Korean Traditional Archery and “Sage (Archery Fraternity)” : Through Interpretation of Historical Materials of Deokyujeong*

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In Korean traditional archery clubs, there are unique cultures and old customs that are not found anywhere else. This paper tried to trace the origin of the culture and customs. To do that, this study carried out research on “Sage [Archery Fraternity]”, especially the Deokyujeong fraternity that existed as the central operating body on Deokyu Archery Club. The purpose of this study is to investigate the true nature and social functions of “Sage”, through a historical consideration of the organization of “Deokyujeong”.

The findings were as follows:

1. Deokyujeong was established to maintain Deokyu Archery Club through financial support.
2. The operating of Deokyujeong was repeatedly breaking up and resuming owing to lack of funds.
3. Through moneylending business, they employed funds. The profits were used to repair archery facilities, hold regular archery competitions and mutual aid.
4. To sustain the fraternity eternally, they made detailed regulations and associated a strict mutual aid system.
5. To enter that club, they had to pay an entrance fee after judging on their personality, job and wealth.
6. Rights and duties are defined by the regulation and the position. The executive enjoyed splendor and privileges.
7. The most important function of the fraternity was supporting social success through passing the national officer certification examination. The exam was composed of several kinds of archery and horseback riding.
8. The fraternity also promptly met the needs of the times. The main function was also changed periodically. After abolition of the traditional officer certification examination, the main function of the fraternity was changed to financial and administrative agency of that village.
9. After the prevalence of modern banking and the movement to modern society, Sage decayed for a while. But, through conversion of traditional archery into competitive sport and modernization of the Sage, the fraternity was invigorated again.
10. Most of the old custom and culture of current Korean archery club were originated in the fraternity.

Keywords: Deokyujeong, martial arts fraternity, traditional archery club, Korean archery culture, mutual aid

1. Introduction

Korean traditional archery has been outstanding as a prominent skill of the Korean people such as Korean bows are evaluated as the most excellent weapons

along with Chinese spears and Japanese swords and guns^{*1}. This tradition has been handed down to date, more than 50 national archery tournaments^{*2} have been held at 350 archery pavilions nationwide, and more than 10,000 players including 12 business teams

are active.

In this way, there are many Korean unique cultures and customs that are not found elsewhere in archery, which has been closely related to the daily life of the people for a long time. For example, the author has more than 10 years of experience at the archery in Korea, the followings have been experienced during this period.

1) Pecking Order that prioritizes social status: “Emphasis on social status and age over archery history”, “Standing in order of age rather than archery grade or seniority”, “Selection of officers by social status rather than archery grade”, “Many elderly members”, “Greeting the elderly shooters first when entering the dojo”, “Relatively low coach position”

2) Strict admission conditions against archery popularization and perceptions of discrimination: “Restriction of membership by age and occupation”, “High membership fee”, “tabooed view of Transfer”, “Strong mutual aid tradition”

3) Undemocratic decision making: “Executive decision method without voting”, “Executive-centered decision making”

4) Monthly Meetings culture: “Traditional Monthly Meetings and Competitions called Monthly Meetings”, “Prizes and rewards given by the competition results”, “Recommended drinking culture during the tournament”

5) Unique terms: “Many role titles, names and everyday words that are not currently in use, such as the president called Sabaek or Sadoo [Head Shooter], the person in charge called Yusa [Deacon], and the member called Jeopjang [Leader]”

In this way, there are many old customs that are not seen elsewhere in archery, such as rules and cultures that are suspected of their validity and necessity as modern sports. However, no one knows the traditional archery in detail because of the Korean War and modern industrialization and urbanization. Accordingly, it cannot explain why such that culture exists, when, where, and how it has been born and developed. It is due to the current situation in which the tradition of archery is not completely passed down to the inside and the lack of research on traditional archery. In addition, because the Korean society demanded a model of Confucianism, only the appropriate ritual shooting^{*3} appeared frequently throughout the historical materials, and the few existing studies were also mostly based on ritual shooting. However, the current archery culture cannot be explained only by the research

of ritual shooting, because there are many differences between civilian archery culture and the ritual that is performed only occasionally by the royal family and high-ranking bureaucrats.

It is thought that the old customs that remain in modern Korean archery are largely related to the origin of the private archery pavilion where bloomed the flower of the culture and spread the traditional archery, which was the mother of modern archery, to the people. Archery pavilion is basically a place where archery is practiced, and what is now called archery ground. Therefore, it is important to consider the local archery pavilion that has relations with popular culture and created the Korean archery culture, in order to understand the social and cultural aspects of Korean archery. In this regard, the Sage [Archery Fraternity] which was an autonomous organization to support archery pavilion is the key to understanding Korean archery culture. Sage is an archery-based “Ge” which Korean traditional mutual aid private cooperation. It is considered that studying the Sage whose details have not been clarified so far has great significance in clarifying the characteristics of the Korean archery culture.

However, there are very few historical materials on the currently known Sage. Among them, the archery fraternity materials held by Deokyu Archery Club are relatively close to the present day from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, and the amount and content of historical materials are also abundant. Therefore, Deokyu archery fraternity can be positioned as the starting point in a series of studies for find out the origin of the current Sage culture that has not been clarified. In addition, the Deokyu collection has been opened but has not been studied in detail as a study of archery history. Therefore, this study comprehensively considers the historical materials of the Sage organization of a specific local archery club called Deokyu-jeong, and reveals the actual state of the archery fraternity, the social function and its transition as an archery organization. Based on the changes of its function over time, the effects of Sage on Korean archery culture are discussed.

“Ge” is used in research on current in general. However, there are some other terms according to historical materials. Therefore, “~ge” is used in order to represent archery fraternity as a term basically, but the term on the material also will be used to indicate the fraternity of Deokyu Archery Club or its historical materials.

2. Composition of the historical materials

The historical materials mainly used in this study are records of the Deokyu Archery Fraternity in Ganggyeong region from 1828 to 1986, and 17 books still exist. A list of detailed historical materials is shown in **Table 1**.

The contents of the material^{*4} are “Geseo [Introduction of fraternity]” which describes the purpose of the Sage, “Jwamok [List]” which is the list of members, “Jeolmok [Section]” or “Ipui [Argument]” which is the rule of Sage, “Waneui [Decision]” which is the agreement of the members, “Jomok [Item]” which is a provision that should be observed by the members, “Danja [Letter]” that is a list of the celebrations and gifts created by the new members, “Chuyak [Additional Clause]” the additional clause added at general meeting, and “Bugok [Obituary]” which is an member’s obituary notice.

3. Review of previous research

The “Ge” is a private cooperative of Korean traditional mutual aid that has been passed down since ancient times. The Ge that began to be discussed by practical scientist of late Joseon dynasty was studied by Kawai H. (1905), Lee G. (1923), Zenjo E. (1926; 1937) and others, because Japan focused on it as a unique culture of Korea under the rule of Japan. In particular, the general purpose and characteristics of the Ge was introduced after a survey of the actual conditions of it at that time by the Governor of Korea (Zenjo, E., 1926). However, it was difficult to conceptualize, because the Ge had various forms and contents, such as 480 types and 28,643 Ge were reported even found at the time of the survey by Governor-General of Korea (Zenjo, E., 1937). About a century after the study of the Ge began, the general characteristics of the Ge in the Joseon Dynasty have just been clarified by Kim Pildong (1992).

In particular, among these many Ge, there has been little research on the Sage[Archery Fraternity] which is almost the only Ge related to physical exercise culture^{*5}, and Sage is little is known among the study of martial arts and physical education. However, the existence of the Sage indicates that the relationship between archery and daily life was close in Korea, and it represents a Korean unique martial arts culture.

Previous studies on Deokyu include Lee Kwonho (2002), Jeong Yeontae (2003; 2006) and National

Folk Museum (2007). Lee announced the existence of the historical records of Deokyu Archery Club and introduced the outline (Lee, K., 2002). And, Jeong discusses the socio-economic foundation of the wealthy people in the Ganggyeong region where Deokyu was located (Jeong, Y., 2003). Jeong considering the characteristics of the modernity and the interests of local leaders that appeared in the Korean rule and development process of Japan, as a case study of the commercial bay city Ganggyeong. In particular, through the follow-up survey and analysis of the members, it was clarified that many members of Deokyu in colonial era were from non-aristocrat and they used Deokyu Archery Club to enhance his social status (Jeong, Y., 2006). However, the study of Jeong focused on the influential people based on colonial commerce, so the viewpoint was limited to the commercial aspect, and it was limited to the case study of the wealthy at that time. Therefore, archery and Sage are not studied in detail, and the description is different from the facts related to Sage in general and archery by limiting the research to a specific hierarchy and time. In addition, since he relies heavily on previous research on archery and does not discuss it based on Deokyu’s historical materials, he does not show any new findings about Deokyu.

The National Folk Museum of Japan (2007) released events and internal archives of Deokyu Archery Club, and provided a new research archive to the archery community. However, since it is a survey report of the archery club called Deokyujeong, the current introduction of Deokyujeong and the modern translation of Deokyujeong’s historical materials are mainly conducted, and the analysis and consideration for historical materials of Deokyujeong are not carried out in detail. Moreover, modern translations are often mistranslated due to lack of knowledge about archery, and are not reliable as historical materials for archery research.

In this study, by considering the historical materials of Deokyu Archery Club in detail, I would like to clarify the role and transition of archery and its fraternity in the era which is not clear in previous studies.

4. The history of Deokyu

Ganggyeong^{*6} which was hub of transportation and trade with one of Korea’s two major ports and one of the three major markets, had a Deokyu Archery Club and there was Sage to support it. It is not known ex-

Table 1 Catalogue of historical materials of Deokyuje Archery Fraternity*.

	Document Title	Cover Title and Size	Age	Index
1	Deokyuje	1. April 1828, Deokyuje 29.2×30.6 cm, 21p	April 1828	Deokyu Archery Club, Intro, Member, Rule
2	Sagejwamok	2. 15 members establish in April 1846, Sagejwamok 28.0×39.8 cm, 33p	April 1846	Deokyu Archery Club, Intro, Member, Rule
3	Sagejwamok	3. May 1870, Sagejwamok 27.7×30.0 cm, 27p	May 1870	Member
4	Sagejwamokgeon	4. Deokyujeong, April 11 1884 reform, Sagejwamokgeon 26.3×37.6 cm, 68p	April 11 1884	Intro of reformed archery fraternity, Member, Rule, Manner, Addition
5	Sagejwamokgon	5. Deokyujeong, April 11 1884 reform, Sagejwamokgon 26.0×37.6 cm, 13p	April 11 1884	Member
6	Sagejwamok	6. May 10 1890, Sagejwamok 30.5×39.1 cm, 33p	May 10 1890	Intro of reformed archery fraternity, Member
7	Bonhyeongyogungbohejeolmok	Gyeongho Sajeong, Section of supplementation for village's school 27.0×32.8 cm, 6p	November 1893	Intro of supplementation for village's school, Member
8	Wanmun	November 1897, Full description 26.7×28.2 cm, 14p	November 1897	Decision, Host of business hotel, Reception of supplement with Host of hotel, Promise with landowner, Custom duty for ship
9	Sagejwamok	7. March 16 1898, Sagejwamok 31.2×36.2 cm, 32p	March 16 1898	Intro of rebuild Archery Club, Rule, Member
10	Sagejwamok	8. May 1905, Sagejwamok 27.8×31.8 cm, 34p	May 1905	Intro of rebuild Archery Club, Rule, Member
11	Deokyujeongcherehappyeon	9. March 1 1920, A joint edition of archery club and its fraternity 28.3×41.6 cm, 42p	March 1 1920	Intro of rebuild Archery Club, Rule, Member
12	Sagejwamok	9 earth. March 1920, Sagejwamok 29.0×41.8 cm, 24p	March 1 1920	Intro of joint archery organization, Rule, Manner, Addition
13	Sagejwamok	10. August 1925, Reform, Sawonjwamok 28.5×45.5 cm, 38p	August 1925	Member
14	Sagejwamok	11. Deokyujeong, July 1940, Sawonjwamok 28.5×47.0 cm, 95p	July 1940	Member
15	Gepyeondeokyujejwamok	12 (sub). Deokyujeong, July 10 1956, Reorganization Deokyujejwamok Vol. 1 28.5×47.0 cm, 52p	July 10 1956	Intro, Rule for mutual aid in Deokyu Archery Fraternity
16	Sagejwamok	January 1986, Sawonjwamok, 12, Deokyujeong 28.5×47.8 cm, 14p	January 1986	Member
17	Seonsaengan	Deokyujeong, Seonsaengan [List of directors] 28.7×45.5 cm, 50p		Member

* In the historical materials listed in the inventory of Table 1, there is a description indicating that there were other historical materials besides these. However, the current location is unknown.

actly when this Sage called Deokyuge was established, but according to the 1828's record which is the oldest historical material of Deokyu Archery Club, there was Deokyu Archery Club from at least 1828, and it can be seen that the Sage has been repeatedly interrupted and revived until recently, due to the status of the property and change in the times. Sage was established to repair and maintain the archery pavilion forever (Deokyuge, 1828)*⁷. From a long time ago, seniors*⁸ of Deokyu Archery Club had not only protected the village as warrior*⁹, but also contributed to the development of the whole village, shoot bows and held general meetings (Deokyuge, 1828). In order to preserve that tradition, it is necessary to smooth operation and maintenance of the Sage, and financial resources were indispensable. The form of a Sage is considered to be the best way to secure financial resources, and the Sage and rule for it have been established (Deokyuge, 1828).

However, expenditure of expenses increased and the Gejeon that was the property of the Ge decreased, and in 1846 the Sage was redeveloped (Sagejwamok, 1846). In spite of the redevelopment, the member and the Gejeon disappeared in 1866 when 40 years after the establishment of the Sage (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). Due to the efforts of the president (former governor) at that time, the property that could be recovered was recovered by public order and personal persuasion (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884), and the Ge was restored in 1870.

The property ran out again over the next 15 years, the archery club had to hold debts and was unable to carry out regular events in 1884 (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). Deokyu Archery Club which has been resurrected and interrupted repeatedly, will devise a way that will not lose the property of the Ge, that is, to keep the Sage forever (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). Therefore, they decided to make specific rules regarding the management of the archery club and the Sage. The rules of the archery club "Sachedaegae" and the rules of Sage, "Gerejeongsik" created at that time, became the basis of Deokyu Archery Club's management policy (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Sagejwamok, 1890; Sagejwamok, 1898; Sagejwamok, 1905).

The archery club responded sensitively to changes in the times. The strict rules created in 1884 could not resist the government-led nationwide modernization movement of the 1894 Gapo Reform. The social system such as the Korean Higher Civil Service Examination system through the archery was abolished, and

social changes such as the collapse of the social class resulted in the absence of members, and the Sage was suspended for the time being. (Sagejwamok, 1898). The villagers gathered to revive the Sage that had been neglected in 1898, and it was decided to resurrect the Sage according to the rules of 1884 (Sagejwamok, 1898). However, despite the specific rules, they were not adequately kept, and the property of the Sage was decreasing, and the activity had to be interrupted after nearly 10 years (Sagejwamok, 1905). It was revived again in 1905, but in 1906 all assets were lost and the activity was suspended again (Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920).

In 1920, Deokyuge was revived again, but the times have already changed greatly, and the opinions of the members were divided between those who wanted to preserve tradition and those who claimed reform. Therefore, in order to resolve the conflict of opinions, the rules of 1884 were revised slightly to reflect the changes of the times (Sagejwamok, 1920). Furthermore, modern reorganization has been carried out in 1956 (Gepyondeokyugejwa, 1956).

5. Organization of Deokyuge

5.1. Deokyu Archery Club and Deokyuge

When Deokyuge, which was created for the maintenance and management of Deokyu Archery Club, was operated, there was an organization of archery club and an organization of Sage. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between the organization of archery club and Sage in order to clarify the character of the Ge and the relationship with the archery club. However, it is difficult to distinguish depending on the times. It is because Sage was an organization to only support the archery club, and many of its members and officers overlapped with the archery club due to the characteristics of the Sage, and sometimes the members of Sage and the archery club are the same (Deokyuge, 1828; Sagejwamok, 1846; Gepyondeokyugejwamok, 1956), and sometimes it was divided (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920).

At the first stage when the Ge was made, all the members who gathered to protect the archery club became members called Gewon [member of Ge]. Therefore, the name of the Gewon itself was not necessary at first, and the archery club operated the Ge. However, the operation of the Ge maintained by the breeding business did not go well only with the founding mem-

bers. This is because people who gathered only for the purpose of protecting their archery club of hometown were not often borrowing money from the Ge. Therefore, there was no choice but to increase the number of shooters. There was a time when the members were removed if they did not shoot (Sagejwamok, 1846), a time when the people was able to pull a bow can be members, and even a time when the people who did not draw a bow also participated in the Ge (Sagejwamok, 1884). From this time on, the Gewon who did not draw a bow but participated only in the Sage came out. Since the number of such Gewon increased, it became necessary to distinguish between the Gewon and Sawon and to clarify their obligations and rights. As a result, the archery club that manage Sawon and the Sage that manage Gewon are managed separately. However, because there were various members such as those who were member both Gewon and Sawon, those who were only member for the archery club, and those who were only member for the Ge, Ge's rules and management became more complex over time. (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920).

5.2. Change of membership condition of Deokyuje

Sage is a cooperative formed to support the management of archery club. Therefore, in principle, it was possible to become a Gewon who had the same purpose (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). However, it is necessary not only willing to agree with the purpose but also sufficient financial resources in order to realize the purpose of the Sage. For this reason, the Sage was able to secure financial resources through the breeding business (Deokyuje, 1828; Sagejwamok, 1846). Since a principal to lend was necessary to moneymaking, the applicant was allowed to join by paying an admission fee, which is a nominal money to make the principal. (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884).

The procedure for joining was that the Sage first examined the person and his social position of the applicant, and the Ge decided a suitable amount of admission fee for the person, and the applicant pays to join. The criteria for joining varied greatly with the times. Around 1828 when the Ge was made, admission fee was 1 Ryang (the old east Asian monetary unit, Deokyuje, 1828), and the founding member was 1N but the others were 5 Ryang in 1846 (Sagejwamok, 1846). In 1884, admission fee was decided

based on the wealth, and paid admission fee made a difference of treatment (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). At the beginning of the Ge established, there were no conditions other than nominal money, but after a while, the status and reputation became important (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). Furthermore, a recommender is also required to join, and the recommender may take responsibility if a recommended person makes a problem, and the president or the deacon may be the facilitator who will judge the person and financial status (Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). The conditions were relaxed to increase the number of Ge when the number of Gewon was small, and it was adjusted by tightening the conditions when there were many Gewon depending on the era (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920).

5.3. Directors of Deokyuje

Among many members, as shown in **Table 2**, directors who actually move the organization such as president of archery club or Sage, management staff, and archery coach, occupied a large specific gravity that affected the fate of Ge.

Although it is still practiced in the traditional archery club, the appointment of directors was decided by recommendation rather than voting. In the case of Sabaek who represents archery club, the recommended person was determined by former director's decide (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). Sabaek was basically tenured position, and the newly appointed Sabaek nominated for the person he would like to be a Jeopjang [Leader] through Recommendation Letter^{*10}. Similarly, Gongwon [manager], Yusa [Deacon] and Jangmu [Accountant] were determined by the recommendation of Jeopjang (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). The appointed directors were required to observe the rules and contribute to the archery club and Sage (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884). When they became a director, they had a heavy responsibility to assume the fate of archery club and Sage, but on the other hand, they were able to enjoy a variety of rights that were not found in general members (Sagejwamok, 1846; Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). **Table 3** shows the honorable treatment for the directors. Despite the social functions and roles described below have almost disappeared in the present, many special treatments for directors remain in the current archery club.

Table 2 Directors of Deokyuge.

Division	Rank	Title	Role	Remarks
Advanced	1	Sabaek/Gejang [president]	Representative	
	2	Jeopjang/Bugejang [leader]	Deputy Representative, General Manager	Former Gongwon, former Gwonmu Jeopjang
	3	Gongwon [manager]	Rule enforcement, custom management	
Semi-advanced	4	Gwonmu Jeopjang [coach]	Teaching archery, General Affairs	Former Gongwon, Gongwon concurrent post
	5	Chulshin [officer who passed the Exam]	Honorary position	Passed the the Higher Civil Service Examination
Backward	6	Yusa [deacon]	Property Management, In charge of profit growth	Jangmu concurrent post
	7	Jangmu [accountant]	In charge of business	

(Created from the contents of the historical materials of Deokyuge)

6. Function of Deokyuge

6.1. Repair and operation of archery club

As mentioned above, the purpose of the Ge was to rebuild an old archery club first. By the way, why did they have to protect archery club? For villagers at that time whose lives were greatly influenced by the rulers, protecting the archery club was a repaying for kindness to hometown from seniors who were raised from the village and success in life, and it was a tradition to be protected (Deokyuge, 1828). Therefore, in order to pass as many villagers as possible to the Higher Civil Service Examination, which is a gateway to becoming a ruler, the archery club was an important existence for the area. This is the reason why the Sage was focused on the maintenance of the archery club.

6.2. Support for advancement in life

Considering the status of archery in the Joseon Dynasty, the archery club was not just an archery pavilion. Most of the Higher Civil Service Examination for military consisted of archery (Gyeonggukdaejeon, 1485), and the results of the promotion test also depended on archery (Mangiyoram, 1808). In other words, archery was directly connected to advancement in life.

Furthermore, considering the state of communication development at that time, it is considered that it was very difficult to obtain exam information. Even if the date of the exam was decided, it was often

changed depending on the situation, and information such as the number of positions, exam contents, and movements were difficult for local applicants to obtain (Noh, 1765). Moreover, considering the conditions of traffic and accommodation at that time, it was a considerable burden just to go to Seoul where the test site is located. Considering these circumstances, the traditional archery club that produced many successful applicants was an information sharing place where they can obtain test information such as the test guidelines and movements from the seniors, and prepare for the test. It was also a private school for the test of the future (Noh, 1765).

How much the archery club and the Sage emphasis on produce successful applicants through archery is well reflected in the treatment of those who passed the exam. First of all, if the test passed, an honor bond (cost for return to the country) was paid. If the successful applicant was both a Sawon and Gewon, 30 Ryang were paid, and if either a Sawon or Gewon, 15 Ryang were provided. Furthermore, even if it was not related to the archery club, 10 Ryang were paid to the applicant in the same village, and 5 Ryang were paid to those who go through the village (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884).

In addition, even in the harsh society where the status of the archery club is determined according to the job and age, obligations and rights are determined accordingly, those who have passed the Higher Civil Service Examination, regardless of age, they are promoted to a semi-director position and was able to receive treatment according to it. For example, it is

Table 3 Courtesy treatment by directors.

rank	Title	Place to reception	Seat order	At training	At competition	Gifts for New Year's/Thanks-giving	Congratulatory money for child's wedding	Others
1	Sabaek/ Gejang [president]	Jeopjang: On pavilion Gongwon/Yusa: Inner court Under Jangmu: Entrance of the outer bridge	Due north of the building	The arrows pass by young shooter, the arrows are wiped after arrow collecting.	Chief referee	1st class 20 dried pollack, 1 bunch of yellow corvina, 1 bunch of laver	3 Won	The aid with special pilgrimage from archery club
2	Jeopjang/ Bugejang [leader]	Gongwon/Yusa: Inner court (on pavilion who elder than Jeopjang) Under Jangmu: Out of pavilion	Current Jeopjang: To the right of Sabaek Former Jeopjang: To the right of current Jeopjang		Deputy referee			
3	Gongwon [manager]	Jeopjang: Sitting in pavilion Under Jangmu: Inner court	Current Gongwon: To the right of former Jeopjang Former Gongwon: To the right of current Gongwon or to the 2th left of Sabaek		Referee for record	1st class dried pollack, 1 bunch of yellow corvina	2 Won	
4	Gwonmu Jeopjang [coach]		The class of Gongwon		Deputy referee			
5	Chulshin [officer who passed the Exam]		The next to Gongwon					
6	Yusa [deacon]		The next to Chulshin					
7	Jangmu [accountant]		The next to Yusa					2 Ryang paid for cigarette charges every general meeting (reception expenses)

(Created by Sagejwamokgeon (1884) and Deokyujeongcherehappyeon (1920))

written that even if the successful applicant who has never served a director role such as a Sabaek, a Jeopjang or a Gongwon, he can get the same treatment as Gongwon [manager] of the archery club (Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). In this way, passed exam applicants were treated specially so that they could enjoy the upper right among directors.

6.3. Lending and breeding business

It seems that it was very difficult for the common people to borrow money before modern financial institutions developed. In Joseon Dynasty, private financial markets were formed mainly by traders and inn for merchants^{*11}, but it was difficult to borrow from them for the common people who did not have the field etc. which were collateral, considering the high interest and disadvantageous conditions. In other words, when

someone needs money suddenly, it was a great advantage to be able to borrow immediately where they can rest assured^{*12}.

On the other hand, the Ge was able to operate the archery club with interests of loaned money. A stable source of income was necessary in order to hold events such as the maintenance and repair of the archery club, general meetings, and regular archery competitions. For this reason, increasing interest, that is, breeding has become an important business that is indispensable for achieving the purpose of Sage (Deokyuge, 1828; Sagejwamok, 1846). When the number of Gewon increases, the principal of the Ge increases, and more people can loan money and breeding proceed. However, as the Ge to lend to various people, they had to consider the case where interest and principal were not returned. In order to prevent such damage, new Gewon were not allowed to loan until after 7 years (Deokyuge, 1828). Also, in general, borrowing documents were made and witnesses were raised (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884).

In this way, the main point of the management of the Ge was how to breed while preventing damage. Therefore, the Yusa who manages the Ge was an important related to the existence of the Ge. Thus, the Yusa was selected carefully. Regardless of the time, the most serious and trustworthy person became a Yusa (Deokyuge, 1828; Sagejwamokgeon, 1846; Sagejwamok, 1898; Sagejwamok, 1905; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). The interest was basically paid on the first day of each month, and the principal was to be returned on the days of the general meeting on spring and autumn. Nevertheless, it is sometimes difficult to keep the property due to an increase in the number of those who do not return the borrowed money, personal management of the property by directors, unreasonable assistance and expenditures, etc. (Sagejwamok, 1846; Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Sagejwamok, 1890; Sagejwamok, 1898; Sagejwamok, 1905; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). The rates of interest for each period are as shown in **Table 4**.

6.4. Mutual aid

Sage had not only the purpose specific to archery such as maintenance of the archery club and support for advancement, but also the universal function of mutual aid of Ge. The property gained from the breeding was used not only for the maintenance of the archery club, but also for assistance and general meet-

Table 4 Current status of profit growth for each period.

Items Year	Standard admission fee	Principal size	Interest (month)	Borrowing/ Repayment Date
1828	100 copper (1 Ryang)	150 Ryang	4% (3%)	Twice a year/ March, September
1846	100 copper (1 Ryang)		4%	Twice a year/ April, October
1866		500 Ryang	4%	4 times a year
1870		1600 Ryang		
1884	Property ratio system	About 1000 Ryang	4%	Twice a year/ April, October
1898			5%	Twice a year/ March, September
1905			5%	Twice a year/ March, September
1920	Property ratio system		4%	Twice a year/ March, September

ings (Deokyuge, 1828). In particular, mutual aid was emphasized in ceremonial occasion for Gewon (Deokyuge, 1828; Sagejwamok, 1846). There were gifts and congratulatory money for the celebration or passed exam as a good day, and relief money related to mourning as a bad day (Sagejwamokgeon, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). It is thought that the ceremonial rituals in the Joseon period, dominated by Confucian values, was a heavy burden for individuals as they cost a lot of human and physical costs. From this point of view, mutual aid was an indispensable purpose for the Sage. The practical importance of mutual aid is reflected in the specific amount and courtesy of aid, as well as in the rules of slamming those who do not aid (Deokyuge, 1884).

The contents of aid varied greatly depending on the status of the archery club and Sage. For example, **Table 5** shows the contents of aid for mourning.

In addition to mourning, there was also aid for celebrating the local celebrations, such as the member's 60th birthday and passing the Higher Civil Service Examination. In this case as well as for mourning, the contents differed depending on the position (Deokyuge, 1884; Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). Besides, it was not only aid that included the hierarchical elements of Sage but also a phenomenon that was com-

Table 5 Breakdown of Aid for Mourning.

Title \ Year		1884 • 1898 • 1905	1920	1956		
Advanced	Sabaek/ Gejang	Oneself	Condolence, special pilgrimage, Paper and candle fee 2 Ryang, cloths fee 3 Ryang, worker’s wage 3 Ryang	special pilgrimage, Paper and candle fee 3 Won, cloths fee 5 Won, worker’s wage 2 Won	Qing, Chi-en Chapter (flag with a ground poem that follows the coffin of a samurai at a time) (except for my mother) Azabu 1 Turbid Sake 1 (Sen)	
		Parents	Paper fee 3 Ryang, candle fee 3 Ryang	Paper and candle fee 3 Won, cloths fee 5 Won, worker’s wage 2 Won	Chapter 2 (excluding mother) Azabu 1 Turbid Sake 1 (Sen)	
		Wife	Paper fee 3 Ryang, candle fee 3 Ryang	Paper and candle fee 3 Won	2 pieces Azabu 1 Turbid Sake 1 (Sen)	
	Jeopjang	Oneself	Same as Sabaek	Same as Sabaek	Ditto	
		Parents	Paper fee 2 Ryang, candle fee 2 Ryang			
		Wife	Paper fee 2 Ryang, candle fee 2 Ryang			
	Gongwon/ Bugejang	Oneself	Condolence, special pilgrimage, paper/candle/cloths fee 3 Ryang	special pilgrimage, Paper and candle fee 2 Won, cloths fee 4 Won		
		Parents	Same as Jeopjang	Paper and candle fee 6 Won		
		Wife		Same as Sabaek		
	Semi- advanced	Chulshin	Oneself	The class of Gongwon		
			Parents			
			Wife			
Backward	Yusa	Oneself	paper/candle/cloths fee 3 Ryang	paper/candle/cloths fee 6 Won		
		Parents	Same as Jeopjang	Same as Gongwon		
		Wife		Paper and candle fee 6 Won		
	Jangmu	Oneself	Same as Yusa	Same as Yusa		
		Parents	Same as Jeopjang			
		Wife				
	General	Oneself	Paper and candle fee 2 Ryang	Paper and candle fee 3 Won		
		Parents		Paper and candle fee 2 Won (for Gewon only)		
		Wife		Paper and candle fee 2 Won (for Gewon only)		

monly seen in the archery club in general, including organizational structure, voting methods, courtesy and customary shooting^{*13}. (Deokyuge, 1884; Deokyu-gecherehappyeon, 1920). It is thought that this factor has a lot of influence on today's archery club.

6.5. Holding of general meeting and archery competition

In the general meeting, members gathered regularly to discuss things related to the Ge and the archery

Table 6 General meeting by year.

Items \ Year	1828	1846	1866	1884	1898	1905	1920
Number of general meetings	2 times a year	2 times a year	4 times a year	2 times a year	2 times a year	2 times a year	2 times a year
Date of general meetings	March 15 September 15	April 15 October 15	Unknown	April 11 October 11	March 16 September 16	March 16 September 16	March 15 September 15

club, and to collect the lent money. As shown in **Table 6**, the general meeting was usually held twice a year. In the archery competition held after the general meeting, the financial resources increased through the breeding were awarded as prize money according to the results (Deokyuge, 1828).

Since the archery competition held after the spring and autumn general meetings where everyone gathered was a tradition that had been handed down from generation to generation (Deokyuge, 1828), Deokyuge tried to prepare for the cost of this regular archery convention (Sagejwamok, 1846).

7. Changes in the function of Deokyuge

7.1. Changes due to the abolition of the Higher Civil Service Examination

As mentioned above, Deokyuge was first created to support for advancement in life. Human resource development and the production of bureaucrats through archery in the social culture of the time when archery is most important, was an indispensable role for archery club which is a local organization that protect the local community. However, the fundamental function of the Sage to support for advancement in life has changed greatly twice with the times.

First of all, it was the abolition of the Higher Civil Service Examination that had a great influence on the existence of the Sage. The impact can be seen in 1884, 10 years before when the Higher Civil Service Examination was completely abolished. In 1884, Korea was a time when the existing order collapsed and social upheaval increased, such as the Progress Party changed the state of the government to reform national politics (Shin Y., 1985; Kim Y., 2008). It is thought that the people's perception of the Higher Civil Service Examination must be shaken by the changes of the times. Until then, what had been operated by one rule is divided into two rules for Sawon or Gewon

from 1884. In other words, it can be conceivable that the reason why there were separate rules for Sawon or Gewon unlike the previous period, because Gewon who did not draw a bow appeared, so it became necessary to distinguish between them. The roster is also divided into Sagejwamokgeon which has a lot of directors and successful applicants, and Sagejwamokgon which has a lot of non-directors and non-passed exam members. It can be seen as distinction between Sawon and Gewon. Furthermore, in 1890 just before the abolishment of Higher Civil Service Examination, the Gewon appears on the top of the roster due to the withdrawal of the high-ranking Sawon (Sagejwamok, 1890). This reflects the situation where the social value of the Higher Civil Service Examination has already declined in the 1890s, and there are no more Sawon.

The number of Sawon has gradually increased since the 1820s when Deokyuge was made, but since the 1880s, due to the movement of the modernization such as the political change of modern reform and the influence of the abolishment of the Higher Civil Service Examination, Sawon drastically decreased as it is seen in **Figure 1**. The Sage that lost the big function of supporting advancement due to the abolition of the Higher Civil Service Examination greatly shifted its function to the role of the financial administration that was not spread at that time. The Sage that secured the financial resources to support the archery club with the interest of lending with the enrollment money from the member, grew as a public institution of the village by taking advantage of the experience of the property management. Previously, they lost his qualification as a Gewon unless shooting archery (Sagejwamok, 1846), but from 1884 the Sawon and Gewon were separated, and even if people did not draw a bow, they could borrow money. In particular, after 1890, it was operated mainly by Gewon due to the withdrawal of the Sawon since the abolition of the Higher Civil Service Examination, and the Sage em-

Figure 1 Changes in the number of Sawon and Gewon, and changes in the function of the Sage 1

phasized the breeding and property management. The nominal money which is the admission fee, also changed to the property ratio system from 1884, and the principal was greatly increased, and from 1898 at the latest, the interest rate of the existing 4% was raised to 5%. The function of the financial institution of leasing was not limited to lending to individuals, the principal directly traded in the goods to increase profits, in order to prevent damage caused by uncollected lending (Sagejwamok, 1905).

Originally, general meetings and archery competitions were held in mid-April and mid-October. Mid-April in the lunar calendar, the bow was the easiest to draw around the end of May of the present, and the bow became stiff after the end of current November, which was mid-October in the lunar calendar, and became difficult to pull. Considering that the current archery competitions are held in April starting from the southern region and is open until November, when the bow is the easiest to pull out, and the best results are achieved, they hold the general meeting when it is easy to draw a bow. However, from 1898, the amount of loans was increased by doing this one month earlier. After changing from a bow-drawing Sawon to a Gewon that emphasizes breeding, it seems that the focus gathered from the archery competition to the general meeting that borrows and repays debt. Although it is only a month difference, lunar mid-March was just before the beginning of full-fledged agriculture^{*14}

around the end of April, so they were able to lend money for agriculture. The end of October of present, which is the middle of September in the lunar calendar, was the time when the harvest was over and the loan was immediately returned. In fact, there was no mention of archery in the 1890-1905, and it was unclear whether the competition was held after the general meeting (Sagejwamok, 1890; 1898; 1905). Looking through these things, the Ge after the abolishment of the Higher Civil Service Examination seems to have shifted the central function to the financial institution.

Furthermore, in 1893, the administrative authorities in charge ordered the Deokyuge to secure financial resources by depositing 100 Ryang to repair village's school (local government school) and to pay for the rituals, then Deokyuge recognized as a local public financial institution (Bonhyeongyogungbohejeolmok, 1893). Such the public function of Sage has been expanded, and Deokyu Archery Club had also been engaged in various public affairs such as preparing for village ritual expenses, repairing local schools, and implementing public works. This was evaluated by the prefectural governor, the right to collect and use the taxes of neighboring ports as a substitute for public service costs was obtained since 1897. At that time, Deokyuge also served as a terminal administrative institution in addition to financial functions, such as village rituals, levee cost procurement, and hosting of

Figure 2 Changes in the number of Sawon and Gewon, and changes in the function of the Sage 2

senior government officials (Wanmun, 1897). **Figure 1** summarizes the changes in the function of Sage due to changes in the times.

7.2. Changes due to the spread of modern banks

Due to the abolition of the Higher Civil Service Examination, the Sage that has shifted its focus to the role of a financial administration institution has changed greatly due to the widespread modern banks and the redevelopment of the administration organization accompanying the merger of Japan. Due to the convenience and reliability that does not require relatively cheap interest and collateral, the Sage that has played the role of a financial institution in the village lost its appeal due to the large-scale capital of the modern bank and its spread. The interest rate of 4% to 5% a month could not compete with the bank (Lee Y., 2004, p36). In addition, it has become a safer and more convenient era when it comes to increasing the assets of the Ge itself by depositing it with a bank.

The modern bank emerged in Korea from 1896, when banks were established one after another to protect Korean capital from Japanese capital. They started bankrupt quickly due to poor sales, and actually began to play the role of a modern bank from 1899 (Lee Y., 2004, pp40-42). However, it was run mainly by government bureaucrats and imperial people, and many

general banks that could be reached by the public were made after the late 1910s (Lee Y., 2004, p88). As the number of branches and deposits increased rapidly in the 1920s, banks began to spread, and in 1929, banks targeting the common people began to be created (Lee Y., 2004, p71). Along with the spread of such banks, the changes were also seen in the Sage. In 1920, there were statements that reflected the crisis of abandonment of Sage, such as the indication that the old rule had to be revised and the opinion that the Gejang (head of Ge) should be promoted by the ability system (Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920), and the differences due to the hierarchy in aid actually decreased.

7.3. Reconstruction of Sage by competition of archery and modernization of archery organization

Although the Sage had greatly declined due to changes in the times, but the number of Gewon was increased since the 1900s through the efforts such as strengthening the financial administration function, as shown in **Figure 2**. However, since the 1910s, Sage has lost its administrative function due to Japanese colonial policy, and the financial function has also been lost due to the spread of modern banks. After the abolishment of the Higher Civil Service Examination,

the Sage maintained by the Gewon faced an era when new measures had to be sought. Because it became difficult to increase the number of Gewon due to the spread of banks, the focus was on increasing the number of Sawon. Although the attractiveness of Higher Civil Service Examination disappeared, they tried to create a new attraction by modernizing archery. It was to make archery a competition. In the 1920s, the movement of modernization due to the competition of archery became conspicuous. The first Korean national archery competition was held (Whanghakjeongbaeknyeonsapyeonjipwihwae, 2001, p.44), and various archery organizations such as the Korean Archery Association which is a gathering of representatives of the archery clubs nationwide established (Whanghakjeongbaeknyeonsapyeonjipwihwae, 2001, pp.38-44). It had a great influence on the Sage. For example, the number of people listed in the directory has increased rapidly since the 1920s, but it can be seen that there were people who do not enter into Ge according to rules such as “Mutual aid other than the person must be a Gewon only” (Deokyujeongcherehappyeon, 1920). From this, it is possible to infer the situation at the time when the number of members who could not enter the Ge increased and the Gewon decreased. And since 1920, there are many descriptions about archery appeared, such as the name of Gwonmu who teaches archery and its customs, trials about provisions for shooting bows, and about people who came and wanted to learn bows that were not mentioned in 1890 to 1905 (Sagejwamok, 1920). In addition, the Sage would become active again through the revival of archery due to competition and the modernization of the organization with the introduction of a term limit system for directors, and in 1925 the Sa”ge”jwamok was changed to the Sa”won”jwamok. **Figure 2** shows the changes in the period of “Sage”.

8. Conclusion

Recognized as the best martial arts in Korea, the archery that has been closely related from the rulers to the people throughout 500 years of Joseon Dynasty has many unique cultures of Korea. However, ritual shooting was emphasized in the previous studies, and there has been little research on the archery club where archery is actually performed and can be said to be the home of archery culture.

Therefore, in this study, it examined the archery culture through the Sage organization that actually

supported archery club. As a result, the actual situation and social functions of Deokyuje that existed in Deokyu Archery Club were clarified as follows. First, Deokyuje was created as a policy for securing stable financial resources for the maintenance and operation of the old archery club. The Sage created have been repeatedly interrupted and revived due to changes in the times and the results of the property management. Sage basically increased their financial resources through a breeding business that uses the membership admission fee paid by the Gewon as the principal. The increased resources were used to achieve the purpose of the Ge. The basic purpose of the Sage was to support the management of the archery club as a local archery educational institution for the preparation of the Higher Civil Service Examination, which was a gateway to government officer. For this reason, they held a regular general meeting twice a year to discuss matters related to the management of the archery club, such as property management, rule revisions, and archery competitions.

Without the function of an educational institution that supports social success, Sage also performed as a financial institution that lend and breed businesses. Profits earned through financial operations were paid for archery competitions, mutual aid for Gewon, gifts for members’ 60th birthday and New Year’s and Thanksgiving Day, congratulatory money for passed Higher Civil Service Examination, service for government officials and wedding gifts. In addition to that, the Sage also functioned as a village administrative institution, managing village rituals and tax collections. And in order to maintain the Sage that plays many of these roles for a long time, detailed rules regarding the overall Sage were established.

The chronological changes of the Sage records, which describes the management of the Sage and the rights and obligations of the members, show the purpose and valued of it at that time. During the Joseon Dynasty, the Sage that played a major role in supporting the advancement of life was transferred to the role of financial institutions and terminal administrative institutions, which were not yet widespread, due to the abolition of the Higher Civil Service Examination. Also, the emergence of modern banks made it difficult to maintain their financial function, and the temporary decline was revived by the archery competition and the modernization of the organization.

Although the purpose and social functions have changed due to the changes of the times, the archery

culture of the private archery club in the Joseon Dynasty that was very prosperous remains in the current archery club. The current admission fee system and its operation, the terminology used in the archery club, the manner in the archery club, the way to decision making and director selection, the hierarchical culture of the archery club, the form of the general meeting, mutual aid, etc. are considered to be a culture originated from the Sage.

Notes

- *1 It is possible to estimate the special relationship between Korean people and archery, according to *Jibongyooseol* (Lee S., 1614) and *Mooyedobotongji* (King Jeongjo, 1790) that point out spear as China's special skill, sword as Japan's special skill, and archery as a special skill of Korea.
- *2 The Korean archery organization, which corresponds to the All Japan Archery Federation, has been changed to "Joseon Gungsul Yeongoohe [Joseon Society for the Study of Archery]" → "Joseon Gungdohwe [Joseon Society of Archery]" → "Joseon Gungdo Hyeophwe [Joseon Archery Association]" → "Daehan Gungdo Hyeophwe [Korean Archery Association]". In 1932 when the Japan's colonial period, the word "Gungdo [the way of archery]" began to be used such as "Gungsul [the technique of archery] Competition" changed to "Gungdo Competition", since "Joseon Gungsul Yeongoohe" changed to "Joseon Gungdohwe". Although the term "Gungsul" was revived after the war, the term "Gungdo" such as "Gungdo competition" and "Gungdo hall" became commonly used from the 1970s when the Korean Archery Association greatly modified organizations and rules.
- *3 one of the classifications of archery according to the purpose, philosophy, and shooting method. It refers to archery, which has a strong ritual aspect against for the strong practical shooting.
- *4 Cheop which written on thin cloths and paper (edited by Todo et al., 2006), is folding book (edited by Shinmura, 2008), and indicate books attached to some nouns (edited by the Dictionary Editors, 2003). Gecheop means the book about Ge, in this study the Gecheop is the book in which the rules and members are written in the historical records (books, flats, epitaph, etc.) related to the Ge.
- *5 According to a survey by the Governor-General of Korea (Zensei E., 1926; 1937), about 30,000 Ge of 480 types were reported. Of which there are no description about Ge of sports, athletics and martial arts without archery.
- *6 Ganggyeong now belongs to South Chungcheong province, but during the Joseon period it belonged to North Jeolla province.
- *7 In order to avoid confusion between historical materials such as "Sagejwamok" and historical materials of the same subject of other Sage, it is noted that the historical materials of Sage in this study are the historical materials of Deokyu Archery Club.
- *8 The directors are widely the senior of Deokyu Archery Club, narrowly refers to the former and incumbent management staff like President, Squid Leader, Manager.
- *9 Brave man, soldier, fighter, warrior (Donga Prime Korean-Japanese Dictionary, 2008). Warrior, fighter, Samurai (Kojien, 2008).

- *10 a letter that write the name of a person who recommended to a job
- *11 During the Joseon period, people who also running the financial business, while running an accommodation business for merchants mainly in ports.
- *12 In the financial system of the traditional financial industry in the late Joseon Dynasty, there were mortgage like pawnshop, a long-term loan to farmers for six months with a 50% interest after harvest, unsecured lending between merchants, and local taxes lent to certain trusted merchants (Lee Y. et al., 2004). Ge was a financial system that was relatively easy to reach for the common people who did not have collateral, farm, and trust.
- *13 Seupsa is a practice to shoot a bow.
- *14 In one of the 24 seasons, it indicates the time when agriculture begins of the year.

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