

The Archery Tradition of Korea

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1. Introduction

Every country in East Asia is, no doubt, very proud of their archery traditions. In this matter of pride, Korea is no exception. In some ways, Koreans might have more pride in their archery traditions than others in East Asia.

Many millennia ago, the Chinese called Koreans “ Eastern Barbarians (Dong-Yi, 東夷).” This term is a typical expression of Sino-centrism, and was probably given in derision and not honor. Koreans, however, seem not so much concerned with the indignity of this term. Rather, Koreans frequently like to use this term as evidence of their excellent tradition of archery. It is because Koreans have interpreted the Chinese character of ‘ Yi ’ (夷), the combination of big (tae 大) and bow (gung 弓), as an expression of a race which was good at bow-shooting skills. The names and stories of legendary archers such as Ju Mong (朱蒙), the founder of the Koguryo kingdom (高句麗), and Yi Seong-gye (李成桂), the founder of Choson (朝鮮), the last dynasty of Korea, are interpreted as examples of a great tradition of archery. Koreans have also been proud of their high quality horn bow technology, which neighboring countries such as China and Japan wished to have. Therefore, it is no surprise that many Koreans consider the recent good achievements of Korean athletes in the world Western-style archery competition as a natural result of the long history of Korean traditional archery.

The use of bows and arrows as implements of war began to decline with the introduction of modern firearms at the end of the 19th century. Koreans, then, began to develop traditional archery as a sport. As a result, about 30, 000 people are enjoying Korean archery in more than 300 archery clubs, nation-wide. Various nation-wide archery competitions are held annually and more than one thousand male and female archers participate in each competition.

I would like to explain the archery tradition of Korea, focusing mainly on the period of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910). As many artifacts and documents show, the archery tradition of Korea began from the time of prehistory and developed steadily through the whole period of Korean history. Nonetheless, no period is better than that of the Choson Dynasty in the sense of getting all the characteristics of the archery tradition of Korea. In this period, such institutions as the military examination, which had contributed to the development of archery as a practical martial art, are well improved. The new tradition of archery as a way of consolidating Confucian social order and value had been established. What is more, the tradition of archers ’ private organizations (archery clubs) had been created in this period and has continued to the present. Because of these reasons, I want

you to understand in advance that my comments on the Korean tradition of archery are focused on and limited to the last 500 years of Korean history.

Before getting into the main points, I will first introduce briefly traditional bows and arrows. After describing some characteristics of Korean archery tradition, I will finish my commentary with a sketch of the current situation of archery in Korea.

2. Traditional Bows and Arrows of Korea

Bows have been used as a hunting tool and weapon of warfare since the prehistoric age, but the size and material of it were slightly different from each nation in accordance with their dwelling environment. Bows are divided into two types according to size: long bow (長弓), and the short bow (短弓). The long bow is over two meters in length and was mainly used by people living in the forest or coastal region. British, Japanese and natives of Islands in Southeast Asia used this type of bow. The short bow has a length of less than two meters and was used by people living in plains or prairie regions such as China, Mongolia and Turkey.

Depending on the materials used, bows are classified into wood bows, bamboo bows, horn bows and iron bows. They are also classified into simple bows and composite bows according to how many materials are used to make them. Simple bows are made of a single material such as wood or bamboo. Composite bows are made of combined various materials such as wood, bamboo, horn, etc. The composite bow does not form a linear or half moon shape but has a curved shape when the string is braced or drawn. So it is called a recurve bow. The recurve bow has the strongest elasticity and restoring force so that its range is much farther than the linear or half moon bow.

The typical traditional horn bow of Korea is a short, composite, recurved bow. The length of it is from about 1m and 20 - 30 cm, and it is much shorter than the long bow of Japan, the yumi, which is over 2 meters in length. About half a dozen materials such as buffalo horn, cow sinew, bamboo, mulberry, oak, croaker glue (fish airbladder glue), white birch bark were used to make it. The bow is called a "horn bow" (角弓), because the belly is made with (buffalo) horn. It has a recurve shape, much like a cupid bow. When the string is taken off, it forms a C-shape. The horn bow of Korea has characteristics of decent elasticity and long range.

Besides horn bows, there were other types of traditional bows used during the Choson Dynasty.

- 1) Chong-ryang Gung (正兩弓, Strong Bow): It has a length of 1.65m. Its shape is similar to a horn bow 's but it has a very great tensile strength due to its size and thickness. It was used to launch a Yuk-ryang arrow (六兩箭, Heavy arrow), which was 240 g in weight.
- 2) Ye Gung (禮弓, Ritual/Ceremonial Bow): It has a length of 2.5 m It may be the biggest Korean bow. It has a similar shape to a horn bow and was used in ceremonies.
- 3) Mok Gung (木弓, Wooden Bow): One of the simplest bows mainly made from mulberry.
- 4) Chol Gung (鐵弓, Iron Bow): It is a bow made out of iron which has the shape of a braced horn bow.
- 5) Dong-gae Hwal (??? , Cavalry bow): It is a kind of cavalry bow carried on the back with a quiver. It was named after the bow case which the horseman used to store their bows called a dong-gae. It was the smallest bow.

Arrows were normally made out of wood or bamboo, with feather fletching. Various shapes and materials were used as arrowheads. Traditional arrows used in the Choson dynasty are as follows;

- 1) Mok jon (木箭, Wooden arrow): A wooden arrow used in the military service examination.
- 2) Chol jon (鐵箭, Iron arrow): A iron arrow, existing as 3 types according to their weight. Yuk-ryang-jon(六兩箭) had a weight of 240g (equivalent to 6 ryang 兩), ah-ryang-jon (亞兩箭) was 160g (equivalent to 4 ryang 兩), Jang-jon (長箭) was 60 ~ 64g (1 ryang 兩 and 5~ 6 jon 錢).
- 3) Ye jon (禮箭, Ceremonial arrow): This is an arrow used in a ceremony such as Great Archery Ritual (大射禮). The arrow's length was about 90cm, which was longer than the average length of normal arrows and it used feathers which were also longer than the average feathers.
- 4) Pyon jon (片箭, Baby arrow): Due to its small size, about 30cm, it was nicknamed " baby " arrow. It was put in a T ' ong-a (筒兒 arrow guide), a long bamboo overdraw. It was said to be capable of flying over one thousand bo (步, 1200m).
- 5) Sae jon (細箭, Slim arrow): It was called Sae jon because it was made out of slim bamboo, and was used to send a written appeal to the enemy's camp.
- 6) Yu-yop-jon (Willow leaf arrow): It is an arrow made with a blunt arrowhead which was mainly used in the military service examination. Its arrowhead has a similar shape to a willow's leaf (柳葉), hence its name. Its length is about 80 ~ 90cm long and its weight was around 32g.

As we mentioned above, in traditional era, especially the Choson Dynasty which lasted for 500 years from the late 14th century, there have been various types of bows and arrows which were used in various occasions such as combat, hunting, ceremony, practice and military service examinations. However, at the end of the 19th century, the bows and arrows lost their main functions as weapons and were completely abandoned by the army. When archery survived only as a sport, over time, only the horn bow and You-yop arrow (柳葉箭, Willow leaf arrow) carried on the tradition.

3. Archery Tradition of Korea during Chosun Dynasty

A. Tradition of Martial Archery

Generally speaking, archery had been developed as a device for warfare and hunting. For convenience, I call this type of archery *musa* (武射), or martial archery. In here we try to see how this type of martial archery tradition has been preserved in Korean, especially Choson, history.

1) The Bow ' s Status in the Growth of Korean Weaponry

Usually conventional weapons like the bow, sword, and spear have become disappeared with the introduction of firearms. Korea is not an exception. Starting from the time of prehistory, to the Three Kingdoms Period (B.C.57-A.D.668), and going on to the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392), the core materials of Korean weapons have advanced from stone, to bronze, and to steel, but the main types have always been the short-range weapons such as the sword and the spear, and the long-range weapons such as the bow and the crossbow.

Firearms were introduced to Korea during the third year of King Uwang, of the late Koryo Dynasty (1377). Compared to China, Korea was late in getting these weapons, by about 400 years, but compared to most other Far East Asian countries, Korea was early by about 150 years. Korea could keep its superior arms system because only Korea except China had a firearms manufacturing technology, until the middle of the 16th century when Japan learned about it. Cannons which shot arrows were the major kind of firearms in the Choson Dynasty. Besides, fire arrows, rocket arrows, etc., were developed in that period.

Cannons could shoot big arrows far away because they used the power of gunpowder instead of muscles. But these cannons were first developed as public weapons, so the development of the cannons did not necessarily mean the stagnation of the bow and arrow, which were personal weapons. Rather, as military strategy which used both the cannons and bows and arrows was actively adopted during the Choson Dynasty, it promoted the development of the bow and arrow.

The imaginative enemies of Choson were Jurchen tribe of Manjuria in the north, and the Japanese in the south. At the beginning of the Choson Dynasty, Korean army made much of horse riding skill with military tactics of long-range weapons, which mainly used cannons and bows in defense of the north.

At this point, the skill in using *pyonjon* (short arrows, measuring at 30 cm) in bows and arrows appeared. *Pyonjon*, then, as well as cannons, became the most frightening weapons to Jurchen. These small arrows were shot through a bamboo pipe, called *tong-a* (筒兒), or arrow-guide. *Pyonjon* were almost impossible to avoid because their size was so small and speed was so fast. As a result, the kill rate was very high. So they were very frightening weapons. Probably, because of this efficiency of *pyonjon*, they were regarded along with the Chinese spear and the Japanese matchlock as best weapons in East Asia, right after the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion in the late 16th century. (片箭者我國之長技也 射能及遠而必中 故胡人畏之 呼曰高麗箭 倭賊嘗曰 中朝之槍法 朝鮮之片箭 日本之鳥銃 天下第一云 - 李睟光, 芝? 類說 雜記)

The earlier Japanese of tactics of short-range weapon, which mainly used the swords and spears, were overwhelmed by Choson's tactics of long-range weapon. But in the early 16th century, when the Japanese adopted the matchlock, which is also a long-range weapon, the situation changed. Because matchlocks were overpowering the bows and arrows of Choson, their own short-range weapons were also used more effectively. The most important reason of the miserable defeat of Choson army by Japanese early in the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion was in fact because of these new Japanese weapon system and tactics.

To overcome this military situation, the Choson government adopted Three Types of Warrior (TTW, 三手兵) system from Chinese troops. This TTW system was a tactics, which was invented by General Qi Jiguang (戚繼光) of Ming to defend against the frequent Japanese invasions. It was the tactics which strengthened the different weapons to overwhelm Japanese tactics of short-range weapons. The TTW system centered on the warrior group of firearms (砲手) and the group of short-range weapons such as spears and swords (殺手) and added the old style warrior group of

archery (射手).

With the adoption of the TTW system, archery became a less powerful weapon compared with pre-Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion. But it doesn't necessarily mean its military feature disappeared completely, because bows have an advantage which can cover disadvantages of firearms which newly appeared. Firearms have problems such as shooting in rain, and it takes time to put gunpowder in them. Bows covered all of the shortcomings of firearms.

With these accompanying features, the bow was re-evaluated after Manchu Invasions (1627 and 1636). The Manchu invasions showed the importance of military preparation against the northern people. So, the Choson government couldn't keep only the tactics of short-range weapons in preparing against Japanese attack. Choson had to re-emphasize old-styled tactics of long-range weapons and horse riding skills against the Jurchen of Manchuria who were good at archery and skilled horse riders. Because of this reason, archery was considered one of the main personal arms of the Choson military until near the end of the Choson Dynasty. Old-styled arms, including archery, disappeared from the Choson army only after the military reform of 1894 when the new style military appeared.

In short, through the whole Choson Dynasty, the bow's military importance changed with time, but the basic feature of the bow as a war weapon continuously was kept until the end of the Choson Dynasty. In the meantime, this importunate life of bows in Korean weaponry was closely related with the life-long existence of archery test in the military service examination.

2) Military Service Examination (武科)

The biggest system which contributed the development of archery in Choson was probably the system of military service examination(MSE, 武科). MSE was the national selection system of men of talents adopted from China along with civilian service examination(CSE 文科). CSE already started from the beginning of the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392), but MSE started much late from King Taejong's 2nd year (1402) at the beginning of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910). It was established systematically around the time of Great Canon of Administrative Laws (經國大典), which was completed in King Sungjong's 16th year (1485), through one century of adjustments. Afterwards, MSE was Choson's most outstanding selection system of military talents until its end along with the reform of military system in King Kojong's 31st year (1894).

It was customary that MSE and CSE were run together. In case of regular examination, there were

three progressive steps of examinations (local, central, and palace examinations), which ran every three years. Local examination, which is the first examination, tested only martial arts and chose a total of 190 people from different districts. Central examination, which is the second examination, selected 28 people who were tested in martial arts and understanding of classics (of military strategy and Confucianism) among those successful candidates from local examination. The 28 successful candidates from central examination were tested in martial arts in front of the king and were chosen at three different levels (3 people of first class, 5 people of second class, and 20 people of third class).

There were also special military service examinations along with the regular MSE for the national celebration, encouraging martial arts, and national defense as required. For the special MSE, the exam steps often were lowered and the selected members were flexibly decided upon depending on the situation. The numbers were at least several hundreds, and at the most about tens of thousands.

The test subjects of MSE were gradually enlarged and changed depending on the era. The MSE system in early periods of Choson was established in the Great Canon of Administrative Laws through a hundred years of maintenance. The subjects of test were divided into two types: physical test, which was martial arts test, and reading test, which assesses the ability of understanding classics and codes of laws.

The subjects of martial arts test were mainly ground archery, reflecting tactics of long-range weapons, and horse riding skills, including horseback archery. The skills of short-range weapons like swords and ground spears were not included. These facts show that early Choson's main war front was the north front against the northern wild people.

The Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion (that went on during the end of the 16th century) greatly affected Choson's weapon system and warfare tactics. During and immediately after the Japanese invasion, short-range-weapons such as the sword and spear and the new long-range weapon such as the matchlock were adopted to the Choson army's weapon system, and the tactics of short-range weapons were also strongly enforced. But as it was said before, because archery had complementary features for firearms and because the necessity for the tactics of long-range weapons (which was for the preparation against the northern people's threats) re-appeared from the middle of 17th century, archery's military use was not completely forgotten. Partly because of this sort of weaponry situation, the status of archery was also still important in the later Choson's MSE. The exam which was oriented around archery and horse riding skills didn't have much change other than the addition of subjects such as matchlocks.

The exam subjects for the MSE after the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion were rearranged around Neo-Canon of Administrative Laws (續大典, 1746), which were published in later Choson. According to this law reference, four new subjects were added to the former six physical subjects: Willow Leaf Arrows (柳葉箭), Shooting Targets (貫革: subject name of ground archery), Matchlocks (鳥銃), and Whipping Skills (鞭芻).

We see that archery was still a major part of the subjects. Six subjects out of ten were archery-related, which includes 5 subjects (木箭, 鐵箭, 片箭, 柳葉箭, 貫革) of ground archery and 1 subject of horseback archery (騎芻: Its target was a straw mannequin). When the various special exams reduced the subjects from one to three subjects only, archery was always required. And it was the most outstanding subject for the final winner in the palace exam.

The special point of archery-related subjects among the test subjects are as follows: The target has been changed to a human form target after the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion. The bow used by horse riders was called a dangung(短弓, small bow)and the bow-case was called a dongae, and the arrows were called daewujeon (大羽箭, big feather arrow). It's the testing for the targeting object which was lineup left and right while the horse rider was going fast on his horse. At first they used round-shaped targets, but later on they used a human-shaped straw target. Depending on how many times you hit the target out of 5 shots, the score was graded.

Ground archery is made entirely of 5 skills. Guanhyok (貫革) and Yuyopjeon (柳葉箭) were subjects added after the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion. These two simple methods of testing were used when there was a need to recruit a large amount of members in a short amount of time. Pyonjon (片箭, short arrow) is a type of archery known as Choson's talent. The shooting range was originally 240 Korean paces, bo 步 (288m), but later on it became 130 paces (156m). These three subjects were all tests on judging accuracy. To the contrary, wooden arrow (木箭) measured the ability to shoot far distances (遠射), and iron arrow (鐵箭) tested the strength of pulling a bow (弓力). You had to go beyond a certain distance and hit inside a certain perimeter between the left and right to get a good score. The targets put up at this time only signified the minimum distance and had no other function. Wooden arrow's arrowhead was blunt (樸頭) made from cutting a tree in a round shape, and it was done so that they could save on steel points. Iron bow (鐵箭) used a heavy (240g) arrow called the Yukryang-jon (六兩箭), and the bow was an extremely powerful bow called the Yukryang-gung (六兩弓) or the Jongryang-gung (正兩弓). For the test judging your accuracy, you got a high score if you hit the bull's eye (正鵠) which was 1/3 the size of the entire target, and if you hit the area around it, you received a lower score. You shot three arrows in all the tests but with the Yuyopjeon (柳葉箭), five arrows were shot.

The following is a table of these ground archery ' s types and information.

Ground Archery in the MSE

Subject titles	Bows used	Arrows used		Evaluation	Range		Size of target (width* height, cm)	Number of shooting arrows	Remarks
		length	weight		Scoring distance	Target distance			
Wooden arrow (木箭)	Horn bow (角弓)	76-80 cm	八錢 (32g)	Ability of shooting far distance	Over 240 paces (288m)		567*567	3	Using blunt arrowhead (樸頭)
Iron Arrow (鐵箭)	六兩弓 (=正兩弓)	76-80 cm	六兩箭 (240g)	Strength of drawing bow	Over 80 paces (96m)		144*144	3	
Short Arrow (片箭)	角弓	24-32 cm		Accuracy		130 paces (156m)	261*143 (bull ' s eye : 1/3 of target)	3	Using arrow guide (筒兒or矢道)
Shooting Target (貫革)	角弓	76-80 cm	八錢 (32g)	Accuracy		150 paces (180m)	261*143 (bull ' s eye: 1/3 of target)	3	Used for recruiting a large amount of members

Willow Leaf Arrow (柳葉箭)	角弓	76- 80 cm	八錢 (32g)	Accuracy	120 paces (144m)	145*208 (bull ' s eye: 1/3 of target)	5	Used for recruiting a large amount of members
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As we have seen, Korea has preserved the bow ' s function as a weapon continuously until the end of Choson. Furthermore, archery was always a required subject to pass the MSE. Archery was improved during the Three Kingdoms and Koryo Dynasty, as well, but the reason why archery has improved greatly during the Choson Dynasty was probably because of the environment around these advantageous institutions. The fact that bows were personal weapons for warriors means that most men all across the country had a basic knowledge of archery. Also, the fact that archery was always a necessary subject in the MSE means that many candidates called Hanryang (閑良) had to practice the bow all the time.

The archery of this time was not for simple entertainment or physical and mental training. Those features were only additional features. The archery of this time was mainly for its practical war use or shooting with that kind of goal in mind. In a word, it was what I called musa (武射), or martial archery. We have seen that, in the end, this martial archery tradition has been actively pursued in the Choson Dynasty.

B. Tradition of Ritual Archery

Besides the tradition of martial archery used in warfare, Korea had a tradition of Yesa (禮射), ritual archery. Ritual archery originally meant bow shooting in the archery rituals such as the Great Archery Ritual (大射禮), presided over by the king, and the Archery Ritual of the Shires (? 射禮), held in the districts by local officials. The archery rituals were performed according to strict procedures, which were accompanied by music. But today I like to include even the type of archery in which personal courtesy, based on the Confucian ideal, was

strongly emphasized. For convenience, I want to call the former ritual archery an institution and the latter ritual archery a personal dimension.

It cannot be said that this kind of ritual archery was exclusively a Korean tradition. Confucian philosophy was the key background of ritual archery. Therefore, it might be widely shared with countries in the sphere of Confucian culture, especially China and Japan. (In fact, Chinese tradition of archery rituals and Confucian ideal were comprehensively discussed by Stephen Selby in his famous book on Chinese Archery. Japanese archery is also famous in keeping strict procedures in order to shoot and stressing courtesy.)

1) Ritual Archery in the personal dimension: Competition with courtesy

The Choson Dynasty adopted Neo-Confucianism as a ruling ideology to manage Korean society and maintained a political system in which the hegemony of political power was tightly grasped by the scholar-officials. In a society where the ideology of respecting pens and suppressing swords (崇文抑武) has pervaded, weapons for warfare were regarded as dangerous instruments and thus the weaponry system and martial arts to deal with them were little developed. Archery, however, was an exception.

Archery was considered one of the basic skills (ritual, music, archery, chariot driving, writing, and arithmetic: 禮樂射御書數) even for scholars. This concept was familiar to those Koreans who read Chinese classics. At the same time, archery was not simply regarded as a physical skill in warfare or hunting, but as one of a spiritual instrument to cultivate Confucian morality and to make people familiar with courtesy.

As you have noticed, the above viewpoints about archery came mostly from the Confucian classics such as Records of the Rites (禮記) and the Analects of Confucius (論語). Confucius' s favorable treatment of archery as a means of competition with courtesy is obvious in the following phrase: "man of virtue has no use of competition." Yet if he cannot avoid it, let him compete through archery. For entering the archery range he will salute and show consideration for other competitors, and on leaving the range he will share ceremonial wine with them. Thus his manner in competition is in accord with the refined principles of men of virtue. (君子無所爭 必也射乎 揖讓而乘 下而? 其爭也君子).

There is also a famous concept to view archery as a means of "assessing an archer 's virtuous conduct" (觀德行). This phrase originally came from the context that emphasized proper behaviors of participants in archery rituals and thus had a somewhat more sociopolitical flavor than personal moral one. But gradually in Korea this term appeared to be a representative view of archery as a means of cultivating and assessing virtue and courtesy of the archer himself. This is why archery, basically a martial art, is exceptionally recommended even for literati.

I would like to quote two examples related to kings to show the wide-spread Confucian viewpoints about archery during the Choson Dynasty. In the early Choson Dynasty, when King T'aejong (1400-18) wanted to make his prince learn archery, some subordinates opposed this. They argued that archery learning might make the prince ignore lessons of the classics. T'aejong turned down this opinion, saying that "Old people said 'archery is a way of assessing virtue' and 'Competing with one's talent in archery is the way of a man of virtue.' So I cannot stop prince's archery learning." These two phrases quoted by the king were just those in the Records of Rites. This anecdote shows how much these Confucian views of archery were common among the ruling class.

In the late Choson Dynasty, King Kojong(1863-1907), who was the very person to revive Korean archery as a sport, used a quiver, with the following phrases inscribed on its sides: "Once the mind is in the right way and the posture is straight, then grasp the bow and arrow and concentrate" (志正體直 然後審固); "Meet the requirements of the rituals on entering, leaving, or making turning movements in any direction" (進退周旋 必呼中禮). The phrases, to which the very term "assessing virtuous conduct"(觀德行) is followed, are again part of the section entitled "Appropriate [Behavior in] Archery" (射義) of the Records of Rites.

As I mentioned, it seems to be evident that this Confucian view of archery as a means of cultivating personal virtue had been deeply rooted in the minds of Korean archers and became an important part of Korean archery tradition.

2) Ritual Archery as an institution: Great Archery Ritual and Archery Ritual of Shires

The fundamental component of Ritual Archery tradition is in the philosophy and ceremonies of various archery rituals. The Choson Dynasty adopted Confucianism as a national ideology. In this sense, it was natural that Korea tried to hold rituals such as the Great Archery Ritual and Archery Ritual of Shires, which were believed to be held in the ancient Chinese Zhou Dynasty, the period of Confucian ideal. The leaders of the Choson Dynasty believed that these archery rituals could contribute to rectifying the order and making harmony and confidence between the monarchy - subordinates and seniors- juniors, thus establishing ruling order in Central and local governments.

(a) Great Archery Ritual (GAR, 大射禮)

According to the Records of the Choson Dynasty, 8 GARs (including 2 Rituals of Yan 燕射禮) were performed between the late 15th century and the late 18th century. The enforcement dates are as follows

August of the 8th year of Songjong (1471), March of the 8th year of Yonsangun (1502), September of the 11th year of Yonsangun (1505), August of the 29th year of Chungjong (1534), leap month of April of the 19th year of Yongjo (1743), February of the 40th year of Yongjo (1764), September of the 3^d year of Jongjo (1779), and December of the 7th year of Jongjo (1783).

Although arguments for performing GARs appeared from the early days of the founding of the dynasty, the actual performance was only done in the reign of Songjong (1469-94), when the institutions of government were stabilized and the neo-Confucian scholars could begin to have power in the central government. During the 18th century in the reigns of kings who tried to pacify political difficulties and to strengthen royal power, four rituals were held. After the 18th century, however, the rituals were not performed. The turbulent political situation might have prevented this kind of national event in the late days of the dynasty.

The GAR was in charge of the military ministry and its general procedures were as follows: 1) The king makes his royal visits to the Sungkyunwan (成均館) to make his sacrificial rite to the divine nature (Confucius), 2) The king moves to the shooting range especially made for rituals, 3) Royal shooting(御射): The king shoots four arrows (called *sungs* 乘矢) in accordance with music, 4) Attendant shooting(侍射): several groups of civilian and military subordinates also shoot four arrows in accordance with hymns. 5) The king gives prizes to those who hit the target and the punishment of drinking to those who miss the target, 6) The king presides over the final selection of civil and military service examinations, and 7) The king returns to his palace and the GAR is ended.

All the procedures of the rite were designed to differentiate the status, and strengthen the sense, of hierarchy between the king and subordinates. The use of different targets and music symbolize this purpose. There was no difference in the distance (90 bo (步), 110 meters), the size of the target (5 by 5 meters), and the bull's eye (1/3 of the target). But the bull's eye animals were different: the king used the bull's eye of a bear's head and the subordinates used that of a deer's head. Music used for the king was seven ritual hymns for royal shooting and music for subordinates was five ritual hymns of attendant shooting.

(b) Archery Ritual of the Shires (ARS, 射禮)

If the GAR was to emphasize the proper order between the king and subordinates at the level of central government, the ARS was an attempt to establish an ideal local society based on Confucian morality by emphasizing proper social order between seniors and juniors by age.

It was during the reign of King Songjong, likewise in the case of the GAR, when the discussions about the enforcement of ARS were actively begun. When the plan of performing the GAR was decided, opinions to

perform the Ritual of Taking Wine in the Shires (RTWS, 酒禮) and Archery Ritual of the Shires besides the GAR were also raised to enlighten people and to encourage good customs in localities. King Songjong then ordered the performance of RTWS in the middle of winter and ARS semi-annually, in March (spring) and September (autumn).

Unlike the case of the GAR, however, the ARS seemed not to be actively enforced. We have only one case related to performing the ARS in the Records of the Dynasty. It was Kim Jongjik (金宗直), leader of the neo-Confucian scholars, who reported that when he was the chief of the Sonsan district, Kim held the RTWS and ARS. From time to time, some scholars edited books on the subject of RTWS and ARS and argued for the performance of these rites, but few cases of the realization of their arguments were found. Therefore, I think that only the principles of ARS were strongly emphasized without any visible results during the entire Choson Dynasty.

As for the reasons for people not observing it, we might guess such things as follows: the procedure of the ARS was too troublesome for participants; if the participant did not have enough time to practice shooting, he might become a laughingstock of others; there might be poor local economic conditions for such a non-productive event to be held; and finally, but not least important, is that local officials did not fully share the value of the cost of the archery rituals with those who actively argued for their performance. (In regards to this, I really want to know what the real Chinese situation in performing ARS was.)

So far I have discussed many facets of the Korean tradition of ritual archery. I have stressed that the Confucian viewpoint about archery as a means of cultivating and assessing archers' virtue was widely shared by the Korean literati class. I called this somewhat spiritual and mental approach to archery a personal dimension of ritual archery. Meanwhile, archery rituals such as GAR and ARS, which I preferred to call an institution of ritual archery, were designed more clearly to realize and maintain Confucian ideology in politics and in society. In this institutional level, the ritual archery was a convenient means of inner socialization of Confucian ideology among participants.

In a sense, whether it was personal dimension or institutional dimension, the core function of ritual archery could be considered a means of preserving social order under the Confucian view of the world. Despite this ideological element to it, the tradition of ritual archery surely handed down a typical point of view looking at archery not simply as a tool of warfare but also as a device for cultivating the mind by emphasizing courtesy. This tradition of archery emphasizing courtesy has been maintained in the Korean archery clubs.

C. Tradition of Archery Club

The last component of Korea traditional archery might be called a tradition of archery clubs, which are called sajong (射亭). The literal meaning of sajong is “ archery pavilion ” or “ archery hall. ” This term, however, is actually used to indicate an organization of archers centering around the archery pavilion built on the shooting range. The archery club had a fundamental role in preserving the archery traditions of Korea.

The history of archery clubs start with the history of the shooting range, sajang (射場), because to have a proper shooting space is a basic requirement of archery. From the early period of the Choson Dynasty, there were shooting ranges established by the government and used mainly for military service examinations and for military shooting practice. Several government archery ranges were founded in Seoul and in the central districts of the local government. The shooting ranges for civilians, called archery pavilions or archers clubs, appeared immediately after the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion when King Injo established an archery pavilion by the name of Ounjong (五雲亭) within the eastern wall of Kyongbok palace. King Injo opened this pavilion to civilians to encourage martial spirit among the people.

The history of growth of civilian archery clubs (here after, simply archery clubs) is related to the expansion of the military service examination. From the 17th century, the military need for officers was drastically expanded because of military events such as the Manchu tribes Invasions (1627 and 1636), and the period of preparation of the so-called Northern Expedition (1650-60s). As a result, the Choson government expanded the frequency and size of the military service examination. The number of those selected sometimes even reached several thousand to more than ten thousand. (The so-called Mankwa (萬科) came after this large selection reaching ten thousand in the military service examination.) The expansion of the military service examination was a stimulant to the growth of archery clubs. The clubs sprang up like mushrooms after a rain, in Seoul and local districts. It is hard to know the number of archery clubs in localities, but it is said that more than forty archery clubs flourished in and around Seoul in the 19th century.

It is needless to say that this growth of archery clubs after the middle period of Choson Dynasty had played a central role in the development of archery. Archery clubs were, in a sense, a society of people with the same tastes and thus certainly were an important leisure activity. The team tournament (pyonsanori, 便射 ??) was a good example. It was a game and entertainment in which members of archery clubs competed with each other, showing their shooting skills through tournaments between clubs or regions.

Here, I would like to emphasize the historical function of archery clubs: they were civilian organizations which maintained the tradition of Korean archery culture, or the traditions of martial archery and ritual archery.

The fact that archery clubs grew rapidly, along with the expansion of the military service examination, is an indicator that archery clubs were founded basically as educational institutions of teaching and practicing archery. These clubs provided educational opportunities for those hanryang (閑良) who were going to take the military service examination. In other words, archery clubs appeared as private military educational organizations, when no special organization for military subjects had developed unlike the case of civic education.

The tradition of martial archery was naturally maintained in these archery clubs through the process of teaching and learning practical military archery required in the military service examination.

In the meantime, the tradition of courtesy or ritual archery was preserved by sap ' ung (射風), or archery customs.

Sap ' ung was the core of archery culture and was created and preserved by members of an archery club. It was the customs of archers on the shooting range composed of regulations of the club to control members and to encourage courtesy on the range, rules of various archery games, etc. The core of these customs, however, was the principle and regulation of courtesy.

In a book entitled *Korean Archery* (1929), the author describes the sap ' ung of clubs located in Seoul in the 19th and early 20th century in this way: “ When archers were shooting for practice with those of the same taste at the shooting range, there was something noteworthy in its complete arrangement of courtesy customs. Archers looked up to their master, respected senior members, and took conciliatory attitudes among colleagues. ” The tradition of courtesy in archery can be found in local clubs, too. A document written in 1884 in a local club manifests the point of courtesy as follows: “ What is called Sach ' e (射體, the body of archery) [as regulations required for archers] is in fact similar to the principles of the old Archery Rituals of the Shires (射體云云 如古之? 射禮 其義略同). ” This document thus stresses not to violate the principles of courtesy and illustrates in detail the rules of etiquette archers should follow.

As so far mentioned, the archery clubs, which flourished from the middle of the Chosŏn Dynasty, had played a leading role in the development of Korean archery. At the same time, it was this institution which successfully maintained both traditions of martial archery and ritual archery.

However, when bows formally lost their function as weapons in the late 19th century, not only the characteristics of archery, but also the function of archery clubs were changed.

4. Korean Archery in Modern Times

The archery of the Choson Dynasty abruptly went downhill because of the military system reformation including the abolition of military service examination and the transition to modern firearms. In Seoul, numerous archery clubs naturally faded away. When archery was on the way to extinction, it was King Kojong who gave it a new direction.

Impressed by German prince Heinrich's astonishment at a Korean traditional archery demonstration in 1899, King Kojong decided to give support to it. The support of the Emperor himself was a new turning point for traditional archery. He made an imperial decree to "let people enjoy archery to develop their physical strength." King Kojong also commanded the establishment of the Hwang Hak Jong (黃鶴亭: literally, Yellow Crane Pavilion) on the northern mountainside of the Kyounghee palace, for archers to practice.

There was a revival of traditional archery with this imperial support. Civilian archery clubs that had been closed for years reopened. Some government archery clubs (which were often called Kwan Dok Jong 觀德亭 or Yon Mu Jong 演武亭) were transformed into civilian archery clubs. The return of traditional archery throughout the nation brought a new wave in development of traditional archery. The traditions of each archery club were handed down to their successors. Though such traditions went through some change, segments of traditions are easily found in the institution of archery clubs such as the title and the authority of Sa du (射頭, the leader of an archery club). Also, the saying "Archery begins and ends with courtesy" is good evidence of handed down traditions.

The revival of traditional archery in the late Choson period was a turning point for its development as a civil sport. According to the phrase "to develop their physical strength" in the imperial decree by King Kojong, traditional archery earned recognition as a measure to promote nationwide physical activities. In 1922, during the Japanese colonial period, the Choson Archery Association (朝鮮弓術? 究會, CAA) was established by Hwang Hak Jong and other member clubs. The CAA was succeeded by the present Korea Traditional Archery Association (大韓弓道協會 KTAA). The

steady development of traditional archery is quite noteworthy in that it not only meant a transformation of military art into modern sport, but also it provided civilian archery clubs with opportunities to develop themselves into a modern type of athletic association.

The simplification of bows and arrows used in traditional archery is also a part of the transition. When the bow was used as an actual weapon, there were various kinds of bows and arrows. However, as archery became a sport, only the horn bow and willow's leaf arrow, which had been used mainly for practice, survived. The official shooting range was also fixed at 120 bo (步, 145m), which was a distance applied to the military service examination in ancient times. It is among the few things that didn't change to the present day.

Traditional archery underwent many harsh events like Japanese colonial rule (1910~1945), the uneasy political situation of post-independence (1945), and the Korean War (1950~53), but managed to survive. As the society was stabilized and the economy prospered, traditional archery saw steady growth in the 1970s. In the 1980s, there was a boom of traditional archery. The growing trend of the population enjoying traditional archery can be seen from the data of archery clubs as follows:

1947: 24 archery clubs

1970: 124 archery clubs

1986: 211 archery clubs

1992: 258 archery clubs

2002: 314 archery clubs

The advent of synthetic material bows and arrows is also thought to have been a booster to the development of traditional archery. Traditional horn bows were too dear and difficult to handle. Because of the cost, the population enjoying this sport was limited to high ranking officials and wealthy people. Such invisible barriers were removed by the development of laminated bows made of Fiberglass Reinforced Plastics (FRP). The laminated bow has been improved continuously and has received excellent reviews. In a sense, this advent of the laminated bow and carbon arrow probably was one of the major factors that helped traditional archery gain popularity from the 1980s.

Currently, the number of players registered in the KTAA is 17,719. This number includes 953 women, and 70 high school students. However, the actual number of people who enjoy Korean archery is expected to be much higher than that figure--about 30,000 people. Currently, about 20 to 30 competitions are held annually, and at those competitions, which last for 2 or 3 days, about 1,000

competitors participate. So it is obvious that Korean Archery is becoming popular.

This prosperity is being considered as an encouragement for those who are working for the development of Korean archery. However, this growth has caused many problems and many people discuss and consider solutions. Despite its long tradition, there has not been a full-scale academic research on Korean archery. The conservative and orthodox practices have been a hindrance for Korean archery to become a popular sport. These problems are now discussed as important issues to be addressed and in fact some groups are holding various seminars and publishing theses. This is one of the new trends in modern Korean archery.

5. Conclusion

I have tried to explain some typical traditions of Korean archery, which can be found in the archery history of the Choson Dynasty. I would like to close my comments with brief summaries of my arguments.

In terms of the function of archery, Korea had two traditions of martial and ritual archery. In martial archery, I pointed out the military function of archery as weapons in warfare. In ritual archery, I tried to emphasize its social function based on Confucianism. It was archery clubs that preserved both traditions. As an educational institution for military service examination, they naturally played a role to maintain the tradition of martial archery. Archery clubs also succeeded in the tradition of ritual archery by emphasizing that archers should maintain the regulation of courtesy.

Right now, the tradition of martial archery has completely disappeared. Bows are not used for military purposes in Korea, or even hunting. Archery remains only as a sport. The Korea Traditional Archery Association, which represents traditional Korean archery, is a subordinate organization of

the Association of Korean Athletics. Despite this outlook change, the traditional element of ritual archery is still felt in the current culture of archery clubs. The clubs are still emphasizing courtesy among archers.

It is true that sometimes the overstressing of courtesy, based on the principle of Confucianism, became one factor in conflicts between senior and junior members of clubs. There is also a strong possibility of change even in this tradition in accordance with the principle of democracy and equality. Nonetheless, it is clear that so far the majority of archery clubs are trying to maintain the tradition of archery with courtesy. At least, whatever the inner change of culture in clubs, the tradition of the archery club, as an organization of archers, itself will continue for a long time as a characteristic of Korean archery.