduction of Buddhism to Korea (4th to 5th c. CE)

Korea played an active part in a general East Asian civilisation. Moreover, the geographical spread of the Korean cultural area included vast territories beyond the Korean peninsula, and so though ethnically and linguistically very different from the Chinese, after the 3rd c. Koreans were not simply passive receivers of Chinese traditions, but were active participants in the building up of a common East Asian cultural sphere in which Buddhism was an important component. Koreans were thus significant contributors in the transmission, development and preservation of the traditions of Buddhism.

Geo-political events taking place in continental East Asia had significant political and cultural effects on Korea. The cultural and political influence China exercised on Korea was due not simply to geographical contiguity, but also to the fact that some of the tribal confederations and early kingdoms ancestral to the present Korean state occupied vast territories in southern Manchuria. Unlike the Korean peninsula, these continental territories are not secluded from the East Asian heartlands by high mountains and deep rivers, but are a continuation of the broad plains of northern China and Central Asia. Consequently, many of the ancestors of the Korean people were intimately involved with most of the major political and cultural developments which took place between the fall of the Han Dynasty (221BCE-220CE) and the rise of the Tang Dynasty (618-926).

The year 372, when a Buddhist monk was first officially received by a Korean king, is often cited as the date when Buddhism was first brought to Korea. However, tomb murals and a letter from the southern Chinese monk Chihtun (314-366) addressed to a Koguryŏ monk which date before 372, clearly indicate that there was already a Buddhist presence in Koguryŏ (?-670). Buddhism's arrival in Koguryŏ before 372 probably resulted from the breakup of the Jin empire (265-302) and the subsequent rise of numerous 'barbarian' empires. The political disintegration of Jin spread Buddhism into southern China and probably into the former northern marches of the empire as well.

The year 372 is significant, however, as it is when the monk Sundo was sent by Emperor Jian (r. 357-85) of Former Qin (351-394) to King Sosurim (r. 371-383) of Koguryŏ as part of a cultural exchange which was intended to cement political relations. This year then is important as the date when Buddhism was formally sanctioned by the King of Koguryŏ. The Emperor Fu Jian recommended Buddhism to King Sosurim for reasons of statecraft -
it offered spiritual protection to the state. Sundo was followed shortly to Koguryŏ by two
other monks, Ado and T'an-shih. Ado was said to have been the son of a Koguryŏ mother
by an official of Northern Wei (386-534).

Some time after the advent of Buddhism in Koguryŏ, Buddhism spread to the south­
western kingdom of Paekche. It is said that an Indian monk called Mfalflananda while
resident in the southern Chinese state of Eastern Jin (316-420) encountered a diplomat from
Paekche and decided to go to Paekche when the diplomat returned in 384. The king
reportedly met the retinue at the gate of the capital and the monk was regally entertained
before he began propagating Buddhism. A temple was built for the monk, and ten men
were ordained.

The transmission of Buddhism to Koguryŏ and Paekche was intimately connected with
geo-political events and was part of the diffusion of Chinese culture. At this stage,
Buddhism was largely confined to the members of the group immediately surrounding the
throne. It was not yet the religion of the aristocracy or the elite members of society, much
less a popular practice.

Despite a paucity of records for the development of Buddhism after the end of the 4th c.
when it was sanctioned officially by the rulers of Paekche and Koguryŏ, there are two
indications that Buddhism continued to grow throughout the succeeding century: the
presence of scholarly monks from Koguryŏ in China, and the transmission of Buddhism to
the kingdom of Shilla. Typical of monks who went to China was Súngnang (Ch. Senglang) who is said, probably incorrectly, to have been a student of the great Serindian
translator Kumtaraśīva. Kumtaraśīva was instrumental in the introduction of Madhyamika theories into Northern Wei. Buddhism began to spread to the southeastern
part of the peninsula during the 5th c.. In the reign of King Nulchi (r.417-457) of Shilla,
the Haedong kosjông-jông tells us that two monks came from Koguryŏ on two separate
occasions to spread Buddhism in Shilla. The second monk was called Hūkhoja (Black
Barbarian), a possible indication of his Indian or Serindian origin. Hūkhoja was called to
the court of King Nulchi to cure his daughter, which the monk did by burning incense,
reciting a sutra and making a vow to one of the Bodhisattvas. The successful cure of the
princess led to the practice of Buddhism within the court circle.

There is no archaeological or reliable documentary evidence to indicate that there was any
kind of Buddhist presence in the area of the Kaya states before their annexation by Shilla in
the middle of the 6th c.

During the first stage of Buddhist history in Korea, Buddhism was accepted by the elite of
the three ancient kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Shilla for geo-political and
thaumaturgic reasons, and was practiced as a cult within the court circle.

2. Later Three Kingdoms Period (6th to 7th c.)

During the 6th and 7th centuries Buddhism in Koguryŏ and Paekche achieved maturity,
and Buddhism in Shilla began to flourish. Five trends characterise this period: the sending
of scholar-monks to China for further study of the Buddhist scriptures; the propagation of
Buddhism in Japan by Korean monks; the establishment of Buddhism in Shilla; the
pilgrimage of Korean monks to the Buddhist holy land in northern India, and the
development of Korean Buddhist traditions which were congruent with the autochtonous
religion of Korea.

a) Intellectual Trends

Events in Koguryŏ during this period illustrate these five trends. Monks of scholarly note
emerged who were adept not only in the tenets of Buddhism, but who had also studied
Confucianism and a form of metaphysical Daoism called X'iuanxue or Dark Learning. The Haedong kōsōng-jjon tells us that amongst these monks was Ûyôn who was sent to the state of Northern Qi (550-577) by the prime minister of Koguryô to speak with the Buddhist master Fashang on aspects of Buddhism which had puzzled him. The cognizance by the prime minister of significant intellectual trends and important monks of China shows the degree to which Koguryô participated in the cultural life of East Asia. Although Mahayana Buddhism in particular Sanlun and incipient Tiantai dominated the Buddhist scene in Koguryô in this era, records indicate that some monks were aware of certain Hinayana traditions.

The 6th c. displayed greater intellectual and religious ferment in Paekche than in Koguryô where Daoism was gaining ground. Monks travelled abroad to study, and scriptural studies were conducted. Two prominent monks of this period, Palchong and Hyôn'gwang studied in China. The former is said to have been a student of the Avatamsakasutra while Hyôn'gwang was a student of the doctrines of the Tiantai School and helped to establish the traditions of that school in Paekche. The Nirvanasutra was brought to Paekche by an emissary of King Sông (r.523-554), who was responsible for much of the development of Buddhism within his kingdom.

b) The Transmission of Buddhism to Japan.

The importance of the early Korean kingdoms in the transmission of Buddhism to Japan was not as a passive conduit through which Buddhism passed unchanged from China to Japan. Rather, the early Korean kingdoms were responsible for over 150 years of Buddhist missionary work in Japan. The first monks sent to Japan came from Koguryô. The most important were Hyep'yôn (Jap., Keibin) and Hyech'a (Jap., Keiji). Hyep'yôn was responsible for the conversion of important female members of the aristocracy in Japan, while Hyech'a was the tutor of the crown prince, Shotoku Taishi (573-621) who was responsible for many innovative political changes in early 7th c. Japan. During the reign of King Sông, in 538, 545, and 552, the king sent official embassies to convince the Japanese ruler to adopt Buddhism. This promotion of Buddhist evangelisation in Japan was continued by King Sông’s successor, King Widôk (r.554-598) who sent Buddhist religious materials, teaching monks, and temple artisans. These gifts and emissaries continued throughout his reign and must have had an important impact on the development of a Buddhist culture in Japan.

c) Establishment of Buddhism in Shilla

From the middle of the 5th c., Buddhism had been practised by members of the royal court of Shilla but it had not yet been sanctioned as the state religion. Until the early 6th c. there was considerable conflict between Buddhism and traditional religious practices. The Haedong kōsōng-jòn relates that King Pôphûng (r.514-539) wishing to declare Buddhism the state religion, made a pact with one of his courtiers, Ich'adon. Because of his Buddhist fervour, Ich'adon was martyred, ostensibly for attempting to usurp the king's authority. Before he was executed Ich'adon predicted two miracles - that his spilt blood would be white as milk and that his severed head would fly to the top of a hill. These two miracles supposedly led to a dramatic conversion of the leaders and the populace to Buddhism. Certainly, King Pôphûng and his successor Chinhûng (r.539-576) vigorously promoted Buddhism and themselves retired to take up the monastic life. Also, Ich'adon’s martyrdom was apparently celebrated as a religious festival from a very early period.

During the 6th c., Buddhism grew rapidly in Shilla, possibly indicating that there was already considerable Buddhist strength in Shilla before it became a state-supported religion. Throughout the century many monasteries were built. During the reign of King Chinpyŏng (r.579-631), Shilla, like Koguryô and Paekche, became involved in Buddhist missions in Japan and sent several scholar-monks to China for further study, the greatest of
whom was Won'gwang.

Won'gwang went to China in 589, returning at the request of the king to Shilla ten years later. He was a student of both the Nirvāṇa-sutra and the Prajñāpāramitā-sutra, but is best remembered for organizing the Hwarang Troop. This was a group of aristocratic youth who were trained in the martial arts. Won'gwang created a disciplined body with its own code of conduct, the Hwarang-do (Way of the Hwarang). This code consisted of five precepts: loyalty to the sovereign; filial piety; loyalty to one's friends; no retreat in battle; and killing only when necessary. Three of these precepts are Confucian; the remainder the commonsense view of a valiant warrior. None of these precepts are particularly Buddhist; two of them contradict the Buddhist concept of reverence for life. The Hwarang-do is thus one indication of the extent of Shilla's cultural syncretism. Won'gwang was also noted for his promotion of the special scriptural expository ceremonies called the Paekchwa-hoe, or Assembly of the Hundred Seats.

7th c. Shilla saw the emergence of important Buddhist leaders, including Chajang, Wonhyo, and Ŭisang. Chajang was a member of the royal house who had been dedicated to the monastic life at an early age. In later life Chajang resisted the call to take part in government service. He travelled to China in 636 with ten of his disciples and stayed for an extended period at Wutai shan where he apparently had a mystic experience of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. He also must have studied carefully the monastic regulations in China for on his return he was responsible for the regularization of the ordination and conduct of monks, their dress, and the regular examination of members of the monastic community on their knowledge of Buddhism. Probably he was also a promoter of some of the esoteric cults focussed on Mañjuśrī which were later displaced by those of Maitreya (Miruk), the future Buddha who was assimilated with the native Shilla "dragon" gods or miru, a protective deity.

Wonhyo (617-686), often said to be the greatest of the early Shilla monks, was a scholar and original thinker, and a great propagandist of Buddhism among the ordinary people. He was responsible for the popularity of Pure Land Buddhism amongst the masses because he went into the countryside singing Buddhist songs, and frequented wineshops to proselytize the commoners. Although Wonhyo was one of the most important Buddhist thinkers of the Shilla period, his Buddhist thought derived as much from his own experience as from scriptural study. When he and his friend Ŭisang were on their way to study in China they took refuge from the rain at night in an earthen sanctuary. During the night Wonhyo drank water from what he thought was a broken cup on the sanctuary floor. In the morning the two monks discovered that the 'sanctuary' was a desecrated tomb and that the 'cup' was actually a skull. After his initial revulsion, Wonhyo had a moment of enlightenment when he realized that things have no ultimate reality but are only what we think they are. Possessing this insight, Wonhyo felt that there was no need to go to China to study. Nonetheless, he became a formidable scholar composing many major Buddhist treatises.

Ŭisang (625-702) eventually completed the journey to China where he studied the Huayan doctrines under the monk Zhiyan at the same time as Fazang (643-712) who became the third patriarch of the Huayan School. Ŭisang abruptly returned to Shilla upon learning about the possibility of a Tang invasion of Shilla. He then went into a six-year period of seclusion in a cave on the east coast of Korea. He emerged to propagate the Huayan doctrines, establishing many temples and acquiring numerous disciples.

d) Buddhist Pilgrimages to India

Pilgrimages to the Buddhist historic sites of northern India began in the 6th c., flourished throughout the 7th and finally tailed off in the 8th c. This remarkable tradition of pilgrimages to India began with the Paekche monk Kyŏmik who went to China and then
on to India in 526. He studied in North India, and returned to Paekche five years or so later bringing with him copies of the *Abhidharma-pitaka*. Upon his return, King Song placed Kyōmik in charge of a group of twenty-eight monks who were responsible for the translation of the Buddhist scriptures. This 'translation bureau' is one indication of the sophistication of Paekche Buddhism in that Paekche had the only group of translators anywhere in East Asia outside of China.

The 7th c. was the great era for Buddhist pilgrims to India. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and recorder Yijing (635-713) in his *Da Tang xiyou qiufa gaoseng zhuans* (Biographies of Eminent Monks of Tang Who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions) wrote down biographical information about East Asian monks who made the arduous journey to India. Of those whose names were recorded one-sixth were Korean, by this time mostly from Shilla. Only one monk from Koguryō is recorded, and there is no mention of any monk from Japan. Most of these pilgrim monks went to India via Central Asia coming into the subcontinent near Jalandhara where they studied the languages of India. They would then press on to the holy land of Buddhism, visit the historic sites and often study at one of the famous Buddhist academic institutions, especially the famed Nalanda 'university'. Perhaps the most eminent of these monks was Hyonjo who probably spent ten years on a study/pilgrimage in India before returning to China. He was then sent back to India by the Chinese emperor as his personal emissary. Following the completion of this duty, Hyonjo stayed on in India and is said to have died at the great south Indian Buddhist centre of Amravatī.

3. Buddhism in the Greater Shilla Period (670-936)

The peninsular wars of the 660s and 670s involving all three Korean states and Tang China, had ended with Shilla's conquest of Paekche and the peninsular part of Koguryō with the remaining area of Koguryō passing into the hands of Tang before it again became an independent state called Parhae. Before the peninsular wars there were practising monastic communities and renowned scholar-monks: from the end of the 7th c. true schools of Buddhist thought appeared in Shilla.

a) The *O-gyo*

Buddhism in Korea has been conventionally classified under the rubric of O'gyo (five doctrinal teachings) and Yang-jong (two lineages of Sōn 'sects') which supposedly dated to Shilla times. Recent research however, has shown this classification derives from the attempt by King Taejong to restrict Buddhism in 1406, and that the reality was far different.

Up until around 800 the 'schools' were primarily theoretical doctrines without the lineages of teachers and pupils, monastic headquarters or founders necessary to form an 'order'. Wonhyo's summary of the essential tenets of the schools (chong'yo) provided the theoretical basis for the foundation of these academic schools in Shilla. Of these many schools, most had nominal existence, few could be termed orders, and fewer still had lasting influence.

Three large 'orders' survived from late Shilla into early Koryo: the Sōn (Chogye-jong), Hwa'om-jong and Yu'ga-jong. A fourth order, the Ch'ont'ae-jong (Ch. Tantai), also known as Popsong-jong in Korea, was founded as an order when a monastic headquarters was established in 1097 and was confirmed as such through the activities of Uich'on (1055-1101). Previously it was a scholastic school or philosophical tendency.

Korean Buddhism then is best thought of as divided into tendencies rather than in terms of the anachronistic Ogyo Yang-jong classification. The Yul-jong in fact was neither an academic school or an order, but specialised in the regulations of monastic life as contained in the *Sifen lu*, a Chinese version of the Dharmaguptika vinaya, which prescribes 250 rules
for monks and 348 rules for nuns. The discipline was vigorously promoted by Chajang to
counter a perceived laxity in practice. The Yul-jong was first given a monastery by the
founder of the Koryo.

The Hwa'om-jong (Ch. Huayan) or Wŏnyung-jong, was introduced by Ûisang, but it
remained an academic school until the early Koryo when it became an order following the
extensive scholastic works and poetry written by Kyunyo (923-973). It taught that all
phenomena and principle interpenetrate, so that an understanding of any one phenomena is
the understanding of the part and the whole of the corpus of the Buddha. The Haedong-
jong, a name that only appears in the early Koryo period, was supposedly promoted by
Wŏnhyo. It probably taught a synthesis of Hwa'om, Ch'ont'ae and Yuga theories. While
Úisang insisted on the exclusive use of the *Huayan jng* (Avatamsaka sutra), Wŏnhyo
considered it only as the greatest of sutras and encouraged the study of other scriptures.

The Yulg-jong or Pōpsang (Ch.Faxiang, Skt. Dharmalaksana ), also known as the Chàun-
jong in later times, was a significant force in Koryo times, but its doctrines are not well
known. It corresponds to the study of the 'representation only' epistemological theory,
according to which mind orders the percepts and marks of the dharmas (pōpsang)
following its storehouse of consciousness instincts and memories such that its
representation of reality is called 'consciousness only'. Some scholars suggest that the
beginnings of the order came about because Chinp'yo in the 750s gave the theory a
practical basis in the performance of repentance. The order virtually disappeared by the
1450s, possibly because it had similar beliefs to the other orders.

Finally, the Yorban-jong (Nirvana School), if it ever existed other than as a scholastic
tendency, was probably later incorporated into the Ch'ont'ae-jong. Based on the
*Maháparinirvána sutra*, it would have taught that all beings have a Buddha-nature (the
potential to become Buddha). Ch'ont'ae-jong was the Korean branch of the Chinese Tiantai
Order. T'ien-t'ai arose in the 6th c. to resolve the question as to how there could be so
many Buddhist scriptures teaching seemingly contradictory doctrines. The founder of the
school, Zhiyi (538-597), taught that the historic Buddha preached a doctrine which had
developed through several different periods of his life as his hearers gained a deeper
knowledge of his teaching, and that the Buddha had taught a different doctrine to more
advanced students. Thus Zhiyi divided the entire Buddhist canon into groups of sutras
according to an historical chronology and a doctrinal classification. Among the Buddhist
scriptures, Zhiyi stressed the centrality of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharma pundarika sutra*).

There were also esoteric tendencies during this period. In the early 7th c. Chajang's
nephew Myõngnang went to China to study the esoteric doctrines. After his return to
Shilla, Myõngnang was asked by the king to defend the nation from an impending Tang
invasion. This request eventually resulted in the erection of the first temple devoted to
esoteric practices, the Sach'ŏnwang-sa or Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings. These
celestial figures were important guardian spirits in the esoteric cults of Buddhism. Another
monk, Hyet'ong, brought back the teachings of the Zhenyan School (True Word School)
from China and supposedly established its counterpart the Chinṣon School. In the 8th c.,
Chinp'yo went to China where he had a mystical experience of the bodhisattvas Ksitigarbha
and Maitreya. It is said that Maitreya gave Chinp'yo a special set of secret commandments,
a copy of a book of divination, and 189 divination sticks. Other practitioners of esoteric
Buddhism had considerable followings.

Another important figure in esoteric Buddhism was Hyech'o, who went to China to study
under the two great Indian masters, Vajrabodhi (d. 732) and his disciple Amoghavajra
(704-774). They sent Hyech'o to India for further study. He went by sea and returned to
western China by 727. While he was in India he apparently travelled very widely and left
us a record of his travels, the *Wang och'ŏnch'ukkuk-chŏn* which is still partly extant. He
apparently never returned to Shilla but spent the remainder of his days in China.
Among the last practitioners of esoteric Buddhism in this period were Tosôn (827-898) and Wôn'yo (9th c.). Although he was learned in many aspects of Buddhist philosophy, the Sôn lineage monk Tosôn is best known for his writings on geomancy, fortune-telling, and prognostication. He is regarded by Korean fortune-tellers as the patriarch of their tradition in Korea, for his theories influenced the location of Buddhist monasteries and the positioning of the capital by Wang Kôn, the Koryô founder. Tosôn's ideas probably inspired in part the nativist rebellion of the monk Myoch'ong in the 1130s. Wôn'yo went to China shortly before the Daoist persecutions of Buddhism under the Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846). Like many of his predecessors he had a mystic experience, in this case of the Buddha Vairocana, the central figure in esoteric Buddhism. It is said that because he had to leave China during the persecutions he went on to India, which would make him the last known Korean monk of the ancient period to make the journey.

Esoteric or mantrayflana Buddhism only ever had a tenuous, fitful or nominal existence in Korea, as an order. It had several names, including Shin'in-jong. Its influence however, was felt in popular practices, ritual, prognostication, art, and some of its ideas were incorporated into Sôn.

b) The Ch'an Tradition in Shilla

In the 9th c., the Shilla state began to decline politically and eventually disintegrated. Perhaps in response to increasing political and social instability, people took a greater interest in meditative Buddhism which drew them away from the hurly-burly of contemporary society. Consequently the importance of the doctrinal schools began to be surpassed by meditative Buddhism Sôn (Chinese Chan, Japanese Zen). By the end of the Greater Shilla period, there were a number of groups of monastics practising a form of Chan which it was believed had been brought to China by Bodhidharma (?-c. 530). In mid-Koryô these lineages were collectively called the Kusan or Nine Mountains, the number nine derived from YiJing numerology, the mountains from where the principal monasteries were located. Very little distinguished the lineages in either form or practice. Broadly speaking there were two or three traditions of Sôn Buddhism, one group questionably claiming roots in a Chinese tradition prior to the split into the northern and southern lineages, one group claiming descent from the tradition of the northern lineage but mixing with the southern tradition and the remaining groups claiming their roots in the southern tradition, largely from origins in the teachings of one of the disciples of Ma-tsu. These strands of Korean Sôn were closely linked, therefore, with the Hongzhou lineage of Chan which in time developed into the Linjhi School. A conflict arose between the scholastic schools and the Sôn schools which carried over into the next dynastic period, the Koryô, in the 10th c. Sôn Buddhism became the predominant form of Korean Buddhism by the end of the 9th c., a position ostensibly true for the past thousand years.

The influence of Korean Sôn masters was not limited to the peninsula alone. Many Korean monks of the Sôn tradition played an important role within the Chan tradition of China, among whom the most important would be Musang (694?-762) who was the patriarch of the Baotang School in Sichuan. He was also the first teacher of Chan techniques known to the Tibetans.

c) The Question of Buddhism in Parhae

For a generation following the destruction of Koguryô in 670, the area of that kingdom was nominally under the authority of Tang. However, many places in southern Manchuria never submitted to Chinese rule. Then in 696, a rebellion against Chinese authority in the northeastern regions began which led to the establishment of the state of Parhae (699-926). This state always claimed to be the successor to Koguryô both politically and culturally. Unfortunately, very few records regarding this state remain, and not enough archaeological
research has been done.

But Buddhism remained a significant religious force in Parhae. Excavations conducted in the 1930s of the capital Tonggyo-song in central Manchuria revealed the presence of four Buddhist temples. Artefacts from these temples clearly demonstrated the continuity of Buddhist artistic traditions from the Koguryo period. There are two mentions in the diary of Ennin (794-864), a Japanese monk who travelled to Tang in the 840s, which support the contention that Buddhism in Parhae continued to flourish. On one occasion, Ennin visited a temple in China where there is a poignant lament for the deceased eminent Japanese monk Reisen written by one of his disciples, a Parhae monk called Chongso. On another occasion, Ennin mentions encountering a Parhae prince who visited the temple in which Ennin was then living. The prince hosted a lavish maigre feast which Ennin attended. Although slim evidence, it does indicate that Buddhism continued to flourish in the area of the former kingdom of Koguryo, and to command the support of the royal family and the elite.

4. Buddhism in the Koryo Period (918-1392)

From the end of the 9th c. through to the first quarter of the 10th c., Greater Shilla was torn apart by civil strife, and other dynasties emerged claiming the right to rule the country. With the victory of Koryo over its rivals, and with the simultaneous collapse of Parhae, a new state emerged which was confined largely to the Korean peninsula. This state was founded firmly on Buddhism. The first king of Koryo, Taejo (Wang Kon r.918-943), issued deathbed instructions to his descendents known as the Hunyo sipjo (Ten Injunctions). These injunctions reflected both the monarch's Buddhist piety and his shrewd evaluation of the problems which could be created by a rich, self-satisfied Buddhist church. His first injunction commanded his descendents to protect Buddhism and to maintain the Buddhist places of worship as Buddhism was vital to the life of the nation. The second injunction, however, advises his descendents not to build any more temples, whilst the sixth injunction enjoins against the addition to or subtraction from the current number of approved Buddhist ceremonies.

The close relation between Buddhism and the state is indicated by the extent to which succeeding monarchs attempted to enhance the social prestige of Buddhism. In the middle of the 10th c. a set of clerical examinations was instituted which paralleled the Confucian civil service examinations. These were graded into six levels and there were two separate sets of examinations, one for the doctrinal schools and the other for Son. In addition, the king could make two special appointments to a super-grade, the wangsa (Teacher to the King) and kuksa (Teacher to the Nation). The latter was an accolade for monks of distinction. The former was an important political post as the monk so designated could lecture the king on certain matters.

During the Koryo period, Buddhism and Confucianism existed in a state of complementarity and compatibility. The Confucian scholar Ch'oe Sungs (927-989) expressed this feeling well when he said that Buddhism was for spiritual cultivation and that Confucianism was for the practice of government. Therefore, there was no conflict between the two traditions as they dealt with two different spheres of life.

Koryo Buddhism, influenced continental East Asian Buddhism, most notably at the beginning of the Koryo dynasty through the Ch'ont'ae School. In the 10th c., this academic school achieved the apogee of its prestige. Because an important text had been lost in China during the tumultuous mid-10th c., a delegation of fifty Chinese monks was sent to Korea to ascertain if the text survived there. It did and Chegwan (?-970) was commanded in 960 by the king to go to China with specified Buddhist texts. Chegwan spent the remaining years of his life in China and composed an important text on the Tiantai doctrines, the Tiantai sijiao yi (Kor. Ch'ont'ae sago-üi), Four Doctrines of the
Tien-t'ai School).

Üit'ong (927-988) was a brilliant scholar-monk who was sent to Song China at an early age and spent the remainder of his life there. A proponent of the Tiantai doctrines, he was elected as the thirteenth (or sixteenth according to another reckoning) patriarch of the school. The work of these two monks in reviving Tiantai in China illustrates the strength of this school in Koryo which led to it being made an order in the time of Uich'son.

Koryo Buddhism was dominated by the various attempts to unify the different strands of Buddhism. The first attempt was made by King Kwangjong (r.949-975) who unsuccessfully attempted to unify the doctrinal and meditative schools through the Ch'sont'ae-jong. The second unsuccessful attempt to unify these two traditions was made in the 11th c. by the monk Üich'on (1055-1101), the fourth son of King Munjong (r.1046-1083).

Üich'on, a scholarly monk, passed the highest level of the doctrinal examinations at an early age. He then studied in Song China returning to Koryo in 1086 when he was made director of the HÜngwang Monastery. He amassed a library of 4 740 volumes, a collection of Buddhist materials from Song, Liao, and Japan. Üich'on printed many of these books, and had them distributed widely. But his greatest role, perhaps, was in the attempt he made to unify Buddhism through the Ch'ont'ae-jong. The appeal of this school was its balanced method of scriptural study and meditative practice which would have seemed the ideal solution for drawing together the two major strands of Koryo Buddhism. As head of a revitalized Ch'ont'ae-jong, Üich'on was initially successful in gathering together many monks from both the Sôn and the doctrinal schools, especially from the Hwaöm-jong. Unfortunately this very success brought about sectarian rivalry which resulted in the union of the Sôn lineages who remained separate from the doctrinal schools and Ch'ont'ae-jong.

In the 12th c., Chinul (1158-1210), perhaps the greatest monk of the Koryo era, attempted to bring together the various strands of Koryo Buddhism. Chinul's unique vision of merging the doctrinal and meditative sects resulted in the creation of a uniquely Korean school of Sôn, known as the Chogye-jong (named after the toponym of the sixth patriarch of Chan and 'founder' of the Southern Lineage, Huo-nang), which has been the predominant form of monastic Buddhism in Korea since that time.

The son of a Confucian scholar who dedicated his son's life to the Buddha, Chinul took monastic orders at the age of fifteen. He passed the Buddhist examinations at the age of twenty four, but became disturbed by the state of Buddhism. He and a few like-minded friends made a compact to form a new religious society in which it would be possible to pursue a truly religious life. Between 1182 and 1197, Chinul had three significant religious experiences which confirmed him in his course of action. He became fully convinced that he was right in his quest for a purer spiritual community, that there was an ultimate similarity between the aims of the doctrinal and meditative schools, and of a method for sudden enlightenment called hwadu (Ch. huatou). In 1200, Chinul and his friends established the new religious community at the monastery now known as Songgwang-sa where he spent the last ten years of his life building a community which he hoped would both unify and revitalize Buddhism in Koryo.

Chinul made two major contributions to Korean Buddhism: the unification of the various Buddhist traditions, and the introduction of a new form of Buddhist praxis. Chinul's approach to the unification of Buddhism was different from those attempts made by King Kwangjong and Üich'on who tried to create unity through a doctrinal union using the Ch'ont'ae-jong. Chinul's approach to union was not through the scholastic schools, but through the commonality of Sôn practice. Eventually successful, this has created a unique tradition of East Asian Buddhism in which, whilst Sôn practices predominate, scholastic studies form an important of the monastic life.
Chinul's contribution to Buddhist praxis lay in his teaching about the investigation of the 'critical phase' of meditation called hwadu. (Ch. huatou). This practice was brought together with concepts of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation which had been taught by the Chinese master Zongmi (780-841). These teachings were then combined with the Huayan teachings of Li Tongxuuan (635-730). Thus, Chinul created a significant synthesis of Buddhist thought and practice. At least seven works of instruction on monastic practice by Chinul still survive. Chinul's disciple Hyeshim (1178-1234) worked to secure the continued acceptance of the Song dynasty Linji School hwadu technique as the characteristic method of Korean Buddhism.

The most important event of the thirteenth century was the publication of a second edition of wood-block printing blocks for the Buddhist canon. An earlier wood-block edition of the canon, known as the Ch'ojo taejanggyöng (First Carving of the Tripitaka), had been created during the reign of King Hyönjong (r. 1009-1031). This was supplemented by Üich'on in 1090 with the Sok changgyöng (Supplement to the Canon). Both the first edition and Üich'on's supplement were destroyed during the Mongol invasion of 1232. King Kojong (r. 1213-1259) vowed to create a new compilation of Buddhist scriptures in order to ensure spiritual protection against the invading Mongols.

Work on the second edition began in 1236 under the monk Sugi and was completed in 1251. The compilers based their edition on the earlier Ch'ojo taejanggyöng, but also compared the Khitan canon and the Song canon (known as the Shuben) along with several Tripitaka catalogues in order to correct the mistakes and lacunae of the first edition. After the best text was chosen and edited, it was carved onto both sides of the wooden printing blocks. The second edition of the Koryo canon consisted of 6 802 volumes carved on 81 258 wooden blocks. This canon, one of the great monuments of east-Asian Buddhism, survives in its entirety in a specially designed repository in Haein Monastery. It was one of the sources for the Taishö Tripitaka created by the Japanese in the 1920s and 1930s.

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During the final phase of Koryö Buddhism, three monks were outstanding in their contribution to Buddhist life; T'aego (1301-1382), Na'ong (1320-1376), and Muhak (1327-1405). T'aego who had studied in Yfuan and received transmission into the Linji School of Chan Buddhism, upon his return to Koryo made attempts to merge the remaining Sön lineages into the dominant Chogye-jong. The latter two monks were students of
Dhyānabhadra (usually called Zhigong in Chinese, Kor. Chigong), a 'Chan' monk from India who exercised a considerable influence on Buddhist life in Yüan (Mongol) China. Dhyānabhadra had gone to China in the early 14th c., paying a visit to Koryǒ in 1328. He was much sought after by students in China and Korean monks went to China to seek him out. The Indian monk was held in such high esteem that following his death in 1363, King Kongmin had some of his relics brought to Koryǒ which are now kept in Silsang Monastery. All three of these great Koryǒ monks were granted the title wangsa which gave them an extraordinary ability to influence the king.

Throughout the Koryǒ period, numerous Buddhist seasonal festivals were celebrated. Among these were Wo<n-il on the first day of the first lunar month, the Yǒndʌng-hoe or Lantern Festival held on the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'op'a-il or Buddha's Birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month, and the Palgwan-hoe which had a variable date of performance and was celebrated as a rite for the dead. There were other festive dates as well which created a rich ceremonial life throughout the year. Buddhism reached the apogee of its social development and influence during the Koryǒ period. The monasteries and temples were amply endowed. Buddhism added richness and colour to the general life of the society. Unfortunately, the Buddhist 'Church' had become so wealthy and corrupt that it was brought into conflict with the Confucian literati.

5. Buddhism in the Chosǒn Period (to 1876)

The rise of the Chosǒn dynasty in 1392 saw not only the emergence of a new state but a change in the relationship between the state and Buddhism which created a situation from which Korean Buddhism has not recovered to this day. Scholars of the Neo-Confucian school of Zhu Xi (1130-1200) in late Koryǒ times associated Buddhism with corruption within the court circle and with the Mongol ascendancy which had damaged the economic fabric of the nation. Whereas in the early Koryǒ period Buddhism and Confucianism were seen to be complementary, by the end of the Koryǒ dynasty, the relationship had changed to one of hostility. The new government of Chosǒn adopted Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology and attempted to control and later suppress the practice of Buddhism. None-the-less, these far-ranging and long lasting changes did not happen all at once. During the first century of the new dynasty the monarchs might officially attempt to control Buddhism for reasons of state, but quite often personally were pious Buddhists.

The assault on Buddhism began with the Confucian scholar Chong Tojon (1337-1398) who wrote a diatribe against Buddhism called the Pulssi chappyón which attacks the philosophical and ethical positions of Buddhism and compares them very unfavourably with Confucianism. His arguments became the basis for the suppression of Buddhism which was to typify the attitude of the Chosǒn government throughout most of its history. Although the first king of Chosǒn, T'aejo (r.1392-1398) was a pious Buddhist, he instituted the toch'op-che, which was a system for the registering of the names and addresses of monks. The control of Buddhism intensified under T'aejong (r.1400-1418) who abolished the titles of wangsa and kuksa, and closed all but 242 monasteries. Under his son, the great 'sage monarch' Sejong (r.1418-1450), the suppression was at its greatest. The various schools of Buddhism were merged into two orders, the kyo or doctrinal school, and the S'<ôn or meditative school. All but 36 monasteries were permitted to remain open; each of the schools given 18 monasteries.

The official suppression of Buddhism was in great contrast to the personal piety of the royal family. The founding monarch, whilst controlling Buddhism, sought advice from the monk Muhak on such matters as the location of the capital of the new dynasty and granted him the title of wangsa. Within the precincts of the royal palace he also erected a Buddhist shrine, causing an uproar among the Confucian literati class. Similarly King Sejong who is regarded as the exemplar Confucian sage ruler, could find no solace in the metaphysics of an abstruse Confucian philosophy at the end of his life, and turned instead to the personal
practice of Buddhism. Like his grandfather Taejo, he built a court chapel. He, who had ordered the creation of the Korean alphabetic script (Han'gul), used it to transcribe Buddhist scriptures and works on Buddhism into the Korean language. He himself these books printed and widely disseminated. Sejong's son King Sejo (r.1455-1468) was the last monarch until the 18th c. to hold to Buddhist teachings. He had worked with his father on the project of the dissemination of Buddhist materials in Han'gul. However, when he was prince regent for his nephew he had the boy murdered so that he could ascend the throne. This created a cause célèbre which shook the foundations of the dynasty. The king became a leper later in his reign and it is believed that the erection of the Won'gak temple - in contravention of the rule forbidding temple construction in the capital - was to atone for his act of regicide.

The attenuated patronage of the royal family disappeared completely under the reign of King Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506), who abolished the Buddhist examination system altogether, and lowered the social status of monks to the very bottom of society, along with butchers, prostitutes and slaves. Although Buddhism briefly gained royal patronage under the regency of Queen Munjong (r.1546-1553), it was withdrawn upon the ascendency of her son to the throne. One indication of this great decline in the position of Buddhism was the reputed lack of any significant scholars or practitioners amongst the monastic community. From the time of Muhak in the early 15th c. to the late-16th c. only two monks stand out, Hyujong Sŏsan Taesu (1520-1604) and Yujŏng Samyŏng Taesu (1544-1610). Author of a book on Sŏn practice, the Sŏn'ga kugam (Guide to the Sŏn School), Hyujong attempted to reconcile Buddhism with Taoism and Confucianism by stressing the essential similarity of the teachings of the three schools. This position was an implicit recognition of the precarious social position in which Buddhism existed in Chosŏn Korea. Hyujong's disciple Yujŏng was involved with the military actions of a band of warrior monks during the Japanese invasions of Korea in the 1590s. Such actions, however patriotic, contradict one of the essential teachings of Buddhism about the reverence for life and are a further indication of the ways in which Buddhism had to gain favour with the Confucian establishment simply for the survival of the Buddhist community. Thus a 'righteous monk army' also fought the Manchu invaders in 1627 and 1636.

The Confucian persecution of Buddhism continued throughout the remainder of the dynasty. Possibly the most severe attempt to eradicate Buddhism was the decree of 1659 which forbade anyone from taking monastic orders, an attempt to eliminate Buddhism within a generation. Shortly after this decree monks were forbidden to enter the capital and throughout the 1660s attempts were made to destroy monasteries or to convert them to use as Confucian academies. The single bright period during the late Chosŏn dynasty was during the reign of King Chongjo (r.1776-1800) who became the first monarch since the late-15th c. to publicly display his Buddhist piety. On behalf of the distressed spirit of his father, the king erected a Buddhist mortuary shrine near his tomb.

Buddhism, however, continued to be practised on the popular level. The popular practices of the time were partly drawn from the Pure Land tradition and a mixture of Buddhism with local cults such as the worship of the Sansin, the god of the mountains. Within Sŏn vigorous scholastic debates were initiated Paekpa Hwansŏn (1767-1852) over the various sorts of Sŏn and their relation to the different capabilities of people. Even eminent scholars such as Kim Ch'usa (1786-1856) were drawn into the polemics. Buddhism also exercised an influence on literature and had an attraction for those who had come to question or indeed reject Confucian orthodoxy. Perhaps the best known of these Buddhist-influenced authors is Kim Manjung whose Ku'un-mong (The Cloud Dream of the Nine) is rich in Buddhist imagery, and is an indication of the human spirit's search for knowledge beyond that which can be found in Confucian philosophy.

6. Buddhism in the Modern Period (1876 - )
The decline of the fortunes of Korean Buddhism has been reversed rather remarkably during the last century for three principal reasons. Firstly, when Chosŏn Korea signed Western-style diplomatic treaties with the Western powers and Japan, it was no longer possible for the Confucian establishment to maintain a policy of religious suppression. Secondly, the dramatic growth of the Protestant churches in Korea acted as both a model for the revival of Buddhism's fortunes and as a competitive stimulus to growth. Thirdly, because of the sudden development of Christianity in Korea, the Japanese Government-General which ruled Korea from 1910 to 1945 saw in this growth and in the Church's associations with Korean nationalists a threat to their imperial rule of Korea. The Government-General had a deliberate policy of supporting Buddhism, ostensibly for the purpose of reform, but in actuality for the purpose of control of the religion itself and to produce a religious counterforce to Christianity.

The modern history of Korean Buddhism may be said to have begun in 1895 when the regulation forbidding the entrance of Buddhist clerics into the capital was lifted, probably as a result of pressure from Japanese Buddhist groups active in Korea. Since the signing in 1876 of the Kanghwa Treaty between Chosŏn and Japan, Buddhist groups from Japan had been operating in Korea to minister to Japanese there. Their activities spread from the resident Japanese community to the Korean population. Therefore, these Japanese Buddhists wanted to see restrictions against religious propagation lifted. Christian missionaries in Korea would have been an added pressure for the lifting of such restrictions on religious propagation.

There is a tangled relationship between Korean and Japanese Buddhism during the early part of the 20th c. because Japan represented both a developed progressive nation and an occupying imperial power. Various attempts were made to unify the several Buddhist groups; in 1889, again in 1902, in 1906, 1907, and 1908. The 1908 meeting finally created a unified Buddhist order called the Wŏn-jong . The Supreme Patriarch of this sect then tried to merge his group with the Japanese Zen order, the Sŏt'ot'osho. The result was a split amongst those who wished to merge and those who saw merger as conniving with the imperial power. The Japanese Government-General tried to resolve this problem by creating a unified order in 1911, which again resulted in the creation of a counter-group in 1912. Feuding between the pro-Japanese community and the anti-Japanese group continued throughout the colonial period.

The great growth of the Buddhist church in the 20th c. has been the result of two movements; the movement to purify monastic practice, and movements incorporating the laity. One of the most remarkable features of contemporary Korean Buddhism is the extent to which the laity have come to play an active role in the revival of Buddhism's fortunes. This can be traced back to the 1920s with the emergence of various youth and lay groups which were patterned on and were a reaction to the YMCA. These organizations had their inspiration in the work of the radical monk Manhae, Han Yong'ün (1879-1944). The principal source of support for these lay movements, Manhae wrote voluminously, explaining the nature of Buddhism and was responsible for the creation of several Buddhist magazines, which were a way of reaching out to the general Korean populace. Among these latter publications were Yusim, and Hŭik'pong (Black Wind). Manhae's work of proselytization was aided by his ardent nationalism. A signer of the Declaration of Independence from Japan in 1919, he was imprisoned in the 1930s and 1940s for his nationalistic activities.

Although the lay movements developed throughout the Japanese period, the monastic community was weakened by the Japanese Government-General's attempts to control them and alter their traditions. One example was the law promulgated in 1926 permitting monks to marry and to eat meat. Although the proposal for the marriage of monks had been made by Manhae to modernize Korean Buddhism, this law was seen as subversive of traditional Buddhist values. The final restructuring of Buddhism in the colonial period came in 1941.
with the creation of the Chogye-iong. Under the authority of a traditionalist monk, the order lasted until liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. In a free Korea, the order was once again re-organized but still suffered from the internal conflicts of the colonial era. A final major re-organization took place in 1954 under the aegis of the Christian president of the Republic of Korea, Syngman Rhee (1875-1965). He was appalled by the presence of married priests and called a conference of Buddhist clergy. This conference resulted in a split of Korean Buddhism into two major groups, the Chogye-jong which practised clerical celibacy, and the T'aego-jong, which permitted the clergy to marry.

During the past hundred years, four Buddhist clerics have been responsible for the revitalization and growth of Korean Buddhism; Manhae, Kyŏnghŏ, Song Tong'uk (1849-1912), Hyobong (1888-1966), and Kusan (1909-1983). Manhae represented the modernizing trend, the attempt by certain Buddhist clerics to harmonize Buddhist forms and practices with contemporary society and culture. One radical means Manhae and his followers used to modernize Buddhism was the development of strong lay movements based on the example of Protestant organizations. This strengthened the role of the ordinary believer. Another means adopted by the modernizers was the use of modern media, newspapers and magazines. Modernization also applied to issues of clerical practice, such as marriage.

Against these trends were figures such as Kyŏnghŏ who worked strenuously during the late-19th and early-20th centuries to purify monastic practice. He lectured widely to the clergy and laity, and helped to initiate lay study groups dedicated to the examination of Buddhist scriptures and to the practice of meditation. Kyŏnghŏ was much influenced in his attitudes by the Tang Chan master the Sixth Patriarch Huineng (638-713), and by Chinul and T'aego. Hyobong, another traditionalist, had been a judge during the colonial era, but had become so upset by having to sentence Koreans for performing patriotic acts that he resigned and became an itinerant pedlar. At the age of thirty-nine he entered the monastic life and was noted for the austerity of his meditative practices. Latterly he became the Supreme Patriarch of the Chogye-jong.

If Kyŏnghŏ and Hyobong represent the revival of traditional monastic practice, Kusan represents the re-emergence of a missionary tradition in Korean Buddhism. Kusan was a disciple of Hyobong. The son of a rich farmer, he had married and had had a family. At the age of 29, Kusan left his family to search for truth. He finally became a disciple of Hyobong and underwent a strenuous period of meditation at Haein-sa. Although Kusan was noted for his austere meditative practices, and held various positions of authority in Buddhist circles, his major contribution to modern Korean Buddhism has been the creation of the International Meditation Centre situated in his home temple of Songgwang-sa. Kusan vigorously propagated Buddhism in the West and in parts of Asia, bringing his students back to Songgwang-sa to study. As a result of his efforts, Buddhist centres have been set up in many of the countries of Asia, Europe and North America.

The fortunes of Buddhism have greatly revived over the past century. One hundred years ago, Buddhism would not have been considered an important or even a worthy component of the Korean religious scene. The opposite is true today. Orthodox monastic Buddhism in South Korea is perhaps the most vibrant form of monastic Buddhism in East Asia. The lay movements of Buddhism are strong. Buddhism is numerically stronger than the total Christian population of Korea. The future will continue to be bright for Buddhism if it can continue to adjust to the challenges of the new urban, industrial state which South Korea has become.

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Buddhist Broadcasting System (BBS) [Broadcasting companies]

Buddhist Canon, Korean (Koryŏ Tripitaka; Tripitaka Koreana)

The Buddhist Canon

The first Buddhist canons are believed to have been orally preserved and codified, shortly after the death of Buddha. These were later written down in Pali, Sanskrit and some other languages. Soon after the introduction of Buddhism to China, the Chinese compiled their own translations of the Buddhist canons and these were gradually introduced into the Korean peninsula, from around the fourth c. C.E. With the development of xylographic printing techniques, a wood-block canon was developed in China during the tenth c.

First Koryŏ Edition of the Tripitaka

A similar project was undertaken in Korea between 1011 and 1087. Taking more than seventy years to complete, this canon was known as the Ch’ojo taejanggyǒng (First Carve of the Tripitaka) or the Ch’op’an kobon taejanggyǒng (First Publication of the Old Edition of the Tripitaka). In 1090, Üich’on led a team in the carving of the extensive Sŏk changgyǒng (Supplement to the Canon). Both the Ch’ojo taejanggyǒng and the Sŏk changgyǒng were stored in Puin Temple in Taegu, but were largely lost by fire during the Mongol invasion of 1232. All that remains of the Ch’ojo taejanggyǒng canon are 1 715 volumes in Kyoto’s Nanrei Temple, Japan, while a few miscellaneous texts from the Sŏk changgyǒng are distributed between Songgwang Temple in South Cholla Province; Korea University library in Seoul; and at two locations in Japan - at Tōjō Temple in Nara and Shinfuku Temple in Nagoya.

Background of the Second Edition

Between 1236 and 1251, a second wood-block edition of the canon was carved, but this time without Üich’on’s supplement. This huge project began on Kanghwa Island, where the Korean court had taken refuge from the Mongol invaders. The project served several purposes. First, it was important for the systemisation of the vast corpus of Buddhist scriptural material. Secondly, it was believed by King Kojong (r. 1213-1259) and others that the successful completion of the project would enlist the spiritual force of Buddhism to bring peace to the country.

Production of the Second Edition
The new edition, often referred to as the *Tripitaka Koreana*, consisted of 6,802 volumes on 81,258 wood-blocks, carved on both sides with mirror-images of Chinese characters, (which would, of course, appear normal when printed). The timber for the blocks, carefully cured and treated, was imported from China. After carving, the blocks were coated with lacquer. Each block contained two pages of text, generally with twenty-three lines to each page and fourteen characters per line. This edition is often referred to as the *P'alman taejanggyöng* (Eighty-thousand [block] Tripitaka). Although the editors of the *Tripitaka Koreana* based their work on the *Ch'öjo taejanggyöng*, they also compared the Song and Khitan editions of the *Tripitaka* along with several *Tripitaka* catalogues in order to correct any mistakes and lacunae of the earlier edition. Since the second Koryö edition was based on the first edition, it is also referred to as the *Chaejo taejanggyöng* (Reproduced Tripitaka).

**The Second Edition During Chosôn**

The second edition was initially kept in its own repository on Kanghwa Island, but was later moved to Kanghwa's Sônwôn Temple. In 1398, the wood-blocks were temporarily stored at Seoul's Chich'ôn Temple before being moved to Haein Temple in North Kyôngsang Province, where they are today. For centuries after they were carved, the blocks were used on many occasions to print editions of the canon for Korean monasteries, and for export to Japan. During King Sejong's reign (1418-1450), the Korean court even considered giving the *Tripitaka Koreana* to the Japanese as a royal gift.

**Modern Significance**

The second edition of the Korean Buddhist canon is famous both for its beautiful calligraphy and its accuracy. As one of Korea's most-prized cultural artefacts, the wooden printing blocks have been designated National Treasure No. 32, while the buildings which contain them are National Treasure No. 52 Haeinsa Changgyöng P'an'go. Complete sets of prints from the wood blocks are kept at Haein Temple, T'ongdo Temple and Kûmsan Temple. In December 1995, the wood-blocks for the second edition were designated as a World Heritage treasure by UNESCO. In order to make the content of the edition more accessible, the Samsung Foundation of Culture has sponsored a project to translate the edition into English.

**Bibliography**


**Buddhist sculpture (see Sculpture, Buddhist)**

**Busan National University**

Busan National University (Pusan Taehakkyo) is situated in Changjôn-dong in Pusan. Founded as Kungnip Pusan Taehak (Pusan National College) in May 1946, the new school incorporated Pusan Susan Chônmun Taehak (Pusan Fisheries Junior College); however, the latter was again separated in the following year, becoming Pusan Susan Taehak (Pusan Fisheries College). In September 1953, Pusan National College became a university consisting of the Colleges of Liberal Arts and Science, Commerce, Industry, Law,
Medicine and Pharmacology and in the following year, a master's degree program was initiated.

In February 1956, the school was moved to its present location in Kūmjōng District. In the same year, the College of Pharmacology was incorporated into the Medical College and the university became affiliated with a hospital in Ami-dong. In the years that followed, the university continued its expansion.

At present, the PNU consists of twelve colleges and seventy-seven departments with over 8,000 students and over 800 professors. The university also has seven post-graduate schools: i.e., the Graduate School, and the Graduate Schools of Education, Environment, Industry, International Studies, Management and Public Administration. University publications include *Pudae shinmun* (PNU Newspaper) in Korean and *The Budae Times* in English.